

Copy

April 17, 2003 6:53 AM



TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
 Gen. Myers  
 Doug Feith  
 Gen. Pace

CC: LTG Craddock

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: "Hot Buttons"

000.5

Attached is a paper on some thoughts about how other countries and terrorist networks will be going to school on us. We are going to be in an era of asymmetrical warfare.

If these are correct, we can expect that others will know it, and they will find ways to take advantage of it.

Do you have any additions for this list? I think I will fashion it and then send it around to the NSC after we have refined it.

Please respond through LTG Craddock, and let's get a good version of this. [LTG Craddock—This might be a subject for a CINC conference at some point.]

*and CJCS/VEJCS 4/22*

Thanks.

*FEITH RESPONSE ATTACHED*

Attach.  
4/16/03 version "Hot Buttons"

*4/22  
4/26*

DHR:dh  
041703-2



Please respond by 5/2/03

1744203

04-21-03 13:10 IN

11 APR 21 9:15 AM

11-L-0559/OSD/15349

U12801 /03

April 16, 2003 5:40 PM

SUBJECT: Hot Buttons

It is clear that the Iraqis, and undoubtedly terrorists and other terrorist states, as well as the world, have learned what the "hot buttons" are for the U.S. Some examples of lessons they undoubtedly have learned are:

- The U.S. makes great efforts to avoid collateral damage.
- The U.S. faces pressure to have coalitions and to not be seen as acting unilaterally.
- The U.S. has a preference for seeking UN resolutions, which allows the French, Russians or the PRC to use their vetoes to make life difficult for the U.S.
- The U.S. does not lie, but our opponents can and do to their advantage.
- The U.S. is not highly skilled with respect to information operations.
- The U.S. has superior precision air power, particularly when coordinated with targeting from the ground and special operations activities—take steps to avoid it.
- The U.S. is weak in human intel collection.
- Opponents can work the seams in U.S. public opinion:
  - “anti-war” elites and intellectuals;
  - a liberal media;
  - partisan Congressional divisions;
  - ethnic sympathies.
- The U.S. is held to exceedingly high—unreasonable—standards of proof, which allow opponents to hide/avoid responsibility for their actions.
- The U.S. has difficult “allies.”
- To deter the U.S., get nuclear weapons fast.

DHR:dh  
Current MFRs/Hot Buttons

11-L-0559/OSD/15350

- Enemies can exploit anti-Americanism (anti-the-big-guy-sentiment) around the world.
- US relies on governments with vulnerable political bases (e.g. Pakistan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt.)
- It remains easy to travel into and out of the US.
- The US remains open to many foreign students.

EF-4880 C4/03

April 14, 2003 9:50 AM

Irag

Jaymie Durnan

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Eastern Europe

DR

Why don't we pull together a panel of Eastern European countries and ask for their help in how to transition.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
041401-8

Please respond by 4/25/03

✓ DR

4/22

RESPONSE ATTACHED

V/R

~~cc: DSD~~

cc: DSD (4/23/03)

Jones 4/22 cc

14 APR 03

Jaymie Durnan

11-L-0559/OSD/15352

4/23 U12802 /03



4:18 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
DATE: February 1, 2003  
SUBJECT:

F

Call Nick Burns and find out if the French are obstructing a NATO mission to protect shipping going through the Straits of Gibraltar. If that is so, we need to go and get NATO countries to help us do it not through NATO, but around NATO.

French

I need a memo on the subject so I can talk to the President about it. It looks like one more example of the Franks problem.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
030103.12

Please respond by: 2 / 10 / 03

U12810 /03

Franks

3/7  
103  
Larry Di Rita

↖

1:02 PM

3/10

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DA  
DATE: March 1, 2003  
SUBJECT:

SECDEF HAS SEEN  
MAR 2 2003

The more I think about it, the more I think we ought to try to get an Iraqi for one of those top oil jobs. I think it just looks bad to have an American in there.

Thanks.

→ SD 3/7/03  
I agree  
I've spoken with Hadley and he says Condoleezza came to the same view.  
Hadley is working with Libby and Commerce to identify the names.  
I'll follow up.  
Doug Feith

proof

DHR/azn  
030103.12

Please respond by: \_\_\_\_\_ 3/15/03

U12825 /03

1/11/03



10:37 AM

TO: GEN Craddock

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

DATE: March 1, 2003

SUBJECT: **Review of Procedures**

Is there any way we can figure out what else, by way of procedures, we have not reviewed since the Administration came in so we have a sense of what are some things that might be problems?

310.1

For example, if we had not reviewed the Contingency Planning process it would still be lousy. If we had not reviewed the ISR process it would still be lousy. We just found out we had not reviewed the SAP process.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
030103.11

Please respond by:

~~3/8/03~~

T 4/10

U12826 /03

1 Mar 03



TO: GEN Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
DATE: March 1, 2003  
SUBJECT: CIA Briefing

Advance  
copy.  
Provided

When do I get the CIA briefing that I told you about yesterday? The one George Tenet wants me to have.

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR - 1 2003

Thanks.

337

DHR/azn  
030103.10

Please respond by:

3/1/03

C 3/1

SECDEF

- I talked to [redacted] last night.

(b)(6)

- We are scheduling for Monday 1:00 - 1:30 pm.

- [redacted] owes me a call to confirm

(b)(6)

- Proposed attendees: ~~SECDEF~~ DEPOSE DEF  
WJCS  
VJCS  
Feith  
Cambone

1 Mar 03



TO: Larry Di Rita  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
 DATE: March 1, 2003  
 SUBJECT: **Deployments**

I think I need to get a better understanding of where we have permanent or temporary people deployed around the world, excluding the Iraq build-up. In other words, I want to look at Europe, Japan, Okinawa, Guam, Korea, Iceland and anywhere else and find out the numbers of people there, if they are permanent change of stations or not, what the name of the outfit is, what their purpose is.

*520.2*

I think I can save a lot of time if I get a good look at the whole world and then point people as to how I think they ought to be rearranged when the music stops.

Also, get the number of U.S. military people in US NATO.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
 030103.03

*Please respond by:* \_\_\_\_\_ *3/5/03*

U12828 /03 *1 Mar 03*



9:00 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
 DATE: March 1, 2003  
 SUBJECT: **Defense Policy Board**

Is George Shultz on the Defense Policy Board? If not, we ought to add him.

Thanks.

*3/3/03*

DHR/azn  
030103.01

Please respond by: \_\_\_\_\_

*3/10*

*He is not. I will add his name to list of proposed additions / changes to the Board that Richard Perle is proposing.*

*J. Di Rita*

*1 Mar 03*

U12829 /03



1:04 PM

TO: Jim Thomas

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

DATE: March 1, 2003

SUBJECT: **Footprint**

Are you looking at the possibility of the Army going on a rotation like the Marines do and changing our footprint that way?

Thanks.

*319*

DHR/azn  
030103.13

*Please respond by:* \_\_\_\_\_

*3/17/03*

U12850 /03

*1 Mar 03*



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1010

INFO MEMO

March 17, 2003

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THROUGH: DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
FROM: Jim Thomas, Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense  
SUBJECT: Army Unit Rotations & Implications for the Overseas Footprint

*Background*

- You asked in a March 1 snowflake about possibility of Army adopting unit rotational system like Marines and what the footprint implications would be.
- The Army is already considering shifting the balance of its overseas presence from permanently forward-stationed units to unit rotations. This move would better align the Army with the strategy by increasing forward combat power and could transform the Army organizationally while accelerating jointness.

*Potential Benefits*

- Establish a leaner, more combat-capable footprint that is more readily employable and enhances forward deterrence.
- Allow US to tailor footprint to specific regional requirements.
- Permit gaps in presence in some theaters depending on the threat, as well as rapid shifts in presence between theaters.
- Reduce number of dependents and support personnel overseas, both for cost savings as well as to eliminate vulnerabilities.
- Align Army with other Services, which already rotate units to maintain forward presence. Facilitate Joint Task Force formation, since all Service elements would be rotational and their schedules would be predictable.
- Pave way toward creating a real Global Joint Force Presence Policy and potential presence substitutions between all elements of the Joint Force.

- Catalyze creation of self-sustaining brigade-sized combat groups capable of deployments without Army echelon-above-division assets by utilizing, among other things, reach-back capabilities and joint C4ISR in theater.

#### *Manageable Pitfalls*

- Unit rotations will break the bank if the US maintains current levels of Army presence in Europe and Korea; would require an increase in Active Component (AC) combat brigades. Similarly, it makes little sense to adopt unit rotations for theaters where the US plans to maintain a continuous presence.
- A 3:1 ratio is probably unsustainable. A 5:1 ratio is sustainable but would require additional force structure. For comparison, Marines maintain a ratio of slightly more than 4:1 ratio. This should be the target for Army unit rotations.
- Rotations lasting only 30-120 days are probably too short for units to become sufficiently familiar with their missions and local operating environments. Rotations longer than 180 days in peacetime could create morale and force retention problems. For comparison, Marines conduct 180-day deployments. Again, this should be the target for the Army.
- Army unit rotations will probably require additional lift and pre-positioned equipment sets at forward bases.
- Readiness for major combat operations could suffer, although the ability to deter coercion or aggression in the first place should be enhanced.

#### *Way Ahead*

- Army study to be completed by July 2003; could launch a rapid trial effort.
- If the US decides to undertake significant adjustments in its posture in Europe and Korea and focuses on facilities access, as recommended in the OSD Global Posture Study, the Army's adoption of unit rotations would be complementary.
- Unit rotations could be adopted without additional AC Brigades, provided: 1) presence in Europe and Korea is reduced in terms of numbers of brigades and time on station; 2) rotation ratio of 4:1 with 180-day deployments adopted; and 3) training requirements can be nested within some overseas deployment periods.



March 3, 2003 7:25 AM

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Congresswoman Harman

I saw Congresswoman Jane Harman from California last night. She is willing to help on transformation. Let's get her on the team.

381

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030303-1



Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

U12833 /03

3 Mar 03



March 3, 2003 7:42 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Blair's Speech

UK

Here is a copy of Tony Blair's speech. He was absolutely fabulous. I watched the tape. There are some good lines in here.

Thanks.

Attach.  
02/17/03 Blair speech: "Why War Is the Right Choice"

DHR:dh  
030303-2

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U12834 /03

3 Mar 03

## Why War is the Right Choice

By Tony Blair

Labour Party Website | February 17, 2003

2/24  
RSP

*The following is the text of a speech delivered by Prime Minister Tony Blair at Labour's local government, women's and youth conferences, SECC, Glasgow, on Saturday, February 15, 2003.*

For hundreds of years, Europe was at war, the boundaries of many nations shifting with each passing army, small countries occupied and re-occupied, their people never at peace. Large countries fought each other literally for decades at a time with only the briefest respite to draw breath before the resumption of hostilities. For my father's generation that was the Europe they were brought up in. Today in Europe former enemies are friends, at one, if not always diplomatically. The EU is a massive achievement of peace and prosperity now set to welcome in the nations who suffered from the other great tyranny of my father's life time and my own: the Soviet Union. For the first 40 years of my life, the reality was the Communist bloc versus the West. Today the Cold War is over. The EU is set to grow to 25, then 30 then more nations. Russia is our partner and we, hers, in her search for a new and democratic beginning. China is developing as a Socialist market economy and is the ally of Europe, and the US.

We don't wake up and fear Russia or China as we did. America is not focussed on the struggle for ideological hegemony between Communism and liberal democracy. The issue is not a clash for conquest between the big powers.

But the old threat has been replaced by a new one. The threat of chaos; disorder; instability. A threat which arises from a perversion of the true faith of Islam, in extremist terrorist groups like Al Qaida. It arises from countries which are unstable, usually repressive dictatorships which use what wealth they have to protect or enhance their power through chemical, biological or nuclear weapons capability which can cause destruction on a massive scale.

What do they have in common these twins of chaos - terrorism and rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction? They are answerable to no democratic mandate, so are unrestrained by the will of ordinary people. They are extreme and inhumane. They detest and fear liberal, democratic and tolerant values. And their aim is to de-stabilise us.

September 11<sup>th</sup> didn't just kill thousands of innocent people. It was meant to bring down the Western economy. It did not do so. But we live with the effects of it even today in economic confidence. It was meant to divide Muslim and Christian, Arab and Western nations, and to provoke us to hate each other. It didn't succeed but that is what it was trying to do.

These states developing Weapons of Mass Destruction, proliferating them, importing or exporting the scientific expertise, the ballistic missile technology; the companies and individuals helping them: they don't operate within any international treaties. They don't conform to any rules. North Korea is a country whose people are starving and yet can spend billions of dollars trying to perfect a nuclear bomb. Iraq, under Saddam became the first country to use chemical weapons against its own people. Are we sure that if we let him keep and develop such weapons, he would not use them again against his neighbours, against Israel perhaps? Saddam the man who killed a million people in an eight year war with Iran, and then, having lost it, invaded Kuwait? Or the other nations scabbling to get a foot on the nuclear ladder, are we happy that they do so?

And the terrorist groups already using chemical and biological agents with money to spend, do we really believe that if Al Qaida could get a dirty bomb they wouldn't use it? And then think of the consequences. Already there is fear and anxiety, undermining confidence. Think of the consequences then. Think of a nation using a nuclear device, no matter how small, no matter how distant the land. Think of the chaos it would cause.

That is why Saddam and Weapons of Mass Destruction are important.

Every time I have asked us to go to war, I have hated it. I spent months trying to get Milosevic to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, delaying action while we negotiated endlessly. I agreed with President Bush not to strike Afghanistan after September 11<sup>th</sup> but instead to offer the Taliban, loathsome though they were, an ultimatum: yield up Al Qaida and we

will let you stay. We used force in the end, but in Kosovo only as a last resort, and though I rejoiced with his people at the fall of Milosevic, as I rejoiced with the Afghan people at the fall of the Taliban, I know that amid the necessary military victory there was pain and suffering that brought no joy at all.

At every stage, we should seek to avoid war. But if the threat cannot be removed peacefully, please let us not fall for the delusion that it can be safely ignored. If we do not confront these twin menaces of rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction and terrorism, they will not disappear. They will just feed and grow on our weakness.

When people say if you act, you will provoke these people; when they say now: take a lower profile and these people will leave us alone, remember: Al Qaida attacked the US, not the other way round. Were the people of Bali in the forefront of the anti-terror campaign? Did Indonesia 'make itself a target'? The terrorists won't be nice to us if we're nice to them. When Saddam drew us into the Gulf War, he wasn't provoked. He invaded Kuwait.

So: where has it come to? Everyone agrees Saddam must be disarmed. Everyone agrees without disarmament, he is a danger.

No one seriously believes he is yet co-operating fully. In all honesty, most people don't really believe he ever will. So what holds people back? What brings thousands of people out in protests across the world? And let's not pretend, not really that in March or April or May or June, people will feel different. It's not really an issue of timing or 200 inspectors versus 100. It is a right and entirely understandable hatred of war. It is moral purpose, and I respect that.

It is as one woman put it to me: I abhor the consequences of war.

And I know many in our own Party, many here today will agree with her; and don't understand why I press the case so insistently. And I have given you the geo-political reason - the threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction and its link with terrorism. And I believe it.

If I am honest about it, there is another reason why I feel so strongly about this issue. It is a reason less to do with my being Prime Minister than being a member of the Labour Party, to do with the progressive politics in which we believe. The moral case against war has a moral answer: it is the moral case for removing Saddam. It is not the reason we act. That must be according to the United Nations mandate on Weapons of Mass Destruction. But it is the reason, frankly, why if we do have to act, we should do so with a clear conscience.

Yes, there are consequences of war. If we remove Saddam by force, people will die and some will be innocent. And we must live with the consequences of our actions, even the unintended ones.

But there are also consequences of "stop the war."

If I took that advice, and did not insist on disarmament, yes, there would be no war. But there would still be Saddam. Many of the people marching will say they hate Saddam. But the consequences of taking their advice is that he stays in charge of Iraq, ruling the Iraqi people. A country that in 1978, the year before he seized power, was richer than Malaysia or Portugal. A country where today, 135 out of every 1000 Iraqi children die before the age of five - 70 percent of these deaths are from diarrhoea and respiratory infections that are easily preventable. Where almost a third of children born in the centre and south of Iraq have chronic malnutrition.

Where 60 percent of the people depend on Food Aid.

Where half the population of rural areas have no safe water.

Where every year and now, as we speak, tens of thousands of political prisoners languish in appalling conditions in Saddam's jails and are routinely executed.

Where in the past 15 years over 150,000 Shia Moslems in Southern Iraq and Moslem Kurds in Northern Iraq have been

butchered; with up to four million Iraqis in exile round the world, including 350,000 now in Britain.

This isn't a regime with Weapons of Mass Destruction that is otherwise benign. This is a regime that contravenes every single principle or value anyone of our politics believes in.

There will be no march for the victims of Saddam, no protests about the thousands of children that die needlessly every year under his rule, no righteous anger over the torture chambers which if he is left in power, will be left in being.

I rejoice that we live in a country where peaceful protest is a natural part of our democratic process.

But I ask the marchers to understand this.

I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership. And the cost of conviction.

But as you watch your TV pictures of the march, ponder this:

If there are 500,000 on that march, that is still less than the number of people whose deaths Saddam has been responsible for.

If there are one million, that is still less than the number of people who died in the wars he started.

Let me read from an e-mail that was sent by a member of the family of one of those four million Iraqi exiles. It is interesting because she is fiercely and I think wrongly critical of America. But in a sense for that reason, it is worth reading. She addresses it to the anti-war movement. In one part, she says:

"You may feel that America is trying to blind you from seeing the truth about their real reasons for an invasion. I must argue that in fact, you are still blind to the bigger truths in Iraq. Saddam has murdered more than a million Iraqis over the past 30 years, are you willing to allow him to kill another million Iraqis? Saddam rules Iraq using fear - he regularly imprisons, executes and tortures the mass population for no reason whatsoever - this may be hard to believe and you may not even appreciate the extent of such barbaric acts, but believe me you will be hard pressed to find a family in Iraq who have not had a son, father, brother killed, imprisoned, tortured and/or "disappeared" due to Saddam's regime. Why it is now that you deem it appropriate to voice your disillusion with America's policy in Iraq, when it is right now that the Iraqi people are being given real hope, however slight and however precarious, that they can live in an Iraq that is free of its horrors?"

We will give the e-mail to delegates. Read it all. It is the reason why I do not shrink from action against Saddam if it proves necessary. Read the letter sent to me by Dr Safa Hashim, who lives here in Glasgow, and who says he is writing despite his fears of Iraqi retribution.

He says the principle of opposing war by the public is received warmly by Iraqis for it reveals the desire of people to avoid suffering. But he says it misses the point - because the Iraqi people need Saddam removed as a way of ending their suffering.

Dr Hashim says:

"The level of their suffering is beyond anything that British people can possibly envisage, let alone understand his obsession to develop and possess weapons of mass destruction. Do the British public know that it is normal practice for Saddam's regime to demand the cost of the bullet used of in the execution of their beloved family members and not even to allow a proper funeral? If the international community does not take note of the Iraqi people's plight but continues to address it casually this will breed terrorism and extremism within the Iraqi people. This **cannot** be allowed to happen."

Remember Kosovo where we were told war would de-stabilise the whole of the Balkans and that region now has the

best chance of peace in over 100 years?

Remember Afghanistan, where now, despite all the huge problems, there are three million children in school, including for the first time in over two decades one and a half million girls and where two million Afghan exiles from the Taliban have now returned.

So if the result of peace is Saddam staying in power, not disarmed, then I tell you there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too. But these victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless.

Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane.

And if it does come to this, let us be clear: we should be as committed to the humanitarian task of rebuilding Iraq for the Iraqi people as we have been to removing Saddam.

And there will be no stability in the Middle East until there is lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians based on a secure Israel and a viable Palestinian state. I promise we will not rest until we have used every drop of our influence to achieve it.

Just as we are proud we lead the way on third world debt, on aid, on development, on hope for Africa.

The values that drive our actions abroad are the same values of progress and justice that drive us at home.

I believe in social justice; it is the ideal that inspired the birth of our movement.

And at its core social justice is about the basic dignity that comes from work. Labour governments have always cared about employment. Not every Labour government has created jobs in record numbers. But this week we announced the strongest job growth for three years.

Today long-term unemployment is at its lowest level for 35 years.

Youth unemployment slashed by three-quarters.

Jobs here in Scotland, jobs across the UK, dignity for those who were too often forgotten and left behind in the Tory years.

One and a half million more jobs in the six years Labour has been in power – that's the difference between a Tory government and a Labour government. Three million out of work under the Tories, the lowest unemployment for a generation under Labour.

But jobs alone are not enough. We've got to make sure that those in work get a fair deal.

That is why Britain has its first ever Minimum wage. It is why we have introduced the Working Families Tax Credit. It is why we signed the social chapter so that working people were guaranteed four weeks paid leave.

I believe that the private and voluntary sectors can play a valuable role in the delivery of public services. I am perfectly clear on that. But I am also clear that it should not be done by driving down wages and conditions. Good quality companies do not compete on this basis anyway. That's why it is right to tackle the two-tier workforce. It is not anti-business. It is not anti-reform. It is about offering decent wages and conditions for delivering the service.

And yes it is social justice that also drives our passion to renew and to rebuild the National Health Service.

Because we believe in the NHS, believe in its values, believe in the people who work for it, believe in its power for

good, we have made a commitment to rebuild it.

But that commitment could only be made real because we made the tough choices necessary to build a strong economy. With interest rates now at their lowest level since the 1950s and the lowest inflation for 30 years we can put the NHS on a sound footing after years of neglect.

And that is why we are introducing a tax rise for the NHS.

If you want a decent health service we've all got to pay for it. Don't apologise for it; go out and campaign for it in every community up and down the country. And tell the British people if you want a decent NHS vote Labour, if you want it torn apart bring the Tories back.

And if you want a different policy for every day of the week, and for every part of the country, then vote for the Liberal Democrats.

After years of under-investment, we are now making the commitment to public services that people have wanted to see for decades.

More teachers, more nurses, more police. That is what you get from a Labour Government.

All of it under threat from the Tories.

At the General Election they were humiliated for proposing £16bn of cuts. After months of soul searching, months of in-fighting, months when the Quiet Man went very quiet, what have the new look Tory Party come back with? Not £16 billion, not even £60 billion but £80bn of cuts. What that means is one in five nurses gone. One in five teachers gone. One in five police gone. One precious pound in every five that we are spending cut. That is their plan.

If I was Mr Duncan Smith I would keep very, very quiet about that.

But these elections are not just about the future of public services, they are about building a strong society where we stand up for decent people in our communities who are fed up with crime and anti-social behaviour. We want a society where there is opportunity for all and responsibility from all.

What makes people angry is when they don't feel the system is working as it should. On asylum they feel too many people entering the country are playing the system rather than genuinely fleeing persecution. I do believe that the British people want a society free of prejudice and intolerance, but not one free of order and rules.

Too many families live in neighbourhoods scarred by vandalism and graffiti; burnt out cars; abandoned mattresses and rubbish on the street - the petty lawlessness which we know if left alone soon leads to more serious crime.

Crime, anti-social behavior, racial intolerance, drugs destroy families and communities.

Let no one say that crime is not a Labour issue. For many communities it is *the* issue. Standing up to criminals, standing up for victims. The people who play by the rules and expect others to do the same. I want them to know we are on their side. But when people ignore the rules, break the law, and take advantage of others I want them to know we are coming after them.

### **Local councils on the side of people**

Our fight against crime and anti-social behaviour can't be run from Whitehall alone. We the need the partnership of local councils up and down the country.

It is time to put respect back at the heart of every community.

Respect for the law.

Respect for property.

Respect for the elderly.

Respect for the community.

### **The choices for Britain**

Investment versus cuts: that will be the choice here in Scotland as in the rest of Britain. The only difference is that in Scotland, while the Tories *want* to cut public spending to pay for tax cuts, the Nationalists would be *forced* to cut investment and put up taxes to pay for a hugely expensive divorce.

Of course, you don't hear the SNP talking much about independence these days. The single issue that used to unite the SNP is now the single issue they are most afraid to discuss: independence.

They know Scotland does not want a divorce. So now they are trying to kid people by proposing a trial separation instead.

But however much they disguise it the SNP have only one policy they care about deeply. It is separation. Breaking Britain apart. Investment cut, taxes up, jobs lost, businesses pulling out. That's the reality behind the SNP manifesto. And let no one here forget it.

The choices are clear. Better schools, hospitals and police or a return to their neglect. The strength to invest for the long-term, or cuts. Commitment to build strong communities or a belief there is no such thing as society.

### **Conclusion**

And why do we believe so passionately in these public services? Because they are what community is all about. They bind us together. As our constitution says, we achieve more together than we can alone.

We will never retreat into isolationism that would leave Britain weak, marginalised, ridiculed.

This is a time when our character is being tested.

Our conviction shows us the way. Social justice; solidarity; opportunity for all. The belief that we are a community of people, and a community of nations.

Stronger together achieving more together than we can alone.

British values. Labour values. Values worth fighting for. Values to inspire our journey of change. Values to sustain us for the great challenges ahead. Values to drive us as we create the Britain that we promised and the Britain that today our world needs.

March 3, 2003 8:16 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
Tim Haynes  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: KSM

Do we know where the information to find Khalid Sheikh Mohammed came from?  
Was it from GTMO detainees? I also want to know who was involved in the  
pickup.

We also want to make sure that he does not get put in an Article 3 court.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030303-5

.....  
Please respond by 03/07/03

000,5

U12835 /03

3/7/03



March 3, 2003 9:08 AM

TO: Peter Rodman  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Letter to Musharraf

Thanks for the quick go on Musharraf. I appreciate it. We did it.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
030303-10



Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*Pakistan*

*3 Mar 03*

U12836 /03



March 3, 2003 9:16 AM

TO: Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Contingencies

We need to plan what we will do if Saddam Hussein is captured.

We need to plan what we will do if we catch an imposter.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030303-13



Please respond by 13/04/03

*Handwritten note: If not*

U12837 /03

*Handwritten note: 3 Mar 03*

C35

March 3, 2003 9:18 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Turkey

We need to have clarity as to who is telling the Turks what about what they may or may not do with the Kurds and with Iraq.

*Turkey*

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030303-14

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

Please respond by 03/07/03

MAR 5 2003

*3-5-03*

*This is handled in our  
"Themes for Turks and Kurds."*

*J.D. Crowley*

03-04-03 14:15 IN

11-L-0559/OSD/15373

U12838 /03

*3 Mar 03*

↖  
~~SECRET~~

March 3, 2003 9:48 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
Larry Di Rita

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *TR*

SUBJECT: Civil Administrator

*Tracy*

We have to bring closure on the civil administrator to replace Garner and also the senior oil person.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030303-15

.....

Please respond by     2/2/07/03    

U12839 /03

~~SECRET~~  
11-L-0559/OSD/15374

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENT(S)  
DOCUMENTS WILL BE UNCLASSIFIED

*3 March 03*



March 3, 2003 11:18 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Army Corps of Engineers

I ought to get someone to brief me on the Corps of Engineers. This paper he sent doesn't do any good at all. Maybe get someone who isn't in it—like DuBois or someone.

Thanks.

Attach.

2/24/03 Note from LTG Flowers, Commanding, HQ, US Army Corps of Engineers and slides

DHR:dh  
030303-19



Please respond by 2/26/03

*Larry —  
who do you recommend to brief  
the SecDef on this?*

*C 3/4 → John  
Dubois is about  
right. He understands  
how it fits in.  
3/5 J*

*302*

*3 Mar 03*

U12840 /03



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY  
HEADQUARTERS U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20314-1000

February 24, 2003

C2167

7  
Bantz

Lieutenant General Bantz J. Craddock  
Office of the Secretary of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1000

Dear General *John* Craddock:

Last week I had the opportunity to briefly discuss the Corps of Engineers with the Secretary of Defense during our commander's conference. He was interested in how the Corps is funded.

I thought the attached slides would be useful to share with him if you have a chance.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Robert B. Flowers  
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army  
Commanding



11-L-0559/OSD/15376

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~COMINT-GAMM/ORD/W/X~~

March 3, 2003 11:21 AM

TO: Jim Haynes  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Unauthorized Disclosure

Please take a look at this note from General Hayden and tell me if you think we need to do anything.

Thanks.

Attach.  
2/12/03 DIR, NSA info memo to SecDef re: Unauthorized Disclosure of Classified NSA Information in the Media

DHR:dh  
030303-20

.....  
Please respond by 03/21/03

*380,015*

U12841 /03

*3 Mar 03*

~~TOP SECRET~~

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENT(S)  
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

3/5  
1945  
3/2 1:23



March 4, 2003 12:54 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: DDSM for Lord Robertson

Should we think about giving a Defense Distinguished Service Medal to Lord Robertson when he is here next, on his last visit?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030403-8

200.6 DDSM

.....  
Please respond by 3/14/03

3/10

*3/19*  
*Sec Def -*

*Exec Sec -*

The DDSM is reserved for Active duty military.

*Please advise*  
*D. Rita*

The appropriate award for LORD ROBERTSON is probably the Medal for Distinguished Public Service (the award you gave Senator Helms).

U12842 /03

If so, I'll get an Bezyinski working it up

*ok*  
*Discuss*

*DR*  
11-L-05591 OSD/15379  
*3/19*

4 Mar 03

Snowflake

March 4, 2003 9:55 AM

TO: Pete Aldridge  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Shoppers

4/8  
FROM THE DIR

230

Duncan Hunter was in and said he had talked to you about the so-called "shoppers." He said for a \$10 billion purchase we are spending \$2 billion for the shoppers. He said he has gotten it down from 300,000 of them to 200,000.

I would like to know what the facts are and what you think we ought to do about working this problem.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030403-6

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

3/25

Aldridge RESPONSE ATTACHED  
v/r

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

Final on  
3 5 04 / 1590

4/2/03

11-L-0559/OSD/15380

U12843 /03



ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY  
AND LOGISTICS

## THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

3010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3010

### INFO MEMO

March 21, 2003, 9:00 AM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DepSec \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE(AT&L)

*[Handwritten signature]*  
for ECA

SUBJECT: Shoppers

- You asked what the facts are regarding Duncan Hunter's concerns about "shoppers" and what we ought to do about working this problem (attached).
- Duncan Hunter said that for a \$10 billion purchase, we are spending \$2 billion for the shoppers. These numbers appear to represent the Army workforce compared to Army procurement data. The DoD-wide AT&L workforce manages more than \$226 billion in multiple appropriations. Using Congressman Hunter's average salary, we are spending \$7 billion for shoppers or a little over 3%, not 20%.
- Duncan Hunter said that he has gotten the workforce down from 300,000 to 200,000. Congressman Hunter defines the workforce as all people regardless of their mission assigned to acquisition organizations (such as Air Force Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson AFB) except civilians in depots. So, his definition includes clerks, laborers, medical personnel, etc at WPAFB. The workforce, using Congressman Hunter's definition, has declined from slightly below 500,000 in 1989 to 212,000 in 2002. We use a definition that includes only those people doing acquisition work. Using our definition, the workforce totals a little over 132,000 people in 2002, and has come down from 145,000 in 1998.
- We should not agree to any legislated workforce reductions. We are managing our workforce by using human capital strategic planning to determine our future workforce needs and process improvements to become more efficient. If Congress will support our legislative proposals, we can continue to gain efficiencies. We may be able to take some reductions in the workforce supporting the acquisition process, but we need to be careful so that we can be smart buyers and do not expose ourselves to unnecessary risk.

Attachment:

As stated

Prepared by: Richard Sylvester, DPAP, (b)(6)

11-L-0530 OSD/15381



March 4, 2003 9:28 AM

TO: Dick McGraw  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Pentagon Memorial

It seems like the Pentagon Memorial process went pretty well.

Thanks for handling that task. I know it was a lot of hard work.

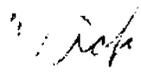
DHR:dh  
030403-5

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR -7 2003

You're welcome. I know you have many things on your mind these days. I'm impressed you would take the time to send the note. Thank you for your thoughtfulness.



**U12845 /03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15382

sk Snowflake  
1650



3/10

March 4, 2003 7:26 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Legislative Liaisons

We have to get authority to reduce the Service legislative liaisons to O-6s if we want to have military, or to civilians if we prefer that. There is no reason Congress should be controlling that. I think I want to move to civilians.

Thanks.

DIR:dh  
030403-3

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 10 2003

Please respond by 03/20/03

3/10

We are seeking the authority. At the very least, we intend to propose repeal of the "2-star" provision they added last year.  
D. Rita

032

4/11/03

U12846 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15383

3/10

3/18/03 Snowflake  
Larry Di Rita

↖

LE F 4413

March 5, 2003 7:40 AM

TO: J.D. Crouch  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Congressional Response

I need some information on how I respond to the ten senators who were concerned about the NSPD on the nuclear matter.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030503-3

.....

Please respond by 03/21/03

3/8 -  
→ SecDef -

We are drafting a written response. Will have it for your review this week (3/10)  
Crouch

A - 4/7/01

5 Mar 03

U12847 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15384 03-05-03 19:53 IN

alio



March 5, 2003 7:38 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Demonstrations

Would you double- and triple-check the data on the 1930s on the demonstrations in Madison Square Gardens so we have it absolutely correct.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030503-2



Please respond by 03/14/03

370.61

U12848 /03

5-Mar-03



*C3/17*

March 5, 2003 8:55 AM

TO: Doug Feit  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *Dr*  
SUBJECT: Prior Coalition

*Larry Di Rita  
3/18*

*for I*

We need to make absolutely certain we are right on that 35 number for countries that were involved in the coalition for the Gulf War. We don't want to be wrong about that.

Thanks.

DHR:dj  
030503-7

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR 9 4 2003

Please respond by                     

*Rumsfeld*

Attached memo speaks to various numbers. Recommend we use "The nearly 50 countries" from DoD's 1992 Report: "Conduct of the Persian Gulf War." If we use a specific number the press can parse it -- based on any number of criteria -- to make it look inflated or understated.

U12850 /03

*3/18/03*

11-L-0559/OSD/15386



March 5, 2003 5:57 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: NSC Schedule

*Advance copy sent*

Please tell the NSC that we are having so many meetings that they shouldn't schedule a PC or NSC for Saturday. I simply have work to do here that I have to do.

Thanks.

DHR db  
030503-13

.....**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

Please respond by 03/06/03

MAR - 6 2003

*I called D Rice's EA this morning (Dore Travers) and relayed the message.*

*C 3/6*

*339 NSC*

*5 Mar 03*

U12851 /03



March 6, 2003 10:48 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Legislative Affairs Deputies

*02014*

I don't think you ought to let Powell Moore select his deputies without you looking at them and thinking about it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030603-10

.....  
Please respond by *03/11/03*

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

*MAR - 8 2003*  
*3/7*

*SecDef -*

*Thank you and I concur. I worked with him on his new Senate Deputy and strongly pushed the person he is considering as his House deputy. Both are solid and aggressive and not the standard Armed Services Committee professional staff types.*

*6 Mar 03*

**U12854 103**  
**11-L-0559/OSD/15388**

*D. Rita*



March 6, 2003 1:15 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Medals/Citations

*Larry Di Piro*  
*5/7*

*9-11-03*

Please find out why we haven't developed some sort of recognition for Operation Enduring Freedom and for the Afghanistan campaign.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030603-11



Please respond by 03/14/03

*3/7 -*  
*SecDef - We have developed a Global War on Terror campaign ribbon. You endorsed it and it is at White House it is instituted by Executive Order. I understand it is slowly working its way through, and I'll ask Andy to pull it up and get it done.*  
*D, Rumsfeld*

*LARRY*

U12855 /03  
11-L-0559/OSD/15389



OBVERSE



REVERSE

*ACTUAL SIZE: 1 3/8 INCHES IN DIAMETER*

**RIBBON:** Scarlet, white and blue represent the United States. Light blue refers to worldwide cooperation against terrorism, gold denotes excellence.

**OBVERSE:** A bronze color metal disc charged with a shield adapted from the Great Seal of the United States surmounting two swords hilts to base saltirewise enclosed within a wreath of laurel; overall an eagle, wings displayed, grasping in its claws a serpent. The shield and eagle represent the United States. The swords denote readiness and the resolve to fight international terrorism, which is symbolized by the serpent crushed in the eagle's claws. The wreath denotes honor and achievement.

**REVERSE:** The eagle, serpent and swords from the front of the medal within the encircling inscription "WAR ON TERRORISM EXPEDITIONARY MEDAL".



OBVERSE



REVERSE

*ACTUAL SIZE: 1 3/8 INCHES IN DIAMETER*

**RIBBON:** Scarlet, white and blue represents the United States. Gold denotes excellence.

**OBVERSE:** A bronze color metal disc charged with an eagle, wings displayed, with a stylized shield of thirteen vertical bars on its breast and holding in dexter claw an olive branch and in sinister claw three arrows, all in front of a terrestrial globe with the inscription above, "WAR ON TERRORISM SERVICE MEDAL". The eagle and shield, adapted from the Great Seal, represents the United States. They protect the globe above and behind, symbolizing American resolve to combat and overcome global elements of international terrorism. The laurel wreath represents the drive for peace. The three arrows signify vigilance, resolve, and peace.

**REVERSE:** A laurel wreath on a plain field.

3/11/03

RE

*astro*

*CS/19*

March 6, 2003 5:03 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith  
Gen. Myers  
Gen. Pace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Paper on North Korea

*Larry Di Rita*  
*3/8*

*As seen (memo)*

Attached is an interesting paper on North Korea and Japan that Congressman Mark Kirk sent. He is a smart fellow.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/3/03 Cong. Kirk ltr to SecDef

DHR:dh  
030603-18

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR 19 2003

Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*3/11/03*

*→ SD*  
*This is a very good paper. It jibes with the memos you have circulated to Principals. I am sending it to my Korea experts.*  
*Doug Feith*

*3/11/03*

MAR 10 04:29

03-10-03 07:19:11

11-0559/OSD/15392

U12856 /03



Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense  
Asian and Pacific Affairs

SECDEF HAS SEEN

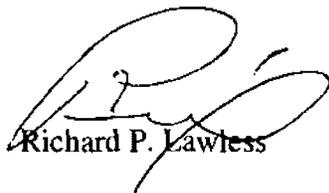
APR 4 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR: Secretary of Defense

4 April 03

Subject: Response to Congressman Kirk's paper on North  
Korea

- Following up on Mark Kirk's 3 March letter to you on the North Korea-China equation and his suggested approaches to the latter, I met with him today to hear him out on his ideas on this subject. He is indeed a very intelligent, focused individual and is "seized" with this issue. We agreed to exchange ideas and I plan to meet again with him upon my return from our next round of alliance discussions in Korea and Japan.

  
Richard P. Lawless

11-L-0559/OSD/15393

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

UNCLASSIFIED

2003 MAR -04 PM 2: 56

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR - 6 2003

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Rumsfeld  
FROM: U.S. Rep. Mark Kirk (R-Ill)  
RE: Motivating China: Japan's Nuclear Options  
DATE: March 3, 2003

A few very unsolicited thoughts:

Following the resolution of the Iraq situation, we must develop effective diplomatic options to solve the North Korean nuclear issue.

1. US pressure will not be effective: Since North Korea is very poor and under 50 years of US economic sanctions, there are few (if any) US options to bring effective non-military pressure to bear.

2. South Korea will not pressure: The new government is dedicated to appeasement.

3. Chinese pressure can be effective: China is the primary donor North Korea. Despite cool relations, China supports North Korea to prevent a collapse. China rejects pressure because it fears this may hasten the very collapse they intend to prevent.

Therefore, finding a motivation for China will help to generate effective pressure on North Korea. Since China is acting to prevent a North Korean collapse, we have to ask:

Q: What do the Chinese regard as worse than risking a North Korean collapse?

A: Japanese Nuclear Weapons.

Key Points:

1. Japan owns more plutonium than in our nuclear arsenal: Japan has a large nuclear power program. Seeking to reduce reliance on foreign uranium, Japan recycles nuclear fuel and will use plutonium in fast breeder reactors. Japan owns 38 tons of plutonium (Five tons are located in Japan and 33 tons located at its European reprocessors). That is enough for 7,000 nuclear weapons.
2. Japan is accelerating its production of plutonium: Once the Rokkasho-mura reprocessing plant comes on line in 2005, Japan will be able to produce 100 tons of plutonium by 2015. North Korea recently complained in public about 206 kilos of missing plutonium from Japan's Tokai-mura facility.

U02776 03

Page 2

3. Japan is rethinking its defense policy: PM Koizumi is leading efforts to expand Japan's defense role. Japan's SDF won Diet approval for purchasing for a) long-range strike (four 767 tankers) b) power projection (formation of the air brigade) and c) missile defense (software, hardware and AEGIS cruisers).
4. Japan's perception of the North Korean threat is growing: North Korea shot a No Dong missile over Japan in 1994. They shot a Taepo-dong over Japan in 1998. In December, Japanese coast guard vessels clashed with suspected North Korean spy boats.
5. Japan is beginning a nuclear debate: In April, opposition leader Ichiro Ozawa openly discussed the nuclear option. In May, Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukuda hinted generally at revising defense doctrine. Last month, Defense Agency Minister Ishiba stated Japan might conventionally strike North Korea first.
6. Japan is developing a potential delivery vehicle: Japan's H-2 civilian rocket is developing indigenous rocket and reentry technology. Japan's missile defense program is focused on software, nose cones, infrared seekers, warheads and rocket motors.

**ACTION:** These facts should be shared at a high level with Chinese leaders. We should encourage Japan to be very ambiguous (not hard). We can help China understand that if North Korea develops an arsenal, Japan must develop a deterrent. Japan's nuclear arsenal could quickly outpace China's (France's nuclear submarine program's cost of \$13 billion is well within Japan's means). Japanese nuclear armament would encourage other Asian states to arm, even Taiwan.

Legal Background: Article 9 of Japan's constitution commits to "no use of war to resolve international disputes." It takes a two-thirds vote in both houses to amend the constitution. Support for Art. 9 in Japan is currently 50%/50%. Japanese PM Sato formally studied a nuclear weapons program in 1967. Japan signed the NPT in 1970 and ratified in 1977. Under Art. X of the NPT, Japan would have to give 90 days notice. Japan would also have to end a 1987 nuclear agreement with the US.

Technical Background: Reactor-grade plutonium is fully usable in a nuclear weapon. The US detonated a reactor-grade plutonium device in 1962. In order to discourage the use of plutonium as a fuel, President Carter declassified data on the feasibility of reactor-grade plutonium for a nuclear weapon in 1976.

11-L-0559/OSD/15395



March 6, 2003 5:07 PM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: GPS and Air Force

Jim Schlesinger says that the Air Force is using GPS as a money farm. They announce ten launches, and then they end up taking the money out and only doing three or four. They keep moving the whole thing to the right—now full spectrum doesn't come in until 2019. I think we ought to grab a hold of it, push them back and force it to the left even farther than it was before.

*03/27/03*

What do you think?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030603-19



Please respond by 03/28/03

*6:10 PM*

U12860 /03

3/11 Snowflake  
1600

←

03/14

March 7, 2003 7:57 AM

TO: J.D. Crouch  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Earth Penetrator

*Larry Di Rita*

*3/8*

I read something in the paper about sending a nuclear earth penetrator to Congress.  
What is that about?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030703-1

.....

Please respond by 3/14/03

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR 20 2003

MR. SECRETARY,

- THE FY03 DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION BILL REQUIRES THAT WE SUBMIT A REPORT ON THE ROBUST NUCLEAR EARTH PENETRATOR (RNEP).
- DELIVERY OF THE REPORT WILL TRIGGER THE RELEASE OF FUNDING FOR A STUDY ON THE FEASIBILITY AND COST OF MODIFYING AN EXISTING NUCLEAR GRAVITY BOMB INTO AN RNEP.
- THIS REPORT IS THE ONE MENTIONED IN THE NEWS ARTICLE.
- AT&L IS COORDINATING THE REPORT AND IT WILL BE READY WITHIN A WEEK.

