

From: "DeFrancis, Suzy"
To: "Nagelmann, Sarah (CIV)" <nagelmanns@orha.centcom.mil>
Cc: "Daniel S. Senor" <senord@orha.centcom.mil>, "Kavanaugh, Brett M.", "Besanceney, Brian R."
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Sent: Mon, 6 Oct 2003 14:28:39 -0400
[Fixes to white house brochure2.doc](#)

Sarah--

We have reviewed all the Baghdad edits and found a number of discrepancies between figures we have used in Presidential speeches and radio addresses as well as testimony by Sec Rumsfeld. Can you please help us sort through with CPA what are the correct numbers? Most of the wording changes are fine and we can make them with exception of lines from POTUS speeches, etc. But it is the figures that seem to be over the lot in some sections. I have tried to annotate the source for the ones we used. Please work with Baghdad to see which ones we can continue to use and which we should change.

Also, Dan said we could get some of the graphics from the program used for the original CPA vision document (opening pg with CPA seal, some charts, and visuals for the dividing sections). Could you facilitate getting us those graphics please? Tx.

Any questions, please call me at 456-0180. Obviously we need all this ASAP. Thanks.

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

From: Senor, Daniel S. [<mailto:senord@orha.centcom.mil>]
Sent: Monday, October 06, 2003 10:11 AM
To: Nagelmann, Sarah (CIV); Nagelmann, Sarah, CIV, OSD; DeFrancis, Suzy
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Importance: High

Suzie,

Attached are the Baghdad edits. Sarah Nagelmann from the CPA office at the Pentagon will get everything in motion once the WH has signed off. DoD will handle mass printing of the document. In the interest of time, please communicate with her directly on this (just copy me).

What is the plan for the roll-out of the document?

Thanks!

Dan

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

From: LeCroy, Jessica (FS01)
Sent: Mon 10/6/2003 9:20 AM
To: Smith, Frederick C, Civ, OSD; Nagelmann, Sarah (CIV); Nagelmann, Sarah (CIV); Senor, Daniel S.
Cc: Benkert, Joseph, CIV, OSD-POLICY; Ellis, Mark, CIV, OSD-POLICY; Sulmeyer, Michael, CIV, OSD-POLICY
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review

Jessica LeCroy

Executive Assistant, CPA Administrator

Head of CPA Executive Secretariat

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

From: Kirk, David C. CIV

Sent: Sunday, October 05, 2003 2:44 PM

To: LeCroy, Jessica (FS01)

Cc: Thatcher, Gary (SES-2); O'Sullivan, Meghan L. GS-15 MCO; Slocombe, Walt B. (SES); Brand, Douglas, CIV; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Browning, Steve, CIV, OSD-POLICY; Polk, Robert B.; Rathmell, Andrew J. (GBR); Crane, Keith W. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Heatly, Charles (GBR CIV); Carpenter, Scott CIV Ministry of Governance; Powell, Owen C. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Bartlett, Joseph T. (SES); Horne, Nicholas J. (CIV); Goodwin, Robert, CIV, OASD(HA); Vogler, Gary; Holcomb, Gary B.; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Mutter, Michael N. (GBR CIV); Wolfe, George; Knight, Clarence E., OIG DoD; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Thompson, Gerald B. CIV; Evers, Williamson M. (SES); Trevillian, Robert; Martinez, Roman CIV Policy; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; CPA Ministries; Polk, Robert B.; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Justin C. Tyson; McManaway, Clayton

Subject: RE: Documents for CPA review

Importance: High

And here is the document.

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

From: Kirk, David C. CIV

Sent: Sunday, October 05, 2003 2:39 PM

To: LeCroy, Jessica (FS01)

Cc: Thatcher, Gary (SES-2); O'Sullivan, Meghan L. GS-15 MCO; Slocombe, Walt B. (SES); Brand, Douglas, CIV; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Browning, Steve, CIV, OSD-POLICY; Polk, Robert B.; Rathmell, Andrew J. (GBR); Crane, Keith W. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Heatly, Charles (GBR CIV); Carpenter, Scott CIV Ministry of Governance; Powell, Owen C. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Bartlett, Joseph T. (SES); Horne, Nicholas J. (CIV); Goodwin, Robert, CIV, OASD(HA); Vogler, Gary; Holcomb, Gary B.; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Mutter, Michael N. (GBR CIV); Wolfe, George; Knight, Clarence E., OIG DoD; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; Thompson, Gerald B. CIV; Evers, Williamson M. (SES); Trevillian, Robert; Martinez, Roman CIV Policy; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b; CPA Ministries; Polk, Robert B.

