



# **President George W. Bush Oral History Project**

## **BRIEFING MATERIALS**

**Colin Powell**

**March 28, 2017**

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**Presidential Oral History Program**

**MAY NOT BE REPRODUCED OR CIRCULATED**

## COLIN POWELL NEWS TIMELINE

*Prepared by Bryan Craig*

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- 1958** Colin Powell graduates from the ROTC program at City College of New York. (<http://history.state.gov>)
- 1959-1987** Powell serves in the U.S. Army, including two tours in Vietnam and is stationed in West Germany and in South Korea. (<http://history.state.gov>)
- 1987-1989** Powell is National Security Adviser in the Ronald Reagan Administration. (<http://history.state.gov>)
- 1989-1993** Powell is chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JSC) under President George H.W. Bush during the invasion of Panama and Operation Desert Storm. George W. Bush meets Powell for the first time in 1989 during a briefing on the surrender of Manuel Noriega. (George Bush, *Decision Points*, New York: Crown, 2010, p. 83; <http://history.state.gov>)
- 1993** Powell retires from the U.S. Army.
- 1997** Powell forms America's Promise, a foundation that supports children and young adults.
- 2000**
- May* After Bush wins the Republican primaries, Powell, Donald Rumsfeld, Henry Kissinger, and George Schultz endorse Bush. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, they attend a speech in which Bush says he wants to unilaterally disarm a number of U.S. nuclear weapons, avoiding joint negotiations with Russia. The next day, Powell meets with Bush in Austin at an America's Promise function when he says he is not a candidate for vice president. (Donald Rumsfeld, *Known and Unknown*, New York: Sentinel, 2011, p. 273; Karen DeYoung, *Soldier*, New York: Knopf, 2006, p. 291; *The Washington Post*, 05/24/2000, 05/26/2000)
- July* On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Powell gives a speech at the Republican national convention focusing on education and minority concerns. (<http://www.npr.org>)
- September* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Powell appears with Bush in Detroit to endorse him for president. (Karl Rove, *Courage and Consequence: My Life as a Conservative in the Fight*, New York: Threshold Editions, 2010, p. 180)
- December* On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Vice President Al Gore concedes the election. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces his first cabinet nominee: Powell for secretary of state. (John P.

Burke, *Becoming President: The Bush Transition, 2000 – 2003*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2004, p. 37)

## 2001

### January

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, Powell begins his job as secretary of state. His first order of business is to improve the morale of State Department staff. NSC Adviser Condoleezza Rice begins a daily routine of talking to Powell and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld over the phone at 6:45 a.m. to discuss the events from the previous night. (Elisabeth Bumiller, *Condoleezza Rice: An American Life*, New York: Random House, 2009, p. 135; DeYoung, pp 306-307)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Powell begins to serve on the National Energy Policy Development Group chaired by Vice President Dick Cheney. The mission of the panel is to look at reducing U.S.'s reliance on foreign oil, including drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Critics argue against its apparent secret meetings and reported influence by large energy companies, including Enron CEO Kenneth L. Lay. (*The New York Times*, 01/30/2001, 05/25/2001)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, the NSC discusses issues on the Middle East, including Iraq. Powell begins to reexamine sanctions against the country. In early February in another NSC meeting, Rumsfeld outlines an option for pilots to bomb radar, antiaircraft, and command-and-control centers if pilots are shot down or if Saddam Hussein attacks his own citizens. (DeYoung, p. 316)

### February

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, the U.S. launches air strikes against military communication targets deep in Iraq. Bush and Powell are in Mexico visiting Mexican President Vincent Fox. (Bumiller, pp. 144-145)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits the Middle East for the first time as secretary, meeting with Yasser Arafat in the West Bank and Israeli Prime Minister-elect Ariel Sharon. Little progress is made on stemming the growing violence. (*The Washington Post*, 02/26/2001)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Powell meets with NATO leaders, assuring them that the U.S. would not unilaterally withdrawal from the Balkans. (*The Washington Post*, 02/28/2001)

### March

Powell works with Grant Green, undersecretary of management, to update the computer systems at the State Department. Powell also makes an arrangement with CIA Director George Tenet for the CIA to take over embassy communications. (Colin Powell, *It Worked for Me*, New York: Harper, 2012, pp. 107-108)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Powell tells reporters from *The Washington Post* that "we do plan to engage with North Korea to pick up where President Clinton and his administration left off..." Bush reads the article and calls Rice to tell her to look into this matter as the quote is against U.S. policy. Rice tells the president that

Powell only meant that he is reviewing the policy and would not eliminate every option, including ones presented by then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. After talking with Rice over the phone, Powell retracts his statement. The same day after a meeting with South Korean president, Kim Dae Jung, Bush states there will not be any negotiations with North Korea at this time. (Bush, pp. 90-91; Condoleezza Rice, *No Higher Honor*, New York: Crown, 2011, pp. 35-36; Bumiller, p. 147; Peter Baker, *Days of Fire: Bush and Cheney in the White House*, New York: Doubleday, 2013, pp. 94-95)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Rice and Powell belatedly try to stop Cheney from going to Capitol Hill with a letter that says Bush plans to reverse his campaign promise to support the Kyoto Protocol. (Bumiller, pp. 148-149)

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Powell informs the Russian Ambassador Yuri V. Ushakov that he is expelling about 50 Russian diplomats in the wake of the Robert Hanssen spy case. (*The New York Times*, 03/22/2001)

#### *Spring*

National Coordinator for Counterterrorism Richard Clarke and 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, Cheney, and Rice. All specific threats were about overseas targets. Rice discusses these issues in her daily phone calls to Powell and Rumsfeld. (Rice, p. 66)

Powell and Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge G. Castaneda begin talks on immigration reform. (*The New York Times*, 09/06/2001)

#### *April*

Rumsfeld tells the Defense Department's policy office to conduct a comprehensive review of the U.S. military's global posture. In his book, Rumsfeld writes that he keeps Powell informed of the review, which includes trying to pare down peacekeeping efforts and institute other cost-saving measures. (Rumsfeld, pp. 303-304)

On the 1<sup>st</sup>, China captures the crew of an American spy plane, downed off the Chinese island of Hainan, after an encounter with a Chinese fighter jet. Powell, Rice, and Cheney urge restraint. Rice, Powell, and Rumsfeld brief the president throughout the crisis until the safe return of its crew. (Jean Edward Smith, *Bush*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016, p. 194; *The New York Times*, 04/01/2001, 04/03/2001)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Bush delivers a speech on the Middle East. The speech tries to strike a balance between asking Israel to stop settlements and military excursions in the occupied territories and urging Arafat to stop using terror as a weapon. Cheney, Powell, Rice, Counselor Karen Hughes, Chief Speechwriter Mike Gerson, and NSC Deputy Adviser Stephen Hadley reportedly work on the speech with Bush. (*The Washington Post*, 04/06/2002)

- May* On the 11<sup>th</sup>, Bush and United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kofi Annan announce the creation of the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Tuberculosis. The U.S. commits \$200 million to the program. Powell and Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson urge Bush to support this program. (Bush, p. 336)
- On the 17<sup>th</sup>, the Administration's energy task force report is published. It supports an increase in production of oil, gas, coal, and nuclear energy, calls for further study on global warming and fuel economy standards, and promotes renewable fuels, alternative energy sources, and conservation. (National Energy Policy Development Group, *Report*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, May 2001; *The Washington Post*, 05/17/2001)
- On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Powell begins a week-long trip to Mali, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Sudan. He discusses issues such as poverty, AIDS, and ending the Sudanese civil war. (*The New York Times*, 05/24/2001, 05/28/2001)
- June* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Powell meets with Rice and members of Cheney's staff to discuss the ongoing violence between the Israelis and Palestinians. Bush reportedly seeks to avoid the Clinton Administration's constant, high-level attention to Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy. However, the Administration is buffeted with increasing calls, particularly from the Arab world, for greater American involvement in the faltering peace process. Tenet puts together a cease-fire, and Powell goes to the Middle East to work out a seven-week timetable for negotiations. (*The New York Times*, 06/04/2001, 06/29/2001)
- July* Powell is in Genoa, Italy meeting European foreign ministers before the G-8 conference. Powell does not stay for the summit and goes on an Asian tour. He visits Japan and Vietnam. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits South Korea and says the U.S. is willing to reopen talks with North Korea. The next day, he visits China to discuss human rights, weapons sales, and China's opposition to a U.S. missile shield. (Bumiller, p. 159; *The New York Times*, 07/28/2001, 07/29/2001)
- Summer* Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Doug Feith completes a memo on Iraq. He suggests moving away from a "tit-for-tat" response in the no-fly zones to seeking strategic targets to weaken Saddam's rule. Rumsfeld sends the memo to Rice, Powell, and Cheney. (Doug Feith, *War and Decision*, New York: Harper, 2008, pp. 209-210)
- September* On the 11<sup>th</sup>, al-Qaeda launch attacks on the United States. Powell is in Lima, Peru for a meeting of the Organization of American States, and he cuts his visit short and flies back to the U.S. He arrives for a NSC meeting at 10:00 p.m. that evening. (Rumsfeld, p. 346; Rice, pp. 72, 77)
- Press Secretary Ari Fleischer hesitates to acknowledge al-Qaeda's potential involvement in the 9/11 attacks until Powell states publicly on the 13<sup>th</sup> that Osama

bin Laden is the principal suspect in the attacks. (Ari Fleischer, *Taking Heat*, New York: HarperCollins, p. 154)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Powell attends the memorial service at the National Cathedral. Powell, Cheney, Rice, and Rumsfeld meet for dinner at Holly Lodge at Camp David to discuss the War on Terror. (Bush, p. 145; Dick Cheney, *In My Time*, New York: Threshold, 2012, pp. 351-352)

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, Bush meets with senior national security officials at Camp David to discuss the U.S. response to the 9/11 attacks. Rice asks about alternative military campaigns in addition to Afghanistan. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz mentions Iraq. Powell responds that the U.S. would lose coalition partners if the U.S. attacks Iraq. Cheney, Powell, Tenet, and ultimately Bush oppose action against Iraq at this time and focus on Afghanistan. Powell begins to build an international coalition for the operation, including neighboring Pakistan. (Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002, pp. 90-91; Bush, p. 189; Smith, p. 244)

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Bush receives a President's Daily Brief saying there is no link between Iraq and al-Qaeda or between Iraq and the 9/11 attacks. The brief is presented to Cheney, Rice, Powell, Rumsfeld, and Hadley. (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB326/>)

Bush asks Powell to work on a plan for a transition to democracy in Afghanistan that includes a method to choose an interim leader once the Taliban is defeated. (Bush, pp. 197, 205)

*October* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Bush calls for an independent Palestinian state. (DeYoung, p. 358)

The U.S. launches airstrikes in Afghanistan on the 7<sup>th</sup>.

