# **APPENDIX A**

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8 March 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I am writing on behalf of my longtime good friend, Gen. (Ret.) David Petraeus. I have known David for nearly 45 years, essentially since we entered West Point as plebes in July 1970. As young men at West Point, we quickly became good friends, and spent time together socially while together there. I firmly believe that while at West Point, Dave never intended to make the military a career. Instead, after our five year commitment was fulfilled, that five years of mandated service turned into 10, which quickly became 20, then 30 and so forth. And, I've always firmly believed that things happen for a reason, such that in this case, David's strong sense of selfless duty to his country became the driving force behind his distinguished military career. That selfless sense of duty also carried over to his relationship with friends. He always found the time to stay in touch with friends like me, which I thought was amazing given the incredible responsibility he bore for so many years while in uniform.

Out of uniform, Dave has continued to give back. As Chair of the KKR Global Institute, he has expanded the footprint and notoriety of that highly respected private equity firm. The work also being done by Dave and Holly in support of our veterans has been remarkable. Our company has corporately sponsored the establishment of a Veteran's Resource Center on the campus of the University of Southern California, to facilitate student veterans as they matriculate through USC. He has also supported his lovely wife Holly in her care for veteran's financially, insuring that veterans are not victimized by those who might otherwise prey on them for financial gain. Dave has also reached out to many asking for support of the Johnnie Mac Soldiers Fund. Proceeds from this fund will go to the Children of Fallen Patriots non-profit organization, which his wife Holly has supported since its inception.

My earnest hope is that you will strongly consider the breadth and depth of David's work contributions, both in and out of uniform, in deciding not to incarcerate him. Should that be your decision, I am fully confident that Dave will continue, stronger than ever, to have a positive impact on our society.

Very truly yours,

William E. Albrecht, USMA 1974

Executive Chairman of the Board

California Resources Corporation (NYSE: CRC)

10889 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90024

#### HARVARD UNIVERSITY

JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT Robert and Renée Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Graham Allison Director



79 John F. Kennedy Street Cambridge, MA 02138 tel: 617-496-6099 • fax: 617-495-1905

April 9, 2015

Honorable David C. Keesler U.S. District Court for the West District of North Carolina

#### Dear Judge Keesler:

I am writing a letter of support for General David Petraeus to provide several points of evidence that may be relevant as you consider your judgment. I do so as someone who has been a professor at Harvard for four decades, was "Founding Dean" of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and now direct the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. I have devoted most of my professional life to writing about issues of American national security, and teaching and training students for public service. I am also proud to think of myself as a Charlottean (since I was born there, graduated from Myers Park High School, and lived for most of my formative years there before I went to college). My brother, Jim Allison, is a practicing lawyer in Charlotte.

I have known David Petraeus professionally for at least a dozen years, in the earlier period more intermittently, more intensely when he was Director for CIA, and since he became a Senior Fellow Non-Resident at the Belfer Center. In the process of reviewing his case for an appointment at Harvard, I spent many hours doing due diligence about the appointment, and consulting colleagues, since I knew it was a potential source of controversy.

Over the past year and a half as a Senior Fellow, David has been an outstanding member of the community—as several members of the Center who had been skeptical have been quick to acknowledge. He has been actively involved in three major projects at the Center, visited us roughly once a month, and interacted by Skype every other week with a group of fellows and students supporting his project. He has been a thoughtful participant in the Belfer Center community, contributing in particular to our understanding of issues from energy and Iraq, to terrorism and the prospects of great power war.

On the one hand, his lifetime commitment to public service, including 37 years in the army where he served with great distinction, and his shorter stint as Director of CIA, speaks for itself. He is widely acknowledged to be the greatest general of recent times. He took a losing hand in Iraq, imagined a surge (in which ideas were even more

important than the additional troops), and led the US to at least a draw, rather than defeat. In the course of doing my checks on him, I asked more than a dozen leaders in the military whom I know well whom they thought would be chosen by all currently serving, or recently retired, military officers in a blind test if asked which military officer of their generation they admired the most. The answer was David Petraeus.

On the other hand, he made a stupid error that led to a meteoric, humiliating fall. At the Myers Park Methodist Church, I learned a line not quoted often enough in Washington: whoever is without sin should cast the first stone. It is not accidental that the Biblical stories of Samson and Delilah, David and Bathsheba, or Ulysses and the Sirens are legendary. How many great men have followed in their footsteps, no one knows.

I am not a lawyer, nor am I familiar with the process or considerations that inform sentencing. But as a citizen, if I am judging him (as I do), I think about his life of service and professional commitment, and track record of honorable, distinguished performance, as well as his sin for which he has paid dearly and will take to his grave. Moreover, given Washington mores that typically lead to other real or alleged victims piling on either for their own fifteen minutes of fame or for a financial settlement, the fact that this did not occur in this case supports my belief that this was an isolated incident, not part of any pattern.

One more consideration may be relevant. What has he done since his fall? I know him professionally and am not a confidante. But I observed him spending a significant period of reflection upon his mistake, repenting, and investing in restoring his relationship with his wife and family. After several months of personal and family rehabilitation, as he thought about the next chapter of his life, rather than simply exiting the public space and becoming rich by taking a full time Wall Street job, he chose to teach at CUNY, and to become an active member of Harvard's Belfer Center community. There, with another Belfer Center Senior Fellow Non-Resident, Bob Zoellick, he produced a significant report on North America that argues for tightening the relationship among the US, Canada, and Mexico, as a way of strengthening the US and its place in the world (a report published by the Council on Foreign Relations). This is one element in the larger project he has undertaken at the Center, entitled "America's Next Decades." There, he and a group of researchers have been drilling down on ways in which five major technological transformations, driven by science and technology, offer advantages for the US in the global competition. The big idea about these revolutions—from the next wave of IT and big data, to the integration of synthetic biology and engineering—and the public policy choices that will accelerate or retard these revolutions' contributions to American competitiveness came from David. Thus the members of our Advisory Committee for this project, which includes Susan Hockfield (former President of MIT), Meghan O'Sullivan (a professor of practice at the Kennedy School), Venkatesh Narayanamurti (former Dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences at Harvard), Mary Boies (an active member of Harvard's Visiting Committee), and me, has learned more from David than he has from us.

The third project addresses "strategic command," examining theater level combat command, especially in international coalition warfare, where General Petraeus' experience in both Iraq and Afghanistan provides unique insights about the intersection of military leadership of troops down the chain of command, on the one hand, and political masters and politics, on the other. This project is nearing completion and should have a publishable product by the end of this summer.

I apologize if this is more than you want to know about the projects. But I have provided it because I believe it is relevant in assessing his continued commitment to trying to use his rare combination of strategic imagination and judgment about operational realities to improve performance, not only in our military, but in our government and our society.

In all of his interactions with faculty, fellows, students, and others at Harvard, his conduct has been exemplary. As expected, several of our students and fellows raised questions about why the Center invited him to join our community, and we have had a full, forthright discussion. But the overwhelming reaction of those who have had the opportunity to see David in seminars or projects has been positive and enthusiastic.

So I hope I am not being presumptuous in suggesting that a measure of mercy may be in order. If I can provide any further information that would be relevant for your considerations, do not hesitate to email me or call me at graham allison@hks.harvard.edu and (617) 496-6099.

Yours sincerely,

Graham Allison

Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs;

nda Alli

Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, Harvard Kennedy School

From the Rt Hon Tony Blair

March 2015

Dear Hon, David Keesler,

Lam the former Prime Minister of the UK holding that office between 1997 and 2007.
During that time I got to know General Petraeus in his role as the head of US forces in Iraq. Because of the close British involvement in Iraq alongside the USA, I came to know him well. I maintained that relationship even after Teff office.

In my view, he is one of the most outstanding public servants I have ever worked with. He has a quite unusual combination of gifts: he is hard-working and dedicated; has a wonderfully acute intellect; yet he is sharply practical and as I saw for myself on many occasions has the ability to inspire trust and affection amongst those he leads. In particular, he had command of the US surge in Iraq in 2006/7. It is no exaggeration to say that without his extraordinary leadership, it is hard to imagine that the surge would have had the remarkable impact it did. He is also someone I found to be completely reliable. When he said that he would do something, he did it. If he felt that he could not do it, he would explain why it was impossible. As a result of that character, as I know from my conversations with the British senior officers who worked with him, he was able to accomplish so much more, because those from different Armed Forces saw him as someone in whom they could have total trust. The importance of this character in the circumstances, in which we found ourselves, cannot be overstated.

I also believe very strongly that the world needs his continued engagement and presence. Personally I think he is probably the best security thinker on the counter terrorism issue I know and as I say, is able to be both creative and pragmatic at the same time. We need his service at this time and his brainpower. I continue to work on these issues myself in the Middle East. Unfortunately the threats we face are unlikely to diminish any time soon. David Petraeus still has a vital contribution to make and I hope he can make it.

I would ask that Your Honour kindly take this letter into account, I am very happy to answer any further questions on what I have written:

Case 3:15-cr-00047-DCK Document 3

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#### **ATLANTICMEDIA**

David G. Bradley, Chairman

March 6, 2015

The Honorable
David C. Keesler
United States District Court
401 West Trade Street
Suite 238
Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler:

With your indulgence, I would like to weigh in on behalf of General David H. Petraeus as you think through a just sentence. This is the first of this kind of letter I've written, but it comes readily and easily and with some conviction.

As background only, I am the owner of Atlantic Media, publisher of *The Atlantic*, the *National Journal* and several other publications. In national media for 15 years, I've been struck by a phenomenon I had not anticipated. That is that ownership of a media company provides the most interesting perch for watching the city around me. Media allows you to "audit" the public life of Washington, to be in or near the large conversations without being a participant yourself. And, as I am not in fact a journalist, there's no special need for care in speaking with me. In this work, I feel that I have a good feel for the puise of the city.

And, as to General Petraeus, I have some certainty. That which we hear publicly – greatest general of his generation, brilliant commander, brilliant public servant, unending energy, great patriot – is what I hear in private conversation across Washington. Through the media, no doubt you have read the public appeals by members of Congress and other national leaders that the Justice Department exercise its discretion not to prosecute the general. What I can add is that I hear that same argument made, in private conversation, layers and layers and layers deep into the city. There is universal respect for what the General has accomplished and contributed across his military career.

My own thinking is more personal. I have known General Petraeus since his command of our troops in Afghanistan. In an intimate setting, it is easy to see a generous and thoughtful nature. It is equally easy to see ambition. It is no accident that General Petraeus has had a soaring career. But, for this hour in his life; he is brought down. Some measure of justice may take into account how high the flight and how far the fall. For me, a full measure of justice has been meted out. I hate the idea of seeing this man suffer more.

All of this said, I would be surprised if the General makes no further and large contribution to his country. It would be hard to undo his inner wiring. This is to the good. He is a fine man with great talent.

You have my respect and high regard.

Chairman



### CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CHARTERED BY THE CONGRESS

Office of The Past President



March 10, 2015

HON David C. Keesler
United States District Court
401 West Trade Street, Suite 238
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

RE: GEN (USA Retired) David H. Petraeus

Your Honor.

My name is Paul W. Bucha. I am a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point and the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. I am a veteran of the Vietnam War where I served as a company commander in the 101st Airborne Division, the same division Dave Petraeus would lead in the assault on Baghdad. While serving in the post TET offensive in March 1968 which was designed to engage those North Vietnamese units withdrawing from Saigon after the attacks, my men and I became engaged with a reinforced battalion of North Vietnamese soldiers resulting in us being out numbered 1:4. As a result of that particular battle, 64 of my men received medals for their valor and I received the Medal of Honor.

I first met Dave Petraeus when he was a cadet at the Military Academy and I was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Sciences. Even as a cadet, Dave displayed the same self confidence, focus and commitment to soldiers that would become his hallmarks later in his career. Having known Dave literally since he was a teenager and having followed his career with interest and admiration, I want to add my voice to those who can offer informed and honest opinions of him as a man, a husband, leader and as an outstanding example of the citizen soldier he so ably represents.

