



Pentagon Briefing

September 28, 2001

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The War Against Terrorism

➤ The U.S. Military: The Right Tools at the Right Time & Place

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Media Availability, September 27, 2001, from the Pentagon:

"...[T]o characterize the Administration's approach as measured I think would be correct. It is. We are determined to try to do this right, to put in place the capabilities and the architectures and the process that will enable us to proceed in an orderly way over a sustained period of time. We're trying to help the world understand what it is this is about, and it's new for them as well. And my impression is that you're right, we're not leaping into this, we're moving into it in a measured way."

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Henry H. Shelton, Media Availability, September 27, 2001, from the Pentagon:

"If I could just add to that, Mr. Secretary, I -- from a military standpoint, you know, it is very easy, when you're faced with a crisis, to default automatically to the military, because we can move fast and we can do things that will show up well in the television or in a newspaper. On the other hand, if you really want to be effective, you have to understand that in some situations, such as the one that this country's faced with now, we have a lot of tools, and we'll be much more effective if we bring it all together and apply it at the enemy's center of gravity... as a multifaceted, multidimensional [approach], because that's what it's going to take over time. And so not overreacting and going after it with just the military, in my military opinion, is the right way to do it."

"...[T]he effectiveness of a campaign against terrorism is best when you use all the tools available to you at the appropriate time and at the appropriate place. And that's what this government plans to do."

➤ Self-Defense: Rules of Engagement in the War Against Terrorism

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Media Availability, September 27, 2001, from the Pentagon:

"[T]here are rules of engagement -- a number of types of rules of engagement. It is not one set of rules of engagement, and they vary from circumstance to circumstance and from time to time and depending on the situation. If you think about it, almost always, rules of engagement in our history have been with a full appreciation of the fact that an individual service member's life might be at risk, that in fact they needed the ability of self-defense. So rules of engagement were fashioned, have been historically fashioned, when a uniformed service member is at risk, to allow a degree of leeway for them to protect themselves and to protect the people and the installations that they're there to protect."

"The situation that occurred on the 11th was quite the opposite. The people in the armed services were not at risk. It was the people in the aircraft that were at risk....

"And what happened was that General Shelton and I sat down and fashioned rules of engagement that we believed were appropriate, communicated with the CINCs that were involved, and provided them to the President with our recommendation, which he accepted."

➤ **The War Against Terrorism: A Just War**

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Media Availability, September 27, 2001, from the Pentagon:

"The President, of course, has made clear that the [September 11] attacks were not just acts of terror. They were acts of war, military strikes against the United States of America. For most of our history, combat has been something that has been largely taken place on foreign soil. These strikes were the first on American soil since the Second World War, and the first attack on our capital by a foreign enemy since the War of 1812. These assaults have brought the battlefield home to us. I have every confidence that our armed forces and all the dedicated men and women of the Department of Defense are ready to meet the challenges ahead."

President George W. Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001, from the Capitol:

"Afghanistan's people have been brutalized -- many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

"The United States respects the people of Afghanistan -- after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid -- but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

Statement of 16 Muslim and American Sikh Leaders following meeting with President Bush, September 26, 2001, from the White House:

"We Arab American and American Muslim leaders, who have just completed a meeting with President Bush, wish to thank the President and his administration for setting a tone of unity, resolve, and respect.

"We once again condemn these horrific acts, express our sincerest condolences to the victims' families, and join with all Americans in pledging our full support for the President at this critical time in his efforts to establish peace and justice in the world."

- The United States is the largest donor of humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people. In 2001, through a variety of government agencies outside DoD, the U.S. has contributed \$176 million for assistance including food, water, health care, sanitation, housing, and disease control. There has been no DoD aid to Afghanistan in the past 6 years.
- To countries other than Afghanistan, the United States has contributed the following assistance since 1996, including:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Type of Assistance</u>
Bangladesh	Medical supplies
Bosnia	Medical & school supplies
Cambodia	Tools, books, medical supplies, clothing, water containers, cots, vehicles
Ethiopia	Vehicles, generators, disaster preparedness assessment, medical training, veterinary civic assistance
Macedonia	Medical equipment, vehicles, school supplies
Indonesia	Shelter material, medical consumables, clothing
Jordan	Hospital and school supplies, ambulance, medical training
Kazakhstan	Vehicles, site equipment, shelters, hospital upgrade
Kenya	Medical supplies, disaster preparedness assessment
Lebanon	Medical equipment, school and office supplies
Morocco	Medical and school supplies, vehicles
Oman	Medical supplies
Pakistan	Medical supplies, sleeping bags, cold weather clothing, blankets, cots, beds;
Philippines	Medical equipment and supplies
Turkey	Medical equipment
Uzbekistan	Disaster preparedness assessment
West Bank	Medical equipment

➤ **The QDR: A new strategy for America's defense.**

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Media Availability, September 27, 2001, from the Pentagon:

“...[T]he world has changed...we can no longer count on future wars being waged safely in their regions of origin. I have every confidence that our armed forces and all the dedicated men and women of the Department of Defense are ready to meet the challenges ahead.”

- The Quadrennial Defense Review embraces uncertainty and contends with surprise, extends America’s influence and preserves America’s security, and transforms the force to quickly & decisively confront the threats of the 21st Century.
- While it’s impossible to predict where or when we will be threatened, we can anticipate how:
 - Terrorist attacks conducted on a massive scale against our citizens and communities;
 - Weapons and tactics to deny US access to distant bases or theaters of operation;
 - Nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and their various means of delivery, which can hold populations hostage to blackmail or intimidation and undercut the conventional strength of our forces.
- The QDR charts a new course for a strong defense – one in which forces are, faster, more lethal and prepared to counter the asymmetrical threats to our security.
- The plan we present to the President and the Congress will provide the roadmap necessary to initiate a sustained process for transforming America’s military to meet the challenges that lie ahead.



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- **The QDR establishes a new strategy for America's defense.**
 - Embraces uncertainty and contends with surprise.
 - Extends America's influence and preserves America's security.
 - Transforms the force to quickly and decisively confront the threats of the 21st Century.

- **The world has changed, and America must prepare now for the new and different threats to our security at home and abroad.**
 - While it's impossible to predict where or when we will be threatened, we can anticipate *how*:
 - Terrorist attacks on our citizens and communities;
 - Advanced conventional weapons to deny US access to distant bases or theaters of operation;
 - Missiles and other weapons of mass destruction to hold populations hostage to blackmail or intimidation.

 - These threats are:
 - Increasing – to include special operations forces and weapons of mass destruction.
 - Evolving – nations are arming themselves with advanced technology systems and integrated capabilities clearly designed to counter current military capabilities.
 - Accelerating -- attacks will be faster and shorter because success will depend on achieving objectives before the U.S. or its allies can react.

- **We must transform U.S. forces, capabilities, and institutions to extend America's advantages well into the future.**
 - The QDR charts a new course for a strong defense that is smarter, faster, and prepared to counter the asymmetrical threats to our security.

 - Reshapes the military from a threat-based force to a capabilities-based force to better defend against non-traditional threats.

 - Fields a force capable of defeating an adversary quickly and decisively, and makes uncertainty the centerpiece of U.S. defense planning.

 - Offers a portfolio of U.S. military capabilities selected, developed, and sustained to help us prevail against current threats and dissuade potential adversaries from developing dangerous new capabilities.

➤ **The development and deployment of U.S. forces and capabilities will be founded on four key goals:**

- Assuring allies and friends of U.S. resolve and capability to fulfill its military commitments.
- Dissuading adversaries from undertaking programs or operations that threaten US interests or those of allies and friends.
- Deterring aggression and coercion by deploying forward the capabilities necessary to swiftly defeat attacks and impose severe penalties for aggression.
- Decisively defeating any adversary if deterrence fails.

➤ **The QDR provides a roadmap for the President and Congress to chart a new course for the transformation of America's military in the century ahead.**

- We consulted extensively with friends and allies about how to best move beyond the Cold War and prepare together for the threats we will all face in the century ahead.
- Within the Department of Defense, we initiated an unprecedented process of study and review to determine how our armed forces might best be arranged to meet the threats of the 21st Century.
- We produced a strategy guidance and are now in the process of testing it against a variety of models and scenarios.
- The plan we present to the President, the National Security Council, and the Congress will provide the roadmap necessary to chart a new course for the transformation of America's military in the century ahead.



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The War on Terrorism

➤ **This is a Broad-based Effort That Will Take Time**

- This is a new world, and we face a new kind of threat.
- The terrorist network is fostered, and facilitated and financed by states, non-governmental organizations, businesses and corporations.
- Ours is not just a military operation but a broad-based government effort.
- We will target the political, diplomatic, economic, and financial interests of terrorists and those who harbor them.
- Today, the President directed the first strike in the war on terrorism by:
 - ordering US banks to freeze the assets of individuals or groups that serve as fronts for terrorist activities, and prohibiting US citizens or companies from doing business with them;
 - asking foreign financial institutions to freeze or block terrorist access to funds in foreign accounts;
 - directing Treasury to freeze the assets and transactions of foreign banks in the US if they do not; and
 - establishing a foreign terrorist asset tracking center to identify and investigate the financial infrastructure of international terrorist networks.

➤ **We Are Positioning Our Forces Around the World**

- We are positioning our forces and arranging our capabilities around the globe to carry out the President's directives.
- States that have sponsored, harbored, or assisted terrorists over the years must now decide how they will behave from this day forward.

➤ **The Mission Will Determine the Coalition**

- Every nation has different circumstances and will participate in different ways.
- The mission will determine the coalition; the coalition will not determine the mission.
- We have been pleased by the very positive response from around the world.
- The United Arab Emirates' recent decision to cut off relations with the Taliban is a victory.

➤ **We Continue to Face a Range of Asymmetric Threats**

- Countries that have sponsored terrorism for years are countries also have active chemical and biological warfare programs.
- They are in close contact with terrorist networks around the world.
- We recognize the danger and will work to re-energize the worldwide effort to reduce the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

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The War on Terrorism

➤ Measured and Steady Manner

- This is a new type of conflict for the United States.
- We are moving in a measured and purposeful manner, gathering information and preparing the appropriate courses of action.
- This will not be a single news event, but a long-term, broad-based campaign to go after the terrorist problem at its roots.
- It will not be quick and it will not be easy.

➤ Terrorists Don't Function in a Vacuum; They Function in a Country

- Terrorists do not function in a vacuum; they work, train, and plan in countries.
- They do not have high-value targets, but the countries that support them and give them sanctuary do.
- There will continue to be terrorist acts unless we deal with their network.
- One of the ways to do that is to drain the swamp in which they live.
- Countries that foster and facilitate terrorism cannot be tolerated.

➤ We Choose Freedom

- We have a choice: We can change the way we live by denying our citizens their freedom, or we can change the way *they* live. We choose the later.
- We intend to put terrorists on the defensive – to disrupt their networks and remove their sanctuaries and support.

➤ Our Adversaries Face a United Front

- There is a quiet anger in this country.
- America is unified; Congress is unified; and the world community is increasingly unified.
- We will do what's right and root out terrorism at its source, because Americans were not designed to live in fear.

➤ Strengthening the Homefront

- As President Bush has said, America's "compassionate and generous citizens have led the first phase in the war on terrorism."
- They have sustained and strengthened the homefront.

U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

Fact Sheet

After 22 years of war, three years of severe drought, and five years of Taliban rule, Afghanistan now faces a major famine. The U.N. Security Council has pointed to the Taliban's repressive policies and harassment of expatriate relief agency workers as being directly responsible for the current crisis.

Because of the Taliban, the world is likely to see death and starvation on a massive scale as Afghanistan enters the coming winter. Islam promotes charity, yet the Taliban has cut off humanitarian assistance to the Afghan population.

As President Bush announced today, the United States is prepared to contribute an additional \$320 million in humanitarian assistance for the Afghanistan and neighboring states suffering from drought. The total includes \$25 million authorized on September 28 by the President from the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to provide assistance to a potentially large number of refugees who could cross from Afghanistan into the surrounding countries, including Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Additional assistance totaling \$295 million will be provided through United Nations assistance agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, nongovernmental organizations, and through direct provision of food and relief supplies.

The United States has led the international community's response to the suffering of the Afghan people.

The United States has contributed more than \$1 billion in humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people since 1979, more than any other country.

Since the beginning of fiscal year 2001, the United States provided nearly \$184 million in humanitarian aid to Afghans. This amount includes contributions from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (\$99.8 million), the U.S. Agency for International Development (\$50.55 million), the Department of State (\$32.6 million); and the Centers for Disease Control (\$569,000).

The United States has supplied more than 80 percent of all food shipments sent to vulnerable Afghans through the United Nations' World Food Program, and will continue to be the leading food donor to the Afghan people.



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Force Protection

On _____ **DATE** _____ the Secretary of Defense issued a directive to DoD force protection and intelligence personnel to fully utilize their current authority to gather and share information about activities and people who may be involved in terrorism.

