

DRAFT

Global War on Terrorism

In this new century, freedom is once again assaulted by enemies determined to roll back generations of democratic progress. Once again, we're responding to a global campaign of fear with a global campaign of freedom. And once again, we will see freedom's victory.

- President George W. Bush 10/6/05

America is at war with a transnational terrorist movement fueled by a radical ideology of hatred, oppression, and murder. From the beginning, this war has been both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas.

We have a comprehensive approach to the War on Terror. Not only do we employ military power, we use all elements of national power and influence – including diplomatic, intelligence, financial, and law enforcement activities – to protect the Homeland, disrupt terrorist operations, and deprive our enemies of what they need to operate and survive.

The War on Terror is an international effort, and continued success depends on the actions of a powerful coalition of nations maintaining a united front against terror. Since September 11, 2001, most of our important successes against al-Qaida and other terrorist groups have been made possible through effective international partnerships.

The War on Terror will be a long war. Yet we have mobilized to win other long wars, and we can and will win this one.

We have made and will continue to make real progress with concrete successes in the War on Terror.

SECTION 1: THE ENEMY

Summary: General Abizaid on the Enemy	Tab 1
Motivation: What Unites the Terrorists	Tab 2
Tactics: How the Terrorists Operate	Tab 3
Objectives: What the Terrorists want	Tab 4

SECTION 2: FIGHTING THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM

Summary: Fighting the Global War on Terrorism	Tab 1
Accomplishments in the Global War on Terrorism	Tab 2
Threats Disrupted at Home	Tab 3
Accomplishments in Afghanistan	Tab 4
New Allies in the War on Terror	Tab 5
Halting Proliferation of WMD	Tab 6

SECTION 3: VICTORY IN IRAQ

Summary: The world is safer without Saddam; we have a strategy for victory in Iraq; we cannot cut and run.	Tab 1
The world is safer without Saddam	Tab 2
Saddam and his defiance of the world community	Tab 2:A:1
Defiance of UN resolutions	2:A:1
Saddam Wanted WMD	2:A:2
Oil for Food Corruption / Ending Sanctions	2:A:3
Saddam made war on his neighbors and his own people	Tab 2:B:1
Support for Terrorist Groups	2:B:1
Atrocities Against his Own People	2:B:2
Quotes about Saddam	2:B:3
Strategy for Victory: Democracy, Security, No Retreat	Tab 3
Political: build a democracy to unite the Iraqi people	Tab 3:A
Importance of the Unity Government	3:A:1
Iraqi Constitution	3:A:2
Broadly Representative Coalition Government	3:A:3

DRAFT

(

Iraqi Faith in the Government	3:A:4
How the Unity Government <i>Prevented</i> Civil War	3:A:5
What the Government Means to the Terrorists	3:A:6
Security: Training Iraqi forces so they can take the lead	Tab 3: B
Facts and figures on ISF	3:B:1
How Iraqis Support their Security Forces	3:B:2
Iraqi-led Operations	3:B:3
What Experts are Saying about ISF	3:B:4
Economy: Iraq has the resources to be a prosperous democracy	Tab 3:C
From Saddam to Macroeconomic Stability	3:C:1
Essential Services	3:C:2
Rejoining the World Community	3:C:3
Economic Optimisim	3:C:4
Costs of Cut and Run	Tab 4
Iraq will Become a Haven to Terrorists	4:1
Signals to the Region and the Rest of the World.	4:2

SECTION 4: RAPID RESPONSE

The President misled America into War	Tab 1
Pre-war intelligence was manipulated	Tab 2
There were no Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iraq	Tab 3
Building Democracy is a postwar rationalization	Tab 4
The President has no plan for Victory / The plan has failed at all levels	Tab 5
Our presence has provoked a civil war in Iraq	Tab 6
Our presence is Counterproductive	Tab 7
Troops are dying needlessly and don't believe in the cause	Tab 8
We should withdraw troops immediately and leave the Iraqis to fight for themselves	Tab 9
The terrorists are winning this war	Tab 10

DRAFT

(
The War in Iraq has made the world more dangerous for the US. Tab 11

DRAFT

(“The enemy’s vision of the future would create a region-wide zone that would look like Afghanistan under the Taliban. Music would be banned, women ostracized, basic liberties banished, and soccer stadiums used for public executions. The people of the region do not want the future these extremists desire. The more we talk about this enemy, the more its bankrupt ideology will become known. Osama bin Laden and Musab al Zaraqawi cannot represent the future of Islam.”

Gen John Abizaid, USCENTCOM Commander,
Posture Statement, March 2006.)

DRAFT
The Terrorist Enemy

(

The principal terrorist enemy confronting the United States today is a transnational movement of extremist organizations, networks, and individuals – and their state and non-state supporters – which have in common that they exploit Islam and use terrorism for ideological ends.

The movement is not monolithic. What unites the movement is the ideology of extremism, violence, and hate.

Our principal terrorist enemies seek to establish regimes that rule according to a violent and intolerant distortion of Islam. As illustrated by Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, such regimes would deny all political and religious freedoms and serve as sanctuaries for violent extremists to launch additional attacks – not only against the United States and its partners but the Muslim world itself. Some among the enemy harbor even greater ambitions and aim to establish a single, pan-Islamic totalitarian regime that stretches from Spain to Southeast Asia.

The enemy uses suicide bombings, beheadings, and other atrocities against innocents as a means to achieve their dark vision. Their demonstrated indifference to human life and desire to inflict catastrophic damage on the United States and its partners around the world has fueled their pursuit of and intent to use WMD. We cannot permit the world's most dangerous terrorists and their regime sponsors to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

In addition to the principal terrorist enemy confronting us today, a host of other groups and individuals also use terror against innocents to pursue their objectives. Their terrorist tactics ensure they are the enemy of free and peaceful people everywhere

(

- ➡ **Motivation:** Seemingly unconnected terrorist attacks and conflicts are connected in that they are focused within the boundaries of historical Muslim dominance. They desire “the establishment by terrorism and subversion and insurgency, of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom.” (President George W. Bush 10/6/05)
- “The images and experience of September the 11th are unique for Americans. Yet the evil of that morning has reappeared on other days, in other places—in Mombasa, and Casablanca, and Riyadh, and Jakarta, and Istanbul, and Madrid, and Belan, and Taba, and Netanya, and Baghdad, and elsewhere. IN the past few months we’ve seen a new terror offensive with attacks on London and Sharm el-Sheikh, and a deadly bombing in Bali once again. All these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random and isolated acts of madness; innocent men and women and children have died simply because they boarded the wrong train, or worked in the wrong building, or checked into the wrong hotel. Yet while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil, but not insane. (President George W. Bush, 10/6/05)
 - Many of the conflicts we see today are within the boundaries of the old Ottoman Empire.
 - Ayman al-Zawahiri explained in a letter recently that, “the battles that are going on in the far-flung regions of the Islamic world, such as Chechnya, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Bosnia, are just the groundwork and the vanguard for the major battles which have begun in the heart of the Islamic world. We ask God that He send down his victory upon us that he promised to his faithful worshippers.”
 - The extremists leverage this sense of history to reach the masses with the Muslim world. They blame the west for the downfall of Muslim influence, prominence, and prestige. Much of their rhetoric resonates with those who have little hope within this region.

Taken from a Joint Staff briefing on the Global War on Terrorism (included)

(

➡ **Tactics**

- The enemy derives his strengths from developing safe havens in the geographic, virtual, and mass media worlds- especially the internet. He sets up front companies to gain and move resources and buys off politicians and financiers who launder illicit money. He co-opts or enlists sympathetic civic and charitable organizations that propagate their ideology of hate.
- They are bound together by their extreme ideology, not by any centralized command structure. This makes it easy for a loose network to achieve “unity of effort” and difficult for any single military campaign to eradicate the threat, since ideas can’t be eliminated by guns alone.
- They are masters of intimidation, but not of the battlefield. They can intimidate and kill ordinary people, but cannot win an engagement against military force properly employed.
- They exploit local conflicts to build a culture of victimization; mobilize resentful, disillusioned, and underemployed young men and women, and use modern technology to amplify the effects of their destructive acts.

Taken from a Joint Staff briefing on the Global War on Terrorism (included)

DRAFT

(

- ➡ **Objectives:** The enemy has clearly articulated its objectives and have made Iraq the focus of their efforts – from which they can expand fundamental fervor.
- “The enemy’s vision of the future would create a region-wide zone that would look like Afghanistan under the Taliban. Music would be banned, women ostracized, basic liberties banished, and soccer stadiums used for public executions. The people of the region do not want the future these extremists desire. The more we talk about this enemy, the more its bankrupt ideology will become known. Osama bin Laden and Musab al Zarqawi cannot represent the future of Islam.” (Gen John Abizaid, USCENTCOM Commander, Posture Statement, March 2006.)
 - Al Qaeda represents the present day manifestation of the violent extremists.
 - Their objectives are clear.
 - Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and other Islamic extremists, have repeatedly outlined their goals and grievances in exceedingly unambiguous terms.
 - Clearly articulated by Ayman al-Zawahiri in a letter to al-Zarqawi in July of 2005 is that Iraq is now center in their efforts to achieve their objectives.
 - He explains to al-Zarqawi that expelling the Americans from Iraq is the first stage of several incremental goals to establish the caliphate in the manner of the Prophet.
 - Zarqawi explicitly warned that the establishment of a democratic Iraq is the death of Al Qaeda there.

DRAFT

- (
 - The campaign against the United States and its allies is ambitious, simple and clear.
 - Bankrupt and exhaust us (Like the Soviet Union in Afghanistan or the United States in Vietnam).
 - Work to establish and expand safe havens from which to operate.
 - Use their growing Islamic empire to gain WMD capabilities and control oil reserves.

Taken from a Joint Staff briefing on the Global War on Terrorism (included)

(

Fighting the Global War on Terrorism

The War Against Terror is not over. America is safer, but not yet safe. As the enemy adjusts to our successes, so too must we adjust. The successes are many:

Al-Qaeda has lost its safe haven in Afghanistan

A multinational coalition joined by Iraqis is aggressively prosecuting the war against terrorists in Iraq.

The al-Qaeda network has been significantly degraded. Most of those in the al-Qaeda network responsible for the September 11 attacks, including the plot's mastermind Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, have been captured or killed.

There is a broad and growing global consensus that the deliberate killing of innocents is never justified by any calling or cause.

Many nations have rallied to fight terrorism, with unprecedented cooperation on law enforcement, intelligence, military, and diplomatic activity.

Numerous countries that were part of the problem before September 11 are now increasingly becoming part of the solution- and this transformation has occurred without destabilizing friendly regimes in key regions.

