

MAY 03 2006

INFO MEMO

MAY 03 2006  
USD(P) *th*  
06/005558-NESA

FOR: THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Peter W. Rodman, Assistant Secretary Defense (ISA) *PR*

MAY 03 2006

SUBJECT: General McCaffrey's Report on His Recent Trip to Iraq

*MR. SECRETARY,  
THIS IS AN  
EXCELLENT  
SUMMARY  
OF  
THE  
MCCAFFREY  
FILE I  
SENT YOU  
ENCLOSURE  
TODAY  
PR*

- General Barry McCaffrey (USA, ret.) made an observation trip to Iraq (13-20 April). Attached is his report.
- The report bears reading in its entirety. I've noted some of the most interesting points.
- Positive observations:
  - The Iraqi Army is real, growing and willing to fight.
  - The National Police Commando Battalions are very capable. Their HUMINT collection capability is better than ours.
  - The foreign jihadist fighters have been defeated as a strategic and operational threat to the creation of an Iraqi government.
- Negative observations:
  - The Iraqi Army needs at least two to five more years of U.S. partnership.
  - The Iraqi police will require ten years to overcome their current problems.
  - Interagency support for our strategy in Iraq is grossly inadequate.
- Policy recommendations:
  - The Army and Marine Corps need significant manpower augmentation.
  - Our RoE may have become too restrictive: they will need constant monitoring to maintain an appropriate balance.
  - We should continue economic and reconstruction support on the order of \$5-10 billion per year.
- I would especially call to your attention the first two paragraphs of the narrative (on page 3). They are a magnificent tribute to our soldiers and Marines in Iraq and deserve as wide a distribution as we can give them.

Prepared by: Abe Shulsky, ISA/NESA, 571-2509

PDASD(ISA) *msd/st/ore*

OSD 07247-06




FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

5/4/2006 9:31:12 AM

FOUO

JUL 12 2005

TO: Stephen J. Hadley  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld   
SUBJECT: Summary of Military Analysts Trip to GTMO

Attached is a summary of the effects of the military analysts we took down to GTMO earlier this month.

Thanks.

Attach: OSD PA Research and Analysis on GTMO Trip

DHR:ss  
071105-11

333

12 JUL 2005

OSD 13369-05

FOUO

August 18, 2003

IRAQ

TO: Larry Di Rita  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Col. Turner

*(Turner)*

There was fellow named Colonel Mike Turner on CNN this morning at 7:23 a.m. saying that the United States is against having multinational forces in Iraq. Someone ought to get a hold of him and straighten him out. What a knucklehead.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
081803-4

.....  
Please respond by 8/29/03

U21661 /03

18Au903

(b)(6)

**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 14, 2006 5:19 AM  
**To:** 'gaffney@'(b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Next week

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

I am tied up from 0615 to 0830. Between 0830 and 0930 would be best.

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

**From:** Frank Gaffney <gaffney@'(b)(6)>  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Sent:** Wed Sep 13 22:31:19 2006  
**Subject:** RE: Next week

It might be better if I call when YOU get in? At what ungodly hour might that be? F

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**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD [mailto:Steven.Bucci@'(b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Wed 9/13/2006 9:40 PM  
**To:** Frank Gaffney  
**Subject:** Re: N

4/4/2008

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**To:** Buccì, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Sent:** Wed Sep 13 21:39:45 2006  
**Subject:** RE: Next week

Steve: I will be happy to talk to you about this tomorrow. I have been traveling most of the day today, largely off-line and incommunicado. Best, F

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**From:** Buccì, Dr. Steven CIV SD [mailto:Steven.Buccì@'(b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Wed 9/13/2006 3:17 PM  
**To:** Frank Gaffney  
**Cc:** Rangel, Robert CIV SD; Renuart, Gene Lt Gen SD  
**Subject:** Next week

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Regardless, I will have to go back to him with this info, but I am not hopeful. He very well could re-evaluate his participation, as that way past his usual week day cut off

time. I'd appreciate a call back. SPB

Steven P. Bucci

Steven P. Bucci, Ph.D.

Staff Director

Immediate Office of SecDef

(b)(6)

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**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
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**Subject:** Re: Next week

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Staff Director

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(b)(6)

**From:** Wilkie, Robert, CIV, OSD-LA  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 13, 2006 6:07 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Col OSD LA  
**Subject:** Fw: Proposed Abizaid Press Events

Please review

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

**From:** Rangel, Robert CIV SD  
**To:** Renuart, Gene Lt Gen SD; Stavridis, James VADM SD; Whitman, Bryan SES OSD PA; Smith, Dorrance HON OSD PA; Wilkie, Robert, CIV, OSD-LA  
**Sent:** Wed Sep 13 14:52:46 2006  
**Subject:** RE: Proposed Abizaid Press Events

Just responded on the LA plan on another channel. Suggest LA generate the usual consolidated matrix so that we can start tracking all elements in one place.

---

**From:** Renuart, Gene Lt Gen SD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 13, 2006 1:51 PM  
**To:** Stavridis, James VADM SD; Whitman, Bryan, SES, OASD-PA; Smith, Dorrance, HON, OSD-PA; Rangel, Robert CIV SD; Wilkie, Robert, CIV, OSD-LA  
**Subject:** RE: Proposed Abizaid Press Events

Jim -- Got it...

Robert R - Are you going to combine these with Robert Wilkie's plan into a single entity? Or can I?

Dorrance - What about the other COCOMs? Are we working a plan for them?

Thanks -- Gene

---

**From:** Stavridis, James VADM SD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 13, 2006 1:46 PM  
**To:** Renuart, Gene Lt Gen SD  
**Subject:** FW: Proposed Abizaid Press Events

Over to you, big guy.

---

**From:** Whitman, Bryan SES OSD PA [mailto:Bryan.Whitman@pentagon.mil] (b)(6)  
<mailto:[mailto:Bryan.Whitman@pentagon.mil] (b)(6)>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 13, 2006 1:41 PM  
**To:** Stavridis, James VADM SD  
**Cc:** Smith, Dorrance, HON, OSD-PA  
**Subject:** Proposed Abizaid Press Events

CENTCOM (Proposed by OSD)

\* Pentagon Press Corps with SecDef on Wednesday, 20 Sept.  
1330-1415 hr  
\* Military Analyst Session on Wednesday, 20 Sept. 1430 - 1500 hrs  
\* Regional/Syndicated Radio on Wednesday, 20 Sept. 1515-1545 hr

These are de-conflicted with any proposed LA events per Robert Wilkie. CENTCOM PA is still working with the Commander to schedule some PA

activities, but they are looking at some one-on-one interviews, a speech at NDU and a print reporters roundtable (Defense Writers Group). At this time none of those are scheduled.

(b)(6)

**From:** Frank Gaffney [gaffney@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 30, 2006 8:38 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Subject:** RE: Heads up II

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Thanks, F

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**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD [mailto:Steven.Bucci@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 30, 2006 8:33 AM  
**To:** Frank Gaffney  
**Subject:** RE: Heads up II

Sure.

**From:** Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 30, 2006 8:17 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Subject:** RE: Heads up II

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Speaking of which, I have to go defend him on the tube.

Tx for your help.

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-----Original Message-----  
**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD [mailto:Steven.Bucci@... (b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 30, 2006 8:02 AM  
**To:** Frank Gaffney  
**Subject:** RE: Heads up

Not yet.

**From:** Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@... (b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 30, 2006 7:30 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Subject:** RE: Heads up

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Any word on the other matter?

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**"...All delays are painful and costly (to the US and to the troops in the field). This was demonstrated yesterday by the death of a number of US troops -- three of which were personally known to me and OFT (they were part of the source for the footage you received from us [which showed terrorists in Iraq using two, time-delayed IEDs to ambush GIs]). They really wanted to help all the guys in the field, and were very keen on trying any new technology that could shift the inertia to our side in this war.**

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I know that you and Don have a lot of things going on. I am under the impression, however, that a pretty high order priority attends countering the IED problem (to say nothing now of addressing the unconventional explosives on planes, etc.) Inaction in bringing to bear a technology that holds apparently high (the only?) promise for addressing these needs would seem to be contrary to that priority, if not an indefensible dereliction of duty.