Subject: RE: Documents for CPA review

Jessica

Again, I should be grateful if you could pass this tracked change version of a much revised document back to Washington. I cannot promise that there will not be further comments – not everyone has managed to respond to e-mails.

But senior advisors and others who may wish now to check/comment further should note that time for any final amendment is now very short.

David

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

From: Kirk, David C. CIV

Sent: Friday, October 03, 2003 11:31 PM

To: Trevillian, Robert; Powell, Owen C. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b Bartlett, Joseph T. (SES); Horne, Nicholas J. (CIV); Goodwin, Robert, CIV, OASD(HA); Vogler, Gary; Holcomb, Gary B.; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b Mutter, Michael N. (GBR CIV); Wolfe, George; Knight, Clarence E., OIG DoD; McKnight, [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b Thompson, Gerald B. CIV; Evers, Williamson M. (SES)

Cc: Thatcher, Gary (SES-2); O'Sullivan, Meghan L. GS-15 MCO; Slocombe, Walt B. (SES); Brand, Douglas, CIV; [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b Browning, Steve, CIV, OSD-POLICY; Polk, Robert B.; Rathmell, Andrew J. (GBR); Crane, Keith W. (SES); [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b Heatly, Charles (GBR CIV); Carpenter, Scott CIV Ministry of Governance

Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review

Importance: High

Please let me have any comment, preferably in the form of text amendments, no later than 6pm tomorrow (Saturday), or let me know that you are content.

See e-mails below. Our White House colleagues have decided to rewrite again the pamphlet that was earlier commissioned from us (and then rewritten) to support the supplemental request. We need to check the facts and the policy statements. We have ourselves in this Office made a few changes and comments in track change mode already.

Most of you will quickly find the material that I am inviting you to consider and comment on as you see fit. Could our CJTF colleagues and Ali Tulbah (on behalf of the CIC) please consider the 'international' piece. (Is it CPA/USG stated policy that the UN 'should' help write the constitution, provide civil serviced training and help with the elections?)

The various references to charts to be included are, I understand, to the earlier brochure which we have already cleared.

I have already passed copies of the text to Gary Thatcher and Scott Carpenter.

David Kirk

Office of Policy Planning

1914-822-4860

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

From: Rathmell, Andrew J. (GBR)
Sent: Friday, October 03, 2003 10:02 PM
To: Kirk, Adam C. CIV; Crane, Keith W. (SES)
Cc: Polk, Robert B.
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Importance: High

My comments – our booklet was much better..

Andrew Rathmell
Office of Policy Planning
Coalition Provisional Authority - Baghdad
Room M239
tel: cell: (+)1 914 360 4912
DSN 318 239 5858
civ: (+) 1 781 280 5858

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

From: LeCroy, Jessica (FS01)
Sent: Friday, October 03, 2003 8:02 PM
To: Polk, Robert B.; Kirk, David C. CIV; b(3) 10 USC 130b
Cc: b(3) 10 USC 130b Justin C. Tyson
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Importance: High

Fyi, please see above.

Jessica LeCroy

Executive Assistant, CPA Administrator

Head of CPA Executive Secretariat

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

From: Lemmon, Justin
Sent: Friday, October 03, 2003 7:57 PM
To: LeCroy, Jessica (FS01)
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Importance: High

Jessica,

I asked for this document after Sarah mentioned a meeting on it today (and coordination with the White House). I told her that nobody has seen a document. I reminded Dan to send everything to the Exec Sec in the future. The brochure was killed by the White House and this is the document they recommend to replace it. Folks in DC need us to vet the numbers and basically provide our assessment of the document. They need our comments quickly. I spoke with Kennedy and he would like you to send this document to Polk and Tony McDonald for coordination.

Thanks,

Justin

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

From: Senor, Daniel S.
Sent: Friday, October 03, 2003 7:07 PM
To: Lemmon, Justin; McManaway, Clayton
Subject: FW: Documents for CPA review
Importance: High

Amb. McManaway,

Greetings from Supplemental-Staleated D.C. Hope you are well.

