

gave Army commanders sufficient confidence that they allowed lead elements like the 3/7 Cavalry to operate well ahead of other friendly forces. Without such air dominance, these forces would have risked being cut off and destroyed by counterattacking Iraqi forces. Although the Iraqis were able to move several brigades a few hundred miles into new defensive positions without being detected and attacked by air, in no case were they able to conduct operationally significant counteroffensives. Finally, Navy, Marine, and USAF aircraft became the first choice for close support for most ground forces, especially in built up areas where the risk of collateral damage limited the use of artillery.

The new strategy will look to air-ground forces to protect emerging democracies from external threats and, in the extreme, take down regimes that are a threat to their neighbors or threaten the international order more broadly. During the Cold War, the United States was able to focus its planning and posture for large scale combat on two primary areas and to forward deploy substantial combat power accordingly. Today the threat is less focused and U.S. air and ground forces could be called to project power in many regions of the globe. This has led both the Army and the Air Force to emphasize expeditionary capabilities.

As the Army moves toward lighter and more agile forces, it increasingly views air power as indispensable, both for ISR and for on-call fires. Airmen are generally enthusiastic about these new opportunities to partner with the Army but have some reservations about the high costs of providing on-call airpower 24 hours a day, for weeks or months on end over a large battlespace. If this were to become the dominant preoccupation of U.S. air forces, it might require a very large force structure and render airpower a passive instrument waiting to be called into action. Airmen argue that on-call fires should be limited in time and space—for example, provided during a major offensive but not during routine operations. Air operations instead would be used primarily to create opportunities for ground force maneuver, to protect exposed flanks, and to interdict enemy forces far beyond friendly forces. At the same time, ground maneuver should be used to make enemy forces more vulnerable to detection and attack from the air. In a true

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partnership, air and ground forces would be viewed as mutually enabling, shifting back and forth between supported and supporting roles.

Major combat operations like these will remain important, but, as we observed in Chapter Two, potential enemies recognize the risks and costs associated with fighting the United States and its allies head-on and are adapting their strategies and capabilities accordingly. Hence, such large-scale combat may be the exception rather than the rule. More commonly, the military role in exporting freedom will be less direct. Often, forward deployed forces will be central to assuring regional stability within which regimes can liberalize successfully, and this function must be factored in forward basing decisions. In many cases, the primary security problem facing emerging democracies will be internal. In those cases, the greatest contribution that U.S. forces can make is in training, equipping, and advising host nation forces. In some circumstances, U.S. forces may go beyond security assistance and provide operational support to local forces in the form of lift, ISR, or fire support.

Defeating an insurgency requires the local government to convince the populace that it can provide security and govern in an effective manner. Although foreign troops (e.g., U.S.) may improve the security situation in the short run, dependence on them undermines the credibility of the local government. Nationalist sentiments can be easily manipulated against the "occupiers," fueling an insurgency that otherwise could have been defeated with local forces **alone**.<sup>99</sup> Thus, U.S. forces need to keep a low profile in counter-insurgency operations.

One interesting option worth pursuing is the partnering of U.S. air assets (which can often keep a low profile) with local ground forces. Local ground forces have many potential advantages: they know the local environment, customs, and language, and can (at least in theory) gather intelligence more easily from the civilian population; they are acclimatized to the weather and terrain; and their casualties aren't

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<sup>99</sup> For a thoughtful analysis of this problem, see Steven Metz and Raymond Millen, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reconceptualizing Threat and Response*, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute, 2004.

carried daily in U.S. papers. If professionally led, their presence enhances rather than undermines confidence in the national government. With the right training and equipment, which may often come from U.S. ground forces, they can be highly effective. U.S. air forces can provide powerful force multipliers such as enduring airborne surveillance of key areas, and surge lift capacity for major operations and precision strike. Over time, the United States will want to help friendly nations develop an indigenous ability to conduct these missions, but in the short run U.S. air forces will need to provide these capabilities.

#### **INTEGRATING AIR, SPACE, AND MARITIME POWER**

The new grand strategy offers three broad roles for air, space, and maritime forces, within each of which lie a number of challenging responsibilities: protecting the commons, projecting power against state adversaries, and defeating terrorist groups abroad.

##### **Protecting the Commons**

Freedom of innocent navigation through the air, on the high seas, and in near-earth space is a critical component of any peaceful and prosperous global order. While the dictates of international law and the actions of supranational bodies can be counted upon to govern the actions of respectable parties, the ability to enforce these norms is needed as both a deterrent to misbehavior and, on occasion, to punish noncompliance. As the dominant military power in all three media, the United States should expect to be a major contributor to efforts in these directions and, as the services charged with maintaining the nation's main capabilities in the air, at sea, and in outer space, the Air Force and Navy will carry the main responsibility for the nation.

There may be nothing particularly new in this assignment. What may be changing, however, is the nature and extent of possible challenges to the generally peaceful global regime. While non-belligerent air and maritime traffic has often been at risk in the context of conflicts among nations—the Iran-Iraq war being one recent example—the threat from subnational terrorist and guerrilla organizations appears to be increasing, as witnessed by the surface-to-air missile engagements of an

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Israeli airliner in Kenya in 2002 and a DHL cargo jet in Baghdad the next year, and Al Qaeda's attack on a French oil tanker off Yemen in 2002. And, the historical sanctuary of space may also be eroding as technologies enabling destruction, disablement, or interference with satellite functions become more widely available to states and subnational groups. The image of 21<sup>st</sup>-century "Barbary pirates" exploiting modern technology to interfere with peaceful and necessary uses of air, sea, and space may be a little exaggerated but nonetheless looms as a **possibility**.<sup>100</sup>

Dealing with possible threats to this global commons requires, above all, enhanced situational awareness and responsiveness in all three media, especially in space and at sea. The Air Force is currently pursuing several initiatives, including the Rapid Attack Identification Detection and Reporting System and the Space-Based Space Surveillance System, intended to improve its ability to sense and assess attacks on space assets. Whether these specific programs are the right or complete solutions, their purpose is an important one. The Air Force should also continue efforts to develop capabilities to rapidly deploy affordable replacement or supplementary satellites so that crucial space-based functions are not lost or impaired. Both military and civilian space planners have worked to achieve this long-sought capability for a number of years, but the cost per pound of payload orbited and the overall pace of launch preparation and on-orbit checkout do not seem to have improved dramatically. New energy (and resources) may need to be injected and, as businesses and individuals around the world become more dependent on widely-available space-based "utilities" like communications and navigation, military efforts may need to expand to encompass protecting and augmenting civilian and international space capabilities.

**An** alternative approach to providing ensuring the availability of critical capabilities could be to place the appropriate payloads on platforms that operate within the atmosphere rather than on satellites.

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<sup>100</sup> These "pirates" can (and do) also attack activities in a fourth critical medium, that of cyberspace. While DoD has a substantial job to do in ensuring that its own cyber infrastructure is secure from disruption and exploitation—as we discuss briefly below—it plays little or no role in protecting the civilian commons in this area.

High altitude, long-endurance aircraft—presumably unmanned—can act as sensor platforms, communication relays, and even GPS transmitters. Lighter-than-air vehicles operating above 65,000 feet, a domain often referred to as "near-space," might perform the same functions. Pending breakthroughs in space launch capabilities, it may prove far less expensive to provide hedges against the loss of key satellites in this way.

At sea, the Navy's challenge is primarily to increase its wide-area surveillance capabilities. A naval task group's field of view is fairly large, but the oceans are far larger. Combating piracy and other threats to freedom of navigation arising outside of classic state-to-state warfare is likely to demand a surveillance "footprint" that is larger than that which can be maintained by traditional naval assets, can penetrate areas inhospitable to these assets, and is both more persistent and more distributed geographically than these forces can sustain. Land-based aircraft such as the venerable P-3 remain valuable for these missions; the Navy should also be encouraged to continue its efforts to develop and field the Broad Area Maritime Surveillance (BAMS) UAV, a version of the Air Force's Global Hawk that has both a longer on-station time than any manned aircraft and is less reliant on relatively nearby land basing.

#### **Projecting Power**

We argued above that the Army has a predominant role to play in crucial and difficult counter-terrorism, advisory, and nation assistance operations. We argue below that the Marine Corps is uniquely suited to a new and deeply synergistic relationship with the joint special operations community. While air and naval forces will make important contributions in these areas, the core future challenge they confront is projecting U.S. power against state adversaries. As we discussed in Chapter Two, these campaigns are markedly less likely than in the past to be centered on large armies committing aggression across land borders. Instead, the threats of primary concern will arise from small-to-medium-sized arsenals of nuclear weapons (and other so-called "weapons of mass destruction"), larger numbers of conventionally-armed

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ballistic and cruise missiles, and other modern "anti-access" capabilities. Defeating enemies thus armed seems to call for the kinds of responsive and flexible surveillance and fire capabilities that are fielded by U.S. air and maritime forces, and the requirements of such conflicts should to a large extent guide both Air Force and Navy modernization programs.

Both as delivery systems for nuclear weapons and as "conventional" threats to U.S. and allied bases and other infrastructure targets, ballistic and cruise missiles demand a robust and effective set of counters. The Navy is set to field a wide-area defense system against theater ballistic missiles (TBMs), based on the Aegis radar and an upgraded variant of Standard Missile. It will be capable of intercepting TBMs outside the **atmosphere**.<sup>101</sup> This capability will be in great demand to defend targets ashore. While a potentially significant contribution to success in future wars, however, demand for missile-defense capabilities may constrain the United States' ability to employ its surface naval power in other, more traditional, sea control and power projection tasks. Concerns over losing operational flexibility may in part explain why the Navy plans in the near term to procure only a small number of interceptor missiles. Both the potential of the system and the yawning gap between needed and fielded defensive capabilities suggest that it should expand and accelerate production and fielding, assuming that it continues to do well in testing.

The Air Force's future in missile defense lies in two principle areas, at least if assessed in terms of its published modernization plans. It intends to maintain its traditional role of providing missile warning and attack assessment with the much-delayed and overrun-plagued Space-Based Infra-Red System (SBIRS) satellites. Its only other significant investment in theater missile defense (TMD) is the AL-1A airborne laser (ABL) aircraft. The ABL is unique in being the only boost-phase intercept system currently in advanced development. It has suffered several technical problems and, in any case, may never be procured in large numbers. Even if it is fielded, its capabilities may

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<sup>101</sup> U.S. Department of the Navy, *Vision, Presence, Power: A Program Guide to the U.S. Navy*, Washington, D.C., 2004, pp. 72-73.

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prove to be limited against the most important and dangerous threats, which likely will be beyond its effective range. If defending against ballistic missiles is *the* game, the Air Force will need to pursue concepts and capabilities beyond SBIRS and ABL if it wants make an important contribution.

Countering TBMs and cruise missiles has, of course, an offensive component as well. And neutralizing an adversary's nuclear and anti-access arsenals will likewise involve going after an array of difficult targets on an enemy's territory. These include small mobile targets, such as missile TELs, and hardened, deeply buried targets, such as nuclear weapons storage sites. Currently deployed forces do not have impressive capabilities against either type of target. Depending on the terrain and the enemy's concept of operations, just discovering either a mobile TEL or the precise location of an underground facility can be exceedingly difficult.

While this is not just an Air Force problem, the Air Force will obviously play a major role in any intelligence architecture that manages to make significant inroads on the mobile and hidden targets problem. Space Radar and the E-10 aircraft are potentially important contributors, but both face development and acquisition challenges and would not represent a total solution in any event. Promising approaches that merit further examination include fielding a high endurance, stealthy UAV that can loiter in enemy airspace; new-generation sensors, such as hyper spectral imaging systems, that can penetrate many types of camouflage and cover; and developing new munitions, including high-speed standoff weapons that can substantially shorten the time between detecting a mobile target and successfully engaging it.

Hardened and deeply buried targets likewise present serious challenges. Ultimately, the diggers of tunnels will always be able to go deeper than weapons we might devise to get at them, so at some level we are destined to lose this contest. But DoD must keep working on concepts to bottle up, if not to destroy, assets that enemies might try to bury. As with mobile targets, gaining good information about the location, construction, and layout of such facilities is the *sine qua non* of effectively attacking them. This requirement creates tremendous



demands for day-to-day surveillance of activities in countries with which our forces might go to war. Specialized weapons to close portals, destroy support systems (such as ventilation ducts), and to deny personnel access to buried facilities are also called for.

Another response to growing threats from ballistic and cruise missiles is to procure and field air forces that are less dependent on access to bases within range of the most numerous of these systems. The Air Force's current and programmed combat aircraft rely heavily on mostly single-seat fighters with a relatively short, unrefueled range for sustained combat operations. While these aircraft have proven themselves capable of undertaking missions over long ranges, they require extensive support from air-to-air refueling tankers (which themselves must be based somewhere in the vicinity). These aircraft also have a limited payload carrying capability, which, coupled with low sortie rates due to long mission durations, translates into fewer kills per sortie.

The desirability of longer-range systems is likely to increase because of three factors. First, the threat to land bases from nuclear weapons, conventional missiles, and unconventional forces, such as special operations forces and terrorists, is increasing. Second--in part but only in part--because of this, the issues associated with political access are unlikely to get easier. Air Force operations since 1973 and through Operation Iraq Freedom have frequently been impeded by the inability to gain needed basing and overflight rights from even close allies, and--as exemplified in recent comments by President Roh of South Korea--these challenges remain.<sup>102</sup> Third, in some important scenarios--a China-Taiwan showdown being the clearest example--there is simply a dearth of attractive options for basing short combat aircraft. A more robust mix of longer and shorter-range platforms, which could include

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<sup>102</sup> In remarks at the South Korean Air Force Academy, Roh stated that U.S. forces based in Korea would not be used for operations off the peninsula without the permission of the Seoul government. See for example, Shim Jae-yun, "President Opposes Role for USFK in Regional Conflict," *The Korea Times*, 8 March 2005. For an extended discussion of the political calculus of access, please see D. A. Shlapak et al., *A Global Access Strategy for the U.S. Air Force*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MR-1216-AF, 2002.

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combat UAVs, would offer joint commanders important flexibility in solving their most pressing operational and tactical **problems**.<sup>103</sup>

An advantage of navies for power projection is their relative independence from land bases, except for resupply. Modern surface ships and submarines can operate for weeks at a time, ranging over thousands of miles, without resupply from port, a quality prized in theaters where access to land bases may be questionable due to uncertainty about the coalition politics or growing threats to fixed facilities. Offsetting these strengths to some extent are limitations the Navy faces in mounting sustained, large-scale offensive operations ashore, especially over longer distances. Even a Nimitz-class aircraft carrier can launch and recover only around 100 to 150 sorties per day on a sustained basis—the equivalent of about 30 B-52 sorties—and at all but the shortest ranges, their fighters must rely on land-based tankers for support. Carrier-based aircraft also face limits on their payload and, until the fielding of the F-35, all lack stealth, which is crucial to maintaining reasonable survivability against modern air defense weapons, such as the Russian-built SA-10 and SA-20.<sup>104</sup>

In the end, the United States will be able to succeed in the very demanding power projection tasks of the future only if the land- and sea-based components operate together, capitalizing on each other's respective strengths and compensating for areas of relative weakness. This means that in situations where basing for land-based fighters is in short supply, sea-based forces should be prepared to take the lead in carrying the fight ashore, with the important assistance of Air Force tankers, bombers, and surveillance assets based more remotely. Similarly, in situations where fixed-wing naval aircraft are of limited use—perhaps because the air defense environment is at least initially too severe or the distances to the targets are too great—the joint

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<sup>103</sup> As a complement to a realigned force mix, the USAF should also consider investing in greater capabilities to fight effectively out of bases that are under attack, which it worked extensively when it faced the Warsaw Pact in Europe.

<sup>104</sup> Sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles are a valuable strike asset that can be employed against moderately advanced threats, and the Navy plans to continue evolving the system to make it more flexible.

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commander can still exploit sea-based TMD to protect air bases ashore and land-attack missile forces to enable and amplify Air Force use of its stealthier, more survivable fleet to greatest effect. Efforts should be made to formalize, facilitate, and expand cooperation between the Navy and the Air Force so that effective joint operations can be mounted even in situations where significant portions of each service's force "package" is, for one reason or another, not available.

### **Defeating Terrorist and Insurgent Groups Abroad**

While the main focus of the Air Force and Navy should be on dealing with the dangerous challenges presented by state adversaries, both services also have important roles to play in neutralizing terrorist and insurgent groups threatening the United States or its friends and allies. Both services will be called upon to provide surveillance assets; one initiative worth pursuing might be the development of a UAV that is smaller and less costly than the Predator class, but substantially more capable in terms of range, endurance, and payload than the "tactical" UAVs being fielded by the Army and Marines. Properly trained personnel, with appropriate area experience and language skills, will be needed to make sense of the intelligence "take" as well as to interact with host countries as trainers and advisors.

For the Air Force, training, and advising friendly governments will require frequent, small, prolonged, and widespread deployments, creating demands for new force protection concepts, forces, and equipment. Assets needed for direct support of both U.S. and non-U.S. forces engaged in combat operations will include surveillance, mobility, combat search-and-rescue and medical evacuation, and from time to time, fire support. For the latter role, some variety of "gunship-like" platform could prove very valuable.<sup>105</sup>

The Navy's SEALs, like all other elements of America's special operations forces, are already deeply engaged in the "war on terror."

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<sup>105</sup> By "gunship-like" we mean a weapons system that combines fairly long range, a reasonable degree of survivability against low- to medium threats, a deep and flexible magazine of ordnance, long endurance, and adequate communications and sensor capability to fight safely and effectively in conjunction with hotly-engaged friendly ground forces.

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Like the other Services, the Navy should be directed to develop cadres of sailors who, while not trained to the same level and range of skills as special forces, have the language and cultural background and the technical skills needed to be highly effective as trainers and advisors to friendly governments and militaries. Naval warships and surveillance aircraft will also be employed in helping monitor and intercept questionable maritime traffic in important areas around the world.

Of particular importance will be a long-term effort to develop the sorts of officers and **NCOs** needed for conducting sustained non-combat operations in foreign countries. In short, both Services, but the Air Force in particular, should take the initiative to create a true foreign area officer (FAO) program and career path, along the lines of the Army's program of the same name.

#### **GETTING MORE FROM THE CORPS**

Dating back to the development of the Advance Base concept and large-scale amphibious warfare between the world wars, the Marines have a demonstrated history for understanding national priorities and reforming themselves to match those priorities. The present era is no exception. The Marine Corps has adopted a number of innovations dating back to before 9/11, including, for example, forming a Chemical-Biological Response Force and an Anti-Terrorism Brigade to better serve the new grand strategy. The question is whether even more should be done. Two possibilities hold promise - integrating the Marines more completely with the nation's Special Operations Forces (SOF).

The Marine Corps already has a long history of robust cooperation with SOF. When U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) was originally formed in 1987, the Marine Corps held its distance and did not form a service special operations component as the other services did. Elite Marine units, such as Force Recon companies, were not placed under USSOCOM's control in the same way that Army Special Forces, SEALs and Rangers were provided by their respective services. However, the Marine Corps did create a program to train Marine Expeditionary Units (MEUs) to support and conduct a number of special operations missions, such as

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direct action and special reconnaissance.<sup>105</sup> MEUs with this training were certified as "Special Operations-Capable" but retained their traditional mission of conducting six-month deployments around the world as an emergency response force and lever of diplomatic influence. MEU (SOC) operations routinely incorporated SOF elements before 9/11. Since 9/11, the Marine-SOF relationship has grown even closer. Marine officers have commanded large SOF elements in recent operations, such as Operation Enduring Freedom - Afghanistan and Joint Task Force Horn of Africa, and a Marine officer served for a time as the USSOCOM chief of staff. The Marines have resurrected their Force Recon elements and Air/Naval Gunfire Liaison Companies (ANGLICOs) to Support, *inter alia*, SOF operations.

However, there may be yet more opportunities to expand Marine-SOF integration in support of the new grand strategy. A key role of the Marine Corps has traditionally been to provide a steady-state presence of three MEUs afloat in the Mediterranean, Western Pacific, and Arabian Gulf at any given time. MEUs are natural partners for SOF units. The battalion of Marines at the heart of the MEU is well suited to serve as a Quick Reaction Force to support small SOF teams in trouble, the MEU's aircraft provide a useful degree of mobility and firepower to SOF units, and the MEU's ships provide off-shore basing (for SOF aircraft and watercraft) and a safe sanctuary in extremis. Furthermore, the MEU's officers and NCOs are world-class trainers and could potentially complement the overstretched reservoir of SOF advisory assistance

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<sup>105</sup> A Marine Expeditionary Unit is a task force built around a Ground Combat Element (a reinforced infantry battalion), an Aviation Combat Element (a composite squadron of CH-53E, AH-1W, UH-1N, and AV-8B aircraft), a Combat Service Support Element (a MEU Service Support Group), and a Command Element (joint command and control and all source intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance). An Amphibious Ready Group normally consists of three Navy ships, an Amphibious Assault Ship, an Amphibious Transport Dock, and a Dock Landing Ship. See Marine Corps Order 3120.9B "Policy for Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable)," Washington, DC: Headquarters United States Marine Corps, 25 September 2001.

teams.<sup>107</sup> The promise of the MEU-SOF partnership is therefore easy to see.

At present, however, the benefits of the MEU-SOF partnership cannot be fully realized because MEU deployments and SOF operations are not as closely coordinated as they might be. Generally speaking, the patrol locations for each MEU are selected well in advance of the group's departure. Furthermore, this presence is not typically coordinated to coincide with SOF presence on the ground. As a result, MEUs are often poorly positioned to support contingency SOF missions and SOF planners cannot rely on the presence of a MEU, which obliges them to develop plans and training scenarios under the assumption that a MEU will not be available to support a given mission. To remedy this situation, DoD should consider taking four steps:

- First, DoD should consider expanding MEU coverage in the world or, alternately, invest in the capability to surge MEUs or MEU-like assets to support contingency operations.
- Second, DoD should expeditiously implement proposals for a Joint Presence Policy so that, among other needs, Marine Corps and SOF deployments can be more tightly coupled.
- Third, SOF exercises should routinely incorporate MEU assets.

Additionally, the MEU's ships already provide excellent platforms for surveillance and reconnaissance. Beyond the MEU's own assets, it is conceivable that sensors might be developed for aircraft, perhaps uninhabited aerial vehicles (UAVs), capable of operating from the LHD-class ships in the MEU Amphibious Readiness Groups.<sup>108</sup> LHDs resemble small aircraft carriers. Initial research indicates that LHDs could support flight operations by large conventional UAVs such as Global Hawk

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<sup>107</sup> In fact, the USMC may soon adopt such a supporting role for special forces training missions in Africa, see Jason Ma, "Marine Corps to Support U.S. SOCOM in Training Foreign Militaries," *Inside the Navy*, 25 April 2005, p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> The LHA and LHD classes both have large flight decks that run the length of the ship, along with substantial hangar space below decks. They also have a large well deck and other facilities to support amphibious operations.

and Predator only after major modifications to the ships (catapults, arresting wires, barriers, etc.) and the UAVs themselves (arresting gear, strengthened undercarriage, etc.). However, vertical takeoff and landing (VTOL) UAVs such as the HV-11 Eagle Eye tilt-rotor UAV being procured by the Coast Guard and the helicopter-like RQ-8 Fire Scout UAV being procured by the Navy, might be natural candidates for reconnaissance and surveillance operations off LHD-class vessels. This might provide another flexible, persistent, and difficult-to-counter reconnaissance and surveillance option to support American policy in key regions.

#### **SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE NEW SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

The new security environment calls for a greatly expanded security cooperation effort. Security cooperation can help establish the pre-conditions for a successful transition to democratic rule by inculcating democratic values among commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the host nation military. It also is essential to help emerging democracies deter and defeat external and internal threats.

Security cooperation has been an important part of U.S. foreign and defense policy for nearly a **century**.<sup>109</sup> The United States has used it to provide material support to allies during wars, to support diplomacy, and to help friendly nations improve their ability to defend against internal and external foes. The United States provides military aid to nations in every region of the globe, funding roughly \$4.6 billion in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and \$91 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) in FY 2004. Yet, 90% of the FMF funds go to just six nations, leaving roughly \$500 million for the rest of the **world**.<sup>110</sup> Although these programs have been effective in

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<sup>109</sup> Security Cooperation (formerly Security Assistance) consists of several programs authorized by the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (and amendments), the Arms Export Control Act (and amendments) and related statutes. Foreign Military Sales (FMS), and International Military Education and Training (IMET) are the two major programs. See <http://www.dsca.mil/PressReleases/faq.htm>. In addition, the combatant commanders and military services interact routinely with foreign military forces as part of DoD security cooperation activities.

<sup>110</sup> In FY 2004, the top six recipients of military aid were Israel (\$2.1b), Egypt (\$1.3b), Afghanistan (\$364m), Jordan (\$204m), Colombia

achieving U.S. objectives in the past, they may need to adapt to new circumstances and goals. To defend itself effectively against an evolving global terrorist threat, the United States will need flexible and adaptable policy instruments. In particular, previous distinctions between peacetime and wartime activities have less and less meaning in a world in which terrorists can strike anyplace at anytime.

Advisory and training activities have been particularly constrained by "peacetime" restrictions. Training deployments were typically limited to a few weeks or months, advisors were generally not allowed to accompany their units into combat, advisory organizations were underfunded and **under-manned**,<sup>111</sup> and career paths were often unclear or unattractive. In the new security environment, these activities need to be given the highest priority, the best personnel, and significant funding. Mobile training teams that visit host nations for a few weeks or months will continue to be useful. Experience shows, however, that a more prolonged commitment is generally required to have lasting effects. A more successful model used by the British embeds advisors in host nation units for year-long tours. Recent U.S. experience in Iraq and Afghanistan has confirmed the great value of embedding advisors. Embedded advisors share hardships and risks with the host nation forces over many months and, consequently, develop lasting relationships and credibility with the locals.

In the past, the U.S. training and advising focus has been on the host nation land forces and, as discussed in detail previously, this likely will remain a mainstay of U.S. efforts. Air and naval operations were often neglected because the recipient nation lacked an air force or navy or because they were limited in their capabilities. Although the specific requirements will vary, as a general rule, U.S. advising and

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(\$98m), and Pakistan (\$75m). See <http://www.state.gov/m/rm/c6112.htm> and <http://www.statc.gov/t/pm/ppa/sal/cl4562.htm>.

<sup>111</sup> For example, the 6<sup>th</sup> Special Operations Squadron, the organization that provided USAF combat aviation advisors, has only 109 personnel to cover the entire globe.



training should help local forces become adept at joint and combined operations.<sup>112</sup>

U.S. combat aviation advisors can make important contributions even where the host lacks an air force. First, combat aviation advisors can help the host nation understand the contribution of air forces to joint operations and help determine the kinds of air capabilities (including unmanned systems) that are appropriate for their needs. This isn't about building smaller versions of the U.S. Air Force but, rather, identifying the capabilities that are the best match for the host nation's security needs. In many cases that may mean procuring simple turbo-prop aircraft, helicopters, and UAVs rather than jet **fighters**.<sup>113</sup> Second, U.S. aviation advisors can help recipient nation ground force and joint commanders understand how U.S. or other friendly air forces might team with their ground forces to defeat internal or other threats. Combat aviation advisors can also help assisted nations develop the organizations, processes, and electronic connectivity necessary to exploit the advantages that air power brings. To accomplish these more ambitious objectives will, however, require more Air Force personnel

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<sup>112</sup> A recent example of the great impact that air advising can have was the USAF's training Philippine Air Force helicopter pilots in the use of night vision goggles. Philippine ground force operations against insurgents were severely constrained by the lack of night medevac capability. Most operations were stopped by 14:00 so that there would be little risk of afternoon casualties being stranded overnight. Once the Philippine helicopter pilots were able to fly night missions, it greatly boosted the morale of Philippine troops and resulted in a shift to 24-hour operations. The addition of this seemingly narrow skill fundamentally changed the nature of Philippine joint operations, significantly improving their combat effectiveness against insurgent and terrorist threats. See Thomas McCarthy, *National Security for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Air Force and Foreign Internal Defense*, Masters Thesis, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: School for Advanced Air and Space Studies, 2004.

<sup>113</sup> The value of relatively simple aircraft in counter-insurgency operations has been demonstrated in conflicts from Rhodesia to El Salvador. See James Corum and Wray Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars: Fighting Insurgents and Terrorists*, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2003; Roy Conyers Nesbit, et al., *Britain's Rebel Air Force: The War for Rhodesia 1965-1980*, London: Grub St Publishers, 1999; and Jose Angel Moroni Bracamonte and David E. Spencer, *Strategy and Tactics of the Salvadoran FMLN Guerrillas: Last Battle of the Cold War, Blueprint for Future Conflicts*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1995.

trained as combat aviation advisors and longer tours with the recipient nation's forces.

For littoral nations, naval advising, training, and equipping can be important as well. Naval forces have been active since 9/11 interdicting the movement of terrorists and weapons, but there are simply too many target vessels for the United States and other major navies to monitor. Local and regional coast guards are needed to monitor and board the thousands of small fishing and trading vessels. U.S. naval advisors are key to training these local navies and coast guards in interdiction, boarding and related operations. Local forces using small patrol boats can be highly effective in these missions.



## 6. POTENTIAL ACTIONS FOR THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S LEADERSHIP

This report began by exploring the implications of a big idea: that under the leadership of this President, and in the presence of growing threats of terrorism and extremism, the United States has embarked upon a strategy of exporting freedom, a strategy that is enormously ambitious in its scope and which will have profound implications for all institutions of government, including, importantly, the Department of Defense. We believe this change in strategy is not only grand in scale - some might call it tectonic - but also lasting, for this President has seized on a sentiment that has long roots in American politics and which shaped the views and policies of his immediate predecessors.

Throughout the report, we have attempted to highlight the implications of this strategy for the Department of Defense by considering, first, at the institution as whole, and then its key components, the military services. The case set forth in this report calls for more highly differentiated roles among the services yet increasingly interdependent forces. It also points to the need for some new or greatly enhanced military capabilities. As the leadership of the Defense Department looks to set strategic direction for the armed forces, we recommend that it consider the following actions. While these recommendations are by no means comprehensive, they focus upon bringing U.S. defense strategy, forces, and capabilities into better alignment with the demands of the nation's new grand strategy and with the types of challenges that our forces are likely to confront in the decades to come.

Several of our suggested actions apply to the Department of Defense as a whole. These include:

- **Recast U.S. defense strategy to incorporate "1-n-2-1" as its force sizing construct. Relieve the Army and Marine Corps of the requirement to provide forces for more than one major combat operation at a time.**

Bringing stability to troubled nations, training and advising the forces of other countries, and conducting effective operations against insurgents and terrorists are important, complex, and politically charged missions. A greater level of effort is called for here if we and our allies are to make lasting progress against global terrorist threats. The accumulation of recent experience suggests that these missions can be done well by forces whose primary focus is large-scale combat. Changes in the nature of threats posed by regional adversaries allow DoD to reduce the level of ground forces it plans to commit to major combat operations.

- **Complete the transition of the joint command structure.**

Regional commanders need to remain focused on strategic matters, including achieving strategic victory in areas where U.S. forces are engaged. To do so, a more effective joint task force structure needs to be created. Ongoing efforts at U.S. Joint Forces command should be buttressed. Moreover, the joint division of labor among regional commands, global commands, and military services and supporting agencies should be clarified. The concept of a division of labor among users, managers and providers may be useful in guiding this effort.
- **Complete the effort to realign U.S. global military posture and reevaluate posture on a regular basis.**

The overseas posture of U.S. military forces and bases should be a direct reflection of U.S. grand strategy. That is not the case today. Forces and bases will need to be realigned to support new democracies, counter terrorist and insurgent groups, deter and defeat regional adversaries, and dissuade military competition in Asia. Current plans should be implemented and reevaluated regularly to ensure that strategy and posture remain in proper alignment.
- **Increase investments in promising systems for surveillance and reconnaissance.**

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It should be the goal of defense planners to put an end to the situation in which sensor systems and the means to interpret the information they acquire are chronically "low-density/high demand" assets. And efforts should be made to accelerate the development of new systems better suited to finding such targets as mobile missiles, nuclear weapons, and small groups of armed combatants.

- **Help rebuild the nation's intelligence system " and by implication DoD's intelligence capabilities " by focusing first and foremost on the human dimension.**

While new sensors, platforms, and technologies are vital to answering the challenges of the future security environment—and we believe that a thorough reassessment of investment priorities is needed—enabling decisionmakers at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels demands, above all, properly-trained and experienced people throughout the collection, assessment, and dissemination chain. Especially within the four military services, greater numbers of people are needed with the skills to understand the political and social dynamics in troubled regions. And institutional incentives must be put in place to create satisfying career paths that encourage and reward professionalism.

- **Pursue an aggressive effort to develop and produce more effective defenses against theater ballistic missiles and cruise missiles.**

These weapons, whether armed with accurate conventional warheads or nuclear weapons, pose grave obstacles to U.S. power projection operations. Indeed, for the first time since the conclusion of the Cold War, the United States faces the prospect that its forces could be defeated or excluded from the fight. Large concentrations of troops and materiel within range of enemy missiles will be at great risk. And it may prove impossible to mount effective combat operations from even hardened fixed bases. Because of the importance of protecting

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the civilian populations and infrastructures of allied nations, special emphasis should be placed on developing concepts for layered theater missile defenses that are effective over wide areas. Truly effective defenses will require the fielding of larger numbers of existing TMD systems (e.g., THAAD and Navy SM-3) and one or more additional "layers" of active defense.

- **Broker three marriages to achieve greater strategic and operational depth and joint tactical proficiency.**

Even as diversification among military services and agencies is required to support U.S. grand strategy, new interdependencies need to be forged. We view this as something akin to brokering a new set of marriages among the military services. The process will be difficult, but in our judgment it is essential.

- **Marriage 1: Develop and implement plans for air and land forces to train for and to conduct highly integrated operations.**

In order to become more strategically deployable and agile on the battlefield, the Army is reducing its organic artillery and increasingly relying on air delivered fires. Recent operations have demonstrated the potential of this concept, but it is far from established as a new way of war. Realistic air-ground exercises and training are rare, procedures for controlling and integrating air operations and ground maneuver are out-dated. The services need to see themselves as mutually enabling partners. Regular joint training, new fire control mechanisms (including investments in new gear for tactical air controllers), and cultural changes will be necessary to realize the potential of the air-ground partnership.

- **Marriage 2: Foster w c h tighter links among air, naval, and space forces to create a more durable, more effective power projection force.**

Without better integrating the capabilities of America's air, naval, and space forces, the U.S. military runs the

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risk of not having an effective power projection capability against adversaries with ballistic missiles, advanced air defenses, and perhaps nuclear weapons. These links will require more routine training and the development of common command and control procedures and mechanisms.

- **Marriage 3: Promote a more seamless integration among the Marine Corps and U.S. special operations forces.**

Just as the Marine Corps could give special operations forces (SOF) more depth by providing combined arms support for sensitive SOF missions, so too could the Marine Corps give SOF more reach by expanding the area and frequency of routine SOF missions and activities. These two branches have too much in common to not exploit the exceptional qualities of both. At the same time, this focus implies less focus on the Marine Corps traditional amphibious missions and much more openness in the SOF community to cooperating with another military branch.

To achieve this goal, just as the Goldwater-Nichols Act created incentives for the best officers to seek joint assignments, the services should change incentive structures at mid- to senior-officer levels to make joint training in these areas a major criterion for promotion to command positions.

▪ **Greatly expand the capacity and competence of forces devoted to combat advisory and training missions.**

New democracies and friendly nations threatened by insurgent and terrorist groups will look to the United States for assistance. It is neither desirable nor feasible to send U.S. land combat forces to fight other countries' insurgencies. Rather, the most effective means for DoD to counter terrorist and insurgent groups abroad is to train, equip, advise and assist the forces of friendly governments. The U.S. already possesses first rate combat advisors and trainers in all the services, but their numbers are small, resources limited, and activities greatly restricted. Substantial portions of the

"regular" forces must contribute to this vital mission. Although the largest number of advisors will likely come from the Army and Marine Corps, Navy and USAF advisor capabilities need to expand as well. Expanded Foreign Area Officer (FAO) programs in the services are essential to develop the language and cultural understanding necessary to be effective advisors.

Several other recommendations would apply to individual entities within the Department of Defense. These include:

- **Direct the Army to explore creating two distinct elements within its tactical structure. One element would specialize in conventional warfighting operations and the other would specialize in stability, support, and advisory operations.**

Resource constraints will prevent the Army from fully preparing its entire tactical structure for both conventional warfighting and stability operations. By bifurcating its tactical structure, the Army would free the units assigned conventional missions to prepare more fully for warfighting operations and free units assigned to stability operations to prepare more fully for those difficult missions. The result would be that the Army will become more proficient at both.

- **Direct the Army to create doctrine and a professional military education curriculum that places emphasis on stability operations.**

Current doctrine and curriculum focus on conventional warfighting to the exclusion of stability operations. This imbalance should be corrected by balancing capstone and operational-level doctrine equally between warfighting and stability operations. Tactical doctrine and training literature will likely need to be bifurcated by mission as well.

- **Direct the Air Force to undertake a re-evaluation of its concepts for large-scale power projection operations, assessing**

**in particular the implications for its mix of long- and short-range platforms.**

The Air Force's planned investments in new combat aircraft implicitly reflect the belief that forces will be able to deploy forward and conduct high-tempo operations from air bases in the theater of conflict. Such assumptions seem increasingly unwise. A platform mix that placed greater emphasis on long-range platforms for reconnaissance and strike would provide commanders with more options for basing aircraft in countries less threatened by attack from enemy missiles. It would also provide more "battle space," allowing defensive systems more opportunities to engage incoming missiles. Longer-range platforms would also be better suited to providing enduring, responsive information and fire support to joint forces on battlefields where enemy forces are less likely to be massed and more likely to encountered episodically.

- **Direct U.S. air forces to train more frequently with U.S. SOF and the ground forces of friendly nations to provide operational support during counter-insurgency operations.**

In most cases, U.S. involvement in counterinsurgency operations will be limited to advising, equipping and training. where the threat is particularly great or host nation capabilities limited, the U.S. may want to provide direct operational support. Because a large or highly visible presence can undermine the credibility of the government we seek to support, direct support must be done with minimal footprint. U.S. air forces can provide critical surveillance, strike and lift support in low-key ways, flying from remote bases or even from outside of the assisted country. When combined with competent local ground forces, U.S. air forces can be extremely effective against insurgents. To be effective working with local forces, selected elements from U.S. air forces will need to train with U.S. SOF, USAF terminal attack controllers, and allied ground forces on a regular basis.

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*Finally, while striving to fix what is broken, the Department of Defense should be careful not to break what is fixed.* The U.S. armed forces are the most powerful and successful in the world, perhaps in history. Their dominance of the conventional "force on force" battlefield is so overwhelming that it has, among other things, rendered a whole class of historically troubling scenarios—massed cross-border aggression by large, armored forces—largely obsolete. Maintaining the capabilities that have created this situation is critically important. Continued, selective investment in the areas in which the U.S. currently enjoys "overmatch" will be needed alongside the new initiatives required to solve the nation's emerging security problems.



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INFO MEMO

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NOV 30 2005  
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FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Ryan Henry, PD Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

SUBJECT: RAND Report on Defense Strategy

- You asked that I take a look at Andy Hoehn's recent report to see if there is anything useful in it to include in the QDR. (Tab A)
- The report, *A New Division of Labor: Reconsidering American Strategy and Forces to Meet New Challenges*, argues that current US grand strategy is to extend freedom and democracy abroad.
  - This "long-awaited replacement for containment," the RAND authors state: requires changes in US defense planning.
- The QDR has adopted a similar theme.
  - The National Defense Strategy is the QDR's point of departure. Like the RAND report, the Strategy states, "the United States follows a strategy that aims to preserve and extend peace, freedom, and prosperity throughout the world."
- From this common premise, the QDR and the RAND report draw many of the same conclusions about developing capabilities for new missions, sizing and shaping the force, and the need for operational jointness.
- Notably, David Ochmanek of RAND briefed the Deputy Secretary and Vice Chairman on this report in June. The briefing informed our revision of the force planning construct.
- We are currently reviewing Hoehn's paper in detail and will incorporate promising ideas into the QDR Report and Strategic Planning Guidance.

COORDINATION: None

Attachment: As stated.

Prepared by: Kathleen Hicks, Director for Strategy (b)(6)

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**TAB**

**A**



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Honorable Donald Rumsfeld  
 secretary of Defense  
 1000 Defense Pentagon  
 Room 3E880  
 Washington, DC 20301-1000

Dear Secretary Rumsfeld

On the wall of your office, there is a picture inscribed to you by the President that says, "Let freedom reign." The picture, and its message are an important symbol of a central challenge of our time.

In the attached report, *A New Division of Labor: Reconsidering American Strategy and Forces to Meet New Challenges (DRR-3713-AF)*, several RAND colleagues and I collaborated to explore what it will mean for the U.S. armed forces to support a national strategy aimed at exporting freedom.

In the report, we make several points that I think merit your attention as you contemplate key choices to be made in the Quadrennial Defense Review. Chief among these are:

- It is imperative that DoD, in conjunction with other agencies, undertake sustained efforts to train, equip, advise, and assist the forces of friendly nations seeking to combat terrorist and insurgent groups operating on their territories or in the under-governed areas of the world. Properly trained forces and an adequate rotation base will be needed for this effort.
- At the same time, the nation must retain the capability to defeat aggression in more than one region. As adversaries acquire more capable weapons—especially nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them—extensive modernization will be required.

The question, of course, is how to meet these new requirements in the face of constrained resources. Our recommendation is that DoD adopt a force sizing approach that calls on U.S. ground forces—Army, Marines, and SOF—to provide forces for ongoing stability and advisory operations and a single theater war, while the Navy and Air Force remain sized and equipped primarily to deter and, if necessary, fight two theater wars, while providing support to ground forces.

The paper makes a number of other important observations, seeking to identify the types of operational capabilities that will be most important for U.S. forces in the

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 POPULATION AND AGING  
 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
 SUBSTANCE ABUSE  
 TERRORISM AND  
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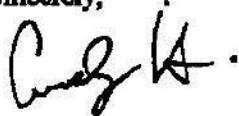


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years ahead and the kinds of cooperation among the services that will be needed to achieve the nation's broader goals.

I hope that you find the paper to be useful. I can be reached at [Hoehn@rand.org](mailto:Hoehn@rand.org) if you have comments or observations.

Sincerely,



Andrew Hoehn  
program \_\_\_\_\_  
Strategy and Doctrine  
Project AIR FORCE

ps. Hope all is well.

**SUMMARY**

In January 2005, George W. Bush took the oath of office for his second term as President. In his inaugural address, Bush pledged his administration to 'seek and support the growth of democratic movements in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in the world. The spread of freedom and democracy is Bush's answer to the threat of terrorism and extremism.

In a sense, this is a natural American response to a threat to core U.S. interests. The spread of freedom and democracy has been a prominent feature of American policy and culture since the founding of the republic. It had been a key theme of nearly every 20th century presidential administration, and, in fact, animated Wilson and Roosevelt as they sought to shape the outcomes of the two great wars of that century. Moreover, it was a theme that motivated Bush's immediate predecessors, particularly Bill Clinton, and led to American support for emerging democracies in Latin America, East Asia and South Africa, as well as American military involvement in places like the Balkans.

But, in another sense, it represents a radical departure for American foreign and security policy in that this president has demonstrated a willingness not only to stand up to America's foes but also discomfit its friends. In pursuit of this strategy, the President is prepared to roster near-term instability, sometimes by force of arms, to secure longer-term goals.

And it is here that Bush parts company with his predecessors, for in defining America's response to terrorism and extremism Bush has made clear that the United States, in at least some circumstances, will no longer simply allow despotic governments to collapse under their own weight, but instead will take action to hasten or cause their demise. He will no longer excuse the policies of repression on the part of America's friends, but will call for thoroughgoing reforms.

This expansive strategy has important implications for the entire national security establishment. and diplomats and warriors alike are adapting to new demands and seeking to define new roles. Should the

nation continue to pursue this strategy " and we believe that there is every evidence that it will<sup>2</sup> - the institutions of government will, of necessity, change and adapt, much as they did when America accepted new global responsibilities at the end of World War II.

#### **A NEW GRAND STRATEGY**

Just as in the late 1940s, when it took the emergence of a clear and compelling threat - Soviet expansionism backed by powerful military forces - to induce the United States to shake off its tradition of isolationism and adopt the strategy of containment, so too did the shock of 9/11 prompt this administration to put forth a far-reaching strategy. That strategy, the centerpiece of which is to promote democracy and freedom abroad, is the necessary response to conditions that can breed serious threat to the security of Americans worldwide and to their way of life. Although this strategy has roots in all post-Cold War administrations, it has been given clearest expression and the most expansive objectives by the current administration. As a consensus forms around the idea that the United States and its allies must work to extend the reach of freedom and democracy, this strategy will be recognized as the long-awaited replacement for containment.

The strategy is nothing if not ambitious. Pursuing this strategy in earnest will require the United States and its partners to marshal substantial levels of resources and to apply them with patience and commitment. It will also call for the involvement of, and significant changes to, America's armed forces.

#### **CONFLICT IN THE POST POST-COLD WAR WORLD**

U.S. grand strategy, along with the challenges posed by adversaries of the United States and its allies, will place daunting demands on America's military forces. Three developments in particular present novel and stern challenges to the armed forces of the United States:

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<sup>2</sup> In judging that the nation will continue on this path for the foreseeable future, we also recognize that different leaders will interpret this strategy in different ways. Just as 'containment' was modified and adapted over the long years of the Cold War, so too will the strategy to export freedom and democracy take many forms.

- **Terrorist and insurgent groups.** The spread of technological know-how related to means of killing—ranging from powerful explosive devices to biological and, ultimately, nuclear weapons—is giving small groups the means to kill thousands. By harnessing militant interpretations of Islam to new means of violence, Al Qaeda and other such groups have created a virulent threat that all responsible states must act to defeat.
- **Regional powers with nuclear weapons.** States such as North Korea and Iran appear determined to acquire nuclear weapons. Indeed, it is possible that North Korea already possesses a limited nuclear arsenal. They and others, including terrorist organizations, have access to a world-wide supply chain that is not entirely under the control of states. If adversaries such as these succeed in fielding deliverable nuclear weapons the implications for regional stability and the security of our allies will be highly troubling. The leadership in *Pyongyang*, for example, seems to understand that if it precipitate a war on the Korean peninsula the ultimate outcome of that war will be the end of its regime. This reality has had a salutary deterrent effect on the regime's actions, if not its rhetoric. But unless a way is found to neutralize North Korea's nuclear weapons or its ability to deliver them, its leaders may come to believe that they could impose unacceptable costs on the United States and its allies and that regime change as a U.S. objective may be achievable only at prohibitive cost and risks. Such a shift in *Pyongyang's* calculus would be very dangerous.
- **Military competition in Asia.** Arguably, U.S. forces can prevail over the conventional forces of any nation, provided the full panoply of U.S. capabilities can be brought to bear. Recognizing this, regional adversaries are focusing their military investments on capabilities that can be used to impede U.S. forces from getting to the fight. China, with its burgeoning economy and growing technical sophistication, is

fielding the **most** impressive set of such capabilities. They include advanced air defenses, numerous systems for attacking surface ships, anti-satellite weapons, and, **most** troublingly, large numbers of accurate, long-range strike systems, principally conventionally-armed ballistic and cruise missiles. These weapons can not only keep U.S. expeditionary forces at bay for significant periods; they can also be used to coerce and intimidate the leadership of Taiwan and other states in the region.

#### **MEETING THESE CHALLENGES**

These developments carry several implications for U.S. defense planners:

- First, a substantial and sustained level of effort to **suppress** terrorist and insurgent groups abroad is **essential** if the nation is to make headway against the threats they pose. For DoD, this will sometimes take the form of **direct** action to locate and capture or kill terrorists and insurgents. Far **more** often, it will involve undertaking indirect actions, principally long-term, 'hands on' efforts to train, **equip**, advise, and **assist** the forces of nations that seek to suppress these groups on their own territory.
- Related to this, U.S. forces will be called upon to help bring **stability and security** to nations struggling to implement democratic reforms. This will involve providing **support** to defeat internal threats and shoring up regional security to cope with external enemies.
- U.S. forces must develop and field far **more** effective **means** for locating and destroying or otherwise neutralizing nuclear weapons and their **means** of delivery.
- U.S. forces must also ensure that they can overcome modern anti-access weapons and methods. Of particular urgency is the need for highly effective, wide-area defenses against theater ballistic missiles. Cruise missiles also are a concern.

America's new grand strategy, combined with daunting challenges emanating from states and from non-state adversaries, will impose extraordinary demands on U.S. armed forces. These demands will stress our forces both qualitatively (by creating needs for new types of capabilities) and quantitatively (calling for unprecedented levels of commitment abroad). At the same time, fiscal realities are placing strict limits on the resources available not only for defense but also for important related activities, such as counter-proliferation initiatives, international development assistance, and public diplomacy. This combination of an ambitious strategy, a dynamic and challenging threat environment, and tightly constrained resources creates a profound dilemma for military strategists and force planners. How might these factors be reconciled?

#### **RECASTING U.S. DEFENSE STRATEGY**

The Defense Department first needs to define a new defense strategy that embraces the goal of extending the reach of democracy and freedom. Above all, this means placing far more emphasis than heretofore on the missions of security cooperation (i.e., training, equipping, advising, and assisting the security forces of friendly states) and stability operations. Practically speaking, this means that the force sizing criterion posited by the defense strategy of 2001--"1-4-2-1"--should be recast.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, the nation no longer will be able to limit its day-to-day activities and posture to only four regions where it is deemed to have important geopolitical interests, as classically defined: Europe, Northeast Asia, the East Asian littoral, and the Middle East/Southwest Asia. It is now clear that seemingly remote areas such as Afghanistan and Sudan, the Horn of Africa and the Sahel, Central Asia, the Philippines and Indonesia can gestate serious threats not only

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<sup>3</sup> The criterion that became known as "1-4-2-1" directed the armed forces to be prepared simultaneously to defend the United States (1), deter aggression and coercion in four critical regions (4), swiftly defeat aggression in two overlapping conflicts (2) while preserving the option to impose a change of regime in one of the conflicts (1). It also stated that the forces were to be able to conduct a limited number of smaller-scale contingency operations. For further elaboration, see the Defense Department's Quadrennial Defense Review Report, 2001.

to regional peace and stability but also to America and Americans. In fact, the number of places in which U.S. and allied forces might be called upon to engage in promoting stability, democracy, and military competence is indeterminate. Thus, in our assessment, "4" has, of necessity, become "n."

At the same time, familiar missions of deterring aggression, redressing imbalances in military power, and defeating aggression through large-scale power projection operations have not diminished in importance. In fact, these missions are, in some ways, becoming more challenging. Protecting U.S. national interests in Southwest Asia, East Asia, and elsewhere will demand that U.S. forces, in conjunction with those of our allies, remain able to defeat the forces of adversary states in more than one region. This is critically important not only to credibly deter our adversaries but also to assure our allies and partners. Needless to say, U.S. forces must also do whatever is necessary to protect the United States itself.

The question then becomes whether and how DoD can support a demanding "1-n-2-1" criterion for sizing and shaping the armed forces of the United States.

#### **A NEW DIVISION OF LABOR**

The first thing to recognize is that the demands of "1-n-2-1" need not apply equally to every branch of the armed forces. The imperative to promote stability, democracy, and military competence abroad will place the greatest demands on America's land forces--the Army and the Marine Corps--and special operations forces. Air and naval forces can make important contributions to these missions, principally in the areas of intelligence, lift, base operating support or offshore bases, and humanitarian support. But by and large, these missions call for substantial commitments of ground forces to work directly with their host country counterparts. By the same token, the most plausible major combat operations that U.S. forces might be called upon to fight in the years to come--involving Iran, China (over Taiwan) and North Korea--call for heavy commitments of air and naval forces and, in most cases, smaller numbers of U.S. land forces.



Given limited resources, including limited numbers of people, the nation's leaders face a choice of where to apportion risk: either they can continue to ask U.S. ground forces to prepare for major wars and risk a diminished ability to operate effectively in stability, support, and advisory missions, or they can focus a much larger proportion of (1.8. *ground* forces on such missions and accept the risk of shifting some of the burden for large force-on-force contingencies to air and naval forces. Given the demands of America's new grand strategy, the certainty of the need for stability, support, and advisory missions, and recent advances in the ability to use precision firepower to shape the battlefield to the *ground* commander's advantage, we suggest that DoD's leaders consider the latter course. *Such* a decision would place a greater sustained level of ground force effort in stability, support, and advisory missions by relieving the Army and the Marine Corps of the requirement to provide forces for more than one major war. Taking this step would help to keep overall demands on the forces of these two services manageable. Equally important, it would also permit substantial portions of both services to optimize training, doctrine, and equipment on the development of forces for *manpower* intensive operations now demanded by America's new grand strategy. Under this construct, the Navy and Air Force would retain their focus on large-scale power projection operations, though both services will be called upon to provide essential enabling capabilities to stability, support, and advisory missions. Both will also need to place much greater emphasis on defeating enemies armed with nuclear weapons and with more sophisticated anti-access capabilities than have heretofore been encountered.

#### **POTENTIAL ACTIONS**

The foregoing consideration suggest that DoD's leaders should consider the following actions to bring America's defense capabilities in better alignment with the nation's new grand strategy:

- Recast U.S. defense strategy to incorporate "1-n-2-1" as the aggregate statement of demand for U.S. forces. Consider relieving the Army and Marine Corps of the requirement to

provide forces for more than one major combat operation at a time. Because of the need for ground force to conduct a broad range of stability, support, and advisory operations, this should not prompt a decrease in the force structure or end strength of either the Army or Marine Corps, but it will affect the recruiting, training, and equipping and operating tempo of sizable portions of both services.

- **Complete the transition of the joint command structure.** Given that U.S. forces will likely be committed for extended periods of time to operations in many areas of the world, regional commanders need to remain focused on strategic matters, including achieving strategic victory in areas where U.S. forces are engaged. Regional commanders should not be involved in overseeing day-to-day activities in any single location. To relieve them of this requirement, more effective joint task force headquarters are needed. Ongoing efforts at U.S. Joint Forces Command should be buttressed as a step toward this goal. Moreover, the joint division of labor among regional commands, global commands, and military services and supporting agencies should be further clarified.
- **Complete the effort to realign U.S. global military posture.** Forces and supporting infrastructure need to be realigned to support operations aimed at new democracies, countering terrorist and insurgent groups, deterring and defeating regional adversaries, and dissuading military competition in Asia. Current plans should be implemented and reevaluated regularly to ensure that strategy and posture remain in proper alignment.
- **Increase investments in promising systems for surveillance and reconnaissance.** It should be the goal of defense planners to put an end to the situation in which sensor systems and the means to interpret the information they acquire are chronically treated as 'low-density/high demand' assets. And efforts should be made to accelerate the development of new systems

better suited to finding such targets as mobile missiles, nuclear weapons, and small groups of armed combatants.

- **Help to rebuild the nation's intelligence system--and by implication DoD's intelligence capabilities--by focusing first and foremost on the human dimension.** More and better-trained people are needed throughout the collection, assess—t, and dissemination chain. Greater numbers of people with skills to understand the political and social dynamics of troubled regions are especially needed. Automation can be an aid, but is not a solution in and of itself.
- **Pursue an aggressive effort to develop and produce more effective defenses against theater ballistic and cruise missiles.** Truly effective defenses will require the fielding of larger numbers of existing systems for theater missile defense, both land- and sea-based, and deploying one or more additional 'layers' of active defense.
- **Broker three "marriages" to achieve greater strategic and operational depth and joint tactical proficiency.** Even as greater differentiation among the capabilities of the military services is called for, new interdependencies need to be forged. We view this as something akin to brokering a new set of marriages among the military services.
  - **Marriage 1: Develop and implement plans for air and land forces to train more frequently to conduct highly integrated operations.** This will entail, inter alia, more frequent regular joint training and new fire control procedures.
  - **Marriage 2: Foster tighter links among air, naval, and space forces to create a more robust, more effective power projection force.** These links will require much more routine training and the development of more effective common command and control procedures and mechanisms.

- **Marriage 3: Promote a more seamless integration between the Marine Corps and U.S. special operations forces. The Marine Corps' regular presence in troubled parts of the world should become the planning basis for sensitive special operations missions.**

To achieve these goals, just as the Goldwater-Nichols Act created incentives for the best officers to seek joint assignments, the services should change incentive structures to make involvement in joint training in these areas a major criterion for promotion to more senior positions.

- **Greatly expand the capacity and competence of forces devoted to combat advisory and training missions. The most effective means for DoD to counter terrorist groups abroad is to train, equip, advise, and assist the forces of friendly governments. Substantial portions of the 'regular' forces must contribute to this vital mission. Although the largest number of advisors will likely come from the Army and Marine Corps, Navy and Air Force advisory capabilities need to expand as well. Foreign Area Officer (FAO) programs in the services are essential to develop the language skills and cultural understanding necessary to be effective analysts and advisors. Although each of the services is expanding their respective programs to address these needs, substantially more will need to be done.**
- **Direct the Army to explore creating two distinct elements within its structure capable of carrying out traditional and non-traditional missions. One element would specialize in conventional warfighting operations and the other element would specialize in stability, support, and advisory operations. Training constraints will prevent the Army from fully preparing its entire tactical structure for both conventional warfighting and stability operations. By realigning its structure, the Army would free the units assigned to conventional missions to prepare more fully for warfighting operations and free units assigned to stability, support, and advisory operations to**

prepare more fully for those difficult missions. The result will be that the Army should become more proficient at both.

