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January 22, 2001

Memo from: Secretary of the Treasury Paul H. O'Neill
To: President George W. Bush

RE: Tax Policy

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 22, 2001

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Paul H. O'Neill



SUBJECT: Tax Reform

I believe there is an opportunity to get quick action on your tax proposal if we move now.

You have won the general argument on the desirability of a tax cut and the opposition has been cornered into arguing over how large the cut should be, and, their numbers are moving toward your numbers and scope.

I also believe there is a reasonable majority for acting on death taxes, the marriage penalty and the child credit. In fact, there is some sentiment in the Congress to act on these and then add on individual Members' ideas for so-called targeted tax cuts, such as ethanol incentives and tax credits for "fix up" investments in inner city housing. The argument advanced is that this is a way to get a quick victory in the tax arena. The problem with this approach is that it leaves behind the single most important element of your plan - action on the reductions in marginal rates and creates the possibility of an ugly Christmas tree tax bill you would feel constrained to veto. Not a great beginning.

The growing agreement, even alarm in some quarters, with regard to the slowing economy, gives you what could be a great opportunity to get very fast action on taxes, featuring marginal rate reductions.

If we could get your tax proposal in front of the committees in the next few weeks, we could argue that the only thing that keeps us from taking out an insurance policy against the slowing economy turning into a recession is expedited action by the Congress.

This approach keeps us out of the morass of arguing about the theology of economics and simply says "we don't care about theology, we care about taking practical action right now." Since we all agree there should be a tax cut, let's act by March 15th with a marginal rate cut retroactive to January 1, so we can adjust withholding tables and have an immediate reduction in tax collections that benefits all Americans.

The only Congressional argument against expedited action is that it doesn't fit their process. If, or as, the economy continues to slow, not many members will be thrilled to go home and tell their constituents it is going to take them six months or more to act. Incidentally, we know that the real economy has slowed and the official statistics

will reflect the slowing over the next quarter, at least. If the current slowness starts moving toward re-acceleration late in the second quarter it would weaken the argument for quick action.

I don't see any hazard for you in this approach. If Congress acts quickly and there is substantial re-acceleration, for whatever reason, the Fed can raise rates to cool the economy if the upside gets out of hand. This would be a happy circumstance.

If they fail to act quickly and we do slip into a recession, the Congress gets all the blame.

I believe we have a great case for rate reductions and yet I found in my conversations with individual members and in my confirmation hearings there is almost no understanding of how your proposals would benefit low and middle income Americans. And, in the media reports of what I said there was not a single mention of the huge reductions in rates you have proposed for four person families with incomes of \$35,000, \$50,000 and \$75,000. This is a powerful point and, by repetition, we need to force the media to report it.

With a well-designed effort we can get this argument on our ground and stop the drum beat about a tax cut for the rich.

In order to stay within your total tax reduction numbers and provide early implementation for marginal rate cuts we will have to stretch out implementation of some of the other initiatives. We should argue that we will revisit implementation dates for the other features, if the economy permits us to do so.

As the days go by, our ability to use the approach I am suggesting will wane, because the opposition will say we put the lie to the argument for early action by our slowness in making a proposal.

Accordingly, I recommend that we get the other appropriate members of your team to react quickly so your options are not reduced by the passage of time.

cc: Vice President Cheney
Larry Lindsey



UNCLASSIFIED WITH SECRET ATTACHMENTS
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

JAN 31 2001

BRIEFING

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY O'NEILL

FROM: Mark Sobel, Acting Assistant Secretary, International Affairs *Mu f n*
SUBJECT: Briefing for NSC Principals Meeting on Gulf Policy
DATE AND TIME: 3:00 p.m.-4:30 p.m., Thursday, February 1, 2001
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
PARTICIPANTS: Principals + 1
PURPOSE: To review the current state-of-play (including a CIA briefing on Iraq) and to examine policy questions on how to proceed.

ATTACHMENTS:

Tab A: Agenda and Policy Questions (from NSC) -- **SECRET**
Tab B: Economic Background on Iraq (from Deutsche Bank)
Tab C: Executive Summary: Political-Military Plan for Post-Saddam Iraq Crisis (interagency working paper) -- **SECRET**
Tab D: Summary of United States Sanctions on Iraq
Tab E: "Iraq Sanctions Regime," State Department, for use in public statements

cc: Kenneth Dam
Joe Engelhard
Steve Radelet

UNCLASSIFIED WITH SECRET ATTACHMENTS

July 16, 2001.

Department of Defense Report

Re: United States engagement with the Taliban on Osama bin Laden.

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SECRET NODIS
DECL: 7/16/11

SI
RELEASED IN FULL

U.S. Engagement with the Taliban on Usama Bin Laden

DECAPTIONED

Since the Taliban captured Kabul in 1996, the United States has consistently discussed with them peace, humanitarian assistance, drugs and human rights. However, we have made clear that Usama bin Laden (UBL) and terrorism is the preeminent issue between the U.S. and the Taliban.

- These concerns over bin Ladin preceded the 1998 bombings.
- For instance, Secretary Christopher wrote to the Taliban Foreign Minister in 1996 that "we wish to work with you to expel all terrorists and those who support terrorism..."

In our talks we have stressed that UBL has murdered Americans and continues to plan attacks against Americans and others and that we cannot ignore this threat.

- Have also emphasized that the international community shares this concern. In 1999 and in 2000, the UN Security Council passed resolutions demanding that UBL be expelled to a country where he can be brought to justice.
- Have told the Taliban that the terrorist problem is not confined to bin Laden and that the Taliban must take steps to shut down all terrorist activities.
- Have told them that the resolution of the bin Laden issue and steps to close the terrorist apparatus would enable us to discuss other issues in an improved atmosphere.
- Conversely, have stressed that if this terrorism issue is not addressed, there can be no improvement in relations.

These talks have been fruitless. The Taliban usually said that they want a solution but cannot comply with UNSCRs. Often the Taliban asked the U.S. to suggest a solution.

