



BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO:

Diana Frost

Macmillan Publishers

(212) 529-0594

FROM:

Mireille L. Zieseniss

U.S. Dept. of State / Public Affairs

FAX:

PHONE: (202) 647-8926

MESSAGE:

Please see attached

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4



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 20, 2011

Diana Frost, Esq.  
Macmillan  
175 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10010

**Via Fax: (212) 529-0594**

Re: Classified information contained in "We Meant Well"

Dear Ms. Frost:

I understand that Macmillan plans to publish a book entitled "We Meant Well, How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People" which was written by a current Department of State employee. Although the book was purportedly written in the employee's private capacity, its circulation and publicizing have been done without authorization from the Department. The Department has recently concluded that two pages of the book manuscript we have seen contain unauthorized disclosures of classified information. We have not been able to ascertain whether the manuscript in our possession differs from the version that the author is seeking to publish.

Attached to this letter are copies of two pages from the manuscript, with redactions of the classified text. On behalf of the Department of State, I respectfully request that Macmillan remove the classified portions from the book before it is published, in order to avoid possible harm to U.S. national security. I also ask that you contact me to confirm whether this request will be honored.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dana Shell Smith".

Dana Shell Smith  
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
U.S. Department of State  
(202) 647-6088

1 the Christmas lights around the doorway and the big sign announcing the bar were a give away for  
2 anyone who had been in any Station anywhere.

3 The pool with the winged griffin statues, not-working fountains and colored lights added to but were not  
4 needed to complete the scene. If you had ever gotten stoned as a kid this is the scene you would have  
5 wanted to see to stretch out your buzz.

6 But the Agency doesn't do dope, they do booze. You would never imagine Sinatra and the Rat Pack with  
7 a hookah full of Panama Red, and you could not imagine anything but good whiskey and maybe some  
8 decent import beer for this party. The Agency guys, used to being all hush-hush around State during  
9 daylight hours, loved these parties so they could (in their minds) blow our minds (not) by introducing  
10 themselves by their internal titles. Of course even in a large official community most people who cared  
11 pretty much knew who was who anyway, but certain things were not spoken of out loud, so the titles  
12 were sort of a big deal. You were meant to feel that you were meant to be given a peek behind the  
13 curtain and were meant to behave as such. Most of us knew the protocol and things went smoothly.

14 I knew one of the spook guys from another assignment, and he was for real. Because we recognized  
15 each other sort of, and because this was a social affair, he was bound to making a little conversation  
16 with me. Unlike some of his colleagues, who only looked cool around us until the college boys showed  
17 up in the 7-11 parking lot during summer break, this guy had been part of the some of the adventures  
18 his Agency had run with in the 1980's and 90's. He had worked in Afghanistan of course, everyone of his  
19 generation did, but also [REDACTED] and some places in Asia I won't even type the names of. He could  
20 have told stories for hours but didn't, because in general your questions would be too damn stupid  
21 anyway and he neither cared enough nor wanted to be nice to you nor to have to acknowledge how  
22 freaking stupid you were. Yeah, sure, he'd say, that was it, just like in Blackhawk Down, but he said it in a  
23 way that made you sure it was never like that. I asked what he was up to in Iraq just to see if he'd bother  
24 with a witty reply but he did not, just said "You know, the usual." If you're in a new place and see him  
25 there also, you need to leave, that simple. You are in too deep whether you realize it or not (you won't  
26 realize it). Most people either believe the US has thousands of officers like this (named Bourne or Bond)  
27 or that no such thing even exists, only in the movies my professor said. But they are real, not many of  
28 them, and yeah you are glad they probably are on the same side you are on.

29 The Agency was pretty quiet in Iraq, because as I said this wasn't their war. They had nailed their biggest  
30 coup early on, [REDACTED]  
31 [REDACTED] though as we knew spending money in Iraq did not always mean control  
32 and sometimes the project turned and ran you. Like us believing we were building democracy and  
33 capacity in Iraq by funding agriculture projects and a 4-H club, the spooks felt they had a hand on the  
34 intel tight as we did on sheep and milk. The chances were very good we were both equally deceived by  
35 ourselves, the difference being we sort of knew it if we cared to look with our reconstruction projects  
36 and the truth on the spooky ops might take a decade and some Congressional hearings to come out.