I preface this message by acknowledging that you must be at your wits end with these documents. But the White House assures me this is the last one. This is what they want to send to Members of Congress for distribution to their

constituents...that is, it's a communications document for the masses. This is what would be the new "brochure" document. If you could arrange for fact-checking and turn it around back to me as soon as possible, that would be great. We'll have everyone off our backs.

Thanks!

Dan

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

From: DeFrancis, Suzy [mailto:Suzy_DeFrancis@who.eop.gov]

Sent: Thu 10/2/2003 7:44 PM

To: Senor, Daniel S.

Cc: Besanceney, Brian R.

Subject: Documents for CPA review

Dan--

Attached is a cover letter and strategy document for review by CPA. Please check for facts, etc. Everything in here was taken from previous CPA documents, Rumsfeld testimony, or Presidential speeches--but it still needs a final scrub. We would also love to be able to use some of the artwork from the vision document to make this one come alive and more professional. As you know, we are trying to turn this around as quickly as possible to help impact the congressional debate on the supplemental. This should be considered a main street America document that can go to the general public as well. Thanks so much.

Securing, Stabilizing and Restoring Sovereignty to
The People of Iraq
A Strategy for Progress in Iraq

Goal:

The goal is a secure, peaceful and democratic Iraq that will stand against terrorism and no longer threaten America, the region or the world.

Strategy:

The strategy for achieving this goal has three main elements:

- 1) Provide a secure environment by taking direct action against terrorists and those attempting to undermine progress; and by restoring urgent and essential services to the country**
- 2) Expand international cooperation in the security and reconstruction of Iraq**
- 3) Accelerate the orderly transition to self-government by the Iraqi people**

1). Provide a Secure Environment

Taking Direct Action against the Terrorists

Iraq has become the central front in the war on terror. [Do we want to say this? It might appear to be a front that we had inadvertently created? This is from POTUS speech]

Remnants of Saddam Hussein's regime and terrorists from foreign countries are making a desperate stand in Iraq. Coalition forces are confronting them on the streets of Baghdad so we will not have to meet them on the streets of Brooklyn. [Does this mean that FRLs and Baathists were likely to undertake terrorism in NY or simply that jihadists find Iraq a more target-rich and permissive environment? Again, this is a reference POTUS, Sec Def have made often before re: terrorism in general]

- Coalition forces have conducted hundreds of raids, seizing caches of enemy weapons and massive amounts of ammunition that can no longer be used against our troops or innocent civilians. OK
- To date, 43 of the 55 most wanted former Iraqi leaders are dead or in custody, as well as thousands of other Baath loyalists and terrorists.
- The Coalition has made sure that Saddam Hussein will never again use weapons of mass destruction. To reveal the full extent of the weapons program, the Iraq Survey Group is interviewing Iraqi citizens and analyzing records of the old regime. [Check Kay report; I think they are still looking for facilities, stocks, etc. Will check Kay report]

- President Bush requested \$87 billion in emergency funds to fight the War on Terror in Iraq and Afghanistan. The vast majority of those funds (\$66 billion) will go to giving our troops the resources necessary to stay engaged in the war on terror and protect them from terrorist attacks. [This sentence supports splitting the request and is inconsistent with Bremer/Abizaid insistence that the \$22B is also to “support troops” by helping create conditions where they can do their job and leave. Will add line about that—but domestic audience also needs to know that bulk of funds in supp go to support the troops.]
- Included in the request for ongoing military operations is funding for armored Humvees to better protect our forces; life-saving body armor; equipment, weapons, ammunition, better housing for the troops, and enhanced pay to reflect the dangers and the hardships they face.

Building an Iraqi Security Force

Iraqis are eager to participate in their own security, and commanders in Iraq report that they are exceeding recruitment goals for these forces.

To relieve the burden on coalition forces, free them up for further raids against terrorists, and accelerate the transfer of power to the Iraqi people, Iraq must assume responsibility for its own security. To do so, the Coalition is taking steps to build an effective Iraqi police force, develop Iraqi security and border patrol forces; create a professional Iraqi army, and build a fair Iraqi system of justice.

Some 70,000 Iraqis now assist with security of their own country. [OK? Previous CPA documents and Sec DeF testimony 9-29-03; but radio address 10-4-03 says more than 80,000]The President has requested \$5 billion to help Iraqis assume increasing responsibility for the security of their own country.