- **Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, DoD has learned that many of its components interpret their authority to conduct counter-terrorism missions too narrowly.**
 - DoD's authority to investigate suspected terrorists has existed for 20 years. The Secretary's message reminds DoD components of their existing authority, effective immediately.
 - DoD policy establishes procedures under which DoD intelligence and counterintelligence components -- when necessary to their force protection and combating terrorism missions -- may collect, retain and disseminate information about U.S. residents reasonably believed to be engaged in terrorist activities threatening U.S.-based personnel and facilities.
 - Information may be gathered when it is needed to protect DoD employees, information, property, and facilities; or when such information is needed to protect the safety of any person.
- **American service men and women and their facilities are at high risk from terrorist attacks.**
 - The September 11th attack confirmed that terrorists will strike the U.S. within its borders.
 - During the war against terrorism, our enemies are more determined than ever to destroy U.S. facilities and take American lives at home and abroad.
 - The bombing of Khobar Towers and the attack on the USS Cole are just two examples of terrorist atrocities against American men and women in uniform.
- **The sharing of DoD intelligence and information about suspected terrorists with other agencies helps defend American men and women in uniform and DoD installations against terrorist attacks.**
 - The war against terrorism is not just a military operation. It has financial, intelligence, law enforcement, diplomacy and legal dimensions as well.
 - The war against terrorism will not just be fought with military force, it will be waged and won with information and intelligence that helps us thwart future terrorist attacks before they occur.
 - The President has directed that the U.S. Government use every available resource to combat terrorism. DoD has intelligence resources and information that may be shared with other federal and local agencies -- when appropriate -- to help us win the war against terrorism.



Saddam Hussein: In His Own Words

Quotes from Saddam and Iraq's regime-controlled media

October 22, 2002

For years, Saddam Hussein and his regime have used state-controlled media in Iraq to spread lies, and threaten his neighbors and the world. Below is a sampling of quotes from Saddam and the Iraqi media -- keyed to significant events -- showing a pattern of threats stretching back more than a decade.

The Gulf War, February 1991

"[America] will not be excluded from the operations and explosions of the Arab and Muslim mujahidin and all the honest strugglers in the world."

Iraq News Agency, January 30, 1991

(State-controlled)

"What remains for Bush and his accomplices in crime is to understand that they are personally responsible for their crime. The Iraqi people will pursue them for this crime, even if they leave office and disappear into oblivion. There is no doubt they will understand what we mean if they know what revenge means to the Arabs."

Baghdad Radio, February 6, 1991

(State-controlled)

"We will chase [Americans] to every corner at all times. No high tower of steel will protect them against the fire of truth."

Chief of Iraqi Intelligence, In a Cable to Saddam, Baghdad Radio, February 8, 1991

"Every Iraqi child, woman, and old man knows how to take revenge...They will avenge the pure blood that has been shed no matter how long it takes."

Iraqi Vice President Taha Yasin Ramadan, Baghdad Domestic Service, February 15, 1991

(State-controlled)

Iraq Masses Troops Against Kuwait, October 1994

"Does [America] realize the meaning of every Iraqi becoming a missile that can cross to countries and cities?"

Babil, September 29, 1994

(State-controlled newspaper)

"[W]hen peoples reach the verge of collective death, they will be able to spread death to all..."

Al-Jumhuriyah, October 4, 1994

(State-controlled newspaper)

"[O]ur striking arm will reach [America, Britain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait] before they know what hit them."

Al-Qadisiyah, October 6, 1994

(State-controlled newspaper)

"One chemical weapon fired in a moment of despair could cause the deaths of hundreds of thousands."

Al-Quds al-Arabi, October 12, 1994

(London-based, pro-Saddam newspaper)

Release of UNSCOM Report, April 10, 1995

"Iraq's abandonment of part of its weapons -- the long-range missiles and chemical weapons -- does not mean that it has lost everything...The Iraqi people consist of 18 million people...Should it be necessary, the people can become a huge potent force in defense of their own interests."

Nuri al-Marsoumi, Deputy Information Minister

Al-Iraq, April 11, 1995

(State-controlled newspaper)

"An extremist group in Saudi Arabia has threatened to carry out military operations against the 'crusader forces' in the Arabian peninsula, especially U.S. and British forces and what it described as the influential members of the al-Sau'd family."

Iraqi Radio, April 12, 1995

"Although Iraq's options are limited, they exist...Iraq's present state is that of a wounded tiger. Its blow could be painful, even if it is the last blow..."

Al-Quds Al-'Arabi, June 9, 1995

(London-based, pro-Saddam newspaper)

Khobar Towers Bombing, June 25, 1996

"[The U.S.] should send more coffins to Saudi Arabia, because no one can guess what the future has in store."

Iraqi Radio, June 27, 1996

(State-controlled)

Operation Desert Fox, December 1998

"If [other Arab nations] persist on pursuing their wrongful path, then we should -- or rather we must -- place the swords of jihad on their necks..."

Saddam Hussein, January 5, 1999

"Oh sons of Arabs and the Arab Gulf, rebel against the foreigner...Take revenge for your dignity, holy places, security, interests and exalted values."

Saddam Hussein, January 5, 1999

"As for those people with a dead conscience and who bear the Arab nationality, the nation said and will say its opinion on their mean act, as well as the act of their masters. They, however, will hear no other voice except that of the devil after having deafened their ears and closed their minds to the voice of justice, the voice of God the merciful, the voice of righteousness and glory. Had you called a living person, your call would have obtained response, but what you are calling is a dead person. Your blood will not be shed in vain. Your blood will light torches, grow aromatic plants, and water the tree of freedom, resistance and victory."

Saddam Hussein, Iraqi Radio, January 26, 1999

"Whoever continues to be involved in a despicable aggressive war against the people of Iraq as a subservient party must realize that this aggressive act has a dear price."

Hani Wuhayyib, Chief Editor, *Al-Qadisiyah*,

February 16, 1999

(State-controlled newspaper)

"What is required now is to deal strong blows to U.S. and British interests. These blows should be strong enough to make them feel that their interests are indeed threatened not only by words but also in deeds."

Al-Qadisiyah, February 27, 1999

(State-controlled newspaper)

U.S.S. Cole Bombing, October 12, 2000

"[Iraqis] should intensify struggle and jihad in all fields and by all means..."

Joint Statement of Iraq

Revolutionary Command Council and Iraq

Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party

and its National Command, Chaired by

Saddam Hussein, Iraq TV,

October 22, 2000

The Attacks of September 11

"The real perpetrators [of September 11] are within the collapsed buildings."

Alif-Ba, September 11, 2002

(State-controlled newspaper)

"[September 11 was] God's punishment."

Al-Iktisadi, September 11, 2002

(State-controlled newspaper)

"If the attacks of September 11 cost the lives of 3,000 civilians, how much will the size of losses in 50 states within 100 cities if it were attacked in the same way in which New York and Washington were? What would happen if hundreds of planes attacked American cities?"

Al-Rafidayn, September 11, 2002

(State-controlled newspaper)

"The simple truth [about September 11] is that America burned itself and now tries to burn the world."

Alif-Ba, September 11, 2002

(State-controlled magazine)

"The United States reaps the thorns its rulers have planted in the world."

Saddam Hussein, September 12, 2001

"[I]t is possible to turn to biological attack, where a small can, not bigger than the size of a hand, can be used to release viruses that affect everything..."

Babil, September 20, 2001

(State-controlled newspaper)

"The United States must get a taste of its own poison..."

Babil, October 8, 2001
(State-controlled newspaper)

On the Eve of the September 11 Attacks

"In [Osama bin Laden's] heart you'll find a strange determination that he will reach one day the tunnels of the White House and will bomb it with everything that is in it...[H]e will practice and work on an exercise called 'How Do You Bomb the White House'...and still thinks seriously...about the way he will try to bomb the Pentagon after he destroys the White House."

Iraqi Columnist Naeem Abd Muhalhal in
Al-Nasiriya, July 21, 2001
(State-controlled newspaper)

TALKING POINTS

MILITARY-MEDIA RELATIONSHIP, WAR ON TERRORISM

- **Openness:** It's almost counterintuitive -- despite need to maintain operational security, protect lives and preserve response options, War on Terrorism could be characterized as the war that has had the highest degree of transparency, openness and inclusion of the media and public in our nation's history.

-- DoD is posting an unprecedented amount of information to the public record on a near-real-time basis. Since 9/11, we have published more than 300 transcripts from daily press briefings, interviews, media availabilities, speeches and other public statements to provide the latest information, policy and guidance.

-- Secretary Rumsfeld has been the lead spokesman for our department, making himself available for scores of interviews, briefings and other availabilities.

-- When we say "on the record," we really mean it. Standard practice is to post a verbatim transcript of every spoken word of our press availabilities and public outreach efforts. We help maintain the "official record" through prompt, online availability of what our key leaders are saying.

- **Accountability:** One of the biggest challenges we face is countering lies and propaganda put out by others.

-- Secretary Rumsfeld is committed to truthfulness, accuracy and accountability.

-- We work closely with unified commands and services to be **more responsive to breaking developments, more open and available** to the press.

- **Inclusiveness:** We've taken a very proactive approach to reaching out to many different segments of the American and international public.

-- Regularly host influence groups, opinion leaders from all segments of society to explain where we're at, where we're going, and what we need.

-- Secretary Rumsfeld and Assistant Secretary Clarke have made a point of meeting regularly with groups of Pentagon correspondents, as well as their bureau chiefs, to address and resolve issues of mutual concern.

-- Assistant Secretary Clarke holds regular conference calls and face-to-face meetings with reporters and bureau chiefs to keep lines of communication open and flowing.

- **Productivity:** Our respective commands and services are reporting they've undertaken a 300- 400 percent (or more) increase in workload since 9/11.

- **Access:**

On the first night of strike operations, **39 media reps** from **26 news organizations** (print/photo/television) were aboard 4 U.S. Navy ships involved in Operation Enduring freedom to cover initial air and TLAM strikes; ships were USS Enterprise, USS Carl Vinson, USS Philippine Sea and USS John Paul Jones. The media included **12 U.S. television networks or newspapers**; the other **14 were international media** outlets.

Continued to work **ship embarks** with numerous other ships in the Fifth Fleet area of operations, including coverage of the **U.S. Marines** who went ashore from the **USS Pelelieu**.

Have facilitated **pool coverage** and **media embeds** with American military forces working in Afghanistan -- to include special forces actively engaged in ongoing operations. Even when we couldn't take reporters along, we have tried to provide combat camera documentation for public release.

Worked to **transition quickly from pool coverage to unilateral coverage** by setting up **press operations cells** at **Qandahar, Bagram and Camp Rhino** to facilitate access to military forces and activities.

Worked with reporters to help them get **chamber/altitude certification** so they could fly aboard the C-17s that delivered humanitarian daily rations.

Purchased satellite time and worked with CENTCOM to set up **interactive/recurring press briefings** from Tampa, linked to the Pentagon.

Set up **rotating pool coverage** of the arrival of detainees at **Guantanamo** -- 20 reporters at a time, for a day or two at a time -- with opportunities for repeat visits and continuing coverage.

- Got the leadership out front -- facilitating countless interviews, speaking engagements, and other interactions with opinion leaders, agenda setters and influence groups.

New Initiatives:

- "Defend America" web site
- "Outreach America" speakers bureau
- Congressional Outreach program

TALKING POINTS: WHERE IS IRAQ'S WMD?

Efforts to Uncover Iraqi WMD Programs

- The Coalition has developed a comprehensive approach to identify, assess, and eliminate Iraq's WMD and delivery systems
- The identification and assessment effort will focus on:
 - Interviewing and obtaining the cooperation of key Iraqi personnel;
 - Accessing and assessing sensitive sites; and
 - Obtaining and assessing key documents, computers, and other informational materials;
- Interrogating captured members of the regime and interviewing and obtaining the cooperation of key Iraqi personnel will:
 - Illuminate Iraq's past concealment and deception efforts;
 - Help identify locations, movements, and records of WMD and missiles;
 - Help to identify key military and civilian authorities controlling the development and use of WMD; and
 - Help uncover and expose Iraq's proliferation network including any plan to transfer or actual transfer of WMD to terrorists or terrorist organizations.
- Accessing and evaluating sensitive sites will:
 - Provide details on WMD and missile development, production, and weaponization;
 - Physically secure WMD weapons and materials to prevent loss or transfer; and
 - Prepare WMD infrastructure for elimination.

- **Obtaining and assessing key documents, computers, and other informational materials** will allow us to:
 - Locate previously unknown and high-priority WMD-related sites;
 - Gather additional evidence of the scope and content of the WMD programs;
 - Characterize Iraq's WMD organization, and command and control procedures;
 - Evaluate Iraqi command and control procedures for and plans to use WMD; and
 - Identify Iraq's proliferation network and means to acquire sensitive technologies.

- **Site Selection:** Suspect sites are prioritized for assessment based on:
 - Pre-conflict intelligence estimates of WMD-related locations;
 - Incoming intelligence;
 - Interviews with Iraqi scientists, government officials, and civilians.
- **Based on pre-conflict intelligence, we compiled a list of roughly 1,000 sites of interest.**
 - That number will grow as more information becomes available and is analyzed.
 - Thus far, teams are visiting roughly one unplanned site for every two sites on our initial list.

- **Current Approach to Site Analysis and Elimination:** Suspect sites will be analyzed and, if necessary, disabled or eliminated by highly specialized teams:
 - **Site Survey Teams (SSTs)** travel with CENTCOM's combat units and conduct initial estimates to quickly determine the current status of a site.

- **Mobile Exploitation Teams (METs)** conduct more thorough assessments of sites surveyed by the SSTs, and also inspect additional sites recommended by CENTCOM;
- **Disablement Teams** disable, render safe or eliminate delivery systems, weapons, agents or equipment.
- Total personnel on the ground are currently approximately 200, plus another 400 in support roles.
- **Iraq Survey Group**: This group will assume responsibility from the SSTs and METs for WMD-related efforts in Iraq.
 - It will be led by a two-star general officer and will report to General Franks.
 - Deployment of the ISG will begin in late May.
 - The ISG will add approximately xx experts to the current effort.
- **Management of WMD Samples**: Samples of potentially dangerous materials are being tested and handled with the greatest care:
 - Where possible, suspect materials are tested on site for an initial reading.
 - Four samples are taken from a location:
 - One is sent to a theater laboratory for further testing.
 - A second is sent to a laboratory in the United States for confirmation or further analysis.
 - A third sample is sent to a non-U.S. lab for independent analysis and verification.
 - A fourth is kept in a reference library.
 - Strict chain-of-custody procedures are followed when transporting samples.