*November* Bush authorizes the use of military tribunals to try captured terrorists. Powell reportedly learns about this after Bush signs the directive. (Bumiller, p. 170)

The NSC is reportedly divided over whether U.S. troops should take Kabul. Rumsfeld sends a memo to Powell, Rice, and Bush saying it would be a mistake for the U.S. not to attack Kabul. Powell reportedly does not support U.S. troops entering the city. On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Kabul falls to the Northern Alliance with little opposition. The next day Jalalabad surrenders. (Rumsfeld, p. 399)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Powell gives a foreign policy speech in Louisville, Kentucky, focusing mainly on the Middle East. He states, "We have a vision of a region where two states, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders." He promises more active U.S. involvement. (<http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/2001/6219.htm>)

*December* Sharon 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 the 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 10<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits Russia to tell Russian President Vladimir Putin that the U.S. intends to withdraw from the ABM Treaty within six months. This decision frees the Administration to conduct tests of missile defense technology by early summer of the next year. They also work on a deal that becomes the Treaty of Moscow reduce nuclear stockpiles from 2,200 to 1,700 warheads. (DeYoung, p. 362; *The Washington Post*, 12/10/2001)

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Rice learning that India is moving nuclear missiles to the Pakistani border, she telephones Powell. Powell makes phone calls to leaders, and then goes to the area in January. (Rice, pp. 125-126; *The Washington Post*, 12/29/2001)

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

## 2002

### January

Powell visits Afghanistan as Ryan Crocker serves as Charge d'Affaires in the newly re-opened U.S. embassy in Kabul, pending the appointment of an ambassador. (*The Washington Post*, 01/18/2002, 01/03/2002)

William Howard Taft IV, Powell's legal adviser, tells Powell that Bush has decided that neither the Taliban nor al-Qaeda would be granted POW status or be protected under the Geneva Conventions. Powell disagrees with this decision and calls Rice. (DeYoung, p. 365)

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Powell meets Bush over the captive issue. Powell argues that the U.S. policy should adhere to international laws of war. Bush decides to convene a NSC meeting. Before the meeting, the story leaks on the 26<sup>th</sup>, when *The Washington Times* publishes details of White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales's internal memo revealing a challenge by Powell to the president's decision. (DeYoung, pp. 370-371; Baker, pp. 184-185; *The Washington Times*, 01/26/2002; *The New York Times*, 01/29/2002)

### February

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, Powell testifies before the House International Relations Committee. He states Bush is looking at every option regarding Saddam, including regime change. (*The New York Times*, 02/07/2002)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces that the Administration will apply the Geneva Conventions to Taliban captives, but not to al-Qaeda operatives captured in Afghanistan. (Rice, p. 107; *The New York Times*, 02/08/2002, 02/22/2002)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Rice and Powell accompany Bush to Japan, South Korea, and China. Bush says the U.S. will help deter terrorism in the region, including acts from North Korea. (*The Washington Post*, 02/23/2002)

### *March*

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, Hadley asks Feith to develop a written proposal for the president to train Iraqi externals, those Iraqis living abroad. Feith presents the material in May. Powell reportedly persuades his colleagues to defer the program in the fear it might provoke Saddam. (Feith, pp. 258-259)

Zinni makes two trips to the Middle East. Powell delivers a message to Sharon to pull forces out of Palestine-controlled territories. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Hamas sets off a bomb in an Israeli hotel during Seder, killing twenty people. Israel responds by sending in ground troops to the West Bank, including Yasser Arafat's Ramallah compound. Bush holds Arafat responsible for the rising violence. (Bumiller, p. 176; *The New York Times*, 03/15/2002, 03/31/2002)

### *April*

Powell gets the Principals to send Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs James Kelly to Pyongyang. As the Bush Administration learns that North Korea has built a uranium enrichment facility, Kelly's trip is postponed until October. (Rice, pp. 159-161; DeYoung, p. 475)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Powell heads to the Middle East. He stops in Madrid to help form the Quartet on the Middle East that includes representatives from the U.S., UN, European Union (EU), and Russia to push for a cease-fire in the West Bank. In mid-April, Rice talks with Powell, who wants to propose an international conference, but Rice says it could not happen with Arafat in power. Later in the month, Bush and Powell meet with Crown Prince Abdullah at Bush's ranch at Crawford, Texas. A deal allowing Arafat to leave his compound is made at the end of the month. (Rice, pp. 140; Cheney, p. 380; Bush, pp. 401-402; Elliott Abrams, *Tested By Zion*, New York: Cambridge, 2013, p. 32; *The New York Times*, 03/30/2002, 04/29/2002; *The Washington Post*, 04/15/2002)

### *May-July*

Powell works to develop "smart sanctions" against Iraq at the UN that targets fewer items, but Russia refuses to pass more robust sanctions and these efforts fail. (Rice, pp. 31-32)

### *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; Baker, p. 205)

Feith's policy team develops an Iraqi governing plan. They propose that the U.S. begin preparations for moderate Iraqis to take over the country, rather than the



U.S. managing it alone. Feith says State prefers a multi-year transitional authority led by the U.S. Rumsfeld sends the report to Cheney, Powell, Tenet, and Rice on July 1<sup>st</sup>. (Rumsfeld, p. 484)

#### June

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Powell tells *The Washington Post* about his response to Bush's talk at West Point on using preemptive attacks on terrorists. Powell says he agrees that a preemptive attack can be justified to remove a threat, and it is one of many tools, that include arrests, seizure, and financial and diplomatic measures. (*The Washington Post*, 06/15/2002)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Bush publicly calls for the Palestinian people to replace Arafat while Powell works on creating a two-state solution. (Bush, p. 404; Abrams, p. 45)

#### July

Powell and the State Department begin negotiations with Turkey over using their territory to launch an invasion of Iraq. However, the U.S. fails to secure cooperation. (DeYoung, p. 427; <http://www.gwu.edu/>)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Powell meets the [Middle East] Quartet in New York. They discuss priorities of security, humanitarian relief, and political reform. Two days later, Bush meets with the foreign ministers of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt during a Middle East peace conference. (Abrams, p. 49; *The Washington Post*, 07/17/2002)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Powell meets briefly with Paek Nam Sun, North Korea's foreign minister, the first meeting between the two countries since 2000. (*USA Today*, 07/31/2002)

#### August

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Powell tells Bush that there will be large-scale civil disorder in Iraq if the U.S. topples Saddam Hussein, and "if we break it, we own it." (DeYoung, p. 402) He urges Bush to go to the UN before moving forward with an Iraqi invasion. (Michael R. Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II*, New York: Vintage Books, 2007, p. 81)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Powell meets with PLO peace negotiator Saeb Erekat and other PLO officials about the Road Map. (Abrams, p. 56)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Powell argues for taking the Iraqi case to the UN at a National Security Council meeting with Bush in attendance. (Baker, pp. 209-210)

#### September

Powell leads the U.S. delegation to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. The summit examines environmental issues, especially the reduction of global warming. At the end of the conference, Powell talks about Iraq. He says there are differences in the White House over how to eliminate Iraq's WMDs: "Some [differences] are real, some are perceived, some are over-hyped... The only position that really counts at the end of the day is the president's position." (*The New York Times*, 09/04/2002; *The Washington Post*, 08/20/2002)

Powell calls Franks and reportedly tells him that he will raise the issue of troop levels for the operation in Iraq at the NSC meeting scheduled on the 7<sup>th</sup>. During the planning phase, Powell made a few phone calls to Franks about troop sizes, and then Franks kept Rumsfeld informed about their conversations. (Rumsfeld, p. 437; DeYoung, p. 426)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, at a NSC meeting, Powell does not bring up troop levels, but advocates again for a UN resolution. Cheney and Rumsfeld oppose it because they reportedly feel there is no time for a resolution and inspections, based on evidence that Saddam is reconstituting his WMDs. Bush decides to go for a resolution. (DeYoung, p. 396; Rice, p. 180; Rumsfeld, p. 438)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, in a speech to the General Assembly, Bush appeals to the UN to work with the U.S. to eliminate Iraq's WMDs. (*The Washington Post*, 09/13/2002)

*October* Congress passes a resolution on the 11<sup>th</sup> authorizing the use of force against Iraq.

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, Feith presents the Defense Department's post-Saddam administration plan to the NSC. The plan argues for unity of leadership where the defense secretary should be in charge of all tasks to complete the military operations and reconstruction. Powell reportedly agrees. (Feith, p. 316)

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, at a Principals meeting, Rice criticizes standing policy concerning detaining terrorist suspects indefinitely at Guantánamo 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)

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, Rice and Powell defend the Administration against a charge that they withheld the announcement that North Korea has a secret nuclear weapons program from Congress so they could pass the Iraqi War resolution. (*The Washington Post*, 10/21/2002)

*November* On the 8<sup>th</sup>, the UN Security Council (UNSC) passes resolution 1441 giving Iraq a final opportunity to disarm. This is largely the work of Powell and Jack Straw, the British foreign minister. (Bush, p. 241; Bumiller, p. 196)

*December* Powell announces the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI). It is a regional program that intended to help citizens in the Middle East and North Africa develop more pluralistic, participatory, and prosperous societies. (<http://mepi.state.gov>)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Powell talks to leaders of Russia and China about North Korea's plans to reactive a nuclear plant capable of making nuclear weapon. They hope to resume talks with North Korea. (*The Washington Post*, 12/30/2002)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Powell declares Iraq's response to UN resolution 1441 inadequate, a "resubmission of material it gave to the United Nations years ago." (*The New York Times*, 12/20/2002)

## 2003

### January

With Bush's approval, the Department of Defense creates the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA). Rumsfeld brings on General (ret.) Jay Garner to run it. Garner knows Powell from Desert Storm. (Rumsfeld, p. 487)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Bush reportedly tells Powell that he thinks he needs to take Saddam out by force. (DeYoung, p. 429)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Powell publicly supports affirmative action as the Bush Administration moves forward with a U.S. Supreme Court case, opposing the University of Michigan Law School's race-based admissions policy. He says, "I believe race should be a factor among many other factors in determining the makeup of a student body of a university."  
(<http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/01/19/powell.race/>)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, Powell gives a speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. He says, "We are where we are today with Iraq because Saddam Hussein and his regime have repeatedly violated the trust of the United Nations, his people and his neighbors, to such an extent as to pose a grave danger to international peace and security." Powell makes a round of talks among European allies about the possibility of war. (*The Washington Post*, 01/27/2003)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, UN Weapons Inspector Hans 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)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Prime Minister Tony Blair meets with Bush in Washington to argue for a second UN resolution against Saddam. Cheney, Rice, Powell, and Rumsfeld argue that one is not needed. However, Blair states he needs it for political support at home. The resolution negotiations fail by March. (Cheney, pp. 397-398)

### February

Hadley and Feith work out a dispute between State and Defense over candidates to be placed in senior advisor roles in Iraqi. Initially, Garner picked many senior diplomats from State. Rumsfeld reportedly wants to make sure the best candidates are chosen regardless of department, upsetting State officials and Powell, while straining Deputy relations. The dispute's effects continue to damage relations between State and Defense. (Feith, pp. 387-388)

