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Remarks at the National Defense University  
Tuesday, March 8, 2005  
Draft #7

Thank you for the warm welcome to this fine university. Many great military leaders of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, from Dwight Eisenhower<sup>1</sup> to Colin Powell,<sup>2</sup> studied on this campus. And today, the National Defense University is training a new generation of leaders who will serve and defend

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<sup>1</sup> “President (the Army Major) Dwight D. Eisenhower graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces (then the Army Industrial College), in 1933” List of Distinguished Graduates from NDU. Provided by Dave Thomas, Director, Public Affairs, National Defense University (202) 685-3140.

<sup>2</sup> “The Honorable Colin L. Powell graduated from the National War College in 1976.” List of Distinguished Graduates from NDU. Provided by Dave Thomas, Director, Public Affairs, National Defense University (202) 685-3140.

<sup>3</sup> **The National Defense University educates military and civilian leaders through teaching, research, and outreach in national security strategy, national military strategy, and national resource strategy; joint and multinational operations; information strategies, operations, and resource management; acquisition; and regional defense and security studies.**

**Vision**

The National Defense University: an information age university for national security leaders; a learning organization founded on knowledge management; the center of excellence and innovation for professional military education in joint, multinational, and interagency operations.

**Mission**

National Defense University is responsible for the following:

- Prepare selected commissioned officers and civilian officials from the Department of Defense, Department of State, and other agencies of the Government for command, management, and staff responsibilities in a multinational, intergovernmental, and joint national security setting. The curricula of the two senior Colleges—the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the National War College—emphasize the development and implementation of national security strategy and military strategy, mobilization, acquisition, management of resources, information and information technology for national security, and planning for joint and combined operations. A select group of students participates in the Information Strategy Concentration Program. In addition to mission-specific education, the Colleges emphasize developing executive skills.
- Prepare, through the Joint Forces Staff College curriculum, mid-career officers for joint and combined staff duty.
- Promote, through the Information Resources Management College, excellence in information resources management education for executive users of information systems at senior and intermediate levels.
- Provide, through the Institute for National Strategic Studies, research and gaming resources and symposia for the benefit of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the National Defense University, and other Federal departments and agencies involved in national security.
- Conduct short-range and long-range studies of national security policy, military strategy, the allocation and management of resources for national security, and civil-military affairs. Associated research is centered on College missions and is relevant to Joint Staff and Office of the Secretary of Defense study requirements. A goal of University research is to create a national repository of expertise on mobilization, military strategy, and joint or combined policy and plans.
- Promote understanding and teamwork among the Armed Forces and between those agencies of the Government and industry that contribute to national security.

National Defense University, Mission and Vision of NDU (<http://www.ndu.edu/info/mission.cfm>)

this Nation in this new century.<sup>3</sup> Americans are grateful for your devotion to duty – and so is your Commander-in-Chief.

## Acknowledgments

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We meet at a time of great consequence for the security of our Nation ... a time when the defense of freedom requires the advance of freedom ... a time with echoes in our history.

Twice in six decades, a sudden attack on the United States launched our country into a global conflict, and began a period of serious reflection on America's place in the world.<sup>4</sup> The bombing of Pearl Harbor taught America that unopposed tyranny,<sup>5</sup> even on far-away continents, could draw

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<sup>4</sup> The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941 brought the United States into the Second World War. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, September 11, 2001, bringing the United States into the Global War on Terror, occurred nearly 60 years apart.

<sup>5</sup> A reference to the Fascists that came to power in Italy in the 1920s, to the Nazis that came to power in Germany in the 1930s, and to the Militarists that came to power in Japan in the 1930s. The weakness of the League of Nations and "Appeasement" on the part of Britain and France encouraged the aggression of these regimes and helped bring about the Second World War. **"In 1922, Benito Mussolini came to power and, over the next few years, eliminated political parties, curtailed personal liberties, and installed a fascist dictatorship termed the Corporate State. The king, with little or no effective power, remained titular head of state. Italy allied with Germany and declared war on the United Kingdom and France in 1940. In 1941, Italy--with the other Axis powers, Germany and Japan--declared war on the United States and the Soviet Union."** Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, "Background Note: Italy" (November 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4033.htm>). "The postwar Weimar Republic (1919-33) was a peaceful, liberal democratic regime. This government was severely handicapped and eventually doomed by economic problems and the rise of the political extremes. The hyperinflation of 1923, the world depression that began in 1929, and the social unrest stemming from resentment toward the conditions of the Versailles Treaty worked to destroy the Weimar government. **The National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led by Adolf Hitler, stressed nationalist and racist themes while promising to put the unemployed back to work. The party blamed many of Germany's ills on the alleged influence of Jewish and non-German ethnic groups. The party also gained support in response to fears of growing communist strength. In the 1932 elections, the Nazis won a third of the vote. In a fragmented party structure, this gave the Nazis a powerful parliamentary caucus, and Hitler was asked to form a government. He quickly declined. The Republic eroded and Hitler had himself nominated as Reich Chancellor January 1933. After President Paul von Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler assumed that office as well. Once in power, Hitler and his party first undermined and then abolished democratic institutions and opposition parties. The Nazi leadership immediately jailed Jewish opposition and other figures and withdrew their political rights. The Nazis implemented a program of genocide, at first through incarceration and forced labor and then by establishing death camps. Nazi revanchism and expansionism led to World War II, which resulted in the destruction of Germany's political and economic infrastructures and led to its division."** Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, "Background Note: Germany" (February 2005) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3997.htm>). "During the 1920s, Japan progressed toward a democratic

our country into a struggle for our own survival. And our reflection on that lesson led us to help build peaceful democracies on the ruins of tyranny<sup>6</sup> ...

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system of government. However, parliamentary government was not rooted deeply enough to withstand the economic and political pressures of the 1930s, during which military leaders became increasingly influential. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo. In 1933, Japan resigned from the League of Nations. The Japanese invasion of China in 1937 followed Japan's signing of the "anti-Comintern pact" with Nazi Germany the previous year and was part of a chain of developments culminating in the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941." Department of State, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, "Background Note: Japan (October, 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4142.htm>)