J.D. *[Signature]* CROUCH

03-10-03 07:19 AM

*COMM.*

11-L-0559/OSD/15397

U12861 /03

11-03-03 07:19 AM



March 8, 2003 1:58 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Meeting on Regional Centers

Please set an appointment for me with Peter Rodman and J.D. Crouch to talk about these centers.

I want to know what they think they are doing with them and how they evaluate the people running them.

Thanks.

Attach.  
2/28/03 ASD(ISA) info memo to SecDef re: Oversight of Regional Centers [U02875/03]

DIR:dh  
030603-16

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

*Done*  
*-by DR*  
*3/10*

U12862 /03

February 20, 2003 1:43 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Centers

*Larry Di Rita*

*3/6*

Who in your office oversees these centers we have around the world? such as The Marshall Center, Asia-Pacific Center, etc so forth.  
Thanks.

DHR:dh  
022003-21

.....  
Please respond by 02/28/03

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR - 6 2003 3/6

**RESPONSE ATTACHED**

*vlr*

2/19  
1700



INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY  
AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

2400 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2400

100-5 21 2:53

FEB 27  
JR

USDP for RAN HENRY 3 MAR

I-002295/03  
EF4278

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR - 6 2003

INFO MEMO

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
FROM: Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA)  
(Peter W. Rodman, (b)(6) PR 28 FEB 2003  
SUBJECT: Oversight of the Regional Centers

In reply to your question as to who in my office oversees the Regional Centers, the breakdown is as follows:

- Peter W. Rodman oversees the following Centers:
  - Asia-Pacific (PACOM)
  - Africa (NDU)
  - Near East and South Asia (NDU)
  - Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies (Latin and Central America) (NDU).
- J.D. Crouch oversees the Marshall Center (EUCOM).
- The respective Deputy Assistant Secretaries provide the policy guidance for each of the regional centers.
- ISA's office of International Negotiations and Regional Affairs, supervised by Peter Rodman, coordinates cross-cutting administrative and policy matters, such as funding, policy guidance, and hiring of new directors.

Prepared by Dan Haendel, Principal Director, International Negotiations and Regional Affairs, (b)(6) 1/21/03

SPI	ASSISTANT DI RITA	
	BOOK	2/3/6
	SIGNATURE	2/3/6

1/1-L-0559/00D/15400

U02875 /03



March 6, 2003 2:21 PM

TO: (b)(6)

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

*Advise sent*

SUBJECT: Listing of Trips

*333 SD*

Whoever is doing the list of countries I have visited left off Egypt, which makes me wonder what else has been left off. Someone needs to go through it and verify all the information.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030603-14

.....  
Please respond by 03/14/03

*6 MAR 03*

U12863 /03



March 8, 2003 10:44 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Memo on Call to Oskuk

Please be sure Gen. Myers does a memo on our phone call with Oskuk.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
030803-2

.....

Please respond by 03/14/03

*Done. Provided to SD 9 March.*

U12865 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15402



March 8, 2003 10:44 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

*Answer  
2/21/03*

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Calendar

*2/21/03*

I need an hour after every meeting with the President, so I can get some work done. I need to dictate after the meetings and get people started working on the things the President wants done.

Second, we are going to have to stop canceling Round Tables. It just isn't going to work.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-3

.....  
Please respond by 03/10/03

*done*  
*3/20*

*2 Mar 03*

U12866 /03



March 8, 2003 10:59 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Torie Clarke

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Jewish Outreach

Shouldn't we have some Jewish groups in sometime? They have been good supporters.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
030803-5



Please respond by 2/28/03

*done*  
*2/28*

*000.3*

*8 Mar 03*

U12868 /03



March 8, 2003 11:03 AM

*Co. 5001*  
TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Vietnam

On reflection, I think maybe I should go to Vietnam on that trip to Asia.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-6



Please respond by *03/23/03*

*done*  
*3/20*

*U12869*

*8 APR 03*

U12869 /03



#388

March 8, 2003 11:04 AM

*COMPLETE*  
*PER DJS EA*

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Deployments

*3-7*

I think I need a good deal more understanding of the units we may decide not to send over, so we make intelligent decisions and don't get stampeded into just sending them over.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-7



Please respond by 03/14/03

*8/14/03*

U12870 /03

3/11/03  
Snowflake

↖

3/19

March 8, 2003 11:15 AM

TO: Steve Cambone  
CC: Doug Feith  
Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: France Selling to Iraq

*Larry D. ...  
3/8*

*FRANCE*

Please find out if this story on the French selling to Iraq is true. Work through the intel people.

Then let's figure out what we want to do about it.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Gertz, Bill. "Iraq Strengthens Air Force with French Parts." *Washington Times*, March 7, 2003, p. 1.

DHR:dh  
030893-8

Please respond by 3/21/03

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**  
MAR 19 2003

*Sir -  
Adm. Jacoby received the text  
last Friday.  
I included Germany.  
Expect an answer this week.*

*SC* MAR 11 2003

*8 MAR 13*

U12871 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15407

Washington Times  
March 7, 2003  
Pg. 1

## **Iraq Strengthens Air Force With French Parts**

By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times

A French company has been selling spare parts to Iraq for its fighter jets and military helicopters during the past several months, according to U.S. intelligence officials.

The unidentified company sold the parts to a trading company in the United Arab Emirates, which then shipped the parts through a third country into Iraq by truck.

The spare parts included goods for Iraq's French-made Mirage F-1 jets and Gazelle attack helicopters.

An intelligence official said the illegal spare-parts pipeline was discovered in the past two weeks and that sensitive intelligence about the transfers indicates that the parts were smuggled to Iraq as recently as January.

Other intelligence reports indicate that Iraq had succeeded in acquiring French weaponry illegally for years, the official said.

The parts appear to be included in an effort by the Iraqi military to build up materiel for its air forces before any U.S. military action, which could occur before the end of the month.

The officials identified the purchaser of the parts as the Al Tamoor Trading Co., based in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. A spokesman for the company could not be reached for comment.

The French military parts were then sent by truck into Iraq from a neighboring country the officials declined to identify.

Iraq has more than 50 Mirage F-1 jets and an unknown number of Gazelle attack helicopters, according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

An administration official said the French parts transfers to Iraq may be one reason France has so vehemently opposed U.S. plans for military action against Iraq. "No wonder the French are opposing us," this official said.

The official, however, said intelligence reports of the parts sale did not indicate that the activity was sanctioned by the French government or that Paris knows about the transfers.

The intelligence reports did not identify the French company involved in selling the aircraft parts or whether the parts were new or used.

The Mirage F-1 was made by France's Dassault Aviation. Gazelle helicopters were made by

Aerospatiale, which later became part of a consortium of European defense companies.

The importation of military goods by Iraq is banned under U.N. Security Council resolutions passed since the 1991 Persian Gulf war.

Nathalie Loiseau, press counselor at the French Embassy, said her government has no information about the spare-parts smuggling and has not been approached by the U.S. government about the matter.

"We fully comply with the U.N. sanctions, and there is no sale of any kind of military material or weapons to Iraq," she said.

A CIA spokesman had no comment.

A senior administration official declined to discuss Iraq's purchase of French warplane and helicopter parts. "It is well known that the Iraqis use front companies to try to obtain a number of prohibited items," the official said.

The disclosure comes amid heightened anti-French sentiment in the United States over Paris' opposition to U.S. plans for using force to disarm Iraq.

A senior defense official said France undermined U.S. efforts to disarm Iraq last year by watering down language of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441 that last fall required Iraq to disarm all its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs.

France, along with Russia, Germany and China, said yesterday that they would block a joint U.S.-British U.N. resolution on the use of force against Iraq.

French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin told reporters in Paris on Wednesday that France "will not allow a resolution to pass that authorizes resorting to force."

"Russia and France, as permanent members of the Security Council, will assume their full responsibilities on this point," he stated.

France has been Iraq's best friend in the West. French arms sales to Baghdad were boosted in the 1970s under Premier Jacques Chirac, the current president. Mr. Chirac once called Saddam Hussein a "personal friend."

During the 1980s, when Paris backed Iraq in its war against Iran, France sold Mirage fighter bombers and Super Entendard aircraft to Baghdad, along with Exocet anti-ship missiles.

French-Iraqi ties soured after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait that led to the 1991 Persian Gulf war.

France now has an estimated \$4 billion in debts owed to it by Iraq as a result of arms sales and infrastructure construction projects. The debt is another reason U.S. officials believe France is opposing military force to oust Saddam.

Henry Sokolski, director of the private Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, said French transfers of military equipment to Iraq would have "an immediate and relevant military consequence, if this was done."

"The United States with its allies are going to suppress the Iraqi air force and air defense very early on in any conflict, and it's regrettable that the French have let a company complicate that mission," Mr. Sokolski said.

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell last month released intelligence information showing videotape of an Iraqi F-1 Mirage that had been modified to spray anthrax spores.

A CIA report to Congress made public in January stated that Iraq has aggressively sought advanced conventional arms. "A thriving gray-arms market and porous borders have allowed Baghdad to acquire smaller arms and components for larger arms, such as spare parts for aircraft, air defense systems, and armored vehicles," the CIA stated.

Iraq also has obtained some military goods through the U.N.-sponsored oil-for-food program.

A second CIA report in October on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction stated: "Iraq imports goods using planes, trains, trucks, and ships without any type of international inspections — in violation of UN Security Council resolutions."

March 8, 2003 11:20 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld D  
SUBJECT: GWOT Medals

RECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 11 2003

SIR

2/11/03

ANSWER ATTACHED

What do you have to do to qualify for these two medals? It looks to me like it is two different medals. Please explain.

Let's push them through, hard. Let me know what I can do. I'll call Andy Card or whatever.

Thanks.

Attach.  
GWOT Service and Expeditionary Medals

DIRR dh  
030803-9

Please respond by

3/11/03

3/10

RECDEF HAS SEEN

Tell me  
what Andy  
said -  
Let's  
move it

~~RECDEF HAS SEEN~~

2 DIFFERENT MEDALS;  
CRITERIA ATTACHED

- GWOT EXPEDITIONARY MED  
IS FOR DEPLOYED FORCES  
GWOT SERVICE MEDAL IS  
GENERALLY FOR NON-DEPLOYED  
FORCES.

VR di

8 March 03

# DRAFT

## Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal

### a. General

(1) Authorized by Executive Order \_\_\_\_\_.

(2) Individuals authorized the award must have been deployed abroad in support of the Global War on Terrorism operations on or after 11 September 2001 and to a future date to be determined (TBD).

(a) The general area of eligibility encompasses all foreign land, water, and air spaces outside the fifty states of the United States including 200 nautical miles of surrounding waters and air space. The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall designate the specific area of eligibility per qualifying operation.

(b) Because counter- terrorism operations are global in nature, the area of eligibility for an approved operation may be deemed to be non-contiguous. The Combatant Commander has the authority to award the medal for approved operations to units and personnel deployed within his or her theater. Under no condition will units or personnel within the United States, the general region excluded in paragraph a.(2)(a), be deemed eligible for Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal.

(c) The only specific operation currently approved for this award is Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (19 September 2001 – TBD). Other operations will be considered on a case-by-case basis as requested by the combatant commanders and approved by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

b. Specific. Service members must be assigned, attached or mobilized to a unit participating in designated operations for 30 consecutive days in the area of eligibility or for 60 nonconsecutive days provided this involves presence in the operation's area of eligibility or meet one of the following criteria:

(1) Be engaged in actual combat (hostile weapons fire is exchanged), or duty that is equally as hazardous as combat duty (hostile weapons fire is received or anticipated), regardless of time in the area of eligibility.

(2) While participating in the operation, regardless of time, is wounded or injured and requires medical evacuation from the operational area.

(3) While participating as a regularly assigned air crewmember flying sorties into, out of, within or over the area of eligibility in direct support of the military operations.

# DRAFT

(4) Personnel may receive both the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal if they meet the requirements of both awards; however, service eligibility for one cannot be used to justify service eligibility for the other.

## c. Awarding

(1) The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal may be awarded posthumously.

(2) Each Military Department will prescribe the appropriate regulations for processing, awarding, and wearing of the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal, ribbon and appurtenances.

## d. Stars

(1) Only one award of this medal may be authorized for any individual; therefore, no service stars are prescribed.

(2) Battle Stars may be applicable for personnel who were actually engaged in combat actions against the enemy. Only a Combatant Commander can initiate a request for a Battle Star. This request will contain the specific unit(s) or individual(s) engaged in combat action, the duration for which combat action was sustained, and a justification of the actions against the enemy.

(3) The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff is the approving authority for the specific Battle Stars.

e. Precedence. The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal will be positioned above the Global War on Terrorism Campaign Medal in precedence; both shall directly follow the Kosovo Campaign Medal.

# DRAFT

## Global War on Terrorism Service Medal

### a. General

(1) Authorized by Executive Order \_\_\_\_\_.

(2) Individuals authorized the award must have participated in or served in support of the Global War on Terrorism operations on or after 11 September 2001 and to a future date to be determined (TBD).

(a) The Combatant Commander has the authority to award the medal for approved operations to units and personnel within his or her theater. To be eligible personnel must have participated in the operation by authority of written order.

(b) The specific operations currently approved for this award are Operation NOBLE EAGLE (11 September 2001 – TBD) and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (11 September 2001- TBD). Other operations will be considered on a case-by-case basis as requested by a Combatant Commander and approved by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(c) At the request of the Combatant Commander for units or personnel in his or her theater, the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff may approve specific efforts that are rendered by unit(s) or individual(s) that meet all other requirements of paragraphs (a) and (b), however, are not issued specific orders for the approved operation(s) (e.g. Airport Security missions performed by military personnel).

(d) Service in an operationally deployed status merits primary eligibility for the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal; personnel supporting the Global War on Terrorism from a non-deployed status, whether stationed at home or overseas, are eligible only for the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal.

b. Specific. Service members must be assigned, attached or mobilized to a unit participating in designated operations for 30 consecutive days or for 60 nonconsecutive days, or meet one of the following criteria:

# DRAFT

(1) Be engaged in actual combat (hostile weapons fire is exchanged), or duty that is equally as hazardous as combat duty (hostile weapons fire is received or anticipated), regardless of time in the operation.

(2) While participating in the operation, regardless of time, is wounded or injured and requires medical evacuation from the operation.

(3) While participating as a regularly assigned air crewmember flying sorties into, out of, within or over the area of eligibility in direct support of the military operations.

(4) Personnel may receive both the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal if they meet the requirements of both awards; however, service eligibility for one cannot be used to justify service eligibility for the other.

## c. Awarding

(1) The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal may be awarded posthumously.

(2) Each Military Department will prescribe the appropriate regulations for processing, awarding, and wearing of the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal, ribbon, and appurtenances.

## d. Stars

(1) Only one award of this medal may be authorized for any individual; therefore, no service stars are prescribed.

(2) Battle Stars may be applicable for personnel who were actually engaged in combat actions against the enemy. Only a Combatant Commander can initiate a request for a Battle Star. This request will contain the specific unit(s) or individual(s) engaged in combat action, the duration for which combat action was sustained, and a justification of the actions against the enemy.

(3) The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff is the approving authority for the specific Battle Stars.

e. Precedence. The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal will be positioned directly below the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal in precedence.

March 6, 2003 1:15 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Medals/Citations

*Larry Di Fiori*  
*3/7*

*Whe*  
*Done*  
*3/20*

Please find out why we haven't developed some sort of recognition for Operation Enduring Freedom and for the Afghanistan campaign.

Thanks.

DIR:dh  
030603-11

.....  
Please respond by 03/11/03

*You approved 2 medals*  
*- service medal*  
*- expeditionary medal*  
*c 3/7*

*3/7 -*  
*SecDef - We have*  
*developed a Global*  
*War on Terror campaign*  
*ribbon. You endorsed it*  
*and it is at White House*  
*it is instituted by Executive*  
*Order. I understand it is*  
*slowly working its way through,*  
*and I'll ask ANDY to*  
*pull it up and get it done*

11-L-0559/OSD/15416

*D, Rite*



OBVERSE



REVERSE

ACTUAL SIZE: 1 3/8 INCHES IN DIAMETER

**RIBBON:** Scarlet, white and blue represent the United States. Light blue refers to worldwide cooperation against terrorism, gold denotes excellence.

**OBVERSE:** A bronze color metal disc charged with a shield adapted from the Great Seal of the United States surmounting two swords hilts to base saltirewise enclosed within a wreath of laurel; overall an eagle, wings displayed, grasping in its claws a serpent. The shield and eagle represent the United States. The swords denote readiness and the resolve to fight international terrorism, which is symbolized by the serpent crushed in the eagle's claws. The wreath denotes honor and achievement.

**REVERSE:** The eagle, serpent and swords from the front of the medal within the encircling inscription "WAR ON TERRORISM EXPEDITIONARY MEDAL".



OBVERSE



REVERSE

*ACTUAL SIZE: 1 3/8 INCHES IN DIAMETER*

**RIBBON:** Scarlet, white and blue represents the United States. Gold denotes excellence.

**OBVERSE:** A bronze color metal disc charged with an eagle, wings displayed, with a stylized shield of thirteen vertical bars on its breast and holding in dexter claw an olive branch and in sinister claw three arrows, all in front of a terrestrial globe with the inscription above, "WAR ON TERRORISM SERVICE MEDAL". The eagle and shield, adapted from the Great Seal, represents the United States. They protect the globe above and behind, symbolizing American resolve to combat and overcome global elements of international terrorism. The laurel wreath represents the drive for peace. The three arrows signify vigilance, resolve, and peace.

**REVERSE:** A laurel wreath on a plain field.



March 8, 2003 11:45 AM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
 CC: Doug Feith  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
 SUBJECT: Bosnia

*Bosnia*

Shouldn't we think about fashioning an entire new agreement for Bosnia?  
 Otherwise, we are just going to be stuck there.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
 030803-11



Please respond by 3/28/03

*3/28/03*

U12874 /03

3/15 100?

↑

EF4448  
Lestro  
ISA  
ISP

C314

March 8, 2003 12:07 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
CC: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DM*  
SUBJECT: Iraq Post-War

*Larry Di Rita*  
*3/8*

*I 1208*

Where do we stand on the issues covered in this memo from Jim Schlesinger?

Please get back to me.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/5/03 Schlesinger memo to SecDef re: "Timely Implementation of Plans for Post-military Iraq"

DHR:dh  
030803-15

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR 19 2003

Please respond by 3/14/03

*3/13/03*

*→ SD*

You have appointed the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (under AT+L) as Exec. Agent for WMD elimination in Iraq. They will be using contractors.

Zakheim is being asked for \$466.2m for this mission, although we don't expect I'll ensure that DoD is in touch w/ Phil Merrill at Exim Bank. to pay!

*Doug Feith*

11-L-0559/OSD/15420

U12875 /03

FORMER SECRET

MEMORANDUM

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 2 2003

FOR: Donald Rumsfeld  
FROM: Jim Schlesinger  
DATE: 5 March 2003  
SUBJ: Timely Implementation of Plans for Post-military Iraq

Don:

Your mentioning last Friday that the DoD still seeks authorization from OMB for spending money on post-attack clean-up and reconstruction efforts in Iraq causes ever-growing concern.

Assuming that the United States goes in, you may immediately be faced with Saddam's use of chemical or biological use of agents in country. You will want to start clean-up operations as quickly as possible. If such agents are not disbursed, we will nonetheless be faced with de-mil-ing the WMD that we will assuredly uncover. We will want to do this expeditiously, recognizing that there will be capacity limits, and that an early start means an earlier finish.

These are time-consuming processes. To move a rotary kiln from the interior of this country to an appropriate spot near Baghdad—and set it up—will require many months. Such a kiln is 40 feet long and, I think, 16 feet wide. Conceivably, it might fit into a CSA, but I doubt that you would want to devote airlift to such a purpose, while military operations are being prepared or executed. Therefore, such equipment should now be in the process of being barged over to Kuwait.

Two or three months ago I mentioned to Bill Luti that we should start getting contractors aboard. Private contractors will not undertake such expenditures without certainty of compensation. We have already lost some months. We need to start identifying appropriate contractors for the reconstruction effort in Iraq now. Needless to say, we also need to authorize them to get the needed logistical effort underway.

Phil Merrill has indicated that he is prepared to underwrite reconstruction efforts (with the usual Ex-Im criteria). That could help. If there is anything that I can do at NSC, OMB, etc. to help get the requisite authorization, please let me know.

3/5/03

Smt via Email from  
Dr. Schlesinger

Cc: L. Di Rita  
C+D

11-L-0559/OSD/15421



March 8, 2003 12:13 PM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Contingency Plans

How do we go about shortening the period of time that we look over the assumptions of all contingency plans?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-16



*Please respond by* 3/21/03

*381*

*8/1/03*

U12876 /03



March 8, 2003 1:37 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita

CC: Steve Herbits  
VADM Holcomb

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Personnel

As busy as we are, we still must press very hard ahead on personnel. I need you folks to force me to have the meetings, force me to address the issues and force interviews onto the schedule. It has to happen.

Thanks.

DHR:Jh  
030803-21

.....

Please respond by 3/14/03

*done*

*DR*

*3/20*

U12877 /03



March 8, 2003 1:38 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Meeting

337

Please set a meeting with you, Torie and me on March 13 for us to finish the talk we had today about how things might unfold.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-22

.....  
Please respond by 3/13/03

*done*  
*3/10*

*3/10/03*

U12878 /03



March 8, 2003 3:10 PM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Intel Seminar

350.09

You ought to start a seminar of some kind for the intel community in the Pentagon, where you bring in people like Paul Wolfowitz, Gen. Franks and others, and have them relate how they see the intel community and what needs to be done to make it work. We have some smart folks around who have real-time experience.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030803-26



Please respond by 3/28/03

U12879 /03

8 MAR 03



March 10, 2003 12:09 PM

Korea

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: South Korea

You ought to give some thought to talking to Mr. Lawless about the following:

As we move along with South Korea, one of the things we need to do in an orderly, systematic, thorough way is develop a threat briefing. We need to see that the ROK military understands it first, then the new political leadership, and then, at some point, the Korean public needs to be briefed on it—think tanks, the press, speeches and the like.

I say this because, unless we are all working off the same set of facts we are going to come to different conclusions. This should help get us where we want to go.

In order to do what we want, the threat must be well understood. Then we need to make it clear that the South Korean military is going to have to fill that vacuum because we are going south. We are going to rearrange and rebalance. They will have to fill it or it will weaken the deterrent, which none of us wants to happen.

There are some Korean-related or funded think tanks in Washington, where this discussion would be helpful as well.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-2

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

10 MAR 03

U12880 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15426



March 10, 2003 7:50 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: BBC

000.75D

A friend at church told me he was called because BBC is doing a big piece on me.  
Do you know anything about it?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-4



Please respond by 3/21/03

10M4103

U12882 /03



March 10, 2003 7:53 AM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Hats

000.715D

I am going to have a group of high school friends come in for a visit in May, and I would like to give each one of them a Secretary of Defense hat. Please let me know what colors are available—I think they are blue, green and tan. Please get about 20 of each, because there is a total of 60 people.

Thanks.

*I pay personally*

DHR:dh  
031003-5

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

U12883 /03

10 MAR 03



March 10, 2003 8:12 AM

001.150

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Future Event at Residence

Here is the list of the people who came Saturday. I thought it worked out well, and people were delighted to be there and meet Joyce and have their spouses meet me.

Why don't we think about another function like that. There is the whole group of assistant secretaries of the Services, some new people and some special categories. There are people on the Joint Staff we would certainly want to include.

Let's discuss this and possibly set a date.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/8/03 RSVPs for SecDef Event at residence

DHR:dh  
031003-6



Please respond by 3/21/03 3/19

→ MCM -  
Lookang @  
5/3 FYI.  
Dikla

10MAR03



March 10, 2003 8:23 AM

380.01

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Sandy Berger's Clearances

Sandy Berger told a friend of mine that he is still getting all the information he got when he was in government.

What has happened to his clearances and what activity is he involved with that enables him to do that?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-7

.....  
Please respond by 3/21/03

*3/11*  
*[Signature]*  
- see sec -  
Please see me on this  
Thanks

*[Signature]*  
Larry Di Rita  
3/21

10MAR03

U12885 /03



March 10, 2003 8:47 AM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Study Group Focus

319.2

Why don't we think about focusing these existing internal study groups on the topics we want. It is kind of like the power of the person who selects the high school debate topics. We can get all of those groups around the world working on what we think is important.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-8

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

10MAR03

U12886 /03



March 10, 2003 9:17 AM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *TR*  
SUBJECT: Kissinger Event 27 May

*ADVANCE  
COPY 5-5-03*

*001.15D*

Please let the Kissingers know that we have put it down as "hopeful." We would very much like to come. I am afraid we are not going to know until the very last minute whether or not we are going to make it. We ought to have a good sense by the week of May 19, and we will be back in touch with them.

Tickle this for me on May 19 to think about it.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/7/03 note re: Kissinger birthday dinner

DHR:dh  
031003-11

.....  
Please respond by 5/19/03

*10 Mar 03*

U12888 /03

3/7/03  
5:00pm

R + R

Sir,

Henry Kissinger's office called. You and Joyce are invited to attend a dinner for Dr. Kissinger's 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday.

Location: La Cirque Restaurant, NYC  
Time: 8:00pm  
Date: Tuesday, May 27<sup>th</sup>

Black Tie event; no gifts, please. There are approximately 100 people invited. It is not a surprise.

Please advise and I will contact his assistant. Calendar is open, copy is attached.

V/r,

(b)(6)

\_\_\_\_\_ Accept

\_\_\_\_\_ Regret

Large Tray

copy faxed to Joyce

## Long Range Calendar - Secretary of Defense - as of 03/07/03

## MAY 2003

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11 <i>Mother's Day</i>	12	13 12pm Hudson Institute DR to Speak accept Doolittle award	14 SACD testimony	15	16 Hold for JR/DR out of town guests <i>Joint Staff Open House-Remarks</i>	17 JR/DR reunion group @ Pentagon  <i>Armed Forces Day</i>
18 Hold for JR/DR out of town guests	19	20	21 SD to speak @ SOCOM Cmdr. Conference @ Tampa, FL (t)	22	23 10 am DR Speak @ Naval Academy commencement	24
25	26 <i>Memorial Day Federal Holiday</i>	27	28	29 SD To Japan/Okinawa/ Guam (t) JR to Taos	30 Korea JR @ Taos	31 IISS @ Singapore JR @ Taos

## MAY 2003

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~FOR PRESENT INDICATION~~

Jastro  
Is A

03/14

March 10, 2003 1:43 PM

EF4444

W  
W  
W

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Team to South Korea

*Larry Di Rita*

*3/14*

If this briefing team is going to go to South Korea and Japan, then they ought to take along the information on how the money that Japan, South Korea and the U.S. are giving to North Korea is what is enabling them to continue their nuclear program and their military buildup.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/7/03 DIA memo to SecDef

DHR:dh  
031003-16

.....  
Please respond by 3/14/03

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 9 4 2003

*3/14*

*RESPONSE ATTACHED*

*U/R*

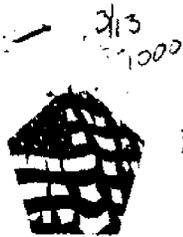
U12889 /03

10 MAR 03

~~TOP SECRET~~  
11-2-03597050113435

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENT(S)  
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

*file*



Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense  
Asian and Pacific Affairs  
**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

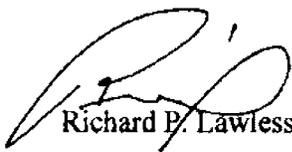
MAR 14 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR: Under Secretary Feith

March 11, 2003/1900

Doug,

1. This team, led by NIO/East Asia Art Brown, is actually going at our request/insistence. We have made our input to the briefing and recommended specific Japanese and Korean leadership personalities whom the team should brief. Prior to the team's departure we will meet with them to review its presentation.
2. Flow of South Korean and Japanese funds to North Korea will be covered and we have updated Art on the results of our recent (very positive) discussion with the Japanese on their North Korean funds problem and suggested way-ahead on this issue.

  
Richard P. Lawless

3/13/03

→ SD

See Lawless' note in answer to your snowflake.

Dogfeith

03-12-03 08:51 AM

MAR 12 7:57

Snowflake



03/19

3/12  
0800

March 10, 2003 2:49 PM

333

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Harold Brown to South Korea

Larry Di Rita  
3/18

Harold Brown is going to go to Seoul, South Korea. He leaves New York on April 10. He has a trilateral meeting, and then he is going to stay and do some other meetings. He wondered if there is anything he can do to help. I gave him a quick dump on North Korea. I told him I would have you or Lawless give him a call. He is a smart guy and wants to be helpful.

Please give me a report back after someone has talked to him.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
031003-17

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 19 2003

Please respond by 3/21/03

3/12/03

→ SD  
Lawless will call him.

Doug Feith

10 MAR 03

U12890 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15437

SECRET



March 10, 2003 2:57 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: Israel

ISRAEL

George Tenet met with Sharon, and he said there is no agreement of the kind that you and Yaron thought you had.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-19



Please respond by 3/21/03

10 MAR 03

U12891 /03

3/11  
1730 Snowflake



March 10, 2003 3:03 PM

350.09

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld <sup>D</sup>  
SUBJECT: OMB Intel Package

Larry DiE...

If you don't get me something for the intel package that I can get to OMB, then we can just forget the whole thing. I can't imagine why we can't figure something out.

Thanks.

*[Handwritten signature]*

DHR:dh  
031003-20



Please respond by 3/14/03

*Sir -  
Package done.  
Asked D.R. to schedule time.*

*SC  
3/11/03*

U128001 /03

10 MAR 03

March 10, 2003 3:18 PM

TO: [Redacted] (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Cabinet Dinner

001.1 WH

Please tickle a note for March 20 or 21. I want to figure out whether or not the President is going to come to the dinner at our house. I passed the invitation off to Andy Card today, and he is going to check it. He said he thought it would be good for the Cabinet if the President did stop by.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-25

.....  
Please respond by 3/20/03

10 MAR 03

U12893 /03



3/10

March 10, 2003 3:10 PM

TO: Col. Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Secure Calls on MLP

ADVANCE COPY GIVEN

When someone calls me direct on the secure phone, like the President and Gen. Franks did, is that registered at Cables so they know that happened? There is no Cable connection—it is just a straight call, so I do not believe it is.

3/11/1

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031003-23

~~SECDEF HAS SEEN~~

Please respond by 3/14/03

MAR 11 2003

To SecDef:

Sir, Cables does not know who calls you if they ring directly in. They do know that you are on the phone because it lights up on their monitor. They can then get the MLP contractors to do a check on the computer and determine who has called you. I have directed them to do that from now on. This will give us an accurate record of your calls without you having to be the record keeper.

(C.L.B)

3/10

U12894 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15441

10 MAR 03



March 11, 2003 7:36 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: France and League of Nations

Is it true that France is the country that prevented the League of Nations from dealing with the Italian invasion of Abyssinia?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031103-2

.....

*Please respond by* 3/21/03

U12895 /03

3/13 Snowflake  
0800



sent 3/13 08:00

March 11, 2003 1:18 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
CC: William Winkenwerder  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Report on Smallpox and Anthrax Immunizations

I need to know precisely what percentage of our target people we have taken care of with respect to smallpox and anthrax. I need to have a metric, a chart, that shows progress, and I need a report every week.

I would like the first report by Thursday, March 13.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031103-6



Please respond by 3/13/03

*Done 3/20*  
*LARRY DI RITA!*

U12897 /03



March 11, 2003 3:19 PM

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Maps and Anecdotes

If a conflict starts, we need to be ready with some battle maps. We also need to capture some anecdotes, so the President gets a flavor for what is taking place.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031103-7



Please respond by 3/21/03

090

11 Mar 03

U12898 /03

3/14  
Snowflake

⬆

EF-4473  
ISP  
03/19

March 11, 2003 3:30 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
Pete Aldridge  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Export Administrative Review Board

LARRY DI RITE  
3/18

I am supposedly a member the Export Administrative Review Board, which was established in 1970. I have never been to a meeting, and we have no person designated to attend in my stead.

091.31

Please find out if it still exists and if they still have meetings. Then come back to me with a recommendation as to whether we should propose the board be abolished, or whether we should appoint somebody—and if so, whom.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031103-8

SECDEF HAS SEEN

Please respond by 4/4/03

MAR 19 2003

USDP 12,74 21,7, DU  
2/14/03

MAR 13 2003

Why couldn't it  
just be the  
such as PIC / also of  
we seek / recommend  
related to  
with persons  
D. Rumsfeld

Mr. Secretary -

The EARB is a Principals-level body.

There is no record it has ever met.

Lisa Bronson represents the Dept. at the body below the EARB. They are very active ACTIVE.

While it has never met, having the option of escalating to your level helps her push our national security perspective in the process.

11 Mar 03

LARRY DI RITE  
3/18

03-13-03 12:36 IN  
03-14-03 07:31 IN  
T1-L-05597 OSD 15448  
J. D. Cronin

U12899 / 03



24/10

March 11, 2003 3:30 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
Pete Aldridge

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Export Administrative Review Board

*4/8*

I am supposedly a member the Export Administrative Review Board, which was established in 1970. I have never been to a meeting, and we have no person designated to attend in my stead.

091.31

Please find out if it still exists and if they still have meetings. Then come back to me with a recommendation as to whether we should propose the board be abolished, or whether we should appoint somebody—and if so, whom.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031103-8

SECDEF HAS SET

Please respond by 4/4/03

*Aldridge response attached. He agrees with Crouch - we should not abolish the board.*

11 Mar 03

*We sent the full list of boards to Amy Card for his No response yet.*

U12900 /03  
11-L-0559/OSD/15446

*D. Rutz*



ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY  
AND LOGISTICS

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE **SECDEF HAS SEEN**

3010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3010

APR 13 2003

INFO MEMO

20 March 2003

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: E.C. Aldridge, Jr. UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY & LOGISTICS) *EC 4/7/03*

SUBJECT: Snowflake on Export Administrative Review Board.

- You requested that we report to you on the status of the Export Administrative Review Board (EARB), provide a recommendation on whether the board should be abolished or not, and if not recommend who should attend in your stead. ~~(b)(6)~~
- **Board Status:** The EARB has not met in this Administration, and last met in 1991. During your previous tenure as Secretary, on 9 July 1976, the EARB met to review the Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on the Export of Technology (Bucy Report), in addition to other matters. ~~(b)(6)~~ According to the Department of Commerce, Deputy Secretary of Defense Bill Clements likely attended in your stead.
- **Board Should Not Be Abolished:** The EARB meets infrequently, but is important for two reasons. 1) It is the last level of review for contentious export cases prior to their submission to the President. 2) The EARB may take new importance because the previous Administration, in practice, downgraded the level of DoD representation at the next lower level of review. Were the EARB abolished, there would be no formal mechanism for a Presidential Appointments-level review prior to submission to the President.
- Below the EARB is the Advisory Committee on Export Policy (ACEP). E.O. 12981 § 5(a)(2) says the ACEP consists of "Assistant Secretary-level representatives of the Departments of State, Defense, and Energy," ~~(b)(6)~~ and the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Policy) used to perform this duty. Current DoD Issuances do not assign this duty, although the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Technology Security Policy & Counterproliferation) fills this role.
- **Level of Representation:** Representation at the EARB must be at the SECDEF or DEPSECDEF level. (E.O. 12981 § 5(a)(1)(A))

Coordination: None.

Attachments:  
As stated.

Prepared by: Dr. John A. Shaw, ~~DUED~~ (b)(6)



March 14, 2003 9:26 AM

TO: William Winkenwerder

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: VA and Gulf Health Issues

Tony Principi called me yesterday, and he said that the teams are working well in the Gulf. The issue is that in the event of hostilities, we don't want to repeat the lessons of Iraq. The way to avoid that, as we know, is to generate as much healthcare data as possible.

He said the VA is now paying benefits to almost everybody, because there was insufficient healthcare information on these people to know what the baseline was. He offered to help us.

We need to get good metrics, so we can track weekly how well the reporting is actually going. Let me know if I can be helpful.

Please give me a report as to what the metrics are. I would like to see a weekly report starting this week.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031403-1



Please respond by 3/21/03

1720

14 Mar 03

U12901 /03



March 14, 2003 7:21 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
 CC: Larry Di Rita  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld <sup>DR</sup>  
 SUBJECT: POTUS and DoD-Related Events

333 WA

If there is a conflict, the President will need events to do, and a lot could be related to DoD. Why don't we start thinking about these. Don't spread them around the government—just come to me with a list of possible ideas. One thought is for him to go to Tampa.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
 031403-2



Please respond by 3/21/03

14 Mar 03

U12904 /03



March 14, 2003 1:17 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Sunday Calendar

*Answer  
Call Rumsfeld*

Consider the possibility of me going to the Pentagon parking lot to shake hands with 180 people who are leaving for Iraq at 8 a.m. on Sunday.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031403-5

.....  
Please respond by 3/14/03

*LD*  
LARRY DI RITA  
3/17

*OSD*

*14 Mar 03*

U12905 /03



March 14, 2003 1:59 PM

TO: Gen. Casey  
CC: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Military Relationships with France

You mentioned today that you had information on U.S. DoD military relationships with France. I would like you to get that material up to me.

I would also like to know the answer to this question: when a U.S. military person receives a French government medal, such as the French Legion of Honor, are they required to report it to the U.S. and get permission, or are they just allowed to do it?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031403-8

.....

Please respond by 3/21/03

France

14 Mar 03

U12906 /03



March 14, 2003 2:34 PM

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Book on Congress

Is there a book out yet that has the pictures of the members of the House and Senate in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress? If so, please give me a copy immediately.

032

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
031403-10



*Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_*

*Sir—*

*Legislative Affairs picked up this version from the publisher today, because they were just printed and have not been shipped out yet.*

*This version is arranged by state delegations. The version arranged alphabetically will not be printed until the end of March. As soon as that version is available, we will get a copy for you. Senators and House members are listed alphabetically in the front of this version (p. 10 and 13).*

14 Mar 03

DH

U12907 /03



March 14, 2003 1:59 PM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Foreign List

Baroness Rawlings should be added to my list of foreign people that I may want to send things to.

*092*

Thanks.

Attach.  
Rawlings invitation

DHR:dh  
031403-9

.....  
Please respond by 3/21/03

*14 Mar 03*

U12908 /03

The Secretary of Defense and Mr Rumsfeld



Regrets  
sent 3.14

King's College London

Chairman of Council, Baroness Rawlings  
requests the honour of your company  
at a dinner in honour of  
Professor Sir Michael Howard  
on Wednesday, 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2003  
at the Knickerbocker Club  
807 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021

R. P. V. P.

Alysha Swan

King's College London

James Clerk Maxwell Building

67 Waterloo Road, London SE1 8WA

Tel: 44 (0)20 7848 3364

Dinner 8 pm  
Black Tie

11-L-0559/OSD/15454



6:57 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
 DATE: March 15, 2003  
 SUBJECT: **Old Europe/New Europe**

At some point soon, after the UN vote and Iraq are past, we ought to think about doing some remarks where we take on the subject of Old Europe and New Europe. The way to do it is to talk about the wall coming down, what took place in East Berlin, what took place at Prague Square, and express the emotion that I felt when that happened and how important that was and that Europe suddenly was a different place. It was a place where the center of gravity had fact shifted east; where people who had been repressed were liberated. Where freedom was celebrated.

Europe

Europe is today a different place. It has benefited from the involvement and the engagement of people who cherish freedom and have been recently liberated from repressive systems. That spark the recently liberated nations bring is healthy. It helps the entire world to feel the energy that comes from the hopes and aspirations of people to be free.

We should also personalize it to my life and the fact that these people were subjugated at the end of World War II by the Soviet Union, that so many of us hoped and prayed that they would be freed. To have that happen during my lifetime was a special experience.

We should not go defensive on Old Europe/New Europe. It was true. There may be some people who think of Europe as it used to be. I don't. I see it as it is, and we all benefit from the involvement of those Eastern European countries that are now free. Those countries are an important part of the world community and it thrills me.

15 March 03

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
 031503.01

Please respond by: \_\_\_\_\_



U12910 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15455



9:49 AM

*Via Facsimile*

TO: Bill Schneider  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DA*  
 DATE: March 15, 2003  
 SUBJECT: **Miscellaneous Issues**

Thanks for the article by John Keegan. And your comment on Guinea was fascinating.

You are a star! Keep them coming.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
031503.02

*Africa*

*15 March 03*

U12911 /03



DEFENSE SCIENCE  
BOARD

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-3140

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hon. Don Rumsfeld

FROM: William Schneider, Jr.

SUBJECT: Three miscellaneous issues

1. Attached is an article from the London *Daily Telegraph* by John Keegan, the British military historian who interviewed you a year or so ago. Keegan offers some historical experience that suggests that Baghdad does not need to be conquered to defeat Iraq. Keegan is a supporter of the President's approach to Iraq.

2. I am advised that a reporting cable came into State earlier this week from Embassy Conakry (Guinea) reporting on the failure of US diplomats to persuade the "convalescing" (a diplomatic term for a dying patient) Guinean President to support the US in the UN Security Council. According to the reporting cable, the Guinean President consulted his sorceress over the weekend. She advised the President that war was wrong, so Guinea will not support the US in the UNSC. This minor vignette underscores the folly of entrusting US vital security interests to the UNSC.

3. The USAF is producing a special 30,000 lb. munition for the B-2 for the defeat of hardened underground targets. Given the propensity to name munitions (e.g. "Big BLU" etc.) and the circumstances, perhaps the munition could be named, "Big Apple."

cc DIRta

11-L-0559/OSD/15457



9:53 AM

TO: Jim Haynes  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
 DATE: March 15, 2003  
 SUBJECT: SOFA

092.3

We are going to have to check all of our SOFA agreements and all of our relationships around the world to see what we are able to do with the US forces stationed in those countries. We cannot have Austria tell us we can't go by rail and we can't have Belgium or Germany saying we can't go across their countries. It is just unacceptable.

If you have any questions on what I want, see me.

Before we put forces anywhere else in the world, we darn well ought to make sure we have got exactly what we want by way of authorities.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
 031503.03

*Please respond by:* \_\_\_\_\_ *3/15/03*

15 MAR 03

U12913 /03



10:25 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
DATE: March 15, 2003  
SUBJECT:

000.5

You've got to get the black list solved and approved and ready to go. Everyone believes it is important. We need to get it out regardless of the President's speech.

If you have a problem, see me.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
031503.04

Please respond by: 3/24/03

15KAR03

U12914 /03



1:30 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

DATE: March 15, 2003

SUBJECT:

Condi said she is going to send over the master list of which countries are for whom. I've never seen it, and I doubt if it is good. But I want to see it. If it doesn't come over in two hours, call her office and say we need that this afternoon.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
031503.06

*Condi*  
*3/17*  
*Larry Di Rita*

**Please respond by:** \_\_\_\_\_

*092*

U12915 /03

*15 MAR 03*



1:41 PM

TO: Gen. Myers  
Gen. DeLong  
Gen. Craddock

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

DATE: March 15, 2003

SUBJECT:

I want to have a briefing on Monday of the entire CENTOM humanitarian plan and logistics.

Some time back I asked Tom for that and I think that is one loop we have not closed, so let's get it set up for Monday.

I would like Torie Clarke in the meeting.

Thanks.

*Tuesday*

DHR/azn  
031503.08

**Please respond by:** \_\_\_\_\_

*Done*  
-copy DI File  
3/17

*IRag*

*15MAR03*

U12916 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15461



1:43 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

DATE: March 15, 2003

SUBJECT: **Calendar**

Get me an appointment for Monday, if I am at the White House, to meet with Karen Hughes and Andy Card before or after one of my White House meetings. I would like Torie Clarke there as well.

Thanks.

*(together)*

DHR/azn  
031503.09

*Please respond by:* \_\_\_\_\_

*Clarke*  
LARRY DI RITA  
3/17

000.71WH

15MAR03

U12917 /03



9:54 AM

TO: Gen. Jumper  
Secretary Roche  
  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
  
DATE: March 15, 2003  
  
SUBJECT: **Succession Planning**

381

Please take the opportunity to sit down with Vern Clark and see how he handles succession planning and his nominations for flag officers.

