11 March 2015

These Guccifer-provided confidential reports by Tyler Drumheller to Sidney Blumenthal are quoted as "sources" in memos to Hillary Clinton by Blumenthal:

CONFIDENTIAL/PROPRIETARY

SUBJECT: Egypt (24)

SOURCE: Sources with access to the highest levels of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, and Western Intelligence and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

1. On the evening of June 23, 2012, senior officials attached to the Guidance committee of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) were called to an emergency, secret meeting with officers of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). During this session the MB was informed that on the following day Egypt’s Electoral Commission would announce the victory of Mohammed Morsi, the MB/Freedom and Justice Party (MB/FJP) candidate for President of Egypt. The SCAF officers stated that their commander, Field Marshall Mohammed Hussein Tantawi, was concerned that the MB followers, as well as many of the secular/liberal groups were becoming increasingly volatile during the extended vote counting period. The MB representatives, after a call to Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie, assured the SCAF that there would be no violence before the election results were announced. The SCAF officers reiterated their previous position that Tantawi and the SCAF do not want to rule the country, but they will not tolerate any move that limits either their budget, or their position of respect in society. The MB officials, who were extremely happy with the news
they had just received, assured their SCAF interlocutors that Badie, Morsi, and the rest of the MB leadership were committed to this position.

2. According to a very sensitive source, the MB officials added that Morsi would chose government officials from a wide spectrum of parties and movements; ranging from the Salafist al Nour party to secular/liberal groups like the April 6 Movement. The SCAF officers had no problem with this, but added that the current military decrees would remain in place, at least until the constitution is drafted and a new parliament is elected. In the opinion of this individual, the MB representatives were under instructions from Badie to avoid getting into an argument on this point, at this particular time. Having won the presidency, Badie and his advisors believe that public opinion, and political momentum will allow the MB to dominate the entire government. In this regard he also believes it is important that the MB not overreach, as Morsi, and the FJP speaker of Parliament, Saad Al-Katany had done in the weeks leading up to the second round of voting.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Badie believes that the aggressive tactics of the MB/FJP supporters, in the period immediately before the second round of voting, led to Tantawi moving to dissolve parliament, and redefine the duties of the president. The Supreme Guide wants Morsi to realize that if they maintain their studied pace, they will get everything they want. The MB polling noted that despite the fact that Morsi’s opponent Ahmed Shafik is a former commanding general of the Air Force, approximately seventy (70) per cent of the regular army troops supported the MB candidate. At the same time, as many as forty (40) per cent of the members of the April 6 movement also voted for Morsi. The MB leadership also intends to include Coptic Christians and some women in the new government, in an effort to the new Egypt as an inclusive,
moderate Islamic State. Their challenge is to find individuals who they feel they can trust, and who are willing to serve under Morsi. According to this individual, the Coptic community in particular is frustrated over what it sees as voter fraud and intimidation of its members by the FJP in Christian areas.

4. At the end of this meeting, according to this source, the MB and SCAF representatives agreed to stay in contact and to do what is necessary to prevent any violence, while recognizing the important role the military will continue to play in Egyptian society. Both sides recognize that there will be incidents resulting from the political passions at play in the country, and agree that they must prevent these incidents from getting out of hand. The SCAF officers also agreed that they would not overreact to statements from MB supporters regarding a reduced role for the military in government. The SCAF officers added that Tantawi was not unhappy with the result of the election, as he and Shafik have a poor personal relationship, and a history of competition for power within the military under the regime of the former President Hosni Mubarak.

5. (Source Comment: According to this individual, both sides agreed that their first order of business together in the new Egyptian political situation will be developing a coherent policy toward Israel. The SCAF officers pointed out that the Israeli is extremely concerned about the changes in Egypt. The MB officials added that they would like to maintain and enhance the policy the SCAF and MB developed during the 2011 uprising; maintaining the Peace Treaty with Israel, while limiting joint activity and cooperation on sensitive security matters. Both sides also agreed that, after the election, it will be important to create a positive working environment for foreign firms, particularly those from the United States and Western Europe. The MB officials stated that Badie and Morsi are firmly
committed to a dual Islamic/Western banking system and good relations with Western firms. He regularly states that the West has dealt with Saudi Arabia for many years, and the system he anticipates for Egypt will be far less restrictive than the one put in place by the Saudi rulers. Badie also believes the fact that Morsi was educated in the United States and has many good contacts in that country.)

6. The representatives of the MB and the SCAF will meet again during the week of June 25, and will continue regular contact as they prepare for the drafting of the new Constitution and parliamentary elections. Both sides agreed that they must also keep a careful eye on the situation in Syria, which could spread to Lebanon and other countries, potentially creating a situation affecting Egypt’s security.

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CONFIDENTIAL/PROPRIETARY

SUBJECT: Egypt (29)

SOURCE: Sources with access to the highest levels of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, The leadership of the Armed Forces, and Western Intelligence, diplomatic, and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE. THE INFORMATION MUST NOT BE SHARED WITH ANY EGYPTIAN CITIZEN.

1. During the week of December 17, 2012 Egyptian Army commander General Abdel Fatah al-Sissi privately reassured Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi that the Army continues to support his administration; even as anti-government demonstrations continue in Cairo and other parts of the country. Al-Sissi noted that, as Morsi predicted, the new constitution he supports was supported by between 57 and 60 per cent of voters in the first round of voting, which was held in urban areas. For his part Morsi cautioned that, while he expects the second round, set in rural areas, to produce a greater margin of victory for the government. At the same time he warned that government officials and security forces must be prepared for violent demonstration from the secular/liberal/Christian opposition groups, many of which are boycotting the voting in an effort invalidate the process.
2. According to this individual, Morsi expressed his approval of the restraint shown by the military during this period of unrest, adding that he continues to believe it best that the police and security services lead the effort to control the violence. Morsi stated that he is willing to give the protestors a degree of latitude to express their concerns rather than take steps that might create new martyrs. That said, he and al-Sissi agreed that the Military Intelligence Service (MI - Mukhabarat el-Khabeya) would continue to build files on the leaders of the opposition, against the day when the anti-government protests become a greater threat to the regime.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this source the MI is also continuing to monitor, and in some cases disrupt the activities of the Salafist groups, particularly the al Nur party. All though these groups generally support Morsi’s Islamist reforms, they distrust him and are concerned that he may become a dictator. Al-Sissi assured Morsi that the MI and the Army in general are continuing to watch the Salafists, arresting any who pose a violent threat to the government. He added that, interestingly, some of the most radical Salafists have chosen to leave Egypt for the present, traveling to support allied groups active in the Syrian revolution and in Libya.)

