

(49)

# Secretary of Defense Day Book

For

10/1/03

(fill in date)

This document is unclassified  
when separate from

~~SECRET~~ NOFORN

(fill in classification)

attachment

SecDef Control #

X03901 /03

## INDEX FOR DAYBOOK

**Folder: Meeting with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe**

**- Subject:**

Read Ahead for Meeting with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe

<b>- <u>Date:</u></b>	<b><u>From:</u></b>	<b><u>Pgs/End(s):</u></b>	<b><u>OCN:</u></b>
09/30/2003	ISA	1/6	I-03/013588-WH

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**Folder: Roll Call Editorial Board/Working Luncheon with Roll  
Call Editorial Board**

**- Subject:**

Read Ahead for Secretary Rumsfeld: Editorial Board Lunch Session: *Roll Call*

<b>- <u>Date:</u></b>	<b><u>From:</u></b>	<b><u>Pgs/End(s):</u></b>	<b><u>OCN:</u></b>
09/30/2003	TSA Di Rita	2/1	

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Meeting with Colombian  
President Alvaro Uribe

October 1, 10:15-10:45 a.m.



INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY  
AFFAIRS

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
2400 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2400

INFO MEMO

I-03/013588-WH

USDR *Copy provided*  
*df 30/03*  
*16*

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs  
(Peter W. Rodman, 695-4351) *P. Rodman*

SUBJECT: Read Ahead for Meeting with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe

DATE: 1 October 2003, 10:15-10:45 am

PURPOSE: President Uribe will visit Washington on 30 September – 1 October 2003. He will meet with Secretary of State Powell, Speaker of the House Hastert, and members of the Senate Foreign Operations Committee. You last met with President Uribe during your trip to Colombia, 19 August 2003.

ATTENDEES:

US  
SecDef  
USDP Douglas Feith  
AMB William Wood  
ASD Thomas O'Connell  
VCJCS GEN Pace  
LTG Craddock  
PDASD/ISA Peter Flory  
DASD/WHA R. Pardo-Maurer  
DASD Andre Hollis  
LTC <sup>(b)(6)</sup> (Notetaker)

Colombia  
President Uribe  
Min of Defense Marta Ramirez  
Min of Foreign Affairs  
Carolina Barco  
Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno  
DCM Bernardo Ortiz

Attachments:

Tab A: Read Ahead Paper  
<sup>(b)(1)</sup>

Tab C: Uribe's Statement before the U.N. General Assembly

Tab D: AOR Newsbriefs

Tab E: Reporting Cable from 19 August Meeting with Uribe

Tab F: Coordination

Prepared by LTC <sup>(b)(6)</sup> ISA WHA, <sup>(b)(6)</sup>

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

Classified by: Multiple Sources  
Reasons: 1.5(b) and (d)  
Declassify on: 06/13/2012

(Unclassified when removed  
from attachments)





Tab A

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**Read Ahead for Secretary Rumsfeld  
Meeting with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe (U)**

**Date/Time:** 1 October 2003, 10:15 – 10:45 am.

**(U) Purpose:**

- President Uribe will visit Washington 30 September – 1 October 2003 after his return from the U.N. General Assembly.
- This will be your third meeting with him. You last met with him in Bogota, Colombia on 19 August 2003.

**(U) Background:**

In the past year, President Uribe has produced impressive results:

- Kidnappings down 35%
- Terrorists captured up 112%
- Eradication of coca acreage up 41%
- President Uribe has imposed a “wealth tax” to pay for increases in defense

Colombia has made impressive gains in the past year. President Uribe’s National Security Strategy (and our policy to support it, NSPD-18) recognizes the inextricable link between narcotics and terrorism. Our desired end state is to transform the current situation from a military problem that requires international support into a police problem that Colombia can handle on its own.

(b)(5)

National elections are scheduled for 25 – 26 October to decide on 19 proposed constitutional reforms and to select municipal leaders. The FARC and ELN are using violence and intimidation to disrupt the municipal elections. They have already murdered eleven councilmen and municipal mayoral candidates and threatened hundreds more.

**(C) DoD Objectives:**

- Thank President Uribe for signing Article 98.
- Support Colombia’s outreach to neighboring countries.
- Learn more about Uribe’s negotiations with the AUC and the ELN.
  - USG is concerned with ongoing Colombian negotiations that could provide immunity from extradition for key AUC leaders.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Multiple Sources  
Reasons: 1.5(b) and (d)  
Declassify on: 09/17/2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Talking Points

- *I was impressed by your determination and that of your national security team during my visit to Colombia last month.*
- *Thank you for your efforts to conclude an Article 98 agreement. This is an extremely important issue for this administration.*
  - This releases over \$100M in U.S. support for Colombia.
- *We are concerned by the FARC's use of violence and intimidation to disrupt democracy in Colombia.*
  - How are you responding to this threat for the upcoming municipal elections?
- *Your strategy is working.*
  - Colombia is a good news story. We recognize that the time is now and that your leadership is crucial.
  - Many challenges remain, but we want to help you stay the course.
- *We support your efforts to line up friendly countries behind your strategy.*
  - How are your relations with your neighbors (especially Brazil and Venezuela)?
  - Are the Europeans being as helpful as they should be?
- *What is the status of negotiations with the AUC and the ELN.*
  - We are concerned with any efforts that would provide immunity from extradition for key AUC leaders.
  - What is the status of demobilization talks? Is the UN going to get involved?
- *Key FARC weaknesses are 1) loss of territory and mobility, and 2) desertions.*
  - How does your Peasant Soldiers initiative (rural/hometown militias) fit into this?
  - What is the status of Combatant Demobilization programs?
- *We appreciate your sacrifices and commitment to finding our three US hostages.*
  - Do you have any new information regarding their location?
- (b)(1),(b)(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tab B



















Tab C



EMBAJADA DE COLOMBIA  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATEMENT BY H.E. MR. ALVARO URIBE VELEZ,  
PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA

58<sup>TH</sup> SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

New York, September 30, 2003

Mr. President:

Let me congratulate you for your election as President of this Assembly, and wish you all the success in your performance.

Despite the anxiety we face as a result of the terrorism that affects so many countries in the world, we come to reiterate our commitment to fight until we leave behind such a scourge. Colombia reaffirms its faith in multilateralism as the most effective system to seek peace, security, human, economic and social development. The United Nations is irreplaceable, even though for the good of the humanity it requires constant updating of its structure and procedures to increase its efficiency against terrorism.

The United Nations recently suffered the tragedy of terrorism with the death of Sergio Viera de Melo, an indefatigable defender of life. We deeply regret the loss of those who sacrifice their lives in the hope of putting an end to terrorism. And our commitment to reciprocity increases as a consequence of all the solidarity that the United Nations have with Colombia.

A year ago, I presented to all of you my Democratic Security Policy, which was developed to free Colombian people from terrorism. The policy establishes the basic lines of action to protect the rights of all citizens, regardless of their social income, their political ideals or religious beliefs. This policy will protect business leaders, labor union leaders, politicians, and those who oppose the government's beliefs. The basis of this policy lies in the dream of a pluralist nation that lives in permanent constructive debate, fraternal and without hatred.

In Colombia, there has been a lack of State presence in an area that spans approximately 1,200,000 square kilometers, of which about 400,000 square kilometers are jungle. The lack of State presence has been substituted by terrorist organizations.

A year ago of a total of 1,100 municipalities, 170 did not have Police presence. Today, the Police is present in 151 municipalities and we hope to have Police in all municipalities within a few weeks. However, there are hundreds of small towns that demand the presence of the State. We now have soldiers and navy infantries, called "soldiers for the people", in 432 municipalities. This program allows the soldiers to fulfill their military service in the towns in which they were born. The results thus far have been positive and after their active duty in the Public Force, we hope to rely on these soldiers as law enforcement leaders.

These efforts, together with others that we have undertaken in similar areas, must continue so that the government can rid the country of terrorism.

I want to share with you, Mr. Secretary General, and the General Assembly, some of the results my administration has accomplished during the first nine months of this year:

The number of homicides decreased 22%, compared to the same period of time last year, in which there were 21,253 homicides.

The number of kidnappings declined 34.7%, which means that this year, 1,485 people were kidnapped. The number of victims of illegal road blocks decreased 49% and the number of rescue operations of kidnapped people increased to 22.8%. However, what country can feel at peace with itself with 1,485 kidnappings in nine months?