I think his system is excellent.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
031503.10

*Please respond by:* \_\_\_\_\_

*bc Gen Myers  
Gen. Pace  
Staser Holcomb*

U12918 /03

15 MAR 03



March 17, 2003 7:49 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Support for Jay Garner

*ADVANCE COPY SENT*

*IR 29*

We need to review all the people that Jay Garner needs and get him the best people. This is critically important.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-3



Please respond by 3/21/03

*19 MAR 03*

U12919 /03



March 17, 2003 8:10 AM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Tankers

*Armed Corp  
State*

*USAT*

Please get back to me fast with your proposal on the tankers. It sounded interesting.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
031703-8



Please respond by 3/1/03

*17 MAR 03*

U12920 /03

3/18  
0720

Snowflake



March 17, 2003 8:23 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Talk to Card Re: Tankers

I have to talk to Andy Card on the tankers.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-9

.....  
Please respond by 3/21/03

*done*  
*LARRY DI RITA*  
*7/25*

4521

19MAR03

U12921 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15466

2/18  
2-2-03 Snowflake



March 17, 2003 8:25 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Donated Books

*LAST TIME ON 2/18  
4/7*

Instead of donating books to the Pentagon library, we might want to give some of them to the Fisher House for their libraries around the world.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-10

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

~~3/18 -  
Mary Clause -  
Can you please look  
into how/whether  
we should do this?  
Thanks.  
Larry~~

Larry Di Rita

U12922 /03

3/18  
11-L-0559/OSD/15467

113  
1325

April 3, 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: Larry Di Rita

FROM: Mary Claire Murphy, Director of Protocol



RE: Donating Books to Fisher House

Per your request, I have spoken with the appropriate officials at the Fisher House Foundation about receiving donated books from the Department of Defense for use in their individual libraries around the world.

The Foundation would be delighted to receive the books and were very grateful that you would think of them. We can forward all donated books directly to the Fisher House Foundation office here in Rockville, MD for distribution.

Also, please know I did double check this with Stephen Epstein in the DoD General Counsel's office, and given that the Fisher Houses come under the Morale, Welfare and Recreation activities of the Military departments, the Ethics office felt this would definitely be an appropriate option.

Therefore, per your approval, on future gift books, we will provide an option for you to select "Donate book to Fisher House".

11-L-0559/OSD/15468



Snowflake

March 17, 2003 9:56 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
CC: TORIE CLARKE  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Coalition Country Events

Let's think through what we want to do—events for me or events for the President.

Do we want to meet with defense ministers of coalition countries somewhere? Do we want to meet with the ambassadors of coalition countries here in Washington?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-13



Please respond by 3/21/03

U12925 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15469



March 17, 2003 10:32 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DA  
SUBJECT: Tracking Resolutions

*Advance copy sent*

I need a daily tracking report on where you stand on each of the key resolutions we need and how we are going to get access to the money. That should be part of the daily morning brief.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
031703-14



Please respond by 3/21/03

U12926 /03



March 17, 2003 10:44 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Numbers

Please see if you can come up with a number we could say that fewer innocent people would be killed in a conflict with Iraq than Saddam Hussein has killed in the last ten years during the UN Resolution period.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-18

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/21/03

U12927 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15471



March 17, 2003 10:53 AM

TO: Torie Clark  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Victims of Saddam Hussein

Please see the attached. You might want to circulate it to some people.

Thanks.

Attach.

Hayes, Stephen F. "The Horrors of 'Peace'" *The Weekly Standard*, 3/10/03

DHR:dh  
031703-19

.....

Please respond by 3/28/03

U12928 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15472

# The Horrors of "Peace"

Friday, Dec 10  
A...  
C

*Saddam's victims tell their stories*

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

*Dearborn, Michigan*

**"D**o you know when?" It is the question on all minds these days—those of stockbrokers, journalists, financiers, world leaders, soldiers and their families. When will the United States lead a coalition to end Saddam Hussein's tyranny over Iraq?

The answer matters most to the tyrant's subjects—like the man who asked the question of his friend in an early-morning phone conversation on Monday, February 24. The call came from Nasiriyah, in southern Iraq, to the home of an Iraqi exile in suburban Detroit.

It used to be that Iraqis trapped inside their country would speak to each other and to friends outside in veiled language. For years, Saddam's regime has tapped the phone lines of all those suspected of disloyalty, so an inquiry about the timing of a possible attack would be concealed behind seemingly unrelated questions. On what date will you sell your business? When does school end? When are you expecting your next child?

But few Iraqis speak in puzzles anymore. They ask direct questions. Here is the rest of that Monday morning conversation:

"Do you know when?"

"I'm not sure."

"Are you coming?"

"Yes. I am coming. We will . . ."

*Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.*

The second speaker, an Iraqi in Michigan, began to provide details but quickly reconsidered, ending his thought in mid-sentence. He says he was shocked by the candor coming from Iraq. "Never in the history of Iraq do people talk like this," he said later.

"Why are you silent?"

"I'm afraid that you'll be in danger."

"Don't be afraid. We are not afraid. This time is serious."

"I am coming with the American Army."

"Is there a way that we can register our names with the American forces to work with them when they arrive? Will you call my house at the first moment you arrive? I will help."



*Wolfowitz and Iraqi Americans in Dearborn*

AP/Wide World Photos

For more than a year now, the world has been engaged in an intense debate about what to do with Saddam Hussein. For much of that time, the focus has been on the dictator's refusal to get rid of his weapons of mass destruction, his sponsorship of terrorism, his serial violations of international law, and

his history of aggression.

Those arguments have in common an emphasis on interests, on threats. Absent from this debate—or at best peripheral to it—is the moral case for ending the rule of a tyrant who has terrorized his people for more than two decades. It's a strange oversight since, by some estimates, Saddam Hussein is responsible for more than 1 million Iraqi deaths since he took power in 1979.

Advocates of his overthrow are fond of pointing out that "he gassed his own people," but this often has the feel of a bulletted talking point, not an argument. Their opponents readily concede that "Saddam is a brutal dictator," and that "the world would be better off without him." But they usually grant these things as a rhetorical

device, as if to buy credibility on their way to opposing the one step sure to end that brutality—removal by force.

Those who oppose taking action say we can safely ignore Saddam Hussein because he is “in a box.” Even if they were right and Saddam were no longer a threat, they would ignore this other urgent problem: the 23 million Iraqi people who are in the box with him.

No one wants war. “I am a pacifist,” says Ramsey Jiddou, an Iraqi American who has lived in the United States since the late 1970s. “But it will take a war to remove Saddam Hussein, and of course I’m for such a war.”

Iraqi Americans overwhelmingly agree with Jiddou. Many of them are recent arrivals who came here after the Gulf War left Saddam in power in 1991. And many are in regular contact with friends and relatives still trapped in Iraq.

The views of those Iraqis back home “are the same as the Iraqi Americans,” says Peter Antone, an Iraqi-American immigration lawyer in Southfield, Michigan. “They are not free to speak, so we speak for them.”

One of my hosts had another question for me as we walked up to a modest one-story home in Dearborn Heights on the snowy afternoon of Saturday, February 22.

“Do you know the decisionmakers?” asked Abu Muslim al-Haydar, a former University of Baghdad professor and one of three English-speakers in the group of 20 Iraqi Shiites assembling here to talk with a reporter about Iraq. His tone was urgent, almost desperate, as he repeated himself. “Do you know the decisionmakers?”

The Iraqi Americans who live in suburban Detroit, some 150,000 of them, are the largest concentration of Iraqis outside Iraq. That’s saying something, since according to the United Nations, Iraqis are the second-largest group of refugees in the world. Some 4 million of them have left their homes since Saddam Hussein took power—an astonishing 17 percent of the country’s population. Despite the size of the Iraqi-American population, and despite the fact that no one is better acquainted with the ways of Saddam Hussein’s regime, their voices have largely been missing from the national debate. In the course of dozens of interviews over the last two weeks, it became plain that this oversight is a source of endless frustration to this community. Iraqi Americans have a lot to say, and the decisionmakers, in both the media and government, are not listening.

As we approached the house in Dearborn Heights, I told al-Haydar that with luck, some decisionmakers would read my article. On the porch, I added my shoes

to a mountain of footwear, which, with a winter storm raging, had taken on the appearance of a snow-capped peak. We stepped inside. The room to the right contained a big-screen television (wired to the satellite dish on the roof) and a sofa. The room on the left was furnished with overlapping oriental rugs and, on the floor along the wall, colorful cushions that would serve as our seats for the next two and a half hours.

The group was all male and all Shiite, primarily from southern Iraq. In other ways, though, it was diverse—ranging from farmers to religious leaders to a former general in Saddam’s Republican Guard. The ages went from early twenties to perhaps eighties. Some came dressed in three-piece suits, some in tribal robes.

I proposed moving clockwise around the room for introductions and brief personal histories, a suggestion that prompted much discussion, all of it in Arabic. In what could be considered a bad omen for a democratic Iraq, my ad hoc translator, a young man named Ahmed Shulaiba, explained that elders and religious leaders generally have the option to speak first. But after more discussion, the introductions proceeded according to the suggested plan.

One elderly man in a flowing brown robe, however, gave up his turn, saying he preferred to speak last and that he wanted to make a statement. When he did, he passed me his Michigan State I.D. card as he began speaking.

*“I want to introduce myself and ask a question. Are you ready? I am Mehsin Juad al-Basaid. For many years I was a farmer in Iraq. I was involved in the uprising in 1991. American pilots dropped leaflets telling us to start an uprising against Saddam. And we did. We sacrificed. I lost three family members. Fifteen days later the American Army was removed from the South, and left us to face Saddam alone. Now, I’m willing to go with the American Army. But what happened in 1991 must not happen again.”*

Nearly everyone in attendance had spoken of his own involvement in the uprising. It’s worth spending a moment on what happened at the end of the Gulf War, because it influences the way many Iraqis, particularly the Shiite majority, see the United States.

After the devastating U.S. air campaign, American ground forces made quick work of the few Iraqi soldiers who put up a fight. At the same time, the U.S. government dropped leaflets and broadcast radio messages urging all Iraqis to overthrow Saddam. Ahmed, my translator, who was 15 in 1991, told me how he had learned that the Americans wanted Iraqis to revolt.

*“I remember George Bush said, ‘There is another way for the bloodshed to stop. It’s for the Iraqi people and the Iraqi military to take matters into their own hands . . .’”*



Gerry Images / Bill Pugliano

Mohammed al-Cased (left) and Mehsin Juad al-Basaid at the Wolfowitz meeting, February 23



Iraqi Human Rights Division

A father and baby, dead from Saddam's chemical attack on the Kurds (left); a demonstration of equipment used to torture Kuwaitis

I interrupted to ask him if he was quoting the former president.

*"Yeah, I remember that's what he said."*

I interrupted a second time to ask him if he remembered how the message was delivered—radio, leaflets? His response was terse.

*"Yes. I'll tell you after I finish."*

With that, he resumed his word-for-word recitation of the president's exhortation:

*"It's for the Iraqi people and the Iraqi military to take matters into their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside, comply with the United Nations Resolution, and rejoin the family of peace-loving nations." That's what he said.*

Many Iraqis, both in the largely Kurdish north and the Shiite south, took this advice. American pilots bombed Iraqi weapons depots, allowing the rebels to arm themselves. As the Iraqi Army withdrew from Kuwait and retreated towards Baghdad, the rebels made significant gains. The numbers are disputed, but at the height

of the uprising, opposition forces may have controlled as many as 14 of Iraq's 18 provinces.

Just as the pressure on the regime intensified, however, American and Iraqi military leaders met near the Iraq-Kuwait border at Safwan to sign a cease-fire. As the negotiations drew to a close, the Iraqi representative, Lt. Gen. Sultan Hashim Ahmad, had a request, recorded in the official transcript of the meeting. "We have a point, one point. You might very well know the situation of the roads and bridges and communications. We would like to agree that helicopter flights sometimes are needed to carry some of the officials, government officials, or any member that is needed to be transported from one place to another because the roads and bridges are out."

General Norman Schwarzkopf, representing the United States, playing the generous victor, told his counterpart that so long as no helicopters flew over areas controlled by U.S. troops, they were "absolutely no problem." He continued: "I want to make sure that's recorded, that military helicopters can fly over Iraq. Not fighters, not bombers."

Lt. Gen. Ahmad pressed the issue. "So you mean even helicopters that is [sic] armed in the Iraqi skies can fly, but not the fighters?"

"Yeah, I will instruct our Air Force not to shoot at any helicopters that are flying over the territory of Iraq where we are not located," Schwarzkopf replied, adding that he wanted armed helicopters to be identified with an orange tag.

This moment of magnanimity would prove costly. Saddam's soldiers used the helicopters to put down the rebellion, spilling the blood of tens of thousands of Iraqis to do so. On the ground, allied troops had reversed course and were now taking weapons from any Iraqis who had them, including the rebels. In the end, it was a massacre, with conservative estimates of 30,000 dead.

"Along Highway 8, the east-west route that ran from An Nasiriyah to Basra, the American soldiers could tell that Saddam Hussein was mercilessly putting down the rebellion," wrote Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor in *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*, considered the definitive account of the war. "The tales at the medical tent had a common theme: indiscriminate fire at men, women and children, the destruction of Islamic holy places, in which the Shiites had taken refuge, helicopter and rocket attacks, threats of chemical weapons attacks."

The men who gathered that snowy afternoon in Dearborn Heights, many of them from Nasiriyah, were among those attacked by the Iraqi military in 1991. Several spoke of their confusion as they looked up to see Iraqi helicopters strafing the masses of refugees, and above the Iraqi aircraft, American F-15 fighter planes circling in the sky but doing nothing to stop the slaughter. (These images have contributed, perhaps understandably, to numerous conspiracy theories discussed widely in the exile community. One propounds the preposterous notion that American aircraft *escorted* the Iraqi helicopters responsible for killing Iraqi rebels and ending the uprising. As that hypothesis goes, the United States wanted to keep Saddam Hussein in power as its puppet dictator. Put together American support of Saddam throughout the '80s with these vivid memories, and from the perspective of the Iraqis on the ground, the theories don't seem terribly far-fetched.)

When we ended our formal Q and A, one man handed me a photograph of his son, who was killed in the uprising. Others gave me photographs and handwritten, homemade business cards. Someone gave me a plan, in Arabic, for postwar Iraq. Several men passed me their Michigan drivers' licenses and state ID cards. Six gave me letters or prepared statements, some in Arabic and others in English. Mohammed al-Gased, who speaks

only Arabic, must have had help translating his letter:

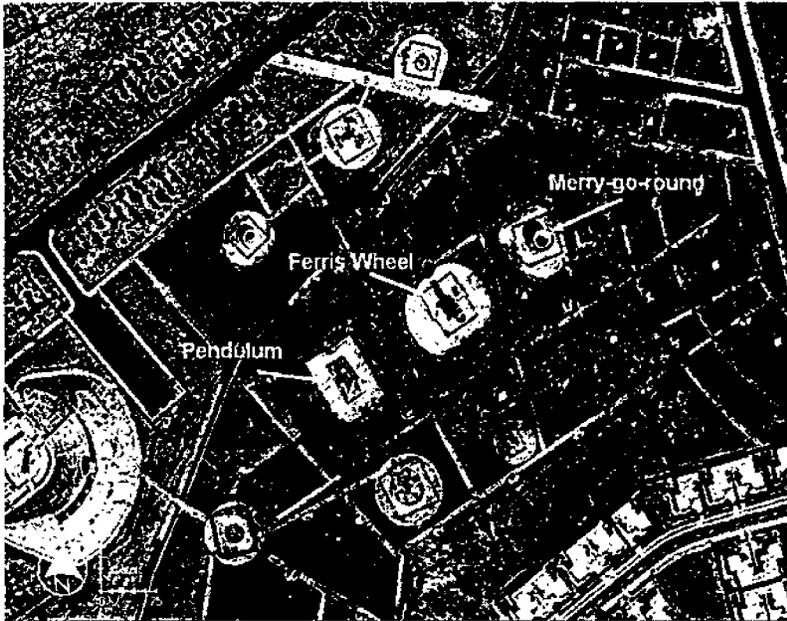
My name is Mohammed Al Gased, my family and I are refugees in the United States of America. I lost my nephew Haydir Ali Abdulmir Al Gased (the spelling of the name may be different). He was a participant in the 1991 Iraqi Uprising against Saddam. On March 18, 1991, he was wounded in the battle against Saddam's army. In the same afternoon of the same day, he was transferred to one of the American military units located in Talillehem in the governorate of Annasriya in southern Iraq. He was treated there; then was taken by American Military helicopter for a further treatment. The location is still unknown for us. After the fail of the uprising, most of us were forced to flee our homes. When we arrived to Saudi Arabia as refugees. I wrote a letter to the Red Cross asking if they have any information about him, and we got no answer. I also wrote to the Saudi Ministry of Defense. My brother, his father, was tortured by Saddam's secret police so viciously it caused his death. His mother and the rest of the family are now residing in Sweden as refugees. In the name of humanity, we are asking you to help us find out weather or not he is still alive and where his about.

With the letters and statements and photographs came torrents of additional charges meant to demonstrate the brutality of Saddam's regime. One man insisted that he knew the precise location of a mass grave, and provided very specific directions. He urged me to give these coordinates to the U.S. government but not to report them, lest Saddam dig up the grave and repair the ground. He said that Iraqis are well aware of these mass graves and predicted they will be found throughout Iraq when the current regime is out of power.

It must be said that many of these claims, including that one, are unverifiable. But they are consistent with Saddam Hussein's long history of violence. As the U.N. special rapporteur on human rights in Iraq put it: "Extreme and brutal force is threatened and applied without hesitation and with total impunity to control the population."

Of more immediate concern is the likelihood that Saddam will use civilians as human shields in the event of war, as he did during the first Gulf War. Bush administration officials are well aware of his willingness to sacrifice his own people, and they take seriously reports that he has begun preparations to do so.

One such account comes from Ali al-Sayad, an Iraqi American who reported to Defense Department officials a phone call he received last week from his cousin, a guard at the infamous Abu Ghraib prison. The guard told al-Sayad that on February 11, Saddam's agents began methodically moving thousands of prisoners from their cells to the dictator's hometown of Tikrit, where many officials believe Saddam will take refuge when combat begins.



Saddam's amusement park at Lake Tharthar

That's a move that wouldn't surprise Riadh Abdallah, a former general in Saddam's Republican Guard. Gen. Abdallah served on Saddam's personal security detail in Baghdad during the Gulf War. His brother, Abdulil Alwishah, a member of the Iraqi parliament from 1984 to 1991 and head of a prominent southern Iraqi tribe, was a leader of the uprising at the end of the war. When Iraqi intelligence reported back to Baghdad that Alwishah had agitated against Saddam, Gen. Abdallah lost his position in the Republican Guard and was put on probation, then transferred to a teaching job and ordered to report to authorities once a week to show his face.

It could have been worse. Five other generals, including Barak Abdallah, a hero from the Iran-Iraq war, were executed for plotting against the regime.

By 1993, Alwishah and his family had left the Saudi refugee camp that they called home for 14 months and had resettled in the United States. That's when his brother, Gen. Abdallah, was arrested and charged as an anti-Saddam conspirator and sent to a small prison in Baghdad for high-ranking officials accused as traitors. I asked him about the experience.

*ABDALLAH: I was in jail for eleven months. There was no judge. They just put you in. If one was to be executed or put in jail, no judge. They put us in the same room as those five generals who were executed. And they were killed with big knives. Those people were killed with big knives hitting them on the neck. And the room had blood everywhere.*

*SH: Did you think you might be next?*

*ABDALLAH: Yes. I thought that they would do the same*

*thing to me. Every day they told me that I will be executed.*

*SH: How long?*

*ABDALLAH: Eleven months. Intimidation every day. At that time they found out about a conspiracy by another person who was a big general, a doctor actually, from the same town as Saddam. His name was Raji al-Tikriti. It's a very famous story in Iraq. And they made him a food for dogs.*

*SH: You were in prison when this happened? You heard about this?*

*ABDALLAH: They showed me these prisoners that were eaten by wild dogs. They made us—that was one kind of intimidation—they brought all of the generals and officers in the prison to watch it, to intimidate us. . . . They took us from jail and they put some blindfolds on our eyes and they took them off and we saw him.*

*Before the dogs ate him we saw them read the judgment and they said why they were going to kill him. He was the head doctor for all the military, and he was the personal doctor for Saddam Hussein and for former Iraqi president Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.*

*SH: Was he killed before this happened?*

*ABDALLAH: He was alive when these wild dogs . . .*

*SH: Do you remember what month this was?*

*ABDALLAH: It was the wintertime, but I can't remember exactly because for 11 months I didn't see the sun, nothing—I didn't know what time. There was only spider webs in the room, so I didn't know if it's day or night. [Pause] Probably what you're hearing is impossible to believe, but that's what happened. And all that you're hearing is nothing compared to everything else.*

Abdallah later explained that Raji al-Tikriti was dressed in "prison pajamas" with his hands and feet bound when this was done to him. Abdallah and seven other prisoners were forced to watch. The five dogs, he said, "were like big wolves."

Abdallah returned to teaching after his surprising release from prison. He taught with other senior military officials who, he said, ran terrorist training operations at Salman Pak and Lake Tharthar. The activities at Salman Pak are well known. Satellite images show an airplane, and defectors have revealed extensive training in terrorist operations—including hijacking—that have gone on there for years. Lake Tharthar, however, is new. Abdallah calls it the "Salman Pak of the sea," where terrorists were instructed in "diving, how to wire, how to put charges on ships, how to storm the ships, commando operations."

I asked him if the facility was used primarily for military training or terrorist training. "Terrorist. Not for the military. They were not Iraqi. They were all from other countries—maybe just a few Iraqis. And it's very confidential."

Tharthar is the largest lake in Iraq, constructed on the site of the Great Dam. That dam regulates a waterway that connects the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Tharthar is also the site of one of the largest of Saddam's numerous palaces. In 1999, at a celebration of the president's 62nd birthday, Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan opened a resort on the lake for the regime's VIPs. The complex came at a cost estimated at hundreds of millions, and includes luxurious accommodations, several beaches, and an amusement park, complete with a merry-go-round and a ferris wheel.

Saddam Hussein and his allies blame the United States for the "genocide" caused by 13 years of U.N. sanctions. They claim that these sanctions, and the resulting shortages of food and medicine, have led to the deaths of more than 1 million Iraqis. Even leaving aside the vast resources Saddam has used to rebuild and conceal his deadly arsenal, the resort at Lake Tharthar helps put those charges in context. As Taha Ramadan noted at the resort's ceremonial opening, "This city was built in the age of Saddam Hussein and during this period of sanctions. . . . This shows our ability to build such a beautiful city and to fight as well."

A resort city, terrorist training camps, and a hungry population—all of this, says Abdallah, makes Saddam Hussein "the father and the grandfather of terrorists."

The day after my meeting in Dearborn Heights, some 300 Iraqi Americans gathered at the Fairlane Club in suburban Detroit to hear from Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and, finally, tell their stories in the presence of a high U.S. official. Wolfowitz had been invited by the Iraqi Forum for Democracy, a nonaligned, anti-Saddam, pro-democracy association of Iraqis in America. Television cameras—I counted nearly 20—lined the room. A handful of print reporters were there, too. Signs on the wall declared "Iraq United Will Never Be Divided" and "Saddam Must Go—Iraqis Need Human Rights."

Wolfowitz is viewed as something of a hero here. Several Iraqi Americans I spoke to were aware that he was wary of Saddam Hussein as far back as the late '70s, and remained so even as the U.S. government embraced the Iraqi dictator in the '80s. Others credited Wolfowitz with expediting U.S. rescue operations when the Iraqi government put down the 1991 uprising.

"The U.S. Army had orders to leave Basra," recalls Ahmed Shulaiba. "We were going to be crushed by the Iraqi Army, and we heard that one man from the press—we don't know who he is—he called Paul Wolfowitz and told him about 30,000 people will be crushed if the American military leave them. And he [Wolfowitz] called [Secretary of Defense] Dick Cheney and they helped move us to the camp of Rafha [in Saudi Arabia]."

Wolfowitz later confirmed this account, though he downplayed his role. "The rebellion had basically been crushed," he said. "It was a Sunday afternoon and I got a call at home from a reporter. I think it's okay to name him, it was Michael Gordon [of the *New York Times*]. One of my kids answered, told me who it was, and I regretted the day I'd given him my unpublished number at home. I said, 'Tell him I'm not interested in talking to him.' My kid, whichever one it was, told me that Gordon was calling from Safwan [Iraq], and he says it's important."

Gordon told Wolfowitz that he had been interviewing U.S. troops in southern Iraq. Saddam's forces were continuing to brutalize the Iraqi people. American soldiers, says Wolfowitz, "had been ordered not to do anything about it. Gordon said it was breaking their hearts." Wolfowitz called Cheney and, after overcoming some internal resistance, they arranged to have allied forces expedite the refugees' journey to camps in the Saudi desert.

Now, addressing those gathered in suburban Detroit, Wolfowitz spoke of the coming liberation of their country. It was a well-crafted speech, packed with details about the expected conflict and postwar Iraq (available on the web at [http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Feb2003/t02272003\\_t0223ifd.html](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Feb2003/t02272003_t0223ifd.html)). He was interrupted repeatedly by enthusiastic applause, including several standing ovations. At one point, the audience broke into song, in Arabic, to celebrate the imminent end of Saddam's rule. The Iraqi farmers who the night before had handed me photographs of their dead relatives were dancing with local religious leaders.

When Wolfowitz concluded his remarks, it was the Iraqis' turn to speak to the world. Some spoke in English, some in Arabic.

*"My name is Abu Muslim al-Hayadar. I used to be a university professor back in Iraq, but now I am working in social services to help refugees. I want to assure you and all other people around the world that we suffered so much and we are willing to work towards democracy as we are—most of us want to work in two phases. The liberation phase and the rebuilding phase. So please, please take it seriously, and we want it fast. Fast, as fast as you can. Thank you. Liberate Iraqi people please."*

Moments later, a man named Ahmed al-Tamimi stepped to the front of the stage with a young boy.



Ahsan Alwatan (center), who was beaten by Iraqi troops as a one-year-old in 1991

*"I welcome you here. You are here in Dearborn and next month we welcome you in Baghdad and Iraq.*

*"In every heart here, in every person here, there is a scar on our hearts. But we can't show the people in the world our scars on our hearts, but we can show the scars on the face of this young guy. He was, in that time in 1991, just one year. He was a child, and this is the father and his uncle, they participated in the uprising. . . . They beat the father, his father, his mother, and his wife. While they are beating the family they hear the cry of the child and they say who is the child? The wife said this is my child. They start beating him with their boots until the blood was all over and he had brain damage, partly brain damage.*

*"When [the father] came from Saudi Arabia to America, the first thing he did, he took the phone and talked to his wife and he said I want to talk to my son. And she started to cry. And she told him he is not talking, he is not talking. What happened? She told him, something happen in 1991. I can't tell you. After that he find out what happened to his son."*

The program ended and the crowd gave Wolfowitz another standing ovation. They rushed to the stage and surrounded the speaker, a former academic unused to being treated like a rock star. It was a moving scene—perhaps a foreshadowing of the greeting American troops will get when Saddam Hussein is gone—but few people saw it.

Although several major newspapers covered the event, television networks mostly took a pass. Why? Certainly the language difficulties made live television coverage all but impossible. But the reactions of a producer for a prominent international broadcast network suggest another possible explanation. She said the event was "weird" and thought the Iraqis seemed "uncomfortable."

"It was a pre-selected audience," she inaccurately claimed. "Everyone here agrees with the administration."

Pro-war propaganda, she concluded—never once considering the possibility that Iraqi Americans might actually be near-unanimous in their desire to get rid of Saddam Hussein.

It should be noted, however, that there were at least two Saddam sympathizers in the crowd. Before the speech, as TV crews checked their microphones and Arabic-speaking Iraqis studied translated copies of Wolfowitz's prepared remarks, one Iraqi pointed out two men he said were "Saddam's agents." Regardless of whether that much is true, they plainly were not enjoying themselves. Each time their fellow Iraqi Americans saluted the dictator's coming demise, these dour fellows sat expres-

sionless.

After the meeting with Wolfowitz, journalists were asked to leave the room as the Iraqis met privately with representatives from the Pentagon for perhaps an hour. Defense officials explained to the Iraqis the various ways they can participate in the coming conflict. Many will accompany U.S. troops, serving as intermediaries between the Iraqis and their liberators. Others will join something the Pentagon is calling the "Free Iraqi Force," a unit that will support combat operations inside Iraq. Still others will focus on a post-Saddam Iraq.

Later, Wolfowitz returned to the room and spent another hour talking with individual Iraqi Americans, answering their questions, and most important, listening.

One Iraqi American had a message he hoped protesters would hear:

*"If you want to protest that it's not okay to send your kids to fight, that's okay. But please don't claim to speak for the Iraqis. We've seen 5 million people protesting, but none of them were Iraqis. They don't know what's going on inside Iraq. France and whoever else, please shut up."*

Another, Hawra al-Zuad, is a 16-year-old student at an Islamic academy in suburban Detroit. Her sky blue headscarf seems to coexist comfortably with her marked Detroit accent. Although she doesn't remember her family's flight 12 years ago, she is eager to return to her native Iraq. "I'll go visit right away," she says. "I want to go see how it is over there. I forgot everything about it. I want to see my house, where I used to live when I was little."

A good way to spend summer vacation, I suggest. She quickly corrects me.

"Spring break. I hope it's spring break." ♦

Snowflake



March 17, 2003 11:20 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Clipping and Excerpt

The piece on the Lindbergh rally and the excerpt from *Reagan's War* were really helpful. Thanks so much. Keep them coming!

DHR:dh  
031703-22

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

11-L-0559/OSD/15480

U12929 /03



March 17, 2003 11:56 AM

TO: [redacted]  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: Dinner Out with the Myers

*ADVANCE COPY SENT*

Please see if Dick and Mary Jo Myers would like to have sushi with Joyce and me at Sushi-Ko restaurant on Wisconsin either Friday, March 28, or Saturday, March 29. We would probably go fairly early—maybe 6:30 p.m. or something.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-24

Please respond by 3/21/03

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**  
MAR 22 2003

*It's set for Friday.*  
*D*

U12930 /03



August 1, 2003

TO: Honorable George Tenet  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Djibouti

I hope you will work out a CIA liaison for our folks in Djibouti. John Abizaid is hopeful.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
080103-13

*Djibouti*

*1 Aug 03*



August 4, 2003

TO: Gen. Myers

CC: Gen. Abizaid  
Mike Wynne  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Geophysical Techniques

684

Attached is some material George Shultz sent me.

It looks to me like an interesting idea. I don't know if you folks have examined the thought. If not, please do so and report back to me.

Thanks.

Attach.  
7/31/03 Shultz fax to SecDef w/O'Reilly ltr (ChevronTexaco) attached)

DHR:dh  
080103-24



Please respond by 8/22/03

420693

U12965 03



✓  
8/1



**HOOVER INSTITUTION**  
ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
DISTINGUISHED FELLOW

**FACSIMILE**

**To: The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld**

**Fax:** (b)(6)

**From: George P. Shultz**

**Date: July 31, 2003**

**Pages to follow: 4**

JUL 31 2003 10:37AM  
Jul-31-2003 10:55am

GEORGE SHULTZ  
From: G. SHULTZ/H.NATRES

(b)(6)

T-001 NO. 396/005 P. 218

CHEVRON

002

ChevronTexaco Corporation  
6001 Bollinger Canyon Road  
San Ramon, CA 94583  
Tel (b)(6)  
Fax (b)(6)

David L. O'Reilly  
Chairman of the Board and  
Chief Executive Officer

July 31, 2003

**ChevronTexaco**

Mr. George P. Shultz  
Bechtel

(b)(6)

Dear George:

Following up on our discussion last week, I asked Don Paul, our Chief Technology Officer, to prepare for me a brief set of comments on the possible application of industry geophysical techniques to aid in locating your targets of interest.

Summary

- 1) Multiple "near-surface" geophysical methods exist to locate and map objects, such as voids, and buried conductive material, such as minerals or metal objects. Typical industrial applications include: mining, geotechnical and environmental engineering, and archeological mapping.
- 2) The depth of investigation (up to a few hundred meters) and resolution (down to less than a meter) would appear to be in the correct range to meet your objectives. Because of the scale of investigation, however, there are practical limits to the coverage of a given survey (square mile or so). Target leads, based on other information and data, would be important to localizing the geophysical survey.
- 3) Supporting the industrial application of these techniques is a small community of highly specialized geophysical companies. Attached is a sample list of several companies who advertise in the industry press to offer such services and technology. A more complete list could be obtained by contacting the International Association of Geophysical Contractors ([www.iagc.org](http://www.iagc.org)) and the Near-Surface Geophysics Section of the Society of Exploration Geophysicists ([www.nsgs.seg.org](http://www.nsgs.seg.org)).

ChevronTexaco has very limited direct experience with these specialized companies as their business is not directed to our large-scale exploration and production requirements.

If further information is needed, I suggest you contact Don Paul's office directly.

Sincerely,



Attachment

11-L-0559/OSD/15485

**Geometrics**  
2190 Fortune Drive  
San Jose, CA 95131

(b)(6)

[www.geometrics.com](http://www.geometrics.com)

**GX Technology Corp**  
5847 San Felipe St., #3500  
Houston, TX 77057

**Geophex, Ltd.**  
605 Mercury St.  
Raleigh, NC 27603

(b)(6)

[www.GEOPHEX.com](http://www.GEOPHEX.com)

**Airmag Surveys, Inc.**  
P. O. Box 16157  
Philadelphia, PA 19114

(b)(6)

[www.AIRMAGSURVES.com](http://www.AIRMAGSURVES.com)

**Sander Geophysics**  
250 Hunt Club Road  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

(b)(6)

[www.sgl.com](http://www.sgl.com)

**Sensors & Software Inc.**  
1901 Brewlik Place  
Mississauga, ON L4W Canada

(b)(6)

[www.sensoff.com](http://www.sensoff.com)

# Near-Surface Geophysics

A Section of the  
Society of Exploration Geophysicists



## SEG Annual Meeting

Proposed NSGS sessions:

- Recent Advances and the Road Ahead
- TLE forum: Upstream future
- Seismic technology in Mexico
- H. Frank Morrison symposium
- EarthScope: 3D/3C crustal seismic reflection
- IAGC: Future of service companies
- Vinton Salt Dome (Louisiana)
- Moscow poster session

Thesis abstracts are in. Now is the time to think about travel arrangements. For all the details, visit the [SEG Annual Meeting Page](#).

Travel grants are available to encourage and support graduate students seeking a career in environmental, ground water, and engineering geophysics.

## NSG Section Information

Contact members of the [2002-2003 Executive Committee](#), view the [NSG Section bylaws](#), or inquire about [membership](#) in the Near-Surface Geophysics Section.

## Calendar of Events

View the [dates of events](#) important to members of the near-surface geophysics community such as meetings and short courses, or click this email link to [suggest events](#) to include.

## Newsletter

[Newsletter Contributions](#)

[Newsletter Archive](#) (now out: Feb, 2003)

## NSG Email List

Available to all active NSG members for timely reminders of events, paper/abstract due dates, and important issues. [Suggestions](#) welcome.

**Note:** If you are member of the NSG Section, but are not receiving the quarterly newsletter, "Near-Surface Views," please [email us](#) and we will be sure our mailing information is up-to-date.

IAGC - President



### IAGC President

The President reports to the Chairman of the Board and is responsible for the effective day-to-day operations and activities of the association as a whole, and for advising and making recommendations to the Committee of the Board with respect to these operations and activities.

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**The President of the IAGC is:**

**Chip Gill**

**President, IAGC, 2550 N. Loop W., Suite 104, Houston, TX 77052 USA**

Phone: (b)(6)

Fax: (b)(6)

[Email the President](#)



August 4, 2003

TO: Paul Bremer  
CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

*IRAQ*

The attached on Iraqi envoys at the UN is self-explanatory. I hope you are working the problem. Let us know what we can do to help.

Thanks.

Attach.  
7/18/03 USD(P) memo to SecDef re: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

DHR:dh  
080103-10



*Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_*

*1 AUG 03*

**U12966 03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15489

✓  
8/1

INFO MEMO

OSD Policy  
18 July 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Douglas J. Feith *DJF* 7/19/03

SUBJECT: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

- You asked us to look at the Washington Post article "Saddam's Low Level Envoys Still Work at the UN" and research the facts presented in the article. If true, what do we do about it?
- After discussion with the USUN Mission, we discovered the following:
  - Article refers to 6 diplomats plus 8 staff in the Iraqi Mission.
  - Former Iraqi Ambassador to the UN, al-Douri, designated a Charge d'Affaires for the Iraqi Mission upon his departure. UN currently recognizes him and his staff as legitimate representatives.
  - He maintains status until transferred or challenged by the Credentials Committee.
  - Credentials have not been challenged because they are "cooperative" and their participation is mostly nonexistent.
  - For example, at the pre-donors' conference assembled a few weeks ago, the Iraqis asked to participate but were denied.
- Iraq's new Governing Council is sending representatives to address the United Nations Security Council next week. We may want the Governing Council to deal with this issue.
- Recommendation: no action required as Iraqi Mission staff has marginalized itself and the new Governing Council has this on its radar screen.

7/30

*I believe The Governing Council (GC) told UN that the GC would be sending new reps.*  
*D. Feith*

DUSD (NESA) 18 Jul 03



August 4, 2003

TO: Honorable Colin Powell (by hand)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.R.*  
SUBJECT: Personnel for Iraq

IRAQ

You asked me about some 200-plus State Department people who have volunteered but have been held up for a month and a half—as I recall, that is what you said.

Here is the response I received.

Please sort through it, let me know what you think the facts are, and we'll see if we can figure out why there is such an enormous difference in what you heard and what I am being told.

Thanks.

Attach.  
7/31/03 Smith memo to SecDef

DHR:dh  
080103-25

U12968 03

11-L-0559/OSD/15491

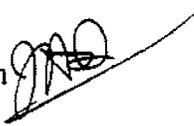
1 Aug 03

File

✓  
8/1

July 31, 2003

TO: Secretary of Defense

THROUGH: Jaymie Durnan 

FROM: Fred Smith, Office of the CPA Representative

CC: Deputy Secretary of Defense  
Ambassador Bremer  
Ambassador Kennedy  
Larry DiRita

SUBJECT: Department of State Personnel for Iraq

I understand that Secretary Powell raised the issue of 200+ State personnel ready to go to Iraq, but there is a problem with DoD. The CPA has only 33 State billets identified, and we, working closely with State, have identified 27 of the 33 people needed in Baghdad.

The facts of this situation are:

Several weeks ago State canvassed all its personnel asking who would be interested in serving in Iraq for a temporary assignment. State received approximately 230 responses (according to State, it turns out that some of these people are not truly interested, not available until next year, or not cleared for medical reasons). State is working off that list to find people to fill 33 positions identified by the CPA. Twenty-seven people, to date, have been identified by name by State to fill those positions. Several of those people are already in Baghdad, many are en route, and the rest are being processed (several people are not available to deploy until September, October, or November). We are working closely with State every day/every hour to process all the people. Pat Kennedy, Jerry Bremer's Chief of Staff and a Foreign Service Officer, spent a full day at State last week working on this issue.

Talking points you may wish to sue in a conversation with Secretary Powell:

- Defense (Fred Smith) is working closely with State (NEA, Kathleen Austin-Ferguson) on this issue.
- The CPA has validated a requirement for 33 State people to work in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Governance.

11-L-0559/OSD/15492

- We have already moved, or are processing, 27 people to fill those positions.
- One limiting factor in Baghdad is living space to put these people—there's a waiting list of 300 people for the Al Rasheed Hotel; 200 people are sleeping on cots in the hotel ballroom. We are working to resolve this problem.
- We greatly appreciate State's support. In fact, we will try to use as many State people as possible to fill positions identified in other ministries.



August 4, 2003

TO: Paul Bremer  
CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

*IM:*

The attached on Iraqi envoys at the UN is self-explanatory. I hope you are working the problem. Let us know what we can do to help.

Thanks.

Attach.  
7/18/03 USD(P) memo to SecDef re: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

DHR:dh  
080103-10



Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*4 Aug 03*

*Done 8/6*

*012994-03*

11-L-0559/OSD/15494

✓  
8/1

INFO MEMO

OSD Policy  
18 July 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Douglas J. Feith *DJF* 7/17/03

SUBJECT: Iraqi Envoys at the UN

- You asked us to look at the Washington Post article "Saddam's Low Level Envoys Still Work at the UN" and research the facts presented in the article. If true, what do we do about it?
- After discussion with the USUN Mission, we discovered the following:
  - Article refers to 6 diplomats plus 8 staff in the Iraqi Mission.
  - Former Iraqi Ambassador to the UN, al-Douri, designated a Charge d'Affaires for the Iraqi Mission upon his departure. UN currently recognizes him and his staff as legitimate representatives.
  - He maintains status until transferred or challenged by the Credentials Committee.
  - Credentials have not been challenged because they are "cooperative" and their participation is mostly nonexistent.
  - For example, at the pre-donors' conference assembled a few weeks ago, the Iraqis asked to participate but were denied.
- Iraq's new Governing Council is sending representatives to address the United Nations Security Council next week. We may want the Governing Council to deal with this issue.
- Recommendation: no action required as Iraqi Mission staff has marginalized itself and the new Governing Council has this on its radar screen.

7/30

*I believe The Governing Council (GC) told UN that the GC would be sending new reps.*

*D. H. [Signature]*

DUSD (NESA) 18 Jul 03



August 4, 2003

UN

TO: Honorable George Tenet  
Paul Wolfowitz  
Steve Cambone

CC: Gen. Myers  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Former Inspectors

I met with some Senators the other day. They asked why we have not invited in UN weapons inspectors to help with the process in Iraq. Has any thought been given to that?

Thanks.

DIR:dh  
080103-15

4 AUG 03

11-L-0559/OSD/15496

U13003 / 03



August 4, 2003

TO: Jerry Bremer  
Gen. Abizaid

CC: Gen. Myers  
Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Peshmerga and Turkey

IRAQ

Attached is a note from Jay Garner, which discussed two important points.

1. We ought to consider what to do about the Peshmerga, since we are paying the Iraqi troops.
2. The possible Turkish logistics tail in the north in the event that they come into the central or southern areas.

I agree with him that those are problems. I hope you are both focusing on it. If I can be helpful, please let me know.

Thanks.

Attach.  
8/1/03 Garner note to SecDef

DHR:dh  
080403-26



Please respond by 8/15/03

4 AUG 03

✓  
8/4

Mr. Secretary,

Hope this finds you in good spirits. I have concerns on two issues dealing with Northern Iraq. I'm sure that you have already solved them; however, in case they are still active I want to bring them up to you. First, I understand that we are now paying stipends to the Iraqi military, which I strongly agree with. However, we are not paying the Peshmerga, who were our allies during the war and could still have great utility in specified security roles; e.g., border guards, static security, etc. Second, I have been told that we will use the Turks as part of the coalition stability force and that they will be used in the south rather than the north. I agree with this and think that this is extremely important that we have Muslims as part of our stability force. The problem I foresee is that the Turks will establish a huge logistics tail from their position in the south through the northern provinces and especially Kurdistan. I don't know how we control this, but unless we are prepared for it - it will cause significant issues with the Kurds. As you know, there are continual problems between the Kurds and the Turks in and around Kirkuk. If we don't control the Turkish access from north to south the problems will be exponentially worse. As I said I'm sure you have already solved these, but I just needed to get that burr from under my saddle.

Connie and I look forward to your BBQ on the 16<sup>th</sup>. Have a good weeker d.

Jay

11-L-0559/OSD/15498

SENT 6/11  
June 9, 2003

TO: ~~LTG Craddock~~ JOINT STAFF  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Training Schedule

I think the Service's training schedule should be submitted to us to take a look at to see how joint they are.

Please draft a memo for me to send to them to get that done. My guess is they are already projecting out five to seven years. They probably have the wrong countries participating. They probably are not joint. Let's take a look.

