

From: "Drouin, Lindsey E."
To: "Kavanaugh, Brett M."
Cc: "Levey, Collin", "Thiessen, Marc A."
Subject: Fw: Annotated Remarks
Sent: Tue, 10 Jan 2006 06:19:19 -0500
[TraffickingVictimsProtectionAct01January2006#7ann.doc](#)
[RemarksOnIraq10January2006#16annotated.doc](#)

Which changes should we make? Thx

-----Original Message-----

From: Carson, Melissa M. <Melissa_M_Carson@who.eop.gov>
To: Staff Secretary <StaffSecretary@eopds.eop.gov>
CC: Levey, Collin <Collin_Levey@who.eop.gov>; McGum, William J. <William_J_McGurn@who.eop.gov>; Thiessen, Marc A. <Marc_A_Thiessen@who.eop.gov>; Michel, Christopher G. <Christopher_G_Michel@who.eop.gov>; Drouin, Lindsey E. <Lindsey_E_Drouin@who.eop.gov>; Ward, Frank P. <Frank_P_Ward@who.eop.gov>; Merkley, Brendon A. <Brendon_A_Merkley@who.eop.gov>; Green, Anneke E. <Anneke_E_Green@who.eop.gov>; Fahy, Brian D. <Brian_D_Fahy@who.eop.gov>; Jordan, Elise <Catherine_E_Jordan@who.eop.gov>

Sent: Mon Jan 09 22:47:21 2006
Subject: Annotated Remarks

<<...>>

<<...>> Issues on Trafficking:

Page 2, paragraph 2, sentence 4: "The Department of Health and Human Services has partnered with faith-based and community organizations to form anti-trafficking coalitions in 17 major cities across the Nation."

Awaiting a list of those 17 countries from Steven Wagner, Director- Human Trafficking Program, Department of Health and Human Services.

Page 3, paragraph 3, sentence 2: "Two years ago at the United Nations I called on other governments to pass laws..."

The address occurred on September 23, 2003, so should the sentence "read three years ago" or in light of the fact that it is only January, stay as is?

Issues and updated numbers for WOT:

Page 1, 1st Paragraph, sentence: "It is an honor to stand with the men and women of the Veterans of Foreign Wars."

Per Tiffany Breaux, Deputy Associate Director, Public Liaison (64587)

No one will be standing on stage with the President or standing in the audience.

Page 3, 2nd Paragraph, sentence: "And in the weeks ahead, Americans will likely see a good deal of political turmoil in Iraq – as different factions and leaders compete for position and jockey for power."

“Position” should be changed to “positions.” Per Meghan O’ Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69386)

Page 5, last full paragraph, sentence: Last December, I described many of the changes we made over the past year to improve the training of the Iraqi army and police – and we saw the fruits of those changes during the December elections.

The speech that mainly described changes to the training of the Iraq army and police was delivered on November 30, 2005 (not December). See annotation #42

Page 6, 2nd full paragraph, sentence: There are now about 20,000 Iraqi Special Police trained and equipped – which is near our goal for a complete force.

"About 20,000" is correct. There was some back and forth on this number yesterday. As of January 9, 2006 the number is 19,300. So it is fine to keep "about 20,000" See annotation

#61

Page 8, 1st full paragraph, sentence: At this moment, more than 30 Iraqi battalions have assumed control of their own areas of responsibility

"More than 30" is correct, but we could raise it to "more than 35" according to new data from the Joint Staff. See annotation #96

Page 10, first full paragraph, sentence: "...lending the Iraqi government 100 million dollars to improve the Iraqi school system, and making up to 400 million dollars available to fund water, electricity, roads and sanitation projects."

Meghan O'Sullivan requests that the language be altered to read "making up to AN ADDITIONAL 400 million dollars" because it's a \$500 million dollar package.

Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act Signing
Tuesday, January 10, 2006
Draft #7

Good afternoon.¹ Thank you all for coming. In a few moments, I will have the honor of signing the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act.² Human trafficking is an offense against human dignity – a crime in which human beings, many of them teenagers and young children, are bought, sold, and often sexually abused by violent criminals. Our Nation is determined to fight and end this modern form of slavery. And this bipartisan bill³ will help expand our efforts⁴ to combat this brutal crime that steals innocence, and destroys lives.

Acknowledgments

- [TK]

Human life is the gift of our Creator – and it should never be for sale. Often, human traffickers abuse the trust of children and expose them to the worst of life at a young age. It takes a perverse form of evil to exploit and hurt these vulnerable members of society. Human traffickers operate with greed, and without conscience – treating their victims as nothing more than goods and commodities for sale to the highest bidder.

In recent years, hundreds of thousands of people around the world have been trafficked against their will across international borders⁵ – and

¹ The signing of H.R. 972 will take place at **1:35 p.m. on Tuesday, January 10, 2006**, in EEOB Room 350. Information confirmed by Rhonda Houston, Deputy Director, Presidential Scheduling, (X62811).

² “This Act may be cited as the ‘**Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005**’.” H.R.972 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005 (Enrolled as Agreed to or Passed by Both House and Senate) (<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c109:4:./temp/~c109cpSGmR:e655:>)

³

12/14/2005 **Passed/agreed to in House:** On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended Agreed to by the Yeas and Nays: (2/3 required): **426 - 0** ([Roll no. 632](#)).

12/22/2005 Passed/agreed to in **Senate: Passed Senate without amendment by Unanimous Consent.**

Major Actions, H.R. 972 (<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:HR00972:@@R>)

⁴ Information confirmed by Melissa Pardue, Associate Director, Domestic Policy Council, (X65594).

⁵ “Worldwide, at **least 600,000 to 800,000 human beings are trafficked across international borders each year.**” President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004

many have been forced into sexual servitude.⁶ Here in the United States every year, thousands of teenagers and young girls are trafficked and held hostage⁷ – and forced to submit to unspeakable evil.⁸

America has a particular duty to fight this horror, because human trafficking is an affront to the defining promise of our country. We are attacking this problem aggressively. Over the past four years the Department of Homeland Security has taken new measures to protect children from sexual predators as well as pornography and prostitution rings.⁹ The Department of Health and Human Services has partnered with faith-based and community organizations to form anti-trafficking coalitions in 17 major cities across the Nation.¹⁰ And the Department of Justice has more than doubled the number of cases brought against traffickers.¹¹

The bill I sign today will help us continue to investigate and prosecute traffickers and will provide new grants to state and local law enforcement.¹²

(<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>) **Note: the numbers haven't changed since last year when the President spoke, and they were rough estimates at best even then. According to Melissa Pardue, Associate Director in Domestic Policy Council, State and DOJ do not have a precise number of the total number of people trafficked internationally each year; the 600,000 – 800,000 figure is an accurate approximate number.**

⁶ “Of those, it is believed that more than 80 percent are women and girls, **and that 70 percent of them were forced into sexual servitude.**” President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>)

⁷ It is estimated that **between 14,500 and 17,500 victims of trafficking cross our borders every year.**” President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>)

⁸ “...it is believed that **more than 80 percent are women and girls, and that 70 percent of them were forced into sexual servitude.**” President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>)

⁹ “Last summer the **Department of Homeland Security launched Operation Predator, a comprehensive effort to protect children from international sex tourists and traffickers and pornography and prostitution rings.**” President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>)

¹⁰ Information provided by Steven Wagner, Director - Human Trafficking Program, Department of Health and Human Services, (X202.441.5744)

¹¹ Information confirmed by Melissa Pardue, Associate Director, Domestic Policy Council, (X65594).