<sup>6</sup> **"Italy has been a democratic republic since June 2, 1946, when the monarchy was abolished by popular referendum.** The constitution was promulgated on January 1, 1948. The Italian state is centralized. The prefect of each of the provinces is appointed by and answerable to the central government. In addition to the provinces, the constitution provides for 20 regions with limited governing powers. Five regions--Sardinia, Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige, Valle d'Aosta, and Friuli-Venezia Giulia--function with special autonomy statutes. The other 15 regions were established in 1970 and vote for regional "councils." The establishment of regional governments throughout Italy has brought some decentralization to the national governmental machinery, and recent governments have devolved further powers to the regions. However, many regional governments, particularly in the north of Italy, are seeking additional powers. The 1948 constitution established a bicameral parliament (Chamber of Deputies and Senate), a separate judiciary, and an executive branch composed of a Council of Ministers (cabinet), headed by the president of the council (prime minister). The president of the republic is elected for 7 years by the parliament sitting jointly with a small number of regional delegates. The president nominates the prime minister, who chooses the other ministers. The Council of Ministers--in practice composed mostly of members of parliament--must retain the confidence of both houses. The houses of parliament are popularly and directly elected by a mixed majoritarian and proportional representation system. Under 1993 legislation, Italy has single-member districts for 75% of the seats in parliament; the remaining 25% of seats are allotted on a proportional basis. The Chamber of Deputies has 630 members. In addition to 315 elected members, the Senate includes former presidents and several other persons appointed for life according to special constitutional provisions. Both houses are elected for a maximum of 5 years, but either may be dissolved before the expiration of its normal term. Legislative bills may originate in either house and must be passed by a majority in both." Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, "Background Note: Italy" (November 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4033.htm>); **"The [German] government is parliamentary, and a democratic constitution emphasizes the protection of individual liberty and division of powers in a federal structure. The chancellor (prime minister) heads the executive branch of the federal government.** The duties of the president (chief of state) are largely ceremonial; the chancellor exercises executive power. The Bundestag (lower, principal chamber of the parliament) elects the chancellor and cannot remove the chancellor from office during a 4-year term unless it has agreed on a successor. The president is elected every 5 years on May 23 by the Federal Assembly, a body convoked only for this purpose, comprising the entire Bundestag and an equal number of state delegates." Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, "Background Note: Germany" (February 2005) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3997.htm>). **"After the war, Japan was placed under international control of the Allies through the Supreme Commander, Gen. Douglas MacArthur. U.S. objectives were to ensure that Japan would become a peaceful nation and to establish democratic self-government supported by the freely expressed will of the people. Political, economic, and social reforms were introduced, such as a freely elected Japanese Diet (legislature) and universal adult suffrage. The country's constitution took effect on May 3, 1947. The United States and 45 other Allied nations signed the Treaty of Peace with Japan in September 1951. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty in March 1952, and under the terms of the treaty, Japan regained full sovereignty on April 28, 1952. Japan is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government. There is universal adult suffrage with a secret ballot for all elective offices.** The executive branch is responsible to the Diet, and the judicial branch is independent. Sovereignty, previously embodied in the emperor, is vested in the Japanese people, and the Emperor is

to unite free nations in the NATO Alliance<sup>7</sup> ... and to establish a firm commitment to peace in the Pacific that continues to this day.

The attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 also revealed the outlines of a new world. In one way, that assault was the culmination of decades of escalating violence – from the killing of U.S. Marines in Beirut,<sup>8</sup> to the bombing at the World Trade Center,<sup>9</sup> to the attacks on American embassies in Africa,<sup>10</sup> and the *USS Cole* in the port of Aden.<sup>11</sup> In another

defined as the symbol of the state. Japan's Government is a parliamentary democracy, with a House of Representatives and a House of Councillors. Executive power is vested in a cabinet composed of a prime minister and ministers of state, all of whom must be civilians. The prime minister must be a member of the Diet and is designated by his colleagues. The prime minister has the power to appoint and remove ministers, a majority of whom must be Diet members." Department of State, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, "Background Note: Japan (October, 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4142.htm>)

<sup>7</sup> "When President George W. Bush welcomed NATO's newest members at the accession ceremony at the White House on March 29, 2004, **he noted that unity and commitment to freedom had carried the Alliance to victory in the Cold War and would do so again in the war against terror.**" Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs, "The U.S. & NATO: An Alliance of Purpose" (June 2004) (<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0604/ijpe/ijpe0604.htm#intro>)

<sup>8</sup> "In August 1996, Bin Ladin had issued his own self-styled fatwa calling on Muslims to drive American soldiers out of Saudi Arabia. The long, disjointed document condemned the Saudi monarchy for allowing the presence of an army of infidels in a land with the sites most sacred to Islam, and celebrated recent suicide bombings of American military facilities in the Kingdom. **It praised the 1983 suicide bombing in Beirut that killed 241 U.S. Marines**, the 1992 bombing in Aden, and especially the 1993 firefight in Somalia after which the United States "left the area carrying disappointment, humiliation, defeat and your dead with you." *The 9-11 Commission Report Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (Washington, 2004), p. 48

<sup>9</sup> "In this period, **other prominent attacks in which Bin Ladin's involvement is at best cloudy are the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center**, a plot that same year to destroy landmarks in New York, and the 1995 Manila air plot to blow up a dozen U.S. airliners over the Pacific." *The 9-11 Commission Report Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (Washington, 2004), p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> "**On the morning of August 7, the bomb-laden trucks drove into the embassies roughly five minutes apart—about 10:35 A.M. in Nairobi and 10:39 A.M. in Dar es Salaam.** Shortly afterward, a phone call was placed from Baku to London. The previously prepared messages were then faxed to London.<sup>92</sup> The attack on the U.S. embassy in Nairobi destroyed the embassy and killed 12 Americans and 201 others, almost all Kenyans. About 5,000 people were injured. The attack on the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam killed 11 more people, none of them Americans. Interviewed later about the deaths of the Africans, Bin Ladin answered that "when it becomes apparent that it would be impossible to repel these Americans without assaulting them, even if this involved the killing of Muslims, this is permissible under Islam." Asked if he had indeed masterminded these bombings, Bin Ladin said that the World Islamic Front for jihad against "Jews and Crusaders" had issued a "crystal clear" fatwa. If the instigation for jihad against the Jews and the Americans to liberate the holy places "is considered a crime," he said, "let history be a witness that I am a criminal." *The 9-11 Commission Report Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (Washington, 2004), p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> "The attack on **USS COLE (DDG 67)**, in the port of Aden, Yemen, on 12 October 2000,

way, September 11<sup>th</sup> provided a warning of future dangers – of terror networks aided by outlaw regimes ... and ideologies that incite the murder of the innocent ... and biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons that multiply destructive power.

Like an earlier generation, America is answering new dangers with a firm resolve: No matter how long it takes, no matter how difficult the task, we will fight the enemy, and lift the shadow of fear, and lead free nations to victory.

Like an earlier generation, America is also pursuing a clear strategy with our allies to achieve that victory.

Our immediate strategy is to eliminate terrorist threats abroad, so we do not have to face them here at home. The theory here is straightforward: terrorists are less likely to endanger our security if they are worried about their own security. When terrorists spend their days struggling to avoid death or capture, they are less capable of arming and training to commit new attacks. We will keep the terrorists on the run, until they have nowhere left to hide.

In three and a half years, we have waged a campaign of global scale – from the mountains of Afghanistan, to the border regions of Pakistan, to the Horn of Africa, to the islands of the Philippines, to the plains of North Central Iraq.<sup>12</sup> The al-Qaida terror network that attacked our country still has leaders – but many of its top commanders have been removed.<sup>13</sup> There are still governments that sponsor and harbor terrorists – but their number has declined. There are still regimes seeking weapons of mass destruction -- but no longer without attention and without consequence.