- In October 1999, the Taliban suggested several "solutions" including a UBL trial by a panel of Islamic scholars or monitoring of UBL Afghanistan by OIC or UN.
- Taliban consistently maintained that UBL's activities are restricted, despite all evidence to the contrary.

SECRET NODIS

Classified by: Christina B. Rocca, A/S for South Asia

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE. O. 12958; 1.5 (b) and (d)

REVIEW AUTHORITY: SHARON E AHMAD

DATE/CASE ID: 08 SEP 2003 200103969

UNCLASSIFIED

January 22, 2002 Department of Justice memo to White House and Defense Department Counsels regarding the application of the War Crimes Act and the Geneva Conventions to prisoners from the Afghanistan conflict.



BYBEE
WHELAN
YOO
BRADSHAW
FIDLBIN
LARSEN
KET FILE- GENEVA III DOC
READING FILE
FILE

U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Legal Counsel

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

January 22, 2002

**Memorandum for Alberto R. Gonzales
Counsel to the President,
and William J. Haynes II
General Counsel of the Department of Defense**

Re: Application of Treaties and Laws to al Qaeda and Taliban Detainees

You have asked for our Office's views concerning the effect of international treaties and federal laws on the treatment of individuals detained by the U.S. Armed Forces during the conflict in Afghanistan. In particular, you have asked whether certain treaties forming part of the laws of armed conflict apply to the conditions of detention and the procedures for trial of members of al Qaeda and the Taliban militia. We conclude that these treaties do not protect members of the al Qaeda organization, which as a non-State actor cannot be a party to the international agreements governing war. We further conclude that that President has sufficient grounds to find that these treaties do not protect members of the Taliban militia. This memorandum expresses no view as to whether the President should decide, as a matter of policy, that the U.S. Armed Forces should adhere to the standards of conduct in those treaties with respect to the treatment of prisoners.

We believe it most useful to structure the analysis of these questions by focusing on the War Crimes Act, 18 U.S.C. § 2441 (Supp. III 1997) ("WCA"). The WCA directly incorporates several provisions of international treaties governing the laws of war into the federal criminal code. Part I of this memorandum describes the WCA and the most relevant treaty that it incorporates: the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War ("Geneva III").¹

Parts II and III of this memorandum discuss why other deviations from the text of Geneva III would not present either a violation of the treaty or of the WCA. Part II explains that al Qaeda detainees cannot claim the protections of Geneva III because the treaty does not apply to them. Al Qaeda is merely a violent political movement or organization and not a nation-State. As a result, it cannot be a state party to any treaty. Because of the novel nature of this conflict, moreover, a conflict with al Qaeda is not properly included in non-international forms of armed

¹ The four Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War, dated August 12, 1949, were ratified by the United States on July 14, 1955. These are the Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, 6 U.S.T. 3115 ("Geneva Convention I"); the Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea, 6 U.S.T. 3219 ("Geneva Convention II"); the Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 6 U.S.T. 3517 ("Geneva Convention III"); and the Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 6 U.S.T. 3317 ("Geneva Convention IV").

January 25, 2002

From: White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales

To: President George W. Bush

RE: Geneva Convention - al Qaeda & Taliban Members

January 25, 2002

DRAFT
1/25/2002 - 3:30 pm

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALBERTO R. GONZALES

SUBJECT: DECISION RE APPLICATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON PRISONERS OF WAR TO THE CONFLICT WITH AL QAEDA AND THE TALIBAN

Purpose

On January 18, I advised you that the Department of Justice had issued a formal legal opinion concluding that the Geneva Convention III on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (GPW) does not apply to the conflict with al Qaeda. I also advised you that DOJ's opinion concludes that there are reasonable grounds for you to conclude that GPW does not apply with respect to the conflict with the Taliban. I understand that you decided that GPW does not apply and, accordingly, that al Qaeda and Taliban detainees are not prisoners of war under the GPW.

The Secretary of State has requested that you reconsider that decision. Specifically, he has asked that you conclude that GPW does apply to both al Qaeda and the Taliban. I understand, however, that he would agree that al Qaeda and Taliban fighters could be determined not to be prisoners of war (POWs) but only on a case-by-case basis following individual hearings before a military board.

This memorandum outlines the ramifications of your decision and the Secretary's request for reconsideration.

Legal Background

As an initial matter, I note that you have the constitutional authority to make the determination you made on January 18 that the GPW does not apply to al Qaeda and the Taliban. (Of course, you could nevertheless, as a matter of policy, decide to apply the principles of GPW to the conflict with al Qaeda and the Taliban.) The Office of Legal Counsel of the Department of Justice has opined that, as a matter of international and domestic law, GPW does not apply to the conflict with al Qaeda. OLC has further opined that you have the authority to determine that GPW does not apply to the Taliban. As I discussed with you, the grounds for such a determination may include:

- A determination that Afghanistan was a failed state because the Taliban did not exercise full control over the territory and people, was not recognized by the international community, and was not capable of fulfilling its international obligations (e.g., was in widespread material breach of its international obligations).
- A determination that the Taliban and its forces were, in fact, not a government, but a militant, terrorist-like group.

OLC's interpretation of this legal issue is definitive. The Attorney General is charged by statute with interpreting the law for the Executive Branch. This interpretive authority extends to both domestic and international law. He has, in turn, delegated this role to OLC. Nevertheless, you should be aware that the Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State has expressed a different view.