On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Rice meets with Powell to advise him that the draft text of his UN speech on Iraq needs to be more compelling. Bush later writes that Powell

believes he can manage the Iraq situation through diplomacy and is not comfortable with the war plans because the military was proposing a third of the troops the Powell Doctrine advocated for Desert Storm. (Bumiller, p. 200; Bush, p. 251)

Powell presents the case that Iraq has WMDs to the UNSC on the 5<sup>th</sup>. (DeYoung, pp. 448-450)

### *March*

Powell proposes a six-party negotiation with North Korea. The White House has rejected bilateral talks with North Korea. (Rice, p. 248; *The New York Times*, 02/25/2003)

On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Powell sends a memo on post-war government models from the State Department's historian. The paper examines American territories after the Spanish American War; World War One era mandates; post-World War Two Germany, Japan, and Italy; 1995 Bosnia; and other historical examples. (Rumsfeld, p. 490)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, the Principals discuss the Iraqi Interim Authority (IIA) idea to transition Iraqi authority as quickly as possible, a plan supported by Rumsfeld. The U.S.-led coalition and Iraqi leaders would sign a formal agreement to form a transitional civil authority (Iraqi Leadership Council). The council would manage some national ministries and expand their numbers to include internal Iraqi leaders before the council would take over full authority. The IIA would also give the U.S. coalition the freedom to eliminate Iraqi WMDs and terrorist infrastructure. Armitage reportedly supports the delay in creating the IIA by two or three months to consult with all Iraqi leaders, and he continues to argue for a multi-year timeline before the U.S. gives Iraq full authority. (Rumsfeld, p. 490; Feith, pp. 402-406)

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, Bush agrees to the IIA plan in an NSC meeting. Garner wants to keep the regular army, but demobilize it and use it for reconstruction efforts. He also advocates dismantling Saddam's paramilitary forces and the Republican Guard but retaining some junior officers for the new army. (Feith, pp. 367-368; Rice, p. 194; Rumsfeld, p. 492)

With the deadline for Iraqi compliance set to expire, Bush meets with Card, Rice, Powell, Tenet, Rumsfeld, and other top officials on the 18<sup>th</sup> to discuss new intelligence suggesting that Saddam will be at Dora Farms the next day. Bush decides to act on the intelligence by targeting the location to initiate the war. (George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm*, New York: Harper, 2007, pp. 389-395)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Bush gives the order to launch Operation Iraqi Freedom. Two fighters drop bombs the next day on Dora Farms. (Rumsfeld, pp. 460, 466)

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, Powell says the UN has an important role in Iraq after the war, including providing "international legitimacy" to the occupation. (*The New York Times*, 03/29/2003)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Rumsfeld calls Powell to discuss Armitage's reported leaks to the press. Powell says he will look into it, but reportedly says that Rumsfeld needs to reign in Wolfowitz who is attacking the State Department. In April, Rumsfeld sends Chief of Staff Andy Card a collection of articles with quotes from Armitage and other "senior administration officials" attacking the Administration's policy on Iraq. (Rumsfeld, p. 503)

#### *April*

Plans to form a national government are delayed in favor of a U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) that will oversee reconstruction efforts. (Rice, p. 211; Bumiller, p. 223)

Powell visits Turkey to restart talks about the Kurds in northern Iraq. (*The Times-London*, 04/02/2003)

Three-way talks are held with the U.S., China, and North Korea. Negotiations lead to a tentative plan for six-party talks. (DeYoung, p. 475)

On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Baghdad falls. Looting becomes widespread in the city as Iraqi police officers abandon their posts. (Terry Anderson, *Bush's Wars*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 135, 142)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces the Road Map for Middle East peace. (Bush, p. 405)

#### *May*

On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Bush announces "major combat operations in Iraq have ended."

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Bush Administration announces the release of about 12 detainees from Guantánamo after Powell hears increasing complaints from other countries about their citizens being detained. (*The New York Times*, 05/06/2003)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces L. Paul Bremer will run the CPA. Earlier in the month, Powell talks to Rumsfeld about Bremer and approves his choice. (L. Paul Bremer, *My Year in Iraq*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006, p. 76)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Bremer attends a Principals meeting to discuss the IIA plan. Powell reportedly says the president wants to take time with implementing the IIA, countering Feith and Rumsfeld's thoughts about moving as quickly as possible. He also says that the security situation is most important and the U.S. should allow Iraqi leaders to emerge. (Feith, p. 439; Bremer, p., 43)

Powell is in the Middle East to discuss the peace plan and the future of Iraqi governance when over 30 people are killed in three different compounds in Riyadh by al-Qaeda terrorists. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Powell meets with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov and Putin. They discuss UN involvement in rebuilding Iraq and the U.S. puts the Chechen guerrillas on the terrorist watch list. (<http://2001-2009.state.gov>)

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, the UNSC passes a resolution to lift the ban on Iraq oil to bring in revenue to rebuild Iraq. Powell has reportedly supported more UN engagement in rebuilding Iraq. (Rice, p. 215)

Rice and Powell discuss the agenda for a meeting with Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs William Burns and Middle East envoys. The goal is to get Israel to endorse the Road Map. Bush cancelled a meeting with Sharon due to the increasing violence. Sharon still argues that the peace plan does not include Palestinians first disarming violent groups before Israel would pull back forces in the West Bank and dismantle Jewish settlements there and in Gaza. (*The New York Times*, 05/22/2003)

Bush signs the \$15 billion President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) on the 27<sup>th</sup>.

#### *June*

From the 2-4<sup>th</sup>, Bush goes to the Middle East for two meetings. (Rice, pp. 216-219)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Bremer meets with Bush, Rice, Powell, and Card in Qatar. Bremer reviews the proposed political process again, and, in response to a question from Powell, says that in the best case Iraq might get a constitution and more or less democratic elections within a year. Bremer cautions it would be difficult to pull it off in that time frame. Bremer also asks Card to help him with agencies like the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the State Department's Agency for International Development to speed up the funding process. (Bremer, pp. 70, 114)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Newt Gingrich gets headlines while promoting his new article in *Foreign Policy* by calling the State Department "broken." He recommends increasing the size of the Foreign Service and creating a new White House office of global communications. (*The New York Times*, 06/18/2003)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits the Middle East to get an agreement to give the Palestinian Authority security control in the entire Gaza Strip, but Israel is reluctant. Israel has made progress in dismantling some settlements in the West Bank, but the Road Map effort stalls by the end of the year. (*The New York Times*, 06/19/2003, 06/20/2003)

#### *Summer*

Bush, Rice, Powell, and Rumsfeld work out a solution in the Liberian crisis. President Charles Taylor is clinging to power as Powell works with the UN to transition him out of power. By August, Taylor resigns and Bush sends 200 U.S. Marines as peace-keepers until the African Union arrives. (Rice, pp. 230-233)

July

Powell reportedly thinks Rice is not enough of a counter-weight to Cheney and his staff, and he gives Armitage permission to talk to Rice about the NSC. Armitage tells Rice that the NSC is “dysfunctional” because it fails to broker differences between cabinet members and that Rumsfeld is dealing with the president in private. Weeks later, the *The Washington Post* runs a story saying the NSC is “dysfunctional” and Rice calls Powell to accuse Armitage of leaking stories. Armitage tells Powell he did not leak the story and that everyone knew about the problems. (Bumiller, pp. 217-219)

Bob Novak reveals Valerie Plame’s identity as a CIA operative in his column on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The DOJ subsequently opens an investigation to determine whether administration officials intentionally leaked Plame’s identity in retaliation for an op-ed Plame’s husband, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, had written regarding WMDs in Iraq. It is later learned that Novak considered Armitage and Rove his two sources. (Rove, pp. 327-331; Baker, p 287; *The Washington Post*, 7/13/2003)

From the 8-12<sup>th</sup>, Rice, Powell, Bush and First Lady Laura Bush travel to Senegal, South Africa, Botswana, Uganda, and Nigeria to examine PEPFAR results. (Bush, pp. 341-342)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Rice goes on *Face the Nation*. She says that the controversy about Saddam’s attempts to procure uranium from Niger is overblown, arguing that the CIA had cleared its inclusion in Bush’s State of the Union Speech. Powell reportedly did not question its inclusion. However, eight days later, Powell did not include this in his UN speech because reportedly the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research questioned it. (*The Washington Post*, 07/13/2003)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, David Kay, a U.S. weapons inspector, tells Bush that he has not found any WMDs in Iraq. (Michael Isikoff and David Corn, *Hubris*, New York: Three Rivers Press, 2007, p. 310)

August

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Powell and Armitage go to Crawford, Texas for a meeting with Bush on foreign policy. The next day, Bush stands next Powell in front of reporters saying, “This guy has done a fabulous job.” (*The New York Times*, 08/07/2003, 08/06/2003)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, the UNSC passes Resolution 1500 that establishes the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq and recognizes the Governance Council as the sovereign government in Iraq. (<http://www.refworld.org>)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, a U.S. helicopter accidentally knocks over a religious banner in Sadr City, unleashing protests and riots. It is part of an overall increase in violence including an uprising lead by Sayyid Muqtada al-Sadr. Six days later, the UN headquarters is attacked and Powell begins a diplomatic campaign to get more

countries to send more troops and aide. (Anderson, p. 163; Bremer, 135; *The Washington Post*, 08/22/2003)

## September

Rice authors a memo to create the Iraq Stabilization Group to help the NSC coordinate Iraqi reconstruction policy. She sends the memo to Rumsfeld and Powell. (Rice, p. 242)

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, Bremer gives a speech to the Iraqi people. He outlines the process: “Step One: Establishing a Temporary Iraqi Government; That step was taken two months ago when the Governing Council was created; Step Two: Deciding How to Write a Constitution; Step Three: Iraqis Begin to Run the Country; Step Four: Iraqis Write a New Constitution; Step Five: Ratifying the Constitution; Step Six: Electing a Government; Step Seven: The Coalition Authority Ends.” (<http://www.usembassy.it>)

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, during Powell’s visit to Iraq, he endorses the seven-step process in a meeting with the Governing Council and encourages them to help carry it out quickly. Powell hopes Iraq can have a new constitution in six months. He visits the town of Halabja, where in 1988, Saddam had gassed 5,000 Kurds, and he says this was the evidence that Saddam had WMDs, and the U.S. was justified to go to war. (Bremer, p. 164; *The Washington Post*, 09/16/2003; *The New York Times*, 09/26/2003)

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, Powell responds to the House Intelligence Committee’s charge that the White House based their decision to go to war against Iraq with five-year old information. He argues although there were no UN weapons inspectors on the ground, the intelligence community “did a pretty good job.” (*The Washington Post*, 09/29/2003)

## October

On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Armitage reportedly tells Powell that he is Novak’s source. (Cheney, p. 407; Baker, p. 287)

On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Kay and the Iraq Survey Group release their interim report. They have not found any evidence of WMDs, but they did find laboratories for chemical and biological weapons. Four days later, Powell writes an editorial in *The Washington Post* stating, “All indications are that they will uncover still more evidence of Hussein’s dangerous designs.” (*The Washington Post*, 10/07/2003; <http://www.cia.gov>)

