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(b)(6)
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DATE/TIME: _____

MESSAGE #: _____

FROM: **BRETT KAVANAUGH, STAFF SECRETARY** PHONE: (b)(6) ROOM: **GFWW**
 FAX: (b)(6)
 CELL: (b)(6) b(6)
 SUBJECT: **REVISED DRAFT, PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH PRIME MINISTER** PAGES: **c+5**
ALLAWI

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
	SECRETARY POWELL		
	SECRETARY RUMSFELD		
	GENERAL MYERS		
	ACTING DIRECTOR McLAUGHLIN		
PLEASE LET ME KNOW ASAP IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS (PH: (b)(6)) (b)(6) FAX: (b)(6) THANK YOU.			

~~CLOSE HOLD~~

Press Availability with Prime Minister Allawi
Thursday, September 23, 2004
Draft #6

Good morning. It is my honor to stand with the Prime Minister of a free and sovereign Iraq. Mr. Prime Minister, under your steady leadership, the Iraqi people are overcoming decades of tyranny and corruption, and building a new and just system of government. You have earned the support of Iraqis, and the respect of the United States. Welcome, friend, to the White House.

Iraqis and their leaders are engaged in a great and historic enterprise – to establish a new democracy at the heart of a vital region. As friends of liberty, the new leaders of Iraq are friends of America. And Mr. Prime Minister, America will stand with you until freedom and justice are secure in Iraq.

The people of Iraq are showing remarkable determination. Terrorists want Iraqis to turn against their legitimate government – yet the vast majority of Iraqis remain committed to democracy. Terrorists attack Iraqi security forces – yet every day, more brave Iraqis volunteer to serve their country. Killers attempt to assassinate government officials – and Iraq's leaders have refused to be intimidated. Although many brave acts go unreported, the Iraqi people are showing their character, and winning their fight for freedom.

Eighteen months ago, the Iraqi people lived under the violent rule of a dictator. That ruler's idea of effective government was to build palaces, allow the country's infrastructure to crumble, and fill prisons and mass graves. The dictator provided a safe haven for terrorists ... twice invaded his neighbors ... menaced the entire Middle East ... used weapons of mass destruction against his neighbors and the Iraqi people ... and for twelve years defied the just demands of the world. Saddam's rule brought suffering to the innocent, and danger to other countries. His removal brought deliverance to Iraqis, and greater security to America and our friends.

Today, as the former dictator awaits trial, the Iraqi people are taking charge of their own affairs, and moving toward the first free, nationwide election in their country's history. Today, the Iraqi government poses no

threat to its neighbors. Today, Iraq is no longer a source of terror, but an ally in the fight against terror. And today, Iraq's prime minister is a respected world leader, bringing his country back into the community of nations. That is the progress of 18 months – a great tribute to the Iraqi people and our coalition.

The path ahead is difficult, because a free Iraq has deadly enemies. Remnants of the old regime and terrorist groups have clear goals: To prevent Iraq's elections and demoralize Iraq's allies. In their growing desperation, they will commit any atrocity to shock and intimidate the civilized world. We are shocked by their atrocities – but we will never be intimidated. Prime Minister Allawi and I fully expect terrorist violence to escalate as the January elections draw near. The terrorists know that events in Iraq are reaching a decisive moment. If elections go forward, democracy in Iraq will put down permanent roots, and the terrorists will suffer a dramatic defeat. And because Iraq, and America, and our coalition are standing firm, the Iraqi people, and not the terrorists, will determine Iraq's future.

The Prime Minister and I realize that in the face of difficulties, some will surrender to their doubts. There is a certain cast of mind that will exaggerate every setback in Iraq, and minimize every achievement. Some will argue that freedom in Iraq is not worth it, and that the path of retreat is easier and less costly.

That argument is deeply mistaken. There is no safety in a policy of retreat. First, this approach would betray our friends. And America will not betray our friends. Second, if we stopped fighting the terrorists in Iraq, they would not conclude that we are wise; they would know that we are weak. And they would carry their hatreds and their missions of murder to America and other free nations.