September 11, 2002

**Memorandum From: Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy,
Richard Clarida**

To: Secretary of the Treasury, Paul O'Neill

**RE: Economic Impact of War with Iraq - Briefing of Vice President
Richard Cheney**



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

BRIEFING

September 11, 2002

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY O'NEILL

FROM: Richard Clarida *ec*
Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy

SUBJECT: Briefing for Your Lunch with Vice President Cheney on the
Economic Impact of a War with Iraq

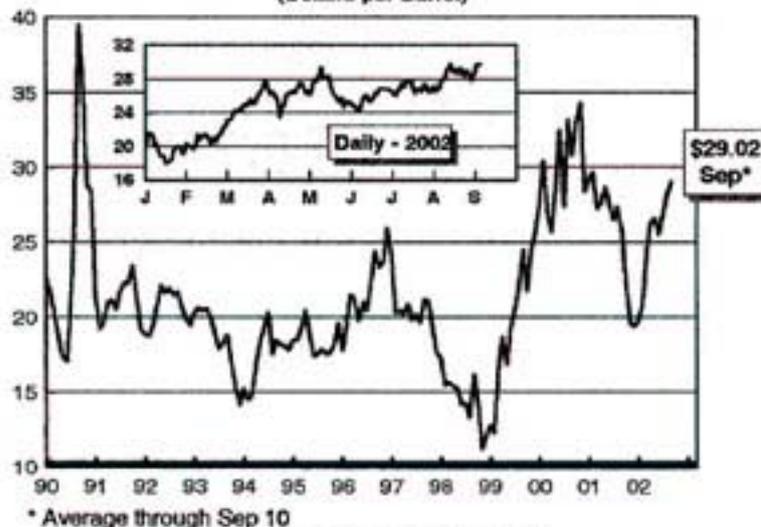
The economic repercussions of a war with Iraq would be wide and complex. The following memorandum addresses the most immediate effect of such a war, which would be a hike in oil prices. It is unlikely that higher prices alone would derail the expansion. We estimate that in the "worst-case" scenario (\$20 per barrel spike for one year), real GDP would be reduced by 0.9 percentage point from the 3.1 percent expected without higher oil prices. The effect of a war on financial markets and consumer and business confidence has not been included in this evaluation.

Recent Developments

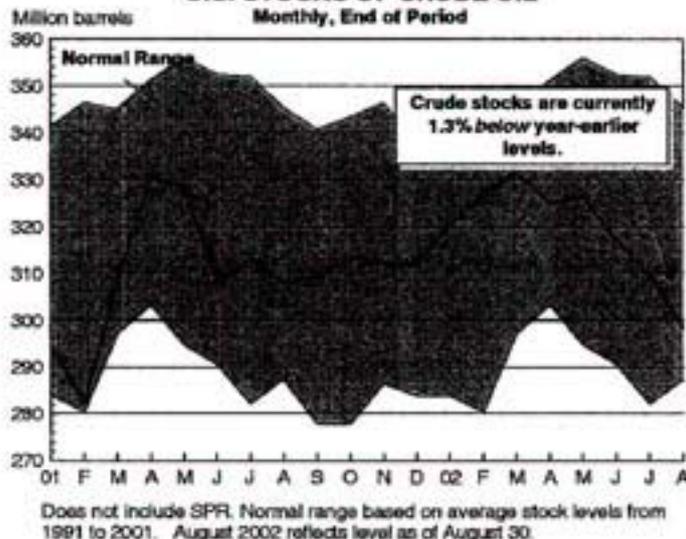
The one-month futures price of West Texas Intermediate (WTI) crude oil closed at \$29.73 per barrel on September 10, only slightly below the 15-month high of \$29.84 reached in mid August. Crude has now risen by more than \$8.50 (40 percent) since the beginning of the year. The current price is roughly 7 percent above the year-earlier level. The increases in the price of oil this year have been strongly correlated with general turmoil in the Middle East and the seemingly growing possibility of military confrontation between the U.S. and Iraq. Private analysts estimate that the current "war premium" on the price of crude is roughly \$5 per barrel.

Part of the run up in oil prices has been driven by oil market fundamentals. The ongoing effects of OPEC oil production cuts during 2001 along with erratic Iraqi crude production have led to tighter supplies of crude oil. U.S. crude oil inventories slipped to 298.5 million barrels at the end of August (latest data available), the lowest level since March 2001. Inventories are now 1.3 percent below the year-earlier level and nearly 9 percent lower than the monthly average for August over the past 10 years.

DOMESTIC CRUDE OIL PRICES - MONTHLY
One-Month Futures Price, West Texas Intermediate
(Dollars per Barrel)



U.S. STOCKS OF CRUDE OIL
Monthly, End of Period



AUG. 1.1999 1:09AM

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NO. 224 P. 2

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
UNITED STATES SOUTHERN COMMAND
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER
3511 NW 91ST AVENUE
MIAMI, FL 33172-1217



REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF

SCCDR

25 October 2002

MEMORANDUM FOR Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC 20318-9999

SUBJECT: Counter-Resistance Techniques

1. The activities of Joint Task Force 170 have yielded critical intelligence support for forces in combat, combatant commanders, and other intelligence/law enforcement entities prosecuting the War on Terrorism. However, despite our best efforts, some detainees have tenaciously resisted our current interrogation methods. Our respective staffs, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and Joint Task Force 170 have been trying to identify counter-resistant techniques that we can lawfully employ.
2. I am forwarding Joint Task Force 170's proposed counter-resistance techniques. I believe the first two categories of techniques are legal and humane. I am uncertain whether all the techniques in the third category are legal under US law, given the absence of judicial interpretation of the US torture statute. I am particularly troubled by the use of implied or expressed threats of death of the detainee or his family. However, I desire to have as many options as possible at my disposal and therefore request that Department of Defense and Department of Justice lawyers review the third category of techniques.
3. As part of any review of Joint Task Force 170's proposed strategy, I welcome any suggested interrogation methods that others may propose. I believe we should provide our interrogators with as many legally permissible tools as possible.
4. Although I am cognizant of the important policy ramifications of some of these proposed techniques, I firmly believe that we must quickly provide Joint Task Force 170 counter-resistance techniques to maximize the value of our intelligence collection mission.