I don't want my friends to be subjected to any more criticism than they are already getting. As you know, I am spending a lot of time defending Don against some of it -- for example at 9:00 a.m. this morning on MSNBC against Barry McCaffrey. Under no circumstances should actual grounds be given for such attacks.


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**From:** Frank Gaffney [gaffney@...]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 23, 2006 4:42 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Subject:** Program  
**Attachments:** TENTATIVE PROGRAM 823.doc

Steve: Thanks for your considerable help with this mission! We look forward to having Don with us and having him play whatever role suits him. Scene-setting on the nature and importance of the war of ideas and the necessity to wage it far more effectively would be terrific.

If he can stay for dinner, I would be grateful if he would join Gen. Pace in presenting the awards (which Don, of course, did for Jim Schlesinger a few years back as well as receiving it himself in 1999). Pete has said he would prefer to avoid the possible criticism of being political in an election year so he would like to just make the presentation to the troops. It would be a help if Don is willing to help cover us with the other honoree, HASC Chairman Hunter, at that point in the program.

Finally, I would be grateful if you might try to ascertain from Don who got the tasker on the Advanced Raman IED/unconventional explosive detection initiative that I raised with him recently. We would like to make sure this doesn't fall through the cracks yet again.

All the best, F

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**Sent:** Wednesday, August 23, 2006 12:19 PM  
**To:** 'Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD'  
**Subject:** RE: 20 Sep

Wonderful! I will call you shortly. Best, F

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

**From:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD [mailto:Steven.Bucci@...]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 23, 2006 11:19 AM  
**To:** Frank Gaffney  
**Subject:** 20 Sep

Frank,

I believe we have a "Go" on the Boss's participation in the Hunter event. Please tell me again your "vision" of his participation. I will take that and try to fit it in the guidelines given us by GC. Steve

4/4/2008

TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR  
**THE CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY**  
**2006 KEEPER OF THE FLAME AWARD DINNER**  
20 September 2006  
East Hall, Union Station  
Washington, D.C.

Call to Order – Frank J. Gaffney, President, Center for Security Policy

Parading the Colors – Armed Forces Color Guard

National Anthem – Sung by Alex Donner

Welcome by the Dinner Chairman – Ron Sugar, Chairman, Northrop Grumman Corp.

Remarks – Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld

Dinner

Introduction of a short film tribute to former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, author of *Home of the Brave*, and Those Who Serve – Caspar Weinberger, Jr.

Remarks – Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Duncan Hunter

Presentation of the Keeper of the Flame Awards – Secretary Rumsfeld and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Peter Pace USMC

Farewell – Westwood One nationally syndicated talk show host Lars Larsen

(b)(6)

**From:** Frank Gaffney [gaffney@...]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 23, 2006 12:19 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Dr. Steven CIV SD  
**Subject:** RE: 20 Sep

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

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4/4/2008

(b)(6)

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4/4/2008



(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) SSgt, OSD  
**Sent:** Friday, August 11, 2006 4:51 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Urgent Heads-up  
**Attachments:** @

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Sir,

Mr Gaffney called and wanted to make sure this got to the SecDef.... I believe I sent this to you earlier.

v/r

//SIGNED//

(b)(6) SSgt, USAF  
Military Admin. Assistant to the Secretary of Defense  
Staff Writer to Senior Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense  
Comm: (b)(2) DSN: (b)(2)  
Fax: (b)(2)  
NIPR: (b)(6)  
SIPR: (b)(6)

From: Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@ (b)(6)]

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6) SSgt, OSD  
Sent: Friday, August 11, 2006 4:51 PM  
To: Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
Subject: FW: Urgent Heads-up

Attachments: LVARS point paper.doc



LVARS point  
paper.doc (59 KB)

Sir,

Mr Gaffney called and wanted to make sure this got to the SecDef.... I believe I sent this to you earlier.

v/r

//SIGNED//

(b)(6)

SSgt, USAF  
Military Admin. Assistant to the Secretary of Defense Staff Writer to Senior Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense  
Comm: (b)(2) DSN: (b)(2)  
Fax: (b)(2)  
NIPR: (b)(6)  
SIPR: (b)(6)

From: Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@ (b)(6)]  
Sent: Friday, August 11, 2006 12:55 PM  
To: (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
Subject: Urgent Heads-up

(b)(6)

Could you please get this into Don's weekend reading file? Many thanks. F

P.S. Any further word on a fly-by or more for Duncan Hunter and Those Who Serve at the Keeper of the Flame dinner on 20 September?

Don: I know you have been profoundly vexed by the IED problem and, like the rest of us, are doubtless seized with the new national imperative of doing a better job of detecting unconventional explosives in things like Gatoraid bottles, etc. The attached one-pager will, I hope, give you a basis to find out whether we could have a far more effective means of working such problems than either the IED Task Force or other agencies have come up with to date. There is a lot more background available if you or your subordinates are willing to review it. Suffice it to say, this Big Crow/LVARS initiative seems worthy of more attention and support than it has gotten to date and may provide the technology we need far faster than even DARPA can do.

On another matter, I hope we will have the pleasure of your company, at least briefly, on 20 September when we honor your friend Duncan Hunter and decorated combat veterans of the War for the Free World whose profiles in courage have been recently written up by our late friend, Cap Weinberger.

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

From: (b)(6), CIV, OSD [mailto:(b)(6)]  
Sent: Tuesday, July 11, 2006 3:58 PM  
To: Frank Gaffney; (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
Cc: Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
Subject: [PossibleSpam] RE: Duncan Hunter -- Keeper of the Flame

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

From: Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@... (b)(6)]  
Sent: Friday, June 30, 2006 4:32 PM  
To: (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
Subject: RE: Duncan Hunter -- Keeper of the Flame

You, too! Many thanks, F

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

From: (b)(6), CIV, OSD [mailto:(b)(6)]  
Sent: Friday, June 30, 2006 3:52 PM  
To: Frank Gaffney  
Subject: RE: Duncan Hunter -- Keeper of the Flame

I will pass this to the Secretary, have a good 4th,

(b)(6)

From: Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@... (b)(6)]  
Sent: Friday, June 30, 2006 3:55 PM  
To: (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
Subject: Duncan Hunter -- Keeper of the Flame

(b)(6)

Can you work your magic on this?

Don: As you may recall, we are going to do the Keeper of the Flame dinner this year on the evening of the 20th of September, the night of the concluding day of your Combatant Commanders' conference.

We will be honoring Duncan Hunter and those who serve. Our hope is to have enlisted representatives from each of the services who have pulled combat tours in this "War for the Free World" receive replicas of the Flame.

Pete Pace - who, as you know, received the award himself two years ago -- has graciously agreed to present the awards to the troops.

I was hoping I might ask your help on two fronts:

1) Would you be willing, in light of Duncan's tremendous help to the country and the cause and as a past recipient of the Flame award yourself, be willing to introduce him and join Pete in conferring this recognition? And,

2) If you can do it, any encouragement you might give to the Combatant Commanders and other Chiefs to attend would be greatly appreciated. They have all been invited and they should, I would think, want to be there, especially for their own troops. But, a word from you would be terrific.

Many thanks and best for the 4th! F

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

(b)(6)

**From:** O'Connell, Thomas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2004 3:26 PM  
**To:** O'Connell, Thomas, HON, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY  
**Cc:** Rodman, Peter, HON, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6)  
CIV, OSD-POLICY; Feith, Douglas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Subject:** RE: Subject Matter Expert Nominees (FOUO)

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

Further to the list below:

Ann Scott Tyson, Christian Science Monitor  
Linda Robinson, US News and World Report

Thomas W. O'Connell  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict

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

**From:** O'Connell, Thomas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2004 12:34 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY  
**Cc:** Rodman, Peter, HON, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; Feith, Douglas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Subject:** Subject Matter Expert Nominees (FOUO)

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

Per today's Policy Staff Meeting, Mr. Feith asked for nominees in military, press, academia, etc. to receive Posture Brief: Need not be friends of Administration, but must be assessed to give a fair review of our effort.