As Prime Minister Allawi recently said, "The war in Iraq is ... not only an Iraqi war, it's a war for the civilized world to fight terrorists and terrorism. And there is no route but the route of winning." Prime Minister Tony Blair recently called the struggle in Iraq "the crucible in which the future of global terrorism will be determined." I share the view of these strong leaders. Iraq is the central front in the war on terror – and our only option is victory.

Unlike some doubters, I believe that the Iraqi people overwhelmingly desire democracy, and are capable of securing it. I believe in the effectiveness and the integrity of Iraq's leaders. I believe that retreat and weakness would only invite further violence. And I believe in the power of liberty to transform lives and nations – because we have seen that power in our own history, and across the world.

Achieving democracy and stability in Iraq requires hard and dangerous effort. Yet the effort is proceeding according to a clear, five-step plan: handing over authority to a sovereign Iraqi government ... helping establish security ... rebuilding Iraq's infrastructure ... encouraging more international support ... and moving toward a national election.

This plan is working. The first step was achieved on June 28th – ahead of schedule – when the coalition transferred full sovereignty to a government of Iraqi citizens.

The second step is to help Iraq's new government establish the stability and security that democracy requires. Iraq must be able to defend itself – and Iraqi security forces are taking increasing responsibility for their country's security. There are nearly 100,000 fully trained and equipped Iraqi soldiers, police officers, and other security personnel working today – and that total will rise to 125,000 by the end of the year. The Iraqi government is on track to build a force of 234,000 security personnel by the end of next year. With help from the NATO alliance and the American military, the training of the Iraqi army is already nearly halfway complete – and our efforts are producing results. In Najaf and other important areas, Iraqi military forces have performed with skill and success.

Najaf is a good example of the effective strategy we are pursuing together. Iraqi and coalition forces moved in to surround, isolate, and engage enemy militias. We took decisive action to kill hundreds of enemy fighters. Prime Minister Allawi and his government reached out to the local population, to show them that the path to a better future is found in political participation and economic progress. Then the interim government negotiated from a position of strength to end the stand-off. Serious problems remain in several cities, particularly in the ~~Baathist~~ triangle. Prime Minister Allawi and I believe the combination of decisive action and ~~outreach to peaceful citizens is the most effective way~~ to defeat terrorists and insurgents, and secure the peace of Iraq. The Prime Minister is

determined to unite all of Iraq under the control of the interim government. And we stand with him.

The third step in our plan is to continue improving Iraq's infrastructure, so that a free Iraq can gain economic independence and a better life. Local commanders and coalition officials have already spent more than a billion dollars on urgent reconstruction projects in areas threatened by insurgency. Last year, Congress authorized more than 18 billion dollars for Iraq's overall reconstruction – and over seven billion dollars of that money has now been committed to help Iraqis rebuild schools and refurbish hospitals and health clinics, repair bridges, upgrade the electrical grid, and modernize the communications system. Prime Minister Allawi and I both agree that the pace of reconstruction can and should be accelerated – and we are working toward that goal.

The fourth step in our plan is to enlist additional international support for Iraq's transition to democracy. The multinational force of 31 nations continues to help secure a free Iraq. We honor the servicemen and women of Great Britain, Bulgaria, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Nepal, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Thailand and Ukraine, who have died – beside Iraqis and Americans – for the cause of freedom and the security of the world.

Our coalition is ~~grateful~~ ^{pleased} that the United Nations has reestablished its mission in Baghdad. We are grateful to the G-8 countries and the European Union for pledging support to the new Iraqi government. We are grateful to the NATO Alliance, which last June in Istanbul agreed to help train Iraqi forces. We are grateful to many of Iraq's creditors, ~~which~~ ^{who} have agreed to a further reduction of Iraq's debt. Because all nations have an interest in the success of a free Iraq, I urge all nations to join in this vital cause.

The fifth and most important step in our plan is to help Iraq conduct free, national elections no later than next January. An Iraqi electoral commission is now up and running – and has already hired personnel and made key decisions about election procedures. Just this week, the commission began a public education campaign to inform Iraqis about the process, and encourage them to become voters. United Nations electoral advisors are on the ground in Iraq, though more are needed – and Prime

Minister Allawi and I have urged the UN to send sufficient personnel to help ensure the success of the Iraqi elections.