Encls

1. JTF 170 CDR Memo
dtd 11 October, 2002
2. JTF 170 SJA Memo
dtd 11 October, 2002
3. JTF 170 J-2 Memo
dtd 11 October, 2002


James T. Hill
General, US Army
Commander

UNCLASSIFIED

Declassify Under the Authority of Executive Order 12958
By Executive Secretary, Office of the Secretary of Defense
By William P. Marriott, CAPT, USN
June 21, 2004

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET/NOFORN~~

JTF 170-J2

SUBJECT: Request for Approval of Counter-Resistance Strategies

detainees, the OIC, Interrogation Section, will approve all contacts with the detainee, to include medical visits of a non-emergent nature.

(4) Interrogating the detainee in an environment other than the standard interrogation booth:

(5) Deprivation of light and auditory stimuli:

(6) The detainee may also have a hood placed over his head during transportation and questioning. The hood should not restrict breathing in any way and the detainee should be under direct observation when hooded.

(7) The use of 20-hour interrogations:

(8) Removal of all comfort items (including religious items):

(9) Switching the detainee from hot rations to MREs.

(10) Removal of clothing.

(11) Forced grooming (shaving of facial hair etc...)

(12) Using detainees individual phobias (such as fear of dogs) to induce stress.

c. Category III techniques. Techniques in this category may be used only by submitting a request through the Director, JIG, for approval by the Commanding General with appropriate legal review and information to Commander, USSOUTHCOM. These techniques are required for a very small percentage of the most uncooperative detainees (less than 3%). The following techniques and other aversive techniques, such as those used in U.S. military interrogation resistance training or by other U.S. government agencies, may be utilized in a carefully coordinated manner to help interrogate exceptionally resistant detainees. Any or these techniques that require more than light grabbing, poking, or pushing, will be administered only by individuals specifically trained in their safe application.

(1) The use of scenarios designed to convince the detainee that death or severely painful consequences are imminent for him and/or his family.

(2) Exposure to cold weather or water (with appropriate medical monitoring).

(3) Use of a wet towel and dripping water to induce the misperception of suffocation.

~~SECRET/NOFORN~~

UNCLASSIFIED

October 16, 2003

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

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld 

SUBJECT: Global War on Terrorism

The questions I posed to combatant commanders this week were: Are we winning or losing the Global War on Terror? Is DoD changing fast enough to deal with the new 21st century security environment? Can a big institution change fast enough? Is the USG changing fast enough?

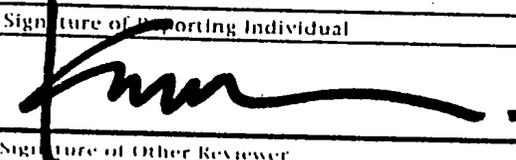
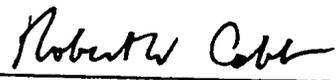
DoD has been organized, trained and equipped to fight big armies, navies and air forces. It is not possible to change DoD fast enough to successfully fight the global war on terror; an alternative might be to try to fashion a new institution, either within DoD or elsewhere—one that seamlessly focuses the capabilities of several departments and agencies on this key problem.

With respect to global terrorism, the record since September 11th seems to be:

- We are having mixed results with Al Qaida, although we have put considerable pressure on them—nonetheless, a great many remain at large.
- USG has made reasonable progress in capturing or killing the top 55 Iraqis.
- USG has made somewhat slower progress tracking down the Taliban—Omar, Hekmatyar, etc.
- With respect to the Ansar Al-Islam, we are just getting started.

Have we fashioned the right mix of rewards, amnesty, protection, and confidence in the US?

Does DoD need to think through new ways to organize, train, equip and focus to deal with the global war on terror?

Date of Appointment, Candidacy, Election, or Nomination (Month, Day, Year) 1/20/01	Reporting Status (Check Appropriate Boxes)	Incumbent <input type="checkbox"/>	Calendar Year Covered by Report	New Entrant, Nominee, or Candidate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Termination Filer <input type="checkbox"/>	Termination Date (If Applicable) (Month, Day, Year)
Reporting Individual's Name	Last Name ROVE			First Name and Middle Initial KARL C.		
	Title of Position SENIOR ADVISOR TO PRESIDENT			Department or Agency (If Applicable) WHITE HOUSE/EOP		
Position for Which Filing	Address (Number, Street, City, State, and ZIP Code) 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington DC 20502			Telephone No. (Include Area Code) (202) 456-1414		
Location of Present Office (for forwarding address)	Title of Position(s) and Date(s) Held					
Position(s) Held with the Federal Government During the Preceding 12 Months (If Not Same as Above)	Name of Congressional Committee Considering Nomination					
Do You Intend to Create a Qualified Diversified Trust?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes					<input type="checkbox"/> No
Presidential Nominees Subject to Senate Confirmation	Signature of Reporting Individual 					
Certification	Date (Month, Day, Year) 12/30/00				Signature of Other Reviewer	
IF CERTIFY that the statements I have made on this form and all attached schedules are true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge.	Date (Month, Day, Year) 5/16/01				Signature of Designated Agency Ethics Official/Reviewing Official 	
Other Review (If desired by agency)	Date (Month, Day, Year)				Signature	
Agency Ethics Official's Opinion	Date (Month, Day, Year)				Date (Month, Day, Year)	
On the basis of information contained in this report, I conclude that the filer is in compliance with applicable laws and regulations (subject to any comments in the box below).	Date (Month, Day, Year)				Date (Month, Day, Year)	
Office of Government Ethics Use Only	Date (Month, Day, Year)				Date (Month, Day, Year)	

Fee for Late Filing
Any individual who is required to file this report and does so more than 30 days after the date the report is required to be filed, or, if an extension is granted, more than 30 days after the last day of the filing extension period, shall be subject to a \$200 fee.

Reporting Periods
Incumbents: The reporting period is the preceding calendar year except Part II of Schedule C and Part I of Schedule D where you must also include the filing year up to the date you file. Part II of Schedule D is not applicable.