The number of massacres and victims of massacres has decreased to 35% and 41% respectively. We can claim victory only when we completely eliminate these attacks. Each terrorist act brings pain to my Nation, as did the car bomb, which members of the FARC exploded in Club El Nogal, or the boat bomb that was put by the same group in the Puerto Rico, the truck bomb in a very modest town called Chita, that all together killed 47 people and wounded 233. And only a few hours ago, in Florencia, another bomb left 12 dead and 46 people wounded.

The assassination of union members has declined from 120 to 36. The murderers in several of these cases are in jail right now, due to our determination to protect the population.

60 teachers were assassinated in 2002. This year 24 cases have been reported.

The assassination of journalists has decreased from 9 to 5.

The decrease in overall crime is significant, but as you may have noted, the levels are staggering. No country can feel safe under such circumstances.

I reaffirm our eagerness and commitment to protect, in particular, our teachers, union leaders and journalists.

I admit with sorrow that the murder of indigenous people has increased from 72 to 75 cases. The illegal self-defense groups are responsible for 33 of those cases and the different guerrilla groups are responsible for the remainder.

During the first semester of 2003, 73,586 cases of forced displacement were reported. This represents a decrease of 66%. The reduction in numbers demonstrates that we are successfully helping people return to their towns.

I reaffirm our commitment to fight to protect the indigenous communities and stop forced displacement.

In August 2002, 246 mayors were exiled from their municipalities because they were threatened by violent groups. Now 191 have returned to their municipalities thanks to increased improvement in security.

The advances in the protection of our citizens encourage us to continue with valor in this determination.

From August 7, 2002 to August 7, 2003, 2,544 members of illegal self-defense groups were captured, which represents an increase of 146%. The number of members of illegal groups killed in combat by the armed forces increased to 38.7%. The number of guerrillas captured increased by 126.3%, and the guerrillas killed in combat increased 78%.

Because of my unblemished democratic conviction, I reaffirm our commitment to Human Rights.

We have extended the permanence of the United Nation's Commissioner in Bogotá. We agree with many of his recommendations. We do not doubt that we have to work towards its application and we will discuss those cases where we have disagreements.

We require that our soldiers and policemen be effective and respect human rights. We stimulate and care for our armed forces as we demonstrated recently with the improvement introduced in the social security system. We will not hesitate to put in jail those who infringe the law.

The sacrifice of our soldiers and policemen has been significant. This year, as a consequence of the antipersonnel mines, 109 soldiers have been assassinated and 334 have been wounded, many of them completely mutilated.

If we request international support, it is because we are open to international observation. We respect the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) that proceed seriously. We respect their criticism and constructive suggestions. Those organizations contribute to the improvement of democratic conditions. That is why we share the report by Human Rights Watch about the recruitment of children by the terrorist groups. However, we reserve the right to disagree with those false reports that distort our efforts to consolidate a democratic security concept.

As the United Nations has recognized, we have advanced significantly in the destruction of illicit drugs. We have eradicated 70% of illicit crops and we will not stop until we rid our country from the scourge of illegal drugs. We have authorized the extradition of 94 people for narco-trafficking crimes.

We have hired 5,400 families as forest rangers, as part of our goal to recruit 50,000 families. They receive economic aid to replace illicit crops, with the purpose of replanting and taking care of the forests.

To confiscate the illicit enrichment we now have a more effective law that expedites the procedure and has led to an increase in the number of sentences from 5 to 68.

In Colombia's current situation, terrorism, illicit drugs, violence and insecurity are the same thing. We implore the commitment of the international community to defeat drugs completely. We implore to the world not to harbor the Colombian terrorists and to help us confiscate their goods and open the doors only to help if there is a peace process.

Our country is a democracy. We want to overcome terrorism and be able to look to the international community with the certainty that we have fully complied with national and international law.

In order to fight against impunity, we incorporated the accusatory penal system and the oral procedure that will be inaugurated in 2005.

At the present time, we are conducting a Constitutional change to allow the armed forces to proceed with specialized groups, in terrorism cases, to make captures, raids, and phone interceptions.

These actions will be conducted with democratic safeguards so that an attorney will intervene quickly. The attorney's office and Congress will be informed. The proposed measures are infinitely less as compared to current laws in democracies that do not have the high levels of terrorism in Colombia.

My Government found that there are around 30,000 people that belong to illegal terrorist organizations as is clear from the nature of their actions. As we look at this figure it is clear that we must continue with a policy of extending the rule of law as well as maintaining a firm determination to seek a negotiated solution based on a previous cease of hostilities.

I thank the Secretary General efforts during the last year to find paths of peace with the FARC. The Colombian Government supports the good offices that up to now, have been unsuccessful because the violent groups lack the will to cooperate. The FARC have kidnapped hundreds of Colombians and some foreign citizens, and most of them are kept in concentration camps that remind us of the nazis. Secretary General, Kofi Annan, I reaffirm my commitment to define with you a solution to this painful situation in terms adjusted to the law, and in ways that do not increase the violence.

Since the last government, with the support of Cuba on one side, and several governments on the other, we explored ways to negotiate a peace process with the ELN. We have made numerous efforts, but up to now, everything has been useless. The leaders of that group that are in jail are being held in the best possible conditions. On June 30, with the help of a Facilitating Commission, I offered to examine an ELN prisoners release in exchange for the groups commitment to cease all armed activities and to help achieve peace. I did not have a positive answer but I will continue to insist.

The ELN recently kidnapped seven foreign citizens. That group should release them under the promise that they made a couple of weeks ago to stop hostilities during the current electoral process.

Also, since the last Government, we have sought a peace process with the illegal self-defense groups under the mediation of the Catholic Church. The condition is the same: cease of hostilities. Groups of these organizations representing 10,000 or more people have expressed their intentions to demobilize. The government is advancing in this process.

During my administration, 2,215 members of terrorist groups have demobilized. 70% of them belong to the FARC, 18% to the ELN and 12% to the illegal self-defense groups.

To reintegrate members of these different groups into civilian life, Colombia needs a judicial framework that realistically defines how to achieve justice, repair damage to the victims and the community and to ensure peace. The alternate sentence project presented by the Government for Congressional consideration proposes a legal and



transparent procedure that allow us to advance towards a negotiated peace solution with the illegal self-defense groups, the FARC and the ELN.

I understand the concern raised by offering alternative sentences for grave crimes. But in a context of 30,000 terrorists, it must be understood that a definitive peace is the best justice for a nation in which several generations have never lived a single day without the occurrence of a terrorist act.

The draft has caused national and international controversy. We are looking for the broadest possible consensus. Therefore, we invite everybody to examine the different options and to achieve the best final text. To defeat terrorism we do not have dilemmas. However, there are moments that call for adjusting the justice and peace equation in order to reach a consolidated peace.

We partake of what has been expressed by the Secretary Annan in the Security Council last week when he proposed the necessity of defining a balance between the need for justice and the need to save innocent lives.

To protect our communities, we need to pursue forcefully all terrorists and not to miss the opportunity to get peace agreements, made in good faith.

The Colombian problem is an international threat. If Colombia does not destroy the illegal drugs, the illegal drugs will destroy the Amazon basin.

If Colombia does not stop terrorism, it will bring difficulties to the democracies of the region. The President of Ecuador, Lucio Gutierrez, and the Rio Group have understood this and unanimously adopted the proposal that the United Nations continue to make efforts towards a negotiation with the Colombian terrorists or, if this is not possible, to seek other alternatives to solve the problem.

Rule of law involves a social commitment. Poverty and inequalities have become worse due to terrorism. We are advancing, with scarce resources, to apply the 7 tools for equality: revolution in education, expanded social protection, return to an economy based on the principle of solidarity, a social management of land, public services expansion, the construction of an owners country, and the improvement of the quality of the urban life.

Some examples of that social policy are the following: we have created 500,000 new school places, but we still have 1,500,000 children that do not have access to basic education. The micro credit project has increased by 50%, but we still are far away from having an owners country. The social task is arduous but with our determination we will overcome all the obstacles to build a just society.

Security is the first of the human rights of poor people who need our policy to be successful. We must provide peace, confidence, investment, employment and equity.

Despite many tragedies, Colombia has a vigorous democracy. This October 25th, Colombians will decide on a referendum, which proposes to defeat corruption and strengthen social investment.