I am not writing to debate the merits of the case or the law. I believe my perspective is unique and may help inform the next phase of the legal process. From the outset, Dave Petraeus has handled this situation admirably. He could have offered excuses such as PTS that can impact our judgment or attempted to deny the significance of the transgression for which he has willingly accepted responsibility. In this age when Presidents, elected officials and corporate leaders have brushed aside any responsibility for far greater transgressions, it is refreshing to hear Dave Petraeus, step forward and apologize for a mistake of his own making. While commentators have suggested Dave should have not resigned his position as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (Secalist his passive second was not president that that

National Headquarters

40 Patriots Foint Road Mt. Pleasant, SC 29464

> (843) 884-8862 Fax 884-1471

thousands of officers and enlisted personnel, male and female, young and old, he knew he needed to follow his own leadership principals and acknowledge his responsibility and accept the sanctions for his mistake. Only by fully embracing his responsibility for the wrong doing could he hope to regain his stature as one of the most respected and admired men in our nation and the foremost military leader of our time. He has done so in contrast to the accepted Washington D.C. formula of accepting no responsibility and minimizing the magnitude of any error in judgment. I make it a point to spend, on average, one day per week with veterans and active duty troops and their families, and I have heard the disappointment that ".GEN Petraeus made a serious error in judgment," nearly always followed immediately with a statement of the inspiration he is for all those who have worn or are wearing the uniform on the United States and beyond. He personifies a leader's responsibility to step forward without equivocation, apologize and immediately focus on regaining the position of respect he knows is essential to his leadership.

What is missing in the news reporting and even in the comments of his friends and supporters is the recognition that Dave Petreaus is a leader first and foremost. Leadership is based on a foundation of honor because from honor comes trust and from trust there is a willingness to follow. No political appointment or award could make his honor right. Before any administration of sentence Dave had learned his lesson. As is so often true in the honor cases at West Point; those who have suffered the humiliation and disgrace of their transgressions, emerge with a far greater appreciation of honor than those who never face the judgment of their friends, their families and their peers. I would encourage your honor to consider how much better this nation will be if Dave Petraeus is once again free to speak, to counsel and to lead. His example alone will fill a void among those who claim to lead, but refuse any responsibility or accountability.

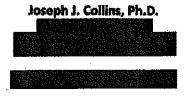
In closing, I believe Dave Petraeus will overcome this major setback to his brilliant career of service to nation. I believe he has proven he is an extraordinary leader. I also believe he will once again emerge as a very special leader to whom the nation can turn in any crisis. I humbly recommend that his sanctions be as agreed among the parties. This nation is facing a crisis of leadership and it is imperative that GEN (USA-Ret) David H. Petraeus serve his probation with confidence and the intent of regaining his reputation as a man of honor and a unique leader few can equal in or out of uniform.

Thank you for your time and consideration of my thoughts.

Respectfully,

Paul W. Bucha

Past President



March 6, 2015

Hon, David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

#### Dear Judge Keesler:

I write in support of David Petraeus and urge you to grant clemency to him. I have no first-hand knowledge of the matters before your court, but I have known David Petraeus for nearly 30 years. He was and is a good man and a public servant with unparalleled accomplishments. Despite his legal troubles, I pray that he will one day again be able to regain his place in the nation's leadership.

I met Dave when we were both relatively junior officers. We later served together on the Army staff and the Joint Staff. Being alumni of the teaching faculty at West Point, we have been in contact for the last three decades on issues that range from the security environment, the Army that both of us love, and the arcane subject of low intensity conflict. A few years apart, we wrote doctoral dissertations on that subject. We have broken bread together on three continents. I can't remember a period longer than a month or two when we haven't spoken or emailed each other.

From the moment that I met Dave, I was impressed with him. He was four years behind me in the Army, but he was wise and dedicated beyond his years. He is an intense person, but his intensity was devoted first to the mission, then to his men, and then to himself. He led from the front at all times, which explains how he was shot by a ricochet in a training accident. Later, as a general officer, he would also suffer life-threatening injuries in a sport parachuting accident. Despite these physical problems, for every distant critic, you can find dozens of sergeants who will regale you with stories of how he challenged them to beat him on a run or in a push-up contest. He was very successful, not because he was a sycophant, but because his units had the greatest accomplishments and the highest morale.

In the Pentagon and later, when he revolutionized the Army and the Marine Corps's approach to counterinsurgency, Dave's service was characterized by vision, intelligence, transparency, and inclusiveness. Dave had an uncanny knack for being able to see the big picture and ask the most salient question. In 2003, when the division he commanded entered lraq, and most officers of his rank were worried about crossing the next phase line, Dave raised the question that had eluded all of his superiors: "Tell me how this ends." When there was a unique problem, Dave was the officer who time after time was given the task, be it rebuilding the Iraqi Army, writing the new doctrine for counterinsurgency, or leading reinforced armies in combat. Twice, when our Armed Forces faltered in the field and national policy hung in the balance, two presidents — one Republican, one Democrat — called on Dave to lead the Surge forces that restored momentum in two theaters and established the conditions necessary for a safe and secure American withdrawal.

David Petraeus was the best officer in his generation. Imprisoning him would hurt his family, the Army, and the nation. Please take into consideration the years he spent at war and the pain of separation on him and his family. In your sentencing, I ask you to consider his singular accomplishments, the price that he and his family have already paid, but more than that, the potential he has for leadership on the national stage in the future.

If I can be of further service to the Court, please contact me at the address, above, or

Sincerely,

Colonel, U.S. Army, retired

March 12, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler:

I write concerning David Petraeus.

I served with Mr. Petraeus in Iraq from March 2007 until October 2008, when he was Commanding General, Multinational Force – Iraq and I was the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. We have maintained contact since, both professionally when we were both in government service and personally.

Mr. Petraeus led the military effort for the U.S. government in Iraq and I the civilian effort. It was a critical time, with the Iraqi state on the verge of collapse as a vicious civil war raged, and coalition military forces were unable to stem the violence. Mr. Petraeus was responsible for implementing a new counterinsurgency strategy against overwhelming odds. Before either of us reached Baghdad, we had agreed that while there was no guarantee of success if our efforts were combined, failure was assured if they were not. For the next 18 months, through the most extreme circumstances imaginable, we maintained an unprecedented level of civil-military cooperation, from joint meetings with Iraqi political leaders through battlefield circulation to joint testimony before Congress. We jointly briefed the President and his National Security Council every week.

Through this Intense Interaction, I came to know Dave Petraeus as well as I have ever known anyone. He was tireless, focused and absolutely committed to our mission of stabilizing Iraq and setting in motion a long range political process to put the country on a secure footing. Nothing about this was easy. There were days when I felt I couldn't carry the burden any longer. He kept me going. On other days, I hope I did the same for him.

His troops revered him. So did mine. In the most trying circumstances, he found time for the personal gesture, the word of encouragement that would ripple through the ranks. Dave never gilded lilies, whether briefing the Commander in Chief or talking to a rifle squad. He told hard truths and acknowledged bitter setbacks. Yet he always conveyed a resolve and conviction that we could achieve a mission that sometimes seemed impossible. It kept us going through the worst of times.

Iraq was hard, and it was hard all the time. It is difficult to convey from the outside. In a long and challenging career, I have never faced anything tougher than the mission in Iraq. Through it all, there is no one with whom I would rather have stood than Dave Petraeus. His courage, integrity and judgment were beyond extraordinary.

He went on to serve as commander, U.S. Central Command, commander of coalition forces in Afghanistan and Director of Central Intelligence. I observed and worked with him in all these capacities, and saw repeatedly that whatever the challenge or crisis, he consistently exhibited the same qualities. Our nation owes him a great deal.

Dave Petraeus continues to provide advice and guidance to many – policy makers, legislators, scholars and students. He has given much to this country, and has much to give. In view of his past, current and future service, I very much hope that he is not given a sentence of imprisonment.

Perhaps the best way I can summarize my view of his character and capability is to say that not only would I trust him with my life, I did.

Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me if I can provide any further information.

Sincerely,

Ryan Crocker

Former Ambassador to Iraq

and Afghanistan

## THOMAS E. DONILON

March 21, 2015

The Honorable David C. Kessler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler:

I write with respect to the upcoming sentencing hearing for General David H. Petraeus.

I first met General Petraeus when I became Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor in 2009. At that time General Petraeus was the Commander of U.S. Central Command, with responsibilities for military operations in the Middle East and South Asia, including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. We continued to work closely together for the next four years as I became U.S. National Security Advisor and General Petraeus went on to become Commanding General of all forces in Afghanistan and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In these capacities, we worked constantly together on dozens of difficult and complex issues of national security. I do not believe that a week, or in most cases even a day, passed without our being in communication. We became close colleagues and have remained friends since his departure from government service.

I have seen General Petraeus work under extreme pressure and in circumstances where the issues were exceedingly difficult and disagreements were common among officials at the highest levels of our government. In all these settings, General Petraeus conducted himself with great integrity, earning the admiration and trust of his colleagues across the board. I came to admire him as much as anyone with whom I have worked since my first position in government in 1977.

General Petraeus is a tireless public servant. He was deployed in war zones for years over the past decade at great personal sacrifice to him and his family. He faced immense pressure and responsibility in commanding men and women in two theaters of war. He was and is devoted to those whom he has commanded, as reflected in the work he has done with veterans organizations since his retirement.

General Petraeus' acceptance of his last deployment to Afghanistan exemplifies his selfless dedication to our country. In June of 2010, President Obama accepted the resignation of General Stanley McChrystal as the U.S. Commander of all forces in Afghanistan. This change of command came suddenly and at a particularly difficult time in the Afghan war -- that summer proved to be the deadliest period of the war for U.S. troops. At that time, General Petraeus was

Commander of U.S. Central Command and among the nation's most prominent military officers. With no advanced notice, the President asked General Petraeus to replace General McChrystal. He immediately agreed, taking a position that had previously reported to him. He deployed to Afghanistan, took on the most difficult command in the world, and ensured a seamless transition.

In sum, I have come to know General Petraeus as a man of great intelligence, integrity, courage, and dedication. Throughout the decades of his distinguished career, he has shown these qualities time after time.

I strongly endorse the noncustodial penalties to which the government and General Petraeus have agreed. The past two years have been a punishing period for him and his family. He continues to provide unique experience and insights to the nation as we deal with a wide range of continuing national security threats. As a citizen who remains involved deeply in these issues, I believe it is profoundly in the national interest to have General Petraeus fully and freely involved in helping to set the nation's course.

I would be pleased to expand further on any of the points set out on this letter and to answer any questions that the court may have.

Respectfully,

Thomas E. Donilon



#### Senator Pianne Feinstein Washington, P. C.

March 11, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler 238 Charles R. Jonas Federal Bldg. 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, N.C. 28202

#### Dear Judge Keesler:

I write with respect to the plea agreement proposed by the U.S. Department of Justice and David Petraeus pending before your court.

While I firmly believe that no one is above the law, and that adherence to the law is required regardless of position or stature, I hope the Court, in considering the plea agreement and imposing a sentence, will take into account General Petraeus' extraordinary contributions and his ability to contribute again at a high level to the national security of the United States.

I first met David in Iraq when he was a Lieutenant General serving as the first Commander of the Multi-National Security Transition Command Iraq, with responsibility for training Iraqi forces and literally writing the manual on U.S. counterinsurgency missions. By this time, he was clearly one of the most capable officers of his generation and was promoted in rank and position. While several factors led to the success in stabilizing Iraq in the latter part of Gen. Petraeus' service as Commander of Multi-National Forces — Iraq, his leadership and drive were a major contributor.

Between 2007 and early 2011, Gen. Petraeus was the most prominent and respected officer in the U.S. military. I personally had great respect for him, not only for his service and his capability as an officer, but for two particular acts: first, General Petraeus was an outspoken opponent of torture and coercive interrogation and detention measures in Iraq. His letter to U.S. forces in Iraq on the topic was strong, clear, and compelling.

Second, in 2010, General Petraeus was serving as the CENTCOM Combatant Commander when the Commander of International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) in Afghanistan, Gen. Stanley McChrystal, resigned. Despite it being a lower position in the chain of command, Gen. Petraeus agreed to President Obama's request that he fill the ISAF position during this critical time in Afghanistan. There was likely no one else in the U.S. military who could take on this assignment under the circumstances and be successful. The episode showed Gen. Petraeus' commitment to U.S. troops and his willingness to put our security mission before himself.

I had the occasion to work most closely with David when he was nominated and confirmed to be the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency while I was chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. He brought to the position an incredible intellect and drive, and members of the Committee greatly valued his analysis and his recommendations. It is unfortunate that his tenure at the Agency was so short.

General Petraeus recognizes the error of his actions and has admitted his guilt. As the former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and a senior commanding officer of the U.S. Army, he understands the importance of protecting classified information. This past experience makes him regret even more deeply his conduct in this matter.

In the past year or so, Gen. Petraeus has begun to return to public service through his teaching and his writing. I believe he will resume that service once his probation ends. I believe the punishment proposed in his plea agreement is fair, and that he recognizes the error of his actions as well as the importance of protecting classified information.