353

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
06/09/03-33

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

11-L-0559/OSD/15499

03 JUN 21 AM 8:45  
U 3070 /03  
TAB B

9 June 03

March 17, 2003 12:02 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: UN and NSC Action List

*ADVANCE  
COPY SENT*

We need an action list for everything we need to get from the UN and the NSC, so we can sell oil and get access to all of the funds. You need to have that on the reporting list every day.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-26

.....  
Please respond by 3/21/03

U13073 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15500



March 17, 2003 12:04 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Dov Zakheim

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: OMB and Iraq

We cannot have a problem with OMB in Iraq, like we did in Afghanistan. What do we do about it?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-27

.....

*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13074 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15501

Snowflake



VIA FAX

March 17, 2003 12:06 PM

TO: Jim Schlesinger  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Op-ed

Your piece in the *Wall Street Journal* was on the mark. Keep it going!

DHR:dh  
031703-28

U13075 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15502

3/19 Snowflake  
120

↖

EX-4527 3/20

March 17, 2003 12:24 PM

TO: Ryan Henry  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DA  
SUBJECT: Public Affairs w/Garner

Advance Copy  
Sent

3/19  
City Dir

Please find out who Garner has in the public affairs function, and let me know immediately their names and which department they came from. We are going to have to get a lead person in there who is right for the President.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-33

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 20 2003

Please respond by 3/18/03

*Ryan Henry*

MAR 19

Gen Garner's Public Affairs Officer is Captain Nathan Jones from the Joint Staff. Captain Jones has four USA public affairs officers assigned to him, four public affairs specialists from DoS, and three public affairs officers from USAID (see attachments). Gen Garner and Captain Jones have assigned Mr. Greg Sullivan, DoS Near East Affairs, with lead spokesperson responsibilities until we identify a spokesperson the President is comfortable with. I have asked our White Liaison Office to forward candidates to the President, to keep us informed on progress, and we will keep you informed.

3/19

Sec Def -

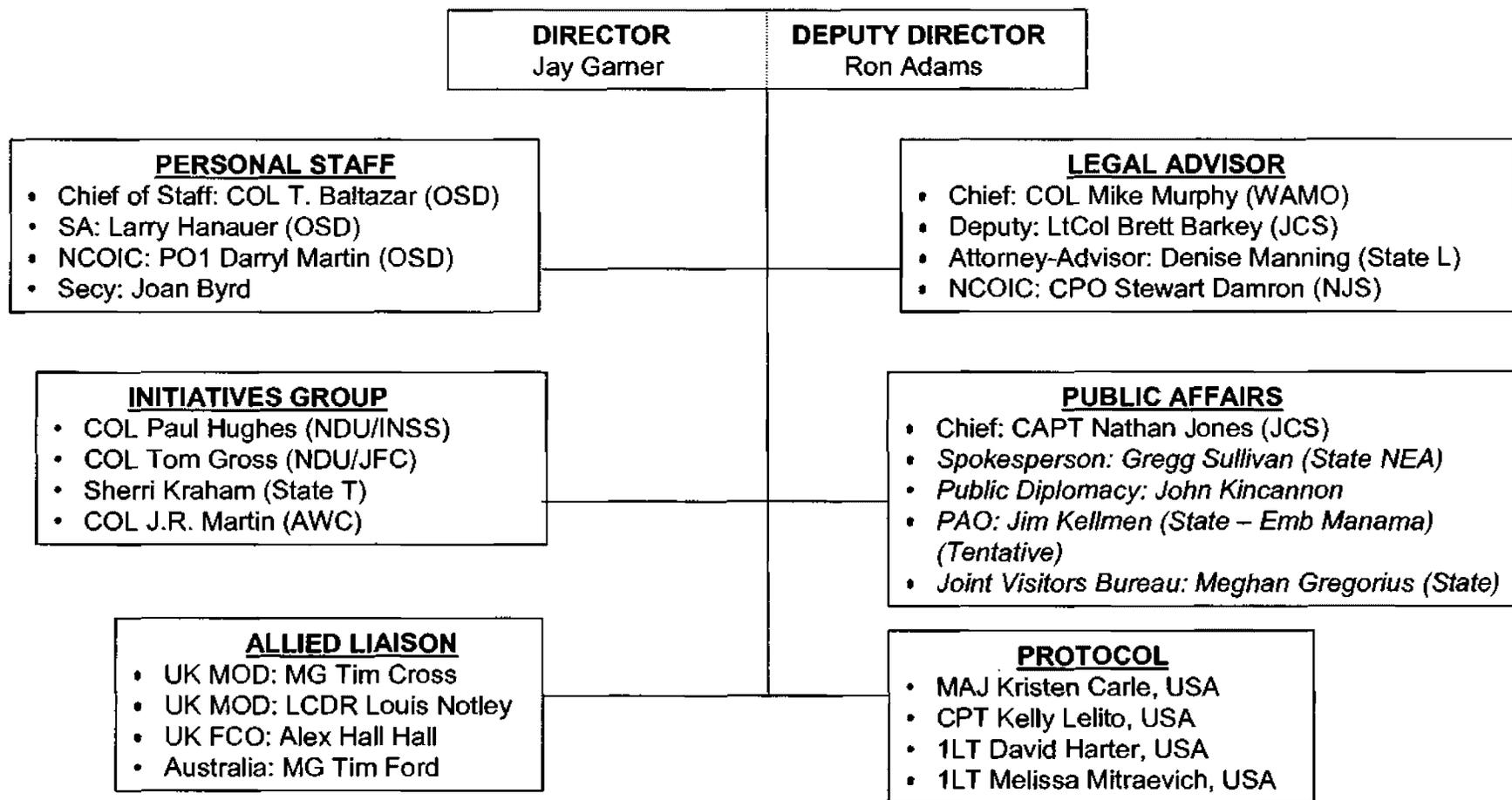
Wilkinson concept still makes sense He ought to have oversight/control over this group  
11-L-0559/OSD/15503

U13076 /03

City Dir

3/20

# FRONT OFFICE



**Legend:**

- *Italics* = Designated, not yet present
- ★ = Vacant Position

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
3	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	HOME AGENCY	TITLE	ORHA COORDINATOR	ORHA FUNCTION	RANK	DEPLOYING?	STATUS/COMMENTS
58	Jablonowski	Christopher	IC	Analyst	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy Analysis	GS-??	not yet	discussing deployment
59	Kotras	Diane	OSD	WMD Policy	Civil Administration	Political Transformation	GS-??	yes	
60	Rostow	Victor	OSD	Personnel Assurance	Civil Administration	Political Transformation	GS-??	no	
61	Gfoeller	Michael	State NEA	Culture/Religious Affairs	Civil Administration	Political Transformation	FS-01	yes	
62	Vokrel	Charles	USAID	Economic Development	Reconstruction	Private Sector Dev		yes	
63	Sullivan	Gregg	State NEA	Spokesperson	Front Office	Public Affairs		not yet	
64	Kellmen	Jim	State NEA	PAO	Front Office	Public Affairs		not yet	
65	Kincannon	John	State SA	Public Diplomacy	Front Office	Public Affairs	FS-??	not yet	
66	Bemier	Ed	USAID	PAO	Reconstruction	Public Affairs		yes	
67	Giordano	Joanne	USAID	PAO	Reconstruction	Public Affairs	GS-??	yes	
68	Tige	Donald	USAID	PAO	Reconstruction	Public Affairs	GS-??	yes	
69	Hanauer	Larry	OSD	Rear Office Coordinator	Front Office	Reachback	GS-14	no	remaining in DC as reachback PO
70	Shane	Mike	OSD	Administrative Officer	Administration	Reachback	contractor	no	available until no longer needed
71	Robinson	Bernard	WHS	Administrative Support	Administration	Reachback	contractor	no	available until no longer needed
72	Yorke	Bob	WHS	Budget Manager	Administration	Reachback	GS-??	no	
73	Byrd	Joan	WHS	Executive Assistant	Administration	Reachback	GS-12	no	available until no longer needed
74	Petermon	Stanley	WHS	Security Manager	Administration	Reachback	contractor	no	available until no longer needed
75	Kraham	Sherri	State T	AO	Front Office	Special Initiatives	GS-13	yes	
76	Stead	Bill	USAID	Telecommunications	Reconstruction	Telecom Infrastructure	contractor	yes	
77	Carreau	Bernard	Commerce	Trade	Civil Administration	Trade/Industry	SES	not yet	waiting for medical clearance
78	Hamrock	Susan	Commerce	Trade	Civil Administration	Trade/Industry	GS-14	yes	
79	Ostrander	Frank	State EB	Trade	Civil Administration	Trade/Industry	FS-02	not yet	
80	Bell	Jim	USAID	Water/Sanitation	Reconstruction	Water/Sanitation		yes	
81	McLeod	Robert	USAID	Water/Sanitation	Reconstruction	Water/Sanitation		yes	
82	unknown	unknown	Australia AID	Australian Liaison Officer (AusAID)	Front Office		civilian	yes	will meet in Kuwait
83	unknown	unknown	Australia DFAT	Australian Liaison Officer (Foreign Ministry)	Front Office		civilian	yes	will meet in Kuwait
84	Ford	Tim	Australia MOD	Australian Liaison Officer (MOD)	Front Office		civilian	no	interim liaison in DC; won't deploy
85	unknown	unknown	Australia MOD	Australian Liaison Officer (MOD)	Front Office		O-6	yes	will meet in Kuwait
86	VACANT	VACANT	CIA	Advisor -- Higher Ed./Sci. Research	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
87	VACANT	VACANT	CIA	Advisor -- Industry and Minerals	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
88	VACANT	VACANT	CIA	Advisor -- Military Industrialization	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
89	VACANT	VACANT	Justice	Advisor -- Justice	Ministry Advisor		contractor	yes	
90	VACANT	VACANT	NSC	Advisor -- Information	Ministry Advisor		??	yes	
91	VACANT	VACANT	NSC	Advisor -- Transport and Communications	Ministry Advisor		??	yes	
92	Moore	Bruce	OSD	Director, North	Regional Control Group (North)		SES	yes	
93	Walters	Floyd "Buck"	OSD	Director, South	Regional Control Group (South)		SES	yes	
94	Rhoads	Harold	OSD	Advisor	Front Office		GS-15	yes	
95	Bates	Jared	OSD	Director, Operations Support Group	Operations Support Group		SES	yes	
96	Gamer	Jay	OSD	Director	Front Office		SES	yes	
97	Powe	Marc	OSD	Deputy Coordinator	Civil Administration		GS-15	yes	
98	Mobbs	Michael	OSD	Coordinator	Civil Administration		GS-15	yes	
99	Adams	Ron	OSD	Deputy Director	Front Office		SES	yes	
100	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Defense	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
101	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Higher Ed./Sci. Research	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
102	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Industry and Minerals	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
103	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Information	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
104	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Military Industrialization	Ministry Advisor		GS-??	yes	
105	VACANT	VACANT	OSD	Advisor -- Oil	Ministry Advisor		???	yes	
106	Ward	George	State	Coordinator	Humanitarian Assistance		SFS	yes	
107	VACANT	VACANT	State	Advisor -- Foreign Affairs	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
108	VACANT	VACANT	State EB	Advisor -- Industry and Minerals	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
109	VACANT	VACANT	State EB	Advisor -- Planning	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
110	VACANT	VACANT	State EB	Advisor -- Trade	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
111	VACANT	VACANT	State EB	Advisor -- Transport and Communications	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
112	VACANT	VACANT	State INL	Advisor -- Justice	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
113	Bodine	Barbara	State NEA	Director, Central	Regional Control Group (Central)		SFS	yes	

11-L-0559/OSD/15505

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	OFFICE OF RECONSTRUCTION AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE -- CIVILIAN STAFF								
2									
3	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	HOME AGENCY	TITLE	ORHA COORDINATOR	ORHA FUNCTION	RANK	DEPLOYING?	STATUS/COMMENTS
4	Busa	Beverly	USAID	Comptroller	Reconstruction	Administration		yes	
5	??	Biba	USAID	Administrative Coordinator	Reconstruction	Administration		yes	
6	MacGibbon	Evan	USAID	Logistics	Reconstruction	Administration		yes	
7	Ferguson	Jack	USAID	Senior Coordinator	Reconstruction	Administration		yes	
8	Walsh	Karen	USAID	Regional/DC Operations	Reconstruction	Administration		yes	
9	Poole	Doug	USAID	Agriculture/Irrigation	Reconstruction	Agriculture/Irrigation	contractor	yes	
10	Converse	Paul	USAID	Agriculture/Irrigation	Reconstruction	Agriculture/Irrigation	contractor	yes	
11	Schatz	Lee	USDA	Agriculture	Reconstruction	Agriculture/Irrigation	GS-15	yes	
12	Grabulis	Dennis	IC	Analyst	Operations Support Group	Analysis	GS-??	yes	
13	Jorstad	Van	Treasury	Banking/Finance	Reconstruction	Banking/Finance	GS-15	yes	
14	Kreutner	Kevin	OMB	Budget Analyst	Operations Support Group	Budget Analysis	GS-??	no	at OMB; available as needed
15	Bogan	David	USAID	Civil Engineer	Reconstruction	Construction		yes	
16	Guy	Jim	USAID	Civil Engineer	Reconstruction	Construction		yes	
17	Lanier	Jim	USAID	Civil Engineer	Reconstruction	Construction		yes	
18	Kelly	Tom	UK DFID	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office	Development	civilian	not yet	
19	Dykstra	Anne	USAID	Schools/Community Facilities	Reconstruction	Education	contractor	yes	
20	Mazaka	Dorothy	USAID	Health/Education	Reconstruction	Education/Health	contractor	yes	
21	Wheelerlock	Tom	USAID	Power Engineer	Reconstruction	Electricity	contractor	yes	
22	Morrison	Andy	State	Foreign Affairs	Civil Administration	Foreign Affairs	FS-??	not yet	
23	Ayoub	Michael	State NEA	Foreign Affairs	Civil Administration	Foreign Affairs	FS-03	yes	
24	Erdmann	Drew	State S/PP	Foreign Affairs	Civil Administration	Foreign Affairs	GS-14	yes	
25	Thomas	Jack	USAID	Health	Reconstruction	Health		yes	
26	Rudd	Gordon	USMC University	Field Historian	Operations Support Group	Historian	civilian	yes	
27	Jabba	Rafael	USAID	Housing	Reconstruction	Housing/Construction	contractor	yes	
28	Hodgkinson	Sandy	State ORL	Human Rights	Humanitarian Assistance	Humanitarian Assistance Unit	GS-13	yes	
29	Sierra	Arnold	State PM	Humanitarian Demining	Humanitarian Assistance	Humanitarian Assistance Unit	FS-03	unclear	may not have medical clearance
30	Belz	Janice	State PRM	Refugee / IDP Officer	Humanitarian Assistance	Humanitarian Assistance Unit	GS-14	yes	
31	Baird	Andrew	IBB/VOA	Indigenous Media Development	Civil Administration	Information	GS-14	yes	
32	Reilly	Bob	OSD	Indigenous Media Development	Civil Administration	Information		yes	
33	Furlong	Mike	OSD	Indigenous Media Development	Civil Administration	Information	contractor	yes	
34	Peters	Sarah	OSD	Indigenous Media Development	Civil Administration	Information	contractor	yes	
35	Gregorius	Meghan	State	Protocol	Front Office	Joint Visitors Bureau	FS-04	yes	
36	Lantz	Bill	Justice	Courts/Judicial Reform	Civil Administration	Justice	GS-15	yes	
37	Mayer	Dick	Justice	Law Enforcement/Police	Civil Administration	Justice	GS-15	yes	
38	Aims	Cliff	State INL	Corrections	Civil Administration	Justice	GS-13	not yet	
39	Eagleton	Bill	OSD	Consultant	Regional Control Group (North)	Kurdish Affairs	consultant	yes	
40	Naab	Dick	OSD	Deputy Director, Kurdish Issues	Regional Control Group (North)	Kurdish Affairs	contractor	yes	
41	Manning	Denise	State L	AO	Front Office	Legal Advisor		yes	
42	Alvery	Simon	UK	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office	Liaison		yes	
43	Reichelderfer	Ron	TF-4	Task Force 4 Liaison	Operations Support Group	Liaison to Task Force 4	contractor	no	
44	Jones	Peggy	State	Sanctions	Humanitarian Assistance	Liaison/Coordination Unit	FS-01	yes	
45	Arvis	Constance	State OES	UN Coordination	Humanitarian Assistance	Liaison/Coordination Unit		not yet	
46	O'Sullivan	Megan	State S/PP	Oil-for-Food Coordination	Humanitarian Assistance	Liaison/Coordination Unit	GS-15	yes	
47	Dauphinais	Denise	USAID	NGO Coordination	Humanitarian Assistance	Liaison/Coordination Unit	GS-14	yes	
48	Heilig	Kay	USAID	Local Governance	Reconstruction	Local Development	contractor	yes	
49	Eberly	Don	USAID		Civil Administration	Ministry Advisor	GS-??	yes (T)	
50	Turner	Clarke	Energy	Energy Dept. liaison	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	GM-15	yes	
51	Frost	Richard	IC	Analyst	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	GS-15	yes	
52	Vogler	Gary	OSD	Oil -- Industry Issues	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	contractor	yes	
53	Feldman	Mark	OSD	Legal Counsel	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	consultant	no	
54	Amitrano	Matt	OSD	Administrative Assistant	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	contractor	no	
55	Moore	Norma Jean	OSD	Security Coordinator	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	contractor	no	
56	Glotfelty	Barbara	OSD/AT&L	AT&L Liaison	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	GS-15	yes	
57	Gumbiner	Larry	State OES	Environment	Civil Administration	Oil/Energy	FS-??	not yet	

11-L-0559/OSD/15506

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
3	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	HOME AGENCY	TITLE	ORHA COORDINATOR	ORHA FUNCTION	RANK	DEPLOYING?	STATUS/COMMENTS
114	Wurr	Juliet	State NEA	Relief/Humanitarian Affairs	Regional Control Group (Central)		FS-??	not yet	currently at Embassy Kuwait
115	VACANT	VACANT	State NEA	Advisor - Religious Affairs	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
116	VACANT	VACANT	State NEA	Advisor -- Culture	Ministry Advisor		FS-??	yes	
117	Hayden	Caitlin	State PA	Executive Assistant	Regional Control Group (Central)		GS-11	yes	
118	Hans	Ananta	State PRM	Relief/Humanitarian Affairs	Regional Control Group (South)		GS-14	yes	
119	Nummy	David	Treasury	Advisor -- Finance	Ministry Advisor		SES	yes	
120	Mullinax	George	Treasury	Advisor -- Central Bank	Ministry Advisor		SES	yes	
121	Rowcroft	Graham	UK	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office			yes	
122	Hall	Phillip	UK	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office			yes	
123	Hall Hall	Alexandra	UK FCO	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office		civilian	no	split bet ORHA and UK Embassy
124	Notley	Louis	UK MOD	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office		LCDR	yes	
125	Cross	Tim	UK MOD	UK Liaison Officer	Front Office		MajGen	yes	
126	Milligan	Chris	USAID	Deputy Coordinator	Reconstruction			yes	
127	Maxwell	Dayton	USAID	CENTCOM Liaison	Reconstruction		??	yes	not certain home agency is USAID
128	Walsh	Karen	USAID		Reconstruction			yes	
129	Lucke	Lew	USAID	Coordinator	Reconstruction			yes	
130	Borton	Nan	USAID	Program Officer/Chief of Party	Reconstruction		contractor	yes	

11-L-0559/OSD/15507

3/19  
1937 Snowflake

⬆

C 7/25/03

3/19/03

March 26 2003 12:28 PM  
**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

MAR 26 2003

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: WH Communications Apparatus

Sir,  
We have one  
Naval Captain  
deployed with  
Garner now.

9/25 - LARRY DEER

In the event there is a war in Iraq, we need to keep that White House communications apparatus in place after the kinetics stop. They need to be there during the post-Saddam Hussein period every bit as much as before. It will get tough after about a month or two or three.

we will  
expand  
that effort

Thanks.

soon. Utilize  
of Global

DHR:dh  
031703-34

Please respond by 3/28/03

Communications  
have (D.C.) will  
continue to  
function and will  
focus primarily  
on stability and  
security ops.



August 5, 2003

TO: Honorable John Hamre

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

*Iraq*

Thanks for your letter about the Iraqi constitution process. It is helpful. I shared it with Jerry Bremer.

Keep them coming!

DHR:dh  
080503-11

*5 Aug 03*

11-L-0559/OSD/15509

U13155 /03



August 5, 2003

*Iraq*

TO: Jerry Bremer  
Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Iraqi Constitution Process

Here is a letter from John Hamre about the Iraqi constitution process. You may find it helpful. He's a smart guy and wants to keep helping.

Thanks.

Attach.  
7/24/03 Hamre ltr to SecDef

DHR:dh  
080503-12

.....

*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

*5 Aug 03*



## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Washington, DC 20301

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Anne Armstrong

Dear Mr. Secretary:

PRESIDENT & CEO  
John J. Hamre

I don't want to flood your in-box, but I do want to share the results of a seminar we just held on building a new Iraqi constitution.

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R. James Woolsey

Immediately following Undersecretary Feith's presentation at CSIS on July 8, we gathered together a small group of comparative constitutional scholars, policy veterans, Iraqi nationals and members of the business community. Their task was to think specifically about the problems of creating a solid basis for the long-term political environment in Iraq. Several of the participants had traveled independently to Iraq in recent months and had held wide-ranging conversations with a variety of people there. I hope the insights from this seminar can help inform and enrich the discussions you are having internally, both in Washington and Baghdad.

Several conclusions emerged from the discussions. The first is that the most important prerequisite for a successful political transition in Iraq is adequate time. There is indeed urgency in having Iraqis take responsibility for their own future. But the experts were in unanimous agreement that rushing political reconstruction will critically handicap it, locking in a permanent advantage for well-organized groups whose interests are inimical to our own.

Based on their experiences with constitution-writing processes in other regions, the experts argued that, at this stage, we need to buy some time. In particular, they suggested that the interests of long-term stability would be best served by directing short-term energy into the creation of an interim document resembling a Bill of Rights. Such a document should set ground rules for future political activity in the country and lay down a clear marker for how Iraq's future will differ from its past. At the core of such a document must be the determination that one's rights in the new Iraq derive from status as an individual, and not from membership in a sectarian group. If such a document were tied to an international standard, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it would undermine critics who would see such a document as serving American, rather than Iraqi, interests.

Building the immediate political tasks in Iraq around rights rather than processes allows time for Iraqis to be educated politically. It also gives them time to think of themselves in ways to which they have not yet become accustomed. Further, an emphasis on individual rights rather than group rights or the division of spoils along sectarian lines decreases the likelihood of a future Iraq in which various parties battle for assets to support massive patronage networks. Carrying this off would certainly involve a coalition-led public education effort. Equally importantly, it would require recruiting a group of Iraqis to lead a grass-roots effort to guide their own country toward democracy.

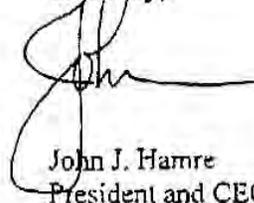
Extending the timeline would also give members of the recently appointed Governing Council a chance to prove themselves and to deepen their networks in Iraq. Many on the ground have stronger networks and interests quite contrary to our own. In addition, extending the timeline would create opportunities for popular political leaders whom we have not yet identified to emerge from the Iraqi populace.

Drawing on their other experiences, the experts also underlined the importance of immediately placing a stress on local governance. By local, they meant largely municipal issues, not about federalism or politics at the provincial level. A stress on local governance would help convince Iraqis they are responsible for their own future, build a cadre of political leaders who acquire credibility through competent stewardship, and help shape the development of issue-oriented, rather than ideology-oriented politics. In such a sequence, democracy would grow from the grass roots, rather be extended down by a collection of capital-city elites dividing the spoils in constitutional conventions.

The experts' final theme was one that our trip report stressed, and is in many ways self-evident: for Iraqis to support U.S.-led political change, they must believe that the U.S. has helped improve their lives.

These suggestions seem sound to me, and I hope they seem sound to you. To my mind, they reflect some thoughtful directions for future action that have some perspective and comparative experience behind them. The director of our Middle East Program, Dr. Jon B. Alterman, ran the July 8 meeting. He would be happy to follow up with your staff on any of the issues contained here. He can be reached by phone at (b)(6) and by email at (b)(6). As always, we remain willing to help in any way we can.

Sincerely,



John J. Hamre  
President and CEO

CSIS - "Creating Strategic Insights and Solutions"

11-L-0559/OSD/15512



August 6, 2003

Iraq

TO: Jerry Bremer

CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: TV in Iraq

The attached article from the *LA Times* talks about an Iraq TV chief quitting. Is there something we can do there to be helpful?

Thanks.

Attach.

Associated Press. "U.S.-Backed Iraqi TV's Chief Quits," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 2003.

DHR:dh  
080603-12



Please respond by 8/15/03

6 Aug 03

Los Angeles Times  
August 6, 2003

## U.S.-Backed Iraqi TV's Chief Quits

By Associated Press

LONDON — The postwar director of U.S.-backed Iraqi television announced Tuesday that he has quit, saying inadequate funding made it impossible to compete with rival networks from countries including Iran that criticize the American occupation.

In a telephone interview with Associated Press, the director, Ahmad Rikaby, said that while vacationing in London on Friday he had informed the management of Iraqi Media Network that he was stepping down.

"The U.S. didn't really succeed in countering the propaganda of such anti-coalition networks as Al Jazeera in Qatar," he said, complaining that lack of equipment and training for staff members had left the network unable to meet the needs for producing objective news.

He said Iraqi Media Network was able to broadcast only 16 hours a day, compared with 24-hour news reports from Al Jazeera and Iran's government-run Al Alam that included audiotapes believed to be from deposed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

"If Saddam and his supporters didn't think such broadcasts were beneficial to their cause, they wouldn't use them," said Rikaby, 34. "I have no doubt that there is a hidden message in the broadcasts by several Arabic networks inciting Iraqis to resist the push toward democracy."

A spokesman for Science Applications International Corp., the San Diego-based company that was contracted by the U.S. Defense Department to relaunch the TV station, could not immediately confirm Rikaby's resignation.

After U.S.-led coalition forces drove Hussein from power, Rikaby, a former Iraqi exile whose family lives in London, uttered the first words broadcast on Iraqi national airwaves April 9.

3/17  
1600 Snowflake

ⓔ

C 3/20

March 17, 2003 12:30 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Garner Cell



When we met with Garner, there was an issue about someone named Col. Craig Stevens of the Air Force who is running some kind of a cell. What was that?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-35



Please respond by 3/21/03

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**  
MAR 20 2003

3/19

Stevens is running  
the cell that is developing  
the "PERC chart" on  
actions coming up and the  
way ahead on such

D. Rita

U13162 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15515



March 17, 2003 12:31 PM

TO: Andy Marshall  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Khan's Granddaughter

Thanks so much for sending along the piece by Herman Khan's granddaughter. It was terrific. God bless her!

DHR:dh  
031703-36



*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13163 /03



March 17, 2003 12:35 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DA  
SUBJECT: Joint Staff Multi-media Center

Please take me down to the Joint Staff multi-media center. I want to look at it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-37

.....

Please respond by 3/28/03

U13164 /03

3/16 1930 Snowflake

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 26 2003  
March 17, 2003 4:16 PM

3/19/03

3/25/03

EVERY TIME WE  
SEE THE LA WE CORRECT  
IT. A FEW EXAMPLES ATTACHED  
T.C.

LETY D...  
3/21

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Chief of Staff of the Army

Dozens of papers have been claiming that I appointed Keane last year, and they are all wrong. Here is a correction in the *LA Times*. Why don't we get them corrected in other places, like the Novak column and all the other places it appears. It appears almost every day.

Thanks.

Attach.  
"For the Record," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 2003.

DHR dh  
031793-39

.....

Please respond by 3/28/03

U13165 /03

Mark Thompson/Washington

Los Angeles Times  
March 15, 2003

## 22. For The Record

An article Friday in Section A about Army Secretary Thomas E. White erroneously reported that the successor to Army Chief of Staff Eric K. Shinseki had been named last year. Although the next chief of staff has been named in numerous news reports by defense officials on condition of anonymity, no successor has been named or appointed by Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld.

**Editor's Note:** The article referred to appeared in Friday's *Current News Early Bird*.

Time  
March 24, 2003  
Pg. 33

## 23. Life Of A Reservist

*The Full-Time Part-Time Soldier*

By Mark Thompson,  
Washington

California middle school vice principal Stanley Echols missed the birth of his daughter last year when the Pentagon called up his National Guard unit and he spent 10 months protecting a Washington State military base. This year he will miss her first steps because his military-police unit has just been called up again. "I honestly didn't think it would happen this quickly," he said last week from the Sacramento armory where he commands the 270th Military Police Company. After only six months off, Echols' state unit returned to Pentagon command on Saturday. Within a month, a Pentagon official says, the 270th will probably be in Iraq, protecting U.S. troops and guarding Iraqi POWs.

Captain Echols and his 180 men and women are a new kind of American fighting force: the almost full-time part-time soldier. The Pentagon called up 12,039 more National Guard and reserve members

last week, bringing the total on active duty to 188,592. It's the largest reserve call-up since 1991's Gulf War. These weekend warriors had planned on giving up a weekend a month and two weeks a year for war games in exchange for pay and help getting a college education. But for many the part-time commitment has become a full-time job. A decade ago, the Pentagon required 2 million days of work from its reserves. Last year the total climbed to 15 million.

Active-duty soldiers are doing their job when they deploy, but reservists—truck drivers from California and Maryland, cops and sheriffs from Utah and Maine, helicopter pilots from Georgia, engineers from Alabama—are leaving theirs behind. Ironically, that social disruption is exactly what the Pentagon intended when it redefined the mission of the reserves after Vietnam. Bitter at having been isolated from the rest of American society, it shifted to the reserves many traditional military tasks, like police and logistics. The idea was that any major war would require calling up those part-time soldiers and force sacrifices across the nation, which would help ensure public support for foreign engagements.

Since the cold war's end, reserve forces have been called up for duty in the Gulf War, the southern and northern no-fly zones over Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and now, again, Iraq. "We can't have a situation where we call you, as a Guardsman or reservist, every year for three or four years," says Thomas Hall, the Pentagon's top reserve official. "You won't want to stay in the Guard and reserve, and employers might worry about employing you."

With this in mind, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, himself a former Navy reservist, is thinking of swapping some active and

reserve missions—putting more tank units in the reserves because they're less likely to be needed on short notice, and transferring more MPs, who must be deployed quickly, into the active force. "It doesn't make sense to have the people who are required very early in a conflict in the reserves," Rumsfeld told the Reserve Officers Association recently.

The strain is showing. Military police whose voluntary enlistments are up have had their terms extended—involuntarily—for a year. Many earn less money while in uniform. (Echols' public-school employer makes up the shortfall, but he estimates that only half his troops are as lucky as he is.) And spouses can be left to tackle alone an overwhelming home life. Echols' wife Denise, who is studying to be a nurse, will have to take care of three kids—ages 8, 4 and 9 months—after he ships out. That's why, when her husband comes home, she plans to ask him to get out of the Guard for good.

Washington Post  
March 17, 2003  
Pg. 10

## 24. Marine Predicts Brief Bombing, Then Land Assault

*In Kuwait, Commander Tells Fighters War May Be 'Just a Few Days Away'*

By Peter Baker, Washington Post Foreign Service

**CAMP COMMANDO,** Kuwait, March 16 -- The top Marine commander in the region predicted today that war was "just a few days away" and suggested that it would begin with a three- or four-day bombing campaign intended to wipe out half the Iraqi defenders at the border before U.S. and British land forces are sent in.

Lt. Gen. James T. Conway, who commands more than 85,000 Marines and British troops poised to attack, said his force would target

Iraq's 51st Mechanized Division with 130 fighter jets and about 75 attack helicopters, then rush in on the ground to seize southern Iraq.

His eve-of-war sendoff speech to thousands of Marines gathered here at their main desert headquarters offered fresh details about the projected opening phase of the war, estimating that bombing would go on at least 72 hours before a full-fledged invasion.

The "road-to-war brief," as it was called, complete with flyovers by fighter jets and attack helicopters, reinforced for troops in the field that war appeared imminent. Some units have packed up and moved out of their camps, received ammunition and sent off what they thought could be their final letters home before hostilities.

Conway told the Marines that he did not know exactly when war would start. "But I'll tell you this," he said. "I believe in my heart it's just a few days away."

The start of war this week would leave U.S. military commanders with just a single major land front, as Turkey continues to balk at allowing its bases to be used to attack Iraq from the north. Hedging against the prospect that they will be barred from using Turkish airspace as well, U.S. commanders have started to move ships from the eastern Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal to the Red Sea so they can fire cruise missiles over Saudi territory at Iraq.

Unlike the 1991 war, when U.S. warplanes bombed Iraq for 38 days before ground troops went in, the Pentagon this time plans a shorter aerial attack. Some officials have hinted that the air and ground wars could even start almost simultaneously.

But some ground commanders have pushed for as much time as possible for the air attack to weaken Iraqi defenses and demoralize their soldiers before U.S. troops go in. Conway said today: "We



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

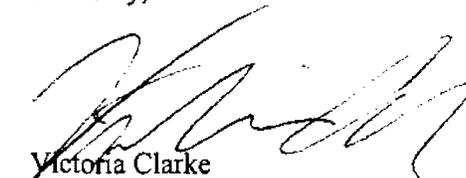
13 March 2003

Mr. Steve Huntley  
Letters Editor  
*Chicago Sun-Times*  
401 North Wabash Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Huntley:

Our phone logs and email show no record of Mr. Novak contacting the Pentagon to seek comment for his column. That's unfortunate because he got the facts wrong. The Secretary has made no decisions or announcements regarding General Shinseki or General Keane.

Sincerely,



Victoria Clarke  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
for Public Affairs

ASD ~ 3/18  
Havent seen the  
corrections run  
in these pubs yet.  
V/R MA

---

11-L-0559/OSD/15520



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

13 March 2003

Ms. Martha McAteer  
Letters Editor  
*The Washington Post*  
1150 15th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20071-0070

Dear Ms. McAteer:

Our phone logs and email show no record of Mr. Novak contacting the Pentagon to seek comment for his column. That's unfortunate because he got the facts wrong. The Secretary has made no decisions or announcements regarding General Shinseki or General Keane.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Victoria Clarke".

Victoria Clarke  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
for Public Affairs

11-L-0559/OSD/15521

False  
T-6  
We still have  
not announced  
A ref. bureau  
for Gen. Shinseki

POSTWAR IRAQ

# Wolfowitz rebukes army's top officer

By Peter Spiegel in Washington

Paul Wolfowitz, the deputy defense secretary, yesterday harshly rebuked the US army's top uniformed officer, saying the general's estimate that it would take hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy a post-war Iraq was "wildly off the mark".

Although he did not mention by name General Eric Shinseki, the army's chief of staff, Mr Wolfowitz's comments came just two days after the officer told a Capitol Hill hearing that it would take "several hundred thousand soldiers" to control Iraq after an invasion.

"We're talking about post-hostilities control over a piece of geography that's fairly significant, with the kinds of ethnic tensions that could lead to other problems," Gen Shinseki said.

"And so it takes a significant ground force presence to maintain a safe and secure environment, to ensure that people are fed, that water is distributed, all the normal

responsibilities that go along with administering a situation like this."

In a rare public admonishment, Mr Wolfowitz took issue with the contention, noting that Iraq had had none of the ethnic strife that has characterized other regional conflicts where US troops have been used, such as the Balkans.

"It's hard to conceive it would take more forces to provide stability in post-Saddam Iraq than it would take to conduct the war itself," Mr Wolfowitz said. "The slaughter in Iraq has been the slaughter of all ethnic groups. It is equal opportunity terror."

Donald Rumsfeld, defense secretary, and his top chief of staff aides at the Pentagon have had a series of flare-ups with Gen Shinseki, appointed to head the army by former president Bill Clinton.

In April Mr Rumsfeld announced Gen Shinseki's successor more than a year before his four-year term had ended, making him a

name duck until he steps down this summer.

More recently, Gen Shinseki is reported to have questioned whether top civilian leaders, including Mr Wolfowitz, have underestimated the risks involved in an invasion of Iraq.

Mr Wolfowitz sought to play down the time and expense it would take to rebuild Iraq, saying the high price tag recently discussed regarding the war and reconstruction - put as high as \$66bn (€32bn, £28bn) - did not take into account revenues that could come from Iraq oil sales.

He added that the US believed several nations that did not support the US war effort - including France and Germany - would be likely to join in the reparations.

"We're talking about one of the most important countries in the Arab world," Mr Wolfowitz said. "I suspect even countries like France will have a strong interest in rebuilding Iraq."

3/5  
RTR

and gold prices declines further as investors take the view that war is more problematic following Baghdad's destruction of more missiles and Turkey's failure to agree to US troop deployments.

United Arab Emirates that Mr Hussein and senior members of his regime should be given two weeks to quit Iraq.

Saudi officials (privately), and the state controlled media (publicly), are also strongly supportive.

The UAE has said that it

would continue to lobby for the plan at a meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, an umbrella grouping of all Muslim

interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries."

Underlining the fissure between the east and west of

### TODAY

● Turkish parliament reconvenes

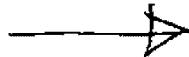
● Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov visits Britain for talks on Iraq

### ON OTHER PAGES

Turkey and the US, Page 11  
Editorial Comment, Page 12  
Quentin Peel on Blair and Chirac, Page 13

### CORRECTION

● Donald Rumsfeld, US secretary of defence, did not formally announce the successor to General Eric Shinseki, army chief of staff, last April as reported in some editions of the FT on February 28. The decision was widely reported at the time but no official announcement has been made.



### Special on FT.com

Read a summary of the day's events at [www.ft.com/warbuildup](http://www.ft.com/warbuildup)  
US and allied forces interactive map at [www.ft.com/usforces](http://www.ft.com/usforces)  
Is war inevitable? Join our discussion at [www.ft.com/iraqpoll](http://www.ft.com/iraqpoll)

### RELIGIOUS MINORITY

# Iraq's Christians fear being caught in the crossfire as conflict looms

Church leaders fear a backlash both from Saddam's supporters and those opposed to the regime, reports **Roula Khalaf**

Pierre Whalon was the first western bishop to take up an invitation from the Iraqi Chaldean church to join prayers for peace in Baghdad.

In a passionate appeal against the horrors of war in one of the city's modern churches, he told a calm and solemn group of worshippers that they should not feel alone. "War is never, never God's will," he said.

But between prayers, mainly in Arabic, and the sermon delivered in English and French, he sent a broader message to a troubled country bracing itself for more confrontation - that preventing war alone would not be enough to create peace.

"Peace is when we understand each other and when we can speak what's in our hearts among us," said Bishop Whalon, a French-American who is in charge of the convocation of American Episcopal churches in Europe. "It is when we ask why are you afraid of me and why am I afraid of you."

His recent visit to Bag-

dad was part of the mobilisation of Christian leaders around the world against a war that many refuse to bless as "just" under Christian doctrine.

It was also a reflection of concern for the fate of Iraq's Christian minority, a community that fears the worst from a military conflict.

The Iraqi regime's persecution of Shia Muslims, Kurds and Marsh Arabs is cited by the US and UK as part of the moral case for war. But the country's Christian leaders worry that their tiny minority will be caught in the crossfire.

They could face a religious backlash from die-hard regime supporters who might perceive them as accomplices of American invaders of the same faith. But they also risk a political backlash from those who have considered them allies of President Saddam Hussein.

"The concern is that Christians will disappear," said Bishop Whalon. "The present regime gives them some tolerance, who knows what

the next one will do." Part of his message, to Iraq's Muslim communities as well the Christians, was that the possible war should not be seen as an attack against Islam. "If there's a war here it's not Christians against Muslims," he said. "Americans are afraid of weapons of mass destruction."

The alarm over Iraq's Christians - the most generous estimates put their numbers at 800,000 people in a country of more than 25m - has given added impetus to Pope John Paul's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Iraq crisis. A Vatican envoy met Mr Hussein last month and delivered a letter from the Pope. It is said to have urged full compliance with the UN disarmament demands.

Later this week a papal representative will meet President George W. Bush to hand over an appeal for a peaceful solution. The Pope has also declared tomorrow, Ash Wednesday, a day of fasting and prayer for peace. Iraq's Christians say their

roots go back to the first century when the apostle Thomas evangelised the land of Iraq, then known as Mesopotamia. A majority of them are Chaldeans, an old Catholic rite that originated in this region and is in union with Rome.

The ruling Ba'ath party in Iraq was co-founded by a Christian and it took over in 1968 on a platform based on a radical pan-Arab nationalist and deeply secular ideology.

As citizens, Christians have shared the same grievances with the government as other Iraqis. But dominated by the Sunni Muslim minority, the regime has also looked for support among other minorities willing to show their loyalty as most Christian leaders have done.

Over the past two decades however, life has become harsher for the Christians. After repeated wars a more than 12 years of UN sanctions many have gone into exile.

According to Esmat Dely, an adviser to Patriarch Raphael Bedawid, the head of the Chaldean Church, up to 100,000 Christians - so



cc:

PAUL WOLFOWITZ  
GEN. MYERS  
DOUG FERTH

March 17, 2003 6:53 PM

SUBJECT: Turkey

Colin Powell called at 5:30 p.m. on March 17. He said he had a long talk with Gul. They had a big meeting in Ankara. They want to be a friend. They understand overflight is important, and they are going to go to parliament this week with a proposal to approve all overflight. He said, "All"? And they said "all." Unfortunately, they have their government program on Tuesday, and they have to get their party ready for the vote on Wednesday, so they don't screw it up again like they did the last time. Therefore, the vote will be on Thursday.

1. Pearson has been sent in to sort it out.
2. They also have some IMF and World Bank support they need from the United States. Colin said, "I'm working that."
3. He said they need presence in northern Iraq, and they need Zal's help. It is all humanitarian. There is a valley that Zal was negotiating with them over the weekend. First they said they wanted to go lots of places. We said no. Then they finally settled on one valley appropriate for large numbers of refugees, in case that happens. One of the hang-ups is that apparently we said we needed to be with them, and they seemed only modestly enthusiastic about that.
4. Colin said he raised the question of ground forces. They said since the package is off the table, that is a different issue and we'll think about it.

DHR:dh  
031703-43

U13166 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15524

3/18  
1500

GE

March 17, 2003 4:32 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6)

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Punctuality

I really feel that I should be on time for meetings. I need to be hauled out of here if I lose track of time. Please help me always be on time.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031703-42

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*done*  
*3/20*

U13167 /03



March 17, 2003 4:29 PM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: GWOT Medals

Please get word on these two medals to the senior enlisted people. They are the ones who raised it with me again at the luncheon earlier last week.

Thanks.

Attach.  
DoD News Release No. 121-03, March 15, 2003

DHR:dh  
031703-41

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13168 /03

(b)(6)

**From:** dnews\_sender@DTIC.MIL  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 15, 2003 10:20 AM  
**To:** DODNEWS-L@DTIC.MIL  
**Subject:** President Authorizes Two New Medals

NEWS RELEASE from the United States Department of Defense

No. 121-03  
(703) 697-5131(media)  
IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
March 15, 2003  
(703) 428-0711(public/industry)

#### PRESIDENT AUTHORIZES TWO NEW MEDALS

A presidential executive order:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030312-6.html>  
signed Wednesday authorizes the Department of Defense to create two new military medals for service in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT).

The GWOT Expeditionary Medal :

<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2003/200303134a.jpg>  
will recognize servicemembers who participate in an expedition to combat terrorism on or after Sept. 11, 2001. This is limited to those who deploy as part of Operation Enduring Freedom. The GWOT Service Medal :

<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2003/200303134b.jpg>  
will recognize service in military operations to combat terrorism on or after Sept. 11, 2001. This is limited to Operation Noble Eagle and to those servicemembers who provide support to Operation Enduring Freedom from outside the area of eligibility designated for the GWOT Expeditionary Medal. The medals were recommended by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld "in response to our Nation's global efforts to suppress terrorism, and the significant contributions members of the Armed Forces bring to bear on the long-term resolution of this threat."