The following day, October 26th, the people will elect 30 Governors among 133 candidates; 914 Majors among 3,441 candidates; 398 State Congressmen among 373 lists composed of 2,723 candidates; around 9,000 Municipal Council Members among 6,105 lists composed of 56,590 candidates; and Members of the Local Administration Boards among 3,156 lists composed of 13,387 candidates.

We live today in a plural and enthusiastic democracy, despite the defiance of terrorism.

Mr. President:

It would be a real tragedy if the civilized world does not combine its energies to defeat terrorism, and if it does not support those democracies that fight against it. We need the unity of all the democratic people to defeat terror.

Thank you.

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## AOR NEWSBRIEFS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 2003

### ANDEAN RIDGE COVERAGE

#### BOLIVIA

1. **MH<sup>1</sup>, 09/30/03: Strike over plan to ship gas through Chile falters** -- Bolivians fiercely oppose exporting natural fuel, although a work stoppage fails to gain wide support; by Tyler Bridges: LA PAZ, Bolivia - A national strike Monday by opponents of a plan to export natural gas through Chile won only scattered support, giving embattled President Sánchez de Lozada a breather. But he still faces fierce opposition, analysts cautioned, if he decides to go ahead with plans to exploit Bolivia's huge gas reserves by exporting the fuel through Chile, Bolivia's hated southern neighbor. "There is not unity in the popular movements opposed to the government, as we saw today, but that doesn't mean they are weak," said Sacha Llorenti, a human rights advocate here.

#### COLOMBIA

2. **FOXNEWS, 09/29/03: War on Terror in Colombia Largely Unnoticed; By Kelley Beaucar Vlahos:** WASHINGTON — With U.S. attention focused on Iraq, little is known about three U.S. military contractors taken hostage by Colombian rebels seven months ago. "I had warned of this, quite frankly, when the administration started to shift from counter-drug to counter-insurgency," said Rep. Gene Taylor, D-Miss., "I don't take great pride in saying I told you so, but I did warn that this could happen." "I personally expected there was going to be more interest and there would be requests for more accountability and more action," said one military official. "I'm a little surprised." U.S. forces are not in the jungle looking for the contractors because of an agreement that sets limits on how many U.S. military and civilian personnel are allowed on the ground at any given time.

3. **WP, 09/30/03; World in Brief — The Americas: ELN says it Kidnapped Foreign Tourists; News Services:** BOGOTA, Colombia -- The second-largest rebel group in Colombia said it was holding seven foreign backpackers kidnapped this month from an archaeological site in the mountains. It was the first claim of responsibility for the abduction. The National Liberation Army, known as the ELN, did not make any demands in its statement, but said it was open to negotiations "to find a solution." The group, which along with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, has been battling the Colombian government for four decades, also condemned the military operation to hunt for the kidnapped tourists. It warned President Alvaro Uribe that he will be to blame if the hostages are harmed. (Also: NYT<sup>2</sup> "World Briefing" -- sl)

4. **BS<sup>3</sup>, 09/28/03: Contract Pilots Risk Rebel Fire In Colombia; AP<sup>4</sup>:** CUCUTA, Colombia - Steep mountains, thick jungles: U.S. government-contracted pilots are facing immense challenges and hazards as they fumigate drug crops at ground-hugging altitudes in their latest offensive in eastern Colombia. But the pilots' missions are made even dicier because they are flying beyond areas cleared of rebels by army troops, two senior Colombian army commanders told the Associated Press. The practice, which they say exposes pilots to hostile fire, goes against tactics normally used in the anti-drug campaign - and may have already cost one contractor his life. Mario Alvarado, a native of Costa Rica who worked for an unidentified U.S. company, was killed Sept. 21 when his plane crashed while fumigating coca crops in the rebel stronghold of Catatumbo. The U.S. State Department said the OV-10 apparently "was struck by hostile ground fire."

<sup>1</sup> Miami Herald

<sup>2</sup> New York Times

<sup>3</sup> Baltimore Sun

<sup>4</sup> Associated Press

5. EFE<sup>5</sup>, 09/29/03; Colombia's Uribe: "Viper is weakened, but still alive": Berlin -- Colombian President Alvaro Uribe described the guerrilla-drug trafficking phenomenon in his nation as a viper, saying his government has dealt it some harsh, if not yet mortal, blows. "The viper is weakened, but still alive," Uribe told the German news magazine Der Spiegel, which published a full-length interview with the Colombian leader in an issue that hit the newsstands Monday. This situation, the president said, "is just as dangerous for the U.S., Europe and Germany as it is for us ... and prevents us from building the democracy ... for Colombia." Uribe recounted that when he took office, in August 2002, "I discovered that the country only existed on paper, that the government had lost control of many areas, that practically half the country was in the hands of armed illegal groups."

6. REU<sup>6</sup>, 09/29/03: Colombia's angry Uribe to try to calm Washington; Jason Webb: BOGOTA, Colombia, Sept 29 (Reuters) - Colombian President Alvaro Uribe admits his temper can get the better of him. In a trip to the United States, including an address to the U.N. General Assembly on Tuesday, he will have to repair damage to his reputation done by an attack on human rights groups. To preserve U.S. aid, he will also have to convince U.S. legislators that his efforts to grant amnesty to outlawed fighters will not mean impunity for massacres and drug trafficking. He will meet U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, members of congress and Secretary of State Colin Powell. The outburst on Sept. 8 in which he accused some smaller human rights groups of acting as rebel fronts surprised even supporters.

7. REU<sup>7</sup>, 09/26/03; Colombia says open to change amnesty bill: BOGOTA — Colombian President Alvaro Uribe on Friday defended a bill that would grant amnesty to leftist rebels and rightist paramilitaries who enter peace talks, but he said he was open to changes after the measure was slammed by U.S. lawmakers, the United Nations and human rights groups. "We need national consensus and patience, and that can be sought in Congress without withdrawing the bill," Uribe told local radio. "If there are no clear majorities, we can make changes." The government, which is holding peace talks with right-wing paramilitary outlaws, say it cannot negotiate with people if they face the likelihood of long prison terms. "The government needs this tool," Uribe said.

#### VENEZUELA

8. AFP<sup>8</sup>, 09/26/03; Top Venezuelan diplomat smooths UN feathers: NEW YORK - Venezuelan Foreign Minister Roy Chaderton defended the United Nations in an address to the UN General Assembly, after President Hugo Chavez had called the body "mortally wounded." "Inspired by the values of social justice, democracy and peace, in the name of the president of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, I would like to reiterate our support for the UN, from a critical position but without ambiguity or inconsistencies with its highest objectives," Chaderton said. Chavez had earlier said that he would not go to New York to "be made fools of." The heads of state and of government "only go to legitimize a body that is mortally wounded, only after the US invasion of the Iraqi people," he said.

9. AP, 09/26/03; In Venezuela, pot-banging protests raise the ire of legislators - and they are going to act: CARACAS -- Depending on how you do it, banging on pots and pans -- a traditional Latin American protest against unpopular governments and tough times -- could soon land you in prison in Venezuela. Earlier this year, opponents of President Hugo Chavez staged nightly protests, called "cacerolazos," during an unsuccessful two-month strike to oust the president. The protests didn't seem to faze Chavez. Recently, opponents have targeted the homes of perceived government supporters, frightening families and prompting Chavez to denounce what he calls a new form of "terrorism." Ruling party legislators say the demonstrations have become so pervasive and threatening they want them outlawed and have introduced legislation making them punishable by up to five years in prison.

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<sup>5</sup> Spanish News Agency

<sup>6</sup> Reuters

<sup>7</sup> Reuters

<sup>8</sup> Agence France-Presse

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

TO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8683

INFO RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEAHL/DEPT OF HOMELAND SECURITY WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEFDIA/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHOND/DIRONDCP WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUMIAAA/USCINCSO MIAMI FL IMMEDIATE

RUEHBR/AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 4694

RUEHCV/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 3180

RUEHPE/AMEMBASSY LIMA 0728

RUEHWP/AMEMBASSY PANAMA 5997

RUEHQT/AMEMBASSY QUITO 0746

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BOGOTA 007864

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/21/2013

TAGS: PRKL, PTER, PGOV, MARR, MCPA, SNAR, CO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RUMSFELD MEETS WITH PRESIDENT  
URIBE

CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM B. WOOD FOR REASONS 1.5 (B)  
AND (D).