- National Security Strategy, 2006-

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>

(

➤ **Accomplishments in the Global War on Terrorism**

- The President is leading a comprehensive international effort against al-Qaida, its terrorist associates, and the deadly scourge of terror and intimidation more broadly.
- There is a broad and growing consensus that the deliberate killing of innocents is never justified by any calling or cause.
- We have deprived al-Qaida of safe haven in Afghanistan and helped a democratic government to rise in its place. Once a terrorist sanctuary ruled by the repressive Taliban regime, Afghanistan is now a full partner in the War on Terror.
- A multinational coalition, **in concert with the Iraqi Government**, is aggressively prosecuting the war against terrorists in Iraq. Together we are working to secure a united, stable, and democratic Iraq, now a War on Terror ally in the heart of the Middle East.
- We have significantly degraded the al-Qaida network. Most of those in the al-Qaida network responsible for the September 11 attacks have been captured or killed.
- Key al Qaida leaders and associates have been detained or killed. These include:
 - Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, operational commander of the terrorist movement in Iraq, killed in Iraq;
 - Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, mastermind of the September 11 attacks, captured in Pakistan;
 - Hamza Rabia, al-Qaida external operations commander, killed in Pakistan;
 - Abu Faraj al-Libi, key al-Qaida operational commander, captured in Pakistan;
 - Abd al-Rahman al-Muhajir, indicted for involvement in the 1998 East Africa Embassy bombings, killed in Pakistan;
 - Mohammed Atef, al-Qaida's senior field commander killed in a bombing raid in Afghanistan;
 - Abu Zubaida, Usama bin Laden's field commander after the killing of Atef, captured in Pakistan;
 - Ramzi Binalshibh, a coordinator of the September 11 attacks, captured in Pakistan;

DRAFT

- (
- Hambali, top strategist for al-Qaida's associate group Jemaah Islamiah in Southeast Asia, captured in Thailand;
 - Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, al Qaeda's chief of operations in the Persian Gulf, captured in the United Arab Emirates;
 - Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani, a suspect in the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, captured in Pakistan; and
 - Abu Issa al-Hindi, a central planner of detailed reconnaissance of American financial institutions, captured in Britain.
- Operational and logistical terrorist support cells have been disrupted in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia.
 - Many nations have rallied to fight terrorism, with unprecedented cooperation on law enforcement, intelligence, military, and diplomatic activity.
 - We have built an unprecedented international coalition to combat and prevent terrorist financing and dismantle terrorist support networks – including the designation of over 400 individuals and entities as terrorists or terrorist supporters. This coalition has resulted in the use of financial intelligence and information to uncover and track terrorist cells, the freezing and seizing of assets, the investigation and prosecution of terrorist supporters, and the creation of safeguards to prevent the formal and informal financial systems from being abused.
 - We have strengthened our ability to disrupt and help prevent future attacks in the Homeland by enhancing our counterterrorism architecture through the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, the National Counterterrorism Center, and the position of the Director of National Intelligence.
 - The United States and our partners have disrupted several serious plots since September 11, including al-Qaida plots to attack inside the United States.

Yet while America is safer, we are not yet safe. The enemy remains determined, and we face serious challenges at home and abroad.

DRAFT

(Threats Disrupted at Home

- The West Coast Airliner Plot: In mid-2002 the U.S. disrupted a plot to attack targets on the West Coast of the United States using hijacked airplanes. The plotters included at least one major operational planner involved in planning the events of 9/11.
- The East Coast Airliner Plot: In mid-2003 the U.S. and a partner disrupted a plot to attack targets on the East Coast of the United States using hijacked commercial airplanes.
- The Jose Padilla Plot: In May 2002 the U.S. disrupted a plot that involved blowing up apartment buildings in the United States. One of the plotters, Jose Padilla, also discussed the possibility of using a "dirty bomb" in the U.S.
- The 2004 UK Urban Targets Plot: In mid-2004 the U.S. and partners disrupted a plot that involved urban targets in the United Kingdom. These plots involved using explosives against a variety of sites.
- The 2003 Karachi Plot: In the Spring of 2003 the U.S. and a partner disrupted a plot to attack Westerners at several targets in Karachi, Pakistan.
- The Heathrow Airport Plot: In 2003 the U.S. and several partners disrupted a plot to attack Heathrow Airport using hijacked commercial airliners. The planning for this attack was undertaken by a major 9/11 operational figure.
- The 2004 UK Plot: In the Spring of 2004 the U.S. and partners, using a combination of law enforcement and intelligence resources, disrupted a plot to conduct large-scale bombings in the UK.
- The 2002 Arabian Gulf Shipping Plot: In late 2002 and 2003 the U.S. and a partner nation disrupted a plot by Al Qaeda operatives to attack ships in the Arabian Gulf.
- The 2002 Straits of Hormuz Plot: In 2002 the U.S. and partners disrupted a plot to attack ships transiting the Straits of Hormuz.
- The 2003 Tourist Site Plot: In 2003 the U.S. and a partner nation disrupted a plot to attack a tourist site outside the United States.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051006-7.html>

DRAFT

(In the ongoing War on Terror, U.S. counterterrorism partners recently have disrupted plots in their own countries:

- Queen Alia Airport Plot, Jordan: Jordanian authorities in June 2006 indicted seven individuals for plotting to attack Queen Alia Airport, south of Amman, with explosives.
- Canada Plot, Toronto: Canadian authorities in June 2006 arrested 17 individuals inspired by al-Qaida and plotting to attack high profile buildings in Ontario, including Parliament.
- El Al Airlines Plot, Switzerland: Swiss authorities in June 2006 arrested a group of North Africans plotting to attack an Israeli El Al airline.

(

➡ **The War to Liberate Afghanistan**

- “We have deprived al Qaeda of safe haven in Afghanistan and helped a democratic government rise in its place. Once a terrorist sanctuary ruled by the repressive Taliban regime, Afghanistan is now a full partner in the War on Terror.” (from Joint Staff, Deputy Directorate for the War on Terrorism)
- In Operation Enduring Freedom, the United States built a worldwide coalition of 70 countries that destroyed terrorist training camps, dismantled the brutal Taliban regime, denied al Qaeda a safe haven in Afghanistan. (Waging and Winning the War on Terrorism)
- Today, Afghanistan has an elected president, Hamid Karzai, a new constitution that gives unprecedented rights and freedoms to all Afghans, and an elected, seated parliament. The parliament recently reviewed and passed the national budget.
- Countries around the world are part of the effort in Afghanistan
 - Over 60 countries met in London on January 31, 2006 and pledged over \$10.5 billion to support Afghanistan’s national development strategy. For its part Afghanistan committed itself to meet development, governance, civil society, counternarcotics and other goals.
 - Over 40 countries contribute troops to the Coalition or the NATO International Security and Stabilization Force in Afghanistan.
 - NATO has deployed over 9,000 troops in Afghanistan and numbers are expected to grow. Over 6,000 troops will deploy in to the restive south.
- On October 9, 2004, the people of Afghanistan went to the polls to elect their president and took another major step in their steady march to democracy. This election was the result of a careful and deliberate grass-roots process that enabled Afghans to choose representatives to draft a constitution and set the rules and procedures for elections.
 - It was the first direct presidential election in Afghanistan’s history. In this election and the parliamentary election held in October 2005, the people of Afghanistan did not just vote for candidate for a president; they also established a solid foundation for democracy, began to heal the wounds of recent decades, and

DRAFT

(set the nation on a course to peace, national reconciliation, and economic development.

- Under the Taliban, women in Afghanistan were whipped in the streets, executed in a sports stadium, and beaten for wearing brightly-colored shoes. Schooling was denied to girls. Today, the constitution gives women the right to vote and guarantees freedom of expression, assembly, and religion. Young girls are attending school. A woman leads the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission. Sixty-eight women are members of the Afghan parliament.
- Five hundred seventeen health care facilities have been constructed or rehabilitated. USAID supported hospitals and clinics provide health services to more than 5 million people in 14 provinces. Other nations support health care services in the rest of Afghanistan's 34 provinces. USAID has trained over 6,000 of Afghan community health care professionals.
- More than 513 schools have been rebuilt; over 10,000 teachers have been trained face-to-face; 65,000 teachers receive continuing education via radio ; and 49 million textbooks have been provided to Afghan students. 5.3 million students are in school.
- The Coalition is training a modern Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police to defend its borders, root out terrorists, and promote national unity.
 - There are over 28,000 trained Afghan National Army and 30,000 trained Afghan Police. Both the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police are active partners in the Global War on Terrorism.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/achievement/chap1-nrn.html>

(

➡ **Recruiting New Allies in the War on Terror**

- “Numerous countries that were part of the problem before September 11 are now increasingly becoming part of the solution- and this transformation has occurred without destabilizing friendly regimes in key regions.” (from Joint Staff, Deputy Directorate for the War on Terrorism)
- Before September 11, 2001; Pakistan was one of the few countries in the world that recognized the Taliban regime, and al Qaeda was active and recruiting in Pakistan without serious opposition.
 - Today, the United States and Pakistan are working closely in the fight against terror, and Pakistani forces are rounding up terrorists along the nation’s western border.
- Before September 11, 2001; terrorists were established in Saudi Arabia. Inside that country, fundraisers and other facilitators gave al Qaeda financial and logistical help with little scrutiny or opposition.
 - Today, after attacks in Riyadh and elsewhere, Saudi Arabia is working to shut down the facilitators and financial supporters of terrorism, and they have captured or killed many leaders of the al Qaeda organization in Saudi Arabia.
- Before September 11, 2001; Yemen stonewalled the investigation of the USS Cole bombing.
 - Today, Yemeni authorities have moved against al Qaeda in their own territory; hosted Army Special Forces to train and advise Yemeni troops in counterterrorism; and increased contacts with the Defense Department, CIA, and FBI. In November 2002, Yemeni authorities allowed a US Predator drone to kill six al Qaeda operatives in Yemen, including senior al Qaeda leader Abu Ali al-Harithi.
- Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim country, has moved against Jemaah Islamiyah, the al Qaeda-linked Islamic terrorist organization, and has arrested its suspected leader, radical cleric Abubakar Baasyir.
- The US military has trained and advised Philippine troops in Philippine-led anti-terror operations, such as those against the Abu Sayyaf Islamic terrorist group.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/achievement/chap1-nrn.html>

(

➡ **Halting the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction**

- President Bush led the creation of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), a broad international partnership of more than 70 countries that is interdicting lethal materials in transit. These nations are sharing intelligence information, tracking suspect international cargo, and conducting joint military exercises.
 - As a result of the PSI, American and British intelligence discovered advanced components intended to build nuclear weapons that were being shipped to Libya. German and Italian authorities helped seize the materials. And confronted with the discovery, Libya voluntarily agreed to end its WMD programs.
- American and British intelligence officers uncovered and shut down a sophisticated black market network headed by A.Q. Khan, the architect of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, which sold nuclear technologies and equipment to outlaw regimes stretching from North Africa to the Korean Peninsula.
- President Bush spearheaded the establishment of the G-8 Global Partnership, which over 10 years will provide \$20 billion in nonproliferation and weapons reduction assistance to the former Soviet Union. This represents a dramatic increase in US and allied efforts.
- In the former Soviet Union, 41 percent of the 600 metric tons of weapons-usable material that was previously determined to be vulnerable has been secured. US-Russian efforts have shortened by two years the timeline for securing weapons-usable nuclear material at 51 sites in Russia and other former Soviet states.
- Since 2001, the United States has installed radiation detection equipment at 39 Russian border sites to deter and interdict trafficking in nuclear and radioactive materials.
- The Bush Administration launched the Megaports Initiative, a global nuclear material detection effort focused on major seaports to the United States. It is helping stem illicit trafficking of nuclear and radiological materials.
- President Bush proposed that only states that have signed the Additional Protocol – which requires states to declare a broad range of nuclear activities and facilities and allows the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect those facilities – be allowed to import equipment for their civilian nuclear programs.

DRAFT

- (
 - The President has proposed the creation of a special committee of the IAEA Board that will focus intensively on safeguards and verification.
 - President Bush proposed UN Security Council Resolution 1540 which was later passed and calls for nations to criminalize proliferation activities.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/achievement/chap1-nrn.html>

(

Victory in Iraq

I.

The world is safer because Saddam is gone. Saddam terrorized his own people, destabilized the region, and was a danger to the world. A free Iraq will change the world.

II.

We have a strategy for victory and it is working. The Coalition and our Iraqi allies are building democracy, securing the country, and growing a free economy.

III.

We cannot cut and run. The cost of leaving before victory is achieved is too high. The Iraqis are committed to their future as a free society, we cannot abandon our allies in the middle of a tough fight; a fight that, together, we are winning.

We are safer because Saddam is gone.

- **He defied the international community for 12 years, violating 17 UN resolutions, shooting at coalition aircraft enforcing the no-fly zones, corrupting sanctions and the Oil for Food Program**
- **He made war on his neighbors and his own people, supported known terrorist organizations, and perpetrated countless atrocities against Iraqi citizens.**

Our three pillared strategy for victory:

- **Political: increase political participation across the spectrum of Iraqi society, beginning to heal the divisions that Saddam promoted. Establishing the most liberal constitution in the region, one that recognizes individual rights. Seating an elected government that is broadly representative, eager to move forward on priorities for all Iraqi people.**
- **Security: We are training Iraqi Security Forces so that they can take the lead.**
- **Economy: Help Iraq tap the resources it needs to be a prosperous democracy.**

There is a dire price to be paid for cutting and running before the job is done.