4. According to a particularly sensitive source, Morsi is maintaining his position of strength within the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), as well as his control of its associated Freedom and Justice Party (FJP). Morsi tells close associates that his greatest tool in this regard is the fact that Supreme Guide Mohammad Badie and the MB leadership now accept the idea that his Presidency is the key to their future control of Egypt. Morsi’s advisors add that the MB/FJP infrastructure has been crucial in turning out support for the constitution. Their polling efforts have been particularly important in allowing Morsi to time his various moves during this
crucial period. Morsi also believes that the opposition has no effective leaders; adding that Mohamed el Baradei and the opposition National Salvation Front (NSF) are too weak to have any real influence on the current situation.

5. (Source Comment: Morsi and al-Sissi agreed that one of their greatest concerns relates to the threat by some of Egypt’s Supreme Court Judges to boycott their traditional role, monitoring/validating the second round of voting. According to this source, Morsi sees this as an effort by old enemies to take advantage of the secular/liberal effort to invalidate the vote. He believes that because many of these judges are holdovers from the regime of former President Hosni Mubarak, they see Morsi’s Islamic agenda as a direct threat to their position in Egyptian society. At the same time, the secular/liberal opposition groups called for new protests in Tahrir Square on December 18. Morsi is confident that he can find enough officials to certify the election results, despite these concerns.)

6. In commenting on the situation with the judges, FJP parliamentary leader Saad al-Katany stated in private that the judges are concerned with their personal interests, and, in his opinion do not belong to either the government or the opposition camps. He speculated that if the secular/liberal faction were in power the judges would probably act in a similar manner. Al-Katany continued, saying that in his opinion, these judges have reason to be concerned given their old ties to the Mubarak regime. That said, he added that he, Badie, and Morsi believe that the judges situations are tenuous at best; and as the country is transformed the new political system must stand above the judiciary, since the judges are part of the old regime. The parliamentary leader added that, as the situation has developed, a number of judges seem to be courting both sides in the debate, and have privately expressed their support for Morsi.
7. (Source Comment: According to a source with access to the leadership of the Army, al-Sissi believes the MB/FJP and secular/liberal/Christian political factions are growing further apart. The Army commander is also concerned that much of the population is staying out of the debate over the constitution, noting that only 33 percent of the eligible voters turned out for the constitutional referendum. Al-Sissi is also focused on reports from private friends in the MB that al-Katany may urge Morsi to use the Army to watch polling stations for signs of corruption, if there are not enough judges to fill this traditional role. The general does not want the Army drawn into this debate in such a direct manner.)

8. An individual with access to the leadership of the MB added that Badie, speaking in private, noted that he and many other members of the leadership continue to be surprised by Morsi’s resilience and stamina during this constitutional crisis. Badie had never considered Morsi one of the leading lights of the movement, however, he now sees Morsi as a sophisticated politician, whose presidency provides the MB with its best chance to develop long term control of Egypt, and through that, support their fellow brothers throughout the region.
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 SUBJECT: Egypt (13/3)

SOURCE: Sources with access to the highest levels of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, The leadership of the Armed Forces, and Western Intelligence, diplomatic, and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE. THE INFORMATION MUST NOT BE SHARED WITH ANY EGYPTIAN CITIZEN.

1. In the first week of March 2013, Mohammed Badie, the Supreme Guide and leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB) stated in a private conversation that, while ongoing unrest in the country is worrisome, he believes that President Mohamed Morsi will remain in power for at least the next year. Badie noted that he has always considered Morsi to be a difficult and stubborn person; but at this time these traits will serve him well. Despite the controversies complicating life in the country, Morsi remains unshaken and confident that he is supported by up to sixty (60) per cent of the population, including the majority of the rank and file troops in the army. Badie added that he also believes that the secular/liberal opposition will never accept Morsi, and the current unrest will continue, with the opposition boycotting elections, which will complicate the process of drafting a new constitution, and in turn will harden the resolve of all sides in the political debate over the new Egypt. Morsi is capable of moving away
from a controversial policy, if it undercuts his authority, but Badie is convinced that he will never relinquish power because of political pressure.

2. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Morsi’s Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) conducts regular polling that reassures him regarding the level of support. For his part Badie noted that although the President has decided to appeal the Supreme Constitutional Court decision to delay the national elections, planned for April 2013, until the election law can be redrafted, he believes that this development actually works in his favor. In the opinion of this source Morsi and his closest advisors are convinced that holding the election later in the year will allow them to gain some control over the security situation, while making tough decisions without interference from an aggressive parliamentary opposition. In this regard they are counting on an influx of money from the United States and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to lead to an improvement in the Egyptian economy later in the year.)

3. In a confidential discussion Badie added that Morsi is working to develop policies to meet the conditions required to finalize a $4.8 billion loan package from the IMF. Badie believes that this agreement will also lead to the release of much of the $1 billion in assistance promised by the United States in 2012. He added that the President interpreted the U.S. Secretary of State’s statements following his recent visit to Cairo as indications that the U.S. government recognizes that the Morsi regime is working in good faith to reach an agreement with the IMF, and that this course offers the best chance for stability in Egypt. According to this source, Morsi recognizes that the U.S. expects him to take steps to strengthen the
economy and build political unity. He was particularly pleased to learn that the U.S. will release $190 million of the initial $450 million portion of the U.S. pledge. Badie added that Morsi felt that he and his team had convinced the U.S. delegation that these funds were needed to allow planned reforms to go forward, and that the various opposition leaders do not offer credible alternative solutions. The release of the rest of the $450 million and the other $550 million tranche promised by the U.S. government is tied to the success of the promised reforms.