Frank Gaffney  
Bob Andrews  
Michael Ledeen  
Ken Robinson, CNN  
Tony Cordesman  
GEN Hugh Shelton  
Gen Anthony Zinni (An endorsement from him might carry significant weight)  
Eliot Cohen  
William Cohen  
LtGen Michael Dunn-(Good basis for further presentation to allied reps and students)  
VADM Jacoby, Dir, DIA (As dean of attaches, he could go world wide with a precise message to DATTS.)  
GEN William Kernan (former JFCOM)  
GEN Gordon Sullivan (Pres, AUSA)  
Newt Gingrich  
Jim Mik, NBC  
Charles Krauthammer

Thomas W. O'Connell  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict

~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

1

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Friday, May 19, 2006 12:19 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** FW: URGENT!  
**Attachments:** @

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

**From:** Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 19, 2006 12:22 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** URGENT!

(b)(6) Please pass ASAP to SecDef:

Don: It was great to see looking so well at the White House this morning. Thanks for agreeing in principle to a visit soon.

In the meantime, I wanted to make sure you were aware of several things before your meeting next week with Ehud Olmert.

- 1) There has

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Friday, May 19, 2006 12:19 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** FW: URGENT!  
**Attachments:** tps glick 513.doc

**From:** Frank Gaffney [mailto:gaffney@(b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Friday, May 19, 2006 12:22 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** URGENT!

(b)(6) Please pass ASAP to SecDef:

Don: It was great to see looking so well at the White House this morning. Thanks for agreeing in principle to a visit soon.

In the meantime, I wanted to make sure you were aware of several things before your meeting next week with Ehud Olmert.

- 1) There has been no debate in Israel about the wisdom of turning still more territory over to al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Iranian Revolutionary Guard, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas as has been done in Gaza. Olmert will use any indication of a US buy-in on his "convergence plan" to ensure that there is no debate, let alone any course correction, in the future, either.
- 2) Israel is not the only one whose equities will be jeopardized by such a withdrawal. Jordan will be destabilized by the new safe-haven for terror that will emerge. Our supply lines from Israeli ports into Iraq will be at risk, as well. A Taliban-style terror state will be used to plot attacks on our homeland, too. Israel is not the only one who needs a debate – and a say – on this "convergence plan"; so do we.
- 3) Israeli surrender of the West Bank will be seen by our enemies and our fair-weather friends as a victory for Islamofascism and terror. That will embolden the former and encourage the latter to hedge their bets, at best, to align with our foes, at worst.
- 4) The US government seems not to have taken a hard look at these realities. I entreat you to review quickly at least the talking points attached and the ad we hope to start running this weekend. I hope they will prompt you to signal serious reservations about this initiative – not just that it is being undertaken unilaterally by Israel, but that it is being undertaken at all given the serious problems – for Israel and the Free World – associated with the previous Israeli evacuations from south Lebanon and the Gaza Strip.

I hope you will ask the Chiefs and your Policy folks to evaluate the longer, excellent paper summarized by the talking points and prepared by my extraordinary colleague, Caroline Glick – ideally before your meeting with Olmert on Monday. You have a need-to-know.

4/4/2008

All the best, F

Ad: [http://www.rapidresponsemedia.com/f/Insanity\\_30TV\\_2.mov](http://www.rapidresponsemedia.com/f/Insanity_30TV_2.mov) \

Caroline's press release and paper: [http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/index.jsp?section=papers&code=06-P\\_11](http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/index.jsp?section=papers&code=06-P_11)

4/4/2008



## CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

### **Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's Planned Withdrawal from the West Bank: A Threat to U.S. Interests and Security**

**Background:** Israel's new Prime Minister Ehud Olmert is scheduled to visit Washington, DC later this month in order to secure administration and congressional support for his plan to withdraw Israeli civilians and the Israeli military from between 90-95 percent of the West Bank and large sections of the city of Jerusalem. On the budgetary side, Olmert asserts that the implementation of his plan will cost \$10 billion and he intends to seek U.S. financing to underwrite this cost.

Olmert's plan involves expelling between 50,000-100,000 Israeli civilians from their homes and the destruction of between 50-100 Israeli communities in the West Bank and the redeployment of Israeli military forces to garrisoned positions. He claims that this plan will enhance regional stability, improve Israeli security, increase the prospects of peace between Israel and the Palestinians, and boost Israeli and American standing in the international community. These claims are identical to those advanced by former prime minister Sharon when he advocated Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip which took place last September.

- **Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip last year failed to do any of these things.** Indeed the actual consequences of the withdrawal have been the exact opposite of what Sharon predicted. A reenactment of that operation on the West Bank – which is both 20 times larger than the Gaza Strip and vastly more significant on a strategic level – will exacerbate the failure of the Gaza withdrawal strategy to the detriment not only of Israel's national security, but the stability of the Jordanian regime and American national security interests.
- **Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip fomented the transformation of Gaza into a Taliban-like state.** The Palestinians perceived Israel's decision to retreat to the 1949 armistice lines as a victory for Hamas and the jihadist ideology that negates Israel's right to exist. This perception contributed greatly to Hamas' stunning electoral victory in the Palestinian legislative elections in January. Under Hamas's leadership, Palestinian society is being swiftly transformed into an Islamic extremist society like Taliban-led Afghanistan.
- **After Israel withdrew, Gaza was flooded with terrorists and terror armaments that passed through Gaza's international border with the Egyptian Sinai.** Katyusha rockets, anti-aircraft missiles and advanced anti-tank missiles have all been brought into the area.
- **Al Qaeda, Hezbollah and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards all set up forward operating bases in Gaza.** Hamas itself has become a client of Iran.
- **The destroyed Israeli settlements in Gaza are now used as terror-training camps and as missile-launching sites.** Israeli artillery and air strikes against terrorist elements in Gaza since the withdrawal have been ineffective in preventing the escalation of missile, rocket and mortar attacks against all Israeli cities and villages bordering Gaza.
- **An Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank will cause a similar situation to arise in the areas abandoned by Israel.** But unlike the Gaza Strip, the West Bank provides the Palestinian and global terrorist elements that will operate freely in the area with the ability to launch missile and rocket attacks against all of Israel's major cities, highways and civilian air traffic taking off and landing at Ben Gurion airport. While Olmert claims that Israel will be protected because the completion of the security barrier between the West Bank and Israel will

be completed by the time Israel carries out the retreat, that barrier will be unable to protect Israel from missile and rocket fire on its densely populated cities.

- **Even if the IDF retains a presence in the areas after the expulsion of the civilian population is accomplished, its counter-terror capabilities will be compromised by domestic political considerations, international pressure and the increased military capabilities and basing prerogatives for local and global terrorist elements.**
- **The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan will be destabilized by Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank.** Jordan's citizenry is 80 percent Palestinian. Al Qaida, the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas all have a strong presence in the country. A redeployment of Israeli military forces will degrade Israel's ability to prevent the convergence of these terror forces on the east bank of the Jordan River with those on its west bank for the purpose of toppling the Hashemite regime. Al Qaeda commander in Iraq Abu Musab Zarqawi, a Jordanian citizen, has already attacked the regime and called for its overthrow. Hamas has similarly committed itself to the overthrow of the regime.