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demonstrated a seam in the fabric of efforts to protect our forces, namely in-transit forces. Our review was focused on finding ways to improve the US policies and practices for deterring, disrupting and mitigating terrorist attack on US forces in transit.” Department of Defense, USS COLE COMMISSION REPORT, 9 January 2001, Executive Summary (<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/cole20010109.html>)

<sup>12</sup> “We are waging a global campaign from the mountains of Central Asia to the deserts of the Middle East, and from the Horn of Africa to the Philippines.” Remarks by the President in Burlington County, New Jersey, Evesham Recreation Center, Marlton, New Jersey, October 18, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/10/20041018-11.html>)

<sup>13</sup> “The al Qaeda terror network that attacked our country still has leaders -- but many of its top commanders have been removed.” The State of the Union Address, Chamber of the U.S. House of Representatives, The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., February 2, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050202-11.html>)

Our country is still the target of terrorists who want to kill many, and intimidate us all – and we will stay on the offensive against them, until the fight is won.<sup>14</sup>

Members of our military are undertaking difficult missions, in some of the most dangerous and desolate parts of the world. These volunteers know the risks they face, and they know the cause they serve. As one Marine sergeant put it, “I never want my children to experience what we saw in New York, at the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania.” He said, “If we can eliminate whatever threat we can on foreign soil, I would rather do it there than have it come home to us.”<sup>15</sup> In this vital cause, some of our men and women in uniform have fallen ... some have returned home with terrible injuries ... and all who sacrifice have the permanent gratitude of our country.

In this war on terror, America is not alone. Many governments have awakened to the dangers we share and have begun to take serious action. Global terror requires a global response, and America is more secure today because dozens of other countries have stepped up to the fight.<sup>16</sup> We are

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<sup>14</sup> “There are still governments that sponsor and harbor terrorists -- but their number has declined. There are still regimes seeking weapons of mass destruction -- but no longer without attention and without consequence. Our country is still the target of terrorists who want to kill many, and intimidate us all -- and we will stay on the offensive against them, until the fight is won.” The State of the Union Address, Chamber of the U.S. House of Representatives, The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., February 2, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050202-11.html>)

<sup>15</sup> Sgt. Nicholas Pascuzzi, a Primary Marksmanship Instructor at WTBn., spent his first month in Iraq serving as the regimental commander’s vehicle commander and was responsible for the employment of crew served weapons during combat patrols and convoys.... Pascuzzi, who previously served in Kosovo with 1st Bn., 8th Marines and was deployed to Kuwait and Qatar in 1998, said he volunteered for duty in Iraq because he regretted not being able to join his former unit for the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom. “My Marines with 1/8 were among the first (battalion landing teams) to cross from Kuwait,” said Pascuzzi. “I felt a little scornful for not being with them.” Pascuzzi said he was also motivated by a desire to take the fight directly to terrorists following the terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. **“I never want my children to experience what we saw in New York, at the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania,” said Pascuzzi. “If we can eliminate whatever threat we can on foreign soil, I would rather do it there than have it come here to us.”** United States Marine Corp, “Quantico Marines return from Iraq after tour of duty,” Submitted by MCB Quantico, *Marine Corps News*, November 10, 2004 (<http://www.marines.mil/marinelink/mcn2000.nsf/0/58560c90d27e934f85256f4a0047408f?OpenDocument>)

<sup>16</sup> “Third, to win the war on terror, America must work with allies and lead the world with clarity. And that is exactly what we are doing. The flags of 64 nations fly at U.S. Central Command Headquarters in Tampa, Florida, representing coalition countries that are working openly with us in the war on terror. (Applause.) Dozens more are helping quietly in important ways. Today, all 26 NATO nations have personnel either in Iraq, Afghanistan, or both. America’s allies are standing with us in the war on terror, and we are grateful”

more secure because Pakistani forces captured more than one hundred extremists across the country last year – including several who were plotting attacks against the United States.<sup>17</sup> We are more secure because Britain arrested an al-Qaida operative who had provided detailed casing reports on American targets to senior al-Qaida leaders.<sup>18</sup> We are more secure because German authorities arrested extremists who were planning attacks against U.S. and Coalition targets in Iraq.<sup>19</sup> We are more secure because the Philippines' new Anti-Terrorism Task Force has helped capture 67 terrorist suspects – including seven members of al-Qaida and affiliated networks.<sup>20</sup> We are more secure because Poland is leading a 19-nation Multi-National Division in Iraq<sup>21</sup> – and forces from 15 countries have given their lives in the struggle against terrorists and insurgents.<sup>22</sup>

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Remarks by the President in Burlington County, New Jersey, Evesham Recreation Center, Marlton, New Jersey, October 18, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/10/20041018-11.html>)

<sup>17</sup> “The Pakistanis last year captured more than 100 extremists, including several al-Qaida members who were involved in plotting to attack the U.S. homeland and Western interests world-wide. The cost to Pakistan has been high: It has suffered more than 700 casualties, including approximately 160 killed, while targeting extremists.” Information provided by Timothy J. Hadden, NSC (X69361)

<sup>18</sup> Asked NSC for confirmation and documentation.

<sup>19</sup> *Note: It is not clear from the documentation provided by NSC that Western interests in Iraq is identical to Western interest. We have asked David Shedd, Tim Hadden, and Michel Malvesti of NSC to confirm the language.* “Germany is maintaining continuous pressure on extremists. It has made a series of raids throughout country in recent months, modified its terrorism laws in the post-9/11 period, and is implementing these laws strenuously, as evidenced by recent arrest (January 23) of two alleged terrorists plotting activities against US and Western interests in Iraq.” Information provided by Michele Malvesti, NSC (X6937)

<sup>20</sup> “In 2004, the Philippine government created a multi-agency AntiTerrorism Task Force (ATTF), which proved itself immediately effective by working with law enforcement to capture 67 suspected terrorists during its first five months in existence. Seven of those captured were believed to be elements of al-Qaida and Jemaah Islamiyah.” Information provided by Michele Malvesti, NSC (X6937)

<sup>21</sup> We are having this checked through Joint Staff/NMCC with current data.

<sup>22</sup> We are having this checked through Joint Staff/NMCC with current data. We assume, from the context of the paragraph, that the list includes nations that have lost forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. The Speech in New Jersey in October mentioned 14 nations that lost forces in Iraq. “THE PRESIDENT: He has dismissed the sacrifice of 14 nations that have lost forces in Iraq...” Remarks by the President in Burlington County, New Jersey, Evesham Recreation Center, Marlton, New Jersey, October 18, 2004 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/10/20041018-11.html>) Bill McGurn told me that the 15<sup>th</sup> is Iraq.

Our allies in the war on terror are making tough decisions, taking risks, and losing lives. These countries have proven themselves trusted friends and reliable allies. So I urge the Congress to pass the 400 million dollar Solidarity Initiative I have proposed to stand by the countries that are standing with us in the war on terror.<sup>23</sup>

The third element of our strategy to keep the peace in the longer term is to help change the conditions that give rise to extremism and terror, especially in the broader Middle East. Parts of that region have been caught for generations in a cycle of tyranny, despair, and radicalism.<sup>24</sup> When a dictatorship controls the political life of a country, responsible opposition cannot develop, and dissent is driven underground and toward the extreme. And to draw attention away from their social and economic failures, dictators place blame on other countries and other races, and stir the hatred that leads to violence. This status quo of despotism and anger cannot be ignored or appeased, kept in a box or bought off – because we have witnessed how the violence in that region can reach easily across borders and oceans. The entire world has an urgent interest in the progress, and hope, and freedom of the broader Middle East.<sup>25</sup>

The advance of hope in the Middle East requires new thinking in the region. By now it should be clear that dictatorial rule – either by military

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<sup>23</sup>**“The President intends to ask Congress to support \$400 million in additional funding to strengthen the capabilities of our partners to advance democracy and stability around the world. These funds, which the Administration will seek in the supplemental budget request, reflect the principle that an investment in a partner in freedom today will help ensure that America will stand united with stronger partners in the future.** This assistance will support nations that have deployed troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as other partners promoting freedom around the world. As President Bush has said, “the best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.” Our closest partners agree. For many of these partners, now vibrant democracies and staunch allies, the tragedy of tyranny is a painful chapter in their own recent histories. They understand the value of freedom, and are delivering on their strong commitment to fostering democracy at home by helping to advance freedom and stability abroad. Today, the President met with one of our strongest partners in freedom, President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland. The Solidarity Initiative will assist nations such as Poland, which have taken political and economic risks in order to act on their convictions, to develop and sustain the capabilities needed to do so. Congress has consistently supported our partners in freedom in the past. We urge continued Congressional support for these partners in the future.” The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Statement on Solidarity Initiative to Support our Partners in Freedom, February 9, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050209-7.html>)

<sup>24</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).”

