



President George W. Bush Oral History Project

Briefing Materials

Condoleezza Rice

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CONDOLEEZZA RICE NEWS TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig

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- 1981** Condoleezza Rice receives her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Denver. She begins to teach at Stanford University as a Soviet expert. (Condoleezza Rice, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People: A Memoir of a Family*, New York: Crown Archetype, 2010, pp. 177, 201)
- 1987** Rice is Council on Foreign Relations fellow to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS).
- 1989-1991** Rice serves on the National Security Council (NSC) staff under Brent Scowcroft, dealing with Soviet and East Europe affairs. (James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet*, New York: Penguin Books, 2004, pp. 171-172, 204)
- 1993-1999** Rice serves as provost at Stanford. (<http://www.gsb.stanford.com>)
- 1995** George H.W. Bush invites Rice to meet his son Governor George W. Bush (R-TX). (Marcus Mabry, *Twice as Good: Condoleezza Rice and Her Path to Power*, New York: Modern Times, 2007, p. 151)
- Rice and Philip Zelikow publish *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* for Harvard University Press.
- 1998**
- April* Rice meets with Bush and Karl Rove at George Shultz's home and later in Austin in July. (Mabry, p. 151)
- August* Rice spends time with Bush at Kennebunkport, Maine. She becomes a foreign policy advisor for Bush's probable presidential run. (Mann, pp. 250-251; Elisabeth Bumiller, *Condoleezza Rice: An American Life*, New York: Random House, 2009, p. 127)
- Fall* Paul Wolfowitz joins Rice as a foreign policy advisor. (Mann, p. 251)
- 1999** Wolfowitz and Rice bring on Robert Blackwill, Robert Zoellick, Richard Armitage, Richard Perle, Stephen Hadley, and Dov Zakheim as foreign policy advisors. (Bumiller, p. 128)
- March* On the 7th, Bush announces his exploratory committee, including Rice. (Karl Rove, *Courage and Consequence*, New York: Threshold, 2010, p. 133)
- September* On the 23rd, Bush delivers a military policy speech at the Citadel. He focuses on the dangers of the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missile

technology, and advocates for an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system. (<http://www.citadel.mil.edu>)

November On the 19th, Bush gives his first foreign policy speech at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. He states, “China is a competitor, not a strategic partner,” attacks Russia for its alleged nuclear proliferation and the Chechen War, and asserts that the U.S. will help Taiwan defend itself. (*The Washington Times*, 11/20/1999)

2000

January *Foreign Affairs* publishes Rice’s article on Bush’s approach to foreign policy. She attacks the Clinton Administration for deploying the military on multiple humanitarian missions that are not focused on U.S. interests. Rice supports stronger relationships with Russia and China, as well as dealing decisively with rogue regimes like Iraq and North Korea. (Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the National Interest,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2001, pp. 52-62)

May On the 24th, Bush announces that he wants to disarm unilaterally a number of U.S. nuclear weapons, avoiding joint negotiations with Russia. Rice calls it “reciprocal unilateral measures” by challenging Russia to make the same cuts. (*The New York Times*, 05/24/2000, 05/26/2000)

August On the 1st, Rice delivers a keynote speech at the Republican National Convention. (Mary Beth Brown, *Condi: The Life of a Steel Magnolia*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2007, p. 186)

September Rice asks Zelikow for a memorandum addressing how to organize the NSC using the Scowcroft model. (*The Washington Post*, 02/10/2001)

October Rice gives a speech to Arab-Americans in Dearborn, Michigan. She joins Laura and Barbara Bush, Lynne Cheney, and Cindy McCain for a nationwide “W Stands for Women” bus tour covering Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. (*USA Today*, 10/16/2000)

In an interview with *The New York Times*, Rice states that Bush plans to tell NATO that the U.S. should not participate in the peacekeeping mission in the Balkans, making it a European responsibility. Vice President Al Gore responds that a withdrawal out would be a “damaging blow to NATO.” (*The New York Times*, 10/22/2000) In a week, Bush tells NATO that the U.S. would not unilaterally leave. (*The New York Times*, 10/21/2000, 11/01/2000)

November On election night, Rice is in Austin to witness Bush’s apparent victory speech. On the 8th, she is offered the job as national security advisor, but waits in California during the Florida recount. (Rice, pp. 288-289)

December On the 18th, Bush announces Rice as his national security advisor. (*The Washington Post*, 12/18/2000)

2001

January Before the inauguration, Rice meets with National Coordinator for Counterterrorism Richard Clarke to discuss terrorist threats. She decides to keep Clarke and his staff intact, but remove some of their domestic security functions. It is reportedly part of an NSC reorganization to create a smaller group focusing on defense strategy, missile defense, and international economics. (Richard Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004, pp. 230-231; *The Washington Post*, 02/10/2001)

Rice becomes a member of the informal “strategy group” with Andy Card, Lawrence Lindsey, Margaret Spellings, Karen Hughes, Josh Bolten, Mary Matalin, and Nicholas Calio. (John P. Burke, *Becoming President: The Bush Transition, 2000-2003*, Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2004, p. 71)

On the 25th, Clarke sends Rice a memo on a strategy (from December 2000) to use military action against al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. He also asks her and her deputy, Hadley, for a principals meeting to review al-Qaeda threats, but Rice reportedly wants a policy review and tells him that the deputies should meet first. According to Clarke that meeting does not occur until April. (Clarke, pp. 230-231; Bumiller, p. 142; George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm*, New York: Perennial, 2007, p. 143)

February On the 16th, the U.S. launches air strikes against military communication targets deep in Iraq. (Bumiller, pp. 144-145)

Spring Clarke and CIA Director George Tenet warn Rice about Abu Zubaydah and al-Qaeda threats, including possible attacks on Israel and U.S. assets outside and inside the U.S. According to the 9/11 Commission, these reports were part of Tenet’s daily briefings to Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, and Rice. All specific threats were about overseas targets. Rice asks Clarke to write a National Security Presidential Directive to combat al-Qaeda. It calls for making plans to destroy al-Qaeda efforts in Afghanistan, for the CIA to increase its covert operations, and for Treasury and State Departments to cut off their finances and sanctuaries. (*The 9/11 Commission Report*, pp. 255-256; Tenet, pp. 145-146; Bumiller, pp. 153-154)

April Rice speaks with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld several times regarding an American spy plane, downed off the Chinese island of Hainan, after an encounter with a Chinese fighter jet. Rice, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and Rumsfeld brief the president throughout the crisis until the safe return of its crew. (*The New York Times*, 04/01/2001, 04/03/2001)