1. (C) DURING AN AUGUST 19 LUNCH IN HONOR OF SECRETARY OF  
DEFENSE RUMSFELD, SECDEF MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: A.  
PRESIDENT URIBE'S STRATEGY IS WORKING, THANKS TO HIS  
DETERMINATION TO DEFEAT TERRORISM; B. THE U.S. AND COLOMBIA  
FOUGHT TOGETHER IN THE KOREAN WAR AND REMAIN PARTNERS IN THE  
GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM. COLOMBIA IS ON THE FRONT LINE IN  
THE WAR ON TERROR; C. PRESIDENT BUSH HAD AUTHORIZED  
RESUMPTION OF THE AIR BRIDGE DENIAL PROGRAM; D. SECURING AN  
ARTICLE 98 AGREEMENT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE BUSH  
ADMINISTRATION. E. COLOMBIA'S STRUGGLE SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD  
IN TERMS OF ASSERTING EFFECTIVE SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS  
TERRITORY. ATTEMPTING TO DISTINGUISH AMONG DRUG TRAFFICKERS,  
TERRORISTS, KIDNAPPERS, AND HOSTAGE TAKERS IS POINTLESS SINCE  
THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE INTERTWINED AND ALL ARE ENEMIES OF  
DEMOCRACY.

(b)(1),1.4(b),1.4(d)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(1),1.4(b),1.4(d)

5. ~~(C)~~ SECRETARY RUMSFELD DECLARED THAT THE U.S. WAS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE GOC S ACCOMPLISHMENTS. HE PRAISED THE GOC S LEADERSHIP AS DETERMINED, COURAGEOUS, AND WISE. THE U.S.-COLOMBIA PARTNERSHIP GOES BACK TO THE KOREAN WAR; NOW WE ARE PARTNERS IN THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM.

(b)(1),1.4(b),1.4(d)

(b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

9. (U) SECDEF HAS REVIEWED AND CLEARED THIS CABLE.

WOOD

BT

JOINT STAFF V1

ACTION

(U, 6, 8)

1

INFO SJS-C(\*) SJS-C(\*) NMCC:CWO(\*) CMAS(\*)  
CMAS(\*) USSOCOMWO(\*) JSAMS(\*) AF-CC-POLAD(\*)  
BOARDMAN(\*) NOOH(\*) ESC-SMTP(1)  
+USDP:ESC  
+SAFE

SECDEF V2

ACTION

(U, 6, 8)

1

INFO CHAIRS(1) CHAIRS TESTBED(\*) CHAIRS DA(\*)  
SECDEF-C(\*) DOTE:OSD(\*) SECDEF-C(\*) C3I DASDI(\*)



DIR:PAE-RAM(\*) DIR:PAE-IMAG(\*) DIR:PAE-EMA(\*)  
+JCP EMAIL CUSTOMER//CHAIRS//

CINC/SVC CHF V5

0

ACTION

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## Roll Call Editorial Board

October 1, 11:50 a.m. -  
12:00 p.m.

Prep

Working Luncheon with Roll  
Call Editorial Board

October 1, 12:00-12:45 p.m.

September 30, 2003, 4:00 p.m.

**READ AHEAD FOR SECRETARY RUMSFELD:  
EDITORIAL BOARD LUNCH SESSION: *ROLL CALL***

**From:** Larry Di Rita, 703/692-7100

**Date/Time:** Wednesday, October 1, 12:00 – 12:45 p.m. **Location:** 3E928

**Format:** Roundtable set-up, buffet lunch. David Chu, Larry Lanzilotta and Dave Oliver have been invited to attend.

**Summary:** *Roll Call* is an independent publication (issued twice weekly) and the most widely read on the Hill. Its editorials have been largely supportive of the war and reconstruction in Iraq but continually critical of pre-war intelligence and the lack of open information and forthcoming progress reports from government officials.

**Objectives:**

- Underscore the importance of the wartime supplemental to the security, economic prosperity, and political future of Iraq.
- Take on issue of end strength.
- Underscore the need for Executive and Congressional branches to reconsider outmoded institutional organization (e.g. committee structure/overlapping jurisdiction).
- Highlight the significance of pending defense legislation (NSPS, BRAC, environmental).
- Reinforce the necessity of transforming the military to meet 21<sup>st</sup> Century threats.

**Attendees:**

Morton Kondracke, Executive Editor  
Tim Curran, Editor  
Ed Henry, Senior Editor  
Paul Kane, Senior Staff Writer  
Ethan Wallison, White House Correspondent  
John Bresnahan, Associate Editor

(Continued)

**EDITORIAL BOARD LUNCH SESSION: *ROLL CALL* (Continued)**

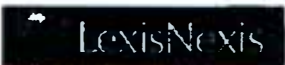
**Likely topics:**

- Supplemental bill
- Intelligence issues, including WMD and pre-war information
- Current situation in Iraq (reconstruction, cost of war, exit strategy)
- Iran – influence in Iraq
- Relations with UK and other allies

**Attachments: Recent Roll Call editorials and Kondracke pieces**

**Prepared by: Hollen J. Wheeler, OASD/PA (703) 697-9845**

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September 25, 2003 Thursday

**SECTION:** PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

**LENGTH:** 881 words

**HEADLINE:** Bush's Presidency At Risk Over Iraq Outcome, Not 'Lies'

**BYLINE:** By Morton M. Kondracke

**BODY:**

What Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) said about President Bush's Iraq policy - that it was "made up in Texas, announced in January to the Republican leadership that war was going to take place and was going to be good politically" - was extreme, but many Democrats evidently believe it.

I've talked to a number of them who think that either the war itself or its timing was designed to divert attention from Bush's domestic shortcomings or to keep the national focus on war and terrorism, to Bush's political advantage.

If the charge could ever be proved, it would be grounds for impeachment. It would certainly be a high crime or misdemeanor for a president to plot a war for his personal political advantage. Those who hold such a belief clearly can't prove it. They can cite White House aide Karl Rove's pre-Iraq statement that Bush's fighting the war on terror would help GOP candidates, but Rove was talking about an effect, not a cause.

Not only can the charge not be proved, but it's also beyond belief that any president would stage a war to win an election. That it is believed is a mark of how much some Democrats loathe Bush. They will accuse him of anything.

So why did Bush go to war? I think for exactly the reasons he stated - that, after Sept. 11, 2001, as president he could not risk having Saddam Hussein, this sworn enemy of the United States, pass weapons of mass destruction off to terrorist groups.

It was a sincere belief, born of a deep sense of responsibility in Bush that, if he could help it, a Sept. 11 should never happen again.

Whether Bush made the right decision, on the right evidence, and then overstated what evidence there was - all of this is open to debate, along with the question of whether he should have gone along with a United Nations majority and pushed for weapons inspections instead of going to war.

More important politically, though, is how it all turns out. Last fall, before the war, I wrote that Bush was betting his presidency on success in Iraq. When Baghdad fell, I thought he'd won his bet. That was dead wrong.

Bush now has his presidency riding on his ability to control the post-war aftermath and move Iraq



toward democratic self-rule.

There seems little question that his critics are right to say that his administration underestimated the difficulties and did too little advance planning.

But to return to recriminations about the pre-war, it is charged - by Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.), for instance - that Bush "knew or should have known" that Iraq had no WMDs and therefore got the United States into the war by "lies."

It's true, Iraq may have had no WMDs. On the other hand, every major intelligence service on the planet believed ahead of the war that Iraq did have them. The U.N. Security Council voted unanimously that he account for them and hand them over.

If WMDs are never found in Iraq, I submit, it's evidence of catastrophically bad intelligence - principally in the United States, but also in France, Britain and elsewhere - not bad faith.

Bush surely took a worst-case position on the weaponry - on evidence of a nuclear program, for instance - and he probably did so to "sell" this war to Congress and the American people. But did he "lie"? I don't think so.

Democrats also charge that Bush claimed that an attack on the United States was "imminent." He didn't. The whole idea of the Bush doctrine, "pre-emptive war," is to prevent your enemy from ever getting to the place where he can hit you.

Then there's the question of Bush's alleging Hussein's ties to al Qaeda or the Sept. 11 attacks. If there were no ties - and, say, Osama bin Laden and Hussein hated each other more than they hated the United States - then the whole premise of Bush's war was dead wrong.

And, it would be wrong if it turns out Hussein had no WMDs to give to al Qaeda. But everyone believed he had WMDs and it was reasonable for Bush to assume the worst - that Hussein would forge an alliance with bin Laden to use his terrorists as a delivery vehicle.