I thank you for considering this recommendation.

Officerory,

Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator

10th March, 2015



#### For the attention of Judge Keesler

#### Dear Judge Keesler,

It is a great honor to write on behalf of my good friend and mentor, General David Petraeus. Dave, as he is plainly known by my wife and seven children, is a famous American but I want to shed light on him as a human being and the impact he has made on my family and others. A true friend is someone from whom you don't expect or want anything, but you still know is always looking out for you. Dave has taught me much about friendship and kindness.

I first met Dave in late 2008 when I presented him with an award from the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars. I chose to travel to St. Petersburg, Florida, because I wanted exposure to the Soldier-Scholar who revolutionized military strategy. We stayed in touch via the occasional email, to which he would always respond. In 2011, just before he hung up the uniform, I saw Dave at a dinner and remarked that he looked thin. With a boyish grin, he told me that he had a "six pack" (abs). I had always been slightly overweight, despite my attempts at athletics, and told him I could never achieve that level of fitness.

Well, that was a mistake (or a blessing)! Although his comment had been tongue-in-cheek, Dave kept telling me that you can do anything you want to; you just need to try hard. Despite my protestations, Dave kept encouraging me to upgrade my fitness level. I had read about his legendary athleticism, but Dave showed me his consistency of effort, and that he too needed to work to stay fit. He then, with great finesse, encouraged me to prove that I too could become an athlete.

So Dave took the time to train, run, and bike with me, somehow pushing me to paces which tested my physical boundaries, but without causing me to collapse. Additionally, he never makes me feel that I am holding him back, although I know that I am. (He left me behind just once when he was afraid that his ear would be towed.)

I have experienced Dave's leadership and ability to inspire directed towards to me. Perhaps he missed whipping battalions into shape, or maybe he was guiding others at the same time, but Dave always made me feel like the full focus of his efforts was upon me. And so I learned what it takes to be a leader, to encourage others to excel, but to do it in a way that shows care and concern. When helping me with a corporate mission statement, Dave told me that he had inserted "Be kind" into a battalion's mission, and suggested the same for my company.

Even when leading the CIA, or juggling multiple tasks, every email from Dave shows extraordinary thoughtfulness, and ends with a salutation. My emails had previously been curt, but I now make great effort to make them more personal. Dave is expert at using email as a tool to inspire and encourage, solicit feedback, and to proffer advice.

He is always inserting kernels of knowledge, like don't wear underwear under the cycling bib (unfortunately he told me that after 2 painful rides!). This email adeptness expands his ability to mentor many like myself. Still, Dave has always been available to get together in person or via phone if I want to speak to him.

At the beginning of our friendship, Dave invited me to dinner. After a relaxed evening, he escorted me back to my hotel, where the doormen came out to hug him. It turned out that the hotel was Dave's DC residence as CENTCOM Commander. I remarked on his popularity with the hotel staff, to which he answered that we must always show appreciation. In consequence, I have made sure to get to know the lobby staff in my office building - most people just pass them by.

A great benefit of running with Dave, while being put into oxygen debt, is that he is able to give an uninterrupted soliloquy. This is typically a graduate level seminar bringing to bear military history, personal cultural experiences and relationships with world leaders, to explore when and how America should protect global stability. And there is always the unexpected: Once when running in the snow in Central Park, we happened across a ROTC platoon. Dave was so excited that he inserted himself to lead the platoon's jogging "cadence".

Dave's promotion of a fitness culture in my life has extended to my family and children, as well as my parents, who now regularly exercise and we all see the health benefits. In addition, many colleagues at work, after witnessing my transformation, have improved their fitness and feel better, thus extending Dave's positive impact. Furthermore, I know that Dave has influenced many others because the trainer that we share has become very busy, actually building a business around Petraeus referrals.

Dave's love of mentoring led him to his post as Professor Petraeus, choosing to teach at City College. Dave told me that his Dad was an immigrant, so he wanted to support the immigrant community at a public school rather than to teach at an Ivy. His position is virtually pro-bono, and subjects him to aggressive anti-war protests, often necessitating a change of venue. The Dean raves to me about Dave's dedication to the students, and Dave often remarks how much he enjoys teaching young people. Dave plans his weekly schedule around making that class on Monday night: when he takes on a commitment, he will not give less than 100%. (He is a visiting professor at USC as well, and is currently lecturing at an Iraqi University at this writing).

Dave is constantly meeting or having dinner, one-on-one, with young people who are seeking his advice and guidance. His schedule is packed, weeks in advance, with no time wasted. He seems to especially enjoy these mentoring sessions, and often mentions them. On the other hand, he is secretive about the awards he receives, even dismissive.

For me, Dave is always offering to help, even to entertain my business clients. I have sought and received his advice on management and personnel issues, and insight on current events. He is scheduled to come over and give my children a nutrition pep talk in late April. To keep me competitive during the winter, Dave gave me a bicycle stand that allows us to draft and drag each other around a virtual island within a network cloud. He is a terrific friend.

### Letter Concerning General David H. Petraeus (retired)

To: the Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina

Your Honor,

I am writing to you concerning General David H. Petraeus. I have known General Petraeus since 2003, when we be both served in the initial invasion of Iraq, he as commander of the 101<sup>st</sup>. Airborne Division in Mosul and I as the senior U.S. diplomat in southern Iraq. We have worked together on several occasions since then. From 2008 to 2010, I served as his Political Advisor when he was the commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). I have also come to know his family.

I have never known a finer officer, a better commander, or a more effective advocate of U.S. national interests than General Petraeus. The conditions under which we all served in Iraq in 2003 and 2004 were complex, difficult, and dangerous. Under General Petraeus's leadership, Mosul quickly became an oasis of relative stability in a profoundly destabilized and traumatized country. Better than any other divisional commander, he understood how to combine military, political, administrative, and economic policy measures to re-establish stability in the area under his command, and so advance U.S. Interests in Iraq. He later drew on his experiences in Mosul to develop modern counter-insurgency theory, a major addition to U.S. military thought and doctrine.

I should add that before he secured Mosul, General Petraeus led the 101<sup>st</sup> on a dangerous but successful march through the length of Iraq, from the Kuwaiti border to the far north. His division engaged in many firefights, always victoriously. His courage, judgment, and leadership were the main reasons for its success.

Several years later, when he was commander of the Multinational Force in Iraq and I was serving as Charge' d'Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in neighboring Saudi Arabia, General Petraeus and I collaborated on a number of occasions to increase the support of Saudi Arabia and the broader region for U.S. policy in Iraq. I was extremely impressed by his natural diplomatic ability and frankly brilliant grasp of the region's complex politics. Working together, we achieved some remarkable diplomatic successes, which reinforced the strategic interests of the United States.

Beginning in the autumn of 2008, I was privileged to serve as General Petraeus's Political Advisor at U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), based at Tampa, Florida and al-Udeid Airbase in Qatar. We worked together extremely closely every day and traveled throughout the

Dave loves intellectual and physical challenge, but is motivated by an overwhelming desire to better the lives of individuals and to help our country. He has publicly and privately acknowledged his errors, has suffered, and is regretful. I've never met someone so disciplined with maximum utilization of his time. My only criticism of Dave is that I hope he learns to live more for himself, not just for others.

In the meantime, Judge Keesler, I humbly advocate for Dave's freedom to continue helping others.

Sincerely,

Sander/Gerber

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March 5, 2015

Honorable David C. Kessler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

#### Dear Judge Kessler:

I am writing this letter in support of David Petraeus. I am a retired investment banker who founded a non-profit organization to assist our returning military, American Corporate Partners (ACP). I was first introduced to David when he was running US Central Command and I have spent considerable time with him since he left the CIA in 2012. In 2012, David joined the Advisory Council of ACP and has been a very active participant in advising me as I build our non-profit organization. David is very generous with his time both to my organization and several others with which he and I are acquainted. I believe I know David reasonably well and have had hundreds of email exchanges and dozens of meetings and calls with him.

I have nothing but the highest regard for David both personally and as it relates to his service to our country. In my capacity as Chairman of ACP, I spend considerable time with senior corporate executives and retired military and I believe it is fair to say that to many of us, David is one of the true American heroes to have ever served our country certainly one of the very few since WWII. He is a role model to many, many Americans and I believe it would be a terrible result if he were sentenced to prison. Personally, I believe that he has been more than sufficiently punished for his transgressions. I ask that you take the entire package into consideration when you determine sentencing.

Sincerely.

CENTCOM Area of Responsibility (AOR). No stranger to endiess work days and harsh conditions myself, I was frankly astonished by his stamina and dedication to duty. He normally slept only a few hours a night and routinely worked 18 to 20 hours a day, without weekends or holidays. Instead of remaining in Tampa and al-Udeid, he travelled constantly around the AOR, from Baghdad to the Khyber Pass, in order to see for himself the strategic and tactical situation. Everywhere we went, he spent time with enlisted men and women and junior officers, so that he could mentor them and understand conditions in the field.

Thave always been struck by General Petraeus's generosity and kindness. During my years with him, he showed a keen and constant interest in those serving under him, particularly the younger officers. He wrote innumerable commendations for officers with outstanding achievements and letters of recommendation for those seeking to attend university after years of hard duty on the front line. I have never met another leader with such concern for the onward careers of his subordinates.

I was astonished as well by General Petraeus's sheer intellectual capacity. He knew every detail of the strategic landscape in all 20 countries in the CENTCOM AOR. The opportunity to assist the finest military mind of our time as he simultaneously managed the wars in iraq and Afghanistan with strategic brilliance and tactical adroitness was the greatest privilege of my professional life. His extraordinary efforts bore real fruit. When he left CENTCOM in 2010 to become the commander of both US and coalition forces in Afghanistan, our strategic position in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the overall Middle East was extremely strong, and U.S. interests were secure.

Having worked closely with him under trying conditions and witnessed his work on behalf of the United States, I see General Petraeus as one of our country's greatest heroes. Thanks to his brilliance, bravery, and sheer dedication, he was able to save the honor of the United States in Iraq. As the commander of CENTCOM and in Afghanistan, he defended the American people against extremism and terrorism. Now more than ever, we have need of his talents. He still has great potential to serve in many ways. I respectfully suggest that, in view of his past service and potential to make additional contributions to the public good, a noncustodial sentence would be the best resolution of his case.

Respectfully,

Ambassador Michael Gfoeller (repred



March 11, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

To the Honorable David C. Keesler:

I am very pleased to write on behalf of my friend General David Petraeus. It is with honor and appreciation that I take this opportunity but also with a great deal of sadness. I am aware of the facts of the case and General Petraeus' decision to accept responsibility in that regard. I am sure the court will consider all the facts, not just about the case, but about the life of an extraordinary man, General David Petraeus.

As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I've interacted with General Petraeus for almost a decade and followed closely his time as commander of our forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. I can say, without hesitation, General David Petraeus was an extraordinary military leader who provided incredible leadership during the most difficult days in Iraq and Afghanistan. His leadership was inspiring to those under his command and much appreciated by policymakers such as myself. Since 9/11, General Petraeus and many of his colleagues have spent years away from their families; and the sad fact is this can take a toll on any family. I do not know exactly the number of days General Petraeus has been deployed in combat theaters since 9/11, but I would imagine it adds up to multiple years. The stress of being responsible for thousands of American lives, counseling foreign governments that are trying to become democracies, keeping a difficult Congress informed, and being a key advisor to the commander-in-chief were tasks that General Petraeus performed beautifully.

In addition to my interaction with General Petraeus as a member of the United States Senate, I had the pleasure on several occasions to serve under his command as an Air Force reservist. During these multiple but short tours, I worked on detainee operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Some of the most emotional, important decisions we made as a nation were how to detain host country nationals who presented a threat to our forces and the governments we were supporting. General Petraeus was a hands-on commander and understood the significance of detainee operations and having a transparent system that both protected our forces and other coalition members, as well as the people of Iraq and Afghanistan. Having served in uniform under his command, I had a chance to receive input far different from just being a member of the Senate. I was always appreciative of how much our troops admired General Petraeus and how confident they were in his judgment. It always helps the soldier who is in harm's way to believe

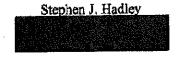
that the commander has their back and best interest above all else. General David Petraeus was beloved and admired because his soldiers knew that he cared and he sacrificed for his country.

I have been a civilian and military lawyer for over thirty-three years and understand the responsibility and challenges that our judicial system faces in cases like this. I know that General Petraeus has been embarrassed and has quietly suffered in ways that most people could not fully appreciate. The court's decision in passing judgment on General Petraeus, I am confident, will include all the facts of who he is and not just those of his misdeeds. The toll on those who have been fighting this war for thirteen years is hard for most of us to appreciate. Some have made the ultimate sacrifice, some have been broken, and all have been affected including their families. I firmly believe that General Petraeus has the desire and ability to continue to serve his country as he is one of the most knowledgeable people I have ever met about the world and the threats we face as a nation.