- Summer* Rice is involved in ongoing discussions with Vladimir Putin and other Russian officials about scrapping the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and developing the U.S. missile defense system to counter threats from Iran and North Korea. On June 16 and July 26, Rice and Bush meet with Putin, but he is reluctant to modify the accord. (*The Washington Post*, 06/16/2001, 07/21/2001; *The New York Times*, 05/28/2001, 07/19/2001)
- June* According to the 9/11 Commission, Clarke warns Rice on the 25th and the 28th about increased intelligence reports that a major al-Qaeda attack is likely to occur sometime in July. (*The 9/11 Commission Report*, p. 257)
- July* Rice travels to Europe and the G-8 summit in Italy with Bush. After the summit, Rice flies to Moscow with Secretary of the Treasury Paul O'Neill, Secretary of Commerce Donald L. Evans, and Rumsfeld. The mission is aimed at missile defense, bolstering economic ties, and building upon the relationship from the June meeting between Bush and Putin. (*The Washington Post*, 07/07/2001)
- On the 10th, Rice meets with Tenet, Hadley, and Clarke to update her on al-Qaeda threats against U.S. facilities. Tenet believes there will be an attack in the coming weeks or months. Rice tells Hadley to get a March CIA request approved to expand its authority to find and kill Osama bin Laden and deploy the Predators. (Tenet, pp. 144, 151-153; Bullimer, p. 158)
- On the 24th, Bush and Rice travel to Rome, where the president meets Pope John Paul II. Concurrently, 178 nations finish final negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol. While in Rome, Rice makes a statement saying that the protocol does effectively address the global warming issue. Instead, the Administration offers to create a task force that will study alternatives for cutting emissions linked to global warming. (*The New York Times*, 07/24/2001)
- August* On the 6th, Bush is presented with the President's Daily Brief (PDB) about al-Qaeda's past efforts and the FBI's current bin Laden-related investigations. Rice reads the report, but claims nothing is "actionable" (e.g. locations or dates). (Bumiller, p. 161; Condoleezza Rice, *Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks*, 04/08/2004, p. 27)
- September* On the 4th, Rice attends a principals meeting with Clarke and Tenet about al-Qaeda and who should run the Predator operation in Afghanistan. The meeting ends with Rice ordering Clarke's National Security Presidential Directive to be finalized, which is done by the 10th. (Clarke, pp. 237-238; Tenet, p. 160)
- On the 5th, Mexican president Vicente Fox comes to Washington. Fox presses the case for a sweeping immigration agreement between the two countries. The Bush Administration favors a slower, piecemeal approach, and Rice cautions that any deal on immigration "has to be done right, not just quickly." (*The Washington Post*, 09/06/2001)

On the 11th, Rice remains in the White House, helping to coordinate the government's response to the terrorist attacks. She is on the phone with Bush throughout the day, updating him on events and urging him to stay away from Washington, D.C. Rice recommends that Bush pledge to retaliate against terrorists, and those who harbor them, in his evening speech. (Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002, pp. 30-31; George W. Bush, *Decision Points*, New York: Crown Publishers, 2010, pp. 126, 128, 129, 133)

On the 15th, Rice attends in a War Cabinet meeting with Bush at Camp David. The CIA briefs them on a plan to find al-Qaeda members, with the help of countries in the region like Iran, and to remove the Taliban from power. Rice asks about alternatives military campaigns in the event that the Afghanistan invasion is unsuccessful. Wolfowitz mentions Iraq. Bush, however, focuses on Afghanistan. (Tenet, pp. 177-178; Bumiller, pp. 165-166; Woodward, *Bush at War*, p. 83)

After a meeting with Bush's communications officials on the 16th, Rice begins a one page summary of the Afghanistan mission, why it is a different war, what to say about a largely covert war, and how to rally the American people and the rest of the world. (Woodward, *Bush at War*, pp. 95-97)

On the 20th, Bush gives a speech to a joint session of Congress on his response to the terror attacks. Rice observes that Bush's speech also aims to put foreign states on notice that supporting terrorism will be met with dire consequences. Rice and Hughes prepare twelve drafts of the speech to produce a final version that "would maximize international support for a U.S.-led campaign." (*The Washington Post*, 09/21/2001)

At an NSC meeting on the 27th, Rice urges a major humanitarian effort in Afghanistan, a policy Bush earlier emphasized. (Woodward, *Bush at War*, p. 160)

October On the 9th, Rice and Hughes brief the media about Bush's decision to commence airstrikes against targets in Afghanistan. (*The Washington Post*, 10/09/2001)

On the 23rd, Rice meets with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Washington. The Administration is reportedly critical of the Israeli's recent incursion into the West Bank and calls for its immediate withdrawal from Palestinian-controlled areas. (*USA Today*, 10/24/2001)

November On the 14th, Bush and Putin begin three days of meetings in Washington and at Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas. Bush and Putin pledge to reduce their nuclear stockpiles by more than two-thirds over the next decade. However, the failure to reach an understanding on the future of the ABM treaty leads Rice to remark that "everybody, including the Russians, understands that we're soon going to run up against certain constraints of the treaty." (*The Washington Post*, 11/16/2001; *The New York Times*, 11/14/2001)

The American-backed Northern Alliance seizes Kabul in mid-November. Kabul falls faster than the Administration had expected, and Rice cautions that, nevertheless, “nobody is declaring any victory.” (*The New York Times*, 11/18/2001)

December Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel meets with Bush, Powell, and Rice. The meeting comes two weeks after the White House dispatches retired General Anthony Zinni as a special envoy to secure a ceasefire between Israelis and Palestinians. The White House implores Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to take greater measures in preventing terrorism following suicide bombings that killed 25 Israelis. (*The Washington Post*, 12/03/2001)

On the 13th, Bush announces U.S. intent to withdraw from the ABM Treaty within six months. Rice indicates that in the future new targets for reduced strategic nuclear weapons may be set informally. This decision frees the Administration to conduct tests of missile defense technology by early summer of the next year. (*The Washington Post*, 12/16/2001)

On the 28th, Rice is present at a meeting with Bush, General Tommy Franks, Rumsfeld, Powell, Tenet, and Cheney to go over the revised military plans for Iraq. Rice reportedly expresses concerns about Saddam Hussein pulling back to Baghdad as a final defense. (Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004, pp. 53-64)

2002

January Rice reads a draft of Bush’s State of the Union speech with the phrase “axis of evil” in it. Iraq is the only country cited, and she recommends adding North Korea and possibly Iran. (Bumiller, p. 174; Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p. 87)

February On the 16th, Rice and Powell accompany Bush to Japan, South Korea, and China. Rice is questioned about North Korea following the “axis of evil” speech. (*The Dallas Morning News*, 02/23/2002)