- **The Anti-Iraqi forces have stated their own version of victory, establishing a new haven for international terrorist operations. We cannot leave Iraq, its people, and its resources, in the hands of these killers.**
- **To retreat would send a signal to our allies and enemies across the world, that the United States can be intimidated, demoralized, and forced to retreat from what the terrorists themselves have called a central front in the War on Terror.**

(
We are safer because Saddam is gone.

- **He defied the international community for 12 years, violating 17 UN resolutions, shooting at coalition aircraft enforcing the no-fly zones, corrupting sanctions and the Oil for Food Program**
- **He made war on his neighbors and his own people, supported known terrorist organizations, and perpetrated countless atrocities against Iraqi citizens.**

“For America, the September 11 attacks underscored the danger of allowing threats to linger unresolved. Saddam Hussein’s continued defiance of 16 UNSC resolutions over 12 years, combined with his record of invading neighboring countries, supporting terrorists, tyrannizing his own people, and using chemical weapons, presented a threat we could no longer ignore.

-National Security Strategy, 2006

DRAFT

(Saddam defied the international community for 12 years.

➡ He was found in violation of 17 UN resolutions.

- Violation of UN Resolutions: Saddam's track record of defying the international community was long. A brief summary of the UN Security Council Resolutions the Iraqi Regime violated:
 - UNSCR 678: (11/29/90) required immediate withdrawal from Kuwait.
 - UNSCR 686: (3/2/91) required the release of Kuwaiti prisoners and return of property.
 - UNSCR 687: (4/3/91) Give up WMD as well as programs to acquire nuclear weapons, destroy long range missiles, pledge not to acquire new WMD or to support terrorism.
 - UNSCR 688: (4/5/91) End repression of the civilian population.
 - UNSCR 715: (10/11/91) Fully cooperate with UN and IAEA inspectors.
 - UNSCR 949: (10/15/94) Cooperate with weapons inspectors.
 - UNSCR 1051: (3/27/96) Cooperate with weapons inspectors and report shipments of dual use items.
 - UNSCR 1060: (6/12/96) Fully cooperate with weapons inspectors.
 - UNSCR 1115: (6/21/97) "Condemns refusal of Iraqi authorities to allow access" to UN weapons inspectors.
 - UNSCR 1137: (11/12/97) Condemns continued violations including "implicit threat to the safety of" aircraft operated by UN weapons inspectors.
 - UNSCR 1154: (3/2/98) Must cooperate fully with UN and IAEA inspectors and allow immediate access. Any violation would have the "severest consequences for Iraq."
 - UNSCR 1194: (9/9/98) Condemns Iraqi decision to suspend cooperation with weapons inspectors, calling it an "unacceptable contravention" of its obligations to the UN.
 - UNSCR 1205: (11/5/98) Condemns decision of October, 1998 to cease cooperation with UN inspectors.
 - UNSCR 1284: (12/17/99) Creates a new inspection organization and requires Iraqi cooperation.
- "In 1998, the U.S. Congress passed, and President Bill Clinton signed, the Iraq Liberation Act. That law specified 10 findings of Saddam Hussein's violations of international norms, and stated, 'It should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime....That

DRAFT

(legislation passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 360 to 38,
and it passed the Senate without a single vote in opposition. “
(Secretary Rumsfeld on pre-war intelligence)

(

➡ **Saddam never gave up his desire for Weapons of Mass Destruction:**

- According to David Kay, following his post-war inspection of Iraq as head of the Iraq Survey Group, “We have discovered dozens of WMD related programs and activities” that were part of “deliberate concealment efforts” that should have been declared to the U.N. Kay concluded that, “Saddam, at least judged by those scientists and other insiders who worked in his military-industrial programs, had not given up his aspirations and intentions to continue to acquire weapons of mass destruction.”
- “I actually think this may be one of those cases where [Iraq under Saddam] was even more dangerous than we thought.”- David Kay :
- "Saddam aspired to develop a nuclear capability -- in an incremental fashion, irrespective of international pressure and the resulting economic risks...In particular, Saddam was focused on the eventual acquisition of a nuclear weapon, which Tariq 'Aziz said Saddam was fully committed to acquiring despite the absence of an effective program after 1991." (Duelfer Report)

DRAFT

- (**➡ He corrupted the UN Oil for Food Program and attempted to bring down sanctions so that he could resume WMD production.**
- Desire to End Sanctions: He wanted to end sanctions while preserving the capability to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction (WMD) when sanctions were lifted.” (Duelfer Report)
 - Oil for Food was a way to Avert Sanctions: "The introduction of the Oil-For-Food program (OFF) in late 1996 was a key turning point for the Regime. OFF rescued Baghdad's economy from a terminal decline created by sanctions. The Regime quickly came to see that OFF could be corrupted to acquire foreign exchange both to further undermine sanctions and to provide the means to enhance dual-use infrastructure and potential WMD-related development.” (Duelfer Report)
 - The UN Documents Corruption in OFF: "Saddam Hussein's regime derived far more revenue from smuggling oil *outside* the Programme than from its demands for surcharges and kickbacks from companies that contracted *within* the Programme... The value of oil smuggled outside of the Programme is estimated by the Committee to be nearly \$11 billion as opposed to an estimated \$1.8 billion of illicit revenue from Saddam Hussein's manipulation of transactions occurring under the Programme." (Press Statement of the Independent Inquiry Committee Report on the Manipulation of the Oil-for-Food Programme, October 27, 2005)
 - OFF Corruption Essentially Ended Sanctions: "By 2000-2001, Saddam had managed to mitigate many of the effects of sanctions and undermine their international support. Iraq was within striking distance of a *de facto* end to the sanctions regime, both in terms of oil exports and the trade embargo, by the end of 1999." (Duelfer Report)
 - Through it all, Saddam Pursued WMD: "Saddam continued to see the utility of WMD. ... he purposely gave an ambiguous impression about possession as a deterrent to Iran. He gave explicit direction to maintain the intellectual capabilities. As UN sanctions eroded there was a concomitant expansion of activities that could support full WMD reactivation. He directed that ballistic missile work continue that would support long-range missile development. Virtually no senior Iraqi believed that Saddam had forsaken WMD forever. Evidence suggests that, as resources became available and the constraints of sanctions decayed, there was a direct expansion of activity that would have the effect of supporting future WMD reconstitution." (Duelfer Report)

DRAFT

(Saddam made war on his neighbors and his own people

➡ Support for terrorist groups

- CIA Estimates of Support for Terrorism Justified: "The Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) assessment that Iraq had maintained ties to several secular Palestinian terrorist groups and with the Mujahidin e-Khalq was supported by the intelligence. The CIA was also reasonable in judging that Iraq appeared to have been reaching out to more effective terrorist groups, such as Hizballah and Hamas, and might have intended to employ such surrogates in the event of war." (SSCI)
- Contacts with al Qaida: "The Central Intelligence Agency reasonably assessed that there were likely several instances of contacts between Iraq and al Qaida throughout the 1990s, but that these contacts did not add up to an established formal relationship... The Central Intelligence Agency's judgment that Saddam Hussein, if sufficiently desperate, might employ terrorists with a global reach -- al Qaida -- to conduct terrorist attacks in the event of war, was reasonable. No information has emerged thus far to suggest that Saddam did try to employ al Qaida in conducting terrorist attacks." (SSCI)
- Known Terrorist State: In 1999, The Clinton Administration Issued A Report That Said Iraq Was Supporting Terrorists. "[T]he Patterns of Global Terrorism report listed Iran, Libya, Cuba, Iraq, North Korea, Sudan and Syria and exiled Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden as terrorist sponsors. The seven countries were on the same list last year. Secretary of State Dr Madeleine Albright said: 'Governments on the list that would like to see their names removed know exactly what they must do: stop planning, financing and supporting terrorist acts and stop sheltering or interfering with the apprehension and prosecution of those who commit them.'" ("No Reprieve For Nations Of Terror," *The [Perth, Australia] Sunday Times*, 5/2/99)

(

➡ **Atrocities against his own people:** "The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages - - leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained -- by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning." (President Bush, January 28, 2003)

- Sadistic Regime: "Beyond this, Saddam's regime was one of the most sadistic and aggressive in modern history. It started a war against Iran and used mustard gas and nerve gas. A decade later Iraq invaded Kuwait. Iraq was a massively destabilizing force in the Middle East; so long as Saddam was in power, rivers of blood were sure to follow." (Wehner, Peter. Revisionist History. *The Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2006.)
- Violence as State Tool of Repression: "Saddam used violence liberally as an administrative method, to ensure loyalty, repress even helpful criticism and to ensure prompt compliance with his orders. Saddam's use of violence stood in stark contrast to the public image he created of a benevolent father figure..." (Duelfer Report)
- Torture in Iraq: According to a 2001 Amnesty International report, "victims of torture in Iraq are subjected to a wide range of forms of torture, including the gouging out of eyes, severe beatings and electric shocks... some victims have died as a result and many have been left with permanent physical and psychological damage." (White House press release, 4/4/03)
- Chemical Attacks: Documented chemical attacks by the regime, from 1983 to 1988, resulted in some 30,000 Iraqi and Iranian deaths. (White House press release 4/4/04)
- Chemical Attacks: Saddam Hussein is the first world leader in modern times to have brutally used chemical weapons against his own people. His goals were to systematically terrorize and exterminate the Kurdish population in northern Iraq, to silence his critics, and to test the effectiveness of his chemical and biological weapons. Hussein launched chemical attacks against 40 Kurdish villages and thousands of innocent civilians in 1987-88, using them as testing grounds. The worst of these attacks devastated the city of Halabja on March 16, 1988. 5,000 civilians, many of them women, children, and the elderly, died within hours of the attack. 10,000

DRAFT

- (more were blinded, maimed, disfigured, or otherwise severely and irreversibly debilitated. Thousands died of horrific complications, debilitating diseases, and birth defects in the years after. (State Dept. Bureau of Public Affairs, 3/14/03)
- Treatment of Women: Under the pretext of fighting prostitution, units of "Fedayeen Saddam," the paramilitary organization led by Uday Hussein, Saddam's eldest son, have beheaded in public more than 200 women throughout the country, dumping their severed heads at their families' doorsteps. Many families have been required to display the victim's head on their outside fences for several days. These barbaric acts were carried out in the total absence of any proper judicial procedures and many of the victims were not engaged in prostitution, but were targeted for political reasons. For example, Najat Mohammad Haydar, an obstetrician in Baghdad, was beheaded after criticizing the corruption within health services. (Amnesty International Report, Iraq: Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners, August 2001; Iraqi Women's League in Damascus, Syria) (Dept. of State, Office of International Women's Issues, March 20, 2003)
 - Mass Graves: Since the Saddam Hussein regime was overthrown in May, 270 mass graves have been reported. By mid-January, 2004, the number of confirmed sites climbed to fifty-three. Some graves hold a few dozen bodies—their arms lashed together and the bullet holes in the backs of skulls testimony to their execution. Other graves go on for hundreds of meters, densely packed with thousands of bodies.
 - "We've already discovered just so far the remains of 400,000 people in mass graves," said British Prime Minister Tony Blair on November 20 in London. The United Nations, the U.S. State Department, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch (HRW) all estimate that Saddam Hussein's regime murdered hundreds of thousands of innocent people. "Human Rights Watch estimates that as many as 290,000 Iraqis have been 'disappeared' by the Iraqi government over the past two decades," said the group in a statement in May. "Many of these 'disappeared' are those whose remains are now being unearthed in mass graves all over Iraq."
 - If these numbers prove accurate, they represent a crime against humanity surpassed only by the Rwandan genocide of 1994, Pol Pot's Cambodian killing fields in the 1970s, and the Nazi Holocaust of World War II
<http://www.usaid.gov/iraq/legacyofterror.html>.