- **Interviewing Key Personnel:** Recognizing that people familiar with Iraq's WMD programs have always been the best source of information about those programs, we are working to:
 - Locate and contact key WMD scientists from an intelligence-based priority list;
 - Expand that list as more information becomes available inside Iraq;
 - Conduct initial interviews to determine a person's level of knowledge and willingness to cooperate;
 - Encourage cooperation by providing incentives for those with knowledge to help the Coalition find WMD and document Iraqi WMD programs.

- **Interviewing Regime Figures:** It should be recognized that regime figures have responsibility for deception and denial efforts related to WMD.
 - While they may know where WMD efforts, materials, etc., may be located, they will have incentives to continue their deception.
 - Therefore, we expect it will take time to gather a complete picture from them of Iraq's WMD program.
 - We are, however, satisfied that these figures have begun to offer useful information.

- **Documents, Computers, and other Media:** Finding and analyzing such materials will be an important source of information about Iraq's WMD programs.
 - The Survey and Exploitation Teams, which are searching for and collecting materials, are visiting WMD sites and other locations.
 - Results from interviews with key personnel may yield materials or their locations.
 - Iraq WMD analysts and linguists will analyze materials found.
 - Analytical support from the intelligence community in the United States will also analyze materials.

- The ISG will take on this responsibility when it is stood up.
- Results from interrogations, interviews, and document exploitation are yielding useful information on Iraq's WMD programs.
- **WMD Disposition:** Disposition of hazardous materials will be accomplished through safe and reliable methods.
 - The precise method will be determined based on the type and quantity of a given weapon, agent or delivery system.
 - In most instances, materials will be transported to a centralized safe storage site prior to elimination
 - When necessary for safety and security reasons (e.g., because the materials pose an immediate danger and/or cannot be safely transported), they will be destroyed in the field.

Difficulty of Finding Iraq's WMD

- With the end of combat operations in Iraq, efforts to find and dismantle WMD programs can be accelerated.
 - Coalition forces are still engaged in operations to defeat residual regime forces and secure the country.
 - As vestiges of the regime are eliminated and security restored, people with knowledge of its programs will be able to talk with greater freedom.
 - People familiar with the programs have always been the best source of information about the programs.
 - Because of the regime's expertise in hiding materials, and the many years over which they conducted their programs with international inspectors in Iraq, it's rare that inspectors or military forces find anything significant without being given information by those with firsthand knowledge.

- **Finding prohibited materials could take months or even years.**
 - It took four years after the end of the first Gulf War to discover the existence of Iraq's biological weapons program, which Iraq finally admitted to after years of denial.
 - Information on the biological program was provided by a defector. The likelihood of having discovered the program without his information was quite low.
 - Similarly, it took four years after the end of the Gulf War to discover the full extent of Iraq's nuclear programs.

- **Many factors contribute to the difficulties of finding WMD materials and evidence of the extent of the Saddam regime's program.**
 - Saddam's regime had highly developed expertise in hiding prohibited materials and programs.
 - It deceived inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency for years before the Gulf War.
 - It defeated the efforts of UNSCOM to find its materials for seven years.
 - Before last November, the regime had four years when no inspectors at all were operating inside Iraq.
 - Four years to hide materials and documents;
 - Four years to improve its dual-use facilities;
 - Four years for the regime to cover its tracks.
 - It carefully embedded its WMD infrastructure in dual-use facilities.
 - For instance, facilities for making deadly nerve agents were also producing legitimate products like pesticides.
 - Such sites can fool inspectors into believing that no illicit activity is taking place.

- The same precursors and materials that can be used for making deadly nerve agents or BW agents can be used for producing legitimate products, such as pesticides and vaccine.
- Given such extensive concealment and deception activities, the nature of WMD-related evidence we may find could take many forms, and could require extensive analysis and assessment:
 - For example, thus far, Coalition forces and experts have not found large hidden stockpiles of chemical weapons or possible biological weapons.
 - They are finding large amounts of chemical agents that could have served as precursors, suggesting intended use in a weapons program. They may find caches of seed stock or growth media appropriate for biological weapons.
 - They may simply find dual-use infrastructure that could support weapons production, suitable for rapid weapons production, but little direct evidence of on-hand stocks of weapons or agent.
 - They may find former personnel and documents testifying to the existence of WMD and related infrastructure and, perhaps, to Saddam's deliberate disposal of those items in the run-up to the war.
 - They may find extensive WMD defense equipment (suggesting preparations to protect Iraqi forces from exposure to Iraqi WMD in the event of a conflict).
- It will take a patient and comprehensive effort to uncover the full scope of Iraq's WMD programs. Our effort is in its early stages.
- We can only do so when we have access to people and documents involved in the programs.
 - We are seeking out such people, and will continue to seek them out.
 - Similarly, we are seeking key documents that might reveal information about Iraq's programs.

- **This effort will take a long time.**
 - **It's impossible to say how long.**
 - **Remember that it took four years after the Gulf War to discover the extent of both Iraq's biological and nuclear weapons programs.**
 - **We are committed to staying the course, disarming Iraq of all WMD, and disposing of all dangerous and prohibited materials.**

- **Over the coming months, Coalition forces and experts will assemble and analyze the evidence. This evidence may lead to a range of conclusions. It may point to:**
 - **A system designed to avoid stockpiling of a large Iraqi WMD arsenal hidden away from inspectors, or**
 - **Transfer of Iraqi WMD to other countries or terrorist organizations, or**
 - **A systematic attempt to conceal the Iraqi WMD program through disposal (if only temporary) of WMD and related infrastructure, or**
 - **Iraqi emphasis on a large, dual-use infrastructure that could be mobilized for rapid WMD production when needed, or**
 - **Any combination of the above or a set of circumstances we have not anticipated because we do not know what we do not know.**

IF ASKED ABOUT A UN ROLE:

- **Many areas of Iraq are still not secure. Others have only recently been secured. Consequently, we are still at a very early stage in our efforts to uncover Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.**
- **There will be a role for international experts from the Coalition and its partners in verifying the destruction of WMD.**



US Department of Defense

Talking Points – NATO Defense Ministers Meeting – Dec. 2, 2003

Secretary Rumsfeld and Marine Gen. Peter Pace, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have finished a two-day conference of defense ministers at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Following are highlights of the secretary's comments and other news about the meetings. The next NATO summit is scheduled for May in Istanbul, Turkey.

- **NATO is evolving to meet 21st century challenges.**
 - As an institution, NATO is evolving to counter the new threats that exist in the world.
 - The NATO countries are deeply involved in the global war on terror.
 - Twelve of the 19 current NATO allies and six of the seven member nations invited to join NATO have contributed troops to serve in Iraq.
 - Three NATO countries have agreed to send more troops to Afghanistan. The countries have not yet been named because their parliaments must first formalize the commitments.
 - NATO countries are affected by terrorism, both in the loss of troops by countries such as Britain, Spain and Poland and Denmark, and as the targets of terrorist attacks, such as the recent bombings in Turkey.

- **NATO has made progress toward reshaping itself.**
 - Seven new member nations have been invited to join the Alliance. ([link to list](#))
 - A NATO Response Force became operational in October.
 - NATO is streamlining its organizational structure.
 - The number of commands has been reduced from 20 to 11.
 - Headquarters staff has been trimmed by 26 percent toward a goal of 30 percent.

- **The United States supports an expanded role for NATO, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan.**
 - The International Security Assistance Force is operating well in Kabul, Afghanistan.
 - The mission is the first outside NATO's treaty area.
 - The alliance has agreed to add provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan.
 - Preliminary discussions are underway about the possibility of NATO taking the lead role in Afghanistan military operations.

- **A new multinational battalion designed to defend against and respond to attacks by weapons of mass destruction is now operational.**
 - Various NATO countries will supply specific capabilities to the battalion in six-month rotations.
 - The Czech Republic will lead the first rotation; Germany will lead the second.
 - The United States is supporting the battalion's deployable nuclear, biological and chemical analytical laboratory in the first rotation, and the biological laboratory and sampling team in the second rotation.

- **As NATO discusses more missions, it must address the low number of deployable forces.**
 - Member nations must eliminate forces that cannot meet 21st century threats and invest the savings into capabilities NATO needs.
 - Defense ministers are discussing the usability and deployability of forces.
 - The number of troops and munitions do not necessarily correspond directly to capability.
 - Speed and flexibility are more important than mass.

Force Protection Talking Points and Q&A

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Core Messages

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, DoD has learned that many of its components interpret their authority to conduct counter-terrorism missions too narrowly.

This directive clarifies the military's long-standing authority and duty to protect Americans from terrorist attacks at home and abroad.

DoD intelligence and information gathering about suspected terrorists helps defend American men and women in uniform and DoD installations against terrorist attacks.

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, DoD has learned that many of its components interpret their authority to conduct counter-terrorism missions too narrowly.

- DoD's authority to investigate suspected terrorists has existed for 20 years, but in the past, interpretations and utilization of this authority have been overly cautious.
- The Secretary's message reminds DoD components of their existing authority, and becomes effective immediately.
- Information may be gathered when it is needed to protect DoD employees, information, property, and facilities; or when such information is needed to protect the safety of any person.
 - For example, if a DoD law enforcement officer notices a red car parked across from a base and its occupants are surveilling the base with binoculars and cameras, a DoD law enforcement officer has always had the authority to investigate and record this event, even though it occurs outside the military base.
- Information-gathering techniques that will not be used:
 - Creation of dossiers on local citizens.
 - Employing DoD technical assets to track individuals.
 - Troops assisting in personal and/or property searches.

This directive clarifies the military's long-standing authority and duty to protect Americans from terrorist attacks at home and abroad.

- The September 11th attacks confirmed that terrorists will strike the U.S. within its borders.
- During the war against terrorism, our enemies are more determined than ever to destroy U.S. facilities and take American lives at home and abroad.

- The bombing of Khobar Towers and the attack on the USS Cole are just two examples of terrorist atrocities against American men and women in uniform.
- DoD policy establishes procedures under which DoD intelligence and counterintelligence components -- when necessary to their force protection and combating terrorism missions -- may collect, retain and disseminate information about U.S. residents reasonably believed to be engaged in terrorist activities threatening U.S.-based personnel and facilities.

DoD intelligence and information gathering about suspected terrorists helps defend Americans against terrorist attacks.

- The war against terrorism is not just a military operation. It has financial, intelligence, law enforcement, diplomacy and legal dimensions as well.
- The war against terrorism will not just be fought with military force, it will be waged and won with information and intelligence that helps us thwart future terrorist attacks before they occur.
- The President has directed that the U.S. Government use every available resource to combat terrorism. DoD has intelligence resources and information that may be shared with other federal and local agencies -- when appropriate -- to help us win the war against terrorism.

Force Protection Q&A

Q: What will be different as a result of this message from the Secretary of Defense?

A: Any differences will be in the extent to which some installations, military law enforcement and intelligence personnel execute the existing authority.

For example, if a DoD law enforcement officer notices a red car parked across from a base and its occupants are surveilling the base with binoculars and cameras, a DoD law enforcement officer has always had the authority to share and forward information, and record this event, even though it occurs outside the military base.

Or, hypothetically, if one of our service members report they are being followed; asked probing questions about what their clearance level is; what time they arrive and leave work and the routes they take; or about the movement of principals they are able to report their experience to DoD law enforcement or intelligence officer.

What we're telling people now is to share and forward information of this type not only to local law enforcement agencies, but also to the appropriate DoD intelligence agencies, as the existing authority and law permits, for retention and analysis in their force protection and counter-terrorism missions.

Q: Why has it taken two decades to implement these protections?

A: This is not about implementation; the policy has always been implemented. In the last twenty years, however, DoD has not fully exercised its authority to collect information within the United States because we did not perceive the need. Had we perceived the need, we would have exercised our authority to the fullest extent necessary. The primary threat was always outside the United States. The September 11 attack on America demonstrated that terrorists, live, plan, operate and will attack from within U.S. borders and that U.S. forces are at risk even in the U.S.

Q: Has DoD ever tried to fully utilize this authority over the last twenty years?

A: No. Prior to September 11th, the threat to DoD personnel and installations was generally perceived to be outside the U.S, and full utilization of the authority to collect information was not considered necessary.

Q: Is the Department of Justice aware of and supportive of this interpretation?

A: Yes. The U.S. Attorney General approved the DoD regulation 20 years ago. The regulation has not been changed since then, and is not changed by the secretary's message, which simply reminds military members of existing law. The Department of Justice recently the policy and reaffirmed our interpretation and enforcement of it.

Q: Is this regulation a threat to the civil liberties of U.S. citizens?

A: No. The regulation is designed to maintain maximum protection for U.S. citizens - both their public safety and their privacy. DoD maintains vigorous oversight of both the DoD intelligence and law enforcement components to ensure that the rights of citizens are protected.

Q: How would the secretary's message affect the application of the Posse Comitatus Act?

A: It is not affected by the Posse Comitatus Act. The secretary's message does not expand DoD's participation in civilian law enforcement. (If pressed on Posse Comitatus, the secretary has said he does not believe the Department of Defense has a role in civilian law enforcement.)

There are many instances during the war against terrorism when DoD components have helped other law enforcement officials ensure safety and security -- the Olympics, the September 11 anniversary and the Washington snipers case are a few examples.

Q: Does this policy apply to overseas military installations?