April In mid-April, Rice talks with Powell, who is in the Middle East to help settle fighting in the West Bank and end the siege of Arafat’s compound. Powell wants to propose an international conference, but Rice reportedly wants to leave it up to the Israelis and Palestinians. A deal to free Arafat is made at the end of the month. (Woodward, *Bush at War*, pp. 324-325; Kessler, p. 124; *The New York Times*, 03/30/2002, 04/29/2002; *The Washington Post*, 04/15/2002)

May In the first week in May, Rice advises Card, Tom Ridge, White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales, and Mitch Daniels about the plan to create a Department of Homeland Security. (Burke, p. 203)

In response to Bush’s announcement that he had received warnings in routine intelligence briefings (specifically an August 6, 2001 memo) that al-Qaeda might hijack a U.S. airliner, Rice tells the press on the 16th that the briefings never

warned they would use airplanes like missiles. Her refusal to give any details reportedly angers families of 9/11 victims. (Bumiller, p. 180)

On the 24th, Bush and Putin sign the Moscow Treaty, pledging to reduce their arms by two-thirds. (<http://whitehouse.gov>)

Summer The Administration concludes that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an al-Qaeda operative, is operating a biological weapons lab in northeastern Iraq. Rice and Powell oppose an air strike, thinking it would hinder efforts to build a wider coalition against Iraq. (Bush, pp. 236-237)

June On the 24th, Bush publically supports an independent Palestinian state and calls for the Palestinian people to replace Arafat. Rice advises Bush to give the speech. (Bush, p. 404; *The Washington Post*, 06/25/2002)

On the 27th, the G-8 leaders announce billions of dollars for African countries to reform their governments and economies. Rice has reportedly played a major role in working with Bush on this policy. (Bush, p. 335; *The New York Times*, 06/28/2002)

August On the 5th, Rice attends a meeting, in which Powell urges Bush to go to the United Nations (UN) before moving forward with an Iraqi invasion. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p. 151; Michael R. Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II*, New York: Vintage Books, 2007, p. 81)

On the 14th, Rice chairs a principals meeting where they finalize a document entitled "Iraq: Goals, Objectives and Strategy." She also creates an interagency group, called the Executive Steering Group, to coordinate the Administration's invasion preparations. She is present at an NSC meeting about Bush's planned UN speech in September. (Bumiller, pp. 187-188)

September The White House releases the National Security Strategy of the United States, outlining the Administration's strategy of preemptive war. Zelikow is the document's principle author, with Rice supervising. (Mann, p. 316)

On the 3rd, Card, Rice, Hadley, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Dan Bartlett, and Hughes gather for the first meeting of the White House Iraq Group (WHIG). Five days later, Rice appears on CNN to make their case against Iraq stating it has tubes "that are only really suited for nuclear weapon programs...." (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p. 168; Bumiller, p. 191; *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer*, CNN, 09/08/2002)

October Bush, Rice, Card, Cheney, and Rumsfeld meet with the JCS about the war plans for Iraq. So far the JCS reportedly has not been part of the planning. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 207-208)

Rice reportedly agrees with Rumsfeld to have the Pentagon coordinate postwar Iraq rebuilding efforts, rather than the State Department. (Bumiller, p. 195)

On the 18th, at a meeting of the cabinet-level principals on national security, Rice criticizes standing policy concerning detaining terrorist suspects indefinitely at Guantanamo Bay without due process, stating that “[s]ecurity has got to be paramount, but we have got to work better with other countries, and we have got to have better procedures.” Powell also favors the release or transfer of less important detainees. (*The New York Times*, 10/25/2004)

November On the 8th, the UN Security Council (UNSC) passes resolution 1441 giving Iraq a final opportunity to disarm.

December On the 21st, Tenet presents his intelligence on Iraq’s WMD to Rice, Cheney, Card, and Bush stating it is a “slam dunk” case. A few days later, Bush reportedly asks Rice if they should go to war. She responds, yes, if Saddam does not respond to the UN inspectors. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 247-250; Bumiller, pp. 197-198)

2003

January On the 8th, Rice meets with South Korean National Security Advisor Yim Sung Joon about how to address direct talks with North Korea over its nuclear weapons program. (*The Washington Post*, 01/09/2003)

On the 14th, Rice meets with Hans Blix, the UN chief weapons inspector, telling him to take Iraqi scientists out of Iraq for confidential interviews to learn more about Saddam’s WMD program. Blix’s team has so far found nothing in six weeks. (*The Washington Post*, 01/15/2003)

On the 27th, Blix gives a formal report to the UN. His team has discovered warheads and “indications of the highly toxic VX nerve agent.” (Bush, p. 244) According to Bush, the report convinces Rice that Saddam is stalling and that military action is the only way to enforce UN Resolution 1441. (Bush, p. 251)

February On the 2nd, Rice meets with Powell to advise him that the text of his UN speech on Iraq for the 5th needs to be more compelling. (Bumiller, p. 200)

On the 5th, Rice and Bush meet with 20 key members of Congress about the need to go to war against Iraq. Rice reportedly says that war is the only active option because diplomacy and sanctions have failed. How long troops remain in Iraq depends on the results. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 307-308)

March On the 10th, the NSC meets with Bush to review postwar Iraq strategy. Rice is reportedly concerned over who would maintain law and order after Saddam’s fall. She issues a “Summary of Conclusions” for the principals that reportedly include issues like currency, oil, a reformed bureaucracy, and an Iraqi interim authority, composed of Shiites, Sunnis, Kurds, and opposition exiles, to be set up as soon as possible. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 341-342; Bumiller, p. 206; Michael Isikoff and David Corn, *Hubris*, New York: Three Rivers Press, 2007, p. 195)

On the 17th, Rice calls UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, hoping that the UN will play a vital role in postwar Iraq. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 359, 361, 367)

On the 17th, Bush, Rice, and Cheney conduct a congressional briefing before the Iraqi war. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p. 370)

On the 19th, Rice is with Bush as he gives the order to begin Operation Iraqi Freedom. On the same day, she reportedly supports an air strike against Saddam at Dora Farm. (Bumiller, pp. 208-210)

April On the 7th, Rice meets with Putin in Moscow before joining Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair in Ireland. Rice and Putin discuss Iraq's future and the option of multi-party talks with North Korea. (*The Washington Post*, 04/08/2003)

May On the 1st, Rice is with Bush on the *USS Abraham Lincoln*, where he declares the end of major combat operations in Iraq. (Bumiller, p. 215)

June On the 8th, Rice appears on *Meet the Press* to defend Bush against criticism that he exaggerated the threat to go to war with Iraq. (*The Washington Post*, 06/09/2003)

On the 28th, Rice visits the Middle East to meet with Sharon and Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian National Authority. They announce a deal for Israel to pull out of the northern Gaza Strip. (*The Washington Post*, 06/30/2003)