And, though the administration has not publicized it, there is evidence - cited often in *The Weekly Standard* and the *Wall Street Journal* - that the CIA has evidence of Hussein/bin Laden links, including Iraqi payments to al Qaeda.

Democrats now make a major case of the idea that Bush acted too hastily, going to war in March instead of following advice from France and others to keep inspections going.

But inspections would have found nothing - nothing may have existed - and Bush would have had to withdraw 150,000 troops from the region, undermining all pressure on Iraq.

So, I think that Bush had reason to fight the war. But the jury is still out on whether it was a wise decision. It would not be a wise decision if it proves that Iraq cannot be tamed, if Arab democracy proves simply an impossibility at this stage of history, or if the costs in lives become too great for the American public to tolerate.

For now, while asking hard questions, Democrats are going to unite with Republicans in paying what Bush estimates it costs to "win" the post-war. That's good.

For 2004 election purposes, Democrats can legitimately charge, as some do, that "this was the wrong

war at the wrong time for the wrong reason," without accusing him of "lies."

**LOAD-DATE:** September 25, 2003

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September 15, 2003 Monday

**SECTION: PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**

**LENGTH: 897 words**

**HEADLINE: GOP Could Make 2004 Campaign Nastiest Ever**

**BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke**

**BODY:**

Democrats are already making this into one of the nastiest presidential campaigns ever. It could get much worse if Republicans again play the "patriotism" card.

Democratic presidential candidates have accused President Bush of being a "liar," a "phony" and a "cowboy" who "deceived" the country into war and now is "failing to protect American troops."

According to various Democrats, he is also "the most fiscally irresponsible president in American history" and runs the government to benefit his "campaign contributors." And, some of them say, Bush got to be president in the first place because his party "disenfranchised" black voters in Florida and "stole" the 2000 election.

Depending on events, the Iraq war could produce some very bitter campaign ads, showing Bush landing in his flight suit aboard the U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln with its sign "Mission Accomplished" and then counting U.S. combat losses since then.

Or, ads showing Bush and Vice President Cheney claiming that Saddam Hussein had chemical and biological weapons, was working on nuclear weapons and had al Qaeda links, then alleging that Bush "lied us into war."

Republican National Committee Chairman Ed Gillespie calls what the Democrats are saying "political hate speech," but he also has implied what we may hear from the GOP side.

"While President Bush is attacking the terrorists, the Democrats are attacking President Bush," he said.

He made the valid analytical point that "in their effort to appeal to their hard-core anti-war and anti-president base in their party, [the Democrats] are adopting a weak and vacillating foreign policy that will hurt them with the broader electorate."

But, the GOP proved itself capable in the 2002 campaign of savagely accusing Democrats of harming the war on terrorism by opposing Bush. They could well do it again.

Most notorious was the ad run by now-Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.) against then-Sen. Max Cleland (D), who lost an arm and both legs fighting in the Vietnam War.

The ad showed pictures of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. Then a narrator declared, "As America faces terrorists and extremist dictators, Max Cleland runs television ads claiming he has the courage to lead. He says he supports President Bush at every opportunity, but that's not the truth. Since July, Max Cleland voted against President Bush's vital homeland security efforts 11 times."

Similar ads were run against other Democrats; it was part of a concerted GOP strategy. In late September last year, Sen. Bill Frist (Tenn.), then chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, told me that he personally approved all his candidates' ads.

And, he said that while the Iraq war itself was not a fit subject for anti-Democratic ads, "gridlock on homeland security drives it home what [Democratic Senators] are not getting done and directs attention to issues we are stronger on - defense, patriotism, support for the military."

Cleland, a war hero, was made out to seem to be aiding America's enemies by joining other Democrats in trying to protect the union rights of federal workers.

One can only imagine what Republicans could do if, as seems certain, the Democratic nominee either opposed the Iraq war in the first place or Bush's conduct of it since.

So far, the GOP has done little negative campaigning. Bush is out telling voters and fellow Republicans what he's done and tried to do.

But, in Senate testimony in late 2001, Attorney General John Ashcroft said that "to those ... who scare peace-loving people with phantoms of lost liberty, my message is this: Your tactics only aid terrorists, for they erode our national unity and diminish our resolve. They give ammunition to America's enemies and pause to America's friends. They encourage people of good will to remain silent in the face of evil."

Ashcroft now says that debate about his anti-terrorist methods is healthy, but some Democrats have bitterly attacked Ashcroft, and the GOP might well exploit their criticism by accusing them of "aiding terrorists."

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said last week that "to the extent that the terrorists are given reason to believe that they might prevail in some way and they take heart from that and it leads to more money going into these activities or that leads to more recruits or that leads to more encouragement or more staying power on the part of the terrorists, obviously it makes our task more difficult."

He added, "That does not mean there should not be debate ... as long as it's elevated and reasonably civil," but GOP operatives could well take a narrow view of what's "civil." In fact, some Democratic criticism isn't very civil.

Bush himself has raised the stakes in the Iraq struggle very high. Of the violence occurring there, he said last Sunday night, "The terrorists have a strategic goal. They want us to leave Iraq before our work is done. They want to shake the will of the civilized world."

Fortunately, in their Congressional Black Caucus/Fox News debate last week in Baltimore, the leading Democratic candidates erased the impression that they want an early pullout from Iraq. They said they want to "win."

But the GOP has shown it is not above using policy disagreement to accuse opponents of aiding the enemy. As low as Democrats have gone in attacking Bush this year, the GOP could go even lower.



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July 10, 2003 Thursday

**SECTION: PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**

**LENGTH: 1091 words**

**HEADLINE: Bush Must Counter Bad News From Iraq With Progress Reports**

**BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke**

**BODY:**

The news from Iraq has been almost continuously bad for nearly three months now, dominated by accounts of U.S. casualties. The Bush administration needs to counter it with good news - and more steps to improve the situation on the ground.

Of course, barring word of the capture or death of Saddam Hussein and his evil sons or the discovery of weapons of mass destruction, there's no question that the killing or wounding of American soldiers will (and should) be front-page news.

Still, along with the

daily casualty counts, the administration could be issuing progress reports on the reconstruction effort in Iraq - on matters such as the number of hours the electricity is on in Baghdad, the count of Iraqis (especially police) back on government payrolls and the volume of oil produced and exported. The Coalition Provisional Authority headed by former Ambassador Paul Bremer - an impressive, aggressive official - compiles such statistics but has not regularly released them.

The CPA has only a rudimentary Web site ([www.CPA-Iraq.org](http://www.CPA-Iraq.org)), and although it holds regular news briefings in Iraq, it held its first briefing for American reporters on Monday.

One administration official said, "People here are aware of the need for our successes to be understood. ... We're working very hard and thinking very hard about how to convey to American and foreign audiences the stunning accomplishments we've achieved." But the word isn't out. And, it hurts.

Saddam Hussein - or whoever is directing military attacks against allied forces and sabotage of Iraq's infrastructure - clearly is hoping to defeat the United States psychologically after failing to do so militarily.

The enemy evidently calculates that Americans won't stand for a steady climb in U.S. body counts topped off, perhaps, by a sizable attack like the one that killed 273 Marines in Beirut in 1983 and drove the United States out of Lebanon.

According to Thomas Donnelly, a military expert at the American Enterprise Institute just back from Iraq, the U.S. military is especially gearing up against the possibility of major attacks July 17, Baath Party National Day, designed to deliver a psychological jolt like the Vietnamese Tet offensive that

damaged U.S. morale in 1968.

The enemy also hopes, apparently, that hot, tired, scared and demoralized American troops will commit acts of insensitivity or

cruelty that will turn the Iraqi population decisively against the U.S.-led occupation.

So far, public opinion polls tell a conflicting story about whether U.S. support for

President Bush's Iraq policy is holding.

Last week, a Gallup poll showed that only 56 percent of U.S. adults now think that Iraq was "worth going to war over" and 42 percent said it was not, down from 76 percent and 23 percent in April.

A just-released Pew poll showed that only 23 percent now think the military effort is going "very well," down from 61 percent in April, but 52 percent say it is going "fairly well" and 67 percent still say that going to war was "the right decision."

At the top, Bush and his top advisers have dealt with the bad news from Iraq with statements of determination, defiance and, occasionally, defensiveness.

At a Pentagon briefing, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld denied that attacks on allied forces constituted a "guerrilla war" or that the United States was caught in a "quagmire."