I respectfully request that the court strongly consider a sentence without confinement serving the interest of justice. Thank you very much for considering this letter. I am very honored to have written it on behalf of my friend, General David Petraeus.

Sincerely,

Lindsey O. Graham United States Senator



April 3, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Judge Keesler:

With your permission, I would like to offer a few words on behalf of David Petraeus.

From 2001 to 2009, I served then-President George W. Bush first as his Deputy National Security Advisor and then as his National Security Advisor. In those positions I got to know General Petraeus and to observe his work in Iraq while commanding the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division in Mosul and later as Commander of the Multi-National Security Transition Command — Iraq. In those positions he displayed enormous vision, a keen sense of strategy, a talent for innovation, and the ability to lead and motivate the young men and women under his command to do hard things well

This is the man I saw. A remarkable and gifted leader. A person of courage, character, and integrity. A man who set high standards and tried his best to meet them himself. A remarkable yet practical intellect who knew how to get things done.

When President Bush in January 2007 changed American strategy in Iraq and surged additional U.S. forces there, General Petraeus was the logical choice to lead the effort. Implementing the new strategy required not only imagination and creativity at the top but an ability to lead and inspire a force of over 160,000 military men and women to move in a different direction. The barriers to success were enormous but General Petraeus found a way to overcome them.

I lived through the Viet Nam era – a war lost, an army broken, and an America unsure of its role in the world. America was headed to a similar result in Iraq before the turnaround engineered by General Petraeus and the remarkable men and women that he led. They defeated Al Qaeda in Iraq, brought down the violence, turned the future of Iraq back to the Iraqi people, and set up the return home of American forces. An accomplishment of historic proportions.

Beginning in 2011, the Middle East as a whole descended into chaos, increasing sectarian violence, and humanitarian disaster. Our nation is struggling to figure out how to respond. From his long experience in Iraq, and then his service as the American regional commander (CENTCOM) and later as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), General Petraeus is in a truly unique position to help figure out the way forward. Our country needs him in that role.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen J. Hadley

#### THE HONORABLE JANE HARMAN

March 13, 2015

The Hon. David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler:

I served in the US Congress for nine terms, and focused on security and intelligence issues. Ten years of my tenure were from 2001-11, where I played a meaningful role in crafting and overseeing our country's response to 9/11.

In that capacity I worked closely with General David Petraeus and want the Court to know of his significant contributions in Iraq, CENTCOM, Afghanistan and the CIA. I have continued to work with him in my capacity as President and CEO of the Wilson Center, where he regularly participates in programming and events.

He is brave, brilliant and a rare strategic thinker. It was impressive to see him take what amounted to a demotion at the President's request when he moved from CENTCOM Commander to COMISAF to take over for General Stan McCrystal. He continues to advise the Administration as requested.

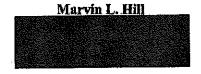
Of course it troubles me to read in the public press about the circumstances which have prompted him to plead guilty to a misdemeanor and pay a fine. I do not excuse his conduct. But I hope the court will not recommend incarceration.

My view rests on three arguments. First, Dave Petraeus is a national hero and over a long career has demonstrated loyalty and sacrifice to America. Second, incarceration would make it awkward for him to continue to render advice to the Administration — a loss for our country. Third, as a public figure, his mistakes have been exposed in the press and he has suffered humiliation and embarrassment. I firmly believe the penalties in the reported plea agreement are sufficient to demonstrate that no one is above the law.

I respectfully urge the court to endorse the plea agreement and not impose any additional penalties.

Sincerely,

🖈 Harman



Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC. 28202 March 9, 2015

RE: Letter of Character for David H. Petraeus

Honorable David C. Keesler,

This Letter of Character is written on behalf of David H. Petraeus, General United States Army (Retired). I have been privileged and honored to have been acquainted with General Petraeus for 20 years and have personally known him since May 2002. Our personal and professional relationship began on a parade field at Fort Campbell, Kentucky when he assumed command of the storied 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division (Air Assault). I served as his Division Command Sergeant Major, a position that required trust, sound judgment, and constant communication between both the commander and the command sergeant major.

General Petracus impressed me with his exceptional qualities of leadership, vision, and energy. He expected these qualities of himself as well as those who served on his team. What was more impressive was his patience and his ability to cultivate and nurture those qualities in all around him. He clearly brought out the best in me. General Petracus was a master at turning one's potential into reality. His well-earned reputation as a leader developer was infectious. This made me excited about serving that resulted in a work ethic that I was able to spread across and organization and installation of nearly 20,000 combat troops.

General Petraeus and I embarked on a series of combat deployment as a command team commencing with our initial deployment to Kuwait and ultimately to Iraq in 2003 as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom. Through his transformational leadership style, he inspired the Soldiers to move and installation of Combat Soldiers, equipment, vehicles, and 256 helicopters from Fort Campbell, Kentucky to Jacksonville, Florida, to Kuwait, and on to Iraq within three weeks of receiving a Deployment Order. This highly motivated the division to take a disciplined fight to the enemy while re-building the country, the government, and its people as we fought. We knew then that we were at the inauguration of doctrine change. The Division benefitted immensely from the level of autonomy and authority that empowered me to execute his vision by enabling noncommissioned officers at every level.

In February 2007 while recovering from a potential career ending surgery, I was asked by General Petraeus to join him in Iraq to take on the critical mission of reversing the cycle of violence. Our reunion as a command team became a combat multiplier to the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines serving in Iraq during the break of a civil war. After consulting with my wife, mother and father, they unanimously stated that had it been anyone other than General Petraeus requesting, they would not support my deployment. My family had grown to admire General Petraeus' competence and strong character and they too felt honored in him selecting me to join him in this important mission for the nation,

During my nearly two years serving as the Command Senior Enlisted Leader of Multinational Force-Iraq (MNFI), General Petraeus provided me with the directives of "Giving Energy to the Force; Expanding the Impact that he had on the Force; and Protecting the Service Cultures in the Force," It was through his

vision and delegation of authority that made me a renowned senior leader in our Armed Forces. In Baghdad on July 4, 2007, he inspired nearly 600 Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines to reenlist into the armed forces in a single ceremony. On that same day in 2008, he more than doubled that amount with 1,215 service members recommitting themselves to their brothers and sisters in arms and to the nation. His inspirational leadership and trust in the noncommissioned officer corps sparked the interest in Admiral Michael Mullens, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to offer me the opportunity to serve as the Senior Enlisted Advisor to the Chairman (SEAC), the highest ranking enlisted position of the United States Armed Forces. I declined the opportunity to serve as SEAC and accepted another opportunity to serve with General Petraeus as the Command Senior Enlisted Leader for United States Central Command (USCENTCOM).

While at USCENTCOM, my role as the Command Senior Enlisted Leader evolved to one that no other enlisted service member had experienced there. Though not commissioned as an officer of the armed forces, I was able to enhance the culture of a joint service command by applying the many lessons in diplomacy and transformational leadership that I was afforded first-hand witness with General Petraeus. He entrusted me and resourced me with the skill and knowledge to unilaterally represent the United States of America in Theater Security Cooperation in the Middle East and Central Asian States as well as represent him and the command by providing USCENTCOM theater and operational level joint senior enlisted leader perspectives to members of the U.S. Congress, military and civilian organizations.

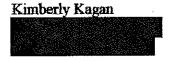
General Petraeus and I spent over a year together in Kabul, Afghanistan serving as a command team from June 2010 through July 2011. There, I had another front row sear getting first-hand knowledge of his dynamic leadership, tremendous character, and genuine love for service members. The austere conditions coupled with the constant changing weather did not deter him from the many risks he encountered while visiting our troops arrayed across the country — always taking the time to talk to service members, pin a medal, reenlist a few, or even take a photo with them. On July 4, 2011, the 237th birthday of our nation, with less than two weeks remaining as the commander of ISAF, he reenlisted 237 service members in multiple ceremonies across the country. Any blank space on his calendar belonged to the troops and he leaned toward me to maximize the impact of that time.

General David H. Petraeus is, and always will be, a remarkable "once in a life time leader" in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of service members. I view him in the same light. Like me, many officers and enlisted service members jumped at the opportunity to serve with General Petraeus. Many restructured their career plans, postponed educational plans, gave up civilian jobs, or even held off retirements to rejoin "Team-Petraeus" and deploy to combat. When asked to describe the character of General David H. Petraeus, I define him as a Transformational Leader. People will follow a person who inspires them. A person with vision and passion can achieve great things. And the way to get things done is by injecting enthusiasm and energy. That is what I attempted to say in the previous paragraphs. It was through his unswerving commitment as much as anything else that kept people going, particularly through the darker times when some may have questioned whether the vision could ever be achieved. If the troops did not believe that they could succeed, then their efforts would flag. General Petraeus constantly infected and reinfected us with his high level of commitment to the vision.

If there are further questions concerning General Petraeus, I can be contacted at or email a

Command Sergeant Major United States Army (Retired)

Page 2 of 2



March 12, 2015

Hon. David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

#### Dear Judge Keesler:

I write to support General (Retired) David H. Petraeus as he appears before your court. He has lived his life devoted to public service and the good of our country. He continues to strive to benefit America's national security through his ongoing conversations with senior U.S. and foreign officials and his commitment to research on U.S. and global policy. He therefore remains an asset to our nation and a valuable source of insight and advice on the weighty matters that confront our country, including the deteriorating security in Iraq and the rise of the Islamic State.

I have known General Petraeus since 2007 when he commanded the international coalition in Iraq. I also served with him as an independent advisor, I deployed to Afghanistan as a volunteer for the thirteen months he served in command of the International Security Assistance Force there. He now serves on the Board of Directors of the non-partisan, non-profit research institution, the Institute for the Study of War, of which I am president.

General Petraeus was a commander continuously for many years. Command duties are exhausting, as the commander is always accountable to his higher headquarters, and ultimately to the President and Secretary of Defense, for executing his mission. A commander is accountable also to himself and to his subordinates for the decisions he makes that put lives at risk in combat zones. Command is a grinding and tiring responsibility, undertaken far away from home, and in the case of senior commanders, without a wealth of peer support. It requires hard choices and tough decisions.

General Petraeus's accomplishments and achievements in Iraq are well known and described in works of history such as Fred Kaplan's *The Insurgents*. This book also documents how he cultivated intellects and practitioners within the U.S. Army during his career in a way that made possible the extraordinary shift in strategy in Iraq that vastly reduced violence and increased security for millions of Iraqis. The statistics are a matter of public record, but the atmospherics are as important. I walked through neighborhoods of Baghdad in February 2008 that had been violent hotspots when I had first driven through them in a military convoy in 2007. Children were on the streets with their parents. They had been liberated from fear and terror, and they had returned to a life of hope.

General Petraeus's time in Afghanistan is less well known, but worth recalling. I worked with him directly and observed his interactions with his headquarters on a nearly daily basis from June 2010 to July 2011. His appointment to that command was a surprise to him and to his staff at U.S. Central Command. It was a demotion, since in the U.S. military Unified Combatant Commanders are above the theater commanders in the chain of command. He accepted this responsibility, and without leave or rest joined his new headquarters in Kabul. He invigorated programs to stabilize Afghan villages threatened by the Taliban. He helped establish a process by which Afghanistan grew more independent as NATO countries continued to support the mission there. And he oversaw military operations which helped to liberate Afghan populations from the violent control of the Taliban. These efforts helped advance the security of the United States, as well as improving the wellbeing of millions of people living in a war-torn country. General Petraeus went with only a short break from Afghanistan to service as a civilian as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Even after General Petraeus had resigned as Director, he remained interested in the national security issues that had motivated him in his career of public service. He regularly read publications and sought briefings from scholars who covered these issues, including my team of analysts at the Institute for the Study of War among many other, more senior experts. He provided feedback to young experts, mentored them in their careers, and helped develop their understanding of strategic issues that they had not yet encountered. And he began to teach at the City University of New York's Macaulay Honors College and the University of Southern California, thus developing the next generation of young talent interested in national security, history, and politics. I have observed him teach in a summer course I run for undergraduates, and he is engaging, thoughtful, and animated in a way that motivates students. He is also a mentor to me in the work that I do at the Institute, providing excellent feedback, constructive criticism, and helpful strategic advice. In short, General Petraeus has service at the core of his ethos, even now that he is no longer a public servant.