- Direct the Army to create doctrine and professional military education curricula devoted to the conduct of stability, support, and advisory operations.
- Direct the Air Force to undertake a fundamental re-evaluation of its concepts for large-scale power projection operations, assessing in particular the implications for its mix of long- and short-range platforms. The USAF's planned investments in new combat aircraft implicitly reflect the belief that forces will be able to deploy forward and conduct high-tempo operations from air bases within or close to the theater of conflict. Such assumptions seem increasingly ill-advised. A platform mix that placed greater emphasis on long-range reconnaissance and strike would provide commanders with more options for basing aircraft in areas less threatened by attack from enemy missiles and would provide a more robust means for striking adversaries and providing support to forces on the battlefield.
- Direct U.S. air forces to train more frequently with U.S. SOF and the ground forces of friendly nations to provide operational support during counter-insurgency operations. U.S. air forces can provide friendly forces with critical surveillance, strike, and lift support without imposing a large footprint in the host country. When combined with competent local ground forces, they can be extremely effective against insurgents.

Finally, while striving to fix what is broken, the Department of Defense should be careful not to break what is fixed. The U.S. armed forces are the most powerful and successful in the world, perhaps in history. Their dominance of the conventional 'force on force' battlefield is so overwhelming that it has, among other things, rendered a whole class of historically troubling scenarios--massed cross-border aggression by large, armored forces--largely obsolete. Maintaining the

capabilities that have created this situation is critically **important**. Continued, selective investment in the areas in which the United States currently enjoys 'overmatch' will be needed alongside the new initiatives required to solve the nation's emerging security problems.

~~FOUO~~

October 26, 2005

17108

TO: Robert Rangel

CC: Steve Bucci  
 Mary Claire Murphy  
 Cathy Mainardi

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Event for Kristin Devold on January 30, 2006

Kristin Devold is coming (please see the attached), so we should plan to give her the award on Monday, January 30, 2006. Please pull that event together.

Thanks.

Attach 10/24/05 SecDef Letter to Kristin Devold: Devold's response to SecDef

DHR:as  
102605-05

.....  
*Please Respond By November 21, 2005*

DR  
10/24/05

10/24/05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53456

OSD 20868-05

*DR*



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

OCT 24 2005

The Honorable Kristin Krohn-Devold  
Abbedikollen 3C  
0280 Oslo, Norway

Dear Kristin,

As we discussed on the telephone, I would like to invite you to the Alfalfa Club Annual Dinner on Saturday evening January 28. The organization has no purpose but to hold this once-a-year event. The evening is humorous, patriotic, and always enjoyable. It is black tie. The attendees generally are the President, the Cabinet, Supreme Court justices, Members of Congress, and people from the U.S. business community.

I think you will enjoy attending. The dinner will be at the Capitol Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. Please let me know if you think you will be able to attend. If you have any questions, give me a call.

I also hope that I'll have a chance to see you on Monday, January 30, at my office, if you can arrange your schedule to come in. Please let my office know about Monday, so we can set a convenient time.

Joyce and I look forward to seeing you. Thanks so much.

Sincerely,



OSD 20868-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53457

Thank you very much for your letter on behalf of Sec. Rumsfeld.

I would certainly enjoy to attend the dinner, and a meeting in Pentagon the following monday. Please give *my* best regards to Don. I look forward to see both him and Joyce next year.

Best wishes

Kristin K Devold

>From: "Boykin, Jason CIV WHS/ESD" <jason.boykin@whs.mil>  
>To: (b)(6)  
>Subject: Letter from Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld  
>Date: Mon, 24 Oct 2005 15:21:32 -0000

>Dear Ms. Krohn-Devold.

> Attached is an advance copy of a letter from Secretary Rumsfeld.  
>The original letter will follow by mail. I have included the text below,  
>as  
>well, in the event there is difficulty with the attachment.

> If you would, please reply to this e-mail to confirm receipt.

>Very Respectfully,

>Jason O. Boykin

>Correspondence Controller

>Department of Defense

>Text of letter:

>The Honorable Kristin Krohn-Devold

>Abbedikollen 3C

>0280 Oslo, Norway

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
2005 OCT 25 AM 8:13

OSD 20868-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53458

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Sincerely,

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//Signed Donald Rumsfeld//

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>Jason O. Boykin, Executive Services Directorate, (b)(6)

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

OCT 24 2005

001.1

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Abbedikollen 3C  
0280 Oslo, Norway

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Joyce and I look forward to seeing you. Thanks so much.

Sincerely,

24 OCT 05

OSD 20068-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53460

Z600 PLS GET ADDRESS  
GO SMOOTH, TO  
ME M

Please send  
via fax to home

The Honorable Kristin Krohn-Devold

Dear Kristin,

As we discussed on the telephone, I would like to invite you to the Alfalfa Club Annual Dinner on Saturday evening, January 28. The organization has no purpose but to hold this once-a-year event. The evening is humorous, patriotic, and always enjoyable. It is black tie. The attendees generally are the President, the Cabinet, Supreme Court justices, Members of Congress, and people from the U.S. business community.

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OK

**Gamble, Zeno K, CIV, OSD**

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**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Friday, October 21, 2005 2:37 PM  
**To:** Gamble, Zeno K, CIV, OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Devold address?

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

**From:** Skjerven Kirsti [mailto:Kirsti.Skjern@mfa.no]  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:01 AM  
**To:** Hirsch, James, CIV, OSD-POLICY  
**Subject:** RE: Devold address?

Jim

Address: Kristin Krohn Devold, Abbedikollen 3C, 0280 Oslo, Norway, Email (b)(6) She has no private tax!  
Kirsti

The Honorable Kristin Krohn-Devold  
Abbedikollen 3C  
0280 Oslo, Norway

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Sincerely,

11-L-0559/OSD/53463



Thank you very much for your letter on behalf of Sec. Rumsfeld.

I would certainly enjoy to attend the dinner, and a meeting in Pentagon the following monday. Please give my best regards to Don. I look forward to see both him and Joyce next yeai.

Best wishes

Kristin K Devold

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>Jason O. Boykin

>Correspondence Controller

>Department of Defense

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>Text of letter:

>The Honorable Kristin Krohn-Devold

>Abbedikollen 3C

>0280 Oslo, Norway

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2005 OCT 25 10 13  
FBI  
FBI  
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OSD 20868-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53464

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MSN Messenger 7.0 <http://www.msn.no/messengerDen> enkleste og raskeste måten

11-L-0559/OSD/53465

TAB A  
~~FOUO~~

104

SEP 18 2005

TO: Gen Dick Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: Securing the Airport Road

Steve Hadley says that Bartlett told him one of the things that really worries journalists in Baghdad is that they dread the road trip to or from the airport. He said if it ~~was~~ corrected it could conceivably affect things positively.

He suggested that if there is some way to secure the airport road, it might make a big difference. Do you agree? Let's get an assessment from George Casey.

*DWR*

Thanks.

DHR.as  
090905-08

.....  
*Please Respond By 09/27/05*

~~FOUO~~  
11-L-0559/OSD/53466

Tab A  
OSD 20889-05

*13-Sep-05*

720  
~~FOUO~~

ES-1694  
04/016920

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

December 14, 2004

2004 DEC 29 PM 12:12

TO: Mira Ricardel

SUBJECT: Letter to Buckovski

Shouldn't we write Buckovski of Macedonia a letter congratulating him?

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
121404-7

.....  
Please respond by 12/22/04

~~FOUO~~

OSD 20914-04

11-L-0559/OSD/53467

15-12-04 A10:56 IN

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

**Policy Executive Secretariat Note**

2004 DEC 29 PM 12:12

December 28, 2004

Reference: 121404-7, Letter to Buckovski

Captain Marriott,

Please find attached a congratulatory letter to Prime Minister Buckovski that Policy/Mira Ricardel submitted separately.

SecDef signed the letter on December 22.

  
June Bartlett  
Deputy Director  
Policy Executive Secretariat

OSD 20914-04

11-L-0559/OSD/53468

7209

~~FOUO~~

MEMO TO: Secretary Rumsfeld

DATE: September 1, 2004 - FGH HC 9/2

FROM: Paul Wolfowitz *PW*

0700

SUBJECT: Redrafted Memo on USG Responsibilities for Homeland Security

384

Don.

I met with the recipients of the attached snowflake and we produced the redraft you requested.

I'm available to discuss it further if you wish.

15ep04

~~FOUO~~

OSD 20954-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53469

~~FOUO~~  
DRAFT WORKING PAPERS

SUBJECT: USG Responsibilities for Homeland Security

Situation Today:

Since September 11, 2001, the Administration has made substantial progress to protect America from terrorist attacks. Among other measures, we have established:

- The Department of Homeland Security.
- A National Bio-Defense Strategy and stockpiles of biological vaccines.
- United States Northern Command.
- The Terrorist Threat Integration Center.

**As** a result of these and other initiatives, America is safer today **than** it was prior to the 9/11 attacks, although we must continue to improve America's homeland security.

Homeland Security Roles and Responsibilities:

However, in the event of another major terrorist attack, we will certainly ask ourselves what else we might have done to prevent it or mitigate its consequences. One issue that concerns me is that roles and responsibilities for homeland security are still not as clearly defined **as** they might be. Now that we have almost **two** years of experience with the Department of Homeland Security and the new USG organization for homeland

DRAFT WORKING PAPERS  
~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53470



security, it may be an appropriate time to evaluate the assignment of roles and responsibilities for homeland security. We also need to consider how we can better educate the American people about those roles and responsibilities. It is important for the American people to have realistic expectations about the role the U.S. Armed Forces might play in dealing with terrorist attacks inside the United States, as defined both by law and executive policy. I am reminded of the polls taken in the 1990s which showed that Americans believed erroneously that we have a capability to shoot down a ballistic missile targeting the U.S. There is a great deal the U.S. military can do in the event of a terrorist attack, but there are limits on that capability and—as a matter of law and policy—there may be things we should not do.

Across the USG, there have been several major homeland security exercises over the past several years. We could use their results to evaluate where gaps may exist in the USG homeland security concept and determine if changes are warranted with respect to statutes, authorities, policies, missions, resources and training, etc. Evaluations, moreover, could help to identify any legal considerations that might limit the military from providing support to any Lead Federal Agency and that could impede effective command and control.

Homeland security roles and responsibilities are spread among the Departments of Homeland Security, Justice, State, the FBI, the CIA and various other U.S. agencies:

- To stop terrorists from coming across our borders.
- To stop terrorists from coming through U.S. ports.
- To stop terrorists from hijacking aircraft inside or outside the United States.

- To seek out or arrest terrorists inside the United States.

DOD does not have primary responsibility for any of those functions. Its traditional role has been largely restricted to the following:

- Defend the U.S. homeland against foreign threats and attacks from outside the U.S. (NORTHCOM/NORAD/PACOM).
- Protect U.S. DoD military forces and facilities located within the United States.
- Support designated lead federal agencies, as specifically directed by the President, to include:
  - "Render safe" a nuclear weapon located inside the United States.
  - Provide support for designated "National Special Security Events," such as the G-8 Summit, Democratic and Republican Conventions, the Super Bowl, etc., and
  - Serve as a sector-specific agency for the U.S. defense industrial base in accordance with Homeland Security Presidential Directive-7.

Comment:

In the event of a catastrophic nuclear or biological attack on the territory of the United States, the following would likely occur, as it did on September 11, 2001:

- 1) The first calls for help will be to DoD to immediately take action, but

technically not in the lead role, only in a supporting role. Specifically, DoD may be asked to undertake the very responsibilities DoD has not been assigned or funded to do, and therefore may not have organized, trained or equipped to do, and

- 2) When the dust settles, the American people may well ask why DoD did not:
- Prevent the attack, even though that is the legal responsibility of others and it is not DoD's assignment;
  - Instantaneously respond to mitigate the attack after it occurs.

Recommendation:

Given this situation, the Administration may wish to undertake a quick review to provide recommendations for the following types of questions:

- What might be done to better organize, allocate and rearrange responsibilities among USG agencies to ensure that the right capabilities and assets will address key problems?
- Should we further organize, train and equip the National Guard and the reserves for homeland defense?
- Has DoD allocated sufficient force structure to homeland defense, particularly to prevent or mitigate the consequences of a catastrophic attack?
- What might be done to better inform the Members of Congress, the press, and

the American people of the decided upon allocation of responsibilities, so the current confusion as to roles and responsibilities can be **reduced**?

# TAB A

August 27, 2004

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Gen. Dick Myers  
Gen. Pete Pace  
Larry Di Rita  
Powell Moore  
Paul McHale  
Jim Haynes

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D. Rumsfeld*

SUBJECT: DoD Responsibilities Paper

Please take a look at the attached paper. It is a problem that concerns me, and I don't know the answers. If you have thoughts or suggestions on it, let me know.

My thought is to send it to the Vice President, Andy Card, Condi Rice and Fran Townsend to get them thinking about these issues.

Let me know what you think soon.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Department of Defense Responsibilities

082604-2 (to computer).doc

.....

Please respond by 9/1/04

August 27, 2004

**SUBJECT: U.S. Department of Defense responsibilities for homeland security prior to September 11, 2001, on 9-11, and today**

**Homeland Security Assignments and Responsibilities:**

**DOD never has had, and does not have today, primary U.S. Government responsibility:**

- To stop terrorists from coming across our borders.
- To stop terrorists from coming through U.S. ports.
- To stop terrorists from hijacking aircraft inside or outside the United States.
- To seek out or arrest terrorists inside the United States.

**Responsibility for those functions rests with the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Justice and the FBI, the Department of State, CIA and various other U.S. agencies.**

**Not only does DOD not have primary responsibility for any of those functions, DoD is expressly limited by federal law, including the Posse Comitatus Act, from participating in most U.S. law enforcement activities.**

**DOD's role has been, and is today, restricted to the following:**

*more than that*

- Defend the U.S. homeland against foreign threats and attacks from outside the U.S. (NORTHCOM/NORAD/PACOM)
- Protect U.S. DoD military forces and facilities located within the United States.
- Support designated lead federal agencies, as specifically directed by the President, to include:
  - "Render safe" a nuclear weapon located inside the United States.
  - Provide support for designated "National Special Security Events," such as the G-8 Summit, Democratic and Republican Conventions, the Super Bowl, etc., and
  - Serve as a sector-specific agency for the U.S. defense industrial base in accordance with Homeland Security Presidential Directive-7.

*overstated*



August 27, 2004

**Comment:**

I am deeply concerned that the September 11<sup>th</sup> Commission, the press, Members of the U.S. Congress, and many Americans are not aware of the very limited role of the U.S. Armed Forces in dealing with terrorist attacks inside the USA, by law and Executive Order.

However, notwithstanding DoD's limited role and the general misunderstanding about the role, it is clear that, in the event of a chemical, biological or nuclear attack on the U.S. from within the U.S., the following would occur, as it did on September 11, 2001:

- 1) The first calls for help will be to DoD to immediately take charge, but technically not in the lead role, only in a supporting role; specifically, DoD will be asked to undertake the very responsibilities DoD has not been assigned or funded to do, and therefore has not organized, trained or equipped to do, and
- 2) When the dust settles, blame will be placed on DoD for:
  - Not preventing the attack, even though that is the legal responsibility of others and is not DoD's assignment.
  - Not instantaneously responding to mitigate the attack after it occurs, even though DoD is not authorized, funded or permitted by law to organize, train, equip or deploy to do so.

This unusual situation raises some questions:

Does the current USG arrangement and allocation of responsibilities still make sense?

If not, what might be done to better organize, allocate and rearrange responsibilities among USG agencies?

In either case, what might be done to better inform the Members of Congress, the press, and the American people of the decided upon allocation of responsibilities, so the current confusion as to roles and responsibilities can be reduced?

FOUO

720

~~FOUO~~

December 29, 2004  
2004 DEC 30 AM 6:17

TO: Vice President Richard B. Cheney

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT - Principi *DR*

Just to close the loop, I received a call from Tony Principi saying he really didn't think he should have lunch with me and talk. because he's decided to go outside.

DHR:ss  
122904-2(ts)

002.71 50

29 DEC 04

~~FOUO~~

OSD 20958-04

11-L-0559/OSD/53479

FOUO

SECRET December 29, 2004

2004 DEC 30 AM 6:40

TO: President George W. Bush

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld



SUBJECT: Vehicle Armor

Mr. President,

I listened to your statement after our NSC meeting this morning. You were asked about armor. You responded as indicated on the top of this attached page. I checked with our folks, and have attached more current information. I now have the military committed to not having U.S. Servicemen driving any vehicles in Iraq that do not have the appropriate armor after February 15, except for those vehicles that are used solely within protected military compounds.

251

I'm pushing them to accelerate the February 15 date to January 30.

The way we are doing it is:

- 1) To get more steel and more people in Iraq to bolt the protective armor on the vehicles;
- 2) changing tactics, techniques and procedures, so fewer vehicles have to be out;
- 3) reducing the number of locations that materials have to be dispersed to, and/or hiring more contact drivers.

The long and the short of it is, by February 15, 2005, or sooner, the goal is to not have any U.S. military vehicles in Iraq, outside of a protected military compound, unless they have appropriate armor. I'll keep you posted.

Respectfully,

Attach.  
Information Paper on Vehicle Armor

DHR:ss  
122904-15 (a)

FOUO

24 Dec 2004

OSD 20959-04

11-L-0559/OSD/53480

The statement made by the President at the press conference is factually correct...but the amendment below offers a more complete view.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Well, I have looked at the statistics on that, and we have stepped up the production of armored Humvees significantly. The other issue is the rearmament of existing - of vehicles that are now in theater, vehicles that require a different armament structure than that which they initially were manufactured with. And I am told that those vehicles will be armed up by mid-summer of 2005. And what I know is, is that the Defense Department is working expeditiously with private contractors and with our military to get these vehicles armed up.

#### A MORE COMPLETE STATEMENT

**THE PRESIDENT:** Well, I have looked at the statistics on that, and SINCE MAY OF 2003 we have stepped up the production of armored Humvees significantly. The other issue is the rearmament of existing - of vehicles that are now in theater, vehicles that require a different armament structure than that which they initially were manufactured with. And I am told that those vehicles WILL HAVE FACTORY BUILT, INTEGRATED ARMOR AND BALLISTIC GLASS be armed up by mid-summer of 2005. IN THE INTERIM, BY 15 FEB 05 OR SOONER, WE WILL ARMOR - WITH BOTH FACTORY BUILT AND LOCALLY INSTALLED ARMOR PLATE - ALL VEHICLES WHICH OPERATE OUTSIDE A PROTECTED COMPOUND. And what I know is, is that the Defense Department is working expeditiously with private contractors and with our military to get these vehicles armed up.

FOUO  
SECRET  
OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
711 3: 43  
ACTION MEMO

05/013506  
ES-4395

FOR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM Ryan Henry, Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

SUBJECT: MOD Letters with President's GWOT Speech

OCT 21 2005

301001 W/X

- On 7 October, 2005, Secretary of Defense tasked USD(P) to draft letters for the Secretary to send to his MOD counterparts in key countries highlighting important concepts ~~from~~ the President's 6 October GWOT speech (snowflake at TAB A).
- The Secretary approved draft text last week (TAB B) and, per COL Will Girmsley, approved a list of countries that will receive letters (TAB C).
- Printed letters are provided to obtain the Secretary's signature. Once signed, OUSD(P) will add a copy of the President's speech (TAB D) to each letter and send them.
- If you **have** questions, please contact COL Chris King, Military Assistant to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, at (b)(6)

21 Oct 05

Captain M -  
I have worked with Capt. Miller in Policy to correct all these - checked over them 2-3x.  
This CSC 11/3 11/4

7 Oct

MA SD		SMA DSD	
TSA SD		SA DSD	
EXEC SEC			
ESR MA			

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53482

**King, Chris, COL (USA), OSD-POLICY**

---

**From:** Grimsley, William F, COL, OSD  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 13, 2005 5:42 PM  
**To:** King, Chris, COL (USA), OSD-POLICY  
**Subject:** RE: Text for SD Note to Counterparts

SD clears text as is. Thanks very much...

WFG

COL Will Grimsley  
Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense

(b)(6)  
william.grimsley@osd.mil

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

**From:** King, Chris, COL (USA), OSD-POUCY  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 13, 2005 9:01 AM  
**To:** Grimsley, William F, COL, OSD  
**Cc:** Gagnon, George, COL, OSD POLICY; Guenov, Tressa, CN, OSD-POUCY; Pappano, Scott, CDR, OSD-POUCY  
**Subject:** Text for SD Note to Counterparts

Will,

Attached (and printed below) is text for a short note from Sec Def to selected counterparts regarding the President's recent speech, for Admiral Stavridas' review. USDP has seen and approved this proposed text. Thanks.

Chris  
Chris A. King, Colonel, US Army  
Military Assistant to USD(P)  
(b)(6)

Dear Minister \_\_\_\_\_

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory.

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue, and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's

remarks. I **would** welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

<< File: SD Note re **Speech2.doc** >>

**List of Countries Receiving MOD Letters from SecDef****EU/NATO Countries**

Austria  
 Belgium  
 Bulgaria  
 Canada  
 Cyprus  
 Czech Republic  
 Denmark  
 Estonia  
 Finland  
 France  
 Greece  
 Hungary  
 Iceland  
 Republic of Ireland  
 Italy  
 Latvia  
 Lithuania  
 Luxembourg  
 Malta  
 The Netherlands  
 Portugal  
 Romania  
 Slovak Republic  
 Slovenia  
 Spain  
 Sweden  
 Switzerland  
 Turkey  
 United Kingdom

Note: Germany, Norway, and Poland omitted based on government turnovers in progress. We will plan on including similar text in letters send to welcome aboard the new MODs

**Eastern Europe/Eurasia**

Albania  
 Armenia  
 Azerbaijan  
 Croatia

Georgia  
 Kazakhstan  
 Kyrgyzstan  
 Macedonia  
 Moldova  
 Russia  
 Tajikistan  
 Turkmenistan  
 Ukraine  
 Uzbekistan

**Middle East/North Africa**

Afghanistan  
 Algeria  
 Bahrain  
 Bangladesh  
 Egypt  
 Kuwait  
 India  
 Israel  
 Morocco  
 Pakistan  
 Saudi Arabia  
 Sri Lanka  
 Tunisia  
 UAE

**Asia Pacific**

Australia  
 Brunei  
 Burma  
 Cambodia  
 China  
 Fiji  
 Indonesia  
 Japan  
 Korea  
 Laos  
 Malaysia  
 Mongolia  
 New Guinea



New Zealand  
Papua New Guinea  
Philippines  
Singapore  
Taiwan  
Thailand  
Tonga  
Vietnam

**South America**

Argentina  
Belize  
~~Bolivia~~  
Brazil  
Chile  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Dominican Republic  
~~Ecuador~~  
El Salvador  
Gautemala  
Honduras  
Mexico (Marina & Sedena)  
Nicaragua  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
~~Uruguay~~

**Africa**

Botswana  
Ghana  
Kenya  
Liberia  
Mali  
Niger  
Senegal  
Sierra Leone  
South Africa

~~FOUO~~

October 07, 2005

I-05/013506

ES-4395

350.001 MH

TO: Eric Edelman  
CC: Larry DiRita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: President's Speech to MODs

We ought to get the President's NED speech to all the NATO ~~Ministers~~ of Defense and to the Ministers of Defense for the Partnerships for Peace countries, and any other MODs we deal with around the world Japan, Korea, Singapore, etc.

Thanks.

DHR es  
100705-06

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/28/05*

OSD 20961-05

7 Oct 05

~~FOUO~~

07-10-05 15:40 IN

11-L-0559/OSD/53487



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 2 2005

350,001 WH

His Excellency  
Mohamed Najib bin Abdul Razak  
Deputy Prime Minister  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

8 \$05

7 Oct 05

OSD 2096 1-05





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Mohamed Najib bin Abdul Razak  
Deputy Prime Minister and  
Minister of Defense  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. **Your** government's assistance in **this** global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Kodir Ghulamov  
Republic of Uzbekistan  
Tashkent

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Majesty  
Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah  
Minister of Defense  
Brunei Darussalam

Your Majesty,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Vice Admiral Sigfrido Pared Perez  
Secretary of State for the Armed Forces  
of the Dominican Republic  
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53492



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Vice Admiral Marco Antonio Peyrot Gonzalez  
Secretary of the Navy  
Mexico, D.F.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 2096 1-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53493





SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Lieutenant General Daniel Chea  
Minister of Defense  
Post Office Box 9007  
Monrovia, Liberia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53494



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Agageldi Mammetgeldiev  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Turkmenistan  
Ashgabat

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

O5D 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53495



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Khalifa bin Ahmad Al Khalifa  
Minister of Defense  
and Deputy Commander-in-Chief  
Bahrain Defense Forces  
Manama, Kingdom of Bahrain

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.

OSD 20961-05



THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1000 PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Avil Ramirez Valdivia  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Nicaragua  
Managua

Dear Mr. Minister:

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. **Your** government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. M. Gates".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53497



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Berislav Rončević  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Croatia  
Zagreb

Dear Mr. Minister:

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. *Your* government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53498





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Tea Banh  
Co-Minister of Defense  
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to **the** National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, **we** will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Nhek Bunchhay  
Co-Minister of Defense  
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President **has** stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

OSD 20061-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Rear Admiral Teo Chee Hean  
Minister of Defence  
303 Gombak Drive  
Republic of Singapore  
669645

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53501





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honorable Robert Hill  
Minister for Defence  
Parliament House  
Canberra ACT 2600  
Australia

Dear Senator Hill,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to **the** National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. **As** the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations **of** democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. **And** once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1 000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

Her Excellency  
Begum Khaleda Zia  
Prime Minister and Minister of Defence  
Tejgaon, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Dear Madame Prime Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to **the** National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In **this** new century, freedom **is** once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in **this** global struggle is critical if the world **is** to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donald Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53503



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Highness  
General Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al-Maktoum  
Crown Prince of Dubai and  
Minister of Defense  
Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

Your Highness,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue, and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53504





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Major General Asoka Jayawardhana (Ret.)  
Secretary of Defence  
of the Democratic Socialist Republic  
of Sri Lanka  
15/5 Baladaksha Mawatha  
Colombo-3, Sri Lanka

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53505



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Cao Gangchuan  
Minister of National Defense  
No. 25 Dawai Huangsi Street  
Beijing, People's Republic of China

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53506



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Right Honorable Dr. John Reid  
Secretary of State for Defence  
Level 5 Zone D Main Building  
Whitehall London SW1A 2HB  
United Kingdom

Dear John,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. M. Gates".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53507



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

Her Excellency  
Leni Bjorklund  
Minister of Defence  
SE-103 33 Stockholm  
Sweden

Dear Madame Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53508





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Karl Erjavec  
Minister of Defense  
Kardeljeva Pl 25  
1000Ljubljana  
Slovenia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05







THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Gediminas Kirkilas  
Minister of National Defense  
Totoriu g. 25/3  
01121 Vilnius  
Republic of Lithuania

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53510



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Willie O'Dea, T.D.  
Minister of National Defense  
Infirmary Road  
Dublin 7  
Republic of Ireland

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53511



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
10 W DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
William Graham, M.P.  
Minister of National Defense  
101 Colonel By Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0K2

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53512



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Einars Repše  
Minister of Defense  
Kr. Valdemara 10/12  
Riga LV 1473  
Latvia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



GSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53513



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Jürgen Ligi  
Minister of Defense  
Sakala 1  
15094 Tallinn  
Estonia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53514



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Samuel Schmid  
President of the Swiss Confederation  
Bundesthaus Ost  
3003 Bern  
Switzerland

Dear Mr. President,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53515



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Søren Gade  
Minister of Defense  
Holmens Canal 42  
Copenhagen, Denmark

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20261-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53516



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Seppo Kääriäinen  
Minister of Defense  
Eteläinen Makasiinikatu 8  
PO Box 31  
FIN-00131 Helsinki  
Finland

Dear Mr. Minister:

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53517





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Geir Haarde  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Iceland

Dear **Mr.** Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.



OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53518



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Günther Platter  
Minister of National Defense  
Rossauer Lande  
A-1090 Vienna  
Republic of Austria

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53519



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Kyraikos Mavronikolas  
Minister of Defense  
4EEM Roides Ave  
1432 Lefkosia, Cyprus

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53520



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

Her Excellency  
Michèle Alliot-Marie  
Minister of Defense  
of the French Republic  
14, rue Saint-Dominique  
75007 Paris, France

Dear Madame Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written over a horizontal line.



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53521



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Luc Frieden  
Minister of Defense  
of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg  
Rue de l'Ancien Athénée  
L-1144 Luxembourg

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53522



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
André Flahaut  
Minister of Defense  
Rue Lambermont  
1000 Brussels, Belgium

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Rumsfeld", written over a horizontal line.



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53523



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
10 W DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301.1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Teodor Atanasiu  
Minister of Defense  
Izvor St. 13-15, Sector 5  
70642 Bucharest  
Romania

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written over a horizontal line.



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53524



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Vesselin Bliznakov  
Minister of Defense  
3 Diakon Ignatii St.  
1000 Sofia  
Republic of Bulgaria

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written over a horizontal line.



OSD 20041-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53525





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Dr. Luis Filipe Marques Amado  
Minister of Defense  
No. 1, Ilha da Madeira Ave  
1400-204 Lisbon  
Portugal

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

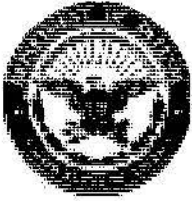
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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53526



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Ferenc Juhasz  
Minister of Defense  
Balaton u 7-11  
H-1055 Budapest V. ker.  
Republic of Hungary

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53527



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Karel Kuhl  
Minister of Defense  
Tychonova 1  
16000 Praha 6  
Czech Republic

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53528



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Juraj Liska  
Minister of Defense  
Kutuzovova 8  
83247 Bratislava  
Slovak Republic

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53529



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Jose Bono Martinez  
Minister for Defense  
Paseo de la Castellana 109  
28071 Madrid, Spain

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20061-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53530



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Spilios Spiliotopoulos  
Minister of National Defence  
of the Hellenic Republic  
151 Mesogeion Avenue  
15500 Holargos  
Athens, Greece

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.



OSD 200511-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53531



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honorable Lawrence Gonzi  
Prime Minister  
Auberge de Castille  
Valetta - CMR 02  
Republic of Malta

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53532



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Antonio Martino  
Minister for Defence  
Via XX, Settembre 8  
00187 Rome, Italy

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53533





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Fatmir Mediu  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Albania  
Tirana

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush's** recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53534



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

MOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Serzh Sargsyan  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Armenia  
Yerevan

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Colonel-General Safar Abiyev  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Azerbaijan  
Baku

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



11-L-0559/OSD/53536

OSD 20061-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

MOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Irakli Okruashvili  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Georgia  
Tbilisi

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donald Rumsfeld".

OSD 2007 1-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Mukhtar Altynbayev  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Kazakhstan  
Astana

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.

OSD 20041-05





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Ismail Isakov  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Kyrgyzstan  
Bishkek

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you **will** have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



11-L-0559/OSD/53539

OSD 2005-1-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Jovan Manasievski  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Macedonia  
Skopje

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20041-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53540



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Valeriu Plesca  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Moldova  
Chisinau

Dear **Mr.** Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush**'s recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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11-L-0559/OSD/53541

OSD 20961-05





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Sergey Ivanov  
Minister of Defense  
Russian Federation  
Moscow

Dear Sergey,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about ~~our~~ global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53542



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Colonel-General Sherali Khayrulloev  
Minister of Defense  
Republic of Tajikistan  
Dushanbe

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53543





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Anatoliy Hrytsenko  
Minister of Defense  
Kiev, Ukraine

Dear Anatoliy,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53544





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Rao Sikandar Iqbal  
Minister of State for Defence  
for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan  
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53545



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Shaikh Jabir Mubarek Al-Hamad Al Sabah  
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense  
State of Kuwait  
Kuwait City, Kuwait

Dear Shaikh Jabir,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush's** recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back **generations** of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53546





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Shaul Mofaz  
Minister of Defense  
Camp Rabin, Hakiryia  
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment ~~for~~ Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

tS

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53547



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 2 2005

His Excellency  
Kamel Morjane  
Minister of National Defence  
Republic of Tunisia  
Tunis

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53548



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Shri Pranab Mukherjee  
Minister of Defence  
South Block  
New Delhi 110011, India

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53549





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Abderrahmane Sbai  
Minister-Delegate  
for National Defense Administration  
Kingdom of Morocco  
Rabat, Morocco

Dear Mr. Minister-Delegate.

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's Victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53550



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Royal Highness  
Crown Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud  
First Deputy Prime Minister,  
Ministry of Defense and Aviation,  
and Inspector General  
Riyadh  
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Your Royal Highness,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Field Marshal Hussein Tantawy  
Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces  
Minister of Defense and Military Production  
Arab Republic of Egypt  
Cairo

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush's** recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said,

"In **this** new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will **see** freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53552



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Abdul Rahim Wardak  
Minister of National Defense  
Transitional Islamic Republic of Afghanistan  
Kabul, Afghanistan

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961105



11-L-0559/OSD/53553



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Tserenkhuu Sharavdorj  
Minister of National Defense  
Mongolia  
C/OUSDAO Ulaanbaatar  
PSC 461, Box 300  
FPO **AP** 965 1-002

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53554



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Lee Jye  
Minister of National Defense  
Post Office Box 90001  
Taipei, Taiwan  
People's Republic of China

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53555



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Pham Van Tra  
Minister of Defense  
Hanoi, Vietnam

Dear General Tra,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53556





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Thammarat Itsarangkhun na Ayutthaya  
Minister of Defense  
Bangkok, Thailand

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honourable Mark Burton  
Minister for Defence  
Parliament Buildings  
Wellington, New Zealand

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Avelino Cruz  
Secretary of National Defense  
Department of National Defense  
*Camp* General Emilio Aguinaldo  
Quezon City  
Republic of the Philippines 1110

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961105



11-L-0559/OSD/53559



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honorable Matthew Gubag, MP  
Minister for Defence  
Murray Barracks  
Private Mail Bag Boroko  
National Capital District 111  
Papua, New Guinea

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Senior General Than Shwe  
Minister of Defense  
Rangoon, Burma

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53561





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Major General Douangchai Phichit  
Minister of National Defense  
Vientiane  
Lao People's Democratic Republic

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global **fight** against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Juwono Sudarsono  
Minister of Defense  
Jalan Merdeka Barat Number 13  
Central Jakarta  
Republic of Indonesia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
'Aloua Fetu'Utola Tupou  
Minister of Defense  
The Kingdom of Tonga  
Nuku'alofa, Tonga

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. **And** once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Josefa Vosanibola  
Minister for Home Affairs,  
Immigration and National Disaster  
P.O. Box 2349  
Republic of the Fiji Islands

Dear Mr. Minister.

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53565





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Yoon Kwang Ung  
Minister of National Defense  
Republic of Korea  
#1 Yongsandong 3ga, Yongsangu  
Seoul, South Korea 140-701

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written in a cursive style.

OSD 20961-05





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Yoshinori Ohno  
Minister of State for Defense  
Japan Defense Agency  
5-1 Ichigaya, Honmura-cho  
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162-8801  
Japan

Dear *Mr.* Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donald Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53567



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
José Juan Batista Pampuro  
Minister of Defense  
of the Argentine Republic  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Mr. Minister.

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53568



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Rogelio Vicente Ramos Martinez  
Minister of Public Security,  
Government and Police  
Republic of Costa Rica  
San Jose

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53569



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
General Gerardo Clemente Ricardo Vega Garcia  
Secretary of National Defense  
Mexico, D.F.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53570



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Vildo Marin  
Minister of Health, Labor, and Defense  
Belmopan, Belize

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. M. Gates", written over a horizontal line.



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53571



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
José Alencar Gomes da Silva  
Vice President and Minister of Defense  
of the Federative Republic of Brazil  
Brasilia, Brazil

Dear Mr. Vice President,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53572



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Jaime Ravinet  
Minister of National Defense  
of the Republic of Chile  
Santiago, Chile

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53573





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Camilo Ospina Bernal  
Minister of National Defense  
of the Republic of Colombia  
Bogota, Colombia

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about ~~our~~ global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will **see** freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53574



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Major General Otto Alejandro Romero Orellana  
Minister of National Defense  
Republic of El Salvador  
San Salvador

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53575



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Brigadier General Carlos Humberto Aldana Villanueva  
Minister of Defense  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Mr. Minister.

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"**In** this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And **once** again, we will **see** freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53576



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Federico Breve Travieso  
Minister of Defense  
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about ~~our~~ global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53577



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Hector Bolivar Aleman Estevez  
Minister of Government and Justice  
Republic of Panama  
Panama City

Dear Mr. Minister.

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53578



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Roberto Gonzalez  
Minister of National Defense  
of the Republic of Paraguay  
Asuncion, Paraguay

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53579



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Marciano Rengifo Ruiz  
Minister of Defense  
of the Republic of Peru  
Lima, Peru

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic **progress**. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I **hope** you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53580



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
**Sammy Kyungu**  
Minister of Defence  
Ulinzi House  
Post Office **Box 40668**, Nairobi  
Kenya

Dear Mr. ~~Minister~~,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about ~~our~~ global fight against terrorism. As the President said

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in ~~his~~ speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war ~~against~~ terrorism. I hope you ~~will~~ have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53581





SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

Lieutenant General Matshenwenyego Louis-Fisher  
Commander of the Defence Forces  
Botswana Defence Forces  
Private Bag **X061**  
Sir Seretse Khama Barracks Mogoditshane  
Botswana

Dear Lieutenant General Louis-Fisher,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight **against** terrorism. **As** the President said

"**In this new** century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once **again**, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once **again**, we **will see** freedom's victory."

I believe **that in his** speech, the President **has** stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in **this** global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war **against** terrorism. I hope you **will** have a chance to read the Presidents remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53582



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-100

WOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Kwame Addo Kufour  
~~Minister~~ of Defence  
Burma **Camp**  
Accra, Ghana

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against **terrorism**. As the President said:

"In **this** new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll **back** generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're **responding** to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in **his** speech, the President **has** stated the issue and identified what **is** at stake. **Your** government's assistance in **this** global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war **against** terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53583



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellence  
Mosiuoa Patrick Lekota  
Minister of Defence  
Private Bag X247 Pretoria 0001  
South Africa

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said:

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

I believe that in his speech, the President has stated the issue and identified what is at stake. Your government's assistance in this global struggle is critical if the world is to defeat the enemies of peace and win the war against terrorism. I hope you will have a chance to read the President's remarks. I would welcome your reaction.

Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53584



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Mahamane Khalil Maiga  
Minister of Defence and War Veterans  
Ministry of Defence  
Post Office Box 215, Bamako  
Mali

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As the President said**

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53585



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Hassane Souley  
Minister of Defense  
Post Office Box 626, Niamey  
Niger

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush**'s recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said

"In **this** new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once **again**, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53586



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Becaye Diop  
Minister of the Armed Forces  
Administrative Building  
Post Office Box 176, Dakar  
Senegal

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President **Bush's** recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about **our** global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said:

“In this new century, freedom is *once again* assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we’re responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. **And** once again, we will **see** freedom’s victory.”

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53587



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON DC 20301-100

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Ahmed Tejan Kabbah  
President and Minister of Defence  
Tower Hill, Freetown  
Sierra Leone

Dear Mr. President,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. **As** the President said

"**In this** new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53588



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Abdelmalek Guenzia  
Minister-Delegate  
to the Minister of National Defense  
Algiers, Algeria

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Rumsfeld".

OSD 20961-05



11-L-0559/OSD/53589





THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Mehmet Vecdi Gonul  
Minister of Defense  
Turkiye Cumhuriyeti  
Milli Savunma Bakanligi 06100  
Bakanliklar Ankara, Turkey

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 2096 1-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Henk Kamp  
Minister of Defense  
Post Office Box 20701  
2500 ES The Hague  
Kingdom of the Netherlands

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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OSD 20961-05



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

His Excellency  
Teo Chee Hean  
Minister of Defence  
303 Gombak Drive  
Republic of Singapore  
669645

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

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OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53592



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honourable Phil Goff  
Minister for Defence  
Parliament Buildings  
Wellington, New Zealand

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53593



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 8 2005

The Honourable Matthew Gubag, MP  
Minister for Defence  
Murray Barracks  
Private Bail Bag Boroko  
National Capital District 111  
Papua New Guinea

~~Dear~~ Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. **And** once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,



OSD 20961-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53594



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 14 2005

His Excellency  
Fukushiro Nukaga  
Minister of State for Defense  
Japan Defense Agency  
5-1 Ichigaya, Honmura-cho  
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162-8801  
Japan

Dear Mr. Minister,

I have enclosed a copy of President Bush's recent address to the National Endowment for Democracy, where he spoke about our global fight against terrorism. As the President said,

"In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory."

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Sincerely,

350.001 WJH

[8 Nov 05]

7 Oct 05

OSD 20961-05



October 6, 2005

### **President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy**

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center  
Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. (Applause.) Thank you all. Please be seated. (Applause.) Thank you for the warm welcome. I'm honored once again to be with the supporters of the National Endowment for Democracy. Since the day President Ronald Reagan set out the vision for this Endowment, the world has seen the swiftest advance of democratic institutions in history. And Americans are proud to have played our role in this great story.

Our nation stood guard on tense borders; we spoke for the rights of dissidents and the hopes of exile; we aided the rise of new democracies on the ruins of tyranny. And all the cost and sacrifice of that struggle has been worth it, because, from Latin America to Europe to Asia, we've gained the peace that freedom brings.

In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory. (Applause.)



Vin, I want to thank you for inviting me back. And thank you for the short introduction. (Laughter.) I appreciate Carl Gershman. I want to welcome former Congressman Dick Gephardt, who is a board member of the National Endowment for Democracy. It's good to see you, Dick. And I appreciate Chris Cox, who is the Chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, and a board member for the National Endowment of Democracy, for being here, as well. I want to thank all the other board members.

I appreciate the Secretary of State, Condi Rice, who has joined us -- alongside her, Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld. Thank you all for being here. I'm proud, as well, that the newly sworn-in Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the first Marine ever to hold that position, is with us today -- General Peter Pace. (Applause.) I thank the members of the Diplomatic Corps who are here, as well.

Recently our country observed the fourth anniversary of a great evil, and looked back on a great turning point in our history. We still remember a proud city covered in smoke and ashes, a fire across the Potomac, and passengers who spent their final moments on Earth fighting the enemy. We still remember the men who rejoiced in every death, and Americans in uniform rising to duty. And we remember the calling that came to us on that day, and continues to this hour: We will confront this mortal danger to all humanity. We will not tire, or rest, until the war on terror is won. (Applause.)

The images and experience of September the 11th are unique for Americans. Yet the evil of that morning has reappeared on other days, in other places -- in Mombasa, and Casablanca, and Riyadh, and Jakarta, and Istanbul, and Madrid, and Beslan, and Taba, and Netanya, and Baghdad, and elsewhere. In the past few months, we've seen a new terror offensive with attacks on London, and Sharm el-Sheikh, and a deadly bombing in Bali once again. All these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random and isolated acts of madness; innocent men and women and children have died simply because they boarded the wrong train, or worked in the wrong building, or checked into the wrong hotel. Yet while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil, but not insane.

350.001 JH

(7 OCT 05)

Some call this evil Islamic radicalism; others, militant Jihadism; still others, Islamo-fascism. Whatever it's called, this ideology is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent, political vision: the establishment, by terrorism and subversion and insurgency, of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Jews and Hindus --and also against Muslims from other traditions, who they regard as heretics.



Many militants are part of global, borderless terrorist organizations like al Qaeda, which spreads propaganda, and provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists, and conducts dramatic and brutal operations like September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups, often associated with al Qaeda -- paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia, and the Philippines, and Pakistan, and Chechnya, and Kashmir, and Algeria. Still others spring up in local cells, inspired by Islamic radicalism, but not centrally directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with many branches than an army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world.

We know the vision of the radicals because they've openly stated it -- in videos, and audiotapes, and letters, and declarations, and websites. First, these extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because we stand for democracy and peace, and stand in the way of their ambitions. Al Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, has called on Muslims to dedicate, quote, their "resources, sons and money to driving the infidels out of their lands." Their tactic to meet this goal has been consistent for a quarter-century: They hit us, and expect us to run. They want us to repeat the sad history of Beirut in 1983, and Mogadishu in 1993 --only this time on a larger scale, with greater consequences.

Second, the militant network wants to use the vacuum created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, a base from which to launch attacks and conduct their war against non-radical Muslim governments. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, and Jordan for potential takeover. They achieved their goal, for a time, in Afghanistan. Now they've set their sights on Iraq. Bin Laden has stated: "The whole world is watching this war and the two adversaries. It's either victory and glory, or misery and humiliation." The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity. And we must recognize Iraq as the central front in our war on terror.



Third, the militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow all moderate governments in the region, and establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia. With greater economic and military and political power, the terrorists would be able to advance their stated agenda: to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to assault the American people, and to blackmail our government into isolation.

Some might be tempted to dismiss these goals as fanatical or extreme. Well, they are fanatical and extreme -- and they should not be dismissed. Our enemy is utterly committed. As Zarqawi has vowed, "We will either achieve victory over the human race or we will pass to the eternal life." And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and



unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously -- and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.

Defeating the militant network is difficult, because it thrives, like a parasite, on the suffering and frustration of others. The radicals exploit local conflicts to build a culture of victimization, in which someone else is always to blame and violence is always the solution. They exploit resentful and disillusioned young men and women, recruiting them through radical mosques as the pawns of terror. And they exploit modern technology to multiply their destructive power. Instead of attending faraway training camps, recruits can now access online training libraries to learn how to build a roadside bomb, or fire a rocket-propelled grenade -- and this further spreads the threat of violence, even within peaceful democratic societies.

The influence of Islamic radicalism is also magnified by helpers and enablers. They have been sheltered by authoritarian regimes, allies of convenience like Syria and Iran, that share the goal of hurting America and moderate Muslim governments, and use terrorist propaganda to blame their own failures on the West and America, and on the Jews. These radicals depend on front operations, such as corrupted charities, which direct money to terrorist activity. They're strengthened by those who aggressively fund the spread of radical, intolerant versions of Islam in unstable parts of the world. The militants are aided, as well, by elements of the Arab news media that incite hatred and anti-Semitism, that feed conspiracy theories and speak of a so-called American "war on Islam" -- with seldom a word about American action to protect Muslims in Afghanistan, and Bosnia, Somalia, Kosovo, Kuwait, and Iraq.



Some have also argued that extremism has been strengthened by the actions of our coalition in Iraq, claiming that our presence in that country has somehow caused or triggered the rage of radicals. I would remind them that we were not in Iraq on September the 11th, 2001 -- and al Qaeda attacked us anyway. The hatred of the radicals existed before Iraq was an issue, and it will exist after Iraq is no longer an excuse. **The** government of Russia did not support Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet the militants killed more than 180 Russian schoolchildren in Beslan.

Over the years these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence -- the Israeli presence on the West Bank, or the **US** military presence in Saudi Arabia, or the defeat of the Taliban, or the Crusades of a thousand years ago. In fact, we're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives: to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. **No** act of ours invited the rage of the killers -- and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder.

On the contrary: They target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down, never give in, and never accept anything **less** than complete victory. (Applause.)

The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet, in many ways, this **fit** resembles the struggle against communism in the last century. Like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard that presumes to speak for the Muslim masses. Bin Laden says his own role is to tell Muslims, quote, "what is good for them and what is not." And what this man who grew up in wealth and privilege considers good for poor Muslims is that they become killers and suicide bombers. **He** assures them that his -- that this is the road to paradise -- though he never offers to go along for the ride.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision. And this explains their cold-blooded contempt for human life. We've seen it in the

murders of Daniel Pearl, Nicholas Berg, and Margaret Hassan, and many others. In a courtroom in the Netherlands, the killer of Theo Van Gogh turned to the victim's grieving mother and said, "I do not feel your pain -- because I believe you are an infidel." And in spite of this veneer of religious rhetoric, most of the victims claimed by the militants are fellow Muslims.

When 25 Iraqi children are killed in a bombing, or Iraqi teachers are executed at their school, or hospital workers are killed caring for the wounded, this is murder, pure and simple -- the total rejection of justice and honor and morality and religion. These militants are not just the enemies of America, or the enemies of Iraq, they are the enemies of Islam and the enemies of humanity. (Applause.) We have seen this kind of shameless cruelty before, in the heartless zealotry that led to the gulags, and the Cultural Revolution, and the killing fields.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Its leaders pretend to be an aggrieved party, representing the powerless against imperial enemies. In truth they have endless ambitions of imperial domination, and they wish to make everyone powerless except themselves. Under their rule, they have banned books, and desecrated historical monuments, and brutalized women. They seek to end dissent in every form, and to control every aspect of life, and to rule the soul, itself. While promising a future of justice and holiness, the terrorists are preparing for a future of oppression and misery.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. Zarqawi has said that Americans are, quote, "the most cowardly of God's creatures." But let's be clear: It is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs, and cuts the throat of a bound captive, and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated more than 50 million people. It is courage that keeps an untiring vigil against the enemies of a rising democracy. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that once again will destroy the enemies of freedom. (Applause.)

And Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom -- by distrusting human creativity, and punishing change, and limiting the contributions of half the population -- this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible, and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants' vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past -- a declaration of war on the idea of progress, itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt: Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation, decline, and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, free peoples will own the future. (Applause.)

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence, and a comprehensive strategy. Defeating a broad and adaptive network requires patience, constant pressure, and strong partners in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Asia and beyond. Working with these partners, we're disrupting militant conspiracies, destroying their ability to make war, and working to give millions in a troubled region of the world a hopeful alternative to resentment and violence.

First, we're determined to prevent the attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're reorganizing our government to give this nation a broad and coordinated homeland defense. We're reforming our intelligence agencies for the incredibly difficult task of tracking enemy activity, based on information that often comes in small fragments from widely scattered sources, here and abroad. We're acting, along with the governments from many countries, to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leaders. Together, we've killed or captured nearly all of those directly responsible for the September the 11th attacks; as well as some of bin Laden's most senior deputies; al Qaeda managers and operatives in more than 24 countries; the mastermind of the USS Cole bombing, who was chief of al Qaeda operations in the Persian Gulf; the mastermind of the Jakarta and the first Bali bombings; a senior Zarqawi terrorist planner, who was planning attacks in Turkey; and many of al Qaeda's senior leaders in Saudi Arabia.

Overall, the United States and our partners have disrupted at least ten serious al Qaeda terrorist plots since September the 11th, including three al Qaeda plots to attack inside the United States. We've stopped at least five more al Qaeda efforts to case targets in the United States, or infiltrate operatives into our country. Because of this steady progress, the enemy is wounded -- but the enemy is still capable of global operations. Our commitment is clear: We will not relent until the organized international terror networks are exposed and broken, and their leaders held to account for their acts of murder.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes, and to their terrorist allies who would use them without hesitation. The United States, working with Great Britain, Pakistan, and other nations, has exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs, as well as long-range ballistic missiles. And in the last year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspected weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program.

This progress has reduced the danger to free nations, but has not removed it. Evil men who want to use horrendous weapons against us are working in deadly earnest to gain them. And we're working urgently to keep weapons of mass destruction out of their hands.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. State sponsors like Syria and Iran have a long history of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the victims of terror. The United States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they're equally as guilty of murder. (Applause.) Any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has also chosen to be an enemy of civilization. And the civilized world must hold those regimes to account.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation, which they would use as a home base and a launching pad for terror. For this reason, we're fighting beside our Afghan partners against remnants of the Taliban and their al Qaeda allies. For this reason, we're working with President Musharraf to oppose and isolate the militants in Pakistan. And for this reason, we're fighting the regime remnants and terrorists in Iraq. The terrorist goal is to overthrow a rising democracy, claim a strategic country as a haven for terror, destabilize the Middle East, and strike America and other free nations with ever-increasing violence. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies at the heart of their power -- and so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive, specific military plan. Area by area, city by city, we're conducting offensive operations to clear out enemy forces, and leaving behind Iraqi units to prevent the enemy from returning. Within these areas, we're working for tangible improvements in the lives of Iraqi citizens. And we're aiding the rise of an elected government that unites the Iraqi people against extremism and violence. This work involves great risk for Iraqis, and for Americans and coalition forces. Wars are not won without sacrifice -- and this war will require more sacrifice, more time, and more resolve.

The terrorists are as brutal an enemy as we've ever faced. They're unconstrained by any notion of our common humanity, or by the rules of warfare. No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead, nor should they overlook the advantages we bring to this fight.

Some observers look at the job ahead and adopt a self-defeating pessimism. It is not justified. With every random bombing and with every funeral of a child, it becomes more clear that the extremists are not patriots, or resistance fighters -- they are murderers at war with the Iraqi people, themselves.

In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard or precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible political progress -- from tyranny, to liberation, to national elections, to the writing of a constitution, in the space of two-and-a-half years. With our help, the Iraqi

military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence with every passing month. At the time of our Fallujah operations 11 months ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today there are more than 80 Iraqi army battalions fighting the insurgency alongside our forces. Progress isn't easy, but it is steady. And no fair-minded person should ignore, deny, or dismiss the achievements of the Iraqi people.

Some observers question the durability of democracy in Iraq. They underestimate the power and appeal of freedom. We've heard it suggested that Iraq's democracy must be on shaky ground because Iraqis are arguing with each other. But that's the essence of democracy: making your case, debating with those who you disagree -- who disagree, building consensus by persuasion, and answering to the will of the people. We've heard it said that the Shia, Sunnis and Kurds of Iraq are too divided to form a lasting democracy. In fact, democratic federalism is the best hope for unifying a diverse population, because a federal constitutional system respects the rights and religious traditions of all citizens, while giving all minorities, including the Sunnis, a stake and a voice in the future of their country. It is true that the seeds of freedom have only recently been planted in Iraq -- but democracy, when it grows, is not a fragile flower: it is a healthy, sturdy tree. (Applause.)

As Americans, we believe that people everywhere -- everywhere -- prefer freedom to slavery, and that liberty, once chosen, improves the lives of all. And so we're confident, as our coalition and the Iraqi people each do their part, Iraqi democracy will succeed.

Some observers also claim that America would be better off by cutting our losses and leaving Iraq now. This is a dangerous illusion, refuted with a simple question: Would the United States and other free nations be more safe, or less safe, with Zarqawi and bin Laden in control of Iraq, its people, and its resources? Having removed a dictator who hated free peoples, we will not stand by as a new set of killers, dedicated to the destruction of our own country, seizes control of Iraq by violence.

There's always a temptation, in the middle of a long struggle, to seek the quiet life, to escape the duties and problems of the world, and to hope the enemy grows weary of fanaticism and tired of murder. This would be a pleasant world, but it's not the world we live in. The enemy is never tired, never sated, never content with yesterday's brutality. This enemy considers every retreat of the civilized world as an invitation to greater violence. In Iraq, there is no peace without victory. We will keep our nerve and we will win that victory. (Applause.)

The fifth element of our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. This is a difficult and long-term project, yet there's no alternative to it. Our future and the future of that region are linked. If the broader Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in misery, while radicals stir the resentments of millions, then that part of the world will be a source of endless conflict and mounting danger, and for our generation and the next. If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny, and advance by their own energy and by their participation as free men and women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow, and eventually end. By standing for the hope and freedom of others, we make our own freedom more secure.

America is making this stand in practical ways. We're encouraging our friends in the Middle East, including Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to take the path of reform, to strengthen their own societies in the fight against terror by respecting the rights and choices of their own people. We're standing with dissidents and exiles against oppressive regimes, because we know that the dissidents of today will be the democratic leaders of tomorrow. We're making our case through public diplomacy, stating clearly and confidently our belief in self-determination, and the rule of law, and religious freedom, and equal rights for women, beliefs that are right and true in every land, and in every culture. (Applause.)

As we do our part to confront radicalism, we know that the most vital work will be done within the Islamic world, itself. And this work has begun. Many Muslim scholars have already publicly condemned terrorism,



often citing Chapter 5, Verse 32 of the Koran, which states that killing an innocent human being is like killing all humanity, and saving the life of one person is like saving all of humanity. After the attacks in London on July the 7th, an imam in the United Arab Emirates declared, "Whoever does such a thing is not a Muslim, nor a religious person." The time has come for all responsible Islamic leaders to join in denouncing an ideology that exploits Islam for political ends, and defiles a noble faith.

Many people of the Muslim faith are proving their commitment at great personal risk. Everywhere we have engaged the fight against extremism, Muslim allies have stood up and joined the fight, becoming partners in a vital cause. Afghan troops are in combat against Taliban remnants. Iraqi soldiers are sacrificing to defeat al Qaeda in their own country. These brave citizens know the stakes -- the survival of their own liberty, the future of their own region, the justice and humanity of their own tradition -- and that United States of America is proud to stand beside them. (Applause.)

With the rise of a deadly enemy and the unfolding of a global ideological struggle, our time in history will be remembered for new challenges and unprecedented dangers. And yet the fight we have joined is also the current expression of an ancient struggle, between those who put their faith in dictators, and those who put their faith in the people. Throughout history, tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that murder is justified to serve their grand vision -- and they end up alienating decent people across the globe. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that regimented societies are strong and pure -- until those societies collapse in corruption and decay. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that free men and women are weak and decadent -- until the day that free men and women defeat them.

We don't know the course of our own struggle -- the course our own struggle will take -- or the sacrifices that might lie ahead. We do know, however, that the defense of freedom is worth our sacrifice. We do know the love of freedom is the mightiest force of history. And we do know the cause of freedom will once again prevail.

May God bless you. (Applause.)