The following are the likely impacts of an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank on U.S. national security:

1. *Establish a new terror refuge in the West Bank* that will serve as a training ground for terrorists who will fight not only against Israel and Jordan, but also against U.S. forces in Iraq.
2. *Weaken U.S. logistical capabilities in Iraq.* The destabilization of Israel and Jordan through the establishment of a Taliban-like regime in the West Bank will endanger the overland supply route used by U.S. forces from Israeli ports through Jordan and into Iraq. This will increase U.S. dependence on Persian Gulf ports and thus motivate Iran to create crises in the Straits of Hormuz.
3. *Enhance the prestige of declared enemies of the U.S. including Iran, Syria, al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, Wahhabist extremists in Saudi Arabia and Salafist extremists in Egypt at the expense of the U.S.* The widespread Arab and Islamic perception of Israel as a U.S. client state will cause an Israeli retreat and the consequent destabilization of Israel and Jordan to be perceived as a strategic defeat for the United States. This will motivate thousands throughout the world to join the forces of global jihad against America.
4. *Decrease motivation to cooperate with the U.S. in the war against Islamofascism throughout the Arab and Muslim world.* The perceived victory for the global jihad will harm U.S. efforts to gain the support of regimes and individuals in the Arab and Islamic world such as leaders like Gen. Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan. He, like democracy activists in Iraq, and advocates of Islamic moderation in Europe, will be undermined by the perceived strategic victory of the jihadist forces in the aftermath of Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank.

**In light of the above the U.S. should not lend its support to the Israeli premier's planned withdrawal from the West Bank. Instead, it should encourage him to pursue strategies that will deny victories for forces at war with both the United States and Israel.**

**FOR MORE INFORMATION, VISIT: [www.CenterforSecurityPolicy.org](http://www.CenterforSecurityPolicy.org)  
or Contact: Frank J. Gaffney, Jr. at 202-835-9077**

(b)(6)

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 3:04 PM  
**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Thanks!!

Dr. Steven P. Bucci  
Staff Director  
Immediate Office of SecDef

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

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA [mailto:Allison.Barber@  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 2:46 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

(b)(6)

Hi

Called frank but had to leave voicemail -- I left my contact info in case he needs more info.

ab

---

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:58 AM  
**To:** Barber, All

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

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**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

(b)(6)

**Dr. Steven P. Bucci**  
**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA [mailto:Allison.Barber@  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:56 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Cc:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OSD  
**Subject:** frank gaffney

(b)(6)

Hi steve

(b)(6)

Thanks

4/4/2008

ab

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

**From:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OSD [Eric.Ruff@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>]  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 1:21 PM  
**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA; Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

agree to all of this. thanks

---

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:56 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Cc:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OSD  
**Subject:** frank gaffney

Hi steve

(b)(6)

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

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**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 1:21 PM  
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**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:56 AM  
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**Cc:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OSD  
**Subject:** frank gaffney

Hi steve

(b)(6)

Thanks  
ab

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 12:14 PM  
**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Thanks Allison. It is much appreciated.

Dr. Steven P. Bucci  
Staff Director  
Immediate Office of SecDef

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

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA [mailto:Allison.Barber@  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:59 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

(b)(6)

I will do it personally.

ab

---

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:58 AM  
**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

4/4/2008



(b)(6)

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA [Allison.Barber@ (b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Monday, April 17, 2006 11:59 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

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ab

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**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: frank gaffney

(b)(6)

Dr. Steven P. Bucci

Staff Director

Immediate Office of SecDef

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

**From:** Barber, Allison Ms OSD PA [mailto:Allison.Barber@ (b)(6)]  
**Sent:**

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

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**To:** Barber, Allison, CIV, OASD-PA  
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(b)(6)

**Dr. Steven P. Bucci**  
**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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Hi steve

(b)(6)

Thanks  
ab

4/4/2008

(b)(6)

---

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 11, 2005 9:32 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) CIV. OSD  
**Subject:** Re:

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

He was bumped. We told him we would be in touch to re-schedule.

-----  
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

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

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD <(b)(6)>  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD <Steven.Bucci@(b)(6)>  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 11 02:12:23 2005  
**Subject:**

What happened to Frank Gaffney on Monday since. You put congressional prep in his spot?

-----  
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

(b)(6)

---

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 27, 2005 10:55 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Capt. USMC, OASD-PA (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Cc:** (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD; Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Thanks -- Got it. -- (b)(6)

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

**From:** (b)(6) Capt. USMC, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 27, 2005 10:36 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Cc:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD; (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD;  
Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

He was invited to travel on the China trip and did decline.

---

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**Sent:** Thursday, O

(b)(6)

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**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

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**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

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**From:** (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 27, 2005 9:28 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Capt. USMC, OASD-PA  
**Cc:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD; (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD; Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

(b)(6)

Is this the other talking head you guys invited who couldn't make it? Please let Carrie Sue know as she has a letter from him.

(b)(6)

**CAPT, USN**

(b)(2)

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

**From:** (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 27, 2005 7:43 AM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Cc:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

No data

(b)(6) Lt Col, USAF  
Military Assistant to SecDef

(b)(2)  
DSN (b)(2)

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

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:58 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) COL, OSD; (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Cc:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Invitation to BG David Grange

I have no info. Anyone else?

**Dr. Steven P. Bucci**  
**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:39 PM  
**To:** Buoci, Steven, Dr., OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Invitation to BG David Grange

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

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:37 PM  
**To:** Henry, Delonnie, CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV,  
OSD  
**Subject:** Invitation to BG David Grange

All -- I have a letter here from retired BG Grange saying SECDEF had invited him to go on the China trip and saying he could not make it. Can we confirm that he was invited? Thanks -- (b)(6)

(b)(6) CPO, DoD OGC

---

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:07 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

**This message has been archived. [View the original item](#)**

Ok Sir - Thanks -- CSC

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

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:02 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

No clue. Let me see the letter tomorrow CS. We'll come up with a course of action. SPB

Dr. Steven P. Bucci  
Staff Director  
Immediate Office of SecDef

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

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:01 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:07 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

Ok Sir - Thanks -- (b)(6)

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

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:02 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

No clue. Let me see the letter tomorrow CS. We'll come up with a course of action. SPB

**Dr. Steven P. Bucci**  
**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 6:01 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD; (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation to BG David Grange

Could it have come from a Policy person?

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

**From:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:58 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) COL, OSD; (b)(6) Lt Col, OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Cc:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Invitation to BG David Grange

I have no info. Anyone else?

**Dr. Steven P. Bucci**  
**Staff Director**  
**Immediate Office of SecDef**

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

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:39 PM  
**To:** Bucci, Steven, Dr., OSD; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD  
**Subject:** FW: Invitation to BG David Grange

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

**From:** (b)(6) CTR, OSD  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 26, 2005 5:37 PM  
**To:** Henry, Delonnie, CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV,  
OSD  
**Subject:** Invitation to BG David Grange

All -- I have a letter here from retired BG Grange saying SECDEF had invited him to go on the China trip and saying he could not make it. Can we confirm that he was invited? Thanks -- (b)(6)



(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 04, 2005 7:40 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Feith, Douglas, HON, OSD-POLICY  
**Subject:** Fw: TEL MSG: Frank Gaffney called for Mr. Feith (1900)

See below

-----  
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

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

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY (b)(6)  
**To:** (b)(6) COL, OSD POLICY (b)(6) (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY  
**POLICY** (b)(6) (b)(6) COL (USA), OSD-POLICY (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thu Aug 04 18:57:33 2005  
**Subject:** TEL MSG: Frank Gaffney called for Mr. Feith (1900)

His tel is (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Presidential Management Fellow / Special Assistant Office of the Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Policy) The Pentagon, Room (b)(2) (NEW) Tel. (b)(2) (NEW)