Iraqis could agree on

Once again, the skeptics are doubting that elections are possible. The skeptics will be proven wrong – just as they were wrong when they doubted ~~Iraq could prepare~~ a Transitional Administrative Law, or hold a successful National Conference. At every stage in this process of establishing self government, the Iraqi people and their leaders have met the schedules they set, and have overcome their challenges with confidence. And they will do so again.

The war for Iraq's freedom is a fight against some of the most ruthless and brutal men on earth. In such a struggle, there will be good days, and there will be difficult days. But every day our resolve must remain the same. Mr. Prime Minister, today I want to leave you, and the nation you serve, with a clear message. The Iraqi people have not faltered in a time of challenge – and neither will America. Thank you for your leadership, and for honoring us with your visit.

Drafted by:

[Redacted] (b)(6)

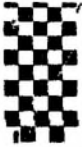
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Office of Speechwriting

Office:

[Redacted] (b)(6)

Cell:



~~MR. ROBINSON'S~~
EDIT

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Always a risk when countries are omitted. Japan, ROK -- even if they have not suffered casualties. List all 31?

Our coalition is grateful that the United Nations has reestablished its mission in Baghdad. We are grateful to the G-8 countries and the European Union for pledging support to the new Iraqi government. We are grateful to the NATO Alliance, which last June in Istanbul agreed to help train Iraqi forces. We are grateful to many of Iraq's creditors, which have agreed to a further reduction of Iraq's debt. Because all nations have an interest in the success of a free Iraq, I urge all nations to join in this vital cause.

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Drafted by:

(b)(6)

b(6)

Office of Speechwriting

Office:

(b)(6)

Cell:

~~CLOSE HOLD~~

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
CMN-FAX Cover Sheet
Message # 001284

9/22/2004 5:45 PM

FROM: Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz

OFFICE/DESK: OSD Cables

PHONE NO:

(b)(6)

b(6)

SUBJECT: Press Availability with Prime Minister Allawi (Draft # 4)

PAGES (including cover): 7

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~~CLOSE HOLD~~

Press Availability with Prime Minister Allawi
Thursday, September 23, 2004
Draft #4

Good morning. It is my honor to stand with the Prime Minister of a free and sovereign Iraq. Mr. Prime Minister, under your steady leadership, the Iraqi people are overcoming decades of tyranny and corruption – and moving day by day toward democracy. You have earned the support of Iraqis, and the respect of the United States. And I am proud to welcome you to the White House.

All the leaders of free Iraq are engaged in a great and historic enterprise. By their courage and commitment, they are bringing just government to Iraqis, and hope to others in a troubled region. As friends of liberty, the new leaders of Iraq are friends of America. And Mr. Prime Minister, America will stand with you until freedom and justice are secure in Iraq.

By any standard of history, the progress of Iraq has been swift and dramatic. Only 18 months ago, the Iraqi people lived in fear, under the violent rule of a dictator. That ruler's idea of effective government was to build palaces, allow the country's infrastructure to crumble, and fill prisons and mass graves. The dictator provided a safe haven for terrorists ... twice invaded his neighbors ... menaced the entire Middle East ... used weapons of mass destruction against his neighbors and his own people ... and for twelve years defied the just demands of the world. His removal brought deliverance to Iraqis, and greater security to America and our friends. ~~(No one who seeks peace should wish him back in power.)~~ ⁽¹⁾ *Wish a return to tyranny.*

Today, as the former dictator awaits trial, the Iraqi people are taking charge of their own affairs, and they are moving toward the first free, nationwide election in their country's history. Today, the Iraqi government poses no threat to its neighbors, and is fighting terrorist enemies with strength and resolve. Today, the nation of Iraq is emerging as an example of reform and progress to nations throughout the Middle East. And today, Iraq's prime minister is a respected world leader, bringing his country back into the community of nations. That is the progress of 18 months – a great tribute to the Iraqi people and our coalition.

At every stage, the Iraqi people have shown their determination to be free. Terrorists want Iraqis to turn against their legitimate government – yet the Iraqi people are strongly supporting their leaders. Terrorists attack Iraqi security forces – yet every day, more brave Iraqis volunteer to serve their country. Killers attempt to assassinate government officials – and Iraq's leaders have refused to be intimidated. Although many brave acts go unreported, the Iraqi people are showing their character, and winning their fight for freedom.