END 10:47 A.M. EDT

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## President **Bush's** Speech **on** the War **on** Terror at the **National** Endowment for **Democracy**

Washington D.C., October 6, 2005

**THE PRESIDENT:** Thank you all. Thank you all. Please be seated. **Thank** you for the warm welcome. I'm honored once again to be with the supporters of the National Endowment for Democracy. Since the day President Ronald Reagan set out the vision for this Endowment, the world has seen the swiftest advance of democratic institutions in history. And Americans are proud to have played our role in this great story.

**Our** nation stood guard **on** tense borders; we spoke for the rights of dissidents and the hopes of exile; we aided the rise of new democracies on the ruins of tyranny. And all the cost and sacrifice of that struggle has been worth it, because, from Latin America to Europe to Asia, we've gained the peace that freedom brings.

In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory.

Yes, I want to thank you for inviting me back. And **thank** you for the short introduction. I appreciate Carl Gershman. I want to welcome former Congressman Dick Gephardt, who is a board member of the National Endowment for Democracy. It's good to see you, Dick. And I appreciate Chris Cox, who is the Chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, and a board member for the National Endowment of Democracy, for being here, as well. I want to thank all the other board members.

I appreciate the Secretary of State, Condi Rice, who has joined us -- alongside her, Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld. Thank you all for being here. I'm proud, as well, that the newly sworn-in Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the first Marine ever to hold that position, is with us today -- General Peter Pace. **I** thank the members of the Diplomatic Corps who are here, as well.

Recently our country observed the fourth anniversary of a great evil, and looked back on a great turning point in our history. We still remember a proud city covered in smoke and ashes, a fire across the Potomac, and passengers who spent their final moments on Earth fighting the enemy. We still remember the men who rejoiced in every death, and Americans in uniform rising to duty. And we remember the calling that came to us on that day, and continues to this hour: We will confront this mortal danger to all humanity. We will not tire, or rest, until the war **on** terror is won.

The images and experience of September the 11th are unique for Americans. Yet the evil of that morning has reappeared on other days, in other places -- in Mombasa, and Casablanca, and Riyadh, and Jakarta, and Istanbul, and Madrid, and Beslan, and Taba, and Netanya, and Baghdad, and elsewhere. In the past few months, we've seen a new terror offensive with attacks on London, and **Sharm** el-Sheikh, and a deadly bombing in Bali once again. **All** these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random and isolated acts of madness; innocent men and women and children have died simply because they boarded the wrong train, or worked in the wrong building, or checked into the wrong hotel. Yet while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil, but not insane.

Some call this evil Islamic radicalism; others, militant Jihadism; still others, Islamo-fascism. Whatever it's called, this ideology is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent, political vision: the establishment, by terrorism and subversion and insurgency, of a

totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Jews and Hindus -- and also against Muslims from other traditions, who they regard as heretics.

Many militants are part of global, borderless terrorist organizations like al Qaeda, which spreads propaganda, and provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists, and conducts dramatic and brutal operations like September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups, often associated with al Qaeda -- paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia, and the Philippines, and Pakistan, and Chechnya, and Kashmir, and Algeria. Still others spring up in local cells, inspired by Islamic radicalism, but not centrally directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with many branches than an army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world.

We know the vision of the radicals because they've openly stated it -- in videos, and audiotapes, and letters, and declarations, and websites. First, these extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because we stand for democracy and peace, and stand in the way of their ambitions. Al Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, has called on Muslims to dedicate, quote, their "resources, sons and money to driving the infidels out of their lands." Their tactic to meet this goal has been consistent for a quarter-century: They hit us, and expect us to run. They want us to repeat the sad history of Beirut in 1983, and Mogadishu in 1993 -- only this time on a larger scale, with greater consequences.

Second, the militant network **wants** to use the vacuum created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, a base from which to launch attacks and conduct their war against non-radical Muslim governments. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, and Jordan for potential takeover. They achieved their goal, for a time, in Afghanistan. Now they've set their sights on Iraq. Bin Laden has stated "The whole world is watching this war and the two adversaries. It's either victory and glory, or misery and humiliation." The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity. And we must recognize Iraq as the central front in our war on terror.

Third, the militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow all moderate governments in the region, and establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia. With greater economic and military and political power, the **terrorists** would be able to advance their stated agenda: to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to assault the American people, and to blackmail our government into isolation.

Some might be tempted to dismiss these goals as fanatical **or** extreme. Well, they are fanatical and extreme -- and they should not be dismissed. **Our** enemy is utterly committed. As Zarqawi has vowed, "We will either achieve victory over the human race or we will pass to the eternal life." And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously -- and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.

Defeating the militant network is difficult, because it thrives, like a parasite, **on** the suffering and frustration of others. The radicals exploit local conflicts to build a culture of victimization, in which someone else is always to blame and violence is always the solution. They exploit resentful and disillusioned young men and women, recruiting them through radical mosques as the pawns of terror. And they exploit modern technology to multiply their destructive power. Instead of attending faraway

training camps, recruits can now access online training libraries to learn how to build a roadside bomb, or fire a rocket-propelled grenade -- and this further spreads the threat of violence, even within peaceful democratic societies.

The influence of Islamic radicalism is also magnified by helpers and enablers. They have been sheltered by authoritarian regimes, allies of convenience like Syria and Iran, that share the goal of hurting America and moderate Muslim governments, and use terrorist propaganda to blame their own failures on the West and America, and on the Jews. These radicals depend on front operations, such as corrupted charities, which direct money to terrorist activity. They're strengthened by those who aggressively fund the spread of radical, intolerant versions of Islam in unstable parts of the world. The militants are aided, as well, by elements of the Arab news media that incite hatred and anti-Semitism, that feed conspiracy theories and speak of a so-called American "war on Islam" -- with seldom a word about American action to protect Muslims in Afghanistan, and Bosnia, Somalia, Kosovo, Kuwait, and Iraq.

Some have also argued that extremism has been strengthened by the actions of our coalition in Iraq, claiming that our presence in that country has somehow caused or triggered the rage of radicals. I would remind them that we were not in Iraq on September the 11th, 2001 -- and al Qaeda attacked us anyway. The hatred of the radicals existed before Iraq was an issue, and it will exist after Iraq is no longer an excuse. The government of Russia did not support Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet the militants killed more than 180 Russian schoolchildren in Beslan.

Over the years these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence -- the Israeli presence on the West Bank, or the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia, or the defeat of the Taliban, or the Crusades of a thousand years ago. In fact, we're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives: to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. No act of ours invited the rage of the killers -- and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder.

On the contrary: They target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down, never give in, and never accept anything less than complete victory.

The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet, in many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century. Like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard that presumes to speak for the Muslim masses. Bin Laden says his own role is to tell Muslims, quote, "what is good for them and what is not." And what this man who grew up in wealth and privilege considers good for poor Muslims is that they become killers and suicide bombers. He assures them that his -- that this is the road to paradise -- though he never offers to go along for the ride.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision. And this explains their cold-blooded contempt for human life. We've seen it in the murders of Daniel Pearl, Nicholas Berg, and Margaret Hassan, and many others. In a courtroom in the Netherlands, the killer of Theo Van Gogh turned to the victim's grieving mother and said, "I do not feel your pain -- because I believe you are an infidel." And in spite of this veneer of religious rhetoric, most of the victims claimed by the militants are fellow Muslims.

When 25 Iraqi children are killed in a bombing, or Iraqi teachers are executed at their school, or hospital workers are killed caring for the wounded, this is murder, pure and simple -- the total rejection of justice and honor and morality and religion. These militants are not just the enemies of America, or the enemies



of Iraq, they are the enemies of **Islam** and the enemies of humanity. We have seen this kind of **shameless** cruelty before, in the heartless zealotry that led to the gulags, and the **Cultural** Revolution, and the killing fields.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Its leaders pretend to be an aggrieved party, representing the powerless against imperial enemies. In truth they have endless ambitions of imperial domination, and they wish to make everyone powerless except themselves. Under their rule, they have banned books, and desecrated historical monuments, and brutalized women. They seek to end dissent in every form, and to control every aspect of life, and to rule the soul, itself. While promising a future of justice and holiness, the terrorists are preparing for a future of oppression and misery.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. Zarqawi **has** said that Americans are, quote, "the most cowardly of God's creatures." But let's be clear: It is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs, and cuts **the** throat of a bound captive, and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated more than **50** million people. It is courage that keeps an untiring vigil against the enemies of a rising democracy. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that once again will destroy the enemies of freedom.

And Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom -- by distrusting human creativity, and punishing change, and limiting the contributions of half the population -- this ideology undermines the very qualities that **make** human progress possible, and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants' vision is the weapons they want to **use** against us. **The** rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past -- a declaration of war on the idea of progress, itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt: Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation, decline, and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, **free** peoples will own the future.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence, and a comprehensive strategy. Defeating a broad and adaptive network requires patience, constant pressure, and strong partners in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Asia and beyond. Working with these partners, we're disrupting militant conspiracies, destroying their ability to **make** war, and working to give millions in a troubled region of the world a hopeful alternative to resentment and violence.

First, we're determined to prevent the attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're reorganizing our government to give this nation a broad and coordinated homeland defense. We're reforming our intelligence agencies for the incredibly difficult task of tracking enemy activity, based on information that often comes in small **fragments** from widely scattered sources, here and abroad. We're acting, along with the governments from many countries, to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leaders. Together, we've killed or captured nearly all of those directly responsible for the September the 11th **attacks**; as well as some of bin Laden's most senior deputies; al Qaeda managers and operatives in more than **24** countries; the mastermind of the **USS Cole** bombing, who was chief of al Qaeda operations in the Persian Gulf; the mastermind of the Jakarta and the first Bali bombings; a senior Zarqawi terrorist planner, who was planning attacks in Turkey; and many of al Qaeda's senior leaders in Saudi Arabia.

Overall, the United States and our partners have disrupted at least ten **serious** al Qaeda terrorist plots since September the 11th, including three al Qaeda plots to attack inside the United States. We've stopped at least five more al Qaeda efforts to case targets in the United States, or infiltrate operatives into our

country. Because of this steady progress, the enemy is wounded -- but the enemy is still capable of global operations. Our commitment is clear: We will not relent until the organized international terror networks are exposed and broken, and their leaders held to account for their acts of murder.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes, and to their terrorist allies who would **use** them without hesitation. The United States, **working** with Great Britain, Pakistan, and other nations, has exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs, **as** well as long-range ballistic missiles. And in the last year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspected weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program.

This progress has reduced the danger to free nations, but has not removed it. Evil men who want to use horrendous weapons against us are **working** in deadly earnest to gain them. And we're working urgently to keep weapons of mass destruction out of their hands.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. State sponsors like Syria and Iran have a long history of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the victims of terror. The United States makes **no** distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they're equally as guilty of murder. (.) Any government that chooses to be an ally of terror **has** also chosen to be an enemy of civilization. And the civilized world must hold those regimes to account.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation, which they would use **as** a home base and a launching pad for terror. For this reason, we're fighting beside **our** Afghan partners against remnants of the Taliban and their al Qaeda allies. For this reason, we're **working** with President Musharraf to oppose and isolate the militants in Pakistan. And for this reason, we're fighting the regime remnants and terrorists in Iraq. The terrorist goal is to overthrow a rising democracy, claim a strategic country as a haven for terror, destabilize the Middle East, and strike America and other free nations with ever-increasing violence. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies at the heart of their power -- and so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive, specific military plan. Area by area, city by city, we're conducting offensive operations to clear out enemy forces, and leaving behind Iraqi units to prevent the enemy from returning. Within these areas, we're working for tangible improvements in the lives of Iraqi citizens. And we're aiding the rise of an elected government that unites the Iraqi people against extremism and violence. This work involves great risk for Iraqis, and for Americans and coalition forces. Wars are not won without sacrifice -- and this war will require more sacrifice, more time, and more resolve.

The terrorists are as brutal an enemy as we've ever faced. They're unconstrained by any notion **of our** common humanity, **or** by the rules of warfare. No one should underestimate the difficulties ahead, nor should they overlook the advantages we bring to this fight.

Some observers look at the job **ahead** and adopt a self-defeating pessimism. It is not justified. With every random bombing and with every funeral **of** a child, it becomes more clear that the extremists **are** not patriots, or resistance fighters -- they are murderers at war with the Iraqi people, themselves.

In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard **or** precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible political progress -- from tyranny, to liberation, to national elections,

to the writing of a constitution, in the space of two-and-a-half years. With our help, the Iraqi military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence with every passing month. At the time of our Fallujah operations 11 months ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today there **are** more than 80 Iraqi army battalions fighting the insurgency alongside our forces. Progress isn't easy, but it is steady. And no fair-minded person should ignore, deny, or dismiss the achievements of the Iraqi people.

Some observers question the durability of democracy in Iraq. They underestimate the power and appeal of freedom. We've heard it suggested that Iraq's democracy must be on shaky ground because Iraqis are arguing with each other. But that's the essence of democracy: making your case, debating with those who you disagree -- who disagree, building consensus by persuasion, and answering to the will of the people. We've heard it said that the Shia, Sunnis and Kurds of Iraq are too divided to form a lasting democracy. In fact, democratic federalism is the best hope for unifying a diverse population, because a federal constitutional system respects the rights and religious traditions of all citizens, while giving all minorities, including the Sunnis, a stake and a voice in the future **of** their country. It is true that the seeds **of** freedom have only recently been planted in Iraq -- but democracy, when it grows, is not a fragile flower; it is a healthy, sturdy tree.

As Americans, we believe that people everywhere -- everywhere -- prefer **freedom** to slavery, and that liberty, once chosen, improves the lives **of** all. And so we're confident, as our coalition and the Iraqi people each do their part, Iraqi democracy will succeed.

Some observers also claim that America would be better off by cutting our losses and leaving Iraq now. This is a **dangerous** illusion, refuted with a simple question: Would the United States and other free nations be more safe, or **less** safe, with Zarqawi and bin Laden in control of Iraq, its people, and its resources? Having removed a dictator who hated free peoples, we will not stand by as a new set of killers, dedicated to the destruction of our own country, seizes control of Iraq by violence.

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The **fifth** element **of** our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. This is a difficult and long-term project, yet there's no alternative to it. Our future and the future of that region are linked. If the broader Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in misery, while radicals stir the resentments of millions, then that part of the world will be a **source** of endless conflict and mounting danger, and for our generation and the next. If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny, and advance by their own energy and by their participation as **free** men and women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow, and eventually end. By standing for the hope and freedom of others, we make our own freedom more secure.

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our belief in self-determination, and the rule of law, and religious freedom, and equal rights for women, beliefs that are right and true in every land, and in every culture.

As we do our part to confront radicalism, we know that the most vital work will be done within the Islamic world, itself. And this work has begun. Many Muslim scholars have already publicly condemned terrorism, often citing Chapter 5, Verse **32** of the Koran, which states that killing an innocent human being is like killing all humanity, and saving the life of one person is like saving all of humanity. **After** the attacks in London on July the 7<sup>th</sup>, an imam in the United Arab Emirates declared, "Whoever does such a thing is not a Muslim, nor a religious person." The time has come for all responsible Islamic leaders to join in denouncing an ideology that exploits Islam for political ends, and defiles a noble faith.

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With the rise of a deadly enemy and the unfolding of a global ideological struggle, our time in history will be remembered **for** new challenges and unprecedented dangers. And yet the fight we have joined is also the current expression of an ancient struggle, between those who put their faith in dictators, and those who put their faith in the people. Throughout history, tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that murder **is** justified to serve their grand vision -- and they end up alienating decent people **across** the globe. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that regimented societies are strong and pure -- until those societies collapse in corruption and decay. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that free men and women are weak and decadent -- until the day that free men and women defeat them.

We don't know the course of our own struggle -- the course our own struggle will take -- or the sacrifices that might lie ahead. We do know, however, that the defense of freedom is worth our sacrifice. We do know the love of freedom is the mightiest force of history. And we do know the cause of freedom will once again prevail.


May God bless you.

FOUO

OCT 24 2005

TO: President George W. Bush

CC: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
 Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
 Stephen J. Hadley

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: *Feedback from Pakistan*

Below is a quote from an American Special Forces Soldier on the ground in Pakistan. *Your military is doing a fine job over there!*

Respectfully,

The situation in Pakistan is akin to our American world of life before and after 9/11. The premise of our relationship with Pakistan before the earthquake was one of deep suspicion. The government and people assumed that America was exploitive and would abandon Pakistan after achieving short-term GWOT objectives. The nearly instant and strong response of the United States has changed perceptions. The most significant symbol of America is the CH-47. Where there are many helicopters flying, the twin rotor Chinook is uniquely American. Our crews fly supplies from Chaklala to the northern damaged areas, then pick up injured and disabled for delivery to hospitals on the way home. The Pakistan media captured a shriveled and broken man being carried off a Chinook by Pakistan troops, who said in Urdu, "I was dying but am now saved. God Bless America." I have had people approach me to ask if I was an American. All of them, from polished businessmen to street sweepers echoed their thanks for being with them in the hour of need.

Out of the disaster of the earthquake has come the opportunity to show Pakistan, and the Muslim world, who and what Americans are. This is an inflection point in our global image that we are finally on the right side. A Pakistan man told me, "We have not seen any Al Qaeda helicopters delivering relief."

The Pak Army has performed Herculean tasks with courage and dedication. I do not think we have outperformed their helicopters or mule trains delivering relief, but we have been their best partners and friends.

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24 Oct 05




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OCT 24 7005

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CC: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

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FOUO

OCT 24 2005

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CC: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley

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Below is a quote from an American Special Forces Soldier on the ground in Pakistan. *Your military is doing a fine job over there!*

Respectfully,

The situation in Pakistan is akin to an American world of life before and after 9/11. The premise of our relationship with Pakistan before the earthquake was one of deep suspicion. The government and people assumed that America was exploitive and would abandon Pakistan after achieving short-term GWOT objectives. The nearly instant and strong response of the United States has changed perceptions. The most significant symbol of America is the CH-47. While there are many helicopters flying, the twin rotor Chinook is uniquely American. Our crews fly supplies from Chaklala to the northern damaged areas, then pick up injured and disabled for delivery to hospitals on the way home. The Pakistan media captured a shriveled and broken man being carried off a Chinook by Pakistan troops who said in Urdu, "I was dying but am now saved. God Bless America." I have had people approach me to ask if I was an American. All of them, from polished businessmen to street sweepers echoed their thanks for being with them in the hour of need.

Out of the disaster of the earthquake has come the opportunity to show Pakistan, and the Muslim world, who and what Americans are. This is an inflection point in our global image that we are finally on the right side. A Pakistan man told me, "We have not seen any Al Qaeda helicopters delivering relief."

The Pak Army has performed Herculean tasks with courage and dedication. I do not think we have outperformed their helicopters or mule trains delivering relief, but we have been their best partners and friends.

DHR:ds  
102205-01 (TS).doc

FOUO

OSD 20967-05


11-L-0559/OSD/53612

FOUO

OCT 24 2005

TO: President George W. Bush

CC: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Feedback from Pakistan

Below is a quote from an American Special Forces Soldier on the ground in Pakistan. *Your* military is doing a fine job over there!

Respectfully,

The situation in Pakistan is akin to our American world of life before and after 9/11. The premiss of our relationship with Pakistan before the earthquake was one of deep suspicion. The government and people assumed that America was exploitive and would abandon Pakistan after achieving short-term GWOT objectives. The nearly instant and strong response of the United States has changed perceptions. The most significant symbol of America is the CH-47. We there are many helicopters flying, the twin rotor Chinook is uniquely American. Our crews fly supplies from Chaklala to the northern damaged areas, then pick up injured and disabled for delivery to hospitals on the way home. The Pakistan media captured a shriveled and broken man being carried off a Chinook by Pakistan troops who said in Urdu, "I was dying but am now saved. God Bless America." I have had people approach me to ask if I was an American. All of them, from polished businessmen to street sweepers echoed their thanks for being with them in the hour of need.

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The Pak Army has performed Herculean tasks with courage and dedication. I do not think we have outperformed their helicopters or mule trains delivering relief, but we have been their best partners and friends.

DBR:db  
102205-01 (TS).doc

FOUO

OSD 20967-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53613



~~SECRET~~  
~~ATTACHMENT~~

September 7, 2004

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Defense Science Board Summer Project

If you have not seen the Defense Science Board Summer Project, I think you should (See page 33 of their briefing papers )

I think we should ask **DIA** to come back to us with a proposal as to how they are going to make better use of open source information.

Thanks.

Attach.  
08/31/04 Defense Science Board Summer Project (page 33)

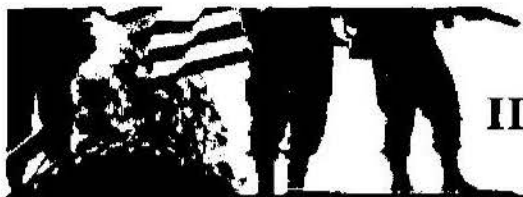
DHR:ss  
090704-22

.....  
Please respond by 9/17

334 DSB

7 SEP 04

~~SECRET~~  
~~ATTACHMENT~~



Transition to and from Hostilities  
III.C. Knowledge, Understanding, and  
Intelligence for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century



Unclassified

*Recommendations: Open Source*

- USD(I) designate DIA as Executive Agent for oversight, planning and (most) direct execution
  - Separately budget so that it does not compete with “core business” of the Executive Agent
  - Fund for the central procurement resolution of intellectual property rights
  - Consider “industrial funding” model for open-source-analytic and other value-added products; Executive Agent would qualify the vendors
- Fund demonstrations of linking and e-business paradigms on Intelink TS and S
- Change the lanes in the road so that every single source agency produces two-source integrated product ...e.g., SIGINT and open source, or geo-spatial and open source
- Design the enterprise-wide data architecture to support and exploit linkages provided by open source

Unclassified

September 7, 2004

TO: Matt Latimer  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Thoughts on Iraq Papers

Here are some papers I have worked on. Please sort through them and, after talking with Larry and Tony, come back to me with a recommendation as to what I should do with them, if anything.

Thanks.

Attach.

- 6/10/04 ASD(ISA) Memo to SecDef re: Thoughts on Iraq,
- 06/09/04 Suggested Insert from Dr. Wolfowitz
- 06/21/04 memo from SecDef to Rodman re: Edits on Thoughts on Iraq.

DHR:ss  
090704-43

.....  
Please respond by 9/17/04

*Iraq*

*75 Sep 04*

September 10, 2004

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Briefing Paper for POTUS

We need to see that the President has a briefing paper before he meets with Prime Minister Koizumi showing what we are doing in Japan, and why the deterrent will not be weakened.

Please read the attached.

Thanks.

Attach:  
FBIS Report Re: Koizumi to discuss USFJ Realignment on 9/21

DHR:ss  
091004-2

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

*Japan*

*105EP04*

---

**Japan: Koizumi Expected To Discuss USFJ Realignment With Bush in  
NY on 21 Sep**

*JPP20040909000004 Tokyo Nikkei Telecom 21 WWW-Text in English 2056 GMT 08  
Sep 04*

[Unattributed report: "Koizumi, Bush To Discuss US Base Issue in New York on 21  
September"; English version of report attributed to Tokyo Nihon Keizai Shimbun in  
Japanese 9 Sep 04 Morning Edition]  
[FBIS Transcribed Text]

TOKYO (Nikkei) -- Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi is expected to discuss the  
realignment of U.S. forces in Japan when he meets with U.S. President George W.  
Bush in New York on Sept. 21.

Koizumi is scheduled to travel to New York to attend the annual U.N. General  
Assembly following visits to Brazil and Mexico.

Specifically, Japan will seek to have local interests reflected in these plans through  
such measures as reducing the burden borne by communities hosting U.S. military  
installations. In addition, Koizumi will ask that U.S. military forces in Japan maintain  
their deterrence capabilities.

In bilateral director-general-level discussions with foreign affairs and defense officials  
at the end of August, Japan expressed its intention to present as early as this year a  
policy response to the planned U.S. military realignment.

The meeting between Koizumi and Bush is expected to establish a foundation for  
discussions before the bilateral military realignment talks begin in earnest.

On the expansion of the U.N. Security Council, Koizumi will explain Japan's bid to  
seek entry into the group without changing the country's war-renouncing Constitution.  
Koizumi hopes to win Bush's support on the matter.

[Description of Source: Tokyo Nikkei Telecom 21 Text-WWW in English -- on-line  
database service owned by Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Inc., containing flash news, the  
main Tokyo newspapers, business, technical, and regional newspapers, weekly  
magazines, plus various business-oriented databases]

file

September 16, 2004

TO: Les Brownlee  
Lt. Gen. Lovelace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: General Officer Memos of Reprimand

At the detainee brief, you said there were 13 GO Memos of Reprimand.

I would like more detail on the implications of the memos -- how many will be in service jackets and how those that are not in service jackets will affect the individual's careers.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
091604-14

.....  
Please respond by 9/23/04

*Sir,*  
*Response attached.*

*v/r*  
*Lt Col Lengyel 9/23*

*383.4*

*16 SEP 04*

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

The Senior Military Assistant

9/23

DU 9/24

SIR \_\_\_\_\_

My Army sources,  
including Col Bucci,  
tell me these are  
essentially all career  
terminal.

V/R  
Jim



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
WASHINGTON DC 20310-0200

204 9/24

INFO MEMO

September 22, 2004, 9:00 AM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: R.L. Brownlee, Acting Secretary of the Army

*Brownlee*

SUBJECT: General Officer Memos of Reprimand

- You were informed that Headquarters, Department of the Army, has received reports of 13 administrative reprimands imposed in connection with incidents of detainee abuse. Since that time, we have received reports of two additional administrative reprimands imposed for incidents of detainee abuse. Of these 15 reprimands, seven were imposed by general officers and eight were imposed by other officers. All of these reprimands were filed in local unit files, and may be considered by the recipient's commander when making assignments, promotions, or selections for schooling.
- We have also received reports of two additional reprimands for related misconduct that were imposed by a general officer as nonjudicial punishment under the provisions of Article 15, Uniform Code of Military Justice. Both of these actions will be filed in the Official Military Personnel Files (OMPF) of the recipients, which are maintained by the Department of the Army.
- In addition, six Soldiers have been reprimanded by a general officer for dereliction of supervisory duties and similar neglects in connection with the administration of the detention facility at Abu Ghraib. All of these reprimands were filed in the OMPF of the recipients.

383.6

22 Sep 04

165 Sep 04

COORDINATION: NONE

PREPARED BY: COL William Barto (b)(6)

OSD 20975-04



September 16, 2004

TO: Gen. Pete Schoomaker  
CC: Gen. Dick Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Note from Newt Gingrich

Here are some interesting e-mails from Newt Gingrich. I would appreciate it if you would talk to him sometime and explain what you are doing. He is interested and knowledgeable. I think it would be helpful.

Thanks.

Attach.  
E-mails from Gingrich (6/4, 6/21, 7/9/04)

DHR:ss  
091604-11

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

320.2

165 Sep 04

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

LD's response to  
Newt's ad (below)

cc Craddock  
Butler

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2004 5:31 PM  
**To:** 'Thirdwave2@aol.com'; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA; Craddock, John J, Lt Gen, OSD; (b)(6) Patterson, Jack D, CIV, OSD  
**Cc:** peter.pace@js.pentagon.mil; stephen.cambone@OSD.mil; Thornhill, Paula, Col, JCS SJS  
**Subject:** RE: the army is too small-newt

could it be that the army is the right size, but too much of it is in the reserves?

that's a much more transformational matter than simply adding bodies.

for years, for all the right reasons at the time (maybe) we have been putting what has become critical capability into the reserves.

it's time to change that.

put another way, adding two new divisions and not fixing the imbalance will not solve the problem.

i'm not stubborn on the point, but you shouldn't be, either. your comments suggest that you have not had the chance to consider the matter as carefully as you might.

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

**From:** Thirdwave2@aol.com [mailto:Thirdwave2@aol.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, June 04, 2004 8:27 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)@osd.pentagon.mil; Larry.DiRita@osd.pentagon.mil;  
 John.Craddock@OSD.Pentagon.mil; (b)(6) jack.patterson@osd.mil  
**Cc:** peter.pace@js.pentagon.mil; stephen.cambone@OSD.mil; paula.thornhill@js.pentagon.mil  
**Subject:** the army is too small-newt

for secdef, depsecdef  
from newt 6/04/04

it is untenable to argue the Army is the right size

it is a direct contradiction of the Secretary's warning at West Point that we are in the early stages of a long war

it is impossible for average Americans to believe that the Army is the right size but we have to rely on reservists and guardsmen on a continuing basis and we now have to extend service involuntarily

I do not care what the studies and higher ups are telling you as an Army brat who went through the Eisenhower reductions in forces in the late 1950s as a child this combination of events is going to weaken the Army

finally, it is impossible to explain to the American people why the Army is the right size when their neighbors are called up and service is involuntarily extended

I cannot defend the current size and when asked I am going to say the Army should be larger

Kerry will win this debate

this is a repetition of the 1960 Nixon mistake of defending America's strength against Kennedy's charge of a missile gap--the country decided Kennedy was right even though he was wrong

for the first time in decades Republicans are now on the weakness side of a defense issue and giving the Democrats an easy way to be on the pro-defense side of more strength.

You should call for a significant increase in Army end strength and a significant increase in the Army budget to cover that cost without eating into the rest of the Army's program

if this is a long war then let's start acting like its a real war and budget accordingly

to repeat: I personally cannot defend the smaller Army position and I would support a substantial increase in both Army strength and the Army budget

this is both a national security and a political issue and the administration is wrong on both

cc: Butler  
LTG Craddock

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

**From:** Thirdwave2@aol.com  
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2004 8:02 PM  
**To:** jarry.dirita@osd.pentagon.mil; (b)(6)@osd.pentagon.mil; John.Craddock@osd.mil;  
(b)(6) Jack.Patterson@osd.mil  
**Cc:** peter.pace@js.pentagon.mil; stephen.cambone@OSD.mil; paula.thornhill@js.pentagon.mil  
**Subject:** Re: the army is too small-newt

there is a theoretical army in which total manpower including reserves and national guard, mobilization depots, division overhead, etc all can be converted to a lean fighting army

we are in a war

we are making decisions about troops in Korea and troops in Germany which may effect our long term influence in those regions forever

we have an army which is very strained and in which we do not have enough area specialists with language skills, we do not have enough civil affairs units, we do not have enough information officers with even a minimum level of information strategy skills

in a societal war against an embedded opponent the army will end up being the primary carrier of the war

it is too small

you are being told it is adequate only because we have imposed a budget cap on it

if you asked the combatant commanders and the army to assess a long war strategy and the current tempo they would need a much bigger system

this is not about divisions it is about rotatable units, sustaining the force, developing adequate specialties

in peacetime we can wait until we reform the guard, reserve and overhead

in a war we would insist on adequate troops and then try to reform

which are we in?

newt

LD's response to  
Newt's email

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA

**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2004 7:09 AM

**To:** 'Thirdwave2@aol.com'; Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; Craddock, John J, Lt Gen, OSD (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: the army is too small-newt

Because we are in a war we can do things we knew we needed to for a long time but always found a reason not to.

This is not an argument against more end strength, although I am not persuaded that's the right answer and I only have to listen to the chief of staff of the army on that one.

But if we did get an increase in end strength, we would lose some of the impetus to do the very things that we are doing because we never had an impetus until now.

Restructuring in Europe and Korea are good things, and long overdue.

Restructuring the active and reserve balance is overdue, although we probably did not know that until now.

Getting our civil service system redesigned to make it more flexible and less dependent upon activity duty military is a good thing, although we never would have achieved that legislative initiative without the pressure on end strength.

I don't know if we need more end strength or not. If after we have done all these other things, we find we still do, then we should ask for it. But even accepting your argument that simply being in a war demands a larger army, it is not clear to me how we would use it if we had it and I know that if we had it a lot of these other things might not happen.

If your concern is our footprint in Europe and Korea, then we just have a basic difference of views on whether it makes sense for us to continue maintain all those divisions so committed. That is a quite different consideration, it seems to me.

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

**From:** Thirdwave2@aol.com [mailto:Thirdwave2@aol.com]

**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2004 8:02 PM

**To:** larry.dirita@osd.pentagon.mil; (b)(6) @osd.pentagon.mil; John.Craddock@osd.mil;

(b)(6) Jack.Patterson@osd.mil

**Cc:** peter.pace@js.pentagon.mil; stephen.cambone@OSD..mil; paula.thornhill@js.pentagon.mil

**Subject:** Re: the army is too small-newt

there is a theoretical army in which total manpower including reserves and national guard, mobilization depots, division overhead, etc all can be converted to a lean fighting army

we are in a war

we are making decisions about troops in Korea and troops in Germany which may effect our long term influence in those regions forever

6/22/2004

11-L-0559/OSD/53626

we have an army which is very strained and in which we do not have enough area specialists with language skills, we do not have enough civil affairs units, we do not have enough information officers with even a minimum level of information strategy skills

in a societal war against an embedded opponent the army will end up being the primary carrier of the war

it is too small

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in peacetime we can wait until we reform the guard, reserve and overhead

in a war we would insist on adequate troops and then try to reform

which are we in?  
newt

Call

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

**From:** Thirdwave2@aol.com  
**Sent:** Friday, July 09, 2004 7:58 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)@osd.pentagon.mil; Larry.DiRita@osd.pentagon.mil;  
John.Craddock@OSD.Pentagon.mil; (b)(6) jack.patterson@osd.mil  
**Cc:** peter.pace@js.pentagon.mil; paula.thornhill@js.pentagon.mil  
**Subject:** the army is too small and it is starting to make us lookg silly

from newt 7/9/04  
army size

the contortions we are going through with the Army are going to **be** politically very expensive this **fall**

it is impossible to **be** doing all the different things the army is doing to hold itself together and argue that it is not too **small**

involuntarily retaining people, involuntarily calling people back, reaching out to recruit from the other services

everything indicates **we** are in a system that is too small and that is wearing down'

it is like watching a company starting to kite checks to cover cash flow problems

there may be **good** management answers but politically the country is not going to believe the army is big enough

the **sooner we** decide to **expand** the army the **less** it will **cost us** this **fall** in the debates

September 17, 2004

TO: David Chu

CC: Gen. Dick Myers  
Gen. Pete Pace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: "Stress on the Force" Memo - Update

I would like to see an update to our "Stress on the Force" Memo very soon. My sense is that we have made some good progress and I am looking forward to hearing the specifics.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
091704-1

.....  
Please respond by 9/24/04

*322,2*

*17 Sep 04*



720  
FOUO

file

September 20, 2004

ES-0826  
04/012625-ES

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld **DR**  
SUBJECT: Pakistan

What more can we do for Pakistan on getting money for those madrasahs?

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092004-31

Pakistan

.....  
Please respond by 10/15/04

9/23/04

**DA** 9/28

ESD

**Paul Butler**  
9/23

**pub** → I'm working this on two levels.  
I'll continue pushing Hadley and Grossman on how best to use current ESF and other accounts for Pak education.

The greater issue is that we (the USG) need billions more from Congress to fight the war on Terrorism on the ideological front. I am working with Tina Jonas and Powell more on a plan to brief Congress systematically on our CWC Strategy and make case for a different approach to funds and authorities. You discussed this with us last Friday at the three-hour session.  
Doug Feith

20 SEP 04

FOUO

September 22, 2004

TO: Paul McHale  
CC: Jim Haynes  
Gen Dick Myers  
Gen Pete Pace  
ADM Vern Clark  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Navy - Coast Guard Authorities

384

As we move forward toward creating a Maritime NORAD structure to deal with homeland security on the seas, it makes sense to sort out the specific authorities between the Navy and Coast Guard.

Please do a thorough review of the current relationship, with particular focus on homeland defense, and send up proposals that make the most sense for both departments. We should also look at the larger relationship between the Sea Services across the board - combat coordination, interaction overseas, acquisition, command and control arrangements and so forth.

22 Sep 04

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092204-5

.....  
Please respond by     n | 30 / 04

September 23, 2004

TO: COL Steve Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Satellite Photo of Iraq

Please get me a copy of a satellite photograph of Iraq before the war and a photo today. I would like to see an image taken at night, so we can see the difference in electricity generation from then to now.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092304-2

.....  
Please respond by 10/7/04

Sir,

The first photo is the average lights during a 1 1/2 month period before the war. The second is a one month average after the war, The third is a one night image that shows the night after the attack on the oil line that closed down the Bayji Power plant. It shows how quickly the majority of power was restored.

VIR, COL B

*060*

*23 Sep 04*

September 23, 2004

TO: Ray DuBois  
CC: Jim Haynes  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Overhead Costs for Pentagon Memorial

I am a little worried about overhead costs related to the Pentagon Memorial fundraising effort. I think we better get a very good grip on exactly how much people are being paid to help raise money for the fund.

As you know, there have been problems in New York over this issue, and it has been the case in other instances related to charitable activities.

Once you tell me that, we may want to see if we agree that that is an appropriate percentage or amount. If it is not, we will want to fix it. If it is – it may be that we will want to get one or two people – possibly me – to pay all of the overhead, so we can say that every dollar anyone gives will go directly toward the Memorial, because the overhead has been covered separately.

Let me know what you think.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092304-6

.....  
Please respond by 10/8/04

*ODOY*

*23 Sep 04*

file

September 24, 2004

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: List of SASC and HASC Subcommittees

Please give me a copy of the subcommittees of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees. I want to look at how they are organized. And maybe privately suggest some different organizations at some point to Duncan Hunter and John Warner.

032

I have a feeling they are organized for the way we used to look at the Department of Defense, instead of the way we ought to be looking at it. Maybe that would help.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092404-3

.....  
Please respond by 9/24/04

*Tom*  
*AD 9/27*

24 Sep 04

DA 9/27



LEGISLATIVE  
AFFAIRS

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1300

September 24, 2004 5:00 PM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Powell A. Moore, Assistant Secretary of Defense  
for Legislative Affairs, (b)(6)

SUBJECT: Response to SECDEF Inquiry

032

- Attached is the information you requested regarding SASC and HASC subcommittees.

2 Attachments:

1. SASC Full Committee and Subcommittees
2. HASC Full Committee and Subcommittees

24 Sep 04

24 Sep 04

11-L-0559/OSD/53635

OSD 20983-04

## SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

### FULL COMMITTEE

**Jurisdiction:** Defense and defense policy generally; aeronautical and space activities peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapons systems or military operations; the common defense; the Department of Defense, the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force, military research and development; national security aspects of nuclear energy; naval petroleum reserves, except those in Alaska; pay, promotion, retirement, and other benefits and privileges of members of the Armed Forces, including overseas education of civilian and military dependents; selective service system; and strategic and critical materials necessary for the common defense; comprehensive study and review of matters relating to the common defense policy of the United States. The chairman and ranking minority member are non-voting members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members

#### Republicans (13)

---

John W. Warner, Va. - *chairman*  
John McCain, Ariz.  
James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
Pat Roberts, Kan.  
Wayne Allard, Colo.  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
Susan Collins, Maine  
John Ensign, Nev.  
Jim Talent, Mo.  
Saxby Chambliss, Ga.  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
Elizabeth Dole, N.C.  
John Cornyn, Texas

#### Democrats (12)

---

Carl Levin, Mich. - *ranking member*  
Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.  
Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.  
Joseph I. Lieberman, Conn.  
Jack Reed, R.I.  
Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii  
Bill Nelson, Fla.  
Ben Nelson, Neb.  
Mark Dayton, Minn.  
Evan Bayh, Ind.  
Hillary Rodham Clinton, N.Y.  
Mark Pryor, Ark.

**Republican Staff Director:** Judith A. Ansley

**Democratic Staff Director:** Rick DeBobes

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON AIRLAND

**Jurisdiction:** All Army and Air Force acquisition programs (except strategic weapons and lift programs, special operations and information technology accounts); all Navy and Marine Corps aviation programs, National Guard and Army and Air Force reserve modernization, and ammunition programs.

### Republicans (7)

---

Jeff Sessions, Ala. - *chairman*  
John McCain, Ariz.  
James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
Pat Roberts, Kan.  
Jim Talent, Mo.  
Saxby Chambliss, Ga.  
Elizabeth Dole, N.C.

### Democrats (6)

---

Joseph I. Lieberman, Conn. - *ranking member*  
Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii  
Mark Dayton, Minn.  
Evan Bayh, Ind.  
Hillary Rodham Clinton, N.Y.  
Mark Pryor, Ark.

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMERGING THREATS AND CAPABILITIES

**Jurisdiction:** Policies and programs to counter emerging threats such as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, illegal drugs, and other asymmetric threats, information warfare programs; technology base programs, special operations programs; emerging operational concepts; Foreign Military Sales (FMS); technology export policies; Nunn-Lugar issues; DOE non-proliferation programs; doctrine and R&D supporting non-traditional military operations, including peacekeeping and low-intensity conflict; budget accounts for technology base RDT&E for DOD and DOE counterterrorism and chemical and biological warfare defense; DOD funding for the Nunn-Lugar cooperative threat reduction program; DOE funding for non-proliferation programs; DOD command and agencies including Defense Advance Research Project Agency (DARPA); Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA); Defense Security Cooperation Agency (SSCA); SOCOM

### Republicans (9)

---

Pat Roberts, Kan. - *chairman*  
Wayne Allard, Colo.  
Susan Collins, Maine  
John Ensign, Nev.  
Jim Talent, Mo.  
Saxby Chambliss, Ga.  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
Elizabeth Dole, N.C.  
John Cornyn, Texas

### Democrats (8)

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Jack Reed, R.I. - *ranking member*  
Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.  
Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.  
Joseph I. Lieberman, Conn.  
Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii  
Bill Nelson, Fla.  
Evan Bayh, Ind.  
Hillary Rodham Clinton, N.Y.



## SUBCOMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

**Jurisdiction:** Policies and end strengths for military and civilian personnel; military health care; compensation; force structure; Morale, Welfare and Recreation; Professional Military Education; military nominations; DODDS/Section 6 schools, Civil-military programs; POW/MIA issues; family housing policy; Armed Forces Retirement Home; budget accounts for military personnel; military retirement; Defense Health Care; AAFES

### Republicans (4)

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Saxby Chambliss, Ga. - *chairman*  
Susan Collins, Maine  
Elizabeth Dole, N.C.  
John Cornyn, Texas

### Democrats (3)

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Ben Nelson, Neb. - *ranking member*  
Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.  
Mark Pryor, Ark.

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON READINESS AND MANAGEMENT SUPPORT

**Jurisdiction:** Military readiness, training, logistics and maintenance issues and programs, all military construction, installations and family housing issues, including the base closure process.

### Republicans (9)

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John Ensign, Nev. - *chairman*  
John McCain, Ariz.  
James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
Pat Roberts, Kan.  
Wayne Allard, Colo.  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
Jim Talent, Mo.  
Saxby Chambliss, Ga.  
John Cornyn, Texas

### Democrats (8)

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Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii - *ranking member*  
Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.  
Bill Nelson, Fla.  
Ben Nelson, Neb.  
Mark Dayton, Minn.  
Evan Bayh, Ind.  
Hillary Rodham Clinton, N.Y.  
Mark Pryor, Ark.

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON SEAPOWER

**Jurisdiction:** Naval and U.S. Marine Corps programs less tactical aviation; strategic lift programs; U.S. Coast Guard; maritime issues; TRANSCOM; budget accounts for USN; USMC procurement and RDT&E less tactical aviation; Army and Air Force strategic lift programs; National Defense Sealift Fund (NDSF).

### Republicans (4)

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Jim Talent, Mo. - *chairman*  
John McCain, Ariz.  
Susan Collins, Maine  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.

### Democrats (3)

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Edward M. Kennedy, Mass. - *ranking member*  
Joseph I. Lieberman, Conn.  
Jack Reed, R.

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRATEGIC FORCES

**Jurisdiction:** All strategic forces (except deep strike systems), space programs, ballistic missile defense and Department of Energy national security programs (except non-proliferation programs).

### Republicans (6)

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Wayne Allard, Colo. - *chairman*  
James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
John Ensign, Nev.  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
John Cornyn, Texas

### Democrats (5)

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Bill Nelson, Fla. - *ranking member*  
Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.  
Jack Reed, R.I.  
Ben Nelson, Neb.  
Mark Dayton, Minn.

# HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

## FULL COMMITTEE

**Jurisdiction:** Ammunition depots; Army, Navy, and Air Force reservations and establishments; conservation, development, and use of naval petroleum and oil shale reserves; Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force; Merchant Marine Academy, and State Maritime Academies; military applications of nuclear energy; tactical intelligence and DoD intelligence related activities; national security aspects of merchant marine, including financial assistance for the construction and operation of vessels, the maintenance of the U.S. shipbuilding and ship repair industrial base, cargo preference and merchant marine officers and seamen as these matters relate to the national security; all benefits and privileges of members of the armed forces; scientific research and development in support of the armed services; selective service; size and composition of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force; soldiers' and sailors' homes.

### Republicans (33)

Duncan Hunter, Calif. - *chairman*  
Curt Weldon, Pa.  
Joel Hefley, Colo.  
James Saxton, N.J.  
John M. McHugh, N.Y.  
Terry Everett, Ala.  
Roscoe G. Bartlett, Md.  
Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, Calif.  
William M. "Mac" Thornberry, Texas  
John Hostettler, Ind.  
Walter B. Jones, N.C.  
Jim Ryun, Kan.  
Jim Gibbons, Nev.  
Robin Hayes, N.C.  
Heather A. Wilson, N.M.  
Ken Calvert, Calif.  
Rob Simmons, Conn.  
Jo Ann Davis, Va.  
Ed Schrock, Va.  
Todd Akin, Mo.  
J. Randy Forbes, Va.  
Jeff Miller, Fla.  
Joe Wilson, S.C.  
Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J.  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Jeb Bradley, N.H.  
Rob Bishop, Utah  
Michael R. Turner, Ohio  
John Kline, Minn.  
Candice S. Miller, Mich.  
Phil Gingrey, Ga.  
Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
Trent Franks, Ariz.

### Democrats (28)

Ike Skelton, Mo. - *ranking member*  
John M. Spratt Jr., S.C.  
Solomon P. Ortiz, Texas  
Lane Evans, Ill.  
Gene Taylor, Miss.  
Neil Abercrombie, Hawaii  
Martin T. Meehan, Mass.  
Silvestre Reyes, Texas  
Vic Snyder, Ark.  
Jim Turner, Texas  
Adam Smith, Wash.  
Loretta Sanchez, Calif.  
Mike McIntyre, N.C.  
Ciro D. Rodriguez, Texas  
Ellen O. Tauscher, Calif.  
Robert A. Brady, Pa.  
Baron P. Hill, Ind.  
John B. Larson, Conn.  
Susan A. Davis, Calif.  
Jim Langevin, R.I.  
Steve Israel, N.Y.  
Rick Larsen, Wash.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.  
Jim Marshall, Ga.  
Kendrick B. Meek, Fla.  
Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam  
Tim Ryan, Ohio  
Charles W. Stenholm, Texas

**Republican Staff Director:** Robert S. Rangel

**Democratic Counsel:** Jim Schweiter

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON PROJECTION FORCES

**Jurisdiction:** Navy and Marine Corps programs (except strategic weapons and space programs, special operations and information technology accounts), deep strike bombers and related systems, strategic lift programs and naval reserve equipment.

### Republicans (9)

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Roscoe G. Bartlett, Md. - *chairman*  
Rob Simmons, Conn.  
Jo Ann Davis, Va.  
Ed Schrock, Va.  
James Saxton, N.J.  
John Hostettler, Ind.  
Ken Calvert, Calif.  
Jeb Bradley, N.H.  
John Kline, Minn.

### Democrats (7)

---

Gene Taylor, Miss. - *ranking member*  
Neil Abercrombie, Hawaii  
Ellen O. Tauscher, Calif.  
Jim Langevin, R.I.  
Steve Israel, N.Y.  
Jim Marshall, Ga.  
Charles W. Stenholm, Texas

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON TOTAL FORCE

**Jurisdiction:** Military personnel policy, reserve component integration and employment issues, military health care, military education and POW/MIA issues. In addition, the subcommittee will be responsible for Morale, Welfare and Recreation issues and programs.

### Republicans (8)

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John M. McHugh, N.Y. - *chairman*  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Candice S. Miller, Mich.  
Phil Gingrey, Ga.  
H. James Saxton, N.J.  
Jim Ryun, Kan.  
Ed Schrock, Va.  
Robin Hayes, N.C.

### Democrats (6)

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Vic Snyder, Ark. - *ranking member*  
Martin T. Meehan, Mass.  
Loretta Sanchez, Calif.  
Ellen O. Tauscher, Calif.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.  
Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON READINESS

**Jurisdiction:** Military readiness, training, logistics and maintenance issues and programs, all military construction, installations and family housing issues, including the base closure process.

### Republicans (16)

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Joel Hefley, Colo. - *chairman*  
Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, Calif.  
John Hostettler, Ind.  
Walter B. Jones, N.C.  
Jim Ryun, Kan.  
Robin Hayes, N.C.  
Heather A. Wilson, N.M.  
Ken Calvert, Calif.  
J. Randy Forbes, Va.  
Jeff Miller, Fla.  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Rob Bishop, Utah  
Candice S. Miller, Mich.  
Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
Trent Franks, Ariz.  
John M. McHugh, N.Y.

### Democrats (14)

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Solomon P. Ortiz, Texas - *ranking member*  
Lane Evans, Ill.  
Gene Taylor, Miss.  
Neil Abercrombie, Hawaii  
Silvestre Reyes, Texas  
Vic Snyder, Ark.  
Ciro D. Rodriguez, Texas  
Robert A. Brady, Pa.  
Baron P. Hill, Ind.  
John B. Larson, Conn.  
Susan A. Davis, Calif.  
Rick Larsen, Wash.  
Jim Marshall, Ga.  
Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRATEGIC FORCES

**Jurisdiction:** All strategic forces (except deep strike systems), space programs, ballistic missile defense and Department of Energy national security programs (except non-proliferation programs).

### Republicans (8)

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Terry Everett, Ala. - *chairman*  
William M. "Mac" Thornberry, Texas  
Curt Weldon, Pa.  
Heather A. Wilson, N.M.  
Rob Bishop, Utah  
Michael R. Turner, Ohio  
Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
Trent Franks, Ariz.

### Democrats (6)

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Silvestre Reyes, Texas - *ranking member*  
John M. Spratt Jr., S.C.  
Loretta Sanchez, Calif.  
Ellen O. Tauscher, Calif.  
Kendrick B. Meek, Fla.  
Tim Ryan, Ohio

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON TACTICAL AIR AND LAND FORCES

**Jurisdiction:** All Army and Air Force acquisition programs (except strategic weapons and lift programs, special operations and information technology accounts); all Navy and Marine Corps aviation programs, National Guard and Army and Air Force reserve modernization, and ammunition programs.

### Republicans (16)

Curt Weldon, Pa. - *chairman*  
Jim Gibbons, Nev.  
Todd Akin, Mo.  
Jeb Bradley, N.H.  
Michael R. Turner, Ohio  
Phil Gingrey, Ga.  
Terry Everett, Ala.  
Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, Calif.  
Walter B. Jones, N.C.  
Jim Ryun, Kan.  
Rob Simmons, Conn.  
Ed Schrock, Va.  
J. Randy Forbes, Va.  
Joel Hefley, Colo.  
Joe Wilson, S.C.  
Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J.

### Democrats (14)

Neil Abercrombie, Hawaii - *ranking member*  
Ike Skelton, Mo.  
John M. Spratt Jr., S.C.  
Solomon P. Ortiz, Texas  
Lane Evans, Ill.  
Jim Turner, Texas  
Adam Smith, Wash.  
Mike McIntyre, N.C.  
Robert A. Brady, Pa.  
John B. Larson, Conn.  
Steve Israel, N.Y.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.  
Kendrick B. Meek, Fla.  
Charles W. Stenholm, Texas

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRORISM, UNCONVENTIONAL THREATS AND CAPABILITIES

**Jurisdiction:** Defense Department counterproliferation and counter terrorism programs and initiatives; Special Operations Forces, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, information technology policy and programs, force protection policy and oversight, and related intelligence support.

### Republicans (12)

H. James Saxton, N.J. - *chairman*  
Joe Wilson, S.C.  
Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J.  
John Kline, Minn.  
Jeff Miller, Fla.  
Roscoe G. Bartlett, Md.  
William M. "Mac" Thornberry, Texas  
Jim Gibbons, Nev.  
Robin Hayes, N.C.  
Jo Ann Davis, Va.  
Todd Akin, Mo.  
Joel Hefley, Colo.

### Democrats (10)

Martin T. Meehan, Mass. - *ranking member*  
Jim Turner, Texas  
Adam Smith, Wash.  
Mike McIntyre, N.C.  
Ciro D. Rodriguez, Texas  
Baron P. Hill, Ind.  
Susan A. Davis, Calif.  
Jim Langevin, R.I.  
Rick Larsen, Wash.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.

September 27, 2004

TO: Matt Latimer  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: P.M. Blair Statement

*DK*

Here are some interesting words by Tony Blair that are worth keeping - he says it well.

Thanks.

Attach. 7/15/04 Statement on Builer Report

DHR:ss  
092704-11

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*27 Sep 04*



10 DOWNING STREET

Print this page

## Statement on Butler Report

Prime Minister Tony Blair has given his response to the Butler Review in the House of Commons.

- **Download the Butler Report on the Directgov website**

Read the Prime Minister's statement in full below.

[check against delivery]

Lord Butler's Report is comprehensive, thorough; and I thank the members of his Committee and their staff for all their hard work in compiling it. We accept fully the Report's conclusions.

The Report provides an invaluable analysis of the general threat in respect of WMD; of the potential acquisition of WMD by terrorists; and though it devotes much of its analysis to Iraq, it also goes into detail on the WMD threat posed by Iran, Libya, North Korea and A Q Khan. Some of the intelligence disclosed is made available for the first time and gives some insight into the reasons for the judgements I and other Ministers have been making. I hope the House will understand if I deal with it in some detail.

The hallmark of the Report is its balanced judgements.

The Report specifically supports the conclusions of Lord Hutton's inquiry about the good faith of the intelligence services and the Government in compiling the September 2002 dossier.

But it also makes specific findings that the dossier and the intelligence behind it should have been better presented, had more caveats attached to it, and been better validated.

It reports doubts which have recently arisen on the 45 minute intelligence and says in any event it should have been included in the dossier in different terms; but it expressly supports the intelligence on Iraq's attempts to procure uranium from Niger in respect of Iraq's nuclear ambitions.

The Report finds that there is little - if any - significant evidence of stockpiles of readily deployable weapons.

But it also concludes that Saddam Hussein did indeed have:

- a. "the strategic intention of resuming the pursuit of prohibited weapons programmes, including if possible its nuclear weapons programme, when United Nations inspection regimes were relaxed and sanctions were eroded or lifted.
- b. In support of that goal, was carrying out illicit research and development, and procurement, activities, to seek to sustain its indigenous capabilities.
- c. Was developing ballistic missiles with a range longer than permitted under relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions;"

Throughout the last 18 months, throughout the rage and ferment of the debate over Iraq, there have been two questions.

One is an issue of good faith, of integrity.

This is now the fourth exhaustive inquiry that has dealt with this issue. This report, like the Hutton inquiry, like the report of the ISC before it and of the FAC before that, has found the same thing.

11-L-0559/OSD/53645



BLAIR:

No-one lied. No-one made up the intelligence. No-one inserted things into the dossier against the advice of the intelligence services.

Everyone genuinely tried to do their best in good faith for the country in circumstances of acute difficulty. That issue of good faith should now be at an end.

But there is another issue. We expected, I expected to find actual usable, chemical or biological weapons shortly after we entered Iraq. We even made significant contingency plans in respect of their use against our troops. UN Resolution 1441 in November 2002 was passed unanimously by the whole Security Council, including Syria, on the basis Iraq was a WMD threat. Lord Butler says in his report:

"We believe that it would be a rash person who asserted at this stage that evidence of Iraqi possession of stocks of biological or chemical agents, or even of banned missiles, does not exist or will never be found."

But I have to accept: as the months have passed, it seems increasingly clear that at the time of invasion Saddam did not have stockpiles of chemical or biological weapons ready to deploy.

The second issue is therefore this: even if we acted in perfectly good faith, is it now the case that in the absence of stockpiles of weapons ready to deploy, the threat was misconceived and therefore the war was unjustified?

I have searched my conscience, not in a spirit of obstinacy; but in genuine reconsideration in the light of what we now know, in answer to that question. And my answer would be: that the evidence of Saddam's WMD was indeed less certain, less well-founded than was stated at the time. But I cannot go from there to the opposite extreme. On any basis he retained complete strategic intent on WMD and significant capability; the only reason he ever let the inspectors back into Iraq was that he had 180,000 US and British troops on his doorstep; he had no intention of ever co-operating fully with the inspectors; and he was going to start up again the moment the troops and the inspectors departed; or the sanctions eroded. And I say further: that had we backed down in respect of Saddam, we would never have taken the stand we needed to take on WMD, never have got the progress for example on Libya, that we achieved; and we would have left Saddam in charge of Iraq, with every malign intent and capability still in place and every dictator with the same intent everywhere immeasurably emboldened.

As I shall say later: for any mistakes, made, as the Report finds, in good faith I of course take full responsibility, but I cannot honestly say I believe getting rid of Saddam was a mistake at all. Iraq, the region, the wider world is a better and safer place without Saddam.

The Report begins by an assessment of intelligence and its use in respect of countries other than Iraq. It points out that in respect of Libya, the intelligence has largely turned out to be accurate especially in respect of its nuclear weapons programmes; and those are now being dismantled. In respect of Iran, the Report says Iran is now engaged with the IAEA, though there remain 'clearly outstanding issues about Iran's activities'.

About North Korea, the Report concludes that it 'is now thought to be developing missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons as far away as continental US and Europe'.