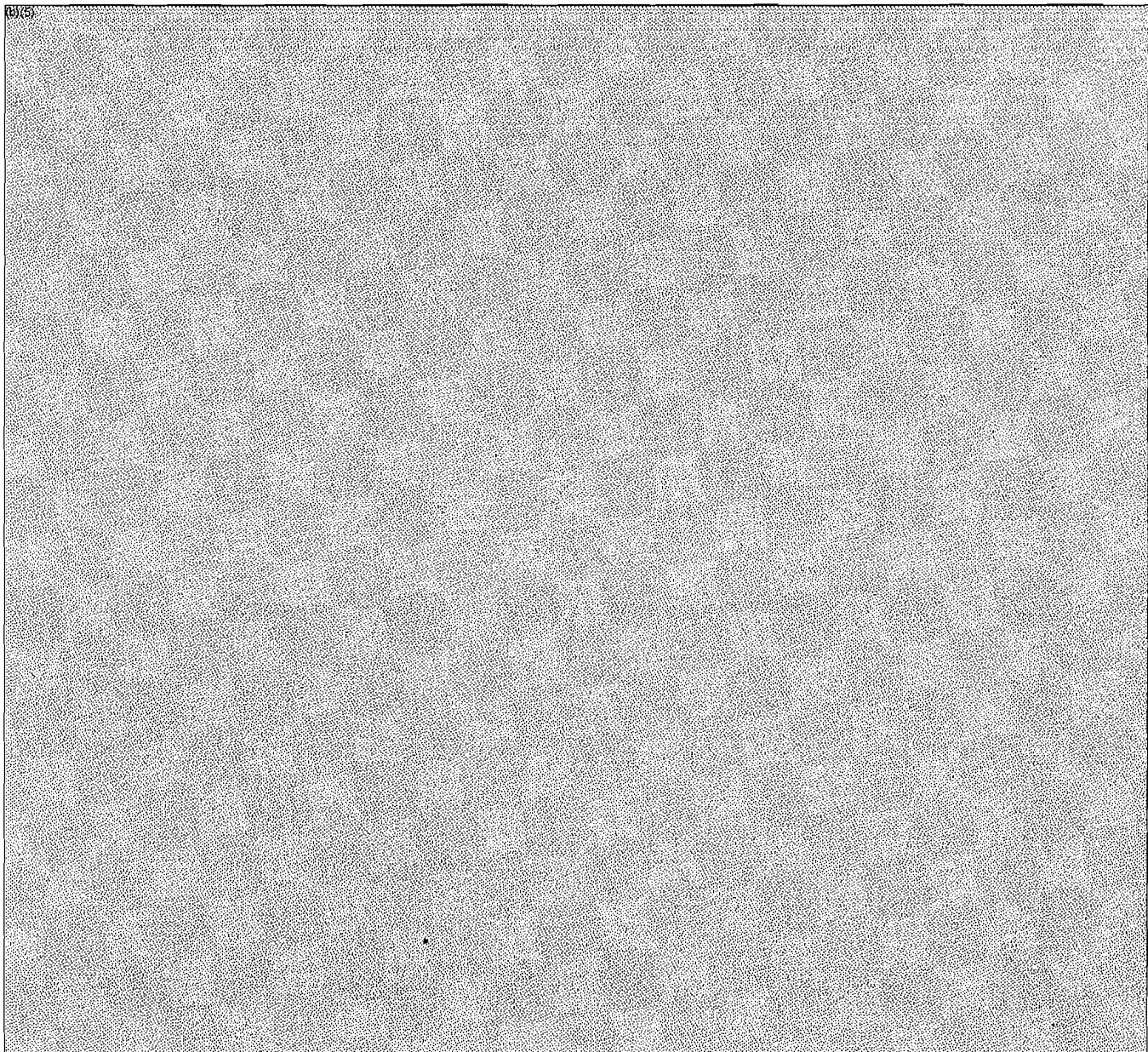
Privacy Act of 1974 as Amended applies- this email may contain information that is protected IAW DoD 5400.11R and is For Official Use Only (FOUO)

(b)(6)

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 08, 2005 2:02 PM  
**To:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** FW: I sense we are disconnected....

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

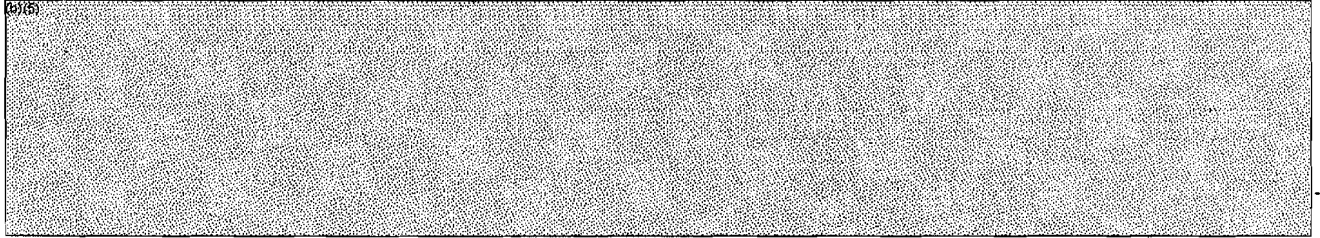
**From:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 02, 2005 4:53 PM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....



DSB  
DBB

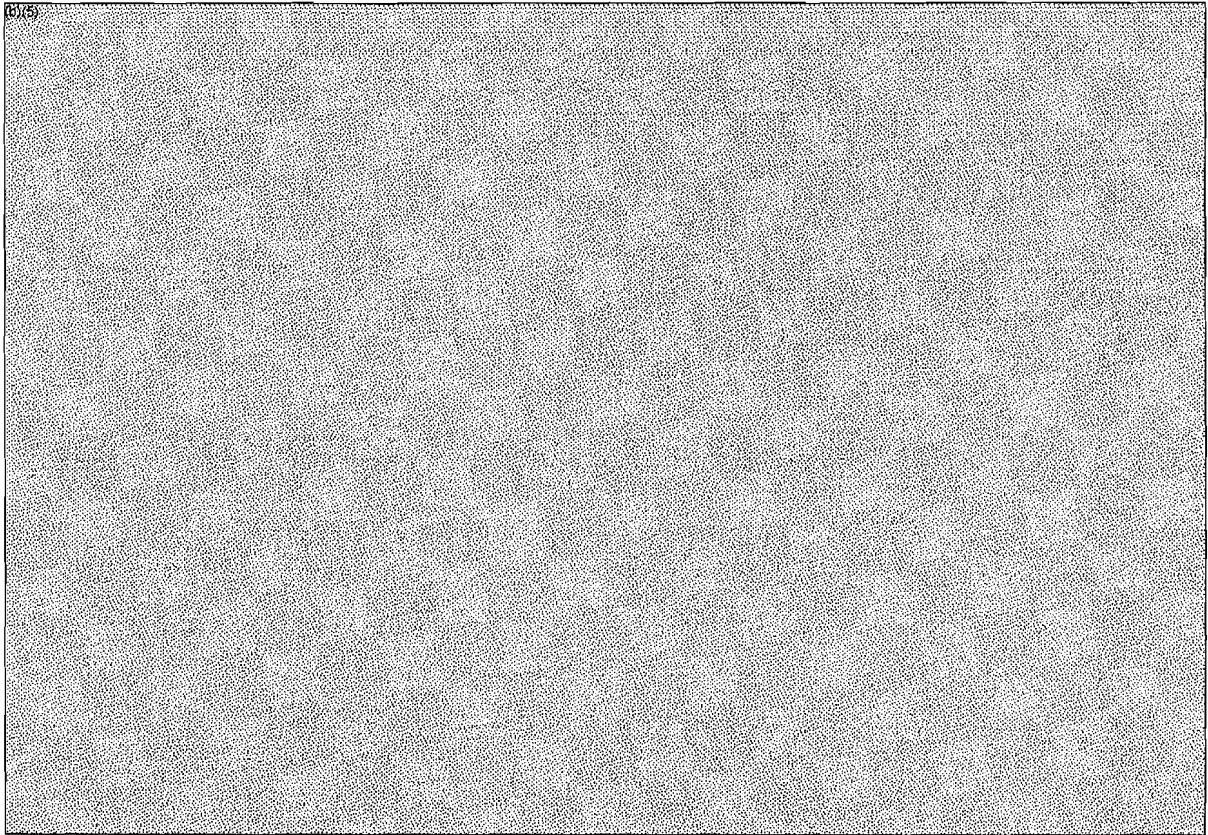
-----Original Message-----

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 01, 2005 11:45 AM  
**To:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....