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, Muqtada al-Sadr’s militia attacks a patrol of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment in Sadr City. Violence escalates during the fall and winter. (Bremer, pp. 190, 192)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Powell attends the Donors Conference in Madrid to raise money for Iraq reconstruction. Powell and Bremer discuss the growing concern that the Pentagon wants the New Iraq Army to get involved in internal security. Bremer wants a new police force involved, not the army. Also, Powell reportedly tells



Bremer that he agrees with him that the Governing Council is not ready to govern yet. (Bremer, pp. 203-204)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Rumsfeld presents a proposal on the future of Iraq created by Bremer and Rumsfeld at an NSC meeting. Bremer agrees to dismantle the CPA before a final constitution is adopted, the goal being June 30, 2004. Powell reportedly has reservations, calling it “ambitious.” Bush agrees to the plan. (Rumsfeld, p. 525)

*November* On the 11<sup>th</sup>, Bremer travels to Washington to talk with the NSC Principals on Iraq’s growing insurgency and the new political plan. They debate direct elections vs. a caucus and agree to send the plan to Bush for consideration the next day. Bush decides to go forward with the caucus plan. (Bremer, pp. 224-228)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the U.S. agrees to let the International Atomic Energy Agency adopt a resolution deploring Iran’s nuclear program and to create a fast-track procedure to take the issue to the UNSC if Iran violates the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Powell negotiated the language of the proposal with the Europeans because of the failure to get the matter before the UNSC. (*The New York Times*, 11/25/2003)

*December* On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Saddam is captured. (*The New York Times*, 12/16/2003)

## **2004**

*January* The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) meets with Powell, Rice, and Wolfowitz to discuss conditions at Guantanamo Bay. The ICRC warns the U.S. for the first time that, “it was unhappy certain aspects of the conditions and treatment in Guantanamo have not yet been adequately addressed. (*The Associated Press*, 05/13/2004)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Bremer attends an NSC Principals meeting at the White House. They discuss the UN’s role in the governance plan and the potential problem if Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani still demands direct elections. (Bremer, p. 279)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Bush, Powell, and other State Department officials meet an Iraqi delegation that includes Adnan Pachachi, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, Mohsen Abdel Hamid, Chalabi, and Hoshiyar Zebari, in Washington. (Bremer, pp. 283-284)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, after meeting with Putin, Powell states he has concerns about the war in Chechnya and the curbs on free elections and media in Russia. (*The New York Times*, 01/27/2004)

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, Kay testifies before the Senate Armed Services Committee, saying his team did not find any stockpiles of WMDs. (*The Washington Post*, 01/29/2004)

*February* On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, *The Washington Post* publishes an interview with Powell about Iraqi intelligence. Powell states Saddam had intent to use WMDs, but the “absence of

a stockpile changes the political calculus; it changes the answer you get.” (*The Washington Post*, 02/03/2004, DeYoung, p. 490)

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, Elliott Abrams, NSC senior director for Near East and North African Affairs, Hadley, and Assistant Secretary of State William Burns, travel to Israel to discuss Sharon’s plan to move settlers and soldiers out of parts of the occupied territories, as well as Israel’s plans for a security fence to protect Israelis from Palestinian military groups. (*The Associated Press*, 02/17/2004, 03/11/2004, 04/02/2004)

*Feb.-Mar.* Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide is removed from power. The U.S. gets Aristide out of the country and U.S. Marines are sent in as part of the UN peacekeeping force. (Powell, pp. 7-8)

*Mar.-Apr.* In March, Sharon suggests Israel is willing to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and up to 24 West Bank settlements. On March 26<sup>th</sup>, the Bush Administration announces that it will hold a high-level summit with Israel on April 14<sup>th</sup>. In addition to this announcement, the Administration also says that it will postpone any new additional sanctions on Syria to stabilize the region after a Syrian political assassination. Sharon’s vacillation, along with stiff domestic opposition in Israel, lead to additional meetings on April 1<sup>st</sup> with Abrams, Hadley, and Burns. (*The Financial Times*-London, 03/27/2004)

*Spring* Powell tells Bush he is ready to leave office. Powell did not want to resign until after the election because he didn’t want to embarrass the president. (Bush, p. 90; Jean Edward Smith, *Bush*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016, p. 382)

*March* On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits Afghanistan and meets with President Hamid Karzai. The elections are postponed from June to August and Powell urges faster voter registration and issues a pledge of \$1 billion in allocated funds by the U.S. for Afghanistan. (*The New York Times*, 03/18/2004)

On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Powell testifies before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. (<http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/>)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, four Blackwater contractors are killed in Fallujah, starting Operation Vigilant Resolve. (Rumsfeld, pp. 532-538)

*April* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Powell tells reporters that the intelligence on Iraqi WMDs was not as solid as he had believed when he made his UN presentation in February 2003. He says he has spoken to the CIA about how the information ended up in his speech. (*The Washington Post*, 04/03/2004)

The first Abu Ghraib photos appear on “60 Minutes II” on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Powell had not seen the pictures before the show. (Powell, p. 123)

*May* On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Powell goes on *Larry King Live*, and the host asks about Abu Ghraib. Powell states, “I’m shocked. I mean, I was in a unit that was responsible for My

Lai...In war these sorts of horrible things happen every now and again, but they're still to be deplored.” (*The Boston Globe*, 05/06/2004)

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, Bush signs National Security Presidential Directive 36, shifting responsibility for Iraq from Defense to State, after the turnover of power to the Iraqis. (DeYoung, p. 506)

#### *June*

After hearing about the Office of Legal Counsel’s August 2002 torture memo, Rice and Powell meet with White House Counsel Alberto 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)

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, the CPA ceases to exist, as the appointed interim government, headed by Prime Minister Ayad Allawi, takes over.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Powell and Annan visit the western Sudan area of Darfur to look into the possibility of genocide. The State Department has begun an investigation to see if genocide has occurred by sending an Atrocities Documentation Team (ADT) to interview Darfurian refugees. (Samuel Trotten and Eric Markusen, eds., *Genocide in Darfur*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p., 21; *The Washington Post*, 06/30/2004)

#### *July*

Abrams and Hadley go to the Middle East to meet with Sharon and Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei. The meetings come as Sharon is having difficulty selling his withdrawal plan to the Labor Party and Israel at large. Later in the month, Israel alters the original plans for a security fence because of a court order requiring Sharon’s Administration to decrease potential hardships on Palestinians. (*The Associated Press*, 07/12/2004, 07/26/2004)

On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Powell meets with North Korean Foreign Minister Paek Nam-Sun to discuss the last round of six-party talks. (*The New York Times*, 07/02/2004)

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Powell testifies before a grand jury investigating leaks about the identity of Valerie Plame. (*The Washington Post*, 08/02/2004)

#### *September*

On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Powell testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and declares that genocide is occurring in Darfur. (<http://www.cnn.com>)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the G-8 countries and Arab governments sign an agreement to endorse expansion of democratic institutions and political reforms in the Middle East. On the previous day, Powell met with Libya’s foreign minister, the first such meeting since the 1970s. (*The Washington Post*, 09/25/2004; *The New York Times*, 09/24/2004)

#### *October*

Powell visits Asia. In Japan, he urges North Korea to resume talks that have stalled when North Korea pulled out from a proposed September session of the six-party talks. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits China and states that Taiwan is not an

independent nation and that the U.S. favors a peaceful reunification with China. (*The New York Times*, 10/25/2004, 10/28/2004)

*November* On the 15<sup>th</sup>, Powell announces his resignation. He urges Rice to be his replacement. (Rice, p. 289)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Powell states Iran is “actively working” on a nuclear program. (*The New York Times*, 11/19/2004)

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Powell arrives in the Middle East in hopes of putting together a U.S. aid package for Palestinians. On the next day, Powell attends an international conference on Iraq pressing the Iraq government to encourage rivals to participate in the upcoming January elections. (*The New York Times*, 11/22/2004; *The Washington Post*, 11/23/2004)

## **2005**

*January* On the 26<sup>th</sup>, Powell leaves office as Rice becomes the new secretary of state. He continues to work with America’s Promise Alliance, and serves on the Boards of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Eisenhower Fellowship Program, and the Powell Center at the City College of New York.

## **2006**

*December* On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Powell says the U.S. is “losing in Iraq” and the Bush Administration should accelerate Iraq’s security training. (*The Washington Post*, 12/18/2006)

## RICHARD ARMITAGE NEWS TIMELINE

*Prepared by Rob Martin*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/24/2013; revised 02/16/2017*

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- 1967** Richard Armitage graduates from the U.S. Naval Academy. He goes on to serve in Vietnam.
- 1981-1989** Armitage serves as assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs and deputy assistant secretary of defense for East Asia and Pacific affairs in the Ronald Reagan administration. (www.csis.org)
- 1989-1993** Armitage serves in the George H.W. Bush administration as an ambassador directing U.S. assistance to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. He also serves as a presidential special negotiator for the Philippines Military Bases Agreement, as special mediator for water in the Middle East, and as a special emissary to Jordan's King Hussein during the Gulf War. (www.csis.org)
- 1995** Colin Powell's book, *My American Journey*, is published. Armitage had helped Powell with early drafts of the book, advising that Powell tone down the language regarding Powell's at-times-strained relationship with Dick Cheney during the first Bush administration. Armitage and Powell have been good friends since their time working together at the Pentagon during the Reagan administration. (Karen DeYoung, *Soldier*, New York: Knopf, 2006, pp. 242-243, 272)
- 1996** Powell strongly considers running for president as a Republican in 1996 but decides not to at the behest of family and close friends such as Armitage. (DeYoung, p. 272)
- 1997** Armitage serves on the bipartisan National Defense Panel, which calls on President Bill Clinton to restructure the Pentagon to better address post-Cold War threats. (*USA Today*, 09/20/1999)
- 1998** Armitage signs the Project for the New American Century letter to Clinton calling for the removal of Saddam Hussein from power. The letter is also signed by Paul Wolfowitz, Dov Zakheim and Richard Perle. (*The Washington Post*, 06/03/2000)
- 1999** Armitage joins a team of foreign policy advisers headed by Condoleezza Rice to brief and develop policy for Governor George W. Bush in preparation for his presidential run. Rice's team, known as the Vulcans, includes Armitage, Wolfowitz, Perle, Zakheim, Robert Blackwill, Robert Zoellick, and Stephen Hadley. The group holds its first briefing with Bush on February 24<sup>th</sup> on defense policy. Armitage was reportedly hesitant at first about joining the Bush campaign. He had initially waited to see if Senator John McCain (R-AZ) would enter the

race but decided to sign up with Bush after McCain told Armitage that he was not ready to make a decision. Armitage serves as Bush's top defense policy adviser on Rice's team. Meetings are held at the governor's mansion in Austin, at Shultz's home in Palo Alto, at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington, and by email and Monday morning conference calls. Cheney, Shultz, and Brent Scowcroft also advise Bush on foreign policy. (Condoleezza Rice, *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington*, New York: Crown Publishers, 2011, p. 3; Dick Cheney, *In My Time*, New York: Threshold Editions, 2011, p. 252; Elisabeth Bumiller, *Condoleezza Rice: An American Life*, New York: Random House, 2009, p. 128; DeYoung, pp. 285-287; *The Washington Post*, 11/19/1999; *The Washington Times*, 11/19/1999; *Newsweek*, 11/22/1999)