The Report goes on at para 99: 'North Korea is a particular cause for concern because of its willingness to sell ballistic missiles to anyone prepared to pay in hard currency'.

The Report also discloses the extent of the network of A Q Khan, the Pakistani former nuclear scientist. This network is now shut down largely through US and UK intelligence work, through Pakistani cooperation and through the dialogue with Libya.

The Report then reveals for the first time the development of the intelligence in respect of the new global terrorism we face. In the early years, for example, in the JIC assessment of October 1994, the view was that the likelihood of terrorists acquiring or using chemical, biological or nuclear weapons was, whilst theoretically possible, highly unlikely.

However, as the name and activities of Usama Bin Laden became better known, the JIC started to change its earlier assessment. In November 1998, it said:

[UBL] has a long-standing interest in the potential terrorist use of CBR materials, and recent intelligence

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suggest his ideas about using toxic materials are maturing and being developed in more detail. ... There is also secret reporting that he may have obtained some CB material - and that he is interested in nuclear materials.

And in June 1999:

Most of UBL's planned attacks would use conventional terrorist weapons. But he continues to seek chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear material and to develop a capability for its terrorist use.

By mid-July 1999 this view hardened still further:

There have been important developments in [Islamist extremist] terrorism. It has become clear that Usama Bin Laden has been seeking CBRN materials ... . The significance of his possession of CB materials is that, in contrast to other terrorists interested in CB, he wishes to target US, British and other interests worldwide.

A series of further assessments to the same effect issued in January 2000, again in August 2000, and in January 2001.

To anyone who wants to know why I have become increasingly focused on the link between terrorism and WMD, I recommend reading this part of the Report and the intelligence assessments received.

It was against this background of what one witness to Lord Butler called the 'creeping tide of proliferation' that the events of September 11th 2001 should be considered. As the Report says, following September 11th, the calculus of the threat changed:

I said in this House on the 14th September 2001:

"We know, that the terrorists would, if they could, go further and use chemical or biological or even nuclear weapons of mass destruction. We have been warned by the events of 11 September. We should act on the warning."

I took the view then and stand by it now that no Prime Minister faced with this evidence could responsibly afford to ignore it. After September 11th, it was time to take an active as opposed to reactive position on the whole question of WMD. We had to close down the capability of the rogue states - usually highly repressive and unstable - to develop such weapons; and the commercial networks such as those of A Q Khan helping them.

Again my clear view was that the country where we had to take a stand was Iraq. Why?

Iraq was the one country to have used WMD recently. It had developed WMD capability and concealed it. Action by UN inspectors and the IAEA had by the mid to late 1990s reduced this threat significantly; but as the Butler Report shows at paras 180-182, by the time the inspectors were effectively blocked in Iraq (at the end of 1998) the JIC assessments were that some CW stocks remained hidden and that Iraq remained capable of a break-out chemical weapons capability within months; a biological weapons capability, also with probable stockpiles; and could have had ballistic missiles capability in breach of UN Resolutions within a year.

This was the reason for military action, taken without a UN Resolution, in December 1998.

Subsequent to that, the Report shows that we continued to receive the JIC assessments on Iraq's WMD capability. For example, in respect of chemical and biological weapons it said in April 2000:

Our picture is limited.

It is likely that Iraq is continuing to develop its offensive chemical warfare (CW) and biological warfare (BW) capabilities.

In May 2001, the JIC assessed, in respect of nuclear weapons:

Our knowledge of developments in Iraq's WMD and ballistic missile programmes since Desert Fox air operations in December 1998 is patchy. But intelligence gives grounds for concern and suggests that Iraq is becoming bolder in conducting activities prohibited by UNSCR 687.

There is evidence of increased activity at Iraq's only remaining nuclear facility and a growing number of

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reports on possible nuclear related procurement.

In February 2002, the JIC said:

Iraq ... if it has not already done so, could produce significant quantities of BW agent within days. ...

The Report specifically endorses the March 2002 advice to Ministers which states that though containment had been partially successful and intelligence was patchy, Iraq continues to develop WMD:

Iraq has up to 20 650km range missiles left over from the Gulf War. These are capable of hitting Israel and the Gulf states. Design work for other ballistic missiles over the UN limit of 150km continues. Iraq continues with its BW and CW programmes and, if it has not already done so, could produce significant quantities of BW agents within days and CW agent within weeks of a decision to do so. We believe it could deliver CBW by a variety of means, including in ballistic missile warheads. There are also some indications of a continuing nuclear programme.

The point I would make is simply this. The dossier of September 2002 did not reach any startling or radical conclusion. It said, in effect, what had been said for several years based not just on intelligence but on frequent UN and international reports. It was the same conclusion that led us to military action in 1998; to maintain sanctions; to demand the return of UN Inspectors.

We published the dossier in response to the enormous Parliamentary and press clamour. It was not, as has been described, the case for war. But it was the case for enforcing the UN will.

In retrospect it has achieved a fame it never achieved at the time. As the Report states at para 310:

It is fair to say at the outset that the dossier attracted more attention after the war than it had done before it. When first published, it was regarded as cautious, and even dull. Some of the attention that it eventually received was the product of controversy over the Government's further dossier of February 2003. Some of it arose over subsequent allegations that the intelligence in the September dossier had knowingly been embellished, and hence over the good faith of the Government. Lord Hutton dismissed those allegations. We should record that we, too, have seen no evidence that would support any such allegations.

The Report at para 333 states that in general the statements in the dossier reflected fairly the judgements of past JIC assessments.

The Report, however, goes on to say that with hindsight making public that the authorship of the dossier was by the JIC was a mistake. It meant that more weight was put on the intelligence than it could bear; and put the JIC and its Chairman in a difficult position.

It recommends in future a clear delineation between Government and JIC, perhaps by issuing two separate documents. I think this is wise, though I doubt it would have made much difference to the reception of the intelligence at the time.

The Report also enlarges on the criticisms of the ISC in respect of the greater use of caveats about intelligence both in the dossier and in my foreword and we accept that entirely.

The Report also states that significant parts of the intelligence have now been found by SIS to be in doubt.

The Chief of SIS, Sir Richard Dearlove has told me that SIS accepts all the conclusions and recommendations of Lord Butler's report which concern the Service. SIS will fully address the recommendations which Lord Butler has made about their procedures and about the need for the Service properly to resource them. The Service has played, and will continue to play, a vital role in countering worldwide the tide of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, its successes are evident in Lord Butler's report.

I accept the Report's conclusions in full. Any mistakes made should not be laid at the door of our intelligence and security community. They do a tremendous job for our country.

I accept full personal responsibility for the way the issue was presented and therefore for any errors made.

11-L-0559/OSD/53648

As the Report indicates, there is no doubt that at the time it was genuinely believed by everyone that Saddam had both strategic intent in respect of WMD and actual weapons.

I make this further point. On the sparse, generalised and highly fragmented intelligence about Al Qaida prior to September 11th, it is now widely said policy-makers should have foreseen the attacks that materialised on September 11th 2001 in New York. I only ask: had we ignored the specific intelligence about the threat from Iraq, backed up by a long history of international confrontation over it, and that threat later materialised, how would we have been judged?

I know some will disagree with this. There are those who were opposed to the war, remain so now and will forever be in that position.

I only hope that now, after two detailed Parliamentary Committee reports, a judicial inquiry more exhaustive than any has ever been in examining an allegation of impropriety against Government and now this voluminous report, people will not disrespect the other's point of view but will accept that those that agree and those that disagree with the war in Iraq, hold their views not because they are war-mongers on the one hand or closet supporters of Saddam on the other, but because of a genuine difference of judgement as to the right thing to have done.

There was no conspiracy. There was no impropriety.

The essential judgement and truth, as usual, does not lie in extremes.

We all acknowledge Saddam was evil and his regime depraved. Whether or not actual stockpiles of weapons are found, there wasn't and isn't any doubt Saddam used WMD and retained every strategic intent to carry on developing them. The judgement is this: would it have been better or more practical to have contained him through continuing sanctions and weapons inspections; or was this inevitably going to be at some point a policy that failed? And was removing Saddam a diversion from pursuing the global terrorist threat; or part of it?

I can honestly say I have never had to make a harder judgement. But in the end, my judgement was that after September 11th, we could no longer run the risk; that instead of waiting for the potential threat of terrorism and WMD to come together, we had to get out and get after it. One part was removing the training ground of Al Qaida in Afghanistan. The other was taking a stand on WMD; and the place to take that stand was Iraq, whose regime was the only one ever to have used WMD and was subject to 12 years of UN Resolutions and weapons inspections that turned out to be unsatisfactory.

And though in neither case was the nature of the regime the reason for conflict, it was decisive for me in the judgement as to the balance of risk for action or inaction.

Both countries now face an uncertain struggle for the future. But both at least now have a future. The one country in which you will find an overwhelming majority in favour of the removal of Saddam is Iraq.

I am proud of this country and the part it played and especially our magnificent armed forces, in removing two vile dictatorships and giving people oppressed, almost enslaved, the prospect of democracy and liberty.

This Report will not end the arguments about the war. But in its balance and common sense, it should at least help to set them in a more rational light; and for that we should be grateful.

11-L-0559/OSD/53649

SEP 28 2004

TO: Ken Krieg  
cc: Gen Dick Myers  
Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith  
Tina Jonas  
Steve Cambone  
Ryan Henry  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Paper from Newt Gingrich

381

Attached is a paper from Newt Gingrich on strategic planning for 2004 and beyond. It is interesting and, in thinking about the Quadrennial Defense Review and our upcoming SLRG work, you folks ought to take these thoughts into account.

Thanks.

Attach.  
12/13/03 Strategic Planning for 2004 and beyond

DHR:ss  
092704-28

.....  
Please respond by 10/22/04

2854044



from newt 12/13/03

## Strategic Planning for 2004 and beyond

National Security planning should always begin with capabilities rather than intentions.

After more than two years of intense effort there is much we still do not know about our opponents, their resources, their capabilities, and their organizational systems.

We have made a lot of progress from 9/11/01 if measured from where we were.

We have an even longer way to go if measured against the scale of the opposition:

- the still growing Wahhabist-Deobandi movement in Islam,
- the continued spread of terrorism as a system of war,
- the existence of huge ungoverned areas,
- the continued growth of the Gray world of people smuggling, illegal transportation, traditional international crime, narcotics trafficking, and illegal arms dealing,
- the continued efforts of dictatorships to develop capabilities that threaten America and her allies (including North Korea, Libya, Syria, Iran),
- the instability of Pakistan with its implications both for Afghanistan and for nuclear weapons proliferation and use,
- the rise of societal warfare in both Iraq and Afghanistan,
- the continuing drift of European popular opinion and a number of European governments away from the US,
- the United Nations Secretariat's reluctance to cooperate with the US
- and the continuing evolution of weapons of mass murder and weapons of mass destruction.

This is a formidable list of challenges and at the historic level of grand national strategy (to use the World War 2 term) it is not clear whether, with all our efforts, we are making progress toward real security or falling further behind the curve of the challenges.

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 2004

Given the uncertainties, it is necessary to plan for a September-October 2004 which could be either violent and painful or peaceful and triumphant. We have no way of knowing which will happen although the uncertainties after 27 months effort make it more likely it will be violent and painful.

This means we should be prepared to offer "blood, sweat, toil and tears" (in Churchill's phrase) so that people are prepared to endure and prevail.

This would require a much more sober and serious State of the Union outlining the long term scale of the conflict and the possibility that it will take a decade to two generations to fully achieve our goal of a safe, healthy, prosperous and free worlds in which America is relatively safe and secure.

People need to be prepared for the possibility of much more violence and much more disruption over time.

If we are measured against a goal of winning by Labor Day 2004, we will have a very difficult argument to make and be politically and in the news media on the defensive for the entire year.

If we are measured against determination to prevail and an honest acceptance that this is hard and going to remain hard we will be able to put our critics on defense because their strategic vision is incompatible with modern reality.

Put simply, if the American people have to choose between an embattled Eagle (even one that is occasionally wounded) and an Ostrich they will choose the Eagle.

Daily and weekly events in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere have to be consistently put in this larger, worldwide, and long term struggle against the forces that would destroy our way of life.

#### PLANNING AND BUDGETING FOR WAR OR PEACE?

One of the principles emerging from this grimmer, longer range view is that both planning and budgeting have to evolve to take these challenges into account.

This war will last for at least a decade. Therefore supplemental budgeting is profoundly misleading.

Planning on a campaign by campaign basis is also an inadequate basis for thinking through needed structures and needed funding.

We desperately need planning for the entire war leading to strategies and structures appropriate to winning the larger, longer conflict.

Budgeting should follow the strategies and structures and force priority setting after the initial thinking has been done. In war time budgeting cannot precede the planning and establish the boundaries of thoughtful planning.

Maintaining a peacetime budgeting process sends the signal to everyone at mid level that it is business as usual despite the hawkish speeches by the political leadership.

Even more dangerously, budgeting within a peacetime framework means that the experts never show the political leadership what is really needed because the budget constraints inhibit planning and establish invisible boundaries of what is politically permissible and therefore what career officials will raise.

We are on the edge of budgeting decisions in defense, intelligence, public information capabilities, and societal assistance that will lengthen the war, weaken our ability to win the war, and increase the risks we are running in the out years. These are peace time rather than war time calculations.

#### BUDGETING AND AUDITING IN WARTIME

The same peacetime attitudes in budgeting carry over to a system of red tape, auditing and micromanagement which will make victory in Iraq and elsewhere vastly more difficult.

At the battle of Isandlwana in 1879 the Zulus massacred over 1500 British and auxiliary troops because they ran out of ammunition. They ran out of ammunition because the quartermaster would not open the oak boxes in advance because they were afraid bullets would be wasted or lost and they would be audited and punished.



Wars are best won quickly and decisively. Societal wars require substantially different capabilities than professional military wars but the goal of winning as rapidly as possible persists.

A societal war requires a lot of decentralized decisions including spending decisions. A lot of these spending decisions will inevitably be on non-military activities in a societal campaign.

To the degree an isolated, entrenched bureaucracy can focus on process, paperwork, and audit trails it can destroy the decentralization, flexibility and application of localized judgment that is vital to winning a war.

### MOVING TO A SOCIETAL WARFARE STRATEGY IN IRAQ

Our strategy in Iraq must shift to an Iraqi-centric strategy and a decentralized implementation system.

Today we have an American-centric strategy and the CPA is trying to micromanage and to be 'fiscally prudent.'

These characteristics could lead to a catastrophic decline in support for the Americans during 2004.

Societal wars have a dynamic which is always dangerous for the dominant force.

The burden of safety is on the dominant force.

The burden of prosperity and convenience is on the dominant force.

The burden of psychological acceptance is on the dominant force.

The insurgent simply has to survive to still potentially win and that victory could come with startling speed.

The 'feel good' briefings on 'progress' are symptoms of sincere people who simply do not understand the historic dynamics of societal warfare.

### AFGHANISTAN

The strategy in Afghanistan is essentially right but under resourced.

With adequate resourcing and continuing attention to the cross border sanctuary problem in Pakistan Afghanistan should be able to grow into a success story.

The resourcing issue is important both to offset the damage done by the Taliban and to offset the growing illegal resources available through the increase in heroin production.

The civilizing modernizing forces around Karzai have to have more resources than the warlords can aggregate illegally and have to have enough resources to drown the insurgency in the south.

The strategy in Afghanistan is fine but without more resourcing it could still fail.

## A SOCIETAL WARFARE DOCTRINE

Societal warfare is the natural response of a determined enemy who cannot compete in the professional military arena.

The American military focuses so intently on winning high technology, high tempo theater campaigns that it has failed to develop a modern doctrine for societal wars.

Societal warfare is inherently integrated (see below) and operates at a different rhythm and pattern than professional military warfare.

Developing and implementing a societal warfare doctrine should be one of the highest priorities for 2004.

## INTEGRATED OPERATIONS

Integrated operations are those activities which reach beyond the military and involve other governmental and non-governmental actors in a systematic manner.

Integrated operations are a much more explicit, coordinated, and accountable system than the current 'interagency process' which is failing to achieve the energy, drive, and decisiveness needed in winning wars.

Creating an Integrated Doctrine and getting it accepted by all the major players and implemented by them would be a major step forward in American capability to win societal wars.

### SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION VERSUS STABILITY OPERATIONS

The American Goal in many countries is not a 'stability operation'. The American goal is to transform the society.

The President's calls for democracy in the Middle East are calls to transform civil society in every country in the region.

American goals in subSaharan Africa, Afghanistan, Iraq, and a host of other places are to bring about profound change so people live in safety, health prosperity, and freedom. We need to develop a doctrine and system for 'societal transformation;' to replace the inadequate model of 'stability operations.'

This requires combining the Societal Warfare Doctrine and the Integrated Doctrine with other needed attributes that will be discovered as our efforts progress in this field.

### URBAN WARFARE/POLICING

One of the most consistent requirements of the future will be a level of sophisticated urban warfare and urban policing that is currently beyond our reach.

Developing this doctrine and capability for urban warfare/policing should be a major goal of DoD in 2004.

### INFORMATION AND PEOPLE TO PEOPLE OPERATIONS

One of our greatest current strategic weaknesses is the inability to communicate our values and concerns to the world at large.

A component of that inability is the absence of the kind of sophisticated people to people relationships which would take

advantage of the extraordinary diversity of American society (51,000 Pashtun speaking Americans even more Iraqi Americans for example).

In the age of the internet, cell phone, videoconference and jet airplane America could do stunningly more to mobilize our capabilities as a people and to communicate with and relate to the world.

America is too powerful to ignore.

If America is not effectively communicating and networking, the world will assume the worst about our goals and intentions.

This is one of the highest value areas which the White House should direct and which should bypass all the current bureaucracies to bring in civilian experts and move to a dynamic, high energy, long term strategy in both information and people to people networking.

## HOMELAND SECURITY

Homeland Security remains an underestimated challenge.

The rise of weapons of mass murder (largely biological) and the continuing spread of weapons of mass destruction (largely nuclear) makes it imperative that the intensity and drive for Homeland Security match that of combat operations overseas.

It is a fact that we would be hit at home at any time.

It is a fact that the weapons could be biological or nuclear and the casualty rates could be two or three orders of magnitude greater than 9/11 or even higher.

That means America could face losing hundreds of thousands or even millions of people in the very near future.

There is no sense of urgency comparable to that threat.

There are two areas in particular that need dramatic upgrading: responding to a nuclear event and responding to a biological event. Each should have its own focus and its own metrics for success.

In addition the Department of Homeland Security should be developing a much more high technology visa and visitation-work card system Secretary Ridge is absolutely on the right track but needs reinforcement to communicate urgency and very high standards of change to the bureaucracies he has now assembled into one agency.

## NUCLEAR REACTION AND RECOVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

Some major decisions need to be made about the scale of a potential nuclear event or series of events and the standards of response and recovery we want to establish. There is a direct correlation between rigorous, grim realism before the event and the opportunity to save lives and accelerate the recovery.

The most likely lead agency in this process is a restructured National Guard and Reserve force that has some forces dedicated to homeland security and some forces available for overseas use.

The Defense Department is clearly trying to avoid this responsibility.

If the President prefers to create new civilian capabilities reporting directly to Homeland Security that would be an acceptable solution.

If the National Guard and Reserve are reshaped to ensure they can meet the crisis of one or more nuclear events that is an acceptable solution.

Everyone should be uncomfortable about the current limited understanding of the amount of engineering, policing and medical resources that would be absorbed in nuclear events here at home.

Lack of clarity in preparation, responsibility and developing the necessary forces will lead to many more American deaths if a nuclear event occurs.

Every day that we fail to clarify this is a day Americans are at risk.

## BIOLOGICAL THREATS

Biological threats are the greatest threats America faces.

An engineered flu could potentially kill tens of millions of Americans. The 1918 flu epidemic killed more people than the First World War.

There must be three major steps toward surviving a biological threat:

1. the health system including veterinarians and retired doctors and nurses must be connected into an information system in an investment modeled on Eisenhower's National Defense Interstate Highway system (but radically smaller in expense). This investment will dramatically help with every day health requirements and will both improve healthcare and lower costs. Far more important, this investment will make it possible to detect a biological attack at the earliest moment, analyze it in the shortest time, educate the nation's health personnel in virtually real time and minimize the loss of American life;
2. There are currently two or three paths toward accelerating vaccine development and production. All should be invested in at the highest rate the research system can absorb the resources. A breakthrough in any of these areas would save a tremendous number of lives if an engineered virus were unleashed in the United States.
3. There is a potential within a decade to develop a nanomaterial approach to vaccine production that would enable the United States to respond literally overnight to an attack by mass producing a vaccine in a manner now impossible. Because of the number of lives potentially at risk this should receive the highest possible funding priority and should be monitored at the highest levels in a manner reminiscent of the Manhattan Project (although with far fewer resources).

October 1, 2004

TO: John Rood  
cc: Mira Ricardel  
Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Progress in Missile Defense

37324

We've been seeing a great deal of progress in Missile Defense over the past few months. The policy side of the work is moving along, especially with the working relationship you have established with the new Commander at STRATCOM.

We're clearly on the cusp of doing some important things, and your work has been an important part of that - thanks.

DHR:ss  
093004-5

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

1 OCT 04



FOTO

DEC 30 2004

312

TO: Dr. Condoleezza Rice  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Draft Memo

Condi,

Thanks for sending me the draft memo. Please hold up on it until I get back to you. I want to think through the implications of it, and how I would respond.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
122904-17 (8)

FOTO

30 Dec 04



~~FOUO~~

November 11, 2004

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Letter

Someone may want to write this person Brendan McCluskey at Convent Station a letter. It is nice.

Thanks.

Attach. 10/21/04 Star Ledger (LAWSON, NEW JERSEY?)

DHR:ah  
111104-20

.....  
Please respond by 11/26/04

335511

12/1  
Capt Marriott -  
Mr Di Rita asked that  
we get this to Carrie  
See for action. Thx.  
George Rhynders

CSC  
Fonsc  
M

11 Nov 04

20996-04

READER FORUM

Star Ledger 12/17/01

A losing battle

It's reported that many Sunni Muslims have declared a jihad to the Iraq of all American armed forces. Among the methods they will use, as we have already seen, are kidnappings, beheadings and bombings. This news couldn't be any sadder for our forces in Iraq.

All along, it seems we've been fighting a losing battle in Iraq. Major portions of the country are not under allied control, there are growing American casualties, there is rampant unemployment, terrorists can strike at will, Iraqis don't believe the United States is aiding their country and this administration is in a quandary as to how to conduct the "peace."

With this in mind, how can President Bush and members of his administration travel around the country proclaiming the situation is easy? Exactly what source is he reading to make him believe the war in Iraq is proceeding smoothly?

Even now, Republican senators are questioning this president's competence. The choice in this election comes down to which candidate is competent. The way the Iraq war is being handled is a sure sign of the incompetence of this administration.

- Ronald Lieberman, Millburn

Glory days, for some

On Oct. 8, 1,000 parents jammed the gym at Rumson-Fair Haven High School to try to get an explanation of why their school's safety response program was found on a computer CD in Iraq. Parents were assured there was no terrorist intent, but then why the bomb-sniffing dogs, significant increase in police presence and review of years of police records? Since Bruce Springsteen lives in Rumson, I would have paid the \$100 he is charging for his concerts to see him stand in front of parents and tell them there was nothing to worry about, and if only the United States hadn't entered Iraq we would never have found their school's data anyway. Then again, this was a public school and "working class" Bruce would never send his kids there.

Fair? No, but the world isn't fair, otherwise it would allow each of us to have two mansions in neighboring towns with full-time security details. Springsteen can afford to insulate himself from the elements we have to face every day, see them on TV and about the plight of the "common man" and charges \$100 a night. Glory days for sure, but for whom?

- Ken Robinson, Ocean Township

Bow out with regrets

bite off more than it can chew. The United States must act in concert with the international community to the maximum extent to resolve perceived security threats from abroad.

Ferdinand Gajewski, Westfield  
me of my frequent critics  
Answer to defeatism

Your editorial "Have we passed the point of no return?" suggests that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld should receive the coveted "You've got to be kidding" award for his "cheerful assertion" when speaking of the upcoming election in Iraq that "Nothing's perfect in life, so you have an election that's not quite perfect. Is it better than not having an election? You bet."

Your award selection might be premature. Here's another "blatant" quote: "The election is a necessity. We cannot have a free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forgo, or postpone, a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered us."



RUMSFELD

This was the reply President Abraham Lincoln made to his aides who urged him to suspend the elections of 1864, this during the Civil War, when there was every expectation that he would lose. If you are going to reopen nominations for the award, I suggest your editorial writer be put in contention.

- Brendan McCuskey, Cowans Station

Right to serve

It was my son's choice. He is in the Navy and has just returned from Iraq. He is stationed on the USS George Washington, an aircraft carrier. Leonard Pitts Jr.'s Oct. 11 column ("A measure of success in the draft bill"), Michael Moore's movie and John Edwards' comments - along the lines of "Would you let your kid die in Iraq?" and "What if it was your kid?" - do little to help our servicemen and -women. This is a volunteer military. When my son told me he wanted to join the Navy, I asked him why and he said, "Dad, you did it. Now it's my turn to serve." It's people like my son who make it possible for the Moors of the world to have freedom of speech. Could you imagine what would have happened if Moore's attitude prevailed during the Second World War? It was my son's choice to join, and I am so very proud of him. I pray for him and all other servicemen and -women now in harm's way during this very necessary war on terror.

had the intent that the war would pay for itself with Iraq's oil revenues. President Bush had the intent that it was "mission accomplished" more than a year ago on that aircraft carrier. How well did all those intentions work out?

I feel like we've moved from politics into the world of science fiction. It's like we've strayed into that Tom Cruise movie, "Minority Report," in which the state imprisons people for crimes they haven't committed but a sure they will commit in the future.

- Shelley Mathis, Bloomfield

War powers

I have just reread Article 2 of the Constitution. Would Sen. John Kerry or adviser Richard Holbrooke please refer me to the section that requires the president to consult with our allies before going to war?

- Arthur F. Clarke Jr., Andover

Backwards strategy

Reader Archie Salerno's Sept. 28 suggestion that we had to invade Iraq to keep Saddam Hussein out of the race for nuclear weapons with Iran is the ultimate in backwards, nonsensical, nondiplomatic Republican strategy.

If Iran was and is the more immediate nuclear threat, why didn't we neutralize the nuclear threat in Iran and thereby convince the entire Middle East that we were not going to allow any proliferation in the region? Unfortunately, both Bushes let the Saudis play both sides of the fence and diverted U.S. attention to Iraq. Didn't the Saudis notice that most of the 9/11 hijackers were Saudis?

- William T. Fidurski, Clark

Balute sacrifice

We cannot begin to explain our disappointment when we opened your Oct. 10 edition to look for coverage of the "Balute the Troops" deployment ceremony that took place the previous day in Trenton. As we turned page after page until we reached the 41st page, we wondered: Does anyone care about the 2,500 men and women embarking on a dangerous mission to Iraq? If the placement of the article is any indication of just how much people care, we are deeply saddened.

Our son, Chris, is one of the citizen soldiers who will risk his life in the name of liberty. He is a captain in the 842nd Aviation Support Battalion, which has joined six other battalions to form the 42nd (Rainbow) Infantry Division. This division is made up entirely of National Guardsmen and -women and will be the first of its kind deployed to Iraq. It repre-

Fran Martin emailed Phyllis 12/7  
NJ - in for ledger

FJ 973 392 1536  
John Jared -> 1731  
vmail 12/8  
electrese@du.sjge.com

John Jurich

11-L-0559/OSD/53663 - tell vmail 12/15  
- talked to arnold 12/15

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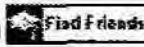
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(b)(6)

**Brendan S. McCluskey** (More Info)

(b)(6)

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11-L-0559/OSD/53664



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

DEC 30 2004

Mr. Brendan McCluskey

(b)(6)

Dear Mr. McCluskey,

I saw your article in *The Star-Ledger*. It was top notch – thank you! Keep it up.

Sincerely,

335515

30 Dec 04

11 Dec 04

OSD 20996-04

**FOUO**

October 25, 2005

TO: The Honorable Carlos Gutierrez

cc: Robert Zoellick

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Mongolia



*Mongolia*

Sometime if you are going to be in Asia, you might want to visit Mongolia. If the top Mongolian leadership comes to the US, which they may, you may want to visit with them here.

They are anxious to improve their economic relationship with the US. They have intelligent leadership that is focused on free political and economic systems, which are rare in that part of the world. They have been stalwart friends in Afghanistan and Iraq.

I think you would enjoy working with them, and I know they would appreciate any attention you could give them.

Thanks.

DIR, dh  
102505-23

**OSD 21018-05**

*25 Oct 05*

**FOUO**

11-L-0559/OSD/53666

Future

May 17, 2004

*Handwritten initials*

Scab down

TO: Steve Cambone

CC: Gen. Dick Myers  
Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Future of the ISG

General Dayton raised an interesting issue when we were in Baghdad. He asked what the future is of the ISG.

*TRUP*

When Duelfer leaves and it ends, could it be converted to something else? Is it a model that ought to be patterned for the future? Are there other problems he could turn his attention to? Will it belong to the multi-national force? That needs to be thought through.

Please get with the right group and tell me what you think.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
051704-17

.....  
Please respond by 6/4/04

*Dme*

*17 May 04*

~~FOUO~~

OCT 25 2005

TO: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Article of Interest

Attached is an interesting article about our friend Brent.

Thanks.

Attach:  
Agence France Press, "Former Security Advisor Highlights US Divisions Over Iraq," October 23, 2005.

*DR*

DR:dh  
102405-19 (75) d.w.

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21021-05

*250, Joe*

11-L-0559/OSD/53668

Rolling's unit was just notified it will stay extra to help with upcoming national elections in December, and his grumbling extended right to the Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld.

factiva

Now from Reuters



### Former security advisor highlights US divisions over Iraq

FA

493 words

23 October 2005

11:52

Agence France Presse

English

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WASHINGTON, Oct 23 (AFP)

Former US national security advisor Brent Scowcroft has brought out new evidence of divisions in the Republican establishment over the Iraq war and particularly the role of Vice President Dick Cheney, *New Yorker* magazine said.

Scowcroft said the promotion of US-style democracy should not be used as an excuse to use force abroad, as he launched a rare open attack on Cheney.

"The real anomaly in the administration is Cheney," Scowcroft, the national security advisor under presidents Gerald Ford and the elder George Bush, was quoted as saying in an interview.

"I consider Cheney a friend -- I've known him for 30 years. But Dick Cheney I don't know any more."

Cheney is one of the leading White House hawks who, along with Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, are considered chief architects of the 2003 invasion of Iraq. That invasion once had considerable support, but is now broadly unpopular with the US public.

While the White House seems to have been taken over by hawkish "neoconservatives" Scowcroft said the vice president defies easy categorization.

"I don't think Dick Cheney is a neocon, but allied to the core of neocons is that bunch who thought we made a mistake in the first Gulf War, that we should have finished the job.

"There was another bunch who were traumatized by 9/11 (the September 11, 2001 attacks; and who thought 'The world's going to hell and we've got to show we're not



going to take this, and we've got to respond, and Afghanistan is OK but it's not sufficient."

Scowcroft spoke against completing the downfall of President Saddam Hussein in Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War because "at the minimum we'd be an occupier in a hostile land.

Our forces would be sniped at by guerrillas and, once we were there, how would we get out. What would be the rationale for leaving."

He went on: "This is exactly where we are now, We own it. And we can't let go. We're getting sniped at. Now, will we win? I think there's a fair chance we'll win. But look at the cost."

Scowcroft's criticism of the actions of President George W. Bush are startling, given his close friendship with the elder Bush. He also brought Condoleezza Rice, the current secretary of state, into the US government. But relations between the two are now strained.

The New Yorker said that since the beginning of the Iraq war, Scowcroft, 80, has been "frozen out of the White House".

He made his remarks amid growing signs of Republican dissatisfaction at the handling of the war.

Lawrence Wilkerson, a former chief of staff to ex-secretary of state Colin Powell, said this week that a "cabal" between Cheney and Rumsfeld had hijacked foreign policy on Iraq and other national security issues.

~~January 29, 2004~~  
FEBRUARY 2

326

TO: David Chu  
cc: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Statistics on Reserves

I didn't want to take the paper at the breakfast meeting this morning because it is so complicated, and so poorly presented in terms of its utility and usability, that I didn't want to try to plow my way through it.

Could you please take it and re-present it with just the key 6, 8, 10 or 12 points on a single piece of paper with bullet points—not on your letterhead, not with sentences, but just the key things we ought to know.

I would also like you to do the same thing with the rebalancing the forces paper just produced by the DASD for Reserve Affairs, Readiness, Training and Mobilization. There ought to be a way to take one or two pages and just have bullet points, so that it is usable in a hearing or a speech.

Thanks.

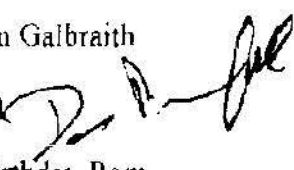
DHR:dh  
012904-12

.....  
Please respond by 2/2/04

2 Feb 04

OSD 21022-05

GCT 2 5 2005

TO: **Ambassador** Evan Galbraith  
FROM: **Donald Rumsfeld**   
SUBJECT: Bill Buckley's Birthday Pam

Van

I just checked my calendar, and unfortunately I cannot go to Bill Buckley's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday party in New York on November 17 **because I will be in Australia**. Do tell him I wish I could be **there**, and extend my very best wishes to him.

DJR:jf  
11-24-05 15:00

001157

OSD 21024-05

250405

11-L-0559/OSD/53672

720



POLICY

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WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2000



INFO MEMO

04/017598

DepSecDef

USD(P) *for Q POLUS (P)*

DEC 14 2004

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Ryan Henry, PD Under Secretary of Defense for Policy *3* DEC 14 2004

SUBJECT: Defense Policy Board Members' Term Expiration Dates

- As you consider the list of Defense Policy Board members, I have attached their term expiration dates for your information (Tab A).

Attachment:  
As stated

Prepared by: Ann Hansen, Defense Policy Board (b)(6)

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11-L-0559/OSD/53673

Policy Info Memo Template

OSD 21034-04

	<b>DPB Member</b>	<b>Board Term Expiration</b>
1	Dr. Kenneth Adelman	May-05
2	Hon Richard Allen	May-05
3	Dr. Martin Anderson	July-05
4	Dr. Garv Becker	
5	Dr. Barry Blechman	November-05
6	Dr. Harold Brown	July-05
7	<b>Ms.</b> Victoria Clarke	June-06
8	Dr. Eliot Cohen	January-06
9	Ms. Devon Cross	January-06
10	Gen (Ret) Ronald Fogleman	November-05
11	Honorable Thomas Foley	January-06
12	Honorable Tillie Fowler	May-05
13	Honorable Newt Ginarich	January-06
14	Gen (Ret) Chuck Horner	November-05
15	Dr. Fred Ikle	November-05
16	ADM (Ret) David Jeremiah	November-05
17	GEN (Ret) John M. Keane	February-06
18	Dr. Henry Kissinger	November-05
19	Former VP Dan Quavle	May-05
20	Dr. James Schlesinger	July-05
21	Dr. Kiron Skinner	May-05
22	Dr. Hal Sonnenfeldt	November-05
24	Mr. Chris Williams	June-05
25	Honorable Pete Wilson	May-05
26	Hon R. James Woolsey	November-05

FOUO

ES-1644  
04/016678

December 9, 2004

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM:  
SUBJECT: Defense Policy Board

Please send me the complete list of Defense Policy Board members. I want to make some changes.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
120904-33

.....  
Please respond by 12/10/04

FOUO

FOUO

cancel X304

November 24, 2004

1415  
11  
27

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Edits to Division of Labor Paper

02050

Please fax your edits to the Division of Labor document to me this week.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Division of Labor Paper

DHR:as  
112404-11

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*See attached.  
I'm not sure what you have in mind  
by separating PA+E from all the stuff  
in the right-hand column.*

*Paul W.*

HONORARY

OSD 21054-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53676

~~FOUO~~

DIVISION OF LABOR - SECDEF & DEPSECDEF

SECDEF	BOTH	DEPSECDEF
Iraq / Afghanistan	Sr Civilian Personnel	Procurement
SLRG	Sr Military Personnel	Inspector General
Contingency	Planning	Budget/Acquisition - Are you sure about this one?
POTUS Interaction	Pentagon Renovation	Medical Affairs
COCOM Interaction	Global Posture	Defense Agencies
SRO	Legislative Affairs	Reserve Affairs
Deployment Orders	Public Affairs	Missile Defense
Special Operations	NSC Process	Defense Business Board
Intelligence	General Counsel	Defense Science Board
PA&E ?	OMB	DACOWITS
Service Secretary Interaction	Outreach Meetings	AT&L
	Defense Policy Board	Comptroller
	Homeland Defense	Military Commissions



DRAFT

September 21, 2003  
7:10 AM

Order	Secretary	Deputy	Both/Spilt
1	CJCS/VCJCS/ Combatant Commanders	Homeland Defense	General Counsel
2	End Strength	AT&L	Iraq
3	Contingency Plans	Comptroller	Public Affairs
4	SRO	PA & E	Legislative Affairs
5	Deployment Orders/ Force/Rotation/Morale	Air Force/NRO	SLRG
6	Army	Navy / Marines	Outreach Meetings
7	Special Ops/SOLIC	Medical Affairs	Defense Policy Board
8	Footprint	NI2	Personnel
9	Intel -- Steve Cambone	SROC	OMB
10	PC with Doug Feith as +1	Military Commissions	Defense Science Board
11	Defense Business Council	Detainees	Afghanistan
12		Inspector General	

**FOUO**

October 25, 2005

TO: Stephen J Hadley  
Bill Luti

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

**SUBJECT:** Letter from Alan Howell Parrot

*00.5*

Please take a look at the attached letter sent to me by a military analyst, and tell me what you think of it.

Thanks.

Attach: 10/17/05 Letter from Alan Howell Parrot to Thomas McNerney

DHR:ss  
102505-14

**OSD 21089-05**

*95 OCT 05*

**FOUO**

11-L-0559/OSD/53679



# The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

10/25  
C →

Lt. General Thomas G. McInerney - *military analyst*

Dear Tom,

Monday, October 17, 2005

The analysis provided here is only possible after spending countless hours over many years, intimately involved with today's upper echelons of Middle East Shaikhs, Princes, and leaders. The behavioral patterns described here are, unfortunately, commonly observed by anyone unlucky enough to be a member of their inner circle.

I studied body-language analysis and facial analysis under Dr. Narayan Singh, who is among the best pioneers in the biz. Today Narayan is retired from practicing clinical psychology. But he still provides valuable consulting services, while he continues to develop his work far beyond conventional application modalities. His telephone number is (b)(6)

Multiple forms of analysis are invaluable for comprehending aboriginal (i.e. Arab) people who speak other (non-English) languages, because Arabs still share common archetypal body languages with westerners, and can therefore be understood in a common context.

When the DOD asked me to list my language proficiencies, it wasn't enough to list Russian et. al. Rather, today's NOC agents and other intelligence analysts should be ideally optimized with training beyond conventional language (Russian, Chinese, Arabic), to include a wide variety of communication skills that permit D.O.D. agents to penetrate and embed within foreign cultures. If invited, I'm available to lift this veil by introducing the DOD to a whole new world of soft, low-intensity content and communication analysis.

There is an element of delusional religiosity in Zarqawi's letter, most apparent in the beginning of his letter. He is using 'religion' as a safety mechanism, to cover his psyche as a serial killer. But even this demeanor fades away as he advances deeply into a psychotic episode of ranting against his adversaries. We saw the same features in Saddam Hussein during the first Gulf War, when he publicly announced that he is descended from the Muslim prophet Mohammed.

It is notable that in this letter, Zarqawi's emotions are not consistent from beginning to end. Zarqawi is easily influenced by external circumstances that are 'triggering events', capable of starting irrational, emotionally-driven 'brush-fires'. A fanatically 'reactive' psychotic who is in the business of responding to external stimuli, often makes titanic mistakes, and thus feels compelled to problem-solve with overwhelming, brute force.

### Handlers for Damage-Control:

This man is out of control. Was this the case prior to the U.S.-led coalition against insurgents? Probably not, to the same degree. A person in this condition requires 'handlers' in his entourage, who mitigate disaster by controlling Zarqawi's manifest, psychotic episodes. These advisors are essential to his survival; but they also represent a dilution of Zarqawi's terrorist capacity. If 70% of their energy is dedicated to pure terror, 30% is dedicated to controlling Zarqawi and evading his wrath. Zarqawi's team is likely to be challenged by crises *inside* Zarqawi's organization, as much as they are challenged by the coalition's hunt for Zarqawi. This 'damage-control' ratio is likely to change over time, to the detriment of Zarqawi's survival capacity.



## The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

Zarqawi's inevitable use of brute force against 'tribal' members inside his own organization can only work to his benefit in the short term, until his organization's members learn how to (1) take Zarqawi's position for themselves (2) split apart into a new organization, or (3) kill Zarqawi. A calculated guess would be that he will soon be delivered dead, to coalition forces.

Therefor Zarqawi uses religion (ie. control of God) and money as strategic tools to delay his fate, that will inevitably be caused by enemies within his organization, if not by the U.S.-led coalition.

### **Post-Traumatic Stress Is Toxic, and Effectively Kills An Organization:**

Similarly, Niccolo Machiavelli, Adolph Hitler and Yasser Arafat were all individuals suffering from fragmented egos, who nevertheless continued public careers as functional psychotics. Zarqawi belongs to the same club, but his half-life is over. The average life-span of an overtly active, public Mafia Don is about five years, and even Zarqawi may be acutely aware that he is approaching payback time at lightning speed. This is also cause for ambient traumatic stress, which serves to shorten his functional career.

Zarqawi suffers from severe ongoing traumatic stress. Unable to process information overload, real and imagined threats become indistinguishable. One symptom of traumatic stress is his toxic view of all people, beyond his immediate circle of Sunni Muslims. A person who is this toxic, cannot sleep and can't make lucid judgments. Symptoms manifest in his extremely toxic analysis of the Shiite, the Kurds, and others. Zarqawi is already overwhelmed by his own psychosis.

Note: Zarqawi states, "America will not leave (Iraq) no matter how numerous it's wounds become and how much of it's blood is spilled". This contradicts Zarqawi's earlier position, that the American public will not countenance high mortality among U.S. troops. Previously, throat-cutting of Americans was a terror-tactic, designed to cause a mass exodus of Americans. Today, U.S. troops are viewed as currency for trading purposes, to secure the freedom of detained terrorists. This means that President Bush's edict that "the U.S. will not back down" has worked. Zarqawi admits here that his tactics have changed, once again under duress, due to U.S. resolve.

Zarqawi is correct to characterize the Shi'a as patiently waiting to implement a long-term plan to dominate Iraq, at the expense of Kurds and Sunni Muslims. His final paragraph is an ascending ruler's mandate, couched in the sycophantic language of an indentured servant.

### **Summary:**

There are many outright historic distortions and evident inaccuracies in Zarqawi's letter. His displayed contempt for Shiite Muslims exceeds his sentiments for Americans, whom he believes to be two-dimensional and of momentary concern. i.e. Shiite Muslims are the long-term enemy, as they are held in contempt by all of al-Qaeda's leaders. Western analysts resolutely maintain this discord between Shiite and Sunni precludes strategic collaboration, but the Koran clearly instructs Muslim enemies to collaborate as allies, when they are attacked by the kafir infidels. i.e. Koranic precepts mandate, in principle, that Iran accommodate UBL and al-Qaeda's leaders, as a means for defeating western infidels and Christian/Jewish invaders.

Our goal is to break the back of the insurgency. To achieve this goal, we must first comprehend who we are dealing with. It is a misnomer and counterproductive to view the insurgency as a unified force. The nature of Zarqawi's psychosis, coupled with his ongoing traumatic stress, both serve to create factional discord within his organization. And because Zarqawi's team is constantly forced into a reactionary mode, every milestone such as Saturday's popular vote for the Iraqi Constitution, are factors that exponentially increase many layers and levels of threats to the stability of Zarqawi's organization, from within. Zarqawi's battle is nearing it's end.



## The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

If Zawahiri's letter is a topographical map, then the density of question marks in one *paragraph* may be viewed as a mountain refuge. They represent an anomaly in the topography of Zawahiri's communication.

At this pivotal moment, the core issue is the relationship between Zawahiri and Zarqawi. From Zawahiri's perspective, he is attempting to contain and control a madman who is out of control. Zawahiri is under duress: his responsibilities to the Iranians mandate an unthinkable concession, that **he** stop the killing of Shiite Muslims. This is like telling a ferret to leave the chickens alone.

So many questions in one paragraph, represent indirect communication: Zawahiri is afraid. Zawahiri feels the ominous weight of responsibility, as he hammers his point home. Very likely, he expects the killing of Shi'a will continue, if not by Zarqawi, then by his followers. This deep fear reaches to the subconscious mind. Zawahiri is afraid that Zarqawi will ignore him, and he is afraid of what he will do. i.e. The consequences of Zarqawi's ongoing sectarian violence in Iraq, shall work to the detriment of Zawahiri in Iran.

In this critical paragraph, Zawahiri also confirms the Koran's mandate that Muslim enemies collaborate **as** friends, when attacked by *kafir* infidels. He states, "both we and the Iranians need to refrain **from** harming each other at **this** time in which the Americans are targeting us."

There is enough material, independently corroborated, to support our claim that UBL resides in Iran. And U.C.R. has developed a tactical strategy whereby he will be compelled to look for us, rather than the opposite. It is my hope that all of **us** together, shall have the opportunity to fully develop this project.

Yours Sincerely, /

Alan Howell Parrot,  
for the Union for the Conservation of Raptors, Inc.



# The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

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Zawahiri claims that when the U.S. departs Iraq, "un-Islamic forces" will attempt to fill the void. If you review both letters, Shiite Muslims are considered **as** the only potent long-term adversary, capable of dominating the Iraqi table. Zawahiri is making a polite reference to the Iranian Shi'a. But Zawahiri's words starkly contrast Zarqawi's vituperative tone against Iran's Shiite Muslims. Why is Zawahiri being so polite? Is his tone attributable to his status as a guest of the Iranians?

Zarqawi states Iraq, "has not mountains in which we can take refuge and no forests in whose thickets we can hide." But Zawahiri and UBL have found a third venue for hiding: the sovereign state of Iran, whose borders appear to be impenetrable to the U.S.-led coalition.

## Miscellaneous Points:

Zawahiri advises Zarqawi to integrate his organization among the Iraqi populace, to garner support. He tells Zarqawi to develop, "circles of support, assistance, and cooperation, and through them to advance until you become . . . an organization." This is impossible, because Zarqawi's organization is already contracting, as described in the previous analysis of his letter. Does Zawahiri repeat this message twice, because he's aware Zarqawi cannot maintain his team?

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## The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

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for the Union for the Conservation of Raptors, Inc.

**FOUO**

October 25, 2005

000.

**TO:** Eric Edelman  
GEN John Abizaid  
Larry DiRita

**FROM:** Donald Rumsfeld 

**SUBJECT:** Letter from Alan Howell Parrot

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Thanks.

Attach 10/17/05 Letter from Alan Howell Parrot to Thomas McInerney

DHR.ss  
102505-13

.....  
*Please Respond By November 08, 2005*

OSD 21090-05

05 Oct 05

**FOUO**

11-L-0559/OSD/53685





# The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

Lt. General Thomas G. McInerney – *military analyst*

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Monday, October 17, 2005

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## The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

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### Post-Traumatic **Stress** Is Toxic, and **Effectively** Kills An Organization:

Similarly, Niccolo Machiavelli, Adolph Hitler and Yasser *Arafat* were **all** individuals *suffering* from **fragmented** egos, who nevertheless continued public **careers** as functional psychotics. Zarqawi belongs to the same club, but his half-life is over. The average **Life-span** of an overtly active, public Mafia Don is about five years, and even Zarqawi **may** be acutely aware that he is approaching payback time at **lightning speed**. **This** is also **cause** for ambient traumatic **stress**, which serves to **shorten** his functional career.

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# The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

This letter is legitimate. Zawahiri orders Zarqawi to stop graphic films of slaughter, which alienate Muslim supporters. After **this** command was received, Zarqawi **stopped** throat-cuttings. Zawahiri then instructs Zarqawi to "kill the captives **by** bullet", which he does.

## One Paragraph ...

- 4 The Rosetta stone to **this** letter is in the question **marks**. In **this** 13 page letter, there **are** a total of **27** question **marks**. Fifteen of those question **marks** (**56%**) **are** limited to *one paragraph*. These question marks represent a guarded change in emotion, in the context of a 'what if' scenario. They represent **as fact**, an abrupt change in rhythm and **tempo**: Zawahiri is **afraid** to give the answers, **so** he **asks** questions and compels the reader to provide the **answers** for himself.

**This anomaly** should not be overlooked by intelligence analysts. Imagine if this paragraph had **15** exclamation points, instead of **15** question marks! That paragraph would have stuck out **lie** a sore thumb. In an indirect, between-the-lines oriental society, question marks **are** just as confrontational as exclamation points.

- 4 In **this** paragraph, Zawahiri is confronting Zarqawi about killing Shiite Muslims (**Iranian tribals**). The unique payload message of that one paragraph, is to stop killing al-Qaeda's **sworn** enemies. Nowhere else **can you** find Zawahiri **or** UBL counseling against the **killing** of Shi'a Only here.
- 4 **Why?** This paragraph shouts that Zawahiri is obliged to protect Shiite Muslims. **This** new policy is untenable to **al-Qaeda's** leadership ... unless al-Zawahiri is a guest, prisoner, or beneficiary of Iranian hospitality. This paragraph supports U.C.R.'s Iranian sighting of UBL last November.

The unique **nature** of Zawahiri calling for a '**cease-fire**' against Shiite Muslims, is underscored when considered in relation to Zarqawi's letter that promises to annihilate **the** Shi'a Zawahiri's policy is (1) **against** al-Qaeda doctrine and is (2) nervously expressed in *one unique paragraph*.

- 4 Furthermore: prior to that paragraph, there **are** five paragraphs denoted by **A, B, C, D, E**. **Other** paragraphs in this letter, which **are** preceded by letters or numbers, signify a distinct change of topic. **But** these five paragraphs **are** unusual, in that they **are** all talking about the same subject. Here, the letters **are** not used to denote a change of topic – rather, they **are** used to emphasize the *same point* (i.e. the Sunni "collision" with Shiite apostates), like a fist banging on **the** table.

Somebody has convinced Zawahiri to protect the hated Shiite Muslims. Is it the Iranian Shi'a? /

## Relative Suffering of Relatives:

In the primary paragraph with **15** question marks, Zawahiri mentions that "we have more than 100 prisoners...who **are** from the leadership...in the custody of the Iranians." Zawahiri **fails** to **complain** about their torture, and the destruction of al-Qaeda's **agenda**.

Relative to this, consider how Zawahiri complains about his favorite wife, his **son**, his daughter, and **three** families suffering from war. **Yet** there is no thought for the **suffering** of 100 prisoners. **Is this** because al-Qaeda's **100** prisoners in Iran, **are** not suffering **at** all, **because** they **are** **guests** of Ahmedinijad?

**On July 31, 2002** I was a guest of the Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal at his Jeddah palace. The next **day** he flew to Iran, to receive two al-Qaeda terrorists held in **Iranian** custody, and to escort them to Saudi Arabia. i.e. It's no **secret** that Iran holds senior al-Qaeda **terrorists**.



# The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

## Be Polite to the Host:

Zawahiri claims that when the U.S. departs Iraq, "un-Islamic forces" will attempt to fill the void. If you review both letters, Shiite Muslims are considered as the only potent long-term adversary, capable of dominating the Iraqi table. Zawahiri is making a polite reference to the Iranian Shi'a. **But** Zawahiri's words starkly contrast Zarqawi's vituperative tone against Iran's Shiite Muslims. Why is Zawahiri being so polite? Is his tone attributable to his status as a guest of the Iranians?

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- ◆ November, 2004: UBL sighting south of the Caspian, by Ken Timmerman's source. This was an independent sighting, unknown to both U.C.R. and General Vallely, until Paul met Ken in NYC on June 13, 2005. Timmerman met the FBI and also reported the sighting details in his book, Countdown to C The Coming Nuclear! w 1 itl Iran.





## The Union for the Conservation of Raptors

If Zawahiri's letter is a topographical map, then the density of question marks in one *paragraph* may be viewed as a mountain refuge. They represent an anomaly in the topography of Zawahiri's communication.

At this pivotal moment, the core issue is the relationship between Zawahiri and Zarqawi. From Zawahiri's perspective, he is attempting to contain and control a madman who is *out* of control. Zawahiri is under duress: his responsibilities to the Iranians mandate an unthinkable concession, that he stop the killing of Shiite Muslims. *This* is like telling a ferret to leave the chickens alone.

So many questions in one paragraph, represent indirect communication: Zawahiri is afraid. Zawahiri feels the *ominous* weight of responsibility, as he hammers his point home. *Very* likely, he expects the killing of Shi'a will continue, if not by Zarqawi, then by his followers. This deep fear reaches to the subconscious mind. Zawahiri is afraid that Zarqawi will ignore him, and he is afraid of what he will do. i.e. The consequences of Zarqawi's ongoing *sectarian* violence in Iraq, shall work to the detriment of Zawahiri in Iran.

In this critical paragraph, Zawahiri also confirms the *Koran's* mandate that Muslim enemies collaborate as friends, when attacked by *kafir* infidels. He states, "both we and the Iranians need to refrain from harming each other at this time in which the Americans are *targeting us*."

There is *enough* material, independently corroborated, to support our claim that UBL resides in Iran. And U.C.R. has developed a tactical strategy whereby he will be compelled to look for us, rather than the opposite. It is my hope that all of us together, shall have the opportunity to fully develop this project

Yours Sincerely,

Alan Howell Parrot,  
for the Union for the Conservation of Raptors, Inc.

**OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
**The Military Assistant**

08 Jun 2004-1000

MEMORANDUM FOR USD(P)

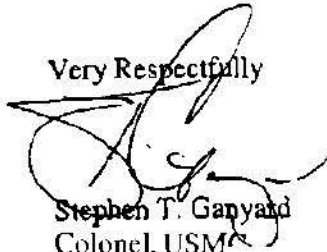
Subject: MEK

Sir,

The Deputy request that Dr. Luti take him through the briefings that have been provided on the MEK. Please call Stephanie to schedule a time for today.

Thank You.

Very Respectfully



Stephen T. Ganyard  
Colonel, USMC  
Military Assistant to the  
Deputy Secretary of Defense

Suspense: COB 8 Jun 04

cc: DIS  
VCJCS EA

OSD 21139-05

3836


S Ganyard

8 Jun-04  
Scanned

June 7, 2004

TO: Paul Wolfowitz

CC: Gen. Dick Myers

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: MEK

Let's get hot on the MEK and figure out what to do. My instinct is to get them passed over to the Iraqis.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
060704-1

.....  
*Please respond by* 6/18/04

11-L-0559/OSD/53692

~~FOUO~~

September 26, 2005

TO: Ken Krieg  
CC: Gordon England  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: Using Diesel Fuel in Gasoline Engines

*463*

Here's a note that we should look into. I don't know if it makes any sense or not. Let me know what you find out after you talk to the folks involved.

Thanks

Attach: James Bauernschmidt letter to SecDef: SecDef response to James Bauernschmidt

DHR:ss  
092605-37

.....  
*20*  
Please Respond By 10/23/05

*265eppas*

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21156-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53693





THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

3010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3010

INFO MEMO

October 24, 2005, 1100 A.M.

463

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Ken Knigg, USD (AT&L) OCT 24 2005

SUBJECT: Response to Snowflake on "Using Diesel Fuel in Gasoline Engines"

- You asked in your September 26, 2005, snowflake (TAB A) whether Mr. James Baurenschmidt's proposal (TAB B) to mandate the use of Sonex technology on all newly acquired internal combustion engines has merit. Sonex technology permits gasoline engines to burn diesel and kerosene-based fuels.
- *With* the exception of unmanned aerial vehicles, all DoD's major end items and tactical equipment already use diesel and/or kerosene-based fuels. This is largely a result of DoD's logistics policy requiring a "single fuel on the battlefield." The single fuel policy simplifies logistics by minimizing the need to maintain separate storage facilities and tactical pipelines on the battlefield.
- DoD's administrative vehicle fleet (staff cars and light trucks) is leased through the General Services Administration (GSA). GSA adheres to legislative mandates (Energy Policy Act of 1992 and Executive Order 13149) which require that 75% of all non-tactical vehicles use alternative fuels such as propane, methane, natural gas, or electric/gasoline hybrids.
- Since DoD already uses diesel and kerosene-based fuels in the engines of our equipment, there is little application for Sonex technology.

24 OCT 05

Attachments:

As stated

cc:

Acting DepSecDef

Prepared by: James N. Carnes/ODUSD(L&MR)SCI (b)(6)

26 SEP 05



OSD 21156-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53694

~~FOUO~~

September 26, 2005

TO: Ken Krieg  
CC: Gordon England  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Using Diesel Fuel in Gasoline Engines

Here's a note that we should look into. I don't know if it makes **any** sense or not  
Let me know what you find out after you talk to the **folks** involved.

Thanks.

Attach: James Bauemschmidt letter to SecDef: SecDef response to James  
Bauemschmidt

DIIR.ss  
092603-37

.....  
*20*  
***Please Respond By 10/25/05***

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53695

James Bauemschmidt

(b)(6)

Sept. 15, 2005

Donald Rumsfeld

(b)(6)

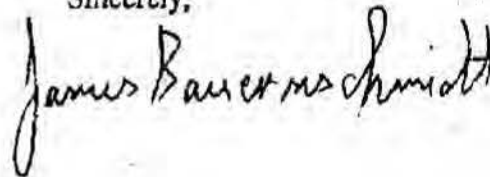
Dear Mr. Rumsfeld,

Is there any chance you can direct the military to require all future equipment with an internal combustion engine to be made **using** the Sonex technology (see enclosed article)?