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

**From:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 01, 2005 11:38 AM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....

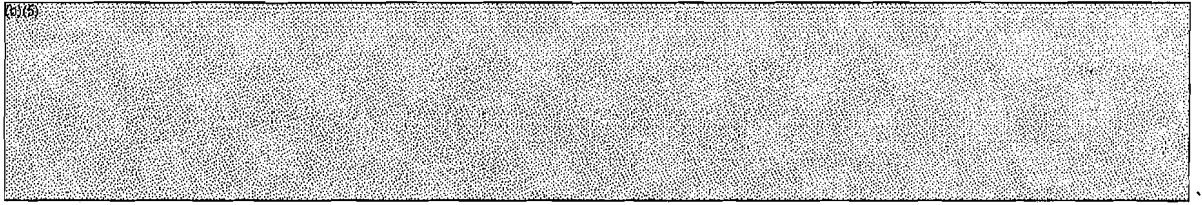


GR

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

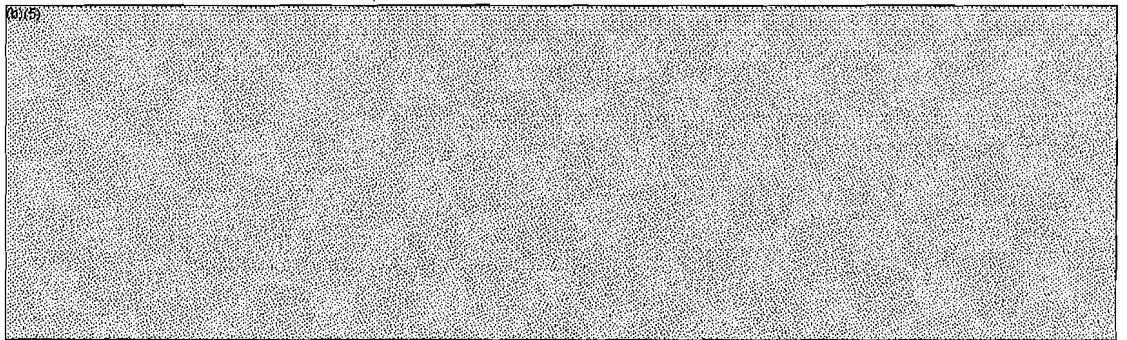
**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA

**Sent:** Monday, January 31, 2005 2:34 PM  
**To:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....



Thanks.

-----Original Message-----  
**From:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Monday, January 31, 2005 2:11 PM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** I sense we are disconnected....



GR

(b)(6)

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 01, 2005 11:45 AM  
**To:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....

Separate out members of congress from pundits.

You're missing a lot of members of congress. Get the list of people that helped out just before xmas from matt latimer. Domenici, sessions, cornyn, kyl, etc.

I don't know who babbib is. Probably jed babbin.

Take off scooter libbey, colin powell, and george tenet.

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

**From:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 01, 2005 11:38 AM  
**To:** DI Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....

The list I cobbled together based on recent snowflake traffic includes:

Saunders  
Blankley  
Fowler  
Greener  
Laird  
Podhoretz  
Gingrich  
Novak  
Fuefner  
Gaffney  
Kyl  
Edward Rozek  
Ryskind  
Victor Davis Hanson  
Clarke  
MacKinnion  
Schneider  
Chris Williams  
Members of the:  
DPB  
DSB  
DBB  
Babbib  
Colin Powell  
Tenet  
Scooter Libby

I have only sent articles that the SecDef wanted out, as communicated in snowflakes. You've seen all of them, news articles, very supportive. Copies here at my desk. Have been sending regularly to Laird as directed, but he gets a little more...talking points and such.

GR

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

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Monday, January 31, 2005 2:34 PM

1

**To:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: I sense we are disconnected....

I don't know how to slice and dice it, but there has been a group of stalwarts that should be getting more than a fax across their transom everyday.

Even if we put together a package now and then and accompanied it by a letter from me or Dan Stanley to give it a little higher profile.

Let me see that list again, and try to give me a sense of what we have sent them recently.

Thanks.

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

**From:** Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Monday, January 31, 2005 2:11 PM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** I sense we are disconnected....

...on the SDs "list of supportive folks." We have taken a bunch - maybe a dozen - snowflakes recently instructing us to add this person or that person and to send things to "the group." I have sent you a list that describes who I think those folks are - about 19. Your sense of it was that the list was about right. In response to other, more recent snowflakes, I have added a few others since. Now as more snowflakes come down, I hear that LA is using a list to send these specific items to a much more extensive list of members of Congress thinking they are being responsive to the desires of the SD. Recall, the list I described above included MOCs, reporters, members of DSB, DBB, DPB, formers, etc. I want to make sure we clearly communicate what list things should go to and make sure that you understand what "list" thing are going to. I don't think every positive article we come across or feel the need to promulgate a little, needs to go to all the Republican members of Congress, or all the SASC members, etc. I think we need a discreet and exclusive list in which to send discreet and exclusive correspondence. What say you?

GR

(b)(6)

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 05, 2004 9:09 AM  
**To:** Whitman, Bryan, SES, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: bremer statement

Thanks. our posture has to continue to be that the Secretary relied upon the judgment and recommendations of military commanders during the pre-deployment, hostilities, and post-hostilities phases of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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

**From:** Whitman, Bryan, SES, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 05, 2004 8:55 AM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** FW: bremer statement

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

**From:** Lawrence Di Rita [mailto:ldirita@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>]  
**Sent:** Monday, October 04, 2004 10:31 PM  
**To:** Bryan SES OASD-PA Whitman; eric ruff  
**Subject:** Fwd: bremer statement

(b)(5)

**Dan Senor** <dansenor@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>> wrote:

Date: Mon, 4 Oct 2004 18:32:44 -0700 (PDT)  
From: Dan Senor  
Subject: bremer statement  
To: james\_wilkinson@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>, smccorma@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>,  
scott\_mcclellan@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>, larry.dirita@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>,  
ldirita@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>, <sup>(b)(6)</sup>  
CC: dansenor@<sup>(b)(6)</sup>

Statement by Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III  
>> October 4, 2004  
>> Contact: Dan Senor, 202-213-4966

"I have recently delivered addresses in which I explained that, following September 11, 2001, the

4/5/2008

United States and the West face a new kind of terror threat. I said that winning the war in Iraq is an integral part of fighting this war on terror. I made clear that after spending 14 months in Iraq I was even more convinced that removing the regime of Saddam Hussein was the right thing to do and was central to winning the war on terrorism.

"I also stated that I agree with the President's strategy for training Iraqi security forces and his overall strategy in Iraq. This is one of the many reasons, as I explained in my addresses as well, that I strongly support his re-election.

"I believe that we currently have sufficient troop levels in Iraq. The reference to troop levels that I made referred explicitly to the situation as I found it on the ground, when I arrived in Baghdad in May 2003, and when I believed we needed either more Coalition troops or Iraqi security forces to address the looting. We developed a plan to address this problem, which has been continued by Iraq's Interim Government."

###

---

Do you Yahoo!?  
Read only the mail you want - Yahoo! Mail SpamGuard.  
[http://promotions.yahoo.com/new\\_mail](http://promotions.yahoo.com/new_mail)

---

Do you Yahoo!?  
[vote.yahoo.com](http://vote.yahoo.com) - Register online to vote today!

4/5/2008



(b)(6)

**From:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 05, 2004 7:01 AM  
**To:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: oef

Who is the "senior dod official" doing all the background briefing in the last point?

This is to give secdef a sense of things.

Do we need to squeeze on this? It is the 5th and the Zal piece feels soft.