¹² Information provided by Tevi Troy, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, Domestic

Yet we cannot put the criminals out of business until we also confront the problem of demand – those who pay for the chance to sexually abuse children and teenage girls. So we will also act to investigate and prosecute their customers¹³ – the unscrupulous adults who prey on the young and the innocent.

We also have a duty to reach out to the victims of trafficking – some of whom were smuggled into this country as children. The legislation I sign today will help us provide important new services to these victims – including appointing a guardian for young victims, and providing access to residential treatment facilities to help victims get a chance at a better life.¹⁴

We will continue to call on other nations to take action against trafficking within their own borders. Two years ago at the United Nations¹⁵ I asked other governments to pass laws making human trafficking a crime – and, since then, many of them have risen to the challenge.¹⁶ And we are working with the nations of Southeast Asia and others to crack down on sex tourism.¹⁷

America is a compassionate and decent nation – and we will not tolerate an industry that preys on the young and vulnerable. The trade in human beings continues in our time – and we are called by conscience and

Policy Council, (X65221).

¹³ Information provided by Tevi Troy, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, Domestic Policy Council, (X65221).

¹⁴ Information provided by Tevi Troy, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, Domestic Policy Council, (X65221).

¹⁵ **President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly**, The United Nations, New York, New York, **September 23, 2003**. Whitehouse.gov (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html>)

¹⁶ **“Last year, at the United Nations, I called on other governments to pass laws making such abuse a crime -- and many have risen to the challenge.”** President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>)

¹⁷ **“We’re working with governments in Southeast Asia to crack down on pedophile sex tourism -- and many nations in that region have made substantial progress.”** President’s Remarks at the National Training Conference on Human Trafficking at the Tampa Marriot Waterside Hotel, Tampa, Florida, July 16, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040716-10.html>) **Note: Melissa Pardue, Associate Director, Domestic Policy Council, said that Southeast Asia is the main focus of current US Government’s anti- trafficking efforts, but many nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa are also involved, so this statement is still accurate.**

compassion to bring this cruel practice to an end. I thank the Congress for its work on this important subject.

And now I will sign this bill into law.

Drafted by: Collin Levey, Office of Speechwriting
Office: 202/456-5228
Cell: 646/552-5584

Remarks on the War on Terror
Tuesday, January 10, 2006
Draft #16

Thank you for the warm welcome. It is an honor to stand with the men and women of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.¹ This is one of America's great organizations – and I appreciate the proud and patriotic work you do across America and in our Nation's capital. I know the spirit of the VFW firsthand. In fact, I spent Christmas Day with a VFW member: a proud veteran of Post 4344 in Houston, Texas ... former President George Bush.²

Your members include veterans who served in the Second World War³ ... the Korean War⁴ ... the Vietnam War⁵ ... the Persian Gulf War⁶ ... Panama⁷ ... Bosnia⁸ ... Kosovo⁹ ... and many other operations. And in the

¹ No one will be standing on stage with the President or standing in the audience. Per Tiffany Breaux, Deputy Associate Director, Public Liaison (64587)

² "I really enjoy coming to these conventions. Members here come from all walks of life and you do vital work across our country. I know firsthand the spirit of the VFW. **I was raised by one of your members -- (applause) -- a proud veteran of Post 4344 in Houston, Texas, former President George Bush.** (Applause.) Where is that mighty Texas delegation? (Applause.) Behaves yourselves. (Laughter.)" **President Honors Veterans of Foreign Wars at National Convention**, Salt Palace Convention Center Salt Lake City, Utah, August 22, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/08/20050822-1.html>); President Bush became a life member of VFW in 1973 (his membership is not honorary).

³ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1940 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

⁴ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1950 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>)

⁵ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1960 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

⁶ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1990 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

⁷ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1980 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

⁸ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1990 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

past four years, you have welcomed into your ranks new veterans who have defended liberty in places like Afghanistan¹⁰ and Iraq¹¹ as part of the global war on terror. No matter where you deployed, or which century you wore the uniform, each of you stepped forward when America needed you most. And in these first days of the year 2006, a grateful Nation says thank you for your service in the cause of freedom.

Acknowledgments

- [TK]

As veterans, all of you have placed the Nation's security before your own lives. You took an oath¹² to defend our flag and our freedom – and you kept that oath overseas and under fire. From the fields of Europe to the islands of the Pacific, from the mountains of Korea to the beaches of Grenada and the deserts of Kuwait, you helped America triumph in the 20th century's decisive struggles for freedom. All of us who live in liberty live in your debt – and we must never forget your service and sacrifice.

A new generation of Americans is carrying on your legacy, defending our Nation in another great struggle for freedom – the global war on terror. This war began with a sudden attack on September 11, 2001. That morning, we saw the destruction our enemies intend for us – and we accepted new responsibilities. Like generations before us, we are taking the fight to those who attacked us – and those who share their murderous vision for future attacks. Like generations before us, we have faced setbacks on the path to victory – yet we will fight this war with resolve and without wavering. And like generations before us, we will prevail.

Like earlier struggles for freedom, the war on terror is being fought on many battlefronts. Yet the terrorists have made it clear that Iraq is the central front in their war against humanity – so we must recognize Iraq as the central front in the war on terror.

⁹ From VFW: A Heritage of Achievement, Interactive Timeline, Wars & Campaigns, 1990 Section (<http://www.vfw.org/index.cfm?fa=news.level&did=860>); Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

¹⁰ Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

¹¹ Confirmed by Bob Wallace, Executive Director, VFW HQ (202-608-8361)

¹² Oaths of Enlistment and Oaths of Office (<http://www.army.mil/cmh/faq/oaths.htm>); Confirmed by Sgt. 1st Class, Lorenzo Coleman, U.S. Army, White House Military Office

Our goal in Iraq is victory – and in a series of speeches last December, I described the enemy we face in that country ... our strategy to defeat them ... and how we have adapted our tactics to meet changing conditions on the ground. Today, I will discuss what the American people can expect to see in Iraq in the year ahead. We will see more tough fighting and more sacrifice in 2006 – as the enemies of a free Iraq continue to sow violence and destruction. We will also see more progress toward victory. Victory will come when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq's democracy ... when the Iraqi security forces can provide for the safety of their own citizens ... and when Iraq is not a safe haven for terrorists to plot new attacks on our nation. When democracy takes hold in Iraq, it will serve as a model of freedom for the Middle East. History has shown that free nations are peaceful nations. And by helping Iraqis build a lasting democracy, we will spread the hope of liberty across a troubled region ... gain new allies in the cause of freedom ... and add to our own security.