July Armitage tells Rice that the NSC is "dysfunctional" because it fails to broker differences between cabinet members and because Rumsfeld is dealing with the president in private. (Bumiller, p. 217; Mabry, p. 201)

From the 7th to the 11th, Rice, Card, Powell, Ari Fleischer, and Bartlett join President Bush and Laura Bush on a five-nation visit to Africa. On the trip, Bush highlights the \$15 billion AIDS program for Africa that Rice helped shape. (Bush, pp. 341-342; Bumiller, p. 219-221; <http://www.cnn.com>)

On the 13th, Rice appears on *Face the Nation*. She asserts that the controversy about Saddam's attempts to procure uranium from Africa is overblown, arguing that the CIA had cleared its inclusion in Bush's State of the Union Speech. Hadley would later take the blame for not deleting it in light of a CIA warning of the faulty evidence. (Mabry, pp. 196-197; *The New York Times*, 07/12/2003, 07/13/2003; *The New York Times*, 07/23/2003)

On the 29th, David Kay, a U.S. weapons inspector, tells Bush, Tenet, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, and Card that he has not found any WMD. (Isiloff and Corn, p. 310)

August Blackwill becomes coordinator for strategic planning for Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. By the end of the month, he tells Rice there are not enough troops and no military strategy to defeat the growing insurgency, and that the coordination between the NSC and the cabinet is broken. Rice agrees with Blackwill's recommendation to make the NSC the center of Iraqi rebuilding, not the Pentagon. Rice also places Blackwill in charge of reestablishing the UN in Iraq after the bombing of its headquarters. (Woodward, *State of Denial*, pp. 255-256, 296; Bumiller, p. 221-223)

The Bush Administration agrees to some concessions for North Korea, including easing sanctions and a non-aggression pact, if it starts to dismantle its weapons program. (*The New York Times*, 09/05/2003)

September Rice chairs the Iraq Stabilization Group to help the NSC coordinate Iraqi reconstruction policy. She now talks to L. Paul Bremer, the head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, on a daily basis. (L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq*, New York: Threshold Edition, 2006, pp. 188-189; Bumiller, p. 224)

November Bush and Rice travel to Iraq for Thanksgiving with the troops. (Laura Bush, *Spoken from the Heart*, New York: Scribner, 2010, p. 297)

December Rice works with British and Libyan officials in a larger diplomatic effort to force Libya to abandon its nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons programs. (*The New York Times*, 12/21/2003)

2004

April After initially refusing to testify before the 9/11 Commission because of constitutional issues and executive privilege, Rice testifies on the 8th. (*The Washington Post*, 04/09/2004)

May On a trip to Moscow on the 16th, Rice announces that Russia and the U.S. agree on a new UN resolution giving legitimacy to an interim Iraqi government. Rice then visits Germany to talk with European leaders and Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei about Gaza. (*The Washington Post*, 05/17/2004, 05/18/2004)

June After hearing about the Office of Legal Counsel's August 2002 torture memo, Rice and Powell meet with Gonzales. Rice reportedly tells Gonzales that there will be no secret opinions on national security law and that she will inform Bush if they are kept in the dark. (Bumiller, p. 241)

At a NATO summit in Ankara, Turkey, Rice tells Bush that the Iraqi provisional government has taken over in Iraq. (Bumiller, p. 242; *The Washington Post*, 06/25/2004)

- July* Rice visits Tokyo, Beijing, and Seoul. On the 8th, she meets with Chinese leaders to discuss U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, North Korean talks, and improving human rights. (*The Washington Post*, 07/09/2004)
- Oct.-Nov.* Rice travels to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Florida for Bush's presidential campaign in October. She makes a six-state tour with Bush, giving speeches attacking Senator John Kerry (D-MA) for being soft on terrorism. (Rove, p. 400; Bumiller, pp. 244, 246, 248; *The Washington Post*, 10/20/2004)
- November* On the 2nd, Bush defeats Kerry.
- On the 6th, Bush asks Rice to become secretary of state. (Woodward, *State of Denial*, pp. 358-359; Bumiller, pp. 249-250)

2005

- January* On the 18th, Rice stresses that it is "time for diplomacy" and rebuilding relations with U.S. allies. After a tough hearing, focusing on the conduct of the war and events leading up to 9/11, the Senate confirms her by an 85-13 vote on the 26th. (Glenn Kessler, *The Confidante: Condoleezza Rice and the Creation of the Bush Legacy*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007, p. 38; Bumiller, p. 253)
- February* Rice goes on an eight-day trip to Europe and the Middle East. She also accompanies Bush back to Europe at the end of the month. Rice encourages Bush to support Europe's offer to give Iran economic incentives to stop its nuclear program, a position Rice reportedly has supported since 2004. (Bumiller, pp. 255, 258-260; *The Washington Post*, 01/28/2005)
- After Zelikow, Rice's counselor, conducts a fact-finding mission in Iraq, he reportedly offers Rice a blunt, grave assessment of the situation in Iraq, writing that Iraq remains a failed state. Zelikow criticizes the Administration for lacking a clear, comprehensive strategy for defeating the insurgency. He goes to Iraq three more times over the course of a year. (Bob Woodward, *The War Within: A Secret History of the White House, 2006-2008*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008, p. 30; *The Washington Post*, 02/15/2005, 10/01/2006)
- On the 14th, Lebanon's former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri is assassinated in the wake of the demand for Syria to pull out of Lebanon. Rice states that Syria "created a destabilized environment in Lebanon in what is a developing democratic process..." (*The New York Times*, 02/17/2005) The U.S. ambassador to Syria is subsequently recalled. (Kessler, p. 210; *Associated Press*, 02/15/2005)
- On the 14th, Rice meets South Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki Moon to discuss diplomatic strategies to pressure North Korea to stop its nuclear weapons program. North Korea announces that it is pulling out of the six-party talks and

wants bilateral discussions with the U.S., which Bush rejects. (*The New York Times*, 02/15/2005)

On the 15th, Rice meets with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed About Gheit in Washington. In a reported effort to push for greater democracy in the region, she presses Gheit for the release of opposition candidate Ayman Nour. However, Nour is not released and Rice cancels the Egyptian portion of her Middle East trip scheduled for March. (Kessler, pp. 92-93; *The Washington Post*, 02/16/2005)

March

Rice begins a week-long trip to Asia. On the 15th, she visits India and tells Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that the U.S. is interested in helping with India's civil nuclear energy program that in the past had been stymied because India is not part of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty. From this meeting, Rice writes a memo to Bush outlining a broader deal. In China, Rice discusses the possibilities of economic sanctions for North Korea if it does not return to the six-party talks. Reportedly, China and South Korea do not support sanctions. (Kessler, pp. 55, 74; *The Washington Post*, 03/19/2005, 03/21/2005, 03/22/2005; *The New York Times*, 03/20/2005)