Military officials say Iraqi attacks are a response to forceful U.S. counter-insurgency operations like Operation Sidewinder in the so-called "Sunni Triangle" in central Iraq.

Bush defiantly told a group of military

re-enlistees that "these scattered groups of terrorists, extremists and Saddam loyalists ... believe they have found an opportunity to harm America, to shake our resolve in the war on terror and to cause us to leave Iraq before freedom is fully established. They are wrong and they will not succeed."

In the same speech, he served notice that turning Iraq into a model of democracy, moderation and prosperity "is a massive and long-term undertaking," suggesting that he will devote large-scale resources to it over a long period.

And, outraging some Democrats who thought he was inviting attacks on U.S. forces, Bush dared the enemy to show itself: "Bring 'em on," he said, in language soldiers certainly understand.

Beyond determination, however, the continuing Iraq war and post-war needs to be fought with forces, money and with solid, steady information given to the U.S. population and the Iraqis on progress in reconstruction.

Bremer is making almost daily announcements on major developments such as the formation of Baghdad's interim city advisory council and the establishment of a temporary new Iraqi currency without Hussein's image.

But the first briefing on progress in Iraq for U.S. reporters by Bremer's CPA deputies - videoconferenced to the Pentagon - did not take place until Monday.

In it, Maj. Gen. Carl Strock, Bremer's deputy director of operations, reported that the CPA had committed "almost \$1 billion in several thousand projects" in the past 12 weeks, that total electricity output will be nearly back to its pre-war level by the end of July (though fair distribution will cause continuing blackouts in Baghdad), and that 80 percent of urban populations will have running water by October.

Andy Bearpark, CPA director of operations, explained that Iraq's infrastructure was the victim of "30 years of criminal neglect of maintenance and then criminally and politically motivated sabotage in the last few weeks," meaning it would take "several years" to restore it.

The CPA officials said that 31,000 Iraqi police officers were back on duty nationwide and were being paid almost double what they received under Saddam Hussein and that all of Iraq's 240 hospitals are equipped and open.

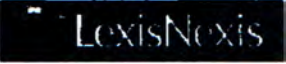
Such reports need to be regular and well-publicized to at least ameliorate the sense that only bad things are happening in Iraq.

According to AEF's Donnelly, though, the U.S. effort will require a substantial increase of fresh troops, U.S. and foreign, and massive inputs of money to assure Iraqis that the transition to modernity is irreversible.

In a forthcoming article in The Weekly Standard, Donnelly writes: "President Bush's word always has been undercut by the uncertainty of administration policy and a curious tendency to commit resources that match the rhetoric." Iraq is too important for that to happen there.

**LOAD-DATE:** July 10, 2003

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June 4, 2003 Wednesday

**SECTION: EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 481 words

**HEADLINE:** Credibility Gap

**BODY:**

The Bush administration and the U.S. intelligence community face a mounting credibility problem at home and abroad over the failure (so far) to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. It's been alleged that the administration either purposely "hyped" the threat posed by Iraq's unconventional weapons arsenal and put pressure on the intelligence agencies to produce reports supporting its policies or misread the evidence the agencies produced, perhaps willfully.

Whatever happened - even if stores of chemical and biological weapons are found - Congress will want to conduct thorough

after-action investigations of the intelligence agencies' performance and the direction given to them by top administration officials. In fact, Sen. John Warner (R-Va.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, has said that he envisions a joint inquiry with the Senate Intelligence Committee. There could be a separate House probe or a joint one with the Senate. When the process is over, though, the American people have to be convinced by a public report either that they can rely on the agencies and their bosses, or they can't. But, at the moment, there may be cause to worry that Congress' previous probe of U.S. intelligence - over what was known in advance of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks - won't be reported to the public with candor and completeness. If the Sept. 11 report can't be trusted, how can the eventual Iraq report be?

In an interview with Roll Call, Rep. Porter Goss (R-Fla.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee and co-chairman of the joint House-Senate committee that undertook the Sept. 11 probe, assures us that negotiations are proceeding expeditiously on declassification of sensitive material so that the panel's final report can be issued in short order. On the other hand, the other co-chairman of the joint committee, Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.), has made repeated allegations that a "coverup" is under way.

Last month on CBS' "Face the Nation," Graham charged that administration officials are keeping material classified because "they don't want the American people in one document to know and be able to assess and hold accountable the people who were involved in the lead-up to Sept. 11." Graham, who's running for president, is also one of the foremost critics of the administration's Iraq policy and last weekend said on CNN that "if we don't find these weapons of mass destruction, it will represent a serious intelligence failure or the manipulation of that intelligence to keep the American people in the dark."

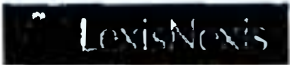
No other member of the joint Sept. 11 panel has joined Graham in his coverup allegations, but plenty of people - foreigners and Americans - harbor suspicions about the Iraqi weapons. It behooves the administration and Congress to maintain maximum trust. And the way to achieve that is through



maximum - and prompt - openings.

LOAD-DATE: June 4, 2003

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June 26, 2003 Thursday

**SECTION: PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**

**LENGTH: 900 words**

**HEADLINE: Bush Should Order U.S. Forces to Help Keep Peace in Liberia**

**BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke**

**BODY:**

President Bush is making an "I care" trip to Africa early next month, but a real test of his concern will be the level of U.S. involvement in making peace in Liberia, America's only "colony" in Africa.

"The French have stood up to the plate in Cote d'Ivoire" (Ivory Coast) by sending in 3,000 troops, said one U.S. official, and Britain has sent 700 soldiers to keep the peace in neighboring Sierra Leone.

"The question is," this official said, "is the Pentagon going to step up to the plate? Is the president going to tell the Pentagon to step up to the plate? Contingency plans have been drawn up, but it isn't decided whether we'll pull the trigger. The president's trip will force the issue." Bush is scheduled to visit five African nations from July 7 to 12, emphasizing his \$15 billion AIDS initiative, a \$9 billion "Millennium Challenge" aid program to encourage economic and political reform, U.S.-African trade relations, and "conflict resolution" for the continent's several vicious wars.

Bush's first stop is in Senegal, in West Africa, the launching point for slave trade to America -- and also the place where he'd be likely to announce any measures to bring peace to nearby Liberia.

Administration officials say the State Department is pushing for the U.S. military to be involved in a "stabilization force" for the civil war-ravaged nation, but the Pentagon opposes it, evidently fearing loss of American lives in an "unimportant" place.

As an alternative, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has talked about a U.S. program to train foreign soldiers to act as "constabularies" in Africa and elsewhere, thereby avoiding the need for American forces.

On June 19, Rumsfeld told the group Business Executives for National Security, "I think it would be a good idea if our country provided some leadership for training other countries' citizens who would like to participate in peacekeeping ... and peace making so that we have a ready cadre of people who are trained, equipped and organized and have communications so that they can work with each other."

That's a worthwhile idea, but it wouldn't be set up in time to do any good in Liberia, which is at a crisis stage right now.

A shaky cease-fire is in effect in Liberia after a savage, decade-long regional war unleashed by President Charles Taylor, who is now supposed to leave office -- but may not.

The case for U.S. involvement is that Liberia was established by freed American slaves. Its capital, Monrovia, is named after the fifth president of the United States, James Monroe. During the Cold War, Liberia was a staunch U.S. ally, and many of its elite citizens have been educated in the United States.

Moreover, Taylor is a protege of Libyan dictator Moammar Gaddafi and has ties to al Qaeda, which uses Taylor's diamond-

smuggling operations to launder money.

The U.S. should have intervened when Taylor seized power in 1990, but has more or less stood by watching as he wreaked havoc in his own country and neighboring Ivory Coast, Guinea and Sierra Leone, where his allies spread terror by hacking off the limbs of innocent civilians.

An estimated 200,000 people have been killed in the fighting, and thousands more have been raped, maimed and forced to flee their homes.

The neighboring countries sponsored rebel forces to counter Taylor -- some of them guilty of atrocities equal to his -- and finally forced him to accept a cease-fire this month. He was recently indicted as a war criminal, but his whereabouts are unknown.

If the cease-fire breaks down -- there were reports of renewed fighting this week -- one administration official said that "the spiral back to 'Heart of Darkness' could develop quickly."

The situation cries out for an international force to step in to keep the peace, provide stability while an interim government takes charge, and help the new government disarm Taylor's forces and the rebel groups.