Termination Filers: The reporting period begins at the end of the period covered by your previous filing and ends at the date of termination. Part II of Schedule D is not applicable.

Nominees, New Entrants and Candidates for President and Vice President:

Schedule A--The reporting period for income (BLOCK C) is the preceding calendar year and the current calendar year up to the date of filing. Value assets as of any date you choose that is within 31 days of the date of filing.

Schedule B--Not applicable.

Schedule C, Part I (Liabilities)--The reporting period is the preceding calendar year and the current calendar year up to any date you choose that is within 31 days of the date of filing.

Schedule C, Part II (Agreements or Arrangements)--Show any agreements or arrangements as of the date of filing.

Schedule D--The reporting period is the preceding two calendar years and the current calendar year up to the date of filing.

Comments of Reviewing Officials (If additional space is required, use the reverse side of this sheet)
All individual stock holdings to be sold. per Cobb 5/19/01 (Check box if filing extension granted & indicate number of days **45**)

(Check box if comments are continued on the reverse side)

Agency Use Only
2/15/01
OGE Use Only

Reporting Individual's Name
Karl Rove

SCHEDULE A continued
 (Use only if needed)

Page Number
4

BLOCK A Assets and Income	BLOCK B Valuation of Assets at close of reporting period											BLOCK C Income: type and amount. If "None (or less than \$201)" is checked, no other entry is needed in Block C for that item.																						
	None (or less than \$1,001)	\$1,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$250,001 - \$500,000	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	\$5,000,001 - \$25,000,000	\$25,000,001 - \$50,000,000	Over \$50,000,000	Excepted Investment Fund	Excepted Trust	Qualified Trust	Type				Amount							Date (Mo., Day, Yr.) Only if Honoraria							
																Dividends	Rent and Royalties	Interest	Capital Gains	None (or less than \$201)	\$201 - \$1,000	\$1,001 - \$2,500	\$2,501 - \$5,000	\$5,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000		\$100,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	Over \$5,000,000	Other Income (Specify Type & Actual Amount)		
1 MONY	X															X				X														
2 BOEING					X											X					X													
3 FOM VALUE FUND.		X											X		X		X					X												
4 CISCO					X																X													
5 US TREASURY % 02/		X																			X													
6 WEAIRLAND VALUE FUND		X											X		X		X						X											
7 JOHNSON + JOHNSON.					X										X							X												
8 FANNIE MAE		X													X						X													
9 WELLS FARGO					X										X							X												

* If the asset/income is solely that of the filer's spouse or dependent children, if the asset/income is either that of the filer or jointly held by the filer with the spouse or dependent children, mark the other higher categories of value, as appropriate.

Reporting Individual's Name
Karl Rove

SCHEDULE A continued
 (Use only if needed)

Page Number
5

Assets and Income BLOCK A		Valuation of Assets at close of reporting period BLOCK B											Income: type and amount. If "None (or less than \$201)" is checked, no other entry is needed in Block C. for that item. BLOCK C:																						
		None (or less than \$1,001)	\$1,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$250,001 - \$500,000	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	\$5,000,001 - \$25,000,000	\$25,000,001 - \$50,000,000	Over \$50,000,000	Excepted Investment Fund	Excepted Trust	Qualified Trust	Type	Amount									Date (Mo., Day, Yr.) Only if Honoraria								
																	Dividends	Rent and Royalties	Interest	Capital Gains	None (or less than \$201)	\$201 - \$1,000	\$1,001 - \$2,500	\$2,501 - \$5,000	\$5,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$100,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	Over \$5,000,000	Other Income (Specify Type & Actual Amount)			
1	ROYAL DUTCH SHELL			X													X				X														
2	JANUS FUND				X									X			X			X			X												
3	STRONG GROWTH FUND				X									X					X				X												
4	INTEL					X											X					X													
5	TWEEDY BROWNE AMERICAN FUND			X										X			X		X		X														
6	HEWLETT-PACKARD			X													X				X														
7	JANUS WORLDWIDE				X									X			X		X		X														
8	WASHINGTON MUTUAL FUND	X												X			X				X														
9	WALT DISNEY			X													X					X													

* If the asset/income is solely that of the filer's spouse or dependent children. If the asset/income is either that of the filer or jointly held by the filer with the spouse or dependent children, mark the other higher categories of value, as appropriate.

Reporting Individual's Name: **Karl Rove** **SCHEDULE B** Page Number **7**

Part I: Transactions

Report any purchase, sale, or exchange by you, your spouse, or dependent children during the reporting period of any real property, stocks, bonds, commodity futures, and other securities when the amount of the transaction exceeded \$1,000. Include transactions that resulted in a loss.

Do not report a transaction involving property used solely as your personal residence, or a transaction solely between you, your spouse, or dependent child. Check the "Certificate of divestiture" block to indicate sales made pursuant to a certificate of divestiture from OGE.

None

1	2	3	4	5	Identification of Assets	Transaction Type (x)			Date (Mo., Day, Yr.)	Amount of Transaction (x)																	
						Purchase	Sale	Exchange		\$1,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$250,001 - \$500,000	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	\$5,000,001 - \$25,000,000	\$25,000,001 - \$50,000,000	Over \$50,000,000	Certificate of divestiture						
					Example: Central Airlines Common	x			2/1/99				x														
1																											
2																											
3																											
4																											
5																											

*This category applies only if the underlying asset is solely that of the filer's spouse or dependent children. If the underlying asset is either held by the filer or jointly held by the filer with the spouse or dependent children, use the other higher categories of value, as appropriate.