<sup>25</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

juntas or theocrats – is not the wave of the future; it is the last gasp of a discredited past.<sup>26</sup> It should be clear that free nations escape stagnation, and grow stronger with time, because they encourage the creativity and enterprise of their people. It should be clear that economic progress requires political modernization, including honest representative government and the rule of law. And it should be clear that no society can advance with only half of its talent and energy – and that demands the full participation of women.

The advance of hope in the Middle East also requires new thinking in the capitals of great democracies – including Washington, D.C. By now it should be clear that decades of excusing and accommodating tyranny, in the pursuit of stability, have only led to injustice, instability, and tragedy.<sup>27</sup> It should be clear that the advance of democracy leads to peace, because governments that respect the rights of their people also respect the rights of their neighbors. It should be clear that the best antidote to radicalism and terror is the tolerance and hope kindled in free societies. And our duty is now clear: For the sake of our long-term security, all free nations must stand with the forces of democracy and justice that have begun to transform the Middle East.

Encouraging democracy in that region is a generational commitment.<sup>28</sup> It is also a difficult commitment, demanding patience and resolve, when the headlines are good and when they are not. Freedom has determined enemies, who show no mercy for the innocent, and no respect for the rules of warfare. Many societies in the region struggle with poverty and illiteracy<sup>29</sup> ... many rulers in the region have longstanding habits of control<sup>30</sup> ... and many people in the region have deeply ingrained habits of fear.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>27</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121) and Jean Geran, NSC, (X69141).

<sup>28</sup> Confirmed by Jean Geran, NSC, (X69141).

<sup>29</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>30</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>31</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

For all these reasons, the chances for democratic progress in the broader Middle East have seemed frozen in place for decades.<sup>32</sup> Yet at last, clearly and suddenly, the thaw has begun. The people of Afghanistan have embraced free government, after suffering under one of the most backward tyrannies on earth.<sup>33</sup> The voters of Iraq defied threats of murder, and have set their country on a path to full democracy.<sup>34</sup> The people of the Palestinian Territory cast their ballots against the violence and corruption of the past.<sup>35</sup> And any who doubt the appeal of freedom in the Middle East can look to the tent city in Beirut, Lebanon<sup>36</sup>, where protestors will accept

<sup>32</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121) and Jean Geran, NSC, (X69141).

<sup>33</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>34</sup> "Some European nations joined the fight to liberate Iraq, while others did not. Yet all of us recognize courage when we see it -- and we saw it in the Iraqi people. And all nations now have an interest in the success of a free and democratic Iraq, which will fight terror, which will be a beacon of freedom, and which will be a source of true stability in the region. In the coming months, Iraq's newly elected assembly will carry out the important work of establishing a government, providing security, enhancing basic services, and writing a democratic constitution. **Now is the time for established democracies to give tangible political, economic and security assistance to the world's newest democracy.**" President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>35</sup> **"I am heartened by today's strong turnout in the Palestinian elections. Palestinians throughout the West Bank and Gaza took a key step toward building a democratic future by choosing a new president in elections that observers describe as largely free and fair.** This is a historic day for the Palestinian people and for the people of the Middle East. America and all free nations strongly support the efforts of the Palestinian people to create lasting democratic institutions. These efforts -- including today's presidential elections and the parliamentary elections that will follow in several months -- are essential for the establishment of a sovereign, independent, viable, democratic, and peaceful Palestinian state that can live alongside a safe and secure Israel. **These elections are further proof that when given a choice, all peoples seek to live in liberty and to choose their own government.**" President's Statement on Palestinian Elections, January 9, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050109.html>).

<sup>36</sup> **NOTE: This will need to be checked on Monday with Elliott Abrams to make sure this is still accurate.** "Throughout the past week, mass street protests Beirut have denounced Syrian influence in the country. **More than 25,000 Lebanese have flooded the streets all week, and the demonstrations have become a tent-city protest in the heart of the capital.**" "World waits for Syria's move: Some nations expect word of withdrawal from Lebanon," Contra Costa Times, March 5, 2005. "The Lebanese masses have taken up the cry for democracy, just like the masses in the Ukraine a fortnight and more ago. **A tent city grows in Beirut's Martyrs Square at the tomb of Rafik Hariri, the former Lebanese prime minister who was slain by a person or persons unknown** - believed by nearly everyone to be a person or persons of sinister Syrian ancestry and citizenship." Wesley Pruden, "The earth moves, thousands cheer," *The Washington Times*, March 1, 2005. **"So now we have mass demonstrations on the streets of Beirut. A tent city is rising up near the crater where Rafik Hariri was killed, and the inhabitants are refusing to leave until Syria withdraws.** The crowds grow in the evenings; bathroom facilities are provided by a nearby Dunkin' Donuts and a Virgin Megastore." DAVID BROOKS, "Why Not Here?" *The New York Times*, February 26, 2005.

nothing less than a free, independent nation. In the words of one Lebanese observer<sup>37</sup>, “Democracy is knocking at the door of this country and, if it’s successful in Lebanon, it is going to ring the doors of every Arab regime.”<sup>38</sup>

Across the Middle East, a critical mass of events is taking that region in a hopeful new direction. Historic changes have many causes, yet these changes have one factor in common. A businessman in Beirut<sup>39</sup> recently said, “We have removed the mask of fear. We are not afraid anymore.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> NOTE: This is a quote by Nizar Hamzeh, who is a professor in the Department of Political Studies and Public Administration at the American University in Beirut. The following information was taken from a website called *Prominent Lebanese*. **Name:** A. Nizar Hamzeh **Address:** American University of Beirut, Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, Jesup Hall#207 **P.O.Box:** 11-0236. Beirut, Lebanon **Tel:** 961-1-350000/Extension 4330-4339 **E-mail:** [nhamzeh@aub.edu.lb](mailto:nhamzeh@aub.edu.lb) **Citizenship:** Lebanese **Marital Status:** Married to Lina al-Khatib **Children:** Sammy (born 1993) and Rony (born 1997) [http://www.lebanonwire.com/prominent/professors/hamzeh\\_nizar.asp](http://www.lebanonwire.com/prominent/professors/hamzeh_nizar.asp) “Leading members of Lebanon’s prominent community are cordially invited to join our prestigious web site *ProminentLebanese.com*, which has been created by [www.Lebanonwire.com](http://www.Lebanonwire.com), Lebanon’s leading live-news web site.”