Specific eligibility for these medals will be established by DoD award policy. The combatant commander has the authority to award the medals for approved operations to units and personnel deployed within his or her theater. Each service department will prescribe the appropriate regulations for processing and wearing of the medals.

Members of the U.S. armed forces and Coast Guard are eligible for the medals to include Reserve and National Guard activated to support approved operations. Civilians, foreign nationals and foreign military are not eligible. It will take up to twelve months to produce and stock the medal in department

supply systems.

Future authorization for these medals will be considered and approved by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff if the war on terrorism expands.

[Web version: [http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2003/b03152003\\_bt121-03.html](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2003/b03152003_bt121-03.html)]

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-- Today in DoD: <http://www.defenselink.mil/today>

1 3/21

March 8, 2003 11:20 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
LTG Craddock  
  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
  
SUBJECT: GWOT Medals

What do you have to do to qualify for these two medals? It looks to me like it is two different medals. Please explain.

Let's push them through, hard. Let me know what I can do. I'll call Andy Card or whatever.

Thanks.

Attach.  
GWOT Service and Expeditionary Medals

DHR dh  
030803-9

.....

Please respond by 3/14/03

3/10

~~HERE~~.

2 DIFFERENT MEDALS;  
CRITERIA ATTACHED

- GWOT EXPEDITIONARY MED IS FOR DEPLOYED FORCES
  - GWOT SERVICE MEDAL IS GENERALLY FOR NON-DEPLOYED FORCES.
- VLR LJ

# DRAFT

## Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal

### a. General

(1) Authorized by Executive Order \_\_\_\_\_.

(2) Individuals authorized the award must have been deployed abroad in support of the Global War on Terrorism operations on or after 11 September 2001 and to a future date to be determined (TBD).

(a) The general area of eligibility encompasses all foreign land, water, and air spaces outside the fifty states of the United States including 200 nautical miles of surrounding waters and air space. The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall designate the specific area of eligibility per qualifying operation.

(b) Because counter- terrorism operations are global in nature, the area of eligibility for an approved operation may be deemed to be non-contiguous. The Combatant Commander has the authority to award the medal for approved operations to units and personnel deployed within his or her theater. Under no condition will units or personnel within the United States, the general region excluded in paragraph a.(2)(a), be deemed eligible for Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal.

(c) The only specific operation currently approved for this award is Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (19 September 2001 – TBD). Other operations will be considered on a case-by-case basis as requested by the combatant commanders and approved by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

b. Specific. Service members must be assigned, attached or mobilized to a unit participating in designated operations for 30 consecutive days in the area of eligibility or for 60 nonconsecutive days provided this involves presence in the operation's area of eligibility or meet one of the following criteria:

(1) Be engaged in actual combat (hostile weapons fire is exchanged), or duty that is equally as hazardous as combat duty (hostile weapons fire is received or anticipated), regardless of time in the area of eligibility.

(2) While participating in the operation, regardless of time, is wounded or injured and requires medical evacuation from the operational area.

(3) While participating as a regularly assigned air crewmember flying sorties into, out of, within or over the area of eligibility in direct support of the military operations.

# DRAFT

(4) Personnel may receive both the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal if they meet the requirements of both awards; however, service eligibility for one cannot be used to justify service eligibility for the other.

c. Awarding

(1) The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal may be awarded posthumously.

(2) Each Military Department will prescribe the appropriate regulations for processing, awarding, and wearing of the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal, ribbon and appurtenances.

d. Stars

(1) Only one award of this medal may be authorized for any individual; therefore, no service stars are prescribed.

(2) Battle Stars may be applicable for personnel who were actually engaged in combat actions against the enemy. Only a Combatant Commander can initiate a request for a Battle Star. This request will contain the specific unit(s) or individual(s) engaged in combat action, the duration for which combat action was sustained, and a justification of the actions against the enemy.

(3) The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff is the approving authority for the specific Battle Stars.

e. Precedence. The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal will be positioned above the Global War on Terrorism Campaign Medal in precedence; both shall directly follow the Kosovo Campaign Medal.

# DRAFT

## Global War on Terrorism Service Medal

### a. General

(1) Authorized by Executive Order \_\_\_\_\_.

(2) Individuals authorized the award must have participated in or served in support of the Global War on Terrorism operations on or after 11 September 2001 and to a future date to be determined (TBD).

(a) The Combatant Commander has the authority to award the medal for approved operations to units and personnel within his or her theater. To be eligible personnel must have participated in the operation by authority of written order.

(b) The specific operations currently approved for this award are Operation NOBLE EAGLE (11 September 2001 – TBD) and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (11 September 2001- TBD). Other operations will be considered on a case-by-case basis as requested by a Combatant Commander and approved by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(c) At the request of the Combatant Commander for units or personnel in his or her theater, the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff may approve specific efforts that are rendered by unit(s) or individual(s) that meet all other requirements of paragraphs (a) and (b), however, are not issued specific orders for the approved operation(s) (e.g. Airport Security missions performed by military personnel).

(d) Service in an operationally deployed status merits primary eligibility for the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal; personnel supporting the Global War on Terrorism from a non-deployed status, whether stationed at home or overseas, are eligible only for the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal.

b. Specific. Service members must be assigned, attached or mobilized to a unit participating in designated operations for 30 consecutive days or for 60 nonconsecutive days, or meet one of the following criteria:

# DRAFT

(1) Be engaged in actual combat (hostile weapons fire is exchanged), or duty that is equally as hazardous as combat duty (hostile weapons fire is received or anticipated), regardless of time in the operation.

(2) While participating in the operation, regardless of time, is wounded or injured and requires medical evacuation from the operation.

(3) While participating as a regularly assigned air crewmember flying sorties into, out of, within or over the area of eligibility in direct support of the military operations.

(4) Personnel may receive both the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal if they meet the requirements of both awards; however, service eligibility for one cannot be used to justify service eligibility for the other.

## c. Awarding

(1) The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal may be awarded posthumously.

(2) Each Military Department will prescribe the appropriate regulations for processing, awarding, and wearing of the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal, ribbon, and appurtenances.

## d. Stars

(1) Only one award of this medal may be authorized for any individual; therefore, no service stars are prescribed.

(2) Battle Stars may be applicable for personnel who were actually engaged in combat actions against the enemy. Only a Combatant Commander can initiate a request for a Battle Star. This request will contain the specific unit(s) or individual(s) engaged in combat action, the duration for which combat action was sustained, and a justification of the actions against the enemy.

(3) The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff is the approving authority for the specific Battle Stars.

e. Precedence. The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal will be positioned directly below the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal in precedence.

March 6, 2003 1:15 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Medals/Citations

*Who*

*Larry Di Fina*

*5/7*

Please find out why we haven't developed some sort of recognition for Operation Enduring Freedom and for the Afghanistan campaign.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
030603-11

.....  
Please respond by 03/14/03

*You approved 2 medals*  
*- service medal*  
*- expeditionary medal*

*5/7*

*3/7 -*

*SecDef - We have developed a Global War on Terror campaign ribbon. You endorsed it and it is at White House. It is instituted by Executive Order. I understand it is slowly working its way through, and I'll ask Andy to pull it up and get it done.*

11-L-0559/OSD/15534

*D. Rumsfeld*



March 18, 2003 7:29 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: PM Howard

Please make sure we get a letter to Prime Minister Howard of Australia. He is a standup guy.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031803-1



*Please respond by* 3/21/03

U13169 /03



March 18, 2003 12:58 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

*Advance  
copy sent*

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: PA Meeting

We have to have a meeting with Torie and talk through the PR aspects of it for the rest of the week. Please see me.

Thanks.

DIR dh  
031803-6



Please respond by 3/18/03

U13170 /03



March 18, 2003 5:47 PM

TO: Mike Wynne  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Congressman Hunter's Proposal

Please get back to me and tell me what you think about Duncan Hunter's proposal on that tomahawk lite.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031803-14



*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13171 /03



March 18, 2003 5:44 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Tanker Question

*Advance copy sent*

Please get back to me on the tanker question.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031803-13



*Please respond by* 3/20/03

U13172 /03



March 18, 2003 5:50 PM

TO: Gen. Casey  
CC: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Weather Forecast

*Advance copy sent*

I asked Gen. Myers to make sure we have a weather forecast daily at the morning briefing, probably for that day and the next day.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031803-16

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13174 /03



March 19, 2003 7:56 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Letters to Coalition Countries

I should write letters to the ministers of defense, prime ministers or presidents of countries that are supporting us. I have signed the letter to Australia.

As this list of supporters on Iraq comes out, I want to get a letter off to each one of them.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031903-1

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13175 /03

March 19, 2003 8:12 AM

TO: Marc Thiessen  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Romania

Here is an interesting article on Romania we might keep in mind.

Thanks.

Attach.

Iliescu, Ion. "Romania's Example," *Washington Post*, March 17, 2003.

DHR:dh  
031903-3

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13176 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15541

March 17, 2003

## Romania's Example

By Ion Iliescu

In December 1989, Bucharest was a depressing place. Darkness reigned over Romania. The people suffered from lack of food, heat and electricity due to a rationing policy imposed by the totalitarian regime of Nicolae Ceausescu in order to finance foreign debt and his megalomaniacal construction projects. Free media were silenced. There was no freedom, only fear, along with repression, international isolation and a pervasive cult of personality.

Dissident voices or efforts to build political alternatives that could threaten the Ceausescu regime were monitored, punished and deterred through one of the most all-encompassing communist tyrannies in Central and Eastern Europe. But even the most repressive measures could not stifle Romanians' hope and longing for freedom. When the winds of change started to blow in the last months of 1989, the Romanian people took to the streets in Timisoara and Bucharest and many other cities throughout the country.

In a sweeping wave of courage, Romanians' long-restrained thirst for freedom and democratic governance mobilized them to overthrow dictatorship, regain dignity and seek a better life. The army was ordered to stifle the revolution, but it refused. Instead, the military took the side of its brothers in the streets and freedom prevailed, although not without sacrifice. But once the Romanian people had the will to stand up firm and united, the edifice of dictatorship collapsed in hours.

More than 13 years later, Romania is going through a challenging, yet irreversible and beneficial, process of integration into the community of democratic nations. Freedom has not come without a price: economic hardship, unemployment and a painful reduction of average Romanians' ability to feed their families. But nobody in Romania seriously doubts the fundamental choice made in December 1989: to live in democracy and freedom and build a functioning market economy. The sacrifices we made to pass from totalitarianism to democracy have not been in vain. After years of recession, our economy has grown steadily since 2000, inflation has eased substantially and investments are expanding. Privatization, restructuring and economic modernization are advancing. Last year in Prague we were invited to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are negotiating our accession to the European Union, and the Copenhagen summit of last December called on us to be prepared to join the EU in 2007. But most important, Romania's transformation has restored self-esteem and dignity to our nation.

Ceausescu, with all his repressive powers, did not threaten the world with weapons of mass destruction. Nor did he invade his neighbors. But his vicious cruelty alone was enough to drive Romanians into the streets. We will never forget the legacy of his tyranny and the sacrifices necessary to tear it down. For Romanians, any attack against freedom in Europe, the United States and throughout the world is unacceptable.

Romania supports all U.N. resolutions calling for Iraq's disarmament, resolutions that the Iraqi regime has so far chosen to ignore. As a member of the United Nations, Iraq has the obligation to observe the resolutions of the Security Council. Failure to do so has serious consequences, including the use of force.

Romanians, who lived, as did all Europeans, through two terrible world wars, still prefer peaceful diplomatic solutions. But they also understand the need for the international community to act against the threat of weapons of mass destruction posed by a regime that endangers international peace and stability. As President Bush said in Bucharest, we "know the difference between good and evil because we have seen evil's face."

Romania has good relations with Arab countries and with Israel. We have profound respect for the cultural heritage and identity and the religious faith of the peoples between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The Iraqi people are educated and talented and have unlimited potential that can be released if they have the chance to live in freedom. Romania had many economic projects and thousands of engineers, specialists and workers in Iraq before the Persian Gulf War. Thousands of Iraqis have studied in Romania. Many of them have witnessed, together with us, Romania's democratic rebirth and have chosen to continue to live in our country.

Some dictatorships decay over decades, some crumble in months. But some dictatorships disintegrate in hours when the people are aware of their right to live in freedom and wish to make their voices heard. This is what the recent history of Romania has shown. We are convinced that in their specific conditions, a rapid rejoining of the community of democratic and peace-loving nations can occur for the Iraqi people.

11-L-0559/OSD/15542



March 19, 2003 2:15 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
LTG Craddock  
Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Saudi Arabia

The next time I go to Saudi Arabia, which will have to be soon, I have to thank the Crown Prince. I also have to talk to him about what he would like the footprint to be in Saudi Arabia when the music stops.

Thanks.

DHR:db  
031903-6

.....  
Please respond by 4/18/03

U13177 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15543



March 19, 2003 2:19 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
Jim Haynes

CC: Paul Wolfowitz

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: UN Role in Iraq

Condi says she and Colin have a resolution for the UN that will determine what the UN roles in Iraq will be. We have to get a copy of it and look it over.

We also want to compare it with the UK version Geoff Hoon sent. We should overlay the two and see where the differences are.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031903-7

.....

Please respond by 3/28/03

U13178 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15544

3/19  
2003



March 19, 2003 2:41 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Doug Feith  
Torie Clarke

ADVANCE  
COPY SENT

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld



SUBJECT: UK and Australia Clearance

We absolutely must clear my remarks and Q&As with Hoon and the Aussies. Do not fail.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
031903-9

.....  
Please respond by 3/20/03

done - 3/21  
Larry Di Rita

U13179 /03



March 20, 2003 8:02 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Albania

I need to get a very nice, thoughtful thank you letter to the Albanian minister of defense. Then we ought to tickle it for when I meet him.

Thanks.

Attach.  
AMEMBASSY TIRANA Cable P 191639Z MAR 03

DHR:jh  
032003-3

.....  
*Please respond by 3/28/03*

**U13180 /03**

c 3/19

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\*\*\*\*\* This Message Has Been Altered \*\*\*\*\*

Page 1 of 3

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 20 2003

T M

PTTUZYUW RUEHTIA0441 0781639-UUUU--RUEKNMA.  
ZNR UUUUU ZZH  
P 191639Z MAR 03  
FM AMEMBASSY TIRANA  
TO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7429  
RUFNGNOA/HQ USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE  
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC  
RUEHNO/USMISSION USNATO 2645

UNCLAS TIRANA 000441

DOD FOR ISP EURASIA (JSHOEMAKER)  
DEPT. FOR EUR/SCE (LGREGORY)

E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: ODIP, PREL, AL

SUBJECT: ALBANIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE EXPRESSES GRATITUDE  
TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RUMSFELD FOR PROMOTING STABILITY  
AND DEMOCRACY

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING LETTER FOR U.S.  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RUMSFELD FROM THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, PANDELI MAJKO. THE ORIGINAL HAS  
BEEN MAILED TO DOD/ISP EURASIA (J. SHOEMAKER).

2. BEGIN TEXT OF MINISTER MAJKO'S LETTER:

DEAR SECRETARY RUMSFELD:

IT IS WITH VERY SPECIAL FEELINGS AND PRIDE THAT I WRITE YOU  
THIS LETTER FOR THE OUTSTANDING ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION YOU ARE  
PERSONALLY GIVING TO A BETTER, MORE STABLE AND DEMOCRATIC  
WORLD WITH LESS TYRANTS AND DICTATORIAL REGIMES.

ALBANIA WAS ONCE A COUNTRY LIKE THAT. TODAY WE ARE A LOT  
DIFFERENT, BUT STILL WITH SO MUCH TO DO AND IMPROVE. I  
BELIEVE THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT, IN WHICH I AM HONORED TO BE  
A MEMBER, HAS WELL IDENTIFIED ITS PRIORITIES AND HAS CLEARLY  
CHOSEN ITS PATH OF CONSOLIDATING THE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY OF  
ITS OWN CITIZENS, WHICH THEY MISSED FOR MORE THAN HALF A  
CENTURY.

IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT MILITARY UNITS AND PLATOONS OF THE  
ALBANIAN ARMY TODAY ARE PART OF THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN

OSD - SECDEF CABLE DISTRIBUTION:

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C&D: / CCD: / CABLE CH: \_\_\_\_\_ FILE: \_\_\_\_\_  
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MILPER: \_\_\_\_\_ PER SEC: \_\_\_\_\_ COMM: \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\* UNCLASSIFIED \*\*\*

c 3/19

COUNTRIES LIKE BOSNIA AND AFGHANISTAN. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THE ALBANIAN ARMY IS DEEPLY REFORMED AND ALREADY PART OF THE GLOBAL EFFORT LED BY YOU FOR NEW DAUNTING TASKS AND CHALLENGES TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE WORLD DEMOCRATIC ORDER. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT FROM THE VERY START, CLEARLY AND FIRMLY WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR DECISION TO BE PART OF THE COALITION OF THOSE WILLING COUNTRIES LED BY YOUR COUNTRY TO SOLVE THIS TIME ONCE AND FOR GOOD, THE THREAT SO CONSTANTLY AND DANGEROUSLY PROVIDED TO HIS OWN PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, OF THE IRAQI REGIME LED AND INSPIRED BY ITS DICTATOR SADDAM HUSSEIN.

OUR REGIONAL MILITARY COOPERATION IN THE BALKANS HAS IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY. WE ARE WORKING WITH MACEDONIA CLOSELY AND HAVE SIGNED A BILATERAL MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO DEFENSE MINISTRIES. MONTHLY MINISTERIAL MEETINGS TAKE PLACE BETWEEN ME AND MY MACEDONIAN COUNTERPART, MR. BUCHKOVSKI. THE FIRST COMBINED MILITARY EXERCISES WILL TAKE PLACE IN ALBANIA THIS SEPTEMBER. SAME EFFORTS ARE UNDER WAY WITH CROATIA AND RESULTS WILL COME SOON.

COUNT ON US MR. SECRETARY AND BE SURE OF THE DEEP FEELINGS OF SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT I PERSONALLY AND THE ALBANIAN ARMY SHARE ABOUT YOU AND THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS WHO LIKE NO OTHER ARMY ARE WHERE PEOPLE MOSTLY NEED THEM AND WITH THEIR EYES, HEARTS AND BLOOD ARE GIVING SO MUCH FOR A BETTER WORLD OUT THERE FOR THE CHILDREN OF TODAY AND TOMORROW.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY MOST SINCERE WISHES AND REGARDS TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY.

TRULY,

PANDELI MAJKO  
MINISTER  
REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA  
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

END TEXT.

3. COMMENT: JUST WHAT WE WOULD EXPECT FROM MAJKO, WHO WAS MUCH PLEASED TO MEET SECDEF AT WEHRKUNDE AND HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN MOVING FORWARD ALBANIAN FORCES FOR IRAQ, AND WHO KEEPS A PLAQUE WITH JFK'S "ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY..." QUOTE IN ALBANIAN ON HIS WALL.  
JEFFREY

JOINT STAFF V1

ACTION

(U,8)

1

INFO NMCC:CWO(\*) CMAS(\*) CMAS(1) JSAMS(\*)  
JSAMS UNCLAS DMS(\*) AF-CC-POLAD(\*) BOARDMAN(\*)  
NOCH(\*)  
+OCSA WASHINGTON DC  
+CNO WASHINGTON DC

\*\*\* UNCLASSIFIED \*\*\*

11-L-0559/OSD/15548

\*\*\* UNCLASSIFIED \*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\* This Message Has Been Altered \*\*\*\*\*

Page 3 of 3

+US SURVEY DIV SHAPE BE

SECDEF V2		1
ACTION	(U,P,6)	
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\*\*\* UNCLASSIFIED \*\*\*

11-L-0559/OSD/15549



March 20, 2003 8:05 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Senator Bayh

We ought to think about having Evan Bayh into the Pentagon. He was terrific on Fox News last night.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032003-4



*Please respond by* 4/18/03

U13182 /03



March 20, 2003 6:00 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Gen. Myers

MYERS ANSWER TO  
ALDRIDGE/CHU

A/CS

CC: Pete Aldridge  
David Chu

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Program Stability

Attached is a memo from Pete Aldridge.

Please take a look at it and tell Pete or David Chu any suggestions you have as to how we might fix this. It is obviously a serious problem.

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/19/03 Aldridge memo to SecDef re: Program Stability

DHR:dh  
032003-13

.....  
Please respond by 4/18/03

U13184 /03

14  
030

INFO ONLY

March 19, 2003

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAR 20 2003

Larry Di Rita  
3/19

To: Secretary of Defense  
Deputy Secretary of Defense  
General Myers

From: Pete Aldridge 

Subject: Program Stability

This is why we have a hard time maintaining program stability. In the life of a typical DoD program, lasting an average of 11 years, we have the following\*:

- 4 Program Managers
- 5 Program Executive Officers
- 8 Service Acquisition Executives
- 8 Defense Acquisition Executives
- 5 Chairmen, Joint Chiefs of Staff
- 7 Secretaries of Defense, and
- 3 Presidents

The tenure of Program Managers is not the only problem.

\* Source: Dave Walker, GAO

#393



**CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-9999

**CH-909-03  
24 April 2003**

**MEMORANDUM FOR: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY, AND LOGISTICS  
UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR PERSONNEL  
AND READINESS**

Subject: Program Stability

1. The Secretary of Defense asked that I provide suggestions on how to improve program stability.<sup>1</sup> A number of stabilizing initiatives are in the early stages of implementation and results of these plans are still pending. Several new proposals are also enclosed for consideration.
2. Many of our proposed initiatives relate to changing the way Congress funds projects or how Congress manages appropriations. Accordingly, with the exception of the first suggestion, all would require Congressional agreement and perhaps new legislation. Implementation would significantly advance program stability.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard B. Myers".

**RICHARD B. MYERS**  
Chairman  
of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Enclosure

Reference:

- 1 SecDef memorandum, 20 Mar 2003, "Program Stability"

11-L-0559/OSD/15553

ENCLOSURE

INITIATIVES FOR PROGRAM STABILITY

1. Initiatives Implemented or in the Early Stages of Implementation

**a. Identify warfighter needs in technologically achievable increments that support an evolutionary acquisition strategy.**

Rationale: Develop and deliver increments of capabilities to the warfighter so a militarily useful product will be available sooner. Do not strive for the 100 percent solution from Day One.

Note: Time-phased requirements in support of evolutionary acquisition is the current policy for both requirements/capabilities development and acquisition.

**b. Initiate programs when the technology for the military solution has reached a reasonable level of maturity.**

Rationale: In the past, the zeal for pursuing a 100 percent solution forced the Department of Defense to start programs before technology was proven. As a result, the program office spent significant time on development rather than reducing the risk of a proven technology.

Note: Under the current Acquisition Milestone arrangement, program initiation is not considered and approved until technology development is proven.

**c. Advocate the use of commercially available products where feasible.**

Rationale: If commercial products are already available, the warfighter can take advantage of a readily available product, typically at a reduced price.

**d. Change the Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System planning cycle from 1 to 2 years.**

Rationale: The workload of Program Managers and program office personnel is compounded when, in addition to managing day-to-day business of the program, additional duties of justifying both program and funding level are assumed. The bi-annual budget cycle was recommended by a recent Defense Planning Guidance study, but is not yet in place.

Savings benefit of this initiative can be assessed by comparing the time it historically took the program office to support an annual budget cycle with the time it takes to support the bi-annual budget cycle.

2. Further Suggestions for Improving Program Stability

**a. Extend the minimum duration of military and civilian program managers assigned to a program for a maximum of 5 years, two Milestone**

**approvals if less than 5 years, or until commencement of Full Rate Production.**

Rationale: Provides for greater continuity and allows for Program Managers to be rated on the merit of their performance during a period greater than the typical military rotation of 3 years. If the time limits are met, the program manager can be reassigned, either as a Program Manager of a more complex program or as a Program Executive Officer responsible for multiple programs. In the meantime, the program would have management continuity.

**b. Fund programs for a minimum of 5 years or from one Milestone to the next.**

Rationale: A significant part of program stability is funding stability. Having a preprogrammed funding stream is crucial to avoiding stops and starts in a program. The Program Manager can focus on managing the program rather than justifying the program and its funding annually or bi-annually.

**c. Allow programs to have a technological risk reduction contingency fund; e.g., 25 percent.**

Rationale: Establish and protect a management reserve fund specifically set aside for solving unexpected technical problems. Prior to release of funds for this purpose, a technical assessment would be necessary and approval by USD(AT&L) would be required.

**d. Eliminate the color of money in program acquisition.**

Rationale: Color of money adds overhead to funds management. When necessary to reprogram funds, there is a bureaucratic process that must be followed. When effort is expended on changing colors of money, it takes the Program Manager away from managing the technical development of the program. Industry does not distinguish between colors of money.

**e. Advocate multi-year production quantity purchases.**

Rationale: Take advantage of economic ordering and production quantities. Maintain a steady stream of production units versus typical stops and starts when funds are cut.



March 21, 2003 6:44 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DR  
SUBJECT: Wade and Ullman

*[Handwritten signature]*  
Larry Di Rita  
3/21

When this thing is over, I want to have a luncheon or something for Jim Wade and Harlan Ullman, who wrote the book *Shock and Awe*, talk to them about what happened and honor them to some extent.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032103-3

.....  
Please respond by 5/2/03

U13185 /03



March 21, 2003 8:02 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

CC: Torie Clarke

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Press Availability Pre-briefs

I would like to do the pre-brief for the press availabilities down in Torie's office in the future, rather than up in my office.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032103-4

.....

Please respond by 3/21/03

U13186 /03



March 21, 2003 8:06 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Picture of Forces

*See me*

*ADVANCE COPY SENT*

Please see if you can get me a piece of paper that shows me each major unit involved in this conflict on the ground:

- What it is called.
- Where it is based (hometown).
- How many people are involved.
- What kind of equipment.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032103-5

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

U13187 /03



March 21, 2003 8:10 AM

TO: Gen. Myers

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Targets

I would like to see the target pages that we have up here for the targets Gen.  
Franks has hit already.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
032103-8

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/23/03

U13189 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15559



March 21, 2003 4:19 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Turkey

I don't think we ought to give anything to the Turks for the overflight. They are just too late.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032103-13

.....  
*Please respond by 3/25/03*

U13190 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15560



March 21, 2003 4:21 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
CC: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Hill Visits

*ADDISON  
COPY SENT TO LARRY*

Please see me about when I go back up to Congress. I think I ought to do it next week.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032103-14



Please respond by 3/24/03

U13194 /03



March 22, 2003 9:28 AM

TO: Torie Clarke

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

DR

SUBJECT: Taped Messages

I looked at the tape of my message to the troops, and I have several suggestions for when I am taping from a teleprompter:

- I probably ought to use makeup, because my face isn't animated at all, whereas in a live interview it is.
- The background used in my dining room is not good. I think we need a much better background that isn't as confusing
- Better lighting.
- The portion of me that they take is too big—it should possibly be a tighter shot.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032203-2

.....  
Please respond by 4/4/03

T. C. Compare what it looks like versus a press conference and you'll see the difference -

March 22, 2003 9:30 AM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: New Mexico

*Handwritten notes:*  
DHR  
SST

I heard there are something like six Iraqis who have entered the U.S. and gone into northern New Mexico. Have you heard anything like that?

Thanks.

24 March 2003

DHR:dh  
032203-3

Sir,

..... I am aware of several intelligence reports that discussed the potential smuggling of chemicals and persons (possibly Iraqis) from Mexico to the United States (through Nuevo Laredo), but I don't recall any mention of New Mexico in those reports.  
*Please r*

I was informed that there were several thousand Iraqi nationals "of interest" to authorities within the United States and that there have been some efforts to locate and validate their status across the country. We had an agent attend a meeting last week with the Joint Intelligence Task Force (FBI, State Police) in Albuquerque and they indicated that among the Iraqi population in New Mexico, they were specifically looking into the location and status of about five Iraqi nationals believed to be residing in the area who caused them some level of concern. They had no specific intelligence that they were involved in criminal or terrorist activity, however, were attempting to locate them and confirm their legal standing (ie, resident alien, on valid work or student visa, etc).

As far as media reports, I spoke with Paul Richard this morning and he indicated that he had heard something on the news last week to the effect of Iraqis in New Mexico, but couldn't recall a lot of specific information. I also spoke with one of our agents that we had in Santa Fe last week and he indicated that he was listening to a commentary by a news broadcaster on an Albuquerque TV station discussing statewide homeland security measures (ie, National Guard at the airports, additional security at the capitol) and that there was a comment in the discussion concerning the questioning of Iraqi citizens in New Mexico. I've attached a copy of an online AP article discussing the questioning of Iraqi residents in New Mexico by the FBI.

I will update you if anything of significance develops.

V/R

(b)(6)

*Handwritten signature*  
11-L-0559/OSD/15563

U13198 /03



LOCAL NEWS SUBJECTS WEATHER SPORTS FEATURES INSIDE

## Iraqis questioned in New Mexico

Last Update: 03/21/2003 13:18:58

(AP) -- The FBI has begun questioning Iraqi residents of New Mexico as the war on their homeland intensifies.

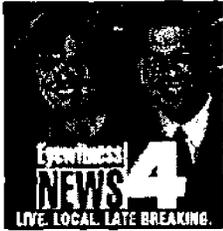
FBI Supervisory Special Agent Doug Beldon of Albuquerque says the interviews are voluntary. He says the agency established a command post Thursday.

Beldon says agents are soliciting tips regarding terrorist or potential terrorist activities or anything regarding the war effort.

Beldon says agents also are prepared for calls from any New Mexico resident of Middle Eastern ancestry who may have been a hate-crime victim.

He says the FBI also would appreciate knowing of anyone or any organization that may be planning a violent crime in conjunction with protest activities.

That could apply either to violence by protesters or against protesters.



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March 22, 2003 9:44 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Podium in Press Studio

Please put a ridge a couple of inches up from the bottom of the podium, so it hold the papers up higher. Please move the glass holes to the center of the podium rather than the right, so that we can push them up still higher.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032203-4

.....

Please respond by 3/28/03

U13199 /03



March 22, 2003 9:49 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
LTG Craddock  
Col. Bucci

*house*

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Upcoming Schedule

I need to get back to the Hill next week sometime. I went up there on Thursday as I recall. I should probably go up on Wednesday or Thursday of next week—  
House and Senate.

I probably should go with the President to Tampa on Wednesday, but I am not certain of that.

I want to play squash Saturday and Sunday if you can do it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032203-5

SECDEF HAS SEEN

.....  
MAY 22 2003  
3/21

Please respond by 3/24/03

*sec def -*

*We were ~~thinking~~ thinking about Wednesday for another Hill visit, although that's not certain because of*

U13201 /03  
11-L-0559/OSD/15566

*Di Rita*



March 22, 2003 9:55 AM

TO: Powell Moore  
CC: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Congressman Murtha

There is probably a problem with Murtha, according to Lewis. I think we ought to think about doing something with Murtha.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032203-6



Please respond by 4/4/03

U13202 /03



March 22, 2003 3:09 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Dov Zakheim

I talked to Andy Card about Dov. He says he is getting it wired. Colin Powell mentioned that he talked to Andy Card about Dov, and he said he would be happy to work out something so that Dov is given the personal rank of Ambassador and his title as Special Envoy for fundraising for Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc.

He said I will be getting a memo on it soon. It sounds to me like that is coming along, and I should probably talk to Dov Monday. Please set that up.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032203-12

.....

Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*↑*  
*ON CALENDAR*  
*MONDAY*  
*4:00 - 4:10 PM*

U13203 /03



March 22, 2003 10:08 AM

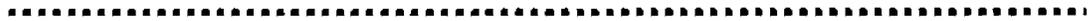
TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Formers

*ADJUTANT  
COPY SENT*

Please let me know what kind of progress we have in terms of acceptances on the Formers and make sure we invite the Vice President to that meeting.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
032203-7



Please respond by 3/24/03

U13204 /03



March 24, 2003 7:30 AM

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: POW from New Mexico

I talked to Pete Domenici twice Sunday night. Apparently Joseph Hudson, one of the POWs, is from Alamogordo, New Mexico.

Pete is very interested in the subject, so please try to keep him posted.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032403-1

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

U13205 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15570



March 24, 2003 7:47 AM

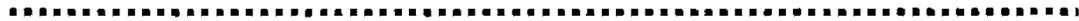
TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Time on Maps

*Advance  
copy sent*

Please ask people not to put "local" on a map. They should say either "Eastern,"  
"Iraqi" or "Zulu."

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032403-6



Please respond by 3/28/03

U13206 /03



DEFENSE CONTRACT MANAGEMENT AGENCY  
DEFENSE CONTRACT MANAGEMENT AGENCY EAST  
495 SUMMER STREET  
BOSTON, MA 02210-2194

IN REPLY

REFER TO DCMAE- C

12 AUG 2003

Honorable Jo Ann Davis  
Member, United States House  
of Representatives  
4904-B George Washington Memorial Highway  
Yorktown, VA 23962

Dear Congresswoman Davis:

This is in response to the letter sent by your constituent, Mr. Gary Adams. Mr. Adams states that the DCMA Southern Virginia office at Ft. Monroe is not accessible to individuals with disabilities. We are familiar with Mr. Adams' concerns, as he has raised them several times. In fact, the issue was first raised before the office moved from the Norfolk federal building. Mr. Adams was asked by our Equal Employment Manager via memoranda in December 2001 and again in April 2003 to provide us with a detailed listing of those areas that he believes are not in compliance. To date, this list has not been provided.

Prior to the occupancy of our location on Ft. Monroe, we conducted several site surveys and worked with the base engineers to address all aspects of the building. Included in this was the accessibility to the building by individuals who are physically challenged. The building where we are located always had a ramp for access to the first floor. During our surveys we did note several deficiencies that we asked to be corrected. We had the base designate reserved handicap parking spaces directly opposite the ramp leading into the building. The building was equipped with an elevator shaft from the 1st floor to the 2nd floor; however, it was not operational. The elevator shaft was repaired and an elevator installed, making both floors accessible to individuals with disabilities. During the assessment of the building facilities we also found that there were modifications required to make the restrooms compliant to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). We contracted to have those renovations completed and ready prior to occupancy. There is an accessible restroom available on the first floor; it is clearly marked as the handicap restroom. Recently, it came to our attention that an additional railing was required to be installed on the access ramp. We went through the Ft. Monroe engineers, as required, and submitted our request to have the work completed. The base has a contractor who does all of their construction work and the contractor is required to do all installations in compliance with all applicable building codes and any ADA or other Federal regulations unless specific deviations are requested and approved prior to construction. The railing has since been installed and the work is complete.

11-L-0559/OSD/15572

R U13206-03

2.

In short, we have addressed all ADA issues that were initially present and complied with any requests that were found to be valid after occupancy. We are not aware of any current accessibility issues that exist in this location. If you know of any specific areas of non-compliance, please forward them.

We have reviewed the reference Mr. Adams makes to the regulation DLAR 1438.1. Please note, this regulation was dated 1986 and is now obsolete.

Regarding the alleged vandalism of Mr. Adams' wheelchair. This was reported to the Fort Monroe Military Police by Mr. Adams' supervisor. Two officers investigated and a report is on file. The officers explained to the supervisor that they were unable to determine the cause of the alleged damage. However, they stated Mr. Adams could file a claim with Ft. Monroe. They did recommend that the individual suffering the damage or loss report such incidents to them. As an additional precaution, Mr. Adams' supervisor is storing his wheelchair in a locked area until he returns.

We have reviewed the file concerning Mr. Adams' security eligibility. His security eligibility has not been revoked; it is pending.

Please be assured that Defense Contract Management Agency East will continue to work with Mr. Adams to resolve any outstanding issues. I hope this will assist you with your response. If you have any questions or require any additional information please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

  
KEITH D. ERNST  
Director

Snowflake



VIA  
FAX

March 24, 2003 7:45 AM

TO: Newt Gingrich  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

Thanks so much for your kind words. It has been quite a week, and you've made important contributions, for which I thank you.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032403-5

U13207 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15574



March 25, 2003 6:43 AM

TO: Vice President Richard B. Cheney

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: (b)(6)

I called (b)(6) last night. It turns out that the name of his relative is not the name of either of the two people who were shown on television as captives.

DHR:dh  
032503-2

U13209 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15575

SECDEF HAS SEEN

3/26

MAR 25 2003 12:03 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Use of "We" in Press Briefings

*[Handwritten initials and arrows pointing to the TO and FROM fields]*

*Sir:  
Respectfully  
disagree.  
The troops  
over there  
need*

Please ask the speechwriters to stop saying "we" as though I am in Iraq. Today's briefing says, "The resistance we have encountered was expected." I don't like the tone of that.

*to know "we"  
are on the  
same team.*

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032503-3

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

*T.C.*

U13211 /03



March 25, 2003 12:38 PM

TO: Honorable Andrew H. Card Jr.  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: GWOT Medals

Andy—

Here are the new medals you broke loose. Thanks so much.

Attach.  
*Army Times*, March 31, 2003, p. 16.

DHR:dh  
032503-5

U13212 /03

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3/25  
Full. This is helpful  
what Army C. helped  
shake loose.  
D. H. H.



The Global  
War on  
Terrorism  
Expeditionary  
Medal

## NEW MEDALS

Two awards created  
for service during  
war on terrorism



The Global  
War on  
Terrorism  
Service  
Medal

**P**resident Bush signed an executive order March 12 establishing two new awards for actions in the global war on terrorism.

The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal recognize "sacrifices and contributions" military members make in the global war on terrorism, White House officials said.

The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal will be awarded to service members who take part in expeditions to combat terrorism on or after Sept. 11, 2001, such as Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal will be awarded to service members who serve in operations to combat terrorism on or after Sept. 11, 2001, such as Operation Noble Eagle and efforts to safeguard military

and civilian facilities with the United States.

The awards, which can be given posthumously, do not replace the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal or the Armed Forces Service Medal.

"Any member who qualified for those medals by reason of service in operations to combat terrorism between September 11, 2001, and a terminal date to be determined by the Secretary of Defense, shall remain qualified for those medals," the executive order states. "Upon application, any such member may be awarded either the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal or the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal in lieu of the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal or the Armed Forces Service Medal."

Defense and service officials are drafting guidelines for awarding the medals.

## NEWS BREAKS

### FOUR MORE CHARGED IN OLD GUARD THEFT RING

Charges have been filed against four Old Guard soldiers for involvement in an alleged Fort Myer, Va., theft ring.

The soldiers have been accused of hiding goods that police say five other Old Guard soldiers stole in January, said Maj. James W. Smith, chief of military justice for the Military District of Washington.

Smith identified them as Spc. Jason Barnett, Pfc. Austin Dillon, Pfc. Matthew Felty and Pvt. Matthew Chasabir. All have been accused of concealing stolen property or being an accessory after the burglaries.

In January, five other Old Guard soldiers were arrested and charged with breaking into at least four homes and a Radio Shack in suburban Washington, D.C. The Army will prosecute them all at Fort McNair in Washington, Smith said.

### SIX FILE SUIT TO STOP ANTHRAX INOCULATIONS

Six service members and Defense Department civilian contractors filed suit March 18 in U.S. District Court to ask that a federal judge declare the military's anthrax vaccine to be experimental and illegal.

The identities of the plaintiffs are being withheld for fear of government retaliation, said their lawyers, John Michels Jr. and Mark Zaid.

They also filed a separate motion against the Defense Department to halt further mandatory anthrax inoculations without informed consent or a presidential waiver.

The lawsuit names the Food and Drug Administration as a defendant, claiming it never has formally approved the vaccine for use.

### FORMER RANGER EXECUTED

TI-L-0559/OSD/15578



March 25, 2003 2:54 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Ideas from "Formers"

The comments with the "Formers" were interesting.

I think you ought to look at the idea of an American constabulary, sponsored by us but including Italians, Spanish, volunteers and maybe a corps of retired people— police, firefighters and the like.

I also think we ought to get a group on the rule of law. In a lot of countries people don't even understand what that concept means. I suppose that could be an offshoot of governance, but it really is a little different thing. Woolsey mentioned those people in the ABA who are working on that.

Please think about their ideas and see what we can get going. When you bring people in and they have good ideas, it is important to follow up on them and give them credit for being the sponsors of those good ideas.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032503-6



Please respond by 4/11/03

U13214 /03

03/27

March 25, 2003 4:34 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Quote on Length of War

Sir:  
See attached,  
including your  
statements  
going  
back  
to January.  
T.C.

Carl Levin asked me if I said "weeks, not months" in terms of the length of the war. He said it is quoted in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* this morning.

Please see if you can find it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032503-9

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

U13215 /03

again. It is so good to hear our president speak," said Kamil Obedish, who said he felt encouraged enough to reopen the cafe that he had closed a few days earlier.

Obedish spoke in the presence of government representatives.

"After hearing his speech, I can say that I am convinced we have already won," he said. "They can't do anything to our president. They will never get him with their clever bombs. Because he is smarter than any of their bombs. He is smarter than all of them."

Iz Den, a member of Hussein's Baath Party and a retiree, was manning a sandbag fortification on Sadoun Street, one of the city's many shopping areas.

"There was this propaganda and rumors that he could be dead after they bombed all his palaces," Den said. "But here he is, alive and healthy! It is a big jubilation for us."

Deputy Prime Minister Tarik Aziz, at a news conference Monday, said that Hussein was well and firmly in control of the government.

He said he wasn't worried about the thousands of U.S. troops coming to Baghdad in convoys that stretch to the horizon, their vehicles brimming with advanced weaponry.

"They will be welcomed in the same way as they were welcomed in Umm al Qasr, Al Faw and Nasariyah, and as they were welcomed by that Iraqi peasant who brought that Apache helicopter down," Aziz said, referring to the battles in the south of the country where the U.S.-led troops have suffered setbacks in recent days.

"We will be receiving them with the best music they have ever heard."

*Special correspondent Sergei L. Loiko contributed to this report.*

New York Times

March 25, 2003  
Pg. 1

### 5. Bush Requesting Nearly \$75 Billion For War Costs

By Elisabeth Bumiller and David Firestone

WASHINGTON, March 24 — President Bush will ask Congress for \$74.7 billion to pay for the war in Iraq, a senior administration official said tonight, but the money covers anticipated expenses for only the next six months. It does not cover any war expenses after the end of the current fiscal year, on Sept. 30, or the long-term costs of reconstruction.

The amount, one of the most intensely debated figures in the capital, is the first real insight into the expectations of the White House about the scale and length of the war. The \$74.7 billion, the senior administration official said, is to cover six months that are expected to include "a conflict, a period of stabilization in Iraq and the phased withdrawal of a large number of American forces."



While the White House moved to pay for the conflict, administration officials said that Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, Mr. Bush's closest ally, would meet with the president at Camp David on Thursday to discuss the course of the war.

The request for war financing, made public on another day of setbacks for the allies in Iraq, immediately opened a new political front between the White House and Congress, including many members of Mr. Bush's own party. Lawmakers are increasingly alarmed about the cost of paying for the president's proposed 10-year,

\$726 billion tax cut at a time of an expensive war.

The senior administration official said the new war costs would probably bring the fiscal year 2003 deficit close to \$400 billion.

The \$74.7 billion request includes about \$63 billion for fighting the war, including replenishing used munitions and other materiel to prewar levels; about \$8 billion for relief efforts and immediate reconstruction; and about \$4 billion to better protect the United States against what the administration says is the increased likelihood of terrorist attacks.

The \$8 billion in relief and reconstruction would include \$5 billion in aid for what the administration official said were "supportive" countries in the region affected by the war, like Pakistan, Israel, Jordan and Turkey. The official said Turkey alone would receive \$1 billion, but refused to say what for. On March 1, the Turkish Parliament rejected an American request, along with \$6 billion in grants, for unspecified amount to use Turkey as a north front in the war. Congressional said the Pentagon requested \$95 billion for the cost of the war and for rebuilding Iraq in the postwar period, but the White House budget office cut \$32.5 billion.

Democrats on the House Appropriations Committee predicted that the final cost of the war — which will be borne almost entirely by American taxpayers — could be twice the amount requested today, and Pentagon officials did not deny that more requests would be coming.

"We have not budgeted the 2004 budget for the global war on terrorism or the current operation for Iraqi freedom," a senior defense official said today. "It's obvious. How could we budget for something that we didn't know would happen?"