On the 25th, Bush decides to sell Pakistan F-16 fighter planes, a move India says would destabilize the region. Rice states, "If you look at it in terms of the region, what we are trying to do is break out of the notion that this is a hyphenated relationship somehow, that anything that happens that is good for Pakistan is bad for India, and vice versa." (*The Washington Post*, 03/26/2005)

On the 31st, the UNSC passes a resolution to have the International Criminal Court investigate violence in Darfur. Rice works with council members to get the U.S. to abstain from the vote out of the Administration's fear of legitimizing the Court. (*The Washington Post*, 07/31/2005)

Spring

Rice collaborates with Sharon and his chief of staff, Dov Weissglass, on a plan for Israel to pull out of Gaza and parts of the West Bank. (Bumiller, pp. 262-263)

May

On the 15th, Rice goes to Iraq to try to persuade Shiite leaders to work more closely with Sunni leaders to contain the Sunni insurgency and to write a new constitution. (Kessler, p. 165; Bumiller, p. 263; *The New York Times*, 05/16/2005)

June

On the 5th in a speech at the Organization of American States (OAS), Rice emphasizes that Latin American countries should support democracy. However, the OAS fails to adopt a U.S. proposal to set up a permanent committee to monitor democracy. Many countries see it as a way to isolate Venezuela. (*The Washington Post*, 06/06/2005; *The New York Times*, 06/06/2005)

Rice departs on a six-day trip to Brussels for the G-8 summit on Iraq and to the Middle East in an effort to restart Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations. On the

20th, Rice gives a speech in Egypt about greater democracy and women's rights. Rice also meets with Nour. (Kessler, pp. 89, 99)

July On the 21st, Rice visits Darfur and meets fifteen women raped during the violence there, and then goes to Khartoum to meet with General Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. (<http://2001-2009.state.gov>; Kessler, p. 103)

On the 23rd, Rice meets with Israeli and Palestinian leaders on the Israeli pull-out planned for mid-August. She also visits Lebanon to show support for the new anti-Syrian government. (Kessler, pp. 210-211)

September Rice discusses the progress in Iraq with Iraq policy coordinator Jim Jeffrey. Jeffrey criticizes General George Casey for believing that the insurgency is being "contained." (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 106-107; Woodward, *State of Denial*, pp. 410-411)

On the 5th, Rice visits Alabama in the wake of Hurricane Katrina defending Bush against charges he does not care about African Americans. (Bumiller, p. 267)

On the 9th, Rice appeals to Russia, China, and India to support sanctions against Iran for refusing to give up its nuclear program. (*The Washington Post*, 10/10/2005)

On the 11th, Rice begins a week-long visit to the Central Asian countries of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. She focuses on democracy, military base rights in Kyrgyzstan, energy and economic relationships, and drug trafficking. (*The New York Times*, 10/11/2005, 10/13/2005)

On the 19th, China announces that North Korea will abandon its nuclear weapons program in exchange for financial incentives. The deal is a product of Rice's and Christopher Hill's negotiations in bilateral talks with North Korea since July, which is a shift in policy. However, by October, North Korea announces its first nuclear test. (Kessler, pp. 80, 83-84, 87)

October Rice testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the 19th. She declares the Administration's new counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq to be "clear, hold and build." (Kessler, p. 271; *The New York Times*, 10/20/2005)

November Rice conducts an all-night negotiation session with Sharon and Abbas on the flow of goods in and out of Gaza after the Israeli pull-out. They agree that the Palestinians will control the border crossing at Rafah and Karni, but have European Union inspectors watch for weapons. (Kessler, pp. 133-134; Bumiller, p. 276; *The New York Times*, 11/15/2005, 11/16/2005)

On the 11th, Rice goes to Iraq for the second time to announce the provincial reconstruction teams (PRT) to get diplomats and aid workers out of Baghdad and into the provinces. At first, Rumsfeld reportedly opposes the plan because of greater security demands on U.S. troops and a lack of qualified people to run the program. However, Rumsfeld agrees to cooperate if the workers are stationed near military bases or regional embassy offices. (Kessler, p. 165; Bradley Graham, *By His Own Rules*, New York: Public Affairs, 2009, pp. 610-611)

December On the 6th, Rice responds to European pressure for answers on secret detention camps and transporting terrorist suspects to Europe. She states that the U.S. respects the sovereignty of other countries and does not act without getting a country's permission. At a meeting with European Union foreign ministers on the 7th, she reports, "As a matter of U.S policy, the United States obligations under the CAT [UN's Committee against Torture]...extends to U.S. personnel wherever they are...." (*The Washington Times*, 12/09/2005) When questioned on secret prisons, however, Rice refuses either to acknowledge or to deny their existence. (*The Washington Post*, 12/06/2005)

In an apparent victory for Rice, Bush announces on the 14th that the State Department, rather than the Pentagon, will take the lead in assisting countries engulfed in conflict. This is an attempt to avoid repeating the rivalry between the two departments during the early rebuilding of Iraq. (*The New York Times*, 12/15/2005)

2006

January On the 18th, Rice gives a speech at Georgetown University on "transformational diplomacy," to help foster the growth of democracy around the world. On the same day, she announces that hundreds of Foreign Service officers will be shifted to Asia and the Middle East, and anyone seeking promotion to a senior rank must serve there and gain expertise in at least two regions. She also announces a new office of Director of Foreign Assistance, and says that State will now handle development policy and the budget for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). (*The Washington Post*, 01/19/2006)

On the 26th, Hamas, a group the U.S. calls a terrorist organization, wins the Palestinian legislative elections beating the more moderate Fatah under Abbas. (<http://2001-2009.state.gov>; Bumiller, pp. 279-281)

February Rice and Bush visit India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Rice cuts the ribbon on the U.S. embassy in Kabul. In India, Bush and Rice announce the final nuclear deal Rice has been working on for the past eight months. India will get U.S. nuclear technology and fuel. In exchange, India must allow its civilian nuclear power plants to be inspected and must separate the military and civilian nuclear programs. (Bumiller, p. 263-264, 282)

On the 21st, Rice visits Egypt and meets with intelligence chief Omar Suleiman, Gheit, and Mubarak to discuss Hamas. They urge her to give Hamas more time to accept Israel before stopping its funds. Arab countries are reluctant to stop their own funding to Hamas. She then goes to Saudi Arabia to meet with Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal and King Abdullah to discuss how the peace process can continue. (Kessler, pp. 140-142; *The Washington Post*, 02/22/2006)