Part II: Gifts, Reimbursements, and Travel Expenses

For you, your spouse and dependent children, report the source, a brief description, and the value of: (1) gifts (such as tangible items, transportation, lodging, food, or entertainment) received from one source totaling more than \$260, and (2) travel-related cash reimbursements received from one source totaling more than \$260. For conflicts analysis, it is helpful to indicate a basis for receipt, such as personal friend, agency approval under 5 U.S.C. § 4111 or other statutory authority, etc. For travel-related gifts and reimbursements, include travel itinerary, dates, and the nature of expenses provided. Exclude anything given to you by

the U.S. Government; given to your agency in connection with official travel; received from relatives; received by your spouse or dependent child totally independent of their relationship to you; or provided as personal hospitality at the donor's residence. Also, for purposes of aggregating gifts to determine the total value from one source, exclude items worth \$104 or less. See instructions for other exclusions.

None

1	2	3	4	5	Source (Name and Address)	Brief Description	Value
					Examples: Nat'l. Assn. of Rock Collectors, NY, NY	Airline ticket, hotel room & meals incident to national conference 6/15/99 (personal activity unrelated to duty)	\$500
					Frank Jones, San Francisco, CA	Leather briefcase (personal friend)	\$300
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							

Karl Rove

SCHEDULE C

8

Part I: Liabilities

Report liabilities over \$10,000 owed by any one creditor at any time during the reporting period by you, your spouse, or dependent children. Check the highest amount owed during the reporting period. Exclude

a mortgage on your personal residence unless it is rented out; loans secured by automobiles, household furniture or appliances; and liabilities owed to certain relatives listed in instructions. See instructions for revolving charge accounts.

None

Creditor's (Name and Address)	Type of Liability	Date Incurred	Interest Rate	Term if applicable	Category of Amount or Value (x)																	
					\$10,001 - \$15,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$250,001 - \$500,000	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	Over \$1,000,000*	\$1,000,001 - \$5,000,000	\$5,000,001 - \$25,000,000	\$25,000,001 - \$50,000,000	Over \$50,000,000							
Examples: First District Bank, Washington, DC John Jones, 123 St., Washington, DC	Mortgage on rental property, Delaware Promissory note	1991 1999	8% 10%	25 yrs. on demand			x															
WELLS FARGO BANK	MORTGAGE ON RIVER CREEK LODGE, TX	1999		15 YRS.																		
WASHINGTON MUTUAL	1/2 MORTGAGE ON RENTAL PROPERTY	1991?	8.306	30 YR.																		

This category applies only if the liability is solely that of the filer's spouse or dependent children. If the liability is that of the filer or a joint liability of the filer with the spouse or dependent children, mark the other higher categories, as appropriate.

Part II: Agreements or Arrangements

Report your agreements or arrangements for: (1) continuing participation in an employee benefit plan (e.g. pension, 401k, deferred compensation); (2) continuation of payment by a former employer (including severance payments); (3) leaves

of absence; and (4) future employment. See instructions regarding the reporting of negotiations for any of these arrangements or benefits.

None

Status and Terms of any Agreement or Arrangement	Parties	Date
Pursuant to partnership agreement, will receive lump sum payment of capital account & partnership share calculated on service performed through 1/00.	Doe Jones & Smith, Hometown, State	7/85
401K - Fidelity Money Market. No additional contributions made		

*Prior Editions Cannot Be Used.

Reporting Individual's Name Karl Rove	SCHEDULE D	Page Number 9
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Part I: Positions Held Outside U.S. Government

Report any positions held during the applicable reporting period, whether compensated or not. Positions include but are not limited to those of an officer, director, trustee, general partner, proprietor, representative, employee, or consultant of any corporation, firm, partnership, or other business enterprise or any non-profit organization or educational institution. Exclude positions with religious, social, fraternal, or political entities and those solely of an honorary nature. None

	Organization (Name and Address)	Type of Organization	Position Held	From (Mo., Yr.)	To (Mo., Yr.)
Examples	Natl Assn. of Rock Collectors, NY, NY Doe Jones & Smith, Hometown, State	Non-profit education Law firm	President Partner	6/92 7/85	Present 1/00
1	McDONALD OBSERVATORY ADVISORY COUNCIL	NON-PROFIT	MEMBER	3/98	3/01
2	LBJ SCHOOL ADVISORY COUNCIL	EDUCATIONAL	MEMBER	?/99	3/01
3	BUSH 1996 ANDREW MADISON ROVE TRUST	TRUST	TRUSTEE	12/96	PRESENT
4	UGMA ANDREW M. ROVE		TRUSTEE	2/89	PRESENT
5					
6					

Part II: Compensation in Excess of \$5,000 Paid by One Source

Report sources of more than \$5,000 compensation received by you or your business affiliation for services provided directly by you during any one year of the reporting period. This includes the names of clients and customers of any corporation, firm, partnership, or other business enterprise, or any other non-profit organization when you directly provided the services generating a fee or payment of more than \$5,000. You need not report the U.S. Government as a source. None

	Source (Name and Address)	Brief Description of Duties
Examples	Doe Jones & Smith, Hometown, State Metro University (client of Doe Jones & Smith), Hometown, State	Legal services Legal services in connection with university construction
1	Bush/Cheney 2000, Inc.	Chief strategist - Presidential Campaign
2	Bush/Cheney Transition	Chief strategist
3		
4		
5		
6		

IRAQ COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY

PUBLIC NOTICES

Increased Sentences For Those Convicted of Crimes After Receiving Amnesty 19
December 2003

Regarding the Prohibition Under Iraqi Law of Vehicles With Tinted Windows 27
June 2003

Regarding the Council for International Coordination 18 June 2003

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Regarding the Safeguarding of Iraq' Borders 26 June 2003

Regarding the Status of Coalition, Foreign Liaison and Contractor Personnel 26
June 2003

Regarding Administrative Procedures for Establishing Trading Agencies 09 June
2003

Increased Sentences for Those Convicted of Crimes After Conditional Releases 31
December 2003

Regarding a Responsible Iraqi Media 10 June 2003

Regarding the Creation of a Central Criminal Court and Adjustments to Criminal
Procedure Code 18 June 2003

Managing Financial Resources 18 June 2003

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

**INCREASED SENTENCES FOR PERSONS
CONVICTED OF CRIMES AFTER RECEIVING AMNESTY**

December 19, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the following.