(

➡ **Quotes about Saddam**

- Sen. Levin: "We begin with the common belief that Saddam Hussein is a tyrant and a threat to the peace and stability of the region." (Sen. Carl Levin, Committee On Armed Services, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 9/19/02)
- Sen. Kerry: (D-MA) Says Saddam Hussein Is Part Of The "Global Menace" Of Terrorism. CNN'S LARRY KING: "What about enhancing this war, Senator Kerry. What are your thoughts on going further than Afghanistan, all terrorist places ..." KERRY: "Oh, I think we clearly have to keep the pressure on terrorism globally. This doesn't end with Afghanistan by any imagination. And I think the president has made that clear. I think we have made that clear. Terrorism is a global menace. It's a scourge. And it is absolutely vital that we continue, for instance, Saddam Hussein." (CNN's "Larry King Live," 12/14/01)
- Vice President Gore: If you allow someone like Saddam Hussein to get nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, chemical weapons, biological weapons, how many people is he going to kill with such weapons? He's already demonstrated a willingness to use these weapons. He poison-gassed his own people. He used poison gas and other weapons of mass destruction against his neighbors. This man has no compunction about killing lots and lots of people.' (then Vice President Al Gore, ca 12/98 / Johna Golberg, National Review Online, 11/10/05)
- Secretary of State Albright: 'Iraq is a long way from Ohio, but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risk that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face.' (then Secretary of State Albright, ca 12/98)
- National Security Advisor Sandy Berger: 'He will rebuild his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and some day, some way, I am certain he will use that arsenal again, as he has 10 times since 1983' (then National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, ca 12/98)

(

Our three pillared strategy for victory:

- **Political:** increase political participation across the spectrum of Iraqi society, beginning to heal the divisions that Saddam promoted. Establishing the most liberal constitution in the region, one that recognizes individual rights. Seating an elected government that is broadly representative, eager to move forward on priorities for all Iraqi people.
- **Security:** We are training Iraqi Security Forces so that they can take the lead.
- **Economy:** Help Iraq tap the resources it needs to be a prosperous democracy.

DRAFT

(

➤ **The constitution is the most liberal in the region and recognizes individual rights.**

- Human Rights: It contains protections for fundamental human freedoms including religion, assembly, conscience and expression;
- Popular Sovereignty: It vests sovereignty in the Iraqi people to be expressed by secret ballot and regular elections; and
- Legal Equality: Declares that all Iraqis are equal before the law without regard to gender, ethnicity or religion.

DRAFT

- (**➡ The new government is broadly representative, eager to move forward on priorities of all of Iraq's people.**
- Broad Coalition Government: The 77% turnout for Iraq's national election ensured that the government would reflect Iraq's ethnic/sectarian balances. While the Shi'a parties won a majority of seats in the assembly, they do not have enough votes to govern alone. This forces them to compromise, ensuring a unity government that includes voices from all the large blocks represented.
 - New Iraqi Government Leadership
 - Prime Minister: Jawad al-Maliki (Shi'a)
 - President: Jalal Talabani (Kurd)
 - Vice President: Adil abd al-Mahdi (Shi'a)
 - Vice President: Tariq Hashimi (Sunni)
 - Speaker of Parliament: Mahmoud Mashadani (Sunni)
 - Deputy Speaker: Khalid Atiya (Shi'a)
 - Deputy Speaker: Arif Tayfur (Kurd)

DRAFT

(**➡ The participation in the new government and Iraq's consequent faith in it is noteworthy.**

- Increased Participation: Participation in many Sunni areas increased from as little as 25% in the January '05 election to 75% in the December '05 election.
- Public Confidence: 62% of Iraqis have confidence that the government can improve the situation in Iraq. That support is spread broadly across the country.
- Right Direction: 61% of Iraqis believe that the National Government is leading the country in the right direction.
- Free Press: Participation in the political process is also reflected in the continued growth of a free and open press, a hallmark of a free and democratic society. In March there were 268 independent newspapers, 114 commercial radio stations, and 54 commercial TV stations.
- Politics, Not Violence: 78% of Iraqis believe that “violence is never acceptable, even if the government does not meet my expectations.”
- Insurgency working against Iraqis: While Iraqi confidence in the new government is growing, 96% of Iraqis polled said that the insurgents are not working in the best interests of the Iraqi people.



DRAFT

(**➡ The new government is pivotal in preventing civil war.**

- Government a Unifying Influence: Following the February 22nd bombing of the Golden Mosque in Samarra, many feared that the consequent spike in sectarian violence would degenerate into all out civil war. Iraqi leaders stood together with religious leaders in a united front against further violence and chose to forge ahead with the political process. As a consequence, the bombing failed to produce the civil war that its perpetrators hoped for.
- Attacks not Legitimate: 96% of Iraqis think the Golden Shrine attack was not an acceptable form of political expression.(9010 Report)
- Violence not Acceptable: 78% say “violence is never acceptable, even if the government does not meet my expectations.” (9010 Report)
- Violence Not New to Iraq: Sectarian violence, tribal rivalry, and extra-governmental militias are not a recent invention; all existed in some form prior to the Coalition liberation of Iraq. (9010 Report)
- Prime Minister Al-Maliki: “What happened today was the result of the fruitful cooperation we have often requested from our masses, citizens, and sons of our people, who cooperated in giving the information and facilitating the operation by the Iraqi Police and the multinational forces in directing the fatal and precise blow. This is a message to all those who pursue violence and destruction to stop, reconsider their position, and return to their senses before it is too late because we have made our decision and we will go ahead, God willing, until the end to face the murderers and terrorists.” (Prime Minister Al-Maliki on the death of Zarqawi, 6/8/06)

DRAFT

(**➡ The unity government is a serious blow to the terrorists.**

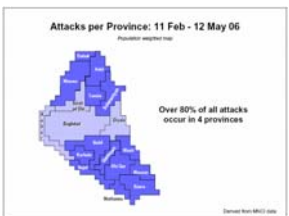
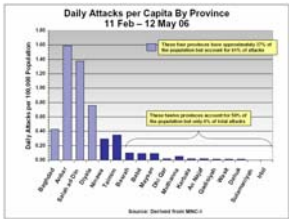
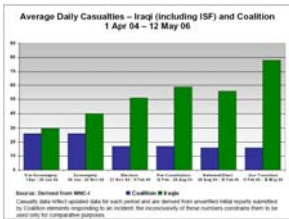
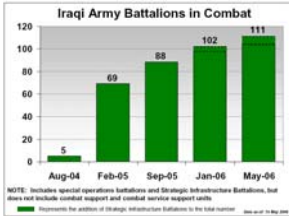
- President Bush on the Unity Government: “Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive, specific military plan. Area by area, city by city, we’re conducting offensive operations to clear out enemy forces, and leaving behind Iraqi units to prevent the enemy from returning. Within these areas, we’re working for tangible improvements in the lives of Iraqi citizens. And we’re aiding the rise of an elected government that unites the Iraqi people against extremism and violence. This work involves great risk for Iraqis, and for Americans and coalition forces.”
(President George W. Bush 10/6/005)
- Iraqi Prime Minister on Unity: “Today’s Iraq is the Iraq in which all the political forces and the members of society have stood one rank to face the terrorists and corrupt. This popular front and national unity is actually our wager in facing all the challenges. Thank God, all Iraqis have realized that the only way to achieve the happiness of the Iraqi people and the sovereignty of Iraq is through unity, cohesion, and the search for serious methods for dialogue and national reconciliation because all the Iraqis are on one boat and this boat must reach the shore of safety and happiness, God willing.”
(Prime Minister Al-Maliki, 6/8/06).
- Terrorist Failures: “You have to think like the enemy. The guy that’s got the most to lose if a national unity government is formed is Zarqawi and al Qaeda in Iraq, because he’s been told by his leadership that democracy equals failure. He’s been told to establish an Islamic caliphate inside of Iraq, and that’s what he’s got to do. *But he’s been totally unable to do that. He couldn’t stop the ratification of the constitution in October, he couldn’t stop the elections in December, and now he’s trying to stop the formation now of this unity government. And the way he’s doing that is by trying to inflame sectarian violence. We cannot think for one minute that we are counterproductive... in fact, we have got al Qaeda on the move!* (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, Spokesman, Multinational Force Iraq location: May 11, 2006)

(Security: Training Iraqi forces so they can take the lead.

➔ There are more than 263,400 trained and equipped Iraqi Security Forces (ISF). (9010 Report)

○ Quick Facts on the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF):

- The Army is now at 86% of its authorized end strength. (9010 Report)
- There are 111 Iraqi Army and Special Operations battalions are conducting counter-insurgency operations. (9010 Report)
- 71 of those battalions are in the lead. (9010 Report)
- 57 Iraqi Army battalions now control their own battle space. (9010 Report)
- The Iraqi Army controls 30,000 square miles of territory, an area roughly the size of South Carolina (approx 32,000 sq. miles). (9010 Report)
- In April, 64% of combat operations were ISF or combined ISF / CF operations. (1518 ISF or ISF / CF operations at the company level or above). Only 36% of operations were independent of Iraqi forces. (9010 Report)
- All 28 Iraqi National Police units are in the fight, 12 of them are in the lead. (9010 Report)
- The ISF have the lead in 60% of Baghdad. (9010 Report)
- The Ministries of Defense and Interior are on track to complete the initial training and equipping of 100% of their end strength by the end of the year. (9010 Report)



- Iraqi Sacrifice: Iraqis are fighting, and dying, for their country. Despite attacks on recruiting stations and casualty rates as much as three times those of their coalition partners, there is no shortage of Iraqis willing to volunteer to be in the ISF. (9010 Report)
- Geographical Distribution of Violence: Much of the violence is located in the central region of Iraq. Twelve provinces, containing 50% of the population, experience only 6% of all attacks. Nine

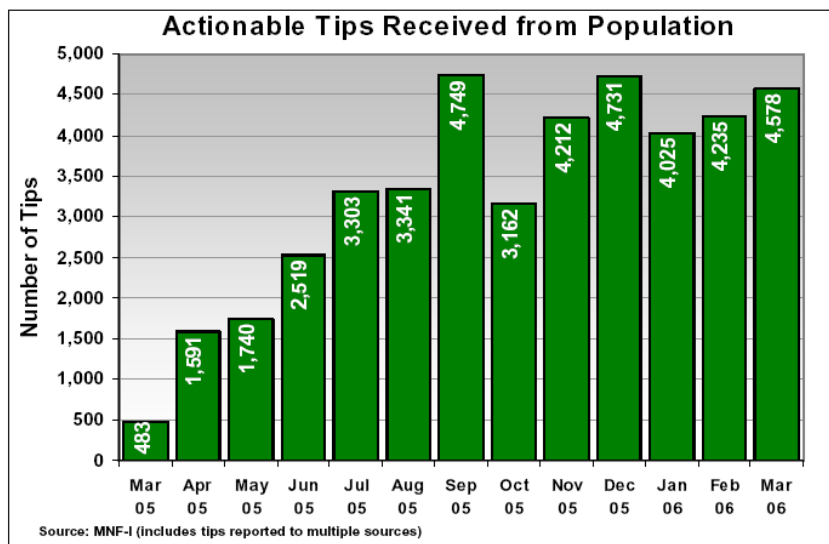
DRAFT

- (provinces have been averaging one or zero attacks per day since February. (9010 Report)
- Public Confidence: 90% of Iraqis in Shi'a areas and 95% of those in Kurdish areas reported that they feel "very safe" in their neighborhoods. (9010 Report)
 - Public Confidence: 95% of Iraqis polled believe that there is no justification for attacks against the ISF. (9010 Report)
 - Quote from Iraqis: "The old Iraqi army was built on the wrong basis. The new Iraqi army is now in the right direction," (Iraqi Maj. Hasim Shamin)
 - Quote from American Soldier: "This year, we do a lot more administrative work than we are used to," said Gregory, a native of Jacksonville, Fla., of his current role in Operation Iraqi Freedom. "For example, last year I worked at an IP [Iraqi Police] station, and if we went out on patrol, the IPs followed behind. This year, we follow behind the IPs, and they basically handle everything. We just observe how they handle the situation," said Gregory. (U.S. Army Sgt. Gerald Gregory)