*March* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces his exploratory committee. (Karl Rove, *Courage and Consequence*, New York: Threshold, 2010, p. 133)

*June* Bush formally announces his candidacy for president in Iowa on the 12<sup>th</sup>. Armitage continues working on the campaign advising Bush on defense policy. Rice continues serving as Bush's chief adviser on foreign policy and defense. (Rice, p. 2; Rove, p. 125; *Austin American-Statesman*, 06/13/1999; *Newsweek*, 11/20/2000)

*September* On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Bush delivers a speech on military policy at The Citadel calling for the restructuring of the Pentagon to better meet the challenges of the post-Cold War era. Armitage had written the first draft of the speech. Bush calls for the development of new, hi-tech weapons systems and the construction of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system, warning of the dangers of terrorism and WMDs. The speech was also reviewed by Powell and Cheney. (<http://www.citadel.mil.edu>; *The Washington Times*, 09/24/1999; *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 09/24/1999)

McCain announces he is running for president on the 27<sup>th</sup>. (*Campaign for President: The Managers Look at 2000*, Institute of Politics, Harvard University, Hollis, NH: Hollis Publishing Company, p. 257)

*November* On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Bush gives a foreign policy speech at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library calling for a "distinctively American internationalism" which recognizes the importance of working with U.S. allies and calls for greater discretion in launching humanitarian interventions. The speech contains firm language regarding Russian proliferation, Chechnya, and China-Taiwan relations. Josh Bolten, Michael Gerson, and the Vulcans work on the speech. (*The Washington Times*, 11/20/1999)

## **2000**

*January* Bush and Gore both win in the Iowa caucuses on the 24<sup>th</sup>.

*February* On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Bush loses the New Hampshire primary to McCain by 19 points. Bush takes full responsibility for the loss and does not make any changes to his campaign staff. The senior campaign staff decides the next day to put more emphasis on attacking McCain's strengths to better differentiate Bush as a candidate, lobbying harder for the conservative vote, and thinking "no more finesse. This is a brawl." (Rove, pp. 141-142; *The New York Times*, 02/03/2000; *Associate Press*, 02/11/2000)

Bush gives a speech at Bob Jones University in South Carolina on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, an event which later sparks controversy because of the university's anti-Catholic views and its prohibition on interracial dating. (Rove, pp. 145-146)

Bush defeats McCain 54%-42% in the South Carolina primary on the 19<sup>th</sup>.

*March* McCain suspends his campaign on the 9<sup>th</sup> after losing in New York, California and Ohio on Super Tuesday and sends his "best wishes" to Bush. Bush formally clinches the nomination the next week. (*The New York Times*, 03/10/2000)

The Bush campaign begins launching policy initiatives every week over the next few months, highlighting Bush's positions on key issues such as Social Security reform, education, and tax cuts. (*Newsweek*, 11/20/2000)

*May* Bush unveils his views on nuclear weapons and strategic defense at a press conference on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Bush says he wants to start disarming selected nuclear weapons unilaterally, challenging Russia to make the same cuts. Powell makes his first public appearance with Bush at the press conference. Powell had previously said the GOP has two strong candidates in Bush and McCain and could support either for president. (DeYoung, p.p. 288-290; *The New York Times*, 05/26/2000)

*July* Bush selects Cheney as his running-mate on the 24<sup>th</sup>. (Cheney, pp. 262-265)

The Republican National Convention begins in Philadelphia on the 31<sup>st</sup>. Bush accepts the Republican nomination on August 3<sup>rd</sup>.

*September* Bush gives a speech in Dayton, Ohio on the 7<sup>th</sup> calling for the modernization of the U.S. military from its Cold War structure. (*The Washington Post*, 07/07/2000)

*October* Bush and Gore hold their first debate on the 3<sup>rd</sup> at UMass-Boston. Bush reportedly looks “shaky” in the first debate but Gore’s loud sighing and poor make-up command much of the attention. (Karen Hughes, *Ten Minutes From Normal*, New York: Viking Penguin, 2004, p. 164; *Associated Press*, 09/14/2000)

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. Gore responds that a withdrawal would be a “damaging blow to NATO.” (*The New York Times*, 10/22/2000) The next week, Bush tells NATO that the U.S. would not unilaterally leave. (*The New York Times*, 10/21/2000, 11/01/2000)

Armitage and Joseph Nye co-chair a bipartisan study group sponsored by the National Defense University calling for the U.S. to strengthen its relationship with Japan. (*The Washington Times*, 10/13/2000)

Bush and Gore meet for their second debate at Wake Forest on the 11<sup>th</sup> on foreign policy with moderator Jim Lehrer. Hughes and Rice had worked with Bush in his hotel room that afternoon to help prepare him for questions on foreign policy. After the debate Armitage and Powell work the “spin room.” Armitage later acknowledges that he and Powell had been “scared to death” going into the debate and were relieved by Bush’s solid performance. (DeYoung, p. 295; Rice, p. 8)

Bush and Gore hold their third and final debate on the 17<sup>th</sup> at Washington University in St. Louis. (*Newsweek*, 11/20/2000)

*November* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Election Day, the early exit polls show Gore heading towards a big victory but Rove calls Bush to let him know that the projections are mathematically flawed. By 8:55 pm, CNN and CBS take Florida out of Gore’s win column. (Bush, pp. 76-78; Cheney, pp. 286-290; Rove, pp. 194-198)

When Fox calls Florida for Bush around 2:15 am on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the campaign staff and other supporters converge on the Capitol for the anticipated victory celebration. Gore concedes but, within two hours, retracts his concession as the TV networks announce Florida is too close to call. Bush sends James Baker to head the campaign’s legal effort



there as a recount begins. (Rove, pp. 198-202; *CNN*, 01/04/2001; *USA Today*, 01/05/2001)

Cheney is hospitalized on the 22<sup>nd</sup> after suffering a minor heart attack.

*December* The Supreme Court orders an end to the Florida recount on the 12<sup>th</sup>, effectively winning the election for Bush. Gore concedes. (Rove, pp. 215-216; Dover, pp. 16-18)

Announcing his first cabinet selection, Bush nominates Powell as secretary of state on the 16<sup>th</sup>. Afterwards, Armitage reportedly tells Powell that his speech was very impressive but warns Powell to be careful not to overshadow the president-elect at public events. (DeYoung, pp. 296-297)

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

Bush nominates Rumsfeld as secretary of defense on the 29<sup>th</sup>. Two of Rumsfeld's top candidates for the deputy position are rumored to be Wolfowitz and Armitage. (DeYoung, p. 301)

## **2001**

*January* Armitage meets with Rumsfeld on the 4<sup>th</sup> to discuss the deputy defense secretary position. (*The Washington Post*, 01/05/2001)

Rumsfeld selects Wolfowitz as his deputy secretary of defense. Powell asks Armitage to serve as his deputy. Armitage is reportedly hesitant at first but agrees to accept the position. The media begins reporting Armitage's selection as deputy secretary of state shortly thereafter. (DeYoung, p. 301; *The New York Times*, 01/17/2001; *The Washington Post*, 02/14/2001)

*February* Bush nominates Armitage as deputy secretary of state on the 12<sup>th</sup>. (DeYoung, pp. 334-335; *The Washington Times*, 02/13/2001)

*March* The Senate confirms Armitage as deputy secretary of state on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. He is sworn in three days later. As deputy secretary of state, one of Armitage's main responsibilities is the day-to-day management of the State Department. Armitage also represents State at meetings of Deputies Committee, which are chaired by Hadley. Armitage also represents State at NSC meetings when Powell is away. One of Powell's and Armitage's first orders of business is to improve the morale of State Department staff. (Bumiller, p. 135; DeYoung, pp 306-307; [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov))

*Spring* Richard Clarke, a hold-over from Clinton's NSC staff on counter-terrorism, 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, 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)

Powell and Armitage receive high marks from State Department employees for improving morale over the first 100 days. Powell is credited with actively seeking out the expertise of lower-level diplomats, filling many key assistant secretary positions with career Foreign Service officers. Armitage is credited with improving the management of the department. (*The Washington Times*, 05/02/2001; *The New York Times*, 11/25/2001)

#### *April*

Powell and Armitage head up negotiations with China, which is holding 24 U.S. service members whose reconnaissance plane collided with a Chinese fighter in international airspace off the coast of China. Powell and Armitage are able to secure the return of the U.S. service members. (DeYoung, pp. 329; *The New York Times*, 04/01/2001, 11/25/2001)

Armitage meets with a European delegation on the 4<sup>th</sup> to discuss Bush's decision not to support the Kyoto accord. (*The New York Times*, 04/04/2001)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Bush delivers a speech on the Middle East in which he asks Israel to stop settlements and military excursions in the occupied territories and urges Arafat to stop using terror as a weapon. (*The Washington Post*, 04/06/2002)

The Deputies Committee begins working on a review to deal with al Qaeda and terrorists threats on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Clarke proposes working with the Northern Alliance resistance in Afghanistan to weaken the Taliban and conducting surveillance missions of al Qaeda training camps. Wolfowitz and Libby reportedly favor taking action against Iraq. Armitage agrees that Iraq poses a threat but argues the threat in Afghanistan should take priority and supports Clarke's plan to expand CIA support for the Northern Alliance. McLaughlin reportedly sides with Armitage. The Deputies Committee continues working on the review through the spring and summer. While waiting for the review to be completed, Powell and Armitage begin discussions with Afghanistan's neighbors to ask if they would assist in the fight against the Taliban and al Qaeda. Powell also reactivates a U.S.-Russia working group on Afghanistan to be overseen by Armitage. The principals do not meet to discuss the Deputies Committee review recommending Clarke's original proposal until September 4<sup>th</sup>. Bush issues a directive along the lines of the Deputies Committee review but as of 9/11 it has not been signed. (DeYoung, pp. 344-346; Douglas Feith, *War and Decision*, New York: Harper, 2008, p. 203)

*May* Armitage, Wolfowitz, and Hadley visit allies overseas to explain Bush's missile defense plans. Armitage travels to India, which is reportedly receptive to Bush's ABM plans. India has been under U.S. sanctions since it conducted nuclear tests in 1998. Armitage also travels to South Korea and to Japan, but Makiko Tanaka, the Japanese foreign minister, refuses to meet with him. She is reportedly critical of Bush's positions on the ABM Treaty and the Kyoto Accords. However she does meet with Armitage the following month when she visits Washington. (*The Washington Times*, 05/02/2001; *The Washington Post*, 05/20/2001)

*June* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Powell meets with Rice and members of Cheney's staff to discuss the ongoing violence between the Israelis and Palestinians. Bush reportedly seeks to avoid the Clinton administration's constant, high-level attention to Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy. However, the administration is buffeted with increasing calls, particularly from the Arab world, for greater American involvement in the faltering peace process. Powell goes to the Middle East to work out a seven-week timetable for negotiations. (*The New York Times*, 06/04/2001, 06/29/2001)