Sonex can help the military reach the goal of switching to a uniform fuel like **JP5** within a few **years**. Furthermore, Sonex also makes much higher fuel efficiency and environmental standards achievable.

Mr. Rumsfeld, your issuing such a directive would serve our nation well.

Sincerely,



PS. You are more than welcome to visit the Sonex **laboratory** located in Annapolis, Maryland.

#73 January/February 2005



Washington's Independent Journal of News, Ideas & Culture

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### FREE THOUGHTS

**FIRST WORD** by Doug Collins  
[Home of the Timid](#)

**READER MAIL**  
[Insurance bloodsuckers. Thanks for MCS reporting. MCS sufferer. "Three Strikes" should be struck down. The silence of the politicians](#)

**NORTHWEST & BEYOND**  
[Olympians resist Iraq war. Land returned to WA tribes. Flame retardants give off toxic dust. Many problems with US elections. Women in Iraq face many threats. Action demanded on Sudan. Coca-Cola threatens water supplies](#)

### CONTACTS

**NORTHWEST NEIGHBORS**  
[contact list for WA progressives](#)

**DO SOMETHING CALENDAR**  
[Northwest activist](#)

### WAR

[Seattle appearance. Michael Ruppert Explains Peak Oil and 9/11](#)  
by Ridger Herbst

[Widespread Abuse by US Marines from the ACW](#)

**MEDIA BEAT** by Norman Solomon  
[A distant mirror of holy war](#)

### POLITICS

[FBI Spying Illegally on Political and Religious Groups from the ACLU](#)

[Gonzales: Attorney General for the Country or for Bush?](#)  
by Domenico Maceri

### WORKPLACE

## Can a gas engine use diesel fuel with less pollution?

by James Bauernschmidt

Anyone concerned with rising oil prices and pollution from fossil fuel might like to know about a new technology, which addresses both problems. Its application will put an end to the days of sooty smoke seen from accelerating diesel trucks and buses. The technology involves a slight modification to an engine part that can be mass-produced on existing manufacturing lines.

The technology is the result of over thirty years R&D conducted by Dr. Andrew Poring, a former professor and chairman of the Dept. of Aerospace Engineering at the US Naval Academy. Through his company Sonex Research, Inc. in Annapolis, MD ([see www.sonexresearch.com](http://www.sonexresearch.com)), his work focused on improving the process of combustion through a combination of chemical and fluid dynamic effects. The technology is manifested in the new design of piston heads inside the engine. The Sonex pistons have uniquely shaped chambers with holes in them which bring about a more complete combustion through the turbulence created by high speed air flows emitted from the chambers. (See diagram below).

The new piston can be used in one of two ways: In a direct-injected (DI) engine.

A standard DI diesel engine at compression ratios greater than 16:1 can be equipped with the Sonex piston, enabling overall soot reduction of approximately 50% and a reduction in NOx of 10% without exhaust gas recirculation. This application has little effect on fuel economy. These results were positively evaluated by the world-famous laboratory, Ricardo Consulting Engineers in England.

Unfair Suspension of Sound Transit Security Officer  
from SEIU Local 6

A Lockout That Boxed Employers In  
by David Bacon

**ELECTIONS**

How the Grinch Stole the White House--Again  
by Alan Waldman

Bush Lost  
by Margie Burns

Reform Coalition Offers IRV to Solve WA Election Mess  
from IRVWA

SAN FRANCISCO USES IRV FOR FIRST TIME  
from the Center for Voting and Democracy

**ENVIRONMENT**

TOWARD A TOXIC-FREE FUTURE  
from WA Toxics Coalition

WA State Unveils Plan to Phase Out Toxic Flame Retardants  
by Brandie Smith

Addiction to oil: Mother Nature vs the Hummer  
by Linda Averill

Can a gas engine use diesel fuel w/in  
by James Bauernschmidt

**HEALTH**

A User-Friendly Vaccination Schedule  
by Donald W. Miller, Jr., MD

NATURE DOC by John F. Ruhland, ND  
Pressured back to health: hyperbaric oxygen therapy

**RELIGION**

GOD KNEW(S)  
by Hammond Guthrie



But the most advantages come when applying the Sonex piston in a DI gasoline engine with compression at 12.5:1 or lower, while using a variety of fuels. This design is called Sonex controlled Auto Ignition (SCAI). The SCAI process is basically controlled HCCI (Homogeneous Charge Compression Ignition), which manufacturers world wide are seeking to control because of its low emissions and good fuel economy. The beauty of the SCAI process is that it enables a gas engine to run with no spark plugs using either a heavier fuel such as diesel or military fuel JP5 or lighter alcohol fuels with greater efficiency and cleaner exhaust. Using JP5 in a single cylinder engine, the Sonex laboratory measured an overall soot reduction of approximately 90% and NOx reduction of approximately 80%. The need for elaborate aftertreatment of the exhaust is minimized. The result is a much lighter and more fuel-efficient engine which can run on heavier or lighter fuels, including gasoline. Sonex has recently successfully applied their SCAI process to a six-cylinder Subaru gas engine using JP5 fuel under a DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency) contract and is confirming the single cylinder results.

Diesel fuel offers several advantages over gasoline. Diesel is easier to make at our overworked refineries. MTBE contamination from gas tanks is not an issue. Diesel fuel is also not explosive (it will extinguish a burning match), so transporting it to gas stations would not attract terrorist activity. For several years, the US military has been trying to switch to using only a uniform kerosene based fuel (JP5) similar to diesel. Problems of attacks on convoys transporting gasoline have already confronted our forces in Iraq and reaffirmed the need for improvement. Also, because diesel is a heavier fuel, it contains more energy. The US Marine Corps has already spoiled another version of Sonex technology in their UAVs (unmanned aviation vehicles) with success. The same UAVs are now able to fly 20% farther using heavy fuel thanks to the Sonex technology.

110

~~FOUO~~

10/20/05 1:09

October 20, 2005

TO: Robert Rangel  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Outsourcing Military Mail

What's the article about in the October 19 *Early Bird* that says business advisors have told us to outsource military mail. I've never received a recommendation like that. What is it about?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
102005-03 (TS).doc

.....  
*Please respond by October 27, 2005*

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53699 **OSD 21184-05**



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1 100 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1100

THE  
DATE  
10 13 09

DEFENSE BUSINESS  
BOARD

INFO MEMO

October 13, 2005, 5:00 PM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
ACTING DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

RE  
25 Oct 05

FROM: Gus Pagonis, Chairman, Defense Business Board (DBB) *GP (has seen)*

SUBJECT: Part I of DBB's Task Group on Military Postal Service Final Report

- Attached for your preview are the initial findings and recommendations debated and approved by the DBB on July 28, 2005. The Task Group will present its recommendations on models for privatization and change management strategies during the December 1<sup>st</sup> Board meeting.
- The main observations on the current Military Postal System were:
  - Mail delivery not a core military function – opportunity to move military personnel from postal to other functions
  - DoD continues to struggle to achieve timely delivery of mail
  - Mail delivery is not treated as part of the DoD supply chain (not a part of BMMP)
- Recommendations:
  - The DBB concurred with Task Group recommendations to improve the current system by mandating jointness immediately; treating mail as part of DoD supply chain; incorporating mail processing/distribution in contingency planning; and renegotiating USPS-MPSA agreement to support a tabula *rasa* approach.
  - Rather than focusing on improvements to the current system, the DBB strongly recommended that the Department outsource the collection, processing and distribution of military mail to the maximum extent possible.

COORDINATION: None

Attachment:  
As stated

Prepared by: Kelly S. Van Nirnan, (b)(6)

11-L-0559 OSD/53700

OSD 21184-05



**Task Group  
on  
Military Postal System**

**PART I FINAL REPORT  
July 2005**

11-L-0559/OSD/53701





**DBB Task Group**

Barbara Barrett (Task Group Chairman)

Henry Dreifus

Jim Kimsey

Arnold Punaro

Dov Zakheim

Kelly Van Niman (DBB Executive Director)

Stephan Smith (DBB Staff Assistant)

**DoD Sponsor**

Dr. David Chu (Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel & Readiness))

**DoD Liaison**

Mr. William Carr, Principal Director, Military Personnel Policy

July 2005

Task Group on  
Military Postal Service

2

11-L-0559/OSD/53702



## OBJECTIVES

1. Recommendations for the best business model for the delivery of mail to DoD employees deployed overseas and assigned overseas
2. Change-management recommendations to support an efficient transition to the new business model



## STUDY PROCESS

- 9 Information briefing with the Military Postal Service Agency leadership (including representatives from USPS and DoD)
- 9 Courtesy calls with Task Group Chair and Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel & Readiness) and former Acting Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Logistics and Materiel Readiness)
- 9 Discussions with logistics commander for Operations Desert Storm & Shield
- 9 Informal discussions with officers and enlisted personnel returning from theater
- 9 Private sector best practices research on military mail
  - 9 DHL/Deutsche Post World Net
  - 9 Pitney Bowes
  - 9 Siemens
  - 9 FedEx



➤ **Why consider outsourcing military mail?**

1. Delivery of mail is not a core military function
  - 9 Only among Navy enlisted personnel is “postal” a primary Military Occupation Specialty (MOS)–for all other Services, and among Navy Officers, “postal” is a sub-skill set
2. Opportunity to move military personnel from postal to other functions
  - 9 For example 2,232 active duty personnel are qualified as postal clerks, of which 277 are aboard Navy ships
  - 9 Task is time intensive and utilizes military and civilian assets who could be better utilized in primary military and civilian occupational skill set
3. **GAO** sites inadequacies with current system for training military mail personnel
4. DoD continues to struggle to achieve the timely delivery of mail
  - Per MPSA, current transit times average 3 to 7 days in most areas with OIF/OEF averaging 11 to 13 days
  - 9 GAO's audit closer to the time of the ground war found much longer transit times
5. **GAO** suggests that true costs of military mail delivery cannot be calculated

**Two-year DoD MPS Task Force study had similar findings in August 2000**



➤ **Current available postal manpower:**

	Navy	Air Force	Army	Marines	Totals
Active Duty Officers	0	7	45	19	71
Active Duty Enlisted	557	675	483	452	2167
Total Active duty	557	682	528	465	2232
Reserve Officers	0	0	210	0	210
Reserve Enlisted	8	0	2016	0	2024
Total Reserve Component	8	0	2226	0	2234
Government Service (GS)	29	48	290	2	352
Contractors	36	63	199	65	363
Totals	630	793	3243	532	5198

- **US private industry provides mail services and has expressed interest in expanding its role (e.g., digitized mail services to US Congress and auto-redirect for USPS and worldwide transportation for USPS)**
- **DoD is outsourcing other non-core services (food/laundry services)**



- Mail not considered part of the DoD supply chain (not part of BMMP)
  - Mail is not classified according to the military classes of supply (1-9 ) to determine importance and transportation priority within OCONUS theaters
- Mail is “purple” until the first point of entry OCONUS, e.g. the airport
  - 9 OCONUS military post office, while overseen by the dominant Service, is staffed with Active Duty, Reservist, DoD civilians or contractors, where each Service is responsible for sorting and delivering its own Service-specific mail
- Currently under Title 39 USC, MPSA is an extension of USPS
  - Similar law may be required for private handling
- August 2000 MPS-Task Force recommended reviewing current laws, regulations and agreements to determine which functional areas within the MPS may be outsourced.
  - MPSA/military services/USPS working group developing recommendations on outsourcing guidelines. Expected completion is December 2005.

- **No standardized parameters for establishing a 5-digit zip code that reflect the capabilities of mail sorting technology as well as operational realities/requirements in the field (e.g., headcount, geographic location, mobility vs. fixed, etc.)**
  - Military mail is read/ sorted to both the 5 and 9-digit zip level (but 9 digits not commonly used by the public)
  - Current USPS technology reads an APO and 5 or 9-digit zip code on the last line – no other address content is read
- **MPSA planning for a three-year implementation of a new standardized address initiative using an 11-digit zip code**
  - Goal is to sort all military mail to the unit and individual level
  - Automated readers at CONUS gateway will scan unit (e.g., “Unit 133) and P.O. Box (e.g., “11”) to automatically generate bar-code on letter or parcel
  - 9 Long implementation time planned in order to standardize addresses, coach members and organizations, and assign 11-digit zip codes to persons at the time they “PCS” (permanent change of station)





DEFENSE INFORMATION REPORT

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# PRIVATE SECTOR TRENDS IN MAIL HANDLING, PROCESSING AND DISTRIBUTION

## Digitized Mail

- 9 Letters scanned and sent digitally (practice of 30 US House of Representative offices)
- 9 Pictures taken of packages; recipient asked whether to open/send/dispose (Privacy Act must be satisfied)

## Outsourcing

- 9 **US** Congress and private entities take receipt of mail from USPS and private companies process and distribute 'mail to end-user (although it is no longer considered "mail" once the private company takes possession of it from USPS)
- 9 Focus on customer service – privately owned substations (stamps, mail, money orders)
- 9 Bar coding and automated sorting

July 2005

Task Group on  
Military Postal Service

9

11-L-0559/OSD/53709





## **OUTSOURCE (*TABULA RASA APPROACH*)**

- **Outsource collection, processing and distribution of mail to the maximum extent possible**
  - 9 Mail delivery is a non-core business
  - 9 Minimize use of uniformed personnel touching mail (“tail-to-tooth” rationale)
  - 9 Far greater contractor involvement and automation should be focused on labor intensive functions such as mail sorting, loading and unloading trucks, transporting mail, and providing redirect and locator services
  - 9 Should MPSA go beyond the seven functions they currently consider eligible to be outsourced? {Processing & distribution; Directory & redirect; Local ground transport; Supply Clerks; Build aircraft pallets; Unloading and processing mail containers; Retail clerks (with proper bonding)}
  
- **See Appendix A for Recommendations to Improve the Current System**



## TABULA RASA APPROACH: PROS

- The work performed in the delivery and processing of military mail, up to the point of **handoff** to the brigade commander in the field can be performed by private companies
  - ⑨ Below the brigade level (sometimes referred to as the “last mile” since troops are mobile) the military commander in the field -- at the lowest level possible -- takes final responsibility
  - ⑨ Mail delivery in “last mile” is not an issue in an overseas area where there are no contingencies
  - ⑨ Our research suggests that private companies are willing to and capable of assuming all functions of non-contingency area **delivery** of military mail and already have assumed this role in contingency areas, up to the **point-of hand off** to the military commander
    - ⑨ Currently only at corps level
- Our research suggests that private companies could establish “purple” postal stations in contingency areas; or alternatively, provide persons to perform labor-intensive, low-skill work to free **up** military (down through brigade level)
- ⑨ Our research suggests that there is cutting edge technology currently available to resolve problems and guide DoD policy with respect to military addresses
  - ⑨ Address “hygiene” and standardization must be resolved now – not in three years



## TABULA RASA APPROACH: PROS

- Innovative private company solutions may offer rapid technological advances in electronic processing – DoD as a "test case"
- Mail handled by the military inevitably faces conflicts over scarce transport, e.g., mail for morale or ammunition for battle
  - Private handling of military mail mitigates this dilemma
  - Mail is increasingly electronic, which reduces the volume for letter mail
- Current congressional interest in changes in domestic mail offers timely opportunity for significant modernization of military mail
- DoD outsourcing of other battlefield functions has been successful (e.g., food service, laundry, etc.)
- DBB seeks "overarching," systemic recommendations
- Our goal should be a "transformational" solution



## TABULA RASA APPROACH: CONS

- Implementation of outsourcing could be complex
- 9 Danger of civilian casualties in contingency areas
- 9 The usual concerns and questions regarding the legal status of civilian contract personnel in contingency areas
- 9 Potential hindrances from Status of Forces Agreements



## NEXT STEPS

1. Incorporate comments from full Board received July 28, 2005
2. Present Part I recommendations to the Secretary through the Deputy Secretary
3. Present Part II recommendations to the full Board at December 1<sup>st</sup> DBB meeting
4. Deliver final report to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary
5. Work with the SecDef/DepSecDef-appointed leader to incorporate the DBB's final recommendations into an implementation plan



# IMPROVE THE CURRENT SYSTEM

## 1. Mandate Jointness Immediately

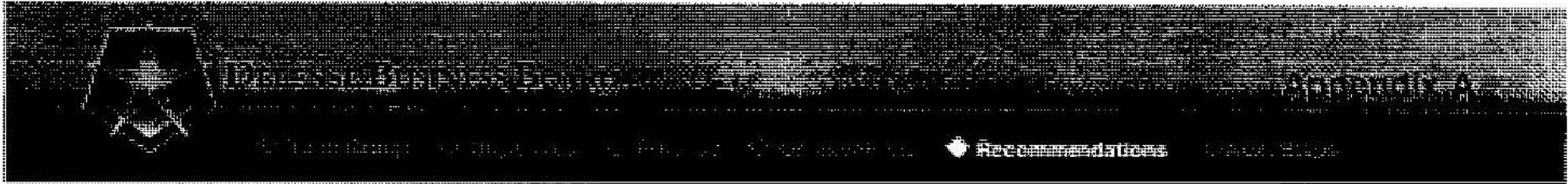
- 9 Standardize and coordinate mail collection, processing and distribution in theater
- 9 Define "purple" protocol for military addresses (compatible w/ USPS)
- 9 Use unique identifier codes, e.g. bar codes, for in-transit visibility
- 9 Establish "purple" post offices in theater beyond the first point of entry

## 2. Treat OCONUS Mail as Part of the DoD Supply Chain

- 9 Consider IT and HR requirements\* in BMMP implementation (\*only budget costs would need to be considered if MPS was outsourced)
- 9 Consider TRANSCOM role (Current DoD distribution process owner)
- 9 Consider the separate demands of packages and letters

## 3. Review MPSA Role and Alignment

- 9 Army is currently Executive Agent



## IMPROVE THE CURRENT SYSTEM

### 4. Incorporate Mail Processing and Distribution in Contingency Planning

- 9 Include training, facilities and equipment unique to mail requirements
- 9 Utilize movement control group to distribute mail in theater (at corps level and below)
- 9 If contract transportation temporarily unavailable, move with supplies in appropriate priority according to the military classes of supply (1-9)

### 5. Renegotiate USPS-MPSA Agreement to Support *tabularasa* Approach

# REFERENCE

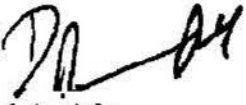


FOUO

OCT 26 2005

TO: President George W. Bush

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld



SUBJECT: Wall Street Journal Article

383.6

Mr. President,

Attached is an article on the subject of detainees that came from a staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal, which I think covers the subject pretty darn well.

Respectfully,

Attach: WSJ article by Robert L. Pollock

DHR:ss  
102505-21

2600705

FOUO

OSD 21189-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53718

Wall Street Journal  
 October 1, 2005  
 Pg. 8

## The 'Torture Narrative' Unravels

By Robert L. Pollock, Staff Reporter Of The ~~Wall~~ Street Journal

It's hardly a secret that Private First Class Lynndie England was sentenced this past week for her role as "leash girl" in the infamous abuses photographed at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison in late 2003. But it was also noticeable that the denouement of this spectacular story was relegated to the innards of newspapers that had once given it weeks of front-page treatment. That's almost surely because the trial of the last of the Maryland Army Reservists to face justice — like those of the others that came before her — offered no evidence to support claims that the abuses were caused by a Bush administration that had "created the climate" or "set the tone" for "torture."

That was, of course, the widespread and explosive charge last (election) year. Almost immediately the leaked photos of Private England and her compatriots generated calls for Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's resignation. So-called "torture memos" were unearthed, in which administration lawyers had discussed the range of permissible interrogation techniques — for al Qaeda suspects in the wake of 9/11. And by one of the greatest leaps of logic ever seriously entertained in our national discourse, those memos were said to have caused the behavior of soldiers in Iraq who knew nothing beyond the limits outlined in the Army Field Manual. Ted Kennedy, for one, offered up a useful reminder of why Americans have never wanted him to be president by declaring that "Saddam's torture chambers reopened under new management, U.S. management."

The writer Heather Mac Donald dubbed this the "torture narrative." And it persists today despite the conclusion a year ago of the Independent Panel to Review DOD Detention Operations that the abuses "were not part of authorized interrogations nor were they even directed at intelligence targets" (emphasis added). Or in the words of the panel's chairman, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger — whose bipartisan cabinet career included a stint in the Carter administration — what those pictures showed was sick behavior by the "night shift."

But don't just take his word for it. "You feel that by doing these things you were setting conditions for interrogations," a judge asked Private England in a hearing earlier this year. "No, sir," she responded. "So this was just a way to embarrass them?" he continued. "Yes, sir," was her reply.

Or consider the testimony of Specialist Jeremy C. Sivits: "Our command would have slammed us. They believe in doing the right thing. If they saw what was going on, there would be hell to pay."

In all, seven guards and two military-intelligence personnel have now faced justice for the Abu Ghraib abuses, with even those pleading guilty undergoing detailed sentencing hearings. No evidence has emerged to support the theory that abuses had anything to do with interrogation.

It's worth remembering too that these prosecutions were based on investigations conducted with dispatch that did the Army nothing but credit: A criminal probe was begun within a day of the abuse reports traveling up the chain of command on January 13, 2004; two days after that, Central Command issued a press release about the investigation; on March 20 it was announced that charges had been brought against six of those involved. Meanwhile, Major General Antonio Taguba had completed an investigation whose conclusions have now stood the test of nine courts martial. And this all more than a

month before the photos were leaked to the press.

Have detainee abuses occurred elsewhere in the war on terror? Ofcourse. But they were "widespread" only if you define that term geographically instead of by frequency. The adjective "systematic" has been similarly misused. Overall, more than 70,000 detainees have passed through U.S. military custody since late 2001. About 500 criminal investigations have been conducted into allegations of related misconduct, many of which were found to be unsubstantiated. But more than 200 people have already been disciplined for actions ranging from failure to report to prisoner abuse itself.

There have also now been 12 major inquiries -- including investigations led by Major General George Fay and Vice Admiral Albert Church -- into detainee treatment in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay. More than 2,800 interviews have been conducted and 16,000 pages of documents produced. And there have been 31 Congressional hearings and 45 staff briefings. Given that track record, we can be quite sure that the latest abuse allegations to surface (from an officer of the 82nd Airborne) will get the thorough hearing they deserve.

In short, all the evidence suggests a low rate of detainee mistreatment, one that compares favorably with U.S. civilian prisons, never mind that of other and earlier militaries. "The behavior of our troops is so much better than it was in World War II," Mr. Schlesinger told me last year. I called him this week to ask what we've learned since. "That the press exaggerated," he replied. The suggestion that Mr. Schlesinger and countless others -- from decorated officers to military juries -- have lent their good names to some kind of whitewash only reveals the remaining accusers for the crackpots they are.

Let me add some final words on how the Abu Ghraib scandal has affected America's image in Iraq. It hasn't been helpful, of course. But -- having traveled there three times in the past two and a half years, most recently in August -- I can attest that the dominant image of the American soldier in the minds of most Iraqis is that of liberator, as depicted in the sculpture shown here by a craftsman from Saddam's hometown of Tikrit. Americans can be proud of the way their young men and women have performed in Iraq and elsewhere in the war on terror. And they can be proud of the way the military has meted out justice for those few abuses that have occurred.



UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DANIEL K. INOUE  
HAWAII

October 13, 2005

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am pleased to learn of your call concerning the opening of the National Center for the Preservation of Democracy. I understand that you are unable to attend this event, but I do hope someone from your staff will be able to represent you that evening.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact my secretary, Jessica Lee, at (b)(6)

Aloha,

**DANIEL K. INOUE**  
United States Senator

The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld  
Secretary  
Department of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D.C. 20301-1155

**OSD 20390-05**

11-L-0559/OSD/53721

~~FOUO~~

OCT 26 2005

383.6

TO: President George W. Bush

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld



SUBJECT: Wall Street Journal Article

Mr. President.

Attached is an article on the subject of detainees that came ~~from a staff reporter~~ of the Wall Street Journal, which I think covers the subject pretty darn well.

Respectfully,

Attach: WSJ article by Robert L. Pollock

DHR:ss  
102505-21

cc: Vice President Richard B. Cheney

26 Oct 05

OSD 21189-05

26 Oct 05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53722

Wall Street Journal  
 October 1, 2005  
 Pg. 8

## The 'Torture Narrative' Unravels

By Robert L. Pollock, Staff Reporter Of The Wall Street Journal

It's hardly a secret that Private First Class Lynndie England was sentenced this past week for her role as "leash girl" in the infamous abuses photographed at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison in late 2003. But it was also noticeable that the denouement of this spectacular story was relegated to the innards of newspapers that had once given it weeks of front-page treatment. That's almost surely because the trial of the last of the Maryland Army Reservists to face justice -- like those of the others that came before her -- offered no evidence to support claims that the abuses were caused by a Bush administration that had "created the climate" or "set the tone" for "torture."

That was, of course, the widespread and explosive charge last (election) year. Almost immediately the leaked photos of Private England and her compatriots generated calls for Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's resignation. So-called "torture memos" were unearthed, in which administration lawyers had discussed the range of permissible interrogation techniques -- for al Qaeda suspects in the wake of 9/11. And by one of the greatest leaps of logic ever seriously entertained in our national discourse, those memos were said to have caused the behavior of soldiers in Iraq who knew nothing beyond the limits outlined in the Army Field Manual. Ted Kennedy, for one, offered up a useful reminder of why Americans have never wanted him to be president by declaring that "Saddam's torture chambers reopened under new management, U.S. management."

The writer Heather Mac Donald dubbed this the "torture narrative." And it persists today despite the conclusion a year ago of the Independent Panel to Review DOD Detention Operations that the abuses "were not part of authorized interrogations nor were they even directed at intelligence targets" (emphasis added). Or in the words of the panel's chairman, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger -- whose bipartisan cabinet career included a stint in the Carter administration -- what those pictures showed was sick behavior by the "night shift."

But don't just take his word for it. "You feel that by doing these things you were setting conditions for interrogations," a judge asked Private England in a hearing earlier this year. "No, sir," she responded. "So this was just a way to embarrass them?" he continued. "Yes, sir," was her reply.

Or consider the testimony of Specialist Jeremy C. Sivits: "Our command would have slammed us. They believe in doing the right thing. If they saw what was going on, there would be hell to pay."

In all, seven guards and two military-intelligence personnel have now faced justice for the Abu Ghraib abuses, with even those pleading guilty undergoing detailed sentencing hearings. No evidence has emerged to support the theory that abuses had anything to do with interrogation.

It's worth remembering too that these prosecutions were based on investigations conducted with dispatch that did the Army nothing but credit: A criminal probe was begun within a day of the abuse reports traveling up the chain of command on January 13, 2004; two days after that, Central Command issued a press release about the investigation; on March 20 it was announced that charges had been brought against six of those involved. Meanwhile, Major General Antonio Taguba had completed an investigation whose conclusions have now stood the test of nine courts martial. And this all more than a

11-L-0559/OSD/53723

10/3/2005

month before the photos were leaked to the press.

Have detainee abuses occurred elsewhere in the war on terror? Of course. But they **were** "widespread" only if you define that term geographically instead of by frequency. The adjective "systematic" has been similarly misused. Overall, more than 70,000 detainees have passed **through U.S.** military custody since late 2001. About 500 criminal investigations have been conducted **into** allegations of related misconduct, many of which were found to be unsubstantiated. But more than 200 people have already been disciplined for actions ranging from failure to report to prisoner abuse itself.

There have also now been 12 major inquiries -- including investigations **led** by Major General George Fay and Vice Admiral Albert Church -- into detainee treatment in Iraq, **Afghanistan** and Guantanamo Bay. More than 2,800 interviews have been conducted and 16,000 pages of documents produced. And there have been 31 Congressional **hearings** and **45** staff briefings. Given that **track** record, we can be quite sure that the latest abuse allegations to surface (from an officer of the 82nd Airborne) will get the thorough hearing they deserve.


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~~FOUO~~

OCT 26 2005

TO: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
The Honorable Dr. Condoleezza Rice  
The Honorable Andrew H. Card Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Article by Robert Pollock

Attached is an article that is interesting.

Attach **WSJ** article by Robert Pollock

DHR:ss  
102505-20

383.6

2600205

OSD 21190-05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53725



~~FOUO~~

OCT 26 2005

**TO:** Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
The Honorable Dr. Condoleezza Rice  
The Honorable Andrew H. Card Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley

**FROM** Donald Rumsfeld 

**SUBJECT:** Article by Robert Pollock

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DHR<sup>ss</sup>  
102505-20

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21190-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53726

**FOUO**

**OCT 26 2005**

**TO: Vice President Richard B. Cheney  
The Honorable Dr. Condoleezza Rice  
The Honorable Andrew H. Card Jr.  
Stephen J. Hadley**

**FROM: Donald Rumsfeld** 

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**DHR:ss  
102505-20**

**OSD 21190-05**


**FOUO**

**11-L-0559/OSD/53727**

~~FOUO~~

OCT 26 2005

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Stephen J. Hadley

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SUBJECT: Article by Robert Pollock

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DHR:ss  
102505-20

OSD 21190-05

~~FOUO~~  
11-L-0559/OSD/53728

Wall Street Journal  
October 1, 2005  
Pg. 8

## The 'Torture Narrative' Unravels

By Robert L. Pollock, Staff Reporter Of The Wall Street Journal

It's hardly a secret that Private First Class Lyndie England was sentenced this past week for her role as "leash girl" in the infamous abuses photographed at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison in late 2003. But it was also noticeable that the denouement of this spectacular story was relegated to the innards of newspapers that had once given it weeks of front-page treatment. That's almost surely because the trial of the last of the Maryland Army Reservists to face justice -- like those of the others that came before her -- offered no evidence to support claims that the abuses were caused by a Bush administration that had "created the climate" or "set the tone" for "torture."

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The writer Heather Mac Donald dubbed this the "torture narrative." And it persists today despite the conclusion a year ago of the Independent Panel to Review DOD Detention Operations that the abuses "were not part of authorized interrogations nor were they even directed at intelligence targets" (emphasis added). Or in the words of the panel's chairman, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger -- whose bipartisan cabinet career included a stint in the Carter administration -- what those pictures showed was sick behavior by the "night shift."

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Or consider the testimony of Specialist Jeremy C. Sivits: "Our command would have slammed us. They believe in doing the right thing. If they saw what was going on, there would be hell to pay."

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11-L-0559/OSD/53729

month before the photos were leaked to the press.

Have detainee abuses occurred elsewhere in the war on terror? Of course. But they were "widespread" only if you define that term geographically instead of by frequency. The adjective "systematic" has been similarly misused. Overall, more than 70,000 detainees have passed through U.S. military custody since late 2001. About 500 criminal investigations have been conducted into allegations of related misconduct, many of which were found to be unsubstantiated. But more than 200 people have already been disciplined for actions ranging from failure to report to prisoner abuse itself.

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OCT 26 2005

TO: Ambassador Evan Galbraith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Discussion

1701

Van—

In connection with our discussion about (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) I am no doctor, so I wanted to give you that additional caution.

It was good to see you. Thanks for all you do.

Regards,

DHR:dh  
102405-29 (TS) doc

26 OCT 05

OSD 21191-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53731

~~FOUO~~

October 26, 2005

TO: President George W. Bush

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Letter ~~from~~ Iraqi Commander El-Sahib

Mr. President,

Attached is a letter I received ~~from~~ a Colonel who is the Iraqi Commander of the Tadjil Military ~~Base~~. As you will note, he has donated half his salary to the Kahina relief efforts for a period of months, which I found admirable.

Respectfully,

Attach: Letter from Colonel Abbas Fadel Abd El-Sahib to SecDef

DHR:ss  
102605-08

cc: Vice President Richard B. Cheney

OSD 21210-05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53732

000.92

21 Oct 05

21 Oct 05

In the Name of Allah the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

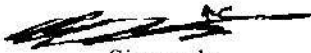
To: US Defense Secretary, Mr. Rumsfeld,

Dear Sir,

Your visit to Tadjil earlier this year encouraged us and bolstered our morale. I was much honored to meet with you.

All of ~~our~~ officers and soldiers at Tadjil are very grateful to you and to the USA government for your patronage and for supporting the Iraqi people, and specifically supporting the Iraqi armed forces. As a result of ~~this~~ backing, you ~~see~~ unfolding in front of you the positive steps towards freedom and democracy, exemplified by the referendum for a new constitution and the forthcoming elections on December 15. We are working hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with our brethren the American soldiers to combat terrorism, and to rebuild our country. We thank all the Generals and specifically General Bolger and General Dempsey, and we thank every American soldier who ~~set~~ foot in Iraq to help. We ~~look~~ forward to a great future filled with respect and admiration for the American people and the American armed forces. We bemoan the loss of American soldiers who came here to help us regain our freedom. We regret ~~the~~ damage and harm caused by hurricane Katrina. I love your people and I consider the cohesive bond ~~we~~ have with the Americans a strong family tie. That is why, I, Abbas Fadel The commander of Tadjil Base, am privileged to help and donated half of my salary until the end of the year to aid in the Katrina relief efforts.

My best regards to the American people, and to President George Bush who is an icon of courage and stands for freedom and global peace. Our pledge to you, we shall remain a united family with your people and with your armed forces, and we shall combat terrorism together every where. In the end we will defeat terrorism, and Iraq will keep moving forward toward freedom and democracy. I consider America my second home after Iraq.

  
Sincerely,  
Col. Abbas Fadel Abd El-Sahib  
Commander of Tadjil Military Base

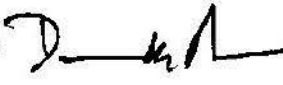
18 October 2005

11-L-0559/OSD/53733



~~FOUO~~

October 26, 2005

TO: President George W. Bush  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Letter from Iraqi Commander El-Sahib

000 92

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Respectfully,

**Attach: Letter from Colonel Abbas Fadel Abd El-Sahib to SecDef**

DHR:ss  
102605-08

26 OCT 05

OSD 21210-05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53734

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Dear Sir,

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Sincerely,  
Col. Abbas Fadel Abd El-Sahib  
Commander of Tadjji Military Base

18 October 2005

11-L-0559/OSD/53735

~~FOUO~~

OCT 26 2005

TO: **Larry DiRita**

cc: Pete Geren  
MG Michael Maples  
Dr. James Schlesinger

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Article by Robert Pollock

383.6

Take a look at the attached article. **I think it is worth** reading.

**Attach WSJ article by Robert Pollock**

DHR:ss  
102505-19

.....

OSD 21211-05

26 OCT 05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53736

Wall Street Journal  
 October 1, 2005  
 Pg. 8

## The 'Torture Narrative' Unravels

By Robert L. Pollock, Staff Reporter Of The Wall Street Journal

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2005 OCT 26 PM 3:42

OCT 18 2005  
05/013896  
ES-4467

**TO:** Jim MacDougall  
**CC:** Eric Edelman  
Dan Stanley  
Peter Flory  
**FROM:** Donald Rumsfeld   
**SUBJECT:** Congressional Amendment on Uzbekistan

If I correctly understand the situation, I think we ought to oppose the amendment on Uzbekistan. It seems to me we won't have credibility in any other nation in the region or the world if we don't pay our bills.

Please get the precise information on what they are billing us for and why we are proposing to pay it, so I can make sure I'm correct.

Thanks.

DWR:ab  
101793-12(TS).doc

OSD 21216-05

.....  
*Please respond by November 3, 2005*

OFFICE OF THE  
SECY OF DEFENSE  
2005 OCT 28 PM 3:42

~~FOUO~~

OCT 18 2005  
05/013896  
ES-4967

TO: Jim MacDougall  
CC: Eric Edelman  
Dan Stanley  
Peter Flory  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
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Thanks.

DHR:dh  
101705-12(TS).doc

OSD 21216-05

.....  
*Please respond by November 3, 2005*

To Exec Sec:

I passed the attached spread sheet to Secretary Rumsfeld on October 26 in response to this request.

Thank you,

Jim MacDougall

~~FOUO~~

~~SECRET~~ Brief. Closing.

*[Signature]*  
SCOTT W. PAPPANO, CDR, USN  
Military Assistant

OCT 26 2005  
11-L-0559/OSD/53740

17-10-05 14:55:18  
OSD 21216-05

Coalition Support Provided by Uzbekistan January 2003 through March 2005 (27 months)

	Categories of Costs	UZBEKISTAN CLAIMED	CENTCOM VALIDATED	RECOMMENDED	
<b>TOTAL UZBEK REIMBURSEMENT REQUEST</b>					
	<b>TOTAL Uzbek Request</b>	<b>\$43,381,250</b>	<b>\$22,985,484</b>	<b>\$22,985,110</b>	
<b>#1 POL Supply</b>	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>	<b>Per Month</b>	<b>Cost for 27 Months</b>	<b>Jan 2003-Mar 2005</b>	<b>Jan 2003-Mar 2005</b>
	Transportation by rail	\$71,438	\$1,928,837	\$0	\$0
	POL to unload railway cisterns	\$836	\$22,580	\$0	\$0
	POL to transport POL by truck	\$1,719	\$46,408	\$0	\$0
	POL to transport received POL by truck	\$1,106	\$29,862	\$0	\$0
	POL analysis	\$781	\$21,092	\$0	\$0
	POL spent to pump fuel to tanks	\$329	\$8,870	\$0	\$0
	POL to distribute POL from storage area	\$179	\$4,825	\$0	\$0
	Electrical power to distribute fuel	\$11	\$302	\$0	\$0
	Salary of truck drivers	\$714	\$19,278	\$0	\$0
	Lease of storage capacities for POL	\$3,520	\$95,040	\$0	\$0
	Truck and POL storage area maintenance	\$620	\$16,740	\$0	\$0
	Fines for idling and delayed unloading of fuel	\$48	\$1,296	\$0	\$0
	<b>Total POL Supply Request</b>	<b>\$81,300</b>	<b>\$2,195,100</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>
				POL covered by DESC fuel contract	
<b>#2 Airfield Maintenance</b>	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>		<b>One-Time</b>	<b>Jan 2003-Mar 2005</b>	<b>Jan 2003-Mar 2005</b>
	Capital repair of gear building		\$17,900	\$17,900	\$17,900
	Capital repair of DPRM-1 building		<b>\$10,500</b>	\$0	\$0
	Capital repair of KPI building		\$8,900	\$0	\$0
	Laying high voltage cable		<b>\$10,000</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>
	Capital repair of RSP building		\$20,100	\$0	\$0
	Capital repair of POL storage (nothing reported)		\$43,700	\$0	\$0
	Airfield barbed wire fence		\$237,500	\$237,500	\$237,500
	Labor and transportation for barbed wire (40%)		\$95,000	\$95,000	\$95,000
	Replacement of cable line		\$36,700	\$0	\$0
	Construction of KDP building		<b>\$450,000</b>	\$225,000	\$225,000
	Capital repair of SKP-2 building		\$16,200	\$0	\$0
	Capital repair of RSBN building		\$49,100	\$0	\$0
	Capital repair of BPRM-1 building		\$13,500	\$0	\$0
	Lighting of parking area		\$50,300	\$0	\$0
	Capital repair of KPI building		\$35,500	\$0	\$0
	<b>Total Airfield Maintenance Request</b>		<b>\$1,094,900</b>	<b>\$575,400</b>	<b>\$575,400</b>
				Only incremental work validated	



**Coalition Support Provided by Uzbekistan January 2003 through March 2005 (27 months)**

	Categories of Costs	UZBEKISTAN CLAIMED		CENTCOM VALIDATED	RECOMMENDED
#3 Airfield Security	Reimbursement Request	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Average monthly expenses (\$499.20)				
	External Perimeter (24 personnel X 3 shifts)	\$35,942	\$970,445	\$970,445	\$970,445
	Internal Security (43 personnel X 3 shifts)	\$64,397	\$1,738,714	\$1,738,714	\$1,738,714
	Head of Guard (1 personnel X 1 shift)	\$499	\$13,478	\$13,478	\$13,478
	Guard Platoon (30 personnel X 3 shifts)	\$44,928	\$1,213,056	\$1,213,056	\$1,213,056
	Total Airfield Security Request	\$145,766	\$3,935,693	\$3,935,693	\$3,935,693
#4 Flight Safety	Reimbursement Request	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	12 personnel (@ 17 hours per day (incremental))				
	Average monthly expenses (\$499.20*70% = \$353.60)	\$4,243	\$114,566	\$114,567	\$114,566
	Total Flight Safety Request	\$4,243	\$114,566	\$114,567	\$114,566
#5 Air Defense at K2	Reimbursement Request	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	12 personnel @ \$499.20 per month	\$5,990	\$161,741	\$161,741	\$161,741
	Use of radar stations 2 @ \$360 per day	\$10,800	\$291,600	\$291,600	\$291,600
	Use of radar stations 2 @ \$432 per day	\$12,960	\$349,920	\$349,920	\$349,920
	Use of radar station 1 @ \$48 per day	\$1,440	\$38,880	\$38,880	\$38,880
	Total Air Defense at K2 Request	\$31,190	\$842,141	\$842,141	\$842,141
#6 Air Defense for Area	Reimbursement Request	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Use of 10 radar stations 12 hours per day	\$136,440	\$3,683,880	\$3,683,880	\$3,683,880
	Use of diesel power stations 5 hours per day:				
	AD-10 and AD-60 @ \$11 per hour (\$55/day)	\$1,650	\$44,550	\$44,550	\$44,550
	AD-30 @ \$1.70 per hour (\$8.50/day)	\$255	\$6,885	\$6,885	\$6,885
	Total Air Defense for Area Request	\$138,345	\$3,735,315	\$3,735,315	\$3,735,315
#7 Air Defense on Alert	Reimbursement Request		One Time	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Radiotechnical Units on alert 2,405 times @ \$15 (US violations 20.5/year = (20.5+20.5+5.1) X 15)		\$36,075	\$1,065	\$692
	Fighter aircraft to readiness #1, 210 hours @ \$300 (US caused 2 alert hours X 300)		\$63,000	\$600	\$600
	Fighter aircraft take off, 2 times @ \$6000		\$12,000	\$12,000	\$12,000
	Total Air Defense on Alert Request		\$111,075	\$13,665	\$13,292
				Only alerts for US flights incremental	
#8 Air Traffic Control	Reimbursement Request	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	126 personnel @ 8 hours per day (incremental)	\$20,966	\$566,093	\$0	\$0

	Categories of Costs	UZBEKISTAN CLAIMED	CENTCOM VALIDATED	RECOMMENDED	
#9 Comms	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Increased use is 30 percent (incremental)				
	Annual expenses + lease + maintenance X 30% / 12				
	\$951,098.60 + \$50,000 + \$150,000	\$28,777	\$776,992	\$743,241	\$743,241
	Total Comms Request	\$28,777	\$776,992	\$743,241	\$743,241
				Lease of lines not incremental	
#10 New Air Cell Building for US	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>		One Time	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Construct Technical Station for USAF Coordinators		\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000
	Total New Air Cell Building for US Request		\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000
#11 Alternate Airfields	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>		One Time	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Expenses at Kokaidv		\$29,750	\$29,750	\$29,750
	Expenses at Jizak		\$141,800	\$141,800	\$141,800
	Misc. Expenses to use reserve airfields		\$78,252	\$78,252	\$78,252
	Total Alternate Airfields Request		\$249,802	\$249,802	\$249,802
#12 Border Security	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>	Per Month	Cost for 27 Months	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Security at Shakhrisabz Airfield	\$56,167	\$1,516,504	\$0	\$0
	Deployment of aircraft, weapons, and heavy equipment		\$52,330	\$0	\$0
	Security at Kokaidv Airfield	\$89,447	\$2,415,080	\$0	\$0
	Total Border Security Request		\$3,983,913	\$0	\$0
				Routine operations, not related to K2	
#13 Redeploy AF Units from K2	<b>Reimbursement Request</b>		One Time	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Move personnel and families from K2		\$87,587	\$87,587	\$87,587
	Redeploy aircraft from K2		\$57,270	\$57,270	\$57,270
	Total Redeploy AF Units from K2 Request		\$144,857	\$144,857	\$144,857

**Coalition Support Provided by Uzbekistan January 2003 through March 2005 (27 months)**

	Categories of Costs	UZBEKISTAN CLAIMED	CENTCOM VALIDATED	RECOMMENDED
#14 Border Guards	Reimbursement Request	One Time	Jan 2003-Mar 2005	Jan 2003-Mar 2005
	Border Guards Infrastructure and Base Ops Support	\$13,000,000	\$0	\$0
	Total Border Guards Request	\$13,000,000	\$0	\$0
Routine operations, not related to K2				
#15 Border Security to Support K2	Reimbursement Request	Annual Charges	2002/2003/2004	2002/2003/2004
	Engineering Support	\$81,218	\$243,654	\$243,654
	Communication Support	\$17,428	\$52,283	\$52,283
	Transportation Expenses	\$87,409	\$262,226	\$262,226
	Topographical Support	\$42,373	\$127,120	\$127,120
	Medical Support	\$35,567	\$106,701	\$106,701
	Food	\$549,159	\$1,647,477	\$1,647,477
	POL	\$780,649	\$2,341,947	\$2,341,947
	Pack Animal Feed	\$6,714	\$20,141	\$20,141
	Pack Animals	\$17,202	\$51,606	\$51,606
	Ammunition	\$1,818,166	\$5,454,499	\$5,454,499
	Sub-Total	\$3,435,885	\$10,307,654	\$10,307,654
	Special Environment Pay (2517 soldiers X \$32.7/month)	\$164,612	\$493,835	\$493,835
	Field Allowance (2517 X \$1.63/day @ 62 Days)	\$254,368	\$763,104	\$763,104
	Sub-Total	\$418,980	\$1,256,939	\$1,256,939
	Use of helicopters:		\$0	\$0
	Mi-8, \$1,387/hour, 6 2-hr flights/week, 9 weeks	\$149,796	\$449,388	\$449,388
	Mi-24, \$1,441.3/hour, 6 2-hr flights/week, 9 weeks	\$155,660	\$466,981	\$466,981
	Sub-Total	\$305,456	\$916,369	\$916,369
	Use of Shakhrisabz Airfield	\$39,947	\$119,841	\$119,841
Total Border Security to Support K2 Request	\$4,200,268	\$12,600,804	\$12,600,804	
TOTAL Uzbek Request		\$43,381,250	\$22,985,484	\$22,985,110

**Coalition Support Provided by Uzbekistan, January 2003 through March 2005 (27 months)**

Categories of Costs	UZBEKISTAN CLAIMED	CENTCOM VALIDATED	RECOMMENDED
---------------------	--------------------	----------------------	-------------

Summary	
Total Uzbek Reimbursement	<b>\$43,381,250</b>
CENTCOM Disallowed Costs	
#1 POL Supply	\$2,195,100
#2 Airfield Maintenance	\$519,500
#7 Air Defense on Alert	\$97,411
#8 Air Traffic Control	\$566,093
#9 Comms	\$33,750
#12 Border Security at Shakhrisabz Airfield	\$3,983,913
#14 Border Guards	\$13,000,000
<b>Total CENTCOM Disallowed Costs</b>	<b>\$20,395,767</b>
OUSD Comptroller Differed Reimbursement	
#7 Air Defense on Alert (calculation error)	\$373
Other discrepancies due to rounding	
<b>Total Disallowed</b>	<b>\$20,396,140</b>
<b>Recommended Reimbursement</b>	<b>\$22,985,110</b>



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

OCT 27 2005

333

The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ileana,

It was good to see you in Miami during the Central American ministerial. I thank you again for your participation and help in making this a successful event.

Regarding the materials you handed me, I have asked my staff to follow up to determine how we can best assist your husband in his desire to visit and report from Iraq. I understand that contact has been made with your staff, and we will follow up with further information soon.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

27 Oct 05

14 Oct 05

OSD 21277-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53746

10/25  
1/10

DRAFT

The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Ileana:

It was good to see you in Miami during the Central American ministerial. I thank you again for your participation and help in making this a successful event.

Regarding the materials you handed me, I have asked my staff to follow up to determine how we can best assist your husband ~~in~~ his desire to visit and report from Iraq. I understand that contact has ~~already~~ been made with your staff and we will follow up with further information soon.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

DK.

0/17  
3533

FOUO

October 14, 2005

333

TO: Robert Rangel  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen handed me the attached envelope when I was in Miami. I have not read it.

Please look into it, get her an answer, and keep me posted.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Envelope from Ros-Lehtinen

DHR:dh  
101405-10

.....  
*Please Respond By 11/10/05*

*See attached.*  
*10/25* *DR*  
*10/25*  
*v/r*  
*[Signature]*

14 Oct 05

OSD 21277-05

FOUO  
11-L-0559/OSD/53748

October 24, 2005

DRR  
10/21  
333

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Robert Rangel *RR*

RE: Rep. Illeana Ros-Lehtinen matter

- e Responding to your October 14 memo (attached)
- Rep. Ros-Lehtinen is interested in securing assistance for her husband (Dexter Lehtinen) to travel to Iraq as a credentialed reporter.
- e Her husband is politically active in South Florida Republican circles and is a columnist for various newspapers.
- It appears that the husband is seeking mostly information on the logistics of arranging travel within theater as a reporter.
- e I have contacted her Chief of Staff to let them know we are working on the request.
- e I have also asked Allison Barber to follow up with Rep. Ros-Lehtinen's office to better determine what assistance can be provided.
- For your consideration, attached is a draft note to Rep. Ros-Lehtinen as follow up to your visit with her in Miami.

24 Oct 05

14 Oct 05

OSD 21277-05



The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ileana,

It was good to see you in Miami during the Central American ministerial. I thank you again for your participation and help in making this a successful event.

Regarding the materials you handed me, I have asked my staff to follow up to determine how we can best assist your husband in his desire to visit and report from Iraq. I understand that contact has been made with your staff, and we will follow up with further information soon.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

CSC  
GO SHOOTER  
M

I corrected her name's  
misspelling.

Trx  
CSC 10/26



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### Welcome



Welcome to the Online Office of Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. This site is dedicated to the residents of Florida's 18th Congressional District.

I want to take this opportunity to let you know that it is a great honor for me to represent the residents of this wonderful District. Constituent service has always been one of my top priorities and that is why I invite you to use this site as another tool for communicating with me.

I have had the privilege of representing you in Washington since 1989, and during this time I have fought for passage of legislation and support of issues that are important to the residents of South Florida. Improving the quality of education, protecting Social Security and Medicare, providing adequate health care, addressing issues affecting seniors, fighting for lower and fairer taxes, defending human rights, supporting legislation to benefit women, and preserving the environment continue to be priorities for me. I continue to work hard to bring visibility to these issues at the national level. [Read the rest of my Welcome Message](#)

### Latest News

October 13, 2005

**Ros-Lehtinen Constituent Day at Ocean Reef** - Monroe, Florida – Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen's Monroe aide, Staff Miklas, will host a Constituent Service Day at the Ocean Reef Club on **Tuesday** October 11 from **10:00 AM through 1:00 PM** [...read more](#)

September 30, 2005

**Ros-Lehtinen Alarmed at New Composition of International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors** - Washington, DC -- Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (FL-18) announced the full House International Relations Committee released the following statement concerning the appointment of Cuba, Syria, and Libya to the International Atomic Energy Agency's Board of Governors (IAEA) [...read more](#)

September 23, 2005

**Ros-Lehtinen Aims for Powerful Post** - by Lesley Clark of the Miami Herald -- Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen has set her sights on a leadership role -- chairwoman of the House International Relations Committee -- that would give her access to the inner circle [...read more](#)

September 22, 2005

**Cong. Ros-Lehtinen To Visit Key West & Marathon To See First Hand The Damage Caused By Hurricane Rita & Offer Aid In Recovery Effort** - Monroe County, Florida – Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen will visit Key West and Marathon tomorrow, Friday December 23 to see first hand the damage caused by Hurricane Rita and offer aid in the recovery effort [...read more](#)

September 15, 2005

**House IR Comm Adopts Two Key Pieces of Legislation Authored by Ros-Lehtinen** - Washington, DC - Today the House International Relations Committee approved two measures written by Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Chair of the Subcommittee

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FOUO

2:23

October 11, 2005

05/013562  
ES-4402

RUSSIA

TO: Peter Flory

CC: Eric Edelman

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.A.*

SUBJECT: Non-proliferation Work in the Former Soviet Union

Please take a look at the attached message from an individual who has been active in the effort to prevent the proliferation of former Soviet bio-weapons scientists. It appears that he has encountered difficulties with the State Department sponsor of this activity.

It occurs to me that you might ask the Cooperative Threat Reduction office to follow up with him, to get a better sense of the particulars involved and whether or not there is something worthwhile that we can do on this matter.

Thanks.

Attach.  
10/3/05 Jan Buck e-mail for SecDef

DHR,jh  
10/10/05

.....  
*Please Respond By 11/10/05*

FOUO

11-10-05 P02:41 IN

11 Oct 05

10/15

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

From: (b)(6)  
Sent: Tuesday, October 04, 2005 1:01 PM  
To: Jan A. Buck  
Subject: RE: My non-proliferation work

Mr. Buck,

I'm passing your note along to one of the Secretary's aides. I have no control over whether or not it actually reaches him. But I wish you the best, (b)(6)

-----Original Message-----  
From: Jan A. Buck [mailto:jbuck@princetongroupintl.com]  
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:54 PM  
To: (b)(6)  
Subject: My non-proliferation work

(b)(6)

It has been a while since we last talked and well so since the Secretary has had wars to fight. But there is now something you might pass on to my former mentor that he should have an interest in.

About a year ago I was approached by a group at Mass General who had been working for the State Department in a program to prevent the proliferation of former bioweapons scientists from the old Soviet Union days. Apparently State has spent hundreds of millions of dollars and fourteen years in this effort and was just treading water. They came after me to see if I could help put something together that could achieve the overall objective and make it self-sustaining. Though this is the type of rabbit I have pulled out of hats before, I think that State was stunned to find that in about six months and at modest expense I had brought the the effort just about to the finish line. So surprised were they in fact that they rethought the whole thing and have suddenly pulled back my funding which was already in place.

We were already there. Seems that most of government spends vast amounts of money to create activity rather than achieve objectives. In this case it is disgraceful. I would like to talk to him about the program and the way it has been handled. It is still salvageable.

My colleagues at Mass General, on the other hand, have been outstanding. And they have uncovered, by the way, some science in Russia which they have been scouring that they believe could have a huge impact in averting the catastrophe to the general population and our military forces from the impending avian flu epidemic. Someone at high levels of government should be talking to our guys about it. Just as long as it not the State Department. And for a further by the way, it was our small group that forced the Russians to go to central Siberia to look for evidence of avian flu and found it there, highlighting the threat to Europe. Our American contribution, of course, never made it to the Russian press.

(b)(6), I do not know if you can still get through to the boss, but if you can, this one is important for mankind, which is, rightly or wrongly, beginning to regard government as high comedy.

JAB



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### PGI Principals

**President** - Jan Andrew Buck, J.D., has over two decades of corporate transactions and business experience in the healthcare industry, with particular strengths in the development of healthcare businesses, including mergers and acquisitions, corporate financing, licensing, regulatory matters, market development and technology transfer. Jan has successfully structured, implemented and managed global acquisition transactions, strategic alliances, technology transfers and venture investments, including the merger of Bristol-Myers Company and Squibb Corporation. He has served as a Vice President of Corporate Development, Bristol-Myers Squibb and Vice President, Law at Squibb Corporation. He was graduated magna cum laude from Princeton University and received his J.D. degree from Columbia Law School where he was Harlan Fiske Stone Scholar and Editor, Columbia *Journal of Transnational Law*. He also served in the U.S. Navy as Legal Officer of the Sixth Fleet Flagship.

Advisory Board Member of American Health Partners

Orchid raises \$27M through sale of stock

#### Jans' comment for the New York Times article "A Shift of Power in Pharmaceuticals"

Vice President Carol J. Holmes, MIA, has a background in molecular biology and is trained in marketing and advertising of healthcare products. Since joining PGI in 1992 she has specialized in pharmaceutical, medical device, and biomedical technology transfers. She holds two U.S. Patents for dermatological therapeutics and patents pending for protein related cosmetics. Carol received her B.A. from Stanford University and a Masters in International Affairs from Columbia University. Previously, she was a senior marketing executive at General Foods Corp., SSCBB Advertising and Young & Rubicam Advertising where she specialized in consumer goods and services marketing.

For all natural dermatology products, we recommend visiting our affiliated company, Xenna Corporation at

[www.xenna.com](http://www.xenna.com)

NOV 17 2005  
11 17 2005

DepSecDef  
USD(P)  
POUSD  
DEC 20 2005  
DEC 19 2005  
05/013562  
ES-4402

INFO MEMO

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DEC 16 2005

FROM: Peter Flory, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy ASD has seen

SUBJECT: Non-Proliferation Work in the Former Soviet Union (Ref: ES-4402) (U)

On October 11, 2005 you asked us to consider Jan Buck's proposals for keeping former Soviet bioweapons scientists from proliferating their expertise and his request for State Department assistance with the proposals (Tab A).

- The essence of Buck's proposal is to launch a project that would employ some former bioweapons scientists.
- We contacted Buck and State Department officials with whom he worked.
- When we first spoke with Buck, he complained that State reneged on its commitment to fund the start-up costs of this project. State's action is what prompted Buck to contact you. Based on our request, State reengaged.
- Buck recently told us that he has found private financing for all aspects of his effort (including the part which State was to have paid).
- Buck says USG assistance is no longer required.