That fight is difficult. Remnants of the old regime are ruthless, and they are joined by terrorists who understand what is at stake in this struggle. Al-Qaida and other groups are attempting to create chaos and fear, because free government in Iraq will be a major defeat for the terrorist movement. A democratic government in Iraq will fight terrorists, and the advance of freedom and progress will turn people away from the despair and resentments that feed terror. Iraq's national election will be a decisive signal that democracy has put down permanent roots – and this is why terrorist attacks will likely escalate as that election approaches.

The Prime Minister and I realize that in the face of difficulties, some will surrender to their doubts. There is a certain cast of mind that will exaggerate every setback in Iraq, and minimize every achievement. Some will argue that freedom in Iraq is not worth it, and that the path of retreat is easier and less costly.

That argument is deeply mistaken. There is no safety in a pledge of retreat. First, this approach would betray our friends. And America will not betray our friends. Second, if we stopped fighting the terrorists in Iraq, they would not conclude that we are wise; they would ^{conclude} know that we are weak. And they would carry their hatreds and their missions of murder to America and other free nations. We are fighting the enemy in Iraq, because the advance of freedom will lead to peace for the Iraqi people, and for the broader Middle East. And we are fighting the enemy in Iraq so we ~~do not~~ ^{CAN PROTECT} have to face the enemy here at home.
 OUR WAY OF LIFE

I take a different approach than the doubters. I believe in the effectiveness and the integrity of Iraq's leaders – and Prime Minister Allawi is a fine example. I believe that the Iraqi people overwhelmingly desire democracy, and are capable of securing it. And I believe in the power of

liberty to transform lives and nations – because we have seen that power in our own history, and across the world.

We are moving forward with resolve, and with a clear, five-step plan: handing over authority to a sovereign Iraqi government ... helping establish security ... rebuilding Iraq's infrastructure ... encouraging more international support ... and moving toward a national election.

The first step was achieved on June 28th – ahead of schedule – when the coalition transferred full sovereignty to a government of Iraqi citizens.

The second step is to help Iraq's new government establish the stability and security that democracy requires. Throughout Iraq, coalition military and Iraqi security forces are engaging and attacking the terrorist enemy. And we will not relent until the threat is removed.

In the city of Najaf, a standoff was ended, a holy shrine was preserved, and government control has been restored. In Tal Afar, a violent insurgency was routed, and residents have seen a dramatic improvement in their quality of life. The city of Samarra is ~~once again~~ *coming back.* under the control of the Iraqi government, and insurgents are no longer roaming free and intimidating citizens. There are still problems in some cities, and the Prime Minister and I share a determination to address those problems by every necessary means. *Insert (B)*

In all of these instances, the Iraqi government has acted with both strength and wisdom. They have confronted the insurgents with determined force. ~~And~~ They have reached out to local populations to show them that the path to a better future is found in political participation and economic progress. *Insert (D)*

Iraq's security forces are taking increasing responsibility for defending their country. Iraqi soldiers, police officers and other security personnel now total nearly 100,000. With vital help from the NATO alliance and the American military, the equivalent of [a new battalion] is being trained every week. The Iraqi government is on track to ~~build a force of 270,000 fully trained and equipped security personnel~~ by the end of next year. *Insert (E); Insert (A)*

The third step in our plan is to continue improving Iraq's infrastructure, so that a free Iraq can gain economic independence and a

³
(E)

more than double the size of the force.

better quality of life. Despite attacks on infrastructure, Iraqi oil production has risen to 2.5 million barrels a day. Coalition forces also continue to help Iraqis rebuild schools and refurbish hospitals and health clinics, repair bridges, upgrade the electrical grid, and modernize the communications system. Last year, ~~my administration~~ ^{THE AMERICAN PEOPLE} committed 18 billion dollars to Iraq's reconstruction – and 3.5 billion dollars of that money was recently allocated to hundreds of construction projects that will generate employment, stimulate economic activity, and provide immediate assistance to needy areas.

(4) ✓

to help Iraqis build a new Iraq.