A: Yes. The U.S. military collects intelligence on suspected terrorists overseas.

Q: How quickly will this practice go into effect?

A: The authority has existed for 20 years. The secretary's message reminds DoD components of their existing authority.

Q: Will this policy require more funding or personnel?

A: We anticipate no additional funding or personnel requirements at this time.

Q: what caused you to issue additional guidance?

A: The September 11th attack confirmed that terrorists live, plan, operate and will strike the U.S. from within its own borders. The secretary's message is designed to remind DoD components of their authority to address the threat within the United States and directs them to fully exercise that authority.

Q: Why has DoD's authority been interpreted differently for so long?

A: It's not a matter of interpretation. It's a matter of dealing with perceived threat. In the absence of a clear domestic threat, there was no impetus for domestic application of this authority. President Bush established the nation's priority for detecting and responding to terrorism. We intend to support that imperative.

Q: What kind of people will you investigate?

A: Those involved in international terrorist activities; and those who constitute a threat to DoD employees, information, property, and facilities, or any other person.

Q: This is a pretty broad category (above). How can the American people be assured that DoD's authority will not be abused?

A: DoD personnel involved in investigations and intelligence are trained with regard to the activities permitted under the department's authority. The assistant to the secretary of defense for intelligence oversight will provide training to the DoD intelligence community. The DoD inspector general will provide training to DoD's law enforcement community.

Q: Will U.S. journalists be investigated?

A: Existing law does not categorize individuals by profession. All U.S. persons enjoy the same protections.

Q: What kind of information will you collect?

A: The secretary's message does not change DoD practices or policy in terms of information collected. DoD personnel may collect information they reasonably believe is related to international terrorism and/or threats to military facilities.

IRAQI WAR CRIMES

Interagency Talking Points

Key Points

- We are receiving extremely disturbing information indicating that the Iraqi regime is engaged in a consistent and systematic pattern of war crimes and atrocities, including violations of the Hague and Geneva Conventions.

- In the current conflict, there are credible reports and evidence that Iraqi forces have:
 - Executed coalition soldiers following their surrender or capture;
 - Waged attacks while posing as civilians;
 - Used civilians as human shields;
 - Waved the flag of surrender only to attack coalition forces;
 - Intentionally operated inside of and near hospitals and other civilian buildings;
 - Killed civilians, including by execution;
 - Forced civilians to fight at gun point and killed those who refused.

- This pattern of war crimes and other atrocities is nothing new:
 - There is an extensive body of evidence that the Iraqi regime has repeatedly committed serious violations of international law over the past two decades.
 - The Iraqi regime killed between 50,000 and 100,000 Kurds during the Anfal campaign in 1988, including about 40 gas attacks against Halabjah and other villages.
 - It is estimated that 1.5 million people were displaced abroad by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1991, while the remaining 750,000 endured brutalities, oppression, torture. More than 1,000 were killed and over 600 persons are still missing.
 - The Iraqi regime brutally suppressed Shi'a Muslim insurgencies in Southern Iraq in 1991, indiscriminately attacking the population and killing between 30,000 to 60,000 persons. By draining the southern marshes, carrying out artillery bombardments and secretly executing thousands, including women and children, almost all of the inhabitants have been displaced from the region.
 - In Desert Storm in 1991, the Iraqis mistreated U.S. and Coalition forces in numerous respects, including physical abuse and torture, forced propaganda statements, and denial of ICRC access until the day of repatriation.
 - The Iraqis also mistreated Iranian POWs during the 8-year Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s.
 - Throughout the regime's rule, arbitrary and extrajudicial executions, rape and torture against political prisoners and their relatives have been routine. Those days are coming to an end.

-- As President Bush stated, in the conflict with Iraq "war crimes will be prosecuted. War crimes will be punished" (March 17). "The day of Iraq's liberation will also be a day of justice" (March 26).

-- Our troops have been given the additional mission to help secure and preserve evidence of war crimes and atrocities.

-- If war crimes are committed against U.S. personnel we will investigate and prosecute. We will also seek and prosecute those who committed or ordered war crimes against U.S. personnel during the Gulf War of 1991.

-- For atrocities committed in the past against Iraqis, we believe that those responsible should be brought before an Iraqi-led process. The United States, together with others in the international community, intends to help ensure that a strong and credible process is created to bring the perpetrators to justice.

* * *

Q. Can you give us details on the Iraqi regime's current war crimes?

- **Execution of POWs:** There are indications that Iraqi forces may have executed coalition soldiers following their surrender.
- **Civilian killings:** There are reports that Iraqi authorities executed 16 or more Kurds in Kirkuk. We have received reports that Iraqi forces have fired mortars at civilians in Basra. It has been reported that a man who had his tongue cut out for speaking out against the regime was left to die in the street. A woman was hanged because she waved at a passing convoy of coalition troops.
- **Misuse of protected property for military purposes:** The Iraqi forces have positioned military weapons near civilian buildings, such as hospitals. On March 25, a cache of Iraqi AK-47 Assault Rifles was discovered at a hospital in An Nasiriyah, Iraq. Marines of the 2nd Battalion, 8th Marines, found and confiscated over 200 weapons and stockpiles of ammunition, over 3,000 chemical suits with masks and Iraqi military uniforms.
- **Use of involuntary human shields:** There are numerous reports indicating that Iraqi armed forces have used women and children as human shields.
- **Fighting in civilian clothes:** Coalition soldiers have recounted being attacked by Iraqi armed forces dressed in civilian clothes. When the coalition soldiers captured some of these Iraqi forces, they were wearing Iraqi uniforms underneath their civilian dress.

- **Improper use of flag of truce/feigning surrender:** Several incidents of regime forces illegally deceiving U.S. military forces by falsely showing a flag of truce, indicating a willingness to talk or surrender, and then firing on or attacking these forces. A group of Iraqis near Nasiriyah waved a white flag and then fired artillery, killing as many as nine marines.
- **Maltreatment of corpses and POWs:** The corpses of some coalition soldiers may have been mistreated by not being properly handled and photographed. In addition, exposing to public curiosity (i.e., publicly released photographs and video) of interrogation of U.S. POWs may be a violation of the Geneva Convention.
- **Forced conscription of Iraqi civilians:** We have received numerous reports of Iraqi civilians being forced to fight at gunpoint. Members of the Iraqi regime are reportedly seizing children from their homes near the town of an Najaf and are telling families that males must fight for the regime or they will all face execution.

* * *

Q. Do you continue to document past atrocities?

A. -- We continue to do our part to collect information regarding the widely reported cases of the gassing of his people, mass executions, rape and other atrocities.

-- This has been part of an ongoing effort during the last two years.

* * *

Q. How does the U.S. want to pursue accountability for war crimes committed against U.S. personnel in the current conflict?

A. -- There are several available options to prosecute current war crimes committed against U.S. personnel, from military proceedings to U.S. civilian courts.

* * *

Q. How will justice be sought for any crimes against Iraqis in the current conflict, or against Iraqis in the past?

A. -- For atrocities committed against Iraqis, we believe that those responsible should be brought before an Iraqi-led process. The United States, with the help of the international community, intends to help ensure that a strong and credible process is created to bring the perpetrators to justice.

* * *

Q. Is exile for Saddam Hussein or others still an option?

A. -- President Bush on March 17 gave Saddam and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq and stated that their refusal to do so will result in military conflict. Saddam has missed the opportunity to avoid conflict.

* * *

Q. Isn't the U.S. committing war crimes by killing civilians?

A. -- No. The United States does not intentionally target civilians, and it does not engage in indiscriminate attacks. To the contrary, the United States takes extraordinary steps to ensure that civilians are not harmed.

-- In all cases, the United States deeply regrets civilian casualties resulting from conflict. We work hard to minimize the impact of hostilities on the civilian population in Iraq. American forces will continue to attempt to protect civilian lives to the greatest degree possible.

-- Our armed forces have extensive standard operating procedures in place to minimize civilian casualties and other collateral damage. The United States devotes tremendous resources to training in the law of armed conflict. We are constantly guided by the principles of military necessity, avoiding unnecessary suffering, and proportionality.

-- US/Coalition forces use an elaborate process to nominate and approve potential targets. Lawyers with expertise in the rules pertaining to armed conflict are directly involved in each and every phase of the target selection process.

* * *

Q. What if U.S. personnel violate these policies and commit war crimes?

A. -- We will investigate and as appropriate prosecute any persons who are found responsible for war crimes, as we have in the past. The USG does not tolerate commission of war crimes.

-- For example, Department of Defense Directive 5100.77 (DoD Law of War Program) requires that "all reportable incidents involving violations of the law of war committed by or against U.S. or enemy persons are promptly reported, thoroughly investigated, and when appropriate, remedied by corrective action."

* * *

Q. Can you give us some examples of when U.S. personnel have been punished for violating the law of armed conflict ?

A. – We have punished soldiers for violating the law of armed conflict. For example:

Kosovo

-- In Kosovo, we prosecuted a soldier for raping and killing an 11-year-old Kosovo girl. SSG Ronghi pled guilty to murder and received life imprisonment. Although this incident was not deemed a law of armed conflict violation, it occurred during NATO operations in Kosovo

Vietnam

-- The U.S. prosecuted individuals for the well-known My Lai incident in which 350 Vietnamese civilians were killed.

-- Following extensive investigation and prosecution 1LT Calley was found primarily responsible for the killings and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Others were prosecuted but acquitted.

Guantanamo Bay Detainee Policy

Q. Isn't the United States applying a double standard by invoking the protections of the Geneva Conventions when its soldiers are captured by Iraq but denying the same protections to those it has captured in Afghanistan and elsewhere in the global war on terrorism?

A. -- The United States is a strong supporter of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War.

-- Iraq is a party to the Geneva Conventions, and the United States is treating captured soldiers in the Iraqi regular army as POWs under the Convention.

-- Although Afghanistan was a party to the Geneva Conventions, the President determined that the members of the Taliban who were detained did not meet the conditions for being considered POWs under the Geneva Convention.

-- The President concluded that al Qaida is an international terrorist group and cannot be considered a state party to the Geneva Convention. Its members were not therefore covered by the Geneva Convention and are not entitled to POW status under the treaty.

-- Nonetheless, the President made it clear that detained individuals were to be treated humanely and in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Conventions.

-- This demonstrates our clear commitment to the principles of the Geneva Conventions.

* * *

Q. Why doesn't the U.S. grant POW status to the Taliban?

-- the Taliban did not qualify as lawful combatants (or POWs) under Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 because they failed to satisfy the following conditions:

- Be part of a responsible military hierarchy;
- Wear uniforms or other distinctive signs visible at a distance;
- Carry arms openly; and
- Conduct their military operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

* * *

Q. What about Al Qai'da?

A. Aside from the failure of its members to satisfy the conditions for lawful combatant status, Al-Qaida is not a state party to the Geneva Convention; it is a foreign terrorist group. As such, its members are not entitled to POW status.

Q. You said that many Iraqi forces do not wear uniforms or other distinctive signs, and do not comply with the laws and customs of war. Does this mean that these forces, if captured, will not receive POW protection?

A. -- During the heat of battle all captured Iraqi forces are presumed to be POWs and are being treated as such.

-- At a later date, we may determine that some of these forces do not deserve POW status.

-- Even then, however, Iraqi combatants who do not qualify for POW status will nonetheless be treated humanely and in a manner consistent with the Geneva Conventions

Q. Can you comment on reports that Guantanamo detainees are being mistreated?

A. -- These reports are false. We are treating and will continue to treat those detained at Guantanamo humanely and in a manner consistent with the Third Geneva Convention of 1949. Those released from Guantanamo have departed in better condition than when they arrived.

-- The bottom line is that Guantanamo detainees are receiving the basic protections normally afforded POWs. The United States is providing:

- Shelter,
- Running water and toilets,
- Beds And Blankets,
- Personal Toiletries,
- New Towels And Washcloths,
- New Clothing And Shoes,
- The Opportunity To Take Showers Regularly, And
- Three Culturally Appropriate Meals A Day (Average Weight Gain Has Been About 14.5 Lbs Per Person).
- Each Detainee Has His Own Living Unit.
- Every detainee has the ability to pray and has access to a Muslim cleric.

-- The United States Is Providing Detainees Excellent Medical And Dental Care. For Example, Detainees Have Received Prescription Medication, Eye Examinations And

Corrective Eyewear, Repaired Or New Prosthetic Devices, And Hospitalization And Surgery.

* * *

Q. Can you comment on reports that the detainees are being tortured?

A. -- The United States does not permit, tolerate, or condone torture. Period. President Bush reaffirmed this to U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights De Mello this month. Torture is a violation of U.S. law. Allegations of torture will be thoroughly investigated.

-- This fundamental principle remains true despite the atrocity committed against our people on September 11, 2001, by those who observed no international legal norms, who disregarded the law of armed conflict, and who had no regard for the lives of thousands of innocent Americans or the anguish of their families.

* * *

Q. Is displaying photographs of captured enemy combatants a violation of the Geneva Convention?

A. -- The 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (GPW) does not prohibit POWs from being photographed. However, Article 13 of the GPW provides that "prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity."

-- As the International Conference of the Red Cross has recognized, reproductions of POWs can sometimes serve salutary purposes, such as showing that POWs are alive, and demonstrating adequate standards of treatment. It has been common in every war this century to take photographs of POWs surrendering, receiving medical treatment on the battlefield, and more.

-- The purpose of Article 13 of the the GPW is not to prohibit POW photographs *per se*, but rather (in the words of the Geneva Convention's official commentary) to protect "the [POW's] honour." The International Conference of the Red Cross has interpreted Article 13 as "prohibiting the public transmission of images of prisoners of war as individuals, but not forbidding the public transmission of images of prisoners of war who cannot be individually recognized."