“Their ultimate goal, **says Professor Nizar Hamzeh, a Lebanese scholar**, is to capture the Lebanese state, from within, if not from without. Sheik Nasrallah, the leader of the Hezbollah, has said that after the Israeli withdrawal, the organization will become thoroughly involved in political activities. Militarily, he has said that it will lend the Palestinians all the help that it can offer.” PREPARED TESTIMONY OF TOUFIC BAAKLINI CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF LEBANESE AMERICANS (NALA), March 30, 2000. (nexis)

<sup>38</sup> “The dramatic changes underway in Lebanon are signs of a ‘great democratic experiment’ ignited by the United States that could sweep through the Middle East this year, says a scholar of Islamic politics here. **‘Democracy is knocking at the door of this country and, if it’s successful in Lebanon, it is going to ring the doors of every Arab regime,’** says Nizar Hamzeh, a political scientist at the American University in Beirut and author of a new book on Islamic militia movements. ‘I don’t think any country in this region is going to be spared from this wave.’” RICHARD FOOT, “Great democratic experiment’ ignited by U.S., analyst says: Opposition meets to plan strategy; ‘I don’t think any country in this region is going to be spared from this wave,’” *The Gazette (Montreal)*, March 3, 2005. “The dramatic changes underway in Lebanon are signs of a ‘great democratic experiment,’ ignited by the United States, that could sweep through the Middle East this year, says a scholar of Islamic politics here. **‘Democracy is knocking at the door of this country and, if it’s successful in Lebanon, it is going to ring the doors of every Arab regime,’** says Nizar Hamzeh, a political scientist at the American University in Beirut, and author of a new book on Islamic militia movements. “I don’t think any country in this region is going to be spared from this wave.” Richard Foot, “Middle East ‘tilting to democracy’: Successful reforms may spread elsewhere, scholar says,” *The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia)*, March 3, 2005.

<sup>39</sup> NOTE: This is a reference to Fadi Romanos, who runs an insurance company in Beirut. “So far, the protests have remained peaceful. Indeed, the most striking element of the demonstrations is the diverse array of participants, from students to bankers. They also cross sectarian lines, as well, with Christian Maronites rubbing shoulders with Sunni Muslims and Druze. **“We have removed the mask of fear. We are not afraid anymore,”** says Fadi Romanos, who runs an insurance company in Beirut.” Nicholas Blanford, “Lebanon’s government quits as anti-Syria protests swell,” *Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)*, March 1, 2005.

<sup>40</sup> NOTE: This quote was published on March 1, 2005. “So far, the protests have remained peaceful. Indeed, the most striking element of the demonstrations is the diverse array of participants, from students to bankers. They also cross sectarian lines, as well, with Christian Maronites rubbing shoulders with

Pervasive fear is the foundation of every dictatorial regime – the prop that holds up all power not based on consent. And when the reign of fear is broken, and the people find their courage and find their voice, democracy is their goal, and tyrants themselves have reason to fear.

History is moving quickly, and leaders in the Middle East have important choices to make.

[The world community, including Russia<sup>41</sup>, Germany<sup>42</sup>, France<sup>43</sup>, Saudi Arabia<sup>44</sup>, and the United States<sup>45</sup>, has presented the Syrian government with one of those choices – to end its nearly thirty-year occupation of Lebanon<sup>46</sup>, or become even more isolated from the world.<sup>47</sup> The Lebanese people have heard the speech by the Syrian president<sup>48</sup>,

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Sunni Muslims and Druze. **"We have removed the mask of fear. We are not afraid anymore," says Fadi Romanos, who runs an insurance company in Beirut.**" Nicholas Blanford, "Lebanon's government quits as anti-Syria protests swell," *Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)*, March 1, 2005.

<sup>41</sup> Confirmed by Rosemary DiCarlo, NSC, (X69141) and Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>42</sup> Confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>43</sup> Confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>44</sup> This was specifically cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>45</sup> Confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>46</sup> Confirmed by Elliott Abrams and Rob Danin, NSC (X69121). *Syrian troops first entered Lebanon in 1976.* "A day earlier, Syrian President Bashar Assad announced a two-stage pullback of his forces to the Lebanese border, but he failed to address broad international demands that he completely withdraw the 15,000 troops **after nearly 30 years in Lebanon.**" BASSEM MROUE, "Syrian Troops to Begin Pullback Monday," *Associated Press Online*, March 6, 2005. **"Washington is increasingly concerned that the showdown over Syria's 30-year military presence in Lebanon,** triggered by the assassination last month of former prime minister Rafiq Hariri, will spark new violence in an effort by Damascus or its allies to divert attention -- or to try to prove the need for Syrian troops. Syria first deployed forces there in 1976 in an unsuccessful bid to end Lebanon's civil war. It has refused to pull out despite a 1990 peace pact that included a call for Syria to leave." Robin Wright, "U.S. Rejects Syria's Withdrawal Plan for Lebanon," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 2005. "Full-scale civil war broke out in April 1975. After shots were fired at a church, gunmen in Christian East Beirut ambushed a busload of Palestinians. **Palestinian forces joined predominantly leftist-Muslim factions as the fighting persisted, eventually spreading to most parts of the country and precipitating the President's call for support from Syrian troops in June 1976. In fall of 1976, Arab summits in Riyadh and Cairo set out a plan to end the war. The resulting Arab Deterrent Force, which included Syrian troops already present, moved in to help separate the combatants.**" Department of State, Bureau of Near eastern Affairs, "Background Notes: Lebanon (November 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/358333.htm>)

<sup>47</sup> Confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>48</sup> *NOTE: This is a reference to the speech President Assad gave on Saturday evening in front of Syria's parliament.* "Syrian President Bashar Assad and Lebanese President Emile Lahoud were to meet in

and they have seen these tired old delaying tactics and half-measures before.<sup>49</sup> The time has come for Syria to fully implement Security Council Resolution 1559.<sup>50</sup> All Syrian military forces and intelligence personnel must withdraw before the Lebanese elections, for those elections to be free and fair.<sup>51</sup> And the elections in Lebanon must be fully and carefully monitored by international observers.<sup>52</sup> The Lebanese people have the right to determine their future, free from domination by a foreign power.<sup>53</sup> The Lebanese people have the right to choose their own parliament this spring, free of intimidation.<sup>54</sup> And that new government will have the help of the international community in building sound political, economic, and military institutions, so the great nation of Lebanon can move forward in

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Damascus with other top officials to discuss the details of the two-stage pullback the Syrian leader announced Saturday. Murad said the pullback would take place over the course of two or three days. **In a speech to parliament Saturday, Assad announced a two-stage pullback of Syrian forces to the Lebanese border**, but failed to address broad international demands that he completely withdraw Syria's 15,000 troops after nearly 30 years in the country." "Syrian Troops to Begin Pullback Monday," *The Associated Press*, March 6, 2005. **"Syrian President Bashar Assad on Saturday announced a phased withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, drawing the immediate ire of U.S. officials, who had called for a complete and immediate evacuation of Syrian soldiers and agents from the country they have come to dominate. Speaking to the Syrian parliament in Damascus, a defiant Assad seemed determined to display Syrian imperviousness to foreign pressure, refusing to say how soon the soldiers would pull out.** The troops would first move to the Bekaa Valley, a strip of villages and farmland near the Syrian border, the president said. Then the Syrians and Lebanese would negotiate a move to the frontier between the two countries, but Assad didn't say which side of the border they would occupy." Megan K. Stack, "Assad Defiant About Pullout," *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 2005.