4. Speaking separately, an extremely sensitive source stated in confidence that Morsi was also pleased when U.S. diplomats announced a pledge of $60 million for a new fund for direct support of democratic change, including Egypt's entrepreneurs and its young people. Morsi stated in private that he and the FJP are not worried that these funds will benefit secular/liberal opposition parties, noting that the payment shows confidence in the future of Egypt. Morsi added that even with extra funds these opposition parties cannot match the infrastructure of the FJP in preparing for elections.

5. (Source Comment: This individual, speaking on condition of absolute secrecy, added that Army commander General Abdel Fatah al-Sissi continues to support Morsi during this period. Al-Sissi recognizes that Morsi elevated him to his current position, and, unless the security situation is completely out of control, this individual believes al-Sissi will stand behind Morsi. For their part, Badie and his advisors were concerned by press reports and rumors in the diplomatic community that the army might respond to calls from the opposition to overthrow Morsi. Although they continue to watch the military, these MB officials now believe that al-Sissi is not prepared to take any such action. The Supreme Guide
noted that in dealing with the rioting in Port Said Morsi backed away from plans to give the army a greater role in civil government, and activities normally reserved for the police; a move that was opposed by al-Sissi and his staff. This individual believes that the visit by the new United States Secretary of State served to reassure the General regarding Morsi’s future. Although the US delegation reached out to the opposition National Salvation Front (NSF) and seemed to lecture Morsi on democracy, the idea that the meetings took place, and the U.S. then released money previously pledged to Egypt, actually strengthened his position with the military. According to this source, the fact that much of this aid will benefit the military was welcomed by al-Sissi’s staff. At the same time they noted that the security services expect to purchase new equipment, including a substantial number of tear gas canisters for riot control.)

6. In a separate conversation Badie noted that NSF leader Mohamed Mustafa el Baradei continues to appeal to a coalition of secular/liberal groups, giving Morsi an advantage with the majority of the population that supports a moderate Islamic government. He added that former Vice President, and the current Egyptian Ambassador to the Vatican, Mahmoud Mekki, assured him that the NSF could not organize a serious national electoral threat to the Morsi regime, and can be expected to boycott any future elections in an effort to invalidate the FJP’s efforts. Mekki stated that in his opinion el Baradei’s ultimate hope is that the security situation continues to deteriorate to a point where the military and other concerned parties turn to him to assume power as a compromise candidate. Mekki and Badi agree that, in their opinion, el Barradei does not have enough support in the Islamist community to make this feasible, pointing out that he does not appeal
to either MB supporters, or members of the al Nour movement and other Salafist groups.

7. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source, al-Sissi continues to support Morsi, even as he anticipates continued unrest among opposition political groups. The General stated in confidence that these groups will build on regional and ethnic unrest, pointing out that the current rioting in Port Said is related to soccer violence. Al-Sissi did advise Morsi to resist calls to declare martial law in Port Said, noting that this is a dangerous course coming so soon after the revolution that overthrew former President Hosni Mubarak, who ruled under a military state of emergency. He did agree with the President that the army should support police operations in Port Said and remain prepared to take action if rioting threatens the Suez Canal. That turn of events would be a threat to national security and the General agreed the army should then be called in to protect the Canal. Al-Sissi added that some of the rioting seemed to threaten the canal but that condition had subsided for the present.)

8. Regarding el-Barradei; according to a sensitive source, al-Sissi continues to use the resources of the Military Intelligence Service (MI -Mukhabarat el-Khabeya) to monitor the activities of the NSF leader and his senior advisors. Al-Sissi plans to keep track of these individuals in an effort to protect the current government, while keeping himself informed of any increase in their popularity and influence. He is particularly interested in following how the activities of these individuals affect the status of the army and its senior officers. According to this sensitive source, al-Sissi’s stance against increased military involvement in police
activities is supported by General Ahmed Wasfi commander of the army division in Port Said. After consultations with al-Sissi, Wasfi rejected calls for a return to direct military rule in the Port Said region. This source added that the military is playing a role in the security in Port Said and other canal cities, but under the authority of the civilian government.

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SUBJECT: Germany and the European economic crisis

SOURCE: Sources with excellent access to the highest levels of the European political and security communities.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

1. During the evening of May 6, 2012 German Minister of Finance Wolfgang Schäuble initiated a secure conference call with Chancellor Angela Merkel to discuss the election of Socialist François Hollande as President of France. According to a knowledgeable source, Merkel acknowledged that Schäuble’s predictions regarding the French elections were borne out, and congratulated him on initiating low key negotiations in April 2012 between his private associates and French Socialist Party officials who will be advising Hollande, in an effort to avoid public policy debates that can only serve to undermine the position of the European Union (EU) in the current economic crisis.

2. For his part, Schäuble reminded Merkel that Hollande is first and foremost a politician, and they will have to wait and see if his actions match his rhetoric. Schäuble was pleased that Hollande stated in his acceptance speech that he wanted only to amend the current debt resolution document to include language about growth. The Germans had feared that he might demand that they renegotiate the entire agreement. The Chancellor and the Minister agreed that Hollande’s commitment to government spending to stimulate growth will encourage those in other member governments who oppose the German demands for increased
austerity on the part of the Eurozone states. Schaueble noted that this situation will not only affect the EU, but will also complicate German internal politics. Merkel stated that while she had often found Sarkozy annoying, dealing with Hollande, whose entire career has been focused on French internal political battles, will be a challenge.