Nonetheless, the spending

request was expected to move easily through Congress. John Feehery, spokesman for House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, said Republican leaders hoped to have the legislation on Mr. Bush's desk before the Easter recess.

"We need to make certain that our men and women in uniform have the resources necessary to get the job done in Iraq," Mr. Hastert said in a statement after the White House meeting. "I expect that both Republicans and Democrats will support this legislation by overwhelming margins." Hearings on the request could begin as soon as Thursday.

The White House has for months resisted telling Congress what the war would cost, angering Democrats and a few Republicans who have charged that the administration was stalling until Congress largely committed to a budget for next year, as it did last week, that includes most of the tax cuts Mr. Bush is seeking.

Tonight, the administration official said Mr. Bush was simply waiting to see how the initial days of the war unfolded. The official indicated that if Saddam Hussein had been killed in the American cruise missile attack on Wednesday night, the war would have been cheaper.

Even Democrats who are critical of the administration's plan to cut taxes while fighting a war said they would not stand in the way of giving the military what it wants.

"The costs are now being incurred for the war, so they've got to be paid," said Senator Kent Conrad of North Dakota, the ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee.

Other Democrats said they might balk at the administration's effort to place most of the war costs in a discretionary fund that would allow money to be moved around at will by Mr. Rumsfeld.

"We need to know exactly where this money is going,"

NOTE

my reality your quote

11-L-0559/OSD/15581

Ⓜ INFORMATION MEMORANDUM: *Statements by the Secretary of Defense indicating that conflict with Iraq would not be easy*

*Excerpt from NBC's Meet the Press Interview (3/23)*

Q: Before we go, what would you like to say to the American people today about this war? What should they expect? What should they be thinking when they're watching it and observing it? How long will it go on?

Rumsfeld: Well, I think that **the one thing I'd say is there have to be tough days ahead.** Wars are unpredictable. There are still a large number of the difficulties and things that can go wrong that are still ahead of us. The young men and women that are out there are doing a superb job, and the outcome is clear: it will end, and Saddam Hussein's regime will be gone, and the United States will be a safer place for it.

Q: There could be significant casualties.

Rumsfeld: **How long is not knowable. How many casualties is not knowable. And that's just the only honest thing anyone can say.**

*Excerpt from CBS Face the Nation Interview (3/23)*

Q: Give us your assessment, at this point, how is it going?

Rumsfeld: Well, it's going well. **It's tough, and wars are unpredictable, and it's very difficult to know how long it will take,** but if one thinks about it, we've been at it for 72 hours. That's a very short period of time.

*Excerpt from CNN Face the Nation Interview (3/23)*

Q: When you say it's predictable, the outcome is clear, how much time do you think it will take for the U.S. and British forces to achieve their objective?

Rumsfeld: At the present time, there are U.S., British, Australian and Polish forces that are on the ground. There's some 46 nations that are publicly politically supporting this coalition effort. There is a broad and deep coalition that is being enormously helpful in this effort, and their forces are wonderful, young people, as well. The time -- **the time is going to depend on how much resistance there is, and the loss of life will depend on how much resistance there is.** And our hope and our prayer is that this will end soon, with a minimal loss of life on the part of the Iraqis as well as the U.S. and coalition forces.

Q: Are you talking days, weeks or months?

Rumsfeld: We will be at it until it's over, and I do not -- **it's not possible to know. There are any number of things that could happen that would cause difficulties, that could delay things.** But there is nothing that can happen that will change the ultimate outcome. The outcome is certain, and the armed forces of the Iraqi government should put down their arms, follow the instructions that they've been given and end any resistance at all, because it's futile.

*Excerpt from CNBC Capital Report (3/6)*

... -- to know the truth, and the truth is that war is unpredictable, .. that people die and that it's dangerous.

*Excerpt from appearance before the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers (2/25)*

Q: What do you see as Iraq's military capability?

Rumsfeld: The -- if you go to organizations like Jane's and others that look at militaries in various countries, they -- you know, and drop a plumb line through everyone's best guess -- first of all, it's a closed society, so there's a great deal that people don't know. But the guess is that it's somewhere, something under 50 percent of what its capability was in 1991 during the Gulf war in terms of conventional capability: full stock. **With respect to chemical, biological capabilities that one knows that they have advanced -- and they are, in my judgment, probably more lethal and dangerous today than they would have been back in '91,** but I don't know that for sure. I don't think anyone does, except the Iraqis.

*Excerpt from a House Armed Services Committee Appearance (2/13)*

And, depending on what happened and what the circumstance in the country was would determine how long and what role the military would have to play. Clearly, the goal would be to go in and see that what resulted was better than what was there beforehand. That means that the United States simply has to be willing to stay there as long as is necessary to see that that is done, but not one day longer. We have no interest in other people's land or territory. We have no interest in other people's oil, as some articles seem to suggest. So, exactly how long it would be and what it would look like would vary.

*Excerpt from a House Armed Services Committee Appearance (2/5)*

*Note: This is part of a response to a question about Guard/Reserve call-ups:*

It's very difficult to know, for example -- were the president to decide that we have to use force in Iraq, how long those call-ups would last. It's not possible to know. It's not possible to know if that's going to take four days or four weeks or four months. It even could take four years.

*Excerpt from a DOD News Conference (1/29)*

*Note: This is part of a response to a question about the potential costs of a war.*

... you can't know, because you can't know if it's going to last four days, four weeks, or four months ...



March 25, 2003 4:39 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
CC: Ryan Henry  
Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Bill Timmons

Powell Moore came up with a brilliant idea—Bill Timmons. He can organize stuff like nobody has ever seen. He has worked in the White House, and he ran conventions and planned transitions for several presidents. He is an organizing genius—a real powerhouse. I think it is a fascinating idea.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032503-10

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13216 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15585

March 25, 2003 5:35 PM

TO: Tom White  
H.T. Johnson  
Jim Roche

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Nominations for SOCOM

Some time ago I requested nominations for the Combatant Commander for the Special Operations Command. Specifically, I requested nominations from each Service for a four-star, a three-star and a two-star.

I expect to receive those nominations by Friday, March 28.

Thank you.

DHR:dh  
032503-12

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13217 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15586

05/28

March 25, 2003 4:46 PM

TO: Pete Aldridge  
Jim Roche

CC: Dov Zakheim

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Cruise Missiles

Jaymie Durnan

5/23

Attached is some material

- 1. This cheap cruise thing. He says
- 2. We did not put are going to run

Please take a look at below:

Thanks.

Attach.

Inside the Navy, February 3, 2003, p. 1.  
 Draft RADM Jay Cohen ltr to Duncan Hunter  
 "Titan Corporation Affordable Weapon Overview" March 2003 (Company Proprietary Information)

DHR:dh  
032503-11

Please respond by 4/25/03

5/28  
 TO: Mike Wynne  
 Please prepare a brief to Duncan Hunter on this.

Thanks,  
 Jaymie Durnan  
 cc: Powell  
 (Cohen 5/28)  
 SC

Following:  
 st be a fabulous  
 Supplemental—we

SECDEF HAS SEEN  
 MAY 28 2003

5/14  
 ALDRIDGE RESPONSE  
 ATTACHED  
 v/c

U13219 /03

CS/24

March 25, 2003 4:46 PM

TO: Pete Aldridge  
Jim Roche

CC: Dov Zakheim

Jaymie Durnan

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

5/23

SUBJECT: Cruise Missiles

Attached is some material from Duncan Hunter. He says the following:

1. This cheap cruise missile is all off the shelf and would just be a fabulous thing. He says we could get it going for \$50 million.
2. We did not put enough purchases for Tomahawks in the Supplemental—we are going to run out.

Please take a look at both points and get back to me

Thanks.

Attach.

*Inside the Navy*, February 3, 2003, p. 1.

Draft RADM Jay Cohen ltr to Duncan Hunter

"Titan Corporation Affordable Weapon Overview" March 2003 (*Company Proprietary*)

*Information*)

DHR:dh  
032503-11

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAY 28 2003

5/14

.....  
Please respond by 4/25/03

ALDRIDGE RESPONSE

ATTACHED

v/c

ch



ACQUISITION,  
TECHNOLOGY  
AND LOGISTICS

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

3010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3010

INFO MEMO

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAY 28 2003

May 05, 2003/1000 AM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DEPSECDEF \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: Mr. E. C. "Pete" Aldridge, Jr., Under Secretary of Defense (Acquisition,  
Technology, and Logistics)

SUBJECT: Congressman Hunter's Interest in Cruise Missile Procurement.

Your snowflake asked us to comment on Congressman Hunter's points on Affordable Weapon System (AWS) and Tomahawk. He says this cheap cruise missile is commercial off-the-shelf (COTS), and could get going for \$50M. He also inquired if we had purchased enough Tomahawks in the supplemental.

- The Office of Naval Research (ONR) carried out the AWS initiative, to develop a missile with a production cost of 10% that of current systems by using COTS technology. Investment to date is \$40M. ONR estimates the AWS basic configuration to cost \$64K (air vehicle, warhead, and launcher). ONR estimates R&D, low rate initial production, and test in FY 04-07 to cost \$179M (currently unfunded).
- AWS, with its shorter range and smaller warhead, is not a replacement for Tomahawk. The system attributes are: 180 knot, 600 nm range, 200 lb payload, and loiter capability. If trade-offs between capability and cost are acceptable to the warfighter, the AWS system has the potential to transition to a sea-based weapon program (a ground launched application could raise compliance issues with INF Treaty). The Navy is studying AWS capability and cost parameters to determine if it is a possible POM 06 program. RADM Cohen (ONR) will brief Congressman Hunter on AWS this month.
- The USN used 788 Tomahawks during OIF and another 82 in OEF. The OEF supplemental funded the re-manufacture of 454 older and less capable Tomahawks to the Block III (GPS) capability by June 04. The Department is considering spending \$360M of the OIF supplemental to procure 300 of the new Tactical Tomahawks, now in LRIP.

COORDINATION: USN (ONR, N76 requirements, PEO weapons), OSD, IP

Prepared By: Capt Jim Hart/OUUSD(AT&L)/Defense Systems(AW) (b)(6) April 18, 2003

11-L-0530 OSD/15589

March 25, 2003 4:46 PM

TO: Pete Aldridge  
Jim Roche

CC: Dov Zakheim

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Cruise Missiles

Attached is some material from Duncan Hunter. He says the following:

1. This cheap cruise missile is all off the shelf and would just be a fabulous thing. He says we could get it going for \$50 million.
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Draft RADM Jay Cohen ltr to Duncan Hunter

"Titan Corporation Affordable Weapon Overview" March 2003 (*Company Proprietary Information*)

DHR:dh  
032503-11

.....

Please respond by 4/25/03

Duca Hoke

YOM  
ONR  
JPT Cohen  
Peggy  
some  
get outside

R-

Inside The Navy February 3, 2003 Pg. 1

Navy's New 'Affordable Weapon' Seen As Potential 'Tomahawk-Lite' As questions mount about the affordability of the Tactical Tomahawk missile, the Office of Naval Research is ready to begin prototype production of a "cruise-like" missile that could pack a significant punch for 10 times less the price. The new missile, aptly called the Affordable Weapon, is not considered a possible replacement to the Tactical Tomahawk, but it could be used as an economical alternative in missions that do not require as great a range or striking power, according to ONR.

The Navy will have 100 of the new missiles in its arsenal by September, as well as 80 warheads, and their shipping containers.

The object of the Affordable Weapon program is to give the Navy "a tool to lower our cost when prosecuting war," according to Capt. Steve Hancock, the director of the Naval Expeditionary Warfare Science and Technology Department. While Tactical Tomahawks cost at least \$569,000 apiece -- with some estimates reaching over \$1 million per copy -- the Affordable Weapon is expected to cost about \$40,000, said Hancock.

Raytheon makes Tactical Tomahawk, or Block IV, which is due to reach the fleet in 2004. Though its name is familiar, Tactical Tomahawk is based on a new design.

The Affordable Weapon is not a Tomahawk variant, but it has some similar capabilities. "Somebody asked me one time if this is another Tomahawk missile, and my answer was 'It's kind of like a Tomahawk-lite,'" Hancock told Inside the Navy during a Jan. 23 interview.

The Affordable Weapon earned its name by employing less-expensive commercial off-the-shelf technology. Although it works like a Tomahawk, it is not intended to have equivalent range, speed or payload capacity, Hancock emphasized. For example, the Affordable Weapon, which is launched from its shipping container by a small rocket booster and powered by a small turbojet engine, is designed to carry a warhead to a target several hundred miles away. Tomahawk missiles, on the other hand, can travel about 1,000 miles bearing a heavier payload.

An easy way to understand the role of the Affordable Weapon, said Hancock, is to imagine ONR building a VW Bug as opposed to a Corvette. Both will get you from point A to point B -- and while the Corvette may get you there

faster, the VW Bug will cost a lot less.

He later added, "Does everything you go after require truly a fully milspec, ultra precise, ultra perfection solution? And the answer is not everything does. So does it make sense to spend millions of dollars when you don't need to spend millions of dollars? You can spend thousands of dollars for the solution."

Like the Tactical Tomahawk, the Affordable Weapon can fly directly to its target guided by the Global Positioning System, or it can fly to an area and loiter until a forward observer directs it to a target. Or the "cruise-like" missile can be retargeted in flight -- an observer can direct it to switch to a target different from the one the weapon was originally sent to attack. Modification to the prototype's airframe will allow it to carry a larger payload, such as an existing warhead. The planned modifications will also add about 200 miles to the Affordable Weapon's range. Titan, a military contractor in San Diego, is developing the prototypes with ONR.

Hancock specified the Affordable Weapon should not be considered a replacement to the Tactical Tomahawk, but rather a complement to it. He pointed out that for missions where a missile with a shorter range and smaller warhead could effectively neutralize a target then "why spend one point whatever million dollars on a Tomahawk missile if you can do it for \$40,000?"

With the prospect of multiple wars on the horizon and an ailing economy at home, Navy observers have said the service needs to look more closely at whether it can afford to fill its stockpile with Tactical Tomahawks. Ron O'Rourke, a naval analyst with the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service, discussed the importance of a more affordable alternative to the Tactical Tomahawk Jan. 15 before an audience at a Surface Navy Association conference in Arlington, VA.

"Tactical Tomahawk is only going to be about half as expensive as the original version -- that's certainly a big improvement -- but Tactical Tomahawk at \$500,000 a copy is still 25 times expensive as [Joint Direct Attack Munitions]." he said. "As long as you have a ratio between the cost between the weapons like that, I think it's going to put an upper bounds on the ability of Navy and [Office of Secretary of Defense] policy makers to think about just how expensive the role of the surface community can be in the overall [Defense Department] effort."

Although he never referred to ONR's effort specifically, O'Rourke tasked the Navy with finding "some way to get that cost ratio down by developing a new . . . affordable weapon." And while he never named an optimum price, he said, "right now you have a 25-to-1 ratio. If you can get that down to a 10-to-1 or a 5-to-1, then I think you could have significant impact on how people might view the surface community's future contribution to national security and therefore the role of the surface community in the Navy and DOD as a whole."

Retired Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll, vice president emeritus of the Center for Defense Information, was more direct, calling the price of the Tactical Tomahawk "prohibitive" during an interview with ITN. Simply put, he said the Navy could not afford the number of Tactical Tomahawks needed to be definitive in warfare. That does not rule out selective application of the missiles, but in general, the Tactical Tomahawk's high expense prevents it from being stockpiled in adequate numbers, he said.

But during an interview with ITN, a Navy official argued against comparing the Affordable Weapon to the Tactical Tomahawk at all. He said comparing the Tactical Tomahawk and the Affordable Weapon is like comparing "apples and oranges" or a "155 mm Howitzer to a hand grenade." For that reason, a dollar-to-dollar comparison is misleading given that the two weapons have very different capabilities and because this is not an "either/or" situation where the Navy needs to select only one weapon for its arsenal, he said.

#### Rising Costs

The actual cost of the Tactical Tomahawk has been the subject of much debate. Under the initial agreement with Raytheon signed in 1999, the Navy would pay \$569,000 per missile for the production of 1,353 missiles. But the program has since experienced cost overruns during its development stage, leading many industry and Navy observers to speculate the unit cost has spiked. Some industry sources pin the current price of the Tactical Tomahawk over \$1 million.

The selected acquisition reports the Pentagon released in November cite the

cost of the Tactical Tomahawk program at \$2 billion in base-year fiscal year 1999 dollars and \$2.2 billion in then-year dollars for 1,725 missiles. The major cost driver was the change in engine manufacturers from Teledyne to Williams International, Raytheon spokeswoman Jennifer Allen told ITN in December. Raytheon ordered Teledyne Continental Motors to halt development of its J402-CA-402 engine planned for use in Tactical Tomahawk in December 1999 because the engine failed to meet performance specifications, officials said at the time.

Another factor, according to Allen, was the "upgrading of the Inertial Measurement Unit to meet navigation accuracy in a jamming environment and address anomalies discovered during system level qualification testing." An industry source indicated that the Global Positioning System anti-jamming specification arose in the middle of Tactical Tomahawk's development, adding unexpected cost to the program.

A combination of both the engine troubles and the IMU upgrade slid the schedule to the right and added cost, the source added.

A price hike would also account for inflation since 1999. Additionally, Tactical Tomahawk Program Manager Capt. Bob Novak noted during an interview in December the Navy has upped its order by over 300 missiles. However, Novak would not comment on the price of the weapon, saying that any discussion of cost was premature since the Navy has not yet signed a production contract with Raytheon.

"We are on a strong path to push forward," Novak told ITN. According to his schedule, the program will start technical evaluation of the missile this spring, followed by an operational evaluation to be completed by November 2003. He expects to reach initial operational capability in spring of 2004 and then sign a contract for full-rate multiyear production that June. Last week, Raytheon announced that it had won a \$224.5 million modification to a previously awarded low-rate initial production contract with the Navy for the Tactical Tomahawks. Work is scheduled to be complete by August 2005, according to a company statement.

The Honorable Duncan Hunter  
Chairman House Armed Services Committee  
The U. S. Congress  
Washington DC

DRAFT

Dear Mr. Hunter,

As you requested, I am providing you the status of the Office Naval Research (ONR) Affordable Weapon (AW) Initiative. As you are aware we are developing a 600 mile range, 150-180-knots, "loitering," missile that carries a 200 pound payload using Commercial Off The Shelf (COTS) technology. The missile has both line of sight and satellite data links for interaction with ground stations and forward observers. AW is reprogrammable in flight with unlimited way points. This initiative has demonstrated that the COTS approach can reduce costs by an order of magnitude from traditional cruise missiles. The current missile cost in production is estimated to be \$45,000. The payload will be additional. The current MK125 warhead is estimated to be about \$15,000.

The AW initiative started in FY99 and has continuing development. There have been ten consecutive successful flights of the missile in the last 15 months. Much has been learned about COTS to advance military applications.

In view of the rapid progress that AW has demonstrated and current world events ONR has funded five missiles which are being readied for possible deployment overseas as air sensor vehicles and the manufacturing line is being readied for production. One is ready for shipment now. We expect to build two per week at the start and increase the rate as money is available. Our current limitation is funding.

This missile can be a weapon, but it can also be used as a surveillance platform, a communications relay, a SIGINT platform or any other use that has a payload less than 200 pounds.

The payoff of this development is a low cost reliable air platform that can perform many missions at about one tenth the cost of existing systems. In addition it offers the feature of loitering to defeat moving targets. The missile is planned to be launched from CONEX type containers holding between six and twenty missiles. These boxes can be carried on land, sea or air platforms.

Respectfully

RADM Jay Cohen



**N**  
National Security Solutions

# **Titan Corporation Affordable Weapon Overview**

March 2003  
Company Proprietary Information

11-L-0559/OSD/15595



# System Overview

## ① COTS

- R&D vehicle cost = production cost
- USN production costs = independent of quantity
- Lowest production cost

## ② Vehicle Recovery



- Greatly reduced R&D cost
- Lower cost/kill
- Significantly reduce logistics burden

## ③ Multi-Mission (Weapon + Surv./Targeting)



Affordable organic asset with no additional R&D cost

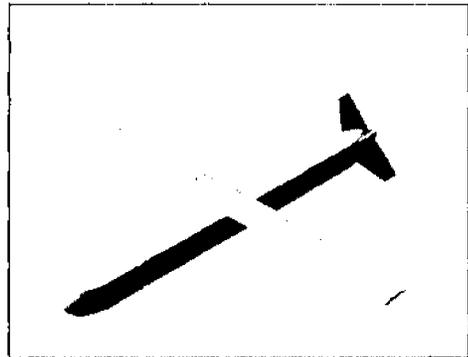
## ④ Modular/Multiple COTS Warheads



- Heavy Armor/Area Targets**
- Operational flexibility
  - Multiple kills/weapon ( $\geq 3$ ) (cost/kill, kill rate)
  - Cost/kill (w/o vehicle recovery)
    - < \$20 k (heavy armor)
    - < \$10 k (area targets)

### ① COTS

Seeker	Avionics	Propulsion	Controls	DataLink	Control Station



### Cost/Kill

- $\geq$  factor of 3-5 reduction in cost/kill for all targets

### Range

- $\geq$  factor of 6 increase

### Mission Flexibility

- Wide-area surveillance of 1,200 sq. n.mi. by simply removing warhead

### Real-time BDA

## ⑥ Man-in-Loop on Multiple Platforms



## ⑦ Shoot-Look-Shoot



- Factor of 2 Increase in kills/weapon

## ⑧ Real-Time BDA



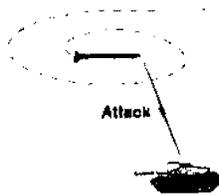
- Efficient surveillance/weapon resource application

## ⑨ Minimize Collateral Damage



- Politically acceptable

## ⑤ Long Duration Loiter



Realistic (real C<sup>3</sup>I time delays) attack of mobile targets

## ⑩ Indirect Fire



- USN personnel survivability



**NS**

National Security Solutions

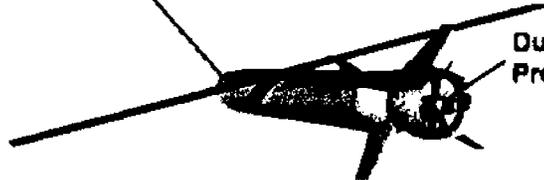
# Future Spiral



## Bik I Affordable Weapon

- Range 1,000 n.mi
- Loiter 8 hrs.
- Warhead 175 lbs. (MK125)
- Guidance GPS/D-GPS
- Data Links LOS/NLOS
- GTOW 820 lbs.
- Dia. - 13.5"

Hyperspectral  
Seeker



Ducted Fan  
Propulsion

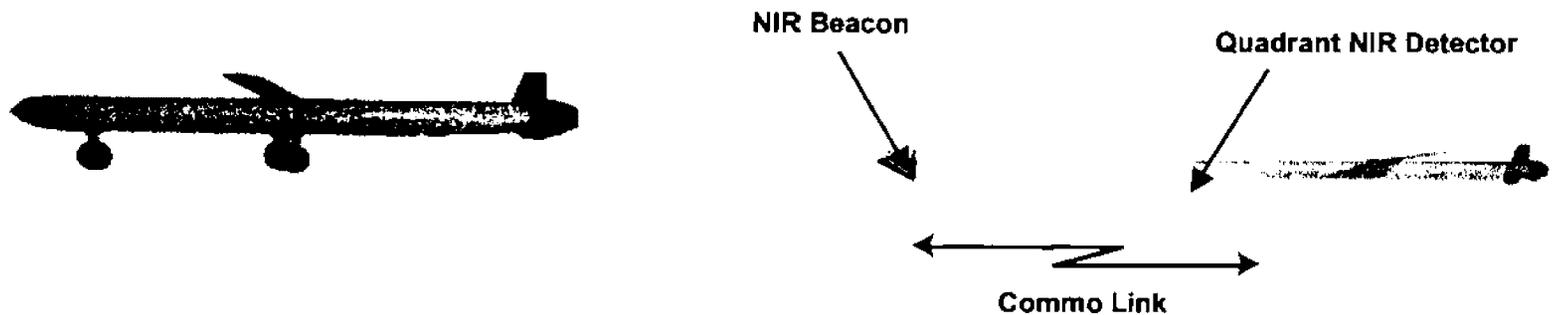
Spiral Development

## Bik II Affordable Weapon

- Range > 5,000 n.mi
- Loiter 48 hrs./72 hr. UAV
- Warhead(s) MK125/SFW's
- Guidance GPS/D-GPS + Hyperspectral Seeker
- Data Links LOS/NLOS
- BDA Camera
- GTOW 150 lbs. - 620 lbs. (Function of Range, Loiter, Warhead)
- Dia 7" (Helo) - 13.5"



## Air-Air Refueling Provides "Unlimited Endurance"





March 26, 2003 7:47 AM

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Brief on Post-Saddam Iraq

*ADVANCE  
(027) SENT*

I would like to brief the President sometime privately later this week on the brief we saw yesterday on how the forces would be drawn down in the post-Saddam Iraq. After it is edited the way I indicated, let's get enough copies to brief the President.

Thank you.

DHR:dh  
032603-1

.....  
Please respond by 3/27/03

U13220 /03



March 26, 2003 9:30 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Embedding Journalists

You ought to think about embedding some folks with the special operators north and west.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-4

.....  
*Please respond by* 3/28/03

U13221 /03



March 26, 2003 9:36 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Coalition List

Please get me a list of the coalition that looks like the one Gen. Franks uses. Then I would like you to post it down there so people down there can look at it. Maybe we'll put it up on the screen the next time I am briefing.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
032603-6



Please respond by 3/28/03

U13222 /03



March 26, 2003 9:39 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Fatwah

Please make sure the fatwah that was issued gets fed first through Arabic news and then we pick it up and quote the Arabic.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-7



*Please respond by* 3/21/03

U13223 /03



March 26, 2003 11:02 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Iraqi Secret Police

We haven't figured out the right thing to call these secret police, militia, paramilitary or whatever, although we know we shouldn't call them Saddam fedayeen.

Please have a briefing prepared for me tomorrow where I explain to the world what they are:

- The terrorist tactics and vicious techniques they use to keep everyone else in line—fear, assassination, etc.
- They are particularly well paid.
- They report up through Uday.
- How many there are.

Why don't we get some intel people in to brief you on them.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-8

.....

Please respond by 3/27/03

U13224 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15603

2417<sup>2477</sup>

March 26, 2003 2:00 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Humanitarian Assistance

*4/7*  
↑

Some media of the troops providing humanitarian assistance as they go forward would be a good thing, quite apart from the Sir Gallahad ship and the port.

Thanks.

DIR dh  
032603-12

..... **SECDEF HAS SEEN**

Please respond by 3/31/03

APR 17 2003  
*H...*  
*Response Attached*

*4/7*

**U13225 /03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15604

4/7

TO: SecDef  
FROM: Torie Clarke  
DATE: March 28, 2003

SECDEF HAS SEEN  
APR 1 2003

SUBJECT: Humanitarian Assistance

We have been working very closely with CENTCOM to make sure Humanitarian Assistance is being covered as we continue the campaign. We have made it a top priority for our internal combat camera assets, and we offer it regularly to the media in Qatar. We have had some initial success in the vicinity of Basra, and will continue to pursue these powerful stories. Initial images from the port of Umm Qasr are coming in and we expect that to pick up now that the Sir Gallahad has docked. I have attached a sample of the pictures we have received from downrange.

Also, below is an excerpt from a recent CENTCOM PA SITREP indicating the humanitarian assistance opportunities that have been made available to the press and the level of interest (which is fairly robust). Some opportunities have been completed and some are still upcoming:

**27 Mar** - Journalist will embark on the HMS Gallahad to follow the HA supplies into the port of Umm Qasar. 20 media scheduled to visit Umm Qasar to witness the unloading of the HA supplies at the port. Info. Media pool being taken aboard Sir Gallahad include: Sky TV, Abu Dhabi TV, Kuwait TV, CBS TV, BBC World Service Radio, AP(reporter plus photo) plus Royal Navy Mobile News Team (TV and Stills). Media facility for arrival of the ship in Umm Qasr also being arranged.

**27 Mar** - Journalists to Rammalah oil fields, 31 pax. Media participating: ITN, AP, Financial Times, Reuters, Denver Post, World Report, Time, Fox Dallas, Kuwait Times, Fuji TV, USA Today, Knight-Ridder, NYI TV, Fortune, India Today, NHK, Wall Street Journal.

**28 Mar** - 1 MEF Ch-53 helicopter humanitarian deliveries. 6 pax. Media TBD. Humanitarian assistance offload, from Sir Gallahad, port of Umm Qasr, 12 pax. Media TBD.

**29 Mar** - Humanitarian assistance opening of water pipeline, port of Umm Qasr, 40 pax. Media TBD. Humanitarian assistance offload and water pipeline, from Sir Gallahad, port of Umm Qasr, 40 pax. Media.

11-L-0559/OSD/15605



Coalition forces distribute humanitarian aid packages in Zubayr near Basra in southern Iraq, March 27, 2003. U.S. and UK troops fighting their way north towards Baghdad have found evidence that Iraqi troops are prepared to use weapons of mass destruction. Britain's Defense Secretary Geoff Hoon said on Thursday. (UPI)



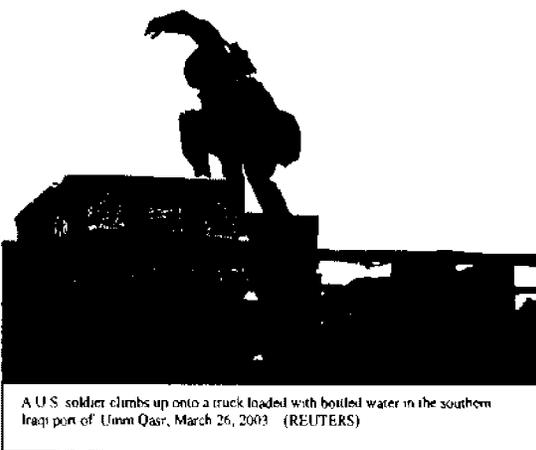
Coalition forces distribute aid to local Iraqis at Tubah Al Hamra, a settlement near the city of Basra in southern Iraq, March 27, 2003. U.S. President George W. Bush vowed on Thursday to press on with the war in Iraq for "however long it takes" to remove Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein from power. (REUTERS)



A U.S. soldier holds up an aid package in the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr, March 26, 2003. Aid trickled into Iraq on Wednesday, with Kuwait sending food to the border port and trucks braving a dangerous trip across to get medicines to Baghdad. (REUTERS)



Coalition forces hand out bottled water in the southern Iraqi town of Umm Qasr, March 26, 2003. U.S. officials say the food situation in parts of southern Iraq they now occupy is not desperate yet. (FOX)



A U.S. soldier climbs up onto a truck loaded with bottled water in the southern Iraqi port of Umm Qasr, March 26, 2003. (REUTERS)



U.S. soldiers unload cases of much-needed water at the port of Umm Qasr, in southern Iraq. (BBC)



March 26, 2003 2:02 PM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Soup Campbell

Please get me the charter for Soup Campbell's responsibilities, who he is supposed to report to, who selects him and who he is the liaison for at CIA.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-13



*Please respond by* 4/11/03

U13226 /03



March 26, 2003 2:35 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Length of Memos

The Libya memo was a good memo. The problem is the President will never read it. It is five pages. If you are interested in having someone take it aboard, it is a heck of a lot better to have a one-and-a-half page memo with an attachment than it is to have a three-and-a-half page memo with an attachment.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-14

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13227 /03



March 26, 2003 2:41 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Congressman Cunningham

*ADVANCE  
COPY SENT*

I need a phone conversation with Duke Cunningham sometime.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032603-15

.....

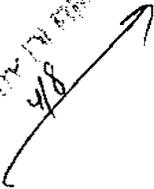
Please respond by 3/28/03

U13230 /03



March 27, 2003 5:48 PM

TO: Jim Haynes  
Torie Clarke  
  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
  
SUBJECT: Conflicts of Interest

*Handwritten:* 4/8  


I would like you to look into this issue of whether or not people who serve on these advisory boards have conflicts of interest, and get me a good answer.

Articles in today's *Early Bird* talk about conflicts for the Defense Policy Board. If that is true, there have to be conflicts for the Defense Science Board, DACOWITS and others. It sounds ridiculous. If that were so, how could anyone from the outside advise?

I think we ought to get a statement prepared on the facts and make sure people don't feel that we have conflicts of interest over here. I may want to discuss it at my press briefing Friday. Please see the attached article in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Hamburger, Tom and German, Dennis K. "Perle's Conflict Issue Is Shared by Others on His Defense Panel," *Wall Street Journal*, March 27, 2003.

DHR:dh  
032703-1

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03 GC RESPONSE ATTACHED.  
4/2  
v/r

U13231 /03



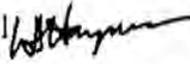
GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600

INFO MEMO

April 2, 2003 (9:13am)

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel 

SUBJECT: Conflicts of Interests By Advisory Board Members

- A conflict of interest is defined in 18 U.S.C. 208. Since it is a criminal statute, it precisely defines prohibited conduct and must be strictly construed. It prohibits Federal personnel, including unpaid consultants, from participating in particular matters which have a direct and predictable effect on the employee's financial interests.
- Since the agenda items of the Defense Policy Board and Defense Science Board focus on broad policy matters and direction, rarely involving particular matters, conflicts of interest do not often arise.
- To avoid conflicts of interest, every member of the advisory boards files a financial disclosure report, which is reviewed by the General Counsel's Office. Each member is briefed annually on conflicts of interest, and, in addition, ethics counselors periodically conduct ethics briefings at the board meetings.
- In rare cases when conflicting matters are considered by the boards, members with conflicting interests are recused from the board deliberations. In the last two years that has occurred once at the Defense Policy Board and four times at the Defense Science Board.
- In addition, during the last two years, several waivers have been granted Defense Science Board members in accordance with 18 U.S.C. 208(b)(3), when it was determined that the need for the advice of the member outweighed his potential for a conflict of interest.

COORDINATION: None

Prepared by Steve Epstein, Office of the General Counsel, (b)(6)



11-L-0559/OSD/15611

Wall Street Journal  
March 27, 2003

## Perle's Conflict Issue Is Shared By Others On His Defense Panel

By Tom Hamburger and Dennis K. Berman, Staff Reporters Of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON -- Former Pentagon assistant secretary Richard Perle has been assailed for possible conflicts between his business interests and chairmanship of a Pentagon advisory board, but other panel members have potential conflicts, too.

Mr. Perle has been criticized in recent days following disclosure that he sought defense-related consulting business while heading the Defense Policy Board, which advises the defense secretary on a range of policy and strategic issues. But business interests of at least nine of his colleagues also overlap with their board service.

Former Central Intelligence Agency chief James Woolsey is a senior executive at consultancy Booz Allen Hamilton Inc., which received \$688 million in Pentagon contracts in 2002. He also is one of three principals in a venture-capital firm that has been soliciting investment in homeland-security-related firms. Mr. Woolsey insists none of the companies he is affiliated with has ever been discussed at a board meeting, and that he does no lobbying. He said he was unaware of Mr. Perle's personal financial interests and wouldn't comment on them.

Another panel member, retired Adm. David Jeremiah, sits on boards -- one of them advisory -- of five corporations that received more than \$10 billion in Pentagon contracts in 2002, according to a forthcoming report from the Center for Public Integrity, a Washington watchdog group. Retired Air Force Gen. Ronald Fogleman sits on the board of five defense firms that received more than a billion dollars in defense contracts in 2002. Adm. Jeremiah and Gen. Fogleman didn't return calls requesting comment.

Panel members must disclose their business interests, but those disclosures aren't open for public examination. The potential for conflict in these arrangements is sparking calls from lawmakers and watchdog groups for government inquiries and greater disclosure of activities of the advisory board and its members.

Mr. Woolsey and others on the board reject such complaints. "I cannot recall a single contractor matter coming before the boards I sit on. In any case, you don't have decision-making authority over contracts," the former CIA director said.

Mr. Woolsey's firm, Paladin Capital Group, and that of Mr. Perle, Trireme Partners, both solicit investment in homeland-security concerns.

Mr. Perle also secured a \$725,000 fee from Global Crossing Ltd., a telecommunications firm now operating under bankruptcy-court protection, that is seeking Pentagon permission to sell itself to investors in Asia. The Defense Department has objected to the Global Crossing deal on national-security grounds because the company would be owned by a Hong Kong-based concern

with ties to China, Hutchison Whampoa Ltd.

According to documents prepared by Global Crossing to explain its sale plan to the court, Mr. Perle's total fee is \$725,000. Of that, \$600,000 would be paid if the company obtains approval from the Pentagon. The documents cite Mr. Perle's defense-board chairmanship as a reason for hiring him to press its case.

Mr. Perle didn't return calls requesting comment, but a person close to the transaction said Mr. Perle's primary role was to identify the deal's national-security issues and create a plan to address them. "He had the security credentials to get the investors comfortable" with the structure that now makes Hutchison a passive investor in the reorganized Global Crossing, this person said.

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is busy and unable to comment on the matter, said a spokesman, Maj. Ted Wadsworth.



March 27, 2003 8:00 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DA*  
SUBJECT: Moynihan Funeral

*ADVANCE COPY SENT*

Please make sure I attend Senator Moynihan's funeral service here in Washington.  
Please see if you can find out when it is going to be.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032703-3

.....  
Please respond by 3/28/03

U13232 /03



March 27, 2003 8:17 AM

~~TO: Jim Haynes~~  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Perle and Global Crossing

What about the issue with Perle and Global Crossing? Is there any problem?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032703-6

.....  
Please respond by 4/4/03

3/27

Sec Def -

The preliminary review ~~is~~  
suggests no problem. Perle  
is going to review his circumstances  
today, with the ethics lawyers.

*J. M.*

U13233 /03



March 27, 2003 10:28 AM

TO: (b)(6)

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: E-mail to Gingrich *8/1*

Please send the following e-mail to Newt Gingrich:

*Newt—*

*We have General Welch at IDA and a team of people to review the Future Combat System.*

*Thanks.*

DHR:dh  
032703-10

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13234 /03

From Newt Gingrich

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

cc LD Wotfowitz

From: (b)(6)  
Sent: Monday, March 24, 2003 8:05 AM  
To: (b)(6)@osd.pentagon.mil; Larry.DiRita@osd.pentagon.mil;  
John.Craddock@OSD.Pentagon.mil  
Cc: jaymie.durnan@osd.pentagon.mil  
Subject: Army FCS review  
for secdef,depsecdef  
from newt 3/24/03

SC

future of the Army Future Combat System

The last year has been a constant struggle of the Army Chief of Staff with the complicity of the Secretary of the Army trying to embed Shinseki's program deeply enough that it cannot be changed when he leaves.

Having that team review their own work this spring is an exercise in the same kind of self deception and deliberate deception which has characterized other projects (e.g., Stryker and the estimate of the number of forces needed in Iraq).

The future Combat System is a very high risk program into which all the Army's future is being invested. It is a big enough decision you ought to ask the DSB and DPB to form a joint team to review it and report back.

Alternatively you ought to appoint a blue ribbon panel.

Letting the senior Army review the senior Army is hopeless.

Army has asked Gen. Welch to review  
the program. This is a result of  
your conversation with Sen. White, et al.  
~ 10 days ago.

SC  
3/27/03

March 28, 2003 7:41 AM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: E-mail to Gingrich

Please send the following e-mail to Newt Gingrich:

*Newt—*

*I looked at this piece you sent from MacGregor. I don't know anyone who is thinking that way.*

*Thanks.*

DHR:dh  
032803-3

.....  
*Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_*

U13236 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15618

From Newt Gingrich

Page 1 of 1

(b)(6) CIV, OSD

cc: Wolfowitz  
Di Rita  
Craddock

From: (b)(6)  
Sent: Thursday, March 27, 2003 3:12 PM  
To: (b)(6)@osd.pentagon.mil  
Subject: Fwd: more on the downside of

for secdef depsecdef  
from newt 3/27/03

Given the cries from the old military in the press to slow down, divert to hunting down Republican Guard divisions etc I thought this note from MacGregor was worth sharing with you newt

11-L-0559/OSD/15619

(b)(6)

CIV, OSD

**From:** (b)(6)@aol.com**Sent:** Wednesday, March 26, 2003 8:19**To:** Thirdwave2@aol.com**Subject:** more on the downside of inaction

# Saddam, would win a huge psychological victory even if he is hung from a lamppost in a few weeks time. He will be seen as the Arab leader who was able to fight the US to a halt. Untold numbers of Fundamentalists will thus be empowered. Untold Americans could die as a consequence.

# Stopping will give a huge morale boost to the Republican Guard, all of Saddams security services and will betray the opposition.

# Stopping will do more to damage the morale of the a average US soldier out there than just about anything else. These guys are out there to kick butt and they will if allowed to. But they need momentum on their side. Stopping will be a betrayal.

# Stopping will send entirely the wrong signal to the Kurds and the Shiites and the many Iraqis who hate Saddam. They are prepared to lend a hand if the US is serious but the memory of 1991 is still raw. Stopping will be a signal that the US absolutely cannot be trusted.

# Stopping will encourage the Turks to play more games and the consequences there could be terrible..

# Stopping will give more time for the Russians and Iranians to play more games. Indeed they will be compelled to do so because privately they (mainly the Russians) are already in bed with Saddam to a substantial extent. They are obligated. Look at Primakov's recent visit. He did not visit Baghdad as a tourist.

# Stopping will allow the French, the Germans and world public opinion to have a field day at this country's expense to the point where a combination of world opinion and the United Nations may be able to prevent the US starting again.

# Stopping will allow the Democrats to slice and dice this administration. Public support could well evaporate.

# Stopping will give a weather advantage to the Iraqis.

# There is no reason to stop. The force in place is massive and so far has taken almost no casualties. True, there may be some supply problems but hardening the supply convoys and adding a C-130 Berlin airlift will solve that.

# In terms of historical precedent, history is replete with examples of timid soldiers being defeated and bold soldiers, even when numerically weaker, winning the day. Resolve is everything. Holding one's nerve is fundamental. Boldness is a weapon just by itself.

# History is also replete with examples of how quickly an enemy can recover if given only a little time at a huge price in subsequent casualties. Consider how quickly the Germans recovered again and again in WW II - particularly in September 1944. An enemy, one hit, should never be given time to recover.

3/27/2003

11-L-0559/OSD/15620

The political consequences of a loss of resolve at this crucial stage will be incalculable - and all will be bad.



March 28, 2003 3:28 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
 CC: LTG Craddock  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
 SUBJECT: Casualty Lists

*Attached.*

*Larry Di Piro  
4/1*

I ought to have an up to date casualty list with me every time I go down to a press briefing. Please have one for me before I go down each time.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032803-9

.....  
Please respond by 4/1/03

U13237 /03

P/S:

**IRAQ - CASUALTY**  
(Mar. 31, 2003, as of 1000 hrs)

- 43 American servicemembers have died in OIF
- 35 are categorized as "hostile deaths"
- 8 deaths are categorized as "non-hostile deaths"
- Of the 35 hostile deaths:
  - 35 are categorized as "killed in action" (KIA)
- More than 108 have been injured/wounded
- Total POW: 7
- Total MIA: 16

March 28, 2003 3:28 PM

*attached*

*4/1*

SUBJECT: Casualty Lists

I ought to have an up to date casualty list with me every time I go down to a press briefing. Please have one for me before I go down each time.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032803-9

.....  
Please respond by 4/1/03



March 28, 2003 4:28 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: POTUS SVTC w/Gen. Franks

The President would like Gen. Franks on a SVTC sometime. I think the last time we did it was Tuesday. Why don't we do it next Friday, so we don't get into a weekly rhythm.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032803-12

.....  
Please respond by 3/31/03

U13238 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15624



March 28, 2003 4:26 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Chalabi and the Interim Authority

Today in our meeting, the President said he wants to discuss Chalabi and getting definitive statements as to the interim authority. He is worried about Chalabi making statements that commit the United States.

I think we need to have a good discussion on it first in the PC and then in the NSC.  
What do you think?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032803-11

.....  
Please respond by 4/2/03

U13239 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15625



March 28, 2003 4:40 PM

TO: Gen. Myers  
CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
LTG *Chas*  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Follow-up from POTUS Meeting

Did the President say he wanted some information about the lost Marines?