General Petraeus is a national asset. He has already contributed greatly to the achievements of the United States and to the improvement of millions of lives. He has served dutifully for thirtyseven years in uniform and continues to serve in new ways even as he has entered the private sector. He has much more to give to our country should he be allowed to continue to contribute actively in discussions of public policy, teaching, and non-profit work.

I do not believe that General Petraeus would ever intentionally do harm to the interests of the United States or its government. He cares as deeply about the safety and security of the American people as anyone I have ever known. Depriving him of the opportunity to continue to work for that safety in a time of such great dangers would be too harsh a punishment for him and too much of a loss to the American people.

Sincerely,

Kimberly Kagan

Kinden E Kagan



March 17, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I served in the US Army for almost 38 years and knew Dave Petraeus for 26 of those years. As in most military associations our families know each other as well and my wife Terry and I observed the Petraeus children grow from the early years of elementary school to the young adults they are today; as we were so delighted and honored to attend the wedding of Holly and Dave's daughter, Anne. My initial relationship with Dave was more of a supervisor as I was in his chain of command for three key command and staff assignments. My relationship changed from just a boss to one of a mentor which in the latter years has also grown into a close and rewarding friendship. Our relationship took a unique and decisive turn over twenty years ago when Dave, who was standing next to me observing a live fire training exercise, was shot in the chest by a soldier who accidentally discharged his rifle. Dave's wound was near fatal as we fought for his life prior to medical evacuation and eventually was stabilized with seven hours of surgery. As he said after his recovery that we are "bonded for life" which was certainly a prophetic and fortuitous observation.

The critical time of our relationship was during the almost four years he commanded US/NATO forces in Iraq and Afghanistan during both surge periods. I was his mentor and senior advisor conducting multiple week assessments for him every few months. As such, I observed him on a continuous basis in the most stressful and challenging circumstances that any of our current and historic theater commanders have ever faced. He was nothing short of remarkable as he used his years of command experience and personal attributes to turn around two wars that were failing, while coping with the significant demands of the host government and the US government. Indeed there is no substitute for outstanding critical leadership and no wonder that the American people rewarded Dave with a celebrated status not seen since WWII.

Dave is an honorable man, an accomplished American pleading guilty to a crime and a trusted friend who still has much to offer in the private and public sectors. As Dave has transitioned to the private sector he is engaged and dedicated to his work, to the veteran organizations he is affiliated with and to making a meaningful and lasting contribution through his efforts. I know without equivocation that Dave has learned from his mistakes and willingly supports accountability.

respect very much your consideration of his plea and I appreciate the opportunity to share my thoughts with you.

Sincerely,

John M. Keane

General

US Army, Retired



35 West 67th St. New York, New York 10023 212 729-2900 ft 212 580-8130 ann.kirschner@mhc.cuny.edu

9 March 2015

Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina, 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I write on behalf of David Petraeus, who has taught at Macaulay Honors College since 2013 as Visiting Professor of Policy. Professor Petraeus has brought commitment and integrity to all his activities at Macaulay. He is a master teacher whose impact on our students and our institution will last far beyond the boundaries of a semester or a classroom.

Macaulay is the honors college of The City University of New York (CUNY), which has provided generations of New Yorkers with access and opportunities that demonstrate the transformative power of education. Our students are as talented and ambitious as you would find in any top college, but their life stories are very different. Many of them are immigrants and many are first in their family to graduate from college. They are mostly lower and middle income — and Macaulay provides free tuition. We are a young program, but our alumni already include two Rhodes Scholars and Fulbright and Truman fellows, as well as many winners of National Science Foundation fellowships.

I mention this only because there was a special fit between David Petraeus and our students from the very beginning. He accepted our invitation to teach at Macaulay — a relatively unknown institution — because our mission of public higher education and our special student body aligned with his personal history and his views on developing leadership. The content of his seminar, on the coming North American decade with emphasis on life sciences, technology, energy, and advanced manufacturing, was interesting, to be sure. But even better was his ability to connect with students. He brought his expansive global experience into the classroom and coaxed the best from each student, right down to the level of line-editing the writing and presentation skills that are the solid foundation for success in any profession.

Nobody has a better nose for authenticity than an American teenager. Professor Petraeus has won the respect of these young scholars by his intellect, his insistence on fact-based and clear arguments, and most of all by showing his respect for them.

His service to our young institution has gone way beyond the duties of a part-time instructor. In addition to his fidelity to his teaching responsibilities (rarely missing a class), he has met with the entire Macaulay community in well-attended sessions, where he has recruited remarkable speakers such as Fareed Zakaria, Jared Cohen, and David Brooks, to consider and discuss the most important issues of the day.

I hope I will be allowed a few personal observations. As Professor Petraeus and I are about the same age, I have often thought about parallel lives, for me as an activist college student in the 1960s and then decades as an entrepreneur, while he served in the military. I have gained profound respect and gratitude for how the dedication of Professor Petraeus and others enabled the rest of us to pursue civilian lives of career and family from the comfort and safety of our American homes.

It is impossible for me not to lament the circumstances and choices that have led up to this letter. But I believe that David Petraeus should be allowed to continue his remarkable record of achievement and service. For my part, I hope to see him back in the classroom soon.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely.

Ann Kirschner

Dean

Hon. David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC. 28202

March 7, 2015

Dear Judge Keesler,

My name is Erika Larsen, and I am a senior in the City University of New York's Macaulay Honors College. I was a student in General Petraeus' 2013 fall seminar, entitled "Are We on the Threshold of the North American Decade?" General Petraeus consistently dealt with his students in a professional manner, and exhibited concern and dedication to helping us succeed in his class and beyond. General Petraeus is undoubtedly the best professor I have had during my time at the Macaulay Honors College, and incarceration would deny other students the extremely valuable experience of learning from a great public servant.

General Petraeus' course examined the global economy and the ongoing revolutions in energy, advanced manufacturing, life science, and information technology that could stand to position the United States as an economic leader. The course was challenging and involved class discussions, oral presentations, and written assignments. The classes consisted of a dialogue with General Petraeus, who listened to our thoughts and used his vast expertise to create a thoroughly enriching, enjoyable, and comfortable classroom environment.

General Petraeus was very approachable, professional, and genuinely cared about his students. He personally read and graded all of our assignments and encouraged students to speak to him about the comments he left on our papers. After each class, he took the time to meet with all the students that wanted additional feedback. As a result, many of us saw a dramatic improvement in our ability to write effective and clear papers. General Petraeus' help throughout the semester greatly improved my ability to write on challenging public policy topics. Because of his extensive advise, I was able to submit the final term paper I wrote for his class to the University of California Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy journal, *PolicyMatters*. My paper, entitled 3D-Printing and the Law, was published in the Fall 2014 journal.

General Petraeus made the effort to get to know each student's aspirations and provided valuable guidance. He offered on numerous occasions to provide me with recommendations and advice in order to help shape my future in public policy. During a meeting with General Petraeus, he gave me extremely valuable advice that helped me decide to pursue an MPA at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School and, someday, a Ph.D. After spending this past summer as a Public Policy and International Affairs Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School, I am confident that his advice is the right path for me. While General Petraeus' schedule is tightly filled with meetings with great political leaders, he still offers his time to help his students succeed.

My fellow students and I were delighted to attend the New York Historical Society's Annual Gala in 2013 and watch our professor receive the History Makers Award for his outstanding service and contributions to our nation. General Petraeus' professional accomplishments are surpassed only by his exceptional character. On more than one occasion, I have observed General Petraeus handle difficult people with consistent grace and patience. He is selfless, hard working, thoughtful, affable, humble, and a true public servant. A sentence of imprisonment would rob future policy leaders of the opportunity to learn from General Petraeus. As a student hoping to one day be a leader in public policy, I have undoubtedly been blessed to learn from an American hero.

Sincerely,

Erika Larsen

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THE HOM. JOHEPH I. LIEBERMAN BENICH COUNSELL UNITED STATES SEVATOR, HUTCHEL

March 10, 2015

Hon, David C. Keester United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I am writing in regard to the sentencing of General David Petraeus which is before you now.

My intention is not to comment on the facts in the case which led to the plea of guilty to a misdemeanor by General Petraeus but to make my own plea for non-custodial sentence for him. I do so based on my years of professional association and personal friendship with Dave Petraeus, in peace and in war. He is a man of strength, courage, grace, honor, intellect, and civility. In the matter before you, he showed that even such an extraordinary human being can make mistakes and yield to personal temptation.

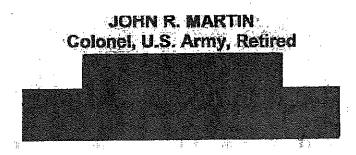
As a result, he has already suffered public humiliation that I know has been very painful for him and his family. I ask you to weigh General Petraeus' enormous service to our country and the impressive personal qualities he has demonstrated before and after this incident and impose a sentence that is non-custodial. I believe that would serve the values of justice and mercy.

Sincerely

Joseph / Lieberman

Senior Counsel

United States Senator, Retired



Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

9 March 2015

SUBJECT: Letter of Support, GEN (Ret) David H. Petraeus

Dear sir.

As an old friend and colleague of GEN (Ret) David H. Petraeus, I request that you be lenient in sentencing him for his guilty plea to the misdemeanor charge of improper storage of classified information. I certainly do not pretend to be familiar enough with the details of his case to argue its merits, but I will state that such infractions infrequently occur in the military and are often handled with only administrative action. I also believe that GEN (Ret) Petraeus has served our Nation with great distinction in the past and is capable of doing so again in the future. Both those factors act to mitigate his offense and should be considered in sentencing.

I have known GEN (Ret) Petraeus since our days as classmates at the U.S. Military Academy. While not close early in our careers, we crossed paths at numerous points - from the Pentagon to Kosovo and Bosnia to Iraq - and I was always impressed with his drive and the outstanding results he invariably produced. My first opportunity to work closely with him came in 2005, when I was recalled to active duty from retirement and served as his deputy for political-military affairs in Iraq. Over the next few years, I saw first-hand how he always produced excellence in every endeavor. With a bit of a "pick-up team" to train the Iraqi Security Forces, he led his organization in overcoming tremendous bureaucratic inertia to produce the best-possible Iraqi military and police forces in a very short time. The continuing conflict in Iraq shows that his work was not perfect, but I can imagine that the situation would be even worse had then-Lt. Gen. Petraeus not been in command. After Irag in 2005. I was able to work with Lt. Gen. Petraeus again in development of the counterinsurgency doctrine which was a key driver in the revolution in the fighting of the war in Iraq. Finally, when GEN Petraeus returned to frag in late 2006, he asked me to return to uniform from retirement a second time and join him as a Senior Advisor as he led development of the "surge" of forces that ultimately preserved the fruits of the human and other national treasure that had been spent in Irag over the years. Without his leadership of the inter-agency team in Irag, I am certain that Iraq would have splintered into various sectarian entities at civil war with each other. Our Nation owes him a debt of gratitude for his many years of sterling service, both in Iraq and subsequently in Afghanistan-and in other serior leadership positions in the U.S. government.

My long military career may also give me credibility to discuss – at least generally — the mishandling of classified information. Over my decades in uniform, I infrequently saw military and civilian personnel in organizations I led mishandle – sometimes intentionally, usually inadvertently – classified information. Each case had to be addressed on its own merits and circumstances, but I was always more concerned about correcting the handling discrepancy than in punishing the offender (although direct and explicit counseling was always in order). Repeat incidents would be handled differently, of course, but I always tried to act with leniency when confronted with initial acts of mishandling of classified information. Such leniency was prudent in light of the U.S. government – perhaps particularly the U.S. Armed Forces – tendency to over-classify. I also thought that harsh punishment of offenders in such cases would probably lead to concealment of such acts, leaving the concerned organization with no knowledge that a breach had occurred and with no ability to control the damage. I confess only peripheral knowledge of the offense of GEN (Ret) Petraeus, but I do believe there was no breach of national security because of it and that fact should speak in favor of leniency.

Finally, I believe that GEN (Ret) Petraeus has a great deal to contribute to the national security dialogue and feel that a harsh sentence would hinder his ability to make such contributions. Before retiring last year from Occidental Petroleum as Vice President of Security, I regularly spoke with GEN (Ret) Petraeus on a great variety of international security situations. I always expected him to be an authoritative source on Middle East issues, but also found him fluent in Latin American issues (relevant to my own job) and in the issues arising in other international "hot spots." I do not know what future contributions my old friend will make; nor do I know if they will be in the public or the private sector. I do know, though, that restricting his ability to make those contributions will not be good for our Nation's peace and prosperity.