COORDINATION: N/A

Attachment: as stated

Approved: DASD-NP Jack David *J. David*  
Prepared by: Director, CTR-Policy Jim Reid (b)(6)

OSD 21291-05

**FOUO**

October 11, 2005

05/013562

ES-440a

TO: Peter Flory

CC: Eric Edelman

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

*DA.*

**SUBJECT:** Non-proliferation Work in the Former Soviet Union

Please take a look at the attached message ~~from an~~ individual who has been active in the effort to prevent the proliferation of former Soviet bio-weapons scientists. It appears that he has encountered difficulties with the State Department sponsor of this activity.

It occurs to me that you might ask the Cooperative Threat Reduction office to follow up with him, to get a better sense of the particulars involved and whether or not there is something worthwhile that we can do on this matter.

Thanks.

**Attach.**

10/3/05 Jan Buck e-mail for SecDef

DHR.db  
101105.14

.....  
*Please Respond By 11/10/05*

**FOUO**

11-12-05 10:24:11 AM

ESD 21291-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53756



10/5

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 04, 2005 1:01 PM  
**To:** Jan A. Buck  
**Subject:** RE: My non-proliferation work

Mr. Buck,

I'm passing your note along to one of the Secretary's aides. I have no control over whether or not it actually reaches him. But I wish you the best, (b)(6)

----- Original Message -----  
From: Jan A. Buck [mailto:jbuck@princetongroupintl.com]  
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:54 PM  
To: (b)(6)  
Subject: My non-proliferation work

(b)(6)

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About a year ago I was approached by a group at Mass General who had been working for the State Department in a program to prevent the proliferation of former bioweapons scientists from the old Soviet Union days. Apparently State has spent hundreds of millions of dollars and fourteen years in this effort and was just treading water. They came after me to see if I could help put something together that could achieve the overall objective and make it self-sustaining. Though this is the type of rabbit I have pulled out of hats before, I think that State was stunned to find that in about six months and at modest expense I had brought the the effort just about to the finish line. So surprised were they in fact that they rethought the whole thing and have suddenly pulled back my funding which was already in place.

We were already there. Seems that most of government spends vast amounts of money to create activity rather than achieve objectives. In this case it is disgraceful. I would like to talk to him about the program and the way it has been handled. It is still salvageable.

My colleagues at Mass General, on the other hand, have been outstanding. And they have uncovered, by the way, some science in Russia which they have been scouring that they believe could have a huge impact in averting the catastrophe to the general population and our military forces from the impending avian flu epidemic. Someone at high levels of government should be talking to our guys about it. Just as long as it not the State Department. And for a further by the way, it was our small group that forced the Russians to go to central Siberia to look for evidence of avian flu and found it there, highlighting the threat to Europe. Our American contribution, of course, never made it to the Russian press.

(b)(6) I do not know if you can still get through to the boss, but if you can, this one is important for mankind, which is, rightly or wrongly, beginning to regard government as high comedy.

JAB





UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
 4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000



2005 OCT 27 AM 4:26

ACTION MEMO

October 26, 2005, 9:00 AM

PERSONNEL AND  
 READINESS

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM Dr. David S. C. Chu, Under Secretary of Defense (P&R) *David S. C. Chu*

SUBJECT: Defense/State/Education National Foreign Language Initiative--  
 SNOWFLAKE

- This responds to the first item on your October 17 language snowflake. (TAB A)
- We have worked with the Departments of State, Education, Labor and the Director of National Intelligence to develop a National Language Initiative. Secretary Rice is interested in announcing this initiative by the end of the month.
- Our existing National Security Education Program (NSEP) would kick off this initiative in fiscal year 2006.
  1. NSEP establishes programs in the languages of interest to DoD and produces civilian university graduates with high levels of proficiency. We would add five new programs (Farsi, Hindi, and central Asian languages), enhance our current programs in Arabic and Chinese, and expand our immersion programs in Egypt, Syria, and China. This would produce 2000 graduates with high levels of proficiency in Arabic, Chinese, Persian, Hindi and central Asian languages by Fiscal Year 2009. Many will have national security service obligations.
  2. Recognizing that language facility is best built early, in September the NSEP awarded an experiment to the University of Oregon and the Portland, Oregon school system for the development of a "pipeline" teaching Chinese beginning in kindergarten and advancing through to college. NSEP would add two new FY06 pilot pipelines (in Arabic, Farsi or Hindi). (The Department of Education would expand pipelines to 100 communities in FY07 and beyond.)
- The added FY06 cost to DoD for the National Language Initiative would be \$9M. Outyear costs for DoD would be \$20M per year, including an on-call civilian reserve corps.
- Our "modest" investment will prompt major changes in the Department of Education (with an investment of up to \$134M in Fiscal Year 2007) and Department of State (with an investment of up to \$27M in Fiscal Year 2007).

09114

26 OCT 05

17 OCT 05



- If you approve, I will work with the Comptroller to secure funds (\$9M) beginning in Fiscal Year 2006.

RECOMMENDATION:

**SECDEF Decision:**

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

COORDINATION. None.

Attachment:

As stated

**cc:**

Deputy Secretary

USD (Comptroller)

PDUSD (Policy)

Prepared by Mrs. Gail McGinn, DUSD (Plans), (b)(6)

~~FOUO~~

SECRET

October 17, 2005

2005 OCT 27 11 4 27

09114

TO: David Chu

CC: Gordon England  
Tina Jonas  
Ryan Henry

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Languages

Thank you for the discussion we had earlier today on our efforts to move forward on appropriate target languages. I'll look forward to receiving two new memos from you in the immediate future:

- First, you will redo the July 1 memo on National Foreign Language Initiative to assure me that we'll be spending our money on the right languages for this 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- Second, provide me a broad discussion of how we are spending money in the Department, with similar assurances that we are focusing on the right set of target languages, e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Hindi and so forth. Show me where we were in 2001 and your proposed targets for the next three years. I would also like to see the numbers from the heritage community and specific targets in the future. You can show the costs, including what we'll stop doing, as well as what we'll start doing. As a general matter, I question a continuing focus on French, German, Korean and Russian.

This is an important effort – let's stay on it and get it right for the country.

Thanks.

DHR:m  
101705-03(TS).doc

*Please respond by November 17, 2005*

~~FOUO~~

USD	PDUSD
RA	HA
PI	Readiness
MPP	CPP
PLANS	MCAFP
CCO	

17 Oct 05

~~FOUO~~

2005 OCT 20 10:08

October 20, 2005

TO: Jim Haynes  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Lawsuits in Spain

I read about the Spanish lawsuits. We're going to have to figure *out* what we do *about* it and how it might affect the stationing of our forces there.

Thanks.

DHR:ah  
102005-10 (TS).doc

.....  
*Please respond by November 17, 2005*

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21317-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53761



GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600

INFO MEMO

105 10/25/05 03

October 25, 2005, 3:00 PM

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel *WJ Haynes*  
OCT 27 2005

SUBJECT: Lawsuits in Spain

- Regarding recently issued Spanish arrest warrants for three U.S. service members, you noted, “[w]e’re going to have to figure out what we do about it and how it might affect the stationing of our forces there.” (Tab A)
- We are working with DOJ and State on the way ahead with respect to the warrants.
  - DOJ’s Office of International Affairs, Criminal Division (“OIA”) obtained copies of the warrants through informal channels and is having them translated.
  - Significantly, the Spanish National Court prosecutor’s office objects to the warrants and filed an appeal opposing them on the basis of lack of jurisdiction.
    - OIA is tracking the progress of the appeal and anticipates receiving an update on the status later this week.
- DOJ, in coordination with DoD and State, is preparing a response to the Spanish judge’s Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT) requests seeking information about the April 2003 incident and the testimony of the three soldiers involved in the attack.
  - As noted in my Info Memo (Tab B) to you last week, DOJ, DoD and State staffs agreed in recent discussions that combat-related activities are outside the scope of an MLAT.
- Regarding the stationing of our forces in Spain:
  - DOJ’s sense is that this is an isolated incident precipitated by a particular judge seeking to hasten the process of obtaining information related to his case.
  - Thus, I do not see a need for immediate action regarding the stationing of forces. In any case, we need to continue to monitor the situation closely and consider further action when we know more.



OSD 21317-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53762



GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1600

INFO MEMO

October 19, 2005, 5:30 p.m.

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel *WJ Haynes*

SUBJECT: Press Reports on Spanish Arrest Warrants

- According to October 19 press reports, a Spanish court has issued arrest warrants for three **U.S.** service members involved in combat operations in Iraq on April 8, 2003, during which a Spanish journalist was killed.
  - Reporting suggests the warrants would be disseminated through INTERPOL. Regardless, the warrants may be effective throughout Europe.
- The Spanish judge previously sent **two** separate Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT) requests to DOJ seeking information about the incident and the testimony of the three soldiers involved in the attack.
- The MLAT requests were the subject of interagency discussion most recently at the end of September 2005.
  - MLAT requests **are** foreign government requests for evidence in ongoing criminal proceedings or investigations.
  - DOJ, DoD, and State agreed that combat-related activities **are** outside the scope of an MLAT. DoD has objected to providing any information under the MLAT in a combat-related case such as **this** one.
- USCENTCOM fully investigated the incident in 2003 and determined that the U.S. service members acted appropriately. USCENTCOM issued a News Release on the matter on August 12, 2003 (Tab A).
- The USG has cooperated with the Spanish Government, including by providing information concerning the incident and resulting investigation through diplomatic channels.
- Once we receive the arrest warrants from Spain, we will coordinate with DOJ and State on how best to proceed.
- Army **has** ascertained that the 3 **U.S.** service members are not in Europe.

11-L-0553 OSD/53763

OSD 20661-05

# NEWSRELEASE

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES CENTRAL COMMAND

7115 South Boundary Boulevard

MacDill AFB, Fla. 33621-5101

Phone: (813) 827-5894; FAX: (813) 827-2211; DSN (b)(6)

1

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August 12, 2003

Release Number: 03-08-29

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## PALESTINE HOTEL INVESTIGATION CONCLUDES

MACDILL AFB, Tampa: The investigation of the incident at the Palestine Hotel, Baghdad, Iraq on April 8th, 2003 is complete. The investigation was directed by the Land Component Commander, U.S. Central Command, and concludes that a tank from A Company, 4-64 Armor properly fired upon a suspected enemy hunter/killer team in a proportionate and justifiably measured response. The action was fully in accordance with the Rules of Engagement.

The following summary provides background and details of the event.

By 7 April, Coalition forces had begun to encircle Baghdad and had initiated thrusts into the city. On 8 April, Coalition forces were pushing into Baghdad and being met with fierce enemy resistance. The enemy was operating throughout the civilian areas of the city, firing a spectrum of weapons at Coalition forces from the roofs and windows of surrounding buildings. The enemy was fighting without any regard to civilians or civilian structures. Coalition forces continued to fight their way toward the Tigris River, just across from the Palestine Hotel, an area of significant enemy contact.

The eighth of April was a day of very intense fighting for A Company, 4-64 Armor. Their immediate mission was to secure an intersection and deny the enemy the use of the Jamurchora Bridge. On A Company's first attempt to secure the intersection they were met with heavy enemy direct and indirect fire from Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs), mortars and small arms originating from prepared defensive positions (bunkers) and from within and atop surrounding buildings. As they approached the intersection, they suffered two Wounded in Action (WIA). The intersection was defended by almost a battalion of Iraqi Republican Guards. Fire was so intense that A Company pulled back and requested Close Air Support (CAS) and additional fire support. An A-10 aircraft dropped a Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) and strafed the enemy. A Company reattacked. The enemy continued to resist with much of their fire coming from the opposite bank of the Tigris River.

11-L-0559/OSD/53764



a

Spot reports were continually arriving at A Company concerning increasing enemy movements and activities along the opposite side of the Tigris River. Additional reports disclosed the discovery of potent Anti-Tank missiles. At this point, A Company had been in heavy fighting for several hours. The Company Commander was then advised by his Task Force Headquarters that an enemy radio had been recovered and that enemy transmissions were being monitored. Those transmissions indicated that A Company was being observed by an enemy spotter who was located across the Tigris River and was directing enemy forces and fires in their direction. While still under heavy mortar, RPG, and missile fire, the A Company Commander directed his people to scan the surrounding buildings to try to find the enemy observer. A Company personnel observed what they believed to be a enemy hunter/killer team on the balcony of a room on the upper floors of a large tan colored building. They also witnessed flashes of light, consistent with enemy fire, coming from the same general location as the building.

One 120mm tank round was fired at the suspected enemy observer position. Immediately following that, monitored transmissions indicated that the enemy observer was taking fire and coordinated enemy fire directed at A Company ceased. It was only sometime after the incident that A Company became aware of the fact that the building they fired on was the Palestine Hotel and that journalists at the hotel had been killed or injured as a result. However, intelligence reports also indicated that the enemy used portions of the hotel as a base of operations and that heavy enemy activity was occurring in those areas in and immediately around the hotel.

Conclusions: A Company was under heavy enemy attack. The company had positive intelligence that they were under direct observation from an enemy hunter/killer team. The activities on the balcony of the Palestine Hotel were consistent with that of an enemy combatant. They fired a single round in self-defense in full accordance with the Rules of Engagement. The enemy had repeatedly chosen to conduct its combat activities from throughout the civilian areas of Baghdad.

These actions included utilizing the Palestine Hotel and the areas immediately around it as a platform for military operations. Baghdad was a high intensity combat area and some journalists had elected to remain there despite repeated warnings of the extreme danger of doing so. The journalists' death at the Palestine Hotel was a tragedy and the United States has the deepest sympathies for the families of those who were killed.



10/4 13:00

~~FOUO~~

OCT 04 2005

TO: Robert Rangel

CC: Steve Bucci  
Cathy Mainardi

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: POTUS Authority

010

Please set a meeting for me to discuss the paragraph on the second page of the attached memo, where I have a question mark on the President's "inherent authority under the Constitution."

Thanks.

Attach.  
9/26/05 GC memo to SecDef re: Posse Comitatus Act [OSD 19243-05]

DHR.db  
100305-10

.....  
Please Respond By October 27, 2005

10/24

TO - SecDef

- GIVEN SCHEDULING CRUNCH THIS WEEK, I'VE ASKED DAN DELL'ORTO TO PREPARE A MORE IN-DEPTH MEMO ON THE ISSUES YOU FLAGGED.
- SUSPENSE FOR MEMO IS THIS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28.

400705

*Robert*

Robert Rangel

10/24

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53700



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1600



INFO MEMO

2005 OCT 28 PM 12  
OCT 28 2005

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Daniel J. Dell'Orto, Principal Deputy General Counsel

*D J Dell'Orto*

SUBJECT: President's Inherent Authority for Domestic Use of the Armed Forces

- **Inherent Authority.** In addition to express statutory authorities, the President has "inherent authority" under the Constitution to use the military domestically. This authority stems from the President's constitutional roles as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, the unenumerated executive powers that the Constitution vests in the President to ensure the security of the nation, his constitutional responsibility to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed," and the natural right of the sovereign to protect itself. *E.g.*:
  - President Lincoln initiated significant military action against the Confederacy at the start of the Civil War, prior to congressional authorization.
  - Under his inherent authority, President Nixon approved the deployment of Federal forces to protect installations in the National Capital Region during protests against the Vietnam War.
  - The President's inherent authority may be invoked to authorize DoD responses to terrorist actions that, if treated as traditional crimes, would ordinarily fall under the responsibility of law enforcement agencies. Inherent authority may be used only in extraordinary circumstances where normal measures are insufficient to carry out federal functions. It may not be exercised *solely* to perform routine and normal police functions (such as those types of front line law enforcement actions prohibited by the Posse Comitatus Act).

COORDINATION: None

Attachments:

Question about the President's Inherent Authority (TAB A)

GC Info Memo – The Application of Military Power Domestically (TAB B)

Prepared by: Carl Wagner (b)(6)

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OSD 21323-05




OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SPECIAL ASSISTANT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

10/24

TO - DAN DELL'ORTO

- PLEASE REVIEW ATTACHED MEMO FROM SECDEF ON THE POSSE COMITATUS ISSUE.
- HE HAS RAISED A QUESTION ON THE PARAGRAPH CITING THE "PRESIDENT'S INHERENT AUTHORITY."
- RATHER THAN SET UP A MEETING ON THIS, I WOULD LIKE TO TRY AND ANSWER THIS WITH A FUTURE MEMO DISCUSSING THIS ONE POINT.
- I WOULD APPRECIATE SOMETHING ON THIS BY  THIS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28.

THANKS,  
Robert Rangel  
(dat) R.

10/4/05  
1300

~~FOUO~~

OCT 04 2005

TO: Robert Rangel

cc: Steve Bucci  
Cathy Mainardi

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT POTUS Authority

Please set a meeting for me to discuss the paragraph on the second page of the attached memo, where I have a question mark on the President's "inherent authority under the Constitution."

Thanks.

Attach.

9/26/05 GC memo to SecDef re: Posse Comitatus Act [OSD 19243-05]

DHR:dh  
100305-10

.....  
*Please Respond By October 27, 2005*

*10/24*

*TO - SECDEF*

*- GIVEN SCHEDULING CRUNCH THIS WEEK, I'VE ASKED DAN DELL'ORTO TO PREPARE A MORE IN-DEPTH MEMO ON THE ISSUES YOU FLAGGED.*

*- SUSPENSE FOR MEMO IS THIS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28.*

*Robert*

*Robert Rangel*

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53769

*10/24*



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
 OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL  
 1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
 WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1600



2005 SEP 26 PM 5:39

INFO MEMO

September 26, 2005, 2:00 p.m.

Robert Rangel  
 LL 9/27

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
 FROM: Daniel J. Dell'Orto, Principal Deputy General Counsel  
 SUBJECT: Posse Comitatus Act

- The phrase "posse comitatus" is literally translated from Latin as the "power of the county" and in common law referred to all those over the age of 15 upon whom the sheriff could call to help him perform his duties.
- The Posse Comitatus Act (PCA), 18 U.S.C. 1385, provides: "Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."
- The PCA was originally enacted in 1878 due to congressional concerns about the use of Federal troops in the former-Confederate states to preserve law and order and to protect citizens' exercise of their Constitutional rights.
- Except for the addition of the Air Force, the language of the current statute is almost identical to the original 1878 law. As a matter of policy - but not law - DoD Directive 5525.5 makes the provisions of the PCA applicable to the Navy and Marine Corps.
- Absent Constitutional or statutory exceptions to the PCA, the Act has been interpreted to forbid active duty Army and Air Force personnel from directly participating in law enforcement activities such as arrests, searches, and seizures. The PCA does not restrict law enforcement activities by National Guard Personnel in a Title 32 (Federally funded - state control) or state active duty status.
- Statutory exceptions to the PCA include the Insurrection Statutes upon request from the Governor; statutes that pertain to emergency situations

SFB 9/27

MA SD	9/28	SMA DSD	
TSA SD	9/27	SA DSD	
EXEC SEC	11/9/27	ISIS	9/28/05
ECR MA	11/1	9-27-05	11/1

11-L-0559/OSD/53770

OSD 19243-05

mJL

involving chemical, biological, and nuclear material; and Public Law 107-40, enacted after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, which has been construed to authorize the President to use the armed forces for certain domestic operations if necessary and appropriate.

- Other provisions of law permit limited DoD assistance, generally in the form of equipment and information, to law enforcement agencies but do not permit direct participation by armed forces personnel in such law enforcement activities as arrests, searches, and seizures. These provisions include Military Support for Civilian Law Enforcement Agencies and Additional Support for Counter-drug Activities.
- The President has inherent authority under the Constitution to use the armed forces domestically in his role as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive notwithstanding any apparent PCA limitations. 7
- Unless a statutory exception to the PCA is invoked or the President acts using his inherent constitutional authority, DoD Army and Air Force personnel providing hurricane relief support cannot participate in civilian law enforcement activities in the areas in which they are providing relief.

COORDINATION None  
Prepared by: Carl Wagner (b)(6)



GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600

INFO MEMO

October 19, 2001, 11:00 AM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel *William J. Haynes II*  
*10/19/01*

SUBJECT: The Application of Military Power Domestically

- The Constitution charges the President with several roles. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the national military establishment and of the States' militia (when federalized). He is the Chief Executive, responsible for the non-military functions of the executive branch. And he is the chief diplomat, conducting the foreign affairs of the United States, including forming military alliances.
- DoD assists the President in fulfilling these responsibilities principally through: (1) traditional military operations, usually overseas; (2) support to other Federal agencies; and (3) direct employment of the military domestically.
- **Traditional Military Operations.** DoD's primary and traditional mission is the military defense of the United States from foreign enemies. DoD performs this mission under the direction of the President as Commander-in-Chief. The military chain of command runs from the President to the Secretary of Defense, and then either to the Military Departments or the Combatant Commands.
- **The traditional DoD mission encompasses operations such as defeating the Nazis in World War II and Iraqi forces during Operation DESERT STORM.**
- Public Law No. 107-40 authorizes the President to use "all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons" he determines were responsible for the September 11 attacks. Among other things, the joint resolution permits the President to employ DoD to perform traditional military operations against terrorists and their allies overseas.
- **Support to Civil Authorities.** DoD also supports the President in the execution of his civil and foreign affairs responsibilities under the direction of other Federal agencies. *E.g.:*
- DoD provides support to the FBI for crisis management of on-going domestic terrorist incidents. DoD also supports FEMA, which is the lead Federal agency with responsibility for managing the consequences of such incidents.

11-L-0559 OSD/53772



- DoD assists the FAA in responding to aircraft hijackings, including by providing interception and surveillance of hijacked airplanes.
- In the event of natural **and** manmade disasters, DoD provides FEMA and the lead Federal agency responsible for each Emergency Support Function (*e.g.*, transportation, communications, mass care, hazardous materials) with a range of resources. In such situations, DoD support is coordinated by the Secretary of the Army through the Directorate of Military Support (“DOMS”).
- DoD may loan equipment, provide training, and supply information acquired during traditional military operations to law enforcement agencies.
- DoD provides security for United States embassies abroad.
- ***Posse Comitatus A d*** DoD support to civil authorities is limited in some situations by the Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibits the use of the military “to execute the laws.” Unless there **are** constitutional or statutory exceptions (discussed below), the Posse Comitatus Act has been interpreted to forbid the military from directly participating in “front line” law enforcement activities such as arrest, search, seizure, surveillance, pursuit, or as informants, undercover agents, or investigators.
- ***Domestic Use  $\propto$  Military Power.*** The President may use the military domestically to repel invasions, to suppress insurrections and conspiracies, to carry out federal functions, and to address serious law enforcement emergencies, including responding to domestic terrorist incidents that are beyond the capacity of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to manage. DoD may conduct operations for these purposes directly, without going through other Federal agencies and without the restrictions of the Posse Comitatus Act.
  - Under Public Law No. 107-40, the President may use DoD for domestic military operations and law enforcement if “necessary and appropriate” against those he determines planned, authorized, committed or aided the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.
  - The President has affirmative and broad statutory authority to use the military domestically when the Legislature or Governor of a state requests assistance through the Attorney General, the courts are not functioning, or civil disturbances obstruct the execution of the laws. *E.g.*:
    - Upon the request of the Governor of California, President Bush authorized U.S. Army units to assist in controlling the 1992 Los Angeles **riots**.



- In the 1950s and 1960s, Presidents used this authority in deploying Federal troops to enforce judicial desegregation orders, to quell rioting at the University of Mississippi, and to protect civil rights marchers.
- *Inherent Authority.* In addition to express statutory authorities, the President has “inherent authority” under the Constitution to use the military domestically. This authority stems from the President’s constitutional roles as Commander-in-Chief and Chief Executive, the unenumerated executive powers that the Constitution vests in the President to ensure the security of the nation, his constitutional responsibility to “take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,” and the natural right of the sovereign to protect itself. *E.g.:*
  - President Lincoln initiated significant military action against the Confederacy at the start of the Civil War, prior to congressional authorization.
  - Under his inherent authority, President Nixon approved the deployment of Federal troops to protect installations in the National Capital Region during protests against the Vietnam War.
- The President’s inherent authority may be invoked to authorize DoD responses to terrorist actions that, if treated as traditional crimes, would ordinarily fall under the responsibility of law enforcement agencies. Inherent authority may be used only in extraordinary circumstances where normal measures are insufficient to carry out federal functions. It may not be exercised *solely* to perform routine and normal police functions (such as those types of front line law enforcement actions prohibited by the Posse Comitatus Act).
- In extreme circumstances, when there is no time to obtain higher level authorization, local commanders of DoD components are authorized to provide “immediate response” to save lives, prevent human suffering, or mitigate great property damage.

COORDINATION **NONE**



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

OCT 28 2005

Ms. Marilyn Glynn  
General Counsel  
United States Office of Government Ethics  
1201 New York Ave., NW  
Suite 500  
Washington, DC 20005-3917

MSO

Dear Ms. Glynn:

I write to advise you of a matter of growing national importance that touches on one of the investments I have held since before becoming the Secretary of Defense in 2001. The matter involves avian flu, and my investment is Gilad Sciences, Inc. ("Gilad"), a corporation that holds the patent on, and receives royalties from, the production of the antiviral medication Tamiflu, which is currently considered a possible treatment and prevention for various influenzas.

After extensive consultations inside and outside the Federal Government, I want to describe for you clearly and with the maximum possible transparency the limitations on my potential involvement in preparations for a possible avian flu pandemic. My present course of action is intended to allow me to continue to discharge responsibilities that should not be delegated were there a pandemic in which the Department of Defense would be involved, without raising any legal issue or ethical issue – actual or perceived – were I to sell my shares of Gilad common stock.

At my request, a number of senior officials of the Department of Defense, the Office of Government Ethics, the Department of Justice, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Office of the Counsel to the President have dedicated significant time and thought in considering this matter. A private securities attorney and my private accountant also have examined the various options available. I have considered a number of options, including: (i) divesting my Gilad common stock; (ii) retaining my Gilad common stock; (iii) recusing myself from participating in matters directly affecting Gilad; or (iv) a combination of approaches.

My relationship with Gilad began in 1988, when I joined the Company's Board of Directors. In 1997, I became the non-executive Chairman of Gilad's Board and served in that position until I became Secretary of Defense. At my confirmation as Secretary of Defense in 2001, divestiture of my investment in Gilad was not required. I am advised that Gilad was not then, and is not today, a defense contractor as that term is understood pursuant to the longstanding policy of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

28 OCT 05

I have reported my personal ownership of Gilad common stock in each of my annual Public Financial Disclosure Reports. In addition to my investment shares, my qualified charitable foundation owns Gilad common stock. As provided for in my Ethics Agreement with the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2001, I transferred all

investment responsibilities for my foundation to the foundation's secretary-treasurer since 1988, who is a friend and associate of many decades. He also now serves as non-executive Chairman of Gilad's Board.

Since 2001, upon assuming office as Secretary of Defense, I have recused myself from participating in any particular matter concerning Gilad. Such a recusal is a measure that has been approved by the Office of Government Ethics and the General Counsel of the Department of Defense. In recent months, there has been increased public discussion of the risk of an avian flu pandemic. When the possible threat of avian flu has been raised in government meetings, I have reiterated my recusal and have not participated in those discussions.

I understand from public reports that some uncertainty exists regarding whether Tamiflu may be effective in treating avian flu patients or preventing infection. I believe that I have no non-public information regarding the effectiveness of Tamiflu or as to how such uncertainty might affect government decision making. Since becoming Secretary of Defense, I have not received material non-public information from Gilad or its officers or directors.

In the event of an avian flu pandemic, the Department of Defense and I, as Secretary of Defense, could be expected to play some role in the Federal response. Recently, the President publicly discussed the risk of a pandemic, including a possible role for the Department.

The manner in which this national policy and this particular investment have begun to converge led, after consultation, to a preliminary decision to divest my investment in Gilad common stock. Accordingly, I requested, and on September 21, 2005, the Office of Government Ethics issued a certificate of divestiture for this investment.

Following my preliminary decision to divest, and to ensure that such a divestiture would be, and would be perceived to be, lawful and ethical, I sought the advice of the Office of Government Ethics, the Office of the Counsel to the President, the General Counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Attorney General of the United States, and the General Counsel of the Department of Defense. I also have retained private counsel with expertise in securities law.

After reviewing multiple potential courses of action with private counsel, I have decided that I should not sell my Gilad common stock, and should remain recused from participating personally and substantially in particular matters that could have a direct and predictable effect on my financial interest in Gilad. My private securities counsel and I believe that the sale of my Gilad shares at this time would not raise a legitimate securities law issue. Nevertheless, I am advised that a risk exists that some person or entity might try to raise such a purported issue following a sale, given the public issues now surrounding avian flu and Tamiflu, and in view of my public position.

My recusal will continue to prohibit my involvement in decisions that the United States may make regarding Gilcad, including the purchase or stockpiling of Tamiflu, competing medications, or other use of medications for the treatment or prevention of avian flu. Attached is the Department of Defense General Counsel memorandum of October 27, 2005, that more fully describes this recusal.

Apart from the restrictions of this recusal, I would continue to discharge my responsibilities as Secretary of Defense for the purpose of overseeing Department of Defense preparations for whatever role might be assigned in response to a disaster of extraordinary magnitude. My involvement might include discussions of force planning, logistics or other support to state and local authorities, deployment of U.S. active duty or reserve component military forces, or other matters pertaining to the capabilities of the Department of Defense.

During the course of the extensive considerations recounted above, it was brought to my attention that the Department of Defense had placed an order for a specified quantity of Tamiflu. The order was placed on July 13, 2005, not with Gilead, but with a U.S. subsidiary of F. Hoffman-LaRoche Ltd., a Swiss company that has the rights to market and manufacture the drug for Gilcad. As I have been recused from decision making concerning Gilead, the order was placed properly without my knowledge or involvement.

I have been advised that neither the Senate Armed Services Committee nor the Department's ethics office believes that the order for Tamiflu qualifies Gilead as a defense contractor, as that term is understood pursuant to that Committee's policy. If Gilead were to become a defense contractor as defined by the Committee, as I undertook in my ethics agreement of January 18, 2001, "I will consult with my Designated Agency Ethics Official to determine the appropriate remedial action."

Regrettably, none of the several relevant government agencies with which I have consulted has recommended a definitive course of action in this matter. I believe that the manner in which I will continue to recuse myself of matters affecting Gilead, while discharging my responsibilities as Secretary of Defense in the event of an influenza pandemic, serves the public interest and is consistent with the legal advice I have received, and with applicable laws and policies.

Sincerely,



Attachment:  
As stated

cc: Attorney General  
White House Chief of Staff  
Counsel to the President  
General Counsel of the Department of Defense  
General Counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission  
Chairman and Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Armed Services  
Chairman and Ranking Member, House Committee on Armed Services

~~FOUO~~

October 28, 2005

TO: The Honorable Andrew H. Card Jr.



FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Recusal Issue

Attached is a copy of recusal instructions from the General Counsel of the Department that sets forth additional guidance regarding my continuing recusal from matters pertaining to Gilead Sciences, Inc. The General Counsel is distributing these instructions within the Department to ensure the broadest possible understanding of the restrictions.

You may wish to distribute this information within the Executive Office of the President and other government agencies and entities that should be aware of my restrictions as you feel is appropriate.

Also attached is a letter I sent to the Office of Government Ethics that sets out additional information on this matter. A copy of this letter was sent to the Office of the Counsel to the President.

Regards,

Attach: SecDef Letter to the Office of Government Ethics; Recusal instructions from DoD OGC

DHR:ss  
102805-02

*250*

*28 Oct 05*

*28 Oct 05*

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21330-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53779



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

Ms. Marilyn Glynn  
General Counsel  
United States Office of Government Ethics  
1201 New York Ave., NW  
suite.500  
Washington, DC 20005-3917

Dear Ms. Glynn:

I write to advise you of a matter of growing national importance that touches on one of the investments I have held since before becoming the Secretary of Defense in 2001. The matter involves avian flu, and my investment is Gilead Sciences, Inc. ("Gilead"), a corporation that holds the patent on, and receives royalties from, the production of the antiviral medication Tamiflu, which is currently considered a possible treatment and prevention for various influenzas.

After extensive consultations inside and outside the Federal Government, I want to describe for you clearly and with the maximum possible transparency the limitations on my potential involvement in preparations for a possible avian flu pandemic. My present course of action is intended to allow me to continue to discharge responsibilities that should not be delegated were there a pandemic in which the Department of Defense would be involved, without raising any legal issue or ethical issue – actual or perceived – were I to sell my shares of Gilead common stock.

At my request, a number of senior officials of the Department of Defense, the Office of Government Ethics, the Department of Justice, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Office of the Counsel to the President have dedicated significant time and thought in considering this matter. A private securities attorney and my private accountant also have examined the various options available. I have considered a number of options, including: (i) divesting my Gilead common stock; (ii) retaining my Gilead common stock; (iii) recusing myself from participating in matters directly affecting Gilead; or (iv) a combination of approaches.

My relationship with Gilead began in 1988, when I joined the Company's Board of Directors. In 1997, I became the non-executive Chairman of Gilead's Board and served in that position until I became Secretary of Defense. At my confirmation as Secretary of Defense in 2001, divestiture of my investment in Gilead was not required. I am advised that Gilead was not then, and is not today, a defense contractor as that term is understood pursuant to the longstanding policy of the Senate Committee on Armed services.

I have reported my personal ownership of Gilead common stock in each of my annual Public Financial Disclosure Reports. In addition to my investment shares, my qualified charitable foundation owns Gilead common stock. As provided for in my Ethics Agreement with the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2001, I transferred all

11-L-0559/OSD/53780



investment responsibilities for my foundation to the foundation's **secretary-treasurer** since 1988, who **is** a friend **and** associate of many decades. He also now serves as non-executive **Chairman** of Gilead's **Board**.

Since 2001, upon assuming office as **Secretary of Defense**, I have recused myself from participating in any particular matter concerning Gilead. Such a recusal is a measure that has been approved by the Office of Government **Ethics** and the **General Counsel** of the Department of Defense. In recent months, there has been increased public discussion of the **risk** of an avian **flu** pandemic. When the possible threat of avian flu has been raised in government **meetings**, I have reiterated my **recusal** and have not participated in those **discussions**.

I understand from public **reports** that some **uncertainty exists** regarding whether **Tamiflu** may be effective in treating avian flu patients or preventing infection. I believe that I have **no** non-public information regarding the effectiveness of Tamiflu or as to how such **uncertainty** might affect government decision making. Since becoming **Secretary of Defense**, I have **not received** material non-public information from **Gilead** or its **officers** or directors.

In the event of an avian flu pandemic, the Department of Defense and I, as Secretary of Defense, could be expected to play some role in the **Federal response**. Recently, the President publicly discussed the **risk** of a pandemic, including a possible role for the Department.

The manner in which **this** national policy and **this** particular investment **have** begun to converge led, after consultation, to a **preliminary** decision to **divest** my investment in Gilead **common stock**. Accordingly, I requested, and on September 21, 2005, the Office of Government Ethics issued a certificate of divestiture for this investment.

Following my preliminary decision to divest, and to ensure that such a divestiture would be, and would be perceived to be, lawful and **ethical**, I sought the advice of the **Office of Government Ethics**, the Office of the Counsel to the President, the **General Counsel** of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the **Attorney General** of the United States, and the **General Counsel** of the Department of Defense. I also have **retained** private counsel with expertise in securities **law**.

After reviewing multiple potential courses of action with private counsel, I have decided that I should not **sell** my Gilead **common stock**, and should **remain recused** from participating personally and substantially in particular matters that could have a direct and predictable effect on my financial interest in Gilead. My private **securities counsel** and I believe that the sale of my Gilead **shares** at this time would not raise a legitimate securities law issue. Nevertheless, I **am** advised that a **risk exists** that **some person or** entity might **try to raise** such a purported issue following a sale, given the public issues now surrounding avian **flu** and Tamiflu, and in view of my public **position**.



My recusal will continue to prohibit my involvement in decisions that the **United States** may make regarding Gilead, including the purchase or **stockpiling** of **Tamiflu**, **competing** medications, or other use of medications **for** the treatment or prevention of avian **flu**. Attached is the Department of Defense **General Counsel** memorandum of **October 27, 2005**, **that** more fully describes **this recusal**.

Apart from the restrictions **of this recusal**, I would continue to discharge my responsibilities as **Secretary** of Defense for the purpose of overseeing Department of Defense preparations for **whatever** role might be assigned in **response** to a **disaster** of extraordinary magnitude. My involvement might include discussions of force **planning**, logistics or other **support** to state and local authorities, deployment of **U.S.** active duty or reserve component military **forces**, or other **matters pertaining** to the **capabilities** of the Department of Defense.

**During** the course of the extensive considerations recounted above, it **was brought** to my attention that the Department of Defense **had** placed an order **for** a **specified quantity** of **Tamiflu**. The order was placed on July **13, 2005**, not with Gilead, but with a **U.S.** subsidiary of **F. Hoffman-LaRoche Ltd.**, a **Swiss company** that **has** the rights to market and manufacture the drug for Gilead. As I have been **recused from decision making** concerning **Gilead**, the order was placed properly without my knowledge or involvement.

I have been advised **that** neither the Senate Armed **Services Committee** nor the Department's **ethics** office believes **that** the order for **Tamiflu** qualifies **Gilead** as a defense contractor, **as** that term is understood pursuant to **that Committee's** policy. If **Gilead** were to become a defense contractor **as** defined by the **Committee**, **as** I undertook in my ethics agreement of January **18, 2001**, "**I will consult with my Designated Agency Ethics Official to determine the appropriate remedial action.**"

Regrettably, none of the several relevant government agencies with which I have consulted **has** recommended a **definitive course** of action in **this matter**. I believe **that** the manner in which I will continue to recuse myself of **matters** affecting **Gilead**, while discharging my responsibilities as **Secretary** of Defense in the event of an **influenza** pandemic, **serves** the public **interest** and is consistent with the legal **advice** I have received, and with applicable laws and policies.

Sincerely,



Attachment:  
**As** stated

**cc:** **Attorney General**  
**White House Chief of Staff**  
**Counsel to the President**  
**General Counsel of the Department of Defense**  
**General Counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission**  
**Chairman and Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Armed Services**  
**Chairman and Ranking Member, House Committee on Armed Services**



GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600

OCT 27 2005

MEMORANDUM FOR IMMEDIATE **STAFF OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**SUBJECT** Recusal to Avoid **Conflicts of Interest Concerning Gilead Sciences, Inc.**

This memorandum is to remind you that Secretary Rumsfeld has a financial interest in Gilead Sciences, Inc., (*Gilead*). While *Gilead* has financial interests in a number of medications, in this memorandum I want to draw your attention to Tamiflu, a medication that may be used in the treatment and prevention of some types of avian influenza.

Secretary Rumsfeld continues to be disqualified from participating personally and substantially in any particular matter (including those dealing with the treatment and prevention of avian flu) when the matter will directly and predictably affect his financial interest in Gilead. This means that the Secretary may participate in most particular matters concerning avian flu, but he has disqualified himself as to matters that deal directly with Tamiflu or with medical prevention or treatment of avian flu, such as the purchase or use of alternative medical products. The following points should help to distinguish among these matters, but if there is a doubt about a particular issue, assume that the Secretary has disqualified himself from the issue at hand and seek guidance from me or the DoD Standards of Conduct Officer:

- **Matters concerning avian flu dealing with the development and acquisition by the Government of vaccines and/or treatments:** The Secretary will **not** participate personally and substantially as these matters may directly and predictably affect G i l d . Because *Gilead* developed, and receives a royalty for the production of, Tamiflu, which may be used to prevent or treat avian flu, and because there appear to be few such available products on the market, the Secretary has *disqualified* himself from participating in these matters.
- **Matters concerning avian flu dealing with the possibility of quarantine and use of military personnel:** The Secretary may participate personally and substantially as these matters will not directly and predictably affect *Gilead*. Even were Department of Defense resources to be used to safeguard the availability of Tamiflu, there would be no direct and predictable effect on *Gilead* because the product at that stage would already have been purchased from the distributor or distributors, F. Hoffman-LaRoche *ltd.* and its subsidiaries.
- **Matters concerning avian flu dealing with humanitarian assistance:** The Secretary may participate personally and substantially as these matters will not directly and predictably affect *Gilead*. These matters concern providing food, water, shelter, and medical treatment, etc., to the victims of a pandemic, including possible avian flu, in the manner the Department provides assistance to the Federal Emergency Management Agency and other entities after natural catastrophes, such as hurricanes and earthquakes.



11-L-0559/OSD/53784

Please screen correspondence, memoranda, information and decision papers, and other documents that may refer to or involve Gilead, Tamiflu, and the medical prevention and treatment of avian flu.

Please divert all such matters to the Acting Deputy Secretary of Defense and ensure that they are not forwarded to Secretary Rumsfeld.

If you have any questions, please contact Steve Epstein or Gail Mason of the Standards of Conduct Office at [septeins@ododac.osd.mil](mailto:septeins@ododac.osd.mil) or [masong@dodgc.osd.mil](mailto:masong@dodgc.osd.mil), or by telephone at (b)(6)



William J. Haynes II

**CC:**  
Secretary of Defense  
Acting Deputy Secretary of Defense  
Secretaries of the Military Departments  
Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Under Secretaries of Defense  
Assistant Secretaries of Defense



PERSONNEL AND  
READINESS

OFFICE OF THE  
**UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-4000

205 OCT 28 PM 6:03



**ACTION MEMO**

October 28, 2005; 2:30 PM

FOR: SECRETARY OF **DEFENSE** Acting DepSecDef Action \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: David S. C. Chu, Under Secretary of Defense (P&R) *David S. C. Chu 10/28/05*  
(Signature and date)

SUBJECT: Joint Duty Assignment Credit (Snowflake at Tab B)

- You asked that we take a high-level, strategic look at the process for awarding joint credit (Tab B); and a series of questions we answered at Tab A.
- Changes to make the joint duty credit system meet 21st century needs is the central goal of the nearly complete Joint Officer Management Strategic Review. It was initiated to comply with direction from the FY05 Authorization Act. It is being conducted in concert with the Joint Staff, the Military Departments and **RAND**. A first **draft** will be ready next month.
- Key changes: (1) offer a "continuum" of joint credit, based on joint education, training, and experiences, unrestricted by time (e.g. assignment duration and/or sequencing) and (2) define "joint" based on objective criteria – recognizing coalition, international, interagency operations as well as in-Service billets that fit the criteria (3) recognize the significantly intense joint experience gained in a **JTF** with full joint duty credit.
- We constituted the Assistant Secretaries for Manpower of the Military Departments and the J1, among others, to look at these proposed changes. They agree with them. As you directed, we are also convening a group of General/Flag officers and Defense Policy Board members.
- Bottom line: If you agree with these key changes, they will form the basis of the Strategic Plan due to the Congress (by statute) by 15 January 2006.

211

28 Oct 05

COORDINATION: Tab C.

Attachments: As stated

Prepared by: Lt Col Susan Hogg, (b)(6)



OSD 21374-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53786

28 Oct 05

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## **Joint Duty Assignment Credit Response to Specific Snowflake Questions**

**Q1.** Are the time requirements to attain Joint Duty Credit still correct, e.g. 22 months for **0-6** and below with a waiver? 14 months for an **0-7** and above with a waiver?

**A1.** NO – Current law constrains our flexibility to award full joint credit.

**Q2.** Are the right jobs identified and listed on the Joint **Duty** Assignment List? If not, what is a streamlined, modern system to quickly correct the list to reflect the reality for the 21st **century**?

**A2.** NO – The current **JDAL** does not capture all joint jobs however, a new system **will** require legislative change. The Joint Officer Management strategic plan will be integral to these changes.

**Q3.** **How** often should slots be reviewed to **be** added or deleted from the list?

**A3.** Ideally this should be a continuous process. The current bi-annual review is not flexible enough.

**Q4.** Are people given appropriate credit for serving on a Joint Task Force? Is 12 months the right amount of time to obtain credit?

**A4.** NO – Intensity of the joint experience on a **JTF** in a combat or hostile environment is orders of magnitude greater than a staff position.

**Q5.** What “policy” changes can we undertake now to adjust the Joint **Duty** Credit system for the 21st century?

**A5.** Recent addition of **500+** (0-6 and below) and 28 GFO temporary billets to **JDAL** that are eligible for full credit will have significant and immediate impact

**Q6.** What “legal” changes should we pursue to get the Joint Duty Credit system adjusted for the 21st century?

**A6.** A substantial package of legislative initiatives is required. The key is to tie legislation to the Joint Officer Management strategic plan, as requested by Congress.

September 27, 2005

TO: David Chu

CC: Gordon England  
Gen Pete Pace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.A.*

SUBJECT: Joint Duty Assignment Credit

We need to take a high-level, strategic look at the process for awarding Joint Credit to our officers. The entire system seems to be based on the outdated assumption that the Services, in most cases, need to be *forced* into sending people into joint billets. In today's world, the Services actually push to get their best people into joint positions and into the Joint Task Forces around the world. Additionally, the acceleration and compression of joint combat activities makes many of the current monthly requirements out of date.

Please pull together a small team of **smart** folks from each of the Services to take a look at the entire process with a focus on answering the following questions:

What changes should we make in the Joint Duty Credit system to fit the 21st century? In particular:

- Are the time requirements to attain Joint Duty Credit still correct, e.g. 22 months for O-6 and below with a waiver? 14 months for an O-7 and above with a waiver?
- Are the right jobs identified and listed on the Joint Duty Assignment List? If not, what is a stream-lined, **modern** system to quickly correct the list to reflect the reality for the 21st century?
- How often should slots be reviewed to be added or deleted from the list?

~~FOUO~~

- Are people **given** appropriate credit for serving on a Joint Task Force? Is 12 months the right amount of time to obtain credit?
- What "policy" changes can we undertake **now** to adjust the Joint **Duty** Credit system for the **21st** century?
- What "legal" changes should **we** pursue to get the Joint **Duty** Credit system adjusted for the 21st century?

After you complete your study, ~~run~~ it by Jack Keane and some of the forward-thinking retired **senior** military on the Defense Policy Board.

I'd like **to see a** presentation of your results within **21** days, including an **action** plan to undertake the necessary changes -- both policy and law.

Thanks.

DHR:rs  
092705-12

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/19/05*

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53789



SUBJECT : Joint Duty Assignment Credit

COORDINATION:

Office

Name

Signature and Date

Acting PD (MPP)

Ms Earle

JS J1

RADM Crisp

Alma L Crisp 21 OCT 05

FOUO

DJS mlj  
DJ-1     

September 27, 2005

TO: David Chu  
CC: Gordon England  
Gen Pete Pace  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: Joint Duty Assignment Credit

211

We need to take a high-level, strategic look at the process for awarding Joint Credit to our officers. The entire system seems to be based on the outdated assumption that the Services, in most cases, need to be *forced* into sending people into joint billets. In today's world, the Services actually push to get their best people into joint positions and into the Joint Task Forces around the world. Additionally, the acceleration and compression of joint combat activities makes many of the current monthly requirements out of date.

Please pull together a small team of smart folks from each of the Services to take a look at the entire process with a focus on answering the following questions:

What changes should we make in the Joint Duty Credit system to fit the 21st century? In particular:

- Are the time requirements to attain Joint Duty Credit **still** correct, e.g. 22 months for 0-6 and below with a waiver? 14 months for an 0-7 and above with a waiver?
- Are the right jobs identified and listed on the Joint Duty Assignment List? If not, what is a stream-lined, modern system to quickly correct the list to reflect the reality for the 21st century?
- How often should slots be reviewed to be added or deleted from the list?

answeros

FOUO

11-L-0559/OSD/53791

OSD 21379-05

~~FOUO~~

- Are people given appropriate credit for serving on a Joint Task Force? Is 12 months the right amount of time to obtain credit?
- What "policy" changes can we undertake now to adjust the Joint Duty Credit system for the 21st century?
- What "legal" changes should we pursue to get the Joint **Duty** Credit system adjusted for the 21st century?

After you complete your study, run it by Jack Keane and some of the forward-thinking retired senior military on the Defense Policy Board.

I'd like to see a presentation of your results within **21** days, including an action plan to undertake the necessary changes -- both policy **and** law.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
092705-12

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/19/05*

~~FOUO~~  
11-L-0559/OSD/53792

~~FOUO~~

OCT 3.1 2005

TO: Fran Harvey  
**GEN** John Abizaid  
**GEN** Pete Schoomaker

CC: **Gen Pete Pace**

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D. R. [Signature]*

SUBJECT: Investigation into allegations of desecration of Taliban KIA by U.S. Force

Afghanistan

It is of utmost importance that the Investigation into the allegations of possible desecration of Taliban **KIAs** in Afghanistan by **US** Forces be completed expeditiously. As always, the investigation should be conducted in a manner that is thorough, definitive and in keeping with applicable laws, regulations and procedures. However, it is equally critical that this effort receive priority consideration by all relevant command and service channels as well as the provision of all resources necessary to facilitate its most rapid conclusion.

Please keep me informed on progress on this matter as well as your estimate on when you will reach a conclusion on the investigation.

**Thanks.**

DHR:ss  
 102705-09

.....

310ct05

OSD 21406-05

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53793

SEP 21 2005

TO David Chu  
FROM Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT Purple Heart ~~Medal~~

I have been asked about the fact that the Purple Heart must come as a result of enemy action. The question posed was whether a case could be made for awarding *the Purple Heart* to those wounded in a combat zone? What is *the* history of the current requirement? Please think about this, and let me know what you think.

Thanks.

DHR:sa  
092005-02

.....  
*Please Respond By October 04, 2005*

0122698



UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

2005 OCT 31 PM 6:12

INFO MEMO

PERSONNEL AND  
READINESS

October 31, 2005 - 3:00 PM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: David S. C. Chu, Under Secretary of Defense (P&R)

*David S. C. Chu* 310.205  
(Signature and date)

SUBJECT: Purple Heart Medal—SNOWFLAKE (Attached)

- This responds to your question concerning the history of the current requirement for the Purple Heart and whether a case could be made for awarding the Purple Heart to members wounded, not as a result of enemy action, in a combat zone.
- The criteria for award of the Purple Heart are not based on "combat zones", but instead focused on the nature of the inflicting force. The criteria include international terrorist attacks, acts of hostile foreign forces, and friendly fire while engaged in armed conflict.
- The position of the Navy Department Board of Decorations and Medals is: "Anyone who is wearing a Purple Heart has encountered the enemy, either directly or indirectly. This goes to the core of the meaning of the Purple Heart."
- If an individual is wounded in a combat zone, but not as a result of direct or indirect enemy action, there are other means of recognizing their actions, if warranted.

Attachment:

As Stated

Prepared by: CPT Doug Johnson, ODUSD (P&R)(MPP)/OEPM, (b)(6)



11-L-0559/OSD/53795

OSD 21428-05

FOUO

MAR 17 2005

2005 11-1 0:12

3836

TO: Pete Geren  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Allegations in Admiral Church Hearing

I watched some of the Church hearing over the weekend. I suppose we ought to take the allegations that were made and see that they are incorporated into the "tough questions" section.

At one point Levin says I approved enhanced techniques "in the face of opposition from military lawyers." I do not recall having had knowledge of opposition from military lawyers until the day I rescinded the techniques. Please check on that.

Thanks.

DIIR:dh  
031405-27

.....  
Please respond by 3/31/05

*Sir,  
Response attached.  
v/r  
Lt Col Lengyel*

19 MAR 05

APR 20 2005

FOUO

OSD 21446-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53796

UNCLASSIFIED

- C.  
- PD.



GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1800 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1800

2002 DEC -2 AM 11:03

ACTION MEMO

November 27, 2002 (1:00 PM)

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DEPSEC \_\_\_\_\_

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel (WJH)  
SUBJECT: Counter-Resistance Techniques

- The Commander of USSOUTHCOM has forwarded a request by the Commander of Joint Task Force 170 (now JTF GTMO) for approval of counter-resistance techniques to aid in the interrogation of detainees at Guantanamo Bay (Tab A).
- The request contains three categories of counter-resistance techniques, with the first category the least aggressive and the third category the most aggressive (Tab B).
- I have discussed this with the Deputy, Doug Feith and General Myers. I believe that all join in my recommendation that, as a matter of policy, you authorize the Commander of USSOUTHCOM to employ, in his discretion, only Categories I and II and the fourth technique listed in Category III ("Use of mild, non-injurious physical contact such as grabbing, poking in the chest with the finger, and light pushing").
- While all Category III techniques may be legally available, we believe that, as a matter of policy, a blanket approval of Category III techniques is not warranted at this time. Our Armed Forces are trained to a standard of interrogation that reflects a tradition of restraint.

RECOMMENDATION: That SECDEF approve the USSOUTHCOM Commander's use of those counter-resistance techniques listed in Categories I and II and the fourth technique listed in Category III during the interrogation of detainees at Guantanamo Bay.

SECDEF DECISION

Approved WJH Disapproved \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments  
As stated

cc: CICS, USD(P)

*However, I stand for 8-10 hours  
A day. Why is stand, limited to 4 hours?*

*D.R.*

DEC 02 2002

Declassified Under Authority of Executive Order 12958  
By Executive Secretary, Office of the Secretary of Defense  
William P. Marrett, CAPT, USN  
June 18, 2004

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 1 of 2  
X04030-02

11-L-0559/OSD/53797





OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301

2005 APR 16 10 12

INFO MEMO

April 20, 2005

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Pete Geren, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense *Pete Geren*

SUBJECT: Allegations in Admiral Church Hearing - SNOWFLAKE

38336

You signed a document on December 2, 2002 approving the use of enhanced interrogation techniques at Guantanamo (copy attached). The Church Report and internal documents confirm that military lawyers did object to the use of those techniques prior to your signing the document; however, there does not appear to be any record that you were made aware of those complaints prior to December 2.

Internal records indicate that the first time you were informed of military concerns was January 10, 2003 when you were told by Jim Haynes of the Navy General Counsel's expression of concern. You immediately rescinded the use of the December 2 memo and ordered a review. This review led to your April 16, 2003 approval of a more restrictive interrogation policy.

2005/1/10

11M0105



OSD 21446-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53798

APR 20 ENTD

FOUO

July 05, 2005

TO: Pete Geren

cc: Larry Di Rita

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Edits to Detainee Paper

383.6

Here is your paper on detainees. I have made many edits, which will have to be checked with the General Counsel and people who know more than I do.

I have these additional thoughts:

1. We only mention the three civilians and very few military leaders. For inclusiveness, we also should address each key senior military and civilian official in the testimony:
  - o the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense,
  - o the Secretary and Under Secretary of the Army,
  - o the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,
  - o the Combatant Commanders and Deputies,
  - o the Commanders and Deputy Commanders in Iraq,
  - o the Chief and Vice Chief of Staff of the Army,
  - o the head and deputy of the training and doctrine command,
  - o the Reserve and Guard leaders during the relevant periods,
  - o the individuals who served as Executive Agents for detainees, and
  - o the relevant GTMO officials.
  
2. We ought to specifically mention vacancies -- that the position of Secretary of the Army was vacant, state how long that and other vacancies were, and point out that the Army is the Executive Agent for detainees. In addition,

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we ought to show the high level of overall civilian vacancies throughout the Department during that four and a half years and raise that issue.

3. We ought to have a section that lists a series of the irresponsible charges that have been made about GTMO detainees, etc., and point out specifically how wild charges by prominent people hurts the morale of the men and women in uniform. Discuss the adverse effects that occur from irresponsible allegations and statements in terms of weakening the US position in the world, e.g., the "Newsweek riots," etc.
4. We also should list some things we are concerned about -- for example:
  - o the long time it took the Army to act in establishing accountability. We have **to** find ways to speed up that process in the 21st century;
  - o the confusion between the operational and administrative chains of command in regard to investigations and accountability under Goldwater-Nichols.
5. Our presentation must include all the material that is currently in the detainee briefing I presented to the NSC and the President. We have to make sure everyone understands the facts -- what we've done, the reforms we've undertaken, etc. We need to say who these detainees are, what we've done to ensure all our detention centers are well run, and emphasize that GTMO should not be closed. This material shouldn't be an appendix. It should all be in the statement.
6. After we think we have a decent presentation, we should have it reviewed by the Departments of State and Justice, the White House, the Schlesinger panel, Church, and certainly by all the officials who are mentioned.

Label it draft on every page.

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Let's get a **quick** turnaround.

**Thanks.**

**Attach.**

**5/25/05** Version of Abu Ghraib Letter Addressed to HASC and SASC

**Chairmen**

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.....  
*Please Respond By July 14, 2005*

~~FOUO~~  
11-L-0559/OSD/53801

**ABU GHRAIB LETTER  
ADDRESSED TO HASC AND SASC CHAIRMEN  
[2405 Words]**

*During the night strike  
of the prisoners halfway around  
the world.  
I saw.*

Mr. Chairman:

*General Myers and I*

A year ago, ~~I testified to Congress about the abuse~~ *Appeared before this Committee to denounce the treatment* of prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison and on other detainee matters. I remember the emotional body blow that hit all of us at the Department of Defense, ~~when we were exposed to the photos of improper behavior~~ *when we were exposed to the photos of improper behavior* and ~~I wish the public could have seen the pained expressions on the faces of our civilian and military personnel when we saw the shocking pictures from Abu Ghraib. The terrible criminal acts there stained the image of our nation and the millions of American servicemen and women who serve selflessly and courageously in the cause of freedom. As I said at the time, these crimes took place on my watch, and as Secretary of Defense, I accept responsibility.~~ *both* *They* *left an ugly*

As Secretary of Defense, I have command and executive responsibility for the actions of this Department, ~~and am accountable for its performance~~. To me, accountability is not an abstract concept. On

two occasions, I submitted my resignation, in writing and in person, to President ~~George W.~~ Bush. I felt that the President deserved the option of deciding whether someone else should lead the Department. ~~On each occasion, the~~ <sup>He</sup> President declined my resignations,

In <sup>out</sup> ~~my~~ testimony, <sup>at</sup> [pledged full cooperation with your Committee and the Congress and a comprehensive review of this matter. I promised that the Department would follow the facts wherever they led, bring wrongdoers to justice, amplify the record as more information was learned, review the Department's procedures, and implement appropriate reforms. I invited the world to watch how America's democracy deals with wrongdoing <sup>and criminality</sup> and with the pain of acknowledging and correcting <sup>the</sup> ~~our~~ Department's mistakes.