Under Iraqi law, any person who was released from prison pursuant to Revolutionary Command Council Resolution No. 225, dated October 20, 2002, and is thereafter convicted of another crime may be sentenced using rules that allow stiffer punishments based on aggravating circumstances. These rules permit judges to impose significantly longer sentences than are otherwise authorized for the particular offense. For example, if the penalty for a crime is imprisonment for a term of years, a judge may impose a sentence that is greater than the maximum limit, provided that the increase in the sentence does not exceed half the maximum limit (up to 25 years total).

This law allowing harsher punishments continues in force and judges should consider it when sentencing persons who were granted amnesty under Resolution No. 225. Persons who were released under that Resolution should be aware that they will be subject to the severest sentences authorized by law if they commit further crimes.



L. Paul Bremer III
Administrator

**OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF THE
COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

**REGARDING THE PROHIBITION UNDER IRAQI LAW OF VEHICLES
WITH TINTED WINDOWS**

June 27, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the following security measure.

Iraqi law prohibits the use of tinted windows and curtains in vehicles. The CPA has not suspended this law and intends to enforce it, due to security threats that have emerged in relation to persons attempting to conceal criminal activity and weapons in vehicles with tinted windows.

All vehicles with tinted windows must have the tinting removed or tinted windows replaced by 20 July 2003. No vehicle is permitted to have window curtains and these should be removed immediately. Any vehicle found on the road after 20 July 2003 with tinted windows will be impounded. Owners of vehicles impounded will be issued receipts and will be permitted to reclaim their vehicle upon production of a signed quotation indicating arrangements for the removal of the tinted windows.

Details of vehicles and owners of released vehicles will be recorded and if vehicles are impounded a second time they will be held for the duration of the CPA administration.

This prohibition does not apply to Coalition vehicles and other official vehicles authorized by the Coalition to have tinted windows.



**L. Paul Bremer, Administrator
Coalition Provisional Authority**

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD IRAQ**

REGARDING THE COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION

June 18, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) for Iraq has decided that the growing magnitude and importance of contributions from the international community for the relief, recovery and development of Iraq calls for the establishment a Council for International Coordination, as part of the CPA. This Council will be chaired by Professor Marek Belka, former Deputy Prime Minister of Poland. Andrew Goledzinowski, a senior foreign affairs official from Australia, will be vice chair.

The Administrator will appoint additional representatives to the Council from those countries that want to contribute expertise or other resources to the relief, recovery and development of Iraq and that support the territorial integrity of Iraq and a representative government for the Iraqi people that does not possess weapons of mass destruction, does not support terrorism, and seeks peace with its neighbors.

The Council will be the CPA's focal point and coordinating body for international assistance in the relief, recovery and development of Iraq. The Council will encourage the international community to provide funds and other forms of assistance to Iraq and will coordinate international assistance provided by States, non-governmental organizations and international organizations. In carrying out its responsibilities, the Council will work closely with the UN Special Representative and his designees and other organizations involved in the relief, recovery and development efforts.

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

REGARDING ORGANIZATION IN THE WORKPLACE

June 6, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and temporary workers in Iraq of the following information concerning organizations in the workplace.

To the extent consistent with its obligation to maintain security and civil order, the Coalition Provisional Authority respects Iraqi laws. This extends to Iraqi labor laws prescribing the conditions under which employees of government instrumentalities and enterprises continue to work under the CPA on behalf of the people of Iraq. Although Iraqi labor permits these employees to elect their representatives, the law does not authorize employee elections of Directors or Directing Staff of government instrumentalities and enterprises.

Therefore, the CPA will not recognize the election of Directors, or otherwise allow interference with managerial prerogatives of the Directing Staff of government instrumentalities and enterprises. The CPA will authorize appropriate changes in government Directing Staffs when warranted by reason of poor performance, corruption, security requirements, or as part of the De-Baathification process.

The form of industrial and labor relations ultimately will be a matter for the Iraqi people and the future Iraqi government to decide.

**OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF THE
COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

REGARDING PUBLIC INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE AND DISORDER

June 5, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the following security measure.

Any person making a prohibited pronouncement in a public place or distributing or attempting to distribute any prohibited material in whatever form, will be subject to immediate detention by CPA security forces and held as a security internee under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

Prohibited pronouncements and material are pronouncements and material that:

- a) incite violence against any individual or group, including racial, ethnic or religious groups and women;
- b) incite civil disorder, rioting or damage to property;
- c) incite violence against Coalition Forces or CPA personnel;
- d) advocate alterations to Iraq's borders by violent means;
- e) advocate the return to power of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party or make statements that purport to be on behalf of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party.

These prohibitions are not designed to exclude legitimate debate and criticism, and in particular are not meant to prohibit expression of dissatisfaction with political processes as they emerge. Rather, they are designed to discourage public pronouncements and the distribution of materials that could incite violence or destabilize the sensitive environment that currently exists in Iraq.

**OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF THE
COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

**REGARDING THE STATUS OF COALITION, FOREIGN LIAISON AND
CONTRACTOR PERSONNEL**

June 26, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the status of Coalition, Foreign Liaison and contractor personnel.

In accordance with international law, the CPA, Coalition Forces and the military and civilian personnel accompanying them, are not subject to local law or the jurisdiction of local courts. With regard to criminal, civil, administrative or other legal process, they will remain subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the State contributing them to the Coalition. A mechanism exists for this immunity and jurisdiction to be waived by the State contributing the personnel to the Coalition at their discretion.

Foreign Liaison Missions and their personnel enjoy immunity from Iraqi legal proceedings, but are subject to the CPA's jurisdiction. Coalition contractors who are not normally resident in Iraq may be subject to the CPA's or Iraq's jurisdiction, as authorized by the Administrator. Additionally, some of the administrative regulations regarding contractors will not apply to their contracts with the Coalition.