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

**From:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 05, 2004 6:52 AM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** FW: oef  
**Importance:** High

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

**From:** Ruff, Eric, SES, OASD-PA  
**Sent:** Monday, October 04, 2004 1:03 PM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD-OASD-PA  
**Subject:** RE: oef

we met on friday and had a conference call this a.m. with the pao for ltg barno.  
following are what we have under consideration.

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6) CIV, OSD  
**Sent:** Monday, September 22, 2003 7:46 AM  
**To:** Di Rita, Larry, CIV, OSD; Caldwell, Bill, MG, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) OSD-COMPT; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-LA; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OASD-PA; Feith, Douglas, HON, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; Whitman, Bryan, SES, OASD-PA  
**Cc:** Buccl, Steven, COL, OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD; (b)(6) COL, OSD-COMPT; Chafin, Claude, CIV, OSD-LA; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CAPT, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) COL (USAF), OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CIV, OSD-POLICY; (b)(6) CDR, OSD  
**Subject:** Schedule Changes

Monday, September 22, 2003

0555 Depart residence en route Pentagon

0625 Arrive Pentagon

0635 Interview with ABC Good Morning America (Senor)  
Duration: 10 minutes  
Location: Pentagon Studio

0645 Interview with CBS The Early Show  
Duration: 10 minutes  
Location: Pentagon Studio

0700 Principal's Committee SVTS

0830 Meeting with Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz (Patterson)  
Location: Deputy's office

0900 HOLD FOR PREPARATION

1030 Congressional Testimony preparation – "Murder Board" (Korologos)  
Participants: Dep Sec Wolfowitz, Reuben Jeffery, Tom Korologos, Kevin Kellerns, Dan Senor, Robin Cleveland, Doug Feith/Bill Luti, Larry Lanzillotta, Dave Oliver  
Location: Conference Room

1130 HOLD FOR PREPARATION

1345 Depart Pentagon en route Hart Senate Office Building

1430 Begin Hearing before Senate Appropriations Committee (Korologos)  
Location: SH-116  
Duration: 3 hours 30 minutes (estimated)  
NOTE: There will be a press stakeout afterwards.

4/5/2008

TBD

Depart Hart Senate Office building en route TBD

4/5/2008

(b)(6)

**From:** Sarah Stern [ssstern@ (b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Sunday, July 06, 2003 3:24 PM  
**To:** Ray and Cal Thomas; Frank Gaffney; dwurmser@ (b)(6); gregg123@ (b)(6);  
Clifford D. May; paul.teller@ (b)(6); doug.feith; Yoram Ettinger; Fishbein Associates, Inc.;  
sae77@ (b)(6); cpa@ (b)(6); jim\_doran@ (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fw: Re. Pro-Palestinian STRATEGY Conference:Their Minutes

Actually, I now figured out who this woman is... She is the founder of "standwithus.com, a group that originated out of Los Angeles, and seems to be a very reliable source.  
Best wishes for a happy fourth

Sarah N. Stern  
National Policy Coordinator  
Zionist Organization of America

(b)(6) (office)  
(b)(6) (fax)  
(b)(6) (cell)

ssstern@ (b)(6)

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

**From:** Sarah Stern  
**To:** Ray and Cal Thomas  
**Sent:** Sunday, July 06, 2003 11:59 AM  
**Subject:** Fw: Re. Pro-Palestinian STRATEGY Conference:Their Minutes

Cal,  
I don't know who the person is that emailed me this information, but it is vital to get out in terms of the intentions of Abu Mazen and the P.A.  
We have to get together soon... Tell me what your schedule is like for the week-ends in the summer? I'd like to arrange for a Sunday evening bar-b-que with friends, to strategize... Jean Kirkpatrick, Frank Gaffney, David Wurmser, etc.

Love to Ray,  
Sarah N. Stern  
National Policy Coordinator  
Zionist Organization of America

(b)(6) (office)  
(b)(6) (fax)  
(b)(6) (cell)

ssstern@ (b)(6)

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

**From:** Rozrothst@ (b)(6)  
**To:** Rozrothst@ (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, July 04, 2003 4:17 PM  
**Subject:** Re. Pro-Palestinian STRATEGY Conference:Their Minutes

Via Standwithus and Yardenia  
Its good to have this kind of information.  
Please read and pass to leadership.  
Roz Rothstein

**Al-Awda Convention Workshop Minutes and Recommendations\***

My personal report on the convention. - by Stanley Heller, one of Unity's moderators.

4/5/2008

Our first international Convention drew 350 participants. That's a major achievement. This convention really was international with people coming from the camps, from Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, South Africa, and even the island of Mauritius (east of Madagascar). The political achievements were mixed, however.

Nationalist rhetoric kept getting mixed into our anti-apartheid movement.

Driving into Toronto was interesting. No American flags! :) There were some Canadian flags on a few public buildings, but no national glorification.

There

were some signs about SARS in a poorer area with a Chinese and Vietnamese shops, but no one was wearing a mask and the matter was quickly forgotten.

We met

at the University of Toronto Education Center, which is built right over a subway. You could hear the trains roar all over the building. The facilities were first class, however.

It was great putting faces next to the names I've been viewing in cyberspace.

>From this list I met Uri Strauss, Bahija Reghaei, Abraham Weizfeld, Henry Lowi, Steve Questor from Jews Against the Occupation (NYC), and Mughir al Hindi. I've written to this list about the libel suit being pursued by Susan Howard-Azzeh from St. Catherines. She was there with her daughter and it was excellent meeting them.

Hands down, the highlight of the convention was the speech by Salman Abu-Sitta. He dresses formally, but with style. At the dinner he wore a handsome blue suit with a bright red handkerchief. Born in the 1930's in Beersheba, he became a refugee and now lives in Kuwait and London. He illustrated his speech with

a Power Point presentation in which he explained in great detail how 5,000,000 Palestinians could return to their homes without any major disruption to the Jewish population. He had it all nailed down. The first returnees will come to sites of the 500 demolished villages and build the houses for the next wave of refugees. He sees the whole process as taking 6 to 8 years. He talked about water, jobs, the whole gamut. Brilliant. As Edward Said said in 2000, Abu-Sitta is a national treasure.

Abu-Sitta received the Faris Odeh award, named after the Palestinian youth photographed against the huge Israeli tank. I presented the Rachel Corrie award to representatives of the International Solidarity Movement from Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. They shared with us several wrenching accounts of what they saw in the territories.

It is becoming clearer to me that the refugee issue is at the heart of the conflict even more important than borders. Merely ending the occupation, getting the IDF out of the West Bank and Gaza, will not do the trick. The Palestinians are an exiled people with an enormous desire to return to their homes. This means Israel proper. The US and the Israelis are going to have to deal with this. If they don't all the paper agreements they get from the Abu-Mazen's

4/5/2008

and  
Arafats aren't worth a hill of beans.

Though our mission is to help the refugees, a lot of what went on at the convention addressed larger political issues and this wasn't always to the good.

Members of the IAC were on two panels and gave the first address. No other political group had such visibility which gives a false impression that al-Awda is

an IAC project. The IAC's Richard Becker's analysis of the Palestinian question and US anti-war work was very well done, but Elias Rishmawi's speech had

problems. He thundered on about betrayals by PLO leadership, striking a very militant position, but ended before giving a positive program. He ignored criticisms from the audience about the costs of violence not only to innocent

Israelis, but to Palestinians. I also disagreed with Ibrahim Makawi of the pan-Arabist Abnaa' Al-Balaad group who kept talking about Palestine being part of the

Arab nation and using the term "1948 occupied Palestine" instead of Israel. Face

the facts. There are four million Israeli Jews. There isn't a chance for a settlement if the Israelis think the Palestinians goal is to dominate Jews and

treat them as miserably as the Zionists have been treating the Palestinians.

The dissolution of apartheid is the model to follow, with the states or states

that arise from its abolition becoming the property of the citizenry, not of

a  
national, ethnic or religious group.