<sup>49</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>50</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). "The Lebanese people have the right to be free, and the United States and Europe share an interest in a democratic, independent Lebanon. **My nation and France worked to pass Security Council Resolution 1559, which demands that Lebanon's sovereignty be respected, that foreign troops and agents be withdrawn, and that free elections be conducted without foreign interference.** In the last several months, the world has seen men and women voting in historic elections, from Kabul to Ramallah to Baghdad -- and without Syrian interference, Lebanon's parliamentary elections in the spring can be another milestone of liberty." President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005 , (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>51</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>52</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>53</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). "The Lebanese people have the right to be free, and the United States and Europe share an interest in a democratic, independent Lebanon." President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>54</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121) and Rob Danin, NSC, (X69121). *NOTE: It's not clear when the elections will take place. This could happen in April or May—so both Elliott and Rob think we should say "this spring."*

security and freedom.<sup>55</sup>.]

Today I have a message for the people of Lebanon: All the world is witnessing your great movement of conscience. Lebanon's future belongs in your hands – and by your courage, Lebanon's future will be in your hands. The American people are on your side.<sup>56</sup> Millions across the earth are on your side. The momentum of freedom is on your side – and freedom will prevail in Lebanon.

America and other nations are also aware that the recent terrorist attack in Tel Aviv was conducted by a radical Palestinian group headquartered in Damascus.<sup>57</sup> Syria,<sup>58</sup> as well as Iran,<sup>59</sup> has a long history

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<sup>55</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>56</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>57</sup> *Note: We have asked David Sedd, et al., to confirm.* **"The terrorist attack was perpetrated by members of Islamic Jihad,"** Sharon said. "The orders came from Islamic Jihad elements in Syria. Even though we know this for a certainty, the fact is not enough to absolve the Palestinian Authority of its responsibility for the departure of the terrorist and of its obligation to act against his partners in the crime.... While Israelis would not say whether military action against Syria is planned in the wake of the bombing, **Zeev Boim, deputy defense minister,** told CNN such strikes would not be unprecedented and remain possible, although international pressure would be preferred and more effective. **"According to our intelligence -- and we have very good intelligence -- this last horrible, thorough attack in Tel Aviv came directly from the headquarters of Islamic Jihad in Damascus," Boim said.** Islamic Jihad has a presence in Syria and is considered to be under that country's patronage.... **On Saturday, Damascus denied any link to the bombing and said the Damascus office of Islamic Jihad had been closed,** according to Reuters news agency." CNN World News, "Sharon: Palestinians must crack down on terrorists," February 27, 2005 (<http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/02/27/telaviv.explosion/>)

<sup>58</sup> "The U.S. continues to have serious differences with Syria, however. **Syria has been on the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism since the list's inception in 1979. Because of its continuing support and safe haven for terrorist organizations, Syria is subject to legislatively mandated penalties, including export sanctions and ineligibility to receive most forms of U.S. aid or to purchase U.S. military equipment. In 1986, the U.S. withdrew its ambassador and imposed additional administrative sanctions on Syria in response to evidence of direct Syrian involvement in an attempt to blow up an Israeli airplane.** A U.S. ambassador returned to Damascus in 1987, partially in response to positive Syrian actions against terrorism such as expelling the Abu Nidal Organization from Syria and helping free an American hostage earlier that year. There is no evidence that Syrian officials have been directly involved in planning or executing terrorist attacks since 1986. **Other issues of U.S. concern include the Syrian government's human rights record, its support for terrorist groups in Syria and Lebanon, its pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, its continued military and security presence in Lebanon, and since the Iraq war, infiltration of foreign fighters and weapons across the Syrian-Iraqi border.** In May 2004, the Bush administration, pursuant to the provisions of the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act, implemented sanctions on Syria." Department of State, Bureau of Near eastern Affairs, "Background Note: Syria" (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3580.htm>)

<sup>59</sup> "Iran's post-revolution difficulties have included an 8-year war with Iraq, internal political struggles and unrest, and economic disorder. The early days of the regime were characterized by severe human rights

of supporting terrorist groups determined to sow division and chaos in the Middle East – and there is every possibility they will try this strategy again. The time has come for Syria and Iran to stop using murder as a tool of policy, and end all support for terrorism.

In spite of attacks by extremists, the world is seeing hopeful progress in the Israel-Palestinian conflict. There is only one outcome that will in the end meet the aspirations of all peoples in the region: We seek two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace.<sup>60</sup> And that goal is within reach, if all the parties meet their responsibilities and if terrorism is brought to an end.<sup>61</sup> Arab states must end incitement in their own media, cut off public and private funding for terrorism, stop their support for extremist education, and establish normal relations with Israel.<sup>62</sup> Israel must freeze settlement activity, help Palestinians build a thriving

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violations and political turmoil, including the seizure of the U.S. Embassy compound and its occupants on November 4, 1979, by Iranian militants. By mid-1982, a succession of power struggles eliminated first the center of the political spectrum and then **the leftists, leaving only the clergy. There has been some moderation of excesses internally, but Iran still has a serious human rights problem.**

**Internationally, Iran remains a major state sponsor of terrorism.** The Islamic Republican Party (IRP) was Iran's dominant political party until its dissolution in 1987; Iran now has a variety of parties and groups engaged in political activities, some oriented along ideological lines; others more akin to professional groupings engaging in political activities. The Iranian Government is opposed by a few armed political groups, including the Mojahedin-e-Khalq (People's Mojahedin of Iran), the People's Fedayeen, and the Kurdish Democratic Party.... There are serious obstacles to improved relations between the two countries. As a state-sponsor of terrorism Iran remains an impediment to international efforts to locate and prosecute terrorists." .Department of State, Bureau of Near eastern Affairs, "Background Note: Iran" (August, 2004) (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5314.htm>)

<sup>60</sup> Language confirmed by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). "**Our efforts are guided by a clear vision: We're determined to see two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security.** The Palestinian people deserve a government that is representative, honest and peaceful. The people of Israel need an end to terror and a reliable, steadfast partner for peace. And the world must not rest until there is a just and lasting resolution of this conflict." President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>61</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). "After many false starts, and dashed hopes, and stolen lives, a settlement of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is now within reach ... All the parties have responsibilities to meet." President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>62</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). "**All the parties have responsibilities to meet. Arab states must end incitement in their own media, cut off public and private funding for terrorism, stop their support for extremist education, and establish normal relations with Israel.**" President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

economy, and ensure that a new Palestinian state is truly viable, with contiguous territory on the West Bank.<sup>63</sup> Palestinian leaders must fight corruption, encourage free enterprise, rest true authority with the people, and actively confront terrorist groups.<sup>64</sup>

