

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, August 30, 2009 3:04 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** Holbrooke Summary - attached and below  
**Attachments:** Holbrooke points.docx

**Holbrooke's Contributions on Af/Pak**

**Holbrooke has assembled an unprecedented interagency team to carry out the work on Af/Pak – a whole-of-government team in DC and a reorganized and reenergized U.S. mission in Kabul.**

**Holbrooke's team is actually getting things done, including the implementation of more than 20 detailed action plans. Some examples of the work thus far:**

- The civilian surge in Afghanistan is on pace to meet targets by end of year.
- Our approach to assistance in Afghanistan has changed dramatically, both through the consolidation of efforts under Tony Wayne and the review (and sometimes rejection) of assistance contracts.

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- Holbrooke has opened and is actively pursuing R/R channels.
- The swift and comprehensive U.S. response helped alleviate and reduce the impact of the Swat refugee crisis.

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- The trilateral meetings have helped create conditions for progress on key cross-border issues.

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- Holbrooke’s international diplomacy – in the Gulf, with China, with the cadre of other special representatives – has translated into funding and equipment commitments, more buy-in, and more patience.

**Holbrooke has been a key driver of (non-military) strategic innovation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Here are some examples:<sup>[1]</sup>**

**Defining a regional approach to Af/Pak (including trilateral summits)**

- *The regional approach championed by Holbrooke became a central feature of the Reidel report; the trilats are a pure Holbrooke invention*

**Afghanistan**

The clearest voice and thinker on swifter and more heavily resourced “Afghanization” – primarily by standing up a sufficiently large and sufficiently capable ANSF – as the preferable alternative to adding more troops.

- *The Reidel report calls for training 134,000 army and 82,000 police over two years; Holbrooke is working through a strategy that would more than double those numbers and speed the pace of training. Such a strategy has to resolve significant obstacles, particularly with respect to the police.*

**Framing and executing the U.S. approach to Afghan elections:**

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**Developing a strategy – in partnership with the Afghan government and others – for pursuing reconciliation/reintegration.**

- *The Reidel report discusses support for the Afghan government’s efforts to reintegrate “non ideologically-committed” insurgents who lay down their arms, renounce al Qaeda, and accept the Afghan Constitution. Holbrooke was key in developing this aspect of the report, and is now working through the next phases.*

**Prioritizing a shift in emphasis on counternarcotics from eradication to interdiction**

- *The Reidel report discusses the need for increased interdiction efforts – and the attendant need to support licit agriculture to shift livelihoods.*

**Emphasizing and executing our engagement with Arab allies, China, and Turkey**

- *The Reidel report speaks generally about engaging all those with a stake in the region. It does not lay out a specific diplomatic strategy or priority countries.*
- [NOTE: ]

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- *This issue does not get extensive treatment in the Reidel report.*

### Pakistan

- *The Reidel report does not speak in any detail to this issue.*

### Responding decisively to the refugee crisis in Swat and Buner

- *Obviously, the Reidel report does not address this. The immediate response to the refugee crisis was Holbrooke's team at its finest.*

### Making the image of the United States in Pakistan as a critical strategic priority

- *The Reidel report focuses on strategic communications in Afghanistan. Holbrooke's recent trip with Judith McHale is the latest in an ongoing effort to develop a strategic communications plan for Pakistan. Generally, Holbrooke, along with McDonough, has been the key mover on all things related to strategic communications in both Afghanistan and Pakistan; he has a good sense of what is missing and what is needed.*

### Pursuing a major new energy initiative to address Pakistan's economic troubles and boost support for the United States

- *The Reidel report mentions energy as a key sector where we should be encouraging foreign investment.*

1. References/comparisons to the Reidel report are in italics below each item

**From:** Jake Sullivan   
**Sent:** Sunday, August 30, 2009 12:54 PM  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D;  Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Holbrooke doc

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As we discussed, here is an updated and reconceptualized Holbrooke doc.

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<sup>[1]</sup> References/comparisons to the Reidel report are in italics below each item