Our work in Iraq in 2006 will be focused on three critical areas: On the political side, we will help Iraqis consolidate the democratic gains they made last year – and help them build democratic institutions, a unified government, and a lasting free society. On the security side, we will stay on the offense against the terrorists and Saddamists. And we will continue to strengthen the Iraqi Security Forces – with an emphasis on improving the capabilities of the Iraqi police – so that over the next 12 months, Iraqi forces can take control of more territory from our Coalition and take the lead in the fight. And on the economic side, we will continue reconstruction efforts – and help Iraq's new government implement difficult reforms that are necessary to build a modern economy and a better life. In all three aspects of our strategy – democracy, security, and reconstruction – we are learning from our experiences, and fixing what has not worked. And in the year ahead, we will continue to make every change that will help us complete the mission.

On the political side, we have witnessed a transformation in Iraq over the past twelve months that is virtually without precedent. At this time last year, the Iraqi people had an appointed government¹³ ... no elected legislature¹⁴ ... no permanent constitution

¹³ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

¹⁴ Language and information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan,

¹⁵ ... and no recent experience with free national elections.¹⁶ Just one year later, they have completed three successful nationwide elections.¹⁷ Iraqis voted for a transitional government¹⁸ ... drafted the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world¹⁹ ... approved that constitution in a national referendum²⁰ ... and elected a new government under their new constitution.²¹ Each successive election has seen less violence,²² bigger turnout,²³ and broader participation than the one before.²⁴ One Iraqi voter in Tal Afar²⁵ described the December elections²⁶ this way: "We want democracy. This is our answer to the decades of slavery we had before."²⁷

NSC (69381)

¹⁵ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

¹⁶ Language and Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381); Language and information confirmed by Meghan O' Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69386)

¹⁷ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

¹⁸ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

¹⁹ Language confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²⁰ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²¹ Language confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²² Language and Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²³ Language and Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²⁴ Language and Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

²⁵ "Today is like a wedding!" said **Ibrahim Mousa al-Mousawi, 47, as he emerged from a polling site in the northern city of Tal Afar**, a town near the Syrian border where foreign fighters often enter Iraq." "Iraqis by the millions vote on their future, Day mostly peaceful amid heavy security," Steven Komarow and Rick Jervis, *USA Today*, December 16, 2005 (http://www.usatoday.com/printedition/news/20051216/a_iraqvote16.art.htm)

²⁶ "Today is like a wedding!" said Ibrahim Mousa al-Mousawi, 47, as he emerged from a polling site in the northern city of Tal Afar, a town near the Syrian border where foreign fighters often enter Iraq." "**Iraqis by the millions vote on their future, Day mostly peaceful amid heavy security**," Steven Komarow and Rick Jervis, *USA Today*, **December 16, 2005** (http://www.usatoday.com/printedition/news/20051216/a_iraqvote16.art.htm)

²⁷ "His 2-year-old daughter, Rayda, was cradled in his right arm. **'We want democracy. This is our answer to the decades of slavery we had before,'** al-Mousawi said." "Iraqis by the millions vote on their future, Day mostly peaceful amid heavy security," Steven Komarow and Rick Jervis, *USA Today*, December 16, 2005 (http://www.usatoday.com/printedition/news/20051216/a_iraqvote16.art.htm)

When the final election results come in, Iraqi leaders will begin working to form a new government. And in the weeks ahead, Americans will likely see a good deal of political turmoil in Iraq – as different factions and leaders compete for position²⁸ and jockey for power.²⁹ Our top commander in the region, General John Abizaid,³⁰ has said he expects the coming weeks to produce “some of the hardest bare-knuckle politics ever in the Arab world.”³¹ We should welcome this turmoil for what it is – freedom in action. Dictatorships are orderly – when one man makes all the decisions, there is no need for negotiation or compromise. Democracies are sometimes messy and seemingly chaotic, as different parties advance competing agendas and seek their share of political power. We have seen this throughout the history of our own country. We have seen this in other democracies around the world. Yet out of the turmoil in Iraq, a free government will emerge that represents the will of the Iraqi people – instead of the will of one cruel dictator.

Iraqis are undertaking this process with just a year’s experience in democratic politics – and the legacy of three decades under one of the world’s most brutal tyrannies hanging over them.³² Many of the institutions and traditions we take for granted in America – from our party structures, to our centuries’ experience with peaceful transitions of power – are new to Iraq. So we should not be surprised if Iraqis make mistakes, and face

²⁸ “Position” should be changed to “positions.” Per Meghan O’ Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69386)

²⁹ Language and information confirmed by Meghan O’ Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69386)

³⁰ **“The top U.S. general in the Iraq region says he is optimistic the United States will succeed this year in turning a substantial part of the country over to Iraqi government control, moving U.S. forces into a backup role.” Abizaid: Put faith in Iraqi forces**, Steven Komarow, *USA Today*, January 2, 2006 (http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2006-01-02-abizaid-interview_x.htm)

³¹ “I think there’s going to be **some of the hardest bare-knuckle politics ever in the Arab world** -they play rough over here, and that can loop toward violence. But violence does not necessarily mean civil war. I don’t see it now. I think we would see it coming and I don’t see it coming.” **Abizaid optimistic about Iraq’s future**, Joseph L. Galloway, *Knight Ridder Newspapers*, January 1, 2006; “I think there’s going to be **some of the hardest bare-knuckle politics ever in the Arab world** -they play rough over here, and that can loop toward violence. But violence does not necessarily mean civil war. I don’t see it now. I think we would see it coming and I don’t see it coming.” Quote reviewed by CENTCOM.

³² Language and information confirmed by Meghan O’ Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69386)

setbacks in their effort to build a government that unites the Iraqi people. Despite the obstacles they face, Iraqis have already shown they can come together for the sake of national unity. After the January 2005 elections, Shia and Kurdish leaders who did well at the polls reached out to Sunni Arabs who failed to participate – giving them posts in the government, and a role in fashioning the constitution. Now Iraqis must reach out once again across political, religious, and sectarian lines and form a government of national unity that gives a voice to all Iraqis.

Because Sunni Arabs participated in large numbers in the December elections, they will now have a bigger role in the new parliament – and more influence in Iraq's new government. It is important that Sunnis who abandoned violence to join the political process now see the benefits of peaceful participation. Sunnis need to learn how to use their influence constructively in a democratic system to benefit their community and the country at large. And Shia and Kurds need to understand that successful free societies protect the rights of minorities against the tyranny of the majority. The promise of democracy begins with free elections and majority rule – but it is fulfilled by minority rights, equal justice, and an inclusive society in which every person belongs. A country that divides into factions and dwells on old grievances cannot move forward – and risks sliding back into tyranny. Compromise, consensus, and power-sharing are the only path to national unity and lasting democracy. And ultimately, the success of Iraqi democracy will come when political divisions in Iraq are driven not by sectarian rivalries, but by ideas, convictions, and a common vision for the future.