DRAFT

(**➡ Iraqis Taking Action:**

- “The people of Iraq are tired of the insurgency. We’re at the point now where 60% of the casualties are civilian casualties: innocent men, women and children of Iraq. And they’re tired of the insurgency. So as Iraqi forces conduct operations on the streets, Iraqi people come up to those patrols and provide actionable intelligence, and its happening all the time.”(Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, Spokesman, Multinational Force Iraq location: May 11, 2006)
- Iraqis Coming Forward: 4,578 actionable tips came in during March. This represents a tenfold increase since this time last year. (9010 Report)
- Tips are Accurate: “Ninety-nine percent of those tips provide actual intelligence... that is being productive” (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, Spokesman, Multinational Force Iraq ,May 11, 2006)
- Tips Paying Off: Partly because of these tips, 50% of IEDs are discovered and rendered safe before detonation. (9010 Report). Tips ultimately led to the killing of terrorist leader al Zarqawi.
- Iraqis Tired of Violence: You’re not seeing a rise in 1,300 tips in a month just because there’s that much more violence. You’re seeing a rise because the Iraqi people—many of them are very tired of the violence. *They realize there is somebody now who will respond and take some kind of action.* (Iraq Operational Update Briefing: Major General William Caldwell, USA, Spokesman, Multinational Force Iraq, May 18, 2006)
- “The old Iraqi army was built on the wrong basis. The new Iraqi army is now in the right direction,” (Iraqi Maj. Hasim Shamin)



DRAFT

(Anecdotes about Iraq-led operations;

- Iraqis/ Coalition Forces Defeating the Terrorists: “People continue to work with the Iraqi Security Forces to increase patrols. The fact that there are 32,000 patrols the month of April in Baghdad shows you that there’s more security forces presence on the street. *People want to talk about what the enemy did. They don’t want to talk about what the enemy couldn’t do. And there’s a lot he couldn’t do because of that increased presence.* (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, Spokesman, Multinational Force Iraq location: May 11, 2006)

- Capturing Terrorists / Operation Iron Triangle: U.S. Army Staff Sgt. Clifton Sanders, an indirect fire infantryman assigned to Company A, 3rd Battalion, 187th Infantry Regiment, described how the suspects were apprehended, on the first day of the operation “One of the people 1st platoon had detained and questioned decided he would give up one of the bad guys for us,” Sanders said. “We got the call to go out and get them, so we linked up with the Iraqi army scout platoon.” From there, Sanders said the source, traveling with Iraqi Army in their vehicle, headed north to the suspect's residence. “The [Iraqi army] were pumped,” Sanders said. “The [high-value target] that was on the list, they were really worried about him being a really bad guy, so they were excited about getting this guy. It was really important to them to take this guy in. When we pulled up to the house and set up our cordon, we pretty much let the [Iraqi army] take over. They flew in the house and we went in with them.”
 - When Sander’s men and the Iraqi army returned, they learned that five of the six people they detained were on the high-value target list. (U.S. Army Sgt. Ryan Matson 101st Combat Aviation Brigade)

- Capturing Terrorists: On May 24th, Iraqi soldiers from the 2nd Battalion of the 2nd Brigade of the 8th Iraqi Army Division, supported by coalition army and air forces and over a hundred Iraqi police forces, were led by Babil province chief General Qais, who conducted this raid, in response to reports of kidnappings and increased sectarian violence in the area. And out of that, as you can see, they had a very successful operation and found in fact both a weapons cache, and it also resulted in the deaths of several known terrorists down in that location. (Multinational Force Iraq Press Briefing, Maj. General Bill Caldwell, June 1, 2006)

DRAFT

- (
- Capturing Terrorists: Sheik Ahmed Hussein Dabash Samir al-Batawi, aka Ahmed al-Dabash, a key insurgent leader in Iraq, was captured by Iraqi and Coalition forces in Baghdad on May 29th. Ahmed al-Dabash was a major financier and facilitator of terrorism in Iraq, most notably the bomb attack in the Shiite holy city of Karbala on March 2, 2004. More than 140 Iraqis were murdered and hundreds wounded in the attack that occurred during the observance of Ashoura. (Multinational Force Iraq Press Briefing, Maj. General Bill Caldwell, June 1, 2006)

 - Iraqis in the Lead: “This year, we do a lot more administrative work than we are used to,” said Gregory, a native of Jacksonville, Fla., of his current role in Operation Iraqi Freedom. “For example, last year I worked at an IP [Iraqi Police] station, and if we went out on patrol, the IPs followed behind. This year, we follow behind the IPs, and they basically handle everything. We just observe how they handle the situation,” said Gregory. (U.S. Army Sgt. Gerald Gregory)

DRAFT

(**➡ Experts comment on Iraqi Security Forces: General (Ret) Barry McCaffrey, 4/25/06 Academic Report on his visit to Iraq.**


- “The Iraqi Army is real, growing, and willing to fight, they now have lead action of a huge and rapidly expanding area and population, the battalion level formations are in many cases excellent- most are adequate”
- “Their institutional Army is beginning to show encouraging signs of self-initiative.”
- “The Partnership Program with U.S. units will be the key to success with the Embedded Training Teams augmented and nurtured by a U.S. Maneuver Commander. This is simply a brilliant success story. We need at least two-to-five more years of U.S. partnership and combat backup to get the Iraqi Army ready to stand on its own. The interpersonal relationships between Iraqi Army units and their U.S. trainers are very positive and genuine.”

(
Economy: Iraq has the resources to be a prosperous democracy.

➡ Context: Saddam Crippled Iraq's Economy:

- During 30 years of dictatorship Iraq suffered from lack of investment in and maintenance of infrastructure;
- Saddam built system of government subsidies in the area of fuel, food and service tariffs (i.e. electricity and water) that (1) consumes, on average, over 50 percent of Iraq's total budget in both direct and indirect costs; and (2) enables a massive system of rent-seekers, black-market operations and corruption.
- Saddam dominated a massive, state-owned, central-command economy that must be reformed to allow substantial numbers of permanent jobs to be created, and the private sector to grow.
- Saddam neglected capacity needs at every level.
- As our experience in other economies in transition (in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union) shows, it takes time, political will, patience, and perseverance to transition a statist economy into a modern, private sector-oriented one in which the market is allowed to play the leading role.
- Despite these challenges and in the midst of a challenging security environment, Iraqi authorities have managed to stabilize their economy and begin the long path to economic recovery and transition.
- USG assistance has helped the Iraqis to recover and reconstruct key elements of their economy, including infrastructure.
- The next stage of transition requires the Iraqis to be in the lead and to make tough policy choices to eliminate the distributive subsidies and create a sustainable economy that rewards innovation and investment.
- The USG will be there to help them along the way, and to provide technical assistance and capacity-building to ensure Iraqis have the right tools to both make and implement these decisions.


DRAFT

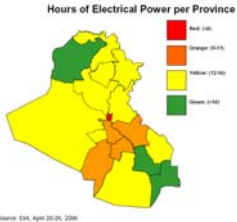
- ( Despite the challenging security environment and delays in forming the new government, the Iraqi economy has demonstrated signs of recovery and overall macroeconomic stability
- Why new business registrations are important: “We firmly believe that the linchpin of a peaceful Iraq is to reduce unemployment and put people to work. By creating jobs and opportunity, the Iraqi government would take away a major source of support for violent movements—aimless, underemployed, young men who would otherwise rather be gainfully employed and supporting their families, but are laying IEDs, shooting RPGs and fighting Iraqi security forces and the coalition because they lack alternatives.” (U.S. Department of Defense News Transcript. Presenter: Lt. Gen. Peter W. Chiarelli May 19, 2006, 9:00 a.m. EST)
 - Economic Growth: In 2005, the Iraqi economy grew an estimated 3 percent in real terms. The IMF anticipates the Iraq economy will grow by more than 10 percent in 2006. (Source: IMF SBA)
 - Standard of Living: Under Saddam Hussein’s regime, Iraqis’ standard of living deteriorated rapidly. In nominal terms, Iraq’s per capita income had dropped from \$3,800 in 1980 (higher than Spain at the time) to \$715 in 2002 (lower than Angola). In 2005, this increased to over \$1,000. (Source: IMF and World Bank reports)
 - GDP Growing: Today, economic recovery is picking up, with GDP growing from \$18.9 billion in 2002 to \$33.2 billion in 2005. (Source: IMF reports)
 - Stable Currency: A stable currency, introduced in October 2003, has allowed the Central Bank of Iraq to manage inflation; the IMF estimates inflation was 32% in 2004 and remained stable at this level (32%) in 2005. (Source: IMF SBA)
 - Needed Reforms: The Iraqi authorities have adopted a number of legal reforms that will help create a solid economic foundation. These include:
 - Establishment of a legal framework to ensure Central bank independence and establish price stability as the key monetary policy objective;
 - Introduction of an investment law that welcomes foreign capital – a dramatic change from the Saddam era when Iraq was essentially closed to foreign business -- and streamlining of procedures for creating new businesses;

DRAFT

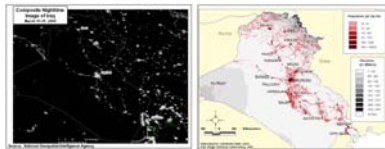
- (
- Adoption of a trade regime that facilitates the importation of goods and services needed for economic expansion;
 - Adoption of commercial banking and central bank laws, both based on international best practice, which lay the foundation for a sound, modern banking system; and
 - Adoption and maintenance of a sustainable and transparent budgetary framework.

DRAFT

- ( Delivery of essential services continues to struggle in Iraq for a variety of reasons, including the poor state of Iraq infrastructure following decades of mismanagement, an increase in demand, and targeted attacks by insurgents. Despite these challenges, US assistance has helped – tremendously:



- Electricity Challenges and Accomplishments: USG projects are helping Iraqis maintain and increase their electricity production. During Saddam's time, electrical power was hoarded for Baghdad. Today, electricity supply is distributed more evenly throughout the country, without regard to whether one is a Sunni, Shia, or Kurd. USG projects have increased capacity by adding and rehabilitating or maintaining over 2,700 MWs. When IRRF generation projects are completed by the end of 2006, we expect to add and rehabilitate an additional 1,000 MW of electricity generation capacity. We also are helping to build Iraqi capacity to better operate, secure and maintain their electrical infrastructure. (2207 report)



- Electricity Production: Despite insurgents attacks on critical transmission lines, seasonal electricity production by the Ministry of Electricity in the first quarter of 2006 was nearly 5% higher than the first quarter of 2005 and 2004, although seasonal peak generation declined by 2.6% due to increased maintenance. (2207 report)
- Electricity Production: The full-year average peak generation in 2004 and 2005 was approximately equal to the estimated pre-war level of 2002 (around 4300 MWs), although average daily production was lower. (2207 report)
- Power in Baghdad: Hours of power in Baghdad have suffered as the result of a) policy changes in the northern and southern governorates to retain electricity in their regions; b) interdictions on critical transmission lines; and (c) poor maintenance practices and the unavailability of adequate fuel supply to power electrical plants. For the past several weeks, average daily hours of power available in Baghdad have averaged between 2 and 7. We are working with the new Iraqi government to put in place an Iraqi plan of action to address this situation.
- Growth in Demand: Growth in demand for electricity is an indicator of economic health. (9010 Report), but demand needs to be rationalized and checked through the gradual introduction of market pricing for fuel and electricity.

DRAFT

- (
- Sewage: Before liberation, Iraq's cities suffered from inadequate sewage systems. So far, the U.S. has helped Iraqis build/repair sewage treatment plants for 5.1 million Iraqis. U.S. funded projects have also improved access to clean water for 3.1 million people. (2207 report)

DRAFT

(**➡ Iraq is rejoining the international community:**

- It is on the road to World Trade Organization accession, and received both an IMF credit facility (under the SBA) and its first World Bank loan in 30 years in 2005.

- Debt relief agreements are helping Iraq with its economic recovery and growth; Iraq has secured an agreement from 17 of the 18 Paris Club members to forgive at least 80% of its Saddam-era debt. Based on this deal, Iraq has also successfully concluded debt reduction with many of its commercial creditors and several non-Paris Club members.