- **Creating a professional Iraqi army** to help Iraqis replace Saddam’s army – an instrument of terror and aggression – with a professional force for maintaining peace and stability.
 - The new Iraqi Army’s first battalion of some 700 (we think the final number is 692 750 was used as recently as this weekend in POTUS radio address and previous CPA documents—is it no longer correct?)soldiers graduated on October 4, 2003.
 - The goal is to expand these forces to 9 brigades with about 40,000 troops OK by the end of 2004.
 - Units will reflect Iraq’s religious, regional, and ethnic mix, be non-political, under law-based civilian control, and a force for defense and security, not aggression and oppression. OK ; {The percentages are not right based on the final graduates (Kurd 21%, Shiite 28%, Sunni 21% and “Arab” 19% -- but, more important, this is too much detail for a paper like this and implies we will maintain this (or any other) percentage in the future OK.

- **Building an effective Iraqi police force** to relieve the burden on Coalition forces and create the necessary order for a stable society.
 - Almost 50,000 Iraqi police officers have been hired. (doesn't include traffic police) OK
 - The goal is to reach around 70,000 by the end of 2005. (again, no traffic police) Sec Def testimony 9-29-03 said training of 40,000 additional police. CPA strategic plans says 75,000... Which # do w we use]]
 - 40 of 69 cities are above 50% in number of police required, but shortages of equipment, vehicles and weapons continue.
 - International police trainers will provide support and on-the-job training.

- **Developing Iraqi security and border patrol forces** to relieve—and eventually replace—coalition forces at checkpoints where foreign terrorists are coming across borders to attack our troops.
 - Over 13,000 Iraqi border and customs personnel are now at work[POTUS radio address said border guard force of 4,700].
 - The goal is to expand the Department of Border Enforcement to some . 25,000 for all types of border/customs work

- **The Facilities Protection Service** now has 21,600 [POTUS radio address said over 12,000; figure was 17,922 by JCS in mid-Sept.] officers, and the goal is to expand to 45,000 in 2004. [But there is only money in the supp for about 20K. Think we should stick with what the supp would allow to be safe]] These officers will take over security from Coalition forces at fixed site locations, such as power lines, which have become key targets for sabotage.

- **The Iraqi Civil Defense Corps** is some 5,600 [POTUS radio address 10-03-03 said 2,500]strong, and the goal is to expand to over 15,000 in 2004. Iraqi citizens remain in their communities and are integrated into Coalition military units, providing much needed local intelligence to Coalition forces, while receiving on the job training in security patrolling.

- **Building a fair Iraqi justice system** to instill confidence in the rule of law after years of corrupt Baathist party rule.

A place of torture chambers and mass graves is becoming a nation of laws

- In September 2003, the new Iraqi Minister of Justice established an independent judiciary.
- Judges and prosecutors are being vetted and provided with rule of law training.
- A Central Criminal Court has been established to handle the most serious criminal cases; the Governing Council has expressed its intention to

expand the Court's jurisdiction to atrocities by officials of the former regime.

- 130 courthouses are being renovated.
- The decrepit prison system is being rebuilt and modernized in accordance with international standards, and new prisons are planned.
- The goal is to increase prison capacity to 20,000 [OK] within 12 months, and complete two new maximum security 4,000 [OK] capacity prisons within 48 months.
- Putting a would-be killer behind bars is just as important as increased body armor for U.S. troops. RPGs cannot be fired from within a prison. [But what do these sentences mean precisely/ Suggest better deleted. OK]

Restoring Urgent and Essential Services

As essential services are restored and the daily lives of Iraqis improve, security will improve and Iraqis will be able to generate the income needed to rebuild their country.

Decades of mismanagement and neglect by Saddam Hussein's regime, coupled with the effects of war, have left the Iraqi people without essential services at acceptable levels. Restoring and improving these basic services helps prevent unrest and keep Iraq from becoming another breeding ground for terrorism. [OK all edits]

The President has requested \$15 billion to speed repairs to Iraq's dilapidated infrastructure, and help the Iraqi people with the most basic of human needs.

- **Electricity**

- Electric power is currently at pre-war average levels.
- The goal is to surpass pre-war peak output levels of 4,400 MW during 2003, and 6,000 MW by summer 2004.