One of the best speakers was a man who knew South African apartheid very well, Na'eem Jeenah, a Muslim scholar and head of the Palestine Solidarity Committee of South Africa. He explained the similarities and differences between

South African and Israeli apartheid with the Zionist variety being the more vicious! He pointed out that the South Africans government never tried mass expulsion of blacks and that it never included in the government parties dedicated to

that kind of "solution". As for repression he pointed out the lack of collective punishment in South Africa. He explained that his own brother was killed

by the authorities, but his family never feared that they would lose their home

or be expelled. He said that what activists are calling the "apartheid wall" had no precedent in South Africa. Nor did South Africans ever invade townships

with tanks and jet planes. While explaining that the ANC did at times kill civilians (what at the time were called "soft targets") he said that he completely opposed it and that the main factors that ended apartheid were internal

popular resistance and international solidarity actions.

Another impressive speaker was Dr. Gatha Tahami who spoke on the panel "Palestinian Women in the Struggle for Liberation and Return". She

challenged

people to look ahead several years and look at the big picture. She warned about

"alternative" plans for refugees like Shlomo Gazit's idea that the Palestine Authority should have a "law of return" modeled after the Israeli law. Then all

4/5/2008

the refugees in Jordan, Syria, etc. would get Palestinian citizenship and they would stay there forever. She also warned about the "Iraq file", Israeli claims against Iraq for property of Iraqi Jews who left for Israel. The Iraqi health care system is in tatters and polluted water is killing people all over, but Israel will demand that Iraq first deal with claims of Israeli from Iraq who are living very adequately in Israel. Talhami also warned the "Iraq file" would be used as a weapon against Palestinian claims for compensation against the Israeli government. She advised us to remember that Palestinians had nothing to do with forcing Jews out of Iraq and told us about a Palestinian leader who in the early '50's pointedly told the Iraqi Prime Minister that his actions encouraging emigration were doing no good.

In the hallways a number of "Unity" folks talked and I got a sense that we could really make something of our list. We've got to accept two ways of acting. Jews should join in solidarity groups as individuals and making the fight that way. They should also be comfortable in forming Jewish groups against occupation and apartheid. This helps Palestinians combat false charges of anti-Semitism and organizes those who prefer to embrace their Jewish identity in their political work.

There was one glaring problem with the convention, a total absence of Israeli Jewish speakers and participants. At our demonstrations in Washington and New York they were included, but not in Toronto. That's a real mistake. An Israeli-Jewish presence demolishes the propaganda which insists that the Right to Return is "national suicide" for Israelis.

At the close of the Convention there was a strategy session with time for recommendations about future work. Because of delays in morning sessions the section started several hours late and several key al-Awda leaders had to leave to make travel connections. I missed the session for the same reason. The strategy session was problematic. In many organizations the Convention is the ruling body of the organization. Not so for al-Awda. The al-Awda by-laws don't even mention the word convention. I think it's clear that the measures adopted at the session could only be advice to the Co-ordinating Committee (Al-Awda's highest body), but some on the CC argue that what was adopted in the Strategy Session are now official Al-Awda positions.

Upon reading the minutes I wasn't impressed with the four "resolutions" adopted. [See full text at end of post] One I completely oppose. It reads: "Al-Awda convention, demands the immediate stop of using Israel/Palestine in all of its document, as it implies the existence of a Palestinian State." I can't understand it at all. My first impression is that there must be a typo and that the resolution was complaining about an "Israeli state". This is the thinking of those who talk about the "Zionist entity" and can't stomach the word Israel. I can understand the fury of suffering people caused by Israelis, but this

4/5/2008

kind

of rhetoric plays right into the hands of those who say the real goal of the Palestinians is to drive the Israelis "into the sea". Nationalism is a bad idea for Jews. It's a bad idea for anybody.

I think the formulation "Israel/Palestine" is an excellent term. It recognizes Palestinians and Israeli Jews as basic ethnic groups of the land.

It references all the land between the Mediterranean and the Jordan without implying borders. Its use certainly shouldn't be banned within al-Awda.

Two other resolutions emphasized rejection of compromise of Palestinian rights and support for struggle "spearhead by the intifada". Activists understand

the term to mean uprising, popular struggle, but the way the resolution reads makes it easier for opponents to advance the slander that we support "suicide bombings".

I wish some concrete suggestions had been made, like support for the Rachel Corrie Resolution, and for committees opposing deportation of Amer Jubran and scores of Canadian Palestinians. There was no resolution about refugee rights in Lebanon, Jordan, etc. and that's a real mistake.

There's also the question of who is a member of al-Awda and who is not. The by-laws are incredibly broad allowing membership to anyone who believes in our mission and "who donate time and resources for the right to return". At the Convention the CC voted to study the idea of formal membership where people would formally sign up.

There were plenty of logistic problems at the convention, mostly stemming from over ambitiousness, every spare minute being set aside for panel or a talk, sessions ignoring time limits, 15 minute lunches, CC sessions going on until the early morning hours, lack of a large Al-Awda banner, etc.. It was a tremendous effort with mixed results.

Finally, Al-Awda and other groups are organizing a project called "Wheels of Justice". A bus will be driven all over the US and Canada with Al-Awda slogans, literature, exhibits, loudspeakers, etc. Cool!

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#### Minutes of the Strategy Session

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#### Resolution #1

#### On the definition of the Right of Return

"The Palestinian right of return is a historical, national and collective right rooted in the individual and collective inviolable right of an individual and a

4/5/2008



people to their original homes, property, and homeland, and to restitution regardless of agreements, developments in international law, and political framework. It is a right that transcends generations, political entities, and is not subject to any form of negation or compromise. It is an inextricable right to the fundamental right of unconditional self-determination for the totality of the Palestinian people regardless of their place of residence."

Resolution#2

On the Road Map

"Al-Awda convention opposes the US approved Road Map which aims at suppressing the Palestinian people human and national rights. Al-Awda Convention expresses support for the Palestinian people struggle, spearheaded by the Intifada, to achieve national resistance goals including, but not limited to, ending the Zionist colonization, implementing the right of return and achieving self-determination. Al-Awda convention does not recognize the self-proclaimed right of the Palestinian leadership, elected or self appointed, in compromising any Palestinian national right, especially the right of return."

Resolution#3

On the use of Israel/Palestine in Al-Awda Documents

"Al-Awda convention, demands the immediate stop of using Israel/Palestine in all of its document, as it implies the existence of a Palestinian State."

Resolution#4

On Political Prisoners in Israeli & Palestinian Authority jails "Al-Awda Convention demands the immediate release of all political prisoners from all Israeli and Palestinian Authority jails."

Recommendation: #1

National Days Of Action

"Al-Awda Convention resolved to the following days as National &

4/5/2008

International

Days of Action on the Right of Return, where local chapters would do jointly or

collectively as planning allows:

September 26-28, 2003: Second Intifada 4th anniversary

April 9, 2004: Deir Yasin Massacre

May 15, 2004: 1948 Nakbah ."

Recommendation#2

Next Convention

That Next Al-Awda Convention would take place in one to two years,

in the Bay

Area (North California, USA).

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Al-Awda Convention Workshop Recommendations\*

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Fundraising and Refugee Support

- Continue Supporting the work of Palestinian Children Welfare Fund (PCWF)

- Re-Activation of the Refugee Support Committee

- The use of the List Serve to meet these goals

Divestment & Boycott Campaigns

- Boycott until Return

- AFJ (More information will be provided later detailing this recommendation)

Media

- Use of all media formats

- Focus on Alternative media

- Research Media

Women

4/5/2008

- Forming Women for Al-Awda
- Focus on building women leadership
- Condemn oppression resulting from all factors

Advocacy

- Join Campaign against Caterpillars
- Train on Lobbying
- Push for Palestinian Rights in the next elections, especially with Democrats.

4/5/2008