37 But the evening tonight was about success, not future failure, and the highlight came early as the host  
38 announced that the chinaware and silver we were eating with had been Sadaam's, and the table we sat  
39 at had been Sadaam's, and the room we were in had been His. We were just a hair shy of literally  
40 dancing on his grave. Sadaam had been a bad ass, but we had taken him down, and the proof was in  
41 front of us; we got his stuff. If the Station Chief had told us he was wearing Sadaam's old clothes we  
42 would have believed it. Now a cynic would remember that we captured Sadaam a while back, and hung  
43 him about a mile from where we sat and that was in 2006, four years ago, but the moment was not for  
44 that and we all took a moment to stare at the plates and remark to the person next to us about how if

1 the room could talk, what might it say? Had Sadaam deflowered virgins here, planned the invasion of  
2 Kuwait, maybe really met with al-Qaeda right here, who knew? It was equally possible of course that in  
3 this room Sadaam had met [REDACTED] to discuss the war against Iran or receive  
4 info from Don Rumsfeld on what new weapons the US was going to hand over to him to use to kill  
5 Persians and Kurds. But like I said, the evening tonight was about success, and we ate steak and sipped  
6 whiskey and allowed ourselves to absorb a little bit of the juice of faith. It felt good.

## 7 The Baghdad Subway System

8 In 2008 plans for the Baghdad subway system were made public  
9 (<http://english.pravda.ru/world/2008/01/27/42583.html>). Iraq planned then to build a subway  
10 in Baghdad to help ease traffic on the city's clogged streets. Iraq's cabinet had supposedly earmarked \$3  
11 billion for the project.

12 The subway was to have had two lines: One would run 18 kilometres from Shiite-dominated Sadr City in  
13 the east to the predominantly Sunni neighbourhood of Azamiyah in northern Baghdad. The second line  
14 would cover 20 kilometres and link the mixed neighbourhoods of central Baghdad to the primarily Sunni  
15 western suburbs. Both lines were to have 20 stations. I actually saw drawings in a US Army office of the  
16 subway, as well as an above-ground light rail to the airport, complete with pedestrian malls. The  
17 drawings were done by a professional engineering firm and featured those hazy watercolor illustrations  
18 with stick figure humans.

19 Apparently the original subway plans were drawn up by Sadaam in the 1970's, and worked on in the  
20 1980's (the last time the US liked Iraq) by a California company called Parsons  
21 (<http://www.pbworld.com>). Some people claim there are even some tunnels under Baghdad, albeit  
22 now flooded with sewage and groundwater. Newspaper reports from 2001 suggest the Egyptians,  
23 Russians and Turks all sought contracts from Sadaam to finish the subway (by 2001 the US did not like  
24 Iraq).

25 The head of Parsons, the company who was to have built the subway in the 1980's) was quoted in a  
26 2003 LA Times story as saying "if the European Union funds the rebuilding of Iraq, the competitive  
27 position of U.S. companies will be less. But if the U.S. leads that rebuilding there will be plenty of work  
28 for us because the infrastructure has been left to  
29 decay." <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/jan/22/business/fi-flan22/2>

30 The story of the subway also has some intrigue built into it. In a February 2003 story, CBS News' once-  
31 respected 60 Minutes show  
32 (<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/02/21/60minutes/main541565.shtml>) quoted one of Sadaam's  
33 former scientists as saying that the supposed subway tunnels were actually built to hide the  
34 missing Weapons of Mass Destruction, the damned WMDs that were George Bush's reason for invading  
35 Iraq in the first place. The scientist claimed that the tunnels were full of the poison gases and chemical  
36 weapons Sadaam was going to use against Team America. The story did note that the UN weapons  
37 inspectors had not yet located the hidden entrances to the ersatz subway system.

38 The story about the subway as a secret part of the WMDs had some basis in sad reality; an intelligence  
39 report by the US military ([http://www.fas.org/irp/gulf/intel/961031/22010825\\_93a.txt](http://www.fas.org/irp/gulf/intel/961031/22010825_93a.txt)) in 1993 stated:  
40 (note the last paragraph, which shows that the US military was reading the British magazine "Tunnels  
41 and Tunneling"):

42 ((SOURCE COMMENT) - A PORTION OF THE BAGHDAD METRO