Some U.S. contingency plans envision American troops actually joining in the stabilization force, but officials say that -- "realistically," given Pentagon objections -- the likeliest U.S. involvement will be to give airlift, logistical and communications support to an international force.

That force could either be an extension of the 13,000-member United Nations deployment in Sierra Leone or the less-effective Economic Community of West Africa force running peacekeeping operations in Ivory Coast.

Administration officials estimate that, if the Liberian cease-fire holds, it would take no more than 3,000 to 5,000 outside troops to keep the peace -- far fewer than would be needed to stop the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a vast country where 3 million people have died in another regional war.

During Bush's visits to South Africa and Nigeria, administration officials say he hopes to enlist Africa's two biggest powers to set up a peace process for Congo.

Unlike Congo -- or Rwanda, where the Clinton administration and the world community allowed 800,000 people to be killed in genocidal attacks in 1994 -- Liberia has a democratic tradition and a middle class capable of managing a stable government.

Bush is definitely showing concern for Africa -- by going there and by advancing his AIDS and economic initiatives. But as an administration official said, "How serious can we be about Africa if we don't help our only colony?"

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June 11, 2003 Wednesday

**SECTION: EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH: 454 words**

**HEADLINE: Oversee Ashcroft**

**BODY:**

Attorney General John Ashcroft's supporters credit his aggressive campaign of detentions, surveillance and interrogation with preventing any further terrorist attacks in the United States since Sept. 11, 2001. Ashcroft's critics contend that his methods are a danger to civil liberties. Actually, both sides may be right - making it imperative that Congress rigorously oversee his activities. But both Republicans and Democrats say this isn't happening. As Roll Call reported Monday, Ashcroft rarely appears before the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, and many lawmakers say he is unresponsive when Members ask about the Justice Department's use of the broad new investigative powers granted under the 2001 USA Patriot Act. "It's like pulling teeth to get answers," said Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa). "I think the problem is that Congress doesn't do enough oversight."

Ashcroft did appear last Thursday before the House panel, but it was his first testimony there in 20 months. He appeared before the Senate committee in March of this year, the first time since July 2002.

By contrast, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has appeared before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees 10 times since the beginning of 2002 and gave classified briefings to Members nearly every week in the run-up to the Iraq war. Secretary of State Colin Powell has appeared before the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee eight times in 2002 and 2003 and also has given numerous classified briefings.

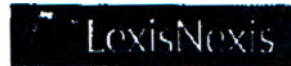
While House Judiciary Chairman Jim Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.) has been sensitive to the potential dangers to civil liberties involved with the war on terrorism, his Senate counterpart, Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), seems dismissive of the oversight issue. Only under pressure from Grassley and other members of his committee has he agreed to hold a hearing on the report of the Justice Department's inspector general that the civil rights of some post-Sept. 11 detainees were violated. Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) said Judiciary subcommittees do a better job of overseeing the Justice Department than the full committee does.

Hatch should recall that when he was Judiciary chairman between 1995 and mid-2001, he systematically shielded the FBI and its former director from criticism. Rigorous oversight - "tough love," you might call it - might have prevented the grave problems later discovered in the FBI's counterintelligence operations, its crime lab, its "culture" and its terrorist-tracking capabilities.

The war on terrorism is too important - both in its security and civil liberties aspects - for Congress to simply rely on administration assurances that all is going well.

**LOAD-DATE: June 11, 2003**





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June 19, 2003 Thursday

**SECTION: PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**

**LENGTH: 906 words**

**HEADLINE: Iraqi WMD Probes Are Too Important For Party Warfare**

**BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke**

**BODY:**

There's no question that Congress has to investigate the issue of Iraq's missing weapons of mass destruction, but the last thing the country needs is for the inquiry to start off as a partisan political melee.

Some Democrats, led by Sens. Robert Byrd (W.Va.), Bob Graham (Fla.) and Carl Levin (Mich.) and former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, have already concluded that President Bush deceived the country in claiming before the second Persian Gulf War that Iraq had huge stores of chemical and biological weapons.

Dean, echoing attacks in England on Prime Minister Tony Blair, has compared the matter to Watergate, demanding: "What did the president know and when did he know it?" Graham, once a sober moderate, has become a fierce Bush opponent now that he is running for president, accusing Bush of weaving "a pattern of deception and deceit" to justify going to war.

Levin, who credited charges that Saddam Hussein had WMDs when they were made by President Bill Clinton - and urged Clinton to attack Iraq - now is charging Bush with "systematic shading and exaggeration" in the run-up to the latest conflict.

And Byrd, perhaps the most vociferous of all, asserted June 5 on the Senate floor that a "perception of deception" hung around Bush and that WMDs may have been "a manufactured excuse by an administration eager to seize a country."

Bush's critics, including columnists and editorial writers, are in the process of building an urban legend that Bush decided to go to war with Iraq, then pressured U.S. intelligence agencies to produce data to justify his policy. Or, he "hyped" what he was given. Or, he made it up, in the pattern of President Lyndon Johnson in the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

Bush's adversaries have it right this far: Hussein's possession of chemical and biological weapons were Bush's main justification for going to war and, if it turns out he didn't have them, U.S. credibility is in danger, especially the next time the administration tries to convince the U.S. public and the world to confront another country on the "axis of evil" list.

The quality and content of U.S. intelligence before the war and the uses to which it was put by the administration certainly deserve thorough investigation, but in a spirit of open inquiry, not with the kind

of predetermined bias that Bush's critics impute to him.

Congress may actually perform such investigations, but the opening moves by the House Intelligence Committee engender more confidence than those in the Senate.

In the Senate, Armed Services Chairman John Warner (R-Va.) at first announced a joint inquiry with Senate Intelligence.

Then, last week, the joint inquiry was off and Senate Intelligence Chairman Pat Roberts (R-Kan.) - without any Democrats present - said the inquiry would be handled as part of his panel's routine oversight responsibilities. He made no promises of public hearings or a public report.

Roberts added, "I will not allow the committee to be politicized," but Democrats complained that this was already happening.

Democratic Sen. Jay Rockefeller (W.Va.) retorted: "What they appear to be doing is entirely inadequate and slow-paced and potentially kind of sleep-walking through history."

In contrast, House Intelligence Chairman Porter Goss (R-Fla.) and ranking member Jane Harman (D-Calif.) worked out a procedure which won unanimous support from committee members of both parties.

Goss chose to call the inquiry a "review," while Harman called in an "investigation," but they issued a joint press release saying what they do would be "serious, focused and comprehensive."

They called for CIA Director George Tenet to provide detailed WMD data to the committee by July 1, invited non-committee Members to examine it provided they sign a special non-disclosure oath and promised a public summary of the committee's classified final report.

"So far, so good," Harman told me in an interview. "The administration is cooperating. We've got all the information Tenet promised ahead of the deadline ... several thick binders. Will the cooperation last? I don't know. I think the administration has a need to reassure the public."

Harman wouldn't criticize fellow Democrats like Levin and Graham, but it's clear she has a different approach from theirs.

"I may get there," she said of their conclusions about Bush, "but I have to go through the process. And I think we've got the right process. ... I will follow the facts unflinchingly wherever they may lead."

Harman said that "the main question is, 'Was the basic [intelligence] material adequate to justify action - was it actionable? - because if it wasn't, was [the war] the right action to take?'"

The important difference between Harman and Graham is that she seems to be asking genuine questions, while he and other Bush critics seem to already know the answers.


In the meantime, Roberts told me that he also will "follow the material wherever it leads," but said use of the word "investigation" is "premature," as is a guarantee of public hearings. "I want to do our homework first," he said.

He is plainly still miffed at Democrats' efforts to politicize questions about WMDs. "Dean is calling for impeachment. Other people are accusing the president of 'deception' and 'lying,'" he said. "That's not the right atmosphere for this to go forward."

Asked if his inquiry now would be bipartisan, Roberts said, "I hope so." Let's all hope so.

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**HEADLINE: Bush, Congress Need to Help Stressed Reserves**

**BYLINE: By Morton M. Kondracke**

**BODY:**

Citizen soldiers - reservists and National Guard members - expect to get called to active service in wartime. It's what they've signed up and trained for.

But thousands have been called to active duty more than once and for extended periods in recent years, causing Members of Congress to wonder how long this can last.

Somewhere between a third and 40 percent of reservists suffer pay cuts when they go on active duty. Many lose health insurance for their families, and some get as little as a day's notice before having to leave home. At a hearing last week of the House Armed Services subcommittee on total force, Chairman John McHugh (R-N.Y.) said he worries that "if we don't do something in Washington to smooth out the growing height of the bumps [reservists] face, we risk losing the force."