I think he also said he wanted some information on Commando Solo—how it works, what the techs are, etc. Why don't you arrange to get some of that information up, and we will have a briefing for him sometime next week.

It seems to me there was one other thing the President wanted that had to do with IO. Paul did the notes—let's dig it out and see what it was. I think it had to do with the IO when Baghdad is surrounded—what is the message we are going to be saying to the people on the ground.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032803-13

.....  
Please respond by 4/2/03

U13240 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15626

March 28, 2003 6:34 PM

TO: (b)(6)  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DR  
SUBJECT: Background Sheets

ADVANCE COPY SENT

4/2

I would like to see a sheet for (b)(6) like you gave me on Erfurdt. Also, I would like to see the background sheet on my driver, (b)(6)

Thanks.

DJR:dh  
032803-15

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

2 April 2003

MEMO FOR SECDEF

SUBJECT: Background Sheets (b)(6)

Sir,

Bios attached as requested; a slightly different format but captures most of their basic information.

V/R

(b)(6)

U13241 /03

(b)(6)

**BACKGROUND PAPER (Special Agent (b)(6))**

(b)(6) was born on (b)(6) in New York City, New York. He attended (b)(6) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He is currently enrolled at the American Military University, pursuing a Bachelor of Science degree in Criminal Justice.

(b)(6) joined the US Army in (b)(6). After graduating from basic training, he was granted a top secret security clearance and assigned to the US Navy's Corry Technical Training Center in Pensacola, Florida, where he was trained as a Signals Intelligence Operator/Analyst. He was later accepted and trained as a US Army CID Agent in September 1998. His previous assignments included tours to Gabligen Station, Augsburg, Germany; the National Security Agency, Fort Meade, Maryland; Kunia Station, Schofield Barracks, Hawaii; the Fort Meade Resident Agency (CID), Fort Meade, Maryland; and the 20th CID Detachment, Camp Casey, South Korea.

In April 2000, (b)(6) was assigned to the Protective Services Unit, Fort Belvoir, Virginia. He has planned and supervised numerous protective service missions for high-risk personnel, in such areas as Afghanistan and Bosnia.

(b)(6) has completed several military and civilian training courses. In addition to the basic special agents' training program, he has received specialized training for high-risk personnel protection, anti-terrorist evasive driving, and sub-machine gun operations. (b)(6) is a trained martial artist. Before he joined the US Army, (b)(6) was an amateur competitor. He won several awards to include a gold medal at a national level competition.

(b)(6) has been married to his wife (b)(6) for 11 years. They have a nine year old son, (b)(6). (b)(6) earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Accounting from the (b)(6) and currently works in Washington, DC. (b)(6) is an honor roll student at the (b)(6) School.

(b)(6)

**BACKGROUND PAPER**

(b)(6)

(b)(6) was born on (b)(6). He is the sixth of nine children born to (b)(6). (b)(6) He graduated from (b)(6) where he lettered in football, basketball, baseball and track.

(b)(6) served in the U.S. Army for three years from 1981-1984 in the logistical field.

(b)(6) began working for the Federal Government in 1986, and has held a variety of positions over the course of the last seventeen years. During his civil service career, he has had the opportunity to work on installations such as West Point, New York; S.H.A.P.E. Headquarters, Belgium; Port Hueneme, California; and The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

(b)(6) has been married to his wife, (b)(6) for over seventeen years. (b)(6) retired from the U. S. Army after twenty years of service, and currently works for the Joint Staff, in the NMCC section of the Pentagon, as an audio/video specialist. (b)(6) have two children, a fifteen year old son, (b)(6) and an eleven year old daughter, (b)(6).

(b)(6) also has two children from a previous marriage, a 25 year old son, (b)(6) and a 23 year old daughter, (b)(6). Both live in (b)(6). (b)(6)

↑

C 5/14

TO: Pete Aldridge

CC: Bill Schneider

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld →

DATE: March 29, 2003

SUBJECT: JFC

Joh L -  
 let this be 11:44 PM  
 DR

Done  
 C 5/16

Joint Forces Command has arranged to do lessons learned over in CENTCOM. My understanding is that you folks are thinking about it as well. I would like to request that we let Joint Forces Command get started now and that the Defense Science Board hold until the conflict is over and we are into Phase IV so that he doesn't have too many different groups working on the same thing.

Thanks.

DHR/azn  
 032903.05

Please respond by: \_\_\_\_\_

SECDEF HAS SEEN

5/14

SCHNEIDER RESPONSE  
 ATTACHED

✓/R

U13242 /03



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

3140 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3140

INFO MEMO

SECDEF HAS SEEN

MAY 16 2003

May 13, 2003 8:52 AM

DEFENSE SCIENCE  
BOARD

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (ACQUISITION, TECHNOLOGY &  
LOGISTICS) *Pete Slatos*

FROM: DR. BILL SCHNEIDER, CHAIRMAN, DEFENSE SCIENCE BOARD

SUBJECT: *Snowflake* dtd 29 Mar 03

I followed up your 29 March snowflake with a meeting with ADM Giambastiani at JFCOM HQ on 15 April and a 2 May telephone conversation to coordinate and deconflict the respective JFCOM and DSB "lessons learned" activities. The following actions have been taken.

1. JFCOM is focusing its review on the operational and tactical aspects of the prosecution of *Operation Iraqi Freedom* from their perspective in CENTCOM. GEN Luck's role as a "mentor" to the CENTCOM leadership, and the "embedded" JFCOM officers in CENTCOM will provide unique insights. The DSB study effort will use the same strategic level perspective with an interface to the operational level as taken in the three previous phases of the DSB OEF Lessons Learned efforts.
2. The DSB rescheduled its planned visit to the CENTCOM region to 15-28 June. GEN McCarthy, Chairman of the DSB Task Force (TF) will meet with ADM Giambastiani during the TF's visit on 5-6 June at JFCOM HQ to harmonize the DSB's work based on the JFCOM Lessons Learned study. The TF will be briefed on JFCOM's efforts during this visit. The TF also plans to visit CENTCOM to understand their perspectives prior to the AOR visit.
3. DSB is supporting JFCOM's efforts to institutionalize the "lessons learned" process within DoD and JCS, especially in support of joint and combined operations. Our history of conducting such reviews over the past decade (Bosnia, Kosovo, and OEF) offers a basis for such support.
4. I believe these actions will meet your objective of integrating all the lesson learned studies and enable them to be applied rapidly into your transformation efforts.

COORDINATION: NONE.

Brief me \_\_\_\_\_ Proceed \_\_\_\_\_ Wait \_\_\_\_\_

prepared by: Brian Hughes/DSB, (b)(6)



March 31, 2003 6:31 AM

TO: Torie Clarke

Jaymie Durnan

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

7/17

SUBJECT: Cartoon

There is a cartoon by Darryl Kagal in the *Washington Post* from Saturday, March 29, where it says, "Is it Vietnam yet?" Would you please see if you can get an original of that for me?

Thanks.

DHR.jh  
033103-1



Please respond by 4/20/03

U13243 /03

4/15  
1022

**ymie Duran**

TO: SecDef  
FROM: Torie Clarke  
DATE: 15 April 2003  
SUBJECT: Daryl Cagle Cartoon

Mr. Cagle was flattered by your request for his cartoon, "Is It Vietnam Yet?" And he was honored to find out you would like a signed copy of his work.

Mr. Cagle however, makes it his policy to require a \$600.00 donation to the National Multiple Sclerosis Society in return for an original cartoon. The address to make a donation is:

The National Multiple Sclerosis Society  
Attn: Donations  
733 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

Once you have made the donation, he requests that you please mail or fax a letter confirming you have made the donation to:

Daryl Cagle  
Cagle Cartoons

(b)(6)  
Or Fax (b)(6)

Additionally, when you send the contribution to the MS Society please request they send a letter to Mr. Cagle confirming the receipt of your donation. As soon as Cagle receives your letter he will FedEx a signed original of the cartoon to you.

**Recommend you pass on this cartoon since we are in the process of getting two others that are of the same theme.**



Requested 2 April 03  
27 March Daryl Cagle  
11-L-0559/OSD/15634  
<http://www.caglecartoons.com/images/preview/{3E7FBE89-9C65-4B4B-8A38-319712140...> 4/2/2003



March 31, 2003 6:35 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Eagleton Letter

Please give me a copy of the letter Bill Eagleton wrote about Saddam Hussein and me.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-4

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

U13245 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15635



March 31, 2003 7:16 AM

TO: Jim Haynes  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Reestablishing Civil Government

Please get me the item that is mentioned here in Section 8 talking about the reestablishment of civil government. I would like to see what that looks like.

Thanks.

Attach.

8/12/02 GC memo to SecDef w/attachments, "Execute Orders" [U13307/02]

DHR:dh  
033103

.....  
Please respond by 4/25/03

U13247 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15636



GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OF THE  
1600 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-1600  
OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

2002 AUG 12 AM 10:22  
**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

**ACTION MEMO**

SEP 30 2002

August 12, 2002, 7:30 a.m.

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: William J. Haynes II, General Counsel *WJ Haynes II*

SUBJECT: Execute Orders

- *Compare* the orders you routinely sign to the attached:
  - February 12, 1944 order to Eisenhower in anticipation of D-Day. (Two pages, including organization chart.)
  - September 9, 1862 orders from Robert E. Lee to his principal subordinates regarding his first invasion of Maryland. This one to two page order is one of Lee's most complicated orders. It is the one found by McClellan's army, resulting in the battle at Antietam.
- *Problem* – Our system produces very turgid, overly detailed orders for you to issue. To be sure, this war on terrorism is extraordinary, presenting many unique issues. Nevertheless, there must be a way to write clearer, shorter orders faster.
- *Objective* – That we should be able to get closer to the old style of orders.
  - Perhaps we can rely more on training and general guidance to the combatant commanders, rather than regurgitating detailed ROE.
- *Recommend* you suggest General Myers retrieve sample SECDEF orders from previous conflicts in, say, the last twenty or thirty years. Then, using those samples, a small multi-disciplinary team can track the changes, identify the reasons, and provide you a reasoned proposal to improve the system. I would expect this exercise could yield savings in time and resources.

DECISION:  Yes  No  See me

ATTACHMENTS: As stated

CC: CJCS, USD(P)

SPL ASSISTANT DI RITA	<i>[Signature]</i>
SR MA GIAMBASTIANI	<i>8/13</i>
MA BUCCI	<i>8/12</i>
EXECSEC WHITMORE	<i>[Signature]</i>



11-L-0559/OSD/15637

U13307 / 02

# DIRECTIVE

## TO SUPREME COMMANDER ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

(Issued 12 February 1944)

1. You are hereby designated as Supreme Allied Commander of the forces placed under your orders for operations for liberation of Europe from Germans. Your title will be Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force.

2. *Task.* You will enter the continent of Europe and, in conjunction with the other United Nations, undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her armed forces. The date for entering the Continent is the month of May, 1944. After adequate Channel ports have been secured, exploitation will be directed towards securing an area that will facilitate both ground and air operations against the enemy.

3. Notwithstanding the target date above you will be prepared at any time to take immediate advantage of favorable circumstances, such as withdrawal by the enemy on your front, to effect a reentry into the Continent with such forces as you have available at the time; a general plan for this operation when approved will be furnished for your assistance.

4. *Command.* You are responsible to the Combined Chiefs of Staff and will exercise command generally in accordance with the diagram at Appendix [reproduced on opposite page]. Direct communication with the United States and British Chiefs of Staff is authorized in the interest of facilitating your operations and for arranging necessary logistic support.

5. *Logistics.* In the United Kingdom the responsibility for logistics organization, concentration, movement, and supply of forces to meet the requirements of your plan will rest with British Service Ministries so far as British Forces are concerned. So far as United States Forces are concerned, this responsibility will rest with the United States War and Navy Departments. You will be responsible for the coordination of logistical arrangements on the continent. You will also be responsible for coordinating the requirements of British and United States forces under your command.

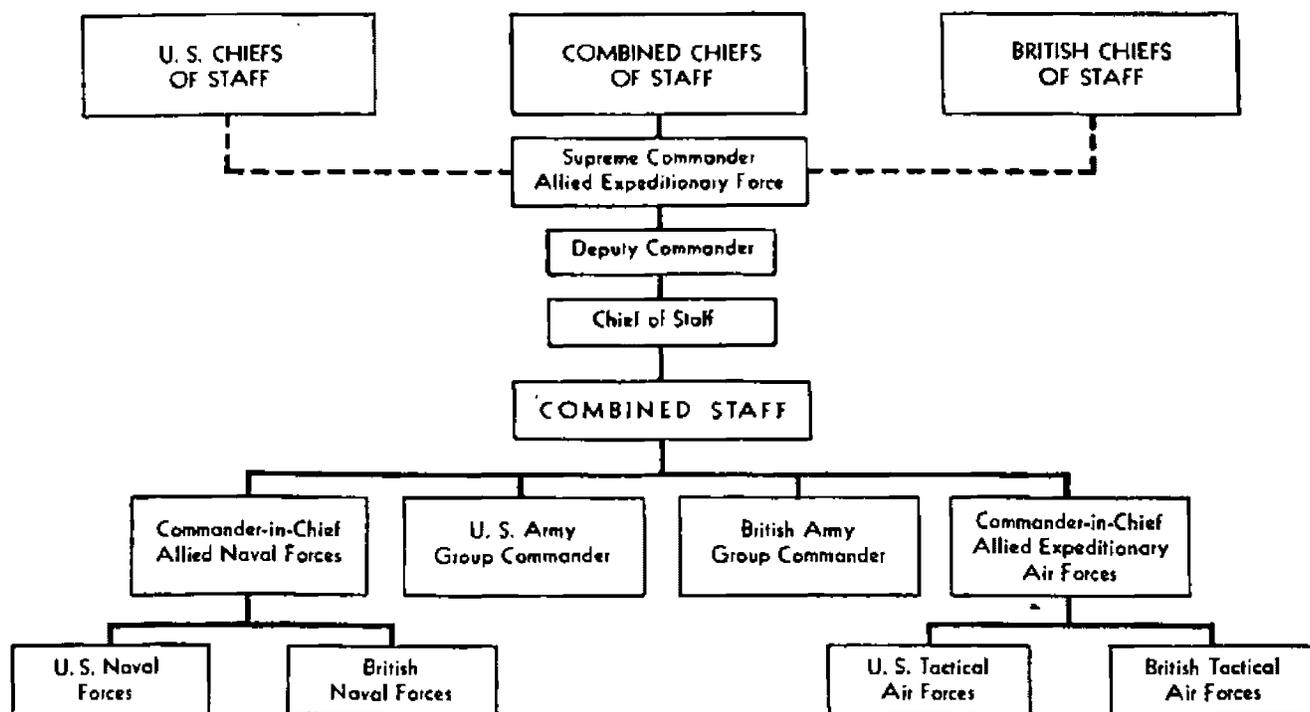
6. *Coordination of operations of other Forces and Agencies.* In preparation for your assault on enemy occupied Europe, Sea and Air Forces, agencies of sabotage, subversion, and propaganda, acting under a variety of authorities, are now in action. You may recommend any variation in these activities which may seem to you desirable.

11-L-0559/OSD/15638

7. *Relationship to United Nations Forces in other areas.* Responsibility will rest with the Combined Chiefs of Staff for supplying information relating to operations of the Forces of the U. S. S. R. for your guidance in timing your operations. It is understood that the Soviet Forces will launch an offensive at about the same time as OVERLORD with the object of preventing the German forces from transferring from the Eastern to the Western front. The Allied Commander in Chief, Mediterranean Theater, will conduct operations designed to assist your operation, including the launching of an attack against the south of France at about the same time as OVERLORD. The scope and timing of his operations will be decided by the Combined Chiefs of Staff. You will establish contact with him and submit to the Combined Chiefs of Staff your views and recommendations regarding operations from the Mediterranean in support of your attack from the United Kingdom. The Combined Chiefs of Staff will place under your command the forces operating in Southern France as soon as you are in a position to assume such command. You will submit timely recommendations compatible with this regard.

8. *Relationship with Allied Governments—the re-establishment of Civil Governments and Liberated Allied Territories and the administration of enemy territories.* Further instructions will be issued to you on these subjects at a later date.

### CHAIN OF COMMAND



While I should feel the greatest satisfaction in having an interview with you, and consulting upon all subjects of interest, I cannot but feel great uneasiness for your safety should you undertake to reach me. You will not only encounter the hardships and fatigues of a very disagreeable journey, but also run the risk of capture by the enemy. I send my aide-de-camp, Major [W. H.] Taylor, back to explain to you the difficulties and dangers of the journey, which I cannot recommend you to undertake.

I am endeavoring to break up the line through Leesburg, which is no longer safe, and turn everything off from Culpeper Court-House toward Winchester. I shall move in the direction I originally intended, toward Hagerstown and Chambersburg, for the purpose of opening our line of communication through the valley, in order to procure sufficient supplies of flour. I shall not move until to-morrow, or, perhaps, next day, but when I do move the line of communication in this direction will be entirely broken up. I must, therefore, advise that you do not make an attempt that I cannot but regard as hazardous.

I have the honor to be, with high respect, your obedient servant,  
 R. E. LEE,  
*General.*

SPECIAL ORDERS, } HDQRS. ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,  
 No. 191. } *September 9, 1862.*

I. The citizens of Fredericktown being unwilling, while overrun by members of this army, to open their stores, in order to give them confidence, and to secure to officers and men purchasing supplies for benefit of this command, all officers and men of this army are strictly prohibited from visiting Fredericktown except on business, in which case they will bear evidence of this in writing from division commanders. The provost-marshal in Fredericktown will see that his guard rigidly enforces this order.

II. Major Taylor will proceed to Leesburg, Va., and arrange for transportation of the sick and those unable to walk to Winchester, securing the transportation of the country for this purpose. The route between this and Culpeper Court-House east of the mountains being unsafe will no longer be traveled. Those on the way to this army already across the river will move up promptly; all others will proceed to Winchester collectively and under command of officers, at which point, being the general depot of this army, its movements will be known and instructions given by commanding officer regulating further movements.

III. The army will resume its march to-morrow, taking the Hagerstown road. General Jackson's command will form the advance, and, after passing Middletown, with such portion as he may select, take the route toward Sharpsburg, cross the Potomac at the most convenient point, and by Friday morning take possession of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, capture such of them as may be at Martinsburg, and intercept such as may attempt to escape from Harper's Ferry.

IV. General Longstreet's command will pursue the main road as far as Boonsborough, where it will halt, with reserve, supply, and baggage trains of the army.

V. General McLaws, with his own division and that of General R. H. Anderson, will follow General Longstreet. On reaching Middletown will take the route to Harper's Ferry, and by Friday morning possess himself of the Maryland Heights and endeavor to capture the enemy at Harper's Ferry and vicinity.

VI. General Walker, with his division, after accomplishing the object on which he is now engaged, will cross the Potomac at Cheek's Ford, ascend its right bank to Lovettsville, take possession of Loudoun Heights, if practicable, by Friday morning, Keys' Ford on his left, and the road between the end of the mountain and the Potomac on his right. He will, as far as practicable, co-operate with Generals McLaws and Jackson, and intercept retreat of the enemy.

VII. General D. H. Hill's division will form the rear guard of the army, pursuing the road taken by the main body. The reserve artillery, ordnance, and supply trains, &c., will precede General Hill.

VIII. General Stuart will detach a squadron of cavalry to accompany the commands of Generals Longstreet, Jackson, and McLaws, and, with the main body of the cavalry, will cover the route of the army, bringing up all stragglers that may have been left behind.

IX. The commands of Generals Jackson, McLaws, and Walker, after accomplishing the objects for which they have been detached, will join the main body of the army at Boonsborough or Hagerstown.

X. Each regiment on the march will habitually carry its axes in the regimental ordnance wagons, for use of the men at their encampments, to procure wood, &c.

By command of General R. E. Lee:

R. H. CHILTON,  
*Assistant Adjutant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS VALLEY DISTRICT,  
*September 10, 1862.*

Brigadier-General BRANCH,  
*Commanding Division:*

GENERAL: The major-general commanding directs me to say that, instead of moving at dawn, as hitherto ordered, you will follow General Lawton when he comes up, he being ordered to move at dawn.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. F. PAXTON,  
*Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS VALLEY DISTRICT,  
*September 11, 1862.*

General BRANCH:

The major-general commanding directs me to say that Major-General Hill, having been released from arrest, will assume command of his division, and you will turn over to him all instructions received relative to it.

Respectfully,

E. F. PAXTON,  
*Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,  
*Hagerstown, Md., September 12, 1862.*

His Excellency President DAVIS:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Before crossing the Potomac I considered the advantages of entering Maryland east or west of the Blue Ridge. In either



March 31, 2003 7:45 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Fisher House at Walter Reed

I was out at Walter Reed, and they told me they are trying to get another Fisher House on the campus out there. They said the National Planning Commission has a meeting on May 2, and they would like an expedited approval. They have a lot of wounded coming in.

Would you please either call the National Planning Commission or tell me who to call, and let's see if we can't get them to approve that on May 2. We want to get that thing built out there. We have a lot of families who need a place to stay.

Please let me know what I can do.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-10

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

*Ray DuBois has the  
action on this -  
pls provide a copy  
to him*

*Thx  
C 4/11*

U13249 /03



March 31, 2003 7:59 AM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Letter from DCI

Please tell me what you think we ought to do about that George Tenet letter.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-13

.....

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

*Please respond by* 1 April

APR 2 2003

U13250 /03

3/31 -  
DeLannic - Folder for  
DCI lunch Tuesday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Steve Cambone

SECDEF HAS SEEN

APR 2 2003

SUBJECT: DCI's Concerns Regarding USD/I Authorities

Attached is the draft statement of USD/I authorities. Also attached is George Tenet's reply to your request for his views.

You might consider the following points in advance of your conversation with Tenet on this subject:

- SECDEF has both Title 10 and Title 50 responsibilities for NSA, NIMA, NRO and DIA. All are combat support agencies.
- SECDEF exercises "authority, direction and control" over all activity in the Department. He may delegate these in most circumstances. In no case does a delegation imply that SECDEF cannot overturn subordinate decisions.
- In the case of intelligence, the delegation is intended to permit the USD/I to act on behalf of SECDEF on specific matters, hence the language "at my direction." This could include:
  - Program guidance and review
  - Budget preparation
  - Oversight of intelligence/operational preparation of the battlespace for IO
  - Approval for transfer of personnel and equipment in support of ongoing operations
  - ETC.
- There is no question that the DCI submits the budget and sets collection and analysis priorities for the IC in light of the new NSPD procedures.
  - DOD owes the DCI a clear statement of its needs and program recommendations in the preparation of the

NFIP. To provide it requires that the USD/I have the authority to get it done.

- Differences that a USD/I and Tenet's director of Community Management can't work out go to the EXCOM.
- With respect to collection and analysis, for DOD purposes, one voice is needed to give SECDEF's direction, and that is USD/I. That direction will always need to be coordinated with and, when appropriate, through the DCI.

I suggest you talk with Tenet one-on-one. Ask him what his real concerns are—I suspect that he is reflecting staff concerns that the USD/I will increase DOD's influence at their expense.

Bottom line: USD/I cannot act independently of SECDEF; DCI and SECDEF are the EXCOM; if USD/I and the Community Management staff cannot provide a coherent program for intelligence, one or both should go.



THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

2/3/29

March 28, 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: Attached Direction Regarding Establishment of the  
Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence

*Don:*

The attached language does not feel right to me. It may have the effect of undermining the relationship between the Secretary of Defense and the DCI where I believe we agreed all decisions would be made. It may also create some unnecessary confusion within the National Intelligence Community. Some clarifying language on our relationship and the role of the DCI may be required.

At the least we should think about it and discuss it together.

*George J. Tenet*  
George J. Tenet

3/28

~~SECRET~~

Unfortunately, what is written on the attached letter is exactly and precisely what you and Tenet agreed to prior to Cambone's confirmation.

I recommend you discuss this with Tenet directly and pose the question: "How would you (George) word it to reflect the understanding we have?"

*DiRita*

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



MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARIES OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENTS  
CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
UNDER SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE  
ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE  
GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
DEFENSE  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
DEFENSE  
DIRECTOR, OPERATIONAL TEST AND EVALUATION  
ASSISTANTS TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
DIRECTOR, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT  
DIRECTOR, FORCE TRANSFORMATION  
DIRECTOR, NET ASSESSMENT  
DIRECTOR, PROGRAM ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION  
DIRECTORS OF THE DEFENSE AGENCIES  
DIRECTORS OF THE DOD FIELD ACTIVITIES

SUBJECT: Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence

Dr. Stephen Cambone has assumed duties as the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence. In this position, he will be the Department's principal interface regarding intelligence with other government agencies and, at my direction, will exercise authority, direction, and control over a number of Defense Agencies and a DoD Field Activity, including those that are part of the Intelligence Community.

The Director of Administration and Management and other cognizant officials shall take the organizational and administrative actions necessary to implement this direction. The Deputy Secretary will issue more specific implementation guidance.

cc:

Director of Central Intelligence  
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs



11-L-0559/OSD/15647

TOTAL P.03



March 31, 2003 8:00 AM

TO: David Chu  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Switching Services after Disability

Do we have arrangements so that if a Marine loses an eye, he can join another Service that doesn't have a rule on that and still serve if he wishes to? Do we have a rule that if a Special Forces person loses a leg, he can get a job in intelligence or something like that?

We shouldn't require that everyone be able to do everything. Please respond.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-14

Please respond by

*4/18/03*

*X*

*7/1 -*

*Sec Def. Chu reports we do this all the time, as long as the disability is manageable. He cited General Shinseki as an example; he ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> missing part of his foot.*

**U13251 /03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15648

Army Di Rite

*7/2 C. White*



March 31, 2003 1:45 PM

TO: Richard Perle

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

Your letter to the *Wall Street Journal* was first-class. Good for you!

You're a star, my friend.

DHR:dh  
033103-15

U13253 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15649

March 31, 2003 1:57 PM

TO: Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Alternatives

Please go ahead and get Abizaid and the CIA people working on the alternatives.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-16

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/4/03

U13254 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15650



March 31, 2003 2:00 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
Gen. Myers  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Information Operations

As you know, the President is concerned about the IO job that is being done, and he is having it reviewed in the White House. What do we propose to do here?

Dick, maybe I am wrong, but I thought for sure we had a Joint Staff IO operation going on. I went down and visited them one day. Would you please check and see me?

The President wants us hammering the Arab press.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-17

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

U13255 /03



March 31, 2003 4:22 PM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: Medal of Honor for Duke Cunningham

I talked to Duke Cunningham. He said Duncan Hunter and others are pushing Duke for the Medal of Honor. Apparently this process went along years and years ago—I think John Warner may have been Secretary of the Navy at the time. The Navy recommended it, it went through the JCS, and then for whatever reason someone appointed four Navy captains to review it and the Medal of Honor was downgraded to the Navy Cross. He says he doesn't know of any other time where a Service turned down something that the Service recommended.

He said the only thing he can think of is he wanted the medal for his back-seater as well. It was not for shooting down all the MIGs that it was proposed, it was that he turned back and went into a different group of MIGs to save somebody.

Would you check and tell me where the process is?

Privately, I have talked to Duke, and we are all set there. He was very, very friendly.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-18

.....  
Please respond by 4/25/03

U13256 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15652

C 4/2

Snowflake

March 31, 2003 4:33 PM

TO: Gen. Franks

CC: Gen. Myers

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Meetings/Phone Calls

As far as I'm concerned, you don't have to participate in any of the CENTCOM SVTC meetings in the morning (EST).

I would like you to participate in the secure telephone call with me, which occurs after the SVTC, as time permits, although it is certainly not necessary that you do it every day.

If that doesn't work for you, let's just agree that I would like to be able to talk to you on the phone at least once every other day, and it may be that we will want to talk alone rather than with a big crowd.

Thanks.

DHR:ds  
033103-19

.....  
Please respond by 4/4/03

SECDEF HAS SEEN

APR 2 2003

*SIR -  
I like to see you on SVTS  
when possible. I will talk to  
you on the phone every day.*

*VR  
Tom Franks  
4.2.03*



March 31, 2003 4:57 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: State Department 1003V

Please develop a list of things we think the Department of State ought to be doing proactively around the world. Develop it into a memo from me to Colin Powell and with a copy to the Vice President, Condi, George Tenet and Andy Card.

Say that as we proceed down this road there are things that might be helpful, and then list about 6, 8 or 10 things the Department of State could be doing—to get IO messages to them, get egregious examples of viciousness to them and ask them to communicate it and be aware of it. I think there ought to be a list of things for coalition partners and a list for countries that are not coalition partners.

Basically, what they need is a 1003V for the Department of State to get into the game. At the moment we seem to be fighting with one hand behind our back.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
033103-20

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/11/03

U13258 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15654



April 7, 2003 10:33 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Let's see if we can get this cartoon—it is terrific.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Borgman cartoon

DHR:dh  
040703-22

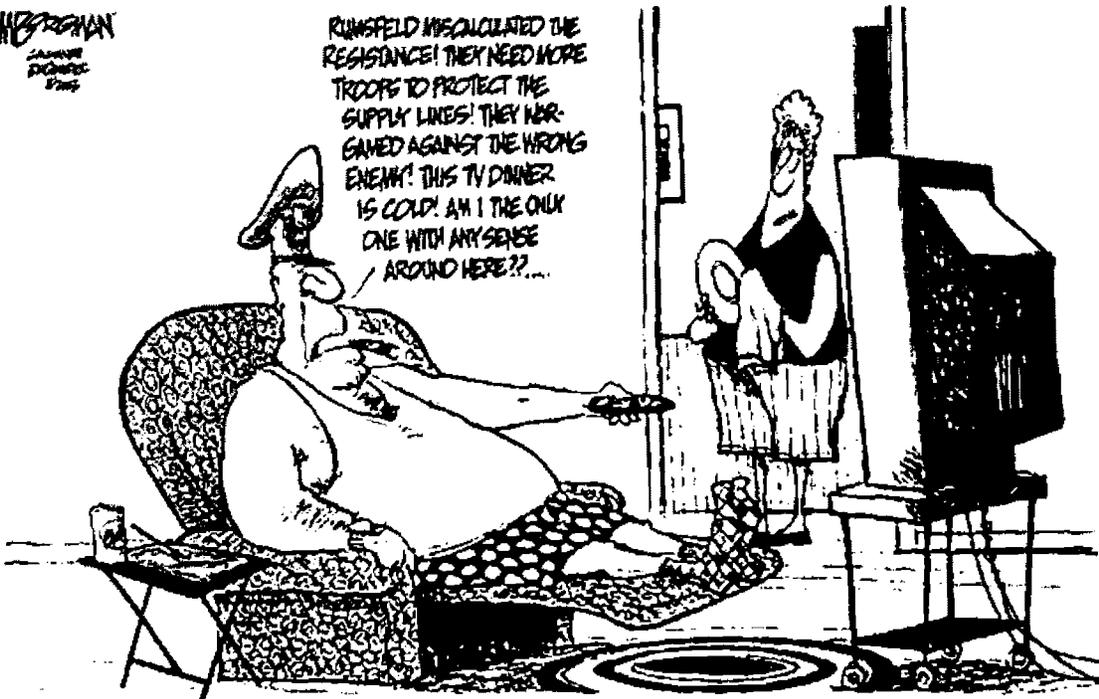


*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13268 /03

**W. BORGMAN**  
SARCASTIC  
DIGEST  
2003

RUMSFELD MISCALCULATED THE RESISTANCE! THEY NEED MORE TROOPS TO PROTECT THE SUPPLY LINES! THEY WERE GAMED AGAINST THE WRONG ENEMY! THIS TV DINNER IS COLD! AM I THE ONLY ONE WITH ANY SENSE AROUND HERE??...



ARMCHAIR GENERALS NEVER DIE, THEY JUST SECOND-GUESS AWAY...



April 7, 2003 12:57 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please get the cartoon on page 20 of today's *New York Daily News* for me.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-30



Please respond by 5/2/03

U13269 /03



April 8, 2003 5:49 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please see if you can get this cartoon.

Thanks.

Attach.  
*4/21/03 National Review, p. 6*

DHR:dh  
040803-16



Please respond by 5/2/03

U13270 /03

# THE WEEK

■ We regret to announce that the media's patience with this war is exhausted.

■ Defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld's briefings have taken on "an even crustier, testier tone" (*New York Times*). "The lines of strain are visible" on his face (*The Independent*). Why should he be in the hot seat? The war was not the instantaneous take-down that it seemed, miraculously, it might be after the opening decapitation strike. A pundit class with the attention span of a rock video took this amiss; the Rashomon reporting of the many embeds increased the air of confusion. Rumsfeld, no desk jockey, is ideally positioned to take the flak. He has also suffered from his desire to shake the Pentagon up. The first Gulf War was won by using armaments and strategies developed for a Soviet invasion of western Europe that never came. But time and technology have moved on, and Rumsfeld pushed the military to respond. Everyone with a stake in the old order (which, in military bureaucracies, means almost everyone) thus had reason to carp; some have done so. The fact remains that the war planners, led by Rumsfeld, have done well. Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead.

■ One very commendable feature of Islamic fanaticism is the willingness of its practitioners to commit suicide in the cause. As Stalin used to say: "No man, no problem." Every Islamo-loony who attains his dream of martyrdom is one less problem for Western civilization. It is true, of course, that the wish of these suicide bombers is to send as many infidels as possible to hell while transporting themselves to paradise, but it should not be beyond the wit of our professional military men to accommodate the second desire while frustrating the first. Seen from this point of view, the report that 4,000 volunteer "martyrs" from 23 Arab countries have placed themselves at the disposal of the Iraqi military is good news. Better these death-seeking amateurs should be on the battlefield facing our guns, tanks, and planes, than in American cities or on Israeli school buses. The people who will be hurt by this development are the civilians and the common soldiers of Iraq, who must now be regarded with suspicion by coalition forces, and whose pleas for help and offers of surrender must be taken as ruses until proved otherwise.

■ By the end of March, Iraq had fired 13 missiles at U.S. and coalition forces, and only one of them came close to hitting its mark. (It struck a shopping mall in Kuwait City and caused a few minor injuries.) Of the rest, one blew up shortly after launch, three were allowed to crash harmlessly into the desert or the Persian Gulf, and eight appear to have been intercepted by Patriot missiles. Missile defense is compiling a worthy record in this war. It is not a perfect record: In one terrible accident, a Patriot missile shot down a British Tornado fighter—

though it's possible that the fault lies with a malfunctioning beacon on the plane. But the fact remains: Even as arms-control cultists continue to insist that anti-ballistic missiles can't be made to work, they are saving lives in real combat situations as we speak.

■ This just in: The real problem with media coverage of the war is that it is too patriotic. Jack Shafer of *Slate* explains: "The honest shock and awe expressed by the embeds' reports translate into victories for the U.S. military in their concerted propaganda campaign against Iraq, its allies, and its sympathizers." But doesn't someone have to counteract Peter Arnett? Seriously: The embedded reporters have sent back some riveting footage, and much dull footage. If the Iraqis switch to chemical arms, their reports may reflect a very different sort of shock and awe. Their great weakness is shared by every fighting man, as the novelists of warfare, from Stendhal to Stephen Crane, have repeatedly told us. Each man on the battlefield sees a slice of the picture. The commanders themselves are often wrapped in fog, which historians decades later struggle to blow away. As with every other war, the best way to follow this one is with a map, an old Baedeker, and a lifetime of reading.

■ On Day 3 of the war, the press was worried that "we will be seen as a bully" (question to Rumsfeld at a Pentagon briefing from an unidentified reporter). By Day 7, it was asking whether we were headed for "a long, protracted quagmire of a war" (question to a Kuwaiti university president from Diane Sawyer). So if we're winning it's bad, and if we're winning at a slightly slower rate that's bad too. The thing to remember is that the journalistic smart bomb has not been, and will never be, invented. Reporters look for stories, meaning controversy; they scramble for them in real time; and they inevitably show their biases, which are, of course, predominantly liberal. The system is hit-or-miss, mostly the latter. It does, however, have its virtues, as a glance at the news in the world's dictatorships (for instance, the Arab world) attests. That is why a free press is worth fighting for.





April 8, 2003 10:29 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please see if you can get this cartoon.

Thanks.

Attach.  
*Washington Times*, April 8, 2003, p. A16.

DHR:dh  
040803-4

.....  
Please respond by 5/2/03

U13271 /03

# Commentary

AUSTIN BAY

Afghanistan should have been the definitive lesson. October 2001 followed a sine wave of emotion, with peaks of euphoria tagged by troughs of distress, the one consistent theme from major media being Central Command was failing. Afghanistan, in the critics' lingo, was an instant Vietnam quagmire.

November 2001 showed that to be a hasty, faulty, utterly fruitcake judgment. However, in the Saddam War phase of the War on Terror we've witnessed the same sad contrail of fret and hysteria, often fed by politicized commentators whose bias further clouds the fog of war.

Perhaps this demonstration will be more convincing. Peter Arnett's form of urbane warfare — the smug wisdom of leftist elites — is flawed, not Centcom's war plans. The urbane warriors lack the Pentagon's sophistication in urban warfare, mountain fighting, and desert battles. It's not that the Pentagon gets it exactly right — no military ever does — but that it has earned public patience.

After that hard knock on the biased, let's praise the real reporters embedded in U.S. and British units. With few exceptions — Geraldo the premier culprit — their coverage has been courageous, magnificent, and informative. Though cable television news often lets that medium's demand for drama-every-half-hour distort issues and events, many frontline reports by their embeds are much more than the first brush of history, they are history immediate and witnessed. They are also taking pictures of troops in a generation where TV isn't novelty, but normality. All American soldiers seem to ask is that re-

## Bold strokes paying off





April 10, 2003 12:27 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Would you please see if you could get a copy of this cartoon from Mike Lukovich?

Thanks.

Attach.  
Cartoon

DIR:dh  
041003-15

.....  
*Please respond by* 5/2/03

U13272 /03

Chicago Tribune

THURSDAY APRIL 10, 2003





April 11, 2003 3:57 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Cartoons

Please see if you can get the cartoon on the bottom of the page, and also see if you can get this one from the Baltimore Sun.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Cartoons

DHR:dh  
041103-22

.....  
Please respond by 5/9/03

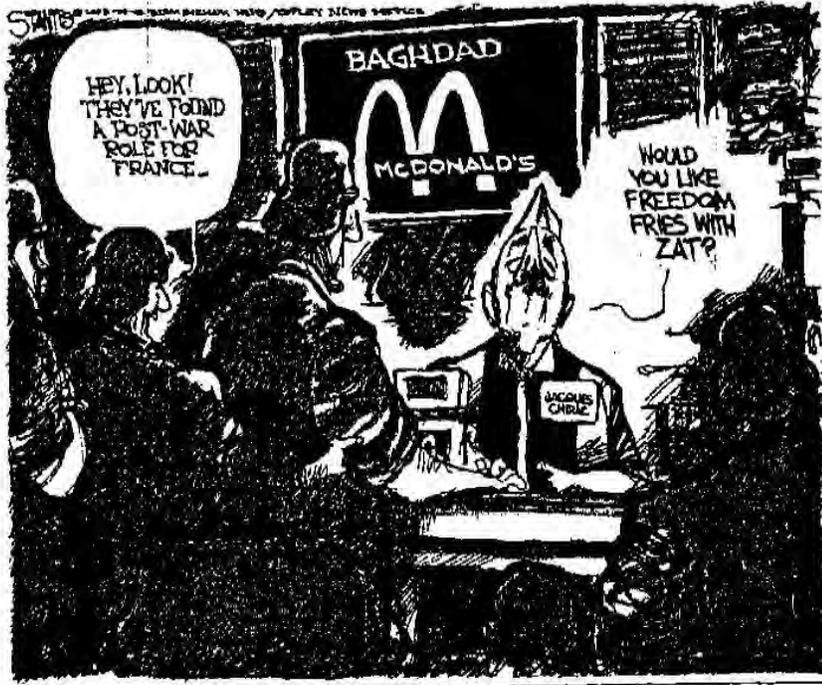
U13273 /03

OWEN V. FRISBY  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONSULTANT

(b)(6)

TELEPHONE (b)(6)

FACSIMILE (b)(6)



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SUNSHINE  
OWEN



11-L-0559/OSD/15665

OWEN V. FRISBY  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONSULTANT

(b)(6)

TELEPHONE (b)(6)

FACSIMILE (b)(6)

BALTIMORE SUN APRIL 4-2003





April 15, 2003 6:54 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Photo

There is a photo of me with Michael Jordan on page A7 of the *Washington Times* today. Would you please see if they would give us a copy of that?

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
041503-3



Please respond by 4/25/03

U13274 /03



April 16, 2003 7:54 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D.*  
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please see if you can get the cartoon by Garner in the *Washington Times* today,  
April 16.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
041603-8

.....

Please respond by 5/16/03

U13275 /03



Snowflake

April 17, 2003 6:40 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Cartoons

Please see if you can get each of these cartoons for me.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Cartoons

DHR:dh  
041703-1

.....  
Please respond by 5/16/03

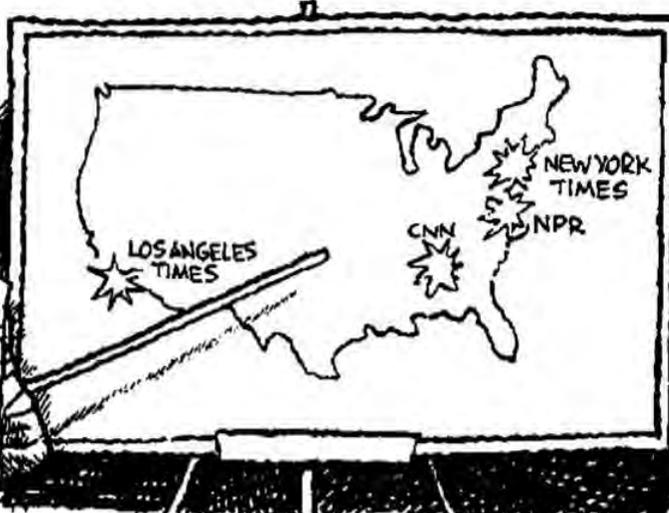
U13276 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15669

Chicago Tribune

WEDNESDAY APRIL 16, 2003

MARLETTE © 2003  
TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT  
demmarlette.com



"THE WAR IS WINDING DOWN TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION WITH A FEW SCATTERED POCKETS OF RESISTANCE..."



Daily Herald 4-16-03

Mike Kafe THE DENVER POST 2003



April 17, 2003 7:50 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoons

Please see if you can get these two cartoons for me.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
041703-4



Please respond by 5/23/03

U13277 /03

**OWEN V. FRISBY****PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONSULTANT**

(b)(6)

TELEPHONE (b)(6)

FACSIMILE (b)(6)

April 16, 2003

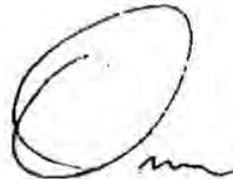
The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld  
Secretary Of Defense

Dear Don:

Three more interesting cartoons.

1. The "GARAGE SALE FOR LOOTERS" is by STAYSKAL in the Chicago Tribune syndicate appearing today.
2. The "Haven't you won the war..haven't you won the peace" cartoon is in today's New York Daily News.
3. The anti-Rumsfeld MUSEUM CARTOON is in today's BALTIMORE SUN.

MEET THE PRESS STILL WANTS TO KNOW--"WHY DID YOU ALLOW IT"??????



11-L-0559/OSD/15672





April 17, 2003 12:14 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please see if you can get the cartoon on page A19 of today's *Washington Times* by Ken Catalino.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
041703-7

.....  
*Please respond by* 5/23/03

U13278 /03

4/15 150°

Snowflake



Done 4/21  
DIA

April 21, 2003 8:33 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Cartoon

Please see if you can get this cartoon from the *Dayton Daily News*.

Thanks.

