

***UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA***

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

JAMES E. CARTWRIGHT

CASE NO.: 1:16-cr-188-RJL

**SENTENCING MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF
JAMES E. CARTWRIGHT**

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- Former National Security Advisor Stephen J. Hadley
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- Former Under Secretary of the Treasury Stuart A. Levey
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- Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus
- Brigadier General Richard Scott Stapp, Former Director of Department of Defense Special Access Program Central Office
- Former Senior Counselor to the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Scott Lewis Weber

Letters from Interested Individuals

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- Robert E. Beauchamp, Chairman and CEO of BMC Software, director of Raytheon
- Susan Eisenhower, Chairman and CEO of Eisenhower Group
- Mary L. Howell, CEO of Howell Strategy Group, director of Atlantic Council
- Thomas A. Kennedy, Chairman and CEO of Raytheon
- David McAllister-Wilson, President of Wesley Theological Seminary
- Ronald L. Skates, former director of Raytheon
- William R. Spivey, director of Raytheon

Official White House Photograph of May 2013 Meeting with President Obama, Vice President Biden, General Cartwright, and Others

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I. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

On Friday, November 2, 2012, General James E. Cartwright made false statements to federal investigators during the course of an interview. Confronted with evidence of that misconduct, he acknowledged his mistake. When the interview resumed the following business day (Monday, November 5, 2012), he corrected the record. General Cartwright understands the magnitude of his offense and deeply regrets the decision that he made on November 2, 2012. He has accepted responsibility and acknowledged his guilt. On October 17, 2016, General Cartwright entered a plea of guilty to violating 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

With deepest respect for the rule of law -- and without minimizing his misconduct -- General Cartwright submits this Sentencing Memorandum in support of his request for a non-custodial sentence. In fashioning a sentence sufficient to achieve the purposes of punishment, General Cartwright urges the Court to consider the following facts:

(1) General Cartwright's entire life has been dedicated to serving his country. That life of service has been distinguished by exceptional public achievement. It is not enough to say that General Cartwright's service has been exemplary. As a result of his leadership in the military and his work for two Presidents, wars have been avoided and lives have been saved. That history emerges from the 20-page Presentence Report that details General Cartwright's personal history and military record. It can also be seen in the letters that have been submitted to this Court from leaders of the nation's security establishment and from co-workers, colleagues and citizens who know him and have worked with him. They are unanimous in their support for a probationary sentence not only because of his past public service but also because of his potential to contribute in the future.

(2) In his contacts and communications with American journalists, General Cartwright was motivated by a desire to save secrets, not to disclose them. It is true that General Cartwright discussed classified information with individuals not authorized to receive such information. General Cartwright acknowledges that he engaged in such communications with David Sanger of the *New York Times* and with Daniel Klaidman then of *Newsweek* magazine. Those communications, however, took place as part of -- and in the context of -- General Cartwright's good-faith effort to eliminate details in the reporting of these journalists that, if published, could put U.S. lives in jeopardy and endanger national security interests.

Letters from Messrs. Sanger and Klaidman provide important context:

- *First*, both journalists contacted General Cartwright -- he did not initiate contact with them. *See* Ex. 3 (Sanger letter), p. 1; Ex. 4 (Klaidman letter) (under seal), p. 2.
- *Second*, both journalists conducted almost all of their pertinent research before they contacted General Cartwright in the communications at issue. As Mr. Sanger explains, "I had spoken to many sources in the United States, Israel, Europe, and elsewhere prior to speaking to Gen. Cartwright, and I already had a detailed understanding of the chain of events." Ex. 3, p. 1; *see also* Ex. 4, pp. 1-2.
- *Third*, General Cartwright understood that both journalists had engaged in discussions with the White House in advance of their discussions with him. In his letter, Mr. Sanger relates that the White House "advised [him] to reach out to Gen. Cartwright for an interview." Ex. 3, p. 1. Mr. Sanger related the same to General Cartwright directly, and Mr. Klaidman in his emails with General

Cartwright also explicitly invoked previous communications with the White House.

- *Fourth*, and perhaps most significantly for the current context, in General Cartwright's communications with both journalists, he successfully persuaded them not to report information that would be harmful to the United States. As Mr. Sanger summarizes, General Cartwright "expressed concerns that certain classified information not be revealed. His cautions weighed heavily in decisions that I made, in consultation with editors, about what information to withhold from publication." Ex. 3, p. 2; *see also* Ex. 4, p. 2 (based on General Cartwright's request and reasoning, Mr. Klaidman did not include certain content in his public reporting). As Mr. Sanger emphasizes, "Throughout the interview, [General Cartwright] consistently showed his concern that information damaging to U.S. interests not be made public. . . . I have no doubt he was trying to act in the best interests of the United States." Ex. 3, p. 2.

In sum, in his contacts with Messrs. Sanger and Klaidman, General Cartwright was engaged in a "save-the-secrets" exercise, a practice that is well-established and well-understood in Washington, D.C. It provides senior officials in the national security establishment an opportunity to persuade journalists to modify their reporting on the most sensitive topics of national security interest to avoid harm to the nation -- exactly what General Cartwright did here.

(3) A sentence of incarceration in this case is not needed to achieve the purposes of punishment or to serve the interests of justice. *See* 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). Such a sentence is not justified either by the circumstances of the offense or by the history and character of the defendant. General Cartwright has already paid a high price for his mistake and been damaged

almost beyond measure. To sentence General Cartwright to jail -- to add incarceration to the injury and humiliation that he has already suffered -- would result in gross sentencing disparities when compared with comparable cases. The applicable Sentencing Guidelines range includes a probationary sentence without incarceration, and thus such a sentence would be fully consistent with the applicable Guidelines range. A sentence of probation with community service is appropriate and available in this case. We urge the Court to follow that path.

II. THE OFFENSE

General Cartwright's offense is described in the one-count Information and Statement of Offense filed with the Court on October 17, 2016. General Cartwright does not dispute the factual basis for the offense as set forth in those documents.

On Friday, November 2, 2012, two agents from the FBI and an Assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Maryland interviewed General Cartwright. General Cartwright knew that this interview was part of a highly publicized investigation of certain leaks of classified information to reporters. The investigation had been prompted by, among other things, speeches from lawmakers on the floor of the Senate and the House accusing the Obama White House of impropriety, *i.e.*, of having engaged in the selective leaking of classified information for political advantage during the ongoing presidential campaign. *See, e.g., Rep. King: Obama Using Leaks to Build Image, Trying to be Like 'John Wayne,'* FoxNews.com (June 10, 2012), <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/06/10/rep-king-leaks-came-from-white-house-obama-trying-to-be-like-john-wayne.html>. Rather than appoint an independent prosecutor, Attorney General Eric Holder assigned Maryland U.S. Attorney Rod Rosenstein as one of two prosecutors to investigate the alleged leaks. *See* Josh Gerstein, *Holder Names Leak Probe Prosecutors*, Politico (June 8, 2012, 7:39 PM), <http://www.politico.com/story/2012/06/holder-names-leak->

probe-prosecutors-077228.

When the FBI asked to talk to General Cartwright, he agreed to meet with the agents. He did not consult a lawyer and was not represented by counsel when the interview began on Friday, November 2, 2016. He knew that he had not been a source for any of these news reports, he was confident that he had engaged in no wrongdoing, and he believed that he faced no legal jeopardy.

During the interview on November 2, General Cartwright acknowledged meeting with David Sanger of the *New York Times* but stated that he did not discuss classified information with him. That statement was false. The agents handed General Cartwright a typewritten list of quotes taken from Mr. Sanger's book. Some of the quotes contained classified information. Others did not. General Cartwright denied making any of the statements on that list to Sanger. General Cartwright acknowledges that this statement was also untrue.

The agents asked General Cartwright if he had ever discussed a certain country in the Middle East in discussions with Daniel Klaidman of *Newsweek* magazine. General Cartwright denied ever discussing that country with Mr. Klaidman. General Cartwright acknowledges that this statement was also untrue.

On Sunday, November 4, 2012, General Cartwright communicated with the agents and agreed to resume the interview on the following day, Monday, November 5, 2012. At no time during the time period Friday, November 2 -- when the interview began -- through Monday November 5, 2012 -- when the interview resumed and was concluded -- was General Cartwright represented by counsel. Nor did he consult counsel. During his meeting with federal officials on Monday, November 5, 2012, General Cartwright corrected the record and corrected his misstatements from the previous day. The charge against General Cartwright does not include any statement he made on November 5, 2012.

III. RELATED CONDUCT

Saving-the-Secrets

General Cartwright's decision to meet with journalists David Sanger and Daniel Klaidman was consistent with a process that is well-known, well-established, and well-respected among senior members of the national security and journalistic communities. When a news organization or publishing house is preparing to publish a story containing sensitive national security information, it is frequently the case that one or more high-ranking government officials will meet with the journalist responsible for the story, with the editor, or with both. The purpose of the meeting is to give government officials the opportunity to point out ways that disclosing classified information in the story can jeopardize American lives or do damage to national security. The officials' purpose in participating in such a process is, if warranted, to persuade the journalist to modify the reporting. This "save-the-secrets" process is neither unusual nor infrequent. The willingness of journalists to participate in the process is a crucial safeguard for the national security interests of the United States.

The former Executive Editor of the *Washington Post*, Leonard Downie Jr., has submitted a document to the Court describing this process. *See* Ex. 1. He explains that, for decades, it has been "common practice" for reporters and editors at the *Washington Post* and other publications to participate in these discussions with senior officials. *Id.* at 1. The off-the-record conversations necessarily involve discussions of classified information -- and in some cases classified documents -- that the journalists have obtained from other sources. The process may be extensive. It sometimes involves agency heads. On some occasions, it has involved the President of the United States. Mr. Downie describes numerous instances when news organizations delayed stories or deleted certain information after being convinced -- in save-the-secrets exercises -- that publication would risk serious harm to national security. *Id.* at 2-3.

Without this process, journalists would be less able to identify such risks, and U.S. national security could be gravely harmed.

The joint letter from current and former senior government officials also makes reference to this process. *See* Ex. 5. The officials note that, from their perspective, the process poses a difficult and complex challenge of trying to shape journalists' stories to avoid materially harmful disclosures and to minimize damage that their stories might do to U.S. security interests. In Sanger's book, *Confront and Conceal*, which he discusses in his letter to the Court with regard to the events in this case, Sanger makes explicit reference to the fact that he engaged in this process with senior administration officials.¹

General Cartwright's Past Involvement

In the course of General Cartwright's military career and in service to two different Presidents, he had previously engaged in these save-the-secrets exercises. He believes that, by doing so, he has been able to persuade journalists to delay or withhold publication of damaging classified information. He has engaged in this process at the request of senior officials in the George W. Bush administration as well as in the Barack Obama administration.

As General James Jones explains, General Cartwright was personally involved in the save-the-secrets process during his service as a senior government official. For example, when the *Washington Post* intended to publish an article by reporter Bob Woodward based on a classified report prepared by General Stanley McChrystal, General Cartwright met with Woodward and *Washington Post* editor Marcus Brauchli to persuade them to change the

¹ Mr. Sanger wrote: "Following the practice of the *Times* in reporting on national security, I discussed with senior government officials the potential risks of publication of sensitive information that touches ongoing intelligence operations. At the government's request, and in consultation with editors, I withheld a limited number of details that senior government officials said could jeopardize current or planned operations." David E. Sanger, *Confront and Conceal* 436 (2012).

reporting to protect national security interests. *See* Ex. 2 (Jones Submission). General Cartwright was successful in doing so: the *Post* withheld from publication certain details that could have compromised future operations. *See* Ex. 1; *see also* Bob Woodward, *McChrystal: More Forces or 'Mission Failure,'* Wash. Post, Sept. 21, 2009.