Despite his attempts to "do the honorable thing" after his indiscretion became public, Dave and his wife; Holly, have suffered publicly in a manner that is far worse than would have befallen you or me in similar situations. Further punishment for this misdemeanor — which was unearthed only as a part of what seems to me an overly intense investigation into a private matter — seems unwarranted.

I urge you to be merciful as you consider what sentence is appropriate. GEN (Ret) Petraeus is both a national hero for his uniformed service and a national treasure for future service. He deserves your compassion.

Very respectfully,

John R. Martin

Colonel, U.S. Army, Retired



Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Sir:

It is incredibly painful for me to write this letter. I have known and deeply respected Dave Petraeus since he was 25 years old.

It has been my judgment throughout these many years that he is one of the most talented, dedicated, hardworking, and honorable men I have ever known.

There is no question that he has devoted his entire life to protecting the American people. In the past 15 years his personal courage and leadership skills have been a major factor in keeping the American people safe during global counter-terrorism operations.

Dave Petraeus has acknowledged his errors in judgment in the personal disaster he created for himself. He has accepted responsibility. He and his family have already paid a heavy price.

It is my hope that in the coming years we can again engage him in the service of the country.

Thank you for your attention to this letter.

V/R,



Barry R. McCaffrey GENERAL, USA Ret.





The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

March 10, 2015

Dear Judge Keesler,

During my service in Iraq, I ultimately worked for General Petraeus. However, I never met him personally until my work as a civilian at Team Rubicon. In Iraq, he implemented a strategy that saved the lives of numerous American service members. Today, back home, he is helping Team Rubicon implement a novel approach to veteran service that improves the lives of tens of thousands of military veterans.

Through our work together, I have come to know General Petraeus as a man of wisdom and a valued mentor. Moreover, I have personally witnessed the passion that he brings to his work with veterans. I have relied on his capacity to develop and hold together an international network of partners focused on helping veterans transition back to civilian life.

His deep concern for veterans and their successful reintegration into civilian society became clear to me in 2013 when he agreed to serve on the Team Rubicon Board of Advisors. In addition to his advisory role, he quickly became one of our more effective supporters. With his assistance, Team Rubicon has raised over \$2M, allowing our organization to deploy military veterans into natural disasters; helping communities and veterans alike. He has unselfishly served as a Guest of Honor at our fundraisers, a featured participant in events, and a vocal advocate for our efforts on behalf of veterans.

His wisdom was an enormous asset to me personally during my efforts to expand Team Rubicon internationally. While serving on the Team Rubicon International Expansion Committee, I turned to General Petraeus for counsel repeatedly and frequently. His perspectives on issues of international veteran needs and opportunities were invaluable, and he showed the patience to help me navigate endless new challenges. I feel grateful that he continues to offer his valued counsel as a member of the Board of Team Rubicon Global.

As the former commander of the international coalition that fought together in Iraq and Afghanistan, General Petraeus' feeling of duty to fellow veterans extends internationally. When Team Rubicon began to receive requests for assistance from foreign veterans, we found a passionate partner in the General. He has been instrumental in shaping the fledgling Team Rubicon Global board of directors. It is a testament to his character that such notable individuals as the former German Minister of Defense and the former British Commander of Land Forces have agreed to join the board of Team Rubicon Global, Beyond his efforts on our behalf at the organizational level, he has also been key to our operations all over the world. He has used his network to help Team Rubicon gain the access we need to disaster zones in order to assist communities in their time of greatest need.

More than his myriad of skills, value as a mentor, or deep connections to international leaders, what stands out most clearly in my experience with General Petraeus is his simple generosity. As a significant public figure with broad interests and a dizzying array of commitments, General Petraeus

teamrubiconglobal.org

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somehow always makes a space in his calendar for my small non-profit. When I need his assistance to think through a sudden looming problem, he is always there; no matter how complicated his schedule.

Others have doubtlessly commented on what a shame it would be to see a national figure with General Petraeus' record of selfless and effective service sentenced to Imprisonment. Please allow me to comment specifically on the Impact such a sentence would have on my organization. If General Petraeus were sentenced to imprisonment, it would materially affect our ability to realize our vision of a global veteran service organization revolutionizing disaster response. Team Rubicon would lose General Petraeus' influence with key international partners, donors, non-governmental organizations, as well as his counsel on diplomacy and international affairs. This would cripple our burgeoning organization.

I appreciate your consideration of both General Petraeus' past performance as well as the promise of his future efforts on behalf of my organization and our country. If I can clarify anything or answer any additional questions, please feel free to contact me at

Yours in Service.

William McNulty

Cofounder and CEO, Team Rubicon Global

USMC, 2000-2008

## William H. McRaven Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret)

To whom it may concern,

I have had the honor of working with General Dave Petraeus since 2003 when he had a Division Command in Mosul, Iraq. Since that time I worked directly for him when he was the Commander of the Multi-National Forces Iraq (2008-2009), as the Commander of the U.S. Central Command (2009-2010) and as the Commander, International Security Forces Afghanistan (2010-2011). Additionally, when I was selected to Command the U.S. Special Operations Command, I worked closely with Director Petraeus when he led the CIA.

In all that time, I never saw Dave Petraeus make a decision that wasn't in the best interests of the soldiers, sailors, airman and Marines that he led or in the strategic interests of the United States. His leadership was inspiring! He worked tirelessly in the toughest of combat environments. He was constantly reaching out to the troops ensuring they had what they needed to do the job; ensuring they knew he appreciated their sacrifice and ensuring that they were remembered when they fell in combat. Leadership under these circumstances is physically and mentally exhausting. It requires a special kind of individual to withstand the daily grind, the political pressures, the incredible combat losses and the need to be victorious. Dave Petraeus had that quality. I guarantee you that his leadership saved the lives of thousands of soldiers; lives that would have been lost if different tactical, operational and strategic decisions had been made by a different man.

While I don't condone General Petraeus' actions after he left the service, I do put them in context with his service to the Nation. Few, if any Generals I know, and I know a lot of them, gave as much, did as much or accomplished as much as Dave Petraeus. I will personally be in his debt for his support to special operations. We were highly successful throughout my tenure as the Joint Special Operations Commander, because General Petraeus gave me the latitude and the support to do my job. And...when we failed, which we did occasionally, he understood. Even good people make mistakes.

I wanted to add my name to those who greatly appreciate General Petreaus service to the Nation and if I can answer any further questions, please do not hesitate to call me at

Very respectfully,

William H. McRaven Admiral, USN (Ret)

/whm

March 11, 2015

Hon. David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

For nearly two years, David H. Petraeus and I have been colleagues at KKR. We have worked quite closely with Dave and I feel that I have gotten to know him well. I hope that my thoughts are useful to your sentencing process.

KKR is a global investment firm. We invest in companies, real estate assets and infrastructure projects largely on behalf of institutional investors and wealthy individuals. Through our capital and by rolling up our sleeves, we seek to improve many of the companies in which we invest.

Dave is Chairman of the KKR Global Institute where he enhances our investment process with his unique perspective on global affairs and markets. His leadership style is hands-on. There is no request, no endeavor, no matter too small or colleague too unimportant for Dave's careful attention and commitment to help. These leadership skills, along with Dave's intellectual curiosity and capacity, unparalleled work ethic and discretion have earned the confidence of some of the world's most sophisticated business leaders and investors in navigating complicated and intractable problems. Of course, none of this was a surprise to me given Dave's spectacular success serving our country.

But I've been equally impressed by Dave's admirable personal qualities. Dave is an enthusiastic participant on every team and considers carefully the opinions of everyone from less experienced, younger professionals in all roles to our most senior and accomplished colleagues. Everyone has great confidence in Dave, feels that he values their views, and appreciates the personal interest he takes in them. I've also been impressed with Dave's commitments to self-improvement and to learning from everyone with whom he interacts.

Dave has maintained his deep commitment to public service. He chairs KKR's Veteran's Advisory Council, a partnership with many KKR portfolio companies that has hired 26,000 veterans in the past three years. He has also continued to serve as a trusted and confidential bipartisan advisor to leaders in the Administration and Congress, offering his insights on vexing public policy challenges and solutions to global threats. His writing, speaking and teaching on "the coming North American decades" is an optimistic vision for our nation's future, including thoughtful and specific policy suggestions to realize this promise. And, Dave's work at the City College of New York epitomizes his commitment to upward mobility for young men and women of promise, but whose families lack economic means.

Over the past two years, I have come to respect, admire and trust Dave Petraeus as a colleague, patriot & friend. He adds significant value to KKR's investing and to our culture and we look forward to his continuing service as a trusted Member of KKR for many years. I hope my thoughts are helpful to you in making your sentencing decision.

Sincerely.

Kenneth B. Mehlman

## 11 March 2015

Dear Judge Keesler,

I write today in support of David H. Petraeus, whom I have known and worked closely with from 2004 through 2012. Dave is the foremost General of our generation, a reputation he forged leading our military in two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan while confronting the 21<sup>st</sup> century terror threat.

I hold know one in higher regard for his achievements. He has distinguished himself to the greater good in Iraq, where he reversed certain failure and in Afghanistan, where he stabilized a most complex campaign in a war torn country.

In countless circumstances with which he and I dealt, Dave Petraeus demonstrated a dedication and determination which was matchless. He also cared deeply about those with whom he served, whether enlisted or officer. He is a human being of character and strong moral fiber who led with integrity.

Dave is also humanly flawed, as many are, for which he has paid a huge price both personally and professionally. And I am certain he will deeply regret his mistakes for the rest of his life. Dave has as much potential for service as just about anyone I know. He possesses a special capacity combined with a desire to make a difference.

I would ask that Dave's life of exceptional service to our country and his potential for the future be considered in mitigation in the important decision before you.

Thank you for the consideration.

Sincerely, Wille Mw

M.G. Mullen

Admiral, USN (Ret)

17th Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

## THE HAVERFORD SCHOOL

John A. Nagl, D.Phil. P'20 Headmaster

March 10, 2015

Hon. David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Your Honor,

It is my unfortunate task today to ask that you grant elemency on David H. Petraeus.

I have known David for nearly thirty years. We met when I was a young West Point cadet and he was a Captain teaching in the Military Academy's Department of Social Sciences and completing his Princeton University doctoral dissertation on the Vietnam War. He has been a mentor, teacher, leader, and friend to me through three decades, but David has also had a positive national and international impact over that time that I believe to be unmatched. His complete dedication to the United States and to the defense of her citizens are worthy of your consideration.

David left West Point after two years of teaching to work as a speechwriter to General John Galvin, the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO. When I was assigned as a summer intern to NATO before my senior year, David offered me a corner of his desk and a chance to see how international security policy was made. I wrote my senior thesis under his mentorship, literally shoulder to shoulder, struggling to keep up with David both intellectually and on morning PT runs. He wrote what turned out to be the decisive letter in my successful application for a Rhodes Scholarship, and I will always be grateful.

Dave's mentorship continued as I strove to follow in his footsteps, although remembering those runs with him I chose the less physically demanding path of service as a tank officer rather than an infantryman. I was deeply concerned when Dave was shot through the chest in a training accident at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, and not at all surprised when he quickly escaped from his hospital bed to do PT with his troops. He shattered his pelvis in a parachute jump, but quickly regained his strength and demonstrated that fact by again running me into the ground. Although never wounded in combat, Dave has suffered enormous suffering during his military career. He played important roles in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, spending significant time away from home and his son and daughter, but David first saw combat in Iraq in 2003, leading the famed 101st Airborne Division on the assault against Saddam Hussein. While successful in combat, he was magnanimous in peace, working hard to restore Mosul, Iraq's third largest city,

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to economic prosperity after the war. He was so successful in this task that he was quickly promoted to three-star general and almost immediately sent back to Iraq and given the impossible task of recreating the Iraqi Army and police force, a mission I helped him accomplish during my own service in Al Anbar province in 2004. It was a Herculean mission, requiring creative thinking and enormous dedication to overcoming a multitude of obstacles as well as physical courage, and he did it enormously well.

Returning to the United States for close to the first time in a decade, Dave was assigned to lead the Army's Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the Army's brain center. Convinced that we were not winning the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan but that we could do better by following the lessons of history he had learned at Princeton and taught at West Point, David pulled together a team of soldier-scholars to rewrite the Army Counterinsurgency Manual for the first time since Vietnam. He accomplished that task in less than a year, and then was given the extraordinary opportunity to put the doctrine he had written into practice, assigned to command all forces in Iraq during that war's darkest hour.