Over the last twelve months the Department's leadership has made it a priority to find out what happened, <sup>to</sup> take appropriate action, and <sup>to</sup> make changes to prevent <sup>The program</sup> ~~detainee~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~abuse~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>such illegal behavior</sup> happening again. The Department leadership -- military and civilian -- has been ~~working to~~ implement <sup>ing</sup> reforms to improve detention operations, ~~prevent abuse~~, and ~~determine and~~ establish accountability in accordance with law, the Uniformed Code of Military Justice, and the best interests of the Department and the nation.

We have initiated, completed, ~~reviewed~~, and acted upon the results of 10 major reviews, investigations, and assessments. We have analyzed over 400 recommendations from the many reports, <sup>we have</sup> testified at 29 Congressional hearings, provided over 40 Congressional staff briefings, and delivered more than 16,000 pages of documents to <sup>the</sup> Congress. Additionally, <sup>the</sup> Services have initiated over 360 criminal investigations involving [XX] personnel to determine the facts in <sup>the</sup> alleged incidents of detainee <sup>mis</sup> ~~maltreatment and abuse.~~

<sup>Through</sup> ~~From the outset~~, the Department has <sup>stated</sup> ~~demonstrated~~ its commitment to transparency and to fully investigating all allegations of <sup>mis</sup> ~~abuse~~. It is important to remember that it was the Department of Defense that <sup>not the DoD,</sup> first disclosed the Abu Ghraib <sup>and investigated</sup> ~~abuse~~ allegations. The launch of the original Central Command investigation into Abu Ghraib was announced at a press conference in Baghdad and reported by the ~~national~~ media three months before the photos were released to the public by the media. And since then, nearly every piece of detainee-related information reported <sup>by journalists or employed by critics</sup> has come from the Department's <sup>own</sup> ~~own~~ investigations and reports. In spite of that fact, the Department has faced a persistent chorus of "cover-<sup>irresponsible cover</sup>

But <sup>up" and "whitewash" from prominent voices around the country.</sup>  
~~the fact - the underbank fact - is the~~  
 There has been no "cover-up" or "whitewash", ~~who~~ <sup>who</sup> ~~alleged~~ <sup>alleged</sup>,  
 charges of the ~~Conroy~~ <sup>Conroy</sup> ~~not withstanding~~.

We owe the ~~Congress~~, the American people and the world a full and  
 transparent accounting for Abu Ghraib. The Department of Defense  
 has ~~attempted to do so~~, but ~~our~~ <sup>done</sup> ~~effort~~ <sup>think</sup> has been hampered by reckless  
 charges and publication of unsupported allegations and erroneous  
 information by people and organizations of high standing, ~~in this~~ <sup>appally</sup>  
 country. And, I am not talking about Al Jazerra. A good example of  
 this ~~is~~ <sup>has been</sup> the Pavlovian response to the investigations and reports  
~~completed by the Department~~ <sup>Department</sup> by some of ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> nation's leading  
 newspapers. Misinformation, ignorance and twisted truths are a  
 disservice to the American people and the world.

The ten major reviews have provided the Department with ~~invaluable~~ <sup>helpful</sup>  
~~lessons~~ <sup>Secreted</sup> for improving detainee operations and with information  
 regarding criminal and administrative accountability. The reviews and  
 investigations were led by respected and accomplished individuals,  
 including XX active duty general officers, a former Chief of Staff of  
 the U.S. Air Force, two former Secretaries of Defense and a former  
 Member of Congress.



DRAFT 2.0 (Corrections to Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

Each of these <sup>individual</sup> ~~citizens~~ has earned a reputation as a person of character and integrity over their life time of public service. The choice of these principled individuals to head the investigations is ~~sound~~ evidence of the Department's commitment to follow the facts where they lead, ~~and let the chips fall where they may~~. Yet in many cases, the work they did for the Department on this matter has been summarily dismissed by the editorial boards of several national newspapers as "whitewash" and "cover-up", without offering evidence to support their allegations.

These unsubstantiated and I believe baseless attacks on the integrity of these citizens and their work unfairly undermines the contribution these reports should make to the public's understanding of this ~~issue~~ matter. It <sup>saddens</sup> ~~sickens~~ me that ~~our~~ standards for public discourse on this issue have sunk to a level where character assassination of distinguished citizen <sup>S</sup> by voices of national prominence and cavalier dismissal of their ~~important~~ work are accepted practices and pass into the public debate unsubstantiated <sup>seemingly</sup> ~~and~~ without challenge to those making <sup>irresponsible</sup> ~~the~~ charges.

If critics have evidence of cover-up by any of these leaders, it is their duty to come forward, name the individual(s) and support their

charges of cover-up. ~~The stakes are too high; they should put up or shut up.~~ To do otherwise deserves public censure. The effort to bring justice and fitting closure to this matter has been ill-served by such demagoguery.

**Abu Ghraib Accountability.** The Department, through judicial and administrative processes, is holding wrongdoers accountable, <sup>externed</sup> while the process is not <sup>yet</sup> complete. <sup>for</sup> misconduct and dereliction of duty related to Abu Ghraib, thus far, nineteen men and women, from privates to a brigadier general <sup>other</sup>, have been disciplined ~~for misconduct~~. Of this total, seven soldiers from military police and military intelligence units have been court-martialed and found guilty, with sentences <sup>of</sup> up to 10 years in prison. The brigadier general in command of the military police brigade with a unit at Abu Ghraib and the colonel in command of the military intelligence brigade at Abu Ghraib were both reprimanded and removed from command. Additionally, the brigadier general has been reduced in rank to colonel. A lieutenant colonel in charge of the military intelligence interrogation activities at Abu Ghraib remains under investigation, with command disposition pending.

As part of the Abu Ghraib investigation, the Army Inspector General investigated all allegations against ten general officers and found them unsubstantiated except for the brigadier general <sup>Mentioned</sup> discussed above.

Additional actions, investigative, criminal-and administrative, are pending against other military personnel, officers and enlisted. Further, the Department of Justice is investigating the conduct of civilian contractors. The Department<sup>s</sup> of Defense and <sup>the Department of</sup> Justice will pursue these actions to their just conclusion.

The ~~events~~ <sup>have been properly judged to have been</sup> depicted in the Abu Ghraib photos ~~were~~ criminal acts by those who were involved in them. The leaders who were responsible for the supervision of those individuals and for the care of detainees <sup>have been or</sup> were derelict in performing their duties. Those responsible are being held accountable. The ~~events~~ <sup>misconduct</sup> at Abu Ghraib were <sup>was deemed to have</sup> not the result of the actions or inactions of more senior military leaders. ~~This~~ <sup>their conduct</sup> has been fully <sup>been</sup> investigated. Accountability has been established.

Senior Leader Accountability. Some have expressed concerns that no civilian or military leader at the Pentagon, and no senior military leader above a brigadier general, has been punished ~~in the wake of abuse at Abu Ghraib~~. To be sure, when something as ~~shocking and damaging~~ <sup>serious</sup> as ~~the~~ <sup>these</sup> abuses comes to light, it is understandable that there is a

demand by some that "heads should roll" -- ~~no matter what~~. However, the process of establishing accountability must be driven by the facts, fairness and the established legal and administrative processes.

In considering the conduct of senior civilian and military officials related to Abu Ghraib, I asked ~~the questions, and~~ 1) "Were the recommendations or decisions of senior officials in violation of the standards governing the control of detained persons?"; and 2) "Did the policies, acts or omissions of senior officials result, directly or indirectly, in the abuses discovered at Abu Ghraib?"; ~~it found the~~ answers to be "no" and "no".

*During the night shift I and other senior officials*

*have had the*

After reviewing ~~all the available evidence, including my personal recollection of the conduct of senior Department officials~~ and the Schlesinger and Church ~~accounts~~, I have concluded that senior officials were not ~~culpable or~~ responsible for the criminal acts committed at Abu Ghraib. Further, I have found no evidence that any of the policies or directives from the Department were in contravention of the operative standards for detention operations in either Iraq Afghanistan or Guantanamo. Accordingly, I find no grounds to sanction senior DoD civilian or military officials for the misconduct at Abu Ghraib.

*Report*

*That occurs*

Detention and interrogation operations at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo were conducted under different legal standards, Abu Ghraib under Geneva and Guantanamo under <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ legal construct established by the President for <sup>"</sup>unlawful combatants,

The detention operations at Abu Ghraib were part of Operation Iraqi Freedom. It was clear from the outset of hostilities that all detention and interrogation policies for Iraq were required to be in accordance with Geneva. This was well understood by those who planned and conducted Operation Iraqi Freedom operations.

The detainees at Guantanamo were managed under a different standard, established by President Bush on January 18, 2002. The President determined that Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees <sup>would be</sup> ~~are~~ under the control of the Department of Defense <sup>and held as</sup> "unlawful combatants" and not entitled to prisoner of war <sup>status</sup> ~~protections~~ under the Geneva Conventions. He also determined that, as a matter of policy, the United States will, "treat those detainees humanely and, to the extent appropriate and consistent with military necessity, in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Conventions."

*To be removed by*

5/25/2005 1:33 PM Walker

DRAFT 2.0 (Correctionsto Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

On January 19, 2002, I issued an order to ~~the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for promulgation to~~ all Combatant Commanders implementing the President's policy. The Chairman promulgated the order on January 21, 2002 and it remains in effect today.

In a February 4, 2002 policy directive, the President more fully developed the Administration policy on Taliban and Al Qaeda detainees. The President reaffirmed that Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters were unlawful combatants.

*None advised that*

The President determined that the provisions of Geneva apply to the conflict with the Taliban, but concluded that neither common Article 3 of Geneva nor the prisoner of war protections of Article 4 apply to Taliban detainees.

Regarding Al Qaeda detainees, the President concluded that none of the provisions of Geneva apply to ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> conflict with Al Qaeda and that common Article 3 and Article 4 prisoner of war protections do not apply to Al Qaeda detainees.

Based on those distinctions and legal conclusions, President Bush reiterated the legal standard for Guantanamo, "the United States Armed Forces shall...treat detainees humanely and, to the extent appropriate and consistent with military necessity, in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva" and reaffirmed my

January 19, 2002 order that General Myers promulgated to all  
Combatant Commanders.

Underscoring the standard of humane treatment, President Bush said further that "our values as a Nation, values that we share with many nations in the world, call for us to treat detainees humanely, including those who are not legally entitled to such treatment." (Document is attached.)

The President's decision that **Al Qaeda** and Taliban fighters are unlawful combatants is irrefutable, as they conduct their operations in a manner anathema to the principles of Geneva: i) they target innocent civilians, ii) they do not answer to a chain of command, iii) they do not carry their arms openly, iv) they do not operate according to the laws of war and international conflict, and iv) they do not wear identifiable insignias or uniforms. The President's decision was based on the bedrock principles that undergird Geneva and stands as an affirmation of our nation's commitment to its just application.



DRAFT 2.0 (Corrections to Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

*S* The senior Department officials, military and civilian, in the Pentagon involved in detention and interrogation policy understood the different governing standards for Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo and worked ~~scrupulously~~ to ensure that all policies developed by the Department were in accordance therewith. All policy decisions regarding detention

*multiple facts* and interrogation operations were subjected to stringent legal review ~~at multiple levels~~ within the Department. The Department's policies required humane treatment of all detainees and no policy promulgated by the Department could reasonably have been interpreted to endorse the *the military's* criminal conduct ~~we found~~ at Abu Ghraib. This conclusion is supported by the findings of the Schlesinger and Church reports.

The Schlesinger review -- led by two former Secretaries of Defense who served Presidents of each party -- concluded: "No approved procedures called for or allowed the kinds of abuse that in fact occurred."

The Church report, headed by the then Navy Inspector General, found similarly: "None of the approved policies -- no matter which version the interrogators followed -- would have permitted the types of abuse that occurred."



The Schlesinger and Church investigations both considered the detention and interrogation policies promulgated by senior DoD officials and neither found any policy condoning torture or establishing an environment where abuse or torture **was** acceptable. In fact, they found just the opposite, <sup>clear</sup> policies that required "humane" treatment.

Both reports did, however, find failings and "missed opportunities" in detention operations across all theaters of the global struggle against extremism and concluded that senior leaders in the Department shared in the shortcomings. We have reviewed those findings and the findings of other investigations and have concluded that while there were institutional failings, they were not due to personal culpability or the failure of senior military or civilian leaders. The Department was not properly organized nor fully prepared for the challenges thrust upon us by the attacks of September 11, 2001.

For the Department's institutional failings, I have concluded that ~~the~~ punishment of senior civilian and military officials is not warranted. That is my responsibility and I accept it. I also accept the responsibility to change the institution where necessary and that process <sup>has been long</sup> ~~is well~~ underway.

Haynes, Feith, and Cambone *and*

Some have raised concerns about three of the Department's most senior officials who perform ~~significant~~ roles as advisors to me in developing policies for the global struggle against extremism: Under Secretary for Policy Doug Feith, Under Secretary for Intelligence Steve Cambone, and General Counsel Jim Haynes.

Before addressing their conduct and performance individually, I want to make <sup>a</sup> ~~one~~ point that is fundamental in assessing the accountability of ~~all~~ three individuals and their staffs and recall information that has come to light since most of the allegations against these men were made.

First, as Secretary of Defense, I am in the chain of command. They are not. They are advisors. I am free to accept or reject their advice. I am accountable for ~~the wisdom of my decisions regarding their~~ ~~advice~~. That is in accordance with the system set up by the laws of the United States, ~~and that is consistent with my conscience and~~ ~~principles of leadership~~. I would have it no other way.

Secondly, recent statements by the soldiers who engaged in the ~~infamous~~ <sup>criminal</sup> acts at Abu Ghraib undercut the argument that any of these three men should be held responsible for that abusive behavior.

2 para  
Lyndie England, photographed holding the leash around the neck of a naked prisoner, told investigators, we "were joking around having some fun during the night shift. I knew it was wrong because who would morally do something like that in a **U.S.** prison. She said further, "I had a choice, but I did what my friends wanted me to do."

SPC Jeremy Sivits said, "I apologize to the Iraqi people and to those detainees. I want to apologize to the Army, to my unit, to the country. I've let everybody down. That's not me. I should have protected the detainees. It was wrong. It shouldn't have happened."

**SSG Ivan** Frederick said, "I was wrong about what I did and I shouldn't have done it".

**SPC Sabrina** Harman told investigators, "As a soldier and military police officer, I failed my duty and failed my mission to protect and defend. I not only let down the people in Iraq, but I let down every single soldier that served today. I take full responsibility for my

actions. I do not place blame on my chain of command or others I worked with during this time. The decisions I made were mine and mine alone. I am truly sorry."

Without going further, I could conclude that Feith, Cambone and Haynes had no responsibility for the abuses at Abu Ghraib and deserve no sanction. But, I want to go further, because they deserve a public accounting of the job they <sup>have done</sup> ~~did~~ for our nation.

I have reviewed the account of their performance in the Schlesinger and Church reports, and furthermore, I can speak <sup>from</sup> ~~with~~ personal knowledge of their conduct, <sup>and</sup> ~~integrity,~~ and ~~judgment~~. I worked with these individuals on a daily basis during the time period at issue. They understood the operative legal standards for Iraq and Guantanamo. Every significant policy initiative was thoroughly vetted to ensure compliance with the applicable legal standards. None of these men proposed or condoned abuse or torture or endorsed a policy that would permit <sup>such criminal misconduct</sup> ~~detainee abuse~~.

As far as specific charges levied against each of them, they are difficult to address because of the lack of legal or intellectual rigor required in the

public forum in which they have been made. But, I feel it is important to attempt to do so.

*of DeLente*

Feith: Mr. Feith is the Under Secretary for Policy ~~for the Department~~ and held that job <sup>illegally</sup> during the time period at issue. <sup>tried to</sup> His critics have connected ~~him~~ <sup>A.</sup> to the ~~abuse~~ at Abu Ghraib through a three step process: i) by falsely characterizing the Administration's determination of the legal status of the Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees at Guantanamo as permitting abuse, <sup>which it did not,</sup> ii) improperly attributing that <sup>decision</sup> to Feith, and <sup>then</sup> iii) making the tenuous connection between that <sup>decision</sup> and the conduct of <sup>some</sup> the soldiers on a night shift at Abu Ghraib. The argument fails on all three points.

*fair,*

As discussed ~~earlier~~, President Bush determined that Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees are unlawful combatants and established the governing standard for their detention and <sup>inter</sup>rogation. The President made it clear in his directive that all detainees <sup>should</sup> will be treated humanely <sup>just</sup> as did I in my order promulgated to all Combatant Commanders. Any instance of <sup>sheer</sup> abusive conduct <sup>was</sup> would be in violation of Administration policy. But, regardless of the substance of the policy, it was President Bush, not ~~Doig~~ <sup>Mr</sup> Feith, who made that decision.

The critics' argument that there is a connection between the January 2002 decision on the legal status of Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees at

Guantanamo and the conduct of the night shift at Abu Ghraib in November and December 2003 lacks any credible evidence.

The President's directive was clear – it could not be read to allow abusive conduct nor could it be read to apply to Iraqi operations. And the officers in command of Operation Iraqi Freedom have testified before the Congress that there was never any confusion about the proper legal standard. They understood that Iraq was a Geneva conflict and planned and commanded with that as the governing principle.

Even if you were to accept the specious argument advanced by some that the decision tacitly endorsed abusive practices, the statements by the soldiers who participated in the abuse dispel any notion that it influenced their conduct.

Accordingly, I know of no evidence to support sanctioning Mr. Feith for what happened at Abu Ghraib.

Cambone: It is difficult to summarize the allegations against Dr. Cambone. They range from vague innuendo from various sources to the ~~but~~ <sup>inexcusable</sup> ~~outrageous~~ fiction of Seymour Hersh. As I understand it, his critics connect him to the ~~act~~ <sup>try to</sup> ~~abuse~~ <sup>illegally</sup> at Abu Ghraib by claiming he put undue pressure on interrogators at that facility and by attributing to him the decision to send MG Geoffrey Miller to Iraq in August 2003. I find no evidence that Dr. Cambone exerted

undue pressure on interrogators. Regarding the decision on MG Miller, it was neither an unreasonable decision nor was it made by Dr. Cambone.

Further —, there is no evidence connecting MG Miller to the Abu Ghraib abuse. *illegal acts.*

Dr. Cambone is Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and held that position during the time period at issue. He is <sup>the Deputy</sup> ~~my~~ chief advisor on intelligence matters. Among his duties is the responsibility to advise ~~me~~

<sup>CC</sup> ~~how to support~~ the intelligence structure in Iraq and <sup>to</sup> ensure that the <sup>Commander</sup> ~~has~~ the necessary coordination and support from the intelligence community.

As is true today, there was pressure to get intelligence on enemy operations during <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ time period when the abuses at Abu Ghraib ~~occurred~~. ~~The enemy was killing coalition soldiers and good intelligence could save lives. If there had not been pressure that would have been dereliction of duty.~~ <sup>for intelligence</sup>

Dr. Cambone was not in the chain of command, but I would expect him to do all within his power to support the intelligence effort, according to the laws and policies governing the conflict. I ~~found~~ <sup>know of</sup> no credible evidence that he applied improper pressure or that he did anything in violation of law or policy. <sup>Nor do I know of any</sup> ~~And, I found no~~ evidence that the perpetrators of the crimes at Abu Ghraib attributed their conduct to anything he said or did. In fact, it has



*well*

been established that the crimes committed at Abu Ghraib were not related to intelligence collection.

Regarding MG Geoff Miller's mission to Iraq: the decision to send MG Miller to Iraq was made between CJTF-7 and the Joint Staff, following a CJTF-7 request for assistance with detention and interrogation operations. I understand that Dr. Cambone agreed with the decision, but he did not make the decision. MG Miller had ~~successfully~~ reorganized the operations at Guantanamo and it was believed that "lessons learned" from that experience would prove valuable in Iraq. Considering all evidence available to me, I ~~believe~~ *conclude* that sending MG Miller to Iraq was a reasonable response to the CJTF-7 request for assistance. I ~~cannot~~ *do* find fault with that decision.

*even though it was well understood that the forces in Iraq were different from those in Guantanamo B.M.*

Accordingly, I ~~find~~ *know of* no credible evidence to support sanctioning Dr. Cambone for ~~what happened~~ *the illegal acts* at Abu Ghraib.

Haynes. Mr. Haynes is General Counsel of the Department and held that position during the time period at issue. He has been criticized by media



and prominent politicians over the course of the debate about prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib because of a recommendation he made to me in November 2002 regarding a SOUTHCOM request for expanded interrogation authorities. His critics contend that his legal advice in November 2002 set in motion a chain of events that sent Pvt Graner and his cohorts into "Animal House" mode at Abu Ghraib in November and December 2003.

On November 27, 2002, Mr. Haynes offered me counsel on a request from SOUTHCOM for enhanced interrogation tactics for use at Guantanamo. As <sup>mentioned</sup> ~~discussed above~~, the legal standard for the operations at Guantanamo differed from Iraq and was established by a Presidential determination in January 2002. After considering the applicable legal standard and consulting with other senior Department officials, Mr. Haynes recommended that I approve some, but not all of the requested tactics. In other words, he recommended a more restrained interrogation policy than had been requested by SOUTHCOM. I made the decision to follow <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~ advice and signed out a memo to SOUTHCOM, dated December 2, 2002 approving certain interrogation practices. His advice and my decision were limited to Guantanamo.

*After consultation with the General Counsel and military leadership on the Department.*

The ~~enhanced~~ <sup>approved</sup> techniques were required to be used in tightly controlled circumstances, according to a written interrogation plan, with medical and legal oversight. ~~They were used~~ <sup>according to a</sup> on only two detainees, <sup>one of which</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>93</sup> ~~believed to be the 20th Saddam Hussein~~ ~~of~~ ~~concerns~~ I approved them on December 2, 2002, ~~and~~ <sup>after learn</sup> ~~ing~~ of concerns expressed by <sup>the</sup> Navy General Counsel, <sup>then</sup> rescinded them orally on January 12, 2003 and in writing on January 15, 2003. They were in effect for six weeks, only for use at Guantanamo and only used on two detainees.

If anyone used these techniques elsewhere, at another time, or without the proper controls and oversight, they were acting in violation of the policy decision I made, ~~and on which Mr. Haynes advised me.~~ I cannot <sup>See how anyone can</sup> fault Mr. Haynes, <sup>if that happened, however, I found</sup> ~~if that happened; however, I found~~ no evidence that the December 2, 2002 decision or its applications during the six weeks it was in effect factored into the consideration of the soldiers who committed the crimes at Abu Ghraib.

To my knowledge, neither ~~he~~ <sup>Mr Haynes</sup> nor I ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ever asked to approve interrogation guidance for Iraq, nor did ~~either of us~~ <sup>I or he</sup> do so. CENTCOM officers made decisions on Iraq interrogation practices without ~~any~~ consultation with me or Mr. Haynes. They so testified before the Congress last summer. I am not aware of any evidence to the contrary.

DRAFT 2.0 (Correctionsto Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

Accordingly, I <sup>know</sup> ~~find~~ no credible evidence to support sanctioning Mr. Haynes for what happened at Abu Ghraib <sup>on the night shift</sup>

<sup>half a world away from the</sup> ~~Up~~

<sup>know it</sup>

In summary, considering all of the information available

~~I have~~

<sup>no doubt about</sup>

Mr. Feith, Dr. Cambone and Mr. Haynes ~~should not be~~

~~sanctioned~~ for the crimes committed at Abu Ghraib. On the contrary, ~~they~~

<sup>they are able public servants who have served well</sup> ~~value the able service they provided to our country~~ at a time of great national need.

Having served this nation both in uniform and in the Congress, Mr. Chairman, you understand that war poses hard choices ~~and requires~~ ~~constant improvisation~~, Decision-makers are asked to consider life and death issues often without precedents, in real time and without the benefit of hindsight. History will judge their efforts, and a just history will consider the context of the <sup>new</sup> tumultuous and dangerous times during which they served their country.

The global struggle against <sup>war</sup> ~~terrorism~~ presented the Defense Department ~~and other executive branch departments~~ with unprecedented challenges. Captured terrorists like Mohamed al-Khatani, a detainee at Guantanamo identified by the 9/11 Commission as the twentieth hijacker, possess ~~actionable~~ intelligence that could

save American lives, including information about suspected Al Qaeda operations in the United States.

Among the toughest decisions the Department faced in the struggle against extremism were those involving ~~new interrogation methods for~~ detainees. It was known that captured terrorists had been trained in tactics for resisting established methods of interrogation. We knew - and the 9/11 Commission subsequently agreed - that the law enforcement strategy of the past was insufficient in the face of suicide terrorists. And we knew that ~~old doctrines, old rules, and old training could not effectively combat~~ the enemy <sup>that</sup> who had brought such violence to our shores, and who was and is still committed to bringing it again. <sup>gored a new leader that is the dream of a</sup> To ~~paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, the dogmas of the quiet past were inadequate to the stormy present.~~

After September 11, 2001, the senior civilian and military leadership were required to confront difficult issues in uncharted times. Senior leaders made hard choices on behalf of our nation. They are men and women of conscience. While in retrospect, ~~clearly~~ not perfect, they acquitted themselves honorably and well.

**Accountability For Detainee Mistreatment Elsewhere.** As further evidence of the Department's commitment to accountability, I want to review briefly the record of investigations involving allegations of detainee mistreatment for all of Iraq and Afghanistan. We investigate all credible allegations of detainee mistreatment <sup>As a result of the DoD's hot</sup> and have launched <sup>of all cases of mistreatment;</sup> over 380 ~~mistreatment~~ investigations, ranging from petty theft to homicide. Beyond Abu Ghraib, thus far, <sup>\$</sup> XXX Soldiers, 8 Sailors and 23 Marines have been punished for misconduct involving detainees. This is a significant number and the number <sup>undoubtedly</sup> will increase as investigations and administrative and judicial proceedings move ahead. But it is important to remember that the number of **U.S.** troops involved in misconduct is a small percentage of the more than one million troops who have served in the global struggle against extremism. (Further details on accountability for misconduct are included in an attached document (Star)  
(re))

**Addressing Institutional Shortcomings.** Individual accountability alone will not, however, address the institutional shortcomings. At the same time, we must correct and improve the institutional failings. <sup>And we are -</sup> Accountability involves not only fixing the blame, but fixing the problem. <sup>I improve procedure, process and execution.</sup>

DRAFT 2.0 (Corrections to Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

First, there must be a clear system of accountability, ~~starting at the political level~~. I have appointed a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Detainee Affairs. The Army has made the Provost Marshal General an executive agent for detainee operations, ~~and~~ General Abizaid has assigned a two star officer to take charge of all detention and interrogation operations in Iraq.

*The Department*  
Second, ~~we~~ must be more effective in translating policy into effective action. That requires clear doctrine and procedures. The Department has turned to this task, and ~~much of our~~ refreshed doctrine and procedures ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> now in place.

Third, we must have the training and oversight to ensure policy, doctrine and procedures are ~~faithfully~~ <sup>properly</sup> implemented. It is to this task that we are dedicating the Department's ongoing effort. The Department has implemented change at every level, from policy to the training of individual service members and continues to ~~push to~~ improve.

*Department already on*  
~~We~~ currently are reviewing over 400 recommendations proposed by investigations, reviews, and other internal initiatives. We are



committed to seeing every necessary reform implemented. (A list of some [XX] reforms is included in an attached document.)

show me

Realigning Authority, Responsibility, and Accountability. I would make one final point regarding military accountability. Among the many lessons we have learned since September 11, 2001, as highlighted and perhaps epitomized by ~~the~~ Abu Ghraib scandal, is that we live in an era in which the methods of establishing accountability are uneven among the services and other DoD components.

has been

And, in retrospect, there ~~is~~ a lack of clarity in oversight responsibilities for detainee operations between the Army, as the Executive Agent for administration of DoD's Enemy POW and their Detainees Programs, ~~and the~~ Combatant Commanders..

responsibility of

remains for

I am concerned that there ~~is~~ confusion between authority, responsibility, and accountability ~~between~~ the warfighting and ~~the~~ administrative chains of command, which DoD has not fully resolved in implementing the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986.

as is

Whatever the source of the problem, the length of time it has taken for the Army and the Combatant Commander to establish

he may mean he has been ~~exactly~~ - J.J.

Del

accountability at Abu Ghraib <sup>✓</sup>underscores the need for a review of ~~our~~ investigative and legal practices and assignment of responsibilities. I

have directed the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Acting Deputy Secretary of Defense <sup>please note that he has not been convicted for the offenses</sup> to assess institutional shortcomings in order to better understand and address this problem. We <sup>are working</sup> ~~will work~~

~~This problem~~ <sup>agencies</sup> ~~with your committee and of~~ ~~there as we go forward.~~

The Importance of Interrogations <sup>seen in pictures</sup>. Although the ~~abuse~~ <sup>abuse</sup> ~~see~~ <sup>see</sup> from Abu Ghraib <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ not a <sup>part</sup> ~~part~~ of authorized interrogations, ~~abuse~~ has led some critics to discount the value of questioning detainees. This ~~thinking~~ <sup>thinking</sup> loses sight of the fact that, in the global struggle against violent extremists, one of America's most important tools is intelligence. The best intelligence often comes from captured combatants. While it is essential that ~~they~~ <sup>detainees</sup> always be treated humanely, it is <sup>also imperative</sup> ~~imperative~~ that <sup>our government</sup> we obtain the information from them that can save Americans' lives. For example, intelligence from detainees has led to the capture of Khalid Sheik Mohammed, Saddam Hussein, and <sup>some</sup> 22 terrorists in Germany plotting attacks in January 2005, ~~just~~ to name a few examples.

A final word about America's men and women in uniform. They deserve far better than the impression <sup>that has been</sup> left by the scandalous pictures



on the night of 5/25/05  
 taken at Abu Ghraib and the baseless slander that has been directed  
 at them by voices of national prominence. One should remember that  
 while XXX service members have been found responsible for  
 misconduct involving detainees, more than one million men and  
 women in uniform have served honorably in the global struggle  
 against extremism, and more than 70,000 detainees have passed  
 through our system. The overwhelming majority of the uniform  
 military responsible for detainees has handled its responsibilities with  
 skill, dedication and professionalism. We must not allow the  
 occasional breach of discipline by a few blind us to the bigger picture  
 -- that the men and women of America's military are selfless  
 defenders of all we hold dear, including the worth and dignity of every  
 human being. ~~And that America is not what's wrong with the world.~~

Mr. Chairman, I share with you and the American people deep  
 disappointment and outrage over the crimes committed at Abu Ghraib  
 and elsewhere. And I believe today, as I pledged a year ago, that  
 those who were responsible at Abu Ghraib must be held accountable,  
 that reforms must continue, but that misguided sensationalism must  
 not be allowed to manipulate those crimes, twist the truth, and distort  
 America's meaning and mission.

Sincerely,  
Sincerely,

5/25/2005 1:33 PM Walker  
**DRAFT 2.0** (Corrections to Draft 6/20/2005 @ 1:10 PM)

TAB

~~FOUO~~

2005 SEP 19 11:37

September 19, 2005

**TO** Gordon England  
Gen Pete Pace  
ADM Ed Giambastiani

**FROM** Donald Rumsfeld

*D.R.*

**SUBJECT:** Paper from Newt Gingrich on Katrina Recovery

Please take a look at the attached paper from **Newt**, and tell me if you think there is anything in there we can benefit from.

Thanks.

**Attach:** *9/8/05 Katrina Recovery (Lesson Learned from Northridge Earthquake Recovery)* by **Newt** Gingrich

DHR:ac  
091905-39

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/11/05*

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21472-05

Tab

11-L-0559/OSD/53832

# KATRINA RECOVERY:

## Lesson Learned from Northridge Earthquake Recovery

Newt Gingrich  
September 8, 2005

**Northridge Earthquake.** The Northridge earthquake (6.7 on the Richter scale) January of 1994 within seconds reduced to rubble the overpass bridges of Interstate 10, the most heavily trafficked freeway in the world. Governor Pete Wilson was advised that repair of the bridges to restore use of I-10 would take two years and two months because of the extended public hearing requirements imposed by law.

- a. **Emergency Powers for a Governor Can Speed Recovery.** The California Government Code confers upon the Governor emergency powers, including legal authority to suspend for the duration of the emergency the operation of regulation and even statute if their application would impose requirements that would impede or delay recovery. Governor Wilson was advised that repair of the bridges to restore use of I-10 would take two years and two months because of the extended public hearing requirements imposed by law. The Governor promptly suspended the operation of these requirements.
- b. **Performance Contracting Can Speed Recovery.** Governor Wilson added a condition to the bridge reconstruction bidding. In addition to the amount bid on the contract to repair the bridges and the date the work would be completed, he required the bidders to agree to a bonus/penalty condition: for each day in advance of the agreed upon completion date, the winning bidder would receive a bonus of \$200,000 (substantially less than the estimated \$600,000 per day economic loss being suffered for each day until use of I-10 could be restored); and for each day that the contractor was late, the contractor would incur a penalty of \$200,000.

The winning bidder made more on the bonus than he did on the bid; and I-10 was restored to public use not in two years and two months but in two months and two days.

This was a reduction in time of approximately 85% from what was initially estimated.

Copies of the contracts that governed the rebuilding of the I-10 bridges are on file at the offices of CalTrans (the Department of Transportation within the state Business, Transportation and Housing Agency) in Sacramento. The winning bidder was a general contractor named C. C. Myers who resides in Sacramento.

# **KATRINA RECOVERY:**

## **Rapid Recovery, Reconstruction, and Greater Prosperity for the Gulf Coast through Better, More Modern Solutions Is the Only Proper American Response to Katrina**

Newt Gingrich  
September 12, 2005

DRAFT © 2005 Gingrich Communications <sup>1</sup>

Tab

11-L-0559/OSD/53834

## **Five Required Visions After Katrina**

- I. **Æ Effective Response and Recovery Now**
- II. **Of Effectively Creating a More Modern and More Prosperous Gulf Coast**
- III. **Of Effective Government**
- IV. **Of Effective Homeland Security**
- IV. **Of Lessons Learned from Katrina**

# No. ■ Lesson Learned From Katrina: Government Failed to Meet Minimum 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standards of Effectiveness

- It is the nature of a science and technology based entrepreneurial free market to provide more choices of higher quality at lower cost.
- Citizens' everyday experience is UPS, Fed-Ex, the Internet, blackberries/treos, cellphones with camera, eBay, Google, ATMs, Amazon.com, e-ticketing with Travelocity and Expedia level of knowledge and choice. Citizens expect this same **standard** from government.
- Government at the Federal, State, and local level totally failed this standard in responding to Katrina.

## Failure of Government Response to Katrina Especially Sobering in a post-9/11 America

- By Homeland Security standards, Katrina was **not** an unexpected or exceptionally large event
- Katrina is precisely what Homeland Security was supposed to be able to manage
- A real test **for** Homeland Security would be a natural or engineered pandemic (1918 flu) or 3 nuclear events in **3 cities** on the same morning
- Since Homeland Security **is** designed for a world of such events, its standard should be a real time response to the unexpected with minimum **loss** of American lives
- The initial response to Katrina did not meet this **standard**



# **How Americans Have Successfully Met Challenges in the Past:**

*The role of facts, theories, visions, strategic planning and institutional transformation.*

- **Key principles of success with big national challenges:**
  - **Recognize the size of the problem**
  - **Create a vision of success**
  - **Set metrics for measurable achievement**
  - **Establish an assessment room for leaders to review the metrics**
  - **Change institutions until they work and invent new institutions as needed**
  - **Ruthlessly eliminate inadequate performers (between June 1939 and June 1940, Marshall retired 54 generals and 445 colonels in an Army numbering only about 225,000.)**

DRAFT © 2005 Gingrich Communications <sup>5</sup>

Tab

# **Inventing 21<sup>st</sup> Century Government Is The Only Framework for *Success* After Katrina**

**The only real way to achieve the five visions required after Katrina is to profoundly transform the culture, structures, and strategies of government to bring it from the paper-based bureaucracy of the late 1930s into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.**

**This has been done before:**

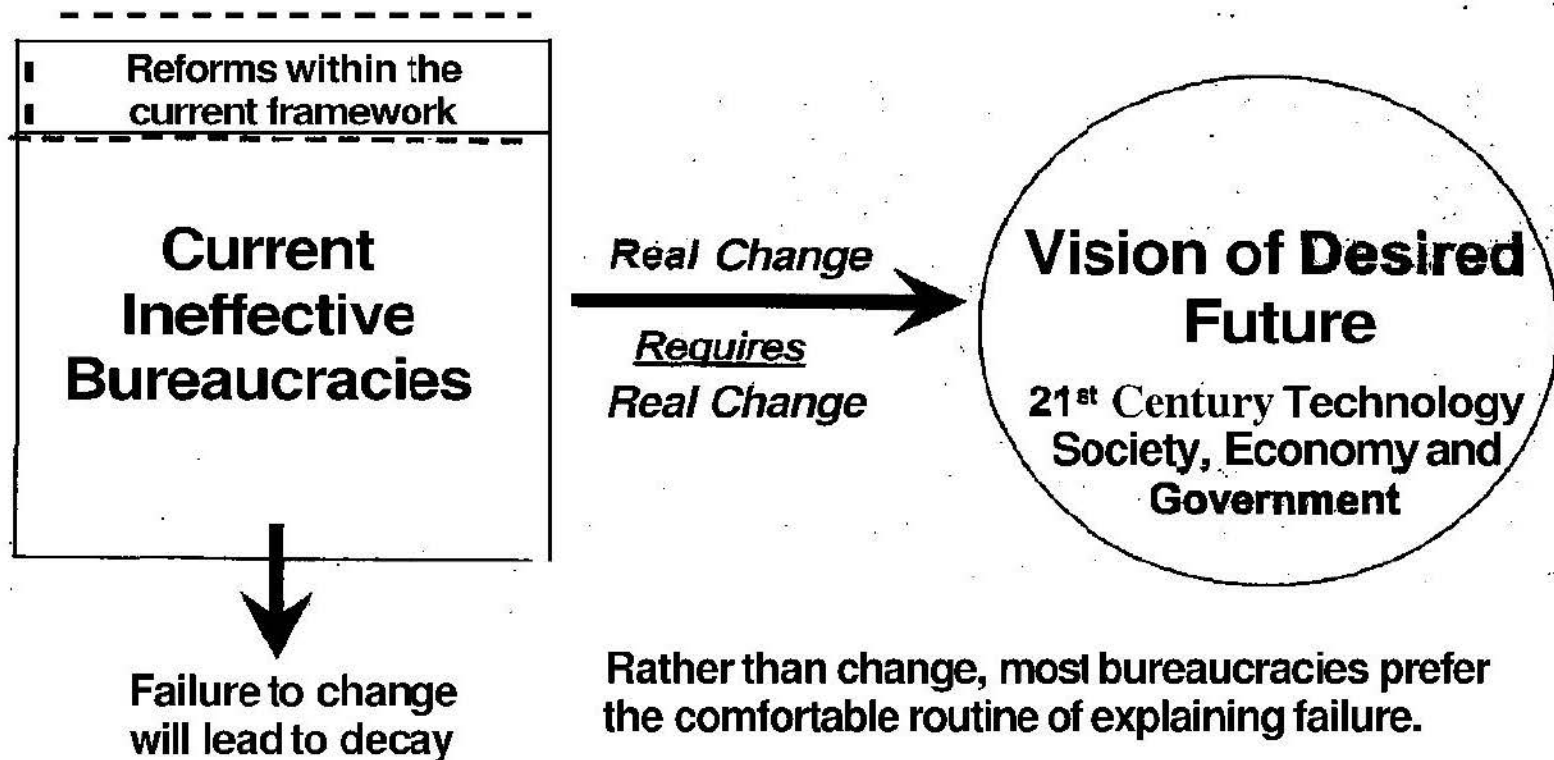
- 1. The Founding Fathers 1770-1789**
- 2. Lincoln and the Preservation of the Union 1860-1865**

**e**

# **Inventing 21<sup>st</sup> Century Government Is The Only Framework for Success After Katrina - Continued**

4. **The Progressive Movement (e.g. the transformation of city government after the Galveston hurricane of 1900)**
5. **The generation that grew American dominance:**
  - **Wilson and the defeat of German imperialism 1917 – 1919**
  - **FDR, Churchill, George C. Marshall and the Combined Chiefs of Staff and the rise of the global war 1941 – 1942 (especially the 14 day planning session in January, 1942)**
  - **Recognizing the Soviet Communist Threat and designing the Strategy of containment and transforming the institutions of national security**
    - **Kennan's "Long Telegram", NSC-68, creation of NSC, CIA, SAC, NATO, Marshall Plan, Point Four, Radio Free Europe...**
6. **The partial transformation of Defense Department with the Goldwater-Nichols Reforms**

# Building 21<sup>st</sup> Century Government Versus Marginally Reforming Current Ineffective Bureaucracies

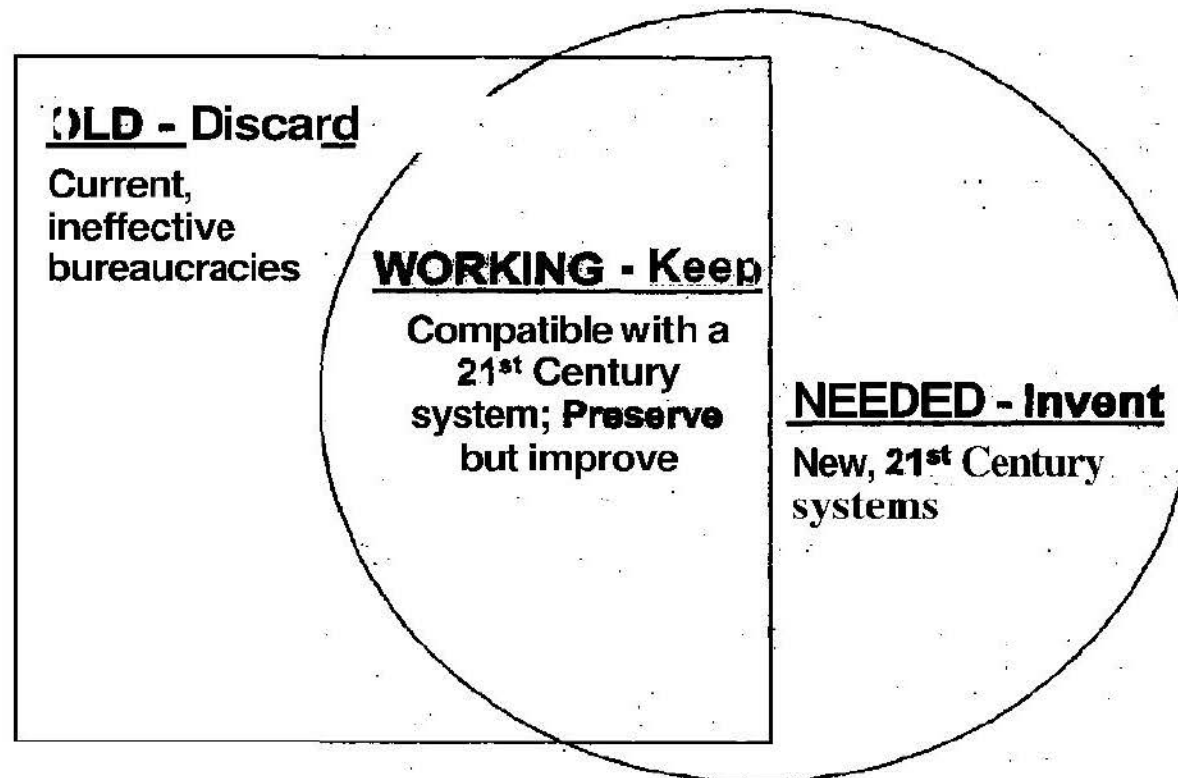


Rather than change, most bureaucracies prefer the comfortable routine of explaining failure.

DRAFT © 2005 Gingrich Communications

Tab

# Transitioning to 21<sup>st</sup> Century Government Will Necessarily Mix the Old and the New



*(with thanks to Senator Bob Kerrey for developing this model)*

DRAFT © 2005 Gingrich Communications <sup>9</sup>

Tab

11-L-0559/OSD/53842

# Defining the Desired Five Visions Will Require Deep-Mid-Near Planning For Each Vision through Each Transition

*Example: Electronic Health Records as part of a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Intelligent Health System*

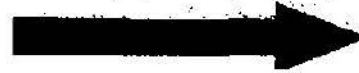
<b>Principles/Values</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consumer ownership of health data</li> <li>• Nation-wide, real-time access at the point of care</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Industry consensus upon interoperability standards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consumer engagement</li> <li>• Industry adoption</li> <li>• Government buy-in</li> </ul>
<b>Systems</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fully interoperable National Health Information Network</li> <li>• Connected electronic and personal health records</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local and regional health information organizations/exchanges</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• iHealthRecord.org</li> <li>• WebMD personal health record (PHR)</li> <li>• Siemens, IDX, Allscripts EHRs in physician offices</li> </ul>
<b>Metrics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Number of connected facilities and hospitals</li> <li>• Consumer usage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Number of sustainable local/regional exchanges</li> <li>• Standards certified by private sector and NIST</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enrollment in PHRs</li> <li>• Number of wired facilities, hospitals, and offices</li> </ul>

*(Always focus on deep planning first to learn how to shape near and mid planning.)*

# Principles and Values for Katrina Recovery

## Minimize

- Dependency
- Isolating People into Holding Environments Awaiting Reconstruction
- Create Pressures to Force People Back to New Orleans and Gulf Coast
- Bureaucratic Control
- Power and Money to Government Systems and to politicians to use on patronage
- bureaucratic control strangling the dynamics of rapid recovery



## Maximize

- Self-Reliance
- Reintegration into society so you can live your life
- Create a more modern, more prosperous New Orleans and Gulf Coast people want to move to
- Market Investing and Incentives
- Civil Society and Charities and Volunteers
- Most rapid possible reentry of healthy institutions and companies to serve as beacons of hope and opportunity

# Principles and Values for Katrina Recovery: Special Application for Three Groups of Dependency

## Three Groups of Dependency

1. Those who have no effective habits;
2. The Frail (elderly, accident, or disability);
3. The violent and the anti-social

### Minimize

- Return the underprivileged to where they were
- Return to bad public housing and bad schools in bad neighborhoods with no change in personal skills



### Maximize

- We want the underprivileged to move forward to better lives
- Transition to work and independence
- Include all elements of the community in creating a better, more modern, and more prosperous Gulf Coast



# **We Must Develop a Metrics-Based System to Measure Katrina Recovery**

- Recognizing that current government bureaucracies that are agency-siloed and process oriented systems simply cannot deliver at the speed and accuracy of the Information Age is the key first step.
- Even with computers we have Information Age technology with Industrial Era work processes.
- The private sector is proving every day that we can achieve far more agility, with far more effectiveness, at far lower cost.

***You cannot expect what you do not inspect!***

# Metrics Based System for Measuring Katrina Recovery

- One of the keys to develop effective government in the information age is to focus on metrics of outside effect rather than reports on inside processes.
- The 1880s civil service model of **Bureaucratic** Public Administration, that we inherited, is based on an era of quill pens. It is inherently process oriented.
- A 21<sup>st</sup> Century model of Entrepreneurial Public Management will require an entirely new definition of acceptable outcomes, a method for monitoring outcomes and changing behaviors, and a coordinating system of accurate timely information unlike anything we currently have.

# Why the Transformation to a Metric-Based System Should be a Very High Priority

- It **is** impossible for the current systems, bureaucratic cultures, and patterns of silo-focus and process orientation to keep up with the complexities and speed of the modern world, or to implement policy decisions in a timely, effective manner in a rapidly changing world.
- **Until** we have made the transition from bureaucratic public administration to entrepreneurial public management, we will continue to be overwhelmed by events and frustrated by the inability to implement decisions even when they have been made at the highest level.
- We are not having policies undermined by personality problems of incompetence. We are being undermined by culturally and systemically obsolete processes. Only cultural and systemic change will make us effective once again.

# First Steps

1. **Bi-Cameral Katrina Recovery Working Group.** This group should be empowered to reach out to all federal agencies and state governments, and to bring in outside advisers. It should be assigned the tasks of reporting by October 1, 2005 on:
  - A. Defining the scale and nature of the desired results (what is success for the Gulf Coast out to 2015)?
  - B. What are the methods necessary to achieve those results?
  - C. What transformational changes should be undertaken to achieve those results?
  - D. What are the metrics the Congress should use to monitor progress and insist on improvements?

## First Steps (con't)

2. The Bi-Cameral **Katrina** Recovery Working Group should immediately stand up a bi-cameral Assessment Center on Katrina Recovery in the Capitol.

- **Every significant system requires** a reporting process comparable to the COMSTAT and **TEAMS** reporting instituted by Mayor Giuliani in the New York City Police Department and the Prisons. **Giuliani's Leadership** is a **good** introduction to the concept of **COMSTAT** and similar reporting and managing tools.
- **Every significant strategy** requires an Assessment Room in which the senior leadership can visibly see all the **key data** and review the totality of the **strategy's implementation** in one sweeping overview. Determining what metrics should be used to **define success** and maintaining those **metrics** with accuracy is a major part of this process.
- William J. **Bratton**, now Chief of LAPD, pioneered COMSTAT as NY Transit Police Chief and stands ready to help advise the development of Katrina Assessment Center.
- The **key** is for senior leadership to **constantly** (**weekly** in key areas, **monthly and quarterly** in others) review the data and make changes **in a collaborative way** with the **team** charged with **implementing the system**. We **must** also have a tough minded **willingness** to keep changing strategies, systems and personnel until things work at all three implementation levels.
- The absence of COMSTAT systems, the absence of Assessment Rooms, and the absence of routine review is a **major factor** in the ineffectiveness and **inefficiency** of the Federal Government in almost every department. "You get what **you inspect** not what **you expect**" is an old **management** rule. If no one **knows** what is going to be inspected and if no data is available for **inspection** it should not **surprise** us that the current system also does not function very well.

## **First Steps (cont)**

- 3. This Bi-Cameral Working Group should use a system of iterative briefings and listening sessions, especially with Gulf Coast delegations, to spread widely the network of people thinking through the key challenges and helping develop the very large changes required.**

**(This iterative briefing-listening system developed at the Army's Training and Doctrine Command in 1979 maximizes the quality of advice in the planning process, surfaces problems in the formulative stage, and makes buy in dramatically easier.)**

# Examples of Katrina Recovery Metrics

1. What number of people in temporary housing? **How** quickly is this number being reduced?
2. **Speed** of Pumping Out Water.
3. Speed of Removing Debris.
4. Speed of **Environmental Cleanup**.
5. **What** % of federal recovery appropriations is through **tax** credits? Our **goal** should be **50%**
6. How well **will** federal recovery funds be tracked?
7. How many incentivized contracts have been released so far?
  - **See Governor Wilson model** with **post-Northridge** earthquake bridge reconstruction performance contracts.
8. How many electronic health records/**personal** health records have been established among the displaced?
9. What number of the displaced without health insurance have been walked through getting ~~at~~ least catastrophic coverage?
10. How many **displaced** on Medicaid have cash vouchers to purchase needed **healthcare**?
11. How many Pell Grants have been distributed to the displaced population that is eligible?
12. Have we **identified** the right local leaders who have a stake in Katrina recovery who can be **allies** in pushing forward our vision?
13. **How** quickly are the local universities being put back online? **How** many students are returning?
14. What level of electricity **service** has been restored?
15. What benchmarks for trash removal?
16. Have **we** found a way to **take care of pets in recovery**?
17. Have we set up a lessons learned system in all the areas we **need** to learn from this experience? (Liquor, guns, and flat screens.)
18. **How** quickly **are** the top 20 institutions in New Orleans being put back into operation?
19. **How** quickly is the system responding to obstacles to recovery surfaced by top 20 institutions in New Orleans?

## **Our vision for Katrina recovery requires four parallel layers of transition**

- Transition of planning and thinking
- Transition for human beings
- Transition of Reconstruction
- Transition for Communities





CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20319-9999

37  
CM-0027-05  
31 October 2005

INFO MEMO

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM General Peter Pace, CJCS *VP Peter Pace 30 Oct 05*

SUBJECT: Paper From Newt Gingrich on Katrina Recovery (SF 091905-39)

- **Answer.** In response to your question **(TAB)**, Mr. Gingrich's recommendation of a collaborative US government approach to disaster relief is beneficial to the Department along many fronts. Of particular relevance is the need to raise our response metrics to 21st century business standards of effectiveness for both short notice catastrophes, e.g., hurricanes, and no-notice catastrophes, e.g., earthquakes or terrorist attacks. We are incorporating these concepts in our analysis of the Department's response to Hurricane Katrina and other recent disasters.
- **Analysis**
  - The paper advocates a broad vision for the transformation of the culture, structures, and strategies of government to an entrepreneurial public management approach that relies on a robust metrics-based measurement system. This includes a bi-cameral Katrina Recovery Working Group focused on the overall federal approach to Katrina recovery operations.
  - The recommendations provide a direction for government transformation that is consistent with ongoing changes in our Department. If Congress adopts the recommended working group and assessment center to manage recovery operations, military planning and execution will likely be instrumental to this overall effort.

COORDINATION NONE

Attachment:  
As stated

Prepared By: Rear Admiral R. Mauldin, USN; Director, J-7; (b)(6)

OSD 21472-05

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~



CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, O.C. 20318-9999

CM-00312405 - 1 11:21  
7 November 2005

INFO MEMO

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: General Peter Pace, CJCS *11/2/05*

SUBJECT: Tracking US Military Numbers Worldwide (SF 072005-09)

- **Answer.** In response to your issue (TAB A), the attached spreadsheet (TAB B) provides the number of active duty US military personnel by country and Active and Reserve Component personnel participating in major operations from 31 March 2005 through 31 July 2005. **Our** last report to you covered the period 31 December 2003 to 31 March 2005.
- **Analysis.** Major changes from 31 March 2005 to 31 July 2005 were:
  - Net decrease of 4,792 personnel in Europe, the former Soviet Union, East Asia, Pacific, North Africa, and the Near East.
  - Net increase of 34 personnel in sub-Saharan Africa and the Western Hemisphere.
  - United States and its territories decreased by 81,202 personnel.
  - Overall military end strength declined by 85,960 personnel.
  - Notable changes by country:
    - Key increases are due to rotational forces in Cuba (116), El Salvador (13), Greenland (20), Italy (49), Japan (2,114) and the 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit deployment to Okinawa, Portugal (17), Turkey (62), and Georgia (33).
    - Key decreases: Germany (4,701). Army assignments to Germany have been reduced.

COORDINATION: TAB C

Attachments:  
As stated

Prepared By: RDML Donna L. Crisp, USN; DJ-1 (b)(6)

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~ OSD 21479-05

TAB A

~~FOUO~~

July 21, 2005

TO VADM Jim Stavridis  
FROM Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Tracking U.S. Military Numbers Worldwide

I think I ought to *start tracking* the number of people the U.S. Military has in every country of the world -- month to month -- and see what the increases and decreases are, so that I will know enough to ask why that is happening. My impression is that what we will see is incremental growth in many places over a period of a year or two. with no good reason.

Thanks.

DHR:as  
072005-09

.....