When General Cartwright left government service in 2012, President Obama made clear to him that the White House wanted to continue to have General Cartwright work with them in his retirement. General Cartwright told the President that he was willing to assist the President in any way he could. President Obama said, "That's what we want." The President explained that he was not sure what form this assistance would take in the future, but that he and his staff would continue to be involved in many programs General Cartwright had worked on and wanted to be able to call on General Cartwright's services even from his position in the private sector. The President told General Cartwright that he wanted "you to be able to call me and me to be able to call you."

General Cartwright left the meeting with the clear expectation that the White House staff would reach out to him for help in various activities. And they have done so. Since General Cartwright's retirement, the White House has asked for General Cartwright's assistance in a number of projects involving the national security interests of the United States. In May 2013, for example, General Cartwright was invited -- with former Senator Sam Nunn and former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft -- to brief the President and Vice President on how to reduce the global threat posed by nuclear weapons.²

General Cartwright's Contacts with David Sanger and Daniel Klaidman

² Attached as Exhibit 9 is a photograph taken by the official White House photographer during that meeting. A handwritten note from President Obama appears on the photo thanking General Cartwright for his "continuing contribution to the nation's security."

When journalists David Sanger and Daniel Klaidman contacted General Cartwright to discuss the subjects they were about to report on, both reporters referred to senior members of the White House staff with whom they had spoken.³ General Cartwright believed that White House staff had referred the journalists to him as part of the well-established save-the-secrets process. David Sanger made explicit reference to the fact that senior White House officials had encouraged him to consult with General Cartwright, and Daniel Klaidman also made clear in his communications with General Cartwright that he was in touch with the White House. That fact is reflected in the emails that Cartwright exchanged with the two journalists.

When the journalists communicated with General Cartwright, it was clear to General Cartwright that the journalists had already interviewed widely among senior U.S. government officials -- and had consulted many other sources. At the time the journalists met with Cartwright, they were already in possession of significant information -- both classified and unclassified. It is also clear that, with respect to both journalists, much of their writing had been finalized long before they spoke with General Cartwright. *See* Ex. 3 (Sanger letter) (“I had spoken to many sources in the United States, Israel, Europe, and elsewhere prior to speaking to Gen. Cartwright, and I already had a detailed understanding of the chain of events. I was nearing the end of my research and had written much of the book when I approached the White House for final interviews. There, I was advised to reach out to Gen. Cartwright for an interview.”); Ex. 4 (Klaidman letter) (Klaidman notes he had a draft prepared when he contacted General Cartwright and that, in his response to Klaidman, “General Cartwright did not provide any new

³ Both journalists have submitted letters describing to the Court their interactions with General Cartwright. *See* Ex. 3; Ex. 4.

facts and did not provide any documents.”).⁴

General Cartwright expressed concern about Sanger’s plan to write about certain subjects the disclosure of which would put lives in jeopardy and do serious harm to U.S. national security interests in the region. General Cartwright was successful in persuading Sanger to modify his reporting to protect American secrets. The same “save-the-secrets” dynamic occurred in General Cartwright’s communications with Klaidman. *See* Ex. 3 (Sanger letter) (General Cartwright “ma[de] it clear he had sharp limits on what he could discuss” with Sanger and, during their conversation, “expressed concern that certain classified information not be revealed,” which “cautions weighed heavily in decisions that [Sanger] made, in consultation with editors, about what information to withhold from publication”); Ex. 4 (Klaidman letter) (Klaidman contacted General Cartwright “in the event there were any government concerns General Cartwright could anticipate”).

In sum, General Cartwright did not initiate contact with either journalist, nor did he ever

⁴ In *Confront and Conceal*, David Sanger expresses his gratitude to officials in the White House, in the State Department and at the Central Intelligence Agency for the access that they gave to him during his news gathering. Sanger stated that the officials with whom he spoke “are too numerous to name and several would be horrified or fired if I named them here.” Sanger, *supra*, at 432.

Sanger expressly thanked Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes for “setting up interviews at all levels of the White House Staff” and noted that: “Almost every senior member of the president’s national security team was generous enough to sit down and talk through their experiences, some more than once.” *Id.*

According to documents obtained pursuant to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, Sanger also carried on an extensive email correspondence with Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Mike Hammer that reflects the degree to which senior officials in that Department cooperated with Mr. Sanger’s journalistic efforts. Sanger interviewed Secretary of State Clinton, Deputy Secretary of State Bill Burns, Legal Advisor Harold Koh, Secretary Clinton’s top policy advisor and Director of Policy Planning, Jake Sullivan, and many other senior officials including Assistant Secretaries Kurt Campbell and Robert Einhorn. *See* Freedom Watch, <http://www.freedomwatchusa.org/pdf/130805-Hillary.pdf>.

Mr. Sanger had similar access at the CIA and expressly thanked a senior public affairs official for assistance in arranging meetings at all levels of the Agency, *see id.*, which included an extensive correspondence with the Deputy Director, *see* J.K. Trotter, *Emails: CIA Official Reviewed Parts of Times Reporter’s Book Before Publication*, Gizmodo (Nov. 22, 2016, 12:50 PM), <http://gizmodo.com/emails-cia-official-reviewed-parts-of-times-reporter-s-1788697631>.

offer to obtain information for them. Both Sanger and Klaidman invoked senior members of the White House staff in their communications with General Cartwright. In agreeing to meet, General Cartwright's primary motivation was to dissuade the journalists from publishing highly sensitive national secrets. His conduct was consistent with that understanding, and he believes that his efforts were, at least in part, successful.

IV. THE SENTENCE

The Court is asked to impose a sentence that is "sufficient, but not greater than necessary" to comply with the purposes of punishment as set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a)(2). In imposing sentence, the Court is to consider the kinds of sentences available, the nature and circumstances of the offense, the history and characteristics of the defendant, and the need to avoid unwarranted sentencing disparities. *See id.* § 3553(a).

The Sentencing Guidelines

The parties here agree, and the Probation Office concurs, that the applicable range under the sentencing guidelines is zero months to six months' imprisonment, based on a total offense level of 6 and a criminal history category of I. Plea Agreement at 3; PSR ¶¶ 85-86. The parties also agree that the applicable guideline fine range is \$500 to \$5,000. Plea Agreement at 3; PSR ¶ 89. By statute, a term of probation not less than one year and not greater than five years must be imposed. PSR ¶ 95; 18 U.S.C. § 3561(c)(1).

In this case, the Probation Office has identified no factors warranting a variance from the applicable Guidelines range based on the factors specified in 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). PSR ¶ 105.

Probation

A sentence of probation with a condition of community service, consistent with the relevant statute and applicable Guidelines, is appropriate and adequate to serve the purposes of

18 U.S.C. § 3553(a). A probationary sentence, while less severe than a custodial sentence, nevertheless represents a serious reprimand and imposes substantial restrictions on liberty. *See Gall v. United States*, 552 US 38, 48 (2007). A sentence of probation is perfectly consistent with the applicable Guidelines range and would satisfy the § 3553(a)(2) purposes of punishment while also justly and fairly recognizing General Cartwright's lifetime of extraordinary service and good character. We respectfully submit that it is unnecessary and would be unjust to sentence General Cartwright to prison, and request that the Court instead impose a probation-and-community-service sentence.

Punishment and Deterrence

General Cartwright already has faced significant personal and financial repercussions as a result of his guilty plea. For the rest of his life, he will carry the personal shame and reputational stain of a federal felony conviction. The emotional and financial costs of his public humiliation, heightened substantially by the case's high profile, have had a profound effect on him. These burdens also have been increased significantly by the time that it took for the government's investigation to conclude. It has been more than four years since the FBI interviewed General Cartwright, and this case has already cast a long shadow over his life and career. In many respects, General Cartwright has -- even without a conviction -- been seriously burdened by the existence of this investigation.⁵

⁵ It is notable that the lengthy investigation has included extensive publicity about General Cartwright, and (ironically in a matter concerning a claim of unauthorized disclosure of information) leaks from unnamed government officials about his status. *See, e.g.,* Greg Miller & Sari Horwitz, *Justice Dept. Targets General in Leak Probe*, Wash. Post, June 27, 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-dept-targets-general-in-leak-probe/2013/06/27/9ad8bc4e-df7c-11e2-b2d4-ea6d8f477a01_story.html; Ellen Nakashima & Adam Goldman, *Leak Investigation Stalls Amid Fears of Confirming U.S.-Israel Operation*, Wash. Post, Mar. 10, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/leak-investigation-stalls-amid-fears-of-confirming-joint-us-israel-operation/2015/03/10/2a348b1e-c36c-11e4-9ec2-b418f57a4a99_story.html.

The adverse consequences were of course magnified after his guilty plea. He lost his security clearance and, as detailed in the PSR, General Cartwright has had to withdraw from numerous professional activities. He has been forced to give up substantial income. He also has delayed or abandoned other fulfilling personal and professional activities as he awaits the resolution of his case.

Incarcerating General Cartwright is not needed to promote respect for the law. Nor is it needed to afford adequate deterrence. The enormous consequences to General Cartwright of this prosecution and his very public fall from grace already have been more than sufficient to warn others to be truthful in speaking with federal investigators.

The Nature and Circumstances of the Offense and the History and Character of the Defendant

As noted elsewhere in this Sentencing Memorandum, without minimizing General Cartwright's misconduct on November 2, 2012, it bears emphasis that General Cartwright returned to continue his interview on the next business day and corrected the record, *see supra* Part III, and that in his discussions with journalists that were the subject of the interview, General Cartwright made efforts to save secrets, not to disclose them, *see supra* Part IV. Furthermore, the history and character of General Cartwright, a patriot with forty years of distinguished military service, clearly weighs in favor of a non-custodial sentence. *See infra* Parts V, VI. A sentence of probation with community service is just and appropriate under the circumstances of this case.

The Need to Avoid Unwarranted Sentencing Disparities

In the two cases most analogous to this one, the defendants were not sentenced to incarceration. Moreover, in each case, the defendant was allowed to plead guilty to a misdemeanor -- and received a non-custodial sentence -- despite having acted with greater

culpability than General Cartwright's culpability in this case.

General David Petraeus pled guilty in June 2015 to one count of violating 18 U.S.C. § 1924. It was undisputed at sentencing that General Petraeus had knowingly and deliberately made false statements to federal investigators. *See* Factual Basis ¶¶ 28, 32-33, *United States v. Petraeus*, No. 3:15-cr-47 (W.D.N.C. Mar. 3, 2015). Unlike General Cartwright, General Petraeus disclosed classified information intentionally and for no public purpose. General Petraeus gave his biographer eight black notebooks filled with classified documents and information, telling her "there's code word stuff in there." *Id.* ¶ 22. Despite these facts, General Petraeus was permitted to plead to a misdemeanor and was not sentenced to prison, receiving instead two years' probation (with no element of community service) and a fine.

The prosecution of National Security Advisor Sandy Berger is also instructive. He pled guilty to violating 18 U.S.C. § 1924 by unlawfully removing classified documents and handwritten notes -- some of which he destroyed -- from the National Archives on two occasions. Factual Basis for Plea ¶¶ 3-4, *United States v. Berger*, No. 1:05-mj-175 (D.D.C. Apr. 1, 2005). When contacted by the National Archives and Records Administration about the missing documents, Mr. Berger did not disclose that he had removed the documents and later made false statements about them. *Id.* ¶ 6. Like General Cartwright, however, Mr. Berger later corrected his false statement to the government and accepted responsibility. *See id.*; Sentencing Memorandum, *Berger*, at 17. He was sentenced to two years' probation, 100 hours of community service, a fine, and a three-year prohibition on access to classified material.

The sentences in these two cases support the conclusion suggested by the applicable Guidelines range, the nature of the offense, and the characteristics and history of the defendant: that the purposes of punishment do not require, nor are they served by, imprisoning General

Cartwright. Incarcerating General Cartwright would create a discrepancy in treatment that is hard to explain and impossible to justify. While any of these three defendants could have been charged with violating § 1001, only General Cartwright could not be charged with violating § 1924 because he did not remove or retain any classified documents. General Cartwright should not be made to suffer *harsher* punishment than the other defendants because he did less than they did. The discrepancy in treatment between these defendants would not serve the interests of justice.

Community Service

General Cartwright proposes that, as a condition of his probation, he should be required to complete 600 hours of community service. While he is, of course, willing to participate in any community service program that the Court or the Probation Office finds appropriate, he suggests that his expertise in technology and cyber issues could be useful to the District of Columbia Public Schools and their efforts to prepare students for technology-related careers. In light of General Cartwright's service to the country, such a sentence -- involving a community service component that is, to counsel's knowledge, far more extensive than any previously imposed in any analogous case -- would be just and appropriate.

General Cartwright is eager to continue serving the country he loves and will accept any term of community service the Court decides to impose. He suggests in particular that, if the Court deems it appropriate and if the D.C. Public Schools administration agrees, he could support local schools by offering his expertise and advice regarding information technology. Unsurprisingly, in today's day and age, technology is an important focus of instruction and career training. The District has established a Career Academy Network, a public-private collaboration that focuses on creating a pipeline of college- and career-ready students able to

compete for skilled jobs, which requires the help of knowledgeable professionals. *See, e.g., DC Career Academy Network (DC Can)*, <http://osse.dc.gov/dccan>. General Cartwright, formerly the military's leading expert on cybersecurity and technology, would have much to offer to the District's programming in these respects and is eager to contribute. With a significant commitment of hours, he could use his considerable skills to help bring technology to D.C. high school students and prepare them for a work force increasingly dependent on it, while also advising them on how to pursue careers in related fields. The defense submits that a sentence which facilitates these efforts would be, in this case, more just and more appropriate than imprisoning this distinguished and accomplished public servant.

V. GENERAL CARTWRIGHT'S PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND MILITARY RECORD

General Cartwright's exceptional record of distinguished public service, his good character, and his sterling reputation as a citizen are of relevance to this proceeding. *See, e.g., Pepper v. United States*, 562 U.S. 476, 487-88 (2011) (“[T]he punishment should fit the offender and not merely the crime.”); *Koon v. United States*, 518 U.S. 81, 113 (1996) (“uniform and constant” tradition in federal criminal proceedings “for the sentencing judge to consider every convicted person as an individual”). The 20-page Presentence Report describes General Cartwright's military record, governmental service, and personal background in detail.

Personal Background

General Cartwright was born and raised in Rockford, Illinois. He and his five younger sisters were raised by their father, a salesman, and their mother, a homemaker. General Cartwright was a responsible and hardworking student-athlete. He earned a swimming scholarship that enabled him to put himself through college at the University of Iowa. He enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps as a reservist shortly after graduating, and was commissioned a

second lieutenant in 1971.

General Cartwright entered active Marine Corps service in 1974 and proceeded to serve as a general officer for 13 years and a pilot for 23 years. He was assigned to command Marine aviation logistics squadrons, fighter attack squadrons, and aircraft groups. In 2000, he became Commanding General of the First Marine Aircraft Wing in Okinawa, Japan. Subsequently, he served as Director for Force Structure, Resources and Assessment (J-8) for the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 2002 until 2004, when he was promoted to the rank of four-star General and became the first Marine Corps officer to lead U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM). He became the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 2007 and served in that role until 2011, when he retired with an honorable discharge.

Record of Military Service

During his forty years of military service, culminating in his service as a four-star General in the United States Marine Corps and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Cartwright was stationed in posts all over the country and around the world. As set out in paragraph 53 of the Presentence Report, General Cartwright served in 21 different locations in 11 states, Washington, D.C. and abroad. Like many service members, General Cartwright was steadfast and diligent in his service to the United States regardless of the strain it placed on himself and his family.

After many years as an officer and a pilot, General Cartwright was promoted to top military positions at a pivotal and challenging time in American history. He more than rose to the occasion. His leadership has been credited with “the integration of technologies that enabled, as an example, the destruction of a failing satellite by a missile for the first time, and the successful and historic raid against Osama bin Laden.” *Honoring Vice Chairman of the Joint*

Chiefs of Staff, 112th Cong. E1481 (2011) (statement of Hon. Adam Smith). General Cartwright led the development of the Pentagon's cyber capabilities and expedited the delivery of new technologies to troops in the field, including Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles which resulted in a fifty percent decrease in deaths from IED attacks. *Id.* Mary Clark Forbes, a former colleague of General Cartwright who witnessed up close how he made crucial protections available to the everyday soldier, writes that her son, an army officer who served in Iraq, "came home partly due to General James Cartwright." Ex. 7.

In recognition of these immense accomplishments, General Cartwright has received numerous decorations and awards, as set out in paragraph 68 of the PSR. For example, he is a multiple-time recipient of both the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, for exceptionally distinguished performance of duty contributing to the national security or defense of the United States -- the highest non-combat-related U.S. military award -- and the Legion of Merit, for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services and achievements.

VI. LETTERS OF SUPPORT

It is particularly noteworthy -- in a case such as this one with unusual national security dimensions to it -- that so many of the letters of support for General Cartwright come from individuals with deep leadership experience in national security affairs: a former Secretary of Defense; two former Deputy Secretaries of State; three former Deputy Secretaries of Defense; two former National Security Advisors to two different Presidents; former senior officials at the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury and Homeland Security; the current Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus. It is inconceivable that such individuals would support anyone whose loyalty or service to the United States of America was in any way questionable. They have no doubt about the quality and character of James Cartwright.

It is of equal significance that congressional leaders with substantial experience in national security affairs have also written letters in support of General Cartwright: former Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee Senator Dianne Feinstein; former Chair of the Armed Services Committee Senator Sam Nunn; former ranking member of the Intelligence Committee Representative Jane Harman; and former Representative and Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Ellen Tauscher.

Experienced and knowledgeable leaders from the private sector and the academic world have also come forward to express their support for General Cartwright: Professor Graham Allison (Founding Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard; current Director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs); Susan Eisenhower (CEO and Chairman of the Eisenhower Group); David McAllister-Wilson (President of Wesley Theological Seminary); Thomas Kennedy (Chairman and CEO of Raytheon); Mary Howell (CEO of Howell Strategy Group and director of Atlantic Council); Robert Beauchamp (Chairman and CEO of BMC Software and director of Raytheon); Ronald Skates (former director of Raytheon); and William Spivey (director of Raytheon). Former military officers Frederick Graefe and David Max Korzen, who know General Cartwright well, have also written letters in support of him.

Perhaps most impressive is the testimony of current and former military officials who served with General Cartwright: Fred Allen, Angela Bruce, Charlie Croom, Jane Dalton, Mary Clark Forbes, Letitia Long, and Richard Scott Stapp.

We commend these letters to the Court in the belief that, along with General Cartwright's service record, they are compelling evidence showing that General Cartwright -- as a man, a citizen and a public servant -- is worthy of a non-custodial sentence.

VII. CONCLUSION

General Cartwright does not minimize the gravity of his conduct. He has already faced serious consequences as a result of his mistake that day, and he will surely face more. But there is no sound reason to send James Cartwright to jail. With greatest respect, we urge this Court to impose a sentence of probation and that General Cartwright be required to perform extensive community service. That would be the right result.

DATED: January 10, 2017

SKADDEN, ARPS, SLATE, MEAGHER
& FLOM LLP

/s/ Gregory B. Craig

Gregory B. Craig

D.C. Bar No. 164640

Clifford M. Sloan

D.C. Bar No. 417339

Brendan B. Gants

D.C. Bar No. 1031419

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Attorneys for Defendant

JAMES E. CARTWRIGHT

Leonard Downie Jr.

Declaration

August 16, 2016

I am Leonard Downie Jr., the Weil Family Professor of Journalism at Arizona State University's Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and retired executive editor of The Washington Post. I worked in The Washington Post newsroom for 44 years as an investigative reporter, foreign correspondent and editor, ultimately serving as managing editor from 1984 to 1991 and executive editor from 1991 until 2008. During my 17 years as executive editor, The Washington Post won 25 Pulitzer Prizes, several of which recognized journalism that touched on national security. I am a founder and former member of the board of directors of Investigative Reporters and Editors, the source of training and assistance for more than 5,000 member journalists worldwide. I am the chair of the advisory boards of Kaiser Health News, a leading non-profit source of health policy reporting for American news media, and of the Arizona Center for Investigative Reporting, founded and directed by one of my former Cronkite School students. I have written or co-authored six books, three of which have been about the news media, plus a 2013 Special Report for the Committee to Protect Journalists about *The Obama Administration and the Press: Leak investigations and surveillance in post-9/11 America*. I have written and spoken often about the news media and national security, most recently on a C-SPAN-televised panel discussion with former New York Times editor Jill Abramson, former CIA and NSA director Mike Hayden and former CIA Director and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta at a July, 2016, Pulitzer Prize centenary event at the George W. Bush Presidential Library in Dallas, Texas.

During my quarter century as executive editor and managing editor of The Washington Post, I was often involved in examining and considering national security issues in deciding whether to publish news stories containing or based on reporting about classified information. I made the final decisions about publishing such stories while I was executive editor, weighing the newspaper's responsibility to inform citizens about what their government was doing against the possibility of harm to human life or national security.

As with many other news media, it was common practice, when working on such stories, for Washington Post reporters and editors, including myself, to communicate and/or meet with senior government officials to hear any concerns they might have about whether classified information in a story could endanger national security. These conversations and meetings were usually on an agreed off-the-record basis so that the officials could make their arguments about classified information we already had without disclosing anything else.

Most such stories, even those originating with a tip or "leaked" document, involved extensive reporting with numerous sources and whatever documentation, both public and classified, that could be found for verification, meaning and context. That reporting usually included contacts with government officials and information officers, who could raise national security concerns. The reporters were working with editors, including me, who thoroughly reviewed their reporting for accuracy and fairness – and any national security issues that were readily apparent or raised by government officials.

When those officials had concerns about what the reporters told them about their editors' decision-making on national security issues, they often contacted the editors themselves. In many cases, those contacts escalated within both the government and the newspaper until an agency head, such as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, would contact me. In some cases, they arranged meetings to state their concerns in detail. Reporters and editors also often sought out other knowledgeable sources, including current and retired officials, for similar off-the-record conversations about stories involving classified information.

Frequently, during these conversations and meetings, if they were failing to persuade us not to publish a story, government officials focused in on specific pieces of classified information that they wanted to persuade us to delete from the story because, they argued, they would especially damage national security. Never in these conversations and meetings did officials provide classified information that we had not already found in our reporting. We always listened carefully and took what we heard very seriously. Although we always made independent publishing decisions, some stories were delayed and/or certain information was deleted from them after we were convinced that, on balance, it would avoid the risk of real harm to national security.

For example, The Washington Post published a story in November, 2005, about secret prisons in countries outside the United States and its legal system in which the CIA was holding and interrogating terrorism suspects. After meetings with the CIA director, the Director of National Intelligence and, later, President Bush and Vice President Cheney at the White House, I decided to publish the story but to withhold from it the names of some of the countries in which the secret prisons were located because I was convinced during those extensive conversations that naming the countries could harm national security by disrupting other counterterrorism operations about which we already had information.

After I retired, Washington Post editors made a similar decision to withhold from a September, 2011, story about secret foreign U. S. bases for drone strikes the specific location of a base in Saudi Arabia "at the request of the administration, which cited concern that exposing the facility would undermine operations against an al-Qaeda affiliate regarded as the network's most potent threat to the United States, as well as potentially damage counterterrorism collaboration with Saudi Arabia," as the newspaper later acknowledged.

Similarly, in September, 2009, Washington Post editors redacted parts of a classified report on Afghanistan, obtained by reporter Bob Woodward, after consultations with the Department of Defense. "While we would have much preferred none of this be made public at this time, we appreciate the paper's willingness to edit out those passages, which likely would have endangered personnel and troop operations in Afghanistan," a Pentagon official said in a statement at the time.

The Washington Post also removed information from its "Top Secret America" website database, which detailed much of the extent of U. S. intelligence activities after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack, following consultations with officials in which a government agency "objected to certain data points on the site and explained why," according to an editor's note on the washingtonpost.com site.

Editors of The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times have publicly described similar communications with government officials while making decisions about publishing stories containing

classified information. Some of those stories also included explanations to readers that some information was withheld after those consultations about national security concerns.

Without this process of consultation between journalists and government officials, it would be much more difficult for the news media to decide whether publication of certain classified information might harm American lives or national security. The process should not be viewed as disclosure of classified information because journalists already possess the information being discussed with the officials. Prosecuting officials for engaging in these discussions would greatly increase the risk of harm to national security by leaving journalists less knowledgeable about the potential risk in publishing the information they possess.

Participation in the process distinguishes responsible news media from actors like WikiLeaks, which publish classified information without consultation with government officials about what might harm national security. In July, 2010, for example, WikiLeaks posted 92,000 government and military documents related to the war in Afghanistan in their raw form, while The Washington Post, New York Times and other news media redacted names of informants and other information that they decided could risk significant harm after discussions with government officials.

To prosecute either officials or journalists for engaging in this process would also be inconsistent with the spirit of statements and Justice Department guidelines promulgated by Attorney General Eric Holder and Justice Department officials after discussions and negotiations with journalists and news media attorneys, in which I was a participant. In another such meeting with news media representatives, Attorney General Loretta Lynch agreed with those statements and guidelines.

James L. Jones

Declaration

January 9, 2017

(1) I am a retired Marine Corps general. I served in the Marine Corps for forty years. From 1999 to 2003, I served as Commandant of the Marine Corps. From 2003 to 2006, I served as Commander, United States-European Command and Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR).

(2) From January 2009 to November 2010, I served as National Security Advisor to President Barack Obama.

(3) I have known General James Cartwright and worked with him for almost twenty years. I served with him in both the Bush and Obama Administrations.

(4) The purpose of this affidavit is to confirm that General Cartwright was personally involved in and had experience with a process in which senior government officials meet with journalists who intend to report on sensitive national security topics and whose reporting, if published, could jeopardize military operations and/or intelligence sources and methods.

(5) When a journalist intends to publish information that could jeopardize American lives or endanger national security interests, senior government officials frequently meet with that journalist or the journalist's editors. Such a meeting may come at the request of the journalists or at the request of the government if it has been made aware of the planned publication. The government officials' purpose in these meetings is to explain the damage that publication could do to national security interests and to attempt to persuade the journalist to change his reporting in such a fashion as to protect those interests.

(6) I know from first-hand experience that General Cartwright was asked to engage in such exercises during his service as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. To cite just one specific example, I myself – in my capacity as President Obama's National Security Advisor – asked General Cartwright to meet with *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward and *Washington Post* editor Marcus Brauchli in the Fall of 2009 when the *Post* sought to publish an article by Mr. Woodward based on a classified report prepared by General Stanley McChrystal.

The New York Times

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1627 I STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 862-0300

December 16, 2016

Hon. Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court
333 Constitutional Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Leon:

I write concerning the upcoming sentencing of Gen. James E. Cartwright (Ret.). In the Statement of Offense in his case, Gen. Cartwright acknowledges that he spoke to me while I was completing the writing of my book "Confront and Conceal" and the excerpts from it that appeared in *The New York Times*. He also acknowledges that some classified information was discussed.

But that tells only part of the story. I want to provide a fuller context for my interview with Gen. Cartwright, which is more complex than it may at first appear. My reporting in the book and *The Times* was intended to help the public better understand how the United States government, in cooperation with Israel and European allies, was responding to the threat of nuclear-armed Iran. The fact that Iran's nuclear facilities had been attacked by a powerful cyberweapon was no secret by the time I began work on the book. The source code for that attack, later called Stuxnet, leaked out in the summer of 2010 because of an error or accident by the authors of the code. At that point, the code and its obvious target were publicly available and the existence of the cyberweapon was widely reported on, by me and many others. My research was focused on telling the story of how this powerful cyberweapon was developed and how it spread around the world, and the important decisions and policy implications surrounding its creation.

I had spoken to many sources in the United States, Israel, Europe, and elsewhere prior to speaking to Gen. Cartwright, and I already had a detailed understanding of the chain of events. I was nearing the end of my research and had written much of the book when I approached the White House for final interviews. There, I was advised to reach out to Gen. Cartwright for an interview. I contacted the General, and he agreed to meet with me, while making it clear he had sharp limits on what he could discuss.

During the course of our conversation I described the findings of 14 months of reporting. He expressed concern that certain classified information not be revealed. His cautions weighed heavily in decisions that I made, in consultation with editors, about what information to withhold from publication.

My interview with Gen. Cartwright was not extraordinary. In response to a FOIA request submitted by a reporter, the CIA recently released documents about my contacts with the agency while doing my reporting. The documents show that at the same time I was arranging the Cartwright interview the White House had authorized the deputy director of the CIA to meet with me and discuss my findings and the possible risks of disclosure. This is a standard, if little-understood, practice in the course of reporting on sensitive national security affairs. Such conversations are crucial so that news organizations like *The Times* can responsibly fulfill their First Amendment obligations. The irresponsible thing would be not to hear out the government about potential harm.

Gen. Cartwright understood the importance of that give-and-take. Throughout the interview, he consistently showed his concern that information damaging to U.S. interests not be made public. Far from harming U.S. interests, his interview contributed to my efforts to provide the public with a comprehensive account of a critical new element of the American use of force, while trying to avoid harming future operations. I have no doubt he was trying to act in the best interests of the United States.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'David Sanger', written in a cursive style.

David E. Sanger
National Security Correspondent
The New York Times

***UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA***

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

JAMES E. CARTWRIGHT

CASE NO.: 1:16-cr-188-RJL

**EXHIBIT 4 TO THE SENTENCING MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF
JAMES E. CARTWRIGHT**

FILED UNDER SEAL

Gregory B. Craig
Clifford M. Sloan
Brendan B. Gants
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP
1440 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

A JOINT LETTER BY SENIOR AND FORMER SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Administratively coordinated by John Hamre
1616 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
Judge of the United States District Court for the
District of Columbia
Washington, DC

Your Honor:

We are writing to ask for your clemency in considering the sentence to impose on General (Ret.) James Cartwright. We all have known General Cartwright in varying capacities for decades. As General Cartwright rose in rank, he worked in widening circles that involved all of us on important national security matters. General Cartwright has singularly brought to every engagement a keen intellect and an abiding commitment to the security of the United States. There is no question about his loyalty to the United States or his commitment to its security. He has been a pioneer without peer in cyber security for America. He has thought deeply and systematically about security issues. He has always placed America's enduring security as his highest value.

All who serve in senior positions must confront the dilemma about how to protect America in situations where important facts are being disclosed by other persons. The most difficult situations are when journalists make inquiries involving stories involving classified information. There is an obligation to protect that information from disclosure. But in some instances, there is a need to steer journalists from even more sensitive information or to avoid mischaracterizations that might further damage national security. Each of us has faced this challenge to help shape these stories in a way that both avoids disclosures of classified information and minimizes the harm to our national security. In other instances, we were asked to explain why a public disclosure would materially harm America's security.

General Cartwright did not initiate calls to the media, but the record shows he did talk with journalists in an effort to help mitigate the damage that might occur from disclosure of important information. His actions were intended exclusively to protect America's security. His true intention was to protect this country.

We do not minimize the gravity of General Cartwright's actions. He has taken full responsibility and awaits the judgment of the Court. As you decide upon a sentence we urge you to take into account the entirety of General Cartwright's conduct and service throughout his career. We understand that General Cartwright corrected the record before the interview was completed and responded truthfully to further questioning. General Cartwright's life-long service to the nation and his extraordinary contributions to the security of the American people should not be ignored. He served honorably. He has much yet to give. We urge that you consider his full career so that he may continue to positive service to the United States.

Sincerely,



Mr. Antony Blinken, Deputy Secretary of State



Dr. William Burns, former Deputy Secretary of State



Mr. Rudy DeLeon, former Deputy Secretary of Defense



Ms. Michele Flournoy, former Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense



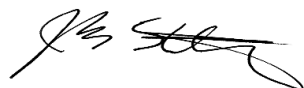
Dr. John Hamre, former Deputy Secretary of Defense



General James Jones, USMC-Ret. Former National Security Adviser, former Commandant, USMC



Mr. William Lynn, former Deputy Secretary of Defense



Mr. James Steinberg, former Deputy Secretary of State, former Deputy National Security Adviser

DIANNE FEINSTEIN
CALIFORNIA



SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE - VICE CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0504

<http://feinstein.senate.gov>

January 6, 2017

Judge Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 29991

Dear Judge Leon:

I submit this declaration with deepest respect for you and in the hopes of telling you about my experience with, and admiration for, General Cartwright. The purpose of this letter is to urge you to be lenient in the sentence you impose upon General Cartwright.

I do not know what happened when Gen. Cartwright was interviewed by the FBI in 2012. He has acknowledged making mistakes and I take him at his word. I do understand, however, that the circumstances were unusual. When he tells me he did not compromise the national secrets of the United States, I believe him.

I have known Gen. Cartwright and worked with him for over a decade. I have asked him to testify before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on many occasions over the years and he has done so. He has briefed the members of the Committee and our staff on many occasions as well. He is extremely intelligent, articulate and careful in his choice of words, clear in his thinking and knowledgeable beyond measure. He is an honorable and trustworthy citizen. Most importantly he is a patriot, devoted to this country and to the well-being of our people. There is no one I would trust more to explain the most technically sophisticated aspects of warfare – from old fashioned nuclear weapons to state of the art cyber capacities – than Gen. Cartwright.

I would trust this man with our nation's most important secrets. I do not believe there is anything more important to Gen. James Cartwright than the safety and security of the American people. I cannot imagine him doing anything – at least knowingly – to damage this country in any way.

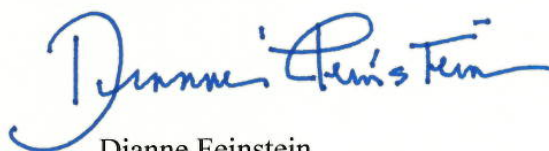
General Cartwright has a long history of service. He began in the marines and rose to the top. He has served two presidents with great distinction. He has much more

to give. A lenient sentence will make it possible for him, now from the private sector, to continue his work.

If in the scales of justice you weigh the quality of his character and his service, the leadership and sacrifice he has shown throughout his life versus the mistake that he made in his first interview with the FBI, the scale tips heavily in favor of clemency.

Thank you for the chance to make my views heard.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Dianne Feinstein". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "D" and a long horizontal flourish at the end.

Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Leon:

I am writing to express my high regard for General James C. Cartwright, whom I believe has served our nation honorably and effectively.

With the security challenges facing our nation over the last several decades, we were fortunate to have someone with the character, experience and leadership that General Cartwright has displayed so clearly for so many years. General Cartwright is a critical thinker and honestly evaluates the facts and the challenges, and he has demonstrated his commitment to keeping our nation and our citizens secure throughout his nearly 40 years of military service.

During his assignment as the head of the United States Strategic Command and later as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I had the opportunity to meet with and exchange views with General Cartwright on a number of occasions. I was struck by his humility, his keen insights and judgment, his professionalism, and his total commitment to protecting the United States and our allies from the very real threats that we faced every day. During his entire career, including many dangerous and defining moments in our history, General Cartwright was standing guard for all of us – and I slept better at night knowing that he was.

Since his retirement from the United States military in 2011, I have worked closely with General Cartwright. His intellect, his innovation and his wisdom have been an invaluable foundation for our work together to reduce the threat of a nuclear weapon ever being used against the United States and to improve relations in the Euro-Atlantic region. These are difficult and continuing challenges, but we are fortunate that General Cartwright continues to devote his time and energy to this crucial work, which remains vital to the security of all Americans.

As you examine the facts in General Cartwright's case, I hope that you will consider his exemplary and continuing record of service to our nation.

Sincerely,

Sam Nunn

December 14, 2016

Judge Richard Leon
US District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Leon,

I have known General Cartwright for over a decade - and consider him a patriot, strategic thinker, and previously the Pentagon's foremost expert on cyber threats.

While I stepped down as Ranking Member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in 2006, and resigned from the House to assume the leadership role at the Wilson Center in 2011, I was aware that General Cartwright played a key role in helping the Obama Administration navigate the cyber landscape, which has become even more treacherous since he left his government position.

He and I serve on the Aspen Strategy Group, where his insights are highly valued, as is his friendship. While I have no inside knowledge of the allegations against him - and would never condone leaking classified information - I believe the long duration of this matter and his guilty plea should serve as a sufficient penalty for any infractions. I would urge the court to be lenient as it considers further actions against a man who has served his country so ably and well.

These views express my personal opinion and not that of the Wilson Center.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jane Harman". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Jane Harman

January 9, 2017

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Leon:

General James Cartwright is an exceptional United States Marine officer and a true patriot. I first came to know him as a trusted advisor on significant national security issues throughout my tenure in Congress from 1997 to 2009 and while I was Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security from 2009 to 2012. As you might expect, when I served in these positions I met many exceptional members of America's military and intelligence services. Even among that distinguished crowd, however, General Cartwright stood out for his honest and straightforward approach. There was no one I trusted more, and outside my personal staff there was no one I relied on more.

General Cartwright has made tremendous contributions to American security. His integrity is renowned and, to my knowledge, has never seriously been called into question before now. While I am not privy to all the facts that led to his guilty plea, I can say that it is inconceivable to me that General Cartwright would ever knowingly do anything that would damage our national security. My understanding is that he made a mistake and has accepted responsibility. I have no doubt the mistake pains him greatly.

Since my retirement from government service I have served with General Cartwright on two advisory boards. I have been honored to maintain a friendship with him and pleased to continue working with him. In his endeavors since leaving military service, General Cartwright's purpose has remained constant: to protect and enhance America's security. He has continued to provide useful guidance and direction on security issues in any position he occupies, and I hope he can continue to do so for the sake of the nation.

I humbly request that James Cartwright's entire distinguished record and unselfish service to his country and fellow Americans be considered when deciding on an appropriate sentence.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ellen O. Tauscher". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Ellen O. Tauscher

December 12, 2016

Chief Master Sergeant (Retired) Fred Allen (Former Joint Staff J-4 Employee)
4800 Mark Center Drive
Alexandria, VA 22350-2000

To Whom It May Concern:

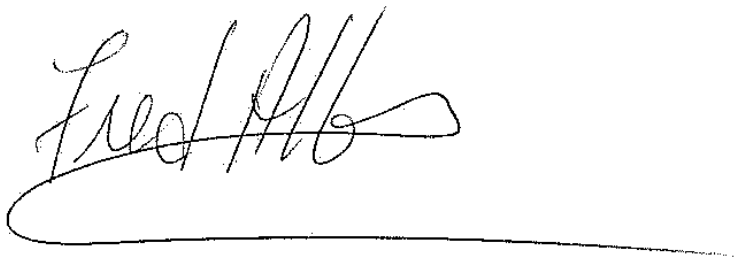
Reference: Personal Reference – USMC (Retired) General James Cartwright

I have known General Cartwright when I worked on the Joint Staff and had the pleasure of briefing him on the importance of Logistics Data to the Warfighter. He is a Person of integrity and I would go into combat with him tomorrow and would not give it a second thought.

Clearly, General Cartwright's long-term deeds for the Department and the Country speak for themselves. He is a highly intelligent hard worker who never loses sight of his goals. The General is also a fine person with a great deal of integrity who I am proud to call a leader within the Department. I therefore have no hesitation whatsoever in unreservedly speaking of the General's support for the Nation and his dedication to duty. Also, from my perspective General James Cartwright character is above reproach and I view him as a trustworthy person who can always be counted on, regardless of the situation, to do the right thing for the Country.

If you have questions or need additional information about my knowledge of General Cartwright, please free to call me at (703) 474-7622.

Very respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Fred Allen", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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

District Judge Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20001

December 23, 2016

Dear Judge Leon:

With respect, I submit a letter of support for General James Cartwright to provide several points of evidence that I hope may be relevant as you consider your judgment. I do this in my personal capacity. For the purposes of identification, I have taught at Harvard for five decades, was “founding Dean” of Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, and now serve as Director of its 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, with several students in government, in the Reagan Administration as Special Advisor to Secretary of Defense Weinberger and in the Clinton Administration as Assistant Secretary of Defense.

I have known James Cartwright professionally for at least a decade, initially when he was Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and more intensely since he became a Senior Fellow (non-resident) at the Belfer Center. In the process of selecting him for an appointment at Harvard, my colleagues and I made an attempt to do appropriate due diligence in reviewing his record and potential contributions. To summarize that review in a single line, he is widely regarded as among the most imaginative military leaders of his generation. I know of no Commander of equivalent rank who has been more willing to think unconventional thoughts and ask uncomfortable questions about the entire enterprise of our defense establishment. Since he became a Senior Fellow (non-resident) here at Belfer, I have worked with him directly. Our purpose in having Senior Fellows (non-resident) from recent public service is to link them to faculty, fellows, and students in exploring central national security challenges—and, when we succeed, advancing policy-relevant knowledge about them. General Cartwright has been a model of what we aspired to in establishing this category of appointments. In a series of projects, one of which I participated in directly identifying inconvenient questions about the US defense budget and the military services’ favorite weapons platforms, he has brought his

experience and imagination to bear on the issues, engaged with faculty, research leaders, fellows, and students comfortably, and not only enlightened, but inspired.

My most vivid window into General Cartwright's contributions to American security came in doing a study for then National Security Advisor Tom Donilon on lessons to be learned from the operation that found and killed Osama Bin Laden. The innermost circle responsible for this success consisted of six individuals of whom Cartwright was one. Indeed, he was personally selected by President Obama to be the sole military member of this "small group" that started with a clue to Bin Laden's whereabouts and filled out the picture over the next 9 months—all the while keeping this secret in a town that is known better for its leaks. From the use of previously highly-secret capabilities developed in "black programs" at the Pentagon, to the review of the Navy Seals' plans for penetrating Pakistan's sovereignty without being discovered in order to conduct the raid at Abbottabad, Cartwright made invaluable contributions.

I have not spoken with him directly about the particulars of the charges against him. But since I do teach a course entitled "Central Challenges of American National Security, Strategy, and the Press," and my co-teacher for the last seven years has been *New York Times* correspondent David Sanger, I have some perspective on what may have happened. And from reflections on issues raised in my course, I have strong views about the principles involved. The contrast between David Sanger's views about essentially publishing every secret he can find, on the one hand, and mine, serve as one of the subthemes of the course. I am very old fashioned and believe that the rules of engagement between the press and the national security establishment that were observed prior to Vietnam and Watergate served the nation better. My first book was a study of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In that instance, John Kennedy had six days of secrecy in which to reflect on the challenge, debate his initial instincts, and change his mind. If he had believed that the secret would leak out in the first 48 hours—as it would likely do given the current rules of the game—he would have chosen an airstrike to destroy Soviet nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba that would likely have triggered their use against the United States and that could have produced a major nuclear war.

So to simplify, my view is that secrets should be secrets; that leakers should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law; and that in publishing secret documents the press is profiting from stolen property. At the same time, I recognize and respect the press's rights under the First Amendment and its responsibilities to try to inform a citizenry that can play its essential role in a democracy. And I understand that the Founding Fathers designed a process that left the question of "who decides" to a competition.

I am familiar with many instances in which reporters have received stolen secrets and been poised to publish information that would be deeply damaging to Americans' security where at the direction of the President (or his subordinates), individuals who understood the classified facts were asked to try to talk reporters out of the most damaging revelations. In my course, one of the liveliest classes involves two guests, one a former senior national security official, and the other a reporter, where they play out this dynamic in a hypothetical case we have constructed to illuminate this dilemma. If,

for example, a national security official in the know tells the reporter that if he publishes X, specific American intelligence agents will die, or an ongoing military or intelligence operation will be blown, has he thereby confirmed that other information on the same page is thus somehow acceptable?

So my belief is that in this case General Cartwright must have gotten caught in just such a catch-22 squeeze. But, as I say, that is my inference—not based on any specific information from him or anyone else who is fully apprised of the facts.

If I can be permitted one more consideration. As evidence of General Cartwright's values and his commitment to this nation's security and wellbeing, it is worth considering what he has chosen to do after his military career. Many people likely situated have joined the ranks of the lobbyists or defense contractors seeking to sell goods and services to the Department of Defense. Instead, Cartwright has stayed actively involved in the national security debate both at a Washington think tank and at Harvard, and continued the commitment of his career to attempting to inspire future generations to ask what they can do.

In sum, having worked with many individuals who have led our troops, and served our nation with great distinction, in my personal experience, General James Cartwright is one of the most impressive leaders our nation's military has produced. In every interaction with faculty, fellows, students, and others at Harvard that I have observed or heard about, his conduct has been exemplary. Indeed, others look up to him as a model of the highest professional standards.

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 the offense for which he is accused. So I hope I am not being presumptuous in urging a measure of mercy as you fulfill your solemn responsibilities. If I can provide any further information that would be helpful in your considerations, do not hesitate to email me or call me at (617) 496-6099.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Graham Allison". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Graham Allison

District Judge Richard J. Leon
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20001

1/9/17

Dear Judge Leon:


General James Cartwright's life has been one of service to the security of the United States. Forty years of it was on active duty, culminating as vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the second highest ranking officer in the armed forces of the United States. His subsequent five years in the private sector have shown a continued balanced and sensible dedication to the national security interests of our country. During my own sixty-five year involvement in national security matters, including my years as Secretary of Defense, I have not met a more competent, effective or honorable senior officer. For those reasons, I have been pleased that the Center for Strategic and International Studies named him to the Harold Brown Chair. He has occupied the office there next to my own, giving me the chance to interact with him and to appreciate the value he has continued to provide to the national dialogue about issues of U.S. security.

His own sense of honor has caused him to resign that chair. Moreover, I recognize that his plea acknowledges guilt of a significant act, albeit in a complicated and ambiguous situation. My hope is that this will be seen in the context of his lifetime of dedicated and effective service to our country, that the penalty will be correspondingly minimal, and that General Cartwright can resume his contribution to national security, including his role at CSIS.

For all those reasons, it is my hope that you will conclude that the appropriate sentence in General Cartwright's case is to impose a non-custodial sentence of probation.

Thank you for this chance to give you my views.

Sincerely,


Harold Brown

January 4, 2017

Mr. Gregory B. Craig, Esq.
1440 New York Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 2005

Dear Mr. Craig,

I am writing on behalf of General James Cartwright with a request that this letter be presented to Judge Leon on his behalf.

I knew General Cartwright when he was the J8 for Acquisition on the Joint Staff, my dealings with him as a member of the J6 Command, Control, Computers and Intelligence were for the purpose of presenting various DOD systems which were under review. In this capacity he was always forthright, considerate and conscientious of the various programs we were reviewing. I never found him to be side step an issue or to be avoid an unpleasant situation. He was always true to his country, respected his staff and helpful to those who sought him for guidance.

In my opinion, I believe you should consider leniency and can only believe that this was either a case of bad judgment or a misunderstanding of the situation as I believe him to be honorable.

Angela F. Bruce
Digitally signed by Angela F. Bruce
DN: cn=Angela F. Bruce, o, ou,
email=angelabruce1947@verizon.net, c=US
Date: 2017.01.04 15:47:59 -05'00'

Angela F. Bruce

Retired GS-15/J6

6722 Mink Hollow Road

Highland, MD.

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

January 3, 2017

Sir,

My name is Charlie Croom. I am a retired Air Force Lieutenant General who has known General Cartwright since 2005. As the Director of the Defense Information Systems Agency and the Commander of the Joint Task Force Global Network Operations, I directly reported to General Cartwright from 2005 until my retirement in 2008. After retirement I worked for Lockheed Martin for almost eight years as a Vice President, Cyber Strategy. I'm currently employed by Leidos Corporation as Senior Vice President, Director of Senior Account Executives.

General Cartwright was a strict and demanding boss. He was always two steps ahead urging his direct reports to run faster, push harder, and think outside the box. He led from the front with innovation and an incredible work ethic. Working long hours daily and through the weekends he expected no less from us. He knew that many of us led large bureaucratic organizations that required demanding leadership—and that's what he provided.

I'm aware that General Cartwright has pleaded guilty to providing false information to a Federal Official. I am not aware of the circumstances or reason. I know that goes against the core values that we as military officers swore to live and lead by. I have not spoken to General Cartwright, but I am confident he fully regrets that indiscretion. I am confident because I fully believe General Cartwright has throughout his long career lived up to the highest expectations of integrity first, excellence in all he does and duty to his nation before self. He is a Marine, he is an incredible leader that I would follow into battle, and he loves our nation and the values he has taken an oath to defend. We all make mistakes—it is only those who don't learn from their mistakes that I disrespect.

There is no doubt in my mind that General Cartwright has agonized over his mistake and learned from it. I would respectfully request that any judgement of General Cartwright take into account his many years of faithful and dedicated service and his mentoring of the many senior officers like myself—demanding integrity and excellence in our service to the nation. I greatly admire and respect General Cartwright for his accomplishments, for his leadership and for the core values of integrity and excellence I know he lives by today.

Very Respectfully,



Charles E. Croom, Lt Gen (R), USAF
521 Palmer Way, Box 427
Sunset SC 29685

5 January 2017

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
Federal District Court, District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Leon:

I am writing on behalf of General James E. Cartwright, USMC (Retired) for the sentencing portion of the trial in which he entered a plea of guilty to one count of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1001 (making a false statement to a federal official).

I had the honor and privilege of working with General Cartwright during two duty assignments. First, when he was assigned to the Directorate for Force Structure, Resources and Assessment, J-8, the Joint Staff (1996-1999) and I was serving as Deputy Legal Counsel to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1996-1998). Second, when General Cartwright served as the Director of J-8 (2002-2004) and I was the Legal Counsel to the Chairman (2000-2003). So in all, our tours of duty on the Joint Staff overlapped by a total of about 3 years.

The Joint Staff is a demanding, challenging, stressful and fast-paced environment, in which each officer who works there is driven to his or her limits in terms of patience, resourcefulness, teamwork, stamina and commitment. Many fine officers excel in the Joint Staff environment; few excel in that environment while retaining a sense of grace, humility, common sense and camaraderie. General Cartwright was one of those few.

It was always my pleasure to work issues with General Cartwright. It was my job to provide legal advice on the issues General Cartwright was presenting to the Chairman for decision. For that reason, we often needed to discuss the issues and their ramifications so that I understood his goals, approach and desired outcome. Clearly, General Cartwright is a brilliant thinker who has mastered the most complex technical issues in today's security environment. But to me, he was a gracious, engaging, and thoughtful co-worker who helped walk me through issues I did not immediately grasp and who always ensured I fully understood the background and repercussions of the issues we were dealing with. General

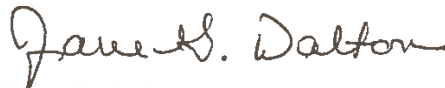
Cartwright was generous with his time, gracious in his demeanor, and a gentleman of honor and integrity.

In the sometimes-fractious, brittle, and frustrating environment of the Joint Staff, General Cartwright was consistently polite, calm, self-assured but never over-bearing, and maintained a sense of humor and kindness that belied his stern USMC exterior. Furthermore, General Cartwright demonstrated a deep sense of integrity, patriotism and love of country. The pride and honor he felt in serving his country were evident in his every action and expression.

I am generally aware of the facts to which he plead guilty. I am not aware of the motivations that led him to commit the act of making a false statement to a federal official. I certainly do not condone or excuse his doing so. Nevertheless, it is my belief that he acted out of motives that were not selfish or self-serving, but rather that he had the best interests of this country at heart. General Cartwright's entire career, as well as my personal knowledge of him, convince me that he is a patriot who only intended and desired to serve the United States of America.

Judge Leon, as both a former prosecutor and a former defense counsel, I do not believe that leniency is always appropriate in sentencing. In this case, however, I am asking that you consider the entire career and character of General Cartwright in making your sentencing decision. Surely confinement in a federal prison would not serve the interests of justice, retribution, example or rehabilitation. The public plea itself and the fact that he will forever be marked as a federal felon have stained his career and marred his life forever. The guilty plea avoiding a long and costly contested trial clearly demonstrates his remorse and rehabilitation. Leniency would be a fair and fitting recognition of General Cartwright's overall solid character and his years of service to this country, while giving the State and the community the justice and retribution they deserve.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jane G. Dalton".

Jane G. Dalton

Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy

Judge Advocate General's Corps (Retired)

Date: December 9, 2016
To: Mr. Gregory Craig
From: Ms. Mary Clark Forbes
Subject: General James Cartwright

Dear Mr. Craig,

I am writing this letter to be used in the sentencing hearing of General James Cartwright. I am asking for leniency to be shown by Judge Richard Leon toward General James Cartwright.

I worked with General James Cartwright and his staff while he was the Director for Force Structure, Resources and Assessment (J-8), The Joint Staff. I was a Senior Program Manager and the Deputy Division Chief for the Command, Control, Communications, Computers and Intelligence (J6); Integrated Programs (J6V). I had daily contact with General James Cartwright and his staff concerning the oversight of highly classified National Security Programs. These programs span every aspect of fighting and sustaining a war (to include nuclear attacks). All of the programs are under the scrutiny of the President; the Secretary of Defense; the Chairman of the Joint Staff; and Congress.

While closely working with General James Cartwright, I was very impressed with him. He always adhered to security practices (Top Secret and above) in the review and management of classified programs. He also directed his staff to make sure all security practices were adhered to in every meeting, and budget submission. He was well aware that any breach of security could damage our National Security posture. He was one of the most impressive Generals I ever met in my over 30 years in the Government, as well as my 15 years with the Joint Staff. He paid close attention to detail; he gave clear guidance; and he expressed concerns he may have with a program (to include security practices). He always considered the good of his Nation and the well being of the troops which would depend on these programs to go to war and sustain a war. He never let any of us forget our mission under his guidance was to make sure we gave our best attempts to assure these programs would save lives and make our Nation safe. His tenure for overseeing these National Security Programs was at a critical point in our Nation. We had just gone through 9/11 (the Pentagon sustained a direct attack) and then we went right into a fighting posture in Afghanistan and Iraq. It was a stressful time for the Joint Staff and the Department of Defense, but General James Cartwright always led the way to assure we kept our Nation and our troops in our hearts and minds. I never saw General James Cartwright back away from a hard issue. He was totally professional every day and every hour. And again I never saw him or heard him breach any security practices.

My son is an officer in the Army and served in Iraq. He used the National Security Programs in the war. They were part of his planning and his survival. They were installed in all Humvees to engage the enemy. They were critical for his troops to receive needed supplies at Forward Operating Bases. My son led over 1000 convoys in very hostile environments. He used the National Security Programs that General James Cartwright made possible for the use of every soldier. My son came home partly due to General James Cartwright. He was awarded a Bronze Star for leading over 1000 successful convoys. The programs my son used in war were critical for his survival and still are critical for every soldier.

General James Cartwright is one of the greatest generals this country has ever had serve. I have worked for many and he was and is one I always remember as having integrity; professionalism; honesty; goodness; and his country at the center of his heart.

I am asking to consider what this man has meant to our Nation and the "every day" soldier. I am asking for Judge Richard Leon to show leniency in sentencing.

Sincerely,

Mary Clark Forbes (signed)

Deputy Division Chief of J6(V), Retired GS-15

January 9, 2017

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Court
United States Court House
333 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Leon:

Richard

I understand that you will soon may be imposing a sentence on former Marine Corps General James Cartwright in connection with his plea of guilty to a federal offense. I have known Hoss Cartwright for over 40 years. I believe him to be one of the finest individuals ever to have served our Nation in the armed forces. I write to urge you to be lenient in your treatment of him.

As you know, I myself trained for the Marine Corps after high school in Des Moines, Iowa in the early Sixties. I went on to basic training in 1967, served in Vietnam and was on active duty until 1970 when I was released with the rank of Captain.

I have gotten to know Hoss Cartwright over many years of involvement with the Marine Corps. I do not know any of the details about the conduct that brings General Cartwright before you, but I want you to know that I believe he is a man of impeccable character, that his reputation in the community is stellar, and that my own dealings with him confirm that extraordinary reputation.

Simply put, Hoss Cartwright is well respected if not revered in the Marine Corps, widely known to be one of the most honorable and successful leaders in Marine Corps history. Based on my own personal knowledge and experience with Hoss, I can testify that he is a true patriot, that he would never do anything to jeopardize the national security of the United States, and that he has given more to our nation than we can ever know or understand.

I hope it will be possible for you to impose no sentence on my friend, Hoss, who has suffered enough already.

Respectfully,

Frederick H. Graefe
Frederick H. Graefe

Stephen J. Hadley
2246 Cathedral Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001-2866

Dear Judge Leon:

With your permission, I would like to offer a few words on behalf of James E. Cartwright in connection with his sentencing hearing.

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 worked closely with General Cartwright while he was head of the U.S. Strategic Command and then as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

As you probably know, the head of Strategic Command is responsible for the nation's strategic nuclear forces – those nuclear-armed land-based ballistic missiles, nuclear ballistic missile submarines, and strategic bombers that form the ultimate deterrent to keep this nation safe. There is no more solemn responsibility for a military commander than this one. Only those military officers who have displayed the highest integrity of character and soundness of judgment ascend to this command. In my experience, no one was more worthy of that position than Jim Cartwright.

As Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Cartwright was intimately involved in developing those defense systems required to meet the national security challenges facing the nation – from the challenge of an emerging China to the terrorist threat posed by Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. No one was more committed to defending the American people from these threats than Jim.

On many occasions, I watched General Cartwright brief the President about complex military operations or the security challenges presented by the latest technology breakthrough by our adversaries. Jim was always completely on top of his brief, factual in his presentation, and scrupulous in not misleading the President – not being either too dire or too optimistic in his presentation or projections. He inspired great confidence. There was no one that I trusted more to give the President the honest and straightforward truth.

General Cartwright's reputation for integrity and honesty was coupled with a sense of duty and modesty that made him stand out among his peers. Never wanting anything for himself, eschewing both credit and the limelight, Jim was all about duty, honor, country. He was a remarkable Marine and a remarkable public servant.

I maintained occasional professional contact with General Cartwright after he left government service in 2009. From 2012 into 2016, I served with General Cartwright on the Board of Directors of the Raytheon Company (a major defense contractor). In this new role he continued to display the highest level of professional competence, ethical standards, and personal integrity.

Jim has admitted to making a serious mistake in his interactions with the FBI, violating the high standards of truthfulness and honesty that he has set for himself and that have characterized his entire professional career. I know that he sorely regrets his mistake. It will rightly burden him for the rest of his life. I believe, however, based on the sum total of a career dedicated to public service and the defense of the nation, that General Cartwright deserves to be treated with leniency.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Stephen J. Hadley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Stephen" and last name "Hadley" clearly legible.

Stephen J. Hadley

David Max Korzen
48 Maple Ave #3
Cambridge, MA 02139

December 7, 2016

Judge Richard Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Ave, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Leon,

I am writing to ask for leniency for General James A. Cartwright.

I worked as General Cartwright's research assistant while a graduate student at Harvard University from 2014-2015. During this time, we dedicated our efforts to the study of important matters of national security. These subjects included modeling strategic threats and decreasing the risk of nuclear conflict. Although I was aware of the legal circumstances surrounding General Cartwright, at no time did we speak about the matter.

While my interaction with General Cartwright was limited to a professional capacity, I certainly did witness a man who cared deeply about the best interests of our nation. In particular, his work with Global Zero, an international campaign to reduce nuclear weapon stocks, demonstrated a passion for the security and well-being of the United States.

General Cartwright was also dedicated to providing opportunities for the next generation of American leaders. He provided opportunities for his team of students to learn and excel, as well as giving valuable mentorship and guidance along the way.

I earnestly hope that you will show leniency in this matter. General Cartwright's poor choice in lying to federal officials was not reflective of any greater maleficence or corruption on his part. Moreover, his actions stand in stark contrast to General David Petraeus who, in addition to lying to the FBI, turned over classified documents to his mistress. Despite this, Petraeus received the light rebuke of probation and a fine, while his reputation was largely left intact.

General Cartwright served his country for over four decades and his loyalty to our nation is above reproach. If General Cartwright says he did not compromise national secrets I would trust this as fact. I believe that his lapse of judgement when speaking with the FBI, while lamentable, is not an act worthy of severe admonishment.

I humbly ask for you to be lenient in the sentence you impose.

Sincerely,
David Max Korzen

Dear Judge Leon:

I am writing this letter on behalf of General James Cartwright in connection with his sentencing.

I came to know General Cartwright during my government service from 2001 through 2011. I was on the staff of Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson from 2001 until 2003. Subsequently, I was the Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence at the Department of the Treasury from 2004 to 2011. It was in this latter role that I worked closely with General Cartwright.

I can only imagine that the Court will get the number of testimonials about General Cartwright's service to the country during his illustrious military career as well as from people who know him personally far better than I do. Nevertheless, I was motivated to write to you because I was so impressed with the type of leader that General Cartwright is.

As part of my job at Treasury, I routinely attended meetings in the White House with senior officials from other departments as part of the so-called "Deputies Committee". General Cartwright usually represented the Joint Chiefs of Staff at these meetings. I came to respect General Cartwright for his expertise and dedication during the course of several years of these regular meetings. He was the model colleague in every way. I often sat next to him in these meetings and would sometimes see his daily calendar on a card on the table in front of him. I was always impressed that his days began very early (around 6:30 AM) and then stretched late into the evening.

One story stands out in my mind most. In 2010, there was a tragic terrorist attack in Afghanistan in which five of our soldiers were killed. General Cartwright invited the group of us who served with him on the Deputies Committee to accompany him to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware to greet the coffins returning from Afghanistan and to meet the families of the fallen soldiers. That evening, we left our offices at around 5 PM to travel to Andrews Air Force Base and then we took a flight to Delaware. Led by General Cartwright, we spent the evening in conversation with the families who had just lost their sons. General Cartwright explained to these grief-stricken parents, siblings and wives (with very young children in arms in some cases) how much their loved one's service had meant to the country, and how the United States and the military would never forget their sacrifice. After spending hours in conversation with each of the extended families, he then led an honor guard onto the tarmac to salute the returning coffins as they were unloaded from the airplane.

I found this single evening one of the most emotionally moving and draining experiences of my government service. I was inspired by how warm General Cartwright was to all of the family members he met and how much personal effort he put into that evening. We finally returned to Washington after midnight. I remember asking General Cartwright on the flight home how often he made that trip up to Dover and back. He told me he tried to make the trip approximately once every week when he was in Washington. He said it in his characteristically understated and modest way, adding, 'it is the least I can do.' The comment made a huge impression on me, and I am sure he would never have told me how often he did this if I had not asked him.

I already admired General Cartwright before that evening in Delaware, but I had new-found admiration for him afterwards. General Cartwright received a great many medals and for his military service, but there is no medal or recognition for the type of leadership and devotion he brought to the job.

I hope you will bear this, and the many stories like it, in mind when you impose a sentence on General Cartwright.

Respectfully yours,

Stuart A. Levey

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20001-2866

Subject: General James Cartwright, Retired

Your Honor:

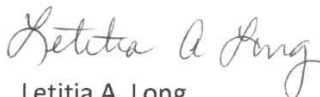
I had the honor of working with General James Cartwright for twenty years of my career in the United States Intelligence Community and the Department of Defense. He is one of the greatest patriots I have known.

I first met Jim Cartwright in 1997. While we worked together from 1997 until his retirement in 2011, there were two periods of time where we worked closely together. Both times we worked on highly classified programs and Jim always took his responsibility to safeguard classified material seriously. He would never do anything to harm his country.

I remember having to present options and a recommendation to the Secretary of Defense on a particular classified program. As we worked on the options, it became obvious which one was in the best interest of the Department of Defense and therefore our Nation. It was not the option of choice for the United States Air Force. General Cartwright did the right thing and briefed the best option.

General Cartwright always did the right thing. He spoke truth to power and he did what his country asked of him, regardless of the personal consequences. I would trust Jim with my life.

Sincerely,



Letitia A. Long
Former Director
National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency

15 December 2016



THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

December 22, 2016

Judge Richard Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.,
Washington D.C. 20001

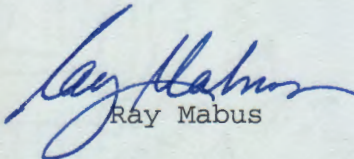
Dear Judge Leon,

I have known General James Cartwright for many years. As Secretary of the Navy, I dealt with him on a routine basis while he was Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and, as a Marine, he reported to me administratively.

I always found General Cartwright to be very forthright and to have an excellent character. He always took responsibility for his actions and never sought any excuses. Several times, I saw him make the right moral choice even though there were easier paths that he could have taken.

Having known him while he served in a job of great responsibility and in times of tremendous stress, I never saw him cut corners or do anything that he did not believe to be right. I have the highest regard for him and respect him greatly.

I hope that, given his long and distinguished service to our country and his great character, leniency can be shown to him in sentencing.


Ray Mabus

District Judge Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20001

Richard "Scott" Stapp, Brig Gen (ret.)
Vice President, Applied Research and Technology Development
Northrop Grumman Aerospace Systems
2980 Fairview Park Dr, Falls Church VA 22042

Dear Judge Leon,

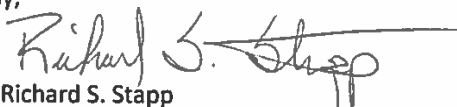
I am told that you are willing to receive letters from friends and family of General Cartwright in connection with the sentence you will be imposing on January 17. The purpose of my letter is to urge Your Honor to be lenient.

My name is Scott Stapp and I've known Gen Cartwright since 2003. I'm a career Air Force officer with over 30-years of service, culminating in my retirement as a Brigadier General. I spent a good portion of my last 12-years of military service working for, or around, Gen Cartwright, to include serving as his Executive Assistant and Chief of Staff while he was the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

As a military officer, I can honestly say that almost everything I've learned about honor, integrity and selfless-service have come from the example set by Gen Cartwright. I've worked with many senior officials in the Department of Defense ranging from Colonels to the Secretary of Defense and can honestly say, with no exceptions, Gen Cartwright is the finest and most selfless individual I've had the pleasure to serve with. He has spent his entire adult life serving our nation and has been a tireless advocate for our service members, veterans and our nation's security. He has an unparalleled strategic mind and has helped two Presidents navigate their way through numerous complex national security issues. There is little doubt that his contributions to national security are directly responsible for making our nation a more safe and secure place.

In closing, I truly appreciate your time and consideration to my request and hope that you will fully consider Gen Cartwright's 40+ years of dedicated, honorable and selfless service to our military and nation before deciding on his sentence.

Very Respectfully,


Richard S. Stapp

Scott Louis Weber

37 Quail Run, Warren, NJ 07059
Phone: 201-960-4867
scottweber77@gmail.com

December 27, 2016

Via Regular Mail

Hon. Richard J. Leon
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse
333 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20001

Judge Leon:

I respectfully submit this letter in connection with the January 17, 2017 sentencing hearing for Gen. James Cartwright.

I practiced law for twenty-one years and was a litigation partner at two international law firms. I also served as Senior Counselor to the Secretary of the United States Department of Homeland Security and am currently an executive at a risk management and cyber security firm. I have been fortunate to work with many accomplished professionals in the public and private sectors throughout my career and can say, without reservation, that Gen. Cartwright is one of the most impressive individuals with whom I have had the honor and privilege to work.

There are countless others who can better comment on Gen. Cartwright's decades of honorable and steadfast public service and I sincerely hope that they write the Court and provide firsthand insight. I had the honor and privilege to get to know Gen. Cartwright shortly after he retired as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Gen. Cartwright was kind enough to join the advisory board of Opera Solutions Government Services LLC, where I served as an executive, and he quickly became a trusted friend and mentor -- he remains so to this day and, hopefully, for many years to come.

When I first met Gen. Cartwright, I was immediately impressed by his even-tempered and soft-spoken approach - his ability to make everyone feel comfortable, the way he introduced himself as "Jim." Despite a very busy schedule, including serving two government civilian positions that required frequent international travel, Gen. Cartwright has always been easy to reach and available to offer assistance and advice. He genuinely cares about his colleagues and is loyal to the core. He didn't hesitate to help me professionally and personally. Gen. Cartwright embodies all that our leaders should aspire to be -- service first and "me" second, loyal, thoughtful, compassionate, approachable, dedicated, honest and trustworthy.

Despite many requests to call him “Jim,” I cannot, because his sacrifices for and devotion to our country, in my view, require steadfast acknowledgement of his rank and accomplishments. I have and always will refer to my friend and mentor as “Gen. Cartwright.” I sincerely hope that the Court will similarly acknowledge and place great weight on Gen. Cartwright’s decades of service, loyalty to our country and his profound positive influence on countless individuals in the military, public and private sectors. I urge the Court to impose the minimum fine and no time in prison.

Respectfully submitted,

Scott Louis Weber



Robert E. Beauchamp
Chairman of the Board, President and CEO

November 22, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20001-2866

Dear Judge Leon:

My experience with General James Cartwright has been exclusively related to my service with the general on the Raytheon Company board of directors.

In all my interactions with him, the general has demonstrated those qualities that I, as a patriotic American citizen, would pray that our top military leaders would possess.

He is a true officer and gentleman. In my experience with General Cartwright, he has always been helpful, honest, calm, humble and gentle.

General Cartwright's love for our country and respect for our civilian leadership is clear to all who know him. He is thoughtful, wise, kind, and generous.

When I was first appointed to Raytheon's board, General Cartwright went out of his way to welcome me as a new board member and was available to help me with wise advice whenever I asked for his assistance.

I do not know all the circumstances regarding General Cartwright's present situation. What I do know is this - I would trust him with my life and my children's freedom.

I humbly request that you consider his decades of service, leadership, and extraordinary character as you consider any sentencing you might impose on General Cartwright.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R. E. Beauchamp', written over a light blue horizontal line.

Robert E Beauchamp
Chairman and CEO
BMC Software

BMC Software Inc.
2103 CityWest Blvd., Houston, Texas 77042-2827, USA
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THE EISENHOWER GROUP, INC.

2801 New Mexico Ave NW | Suite 1405 | Washington, DC 20007

District Judge
Richard J. Leon
U.S. District Court for District of
Columbia
333 Constitution Ave. NW
Washington DC 20001
December 21, 2016

Dear Judge Leon:

I am told that you are willing to receive letters from friends, colleagues and family of General Cartwright in connection with the sentence you will be imposing on January 17. The purpose of my letter is to urge Your Honor to be lenient.

Nearly five years ago I met Jim Cartwright at an advisory board meeting of a software company we are both associated with. I was impressed by General Cartwright immediately, for his focus, his capacity to think about complicated issues strategically and by his humility and modesty. Over the years I have had considerable interaction with him and I deeply appreciate his commitment to our nation's national security and his outstanding personal attributes.

General Cartwright is a military man first and foremost, and has been trained, above all, to protect our country's national security and the people working to assure it. I know many individuals who have served our nation and led our troops. In my opinion, General James Cartwright is one of the most impressive leaders of his generation of military officers. He stands out as a man of selflessness and integrity. In fact a colleague of his described him to me recently as "a national treasure." I agree. Cartwright has been a trusted advisor of two Presidents and he has selflessly served our country when our nation has been in peril.

General Cartwright is a fine, decent man. I hope you will be lenient in your sentencing of him. He still has many years ahead of him to serve his community and our country.

Sincerely,



Susan Eisenhower

MARY L. HOWELL
4605 Rock Spring Road
Arlington, VA 22207

December 6, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Leon,

I have spent over three decades working with the United States Marine Corps, and have had the great honor of getting to know many individuals who are extraordinarily talented. General Jim Cartwright is at the top of that list.

I first met Jim Cartwright during my tenure as a senior executive in industry, and I have also had the honor of working with him as an advisor and Board member of the Atlantic Council. It is well known that General Cartwright's selfless service and brilliant capabilities have helped our country in very difficult times.

For over forty years, General Cartwright's hard work, exceptional vision and dedicated leadership have strengthened our national security around the globe. The numerous sacrifices that he and his family have made on countless occasions, without complaint, was done time and time again for love of country. In recent months, General Cartwright has further demonstrated his integrity by accepting responsibility for his mistakes in misleading the FBI.

Your Honor, I hope you will take these decades of extraordinary service and accomplishments into account, and grant leniency for this dedicated man, who still has so much to give. It is my sincere hope that your decision will help restore the balance that should reflect the entirety of Jim Cartwright's life and service.

Most respectfully,


Mary L. Howell

Raytheon

Thomas A. Kennedy
Chairman and CEO
781.522.6400 business
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tkennedy1@raytheon.com

Raytheon Company
870 Winter Street
Waltham, Massachusetts
02451 USA

December 12, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20001-2866

Dear Judge Leon:

I write in strong support of General (Ret.) James E. Cartwright as he appears before your Court for sentencing next month. I have had the distinct honor of knowing General Cartwright from the time he joined the Raytheon Board of Directors in January 2012 and of working closely alongside him on the Board from the time I became a director in January 2014.

As the Chairman and CEO of the Raytheon Company, I owe duties to many stakeholders: our employees, our customers, our shareholders and the communities in which we operate, among others. But I consider one duty in particular to be paramount: the duty Raytheon owes to the men and women who wear our nation's uniform and put their lives at risk to protect our country and its allies. As a legal matter, more weight may be carried by the contractual duties we owe to customers such as the agencies of the U.S. Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community, or the fiduciary duties we owe to our shareholders. But as a moral matter, nothing matters more than our duty to do everything within our power to provide technologies and services that keep the U.S. and allied warfighter as safe as possible.

In his time at Raytheon, General Cartwright was unparalleled in holding up this moral obligation foremost before our eyes. He viewed every decision, every question and every debate through this prism, requiring us always to ask of ourselves, "What is the right thing, the best thing, to do for our soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines?" As a Raytheon director, he was unceasing in his efforts to promote and protect the uniformed personnel among whom he had so honorably served, and whom he had led so well, for decades.

It was this personal conviction, along with many other superb qualities, that led the Board to elect General Cartwright as Chairman of its Governance and Nominating Committee, a responsibility that he performed admirably. To a person, the directors of the Raytheon Company felt confident in entrusting him with leadership over our corporate governance and our efforts to ensure the continued maintenance of a strong board of supremely qualified directors. And to a person, the directors valued highly General Cartwright's contributions to the Board and to Raytheon, as well as his friendship, collegiality, trustworthiness and invaluable perspectives and experience. His loss from our Board is felt deeply.

I thank you for your own service to the nation as a respected federal judge. I know you take extremely seriously the weighty obligation to consider multiple factors in a decision such as this, one that affects so greatly an individual's freedom, fortune and name. It is not an enviable task. In carrying it out, I respectfully request that you take into account these perspectives from General Cartwright's service to the nation and to Raytheon, and afford him the maximum leniency in your decision.

Sincerely,



Thomas A. Kennedy



WESLEY
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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Washington, DC 20016

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December 23, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
333 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Leon,

I write to encourage great leniency be granted to General James Cartwright in the case pending before you. Frankly, I am appalled and disappointed by the decision to prosecute; the government does not seem to treat these cases with any proportionality. Nevertheless, my hope is to provide insight into the character of General Cartwright. His record of service to our country speaks for itself and I'm sure his military colleagues will elaborate. My testimony is more personal in nature.

I first met Jim about ten years ago through a mutual friend and alumna, a retired female Marine Corps major, who knew him many years and admired him because of his early support of women in the service. Mitzi told me "You need to get Hoss Cartwright involved in the seminary, he's one of the good guys." We discovered he was the descendant of a very famous figure in the history of my denomination and, like me, strongly influenced by his Methodist youth group. He quickly agreed to speak, pro bono, to a group of military chaplains in our Doctor of Ministry program. Since then, he has been a guest lecturer at the seminary a number of times. I remember in particular a lecture on courage delivered with five minutes notice. It was an extraordinary master class in leadership. He is a teacher at heart.

Jim agreed to serve on the Wesley Board of Governors where he soon became a valued and highly-respected member. Jim doesn't speak until he has something substantive to say and asks questions leading to deeper understanding. Last spring, when his case was resurrected, Jim immediately offered to resign. We rejected the offer but finally, he took it out of our hands. All our trustees hope he can rejoin whatever may happen. Indeed, Jim Cartwright has so much to offer his community, the next generation of soldiers, and the world, that certainly the larger public interest is served by granting him the freedom to serve.

Let me offer another insight. In my position, and because I am a member of the clergy, people have shared a lot of confidential information. It is human nature. By contrast, though we talk of many things, Jim Cartwright has never shared the anecdotes and personal gossip that is the stock in trade in Washington. And, he has told me nothing about his case, except when I asked him about how he could appear so peaceful about the prospect of prison. He said, "David, I did the right thing. I've served in the military for forty years. I'm sure I can endure this, too."

I only know what I read in the papers and the character of my friend, Jim Cartwright. I believe that kind of integrity should not be punished. I trust you will act justly.

Sincerely,

David McAllister-Wilson
President, Wesley Theological Seminary

Ronald L. Skates
265 Franklin Street
20th Floor
Boston, Massachusetts 02110

December 12, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001-2866

Dear Judge Leon:

I am writing to express my strong belief that General (Retired) James Cartwright is a man of great character and honesty. He loyally served the United States for many years and contributed greatly to the development of our country's technological capabilities in the areas of cyber defense and warfare.

I was the Chief Executive Officer of a computer and software company, Data General Corporation, and served with General Cartwright as directors of Raytheon Company until my retirement earlier this year. He and I had extensive dealings with each other.

In all of our work together dealing with interactions between Raytheon and the United States defense agencies, General Cartwright clearly and always put the national interest of our country first. On many occasions he led his fellow directors to the best decision for our country while melding the company's interest to that outcome. He was able to do this both because of his intelligence and his self-effacing manner. He is a thoughtful leader with whom I enjoyed working. He is a loyal American to the core.

I hope that you will afford General Cartwright leniency when you reach your decision regarding his future.

Respectfully,



Ronald L. Skates

/pmf

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Facsimile 617-338-5411

Email: RLSkates@Hotmail.com

William R. Spivey

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972-816-1191 w.spivey@aol.com

December 10, 2016

The Honorable Richard J. Leon
United States District Judge
U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.
E. Barrett Prettyman U.S. Courthouse
333 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20001-2866

Dear The Honorable Richard J. Leon,

I have known Jim for 5 years as a colleague and a director on the Raytheon board. During this time, I have known him to be a person of high integrity, honesty, very knowledgeable and dedicated to the responsibility of duty of "loyal and care" for Raytheon and its stakeholders. Other four star generals the board had recruited, have been assertive with a take charge attitude, General Cartwright was surprisingly quiet, thoughtful and unassuming. He provided invaluable advice on what the company needed to do while investing in research, products and services to enhance our main customer's (the US Government) ability to defend the US and its allies around the world. General Cartwright's deep knowledge and experience was used to advance the competitive edge in the capabilities of the US against its global adversaries. For example, he provided input and leadership to the board that accelerated the company's plan to move faster in order to provide cyber products to the US government to enhance its capabilities against cyber threats. As a result, the company increased its investment, purchased a number of cyber companies and consolidated them into a new separate business unit (Forcepoint, LLC). General Cartwright was appointed as a director to the Forcepoint's board as well as retaining his position as Director on the Raytheon's Board.

As published in *The Washington Post* on September 29, 2015 article:

“The Department of Homeland Security has awarded a massive cybersecurity contract, worth up to \$1 billion, to Raytheon, which it hopes will shore up the federal government’s defenses against the increasing onslaught of attacks.

The contract, one of the largest civilian cybersecurity orders in years, would help more than 100 federal civilian agencies protect their networks against malicious hackers, and it comes after the Office of Personnel Management suffered one of the most damaging breaches in history.”

The above is just one example of the many benefits the company and the US government realized as a result of General Cartwright’s experience and board leadership. Over the 5-year period of my professional relationship with General Cartwright, he has never breached his responsibility to hold his top secret classified information confidential. I have the upmost respect for him as a colleague and admiration for what he has done for the nation over his 40-year career.

Your Honor, I pray that you take in to account my thoughts and pardon General Cartwright of wrongdoing he has pleaded to. He is a national treasure.

Sincerely,


William R. Spivey



Hoss - Thanks for your continuing contributions to the nation's security.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Butler", written in a cursive style.