-- The International Conference of the Red Cross in particular stressed that "media images of prisoners of war making statements" is not permitted. This, of course, is precisely what the Iraqi regime has done.

-- Prior to the conflict, the United States issued the following guidelines to embedded reporters: "No photographs or other visual media showing an enemy prisoner of war or detainee's recognizable face, nametag or other identifying feature or item may be taken." We are reviewing our guidelines to ensure compliance by embedded reporters.

* * *

Q. Hasn't the U.S. violated the Geneva Convention by taking pictures of detainees at Guantanamo?

A. -- Of the few photographs we disseminated, they were group photographs designed to show the nature of the process and not to humiliate the detainees. Many of the other photographs that have appeared were generated by the press and taken from a distance.

* * *

Q. Isn't the U.S. violating human rights law by detaining persons at GTMO without a trial?

A. -- The United States and its coalition partners are at war with al-Qa'ida and its supporters; a war which we did not start. International law has long recognized the rights of states to defend themselves and detain enemy combatants until the cessation of hostilities. This has been the practice of the U.S. and its allies in every modern war.

-- In this, as in all wars, it is impossible to predict when hostilities will end. Despite our efforts, al-Qa'ida and its supporters continue to attempt to attack U.S. citizens and interests, our friends and allies.

-- Al-Qa'ida and associated terrorist groups still present a very real threat to U.S. citizens—specifically targeting civilians—and continue to wage war against us.

-- The United States has the right under international law—and the responsibility under our Constitution—to protect and defend our people against further attacks.

-- Our actions in the war on terrorism, including continued detention of enemy combatants, benefit not only our people, but all people who could become targets.

-- Some have erroneously claimed that the United States is violating domestic and international laws that prohibit the "indefinite" detention of individuals without trial. This faulty assumption has led some to pressure the U.S. Government to expedite interrogations and investigations, and quickly decide the fate of all enemy combatants. There is broad authority under the laws and customs of war to detain enemy combatants, without any requirement to bring criminal charges while hostilities last.

Criminal law provisions, whether in the U.S. or elsewhere, simply are not relevant here.

-- Al-Qa'ida is a terrorist organization, unlawfully engaged in an armed conflict targeting civilians and military personnel and objects around the world. Al-Qa'ida's conduct flagrantly violates even the most fundamental laws and customs of war. In addition to unlawfully targeting civilians, al-Qa'ida's methods and means of waging war are at odds with every requirement applicable to lawful armed forces.

-- We cannot have an international legal system in which honorable soldiers who abide by the law of armed conflict and are captured on the battlefield may be detained and held until the end of a war, but terrorists who violate the law of armed conflict must be released and allowed to continue their belligerent, unlawful, or terrorist activities. Such a legal regime would signal to the international community that it is acceptable for armies to behave like terrorists.

* * *

Q. Will you hold the detainees indefinitely?

A. -- Defense Secretary Rumsfeld has stated his intention not to hold anyone longer than necessary. To that end, our Department of Defense has procedures in place to assess, systematically and periodically, the Guantanamo detainee population and determine, among other things, if continued detention is necessary for each individual.

-- Some detainees have explicitly told us that they would rejoin hostilities immediately upon being released.

-- However, the Department of Defense has already approved the release of a number of detainees from the Guantanamo Bay detention facility and anticipates that there will be additional detainee releases in the future.

-- It is important to stress that the DoD assessment process is deliberate, thorough, and time-consuming.

-- The detainees will ultimately be divided into three groups. There will be a group that the U.S. prosecutes or holds during hostilities. There will be a group that is transferred to the detainee's home government for prosecution or continued detention. And there will be a group that is released when it is determined that they no longer pose a threat.

Q. If detainees are released, does that suggest that they shouldn't have been detained in the first place?

A. -- No. The detainees were captured during an armed conflict because they were enemy combatants. Their capture and detention on that basis is proper. During their detention, we assess – among other things – their potential to remain a threat to U.S. security, available information concerning whether they may have engaged in the commission of war crimes, and their potential to support or participate in future acts of terrorism or combatant activities. Based on these and other considerations, we have concluded that some could be released under certain conditions.

-- Those detained at Guantanamo were sent there for a reason. As we have stated numerous times, when the armed conflict ends, and/or an enemy combatant is determined to no longer pose a threat, and has no more intelligence or law enforcement information of value, he will be released or transferred to the control of another government.

* * *

Q. Will you still use military commissions to try al Qaida?

A. -- Military commissions are an option available to the President to try al Qaida combatants.

-- As a matter of historical precedent, the U.S. and its European allies have convened military courts or commissions primarily in connection with war-related offenses.

-- The U.S. used military commissions in the Revolutionary War, the Mexican-American War, the U.S. Civil War, and WWII. The Europeans also used military commissions extensively in the 19th and 20th centuries, including in WWI and WWII.

International Criminal Court

Q. Should the International Criminal Court handle any war crimes cases in Iraq?

A. -- Neither the United States nor Iraq is party to the International Criminal Court.

-- It is our view that this should be handled either by the U.S. or the Iraqi people with international support.

* * *

Q. Isn't your pursuit of war crimes hypocritical given your position on the International Criminal Court?

A. -- We believe that the those who support the International Criminal Court have noble intentions, and we share their goal that individuals must be accountable for their actions. We disagree strongly, however, that the ICC is the proper mechanism for pursuing accountability.

-- The United States has been a leading supporter of the fight against war crimes and other atrocities worldwide from the time of Nuremberg and the war crimes tribunals in the Far East during World War II to the present day.

-- We were instrumental in the establishment of the UN International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

-- We are the largest financial contributor to the UN Tribunals, having provided over \$300 million to the Rwanda and Yugoslav Tribunals to date.

-- We have aggressively used our Rewards for Justice program, which offers up to \$5 million dollars for information leading to the arrest and transfer to the Rwanda and Yugoslav Tribunals of persons indicted for war crimes, with success.

-- We support efforts to establish a credible tribunal to bring to justice those most responsible for the atrocities committed under the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979.

-- We support the work of the Serious Crimes Unit in East Timor to bring to justice those most responsible for the atrocities committed during the 1999 referendum.

-- We provide extensive diplomatic, financial, logistical, and technical support for such efforts to end impunity worldwide on an ongoing basis.

* * *

Q. Why is the U.S. opposed to the International Criminal Court?

A. -- The U.S. has major reservations about the International Criminal Court (ICC).

-- As a basic principle, the United States strongly objects to the ICC's claims to jurisdiction over the nationals, including government officials, of states not party to the Rome Statute.

-- The Rome Statute lacks sufficient safeguards. There aren't the checks and balances needed to ensure that politically motivated investigations and prosecutions do not occur.

-- We believe our citizens are especially vulnerable to politically motivated actions because of the United States' unique role in maintaining international peace and security.

-- Our policy is to encourage states to pursue credible justice within their own institutions, consistent with their responsibilities as sovereign states.

-- We all desire justice for war criminals. While we may have honest disagreements with other nations on the means, building sovereign institutions to strengthen the rule of law is a common aim.

* * *

Q. Are you still pursuing Article 98 agreements?

A. Yes. -- Our proposal to conclude bilateral Article 98 Agreements draws directly from the provisions of the Rome Statute.

-- An Article 98 agreement is fully consistent with the requirements and the spirit of the Rome Statute.

-- The U.S. is not out to sabotage either the ICC or undermine the integrity of international peacekeeping efforts.

-- We have made it clear that we would try to work with our friends to find a practical solution to this issue that would preserve everyone's interests.

[if pressed]

-- It is difficult to see how our attempt to use provisions of the treaty to protect our citizens would do unacceptable damage to the Treaty, when the Treaty itself (Article 124) allows parties to exempt their nationals from the jurisdiction of the ICC for war crimes for an extended period (seven years). One EU member, France, has already done so..

-- Peacekeepers in ISAF, including British and French troops, also enjoy even more sweeping and explicit immunities in Afghanistan from surrender to the ICC.

* * *

Q. Aren't Article 98 agreements an effort by the U.S. to insure it can act with impunity in every country in the world?

A. – Absolutely not. We are not seeking to act with impunity. We will continue to investigate and prosecute, as appropriate, our soldiers who commit violations. We also take immense steps to ensure that our soldiers do not commit violations in the first place.

-- Article 98 agreements are fully consistent with the Rome Treaty; already, 27 countries, including state parties to the Rome Treaty, have signed agreements(as of 3/27/03).

Appendix

TIMELINE OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE IRAQI REGIME

1978 – Within a few weeks of formally taking power, having been de facto rule of Iraq since 1968 during the nominal presidency of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Saddam Hussein instituted a brutal purge of the Ba'ath Party hierarchy.

- Estimates that several hundred killed.

1980-1988 – Iraq launched a full-scale invasion of Iran.

- The attack on Iran in 1980 was a clear contravention of Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter and customary international law
- In **1983** the Iraqi armed forces, on orders from Saddam, used poison gas against Iranian troops.
- The Iraqi regime also launched indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets, including the deployment of missiles against Iranian cities as a deliberate terror tactic.
- The war finally ended through a United Nations-brokered agreement in August 1988 after more than ***one million people had been killed***.

1988 – The Anfal (name given to a series of eight military offensives conducted between late February to early October 1988). It was a systematic campaign of extermination waged against the Kurdish population of Northern Iraq between 1987-1988.

- Estimates of the total number of persons killed vary between 50,000 and 100,000, but may be as high as 182,000.

August 1990 – Iraqi forces began their advance towards Kuwait. By August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces were in full control of Kuwait City.

- More than 1,000 were killed and over 600 persons are still missing.

1991 – Following the ceasefire that brought the Gulf War to an end, demonstrations began immediately in the southern cities of Basra, Najaf and Karbala, which quickly flared into open rebellion. The methods employed by the Iraqi regime to put down the rebellion were ruthless. Helicopter gunships were used to dreadful effect against indiscriminate targets.

The slaughter of Shi'a Muslims during the uprising was the culmination of a campaign waged by the Ba'athist regime over the preceding 20 years.

- During this bloody suppression of Kurdish and Shi'a insurgencies in Northern and Southern Iraq, at least 30,000 to 60,000 were killed.
- Out of an estimated 10,000, the clergy of Najaf were reduced to a few hundred by 1991 through executions, imprisonment and exile.

1991 – After the Shi'a uprisings, Iraq undertook an effort to drain the southern marshes. By 2001, more than 90% of the marshes were completely dry – eliminating an important food producing area. Hundreds of thousands displaced.

General Post-Gulf War

- Summary arrests and arbitrary and extrajudicial executions have become a fact of life for the Iraqi population.
- Rape and torture against prisoners or their relatives have been used commonly and randomly as a means of extracting information and intimidation.
- In recent years, the regime has begun a program of prison cleansing, the most notorious example of which was the mass execution of 2,000 prisoners in Abu Ghraib in 1998.

In Fallujah, the 3rd Infantry Division's engineers worked on improvements to Al Fallujah Hospital's electrical and water chlorination systems.

Sunday's humanitarian missions included delivery of fuel and thousands of gallons of water, along with well repairs and removal of ordnance.

Troops from the 101st Airborne Division began repairing windows, doors and repainting the Al Mothana Youth center in Mosul. It was previously occupied and damaged by Saddam Fedeyeen but has now been returned to the Mosul community and will soon feature an Olympic Parks and an Arts and Crafts facility.

In Fallujah, the 490th Civil Affairs Battalion distributed 3,000 gallons of potable water to residents due to the 40 water main breaks. Engineers are making repairs to these main breaks to restore water distribution to the area. In Mosul, the 4th Infantry Division completed repairs to two wells in Yzedi towns. These towns had never had their own water source.

Third Infantry Division Support Command assisted in the restoration of clean water to the towns of Al Janabai and Al Qaqaa providing water to more than 2,200 families. They also aided in plumbing repairs and construction of new fences at an elementary school and middle school.

Third Infantry Division engineers continued to clear unexploded ordnance. A total of 56 sites throughout the country, consisting of more than 4,200 pieces of ordnance have been destroyed to date. In Baghdad, the 1st Armored Division delivered 1,200 gallons of diesel and performed preventive maintenance on a generator at Al-Najat orphanage.

In Baghdad, the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade delivered medical supplies to the new Baghdad Public Health Clinic #1 in the Karadah municipality. The supplies meet the immediate needs of the clinic to conduct operations.

In Fallujah, the 3rd Infantry Division's engineers worked on improvements to Al Fallujah Hospital's electrical and water chlorination systems.

The 418th Civil Affairs Battalion completed the Tikrit Women's College project. The unit provided the college with paper, light bulbs, ceiling fans, a refrigerator, two safes, several calculators and school supplies.

The 1st Armored Division humanitarian activities included meeting with artist and vendors to discuss the opening of the Baghdad Zawra Park Zoo. The division's major ongoing projects include monitoring fuel distribution, solid waste collection, salary payments, medical supply distribution, food distribution and coordinating supplies for the upcoming student exams.

In As Sulaymaniyah, the Coalition completed a project to purchase \$1,500 of medical supplies for the municipality of Bayinjan. The supplies will last for four months in the Bayinjan Clinic.

In Al Fallujah, the Coalition delivered basic school supplies to area schools and distributed 3,000 gallons of potable water to the city. Engineers are making repairs to these main breaks to restore water distribution to the area. In Mosul, the 4th Infantry Division completed repairs to two wells in Yzedi towns. These towns never had their own water source.

As a part of Operation Desert Scorpion, the Coalition delivered one and one-half field ambulances worth

of medical supplies to the medical warehouse in Ar Ramadi for distribution among local hospitals.