3. According to extremely sensitive reporting, Schaueble also pointed out to Merkel that the apparent rejection of the austerity coalition by Greek voters will only serve to confuse the world financial markets and encourage Hollande, who, as a dedicated European Socialist, sees himself as the potential new leader of the Eurozone and EU; with France showing the way out of the current crisis through a mixed economic policy led by the Socialist Government. Schaueble added that, as Merkel prepared for her first post election discussion with the French President; she must remember that he will be anxious to establish a strong position early on in their relationship. The French parliamentary elections will take place in late June and the Socialists are counting on the support of the communist led Left Front (FG) to gain control of the national legislature. According to sensitive reporting from the German External Intelligence Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst-BND), in return for FG support, Hollande promised FG leader Jean-Luc Melenchon that he would stand behind his pledge to fight German driven economic austerity measures, increase taxes on industry and wealthy citizens, while pressing for government driven stimulus programs. (Note: The FG controls between 10 and 15 percent of the vote in France, and is crucial to the Socialist success.)

4. In the opinion of this individual, Merkel noted that Hollande had issued a direct challenge to Germany, by name, regarding the balance between austerity programs and economic/job growth driven by government spending. Schaueble warned Merkel to maintain Germany’s position regarding the need for continuing
austerity throughout the EU. The Minister stated that German diplomats and intelligence officers throughout Europe and at the EU Headquarters in Brussels are convinced that Hollande will maintain his commitment to the Socialist position. Merkel, for her part, added that in anticipation of this effort by Hollande, her Chancellery economic advisors have asked her to consider accepting new policy language, in very general terms, calling for an increased commitment to economic growth and an improved employment situation. Schaeuble urged Merkel, in the strongest terms, to avoid any position that does not also emphasize the need for continuing austerity measures. In the opinion of this individual, a reduction in austerity measures by Greece, Italy, Spain, and even France will lead to a crisis of serious proportions; one that will also affect the German nation.

5. (Source Comment: Speaking in strict confidence, Schaeuble again stated that Merkel must remember that Hollande is a true European Socialist, whose entire career has been focused on internal French politics. The Minister believes that Hollande will initiate government spending programs, and increase taxes on wealthy citizens in an effort to stimulate economic growth and reduce unemployment. He added that in the discussions with Hollande’s advisors, officers from the Ministry of Economics learned that Hollande believes that the EU cannot wait for economic growth in the United States to stimulate growth in Europe. According to this source, Hollande believes that German internal policy must change, allowing for slight increases in inflation and a reduction in the value of the Euro. These French Socialist advisers also believe that German employers must increase the salaries of their workers, even if this involves government subsidies to allow these increases. Schaeuble added that Hollande is unconcerned by the prospect of a fall in the value of the Euro. According to this source, Hollande believes a decrease in the value of the Euro will serve the same purpose as
devaluation did for European currencies under pressure in the years before the creation of the Eurozone currency union.

6. At the same time, a particularly sensitive source noted that Schaeuble is extremely concerned over the long term affect the French elections may have on German internal politics. Although Merkel continues to be quite popular, her center-right coalition of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) is losing support across the country, with the FDP in danger of losing their seats in the German parliament (Bundestag). On the same day as Hollande’s victory, voters in the longtime CDU/FDP stronghold of Schleswig-Holstein gave 52-48 percent margin of victory to a coalition of leftist parties, with links to the French Socialist Party. The new state government includes the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Green Party, and the far left Pirate Party. Schaeuble is concerned that Hollande’s victory will give heart to other Socialist politicians in Germany as they prepare for the next scheduled national elections in 2013.

7. (Source Comment: Schaeuble added that he may encourage Merkel to call early elections, if it appears that this leftist, anti-austerity movement is taking hold in Germany; in an effort to act before the opposition becomes too strong.)
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PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL
1. During the evening of May 6, 2012 German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble warned Chancellor Angela Merkel that, while frustration among some voters had led to a Socialist victory in the French Presidential elections, he is concerned over the reaction of the extreme right wing political parties and groups across Europe to the success of leftist parties in a number of elections. According to an extremely sensitive source, speaking on condition of secrecy, Schäuble received reporting from associates in the German office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz—BFV) that the European economic problems, particularly unemployment, have created a surge of individuals joining not only extreme right wing parties like France’s National Front (FN) and neo-fascist parties in Greece, but also more violent extreme rightwing para-military groups such as the Storm Eagles in Sweden and Germany, and the Vlams Bloc in Belgium and the Netherlands. (Note: Schäuble, as a former Minister of Interior, has maintained extremely close relationships with a number of senior BFV officers.)

2. (Source Comment: Merkel, who had previously played down the importance of these right wing groups, was, according Schäuble, disturbed by
these reports, and is now focused on the fact that one of the elements that led to the defeat of Nicholas Sarkozy in the French Presidential election was his effort to attract FN supporters in the second round of voting. Merkel stated that when the German national elections take place in 2013, she does not want to be in the position of having to defend herself against Social Democratic Party (SDP) charges of links between rightwing extremists and her center-right Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) regime. This is a particular concern in Bavaria, where she believes the CSU does maintain low-key relationships with problematic rightwing extremists, both in Germany and Austria.)

3. In the opinion of this individual, Merkel is convinced that she will have to consider the policy implications of this development on the right, particularly if the new French President Francois Hollande gains support for his anti-austerity policies and Germany is faced with requests from the Eurozone states to provide funds to stimulate the European economy. According to this individual, Schaeuble and Merkel both believe that this turn of events could lead to a nationalist backlash in Germany, and complicate the 2013 elections.
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SUBJECT: South Korea (1)
SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the individuals and information discussed, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western

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Summary: In considering the orientation of the new administration of South Korea a source with access to the highest levels of that government stated in confidence that Park Geun-hye the daughter of the former dictator Park Chung-hee, was elected President on December 19, 2012, and she took office on February 25, 2013. According to this individual the makeup and activities of her transition team caused concern among opposition political parties and certain members of the business community. The first decisions of the new administration, as well as Park’s first appointments mark a strong conservative shift by the government.