Tab A

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53856

*OSD 15944-05*

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

<b>Regional Area/Country United States and Territories</b>	<b>31-Mar-05</b>	<b>31-Jul-05</b>	<b>DELTA Mar 05 to July 05</b>
Continental United States (CONUS)	987,245	900,088	-87,157
Alaska	17,320	18,295	975
Hawaii	34,075	33,982	-93
Guam	3,231	3,119	-112
Johnston Atoll	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	280	262	-18
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	27	19	-8
U. S. Virgin Islands	5	7	2
Transients	40,642	48,759	8,117
Afloat	112,027	109,119	-2,908
<b>Total - United States and Territories</b>	<b>1,194,852</b>	<b>1,113,650</b>	<b>-81,202</b>
<b>Europe</b>			
Albania	9	7	-2
Austria	21	24	3
Belgium	1,431	1,437	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	279	265	-14
Bulgaria	14	12	-2
Cyprus	41	28	-13
Czech Republic	13	13	0
Denmark	19	19	0
Estonia	5	6	1
Finland	17	16	-1
France	63	60	-3
Germany *	74,717	70,016	-4,701
Gibraltar	3	6	3
Greece	450	446	-4
Greenland	136	156	20
Hungary	17	17	0
Iceland	1,383	1,386	3
Ireland	9	9	0
Italy *	12,531	12,580	49
Latvia	7	7	0
Lithuania	5	10	5
Luxembourg	16	17	1
Macedonia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of	41	4	-37
Malta	8	7	-1
Netherlands	666	636	-30
Norway	77	81	4
Poland	21	19	-2
Portugal	1,024	1,041	17
Romania	17	19	2
Serbia (includes Kosovo)	1,762	1,749	-13
Slovakia	3	9	6
Slovenia	7	6	-1
Spain	1,780	1,700	-80
Sweden	11	12	1
Switzerland	21	19	-2
Turkey	1,723	1,785	62
United Kingdom	11,345	11,197	-148
Afloat	2,347	1,919	-428
<b>Total - Europe</b>	<b>112,039</b>	<b>106,740</b>	<b>-5,299</b>

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

<b>Regional Area/Country United States and Territories</b>	<b>31-Mar-05</b>	<b>31-Jul-05</b>	<b>DELTA Mar 05 to July 05</b>
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>			
Armenia	0	6	6
Azerbaijan	4	9	5
Georgia	10	43	33
Kazakhstan	6	12	6
Kyrgyzstan	6	8	2
Moldova	1	1	0
Russia	81	72	-9
Turkmenistan	4	6	2
Ukraine	14	14	0
<b>Total - Former Soviet Union</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>East Asia and Pacific</b>			
Australia	189	302	113
Burma	8	11	3
Cambodia	5	6	1
China (Includes Hong Kong)	67	45	-22
Fiji	1	2	1
Indonesia (Includes Timor)	31	22	-9
Japan	34,928	37,042	2,114
Korea, Democratic Peoples Republic of	0	0	0
Korea, Republic of	34,803	33,917	-886
Laos	4	3	-1
Malaysia	15	15	0
Mongolia	2	3	1
New Zealand	7	7	0
Philippines	72	155	83
Singapore	158	177	19
Thailand	127	125	-2
Vietnam	12	16	4
Afloat	12,313	11,618	-695
<b>Total - East Asia and Pacific</b>	<b>82,742</b>	<b>83,466</b>	<b>724</b>

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

TAB B

US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\*

Regional Area/Country United States and Territories	31-Mar-05	31-Jul-05	DELTA Mar 05 to July 05
<b>North Africa, Near East, and South Asia</b>			
Afghanistan (See OEF Table)	0	0	0
Algeria	10	9	-1
Bahrain	1,666	1,746	80
Bangladesh	7	9	2
Diego Garcia	1,246	986	-260
Egypt	363	430	67
India	27	22	-5
Iraq (See OIF Table)	0	0	0
Israel	43	9	-34
Jordan	25	27	2
Kuwait (See OIF Table)	0	0	0
Lebanon	3	4	1
Morocco	13	10	-3
Nepal	8	9	1
Oman	33	33	0
Pakistan	31	30	-1
Qatar	297	417	120
Saudi Arabia	231	246	15
Sri Lanka	13	15	2
Syria	9	12	3
Tunisia	14	15	1
United Arab Emirates	123	70	-53
Yemen	12	13	1
Afloat	2,498	2,298	-200
<b>Total - North Africa, Near East,</b>	<b>6,672</b>	<b>6,410</b>	<b>-262</b>

Regional Area/Country United States and Territories	31-Mar-05	31-Jul-05	DELTA Mar 05 to July 05
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>			
Botswana	9	10	1
Burundi	7	9	2
Cameroon	8	9	1
Chad	10	9	-1
Congo (Kinshasa)	10	2	-8
Cote D'Ivoire	12	21	9
Djibouti	201	149	-52
Eritrea	2	3	1
Ethiopia	13	9	-4
Gaboon	1	2	1
Ghana	11	16	5
Guinea	6	6	0
Kenya	30	31	1
Liberia	11	8	-3
Madagascar	2	1	-1
Malawi	1	1	0
Mali	6	7	1
Mozambique	7	6	-1
Niger	10	11	1
Nigeria	15	19	4
Senegal	11	10	-1
Sierra Leone	1	3	2
South Africa	29	32	3
St. Helena (Includes Ascension Island)	3	4	1
Sudan	2	3	1
Tanzania, United Republic of	10	11	1
Togo	5	5	0
Uganda	12	11	-1
Zambia	7	8	1
Zimbabwe	9	9	0



**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

<b>Regional Area/Country United States and Territories</b>	<b>31-Mar-05</b>	<b>31-Jul-05</b>	<b>DELTA Mar 05 to July 05</b>
<b>Western Hemisphere</b>			
Antigua	2	2	0
Argentina	33	22	-11
Bahamas, The	45	45	0
Barbados	7	8	1
Belize	2	2	0
Bolivia	19	20	1
Brazil	36	39	3
Canada	155	102	-53
Chile	28	27	-1
Colombia	56	49	-7
Costa Rica	7	8	1
Cuba (Guantanamo)	817	933	116
Dominican Republic	13	14	1
Ecuador	27	33	6
El Salvador	23	36	13
Grenada	0	0	0
Guatemala	15	14	-1
Guyana	1	2	1
Haiti	13	14	1
Honduras	458	453	-5
Jamaica	10	12	2
Mexico	28	29	1
Nicaragua	11	15	4
Panama	18	14	-4
Paraguay	9	10	1
Peru	34	35	1
Suriname	2	3	1
Trinidad and Tobago	6	5	-1
Uruguay	13	11	-2
Venezuela	27	21	-6
Afloat	26	27	1
<b>Total - Western Hemisphere</b>	<b>1,941</b>	<b>2,005</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Total Foreign Countries (Less OIF)</b>	<b>203,901</b>	<b>199,223</b>	<b>-4,758</b>
<b>Total - United States and Territories</b>	<b>1,194,852</b>	<b>1,113,650</b>	<b>-81,202</b>
<b>Total Worldwide</b>	<b>1,398,833</b>	<b>1,312,873</b>	<b>-85,960</b>
<b>Operations</b>			
OIF	208,651	179,712	-28,939
OEF	21,196	19,106	-2,090
Korea	34,803	34,148	-655
Balkans	2,041	2,094	53
HOA	1,397	1,358	-39
<b>Total Operations</b>	<b>268,088</b>	<b>236,418</b>	<b>-31,670</b>

Note

Operation data includes active, guard and reserve personnel.

All other data is for active duty personnel only.



# UNCLASSIFIED

## TAB C

### COORDINATION

USA	COL Strong	12 October 2005
USN	CAPT Wode	17 October 2005
USAF	Col Venable	14 October 2005
<b>USMC</b>	Col Haines	30 September 2005

Tab C

UNCLASSIFIED



CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-9999

CM-0031-05 - 12: 21  
1 November 2005

INFO MEMO

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: General Peter Pace, CJCS *VA/Pace 31 Oct 05*

SUBJECT: Tracking US Military Numbers Worldwide (SF 072005-09)

- **Answer.** In response to your issue (TAB A), the attached spreadsheet (TAB B) provides the number of active duty US military personnel by country and Active and Reserve Component personnel participating in major operations from 31 March 2005 through 31 July 2005. Our last report to you covered the period 31 December 2003 to 31 March 2005.
- **Analysis.** Major changes from 31 March 2005 to 31 July 2005 were:
  - Net decrease of 4,792 personnel in Europe, the former Soviet Union, East Asia, Pacific, North Africa, and the Near East.
  - Net increase of 34 personnel in sub-Saharan Africa and the Western Hemisphere.
  - United States and its territories decreased by 81,202 personnel.
  - Overall military end strength declined by 85,960 personnel.
  - Notable changes by country:
    - Key increases are due to rotational forces in Cuba (116), El Salvador (13), Greenland (20), Italy (49), Japan (2,114) and the 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit deployment to Okinawa, Portugal (17), Turkey (62), and Georgia (33).
    - Key decreases: Germany (4,701). Army assignments to Germany have been reduced.

3201

COORDINATION: TAB C

Attachments:  
As stated

Prepared By: RDML Donna L. Crisp, USN, DJ-1; (b)(6)

1-Nov 05

TAB A

~~FOUO~~

July 21, 2005

TO VADM Jim Stavridis  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Tracking U.S. Military Numbers Worldwide

I think I ought to *start tracking* the number of people the U.S. *Military* has in every country of the world -- month to month -- and see what the increases and decreases are, so that I will know enough to ask why that is happening. My impression is that what we will see is incremental growth in many places over a period of a year or two, with no good reason.

Thanks.

DJR:as  
072005-05

.....

Tab A

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53864

*OSD 15944-05*

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

<b>Regional Area/Country United States and Territories</b>	<b>31-Mar-05</b>	<b>31-Jul-05</b>	<b>DELTA Mar 05 to July 05</b>
Continental United States (CONUS)	987,245	900,088	-87,157
Alaska	17,320	18,295	975
Hawaii	34,075	33,982	-93
Guam	3,231	3,119	-112
Johnston Atoll	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	280	262	-18
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	27	19	-8
U. S. Virgin Islands	5	7	2
Transients	40,642	48,759	8,117
Afloat	112,027	109,119	-2,908
<b>Total - United States and Territories</b>	<b>1,194,852</b>	<b>1,113,650</b>	<b>-81,202</b>
<b>Europe</b>			
Albania	9	7	-2
Austria	21	24	3
Belgium	1,431	1,437	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	279	265	-14
Bulgaria	14	12	-2
Cyprus	41	28	-13
Czech Republic	13	13	0
Denmark	19	19	0
Estonia	5	6	1
Finland	17	16	-1
France	63	60	-3
Germany *	74,717	70,016	-4,701
Gibraltar	3	6	3
Greece	450	446	-4
Greenland	136	156	20
Hungary	17	17	0
Iceland	1,383	1,386	3
Ireland	9	9	0
Italy *	12,531	12,580	49
Latvia	7	7	0
Lithuania	5	10	5
Luxembourg	16	17	1
Macedonia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of	41	4	-37
Malta	8	7	-1
Netherlands	666	636	-30
Norway	77	81	4
Poland	21	19	-2
Portugal	1,024	1,041	17
Romania	17	19	2
Serbia (includes Kosovo)	1,762	1,749	-13
Slovakia	3	9	6
Slovenia	7	6	-1
Spain	1,780	1,700	-80
Sweden	11	12	1
Switzerland	21	19	-2
Turkey	1,723	1,785	62
United Kingdom	11,345	11,197	-148
Afloat	2,347	1,919	-428
<b>Total - Europe</b>	<b>112,039</b>	<b>106,740</b>	<b>-5,299</b>

Regional Area/Country United States and Territories	31-Mar-05	31-Jul-05	DELTA Mar 05 to July 05
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>			
Armenia	0	6	6
Azerbaijan	4	9	5
Georgia	10	43	33
Kazakhstan	6	12	6
Kyrgyzstan	6	8	2
Moldova	1	1	0
Russia	81	72	-9
Turkmenistan	4	6	2
Ukraine	14	14	0
<b>Total - Former Soviet Union</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>East Asia and Pacific</b>			
Australia	189	302	113
Burma	8	11	3
Cambodia	5	6	1
China (Includes Hong Kong)	67	45	-22
Fiji	1	2	1
Indonesia (Includes Timor)	31	22	-9
Japan	34,928	37,042	2,114
Korea, Democratic Peoples Republic of	0	0	0
Korea, Republic of	34,803	33,917	-886
Laos	4	3	-1
Malaysia	15	15	0
Mongolia	2	3	1
New Zealand	7	7	0
Philippines	72	155	83
Singapore	158	177	19
Thailand	127	125	-2
Vietnam	12	16	4
Afloat	12,313	11,618	-695
<b>Total - East Asia and Pacific</b>	<b>82,742</b>	<b>83,466</b>	<b>724</b>

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

TAB B

US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\*

Regional Area/Country United States and Territories	31-Mar-05	31-Jul-05	DELTA Mar 05 to July 05
<b>North Africa, Near East, and South Asia</b>			
Afghanistan (See OEF Table)	0	0	0
Algeria	10	9	-1
Bahrain	1,666	1,746	80
Bangladesh	7	9	2
Diego Garcia	1,246	986	-260
Egypt	363	430	67
India	27	22	-5
Iraq (See OIF Table)	0	0	0
Israel	43	9	-34
Jordan	25	27	2
Kuwait (See OIF Table)	0	0	0
Lebanon	3	4	1
Morocco	13	10	-3
Nepal	8	9	1
Oman	33	33	0
Pakistan	31	30	-1
Qatar	297	417	120
Saudi Arabia	231	246	15
Sri Lanka	13	15	2
Syria	9	12	3
Tunisia	14	15	1
United Arab Emirates	123	70	-53
Yemen	12	13	1
Afloat	2,498	2,298	-200
<b>Total - North Africa, Near East,</b>	<b>6,672</b>	<b>6,410</b>	<b>-262</b>

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

<b>Regional Area/Country United States and Territories</b>	<b>31-Mar-05</b>	<b>31-Jul-05</b>	<b>DELTA Mar 05 to July 05</b>
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>			
Botswana	9	10	1
Burundi	7	9	2
Cameroon	8	9	1
Chad	10	9	-1
Congo (Kinshasa)	10	2	-8
Cote D'Ivoire	12	21	9
Djibouti	201	149	-52
Eritrea	2	3	1
Ethiopia	13	9	-4
Gaboon	1	2	1
Ghana	11	16	5
Guinea	6	6	0
Kenya	30	37	7
Liberia	11	8	-3
Madagascar	2	1	-1
Malawi	1	1	0
Mali	6	7	1
Mozambique	7	6	-1
Niger	10	11	1
Nigeria	15	19	4
Senegal	11	10	-1
Sierra Leone	1	3	2
South Africa	29	32	3
St. Helena (Includes Ascension Island)	3	4	1
Sudan	2	3	1
Tanzania, United Republic of	10	11	1
Togo	5	5	0
Uganda	12	11	-1
Zambia	7	8	1
Zimbabwe	9	9	0
<b>Total - Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>-30</b>

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

TAB B

**US Military Personnel Assigned Worldwide\***

Regional Area/Country United States and Territories	31-Mar-05	31-Jul-05	DELTA Mar 05 to July 05
<b>Western Hemisphere</b>			
Antigua	2	2	0
Argentina	33	22	-11
Bahamas, The	45	45	0
Barbados	7	8	1
Belize	2	2	0
Bolivia	19	20	1
Brazil	36	39	3
Canada	155	102	-53
Chile	28	27	-1
Colombia	56	49	-7
Costa Rica	7	8	1
Cuba (Guantanamo)	817	933	116
Dominican Republic	13	14	1
Ecuador	27	33	6
El Salvador	23	36	13
Grenada	0	0	0
Guatemala	15	14	-1
Guyana	1	2	1
Haiti	13	14	1
Honduras	458	453	-5
Jamaica	10	12	2
Mexico	28	29	1
Nicaragua	11	15	4
Panama	18	14	-4
Paraguay	9	10	1
Peru	34	35	1
Suriname	2	3	1
Trinidad and Tobago	6	5	-1
Uruguay	13	11	-2
Venezuela	27	21	-6
Afloat	26	27	1
<b>Total - Western Hemisphere</b>	<b>1,941</b>	<b>2,005</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Total Foreign Countries (Less OIF)</b>	<b>203,981</b>	<b>199,223</b>	<b>-4,758</b>
<b>Total - United States and Territories</b>	<b>1,194,852</b>	<b>1,113,650</b>	<b>-81,202</b>
<b>Total Worldwide</b>	<b>1,398,833</b>	<b>1,312,873</b>	<b>-85,960</b>
<b>Operations</b>			
OIF	208,651	179,712	-28,939
OEF	21,196	19,106	-2,090
Korea	34,803	34,148	-655
Balkans	2,041	2,094	53
HOA	1,397	1,358	-39
<b>Total Operations</b>	<b>268,088</b>	<b>236,418</b>	<b>-31,670</b>

\*Note

Operation data includes active, guard and reserve personnel.

All other data is for active duty personnel only.



# UNCLASSIFIED

## TAB C

### COORDINATION

USA	COL Strong	12 October 2005
USN	CAPT Wode	17 October 2005
USAF	Col Venable	14 October 2005
USMC	Col Haines	30 September 2005

Tab C

UNCLASSIFIED

OCT 08 2005

SEC 1  
2005 NOV -1 PM 12: 53

A/ DepSecDef \_\_\_\_\_  
USD(P) YU OCT 31 2005  
I-05/013605-NESA  
ES-4418

**SCHEDULING PROPOSAL FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**MEMORANDUM FOR CATHY MAINARDI, THE CONFIDENTIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**THROUGH. PROTOCOL**

**FROM:** Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs PRC 31 OCT 2005  
Peter W. Rodman, (b)(6)

**PURPOSE:** SecDef requested to meet with Mr. Ali Jalali (TAB A). Mr. Jalali is available any afternoon, Tuesday to Friday November 1 - 4, 2005.

**DESCRIPTION:**

- Mr. Jalali resigned as Afghan Minister of Interior in September. He recently joined the faculty as a contractor at the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center at NDU.
- Mr. Jalali asks that the Interim Director of the NESA Center, Mr. Robert Olson accompany him.

**RECOMMENDATION:** SecDef meet with Mr. Jalali.

**PARTICIPANTS:** SecDef, Mr. Jalali, Mr. Olson, USDP Edelman, ASD Rodman, PDASD Long, Afghan Desk Officer.

**SECDEF DECISION:**  
 Decline meeting: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Accept meeting: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Defer meeting to: \_\_\_\_\_

**RESPONSE DEADLINE: DAY, MONTH, TIME: October 31, 2005 4:30PM.**

**RELATIONSHIP HISTORY:** SecDef hosted Mr. Jalali in January 03 and has met with him many times since in Afghanistan.

**ATTACHMENT:** As stated.

Dir (SA) PR 10/28 PDir (NESA) tr 10/28 PDASD (ISA) PRC

Prepared by: COL Robert G. Tregaskis, ISA/NESA (b)(6)

AF HANDBOOK 31 Oct 05

12 Oct 05

**Schedule Proposal Checklist**  
(Attach to back of Schedule Proposal – non Tabbed)

For assistance, contact the OSD Protocol office at (b)(6)

- ~~Has~~ an executive agent been assigned  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (specify who) NA - This is a State Dept. hosted HoS visit. No X
- Is the visit at the request of President, State Department or SecDef  
Yes SecDef (specify who) No \_\_\_\_\_
- Is this the first visit during the current administration  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No X
- If a previous visitor, when
- Is the visit at the request of the foreign dignitary (attach request)  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No X
- Are honors required (See Note 1)  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No X
- Will the spouse be accompanying the dignitary  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No X
- Type of meeting: (see Note 2)  
Officecall X Plenary \_\_\_\_\_ Both \_\_\_\_\_
- Recommended DoD Participants, including U.S. Embassy representation (specify by name, title and order of priority for attendance in an attachment if necessary) (See Note 3)
- Is lunch or dinner recommended  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (lunch/dinner) No X
- Will there be a gift exchange (See Note 4)  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (please provide details) No X
- OSD Protocol contacted and meeting set up to discuss:  
-- Requirement for Letter of Welcome (official visit only)  
-- Translation/interpretation requirements NONE  
-- Dietary considerations  
-- Complete itinerary (Non-DoD meetings -- White House, State Department, NSC...)  
-- Names and phonetic spelling of the delegation  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No X

~~FOUO~~  
SECRET  
OFFICE OF THE  
DEFENSE

2005 NOV -1 PM 12: 53

I-05/013605  
ES-4418

October 12, 2005

TO: Eric Edelman  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: Afghan Interior Minister

Don't forget that if the Afghan Interior Minister comes to the U.S., Jalali, I would like to see him.

DHR.bp  
101105-35

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/17/05*

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53873

OSD 21484-05

~~FOUO~~

September 28, 2005

TO Eric Edelman  
CC Steve Bucci  
Cathy Mainardi

I-05/013137  
ES-4328

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Jalali

If Jalali comes to Washington, I would like to see him. Please work that out. I am told he resigned from Karzai's government for some reason, and he's a good man.

Thanks.

DHR as  
092805-16

.....

~~FOUO~~

29-12-05 15:42 IN

11-L-0559/OSD/53874

*OSD 20314-05*

~~FOUO~~

I-OS/013605  
ES-4418

2005 OCT 12 12:52

October 12, 2005

Afghanistan

TO: Eric Edelman

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*

SUBJECT: Afghan Interior Minister

Don't forget that if the Afghan Interior Minister comes to the U.S., Jalali, I would like to see him.

DHR bp  
101105-35

.....  
*Please Respond By 10/17/05*

~~FOUO~~

11-L-0559/OSD/53875

OSD 21484-05

18 Oct 05



LEGISLATIVE  
AFFAIRS

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1300

October 6, 2005, 5:00 PM

READ AHEAD FOR SECRETARY RUMSFELD  
MEETING WITH REP. IKE SKELTON (D-MO)

From: Daniel R. Stanley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for  
Legislative Affairs, (b)(6)

Friday, October 7, 2005, 8:15am-8:45, in SECDEF Immediate Office

Number of Participants: SECDEF plus 6

Key Attendees: Rep. Ike Skelton (Ranking Member, HASC); Erin Conaton (Minority Staff Director, HASC); Pete Verga, PDASD (Homeland Defense); Paul Koffsky (OGC); Robert Rangel and I will also attend. Rep. Skelton bio at Tab 1.

- The President asked you to meet with Rep. Skelton to discuss Posse Comitatus (SecDef Snowflake at Tab 2).
- Objectives:
  - o Discuss Posse Comitatus and solicit Rep. Skelton's input.
- Rep. Skelton:
  - o Doesn't believe there is a need to change the Posse Comitatus laws.
  - o Wants to understand the Administration's position on Posse Comitatus.
  - o Wants to know how DoD plans to change, if at all, the response to future catastrophic events.

910

Attachments:

1. Rep. Skelton's bio
2. SECDEF Snowflake # 092705-02
3. Rep. Skelton letter to POTUS (dated Sept 21, 2005)
4. OGC Memo re: Posse Comitatus Act (Talking Points)

OSD 21509-05

60809

Prepared by: COL Mike Hadley, Director House Affairs, OSD(LA), (b)(6)

11-L-0559/OSD/53876

**Ike Skelton**  
**D-MISSOURI (4<sup>th</sup>)**



Hometown: Lexington  
**Born:** December 20, 1931  
**Religion:** Christian Church  
 Family: Widowed  
 Education: Missouri 1953 BA,  
 1956 LLB  
 Military Service: None  
**Career:** Attorney  
 Elected: 1976 (15th term)

GWOT Travel	Trips	Date
Iraq	2	9/03, 1/04
Afghanistan	1	1/04
GTMO	-	

BRAC/ Bases / Major Defense Industry


- Ranking Member, House Armed Services Committee
- Thinks U.S. is in trouble in Iraq because the president's stated goal of spreading democracy does not give the military a clear mission nor does it provide a realistic goal. (10/02/05)
- Believes education and professional military schools are important for all military members. He suggested a more flexible pay system not rigidly based on rank. Called for more active duty troops and more US partnerships.
- Posse Comitatus Act needs a rewrite to contemplate a broader role for military forces. (09/22/05)
- Contends that the Defense Review provides an excellent opportunity to thoroughly examine the future needs of our military bases on real-world threats.
- Said, "I am worried about the strain on our Army and the plummeting recruit figures over the last several months. If the recruiting figures continue to decline, the President has not made his case to America's mothers and fathers." (06/28/05)
- Addressed the U.S. House of Representatives regarding the need to accelerate the training of Iraqi security forces. "We are in a race against time. We are either going to lose the American people's support for this effort or break the Army. This month, the Army's recruiting numbers are far below its goal, and this is an unmistakable trend. Although retention is holding, the toll is shaking the very foundation of American social structure." (06/14/05)
- Regarding FY06 Defense Budget, stated "the budget request underfunds or omits important programs for troops and their families. In a time of war, it's essential that we provide for our troops." (2/07/05)



~~FOUO~~

TAB 2

September 27, 2005

TO: Dan Stanley  
CC: Robert Rangel  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Meet with Ike Skelton

When I am on the Hill in the next 7 to 10 days, I should see Ike Skelton. I want to get his thoughts about *posse comitatus* and discuss it with him.

Let's try to set it up. I want to meet with him up there.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
092705-02

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*Please Respond By October 07, 2005*

11-L-0559/OSD/53878

## Skelton Requests Clarification of President's Remarks

*WASHINGTON, DC - Today, Rep. Ike Skelton (D-MO), Ranking Member of the House Armed Services Committee, sent a letter to President Bush asking him to clarify remarks he made during a recent speech that appeared to call for an increased role for the military in domestic emergency response.*

*The text of the letter follows:*

September 21, 2005

The Honorable George W. Bush  
The White House  
Washington, DC, 20500

Dear Mr. President:

When Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast a mere three weeks ago, the poor coordination of efforts among federal, state and local agencies during the initial response raised concerns among many Americans. The federal government, to include the Congress, must examine all aspects of this response, including whether the laws governing the interactions of various agencies in a time of large-scale disaster should be revisited. Such a review will not only help improve our nation's ability to manage natural disasters but can potentially enhance future consequence management capabilities necessary to respond to a terrorist attack.

Currently, the Stafford Act provides the legal framework for you to declare an emergency or major disaster in the event of an occurrence where the resources of the state and local governments are overwhelmed. The act also employs appropriate safeguards to ensure that state and federal jurisdictions are respected throughout the process. Additionally, the Posse Comitatus Act significantly limits the instances in which American military forces can be used for domestic law enforcement purposes. However, you have the full authority to waive the limitations of this act and employ military forces to restore domestic order, pursuant to constraints laid out both in statute and in Department of Defense (DoD) directives from 1989 and 1994.

In your address to the nation speech on September 15, 2005, you said "It is now clear that a challenge on this scale requires greater federal authority and a broader role for the armed forces." This statement seems to imply one of two intentions. Either you intend to alter the means by which the Posse Comitatus Act is waived, possibly allowing the federalization of disaster response to occur more expeditiously, or you intend to press for a rewriting of this law or others relating to the use of federal forces in domestic contingencies.

My question to you is whether efforts are underway to put your words into action. Is there an intent to either rethink the process by which you waive the Posse Comitatus Act or to encourage a full rewrite of the act itself? If so, then how? If not, then why? What changes, if any, are being contemplated to federal planning documents to contemplate a broader role for military forces? What direction has been given to the Department of Defense subsequent to your address to assess their plans and doctrine for domestic preparedness and response? Has the Department been given specific guidance with respect to inclusion of these issues in the Quadrennial Defense Review?

**O**ur nation has faced many disasters, from those at the hands of nature to those at the hands of man, and the American people deserve to know that whatever the cause, a swift, competent and effective response will be forthcoming.

I look forward to hearing from you on this important matter.

Sincerely,

**Ike Skelton**  
Ranking Democrat



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1600



TAB 4

INFO MEMO

September 26, 2005, 2:00 p.m.

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Daniel J. Dell'Orto, Principal Deputy General Counsel

SUBJECT: Posse Comitatus Act

- The phrase "posse comitatus" is literally translated from Latin as the "power of the county" and in common law referred to all those over the age of 15 upon whom the sheriff could call to help him perform his duties.
- The Posse Comitatus Act (PCA), 18 U.S.C. 1385, provides: "Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the **Army** or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall **be** fined under this title or imprisoned not more than **two** years, or both."
- The PCA **was** originally enacted in 1878 due to congressional concerns about the use of Federal **troops** in the former-Confederate states to preserve law and order and to protect citizens' exercise of their Constitutional rights.
- Except for the addition of the Air Force, the language of the **current** statute is almost identical to the original 1878 law. As a **matter** of policy - but not law - DoD Directive **5525.5** makes the provisions of the PCA applicable to the Navy **and** Marine **Corps**.
- Absent Constitutional or statutory exceptions to the PCA, the Act has been interpreted to forbid active duty Army and Air Force personnel from directly participating in law enforcement activities such as arrests, searches, and seizures. The PCA does not restrict law enforcement activities by National Guard Personnel in a Title 32 (Federally funded - **state** control) or state active duty **status**.
- Statutory exceptions to the PCA include the Insurrection **Statutes** upon request from the Governor; statutes that pertain to emergency situations



11-L-0559/OSD/53881

involving chemical, biological, and nuclear material; and Public Law 107-40, enacted after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, which **has been** construed to authorize the President to use the armed forces for certain domestic operations if necessary and appropriate.

- Other provisions of law permit limited DoD assistance, generally in the form of equipment and information, to law enforcement agencies but do not permit direct participation by armed forces personnel in such law enforcement activities as **arrests**, searches, and seizures. These provisions include Military Support for Civilian Law Enforcement Agencies and Additional Support for Counter-drug Activities.
- The President has **inherent** authority under the Constitution to use **the** armed forces domestically in his role as Commander in **Chief** and Chief Executive notwithstanding **any** apparent PCA limitations.
- **Unless a statutory** exception to the PCA is invoked or the President acts using **his** inherent constitutional authority, DoD Army and Air Force personnel providing hurricane relief support cannot participate in civilian **law** enforcement activities in the areas in which they **are** providing relief.

COORDINATION None

Prepared by: Carl Wagner, (b)(6)



From the Desk of  
Paul Wolfowitz

9 JUNE 04 - HC 0800  
610

cc DSD per Regent

Don -

Here is a suggested  
Insert (A) for page 4 of  
your excellent memo of  
"Thoughts on Iraq."

Paul W.

TRAD

9 JUN 04

OSD 21523-05

Few if any of the countries that have struggled to build democracies in the past 50 years, or for that matter since our own early beginnings, have faced an enemy as ruthless as the enemy that is opposing the emergence of a new Iraq.

Until December of this past year, the enemies of a free Iraq were led by one of the few dictators in modern times who approached Adolph Hitler in evil. Since then, Saddam's place has been taken by Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, #6 on the Black List and a pillar of that evil regime for many years.

These ruthless men and their long-standing supporters – members of organizations modeled after the Gestapo and the KGB – are joined by ruthless terrorists, notably Abu Musab al Zarqawi, an Al Qaida-affiliated terrorist who has been responsible for some of the worst atrocities in Iraq in the past year. They have access to tens of millions of dollars in bank accounts in Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere with which to hire people to plant bombs and fire rockets. This is perhaps the first "guerilla war" in history in which "murder for hire" was the principal tactic.

The killers who kept Saddam in power and who continue to fight against the emergence of a new Iraq number in the thousands, but they are only a tiny fraction of the population of Iraq. And while they are extremely ruthless and have a fearsome power to intimidate, they offer nothing positive to the Iraqi people. That is why we have every reason to believe that ultimately the Iraqi people will triumph.

# TAB A

11-L-0559/OSD/53885



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orange by 1m  
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Zargham - Al Qasbi  
in Baker  
② Al-Qaeda -

June 7, 2004

SUBJECT: Some thoughts on Iraq and how to think about it

Military commanders and other visitors to Iraq have confidence and conviction about the progress being made and what they see as the solid prospects for success. But, television and press reports in the United States and in much of the world generally focus on the problems and the difficulties, creating pessimism and even despair. And it is the media that is shaping public opinion here and across the globe.

It is fair to ask: Which of the two widely differing perspectives is correct, or more correct, and, therefore, which view ought to be shaping U.S. policy and world thinking on this important matter?

One reason for the disparity in perspectives may be the standard that one measures progress against. The dedicated volunteer soldiers engaged in the struggle against extremists are on the front lines. They see first-hand the extremists trying to hijack a religion from the majority of moderate Muslims. They see the terrorist insurgency that the Iraqi people face. They see, first-hand, ground truth. Further, they seem to understand that war has never been tidy, orderly or predictable.

Our troops recognize that conflicts have always been difficult, that people get killed and wounded. They see the Iraqis who courageously step forward and become targets of assassins. They know that the purpose of terrorism is to terrorize, to frighten and to alter behavior – and it works. There have always been those who, when terrorized, change course and seek to appease the terrorists. It has been so throughout history. So, those brave souls on the front line of this

struggle see the conflict for what it is, and their expectations tend to be realistic. Their perspectives are rooted in an understanding of history and their own personal experiences.

Conversely, those removed from the battle, who receive their information from the media, tend to see it differently. Their perspectives are shaped by those who seem to compare the many difficulties and challenges, not against history or personal experience, but against a false standard of countries that have already succeeded in their struggles for freedom, countries that today enjoy relative tranquility. The media report events in Iraq that are not tranquil and, in many cases, are ugly. So, our publics risk falling prey to the argument that all is lost, that the terrorists are sure to win, and that what is being done is imperfect, or wrong, or misguided, or even malevolent.

The more correct perspective, I believe, is to look to history, to consider the struggles that have taken place over the decades and the experiences of countries that have made that difficult and dangerous journey from dictatorship to civil societies. Only by considering history can one fully appreciate that the path to freedom has always been difficult, dangerous, and marked by ugliness. So, to measure the Coalition's progress against countries that have successfully achieved their freedom misses the point.

What is taking place in Iraq is not unusual. The Iraqi people are on a tough road, a road filled with lethal dangers. But, as tough as it is, it is the right road. It is a road that has been successfully, if perilously, traveled by a number of countries over the decades. So, despite understandable concerns, it can be done. It has been done. Our own country went through tough periods, surviving demonstrations, riots, battles, deaths -- but we made it. We succeeded because the American people were steadfast and courageous and did not listen to counsels of despair.

Many contended that Japan, Germany and Italy could not successfully move from fascism to civil societies. But, although it was not easy, they made it. In each case, it was hard. It took time. But they succeeded, to the benefit of the civilized world.

For a people to achieve great things requires that they be purposeful and steadfast. They must have a concentration span of something greater than a 30-second sound bite. They need to appreciate why Thomas Jefferson said of the path to democracy, "One ought not to expect to be transported on a featherbed."

What is taking place in Iraq is hard, to be sure. It is far from perfect and certainly not predictable. But it should not be expected to be perfect or predictable. But is it failing? No. Is there a good chance it will succeed? You bet. One thing is certain. U.S. and Coalition forces cannot be defeated on the battlefield in Iraq. Coalition nations will suffer casualties, as they are, but they cannot be defeated. The only way this noble cause can be lost is if people become falsely persuaded that the struggle cannot be won or that winning it is not worth the cost.

Those who seek the truth should challenge any who would measure progress in Iraq against unrealistic expectations. Ask: When in history it has ever been easy or predictable? When has a country gone from a repressive dictatorship to a peaceful, stable, constitutional, civil society without difficulties or loss of life – "on a featherbed"? Why should Iraq be measured against an unrealistic standard?

What is taking place is tough. It is uncertain. It is dangerous. It is ugly. It is requiring the sacrifice of fine young men and women – each a volunteer – and may God bless them all. But the very least they deserve is a totally honest assessment by their countrymen of what it is they are doing. The least they deserve is an accurate, truthful recognition of the progress that has been and is being achieved in Iraq, as well as in Afghanistan – the hospitals built, the clinics

opened, the schools staffed and provided new textbooks and the economic progress. And the least the Iraqi people deserve is an appreciation of the courage they have demonstrated – by their security forces and by the hundreds of Iraqis who have stepped up to become governors, city council members and police chiefs, at risk to their lives.

The test of wills we face – and it is a test of wills, let there be no doubt – calls for balance and historical perspective. The American people deserve that. They deserve it from the media that benefits from the constitutional protections, and, with those protections, has a responsibility to be fair, honest, and accountable.

(A) →

The Iraqi people want their freedom, their security and the opportunities that will flow from them. More than 80 percent of the Iraqi people say they want Iraq to be whole. They are opposed to a breakup of the country. We know, despite terrorist attacks, assassinations, and disruptions to services, and despite the fact that terrorists and extremists kill innocent Iraqi citizens by the dozens each week – and have killed some 400 Iraqi security forces – that 70 percent of Iraqis say that getting rid of Saddam Hussein was worth the hardships they face today. Over 90 percent of Iraqi Kurds and 80 percent of Shia agree. Even among the minority Arab Sunnis, many of whom governed the country under Saddam Hussein, the figure is only slightly below 50 percent. So the Iraqi people understand that their lives are better today, despite the drumbeat to the contrary.

It is instructive to ask: What might be the alternatives to the course we are on for the 25 million recently liberated Iraqis, for that troubled region, and for the United States? What alternatives do those who criticize and contend that all that is lost suggest? Some say leave. What if the coalition were to leave? The possibilities are not attractive. They include:

- A failed state, anarchy, with terrorists taking over and creating a safe haven to attack the United States and other civil societies.

- A civil war and ethnic cleansing, filling up still more of Saddam's mass grave sites.
- Takeover by a neighboring country and radical clerics.
- A split up of Iraq into several parts, or
- A new Saddam Hussein could take control and re-impose a vicious dictatorship.

Which of those options would any argue would be better than the goal of Iraq as a single country, at peace with its neighbors, not trafficking with terrorists and respectful of women and all ethnic, religious and minority groups within their borders?

We are on the right course. The difficulties we face are understandable, given the history of countries that have navigated through these difficult seas. There is no better alternative for the Iraqi people, for the region, for the United States or for the world.

I repeat: there is no way this struggle can be lost on the ground in Iraq. It can only be lost if people come to the conclusion that it cannot be done. This struggle is being waged during an era of 24-hour news, seven days a week – for the first time in history. And it is being waged during a Presidential election year, when there seems to be a suspension of civil discourse. So, we are in for a rough period of months. But, when we are successful, it will be a fresh 21<sup>st</sup> century demonstration of the good center of gravity of the American people, and their common sense ability to separate fact from fiction and perseverance from paralysis.

DHR:ch  
Current MFRs/Thoughts on Iraq

FOUO

MAR 18 2005

*Steve Cambone  
Helmick*

TO: VADM Jim Stavridis

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Paul Wolfowitz

I think from Wolfowitz's standpoint, it would be good to take **him** out of the loop completely on anything involving classified findings, compartmented activities, reconnaissance, **ISR** - all of that type of thing.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
031705-22

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*DR  
DST*

FOUO

OSD 21522-05

*18  
DR  
DST*

11-L-0559/OSD/53891

FOUO

NOV 02 2005

TO: GEN John Abizaid

CC: Gen Pete Pace  
Eric Edelman  
Larry DiRita  
Jim Haynes

FROM Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT Journalists in Iraq

When we were **testifying** before the Senate last month, **Senator Warner** raised the issue of journalist deaths and detentions in Iraq and **the** attached letter we have received.

What is the current policy **regarding** detention of journalists? **Are** they treated the same as others detained by Coalition forces?

Is a separate policy for detained journalists appropriate? Would heightened awareness here when **journalists are** detained be appropriate?

Perhaps when a journalist is detained, for instance, it is something the **Corps Commander**, General Casey, or even you should be tracking.

**Your** thoughts and recommendations would be helpful.

Thanks.

Attach: 9/30/05 Letter from the **Committee** to Protect Journalists to SD

DHR.js  
103105-19

.....  
Please Respond By 11/29/05

OSD 21566-05

FOUO

11-L-0559/OSD/53892

*EMK*

*2 Nov 05*



# COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS

200 76 Avenue 19th Fl, New York, NY 10011 USA Phone (212) 607-8304 Fax (212) 462-4250 Website: www.cpj.org

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September 30, 2005

The Honorable Donald H. Rumsfeld  
Secretary of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D.C. 20301

Via facsimile: (b)(6)

Dear Secretary Rumsfeld:

We are writing in response to yesterday's hearing by the Senate Armed Services Committee to request a meeting to discuss the issue of journalist safety in Iraq.

We welcome the effort of Senator John Warner to raise this issue with you and senior U.S. commanders, and, as Senator Warner noted after the hearing, your agreement to take it under consideration.

It is essential that journalists covering the important events in Iraq are able to do so as freely and as safely as possible. We hope to have the opportunity to discuss with you some of our concerns about the journalist detentions and accidental shootings by U.S. forces in Iraq as well as suggestions on ways to resolve some of these outstanding problems.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. We look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Paul Steiger  
Chairman of the Board  
Committee to Protect Journalists

David Schloinger  
Global Managing Editor,  
Head of Editorial Operations  
Reuters

Andrew Hayward  
President  
CBS News

Martin Brown  
Chair, International Committee  
American Society of Newspaper Editors

A15-3



**FOUO**

2005 NOV -2 AM 10:31  
October 31, 2005

TO: Jim Haynes

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*

SUBJECT: JAG at Walter Reed

Is there something going on with the JAG at Walter Reed? I had a note from somebody that I did not understand.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
103105-10

.....  
*Please Respond By 11/09/05*

**FOUO**

**OSD 21571-05**

11-L-0559/OSD/53894



GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600

OSD COPY  
- Mary E. FAYE-TABB 11/27  
CLASSIFIED 11/2

SECRETARY OF THE DEFENSE

2005 NOV -2 AM 10:31

INFO MEMO

FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel  
SUBJECT SNOWFLAKE: JAG at Walter Reed

DEP SEC DEF  
HAS SEEN  
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NOV - 5 2005

055

Beverly Young, the wife of Chairman Bill Young, wrote to President Bush in reaction to a Military Times article. Both her letter and the Times article are attached. The article notes that gifts to wounded troops must receive legal review.

According to the Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch, 5 CFR 2635 subpart B, since gifts to wounded troops are offered because of their official position (as service members), they may not be accepted unless an exception to the prohibition applies.

10:20:05

For almost all gifts to wounded troops, the Walter Reed SJA has identified exceptions or worked with donors to permit troops to accept the offered gifts.

We have proposed legislation to expand your authority and the authority of the Secretaries of the Military Departments to accept gifts for the benefit of DoD personnel and their families. This Administration-approved proposal was inserted in conference for the FY 06 DoD Appropriations Bill on October 27th. It is also attached.

This is a chronic point of friction, and the Department should not need to work so hard to find exceptions. Accordingly, I have directed our Standards of Conduct office to work with the Office of Government Ethics to develop a specific regulatory exception.

COORDINATION: None

Attachments:  
As stated

Prepared by Steve Epstein (b)(6)

31 OCT 05



F.H. 7/11

DEP SEC DEF  
HAS SEEN  
NOV - 3 2005

October 27, 2005

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

005

Mr. President

My name is Beverly Young, wife of Chairman Bill Young of Florida. In my 20 years in Washington I honestly believed there was nothing more that could shock me, but I was wrong. Not only am I shocked, but I am nauseated and appalled about the article that was written by a Times Staff writer regarding gifts for wounded troops.

I couldn't believe that Walter Reed Army Medical Center has warned charitable groups that gifts to our wounded heroes could violate federal law. To suggest that troops could face discipline from a warning to a court-martial, at their commanders' discretion is disgusting. They have suggested that any requests or donations go through the Walter Reed Family Assistance Center first, then be subject to review by the Medical Center Judge Advocate.

SIR, as you know since the tragedy of September 11, 2001, I have been visiting hundreds of wounded soldiers and marines at Walter Reed Army Hospital and Bethesda Naval Hospital. I felt the need to give back just a small amount to those great warriors who allow me and my children to sleep in peace at night. I was in one of the military hospitals two years ago Christmas Eve when a critically wounded marine was flown in with his young family at his side. His six year old daughter told me Santa wasn't coming to her house this year because her Daddy had been shot. Where was the Family Assistance Center then? I am not placing blame, but this war has taken a toll on these brave soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen and coastguardsman who have so valiantly been fighting the fight. The last thing the wounded needs is to worry about being disciplined because someone wants to help him in his hour of need. The despair in this marines face when his daughter made that statement, was more than anyone in the room could bear. In my families opinion, Santa had no right to let this marine or his family down. Santa arrived before Christmas Day. Should the marine be disciplined for that? Should my family be disciplined? Should we have called Walter Reed Army Medical Center Christmas Eve and asked to speak to the Family Assistance center? What would the chances have been that there would have been someone there to answer the phone? Were we paying this marine off, as was suggested in this article, for putting his life on the line for our freedom? Maybe. But definitely not the fault of the marine. The love and compassion my family felt for this marine should be shared by this entire country. This was a proud marine family, they asked for nothing, they stood strong, and would have received nothing Christmas eve if it wasn't for the so called "illegal contributions".

I happened upon a young navy family, a wife with two young boys, sleeping on a hardwood floor, eating peanut butter and bread for almost two weeks. The injured was a Navy Corpsman who had given 12 years of his life to the Marine Corp as a medic. This hero was in a tragic parachute accident that not only electrocuted him but cost him his sight in both eyes. He and his family had been transferred from their home in North Carolina to Maryland for long term rehabilitation. They were a two income family and in

2902-11

a split second, he **was** sole provider. His wife **was** at his bedside 24/7. His **military** orders had been "messed up" and their furniture, as well as his pay, **were** delayed. Because he **was** critically injured and blinded, he also lost his jump and dive pay. This family was proud, they went through the right channels, but the channels **failed** them, albeit unintentionally. **Who** came to their aid while the paper work **was** being corrected the private sector. **If** this family would not have accepted help from the outside, **who** knows what **would** have happened to the health and well being of those precious, innocent children. **There** are so many more cases I could share with you to say the least. **These** great Americans do **not** ask for contributions, they do **not** complain. The organizations that have been active since this war are doing so out of loyalty and love for our troops and the obvious need to help when help is not available. **It** is a shame an article like this **was** even printed. I would like to be there when, at the commanders discretion, an **American Hero**, lying in the Intensive Care Unit on a respirator, is either warned or court martialed because **someone** cared or **some** corporation displayed compassion. How can a soldier in a coma process a request for assistance for his family, and why should he **have** to.

I am sure there is a huge public outcry over this ridiculous article. If congress needs to change the law regarding our heroes, then they will. The majority of congress knows the sacrifices these kids make and are aware of the needs that are not met, for numerous reasons, by the government. Thank God there are charities and private citizens who are aware of the sacrifices of the people that put the uniform of the greatest country in the world on everyday. Thank God there are Americans who are willing and able to keep on giving, if need be. Shame on ANYONE who thinks the wounded soldier shouldn't receive all the love, help and support he or she could get from any American.

I know, sir, that these are your sentiments also, I just couldn't go about my daily life and pretend that this insult to those great American heroes didn't happen. Those who stand guard, protecting the rights of the innocent all over the world are the true heroes. Every American should be grateful and proud. I for one am proud to call these heroes my protectors, my friend. I and my family and friends will continue to try to meet the needs of these warriors and do not feel the need to ask permission to do so.

Thank you for listening and God Bless you and our Troops,  
Beverly Young

cc:

Vice President Dick Cheney  
Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld  
Honorable Dennis Hastert  
Honorable William Frist  
Deputy Secretary Gordon England  
Admiral Don Arthur, Surgeon General of the U.S. Navy  
Lt, General Kevin Kiley, Surgeon General of the Army  
Senator Ted Stevens  
Honorable Duncan Hunter  
Honorable John Murtha

**SEC. \_\_\_ . AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT CERTAIN GIFTS.**

(a) **GENERAL GIFT FUNDS.**—Section **2601** of title **10**, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by inserting ", use of facilities or services" after "real or personal property";

(2) in subsection (b), by deleting "subsection (a)" and substituting "subsections (a) and (e)"; by deleting "and" at the end of (3) and inserting "and" at the end of (4); by adding the following after (4) "(5) "Department of Defense General Gift Fund", in the case of deposits of the Secretary of Defense."; and by inserting ", activities," after "designated institution";

(3) in subsection (c), by deleting "subsection (a)" and substituting "subsections (a) and (e)";

(4) in subsection (d) by deleting "of a military department" and substituting "concerned" after "Secretary"; and

(5) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(e) The Secretary of the Department of Defense may accept, hold, administer, and spend any gift, devise, or bequest of money, real or personal property, use of facilities, or services for the purpose of supporting and benefiting educational, technical, and other assistance activities that support the morale, welfare, or recreation of employees, servicemembers and/or their families. Consistent with the requirements of section **191** of title **10**, United States Code, the Secretary may establish a defense agency or DoD field activity within the Department to implement and administer this section. The Secretary shall establish Written guidelines setting forth the criteria to be used in determining whether the solicitation and acceptance of money, real

October 25, 2005 05 Walter reed JAG gifts.wpd

or **personal** property, use of facilities, or services would reflect unfavorably upon the ability of the Department of Defense or any employee or service member to carry out its responsibilities or official duties in a fair and objective manner, or would compromise the integrity or appearance of the integrity of its programs or any official involved in those programs.

"(f) For purposes of **this** section, the term 'services' **means** services that directly benefit the welfare, morale, or recreation of employees, service members, and/or their families, or **are** related or incidental to the conveyance of a **gift** of real or **personal** property offered and received pursuant to **this** section."

**(b) ACCEPTANCE OF CONTRIBUTIONS.**—Section 2608 of such title is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking "money or **real** or personal property" and inserting "money, use of facilities, real or personal property, or non-personal services"; and

(2) by amending **subsection (f)** to **read as** follows:

**"(f) AUTHORITY TO USE PROPERTY, FACILITIES, AND SERVICES.**—**Property**, the use of facilities, or services accepted under subsection (a) may be **used** by the Secretary of Defense without specific authorization. Such property, use of facilities, and services may not be used—

"(1) in connection with any program, project, or activity if the **use** of such property would result in the violation of any prohibition or limitation otherwise applicable to such program, project, or activity;

"(2) if conditions that are inconsistent with applicable law or regulations **are** attached,

May 13, 2005 05 Walter reed JAG gifts.wpd

11-L-0559/OSD/53899

"(3) if use would reflect unfavorably ~~on~~ the ability of the Department of Defense, any employee of the Department, or member of the **armed forces** to carry out any responsibility or duty of the Department **in a** fair and objective manner; or

"(4) if use would compromise the integrity or appearance ~~of~~ integrity of any program of the Department of Defense or any person involved **in such program.**".

May 13, 2005 05 ~~walton~~ reed JAG gifts.wpd

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## Section-by-Section Analysis

Current ambiguities in the law have prevented the **Secretaries** concerned from accepting certain offers of gifts, either for direct **use** by the Departments or for the benefit of their members and their families. 10 U.S.C. 2601 authorizes the Secretaries to accept gifts of real or personal property. Subsection (a) would amend that statute to clarify that the Secretaries may accept the use of facilities as **gifts**. It would also clarify that the authority includes acceptance of services that benefit employees, **service** members, and/or their families, or are related or incidental to gifts of **real** or personal property. It would also clarify that the Secretary of Defense may accept the types of gifts discussed above for the purpose of supporting and benefiting activities that support the morale, welfare, or recreation of employees, service members and/or their families. It establishes an account identical to those established for the Secretaries concerned. It also provides authority to establish a defense agency or field activity within the Department to implement and administer the section. It further requires written guidelines incorporating standards of conduct that must be met before the **gifts** may be accepted.

10 U.S.C. 2608 authorizes the Secretary of Defense to accept gifts of real or personal property and **gifts** of services from foreign governments or international organizations. Subsection (b) would amend the statute to clarify that the Secretary of Defense may accept the use of facilities and authorize him to accept non-personal services from any person when there is no conflict of interest or violation of law or regulation,

This section would eliminate gaps in existing law. For example, this section would expressly permit the acceptance of such services as the provision of technical expertise or initial training and familiarization of donated equipments or materials. **This** section is distinct from the acceptance of "personal services" pursuant to section 1588 of title 10, United States Code.

Certain other agencies and organizations, such as the Asia Pacific Center for Strategic Studies (10 U.S.C. 2611) and the Office of Government **Ethics** (5 U.S.C. App. 403), already have the authority to accept gifts of services.

Agency Subject Matter Expert: Ms. Gail Mason, Senior Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, (b)(6)

May 13, 2005 05 Walter reed JAG gifts.wpd

11-L-0559/OSD/53901



# TAB A

~~FOUO~~

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

2005 NOV - 2 AM 10:31  
October 31, 2005

TO: Jim Haynes

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

*D.R.*

SUBJECT JAG at Walter Reed

Is there *something* going on with the JAG at Walter Reed? I had a note from somebody that I did not understand.

Thanks.

DHR:ss  
103105-10

.....  
*Please Respond By 11/09/05*

~~FOUO~~

OSD 21571-05

11-L-0559/OSD/53903

# TAB B

**OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
**The Senior Military Assistant**

1 November 2005 - 1545 Hours

**MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JIM HAYNES, GENERAL COUNSEL**

**SUBJECT:** Attached Article on Gifts to the Wounded

Mr. Haynes:

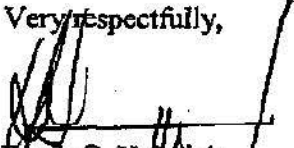
Note from the DSD follows:

"Jim - I would appreciate if you would look at the attached article and give me your legal opinion.

I cannot believe there is a \$20 restriction. Frankly, by law, I can give \$22,000 as a gift. Obviously, not if construed as a bribe, something for personal benefit, etc., etc.

I would appreciate your input. GE "

Please return a copy of this tasker with your response. Thank you.

Very respectfully,  
  
Frank G. Helmick  
Brigadier General, USA  
Senior Military Assistant to the  
Deputy Secretary of Defense

Attachment:  
USA TODAY Article by Karen Jowers

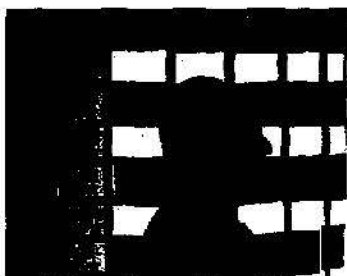
Response: Friday, 4 November 2005



## Gifts to wounded troops must be approved

By Karen Jowers, *Military Times*

WASHINGTON — Walter Reed Army Medical Center is warning charitable groups that gifts to wounded troops and their families may violate federal law if not first approved by Army legal officers.



A Washington Army National Guard sergeant tells students about how thankful troops in Iraq were to get care packages.

By Larry Steagall, AP

Officials at Walter Reed, the Army's largest medical facility, told representatives of 20 charities Sept. 27 that all charitable donations worth more than \$20 must undergo military legal review.

The rules, designed mainly to prevent bribes to government employees, are not new but are news to some charities.

"I'll come out of Wal-Mart with \$600 worth of videos and put two or three in a box to send, and guess what? We're over \$20," said Mary Kay Salomone, founder of Operation Support Our Troops. "Maybe we need to have a blind eye so these people risking their lives can get a DVD that costs more than \$20."

The rules cover all federal employees, including military members, and extend to family members.

Regulations also state that troops cannot solicit or coerce gifts. Yet troops deployed to Iraq and elsewhere have asked for, and received, specific items such as air conditioners, boots, DVD players and a variety of other items valued at more than \$20.

Troops face discipline ranging from a warning to a court-martial, at their commanders' discretion, if they violate the regulations, Pentagon spokeswoman Cynthia Smith said in a written response to questions.

"Someone claiming to be soliciting iPods for his unit and then selling them on eBay would probably be dealt with more severely than someone who gets a free wheelchair paid for by a prohibited source," she wrote.

Charities are being reminded of the rules as the holiday gift-giving season quickly approaches.

Walter Reed is not saying that gifts worth more than \$20 cannot be accepted, Smith said. Regulations simply require that certain gifts are covered by a written ethics opinion, she said.

Walter Reed "has streamlined forms and procedures to expedite gift-acceptance ethics opinions," she said, with an "immediate turnaround" of the answers.

Jim Weiskopf, a spokesman for the Fisher House Foundation, which provides housing for military families who need to stay near the bedside of their recuperating relatives, said the foundation has been careful to follow the rules.

For the foundation's Operation HeroMiles program, in which airline tickets are donated by citizens or airlines, for example, a service member or family member seeking free tickets must get approval from military lawyers, using a preprinted form, and must include it with their request.

But Weiskopf said the rules don't seem logical when applied to low-ranking troops and their families.

"These are privates and sergeants," he said. "They are not taking bribes. Congress needs to do something to change the law."

The risk of punishment is prompting other groups to review their practices.

Marie Wood, executive director of the Yellow Ribbon Fund, said she has changed how her group provides rental cars to families in Washington to be near wounded troops.

"We will be careful," Wood said. When military families call, "I tell them they have to go through the Walter Reed Family Assistance Center. We're going through the proper channels."

**Find this article at:**

[http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-10-24-gifts-troops\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-10-24-gifts-troops_x.htm)

Check Me box to include the list of links referenced in the article.

x



ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY  
AND LOGISTICS

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
3000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3000

RE  
2 NOV 05  
0900

*ACTING*  
DEP SEC DEF  
HAS SEEN  
GE APPROVES  
NOV - 2 2005

ACTION MEMO

TO: Acting Deputy Secretary England  
FROM: Ken Krige *[Signature]*  
SUBJECT: Travel to Arizona and NORTHCOM

I am currently scheduled to travel on 15-17 November to Arizona to speak at two conferences and then on to NORTHCOM for an in-brief and visit.

333

My concern is that this trip will conflict with some currently scheduled, and possibly to-be scheduled, QDR and budget reviews.

The visit to Arizona is to meet with industry leaders (1. AIA Board of Governors and Membership; 2. Aerospace and Defense Top 20 Programs) to lay out my vision of the acquisition process and how the QDR and the budget will impact the Department's future plans.

The trip to NORTHCOM was scheduled ~~as~~ as part of my personal efforts to visit COCOMS on a fairly regular basis. I also intended to brief senior leadership on the QDR and ensure our customers were getting the tools they need.

I believe the trip to meet with industry leadership in Arizona is extremely important with the new NORTHCOM leg valuable to do but seek your guidance and preference on having me available for QDR and budget discussions.

I will keep my ~~current schedule~~ *[Signature]* and not make any changes until I receive your guidance.

Thank you.

RESEDER DIVISION  
APPROVED *[Signature]* 11-2  
DISAPPROVED \_\_\_\_\_

FYI:

- 14 NOV = QDR SLRG
- 15 NOV = QDR Group of 12
- 17 NOV = QDR Co-Leads meeting

OSD 21594-05

2 Nov 05

30  
20



OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
3000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3000

0700  
11/2  
DL  
11/4

ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY  
AND LOGISTICS

ACTION MEMO

Robert Rangel

TO: Secretary Rumsfeld

THROUGH: Acting Deputy Secretary England

FROM: Ken Kriss

SUBJECT: Response to Snowflake on Travel

RR  
11/3

DL  
11/2

3333

I am currently scheduled to travel to India December 2-9. The purpose of my visit is to discuss improving defense relations with an emerging strategic partner in the region for establishing a framework to conduct defense cooperation. I arranged this trip at your direction following your meetings this summer with the Minister of Defense from India.

While this is outside the window in your snowflake, there is a SLRG on the schedule for the week I will be out. My concern is that with the upcoming QDR and budget decisions there may be reason for me to be here and available. If you agree, I'd like to coordinate with my Indian counterparts now and postpone this trip until sometime in 2006.

I will not make any schedule changes until I receive your guidance.

Thank you.

Use your own judgment - DL

SECDEF DECISION:

APPROVED: \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVED: \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

2 Nov 05

2 NOV 05

SAS 11/2

MA SD		SMA DSD	
TSA SD	DL 11/2	SA DSD	
EXEC SEC	M 11/2	1400	11/3 1000
ESR MA	DL 11/2	1305	