The Deputies Committee meets on the 22<sup>nd</sup> where they discuss Rice's proposal on "freeing the Iraqi people." The group continues to meet over the summer to discuss Iraq. (Feith, pp. 203-209)

Clarke reportedly warns Rice on the 25<sup>th</sup> and the 28<sup>th</sup> 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* On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Bush travels to Rome, where the president meets Pope John Paul II. Concurrently, 178 nations finish final negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol. While in Rome, Rice proposes the creation of a task force to study alternatives for cutting emissions linked to global warming. (*The New York Times*, 07/24/2001)

*September* On the 5<sup>th</sup>, 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. (*The Washington Post*, 09/06/2001)

Al Qaeda launches terrorist attacks on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Powell, who is in Peru at the time of the attacks, calls Armitage in Washington, D.C. and learns that a third plane has hit the Pentagon. Armitage is on video conference with Clarke when CNN reports that a car bomb has exploded at the State Department. Armitage tells the White House that there has been no car bombing and then relays the information to Powell, who is flying back to the U.S. While Powell is still in the air, Armitage represents the State Department during a 3 pm video conference meeting of the NSC. Bush participates from Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska. He says the U.S. is at war and that preventing additional attacks and helping the injured are the first priorities. Powell meets briefly with Armitage later that day before continuing onto the White House. Powell and Armitage begin their work to build an international coalition against those responsible for carrying out the attacks. Bush

also begins speaking with leaders around the world. (Peter Baker, *Days of Fire*, New York: Doubleday, p. 127; Rice, p. 76; DeYoung, pp. 338-344; *The New York Times*, 11/25/2001)

Armitage meets with the Pakistani ambassador to the U.S. on the 12<sup>th</sup> and Lt. General Mahmood Ahmed, a top Pakistani intelligence official, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Armitage tells Ahmed that Pakistan, which has close ties with the Taliban, is “either 100 percent with us or 100 percent against us.” Armitage demands that Pakistan end all support for al Qaeda, close its borders with Afghanistan, share its intelligence, and provide access for U.S. forces. After it is confirmed that al Qaeda is responsible for the attacks, Pakistan is also to demand that the Taliban turn over bin Laden or end all support and relations with the Taliban. Pakistan agrees to all terms the next day. Ahmed then travels to Kandahar, Afghanistan to deliver a message to the Taliban –that it either turn over bin Laden with no conditions or go to war with the U.S. and its allies. Rumsfeld later reportedly complains that he had not been consulted on the list of demands. Musharraf, in a show of cooperation with the U.S., later fires his head of his intelligence service, which has particularly close ties with the Taliban. (DeYoung, pp. 349-350; Feith, p. 14; *The Washington Post*, 9/13/2001, 9/23/2001; *The New York Times*, 11/25/2001)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, the Deputies Committee meets to discuss possible responses to 9/11 in preparation for the upcoming Camp David meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Rice’s staff presents three options –targeting al Qaeda, targeting al Qaeda and the Taliban, and targeting al Qaeda, the Taliban, and other terrorist threats such as Iraq. Armitage supports the second option, arguing it is important to create a “shockwave” that would “disrupt the worldwide network” of terrorists. Wolfowitz and Feith reportedly argue that none of the three options go far enough in scope, calling instead for an option that would attack “those who might launch the next 9/11.” (Feith, pp. 48-59)

Armitage travels to Russia to discuss the shared threat of terrorism. Putin had pledged Russian assistance and to help secure the cooperation of the Central Asian states. However, some Russian officials add that Russia will not participate in any U.S.-led retaliatory airstrikes and should not use countries in Central Asia as a staging ground for launching attacks against Afghanistan. (Rice, p. 90; *The Washington Post*, 09/15/2001)

Powell attends a full war cabinet meeting with Bush at Camp David on the 15<sup>th</sup> to discuss how to move forward with the war on terror. Armitage is in Russia during the meeting. Debating the scope of the military campaign, Powell and the Joint Chiefs of Staff argue for building a broad, international coalition to support a narrowly-focused first strike against those directly responsible for the attacks. Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz call for a broader campaign to include other supporters of international terrorism such as Iraq. Bush decides to proceed first with a narrowly-focused strike against al Qaeda and the Taliban government. (Tenet, pp. 177-178; Bumiller, pp. 165-166; *The New York Times*, 09/23/2001, 10/14/2001)

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, 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)

Also on the 20<sup>th</sup>, Armitage meets with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Trubnikov in Moscow. The U.S. and Russia agree to conduct "joint and parallel efforts against threats" from Afghanistan. (*The Washington Post*, 09/20/2001)

Armitage meets with the Japanese ambassador in Washington, D.C., urging Japan to provide "visible forms of participation" in the war against terror. Japan had cited pacifist language in its constitution when asked to participate in the Gulf War. (*The New York Times*, 09/20/2001)

*October* Operation Enduring Freedom begins in Afghanistan on the 7<sup>th</sup>. The ground war begins on the 19<sup>th</sup>. Bush asks Powell to develop a plan to help Afghanistan transition to democracy. Powell and Armitage begin work to build a broad coalition to govern post-war Afghanistan. Armitage meets with representatives of the UN and Powell leaves for Pakistan to discuss the future shape of the Afghan government in mid-October. (Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*, New York: Simon & Schuster, pp. 175-177; Bush, pp. 197, 205; *The Washington Times*, 10/19/2001)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, Armitage warns that the U.S. and its allies would consider using military force against nations such as Syria if they continue to support international terrorism. (*The Washington Times*, 10/12/2001)

Powell meets with Musharraf on the 15<sup>th</sup> in Pakistan. (*The New York Times*, 11/25/2001)

With Powell in Pakistan, Armitage represents State at an NSC meeting with the president on the 16<sup>th</sup>. During the meeting, Armitage expresses concern that it is unclear who is responsible on the ground in Afghanistan. Bush tells Rice to "get this mess" between the CIA and DOD "straightened out." (Woodward, *Bush at War*, pp. 242-244; Baker, p. 168)

*November* Armitage meets with his counterpart, Vyacheslav Trubnikov, in Moscow on the 1<sup>st</sup> to discuss nuclear and strategic issues. (*The Washington Times*, 11/02/2001)

Bush authorizes the use of military tribunals to try captured terrorists. Powell and Armitage reportedly learn about this after Bush signs the directive. (Bumiller, p. 170)

The State Department's Near East Bureau suggests that the U.S. send an emissary to meet with the Kurds in northern Iraq. The Deputies Committee has continued debating how and when to deal with Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Wolfowitz and Feith argue for working with Ahmed Chalabi and the Iraqi National Congress in London, while Armitage argues for working with the Kurds. Ryan Crocker is sent by the State Department in December. (Feith, pp. 239-241; DeYoung, p. 374)

Armitage continues meeting with representatives of the U.S.'s Arab and Muslim allies in the war on terror, such as Saudi Arabian foreign policy adviser Adel Jubair, who are dealing with internal protests, to help keep the coalition together. (*The Washington Times*, 11/06/2001)

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Kabul falls as Northern Alliances forces enter the city with some anti-Taliban southern forces. Powell and Rumsfeld pull together a British-led international coalition under a mandate from the UN Security Council (UNSC) to stabilize the city. (Feith, p. 132)

The Deputies Committee meets on the 14<sup>th</sup> as Jalalabad falls. Armitage suggests seeking a UNSC resolution to help transition to the post-Taliban government. He says State favors holding an international conference to help set up a broad-based government in Afghanistan. (Feith, p. 133)

*December* On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the UN holds a conference in Bonn, Germany to agree to a governance plan for Afghanistan. The Bonn Process is ratified by the UN, and Hamid Karzai is named chairman of the interim government. DOD officials support a "smaller footprint" to avoid the U.S. from being seen as occupiers. (Feith, pp. 134, 140)

Kandahar, the Taliban's seat of power, falls on the 9<sup>th</sup>.

## **2002**

*January* Powell visits Afghanistan as Crocker serves as Charge d'Affaires in the newly re-opened U.S. embassy in Kabul, pending the appointment of an ambassador. (*The Washington Post*, 01/18/2002, 01/03/2002)

The first detainees arrive at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba on the 11<sup>th</sup>.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Powell meets Bush over the captive issue. Powell argues that the U.S. policy should adhere to international laws of war. Bush decides to convene a NSC meeting. Before the meeting, the story leaks on the 26<sup>th</sup>, when *The Washington Times* publishes details of White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales's internal memo revealing a challenge

by Powell to the president's decision. (DeYoung, pp. 370-371; *The Washington Times*, 01/26/2002; *The New York Times*, 01/29/2002)

In the State of the Union Address on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Bush identifies North Korea, Iran and Iraq as the three members of the "axis of evil."

*February* On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces that the administration will apply the Geneva Conventions to Taliban captives, but not to al-Qaeda operatives captured in Afghanistan. (Rice, p. 107; *The New York Times*, 02/08/2002, 02/22/2002)

*March* Armitage meets with the leaders of countries applying for membership into NATO in Romania, where he states that the U.S. wants "the most robust round of enlargement possible." (*The Washington Times*, 04/15/2002)

Zinni makes two trips to the Middle East. Powell delivers a message to Sharon to pull forces out of Palestine-controlled territories. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, Hamas sets off a bomb in an Israeli hotel during Seder, killing twenty people. Israel responds by sending in ground troops to the West Bank, including Yasser Arafat's Ramallah compound. Bush holds Arafat responsible for the rising violence. (Bumiller, p. 176; *The New York Times*, 03/15/2002, 03/31/2002)

*April* Bush sends Powell to the Middle East in an attempt to end the growing violence, including the siege of Arafat's compound. Powell arrives on the 12<sup>th</sup> and begins work trying to broker a cease-fire. Powell raises the idea of holding an international conference, but Rice says it could not happen with Arafat in power. Bush and Powell meet with Crown Prince Abdullah at Bush's ranch at Crawford, Texas. (Elliott Abrams, *Tested By Zion*, New York: Cambridge, 2013, p. 32; DeYoung, pp. 380-382; Cheney, pp. 380-381; 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)

The Bush administration learns that North Korea has built a uranium enrichment facility. It immediately postpones an assistant secretary of state's trip to Pyongyang until October. (Rice, pp. 159-161; DeYoung, p. 475)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, the Deputies Committee teleconferences with Franks and Zalmay Khalilzad, Bush's special envoy in Kabul, to discuss the conflict between Karzai and Pacha Khan, an Afghan warlord. Armitage, Hadley and McLaughlin raise concerns about Karzai's vulnerability but Pace and Franks argue it is too early to decide whether coalition action is prudent. The president decides in May not to intervene. Powell, Rice, Cheney and Tenet had reportedly favored intervention while Rumsfeld and Myers opposed it. In the end Karzai is able to convince Khan to stand down. (Feith, pp. 140-146; <http://www.waranddecision.com>)