1. In the opinion of this sensitive source Park Geun-hye is a formidable figure, whose election may complicate both South Korean internal politics and relations with North Korea. She is the first female and the 11th president of South Korea. She was the chairwoman of the main conservative party between 2004 and 2006 and between 2011 and 2012. She is a member of the Korean National
Assembly since 1988. Born in Daegu in 1952, she is graduated in electronic engineering from Sogang University. She briefly studied in France. She received honorary doctoral degrees from the Chinese Culture University, in Taiwan in 1987; Pukyong National University and KAIST in 2008; and Sogang University in 2010. She speaks French and Chinese. Her program in favour of an "economic democracy" focuses on three areas: social security, employment and fair market economy. It aims to strengthen the role of government in the broad economic guidelines and proposes a reform of conglomerates (chaebols) to promote the development of SMEs. During her campaign she also proposed raising taxes on the highest incomes.

2. President Park is determined to allow special prosecutors to operate independently throughout her tenure, focusing on political corruption. She also calls for laws that force corrupts politicians to pay 30 times the amount they illegally acquired and ban them from being elected for two decades;

- To push for laws aimed at compensating victims under past military governments, including the one led by her father, slain dictator Park Chung-hee;
- To oppose the abolition of capital punishment, saying it helps prevent serious crimes such as sexual assault and murder.

Political reforms:

- To promote dialogue with North Korea's leadership but large-scale aid would depend on whether Pyongyang pushes ahead with dismantling its nuclear arms program. Dialogue between the Koreas should resume in order to resolve a nuclear stalemate and to build trust needed to restore civilian exchanges;
- To toughen South Korea's military to deter North Korean provocations and calls for dealing with Pyongyang in close cooperation with Seoul's U.S. ally;
- Hopes for jointly developing natural resources in North Korea and setting up liaison offices in both Pyongyang and Seoul for dialogue. Humanitarian aid for North Korea should continue regardless of political situations.

Economic and Welfare policy:

- Reforming South Korea's powerful family-run "chaebol" conglomerates but to a degree such that regulations do not discourage them from investment. Toughen penalties for corporate crimes and prohibit new "cross-holding" practices that allow a handful of people to control all subsidiaries under a single conglomerate;
- To Triple government spending aimed at supporting small and mid-size companies and promises to increase the country's budget on research and development to 5% of the entire GDP by 2017;
- To increase the nation's middle class to 70% of the entire population and create massive funds to help more than 3 million South Koreans unable to pay off their debts. To halve college tuition fees through financial support for students and make sure that a family's third child can go to college without paying tuition, part of her solution to a low birth-rate haunting the country's future;
- To provide each person aged 65 or above with a monthly pension of about $180 and provide 50,000 new jobs for retired people while making medical care free for some of the most serious illnesses such as cancer.

3. The organization of the new government will be reviewed by Park's advisors. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department will lose its "trading" mission to the Ministry of Knowledge and Economy. A Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries will be recreated. A "super" Ministry of Science, Information and Communication will be created. The head for the coordination of economic policies will be upgraded from Deputy Prime Minister to full Minister of Strategy and Finance. The new government will be more concentrated: 15 ministries (against 17 under the previous administration), two under-ministries and 18
departments and agencies. The objective is to reduce divisions and to avoid duplication.

4. At this same time this source notes a conservative turn for the new administration. The transition committee established in the aftermath of the election was opened to opposition figures. However its work was marked by a high opacity and a lack of communication. If personalities from civil society and the opposition were invited to participate in the debate on social reform they were excluded from talks on defence issues and national security strategy. It is likely that, given budgetary and financial realities, an important part of the social program will be revised downwards. Consequently the participation of personalities from the civil society and this opposition will have very little consequence. The forced resignation in mid-January 2013 of Choi Dae-seok, a member of the subcommittee on defence, unification and foreign policy and long tipped as the next Minister of Unification, marks a hardening and a conservative shift in the new team.

5. (Source Comment: A separate sensitive source added that the nomination of Kim Jang-soo as head of the National Security Council, Park Heung-ryul as head of the Presidential Security Service and Kim Byung-kwan as Minister of Defence show a willingness to tighten the President’s team with a small group of loyal and faithful supporters of Madame Park and her father.)

6. This sensitive individual adds that the leaders of South Korea expect direct governance from Madame Park, and adds the following informed comment:
**Consequences for the South Korea – US relations**

For the United States, perhaps the most significant result of Madame Park’s win is that it should help keep the two allies generally on the same page as they tackle a busy bilateral agenda. Instead of focusing on damage control and managing sharp differences, the two allies will now have an opportunity to build on the current strength of bilateral ties and take their partnership to an even higher level. Differences may arise, but the solid level of trust that has been built up between Washington and Seoul in recent years should help smooth any rough patches that arise.

To be sure, the U.S.-ROK bilateral agenda in the coming months will be a challenging one, beginning with North Korea. Thanks to its recent successful third nuclear test and rocket launch, the North has moved a step closer to the day when it will have a credible inter-continental ballistic missile capability and a deliverable nuclear weapon. That prospect has been made all the more troubling by the failure of all previous diplomatic efforts to block Pyongyang’s determined effort to become a *de facto* nuclear weapon state.

As a candidate, Madame Park promised to reach out to the North in an effort to re-start dialogue and resume North-South cooperation. Madame Park, like the U.S. administration, seems to harbour no illusions about the Pyongyang regime, and by all accounts she shares U.S. scepticism that North Korea will ever give up its nuclear weapons.

Washington is unlikely to oppose a renewed ROK attempt to improve ties with Pyongyang. Nevertheless, such an effort will have to be carefully coordinated so
that it does not undermine current efforts to punish the North for its violation of UN Security Council resolutions and the steps the United States and others are taking to raise the cost to Pyongyang for its continued pursuit of missiles and nuclear weapons.

Other priority issues on the bilateral agenda will include smooth implementation of the KORUS Free Trade Agreement; renegotiating the bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement; completing a new cost-sharing arrangement for U.S. forces; and implementing standing agreements on consolidating U.S. military bases and the transfer of wartime operational control of ROK forces from the United States to Korea. Finding ways to harmonize the currently troubled relations between Korea and Japan will also be another priority for U.S.-ROK discussions, as will dealing with China’s growing economic and military role in the region.
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PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL
The Honorable Ali Zaidan
Prime Minister of Libya
Tripoli, Libya

The progress of the Libyan revolution and the development of the new national government are issues of the highest interest and importance for American businessmen and investors. It is therefore vital that these American institutions and the Libyan government and business communities understand each other, avoiding the misperceptions that can so easily develop in the modern world. **Tyler Drumheller LLC** is very interested in working with the appropriate Libyan individuals and institutions to develop a program that will provide discreet confidential information allowing the appropriate entities in Libya to address any regional and international challenges, while addressing potential misunderstanding in America regarding the state of the revolution and the new government.

Government and business leaders need information that develops and builds as part of an ongoing stream of reporting from a variety of reliable sources. To be really valuable each report must compliment other, related information. In this way clients can make decisions confident in the knowledge that they have all of the necessary, up-to-date information in hand.

Under the leadership of senior professionals from highest levels of the worlds of Intelligence, security, and politics, **Tyler Drumheller LLC** provides proprietary reporting from sensitive, confidential sources, allowing our clients to make decisions armed with the best information available. In this effort we work with our clients closely, developing a stream of information focused on the client’s unique needs. We will also work with the client to develop a format unique to their needs.

Our experienced personnel produce detailed reporting drawn from sensitive personal contacts, as well as information drawn from proprietary technical resources; material focused on
national and local governments, private firms, and individuals of interest to the client. These reports will be provided on an established schedule, augmented by short-notice situation reports provided to deal with fast breaking developments.

Our firm is based on the experience of senior officials drawn from the highest levels of the American Intelligence, security and political communities. Included in this group are individuals who were leaders of the CIA, The President’s Staff, and the Congressional Security structure. Each of our associates maintains a broad circle of discreet personal contacts and professional relationships that allows them to develop information unavailable to other commercial intelligence firms.
1. Late in the day on October 20, 2011, the interim President of Libya Mustafa Abdel Jalil received reports from General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj in Tripoli, as well as Hassan Ali al-Darwa, the National Transitional Council (NTC) leader for the City of Sirte, stating that former Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi had been killed during fighting in that city. Shortly after these messages arrived NTC Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril began discussions with the Jalil’s representatives regarding the formation of a new interim government. Jibril had notified Jalil on October 9 that he intended to step down once Sirte fell, and that Jalil should form a new interim government of national unity to manage the country until elections can be held, perhaps as early as May 2012.

2. According to sensitive sources, Jalil and other senior officials of the NTC believe that Jibril’s withdrawal from the scene will allow them to take the difficult decisions needed to stabilize the country prior to any elections. In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, while Jibril gave the NTC credibility during the
early days of the revolution, he became increasingly reluctant to take any decisive action, particularly regarding the formation of an interim government, and negation of new contracts with foreign firms involved with the oil sector in Libya. This reluctance to act also delayed the arrival of foreign companies interested in providing humanitarian aid. These humanitarian aid projects are being coordinated by a senior NTC official, Moin Mohammad Kikhia, who was extremely frustrated with Jibril’s failure to resolve questions involving foreign contracts that have been negotiated and, in some cases, signed by NTC representatives in other countries. According to these individuals, Jibril is concerned about involving himself in foreign commercial contracts that might leave him open to charges of corruption. Kikhia argued that the need for medical and other humanitarian assistance transcended these rather vague concerns. He also argued that waiting for foreign governments to provide a sufficient degree of humanitarian aid could lead to disaster, as the Libyan people become increasingly frustrated with the lack of action on the part of the NTC.

3. According to knowledgeable individuals, Jibril’s close advisor Aref Ali Nayed may also leave his position in the NTC regime. Aref is a senior diplomat, who, while based in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), oversaw foreign commercial dealings and the stabilization activities of the NTC between February and September 2011. Aref is seen by many NTC members as a roadblock to dealings with foreign firms, reflecting Jibril’s caution in these matters. This NTC frustration is focused on Aref’s reluctance to bring in foreign commercial firms to provide desperately needed humanitarian aid. In one case the U.S. firm Osprey Global Supply has been waiting since May 2011 for approval to provide emergency hospital and battlefield medical support. These sources believe that
Kikhia will now conclude these agreements, and begin to bring needed medical and humanitarian aid to Tripoli and other parts of the country.

4. (Source Comment: Speaking in strict confidence, sources with direct access to the NTC leadership stated that the NTC Finance and Oil minister, Ali Tarhouni, is also meeting with Jalil to discuss how to improve the functioning of the various parts of the banking and oil industries, working with foreign financial institutions and energy companies. Tarhouni is supporting the idea that Libya needs a separate Oil Ministry to focus on bringing some order to the chaotic situation in that sector. However; Jibril had resisted making a decision on this point, asking Tarhouni to handle both portfolios until the military situation was resolved. This same source added that while Tarhouni is frustrated by Jibril, the two are linked as academics with international experience, and it is possible that Tarhouni may be forced out as well. In the opinion of this source, Jalil will do everything he can to keep Tarhouni and his team in place, at least until national elections in mid-2012. According to this individual, Jalil sees Tarhouni as the type of technocrat he will need to negotiate the foundation of a new government, at a time when tribal and regional interests are beginning to pull at the unity of the NTC.)

5. A separate sensitive source added that in their opinion, Belhaj presents a serious threat to the effort to form a national government. This individual believes that as commander of NTC forces in much of the western part of the country, Belhaj has established relationships with civilian and militia leaders in Misrata, Zintan, and the Nafsurah Mountains. This source adds that at present the Misrata militia carries the bulk of the fighting in Sirte, and in the hours following Qaddafi’s death; the Misrata Council (within the NTC) has been making announcements
without coordination, sounding as if they are the National Government. These statements are particularly worrisome to Jalil and Jibril.