(

► **Iraqis and others are optimistic about and investing in Iraq's future:**

- Optimism: 77% of Iraqi businessmen anticipate growth in the national economy over the next two years, in a recent nationwide poll, and 69% are "optimistic" about Iraq's future. (2005 CIPE poll)
- Banks Moving In: Foreign and domestic banks are opening new offices. HSBC, for example, has 13 affiliated branches and 340 employees (State Department)
- Stock Market: The stock market established in April 2004 currently lists nearly 90 companies. (Iraq Weekly Update)
- New Business: Since April 2003, Iraq has registered over 32,000 new businesses. (USAID) New business registrations continue to accelerate. (9010 Report)
- Why new business registrations are important: "We firmly believe that the linchpin of a peaceful Iraq is to reduce unemployment and put people to work. By creating jobs and opportunity, the Iraqi government would take away a major source of support for violent movements—aimless, underemployed, young men who would otherwise rather be gainfully employed and supporting their families, but are laying IEDs, shooting RPGs and fighting Iraqi security forces and the coalition because they lack alternatives." (U.S. Department of Defense News Transcript. Presenter: Lt. Gen. Peter W. Chiarelli May 19, 2006, 9:00 a.m. EST)
- Cell Phones: Iraq had virtually no cell phone subscribers in 2003. Today, there are more than 6 million cell phone subscribers. (Iraq Weekly Update)

(

There is a dire price to be paid for cutting and running before the job is done.

- **The Anti-Iraqi forces have stated their own version of victory, establishing a new haven for international terrorist operations. We cannot leave Iraq, its people, and its resources, in the hands of these killers.**
- **To retreat would send a signal to our allies and enemies across the world, that the United States can be intimidated , demoralized, and forced to retreat from what the terrorists themselves have called a central front in the War on Terror.**

Some observers also claim that America would be better off by cutting our losses and leaving Iraq now. This is a dangerous illusion, refuted with a simple question: Would the United States and other free nations be more safe, or less safe, with Zarqawi and bin Laden in control of Iraq, its people, and its resources? Having removed a dictator who hated free peoples, we will not stand by as a new set of killers, dedicated to the destruction of our own country, seizes control of Iraq by violence.

- President George W. Bush 10/6/05


DRAFT

(There is a dire price to be paid for leaving before the job is done.

- ➡ Iraq will become a haven for terrorists, murderers, and thugs.
 - Iraq is the Central Front in the War on Terror/ Letter from Zawhairi to Zarqawi: “In terms of fighting battle in the heart of the Islamic world, which was formerly the field for major battles in Islam’s history, and what is now the place for the greatest battle of Islam in this era, and what will happen, according to what appeared in the Hadiths of the Messenger of God about the epic battles between Islam and atheism. It has always been my belief that the victory of Islam will never take place until a Muslim state is established in the manner of the Prophet in the hear of the Islamic world, specifically in the Levant, Egypt and the neighboring states of the Peninsula and Iraq...” (Letter from Zawhairi to Zarqawi, 10/05)
 - Iraq is the Central Front in the War on Terror Letter from Zawhairi to Zarqawi: “If our intended goal in this age is the establishment of a caliphate in the manner of the Prophet and if we expect to establish its state predominantly- according to how it appears to us- in the hear of the Islamic world, then your efforts and sacrifices- God permitting- are a large step directly towards that goal. (Letter from Zawhairi to Zarqawi, 10/05)
 - Terrorists Want a Safe Haven in Iraq: "This is the history that brought us where we are today. These are simply facts. The times we live in are serious. We are in the midst of a global war that threatens free people across the world, as evidenced by attacks here in Washington, D.C.; in New York City; in Bali; London; Madrid; Beslan; Jerusalem; Riyadh; and most recently, at a wedding reception in Amman, Jordan. Innocent people – mothers, fathers, children – have been murdered by a network of Islamic extremists – Islamo-fascists, if you will – seeking to impose their dark vision on free people. They seek to build in Iraq what they once had in Afghanistan – a safe haven – and then to expand throughout the region and beyond. Their terms are not negotiable. While the American people understandably want to know when our forces can leave Iraq, I believe they do not want them to leave until our mission is accomplished and the Iraqis are able to sustain their fledgling democracy.” (Secretary Rumsfeld)
 - The Terrorists Draw Hope from American Defeatism: In a sermon last year, Zarqawi comforted the mujahidin, assuring them that “the Americans are living their worst days in Iraq now, even some Members of Congress have announced that the US is losing the war in Iraq.” He assured them : “We will conquer Iraq and then God

DRAFT

- (willing head on to Jerusalem.” He called President Bush “a fool” and said that his God is “anti-Christ.” (FBIS Report 7/5/05)
- To Establish the Caliphate, Defeat the Americans / Letter from Zawahiri to Zarqawi: “: The first stage: Expel the Americans from Iraq. The second stage: Establish an Islamic authority or amirate, then develop it and support it until it achieves the level of a caliphate- over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq, i.e., in Sunni areas, is in order to fill the void stemming from the departure of the Americans, immediately upon their exit and before unIslamic forces attempt to fill this void, whether those whom the Americans will leave behind them, or those among the un-Islamic forces who will try to jump at taking power.” (Letter from Zawahiri to Zarqawi, 10/05)
 - If We Leave Too Soon, the Terrorists Will Win: "If we leave Iraq prematurely, the jihadists will interpret the withdrawal as their great victory against our great power. Osama bin Laden and his followers believe that America is weak, unwilling to suffer casualties in battle. They drew that lesson from Lebanon in the 1980s and Somalia in the 1990s, and today they have their sights set squarely on Iraq. The recently released letter from Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's lieutenant, to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, draws out the implications. The Zawahiri letter is predicated on the assumption that the United States will leave Iraq, and that al Qaeda's real game begins as soon as we abandon the country. In his missive, Zawahiri lays out a four stage plan – establish a caliphate in Iraq, extend the 'jihad wave' to the secular countries neighboring Iraq, clash with Israel – none of which shall commence until the completion of stage one: expel the Americans from Iraq. Zawahiri observes that the collapse of American power in Vietnam, 'and how they ran and left their agents,' suggests that 'we must be ready starting now.'" (Sen. John McCain, AEI, 11/10/05)
 - Terrorism won't stop if we leave Iraq: “As Zarqawi has vowed, ‘We will either achieve victory over the human race or we will pass to the eternal life.’ And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin, to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously- and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.” (President George W. Bush, 10/6/05)

( **Signal to the region and the world.**

- Withdrawal Encourages Terrorists: “Terrorism is not simply a response to our efforts to prevent terror attacks. The al-Qaeda network targeted the United States long before the United States targeted al-Qaeda. Indeed, the terrorists are emboldened more by perceptions of weakness than by demonstrations of resolve. Terrorists lure recruits by telling them that we are decadent and easily intimidated and will retreat if attacked.” (National Security Strategy, 2006, Pg. 10)

- President Bush on Terrorist Strategy: “Osama bin Laden has called on Muslims to dedicate quote their ‘resources, sons and money to driving the infidels out of their lands.’ Their tactic to meet this goal has been consistent for a quarter-century: They hit us, and expect us to run. They want us to repeat the sad history of Beirut in 1983, and Mogadishu in 1993—only this time on a larger scale, with greater consequences.” (President George W. Bush, 10/6/05)

- President Bush on World Opinion: “Bin Laden has stated: ‘The whole world is watching this war and the two adversaries. It’s either victory and glory or misery and humiliation.’” (President George W. Bush, 10/6/05).

- Prime Minister Blair: “These people who are fighting us know what is at stake, the question is: Do we?” (British Prime Minister Tony Blair)

- Letter from Zawahiri to Zarqawi: “If our intended goal in this age is the establishment of a caliphate in the manner of the Prophet and if we expect to establish its state predominantly-according to how it appears to us-in the heart of the Islamic world, then your efforts and sacrifices-God permitting-are a large step directly towards that goal. So we must think for a long time about our next steps and how we want to attain it, and it is my humble opinion that the Jihad in Iraq requires several incremental goals: The first stage: Expel the Americans from Iraq. The second stage: Establish an Islamic authority or amirate, then develop it and support it until it achieves the level of a caliphate- over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq, i.e., in Sunni areas, is in order to fill the void stemming from the departure of the Americans, immediately upon their exit and before unIslamic forces attempt to fill this void, whether those whom the Americans will leave behind them, or those

DRAFT

(among the un-Islamic forces who will try to jump at taking power.”
(Letter from Zawhairi to Zarqawi, 10/05)

- "If we leave Iraq prematurely, the jihadists will interpret the withdrawal as their great victory against our great power. Osama bin Laden and his followers believe that America is weak, unwilling to suffer casualties in battle. They drew that lesson from Lebanon in the 1980s and Somalia in the 1990s, and today they have their sights set squarely on Iraq. The recently released letter from Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's lieutenant, to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, draws out the implications. The Zawahiri letter is predicated on the assumption that the United States will leave Iraq, and that al Qaeda's real game begins as soon as we abandon the country. In his missive, Zawahiri lays out a four stage plan – establish a caliphate in Iraq, extend the 'jihad wave' to the secular countries neighboring Iraq, clash with Israel – none of which shall commence until the completion of stage one: expel the Americans from Iraq. Zawahiri observes that the collapse of American power in Vietnam, 'and how they ran and left their agents,' suggests that 'we must be ready starting now.’’ (Sen. John McCain, AEI, 11/10/05)

(

➡ **The president misled Americans to convince them to go to war.**

- Assessment of the Intelligence Community: The National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) is the intelligence community's authoritative written judgment on specific national-security issues.
 - The 2002 NIE provided a key judgment: "Iraq has continued its [WMD] programs in defiance of U.N. resolutions and restrictions. Baghdad has chemical and biological weapons as well as missiles with ranges in excess of U.N. restrictions; if left unchecked, it probably will have a nuclear weapon during this decade."
- There were Other Alarmist Views in the Community: Thanks to the bipartisan Silberman-Robb Commission, which investigated the causes of intelligence failures in the run-up to the war, we now know that the President's Daily Brief (PDB) and the Senior Executive Intelligence Brief "were, if anything, more alarmist and less nuanced than the NIE".
- Intelligence agencies from around the globe believed Saddam had WMD. Even foreign governments that opposed his removal from power believed Iraq had WMD. (Peter Wehner, *Revisionist History*, *Wall Street Journal* 3/23/06).
- The French thought Saddam had WMD: French Foreign Minister Dominique De Villepin: "Right now, our attention has to be focused as a priority on the biological and chemical domains. It is there that our presumptions about Iraq are the most significant. Regarding the chemical domain, we have evidence of its capacity to produce VX and Yperite. In the biological domain, the evidence suggests the possible possession of significant stocks of Anthrax and Botulism Toxin, and possibly a production capability." (United Nations Security Council, 4701st Meeting, New York, 2/5/03)
- The Germans thought Saddam had WMD: German Ambassador to the United States Wolfgang Ischinger: "I think all of our governments believe that Iraq has produced weapons of mass destruction and that we have to assume that they still have – that they continue to have weapons of mass destruction. We have not yet seen evidence produced by the inspectors." (NBC's "Today," 2/26/03)
- Clinton Officials Thought Saddam had WMD: Robert Einhorn, Clinton's Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, told the Senate

DRAFT

(Governmental Affairs committee in March 2002 that Saddam could have nukes and the missiles capable of striking Europe "within four to five years" and would be able to deliver nukes in America via "non-conventional means." "If Iraq managed to get its hands on sufficient quantities of already produced fissile material," he said, "these threats could arrive much earlier." (Jonah Goldberg, National Review Online, 11/4/05)