- Spring* The Deputies Committee begins to hold regular meetings on Iraq. (DeYoung, pp. 398-399)
- May* Armitage attends a Deputies Lunch on the 7<sup>th</sup> where the group discusses Iraq and UN weapons inspections. Armitage reportedly argues in favor of strengthening the UNMOVIC inspections. His position is backed by Bush. The Deputies Committee debates over the summer and fall how best to bolster UNMOVIC's authority. (Feith, pp. 300-301)
- On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Bush and Putin sign the Moscow Treaty, pledging to reduce their arms by two-thirds. They also agree to have Armitage and his counterpart Vyacheslav Trubnikov head up the U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism. The group had previously been called the Working Group on Afghanistan, which had met seven times under a narrower mandate. (<http://whitehouse.gov>; *The Washington Times*, 07/27/2002)
- June* Bush sends Armitage and Rumsfeld to India and Pakistan on separate missions in an effort to ease mounting tensions. Armitage secures a pledge from Musharraf on the 6<sup>th</sup> that Pakistan will stop aiding insurgents in India's Kashmir Valley, heading off a crisis. However, by the fall, India charges that Pakistan is no longer abiding by the agreement. (*The Washington Times*, 06/04/2002, 11/14/2002)
- On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Bush calls for the creation of an independent Palestinian state, for the Palestinian people to replace Arafat, and directs Powell to work on creating a two-state solution. (Bush, p. 404; Abrams, p. 45)
- July* Armitage and Trubnikov hold the first meeting of the U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism at the U.S. Naval Academy on the 26<sup>th</sup>. Each side is accompanied by a "significant number of senior foreign policy, security and military officials." (*The Washington Times*, 07/27/2002)
- Summer* Powell begins requesting additional regular meetings with Bush and Rice, reportedly at Armitage's suggestion. There have been reports that Rumsfeld is attempting to increase his influence on policy by meeting privately with the president. (DeYoung, p. 394)
- August* On the 5<sup>th</sup>, during an NSC meeting, Powell urges Bush to go to the 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)
- September* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, at a NSC meeting, Powell continues pushing for the U.S. to seek a UN resolution on Iraq. Cheney and Rumsfeld oppose it because they reportedly feel there is no time for a resolution and inspections because there is evidence Saddam



is reconstituting his WMDs. Bush decides in favor of seeking a resolution. (DeYoung, p. 396; Rice, p. 180; Rumsfeld, p. 438)

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, Bush appears before the UN to ask that it work with the U.S. to eliminate Iraq's WMDs in a speech to the General Assembly. The address is strongly informed by a series of classified meetings at the White House with Pace, Myers, Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Powell, called "Regional Strategy Meetings." The purpose of the meetings was to "explore all the elements –regime change, what military options there might be, how the diplomatic process fits in." (*The New York Times*, 09/21/2002; *The Washington Post*, 09/13/2002)

*October* On the 12<sup>th</sup>, Congress authorizes the use of military force against Iraq.

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, 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* A group of Iraqi Americans working with the State Department's Future of Iraq Project produces the "Final Report on the Transition to Democracy in Iraq." (Feith, p. 375)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, the UNSC passes resolution 1441 giving Iraq a final opportunity to disarm. Powell and Armitage had worked closely with Jack Straw, the British foreign minister, building support for the resolution over the last two months. (Bush, p. 241; Bumiller, p. 196)

*December* On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Tenet presents his intelligence on Iraq's WMD to Bush, calling it a "slam dunk" case. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 247-250; Bumiller, p. 198)

## **2003**

*January* North Korea withdraws from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It had admitted in October that it has begun a secret uranium-enrichment program in violation of a 1994 agreement. Armitage begins working to set up multilateral framework to resolve the crisis but makes clear that the talks will not be negotiations. An agreement to begin the Six-party Talks is reached later in the year. The talks begin in August. (*The Washington Post*, 01/09/2003)

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, Libby gives a presentation on the newest intelligence against Saddam to Armitage, Rove, Rice, Hadley, Wolfowitz, Gerson, Hughes, and Bartlett. The evidence consists of satellite imagery and communications intercepts, including images of objects being dug up, moved, and reburied. While it is unclear what the material is, Libby says it fits the pattern of WMD concealment. They reportedly agree that Powell should make the public case against Saddam. (Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 289-291)

Powell travels to Europe to help build support for taking action against Saddam should he continue refusing to cooperate with the UN. Three permanent members of the UNSC – France, Russia and China – oppose the use of force in Iraq. (*The Washington Post*, 01/26/2003)

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, 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)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Prime Minister Tony Blair meets with Bush in Washington to argue for a second UN resolution against Saddam. Cheney, Rice, Powell, and Rumsfeld say that an additional resolution is not required, but Blair states he needs it for political support at home. (Cheney, pp. 397-398)

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

Powell presents the case that Iraq has WMDs to the UNSC on the 5<sup>th</sup>. Bush meets with 20 key members of Congress about the need to go to war against Iraq. (DeYoung, pp. 448-450; Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, pp. 307-308)

*March* On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Armitage represents State at a Principals meeting to discuss the Iraqi Interim Authority (IIA) idea to transition Iraqi authority as quickly as possible. Powell is at the UN. Under the plan, U.S.-led coalition and Iraqi leaders would sign a formal agreement to form a transitional civil authority (Iraqi Leadership Council). The council would manage some national ministries and expand their numbers to include internal Iraqi leaders before the council would take over full authority. The IIA would also give the U.S. coalition the freedom to eliminate Iraqi WMDs and terrorist infrastructure. Rumsfeld supports the plan. Armitage reportedly supports a delay in creating the IIA by two or three months to consult with all Iraqi leaders, and he continues to argue for a multi-year timeline before the U.S. gives Iraq full authority. Bush agrees to the IIA plan in an NSC meeting on the 10<sup>th</sup>. (Rumsfeld, pp. 490-492; Feith, pp. 402-406)

Armitage and Powell continue working to build support for a new UN resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. Armitage says that the U.S. has seven or eight of the nine votes needed to pass a UNSC resolution and is working hard to lobby Mexico and Chile. Armitage says that the U.S. hopes that securing the nine votes will help convince France not to carry through with its threat to veto any resolution authorizing the use of force. Germany has also resisted passing a resolution. Britain has proposed a resolution stipulating six disarmament tasks for Iraq to be completed by a fixed deadline. The resolution negotiations are not successful. (*Australian Financial Review*, 03/15/2003)

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Bush gives the order to launch Operation Iraqi Freedom. Two fighters drop bombs the next day on Dora Farms. (Rumsfeld, pp. 460, 466)

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Rumsfeld calls Powell to discuss whether Armitage is responsible for leaks to the press regarding Iraq policy as well as the DOD. Powell says he will look into it, but says that Rumsfeld needs to reign in Wolfowitz who is attacking the State Department. In April, Rumsfeld sends Card a collection of articles with quotes from Armitage and other “senior administration officials” attacking the administration’s policy on Iraq. (Rumsfeld, p. 503; Baker, p. 263)

#### *April*

Plans to form a national government in Iraq are delayed in favor of a U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) that will oversee reconstruction efforts. The CPA reports to Rumsfeld. (Rice, p. 211; Bumiller, p. 223)

On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Baghdad falls. Looting becomes widespread in the city as Iraqi police officers abandon their posts. (Terry Anderson, *Bush’s Wars*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 135, 142)

Newt Gingrich attacks the State Department in a speech at the American Enterprise Institute on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, charging that Powell has been working to undermine the president’s policies in Iraq in favor of accommodation and passivity. Powell and Armitage decide that Armitage will respond to the attack in an interview with *USA Today*. Armitage charges that Gingrich is “off his meds and out of therapy.” (DeYoung, pp. 466-468)

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces the Road Map for Middle East peace. (Bush, p. 405)

#### *May*

The Bush administration announces that major combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have ended. (Bumiller, p. 215; *The Washington Post*, 05/02/2003)

On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, India and Pakistan agree to hold talks on its long-standing dispute in anticipation of Armitage's planned visit to the region the following week. (*The Washington Times*, 05/04/2003)

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Bush administration announces the release of twelve detainees from Guantánamo after Powell hears increasing complaints from other countries about their citizens being detained. (*The New York Times*, 05/06/2003)

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, Bush announces Paul Bremer will run the CPA. Powell had reportedly spoken with Rumsfeld about Bremer and approved his choice. (L. Paul Bremer, *My Year in Iraq*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006, p. 76)

On the 8<sup>th</sup>, Bremer attends a Principals meeting to discuss the IIA plan. Powell reportedly says the president wants to take time with implementing the IIA, countering Feith and Rumsfeld's thoughts about moving as quickly as possible. He also says that the security situation is most important and the U.S. should allow Iraqi leaders to emerge. (Feith, p. 439; Bremer, p. 43)

## June

Bush travels to the Middle East on the 2<sup>nd</sup> while Powell and Rice continue working behind the scenes to build support for the implementation of the Road Map. Powell travels to the Middle East later in the month to seek an agreement giving the Palestine Authority security control in the entire Gaza Strip, but Israel is reluctant. Significant progress is made but the Road Map effort stalls by the end of the year. (Rice, pp. 216-219; *The New York Times*, 06/19/2003, 06/20/2003; *The Washington Post*, 06/30/2003)

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, Bremer meets with Bush, Rice, Powell, and Card in Qatar, where he tells Powell that the best case scenario in Iraq is to get a constitution and more or less democratic elections within a year. But, Bremer cautions, it would be difficult to pull it off in that time frame. Bremer also asks Card to help him with what he calls the slow bureaucratic response from agencies like the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the State Department's Agency of International Development. (Bremer, pp. 70, 114)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Newt Gingrich launches another round of attacks against the State Department, calling it "broken." (*The New York Times*, 06/18/2003)

## July

Armitage meets with Rice at the White House where he reportedly says that the NSC is "dysfunctional" because it fails to broker differences between cabinet members and because Rumsfeld is dealing with the president in private and conducts his own foreign policy. Armitage later recalls telling Rice, "You don't resolve things... And then I went A, B, C, right down" the list. Armitage also says that interagency meetings such as the deputies meetings are not productive because Rumsfeld's senior aides do not have the authority to agree to anything and there is no accountability if someone doesn't perform. (Bumiller, p. 217; Mabry, p. 201; DeYoung, p. 477)

Bob Novak reveals Valerie Plame's identity as a CIA operative in his column on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The DOJ subsequently opens an investigation to determine whether administration officials intentionally leaked Plame's identity in retaliation for an op-ed Plame's husband, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, had written regarding WMDs in Iraq. It is later learned that Novak considered Armitage and Rove his two sources. (Rove, pp. 327-331; *The Washington Post*, 7/13/2003)

Armitage and the Deputies Committee meet with Bremer in the White House Situation Room on the 22<sup>nd</sup> to prepare for the next day's NSC meeting to discuss the CPA's Strategic Plan for transitioning authority back to Iraq. (Bremer, p. 117)

*August*      *The Washington Post* reports on the 4<sup>th</sup> that Armitage had recently told Rice that neither he nor Powell would be returning for a second term should Bush win reelection in 2004. Powell calls the story "nonsense" and Bush invites Powell and Armitage for a visit to the Crawford ranch in a show of unity.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, the UNSC passes Resolution 1500 that establishes the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq and recognizes the Governance Council as the sovereign government in Iraq. (<http://www.refworld.org>)