On the 23rd, Rice visits Lebanon to meet with government officials, but not with pro-Syrian president Emile Lahoud. (Kessler, pp. 212-213)

March At a lecture at Chatham House on the 31st, Rice makes headlines for admitting the Administration made mistakes in the war with the phrase: “I know we’ve made tactical errors-thousands of them, I’m sure.” (<http://2001-2009.state.gov>) Rice responds that it was meant figuratively. (Bumiller, pp. 284-285)

April On the 2nd, Rice visits Iraq to meet with Iraqi Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari, telling him he is not getting any support from the Sunnis or the Kurds, and that he is ineffective in stopping the violence. Jaafari resigns on the 20th. Rice and Rumsfeld return to Baghdad on the 26th to welcome Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki. (Woodward, *State of Denial*, pp. 457-458, 461)

May On the 8th, Rice presents Bush with a new strategy for the Iranian nuclear program. Negotiations have stalled. Iran takes advantage of the divisions among the Russians and Europeans, who are not motivated to press for more Iranian sanctions. Rice’s strategy includes the U.S. and Europe negotiating with Iran on a package of incentives, but imposing sanctions if Iran refuses to stop the program. Rice works with Russia, France, Germany, and Britain to develop direct talks with increased incentives to Iran. (Bush, pp. 416-417; Kessler, pp. 196-205; Bumiller, pp. 289-290)

June On the 5th, Zelikow and Jeffrey give Rice an eleven-page memo titled, “Possible political-military strategy for summer 2006.” They recommend implementing a “selective counterinsurgency” strategy, which would include adding more U.S. troops to fight in “a few selected areas...with the gamble that this strategy could produce a much better climate for withdrawal of American forces later this year or next.” Rice sends the memo to Hadley. (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 55-56)

On the 27th and 28th, Rice visits Pakistan and Afghanistan. In Pakistan, she emphasizes unity between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the war on terror. In Afghanistan, Rice supports President Hamid Karzai. (*The Washington Post*, 06/29/2006, 06/28/2006)

July On the 4th, North Korea tests a long-range missile. Rice contacts Asian ministers and helps pass a UNSC resolution to condemn the test and calls on North Korea

to suspend its program and return to six-party talks. (*The Washington Post*, 07/05/2006, 07/11/2006; *The New York Times*, 07/17/2006)

On the 10th, Rice announces the release of a report made by the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, chaired by Rice. (<http://2001-2009.state.gov>)

On the 12th, Rice helps get China and Russia to vote for a UN resolution ordering Iran to stop its uranium enrichment or face sanctions. (*The Washington Post*, 07/13/2006)

July-Aug. On the 12th, Hezbollah commandos in Lebanon cross the border and abduct two Israeli soldiers, sparking an Israeli military campaign. The U.S. reportedly delays a diplomatic intervention, so as to weaken Hezbollah. On July 23rd, Rice goes to Lebanon, telling leaders that a cease-fire is not possible without a comprehensive settlement and disarming Hezbollah. On July 26th, she goes to Europe to talk with European and Palestinian leaders, calling for a cease-fire, but not an immediate one. By July 29th, she achieves an immediate 48-hour cease-fire after an Israeli missile hits an apartment building. Rice helps work out an agreement by August 11th for a UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon. (Bumiller, pp. 291-295; Kessler, pp. 214-218, 226; *The Washington Post*, 07/27/2006)

September On the 6th, Bush acknowledges for the first time the CIA's program of secret detention of terrorist suspects in foreign prisons and the use of harsh interrogation methods to collect intelligence. He defends the CIA's work as "having saved lives." He also expresses a willingness to work with Congress to authorize new military commissions that were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court case in *Hamden v. Rumsfeld*. *The Washington Post* acknowledges a year-long effort by Rice, Zelikow, and John Bellinger to steer the Administration toward public disclosure of the detention program and to reformulate it to meet international legal norms. (*The Washington Post*, 09/07/2006, 09/08/2006)

On the 27th, Rice attends a dinner at the White House with Bush, Cheney, Hadley, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf, and Karzai. (Bush, pp. 215-216)

October Rice goes to Iraq on the 5th and meets with Sunni leaders. They tell her that the Shiites are shutting them out of the political process and that they are being targeted by Shiites death squads. Back in Washington, she tells Bush that U.S. efforts are not working. (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 162-165)

In response to a North Korean underground nuclear test, Rice goes to Japan, South Korea, China, and Russia to get support for UN financial sanctions against North Korea, although some fear that the sanctions could lead to war. In a couple of weeks, North Korea agrees to talks. (*The New York Times*, 10/19/2006, 10/22/2006, 11/02/2006)

On the 19th, Rice discusses Iraq with her top advisors. They cover the possibility of scaling back U.S. involvement to focus on being a power-broker, only focusing on stabilizing the country, developing an oil-revenue-sharing law, and fighting al-Qaeda and ethnic cleansing. (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 185, 187)

November On the 26th, Rice attends an Iraq strategy meeting with Bush, Rumsfeld, Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson, Hadley, Deputy National Security Advisor J.D. Crouch, and others as part of a sweeping internal review of Iraqi policy. Crouch suggests a troop “surge” to increase security. Rice is reportedly skeptical of a surge and argues that, because the present Defense Department information on the ground is “blurry,” it will be hard to know whether more troops would be helpful. (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 244-245; *The Washington Post*, 11/15/2006)

Nov.-Dec. Rice travels to Jordan to meet with foreign ministers of the Gulf States to promote Palestinian democracy and to give U.S. support to Mideast peace. The ministers reportedly worry that the U.S. will leave Iraq and abandon the Sunnis. (Woodward, *The War Within*, p. 258; *The Washington Post*, 11/29/2006)

December On the 6th, the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group, which interviewed key figures, including Bush, Rice, and Cheney, releases its findings. Its primary recommendations include a pull-back of U.S. forces over the next fifteen months, an amnesty program for insurgent fighters, a “diplomatic offensive” toward Israel-Palestine negotiations, and high-level talks on Iraq with Iran and Syria. Rice rejects the plan to talk with Iran and Syria, saying, “If they have an interest in a stable Iraq, they will do it anyway.” (*The Washington Post*, 12/07/2006, 12/15/2006)

On the 8th, Rice attends an NSC meeting with Bush. She argues for U.S. forces in Iraq to intervene only for an extreme level of sectarian violence. In NSC meetings in early December, Rice had argued that Maliki must show a willingness to help stop the sectarian violence or the surge would not work. (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 267, 272, 292)

On the 12th, Rice and Robert Gates, the new secretary of defense designee, have dinner and agree to support one another on Iraq and to make sure the NSC functions effectively. (Woodward, *The War Within*, p. 285)