All seemed lost. Dave had to remind Senators Clinton and Obama that "Hard is not hopeless", and when I was asked his chances for success, I estimated them as between one in three and even—but, I said, if there was a man on the planet who could turn that war around, it was him. He did it. In one of the most extraordinary turns of events in military history, Dave convinced the Sunni tribes who had been killing our soldiers with roadside bombs to stop fighting against us and instead to fight with us against Al Qaeda in Iraq. It was a miracle, and it would not have happened without him. Violence dropped by two-thirds over his eighteen months in command, and he left Iraq with a reasonable prospect for long-term stability and a foreign policy that was in the interests of the United States of America.

Any other man would have retired, written his memoirs, and made millions. Dave doesn't care about money; he cares about serving his country. He took on the enormously difficult job of commanding Central Command, responsible for dozens of countries whose security is critical to our nation including both Iraq and Afghanistan. When President Obama relieved General Stan McChrystal, then commanding in Afghanistan, at a critical moment in American civil-military relations, the President knew that only one American could hold that war together. And so, without even telling his wife that he was going back to combat, Dave took command of another theater of war, the Afghan war.

It was even more difficult than Iraq had been, but he displayed the same determination to succeed that has always marked Dave's career. He altered the trajectory of the Afghan war as he had the war in Iraq, but Afghanistan was a harder task, not least because of Pakistan's perfidy. Dave gave up command of that war to become the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, taking off his country's uniform after wearing it for nearly forty years, but continuing his extraordinary service to our nation.

Dave made critical mistakes as Director of the CIA that put at risk highly classified intelligence. I will not downplay the significance of his actions, nor argue that he should not be punished for them. But Dave's crime should be viewed against the totality of his career of service and sacrifice, including repeated combat tours in two wars. As a military historian, I am confident

that David Petraeus is the greatest general of his generation. The nation owes him a huge debt of gratitude, and I very much hope that you will recognize his service when sentencing this man who has done so much to keep us and our children safe from harm, and changed the course of history.

I personally believe that his service is not yet complete, and will note that the White House continues to call upon his expertise and personal connections as we now wage war against the extraordinary evil that calls itself the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. I would urge you to sentence Dave to community service connected to that war, working with national decision makers and the US military to fight against an ISIS that threatens innocents around the globe. Dave is a national asset, and we cannot afford to have his talents, experience, and commitment to our collective safety sidelined at this critical juncture of the war against radical Islamic extremism. Please, your honor, have mercy on him, and put him to work on behalf of our future.

Sincerely,

John A. Nagl, D. Phil.

Ninth Headmaster

Lieutenant Colonel, US Army (Retired)

Dear Judge Keesler;

This Letter is in support of David Petraeus. I first met David in Italy in the 509<sup>th</sup> Airborne Battalion Combat Team in Vicenza, Italy. I was the unit Executive Officer, later Deputy Commander, later Commander. David was initially a rifle platoon leader and later-for the bulk of our time-the S1 (Personnel) as a 2d Lt and later 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. This position is normally held by a senior Captain. David and his wife Holly, became close personal friends despite the difference in rank and have remained so to this day. David was truly exceptionally as his reports show.

From that time forward, we have remained in close touch with both Dave and Holly. In a sense, I have been a constant mentor and friend for David through his progress and responsibilities.

David has always exhibited exceptional competency, insight, astuteness and personal qualities that set him apart from virtually all others I have known. Above all else, (and I have a very strong sensitivity button for self-serving, self-aggrandizement), David has always striven to be the best and do the best in a situation-not for him but for the issue at hand. In my 40+ years of Service, I find him distinctly unique.

For whatever reason, he has qualities that others lack in both problem insight and problem resolution that have served him and the Nation exceptionally well over time and his personal progress. His continuous selection by very senior officers to be their intellectual compass underscores this. His lack of concern regarding jealousies, backbiting and personal professional risk sets him apart. He is truly more concerned about outcomes than himself. In my experience, this is an exceedingly rare quality.

I believe I know and understand David better than most anyone outside his immediate family. He has always had an insatiable core fire to accomplish good for good causes and is totally sincere in that regard despite others carping or jealousies. Within our generation, I consider him a truly Great Man.

David has given an extraordinary value to our Nation over the terms of his Service. He is almost unique and alone in his historic ability to provide positive resolutions where others have presided over failure. Despite contemporary issues, his desire to continue to serve remains undiminished. And he has a lot more to give.

I have had extensive dialogue with David and can assure you, that whatever punishment may be meted, pales in comparison to the punishment he has visited upon himself and always will. The weight of issues is a life sentence on him and a deep personal punishment which he can never expunge.

I ask that you find some way to permit his continuous and exceptional value to this Nation.

Col (Ret)



March 9; 2015

Dear Judge Keesler,

I am pleased to write in strong support of General David H. Petraeus' character and contributions, and affirm my profound belief that he has much to continue to offer our society, as a skilled educator and a brilliant thought leader. I first met General Petraeus during his tenure as director of the Central Intelligence Agency and, as soon as he stepped down, I contacted him to discuss his joining USC's faculty as a professor. He was subsequently appointed a Judge Widney Professor at USC, a prestigious appointment that was enthusiastically endorsed by the appropriate faculty committee.

Since his faculty appointment, our students and faculty have benefited tremendously from his exceptional wisdom and experience as a legendary military leader, and have drawn on his singular knowledge of the many complex challenges and opportunities facing our nation. Through his interactions both in and outside the classroom, he has inspired many in our university community with his dedication to our nation, his keen intellect, and the leadership experience that he has shared with our students. They have been learning a great deal—and have much to learn in the future, as do General Petraeus' colleagues on our faculty. Throughout this time, I have interacted frequently with General Petraeus, and I believe he is a patriot, and that his service to our nation has been sterling as a military leader and public figure.

In a number of distinctive ways, the USC community stands to benefit greatly from General Petraeus' continued contributions, particularly at this juncture in our nation's history. USC currently educates close to 800 veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, as well as ROTC students. We are also home to the USC Military Social Work program, a nationally recognized program that helps thousands of veterans and their families transition to civilian life, while addressing their unique challenges. General Petraeus has been an excellent mentor for our veterans, ROTC students, and military social workers, as he spends considerable time with them, even taking groups of them to exercise and run in the L.A. Coliseum. During these interactions, I have witnessed firsthand how much our veterans and ROTC students revere him. They clearly understand the depth of his experience, and remain eager to learn from his personal insights and guidance.

General Petraeus is also an outstanding advisor for USC administration, particularly in helping to successfully address our veterans' special needs as they pursue their degrees. As part of his duties, he serves as the faculty advisor to our veterans' organization, and has successfully fundraised for its initiatives. Again, I have witnessed these activities firsthand, and have been deeply impressed by General Petraeus' commitment and effectiveness.

The Honorable David C. Keesler March 9, 2015 Page Two

While General Petraeus made a misstep for which he has pled guilty, his continued service to our nation as an adviser to the government and military—as well as to USC students, faculty, ROTC students, and veterans—is essential. I also believe General Petraeus contributes to the national welfare through his speeches and other public activities, such as his involvement at the Aspen Institute and similar groups and institutions. He stands as an expert in hemisphere matters, and is a national treasure.

As a citizen and as president of USC, I kindly ask the court to exercise its discretion in favor of permitting General Petraeus to continue his valuable service to our students, veterans, and our nation without any interruption. I make this request humbly, but without any reservations whatsoever.

Sincerely,

C.L. Max Nikias President

The Honorable David C. Keesler
United States District Court
401 West Trade Street, Suite 238
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

# BROOKINGS

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March 8, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler t 17-1 Filed David Bards Diet 5 6 668

401 West Trade Street

Suite 238

Charlotte, NC. 28202

Greetings, Judge Keesler!

I am writing in support of the character and contributions to our nation, past and present and future, of retired General David H. Petraeus, as you consider his sentencing.

I have known General Petraeus for about 30 years, since he was Major Petraeus and we were graduate students togethor at Princeton. I have known him particularly well since about 2002/2003 and have considered him one of my very good friends for roughly the last 5 to 8 years. I should say that I also know Paula Broadwell quite well and in fact interacted a good deal with her as she wrote the book about him.

To this article, I will addend a recent newspaper column I recently wrote about General Petraeus. The discussion there of his contributions to our nation's security, and also his care in handling sensitive national-security related information, may be germane to the subject at hand, and I hope you will read the short article. In addition, I would offer the following three points:

He continues to be in high demand for his expertise about the broader Middle East. His knowledge of Iraq and of the region more generally, given his experiences at Central Command and the CIA and in Afghanistan as well, makes his advice highly sought after by many leaders in this country and abroad. I know this from multiple sources. I also know how much he is committed to seeing America do well, and how much he believes in its future—we have written together on this subject, and I believe his voice is very important in keeping Americans positive about their country, and willing to work and sacrifice for it.

His personal integrity is very high. I have an autistic daughter and he is always kind to her, and to the rest of my family, and our mutual friends as well. He has many former colleagues in the Army who were hart in the wars and he continues to spend a great deal of tune with them, as well as the families of those who lost loved ones. His commitment

to teaching and to America's next generation is exemplary.

His seriousness about protecting national security information was also exemplary, despite the lapses that you are focused on. I was on his CIA Advisory Board for more than a year and even though I had every clearance in the book, he was always very discreet and careful about what he'd share with me and where. He lived the 'need to know' creed to the atmost. The same was true more generally about how he briefed our Advisory Board as a group; he would share enough information to help us understand an issue, but not beyond that. When I traveled to Iraq and Afghanistan during his command, as a part of groups of outside analysis, he created additional layers of care in how we

were asked to protect any classified information we might come into contact with there-(we had clearances but Petraeus wanted extra diligence, knowing the sensitivity of a number of things, and the importance of protecting operational secrets in a war zone). When we did a CENTCOM strategy review in late 2008 and 2009, those of us who participated were asked to do all of our work and reading and discussing in secure areas t 17-1 Filed 04/15/16 Netages 190 of the State of things 1 observed over the years, he was extremely careful about national security scorets affecting the United States

> I hope these comments are helpful, and thank you for the chance to youch for one of our nation's great patriots.

# Dave Petraeus, national hero

Michael O'Hanton, Senior Fellow and Director of Research, Poreign Policy at Brackings

Politico

MARCH 4 2015-

It was September 2002 and Maj. Gen. David Petraeus wanted to talk. We hadn't seen each othermuch for 15 years, since parting ways at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, where he had wowed professors and students alike by writing an excellent PhD dissertation on civil-military relations in the Vietnam War in record-breaking time. Since then, there had been the end of the Cold War and Desert Storm, he had deployed to Haiti and Bosma, he had been accidentally shotand nearly killed in a live-fire exercise (future Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist saved his life at a hospital in Nashville), he had nearly died again a decade later when his parachute partially failed in an advanced paratrooper exercise. And then 9/11 happened, along with the beginning of the Afghanistan War. To be sure, we had lots to discuss.

But Petraeus wanted to talk mostly about shrink-wrapping helicopters. He knew that he might have to move the 101st Air Assault Division by train from Fort Campbell, Kentucky to the Atlantic scaboard in preparation for possible deployment to leag. We didn't talk a lot about the high politics or military practicalities of an actual invasion in that conversation. You know the old saying, generals think logistics! And that is exactly where his mind was

If there's one thing about all others that impresses me about my good friend, who has just taken another hit in recent days, it's his versatility. He has described the modern American soldier as a pentathlete somebody who must be ready to do it all, even in today's world when counterinsurgency and other such missions have gone out of style. He has lived that creed Figuring out how to prepare helicopters for transport was just one mundane example, but a telling one.

In understanding the travails of Petraeus today, and sizing up what his career has meant to the country, we should think first and foremost about his excellence across many domains of military and strategic endeavor. To my mind, what he did in Iraq was probably the greatest complex accomplishment by any American general since Washington in the Revolutionary War. Sure. I'm biased, and sure, the stakes for the nation were lower in Iraq than in the world wars or 17-1 Filed 64/15/95 apage 57/06/95/em less durable in the face of fullure events. And for hardship in the field, those generals of earlier days usually had it much worse.

But in the need to combine knowledge of maneuver warfare, required for the taking-down of Saddam back in 2003, to the reinvigoration and refinement of proper counterinsurgency operations that Petraeus led in the field in 2007 (after writing the U.S. military's manual on the subject with Marine Gorps Lt. Gen. James Amos, the fitture Commandant, in 2006), to the mastery of Iraqi tribal and regional and national politics needed to bring all the pieces of the team together, to the handling of the Washington debate, there was something different about this war. It was simply more complicated, with more moving parts, and more things that had to go right to have any chance of success.