[The bombing in Tel Aviv<sup>65</sup> is a reminder that the fight against terrorists is critical to the search for peace and for Palestinian statehood. In an interview last week<sup>66</sup>, Palestinian President Abbas strongly condemned the terrorist attack in Tel Aviv<sup>67</sup>, declaring, quote, “ending

<sup>63</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). **“So Israel must freeze settlement activity, help Palestinians build a thriving economy, and ensure that a new Palestinian state is truly viable, with contiguous territory on the West Bank. A state of scattered territories will not work.”** President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>64</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). **“Palestinian leaders must confront and dismantle terrorist groups, fight corruption, encourage free enterprise, and rest true authority with the people.** Only a democracy can serve the hopes of Palestinians, and make Israel secure, and raise the flag of a free Palestine. A successful Palestinian democracy should be Israel's top goal as well.” President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium, Concert Noble, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2005, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050221.html>)

<sup>65</sup> *NOTE: The bombing in Tel Aviv took place February, 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.* “I condemn in the strongest possible terms today's bombing in Tel Aviv. I offer our deepest sympathy to the victims of this terrorist attack, their families, and the Israeli people and hope for a speedy recovery to those injured. We have been in contact with Israeli officials to convey our condolences and our support against terrorism. Terrorist attacks, such as today's bombing in Tel Aviv, not only kill innocent civilians, but also undermine the aspirations and hopes of the Palestinian people.” Department of State, “Bombing in Tel Aviv,” SECRETARY OF STATE PRESS RELEASES, February 25, 2005.

<sup>66</sup> *NOTE: President Abbas was interviewed via email by the London newspaper called The Independent. The interview was published on February 28, 2005 .*

<sup>67</sup> “Q How is progress on a hudna (ceasefire), in the light of Friday night's bombing? A Ending violence and security chaos is first and foremost a Palestinian interest. We cannot build the foundations of a state - which, after all, is our ultimate objective - without the rule of law and public order. We have agreed with the various Palestinian factions that the only acceptable mode of political expression is through the ballot box, and everyone will participate in the upcoming elections so as to allow the Palestinian people to choose. **We have already announced the end of violence at the Sharm el-Sheikh summit. We are exerting 100 per cent efforts and it has yielded good results so far. As for the suicide bombing last Friday, such actions will not be tolerated by us as they are against the Palestinian interests. While the Palestinian factions remain committed to the hudna, there may be other parties who want to destabilise the situation.** We arrested a couple of Palestinians directly related to the suicide bombing. It is also necessary to deal with the party who is responsible for the planning in order to prevent such actions from reoccurring. Israel co-operated with us in sharing the information relating to the bombing. We hope that Israel will withdraw its army to 28 September 2000 positions to give us a chance to reassume our responsibilities in the Palestinian areas. An end to violence cannot be sustained when Palestinians are being killed by the Israeli army on a daily basis. Ending the violence is a mutual Israeli and Palestinian commitment.” DONALD MACINTYRE, “PALESTINIAN SUMMIT: WE CANNOT BUILD FOUNDATIONS OF A STATE WITHOUT RULE OF LAW: MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE,” The Independent (London), February 28, 2005 (Nexis).

violence and security chaos is first and foremost a Palestinian interest. We cannot build the foundations of a state ...without the rule of law and public order.”<sup>68</sup> President Abbas is correct. So the United States will help the Palestinian Authority build the security services that current peace and future statehood require: effective, responsive to civilian control, and dedicated to fighting terror and upholding the rule of law.<sup>69</sup> We will coordinate with the government of Israel, with neighbors such as Egypt and Jordan, and with other donors to ensure that Palestinians get the training and equipment they need.<sup>70</sup> The United States is determined to help the

<sup>68</sup> NOTE: This is a quote taken from an interview with President Abbas that was published 2/28/05 by a London newspaper called The Independent. “Q How is progress on a hudna (ceasefire), in the light of Friday night's bombing? A **Ending violence and security chaos is first and foremost a Palestinian interest. We cannot build the foundations of a state - which, after all, is our ultimate objective - without the rule of law and public order.** We have agreed with the various Palestinian factions that the only acceptable mode of political expression is through the ballot box, and everyone will participate in the upcoming elections so as to allow the Palestinian people to choose. We have already announced the end of violence at the Sharm el-Sheikh summit. We are exerting 100 per cent efforts and it has yielded good results so far. **As for the suicide bombing last Friday, such actions will not be tolerated by us as they are against the Palestinian interests. While the Palestinian factions remain committed to the hudna, there may be other parties who want to destabilise the situation.** We arrested a couple of Palestinians directly related to the suicide bombing. It is also necessary to deal with the party who is responsible for the planning in order to prevent such actions from reoccurring. Israel co-operated with us in sharing the information relating to the bombing. We hope that Israel will withdraw its army to 28 September 2000 positions to give us a chance to reassume our responsibilities in the Palestinian areas. An end to violence cannot be sustained when Palestinians are being killed by the Israeli army on a daily basis. Ending the violence is a mutual Israeli and Palestinian commitment.” DONALD MACINTYRE, “PALESTINIAN SUMMIT: WE CANNOT BUILD FOUNDATIONS OF A STATE WITHOUT RULE OF LAW: MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE,” The Independent (London), February 28, 2005.

<sup>69</sup> “The contributions of other states in the region remain essential. Egypt and Jordan have played a critical role over the years. I was pleased to hear their commitment and that of other regional states to support the important changes underway in Palestinian society. **The United States will continue to do its part. Lieutenant General Ward has made his first visit to the region as Senior U.S. Security Coordinator** and he will lead an active effort to help reform and rebuild Palestinian security capabilities in conjunction with others who wish to help.” On-the-Record Briefing to Press in London, Secretary Condoleezza Rice, London, United Kingdom March 1, 2005, (<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/42852.htm>).

<sup>70</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121). “**General Ward's first, second, third and fourth job is going to be to coordinate the security assistance that is being offered to the Palestinians so that we can have viable, lawful security forces on the Palestinian side who answer to one voice and one government, and that's the duly elected government of the Palestinian Authority.** And so that is the primary function of General Ward. He will also assist when the parties need it, and again, not to supplant the direct talks on security between the parties but to help as needed. And there is a function that when it is needed to report some information on how things are going in terms of what the Palestinians are being able to do in the security field and the like, I would expect him to be able to report back to me and indeed to the Quartet. ... **But I'm going to say to General Ward first, second, third and fourth, I want you to work with your counterparts, Egypt, Jordan -- the European Union has a very fine representative on security forces -- and help the Palestinians reform their security forces, because that is the key.**” On-the-Record Briefing to Press in London, Secretary Condoleezza Rice, London, United Kingdom March 1, 2005, (<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/42852.htm>).

parties remove obstacles to progress and move forward in practical ways, so we can seize this moment for peace in the Holy Land.<sup>71]</sup>

In other parts of the Middle East, we are seeing small but welcome steps. Saudi Arabia's recent municipal elections were the beginning of reform that may allow greater participation in the future.<sup>72</sup> Egypt now has the prospect of competitive, multi-party elections for President in September.<sup>73</sup> Like all free elections, these require freedom of assembly, multiple candidates, free access by those candidates to the media, and the right to form political parties. Each country in the Middle East will take a different path of reform. And every nation that starts on that journey can know that America will walk at its side.