2007 Rice makes multiple trips to the Middle East to promote peace. Both Rice and Bush exclude Hamas, and only deal with Abbas, on the West Bank. (Bumiller, pp. 305-306)

January On the 10th, Bush announces a surge of more than 20,000 troops to Iraq. On the 11th, Rice testifies to Congress about supporting the surge. (Bush, pp. 378-379)

On the 27th, Rice meets with NATO officials, pledging \$10.6 billion in new aid for Afghanistan amidst a resurgence of Taliban activity. (*The Washington Post*, 01/28/2007)

- February* North Korea agrees to close its main nuclear reactor in exchange for \$400 million in fuel and aid. Rice plays a major role in the deliberations and allows Christopher Hill to enter into bilateral talks. (Kessler, p. 239; Bumiller, pp. 306-307)
- On the 18th, Rice visits Iraq in support of the surge. (*The Washington Post*, 02/18/2007)
- May* Rice meets with Iranian and Syrian officials at a regional conference on Iraq in Egypt. (Bumiller, p. 308)
- On the 15th, Rice visits Moscow to meet with Putin, and holds a second meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov in Potsdam on the 30th. Relations between the two countries have reportedly become strained over the U.S. plans to install an ABM system in Europe and Russia's reluctance to allow an independent Kosovo. Rice, Bush, and Putin meet in July in Crawford. (Bumiller, pp. 308-309; *The Washington Post*, 05/30/2007)
- June* In response to Ambassador Ryan Crocker's cable about needing more and better staff in Iraq, Rice orders that all Iraq's diplomatic positions be filled before any others at State. (*The Washington Post*, 06/21/2007)
- On the 25th, Rice meets French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The new French government is reportedly friendlier to U.S. foreign policy than Jacques Chirac. They also take part in a conference on Darfur. (*The Washington Post*, 06/26/2007)
- August* Reportedly Rice plays a major role in dissuading Musharraf from declaring a national state of emergency in his effort to postpone the January elections. However, in November, he does so. (*The Washington Post*, 08/10/2007, 11/12/2007)
- September* On the 2nd, the U.S. reaches a draft agreement with North Korea to close three more plants, and to disclose the extent of its plutonium enrichment in return for fuel and economic aid. In return, Rice removes North Korea from the list of states that sponsor terrorism in October 2008. (*The Washington Post*, 10/03/2007, 10/12/2008)
- On the 21st, Rice attends a conference on Iran's nuclear program. The U.S. and France agree to exert diplomatic and economic pressure, and Rice begins to work with other countries on sanctions. (*The New York Times*, 09/22/2007)
- On the 28th, Rice announces an investigation into private security firms in Iraq after a shooting involving Blackwater USA leaves eight Iraqis dead. She later approves new rules requiring the U.S. embassy to supervise private contractors. (*The New York Times*, 09/29/2007; *The Washington Post*, 10/24/2007)

- October* Rice reportedly calls Benazir Bhutto to urge her to return to Pakistan and participate in the presidential elections. Upon her return in December, she is assassinated. (*The Washington Post*, 12/28/2007)
- November* On the 27th, Bush and Rice hold a peace conference at Annapolis with Israeli and Palestinian leaders. They pledge to begin negotiations on a peace treaty by the end of 2008. (Bush, p. 408; *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2007)
- December* On the 18th, Rice visits Iraq to meet a PRT team, Maliki, General David Petraeus, and Crocker. She reportedly tells Maliki that his government is not doing enough to incorporate other factions. On the same day, Turkish troops enter northern Iraq to fight the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). (Woodward, *The War Within*, pp. 404-405; *The Washington Post*, 12/19/2007)
- 2008** Rice continues shuttle diplomacy, with multiple trips to the Middle East, including one with Bush to keep the peace process going, as violence spreads in Gaza, and Israel builds settlements in the West Bank.
- January* On the 15th, Rice makes a surprise visit to Iraq to praise a new law allowing some Baathists into the government and to talk to Iraqi leaders about putting together a coalition government. (Woodward, *The War Within*, p. 406)
- On the 22nd, Rice meets with foreign ministers of China, France, Britain, and Russia to agree on a draft UN resolution on Iranian sanctions. (*The New York Times*, 01/23/2008)
- February* On the 7th, Rice visits Afghanistan to press for more NATO support in the region. (*The New York Times*, 02/08/2008)
- On the 18th, Rice announces U.S. recognition of Kosovo's independence. (*The Washington Post*, 02/19/2008)
- Rice embarks on an Asian tour to discuss North Korea. The North Koreans had missed their deadline to close their plants. (*The Washington Post*, 02/28/2008)
- March* On the 20th, Rice and Gates meet with Lavrov to discuss radar installations in the Czech Republic and missiles in Poland designed to defend against Iranian attack. To ease Russian concerns, she offers to allow them to monitor both the radar and missile sites. (*The New York Times*, 03/21/2008)
- April* On the 20th, Rice makes a surprise visit to Iraq amidst increasing violence in Sadr City. She states, "Any Iraqi who's willing to lay down their arms and come into the political process and contest in the arena is welcome to do so, that would include the Sadrist trend." (*The Washington Post*, 04/21/2008)
- June* On the 16th, Rice visits Lebanon in support of a compromise between the government and the Hezbollah-led opposition. Hezbollah garnered veto power

over cabinet choices as part of the power-sharing agreement. A few days later, Israel offers to hold direct peace talks with Lebanon. (*The New York Times*, 06/17/2008, 06/19/2008)

- July* On the 19th, Rice sends Undersecretary William J. Burns to Geneva to talk with Iran's chief negotiator and other European envoys. Rice also meets with North Korean Foreign Minister, Pak Ui-chun in another round of six-nation talks. Both talks are positive, but inconclusive. (*The Washington Post*, 07/19/2008, 07/20/2008; *The New York Times*, 07/24/2008)
- Aug.-Sept* Rice urges Georgian president Mikheil Saakashvili not to send troops to South Ossetia, but he does so sparking a war with Russia. Rice visits Georgia on August 15th to help facilitate a cease-fire agreement. Although a preliminary agreement is reached, Russia is slow to stop the fighting and withdraw from Georgia. Rice declares that she will not accelerate Georgia's membership in NATO. By September, she announces a \$1 billion Georgian aid package and condemns Russia's invasion in a speech at the German Marshall Fund. In response, Russia refuses to attend multi-party talks with Iran, forcing its cancellation. (*The New York Times*, 08/16/2008, 08/18/2008, 08/22/2008, 09/24/2008; *The Washington Post*, 08/09/2008, 08/17/2008, 09/04/2008)
- August* On the 21st, Rice visits with Maliki in Baghdad. U.S. and Iraqi officials agree to pull U.S. troops from Iraqi cities by next June and the rest of the country by the end of 2011 if conditions remain stable. (*The New York Times*, 08/22/2008)
- September* Rice undertakes a North Africa tour to advocate stronger cooperation on counterterrorism. The trip includes a visit to in Libya with Moammar Gaddafi. (*The Washington Post*, 09/07/2008, 09/08/2008)
- October* On the 22nd, Rice visits Mexico to build stronger coordination between the two countries as the drug war intensifies. (*The New York Times*, 10/23/2008)
- November* On the 6th, Rice takes her last trip to the Middle East with slim hopes of a peace plan. However, Rice states, "It is our expectation that the Annapolis process has laid groundwork which should make possible the establishment of a Palestinian state when the political circumstances permit." (*The New York Times*, 11/07/2008)
- From the 26th-29th, terrorists from Pakistan coordinate attacks in Mumbai, India. Rice and President-elect Barack Obama talk three times during the crisis. Rice visits Pakistan in December to push President Asif Ali Zardari to move against the terrorists. (*The New York Times*, 11/30/2008; *The Washington Post*, 12/05/2008)

Rice works with Germany, France, and other European countries to fast-track NATO membership for Georgia and Ukraine, and reopens talks with Russia on a strategic partnership. (*The New York Times*, 11/26/2008, 12/03/2008)

2009

January

On the 17th, Israel announces a cease fire in Gaza. Rice works with Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni on a cease fire. (*The Washington Post*, 01/16/2009, 01/18/2009)

On the 20th, Rice becomes professor of political science and political economy and the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institute at Stanford. (<http://fsi.stanford.edu>)

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CONDOLEEZZA RICE SUGGESTED TOPICS

Prepared by Bryan Craig, with edits

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 09/27/2010

Joining the Administration

- When did you first meet George W. Bush? What were your early impressions of him?
- What was your involvement in the 2000 presidential campaign? Discuss the process Governor Bush went through to prepare for dealing with foreign policy issues as a candidate. Who were the key actors in this process?
- What were the key decisions the foreign policy team had to make during the campaign? What did you do during the recount period after the disputed election?
- What were the key decisions you had to make during the transition period? Did you have a voice in naming the other members of the incoming foreign policy team?

National Security Advisor

- Discuss your appointment as national security advisor. What did President Bush want from the person filling this position? Did you model your role on the experience of any of your predecessors in the job? Who was expected to be the public face of the foreign policy team in this Administration?
- Discuss how you reorganized the NSC and the purpose behind it. Were there further changes after 9/11?
- How did you communicate foreign policy options and advice to the president? Did the president prefer particular briefing formats before making decisions? Did he rely on you to be a policy advocate? To be actively engaged in policy implementation? Discuss the president's decision-making style.
- Discuss the National Security Council's interaction with other major White House offices (Legislative Affairs, Communications, Management and Budget, etc.).
- Discuss your relationship with other executive departments (State, Defense, Justice, etc.). What were the challenges in coordinating policy among an accomplished group of foreign policy principals? Assess the role of the deputies in this administration.
- Discuss your relationship with the vice president and his staff. Assess the role they played in the development and execution of foreign policy in the 43rd presidency. Describe the relationship of the president and the vice president.
- Provide your account of the following: the Hainan Island incident; the run-up to 9/11; your experience on 9/11 and the immediate responses; the Afghan War; Guantanamo and detainees policy; the run-up to the Iraq War; the execution of the Iraq War; the domestic front in the war on terror; the 9/11 Commission, etc.
- Reflect on the challenges of focusing on actionable intelligence in an environment where threats are a constant presence.
- Describe the process that produced the decision to invade Iraq.

Secretary of State

- Discuss your appointment as secretary of state. Were there specific goals President Bush wanted you to accomplish in taking this job? Were you focused primarily on

change or continuity at State? How did your relationship with the president change as you left the White House?

- How difficult was it to follow Colin Powell in this position? Did you do any significant reorganization at State when you went there? How was your relationship with the foreign service community?
- Comment on your relationship with other members of the Bush's foreign policy team during the second term. Describe your relationship with key members of the White House staff and Congress.
- How did you go about setting priorities for the foreign policy agenda? How did you engage President Bush in this process? What role did others—NSC, Defense, CIA, etc.—play in setting the foreign policy agenda of the second term?
- Discuss how you developed the concept of transformational diplomacy. How did it impact foreign policymaking?
- Describe the evolution of your world view from the mentorship of Professor Josef Korbel to the post-Cold War era, and throughout your tenure as secretary of state. Explain "practical idealism."

Foreign Policy Issues

- Discuss the extent to which the Bush Administration was committed to multilateralism versus unilateralism. Did this change over time? Were there significant alliance problems you had to repair when you went to the State Department? If so, how did you go about that job—and where were the most important fissures?
- What was your involvement with post-war Iraq planning? How were you able to transfer aspects of the post-war Iraq policy from the Defense Department? What advice did you give to the president and key officials as events in Iraq deteriorated? To what extent were you able to influence Iraq policy from the State Department?
- What was your role in withdrawing from the ABM Treaty and the Moscow Treaty? Describe Bush's relationship with Putin and the diplomatic process to end the Russian-Georgia war.
- Tell us about Bush's decision to support openly a Palestinian state and the replacement of Yasser Arafat. Describe your role in the Annapolis conference and stemming the violence in Gaza. How did the election of Hamas affect US policy?
- What role did you play in developing AIDS relief in Africa? What part did you play in addressing the violence in Darfur? Explain President Bush's strategic and moral interests in Africa more generally.
- Describe Iran's influence on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.
- Describe your role in the nuclear deal with India. Tell us about breaking away from the "hyphenated relationship" with Pakistan, and assess the Administration's relationship with Pakistan during your time at State. Discuss your role in urging Benazir Bhutto to return to Pakistan.
- Comment on your efforts to create consensus with other nations and within the White House, over actions in Afghanistan, Iraq, and supporting Pakistan.
- Discuss how you balanced U.S. support for its strategic relationship with Egypt and your call for President Mubarak to pursue democracy in your 2005 address at the American University in Cairo.

- How did you view the Internet, and globalization, as a force for political change?
- Discuss your travels with President Bush. Describe his style of face-to-face diplomacy with foreign leaders.

The Bush Presidency in Retrospect

- What do you consider your greatest accomplishments as national security advisor? As secretary of state?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Bush Administration in the realm of foreign affairs? How would you rate the president as a strategic thinker?
- What features of the Bush Administration were misunderstood by the press? How should the Bush Administration be viewed by future historians? What is the legacy of President Bush's foreign policy?
- Evaluate President Bush as a world leader. How did foreign diplomats and heads of state view Bush? Were there any common misconceptions?