Five reservists and guard personnel who testified at the hearing were overwhelmingly uncomplaining, although they reported on misuse of their skills, lack of advice to their families on medical benefits, multiple call-ups and extensions of their duty time and going into debt during their service.

Pentagon officials point out that recruitment and retention rates in the reserves and National Guard have not suffered despite nine mobilizations over the past 13 years, including the present call-up of nearly 220,000 for the Iraq war, about 20 percent of all reservists.

But Steve Anderson, legislative director for the Reserve Officers Association, told me that while the Pentagon's attitude is "the more you use 'em, the more they like it," we think that if you lose money, your business goes bankrupt and you lose your health insurance, it makes table talk at home pretty dicey."

"I'm not worried about the situation now, but about the next call-up and the next one."

President Bush ran in 2000 complaining about President Bill Clinton's "overstretching" U.S. forces with deployments in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo.

But Bush has kept forces in Kosovo and embarked on a war in Afghanistan, post-Sept. 11 anti-terrorism duty at home and now a war in Iraq - all without expanding the number of active-duty forces and reserves.



In addition, 15 state governors currently have National Guard units called up for duty in response to terror warnings from Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge.

Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.), a member of McHugh's subcommittee, told me "it's a very difficult situation with no end in sight. We're overusing people, deploying them in extreme cycles. We force people into poverty, force small businesses to close, divide families. We're using up people's capacity for patriotism."

Tauscher said she and Rep. Ike Skelton (D-Mo.), ranking member on the Armed Services Committee, favor a 10 percent expansion of the armed forces and a "good look" at certain military jobs for which call-ups are frequent.

Another solution would be significant use by the Pentagon of the "call to service" short-term enlistment program sponsored by Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Evan Bayh (D-Ind.) and signed into law last year.

The measure was designed to attract college-bound young people into the service who are unwilling to make a four-year commitment, but would be willing to serve for 18 months on active duty, followed by several years in the reserves or civilian agencies such as the Peace Corps or AmeriCorps.

McCain and Bayh envisioned a first-year program of 20,000 short-term enlistment opportunities, eventually rising to 90,000, but McCain's staff anticipates that the Bush administration will start small, with only 2,000 slots.

Yet another solution to the military manpower shortage would be a return to the draft, as proposed by Rep. Charlie Rangel (D-N.Y.) but adamantly opposed by the Bush administration.

Meantime, Congress is acting to "smooth out some of the bumps" for reservists. The Senate just voted to double their family separation allowance from \$125 a month to \$250.

Sens. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.) and Dick Durbin (D-Ill.) have introduced a bill requiring the federal government to make up any pay differential when federal employees who are reservists get called to active service.

Sens. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) have introduced bills to ensure that reservists' families can continue to be covered by health insurance when they're called up.

The Pentagon says that, prior to the Iraq war, reservists over the past 13 years stood a 65 percent chance of being called to active duty once, but only a 4 percent chance for two call-ups and a 1 percent chance for three.

Still, that amounts to 48,000 people called up twice and 12,000 three times - and the Pentagon acknowledges that certain "high-demand, low-density" units are called up often.

They include special forces, military police, civil affairs, transportation and combat engineers. "Some of these people are called up so often they meet themselves coming in and going out the front door," Anderson said.

And a significant number of reservists are police officers, firefighters and paramedics in civilian life. "What happens if there's a terrorist attack and the National Guard unit you need to deal with it is deployed in Kosovo?" Tauscher asked.

Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld promised the Reserve Officers Association in June that he'd look into the reserve-overstretch problem. As soon as this war is over, and before the next, he ought to do that.

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# Commentary

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Iran is a more menacing adversary than Saddam Hussein's Iraq ever was, yet the Bush administration seems to have no clear strategy for dealing with it. Nor is the Iran problem much discussed among Democratic presidential aspirants.

Run by repressive and virulently anti-American Islamic clerics, the Iranian regime sponsors terrorists who have killed hundreds of Americans. And it has a robust nuclear program that's estimated to give it a bomb arsenal by 2006.

President Bush named Iran part of the "axis of evil" in 2002, but administration policy for dealing with the threat seems to be caught up in familiar combat between Pentagon hawks and State Department diplomats.

State has wanted to "engage" the Iranian regime in hopes of inducing its moderate elements to slow down or end its nuclear program and halt aid to terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad. Bush has rejected an "engagement" strategy, allowing only intermittent quiet contacts that are currently broken off because of suspicions that Iran assisted the al Qaeda terrorists responsible for lethal bombings in Saudi Arabia last month.

Exactly what the Pentagon wants to do about Iran is unclear, but some outside hawks recommend covert action to destabilize the regime, which is hated by its citizenry, and others say that the United States should get ready to bomb Iran's nuclear plants. There's no evidence that the administration has opted for those aggressive choices, either.

According to Patrick Clawson, an Iran expert at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "U.S. policy thus far has been to delay developments in the [nuclear] program in the hope that the hardliners will lose control before Iran gets the bomb." Another expert told me that "hope is not a strategy," and Clawson said, "It looks to me like they'll get nukes before there's a regime change."

Iran actually has multiple nuclear programs, overt and covert, apparently stimulated - among other things - by the example of Iraq's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which might not



have occurred if Israel had not destroyed Iraq's Osirak nuclear plant in 1981.

In February, during the run-up to the latest Iraq war, Iran's supposedly moderate president, Muhammad Khatami, announced that Iran was developing facilities to produce and process its own nuclear fuel. It was a way of saying that, even if the United States destroyed or delayed the Bushear nuclear plant being built by Russia, expected to be completed late this year, Iran had other means of becoming a nuclear power.

The spectacle of Hussein's quick and crushing defeat by the United States this year, coupled with Bush's listing Iran as an "axis" target, can only have inspired Iran to hasten development of its nuclear deterrent.

Russia is insisting that, when the Bushear plant goes on line, it will remove the spent fuel and not allow it to be fabricated into bomb material. If fuel is diverted, though, nonproliferation expert Henry Sokolski estimates that Iran could have an arsenal of 50 to 75 bombs by 2006.

In addition, however, Iran is also mining its own uranium and is building both a heavy water nuclear reactor of its own and a sophisticated uranium enrichment plant that Sokolski estimates could help produce two to six bombs a year by 2006.

International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors have reported that Iran is in violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, but it remains to be seen whether the IAEA board will recommend action by the United Nations Security Council, as the Bush administration hopes.

In the meantime, according to Iran expert Geoffrey Kemp, "Iran provides by far the largest financial and military support to Hezbollah, estimated at more than \$100 million annually." Based in Syrian-controlled areas of Lebanon, Hezbollah was responsible for bombing the U.S. embassy and Marine Corps barracks in Beirut in 1983 and for forcing Israel to give up its occupation of southern Lebanon.

Iran is blamed for the 1996 bombing of the U.S. Air Force's Khobar Towers residence in Saudi Arabia and, according to former Senate Intelligence Chairman Bob Graham (D-Fla.), Hezbollah maintains sleeper cells in the United States. Graham hasn't said what he'd do about Iran, but he has called for issuing an ultimatum to Syria: Shut down Hezbollah camps in Lebanon or the United States will do it militarily.

Iran's Achilles' heel seems to be domestic unrest. After a

quarter-century of life under rigid, repressive Islamic rule, Iran's citizenry has voted overwhelmingly for reform but has gotten precious little of it.

Right-wing mullahs control Iran's foreign policy, military and security apparatus. They close down newspapers, jail dissidents and send police and pro-regime militias to shut down demonstrations such as those currently roiling college campuses.

Kemp, a former Reagan administration official now at the Nixon Center, argues in a forthcoming article in *The National Interest* magazine for trying to negotiate a "grand deal" with moderates in the Iranian government to stop its nuclear weapons program in return for a lifting of economic sanctions.

Clawson said, "I'm all for a deal if you can get one, but I'd also keep the pressure on for human rights and democratic reform, as we did with the Soviet bloc during the Cold War."

That analogy has also been cited by Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.), who has spoken - in no great detail and alone among Democratic presidential prospects - of fostering "regime change" in Iran. Iran policy is a rich subject for Democratic debate, especially since the Bush administration seems to lack a plan of action.

*Mort Kondracke is the Executive Editor of Roll Call.*



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