To be sure, Petraeus didn't do it alone—and he was always quick to share the credit. Among the people he reved about most, when we used to go for runs or when various think tanks like mine would host him for discussions about the war on his visits home in 2007-2008, were General Stanley McChrystal, who runped up American special operations orders of magnitude above where it had been before; HR McMaster, then a relatively junior of licer among the first to make proper counterinsurgency tactics work in Iraq even before the surge; Seth Moulton and Ann Childrey Fox, young Marine Corps reservists who tried to catalyze a Shia awakening of serts in eastern Iraq (Moulton is now a Congressman from Massachusetts); General Ray Odierno and General Lloyd Austin, who directed the surge at the operational level; General Irin Dublic and General Marty Dempsey, who can the training programs for Iraqi forces in those crucial times; General John Allen, who among other Marine Corps leaders was emoial in nurturing the Sunni awakening process in al-Anbar province; and Petraeus's main civilian counterpart, Ambassador Ryan Crocker.

This dream team refashioned the fragi Security Forces and their leadership, then worked with them to bring down violence rates in Iraq an incredible 90 percent and give Iraqi leaders a chance to turn their country around. That change, tragically, was largely squandered in ensuing years, but Petragus and Crocker et al gave them the chance. On balance, this was arguably the greatest military comeback in American history, after four successive years of losing the war.

To be sure, the conduct of the Iraq and Alghanistan wars will be debated for a long time. No one will easily advocate anything resembling the Iraq invasion anytime soon, lest there be simply no alternative in a given situation when core American national security interests are threatened. But Petracus was not the one who chose to get involved in the wars in the first place; our nation asked him and his fellow troopers to do their utmost in extremely difficult endeavors, and that is precisely what they did. Moreover, many of the skills they honed in those places may well be relevant to future warfare, in ways we cannot easily foresec right now. Remember the old Bolshevik saying, we may not have an interest any longer in messy wars abroad, but they may have an interest in us.

This had story, as well as the Afghanistan experience, are of course well known by now—even if, as a recent Atlantic magazine story and other such writings reveal, people can be quick to forget, or to misconstrue and rewrite history for their own purposes. But an argument that has not been appreciated enough in the brouhaha over Petraeus's mistakes in handling classified information is that, as commander, he was also a great communicator who erred on the side of Filed OpenSets arriagnageners. To be sure, giving his mistress Paula Broadwell classified documents for the purposes of writing a book was unwarranted. But the overall approach, led by Petraeus in the Iraq effort, of sharing as much information as possible with the American public and Congress is a great improvement over the prevailing patterns from Vienam and earlier eras.

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Petracus was constantly having to assess what sensitive information to discuss publicly, in the interest of keeping the nation properly apprised about the course of conflict. One of his mantras was "be first with the nutil" and he practiced that doggedly in the interest of serving the American people—at the two-star level with the 10 list, at the three-star level when first training lead security forces and then writing the manual with General Amos, and at the four-star level in Iraq and Afghanistan and during his tenure at Central Command as well.

In these wars, increover, tens of thousands of documents were constantly being classified, often in austere conditions in the field. But the declassification process was far more laborious and tedious and slow. That meant that a commander committed to keeping the American people and their elected representatives well informed about the conflict needed to use his own judgment at times about what was truly sensitive and what could be—in fact, what must be—shared and discussed and debased openly.

This is not to excuse Petraeus's mishandling of classified documents. But as President Obamus said two years ago, there is no reason to think that national security was damaged by any of what he shared. Nor, by the way, do I think Ms. Broadwell, who also had a security clearance, would ever be presponsible in releasing sensitive information that could affect American national security adversely.

Dave Petraeus is a national treasure and a hero. And while he has taken a self-induced fall, I do not believe his parachute will fail him again. He has a strong and supportive and forgiving family. He is already putting his mind to new challenges, such as fostering and promoting what he likes to call a new North American century of opportunity and promise, while continuing to advise policymakers from the United States to Burope to the Middle East about how to handle the ISIS and al Queda threats as well as other regional challenges.

Remember the adage, old generals never die, they just fade away. It doesn't apply here. First, as a matter of personal self-preservation, let me say that the 62-year David Petraeus is not old. Were I to say otherwise, I'd pay for it in spades on our next run. His vigor and energy remain remarkable. Second, he won't fade away. I'm not sure how, but he will serve his country again. In fact, in what he is already doing—not only for our national security debate, but also our wounded warriors, our next generation of students that he currently instructs when wearing his teaching hat, and Americans around the country who admire his grace under duress, is just the latest chapter in a remarkable career that is far from over.

#### MEGHAN O'SULLIVAN



Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs
Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project
Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, NC. 28202 10 April 2015

To The Honorable David C. Keesler,

Thank you for your willingness to read this letter in support of General David Petraeus. I have known General Petraeus since 2003, when he was commander of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division in northern Iraq and I was working for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. In the many years that followed, we stayed in close contact as his career repeatedly returned him to Iraq (and Afghanistan) and I became Deputy National Security Adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan at the White House. In 2007, I joined him in Baghdad at his request to help execute the new strategy for Iraq that President Bush had recently announced.

Throughout these years, I saw General Petraeus in the darkest of moments and under the greatest of stresses. I feel I know him not only as a famous general, but as a person, with his own strengths and weaknesses. It is for this reason that I felt compelled to write this letter. I understand that the process of sentencing will involve many legal considerations about which I have no knowledge. But to the extent that you have discretion in the process, I hope you will take a few facets of David Petraeus into account.

First, General Petraeus has served the United States at a level and with a sense of commitment matched by few others since 9/11. He enthusiastically took on missions that others dismissed as hopeless. Through relentless optimism, intellectual honesty and rigor, and personal charisma, General Petraeus was able to motivate tens of thousands of men and women in uniform, as well civilians, and even Iraqis to push for a better future for Iraq and a better outcome for the United States. While no one man or woman can account for the success or failure of a mission as complicated and fraught as that of Iraq, General Petraeus' involvement was absolutely critical in reversing the tragic trajectories in Iraq from 2007-2008.

PHONE 617-496-4308 EMAIL meghan\_osullivan@hks.harvard.edu 79 John F. Kennedy Street, Box 53 Cambridge, MA 02138 While any reader of history can attest to his success as a military commander, as someone who spent years toiling over difficult problems with him, I can attest to his remarkable sense of service. Over the better part of a decade, I never once heard him lament the hardships or complain of the challenges he faced during his many years of deployments with few comforts, many dangers, enormous responsibilities, and insufficient resources.

In addition, General Petraeus still has a great deal to give to our country – at a time when many of the challenges we face abroad are of the exact variety about which he holds great and almost unique expertise. While doing well in the private sector, General Petraeus remains deeply committed to public service and is eager to be unfettered in his ability to provide advice and recommendations to the U.S. government. I am one American who hopes that he will be able to continue in one way or another his extraordinary contribution to U.S. national security in the very immediate future.

Thank you again for considering the contents of this letter. Again, to the extent that you have discretion in the sentencing process, I would be grateful if you consider his extraordinary service to our country and the potential contributions he still has to make at this time of great uncertainty overseas.

Yours sincerely,

Meghan L. O'Sullivan

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# DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY DEPARTMENT OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES AND LEADERSHIP UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY WEST POINT, NY 10996

March 20, 2015

The Honorable David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street, Suite 238 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I served as General David H. Petraeus' personal aide-de-camp from June 2006 to September 2008, a period that included the entire "Surge" in Iraq. During almost all of that time—seven days a week and 24 hours a day—I was either by his side or in the room next door. I may know him better than anyone outside of his immediate family.

As General Petraeus' closest personal assistant, I advised him on sensitive decisions, recruited and supervised much of his personal staff, and often spoke for him. I facilitated and had appropriate access to his correspondence. I worked closely with him during the great days and the tough days. And during the "Surge," there were plenty of both.

Flag officers and their personal aides often grow close, and over time, flag officers tend to "let their guard down" and show their true selves to their aides. The more I got to know General Petraeus, the more he impressed me as a man of impeccable character who served our country with distinction and honor. In all of my time with General Petraeus, I am not aware of him committing a professional or personal moral indiscretion.

In fact, General Petraeus was a character role model for me and all those under his command. I saw him use his lawful authority to grant second chances to scores of servicemembers who had fallen short of moral or professional standards and were pending disciplinary action, yet who were worthy of those second chances. I saw his consistent kindness to custodial staff, beggars, and those who were disadvantaged. I know he spoke honestly and generously about an officer others widely perceived as a rival to him when a powerful senator asked him if that officer should be promoted or retired. I saw him personally pick up trash off the ground everywhere we went, teaching by example that officers are humbly responsible for everything under their commands. I saw him hand-write thank-you notes to hundreds of people who were simply doing their jobs. I saw him believe in the American and Iraqi soldiers when very few other people did. I saw him encourage and win reconciliation between seemingly intractable political and military factions in Iraq. I saw him change the Coalition's detention policy in Iraq from one of punishment to one of rehabilitation and forgiveness. I saw him, time and time again, display remarkable personal courage by deliberately taking his body armor and helmet off and walking down some of the most dangerous streets in Iraq, to show the Iraqis and the Americans that peace was within their grasp, and that there was hope. I saw him reward soldiers for their restraint when the rules of engagement authorized them to choose violence and death. I saw him advocate for women's and minority rights, both in Iraq and within the US military. I saw thousands of Coalition soldiers and civilians stand taller and pull their shoulders back when he

walked by, proud that he was their commander. I saw him forward care packages that were marked for him to the soldiers in the most remote patrol bases. I saw him struggle with the emotions of the pink folders—the ones that held the condolence letters to family members of the fallen— and I saw the terrible toll each took on him as he wrote personal notes to far too many next of kin. And I saw him make herculean efforts to attend as many memorial services as possible, where he would salute the folded flags that represented lives taken much too early, and embrace and encourage the survivors.

General Petraeus is a national hero who has admitted to making mistakes. Our country remains deeply indebted to him, though he will tell you that no one owes him anything—he was simply honored to serve others. Without condoning any human shortcoming he has shown, I request that he be granted the same grace he gave others daily throughout his 38 years of service to our Army and nation.

It was my honor to serve with and

learn from General Petracus.

Sincerely,

Everett S. P. Spain Colonel, U.S. Army Academy Professor

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#### Robert B. Zoellick

March 17, 2015

Honorary David C. Keesler United States District Court 401 West Trade Street Suite 238 Charlotte, NC 28202

Dear Judge Keesler,

I am writing to you as the court considers the disposition of the case concerning General David Petraeus.

I first met General Petraeus in Iraq when I served as Deputy Secretary of State. We later met when he was in charge of Central Command, and I became President of the World Bank Group, to discuss development and economic issues related to political and security stability in Afghanistan and Iraq. More recently, we co-chaired a U.S. Council on Foreign Relations Task Force that produced a report on U.S. policy toward North America. In that capacity, we travelled together on numerous occasions to Canada and Mexico, and conducted many meetings in U.S. cities and with our task force. We spent many hours together.

Others can offer more knowledgeable and informed testimonials to General Petraeus's long and accomplished military service to our country. I may be able to offer some insight on his recent service since leaving government and his potential to contribute in the future.

General Petraeus continues to feel a strong sense of responsibility to America's men and women in the military, as well as to our veterans. I have seen how he treats them—from enlisted personnel to junior officers and senior commanders. He is respectful, concerned, and serious. He goes out of his way to meet current military personnel and veterans. He shows that they will always be part of his extended family. And they appreciate his attention and encouragement.

Moreover, having met Mexican and Canadian officials, businesspeople, experts, society groups, and journalists with General Petraeus, I know people around the world are eager to gain from his insights and experience. Even as a civilian, David Petraeus remains an influential representative of the United States. I have learned from him, too. General Petraeus has much to offer, and his sense of duty and responsibility will make him a valued individual for our country and others throughout his life.

General Petraeus has a special interest in sharing his experience with students who are beginning their careers. We have discussed his courses, interest in teaching, and promotion of the up-and-coming generations. He encourages their achievement. His personal commitment is strong.

I have had the good fortune of working with many of America's senior officers over the course of some 25 years. They are a serious, highly professional cadre. Generals and Admirals, of course, become used to command. But they are respectful of the place of the military in America's civilian society. They are also highly accomplished individuals and a very impressive group that represents the United States with great skill, decency, and knowledge around the world. General Petraeus ranks at the top of this honorable order. He has much to offer his fellow countrymen—as well as others around the globe—and I hope he will have the full opportunity to do so.

Thank you for your consideration.

Robert B. Foelled

With respect,

Robert B. Zoellick