Third Armored Cavalry Regiment removed 100 truckloads of trash and debris from Al Fallujah.

The Coalition met with Al Zahara neighborhood council in Baghdad and developed a garbage clean-up program to help clean the area of debris and trash.

GOOD THINGS HAPPENING IN IRAQ

30,000 Iraqi Police Force (IPF) officers have reported back to work and police will now be paid almost double what they were under Saddam.

The Basra River Service (river police) are up and running (since 19 June), using former members of the Iraqi Armed Forces. So far 500 men are trained and put to work.

All refineries are working. Production ramping up. Oil revenues will be paid to the Iraqi Development Fund, held by the Central bank of Iraq for the benefit of the Iraqi people. The Coalition started a Free Fuel Push, distributing approximately 5,000 gallons of fuel to hundreds of Iraqi citizens in Al Fallujah.

24 of 28 hospitals are operational and 15 health clinics are open and stocked with appropriate drugs. We have facilitated an immunization program, with over 3,000 immunizations to date.

In Baghdad, the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade delivered medical supplies to the new Baghdad Public Health Clinic #1 in the Karadah municipality. The supplies meet the immediate needs of the clinic to conduct operations.

Public education; 98 percent of all schools have been reopened. We have established multiple projects to improve the schools' infrastructure, to include painting, refurbishing, and purchasing of new desks and several other materials. Teachers' pay has been quadrupled compared to that under Saddam.

There is a flourishing free press, with well over 100 newspapers that have sprung up across Iraq since liberation.

Basra Central Bank reopened on 21 June, allowing payments to be made to 80,000 local pensioners.

By mid June over 8,281 tons of Iraqi ammunition had been consolidated out of Baghdad, with 9 of 23 sites remaining to be cleared. Much of this Iraqi ammunition had been stored by the former regime near or in schools, mosques and hospitals.

In the last six weeks, the Coalition has spent almost a billion dollars on several thousand projects in Iraq, such as irrigation and construction. For example, on the irrigation scheme, we have already hired 3,000 workers, and they have cleared over 350 kilometers of irrigation channels. By the end of the month, we expect to have 50,000 men and women at work on over 5,000 kilometers of irrigation channels.

The Umm Qasr port is now functioning at a much higher capacity than it has for years and Iraq's borders are open to trade and people. We expect to open the airports soon to scheduled traffic for the first time in 12 years. Just yesterday we invited applications from air carriers to operate to and from Iraq.

All Baghdad post offices are operating. Postal services to Kuwait have resumed--first time in 12 years.

The 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment working in partnership with the World Food Program provided food. Units of the 3rd ACR delivered a total of 23,000 meals to six area hospitals.

The 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment continued to issue Humanitarian Daily Rations from the World Food Bank Organization to area hospitals feeding the sick, wounded, women and children. The Regiment also delivered food to the people of the Al Anbar Province, Trebil and Ar Ramadi. The 3rd ACR engineers collected in the area of operation, 111 truckloads of trash and debris for a total of 1,588 truckloads to date.

Answers to Questions About the War in Iraq

The Decision to Go to War

- The decision was Saddam's, not ours.
- *The world* gave him every chance -- for 12 years, and through 17 resolutions -- to avoid war. *We* gave him every chance: We warned him, we went to the UN, we went the extra mile for additional Resolutions, and still he refused to come clean. The decision to cooperate or suffer the consequences was Saddam's to make. He chose unwisely.
- By the way, we did the same after Desert Storm. The terms of surrender allowed Saddam to stay in power, provided he revealed what he had in the way of WMD, eliminate them, and not reconstitute WMD weapons or programs. He did none of those things. Under the terms of surrender, we had every right -- a right we did not exercise -- to return to a state of war if Saddam did not live up to those terms.
- We also have an obligation to keep our word -- because when we don't it becomes worthless and invites aggression, which is exactly what happened.

What Happened to Make Action So Urgent -- Why Was War Necessary?

- 9-11 happened. The sheer audacity of the terrorists which, thanks to the previous administration's failure to acknowledge and address the problem (1991 Trade Center bombing, Africa embassies, USS Cole, etc.), encouraged them to the point that they cheerfully killed nearly 3,000 of our citizens.
- The greatest threat facing America -- then and now -- is nexus of terrorist groups, the terrorist states that harbor and support them -- in other words, made their existence possible -- and weapons of mass destruction.
- For decades, Saddam funded, hid, provided training camps for, provided sanctuary to more than a dozen terrorist groups, including al'Aqida operatives,¹ paid the families of suicide bombers; and financially supported terrorist operations in other countries, like Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines. To believe that he would not share weapons with terrorists defies credulity. The risk was simply too great to take.
- Was the threat "imminent?" To wait until it is imminent is too late.

The Bush Doctrine (Preemptive Action)

- We must face the threats of this century, not the last.
- Gone is the Cold War, and the prospect of nuclear annihilation at the hands of another superpower state. Gone are the days of great armies and navies and air forces massed on the borders of an enemy. Today we face an enemy who, as one former Navy Seal put it, doesn't fly a flag, doesn't defend a capital, and doesn't employ a diplomatic corps.

¹ see Marshall Billingslea House Testimony, 4-1-03.

- We live in an age of proliferating weapons of mass destruction and unparalleled technology. In the hands of terrorists, there will be no early warning. We cannot rely on hope as a policy, a defensive doctrine, or a deterrent.

Nationbuilding

- We are not building a nation in Iraq, the Iraqi people are re-building their own nation. We are not staying forever, like in Haiti or Bosnia. We are helping Iraqis take responsibility for their own governance and their own security, and then we are getting out of the way.

Are We Surprised that We Weren't Greeted as Liberators?

- We were.
- "Let's go to the video tape," as they say. Anyone remember the statues coming down, and the cheering crowds; the shoes pounding the posters of Saddam, the celebrations in the street?
- When hearing the news of Saddam's capture, one Iraqi said "I will play my trumpet into the night."

Are you surprised by the Iraqi resistance?

- It's not Iraqi resistance. It's Baathist and foreign resistance.

Are American Lives Worth Losing to Free Iraq

- This is the first time in the whole history of our country that US Armed Forces were sent abroad to defend Americans! We did not go into Iraq to liberate Iraqis, although that is an important secondary reason. We went into Iraq to defend the safety and security of our own citizens and home. We are fighting for our own freedom first; liberating Iraqis was secondary.
- We did not ask for this war. It came to us, and we did not shrink from our responsibility.

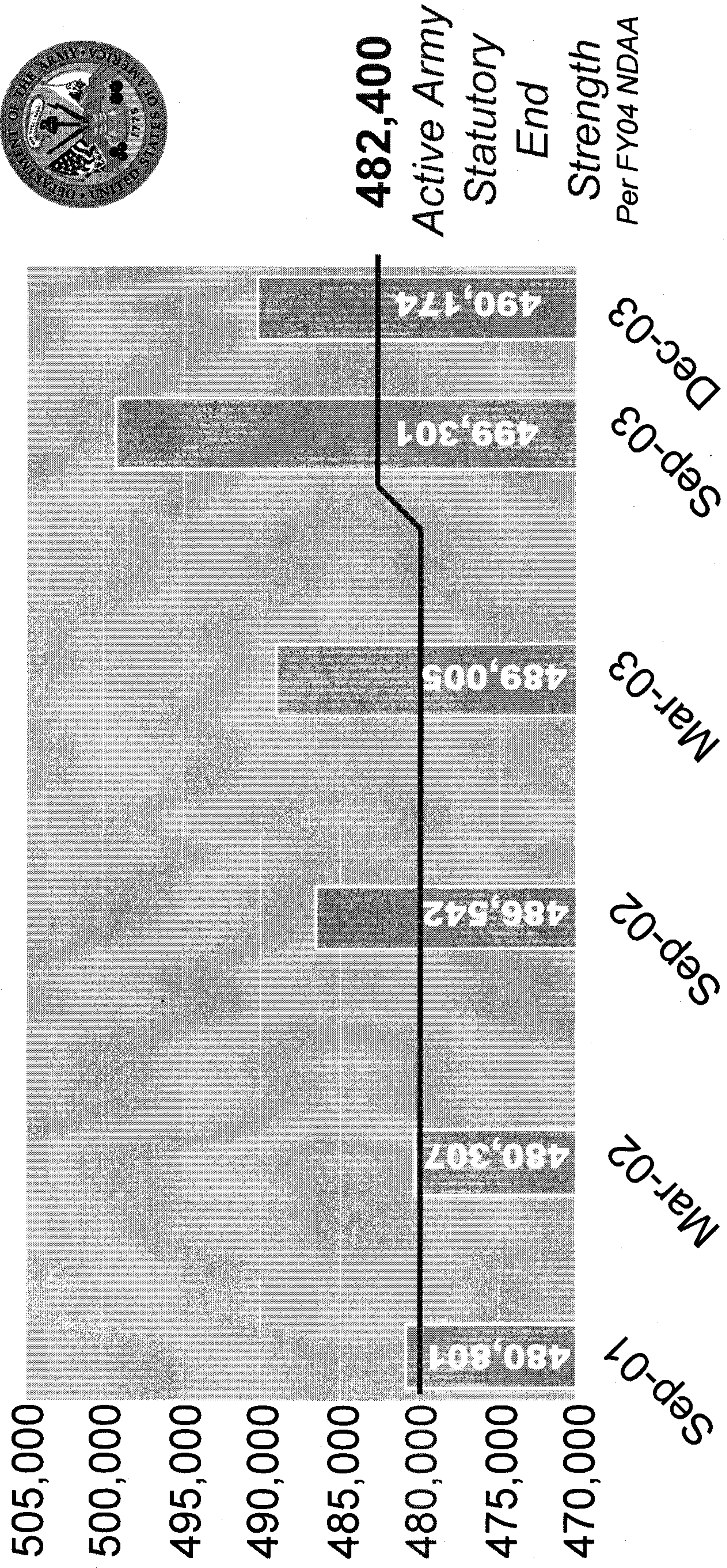
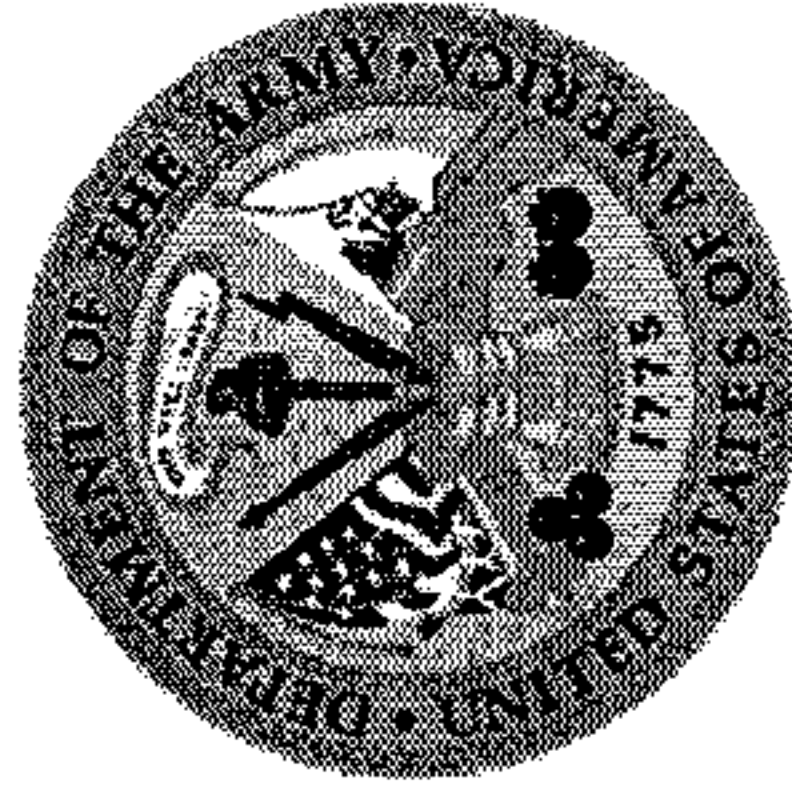
The Future of Freedom (from the President's Feb. 4, 2004 remarks)

- The Cold War was not just a standoff of armies, but a conflict of visions -- a clear divide between those who put their faith in ideologies of power, and those who put their faith in the choices of free people.
- The global war on terror is a new kind of war. Instead of an armed empire, we face stateless networks. Instead of massed armies, we face deadly technologies that must be kept out of the hands of terrorists and outlaw regimes. Yet, in fundamental ways, the struggle is the same.

- This war also is a conflict of visions. Terrorists are the successors to the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. We are the heirs of liberty, the defenders of the freedom. And we accept the responsibilities of history.
- Like the Cold War, the outcome of the war on terror depends on the ability of the forces of freedom to see danger and to answer it with strength and purpose. And that is what we are doing.
- The battleground is the Middle East. The stakes could not be higher. As long as that region is a place of tyranny and despair and anger, it will produce men and movements that threaten the safety of Americans and our friends. We seek the advance of democracy for the most practical of reasons: because democracies do not support terrorists or threaten the world with weapons of mass murder.