Attach.  
4/28/03 *Newsweek*, p. 19

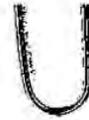
DHR:dh  
042103-2



Please respond by 5/23/03

U13279 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15675



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

**ACTION MEMO**

15 May 2003, 1430

DepSec Action \_\_\_\_\_

*Jaymie Duman*  
*5/19*

**TO: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**FROM: Torie Clarke, ASD/PA**

**SUBJECT: Cartoon**

- Received cartoon requested by SecDef (TAB A) from Mike Peters.

Attachment:

As stated

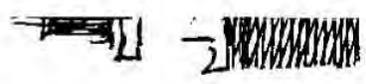
Prepared by: Major Ricco T. Player, USMC, Military Assistant,

(b)(6)

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

**DO NOT WRITE ON THIS COVER AS IT IS INTENDED FOR RE-USE  
RETURN IT WITH THE FILE COPIES TO ORIGINATING OFFICE**

000111



11-L-0559/OSD/15676

# ... has suffered more than its share of wars."

aud al-Faisal, meeting with leaders of the six countries that border Iraq to discuss concern about U.S. tensions with Syria

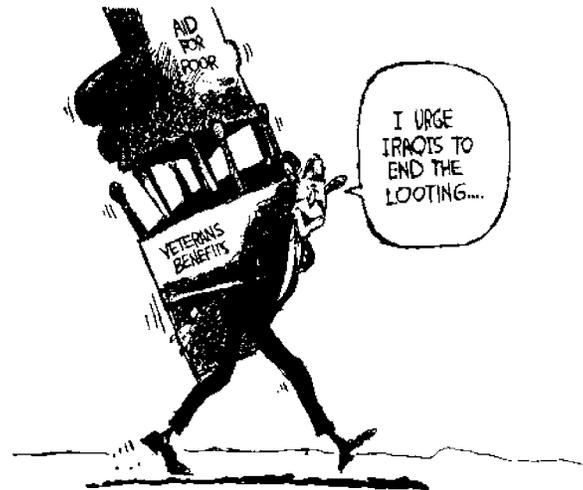


© 2003 PETERS - DAYTON DAILY NEWS

"I would love to have had egg on my face." Modesto, Calif., Police Chief **Roy Wasden**, wishing he'd found Laci Peterson alive after having declared the search for the missing pregnant woman a homicide investigation. Her husband, Scott, was arrested after her and her fetus's remains were found last week.

"I hope they're not in the parking lot stealing our hubcaps." Fox News anchor **Bill O'Reilly**, emceeding a Washington benefit for an inner-city schoolchildren charity, speculating on the tardiness of one of the acts—a group of sixth- to eighth-grade boys

"I know his character. The defense of Baghdad would not have collapsed so quickly if he was not dead." Iraq's ambassador to Belgrade, **Sami Sadoun**, on his belief that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was killed in the Coalition bombing of Baghdad



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"Viagra had nothing to do with it. The thinking was let's wait a year and see if the Doles are exciting, although Bob Dole's probably pretty exciting already." Washington Life Editor in Chief **Nancy Bagley**, on why Bob and Elizabeth Dole were not included among the magazine's picks as Washington's social A-list couples

"A good Muslim woman would not let this man touch her, as a signal to everybody that this is not a way to behave." Sheik **Ali Jabouri**, in Najaf, on whether forbidding Iraqi wives from having sex with husbands who have looted would be consistent with Islamic teachings

"We hunted them with rocks, as Stone Age as that sounds," Cpl. **Joshua Wicksell**, on the gazelles he and his Marine squadron in Iraq have begun eating in place of their bland military rations



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"[I won't] prostitute my integrity in the interest of satisfying a certain political venue." Arizona state board member **Richard Pinkerton**, resigning after he resisted a proposal to rename a prominent mountain, Squaw Peak, after Army Pfc. Lori Piestewa, an American-Indian servicewoman killed in Iraq

"There are no American infidels in Baghdad. Never! ... I am not scared and neither should you be ... They're not even within 100 miles of Baghdad." Quote from Herobuilders.com's Iraqi "Dis-Information Minister" action figure, which uses statements made by Iraqi Information Minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahaf, who disappeared after the invasion of U.S. troops he had bizarrely denied

"You're talking to a working actor. If they want an old man with sloppy speech, they have to come to me. I have a monopoly." Veteran actor **Kirk Douglas**, when asked whether he has had trouble getting parts after suffering a stroke



April 21, 2003 10:45 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld )  
SUBJECT: Cartoon Strip

Please see if you can get a copy of "Doonesbury" from today's *Washington Post* in format that could be framed.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
042103-24



Please respond by 5/23/03

U13280 /03



April 1, 2003 6:39 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Larry Welch

I think I would like to have a dinner or a function for Larry Welch when he retires from IDA and give him a distinguished service medal or whatever they are. He has had just a wonderful career and been a great contribution to the country.

Please find out when he is actually going to retire and then let's tickle this and do it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-2

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/11/03

U13281 /03



April 1, 2003 6:41 AM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DL  
SUBJECT: Dinner Friday

ADVANCE COPY SENT

Why don't you and your friend join Joyce and me for sushi Friday night, April 4. We could have an early evening, say something like 6:30 p.m., at Sushi-Ko on Wisconsin Avenue. What do you think?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-3



Please respond by 4/3/03

U13282 /03



April 1, 2003 6:44 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld DA  
SUBJECT: F-117 Pilots

Sometime I want to think about recognizing those two F-117 pilots who hit the Dora Farms before the war started.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-4

.....  
Please respond by 4/25/03

U13283 /03



April 1, 2003 11:14 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Memo

*ADVISE  
3/24/03*

I gave Condi Rice a memo about Prince Bandar and the airfield that the Chairman gave me in one of those green TS folders. You should get a copy and make sure we know she has it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-7

.....  
Please respond by 4/4/03 **SECDEF HAS**

APR 1 2003

*SecDef —  
I have a copy &  
she has a copy*

*C 4/1*

U13284 /03



April 1, 2003 11:19 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Joint Staff

*has more info sent*  
**DONE**

Please tell me how many people are on the Joint Staff—a total number, everything.

Thanks.

DFIR:dh  
040103-8



Please respond by 4 / 11 / 03

U13285 /03

4/2  
1130

Snowflake



April 1, 2003 11:25 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: CODELs

Please pass the word to Powell Moore that they can do one CODEL per house per month to Pakistan, India, Egypt, Jordan, Afghanistan, Bahrain and Qatar. We do not want to allow CODELs to Iraq, Kuwait, UAE or Saudi Arabia, preferably.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-10



Please respond by 4/4/03

*To: ASD/LA 4/2*

*Larry Di Rita  
4/2*

U13286 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15684



April 1, 2003 11:28 AM

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Commando Solo

*ADVANCE COPY SENT*  
**DONE**

I would like a set of the Commando Solo material. I never had a chance to look at it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040103-11



Please respond by 4/4/03

U13287 /03



April 1, 2003 1:30 PM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Identification of Remains

*ADVANCE  
COPY SENT*

Please find out if the remains of the four people have been identified yet. The President asked me.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
040103-13

.....

Please respond by 4/4/03

U13288 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15686



April 2, 2003 3:12 PM

TO: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Questions About Terrorist States

The point you, Tenet and I were talking about today was important—namely, that we should be asking the same questions about some other terrorist states that we are now asking about Iraq.

Will you please get that going?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-14

.....

Please respond by 4/18/03

U13289 /03



April 2, 2003 8:00 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Ron James

Please find out how where Ron James got the job—what the title is and whether it is Senate confirmed.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-9

.....  
Please respond by 4/4/03

U13291 /03



April 2, 2003 8:02 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Meet w/Tony Dolan

I want a meeting with Tony Dolan, and I want to set up a quick response group.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-11



Please respond by 4/11/03

U13292 /03



April 2, 2003 7:33 AM

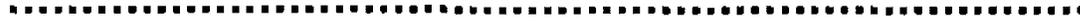
TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Off-the-record Session

Please tell Torie that if we decide to do an off-the-record session with the press, I want to choose who is in it. Don't announce it until I see the list and decide if I want to do it later this week.

Also, before she invites the military talking heads in again, I want to see the list.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-1



Please respond by 4/3/03

U13293 /03

413  
1700

↑

April 2, 2003 7:46 AM

Siv

~~RE~~

He is off  
all lists.

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Gen. McCaffrey

←  
D.R.

4/7

TE

Let's cut McCaffrey off our list of invitees. He is over the top.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-5

.....

Please respond by 4/11/03

U13294 /03



April 2, 2003 7:53 AM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *TR*  
SUBJECT: Forces in Iraq in 1991

Please find out how many coalition forces were actually operating inside Iraq in 1991. I want to compare it with how many coalition forces we currently have inside Iraq.

We ought to figure it out and also look at the timetable. Obviously, after 38 days there were no U.S. or coalition forces in Iraq back in 1991.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040203-7

.....

Please respond by 4 / 11 / 03

U13295 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15692



April 2, 2003 7:45 AM

TO: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Recruiting and Retention

Please check and find out if recruiting is up or down since the beginning of the war in Iraq. Also, check and see what has happened to retention.

I know it is soon, but it would be interesting to know.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
040203-4

..... ~~SECRET HAS BEEN~~

Please respond by 4/1/03

APR 1 6 2003

*Response Attached*  
*C 4/14*

U13296 /03

SECDEF HAS SEEN

1 PR : 6 2003

**INFO MEMO**

April 11, 2003, 10:04 AM

**FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**FROM: David S.C. Chu, USD (P&R)**

**SUBJECT: Recruiting and Retention Since Start of Operation Iraqi Freedom**

- SECDEF requested information on the status of recruiting and retention since the beginning of the war in Iraq.
- **Active duty recruiting** remains strong through March, with all Services slightly above accession quantity goals. The quality of new active duty recruits is also strong, with all exceeding benchmarks for percent high school graduates and percent scoring in the upper half on the Armed Forces Qualification Test.
- **Reserve recruiting** is experiencing some difficulty, although this challenge is not insurmountable. The Reserves rely heavily on prior service recruits, so Stop Loss programs adversely affect the ability of the Reserves to meet their recruiting goals. Non-prior service recruits also seem more hesitant to join the Reserves right now. Army Reserve and Army National Guard account for 70% of Reserve Component recruiting, and both missed their March accession goals.
- **Retention** remains high. The Services have met or exceeded their goals through second quarter of FY03 (and report they are on target to meet FY03 retention goals). However, part of their success is attributed to current Service Stop Loss policies, as well as residual effects from the previous year's retention programs. The Department will have a better understanding of the impact of current operations once Stop Loss is lifted by all Services.

**COORDINATIONS: NA**

Attachments:

As stated

Prepared By: Capt Angela Giddings, USAF, (b)(6)

11-L-0559/OSD/15694

	Quantity			Quality	
	Accessions	Goal	% of Goal	% High School Diploma Graduate (HSDG)	% Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT)
<b>Active Duty Recruiting FY03 Through March</b>					
Army	34,222	33,960	101%	95%	71%
Navy	16,482	16,334	101%	95%	65%
Marine Corps	13,300	13,196	101%	97%	70%
Air Force	18,761	18,006	104%	99%	79%
<b>Active Duty Total</b>	<b>82,765</b>	<b>81,496</b>	<b>102%</b>	<b>96%</b>	<b>71%</b>
<b>HSDG benchmark = 90%</b> <b>AFQT benchmark = 60%</b>					



April 2, 2003 7:43 AM

TO: Gen. Pace  
 CC: Gen. Myers  
 FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DA*  
 SUBJECT: Dates Deployment Orders Approved

Please get me the dates we approved the major elements of the force in Iraq—  
 when the deployment orders were signed.

It is being said that we are rushing forces in now. These decisions, as I recall,  
 were made weeks ago. Please show me the list soon for each major element and  
 the dates the decisions were made.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
 040203-3



*Please respond by* 4/4/03

U13297 /03



April 3, 2003 6:52 AM

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: French-owned Company

I just talked to Senator Schumer. Sodexo, a French-owned company that makes meals for the Marine Corps, has 8,000 employees in New York. He wanted us to make sure the contract did not get canceled. Apparently there is a sense of the House resolution on the subject.

I don't know anything about it. I told him you would get back to him.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
040303-2

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/25/03

U13298 /03



April 3, 2003 10:30 AM

TO: Gen. Franks

CC: Gen. Myers  
LTG Craddock

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: NSC SVTC w/Franks

*ADVANCE  
2/24 SENT*

Gen. Franks will next participate in an NSC meeting via SVTC with the President on Wednesday, April 9.

LTG Craddock, please sort through that.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040303-8

.....

Please respond by 4/7/04

U13299 /03



April 3, 2003 5:41 PM

TO: Ryan Henry  
CC: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Information Operations

*ADVANCE  
COPY SENT*

Please pull together some kind of a plan to get the policy pieces of DoD arranged with respect to IO. We might want to designate a person as lead. We will want to give real support to the White House PCCs that are working to get this going and, ultimately, we will want to give support to the war fighter.

The President is pushing Gen. Myers and me about this. Margaret Tutwiler is coming in at State and will be the new head of the strategic communications PCC. She was Ambassador to Morocco. She is first-rate.

We ought to get together to discuss it and then really give her the kind of support she will need.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040303-9



Please respond by 4/11/03

U13300 /03



April 3, 2003 4:04 PM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Cartoons

Please see if you can get these two cartoons from the artists.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Cartoons

DHR:Jh  
040303-10

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/25/03

U13301 /03

OWEN V. FRISBY  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONSULTANT  
(b)(6)

TELEPHONE (b)(6)

FACSIMILE (b)(6)







April 4, 2003 6:40 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: MoD Ivanov

*2*

Please call Condi's office and find out when Sergei Ivanov is going to be in Washington. I said I would agree to see him, and I ought to do something with him when he comes, but I have forgotten the date.

I think he is going to be in Afghanistan between April 7 and 11 and then come to Washington after April 11, but I don't know precisely what days.

Thanks.

DLR:dh  
040403-2

.....  
Please respond by 4/7/03

*4/5*  
*SecDef -*  
*I understand he'll*  
*be here 14-15 April. We'll*  
*plan something here D, R to*  
*I suppose.*

**U13341 /03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15703

APR 7 2003

01-01-03 12:46:10



April 4, 2003 6:44 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *D*  
SUBJECT: Amnesty for Scientists

You ought to think about amnesty for scientists if they come forward on WMD. I think it is not a bad idea. They can decide when they want to do it.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040403-4

.....  
Please respond by 4/11/03

U13342 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15704



April 4, 2003 6:46 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Information Operations

Let's continue this IO theme about running out of soldiers and that all they are going to have left is war criminals if it goes on much longer.

Also continue questions about where Saddam Hussein is.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040403-5

.....  
Please respond by 4/11/03

U13344 /03



April 4, 2003 7:18 AM

TO: Powell Moore

CC: Larry Di Rita

*Dunn  
4/10*

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Hill Meetings

I think I ought to see the leadership sometime soon, particularly in the House, and give them something special—also possibly the Senate.

Thanks.

*going 4/10/03*

DHR:dh  
040403-6

.....  
Please respond by 4/11/03

U13346 /03



April 4, 2003 7:34 AM

TO: Gen. Myers  
CC: LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Deployments

We have the decision on loading ships for the 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division on April 14 and the decision on the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry Division ship loading on April 18. Between them, they amount to over 50,000 additional troops as I read it. We have already made decisions to allow forces to flow for the 3<sup>rd</sup> ACR, which is 6,000, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> ACR Light, which is close to 10,000.

I think we need to get a fresh look and a concept as to what we think we ought to do and why we think we ought to do it. The President raised the issue, properly, and we need to have some answers.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040403-8

.....

Please respond by 4/9/03

U13348 /03

4/10

April 5, 2003 7:37 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld  
SUBJECT: Invite Vice President

*pur name*  
*4/10*

*1A*

*Advance*  
*cost sent*

We need to invite the Vice President to the Ambassadors' dinner April 12, so let's  
add him to that list.

Thanks.

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**  
*APR 2003 UP + MRS*  
*have accepted*

DHR:dh  
040503-1

.....

Please respond by 4/7/03

~~MARY [unclear]~~

*C.*

U13350 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15708



April 5, 2003 11:34 AM

TO: Gen. Franks

CC: Gen. Myers  
*LTG CRANDALL*

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Gen. McNeill

The President would like to have Gen. McNeill on the portion of the Wednesday briefing that will be about Afghanistan, if you are comfortable with that.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040503-4

.....**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

Please respond by 4/7/03

APC 4/10/03

*Gen Franks totally agrees w/ having LTG McNeill on the SVIC. We are setting it up in the Situation Room.*

*C 4/7*

U13352 /03

April 3, 2003 10:30 AM

TO: Gen. Franks  
CC: Gen. Myers  
LTG Craddock  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: NSC SVTC w/Franks

*AD: H&CE  
2/21/03*

Gen. Franks will next participate in an NSC meeting via SVTC with the President on Wednesday, April 9.

LTG Craddock, please sort through that.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040303-8

.....  
Please respond by 4/7/04

4/18  
1.1  
Snowflake

EG

EF-4793

April 7, 2003 7:39 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: ICC Countries

Jaymie Durnan  
4/24

Please give me a list of countries that have signed the ICC Article 98.

Thanks.

DHR.dh  
040703-2



Please respond by 4/11/03

4/9

See attached  
response

U13353 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15711

04-08-03 13:30 IN

11-L-0559/OSD/15711



# Agreements Concluded To Date

---

## 28 Total Article 98 Agreements (as of 8 APR 03)

- Romania (8/1/02)
- Israel (8/2/02)
- East Timor (8/23/02)
- Tajikistan (8/27/02)
- Marshall Islands (9/10/02)
- Palau (9/13/02)
- Dominican Republic (9/16/02)
- Mauritania (9/17/02)
- Uzbekistan (9/18/02)\*
- Honduras (9/19/02)
- Afghanistan (9/20/02)
- Micronesia (9/24/02)
- Gambia (10/5/02)
- El Salvador (10/25/02)
- Sri Lanka (11/22/02)
- India (12/26/02)
- Nepal (12/31/02)
- Tuvalu (1/9/03)\*
- Djibouti (1/24/03)
- Bahrain (2/6/03)
- Georgia (2/10/03)
- Azerbaijan (2/26/03)
- Nauru (2/26/03)
- Rwanda (3/5/03)
- Egypt (3/5/03)\*
- Dem. Rep. of Congo (3/19/03)
- Tonga (3/21/03)
- Sierra Leone (3/31/03)

\* Agreement has entered into force



April 7, 2003 7:42 AM

TO: Powell Moore  
CC: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Call to Senator Warner

I need a phone call with John Warner to talk to him about the two-star for France.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-3



Please respond by 4/11/03

U13354 /03



April 7, 2003 8:20 AM

TO: Torie Clarke  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Post-Embedding

We ought to think through when we take these journalists out of their embedded positions. I would like you to come to me with a proposal as to how you think you might do that.

My instinct is that it probably ought to happen with international journalists and also the ones who have been expelled, like the PRC journalist. Let's discuss it.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
040703-10

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/11/03

U13356 /03



*M. Shell's cy* *DBP*

*4/18/03*

April 7, 2003 8:31 AM

*Dave*

TO: David Chu  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: In-State Tuition

Please take a look at this article, "War Renews Focus on States' Tuition Rules for Military." I think we ought to get going on that, get John Warner working and get people around the country working. That is terrible.

Please get back to me with a report.

Thanks.

Attach.

Mathews, Jay. "War Renews Focus on States' Tuition Rules for Military," *Washington Post*, page B01, April 5, 2003.

DHR:dh  
040703-12

.....

Please respond by 5/9/03

U13357 /03



PERSONNEL AND READINESS

UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SECDEF HAS SEEN  
INFO MEMO

2003 MAY 16 PM 2:13

MAY 21 2003

April 23, 2003, 2:05 PM

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DEPSEC Action \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: Dr. David S. C. Chu, Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel & Readiness)

*David S. C. Chu 10 May 03*

SUBJECT: In-State Tuition for Service Members and their Families

- I asked the Army to take the lead some months ago. Since February 28<sup>th</sup>, the Army has worked with the states to shape tuition-related benefits for soldiers and family members so that they offer:
  - In-state tuition within the state of legal residence,
  - In-state tuition for soldiers and family members in state of assignment,
  - Continuity of in-state tuition once established.
- Presently 44 states meet two of these targets; 15 meet all three (Tab 1).
- I asked the other Services to appoint a senior level representative to work with the Army.
- We will be writing each Governor of the 35 states who do not meet all three criteria. Based on their responses, I will recommend those with whom you or the Deputy might speak when the occasion permits, noting that this is a contributor to our Quality of Life assessment in the BRAC process.

*and work the Hell*

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

COORDINATION: None.

ATTACHMENT(S):

As stated

PREPARED BY: John Molino, DUSD(MC&FP), (b)(6)

*SD: Asking David Chu to call the 35 Govs. We may have an opportunity here to do something quick.*

SPL ASSISTANT	<i>Jurnon 5/19</i>
SR MA CRADDOCK	<i>11/5/20</i>
MA BUCCI	<i>10/2/20</i>
EXECSEC	<i>024 5/16</i>

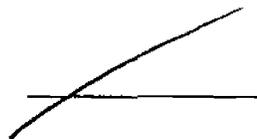
*v/r Jaymie Durni 5/19*

**COORDINATION**

**In-State Tuition for Service Members and their Families**

PDUSD(P&R)

Charles Abell

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a horizontal line with a diagonal stroke crossing it from the bottom left to the top right.

In-State Tuition  
Status of Coverage by State

State	available in state of legal residence	available in state of assignment	retention of benefit upon reassignment of member
Alabama	x	x	
Alaska	x	x	
Arizona	x	x	x
Arkansas	x	x	
California	x	x	
Colorado	x	x	
Connecticut	x	x	x
Delaware	x	x	
Distr of Columbia	x	x	
Florida	x	x	x
Georgia	x	x	
Hawaii	x	x	
Idaho	x	x	x
Illinois			
Indiana			
Iowa	x	x	x
Kansas	x	x	x
Kentucky	x	x	x
Louisiana	x	x	x
Maine	x	x	
Maryland	x	x	
Massachussetts	x	x	
Michigan	x	x	
Minnesota	x	x	
Mississippi	x	x	

In-State Tuition  
Status of Coverage by State

State	available in state of legal residence	available in state of assignment	retention of benefit upon reassignment of member
Missouri	x	x	
Montana	x	x	
Nebraska	x	x	
Nevada	x	x	x
New Hampshire	x	x	
New Jersey	x	x	
New Mexico	x	x	x
New York	x	x	
North Carolina	x	x	
North Dakota	x	x	
Ohio	x	x	x
Oklahoma	x	x	x
Oregon	x	x	x
Pennsylvania	x	x	
Rhode Island	x	x	
South Carolina	x	x	
South Dakota	x		
Tennessee	x	x	x
Texas		x	
Utah	x	x	x
Vermont			
Virginia	x		
Washington	x	x	
West Virginia	x	x	?
Wisconsin	x	x	
Wyoming	x	x	?

washingtonpost.com

## War Renews Focus on States' Tuition Rules for Military

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Staff Writer

Saturday, April 5, 2003; Page B01

When Army Capt. Terry Crank was transferred to Fort Monroe in Hampton, Va., in 2001, his wife, Melissa, decided to get her elementary school teaching credential at nearby Christopher Newport University.

She filed for in-state tuition status after living in Virginia for a year, assuming she could cut her fees in half. Instead, she got an unpleasant surprise.

Despite her Virginia-registered car, her Virginia driver's license, her Virginia property tax bill and many other emblems of her residence status, the university said no. Because she was studying full time and raising two small children, she had no time to work and lacked the required \$10,300 of taxable income. Her husband's income did not count because his official residence was in Texas, which does not have a state income tax.

"It is not our doing that we are living in Virginia," Melissa Crank said. That is where the Army sent them, but as happens with many military dependents, such rules make it difficult to ever feel totally at home.

In-state tuition rules in many states stymie military dependents who want to pursue their educations. For a long time, politicians and military leaders shrugged it off, but with the country depending on volunteer forces to win a war, they say it has become vital to keep morale high and persuade the most experienced troops to stay in the service. That has led the Army to launch a campaign for a better quality of life for dependents, including the nettlesome issue of tuition fees.

Educational opportunity is particularly important to the spouses and children of active-duty soldiers, said Patty Shinseki, wife of Gen. Eric K. Shinseki, the Army's chief of staff. More generous in-state tuition policies, she said, "will really level the playing field for those who would otherwise not be able to afford this."

For the state officials who manage university budgets, the effort on behalf of military dependents could not come at a worse time. Many states, including Maryland and Virginia, face budget deficits, and easing in-state tuition rules will only make the financial picture worse.

According to a September 2002 survey, military personnel based in the United States have 548,385 dependents who are spouses or college-age children. In Maryland there are 15,962 such dependents, the survey found, while in the District there are 9,402. Those numbers don't come close to Virginia's 80,487.

The large military presence makes for a political and social culture in Virginia that is very friendly toward people in uniform, but it also means any easing of the in-state tuition rules will

11-L-0559/QSD/15720

be particularly hard on the state's budget. "The General Assembly has had several opportunities to change the rules, but the cost would be prohibitive, about \$10 million," said Belle S. Wheelan, Virginia's secretary of education.

"We want to say yes, but we are constrained by state law and the limits of state funding," said Christopher Newport University President Paul S. Tribble Jr., a former U.S. senator.

Members of the military and their dependents say it's only fair that the state absorb this cost, given what they sacrifice for their communities. They say the rules are also inconsistent. In Crank's case, for example, Thomas Nelson Community College in Hampton charged her the in-state rate for some courses.

Maryland has resolved many of the issues that frustrate military personnel stationed in Virginia. Several years ago, for instance, the University of Maryland changed its policy, and active-duty troops must show only that they have been stationed to live and work in the state and they will receive in-state tuition rates.

On Thursday, delegates passed an amendment that would extend the in-state tuition privileges to active-duty members and honorably discharged veterans and their families. The Senate passed a narrower provision. The amendments were tacked on to a highly charged bill to extend in-state tuition to undocumented immigrants. The military measures, which some lawmakers decry as attempts to gut the immigrant bill, are scheduled for a final vote this weekend.

Since Shinseki became the Army's top general in 1999, he and his wife have made military family life a priority. Patty Shinseki said the couple remembers the difficulty of moving from Germany to Virginia in the middle of their daughter Loris's senior year of high school. They have tried to ease that pain for other families, sponsoring conferences and studies to improve communication and reduce the harm of moves that affect education. The campaign for better tuition rules is another stage in that effort, Army officials say.

Marian Bogen Ledford, whose husband, an Army major, is based at the Pentagon, temporarily moved back to her home state Mississippi to finish college because, she said, she could not afford Virginia's out-of-state tuition. But the University of Mississippi at first "would not give me in-state tuition because my husband is not assigned to a duty station [in that state]," she said.

Patsy Brumfield, associate director of media and public relations for the University of Mississippi, said what university officials in most states say: They are bound by rules set by the state legislature.

Army Command Sgt. Maj. William Hoffer, based at Fort Belvoir, said he could not even get in-state tuition at Northern Virginia Community College for his son, who recently graduated from Mount Vernon High School in Fairfax County. Like many active-duty service personnel, Hoffer long ago established a permanent legal state of residence -- in his case, Pennsylvania.

Some states, however, do very well by dependents. Army Col. Fred Pickens said his two children had no trouble getting in-state tuition at Louisiana State University while he was stationed in Louisiana from 1995 to 2001. The state had clear rules offering the cheaper rate to the child of any active-duty personnel stationed there. "This was a superb policy for us," he said. "Otherwise

we were faced with sending them to live with grandparents and go to college in Tennessee. . . .  
Paying the out-of-state tuition would have doubled our college expense."

*Staff writer Brigid Schulte contributed to this report.*

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11-L-0559/OSD/15722



Snowflake

April 7, 2003 8:44 AM

TO: LTG Casey  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Number of Troops

On the materials you are getting back to me, please show me the total number of troops at each stage, not just the number of units.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-17

.....

Please respond by 4/11/03

U13359 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15723



April 7, 2003 10:42 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
Col. Bucci

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

*4/10  
DUR*

SUBJECT: Visit to Walter Reed/Bethesda

If there are any new wounded out at Bethesda or Walter Reed, I think I will want to go out next Sunday.

*cc: LTG CRA DODD  
COL BUCCI*

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-24



Please respond by 4/11/03

*going to Walter Reed on Sunday  
as of 4/10 about*

U13360 /03



April 7, 2003 11:42 AM

TO: Gen. Pace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Marine Corps – Law Enforcement Foundation

I read this March 31 letter from Jim Kallstrom, Chairman of the Marine Corps – Law Enforcement Foundation.

The letter states they have decided to raise money for scholarships or appropriate assistance to each child who loses a parent during the war in Iraq, and it will extend to all U.S. military personnel of all Services and to all of our Allies that are part of the coalition. If that is true, then I would like to know if in fact it is well led, has good bookkeeping and won't turn out to be a scam. If it is a good thing, then I think we ought to support it. Joyce and I are certainly ready to step up with a contribution.

What do you know about Jim Kallstrom?

Thanks.

Attach.  
3/31/03 Kallstrom ltr to VCJCS

DHR:dh  
040703-25



Please respond by 4/25/03

*Response attached.*  
*e 4/9*

9 APRIL 2003

FOR SECRETARY RUMSFELD (REF ATTACHED SNOWFLAKE)

SIR,

JIM KALLSTRUM IS A GREAT AMERICAN AND A WELL KNOWN HERO AMONGST FBI AGENTS FOR HIS WORK AGAINST ORGANIZED CRIME, PRIMARILY IN NEW YORK. HE WAS ALSO THE FBI AGENT IN CHARGE OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE TWA FLIGHT #800 EXPLOSION ON TAKE OFF FROM LONG ISLAND, NY IN 1996. JIM IS NOW SENIOR EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, MBNA BANK, WILMINGTON, DE. AFTER 11 SEPT 2001, JIM VOLUNTEERED AND CONTINUES TO SERVE AS SENIOR ADVISOR FOR COUNTERTERRORISM TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

THE MARINE CORPS-LAW ENFORCEMENT FOUNDATION HAS PROVIDED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF SUPPORT TO CHILDREN OF U.S. SERVICEMEN AND LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE DIED, REGARDLESS OF CAUSE. THIS INCLUDES EVERY CHILD OF EVERY PERSON - TO INCLUDE CIVILIANS - WHO DIED AT THE PENTAGON 11 SEPT.

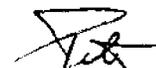
THE FOUNDATION USES 100% OF DONATIONS FOR SUPPORT TO THESE GOOD WORKS. NOT ONE DIME GOES TO ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS BECAUSE THE OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION PAY THAT FROM THEIR OWN POCKETS.

AT THIS YEAR'S ANNUAL FUND RAISER ON 28 MARCH, THE FOUNDATION RAISED OVER ONE MILLION DOLLARS. DURING THE EVENT, JIM KALLSTRUM ANNOUNCED THE BOARD'S DECISION TO SUPPORT EVERY CHILD WHO LOST A PARENT DURING OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM. THIS INCLUDES ALL U.S. AND ALL COALITION PERSONNEL. AT THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, ONE PERSON IN ATTENDANCE WROTE AN ADDITIONAL CHECK FOR ONE MILLION DOLLARS RAISING THE TOTAL TO OVER TWO MILLION.

THIS ORGANIZATION IS REAL, IT IS WELL LED, IT WILL DELIVER ON ITS PLEDGE. ATTACHED IS A LIST OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, SOME OF WHOM YOU KNOW VERY WELL.

VERY RESPECTFULLY,

11-L-0559/OSD/15726



# Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation

No. of Employees: 0  
No. of Volunteers: Hundreds

Founder  
Zachary Fisher\*

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Gen. Charles Wilhelm	USMC (Ret.)
Don Williams	Radio Host

\*Deceased

# Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation

One hundred percent of donations received is used to fund programs for the children we serve. These funds enable us to provide these children with scholarships for their higher education. When a child of a United States Marine is afflicted with a physical or mental disability and requires special medical equipment or tutoring, our Foundation may grant financial assistance to that family if their personal insurance does not cover the complete cost of treatment for this child. This assistance has had a positive, life-changing effect on many, many children. We are thankful for the commitment and support of our many members and volunteers. Because of their dedication, no administrative costs of any type are charged to our Foundation.

## Our Mission

This Foundation was formed on January 2, 1995 by former Marines and law enforcement personnel who strongly believe that our nation's most precious resource is its youth. Therefore, we encourage the spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical development of children through education.

## Marine Corps--Law Enforcement Foundation

Give bonds to children of marines and federal law enforcement personnel killed or die on active duty. Special Situation - gave \$1.4 million bonds to children who lost parents Pentagon, Army, Navy, DOD.

### Why do we exist?

Members of the Marine Corps--Law Enforcement Foundation believe that our nation's most precious resource is its youth, and their educational development is of primary importance in their becoming meaningful members of their families and society.

Our Foundation is unique in that we are an all-volunteer organization, so 100% of donations we receive are channeled into the programs we provide for children of Marines and Federal law enforcement personnel.

We also provide assistance to eligible children from their date of birth through age 22; most Foundations do not.

### What have you accomplished?

Since it was founded in 1995, the Marine Corps--Law Enforcement Foundation has provided over \$7 million in assistance. Over 150 children received assistance from our Foundation in 2002 as of November 1st. In response to the horrific attacks on our Country of September 11th, our Foundation established a separate Pentagon Fund. Through the extraordinary generosity of our supporters, we were able to extend our usual scholarship program to include eligible children of any military personnel or civilian whose life was ended that day at the Pentagon. We committed to providing a \$10,000.00 Maturity Value U.S. Treasury Bond to each eligible child. As of today our Foundation has fulfilled that commitment by delivering scholarship bonds valued at over \$1.7 million for more than 140 children from more than 75 families. Those lost at the Pentagon served with the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy or the Department of Defense. We also provided assistance to children whose parent was a passenger onboard the ill-fated American Airlines flight.

- How do you help people in my community?
- Why do you need my support?
- How can I be sure that you will use my
- money wisely and won't waste it?
- Can I Volunteer? How?

---

This Profile was last updated on: 9/1/2002

11-L-0559/OSD/15730



# Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation

## Contributions

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The generous support of individuals and corporations has contributed to the growth of the Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation. You can be part of that growth. Here's how:



The Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation depends upon public donations to continue its work. You can help! Making a donation through our secure server is fast and easy, and when we receive your donation, we will send you an acknowledgement for tax purposes. Click on the Give button to make a donation. Thank you for your support!

Please note: We use a nonprofit service to process our credit card transactions. LICA-GiveDirect is the name that will appear on your credit card statement - not the Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation. Using a 3rd party helps us keep our costs low and allows us to spend more time and money on our programs!

Cash donations, gratefully accepted.  
Attend a Scholarship gala.  
Play in a Scholarship Golf Tournament. These popular and exciting events are hosted in:

- Ambler, PA
- Atlantic City, NJ
- Huntington, NY
- Dover, NJ
- Ridgewood, NJ

[Click to apply for the MC-LEF Mastercard](#)



[All proceeds benefit the Foundation](#)

Establish a Memorial Scholarship to remember a loved one.

Recognize someone in your life whom you admire by establishing an Honorary Scholarship.

Contribute to a Scholarship.

Donate stocks/assets.

Recognize the Foundation in your will.

**Securities Information** (donating securities to the foundation)

---

Thank you for your interest in donating securities to the Marine Corps -- Law Enforcement Foundation. We wish we could process your donation of stock or mutual fund online, but for now, we must still do this the old-fashioned way, via phone and fax. Please call us at the number below to make your donation. Thank you for your support!

To transfer stock to MC-LEF, the following information is necessary:

Merrill Lynch DTC#5198      Account #843-04222

Marine Corps-Law Enforcement Foundation

Please call us to perform securities donations.  
Marine Corps -- Law Enforcement Foundation  
**877/606-1775**

In 2002 alone, over 150 children were either awarded a scholarship bond or received special medical assistance through the contributions we received.

Your cash or stock donation to this public charity is fully deductible.

## Financials

The strength of any Foundation is the confidence of donors in the integrity and utility of the Foundation's finances and disbursements. To demonstrate the results of our efforts we offer the statement of our auditors and our most recent financial statements on request.

The Marine Corps - Law Enforcement Foundation, Inc. is also registered to

participate in the United Way and Combined Federal Campaigns (CFC #2134). We are a 501(c)3 charity, IRS tax number 22-3357410.

Marine Corps - Law Enforcement Foundation, Inc.  
PO Box 37, Mountain Lakes, NJ 07046

Contact Info

Tel: (877) 606-1775

Fax: (973) 625-9239

e-mail: [info@mc-lef.org](mailto:info@mc-lef.org)

[Help our foundation - Shop at the Charitable Emporium](#)



# Marine Corps - Law Enforcement Foundation

CFC # 2134  
IRS-501(c)3-223357410

**SECDEF HAS SEEN**

APR 7 2003

March 31, 2003

General Peter Pace, USMC  
Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Room 2E860, The Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20318-999

Dear General Pace;

The Marine Corp- Law Enforcement Foundation has met in Executive session and has decided to fund educational scholarships and/or appropriate assistance to each child who loses a parent during the War in Iraq.

This support extends to all U.S. Military personnel of all Services and to all of our Allies that are part of our coalition in Iraq.

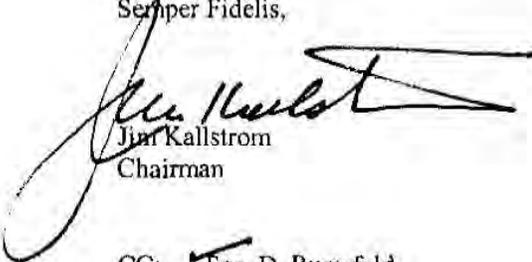
As you are aware, we had our annual fund raiser at the Plaza Hotel on 3/28/03, at which we made this announcement of our commitment; the response to date has been over whelming.

Please advise as to how we should best proceed and with whom we should coordinate our support.

It is our honor and duty to provide this support to those who fight for our freedom and freedom around the world!

With Best Wishes, from all in our Foundation.

Semper Fidelis,



Jim Kallstrom  
Chairman

CC: ✓ Sec. D. Rumsfeld  
Gen. R. Myers  
Gen. J. Jumper  
Gen. E. Shinseki  
Adm. V. Clark  
Gen. M. Hagee  
Adm. T. Collins  
Gen. J. Jones  
Gen. T. Franks

Box 37 • Mountain Lakes • New Jersey 07046 • Phone: (b)(6)

11-L-0559/OSD/15734



April 7, 2003 11:46 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Issues w/Various Countries

We need more coercive diplomacy with respect to Syria and Libya, and we need it fast. If they mess up Iraq, it will delay bringing our troops home.

We also need to solve the Pakistan problem.

And Korea doesn't seem to be going well.

Are you coming up with proposals for me to send around?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-26

.....  
*Please respond by* 4/11/03

U13364 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15735



April 7, 2003 11:51 AM

TO: ADM Clark  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Lessons Learned

Your memo on lessons learned was terrific. I thank you. I am working on it.

Thanks.

DHR dh  
040703-28

.....  
*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13366 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15736



April 7, 2003 1:18 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: MoD Ivanov

Minister Ivanov said he had to cancel his trip, so he won't be in town on April 15.  
He will reschedule it for later.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-33

.....

*Please respond by* \_\_\_\_\_

U13368 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15737

GE

MD  
FYI

4/8

April 7, 2003 6:24 PM

TO: Mike

WYNNE.

let's  
talk

TO: Pete Aldridge

CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
Powell Moore

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Tanker Issue

Please make sure you talk to the Vice President and Andy Card before you go forward on the tanker issue. Then you have to make sure you talk to Stevens, McCain, Hastert and Lewis at the minimum, and possibly Murtha.

Please stay close to Larry Di Rita or Powell Moore on this, so we don't get into any flaps.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040703-37

.....  
Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_



To: Paul Wolfowitz

Please make sure you stay on top of this and it doesn't get mucked up. This could be a big distraction if it gets messed up.

U13369 103

11-L-0559/OSD/15738



April 8, 2003 7:15 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Removing Forces

I think we need to come up with a list of things we need other people to do for us to be able to get our forces out of Afghanistan. We need to get a target list, so that State and other departments and agencies can get going.

We need to do the same thing for Iraq, and then we need to shove it forward in the interagency process. Then we need to create a checklist to keep checking to see how well the other departments and agencies are doing.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040803-2



Please respond by 4/25/03

U13371 /03



OS  
6/2

April 8, 2003 11:51 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Saudi NGOs

We have to figure out a way stop the Saudi NGOs from coming into Iraq, and if they want to help, tell them to send money.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040803-10



Please respond by 4/18/03

U13372 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15740

HR  
1645



**Snowflake**

**April 8, 2003 2:20 PM**

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Batteries

Where do we stand on the lithium batteries?

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040803-13



*Please respond by* 4/11/03

**U13373 /03**

11-L-0559/OSD/15741

041K  
0800

↑

April 9, 2003 7:50 AM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz *PW*  
CC: Steve Cambone  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Hot Buttons

Jaymie Durnan  
4/17

Here is a first list. Please expand it for me and send it back.

Thanks.

Attach.  
Hot Buttons

DHR:dh  
040903-2

.....

Please respond by 4/18/03

Sik -  
Some thoughts on attached page

SL  
4/14/03

U13374 /03

April 9, 2003 7:50 AM

SUBJECT: Hot Buttons

It is clear that not only the Iraqis, but undoubtedly terrorists and other terrorist states, as well as the world, have learned what the hot buttons are for the United States of America. Certainly they include:

- Avoiding high collateral damage.
- The need for coalitions.
- The preference for a United Nations resolution.
- The fact that we cannot lie, and they can.
- Our weaknesses with respect to IO.
- Our superior air power, particularly when coordinated with targeting from the ground and special operations activities.
- Our weaknesses in intel collection and the best techniques of deception.

DHR:dh  
040903-1

- U.S. adherence to the laws of War
- ~~US aversion to collateral damage~~
- Foreign leaders/public uneasy with the "pre-emptive" character of US National Security Strategy.
- Pursuit of WMD
- US "worries" about casualties, quagmires, messy peacekeeping etc; "shot adversaries - and friends" seek to play on.

11-L-0559/OSD/15743



April 9, 2003 5:18 PM

TO: Doug Feith

CC: Paul Wolfowitz  
Gen. Myers  
Gen. Pace

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*

SUBJECT: Senior Political Figure

Condi raised again the possibility of a senior political figure to go in over Jay Garner. I told her I thought it was too soon. I said I would talk to the President about it, but I wanted to put some structure into my thinking.

Is it a good idea at all?

If it is a good idea, when is the appropriate time (my thinking is not until after hostilities cease)?

Who should the person report to—DoD, State or Condi?

What would be the individual's responsibilities, and thus what is the job spec, the criteria for selecting the person.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040903-6

.....

Please respond by 4/11/03

U13376 /03



Snowflake

April 9, 2003 5:58 PM

TO: Paul Wolfowitz  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: History

Please give me a piece of paper with about two sentences each on: Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, and northern Iraq, as you mentioned.

It would be helpful for me to get those fixed in my head.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040903-9

.....

Please respond by 4 / 18 / 03

U13377 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15745



April 9, 2003 5:59 PM

TO: Gen. Myers  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Stabilization Force

*Advance  
copy sent*

We probably ought to be ready pretty soon to do that briefing on the stabilization force in Iraq.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040903-10



Please respond by 4/11/03

U13378 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15746



April 9, 2003 6:02 PM

TO: Powell Moore  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Defense Attaché in Paris

We want to make sure we get this requirement of a star in Paris taken out of the legislation.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
040903-11

.....  
Please respond by 5/9/03

U13379 /03

11-L-0559/OSD/15747



April 10, 2003 8:42 AM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Iraq's Debts

I think consideration ought to be given to Iraq not paying back their debts. It was a different regime that incurred those debts. Why should the new government pay it back?

Please give me a list of the countries the government of Iraq owed money to, so we can look at it. Also, let me know what the precedents are.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
041003-1

.....  
Please respond by 4/25/03

*Isn't there precedence for a country not having to pay back debts incurred by ~~an~~ an oppressive regime?*

U13380 /03  
11-L-0559/QSD/15748