- Congress had the Same Information: We also know that the intelligence in the PDB was not "markedly different" from that given to Congress. This helps explain why John Kerry, in voting to give the president the authority to use force, said, "I believe that a deadly arsenal of weapons of mass destruction in his hands is a threat, and a grave threat, to our security." ."(Congressional Record, 10/9/02) It's why Sen. Kennedy said, "We have known for many years that Saddam Hussein is seeking and developing weapons of mass destruction." (Congressional Record 10/04/02). And it's why Hillary Clinton said in 2002, "In the four years since the inspectors, intelligence reports show that Saddam Hussein has worked to rebuild his chemical and biological weapons stock, his missile delivery capability and his nuclear program." (Congressional Record, 10/4/02).
- Sen. McCain: I think it's a lie to say that the President lied to the American people. I sat on the Robb-Silberman Commission. I saw many, many analysts that came before that Committee. I asked every one of them—I said, 'Did—were you ever pressured politically or any other way to change your analysis of the situation as you saw?' Every one of them said no. (Sen. John McCain, "CBS Face the Nation" 11/05?)
- Sen. McCain: "To assert that the President intentionally lied to the American people is just wrong. And could I finally say, every intelligence agency in the world, including the Russian, including the French, including the Israeli, all had reached the same conclusion, and that was that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. So I think open, honest disagreement, more discussion, more debate, the more facts that come out, the better off we are, but I would not accept the premise the President lied." (Sen. John McCain, "CBS Face the Nation" 11/05?)
- President Clinton: Bush was Right to be Concerned: In June 2004, Bill Clinton Said President Bush Had The Responsibility To Make Sure Iraq's Chemical And Biological Weapons Did Not Get In The Hands Of Terrorists. "After 9/11, let's be fair here, if you had been President, you'd think, Well, this fellow bin Laden just turned these

DRAFT

(three airplanes full of fuel into weapons of mass destruction, right? Arguably they were super-powerful chemical weapons. Think about it that way. So, you're sitting there as President, you're reeling in the aftermath of this, so, yeah, you want to go get bin Laden and do Afghanistan and all that. But you also have to say, Well, my first responsibility now is to try everything possible to make sure that this terrorist network and other terrorist networks cannot reach chemical and biological weapons or small amounts of fissile material. I've got to do that. That's why I supported the Iraq thing. There was a lot of stuff unaccounted for. So I thought the President had an absolute responsibility to go to the U.N. and say, 'Look, guys, after 9/11, you have got to demand that Saddam Hussein lets us finish the inspection process.'... When you're the President, and your country has just been through what we had, you want everything to be accounted for." (Bill Clinton, "His Side of The Story," *Time*, 6/28/04)

DRAFT

(The Bush administration pressured intelligence agencies to bias their judgments.

- ➡ There is simply no evidence to support the claim that the President manipulated pre-war intelligence
 - Senate Intel Found No Evidence: This myth is shattered by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence's bipartisan Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq.
 - Among the findings: "The committee did not find any evidence that intelligence analysts changed their judgments as a result of political pressure, altered or produced intelligence products to conform with administration policy, or that anyone even attempted to coerce, influence or pressure analysts to do so." (Ch. 9)
 - "Conclusion 83. The Committee did not find any evidence that Administration officials attempted to coerce, influence or pressure analysts to change their judgments related to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capabilities. ... (Report On The U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments On Iraq," U.S. Senate Select Committee On Intelligence, 7/7/04, Pg. 284-285)
 - Conclusion 84. The Committee found no evidence that the Vice President's visits to the Central Intelligence Agency were attempts to pressure analysts, were perceived as intended to pressure analysts by those who participated in the briefings on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs, or did pressure analysts to change their assessments." ("Report On The U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments On Iraq," U.S. Senate Select Committee On Intelligence, 7/7/04, p. 284-285)
 - The French thought Saddam had WMDs: French Foreign Minister Dominique De Villepin: "Right now, our attention has to be focused as a priority on the biological and chemical domains. it is there that our presumptions about Iraq are the most significant. Regarding the chemical domain, we have evidence of its capacity to produce VX and Yperite. In the biological domain, the evidence suggests the possible possession of significant stocks of Anthrax and Botulism Toxin, and possibly a production capability." (United Nations Security Council, 4701st Meeting, New York, 2/5/03)
 - The Germans thought Saddam had WMD: German Ambassador to the United States Wolfgang Ischinger: "I think all of our governments believe that Iraq has produced weapons of mass

DRAFT

(destruction and that we have to assume that they still have – that they continue to have weapons of mass destruction. We have not yet seen evidence produced by the inspectors." (NBC's "Today," 2/26/03)

- The British Found No Evidence of Political Manipulation: The British Butler Report Found "No Evidence" Of Intelligence Distortion. "In general, we found that the original intelligence material was correctly reported in [Joint Intelligence Committee] assessments. An exception was the '45 minute' report. But this sort of example was rare in the several hundred JIC assessments we read on Iraq. In general, we also found that the reliability of the original intelligence reports was fairly represented by the use of accompanying qualifications. We should record in particular that we have found no evidence of deliberate distortion or of culpable negligence. We examined JIC assessments to see whether there was evidence that the judgements inside them were systematically distorted by non-intelligence factors, in particular the influence of the policy positions of departments. We found no evidence of JIC assessments and the judgements inside them being pulled in any particular direction to meet the policy concerns of senior officials on the JIC." ("Review Of Intelligence On Weapons Of Mass Destruction," Report Of A Committee Of Privy Counsellors, 7/14/04, p. 110)
- Independent Commissions Found no Evidence: Silberman-Robb concluded the same, finding "no evidence of political pressure to influence the Intelligence Community's prewar assessments of Iraq's weapons programs. . . . [A\]Analysts universally asserted that in no instance did political pressure cause them to skew or alter any of their analytical judgments." What the report did find is that intelligence assessments on Iraq were "riddled with errors"; "most of the fundamental errors were made and communicated to policy makers well before the now-infamous NIE of October 2002, and were not corrected in the months between the NIE and the start of the war." (Charles S. Robb And Laurence H. Silberman, The Commission On The Intelligence Capabilities Of The United States Regarding Weapons Of Mass Destruction, 3/31/05)

DRAFT

(**➡ Leaders comment on allegations that the Administration manipulated intelligence.**

- Senator Ben Nelson (D-NE): "No, I've never thought [President Bush] deliberately misled the people or Congress. I think we may have been misled based on the intelligence information that was there that turned out to be inaccurate, but I've never thought the President would intentionally do that." (Sen. Ben Nelson, "Fox and Friends" 11/17/05)

- Senator John McCain: "I think it's a lie to say that the President lied to the American people. I sat on the Robb-Silberman Commission. I saw many, many analysts that came before that Committee. I asked every one of them—I said, 'Did—were you ever pressured politically or any other way to change your analysis of the situation as you saw?' Every one of them said no. (Sen. John McCain, "CBS Face the Nation" 11/05?)

- Vice President Cheney: "Some of the most irresponsible comments have, of course, come from politicians who actually voted in favor of authorizing force against Saddam Hussein. These are elected officials who had access to the intelligence, and were free to draw their own conclusions. They arrived at the same judgment about Iraq's capabilities and intentions that was made by this Administration and by the previous Administration. There was broad-based, bipartisan agreement that Saddam Hussein was a threat ... that he had violated U.N. Security Council Resolutions ... and that, in a post-9/11 world, we couldn't afford to take the word of a dictator who had a history of WMD programs, who had excluded weapons inspectors, who had defied the demands of the international community, who had been designated an official state sponsor of terror, and who had committed mass murder. Those are facts. What we're hearing now is some politicians contradicting their own statements and making a play for political advantage in the middle of a war. The saddest part is that our people in uniform have been subjected to these cynical and pernicious falsehoods day in and day out. American soldiers and Marines are out there every day in dangerous conditions and desert temperatures – conducting raids, training Iraqi forces, countering attacks, seizing weapons, and capturing killers – and back home a few opportunists are suggesting they were sent into battle for a lie. The President and I cannot prevent certain politicians from losing their memory, or their backbone – but we're not going to sit by and let them rewrite history. We're going to continue throwing their own words back at them. And far more important, we're going to continue sending a

DRAFT

(consistent message to the men and women who are fighting the war on terror in Iraq, Afghanistan, and many other fronts. We can never say enough how much we appreciate them, and how proud they make us. They and their families can be certain: That this cause is right ... and the performance of our military has been brave and honorable ... and this nation will stand behind our fighting forces with pride and without wavering until the day of victory." (Vice President Cheney, at dinner for Sen. Malcom Wallop, 11/16/05)

DRAFT

(**➡ Because weapons of mass destruction stockpiles weren't found, Saddam posed no threat.**

- Saddam's strategy of bluff, denial, and deception is a dangerous game that dictators play at their peril. The world offered Saddam a clear choice: effect full and immediate compliance with his disarmament obligations or face serious consequences. Saddam chose the latter course and is now facing the judgment of an Iraqi court. It was Saddam's reckless behavior that demanded the world's attention, and it was his refusal to remove the ambiguity that he created that forced the United States and its allies to act. We have no doubt that the world is a better place for the removal of this dangerous and unpredictable tyrant, and we have no doubt that the world is better off if tyrants know that they pursue WMD at their own peril. (National Security Strategy, 2006, pg 24)
- Saddam Perspective: Beyond this, Saddam's regime was one of the most sadistic and aggressive in modern history. It started a war against Iran and used mustard gas and nerve gas. A decade later Iraq invaded Kuwait. Iraq was a massively destabilizing force in the Middle East; so long as Saddam was in power, rivers of blood were sure to follow. (Peter Wehner, *Revisionist History*, *Wall Street Journal* 5/23/06).
- Sen. Levin: "the War Against Terrorism will not be finished as long as [Saddam Hussein] is in power." (CNN's "late edition," 12/16/01)
- Sen. Levin: "We begin with the common belief that Saddam Hussein is a tyrant and a threat to the peace and stability of the region." (Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 9/19/02)
- Sen. Kerry (D-MA) Says Saddam Hussein Is Part Of The "Global Menace" Of Terrorism.

CNN'S LARRY KING: "What about enhancing this war, Senator Kerry. What are your thoughts on going further than Afghanistan, all terrorist places ..."

KERRY: "Oh, I think we clearly have to keep the pressure on terrorism globally. This doesn't end with Afghanistan by any imagination. And I think the president has made that clear. I think we have made that clear. Terrorism is a global menace. It's a scourge. And it is absolutely vital that we continue, for instance, Saddam Hussein." (CNN's "Larry King Live," 12/14/01)

DRAFT

- (
 - Post –War Inspections: Upon his return from Iraq, weapons inspector David Kay, head of the Iraq Survey Group (ISG), told the Senate: "I actually think this may be one of those cases where [Iraq under Saddam Hussein] was even more dangerous than we thought."
 - His statement when issuing the ISG progress report said: "We have discovered dozens of WMD-related program activities" that were part of "deliberate concealment efforts" that should have been declared to the U.N. And, he concluded, "Saddam, at least as judged by those scientists and other insiders who worked in his military-industrial programs, had not given up his aspirations and intentions to continue to acquire weapons of mass destruction." (David Kay, Before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 10/2/03).
 - Duelfer Report: Among the key findings of the September 2004 report by Charles Duelfer, who succeeded Mr. Kay as ISG head, are that Saddam was pursuing an aggressive strategy to subvert the Oil for Food Program and to bring down U.N. sanctions through illicit finance and procurement schemes; and that Saddam intended to resume WMD efforts once U.N. sanctions were eliminated. (Peter Wehner, Revisionist History)
 - According to Mr. Duelfer, "the guiding theme for WMD was to sustain the intellectual capacity achieved over so many years at such a great cost and to be in a position to produce again with as short a lead time as possible. . . . Virtually no senior Iraqi believed that Saddam had forsaken WMD forever. Evidence suggests that, as resources became available and the constraints of sanctions decayed, there was a direct expansion of activity that would have the effect of supporting future WMD reconstitution." (Comprehensive Report, Special Advisor to the Director of Central Intelligence on Iraq's WMD, 9/23/04).
 - Al Gore on Saddam: If you allow someone like Saddam Hussein to get nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, chemical weapons, biological weapons, how many people is he going to kill with such weapons? He's already demonstrated a willingness to use these weapons. He poison-gassed his own people. He used poison gas and other weapons of mass destruction against his neighbors. This man has no compunction about killing lots and lots of people. ' (then Vice President Al Gore, ca 12/98 / Johna Golberg, National Review Online, 11/10/05)
 - Secretary Albright on Saddam: 'Iraq is a long way from Ohio, but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risk that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical or biological

DRAFT

- (weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face.' (then Secretary of State Albright, ca 12/98)
- Sandy Berger on Saddam: 'He will rebuild his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and some day, some way, I am certain he will use that arsenal again, as he has 10 times since 1983" (then National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, ca 12/98)

DRAFT

(**➡ Promoting democracy in the Middle East is a postwar rationalization.**

- President Bush argued for democracy taking root in Iraq before the war began.
 - Example: he said in a speech on Feb. 26, 2003: "A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. America's interests in security, and America's belief in liberty, both lead in the same direction: to a free and peaceful Iraq. . . . The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life. And there are hopeful signs of a desire for freedom in the Middle East. . . . A new regime in Iraq would serve as a dramatic and inspiring example of freedom for other nations in the region." (President's speech on the Future of Iraq, Washington Hilton Hotel 2/26/03).
 - The following day the New York Times editorialized: "President Bush sketched an expansive vision last night of what he expects to accomplish by a war in Iraq. . . . The idea of turning Iraq into a model democracy in the Arab world is one some members of the administration have been discussing for a long time." (President Bush's Nation-Building New York Times, 2/27/06)

DRAFT

- (**➡ Bush Administration's Plan is/has failed at all levels**
 - SEE EXAMPLES OF SUCCESS AT TAB 3

DRAFT

(**➡ The Iraq effort is a lost cause that is sending the country into an all-out civil war!**

- Iraqis Weary of the Insurgency: The people of Iraq are tired of the insurgency. We're at the point now where about 60 percent of the casualties are civilian casualties: innocent men, women and children of Iraq. And they're tired of the insurgency. So as Iraqi forces conduct operations on their streets, Iraqi people come up to those patrols and provide actionable intelligence, and it's happening all the time. (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
- Iraqis Working with the Coalition: We continue to work with the Iraqi security forces to increase patrols. The fact that there are 32,000 patrols the month of April in Baghdad shows you that there's more security forces presence on the street. People want to talk about what the enemy did. They don't want to talk about what the enemy couldn't do. And there's a lot he couldn't do because of that increased presence. (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
- Iraqi leaders and ministers are settling in place and they won't have to worry about an impending election or writing a constitution, but can instead turn to addressing the key needs and concerns of the Iraqi people. (Briefing by Lieutenant General Chiarelli, 5/19/06).
- Experts Comment: Per General (Ret) Barry McCaffrey in an April 25, 2006 Academic Report on his visit to Iraq...
 - The creation of an Iraqi government of national unity is a central requirement.
 - We must help create a legitimate government for which the Iraqi security forces will fight and die.
 - If we do not see the successful development of a pluralistic administration in the first 120 days of the emerging Jawad al-Maliki leadership - there will be significant chance of the country breaking apart in warring factions among the Sunnis and Shia - with a separatist Kurdish north embroiled in their own potential struggle with the Turks.
 - This is now a race against time. Do we have the political will, do we have the military power, will we spend the resources required to achieve our aims? WE MUST!

DRAFT

(**➡ The U.S. Presence in Iraq is counterproductive and destroying Iraq even further.**

- The solution that we prefer is non-kinetic, and that is indeed working to meet the basic needs of the people of Iraq.
- Iraqis are Stepping Up: We've reached the point now where we have less than 130,000 U.S. service members in Iraq. Remember we peaked around the elections, brought in additional troops to provide for a stable condition for the elections. Those troops have rotated out. We're now below 130,000. Over time that will ebb and flow with troop rotations, but right now we're less than 130,000 U.S. service members in Iraq. But that's okay because you got 254,000 trained and equipped members of the Iraqi security force conducting operations. (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
- Iraqis Stepping Up: The thing to be impressed with is the growth, quantity, quality, and capabilities of the Iraqi army. It's an amazing thing. We're at the point now where two Iraqi army divisions, 16 brigades, and 58 battalions lead counterinsurgency operations in their respective areas; they're in the lead. They're planning and conducting these operations. And they're fighting the insurgency, to include al Qaeda. We are not destroying Iraq... we are building Iraq so they can fight for themselves! (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
- Sen. McCain Comments: "Some argue that our very presence in Iraq has created the insurgency, and that if we end the occupation, we end the insurgency. But in fact by ending military operations, we are likely to empower the insurgency. Zarqawi and others fight not just against foreign forces but also against the Shia, whom they believe to be infidels, and against all elements of the government. Sunni insurgents attack Kurds, Turcomans, Christians and other Iraqis, not simply to end the American occupation but to recapture lost Sunni power. As AEI's Fredrick Kagan has written, these Sunni are not yet persuaded that violence is counterproductive; on the contrary, they believe the insurgency might lead to an improvement in their political situation. There is no reason to think that an American drawdown would extinguish these motivations to fight." (Sen. John McCain, AEI, 11/10/05)
- Terrorist Failures: You have to think like the enemy. The guy that's got the most to lose if a national unity government is formed is Zarqawi and al Qaeda in Iraq, because he's been told by his leadership that democracy equals failure. He's been told to establish

DRAFT

(an Islamic caliphate inside of Iraq, and that's what he's got to do. But he's been totally unable to do that. He couldn't stop the election last January, he couldn't stop the ratification of constitution in October, he couldn't stop the elections in December, and now he's trying to stop the formation now of this unity government. And the way he's doing that is by trying to inflame sectarian violence. We cannot think for one minute that we are counterproductive... in fact, we have got al Qaeda on the move! (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).

- Iraqis Working with the Coalition: Look at what happened in the month of April. We had over 1,100 **more** tips in the month of April than we've had any time since we've been in Iraq -- 1,100 more. And that's from local walk-ins, local tips and call-ins to the national tip line. Just last week, we had 400 tips come in on the national tip line. Ninety-nine percent of those tips provide actual intelligence... that is being productive! (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
 - You're not seeing a rise of 1,300 tips in a month just because there's that much more violence. You're seeing a rise because the Iraqi people -- many of them are very tired of the violence. They realize there is somebody now who will respond and take some kind of action. (Maj. Gen. William B. Caldwell IV weekly media briefing, 3/18/06).

DRAFT

- (**➡ Troops are dying needlessly and don't even believe in the cause they have been asked to die for.**
- Coalition Turning Over Functions to the Iraqis: The Iraqi army is progressing steadily and is still on track for 75 percent of its brigades to be in the lead in their sectors by the end of the summer. Our efforts in this “year of the police” are bearing fruit, with more and more cops on the beat who have increasingly better training and capability. (Briefing by Lieutenant General Chiarelli, 5/19/06).
 - The progress of the ISF is due to the talents, commitment and patriotism of the Iraqis themselves, but I believe it is also due to true partnership we have created with them. Our vetting/training teams live, work, eat, sleep and fight alongside their Iraqi colleagues day in and day out, building personal and professional relationships that will last a lifetime, and this approach has worked... this is not needless! Our troops are making a difference every day and they know their fight is just! (Briefing by Lieutenant General Chiarelli, 5/19/06).
 - Expert Comments: Per General (Ret) Barry McCaffrey in an April 25, 2006 Academic Report on his visit to Iraq...
 - The morale, fighting effectiveness, and confidence of U.S. combat forces continue to be simply awe-inspiring.
 - In every sensing session and interaction - I probed for weakness and found courage, belief in the mission, enormous confidence in their sergeants and company grade officers, an understanding of the larger mission, a commitment to creating an effective Iraqi Army and Police, unabashed patriotism, and a sense of humor.
 - All of these soldiers, NCOs and young officers were volunteers for combat. Many were on their second combat tour - several were on the third or fourth combat tour.
 - Many had re-enlisted to stay with their unit on its return to a second Iraq deployment.
 - Many planned to re-enlist regardless of how long the war went on.
 - Their comments to me were guileless, positive, and candidly expressed love for their fellow soldiers.
 - They routinely encounter sniper fire, mortar and rocket attacks, and constantly face IED's on movement. Their buddies have been killed and wounded. Several in these sessions had also been wounded. These are the toughest soldiers we have ever fielded. It was a real joy and an honor to see them first-hand.

DRAFT

- (**➡ Al Zarqawi, the Insurgents, and Al Qaeda are winning this war.**
- Terrorist Failures: You've got to think like the enemy. The guy that's got the most to lose if a national unity government is formed is Zarqawi and al Qaeda in Iraq, because he's been told by his leadership that democracy equals failure. He's been told to establish an Islamic caliphate inside of Iraq, and that's what he's got to do. But he's been totally unable to do that. He couldn't stop the election last January, he couldn't stop the ratification of constitution in October, he couldn't stop the elections in December, and now he's trying to stop the formation now of this unity government. The way he's doing that is by trying to inflame sectarian violence. (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
 - The Importance of Zarqawi: We believe that a lot of the violence in Iraq is stuff that he has stimulated through his attacks. And we believe that when -- not if -- when we take out Zarqawi, and when we take out al Qaeda in Iraq, that the stimulus for that violence will go away, and there'll be much less retribution as a result of fewer attacks by Zarqawi and his network. (Iraq Operational Update Briefing with Major General Rick Lynch, 5/11/06).
 - Senator Reid on the Death of Zarqawi: "This is a good day for the Iraqi people, the U.S military and our intelligence community. Zarqawi was a cold blooded killer who got what he deserved. Yesterday's mission and its successful outcome are a testament to the courage and skill of all those serving on the front lines..... There is considerable and difficult work ahead to stabilize Iraq. But with the death of Zarqawi and the naming of key Iraqi security ministers, today is a day to recognize these important achievements."
 - Terrorists don't Offer a Better Choice: Disillusionment, poverty and hopelessness are the breeding grounds for violence. While there may be a small core of zealots who will never give up their violent ways, basic services and economic opportunity will isolate these extremist few from the majority of the population, who merely seek a better life for themselves and their families. (Briefing by Lieutenant General Chiarelli, 5/19/06)
 - Eroding the Source of Unrest: Through the ISF, we can address the symptoms and violence, but by building up Iraqi ministerial capacity to provide basic services and create hope and economic opportunity, we can get at the causes. A prosperous Iraq will be a peaceful Iraq.

DRAFT

(The link between this is inextricable. (Briefing by Lieutenant General Chiarelli, 5/19/06)

- Experts Comment: Per General (Ret) Barry McCaffrey in an April 25, 2006 Academic Report on his visit to Iraq...
 - The foreign jihadist fighters have been defeated as a strategic and operational threat to the creation of an Iraqi government.
 - Aggressive small unit combat action by Coalition Forces combined with good intelligence - backed up by new Iraqi Security Forces is making an impact.
 - The foreign fighters remain a serious tactical menace.
 - However, they are a minor threat to the heavily armed and wary U.S. forces.
 - They cannot successfully stop the Iraqi police and army recruitment.
 - Their brutal attacks on the civil population are creating support for the emerging government.
 - The foreign fighters have failed to spark open civil war from the Shia.
 - The Samarra bombing may well have inoculated the country to the possible horror of total war.
 - The Iraqis are rejecting the vision of a religious state.
 - The al Qaeda in-Iraq organization is now largely Sunni Iraqi - not foreign fighters.
 - U.S. Marine and Army combat effectiveness - combined with very effective information operations--- has taken the fun out of Jihad.

DRAFT

- (**➡ The War in Iraq has made the United States more, not less, vulnerable to terrorism.**
- “Terrorism is not simply a result of hostility to U.S. policy in Iraq. The United States was attacked on September 11 and earlier, well before we toppled the Saddam Hussein regime. [see Timeline of Terrorism, included] Moreover, countries that stayed out of the Iraq war have not been spared from terror attack. (National Security Strategy, 2006, pg. 10)

 - “Over the years these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence -- the Israeli presence on the West Bank, or the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia, or the defeat of the Taliban, or the Crusades of a thousand years ago. In fact, we're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives: to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. No act of ours invited the rage of the killers -- and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder. On the contrary: They target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down, never give in, and never accept anything less than complete victory” (President George W. Bush 10/6/05)