Army Statutory End Strength vs Actual Active Duty Levels Since September 2001



482,400
Active Army
Statutory
End
Strength
Per FY04 NDAA



Reserve Force Mobilization Statistics

Forces Involuntarily Mobilized since 1990

**As of 31 Dec 03 only
7.15% (41,133) Mobilized
more than 1X**

37,078 (6.45% of members Mob'd) served 2X
3,520 (0.61% of members Mob'd) served 3X
488 (0.08% of members Mob'd) served 4X
47 (0.01% of members Mob'd) served 5X

**Mobilizations Include:
Desert Shield/Desert Storm**

Haiti

Bosnia

SWA

Kosovo

ONE/OEF/OIF

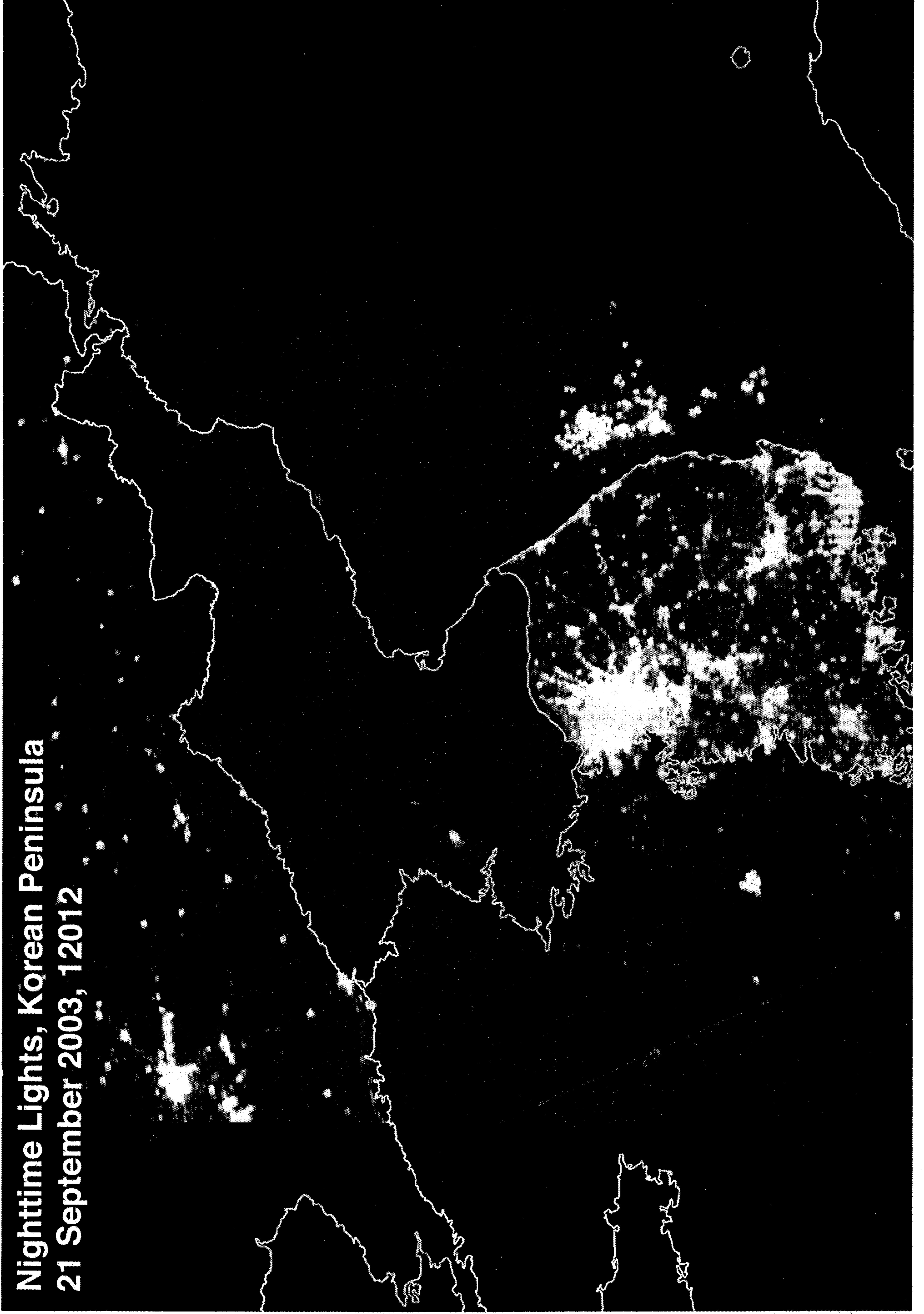
**92.85% (533,924) of Mobilized Reserve Forces
served 1X**

**Total Number of Reserve Forces
Involuntarily Mobilized since 1990 - 575,057**

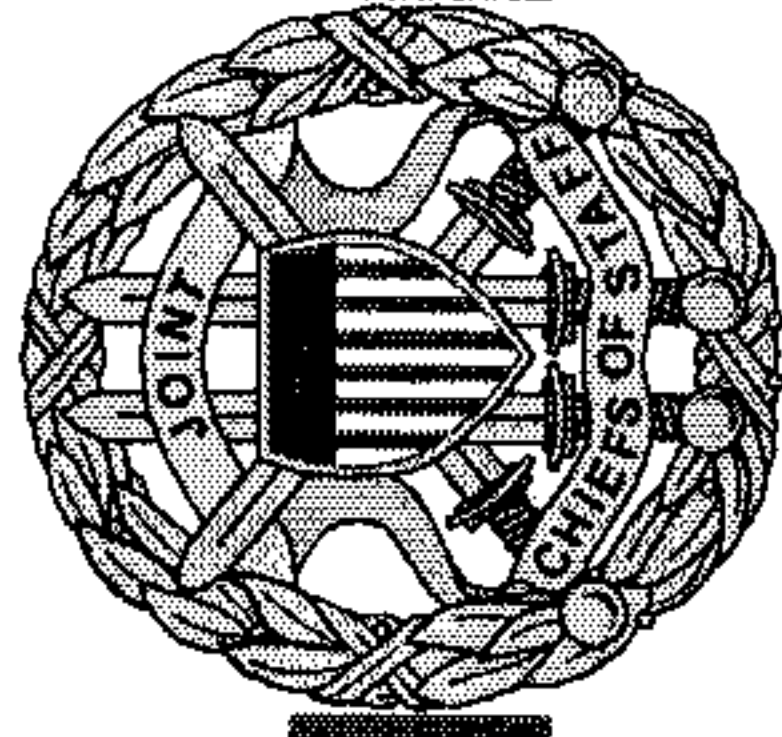
**Note: Does not include volunteers and
%'s do not include the IRR/ING**



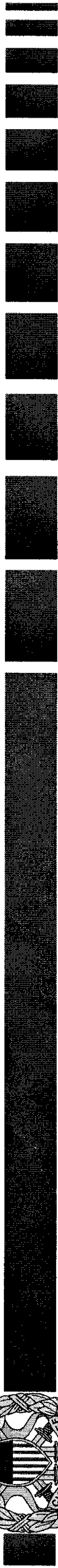
**Nighttime Lights, Korean Peninsula
21 September 2003, 12012**



UNCLASSIFIED



As of 11 1740 Aug 03



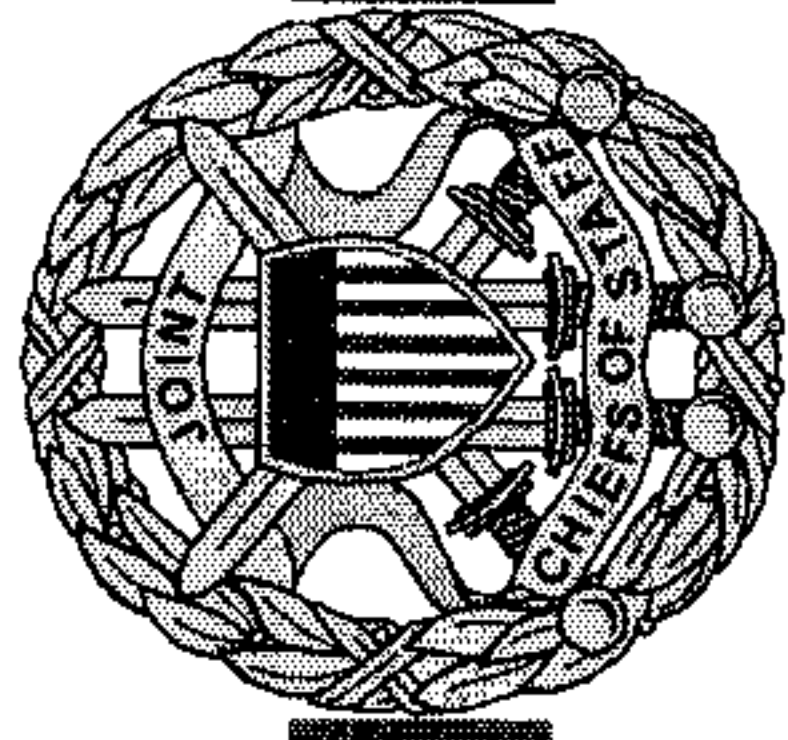
DJ3 Operations Update

12 August 2003

This briefing is

UNCLASSIFIED

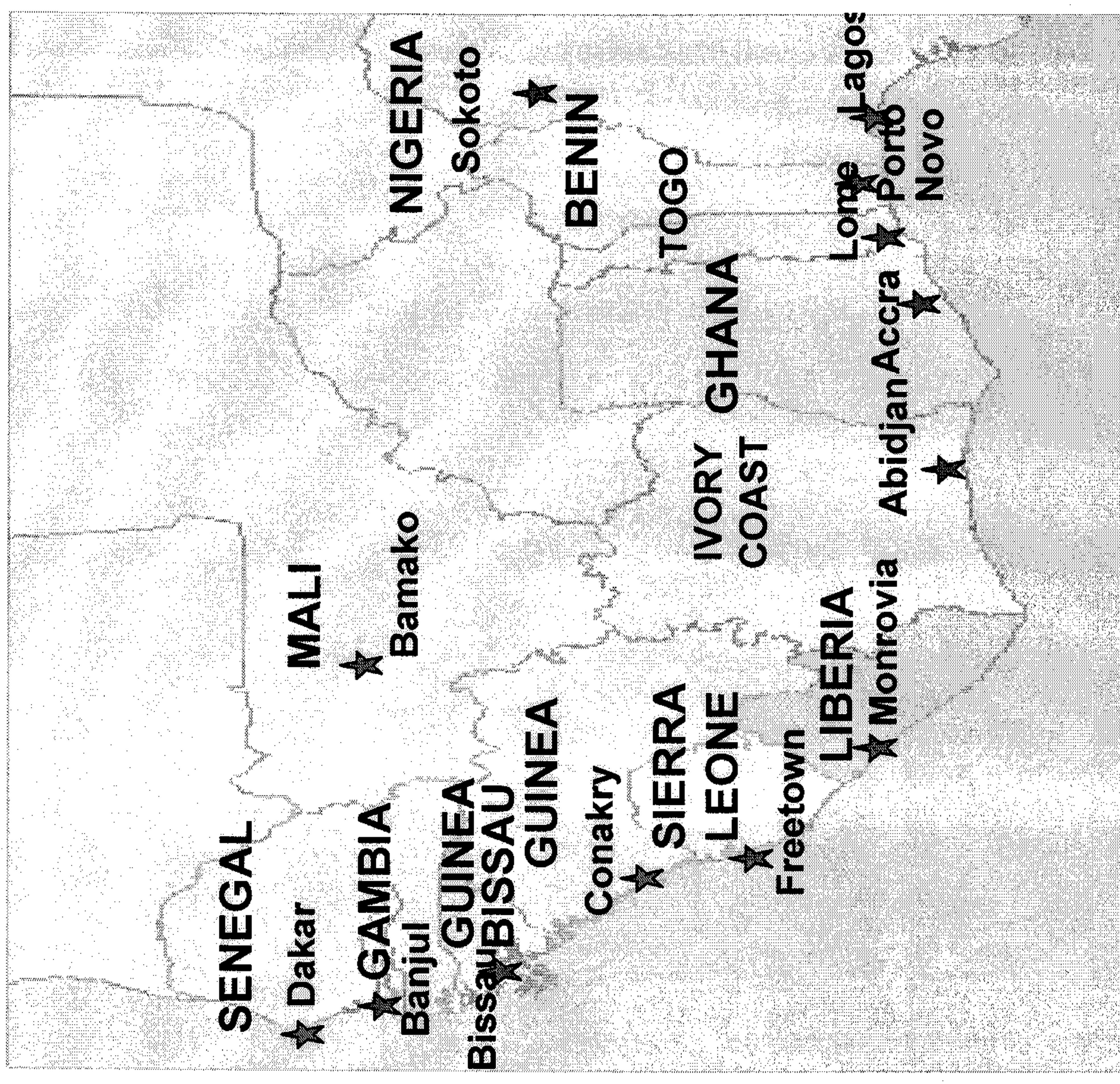
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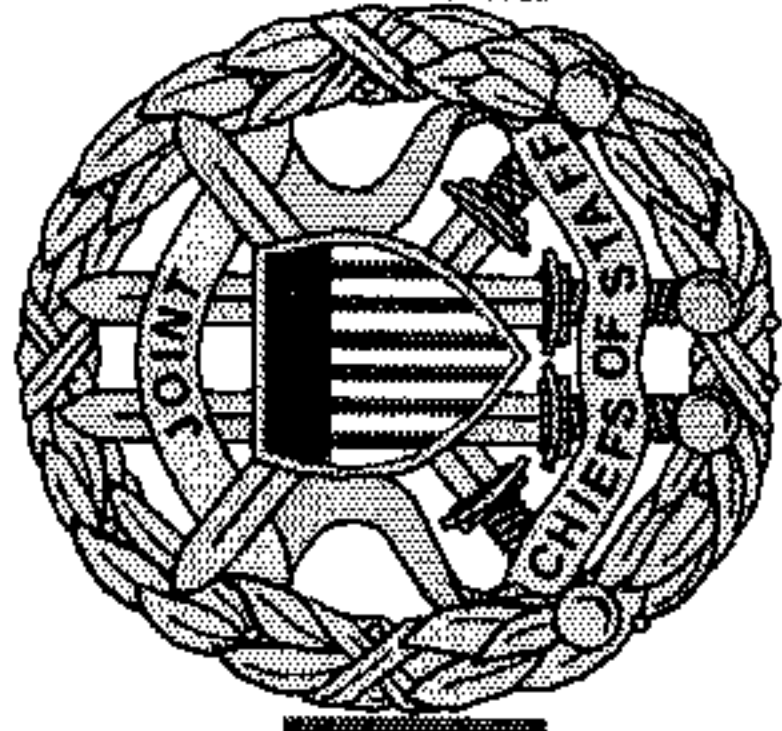