The immunities provided will not prevent legal proceedings against Coalition personnel for unlawful acts they may commit. It simply ensures that such proceedings will be undertaken in accordance with the laws of the State that contributed the personnel to the Coalition. Furthermore, the immunity will only apply to acts or omissions during the authority of the CPA within Iraq.

**OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF THE
COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

**REGARDING ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES FOR ESTABLISHING
TRADING AGENCIES**

June 9, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the following administrative measure.

The Iraqi Companies Code allows Iraqis to establish direct trading agencies with international trading companies. However, the former Iraqi regime made it difficult for honest Iraqi business people to use this authority. The former regime established extensive administrative procedures, and applied these procedures in a manner that extorted and exploited Iraqi business people who did not support the regime.

The CPA recognizes and supports the law permitting Iraqis to establish direct trading agencies with international trading companies. However, the CPA has suspended the former Iraqi regime's administrative procedures regarding this law. Iraqi business people are now free to negotiate directing trade relationships with international trading companies, without the administrative constraints imposed by the former regime

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

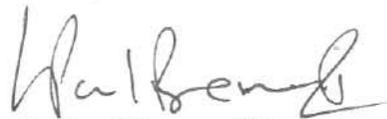
**INCREASED SENTENCES FOR PERSONS
CONVICTED OF WEAPONS VIOLATIONS UNDER
AMENDED REVISED CPA ORDER 3
AFTER HAVING BEEN CONDITIONALLY RELEASED FROM
INTERNMENT**

December 31, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of and visitors to Iraq of the following:

Any person who was conditionally released from internment by Coalition Forces and is thereafter convicted of any violation of Revised Amended CPA Order 3, shall be sentenced using rules that allow greater punishment based on aggravating circumstances. These rules permit judges to impose significantly longer sentences than are otherwise authorized for the particular offense.

Persons conditionally released from internment should be aware that they will be subject to the severest sentences allowed by law if they commit crimes subsequent to their conditional release.



L. Paul Bremer III
Administrator

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

TOWARDS A RESPONSIBLE IRAQI MEDIA

June 10, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and temporary workers in Iraq that he has today signed a CPA Order concerning media activity in Iraq.

The CPA recognizes the importance of providing accurate information to the Iraqi people, and is committed to establishing an environment in which responsible media organizations will flourish. The free exchange of information is essential to the emergence of democracy in Iraq. Disseminating material that incites violence, however, poses a direct threat to personal freedoms, and is therefore banned under the terms of this order, as it is in any civilized society. Equally, advocating the return to power of the repressive and criminal Ba'athist regime would undermine civil order and the freedom from fear of political repression, both of which are necessary for the development of a free and democratic Iraq.

Thus, the CPA is issuing an Order that prohibits Iraqi media organizations from broadcasting or publishing material that would seriously undermine security and civil order in Iraq. The types of material to which the Order applies are identical to the prohibited pronouncements and materials described in the CPA's recent Public Notice regarding Public Incitement to Violence and Disorder.

If a media organization is found to have violated the Order, the Administrator may withdraw the license, close the operation, confiscate the property and seal the premises of any Iraqi media organization that violates the Order. Violators of the Order also face up to one year in confinement and a USD1,000 fine. Finally, the Order establishes a means by which media organizations may appeal to the Administrator and seek reversal of actions taken against them under the Order.

**OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF THE
COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

**REGARDING THE CREATION OF A CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT OF
IRAQ AND ADJUSTMENTS TO THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE**

June 18, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq of the following security measure.

The CPA has taken steps to meet the urgent security needs of the people of Iraq and Coalition Forces by creating a Central Criminal Court of Iraq. This court will apply and operate under Iraqi law, as amended to ensure fundamental fairness and due process for accused persons, and will be modeled on the current Iraqi court system. The Central Criminal Court will consist of an Investigative Court, a Trial Court and an Appeal Court, with the right of further appeal to the Iraqi Court of Cassation. The judges and prosecutors will be locally selected Iraqis.

The Court will deal with serious offenses that most directly threaten the security and civil order in Iraq. This interim measure will address the immediate need for a reliable and fair system of justice. The CPA will continue to assist in restoring the capability of the Iraqi court system, as it recovers from years of Iraqi Ba'ath Party abuse and perversion.

In tandem with this measure, the CPA has modified the Criminal Procedure Code to accord the people of Iraq fundamental due process protections and shield them from human rights violations. The CPA has also introduced provisions ensuring that persons detained by Coalition Forces are treated in accordance with international law and receive prompt justice before Iraqi courts.

**COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY
BAGHDAD, IRAQ**

PUBLIC NOTICE

MANAGING FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR IRAQ

June 18, 2003

The Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hereby advises all citizens, residents of, and visitors to Iraq that the CPA has promulgated a regulation designed to ensure that financial resources available for relief and recovery activities in Iraq are managed transparently on behalf of, and for the benefit of the Iraqi people. The regulation establishes the CPA Program Review Board, which will identify, integrate and prioritize funding requirements for relief and recovery activities in Iraq, and develop funding plans that propose allocations of resources available to meet these requirements. The PRB will promote the CPA's objective of actively involving Iraqis in the financial planning process, and transferring to the Iraqi interim administration the responsibility for budgeting Iraq's financial resources.

Composed of members representing Iraq's Ministry of Finance, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the U.N. Special Representative of the Secretary General for Iraq, and the International Advisory and Monitoring Board, as well as officials of the CPA, Coalition Forces, the United Kingdom and Australia, the PRB is committed to stewarding available resources in a manner that will ensure the most effective use of funds appropriated by the U.S. Congress, vested and seized Iraqi property, and the Development Fund for Iraq. The regulation prescribes procedures whereby the Development Fund for Iraq and other resources shall be used in a transparent manner to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people and to further the recovery of Iraq, in accordance with all applicable laws and regulations, as well as the CPA's financial management responsibilities under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1483 (2003).

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