6. (Source Comment: According to these knowledgeable individuals, Nuri Berruien, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Oil Company (NOC), is in close contact with Tarhouni. Berruien is concerned that new agreements made between the NOC and foreign oil/energy firms must be honored as they try to bring oil production up to the levels seen before the revolution began in February 2011. Tarhouni is communicating these concerns to Jalil and Jibril, pointing out that in these chaotic days following the death of Qaddafi it is vital that the NTC establish a stable interim government, aiming toward elections in May 2011. Without this stability Tarhouni is convinced that the Libyan economy will be damaged for years to come, particularly as Western firms and governments look for reassurance regarding their ability to work in Libya with a degree of safety for their personnel and facilities.)
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PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: Algeria/the Maghreb (13/3)

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Government, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCES AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

1. During the first week of March 2013 senior officers of the Algerian external intelligence service (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure – DGSE) met with liaison contacts in the intelligence services of Tunisia and Libya to discuss the recent claim by the Chadian military that its troops had killed two Algerian terrorist/dissident leaders associated with al Qai’da in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM); Adelhamid Abou Zeid and Mokhtar belMokhtar (MBM). The Algerian DGSE did not establish direct contact with their counterparts in the leading Moroccan intelligence and security service (Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire – DST), given their past conflicts, but did communicate with them via mutual contacts in the French DGSE. This individual noted that all of these parties are inclined to accept the report on the death of Abou Zeid, however; According to an extremely sensitive source, Libyan intelligence Chief, General Salim Hassi, believes that the Algerians, like the French DGSE, have serious questions about the Chadian report on MBM. That said the Libyan government has no choice except to take all of these reports seriously and prepare for the possibility that AQIM or
the remnants of MBM’s immediate group of followers may see Libya as a good location for a retaliatory attack against French or Western interests. Hassi stated in confidence that the Algerians and the French services believe that Libya is a possible target given the uncertain political and security environment there.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual Hassi intends to raise this matter with President Mohmed al Magariaf, and Prime Minister Ali Zeidan, who are currently deeply involved in an effort to convince Western business and diplomatic leaders that the security situation is improving throughout the country. Hassi speculated that any AQIM attack in retaliation for the developments in Mali may well come in the Benghazi region where they continue to have a degree of support among people frustrated over the division of power in Libya. Hassi intends to step up the intelligence coverage of Islamist groups who may provide this support to AQIM, and will work with National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Yousef Mangoush to prepare for any possible attacks. That said this individual believes that the government security apparatus will be challenged by any increased threat from AQIM, and will have to turn to loyalist militias for support.)

3. According to a separate sensitive source, Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika is pressing the commanders of his intelligence and military services to verify the death of MBM, noting that in the past the terrorist/rebel leader has fabricated reports of his death as ploy to escape from dangerous situations. Bouteflika noted that Abou Zeid and MBM have been at odds for the past two years; after MBM demonstrated that he wanted to command his own military
campaigns with a degree of autonomy. In this regard MBM pursued a complex relationship with the Algerian DGSE, while Abou Zeid continued to threaten internal targets in Algeria. Bouteflika also suspects that Abou Zeid and AQIM became focused on his government after he did not attempt block the recruitment of Algerian mercenaries by former Libyan dictator Muammar al Qaddafi to fight for him during the 2011-2012 revolution and civil war. Bouteflika believes he has resolved this problem with Libya’s General National Council (GNC) government, but Islamist forces continue to resent the Algerian policy in this matter.

4. In the opinion of this source the Algerian DGSE is concerned that the continuing offensive by the French military and their African allies in Mali will lead to additional attacks across the Maghreb coordinated by a Mali based loose coalition of Islamist groups; the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA), which is supported by AQIM. MBM’s group is an important part of this organization, and while their representatives discuss MUJWA in general terms with their Algerian DGSE contacts, they will not go into detail about its operations or plans.

5. (Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source stated that the government of French President Francois Hollande is increasingly concerned about the French casualties in the Mali operations. This source noted that an official of the French Socialist Party stated in private that while Hollande accused former President Nicholas Sarkozy of being an adventurer and imperialist in conducting his foreign policy during the last presidential election, supporters are worried that the Socialist president has now taken a French army into Central Africa to fight a
dangerous and elusive foe. Three French soldiers have been killed in the fighting in Mali, with between ten and fifteen wounded. The government is not publicizing the precise number of wounded troops.)

6. This individual added that the Algerian DGSE intends to continue meeting with MBM representatives in Mauritania in an attempt to protect Algerian interests in the region from retaliatory attacks. They add that these discussions do not include any attempt to limit MBM attacks in the other Maghreb states. Regarding Libya, they note that in their opinion AQIM could draw on support from Ansar al Sharia and other Islamist militias in and around the Benghazi region. The Algerian DGSE officers add that the Chadian forces in Mali are also suffering heaving casualties, with approximately forty (40) troops killed, and seventy five (75) wounded. Chadian President Idriss Deby has come under criticism from religious and tribal leaders in Ndjamena, who are concerned by his support for the French operation in Mali. This source notes that the French maintain a great deal of influence over Deby, who is a graduate of the French military academy and whom they helped gain power in a coup d’état against the United States supported government of Hussein Habre in 1990.
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Note on Immunity case:

**Bashir Saleh Bashir** was a former aide of former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, who Interpol and the Libyan government believe holds the key to the hidden resources of the former dictator. He was head of the Libyan African Portfolio, a sovereign wealth fund that invested Libya’s oil wealth mostly in sub-Saharan Africa, and served as an intermediary between Libya, Africa and France. Saleh was captured after the Battle of Tripoli in 2011 during the Libyan civil war but later escaped. Libya demanded that he be extradited because it is believed he is in France. Saleh spent Libya’s oil money solely for the Gaddafi family, buying up hotels, mineral resources and shares in companies, eventually becoming what some Libyan officials and financial experts describe as one of the largest single investors in Africa. Libyan authorities believe that finding him is the key to finding a missing 7 billion dollars in Libyan funds.

In April 2007 Saleh, then the Chairman and Managing Director of the Libya Africa Portfolio, the Investment Arm of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya announced that Libya would be investing in development across Africa.

At present, Libya is demanding that France hand over Saleh as one of Qaddafi’s closest associates and former head of Libya’s multi-billion dollar investments in Africa. A government spokesman announced in May 2012 that “Libya will formally request France for the extradition of Bashir Saleh to Libya”.

Saleh is currently a wanted person under a warrant issued by the National Transitional Council of Libya in mid-2012, and renewed under the General National Council government in late 2012. He was captured after the liberation of
Tripoli but later escaped. A committee was formed to investigate the circumstances under which he escaped but so far the committee has not submitted any report.

At that time, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said that Saleh was in France and would be handed over to Interpol if Libya wanted him. He added that his presence in France has been approved by NTC Chairman Mustafa Abdul Jalil. “The arrival of Mr Saleh was made with the full agreement of the president of the Libyan National Transitional Council,” he said. “The decision for him to be in France was taken after consultation with the Libyan authorities.”

The then French Prime Minister François Fillon had said that “there was no trace” of an international request for his detention, saying Saleh “comes and goes between France and Niger”.

Libya has, in fact, already put out an Interpol request for Saleh’s arrest. His picture appears in the Interpol site of persons wanted by Libya, however there he is named as Bashir Al-Shrkawi.
On the Brink

Tyler Drumheller

On the evening before Colin Powell’s notorious speech to the United Nations regarding the threat from Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, CIA Director George Tenet telephoned his Chief of Europe Tyler Drumheller to discuss the text. At the end of the conversation Drumheller repeated a warning that the “Curveball” reporting passed on by the German BND was not reliable and should not be used in the address. Tenet laughed and told him not to worry. The following day, as Drumheller watched from his corner office on the fifth floor of CIA headquarters, Powell outlined the case for war with Iraq using the Curveball material as the centerpiece of his argument. Drumheller, a veteran of 30 years in the field as a CIA case officer, was stunned, asking his chief of staff if they had perhaps failed to send forward the corrections to Powell’s speech made three days early; she laughed and said, oh we sent the corrected version, they just ignored you.

At the same time, Drumheller reflected on the information just obtained by one of his best, and most colorful officers from a high level penetration of the Iraqi government; reporting that confirmed his doubts about Curveball, stating unequivocally that, in real terms, Saddam had no nuclear or biological weapons programs, and only rudimentary and unreliable stocks of poison gas. Tenet and the officers running the invasion of Iraq dismissed this because it did not fit their preconceptions, however; at that moment Drumheller’s man was on a whirlwind adventure in Jakarta and Cairo following up on the material. At this point the Chief of the Near East, whose nickname in the service was Iago, told him to call off the trip, saying that “you guys just don’t get it, this is no longer about intel, it is about regime change. Sure we may not find WMD in the way described, but when we march into Baghdad we will find something, and frankly no one will give a damn. When this kicks off we are going to have us a hootenanny.” At that moment Drumheller realized that his days in the CIA, all of the years in Africa, Europe, and the East were going to end unhappily, he reflected that it was kind of funny that successful careers in the agency always seem to end on some note of controversy and frustration.

Move forward two years, February 2005, Drumheller is preparing to retire at 52 out of frustration with the Bush administration and the entire affair. He is called to testify before the Silverman – Robb Commission on the WMD issue and the start of the war, which had now turned into a bloody disaster. He tells the story, as he always does, without making any judgments. At the end Senator McCain said, “so they just cherry picked the intel.” Leaving the session Drumheller is stopped by one of the committee staffers who asks if he wants to see the testimony of Tenet and his deputy John Mclaughlin. Having had close personal relationships with both men he is shocked to see that neither one remembers any warnings, or any of the conflicting intelligence. He now knew what people meant when they said your blood runs cold. Tenet remembers no warnings, and never mentions the Powell phone call, while Mclaughlin denies having spoken to him in late January 2003 when Drumheller told him that the
Curveball material might well be a fabrication; to which Mclaughlin said; “oh my, I hope not, that is the only tangible material we have.”

When the Silverman - Robb report is published Tenet and Mclaughlin, supported by republican members of congress and their staffs attack Drumheller, accuse him of creating a story to make himself look better. Later in his book Tenet dedicates 9 pages to a convoluted rebuttal of Drumheller’s statements and a personal attack. In the end everyone knows the story, as it comes out in bits and pieces, and everything Drumheller and his assistants said was proven true. They also find that the second report from the cabinet member was suppressed for two years; a report that if it had come out may have blocked British participation in the invasion of Iraq (now the subject of a BBC documentary.) Drumheller went on with his life, seeing his argument increasingly accepted as the story behind the invasion. However the arguments against his actions continue, the common theme deteriorating; so would you rather have Saddam still in power.

As Chief of Europe Drumheller participated in the early build up for the Iraq war, even prior to 9/11; working to identify the real nature of the Iraqi threat through Turkey and Western Europe. This began at the mid-night dinner with Tenet and the leaders of the British Intelligence services on September 12, 2001, continuing the following Sunday with Cofer Black at the British embassy, where the Brits were given the war plan. At the first meeting the senior British officer present urged Tenet to focus on al Qai’da and not be distracted by Iraq. Tenet said that he and Powell agreed but added that this was not the feeling in the rest of the administration. As they left the meeting a senior Brit quietly described; “all quite blood-curdling.”

As time moved on toward the events of the fall 2002, Drumheller supported Tenet at many sessions, including the July 20, 2002 Downing Street memo meetings with the Chief of SIS. As time went on he saw that the matter was being driven by preconceptions, political and bureaucratic inertia, and a maddening desire to tell the President what he wanted to hear. In the end, having naively assumed that if he reported accurately regarding Curveball and the Cabinet source, he would carry out his professional responsibility, C/Eur found himself and a small group of supporters standing against the weight of the entire US government; as Mclaughlin was quoted as saying to one dissenting analyst, the bar on reporting to support the operation is very low, while the bar on intelligence that might stand against it is unbelievably high. This went against everything Drumheller had learned in his carrier, putting him at odds with the institution that had shaped his life.

And in the end he is haunted by the thousands of dead and wounded Americans and Iraqis; wondering what else he could have done.