Operations

Liberia Update

- U.S. forces support to ECOWAS stability operations
 - Military liaison team in Monrovia working to coordinate logistic support as needed by the ECOWAS forces
 - Ongoing assessments of ECOWAS contributing nations (5 teams)
 - Iwo Jima ESG in vicinity
- ECOMIL presence ~721 troops; deployment proceeding as planned

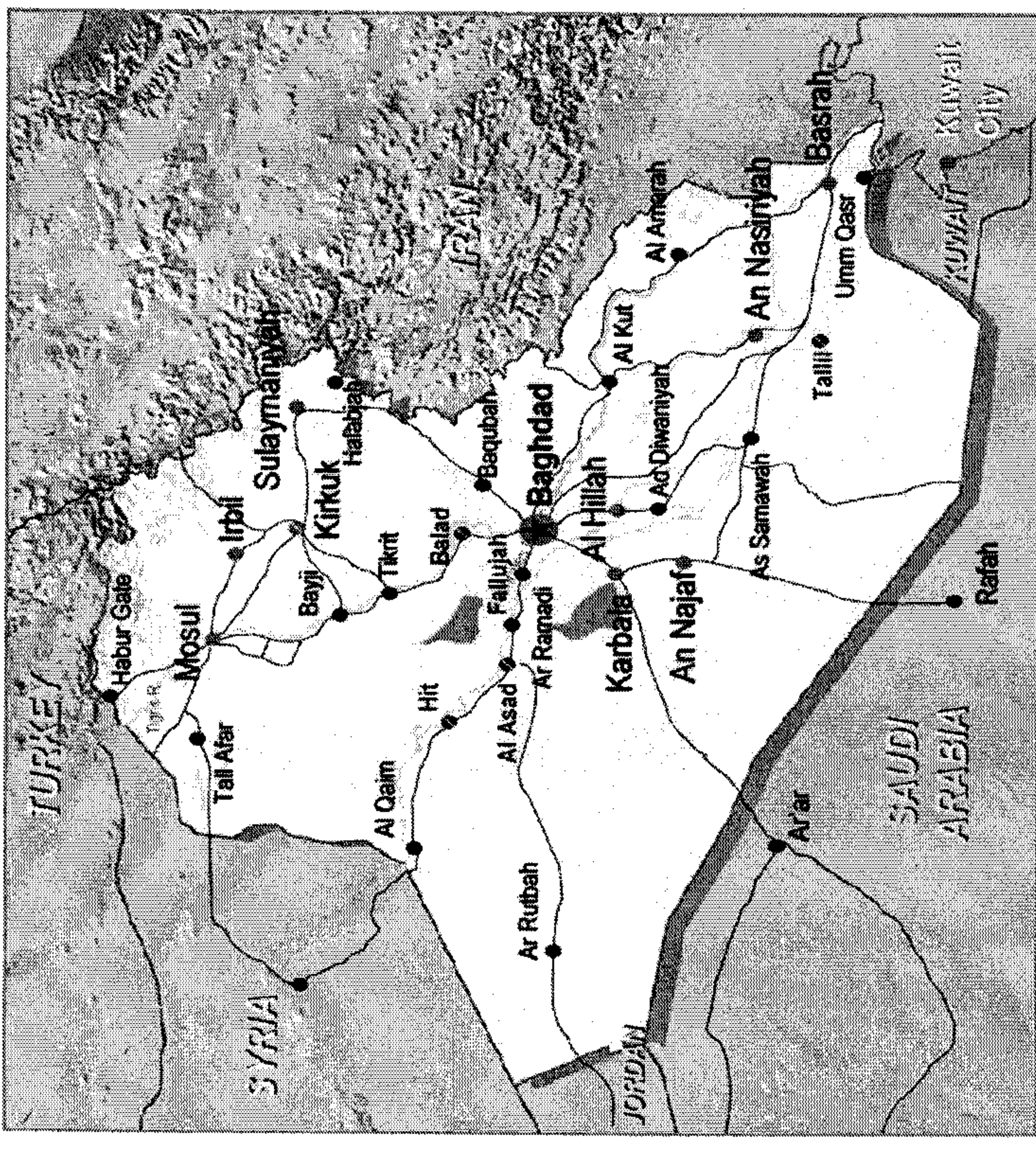


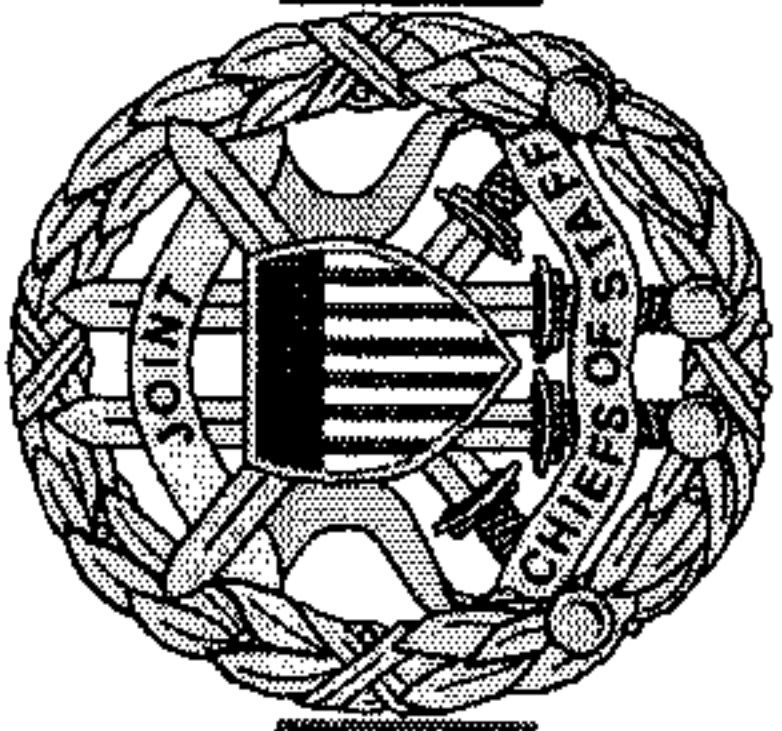


Iraqi Rotation Plan

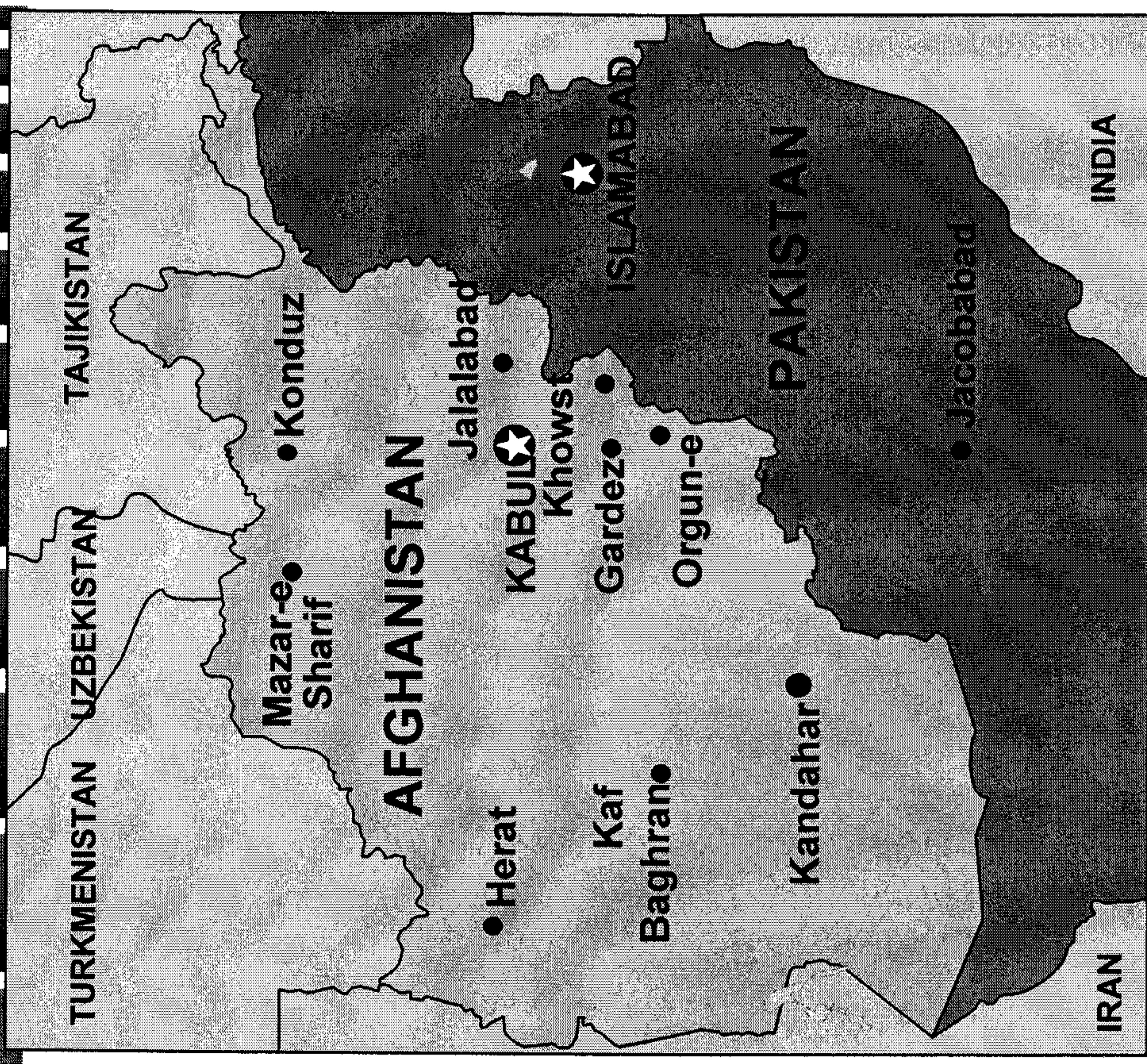
Operations

- **Intended Iraq tour length – up to 12 months**
- **First in, first out**
- **Further seek to internationalize the force**
- **Support the Coalition Provisional Authority to rapidly develop the police force, civil defense force, and new Iraqi Army**
- **Quality of life initiatives to support the up-to-12-month rotation policy**

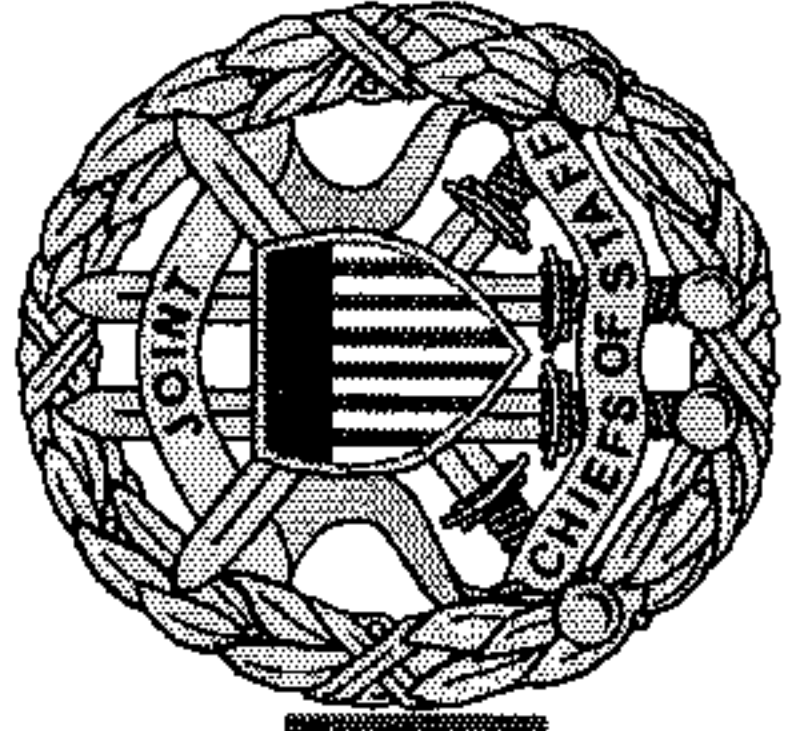




AFGHANISTAN



- **NATO takes over command of Kabul Peacekeeping**
 - NATO began its first operation outside of Europe in its 45-year history
 - German three-star general Goetz Gliemeroth from NATO command took charge of the 5000-strong International Security Assistance Force
 - This command is a strategic departure from NATO's Cold War role of defending its immediate borders



Exercise **BRIGTH STAR**

Operations

- **BRIGTH STAR 2003 will not be held**
 - Combined exercise conducted biannually since 1981
 - Normally involves more than 70,000 troops from ~10 countries
- Difficult decision made in view of current, worldwide commitments
 - **BRIGTH STAR 1991 exercise canceled following DESERT STORM**
 - 49 of 182 exercises canceled or rescheduled this fiscal year
- U.S. maintains strong commitment to **BRIGTH STAR**, one of our most important exercises