*September*      Tenet informs Armitage and Powell that the U.S. and Britain are secretly meeting with Libya to discuss the normalization of relations. Libya had first approached British officials in March. In December Libya announces its intention to disassemble its WMD program. (Tenet, pp. 288-293)

Rice chairs the Iraq Stabilization Group to help the NSC coordinate Iraqi reconstruction policy. She now talks to Bremer, the head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, on a daily basis. (Bremer, pp. 188-189; Bumiller, p. 224)

The DOJ informs the White House on the 30<sup>th</sup> that it has opened an investigation into the Plame leak. Scott McClellan had told the press that Bush would fire anyone who had leaked Plame's name. (Rove, pp. 347-348; McClellan, p. 212; *The Washington Post*, 9/1/2006)

*October*      On the 1<sup>st</sup>, Armitage tells Powell that he is Novak's source in the Plame investigation. Novak had just written in a column that his original source was "no partisan gunslinger," at which point Armitage realized he was likely Novak's original source. (Cheney, p. 407; Baker, p. 287)

On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, the Iraq Survey Group releases its interim report. They have not found any evidence of WMDs, but they did find laboratories for chemical and biological weapons. Four days later, Powell writes an editorial in *The Washington Post* stating, "All indications are that they will uncover still more evidence of Hussein's dangerous designs." (*The Washington Post*, 10/07/2003)

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Rumsfeld presents his and Bremer's proposal on Iraq at a NSC meeting in which Bremer agrees to dismantle the CPA before a final constitution

is adopted, the goal being by June 30, 2004. Powell reportedly has reservations calling it “ambitious.” Bush agrees to the plan. (Rumsfeld, p. 525)

*November* On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the U.S. agrees to let the International Atomic Energy Agency adopt a resolution deploring Iran’s nuclear program and create a fast-track procedure to take the issue to the UNSC if Iran violates the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Powell negotiated the language of the proposal with the Europeans because it lacked support on the UNSC. (*The New York Times*, 11/25/2003)

*December* On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Saddam is captured.

Deputy Attorney General James Comey appoints Patrick Fitzgerald, U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, as special counsel to take over the Plame investigation after Ashcroft recuses himself on the 30<sup>th</sup>. (Cheney, pp. 407-408; *The Washington Post*, 9/1/2006; *The New York Times*, 12/31/2003)

## **2004**

*February* On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, *The Washington Post* publishes an interview with Powell on Iraqi intelligence. Powell states Saddam had intent to use WMDs, but the “absence of a stockpile changes the political calculus; it changes the answer you get.” (*The Washington Post*, 02/03/2004; DeYoung, p. 490)

U.S. diplomatic personnel reopen the U.S. Interest Section in Tripoli on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The mission is upgraded to a U.S. Liaison Office in June and to a full embassy in 2006. (*The New York Times*, 02/09/2004)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, Cheney argues that tougher language is needed to help break the deadlock over the drafting of a joint statement to jumpstart the Six Party Talks. Powell and Armitage protest that using such tough language would collapse the talks altogether, but are overruled by Cheney. However, the talks adjourn before the instructions could be carried out. (Baker, pp. 313-314)

*March* On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Powell visits Afghanistan and meets with Karzai. The elections are postponed from June to August and Powell urges faster voter registration and a pledge of \$1 billion in allocated funds by the U.S. for Afghanistan. (*The New York Times*, 03/18/2004)

Armitage meets with Serbia's foreign minister after an outbreak of ethnic violence leaves at least 28 dead. (*The Washington Times*, 03/20/2004)

*Spring* Powell tells Bush he is ready to leave office. Powell had reportedly discussed his decision to step down privately with Armitage, who had expressed support for Powell's decision. (Bush, p. 90; Baker, p. 330)

*April* Bremer informs Armitage on the 5<sup>th</sup> that Sayyid Muqtada al-Sadr's forces are launching attacks on CPA offices in Najaf, Sadr City and other towns in the south and that the heavier Spanish mechanized forces are refusing to engage. Armitage and Bremer participate in an NSC Principals' teleconference meeting to discuss the situation. The group agrees on the need to strike back against the insurgent forces. (Bremer, pp. 318-326)

The first Abu Ghraib photos appear on "60 Minutes II" on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Powell later writes that this was the first time he had seen the pictures. The following week, the *New Yorker* reveals a secret Pentagon report suggesting that the abuses might have been sanctioned by DOD and CIA officials. The press goes on to speculate whether Rumsfeld will resign. (Powell, p. 123; *Newsweek*, 11/15/2004)

Armitage and Wolfowitz tell a House subcommittee that the DOD and State Department are planning on setting up a 75,000-member international peacekeeping force for Africa. The U.S. would provide training of the international forces to be deployed as crises arise. (*The Washington Times*, 04/30/2004)

*May* Bush signs a presidential directive on the 11<sup>th</sup> shifting control in Iraq upon termination of the CPA to the State Department. The DOD had previously had control in Iraq and reportedly challenged the State Department on the issue until Powell took the dispute directly to Bush and Rice. (DeYoung, p. 506)

*June* On the 28<sup>th</sup>, the CPA ceases to exist as the appointed interim government, headed by Prime Minister Ayad Allawi, takes over. Armitage and Wolfowitz had signed the final Memorandum of Understanding governing responsibilities in Iraq the night before. John Negroponte takes over as U.S. ambassador in Iraq. (DeYoung, p. 507)

*July* Armitage travels to South Asia, where he meets with Pakistani officials to discuss the war on terror. Armitage also meets with Indian officials to reportedly discuss Pakistani-Indian relations and to help bolster the U.S.'s relationship with India. (*The Washington Times*, 07/19/2004)

*September* Testifying before Congress, Armitage says that he does not expect insurgents in Afghanistan to be able to disrupt the elections scheduled to take place next week in Iraq. (*The Washington Times*, 09/30/2004)

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the G-8 countries and Arab governments sign an agreement to endorse expansion of democratic institutions and political reforms in the Middle East. On the previous day, Powell met with Libya's foreign minister, the first such meeting since the 1970s. (*The Washington Post*, 09/25/2004; *The New York Times*, 09/24/2004)

*October* Armitage attends a G-8 meeting where the group discusses how to deal with Iran's nuclear program. The U.S. is calling for Iran to be referred to the UNSC. The European Union reportedly wants to first give Iran another chance to accept a benefits package in exchange for stop its program. (*The Washington Times*, 10/16/2004)

*November* On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Bush defeats Kerry.

Card calls Powell on the 10<sup>th</sup> to tell him that "the president would like to make a change" and would like Powell's letter of resignation to be dated Friday the 12<sup>th</sup>. Armitage is the only person Powell tells at the State Department. Powell resigns on the 12<sup>th</sup> but agrees to stay on until his successor could be confirmed by the Senate. Powell informs his senior staff at State on Monday morning. The White House announces Powell's resignation later that afternoon. Powell urges Rice to be his replacement. (Rice, p. 289; DeYoung, pp. 6-7; Baker, p. 365)

Armitage announces his resignation on the 16<sup>th</sup>. Armitage stays on until February 22<sup>nd</sup> when he is replaced by Robert Zoellick. Card calls Armitage to see if he would be interested in succeeding Ridge at the Department of Homeland Security. Armitage says that he and Powell "are kind of in together, out together." Armitage also tells Hadley that he would not be interested in serving as the first director of national intelligence. (Woodward, *State of Denial*, p. 369; Baker, p. 369)

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, Powell states Iran is "actively working" on a nuclear program. (*The New York Times*, 11/19/2004)

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, Powell arrives in the Middle East in hopes of putting together a U.S. aid package for Palestinians. On the next day, Powell attends an international conference on Iraq pressing the Iraq government to encourage rivals to participate in the upcoming January elections. (*The New York Times*, 11/22/2004; *The Washington Post*, 11/23/2004)

Armitage warns Bush about the rapidly deteriorating situation in Iraq at a meeting with Bush's national security team. When Bush asks if we are losing, Armitage responds, "Not yet." (Baker, p. 366)



*December* Armitage reportedly causes concern in Taiwan when he says in an interview that the U.S. is under no obligation to send forces to defend Taiwan in the event of a war with China. (*South China Morning Post*, 12/23/2004)

## **2005**

*January* Armitage warns Syria that it must respect UNSC resolutions calling for Syria to withdraw troops and military intelligence from Lebanon. He also calls on Syria to stop aiding Iraqi insurgents. (*Emerging Markets Online*, 01/06/2005)

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, Powell leaves office as Rice becomes the new secretary of state.

*February* After Philip Zelikow, Rice's counselor, conducts a fact-finding mission in Iraq, he reportedly offers Rice a grave assessment of the situation in Iraq, writing that Iraq remains a failed state. (Bob Woodward, *The War Within: A Secret History of the White House, 2006-2008*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008, p. 30)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, 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)

Armitage leaves office and is replaced by Robert Zoellick on the 22<sup>nd</sup>.

*October* Libby is indicted for perjury, obstruction of justice, and making false statements to investigators looking into the Plame affair on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Neither Rove nor Armitage are charged with intentionally revealing classified information. (Rove, pp. 432-436)

## **2006**

*September* Armitage publicly acknowledges that he was Novak's source in the CIA leak.

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- Timeline of the Bush Presidency, prepared by Justin Peck and Bryan Craig, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 04/30/2010.

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## **COLIN POWELL SUGGESTED TOPICS**

*Prepared by Bryan Craig*

*Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/25/2013; revised, 02/28/2017*

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### ***Secretary of State***

- Discuss your appointment as secretary of state. Were there specific goals President Bush wanted you to accomplish in taking this job? Who was expected to be the public face of the foreign policy team in this administration?
- What were your highest priorities as secretary of state coming into the new administration? To what extent were you able to make progress on those matters before 9/11? Were there specific reversals of policy you sought to institute after eight years of the Clinton administration?
- Discuss the foreign policy team President Bush put together, and how you saw your place on that team. Did you have a predecessor in mind as a model for your own service as secretary?
- What were your expectations about the role of the national security advisor in this administration? To what extent were those expectations borne out in practice?
- Comment on your working relationship with other members of the Bush foreign policy team—especially with Defense, CIA, NSC, and later Justice. What were the key strengths and weaknesses of each member of the team?
- 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 43<sup>rd</sup> presidency.
- Discuss your perceptions of the president's learning curve on foreign policy issues. How did you communicate foreign policy advice to the president? Did the president prefer particular briefing formats before making decisions? Discuss the president's decision-making style.

### **Foreign Policy Issues**

- Provide your account of the following: the run-up to 9/11; your experience on 9/11 and the immediate responses; the Afghan War; Guantanamo and detainees policy; your UN speech and 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.
- 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? If so, how did you go about that job—and where were the most important fissures?
- What was your working relationship with Jay Garner and Paul Bremer?
- Reflect on the challenges of focusing on actionable intelligence in an environment where threats are a constant presence.

### **The Bush Presidency in Retrospect**

- 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?