[INSERT CHART FROM pg 20 VISION DOCUMENT]

- **Oil Production:** Decades of poor maintenance coupled with looting and sabotage (in many cases from criminals released by Saddam pre-war) have crippled Iraq's oil industry. Repairing and securing Iraq's oil infrastructure will raise oil production and help establish an oil industry that is essential to Iraq's long-term economic development, making it less dependent on foreign assistance.

- Oil output is averaging 1.9 million barrels per day. The pre-war production capacity was 3 million barrels per day. [OK}
- The goal is to reach 2 million barrels per day by December 2003, and to reach sustainable pre-war capacity (3 million barrels per day) by the end of 2004.[OK]

- Iraq will receive approximately \$2.7 billion in oil revenue in 2003. With improvements to the infrastructure, it is estimated that Iraqi oil revenues should grow to about \$12 billion next year, and should reach roughly \$18.5 billion by 2005.[OK]

[INSERT CHART FROM pg.21 OF VISION DOCUMENT—CHECK FOR ACCURACY FIRST]

- **Water and Sanitation:** Under Saddam Hussein’s regime, water shortages and poor sanitation were constant problems for the people of Iraq. Remedying them is critical to supporting economic recovery and preventing disease.
 - Access to water and sewerage services have been restored to at least pre-war levels – and today, more Iraqis have access to clean water than before the war.
 - The goal is to provide potable water to 90 percent of the populations, up from the current 60 percent.
- **Food:** [This section might be better deleted.OK] Iraq’s ration system provides every Iraqi with basic food supplies, but it is very inefficient.
 - The Iraqi Governing Council will consider whether rations should be replaced by a cash system to give Iraqi families the freedom to purchase their own food.
 - Iraqi farmers and food producers would then compete against importers.
- **Health:** Under Saddam, one in eight Iraqi children died before the age of five and infant mortality was among the highest in the Arab world. Quality health care was reserved for Baath party officials and others connected to the regime. Today, working closely with the Iraqi Health Ministry and other Iraqi medical professionals, the Coalition is restoring and expanding basic health care services.
 - Every hospital in Iraq has been re-opened, and 95% of Iraq’s health clinics are open and accepting patients. In Basra, the second largest city in Iraq, the first children’s hospital will be built.
 - More than 22 million doses of vaccines to cover 4.2 million children and 700,000 pregnant women have been delivered [**CHECK # IS THIS CORRECT?**]. By the end of 2004, more than 90 percent of Iraqi children under age five will have been immunized against preventable diseases such as polio, tuberculosis and measles. There are no signs of epidemics.
 - The Coalition has increased distribution of pharmaceuticals by 700% since the end of the war.
 - Next year, the goal is to provide backup power systems to every Ministry of Health hospital in Iraq; provide medical-grade oxygen to all hospitals, and establish a healthcare facility replacement program.

- **Education:** Under Saddam Hussein, children were forced to learn regime propaganda and taught to hate enemies of the regime—including America. We are working with Iraqis to reform and improve the nation’s education system. Education will help the Iraqi people acquire the skills to develop their economy and reform their society.
 - Virtually all universities have been re-opened, and hundreds of secondary schools—some of which were used as weapons caches before the war—have been re-opened.
 - By the time school opened, over 1,000 schools had been refurbished with the help of 36,000 Iraqi workers.
 - Reprinted textbooks that no longer contain pro-Saddam propaganda are being provided.
 - Training has started that connects Iraqi teachers with effective teaching methods aimed at providing students with solid academic knowledge, understanding, reasoning skills, and familiarity with rights and responsibilities [OK all edits above]

Building a New Economy

A modern market economy will help Iraq to eventually pay for its needs.

Under Saddam Hussein, Iraq’s economy suffered from mismanagement and corruption, stultifying government controls and the squeezing out of private business in favor of state-owned corporations. A modern market economy will help the Iraqi people find jobs and assume more and more responsibility for their country’s economic development.

- Investments in electric power and oil that will help to increase future economic output.
- Some 5,000 small businesses have opened since the liberation [cannot confirm this figure Sec Def used in recent testimony and oped].
- The exchange rate has stabilized within the past month.
- Old notes picturing Saddam Hussein will be exchanged for a new national currency beginning October 15, 2003.
- The 2003 budget is being successfully implemented, and the 2004 budget is currently being considered.
- The central bank is up and operating, and the commercial banking system is being resuscitated.

The Governing Council of Iraq recently announced a package of dramatic economic reforms. These reforms will enable Iraq to have some of the most enlightened and inviting tax investment laws in the free world. Among the reforms are:

- An order on foreign direct investment that allows up to 100% foreign ownership in every sector other than natural resources;
- A new commercial banking law that will permit the entry of six foreign banks within the next five years, and an unlimited number of foreign banks to purchase up to 50% of local banks
- Income tax for individuals and businesses capped at 15%;
- A customs tariff on most goods capped at 5%; and

To empower Iraqis and assist the transition to a market economy, the Coalition is:

- Collecting funds from frozen and hidden accounts
- Establishing micro credit programs and enterprise funds to support new businesses
- Setting up job training and vocational programs

2) Expand International Cooperation

A free and stable Iraq is in the world's interest.

Terrorists in Iraq have attacked representatives of the civilized world, and opposing them must be the cause of the civilized world. The stakes in Iraq are high, for the Middle East and beyond. If freedom and progress falter in the Middle East, the region will continue to export violence that takes lives in America and around the world.

The coalition of nations now exercising authority [not 'sovereignty'] in Iraq is acting under international law and the authority provided by United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1483 and 1500. [NSC asked us to delete above line] This international support and cooperation has been essential to the progress being made in Iraq to date. Every effort is being made to expand that international co-operation.

- There are some 25 nations in the Coalition Provisional Authority.
- There are currently 33 [Sec Def did not include Australia in Sept. testimony...KEEP?]countries with troops in Iraq today. These include:

Albania	Macedonia
Australia	Moldova
Azerbaijan	Mongolia
Bulgaria	The Netherlands
The Czech Republic	New Zealand
Denmark	Nicaragua
The Dominican Republic	Norway
El Salvador	The Philippines
Estonia	Poland
Georgia	Portugal (soon to deploy)
Honduras	Romania
Hungary	Slovakia
Italy	Spain
Kazakhstan	Thailand
Korea	Ukraine
Latvia	The United Kingdom
Lithuania	

- 11 of the 19 NATO nations have already committed troops to Iraq.
- The U.S. is currently in discussions with 14 other countries that have expressed interest in sending forces.
- Coalition forces other than the United States have increased from 14,000 to 21,000 since May. U.S. troop levels have fallen by 12,000.
- The British and the Poles are leading two multinational divisions. The Polish Multinational Division in Babylon, which took over from the Marines, includes troops from 17 nations, with four more nations providing civil support.

- Already some 60 countries have made pledges or contributions of \$1.5 billion—and there are discussions with others who have expressed an interest. A major international donor conference is scheduled for October.
- **[CAN WE LIST SOME OF THE VARIOUS WAYS THEY DO CONTRIBUTE BEYOND MILITARY TROOPS. ANY SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO DATE? -** *There is an office in OSD Comptroller that tracks coalition contributions. E.g., vehicle donations, charter air, computer donations, etc. Dov Zakheim's assistant should be able to get this.]*

The United Nations can play a vital role in Iraq, and contribute greatly to the cause of Iraqi independence. America is now working with friends and allies on a new UN Security Council resolution that could expand the UN's role in Iraq.

- The UN might, for example, help to facilitate the constitutional process, the training of civil servants, and the holding of free and fair elections. Many UN members—from the Philippines to Poland and Germany—have expressed their commitment to helping build a democratic and stable Iraq.
- The UN is already carrying out vital and effective work in Iraq. By the end of 2004, UNICEF will help immunize more than 90 percent of Iraqi children. The World Food Program is helping to deliver nearly a half million tons of food per month in Iraq.

3) Transition to Self-government by the Iraqi People

Day to day operation of the Iraqi government is now in the hands of Iraqis.

For decades, the only government in Iraq was the brutal dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. The current constitution is a Hussein-dictated formula for tyranny. To move toward the goal of self-government by the Iraqi people, there must be an orderly and democratic process, and this process must unfold according to the needs of Iraqis.

Before free elections can be held, Iraq needs a new constitution, and it must be written by the Iraqi people. At present there are no election rolls, no election law, and no electoral districts. Electing a government without a permanent constitution defining and limiting government powers invites confusion and eventual abuse.

Seven Steps to Iraqi Independence

Decades of dictatorship have shattered Iraq's society, but Iraq's liberated population, with the help of the Coalition, is taking major steps toward democracy.

- 1) In July, a 25-member Iraqi Governing Council, broadly representative of Iraqi society was constituted. These brave men and women came forward willingly to help build a new Iraq.
- 2) In August, the Governing Council named a preparatory committee to determine how to write the constitution.
- 3) On September 1, the Governing Council announced the appointment of 25 cabinet ministers to run the day-to-day affairs of Iraq. This was an important step because now every Iraqi ministry is run by an Iraqi. These ministers conduct the business of government. They set policy.
- 4) On September 30, the preparatory committee produced a report for the Governing Council making recommendations on a process for writing a constitution.
- 5) Once written, the constitution will need to be ratified. It will be widely circulated, discussed and debated among the Iraqi people, and all adult Iraqis will have the opportunity to vote for or against it. For the first time in history, Iraq will have a permanent constitution written by and approved by the people.
- 6) [7 Steps based on Bremer oped in Wash Post]After the constitution is ratified by popular vote, there will be an open election to fill the elective offices specified in the constitution.
- 7) Once Iraq has a freely elected government, the Coalition Provisional Authority will yield the remainder of its authority to the sovereign Iraqi government.

Representative Government at the Local Level [this section might precede the former to show the grass roots level government transitioning to full national sovereignty].

- The majority of towns and cities in Iraq have functioning local governments. [We do not know the percentage of towns or cities with elected local councils – much

- less than 50%. Perhaps some 60% are known to have local government structures that have been set up since the end of major hostilities.[Recent CPA documents have said that over 85 percent of all towns and cities now have elected local councils, and POTUS address the nation used the more than 90 percent of towns and cities in Iraq have functioning local governments—KEEP?]]
- In each of Baghdad's 88 neighborhoods, citizens have freely selected representatives for local governing councils. They, in turn, choose members of 9 District Councils and a 37-member City Council. All told, over 700 democratically selected Council Members are now hard at work serving their fellow citizens. They include Sunnis, Shias, Christians, Arabs and Kurds—and more than 75 women.

Building Respect for Human Rights and Justice:

The liberation of Iraq put an end to Saddam Hussein's torture chambers, rape rooms, prison cells for children and mass graves. No longer will he threaten his own people or the world with weapons of mass destruction. Now a society once gripped by fear is learning to respect human rights and justice.

- A Human Rights Ministry was established on September 1, 2003.
- Human rights are being promoted through civic education
- A human rights archive is being developed, and the Coalition is assisting in the investigation of mass graves.
- The Ministry of Justice recently reappointed eight Supreme Court Justices who had been removed from the Court for failing to enforce Saddam's notion of justice.
- More than 300 independent Iraqi courts are now open and hearing cases, and every day progress is being made to develop a judiciary rooted in the principles of human rights and due process.

Cultivating Freedom of Speech:

A free press is flourishing in Iraq and is daily demonstrating to Iraqi people the importance of their new freedoms.

- Today, there are over 160 newspapers being published and sold at hundreds of news kiosks around Baghdad.
- The Governing Council holds regular press events, and the new Iraqi ministers are instituting regular press conferences.

This burgeoning free press will help ensure the success of a freely elected representative government in Iraq and will serve as a model to the rest of the Arab world.

Conclusion

A free Iraq, at the heart of the Middle East, will benefit America and the world by undermining the ideologies that export violence and terrorism to America and other lands.

In the past five months we have made steady progress in Iraq toward our objectives. The faster we make further progress, in close partnership with the Iraqi people, the safer both Iraq and America will be.. [OK]

The President's budget request will provide the resources necessary to ensure Iraq's stability and to give its people the economic and political infrastructure needed to transform Iraq into an example of progress and democracy.

All of the proposals in the budget request will help fulfill these crucial needs:

- Provide the Iraqi people with the tools to take over their own security;
- Establish basic living standards—that did not exist under Saddam Hussein—so terrorists and extremists cannot capitalize on poverty and despair; and
- Create an environment for private investment so Iraq can be set on a path to economic independence, and not be dependent on outside assistance.

By approving the President's budget request, Congress and the American people will be making an investment that will improve the safety of our troops, bring them home sooner, and hasten the day when the Iraqi people will assume full responsibility for their country's future.

[GRAPHIC OF SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST FROM VISION DOC]