Progress in the Middle East is threatened by weapons proliferation. Today Great Britain, France, and Germany are involved in a difficult negotiation with Iran aimed at stopping its nuclear weapons program.<sup>74</sup> We want our allies to succeed, because we share the view that Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons would be destabilizing and threatening to all of Iran's neighbors. The Iranian regime should listen to the concerns of the world, and listen to the voice of the Iranian people, who long for their liberty and want their country to be a respected member of the international community. And we look forward to the day when Iran joins in the hopeful changes taking place across the region, and the Iranian people are free.

Iran and other nations have an example in Iraq. The recent elections have begun a process of debate and coalition building unique in Iraqi history<sup>75</sup>, and inspiring to see. Iraq's leaders are forming a government that

<sup>71</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>72</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>73</sup> Language cleared by Elliott Abrams, NSC, (X69121).

<sup>74</sup> "CHANCELLOR SCHRÖDER ...Now, we very much assume that this opportunity is there, and I very much am pleased to see **that the activities undertaken by the three European powers -- Great Britain, France, and Germany -- find the support of the U.S. American President. And we very much agree that the targets we're going for is very much agreed: Iran must not have any nuclear weapons. They must waive any right to the production thereof, and they must renounce the right to even close the fuel cycle.**" President Bush and Chancellor Schröder Discuss Partnership Electoral Palace, Mainz, Germany, February 25, 2005 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/20050223-4.html>)

<sup>75</sup> Language confirmed by Megan O'Sullivan, NSC, (X69381).

will oversee the next – and critical – stage in Iraq’s political transition: the writing of the permanent constitution.<sup>76</sup> This process must take place without external influence.<sup>77</sup> The shape of Iraq’s democracy must be determined by Iraqis themselves.<sup>78</sup>

Iraq’s democracy, in the long run, must also be defended by Iraqis themselves. Our goal is to help Iraqi security forces move toward self-reliance, and they are making daily progress. Iraqi forces were the main providers of security<sup>79</sup> at about five thousand polling places<sup>80</sup> in the January elections. Our coalition is providing equipment and training to the new Iraqi military,<sup>81</sup> yet they bring a spirit all their own. [Last month, when soldiers of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry Regiment came under attack north of Baghdad,<sup>82</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Language confirmed by Megan O’Sullivan, NSC, (X69381).

<sup>77</sup> Language confirmed by Megan O’Sullivan, NSC, (X69381).

<sup>78</sup> Language confirmed by Megan O’Sullivan, NSC, (X69381).

<sup>79</sup> Gen Casey stated in a conference call from Baghdad with US Senators that the security arrangements for the elections included “concentric rings of security around polling centers, Iraqi Police, then Iraqi Security, then MNF in the outermost ring. Seems to have worked well Iraq security has done well.” Additionally, Gen Casey said security preparations with Iraq security forces have really paid off. Iraqi Security Forces have done well, performed the mission and held ground. As part of the IIG emergency measures for election security, Iraqi Security Forces were directed to provide security at all election offices and polling centers. MNF-I was directed to assist the ISF. Information provided via Brigadier General David K. “Bob” Edmonds, USAF, Deputy Director for Operations, The Joint Staff / J-3, NMCC (703) 695-0100

<sup>80</sup>*Note: there were more than 5,000 voting centers. The numbers were provided by the Independent Electoral Commission—Iraq shortly before the elections.* “IECI announced that the total number of voting centers will be 5,220 and the number of total voting stations 29,084.” Department of State, Iraq Policy and Operations Group, *Weekly Status Report*, January 19, 2005, slide 6.

<sup>81</sup> All 26 NATO countries offered training, equipment, money, or staff support for the NATO Training Mission-Iraq at the 22 Feb 2005 Summit in Brussels. Outside Iraq, various countries, many of them members of MNF-I, have helped with or hosted training and have provided equipment or offered to do so. See Appendix, Nations Providing Equipment and Training for the Iraqi Military.

<sup>82</sup>*Note* “The unit was on a combat patrol, and was not under attack at the time of the accident.” The tragedy on Feb. 13 began when 11 soldiers from the 3rd Platoon, Charlie Company, of the 5th Battalion, 7th Cavalry Regiment, set out from Camp Paliwoda, 50 miles north of Baghdad, under a moonless sky around 3 a.m. Their four Humvees headed toward Balad’s western outskirts, from where the Americans believed insurgents had fired rockets at the base.” Steve Fainaru, “Humvee Tragedy Forges Brotherhood of Soldiers, Iraqis Persevere to Recover Dead Americans,” *The Washington Post*, February 22, 2005 (Nexis). The article does not correctly identify the unit involved. It was 3rd Platoon, Charlie Troop, 5th Squadron, 7th CAV Regiment. The unit was not under attack at the time of the accident. It was on a combat patrol conducting anti-mortar operations. Information provided by MNF-I, via Joint Staff OT Team Chiefs.

one of their Humvees fell into a canal,<sup>83</sup> and Iraqi troops came to their rescue – plunging into the water again and again, until the last American was recovered.<sup>84</sup> The Army Colonel in charge of the unit said, “When I saw those Iraqis in the water, fighting to save their American brothers, I saw a glimpse of the future of this country.”<sup>85</sup> And one of the Iraqi soldiers commented, “These people come 10,000 miles to help my country. They’ve left their families, their children.... If we can give them something back, just a little, we can show our thanks.”<sup>86</sup> America is proud to defend

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<sup>83</sup> **The convoy stopped at an intersection along a dirt road. Workman warned the platoon about the canal on the other side. He told the drivers to dim their headlights after making the turn and switch to night-vision goggles for stealth.** But after Workman made the turn, he ordered the vehicles to turn around because he saw no visible escape routes in case of an ambush. When the vehicles turned back, the second Humvee was missing. Riding in the fourth Humvee, Staff Sgt. L.B. Baker, 38, of Shreveport, La., tried to make contact. With growing concern, he repeated: Blue 4 to Blue 2. Blue 4-Blue 2, Blue 4-Blue 2. Sgt. Patrick Hagood, 23, of Anderson, S.C., yelled to the others, **“Check the canal,” he recalled. A soldier shined his flashlight toward the water. The Humvee had settled upside down in the middle of the 50-foot-wide canal. The vehicle was under water except for the left rear tire, a three-foot section of the rear bumper and a sliver of the right rear tire.** Cursing, Baker yelled, “That’s them!” He hurried down the 10-foot embankment, trailed by Hagood, Workman and Sgt. Stanley Brooks, 23, of Orangeburg, S.C.” Steve Fainaru, “Humvee Tragedy Forges Brotherhood of Soldiers, Iraqis Persevere to Recover Dead Americans,” *The Washington Post*, February 22, 2005 (Nexis)

<sup>84</sup> “The 3rd Platoon was down to three soldiers; three were dead and five had been evacuated by helicopter to be treated for hypothermia. Another platoon was delayed after a Bradley Fighting Vehicle became stuck in the mud trying to reach the accident scene. At that point, the Iraqi soldiers showed up, Poteet recalled. “They just appeared out of nowhere, about 30 of them, some walking, some running down the road.” The Americans had not called the Iraqis for assistance. About 7 a.m., Sgt. Maj. Maitham Hadi Naouma of the Iraqi army’s 203rd Battalion woke up to see U.S. