

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 6:51 AM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: From coco

Pls print.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Chelsea Clinton  
**To:** Hillary Clinton  
**Subject:** From coco  
**Sent:** Jan 6, 2010 7:06 AM

Interesting re; Iran. Coco counsels that Maziar Bahari thinks [redacted] is a bit emotional - but admits that for those of us confined to English we take what we can get.

B6

----- Original Message -----

**From:** coco.ferguson [redacted]  
**To:** Diane Reynolds  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 04 17:29:33 2010  
**Subject:** Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

Quite an interesting reply to my fanmail to [redacted] the blogger I've been copying to you.

Hello Coco, Thank you for your kind words and sorry for the late reply -- I've been busy with the holiday season (also why there's been a drop-off in posts lately). I wouldn't place an extra emphasis on Haji's arrest (or on anyone at Baran, for that matter). I think those arrests were geared at intimidating Khatami more than anything. Although he's been more quiet than either Mousavi or Karoubi, he has "international clout," if you will, so I believe the regime is less willing to attack him head-on. (Though what we witnessed on Tasooa was admittedly shocking). Actually, with a few exceptions, I think a threshold has been passed where arrests aren't even strategic anymore. It seems that the vast majority are for the sake of intimidation. The regime is looking increasingly desperate. Rafsanjani, I'm sure, is up to something. He's a good ally, but I think the pro-democracy movement should always be wary of his intentions. Ultimately, Rafsanjani is looking out for Rafsanjani. Having said that, I think his interests and those of the Greens have and will continue to coalesce. Before the election, this was him funding Mousavi's campaign (in hopes that Mousavi's presidency would bring him back into the fold after the rise of the "new right"). Now (and going forward), he's probably more concerned about his legacy in Iran. We should remember he was the driving force that ascended Khamenei to the Supreme Leadership, and that there were also accusations that the 2005 election (where he lost to Ahmadinejad) was fixed. Not to simplify things, but I'm sure there is some resentment. Regardless, sooner or later he's going to have to be more bold and give the opposition something (namely momentum, as he did with his July sermon) if he wants to get something back (clout, legacy, etc.). Things are continuing to heat up! God-willing, change will come in 2010. Whether such a change is ultimately 'regime change' should be up to the Iranian people inside Iran. Best [redacted] Sent using BlackBerry® from Orange

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Diane Reynolds [redacted]  
**Date:** Mon, 4 Jan 2010 13:03:57  
**To:** 'coco.ferguson' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

I've always wanted to go to Qom, and Iran too admittedly, as you know, more for the far history than recent I confess. I can't sort out whether I want to go more or less now though because of recent turmoil/promise/discontent; maybe want and sense are merely opposing forces! If only I could find an appropriate Jane Austen quote...  
 I'm still very sad we missed your 30th and will miss your official fund launch. Hopefully we can celebrate with you soon, soon. Coming back to fundraise in NY anytime soon? [REDACTED]

----- Original Message -----

From: Coco Ferguson <[REDACTED]>  
 To: Diane Reynolds  
 Sent: Mon Jan 04 08:28:50 2010  
 Subject: Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

A bit of arcana = but important.

<http://www.payvand.com/news/10/jan/1008.html>

The Society of Qom Seminary Teachers has disqualified Ayatollah Sanei as a Marja-e Taqlid (source of emulation - high clerical rank). Ayatollah Sanei, second to Montazeri, was the most outspoken critic of the election and subsequent repression in Qom - he's also a very popular cleric in Iran and many of Montazeri's supporters were shifting to him. Iran suppresses any figures about the support these clerics have, but we're talking millions.

The Society's power to disqualify Sanei is pretty questionable and it's a provocative act - all you need in Shiism to become a Marja-e Taghlid is the faith of followers and confirmation of "two fair and knowledgeable individuals" and this move is the latest in a decade long move by Khamenei to shift the clergy's power and authority away from their constituency of followers and towards the government (increasing the clergy's dependence on the state for funds has been the primary tool of reform.) Since Ashura the silence from Qom has been notable and this disqualification will split the clergy further into those who side with the government and those who bet on popular support for their long term influence. This last group are increasingly being forced to show their hand and incur punishment/risk assassination of themselves or family members (cf Mousavi's nephew.)

Predictably, harder line clerics like Ayatollah Hussein Nouri Hamedani and former Judiciary Chief Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi have sided with Khamenei and the Rev Guard, as has Larijani (a key move by a smart betting man), but the majority remain on the fence - and the next few weeks that include the mourning rituals for Ayatollah Montazeri, the Ashura Martyrs, Arbein (40 days after Ashura) and the Anniversary of the Revolution on 2nd February will be events to watch. Each of them are mass public rituals that have underpinned the Islamic Revolution for 30 years, and canceling them would indicate extraordinary weakness by the government. They are obvious opportunities for the Green Movement to mobilize, risk death and continue the cycle; the government knows it doesn't have the training or self control to contain them peacefully and must be scratching their heads over how to stop this cycle. Forcing Revolutionary Guard officers to shoot civilians is also a very risky move.

The ultimate fence sitter, and key figure behind Mousavi and Karroubi is of course Rafsanjani - who came out in veiled support of the government, and it's supporters on Saturday, 2nd Jan. This support either cost Khamenei something, or the Revolutionary Guard and he found leverage with the Shark. All a bit murky. Rafsanjani's clearly hedging his bets and may feel that he would do best out of a negotiated National Unity Plan.

(NB 's pretty emotional - and clearly skewed, but useful info). <http://www.thenewestdeal.org/2009/10/national-unity-plan.html>

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<http://www.presstv.ir/detail.aspx?id=115190&sectionid=351020101>

I still think the Western Press is optimistic about Khamenei and the Revolutionary Guard's weakness - but moves like that against Montazeri and Sanei, and inflation running unofficially at 25% (confirmed by furious down town Tehran friends quoting tomato prices) may finally push a broader tranche of society to join what has been a middle class protest until now. The big problem with the 'protest' is that it doesn't have a credible leader, or stated ideals, but it's certainly terrified those in power.

Predictions are for nutters in this situation, but I would doubt that Khamenei has the stomach for civil war, and there must be some deals cooking. It's a tricky one for the West over who to support - because no deal will be clean.

To be continued...

All love,

Coco

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On Jan 4, 2010, at 12:35 PM, Diane Reynolds wrote:

Hmm...how much of his commentay to you will make it on the news (ie part. the part abt the "wrong man")?

----- Original Message -----

From: Coco Ferguson [redacted]  
To: Diane Reynolds  
Sent: Mon Jan 04 03:01:07 2010  
Subject: Fwd: Maris Africa Fund launch

fyi from Channel 4's Jon Snow.

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Snow, Jon" [redacted]  
Date: January 4, 2010 5:42:28 AM BST  
To: Coco Ferguson [redacted]  
Subject: RE: Maris Africa Fund launch

[redacted]  
[redacted] Yes Iran..i emerged from Preident  
A interview very downcast..and suspecting i had most certainly ebeen talking to the wrong man. the Supreme Leader is  
in the frame and unlikely to survive it..in my humble opinion. Tehran a frighetning and eery place..but officials and  
minders much more talkative 'behind the hand'.. [redacted]

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[redacted]  
x Jon

JON SNOW  
NEWSCASTER, CHANNEL 4 NEWS  
Jon Snow blogs at <http://www.channel4.com/snowblog>

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F  
M [redacted]  
E [redacted]  
<http://www.channel4.com/news>

P Please consider the environment. Do you really need to print this email?

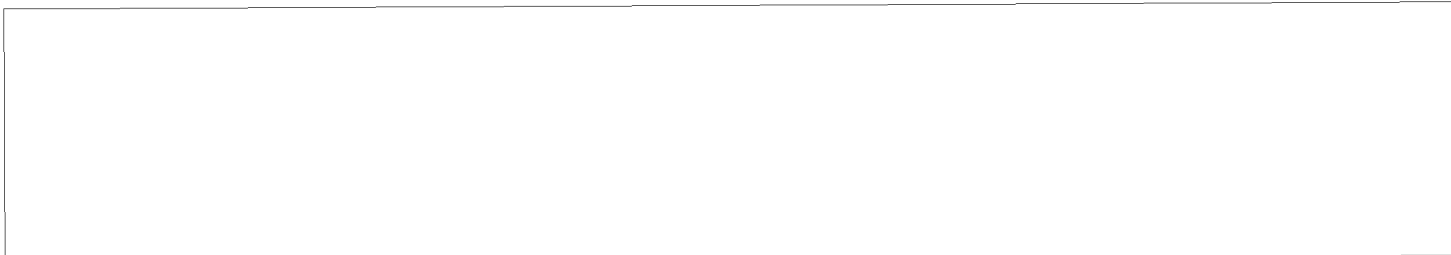
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From: Coco Ferguson [redacted]  
Sent: Wednesday, December 30, 2009 12:07 PM

B6

To: Snow, Jon  
Subject: Maris Africa Fund launch

Dear Jon,



B6

Very best wishes,

Coco

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