The fourth step in our plan is to enlist additional international support ⁽⁵⁾ ~~for Iraq's~~ transition to democracy. The multinational force of 31 nations continues to help secure a free Iraq. We remember the brave Americans killed and wounded on duty in Iraq. We also honor the citizens of Great Britain, Bulgaria, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Nepal, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Thailand and Ukraine, who have died in Iraq for the cause of freedom and the security of the world.

Turkey, Japan, Korea,

Our coalition is grateful to the United Nations, which has reestablished its mission in Baghdad. We are grateful to the G-8 countries, the European Union, and NATO for pledging support to the new Iraqi government. And we are grateful to many of Iraq's creditors, which have agreed to a further reduction of Iraq's debt.

We owe a special debt to Ambassador Sergio de Mello who gave his life for the

The fifth and most important step in our plan is to help Iraq conduct free, national elections no later than next January. In that election, the Iraqi people will choose a transitional national assembly. When the call went out for candidates to serve on the independent Iraqi Elections Commission, more than a thousand Iraqis stepped forward to serve. Seven were chosen, and those seven are drafting voting rules and overseeing the preparation for Iraq's election.

caused by a new Iraq.

Once again, the skeptics are doubting that elections are possible. The skeptics are wrong. At every stage in this process, the Iraqi people and their leaders have met the schedules they set, and faced their challenges with confidence. And they will do so again.

Mr. Prime Minister, today I want to leave you, and the nation you serve, with a clear message. The Iraqi people have not faltered in a time of

testing – and neither will America. Thank you for your leadership, and for honoring ~~us with your visit.~~ ALL THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN WITH YOUR PERSONAL COURAGE AND COMMITMENTS

6

Drafted by: [redacted] (b)(6) Office of Speechwriting

Office: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted] (b)(6)

b(6)

Insert A

But numbers are only part of the story. The quality of Iraqi training, leadership and equipment is also improving steadily, and that is the key to ultimate success.

The peaceful evacuation of the holy shrine in Najaf, for example, was possible only because Prime Minister Allawi had a credible capability to clear the shrine using Iraqi forces.

Insert B

Through a combination of political and military actions,

Insert C

For success to be enduring, it is important for Iraqi forces to take as much of the responsibility as possible; and their capacity to do so grows each week.

Insert D

And they have shown enormous courage and determination. Every Iraqi leader is the target of assassination attempts, and many have been killed. More than seven hundred Iraqi soldiers, police and National Guard have died fighting for a free Iraq. But they keep fighting and so must we.

- (E) - "more than double" -- leaves some flexibility; or say "more than 250,000"
- ① DELETE. RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS RETURN. If you hear ^{use} something like this, say "return to tyranny."
 - ② WE ARE NOT WEAK; THEY MAY CONCLUDE WE ARE WEAK BUT THEY CANNOT "KNOW" SOMETHING THAT IS NOT TRUE.
 - ③ WE MAY VERY WELL HAVE TO FACE THE ENEMY HERE AT HOME, FIGHTING IN IRAQ LESSENS THE LIKELIHOOD BUT DOES NOT GUARANTEE IT.
 - ④ SHOULD GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CREDIT FOR THEIR MONEY.
 - ⑤ "DEMOCRACY" IS MENTIONED MULTIPLE TIMES. COULD SUBSTITUTE "REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT", "FREEDOM", "FREE" TO BE MORE DESCRIPTIVE OF LIKELY SHORT TERM REALITIES.
 - ⑥ A MORE FITTING TRIBUTE TO A COURAGEOUS LEADER.

TRANSMISSION REPORT

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TIME SENT : SEP 22 17:51
DURATION : 13sec
MODE : SCANNER

PAGES : 7 sheets
RESULT : OK

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DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS

AGENCY	INDIVIDUAL NAME	OFFICE	ROOM NO.	PHONE NO.	FAX NO.
WHSR	(b)(6)				

~~CLOSE HOLD~~

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
CMN-FAX Cover Sheet
Message # 001284

9/22/2004 5:45 PM

FROM: Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz

OFFICE/DESK: OSD Cables

PHONE NO: (b)(6) b(6)

SUBJECT: Press Availability with Prime Minister Allawi (Draft # 4)

PAGES (including cover): 7

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS:

HOLD FOR NORMAL DUTY HOURS

IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM
2004 SEP 22 PM 5:50

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS

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WHSR	(b)(6)				

Comments:

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