When the new Iraqi government assumes office, Iraq's new leaders will face tough decisions on issues such as security, reconstruction, and economic reform.³³ Iraqi leaders will also have to review and possibly amend the constitution – to ensure that this historic document earns the broad support of all Iraqi communities.³⁴ If the new parliament approves

³³ **“This new government will face many tough decisions on issues such as security and reconstruction and economic reform.”** President Discusses War on Terror and Upcoming Iraqi Elections, Park Hyatt Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 12, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051212-4.html>). Note from Lea Bouzis, Director for Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan (69381) I would delete "reconstruction" and leave it at security and econ reform, if you leave in "decisions" -- the reconstruction decisions are really wrapped up in the econ ones. However, if you change to "challenges" -- then I would leave in, since they will have many challenges to face in all these areas.

³⁴ Information confirmed by Brett McGurk, Director for Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

amendments, these changes will be once again taken to the Iraqi people for their approval in a referendum before the end of the year.³⁵ By taking these steps, Iraqi leaders will bring their nation together behind a strong democracy – and help to defeat the terrorists and the Saddamists.

America and our Coalition partners will stand with the Iraqi people during this period of transition. We will continue helping Iraqis build an impartial system of justice – so they can replace the rule of fear with the rule of law. We will help Iraqi leaders combat corruption by strengthening Iraq’s Commission on Public Integrity – so Iraqis can build a transparent, accountable government.³⁶ And we will help Iraq’s new leaders earn the confidence of their citizens, by helping them build effective government ministries.³⁷ It is especially important in the early months after Iraq’s new government takes hold that its leaders demonstrate an ability to deliver measurable progress in the lives of the Iraqi people. So we will continue helping the new Iraqi government develop their ministries, to ensure they can lead effectively and produce real results for all Iraqis.³⁸

The foreign terrorists and Saddamists will continue to fight this progress by targeting the citizens, institutions, and infrastructure of a free Iraq. An enemy that sends suicide bombers to kill mourners at a funeral procession³⁹ is an enemy without conscience. And these killers will stop at nothing to undermine Iraq’s new government, divide the Iraqi people, and break their will. Yet with the recent elections, the enemies of a free Iraq have suffered a real defeat. The Saddamists and rejectionists are finding themselves increasingly marginalized, as Sunni Arabs who once rejected

³⁵ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

³⁶ “We will not tolerate fraud -- **so our embassy in Baghdad is helping to demand transparency and accountability for the money being invested in reconstruction. We’ve helped the Iraqi people establish institutions like a Commission on Public Integrity** and a stronger Supreme Board of Audit to improve oversight of the rebuilding process. Listen, the Iraqi people expect money to be spent openly and honestly -- and so do the American people.” President Discusses War on Terror and Rebuilding Iraq, Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., December 7, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051207-1.html>)

³⁷ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

³⁸ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

³⁹ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381) **“Also on Wednesday, 37 people were killed and 45 injured in another suicide bomb attack on a group of Shi’ite mourners attending a funeral in Mukdadiyah, northwest of Baghdad.”** THE ADVERTISER SINAN SALLAHEDDIN, BAGHDAD, January 6, 2006 (Nexis)

the political process are now participating in the democratic life of their country.⁴⁰ And as democracy takes hold in Iraq, the terrorists like Zarqawi and his al-Qaida associates are suffering real blows. The advance of freedom in Iraq is destroying Al-Qaida's greatest myth: These terrorists are not fighting on behalf of the Iraqi people against a foreign occupation – they are fighting the will of the Iraqi people expressed in free elections. By going to the polls in the face of terrorist threats, the Iraqi people have sent a clear message to the world: Iraqis will not cower before thugs and assassins – and the terrorists and regime loyalists are no match for millions⁴¹ of Iraqis determined to live in liberty.

As we help Iraqis strengthen their new government, we are also helping them to defend their young democracy – by training the security forces of a free Iraq. Last December, I described many of the changes we made over the past year to improve the training of the Iraqi army and police⁴²– and we saw the fruits of those changes during the December elections. Iraqi forces took the lead in election security – protecting over 6,000 polling centers,⁴³ disrupting attacks, and maintaining order across the

⁴⁰ **“But the recent elections have served as a real defeat for the rejectionists, and the Saddamists and al Qaeda types. Sunni Arabs who had boycotted the process, joined the process. And as they did so, those who want to stop the progress of freedom are becoming more and more marginalized inside of Iraq.”** President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>)

⁴¹ “We had the January elections, we had the constitution elections, we had elections last December when nearly 11 million people defied the terrorists to vote.” President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>)

⁴² **“Progress by the Iraqi security forces has come, in part, because we learned from our earlier experiences and made changes in the way we help train Iraqi troops.** When our coalition first arrived, we began the process of creating an Iraqi Army to defend the country from external threats, and an Iraqi Civil Defense Corps to help provide the security within Iraq's borders. The civil defense forces did not have sufficient firepower or training -- they proved to be no match for an enemy armed with machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, and mortars. So the approach was adjusted. Working with Iraq's leaders, we moved the civil defense forces into the Iraqi Army, we changed the way they're trained and equipped, and we focused the Army's mission on defeating those fighting against a free Iraq, whether internal or external... **Similar changes have taken place in the training of the Iraqi police.** When our coalition first arrived, Iraqi police recruits spent too much time of their training in classroom lectures -- and they received limited training in the use of small arms. This did not adequately prepare the fight they would face. And so we changed the way the Iraqi police are trained. Now, police recruits spend more of their time outside the classroom with intensive hands-on training in anti-terrorism operations and real-world survival skills.” **President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq**, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, **November 30, 2005** (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>)

⁴³ Confirmed by Department of Defense via Hedy Henderson, (703-693-7904). Additional information on the use of the phrase 'polling centers' versus 'polling stations:' The Independent Electoral Commission of

country.⁴⁴ Thanks in large part to their courage and skill, the number of attacks during the elections declined dramatically compared with last January's vote.⁴⁵ One Iraqi General put it this way on election day: "All the time and money you have spent training the Iraqi Army – you harvest it today."⁴⁶

The Iraqi Security Forces are growing in size and strength⁴⁷ – and they are earning the trust of the Iraqi people. And as Iraqis see their own countrymen defending them against the terrorists and Saddamists, they are stepping forward with needed intelligence. General Casey reports that the

Iraq (IECI) uses 'polling stations' to describe a voting unit of about 500 voters. That means a total of 32,764 polling stations are required to cover the population. There are about 5 polling stations per polling center for a total of 6,246 polling centers. In a few cases, polling centers were collocated and Corps used 5,967 as the number of polling centers to denote the number of separate physical locations requiring security. For every separate physical location the ISF did provide security, to include the 22 warehouses where the ballot material was kept before and after the election. It would be appropriate to say, **'The ISF provided security for all 6,246 polling centers across Iraq on election day.'**

⁴⁴ "Iraqi police in Mosul, Lynch said, caught two individuals bearing counterfeit identity documents who were trying to enter a polling site. And **Iraqi police patrolling north Babil, Lynch said, captured a group of well-armed militants who were preparing to attack a local polling site.** During another incident in Karmah, Iraqi police and election workers repaired a polling site that was damaged by terrorists the night before the election. The polling site was ready the following morning to receive voters' ballots, he said." Department of Defense, American Forces Information Service, "Security, Sunni Participation Deterred Election Violence, General Says," December 22, 2005, (http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2005/20051222_3726.html).

⁴⁵ Confirmed by MNF-I and Joint Staff via Hedy Henderson, (703-693-7904). "However, **in the four days before the Dec. 15 voting and on that Election Day there was a 57-percent reduction in attacks, Lynch said, as compared to the violence experienced during the Jan. 30 voting.** And, he added, there was an 80-percent drop in attacks in the days just after the Dec. 15 election as compared to what occurred after the January polling. **"So there was a significant reduction in the numbers of attacks - car bombs, suicide bombs, IEDs - for the December elections compared to last January."** Department of Defense, American Forces Information Service, "Security, Sunni Participation Deterred Election Violence, General Says," December 22, 2005, (http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2005/20051222_3726.html). **See appendix, "Attack Comparison" – "Total Attacks" Note: from Hedy Henderson, (703-693-7904): Attacks specific to "Election Sites" were not down.**

⁴⁶ RUSAF, Iraq, Dec. 15, 2005 – **"All the time and money you have spent training the Iraqi army, you harvest it today," Iraqi Army Maj. Gen. Mobdir Hatim Hothya al-Delemy** told 3rd Infantry Division Commander Army Maj. Gen. William Webster following a tour of polling places today." American Information Services, American Forces Press Services By Jim Garamone "Iraqis Go to the Polls; Security Provides Confidence" (http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2005/20051215_3663.html)

⁴⁷ Information confirmed as accurate by Hedy Henderson: Trained and equipped ISF is now 226,900 ("Iraqi Security Forces Update -- January 9, 2006" up from 223,700) ("Iraqi Security Forces Update – December 26, 2006")

number of tips from Iraqis has grown from 400 in March⁴⁸ of 2005 to over 4,700 last month⁴⁹ – and that some of the new intelligence is being passed by Iraqi civilians directly to Iraqi soldiers and police.⁵⁰ Iraqis are gaining confidence that their security forces can defeat the enemy – and that confidence is producing intelligence⁵¹ that is helping turn the tide of this conflict in freedom’s favor.

There is more work to be done in the year ahead. Our commanders tell me that the Iraqi Army and police are increasingly able to take the lead in the fight.⁵² Yet the Iraqi police still lag behind the Army in training and capabilities⁵³ – so one of our major goals in 2006 is to accelerate the training of the Iraqi police.⁵⁴ We will focus our efforts on improving the performance of three categories of Iraqi police:⁵⁵ First, we will work to improve the Special Police under the Ministry of Interior,⁵⁶ who are fighting alongside the Iraqi Army against the terrorists and Saddamists. Second, we will expand and strengthen the border police charged with securing

⁴⁸ “Another real measure of success on the security side is the attitude and atmosphere inside of Iraq for the Iraqi people. One example, the number of call-in tips from Iraqis about things that they see, that they think they should be reporting to their government or to us, has increased geometrically. **This past March just over 400 tips per month.** This past September, two months ago, over 4,700 tips per month from Iraqis telling their own government things that are going on in their neighborhoods that are not right.” GENERAL PETER PACE Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Extemporaneous Remarks on Our National Strategy for Victory in Iraq As Delivered at the National Defense University December 1, 2005 (http://www.jcs.mil/chairman/speeches/051201remarks_NationalStrategyVictoryIraq.html) **NOTE: MFF-I tracks these numbers, and it is reasonable to assume that General Casey reported it, but we cannot confirm that it was directly stated by General Casey.**

⁴⁹ **Total Tips for December 2005 was 4,731.** Information provided by MNF-I via Hedy Henderson, OSD (703) 693-7904. **NOTE: MFF-I tracks these numbers, and it is reasonable to assume that General Casey reported it, but we cannot confirm that it was directly stated by General Casey.**

⁵⁰ The data of “Total Tips” from MNF-I includes, WALK IN, CALL IN, HUMINT, AND AND NATIONAL TIPS HOTLINE CALL INS. It was confirmed that “SOME of this new intelligence is being passed by Iraqi civilians directly to Iraqi soldiers and police.” Hedy Henderson, (703) 693-7904

⁵¹ Based on information provided by Meghan O’Sullivan, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

⁵² Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁵³ Information confirmed by Reynolds (Rey) Kiefer, Director of Iraq, Iraq and Afghanistan, NSC (69381)

⁵⁴ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁵⁵ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁵⁶ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

Iraq's frontiers.⁵⁷ And third, we will increase our focus on training local station police, so they can protect their communities from criminals and terrorists.⁵⁸

The Interior Ministry's Special Police are the most capable of the Iraqi police forces.⁵⁹ There are now about 20,000 Iraqi Special Police trained and equipped⁶⁰ – which is near our goal for a complete force.⁶¹ Many of these Special Police forces are professional and diverse⁶² – but recently some have been accused of committing abuses against Iraqi civilians.⁶³ Such conduct is unacceptable – and Iraqi leaders are committed to stopping these abuses.⁶⁴ We must ensure that the police understand that their mission is to serve the cause of a free Iraq – not to address old grievances by taking justice into their own hands. To stop abuses, and increase the professionalism of all the Iraqi Special Police units, we are making several adjustments in the way these forces are trained.⁶⁵ We are working with the Iraqi government to increase the training Iraqi Special Police receive in human rights and rule of law.⁶⁶ We are establishing a new Police Ethics and Leadership Institute in Baghdad that will help train Iraqi officers in the role of the police in a democratic system⁶⁷ – and

⁵⁷ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁵⁸ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁵⁹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶⁰ Information confirmed as accurate by Hedy Henderson according to an "Iraqi Security Forces Update -- January 9, 2006" **The total is 19, 300:** Public Order Division 8,000 + Emergency Response Unit 400 + Special Police Commandos 9,100 + 1st Mechanized Brigade 1,200 + Dignitary Protection 600.

⁶¹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006: The goal is 28,000.

⁶² Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶³ Based on language provided by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶⁴ Based on language provided by General Dempsey: "To stop abuses...." I recommend that it say "Iraq's leaders are committed to stop the abuses, and to assist them we will...." As I mentioned on the phone, we should not take ownership of this issue by implying that we will stop it. On the other hand, we should do all we can to encourage, coax, or coerce Iraq's leaders into stopping it. That's why I recommend phrasing it in this way."

⁶⁵ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶⁶ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶⁷ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

establish clear lesson plans in professional ethics for all nine Iraqi police academies.⁶⁸ To improve their capabilities, we will soon begin implementing a program that has been effective with the Iraqi Army – partnering U.S. battalions with Iraqi Special Police battalions.⁶⁹ These U.S. forces will work with and train their Iraqi counterparts – helping them become more capable and professional, so they can serve and protect all the Iraqi people without discrimination.

Second, we are working to increase the number of border police that can defend Iraq's frontiers and stop foreign terrorists from crossing into the country.⁷⁰ Iraqis now have 18,000 border police on the job⁷¹ – manning land, sea, and air ports across the country.⁷² Our goal is to have a total of 28,000 Iraqi border police trained and equipped by the end of this year.⁷³ To better train Iraqi border police, we have established a new customs academy in Basra.⁷⁴ And we are embedding border police transition teams with Iraqi units,⁷⁵ made up of Coalition soldiers, and assisted by experts from our Department of Homeland Security.⁷⁶ The Iraqi border police are growing increasingly capable and taking on more responsibility.⁷⁷ In

⁶⁸ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁶⁹ Based on language provided by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006." In addition to embedded transition teams--who live with and go on missions with the Special Police--we will begin to partner US battalions with Special Police Battalions. This partnering has worked well with Iraqi Army Units, and both we and the Iraqi Ministry of Interior think that the Special Police will benefit from an enhanced relationship." Again, this gives Iraqi leaders a stake in the outcome as opposed to seeming as though we're imposing it on them.

⁷⁰ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁷¹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006. Information confirmed as accurate by Hedy Henderson according to an "Iraqi Security Forces Update -- January 9, 2006"

⁷² Information provided by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006: Specifically, they are manning 190 border forts, 22 land, air and sea ports of entry.

⁷³ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006. Information confirmed as accurate by Hedy Henderson according to an "Iraqi Security Forces Update -- January 9, 2006"

⁷⁴ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006

⁷⁵ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006

⁷⁶ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006

⁷⁷ Information confirmed by CENTCOM via Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

November,⁷⁸ these forces took the lead in protecting Iraq's Syrian border, with Coalition forces playing a supporting role.⁷⁹ And as more skilled border police come on line, we expect to hand over primary responsibility for all of Iraq's borders to Iraqi border police later this year.⁸⁰

Finally, we are helping Iraqis build up the numbers and capabilities of the local station police.⁸¹ These are the Iraqi police forces that need the most work.⁸² There are now over 80,000 local police officers across Iraq⁸³ – a little more than halfway toward our goal of 135,000.⁸⁴ To improve the capabilities of these local police,⁸⁵ we are taking a concept that worked well in the Balkans and applying it to Iraq⁸⁶ – partnering local Iraqi police stations with teams of U.S. military police and international police liaison officers, including retired U.S. police officers.⁸⁷ These officers will work with provincial police chiefs across Iraq, and focus on improving local police forces in nine key cities that have seen intense fighting with the terrorists⁸⁸ – Baghdad, Baquba, Fallujah, Kirkuk, Mosul, Najaf, Ramadi, Samarra, and

⁷⁸ **“BAGHDAD, Iraq – A ceremony was held Nov. 30 in western Iraq symbolizing the securing of the borders through cooperation of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and Multi-National Force Iraq.** The ceremony in the Iraqi-Syrian border town of Husaybah was attended by Iraqi Minister of Defense Saadoun al-Dulaimi, Brig. Gen. Ahmed Ali Muhsin al-Khafaggi, Deputy Minister of the Interior for Support Forces and Gen. George Casey, MNF-I commander. **“This is a historic day for Iraq,” said al-Dulaimi. “I won’t forget this day. The insurgents are no longer controlling the border. Our friends have helped us. We are now a country of freedom, of human rights, and of peace.”** CENTCOM News Release, “IRAQI GOVERNMENT ASSUMES CONTROL OF BORDERS” December 1, 2005.

⁷⁹ Information confirmed by CENTCOM via Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

⁸⁰ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸¹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸² Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸³ Information provided by Hedy Henderson according to an “Iraqi Security Forces Update -- January 9, 2006”: Trained and equipped is now over 80,000.

⁸⁴ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006. Information confirmed in a CLASSIFIED document sent to our office by Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

⁸⁵ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸⁶ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸⁷ Based on language provided by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁸⁸ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

Tal Afar.⁸⁹ By strengthening local police in these cities, we can help Iraqis provide security in areas cleared of enemy forces and make it harder for the terrorists to return.⁹⁰ And by strengthening Iraqi local police in these cities, we will help them earn the confidence of the local population – and make it easier for local leaders and residents to accelerate reconstruction and rebuild their lives.

The training of the Iraqi police is an enormous task – and it has not always gone smoothly. Yet we are making real progress – and our soldiers see the transformation up close. Army Staff Sergeant Dan MacDonald⁹¹ is

⁸⁹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁹⁰ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.
Note: “Strengthening was added in a later draft, General Dempsey cleared on “establishing” in place of “strengthening.”

⁹¹ Army Staff Sergeant Dan MacDonald (Home (215) 856-7481) confirmed that he is comfortable with the possibility of being mentioned by POTUS in a phone conversation with Melissa Carson on January 7, 2005

b(3) 10 USC 130b
b(6)

a Philadelphia cop⁹² who helped train Iraqi police officers in Baghdad.⁹³ He says this of his Iraqi comrades: “From where they were when we got here to where we are now, it’s like two different groups of people.... They are hyped up, they look sharp, they’re a lot better with their weapons ... I’d take these guys out with me back home.”⁹⁴

b(3) 10 USC 130b
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⁹² Information confirmed by Army Staff Sergeant Dan MacDonald (Home (215) 856-7481) in a phone conversation with Melissa Carson on January 7, 2005

⁹³ Information confirmed by Army Staff Sergeant Dan MacDonald (Home (215) 856-7481) in a phone conversation with Melissa Carson on January 7, 2005: He was in Iraq October '04 to October '05 and one of his duties was to train Iraqi police officers in Baghdad.

⁹⁴ Information confirmed by Army Staff Sergeant Dan MacDonald (Home (215) 856-7481) in a phone conversation with Melissa Carson on January 7, 2005 “Since the Civil Affairs Soldiers have been working with the IPs, MacDonald has seen a marked improvement in many different areas. **From where they were when we got here to where we are now, it’s like two different groups of people**, MacDonald said. When we first got them, they had no attention span. Their uniforms were unkempt. Now **they are hyped up, they look sharp, they are a lot better with their weapons**, a lot more enthusiastic. The level of professionalism has impressed MacDonald. **I’d take these guys out with me back home**, MacDonald said. These guys are hardcore. These guys are as hard as any cop in the world now, especially with what they see. Their level of professionalism has gone up quite a bit. You can see it in the way they interact with the civilian populous.” KWTX.com, By Pfc. Dan Balda, 4th BCT PAO **“IPs train for hardest job in the world”** (<http://www.kwtx.com/forthood/headlines/1633667.html>)

As we bring more Iraqi police and soldiers online in the months ahead, we will increasingly shift our focus from generating new Iraqi forces to preparing Iraqis to take primary responsibility for the security of their own country.⁹⁵ At this moment, more than 30 Iraqi battalions have assumed control of their own areas of responsibility⁹⁶ – including nearly half of Baghdad province,⁹⁷ and sectors of South-Central Iraq ... Southeast Iraq ... Western Iraq ... and North-Central Iraq.⁹⁸ And in the year ahead, we will continue handing more territory to Iraqi forces, with the goal of having the Iraqis control more territory than the Coalition by the end of 2006.⁹⁹

As Iraqi forces take more responsibility, this will free up Coalition forces to conduct specialized operations against the most dangerous terrorists like Zarqawi¹⁰⁰ and his associates – so we can defeat the threats to the American people ... and bring our troops home with the honor they have earned. I have said that our strategy in Iraq can be summed up this way: As Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.¹⁰¹ And with more Iraqi forces demonstrating the capabilities needed to achieve victory, our commanders have determined that we can decrease our combat forces in Iraq from 17 to 15 brigades¹⁰² by the spring of 2006.

⁹⁵ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁹⁶ We can say “more than 35.” Information confirmed in a CLASSIFIED document sent to our office by Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

⁹⁷ Based on language provided by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006.

⁹⁸ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006

⁹⁹ Information confirmed by General Dempsey during a phone call with Melissa Carson January 6, 2006,, but NOTE that General Dempsey deferred to General Casey for confirmation: “The line has been reviewed by the Joint Staff and CENTCOM There were no issues raised with that line.” Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

¹⁰⁰ “We've also got the opportunity to change our composition of our forces inside Iraq. In 2006, we expect Iraqis will take more and more control of the battle space, and as they do so, we will need fewer U.S. troops to conduct combat operations around that country....**As we train not only the soldiers, but the police, our special units will continue hunting down al Qaeda and their affiliates.**” President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰¹ “And as we see more of these Iraqi forces in the lead, we'll be able to continue with our desire, **our stated strategy that says as Iraqis stand up, we'll stand down.**” President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰³ This adjustment will result in a net decrease of several thousand troops below the pre-election baseline of 138,000 U.S. troops in Iraq.¹⁰⁴ This decrease comes in addition to the reduction of about 20,000 troops who were in Iraq largely to assist with security during the December elections.¹⁰⁵ And later this year, if Iraqis continue to make progress on the security and political sides, we expect to discuss further possible adjustments with the leaders of Iraq's new government.¹⁰⁶ All my decisions will be based upon conditions on the ground – not artificial timetables set by politicians in Washington.¹⁰⁷ If our military leaders say we need more troops, I will send them. Our commanders on the ground will have the forces they need to complete the mission and achieve victory in Iraq.

As we help Iraqis defend their democracy, we will continue to help Iraqis rebuild their infrastructure and economy in the coming year. Iraqis face real challenges – from the long-term economic damage caused by Saddam Hussein's regime ... to acts of sabotage by the enemies of a free Iraq. Yet despite these challenges, our Coalition and Iraqi leaders have made significant progress in a number of areas. Iraq now has a stable currency,¹⁰⁸ an independent stock exchange,

¹⁰² "The **commanders have recently determined that we can reduce our combat forces in Iraq from 17 to 15 brigades. And the reason they were able to do so is because the Iraqis are more capable.**" President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰³ Confirmed by MNF-I, Joint Staff, and CENTCOM via Hedy Henderson, OSD (703-693-7904).

¹⁰⁴ "The adjustment is underway. **This adjustment will result in a net decrease of several thousand troops below the pre-election baseline of 138,000 U.S. troops in Iraq.** The decrease comes in addition to a reduction of about 20,000 troops who were in Iraq to assist with security during the December elections." President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰⁵ "The adjustment is underway. This adjustment will result in a net decrease of several thousand troops below the pre-election baseline of 138,000 U.S. troops in Iraq. **The decrease comes in addition to a reduction of about 20,000 troops who were in Iraq to assist with security during the December elections.**" President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰⁶ "**Later this year, if Iraqis continue to make progress on the security and political sides that we expect, we can discuss further possible adjustments with the leaders of a new government in Iraq.**" President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰⁷ "**But my decisions will be based upon conditions on the ground and the recommendation of our commanders, not based by false political timetables in Washington, D.C.**" President Discusses War on Terror Following Pentagon Briefing, The Pentagon, January 4, 2006, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060104.html>).

¹⁰⁹ and an independent Central Bank.¹¹⁰ Iraqis have new investment laws to welcome foreign capital¹¹¹ ... tax and commercial laws to encourage private sector growth¹¹² ... and a low-tariff trade regime that has opened Iraq's economy to the world.¹¹³ Under Saddam, private property was not protected.¹¹⁴ Today, Iraq's new constitution guarantees property rights that are the foundation of a free society.¹¹⁵

Iraqi leaders are also beginning to make the tough choices necessary to reform their economy – such as easing gasoline subsidies. Until recently, government subsidies put the price of fuel in Iraq artificially low.¹¹⁶ This creates incentives for black-market corruption and crime¹¹⁷ – and changing these subsidies is a necessary step on the path to reform.¹¹⁸ So Iraqi leaders have begun a series of price increases aimed at dismantling the gas subsidy system.¹¹⁹ Gasoline subsidies, along with other subsidies, consume over half of Iraq's annual budget¹²⁰ – diverting critical resources from health, education, infrastructure, and security.¹²¹ Addressing these subsidies will allow Iraqi leaders to better provide for their people and build a modern economy.¹²²

¹⁰⁸ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹⁰⁹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹⁰ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹¹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹² Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹³ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹⁴ Confirmed by Brett McGurk, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9399).

¹¹⁵ Confirmed by Brett McGurk, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9399).

¹¹⁶ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹⁷ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹⁸ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹¹⁹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁰ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²¹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²² Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

One of the biggest challenges facing Iraq is restoring the country's oil and electric power infrastructure.¹²³ These sectors were devastated by decades of neglect¹²⁴ – and since liberation, terrorists have targeted these areas for destruction.¹²⁵ As a result, oil and power production are below pre-war levels.¹²⁶ To help increase production, we are helping Iraqis better maintain their oil refineries¹²⁷ ... build their oil supply and transportation capabilities¹²⁸ ... improve their capacity to generate power¹²⁹ ... and better protect their strategic infrastructure.¹³⁰ The struggles with oil production and the shortage of electricity remain sources of frustration for Iraqis.¹³¹ Yet they are putting these challenges in perspective. Today, seven in 10 Iraqis say their lives are going well – and nearly two-thirds expect things to improve even more in the next year.¹³² The vast majority of Iraqis prefer freedom with intermittent power to life in the permanent darkness of tyranny and terror. Iraqis are optimistic about the future – and their optimism is justified.

To realize their dreams, the Iraqi people still need help. And in the coming year, the international community must step up and do its part. So far, other nations and international organizations have pledged more than 13 billion dollars in assistance to Iraq¹³³ – and Iraqis are grateful for this promised aid. Yet many nations have been slow to make good on their

¹²³ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁴ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁵ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁶ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁷ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁸ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹²⁹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹³⁰ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹³¹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹³² **“Today in Iraq, seven in 10 Iraqis say their lives are going well, and nearly two-thirds expect things to improve even more in the year ahead.** Despite the violence, Iraqis are optimistic -- and that optimism is justified.” President's Address to the Nation, The Oval Office, Washington, D.C., December 18, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051218-2.html>).

¹³³ Confirmed by Charles Dunne, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

commitments.¹³⁴ I call on all governments that have pledged assistance to follow through with their promises as quickly as possible – so Iraqis can rebuild their country and provide a better future for their children. Many nations have still not returned all the Iraqi assets frozen during the regime of Saddam Hussein.¹³⁵ So I call on all nations to return these assets to their rightful owners: the free people of Iraq.

Many of the world's smallest nations have been among the most generous. Last month, for example, Slovakia announced that it plans to forgive 100 percent of Iraq's 145 million dollar debt.¹³⁶ This makes Slovakia only the third country, along with the United States and Malta, to write off Iraqi debt completely.¹³⁷ More nations should do the same – so the Iraq people are not held back by the crushing burden of debt accumulated by Saddam Hussein. International lending institutions are also stepping forward with needed assistance. Last month, the International Monetary Fund approved Iraq's request for a 680 million dollar loan to carry out economic reforms.¹³⁸ And the World Bank recently approved its first loan to Iraq in over 30 years – lending the Iraqi government 100 million dollars to improve the Iraqi school system,¹³⁹ and making up to 400 million dollars available to fund water, electricity, roads and sanitation projects.¹⁴⁰

The international community must meet its responsibilities in Iraq – and here in America, we have responsibilities as well. The coming year will test the character of our country, and the will of our citizens. We have a strategy for victory – but to achieve that victory, we must have the

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¹³⁶ Confirmed by Charles Dunne, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹³⁷ Confirmed by Charles Dunne, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹³⁸ "The Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) today approved the institution's first-ever Stand-By Arrangement for Iraq, which is designed to support the nation's economic program over the next 15 months. The IMF arrangement, for an amount equivalent to SDR 475.4 million (about US\$685 million), is being treated as precautionary by the Iraqi authorities." International Monetary Fund, "IMF Executive Board Approves First Ever Stand-By Arrangement for Iraq," December 23, 2005, (<http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2005/pr05307.htm>).

¹³⁹ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

¹⁴⁰ Confirmed by Evangelia Bouzis, Director for Iraq, NSC, (X6-9381).

determination to see this strategy through. The enemy in Iraq knows they cannot defeat us on the battlefield – so they are trying to shake our will with acts of violence, and force us to retreat. This means that the most important weapon in our arsenal is the continued resolve of the American people. We must have patience as Iraqis struggle to build democracy in a volatile region of the world. We must not allow the images of destruction to discourage us – or obscure the real progress our troops are making in Iraq. And we must continue to provide those troops with all the resources they need to defend our Nation and prevail in the global war on terror.

We face an added challenge in the months ahead: the campaign season will soon be upon us – and that means our Nation must carry on this war in an election year. There is a vigorous debate about the war in Iraq today – and we should not fear this debate. It is one of the great strengths of our democracy that we can discuss our differences openly and honestly – even at times of war. Yet we must remember that there is a difference between responsible and irresponsible debate – and it is even more important to conduct this debate responsibly when American troops are risking their lives overseas.

The American people know the difference between responsible and irresponsible debate when they see it. They know the difference between honest critics who question the way the war is being prosecuted – and partisan critics who claim that we acted in Iraq because of oil ... because of Israel ... or because we misled the American people.¹⁴¹ And they know the difference between a loyal opposition that points out what is wrong – and defeatists who refuse to see that anything is right.

When our soldiers hear politicians in Washington question the mission they are risking their lives to accomplish, it hurts their morale. In time of war, we have a responsibility to show that whatever our political differences at home, our Nation is united and determined to prevail. And we have a responsibility to our men and women in uniform – who deserve to know that once our politicians vote to send them into harm's way, our

¹⁴¹ “Most of the debate has been a credit to our democracy, but some have launched irresponsible charges. **They say that we act because of oil, that we act in Iraq because of Israel, or because we misled the American people.**” President Discusses Iraqi Elections, Victory in the War on Terror, The Woodrow Wilson Center, Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington, D.C., December 14, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051214-1.html>).

support will be with them in good days and bad – and we will settle for nothing less than complete victory.

We also have an opportunity this year to show the Iraqi people what responsible debate in a democracy looks like. In a free society, there is only one check on political speech – the judgment of the people. So I ask all Americans to hold their elected leaders to account, and demand a debate that brings credit to our democracy – not comfort to our adversaries.

Support for the mission in Iraq should not be a partisan matter. VFW members come from all over the country, and both sides of the political aisle – yet your position on the war is clear. In a recent resolution, the VFW declared, quote, “it is critical that the U.S. succeed in Iraq, which will result in stability and security in the region.”¹⁴² I appreciate your support for the mission in Iraq – and so do our troops in the fight. Your lives of service, from the first time you put on the uniform to this day, are a credit to our country and an inspiration to our military. A new generation of soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen is now carrying out an urgent and noble mission – and they are doing so with the same determination and courage as you who came before them.

Some of our finest men and women have given their lives in freedom’s cause. Others have returned home with wounds that the best medicine cannot heal. We hold all who have sacrificed and their families in our thoughts and prayers. And I make this pledge: So long as I am Commander in Chief, we will not waver, or weaken, or back down from the cause they served. And by laying the foundation of freedom in a troubled part of the world, we will lay the foundation of peace for our children and grandchildren.

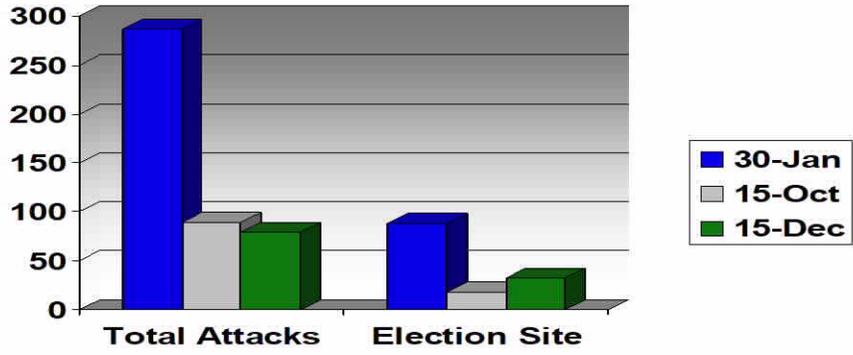
Thank you. God bless you, and may God continue to bless and protect the United States of America.

*Drafted by: Marc Thiessen and Chris Michel, Office of Speechwriting
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¹⁴² “**WHEREAS, it is critical that the U.S. succeed in Iraq, which will result in stability and security in the region...**,” Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Resolution No. 440, “Support the War in Iraq,” January 3, 2006, (<http://www.vfw.org/resources/pdf/R440SupporttheWarinIraq.pdf>).

APPENDIX

ATTACK COMPARISON
30 January Election to 15 October Referendum to 15 December Election
 Election
 Time Period: 0430C 15 Dec 2005 – 0430C 16 Dec 2005



ATTACKS	Jan-05	Oct-05	Dec-05
TOTAL ATTACKS	287	96	79
ELECTION SITE ATTACKS	88	19	32

Information provided by Hedy Henderson, OSD (703) 693-7904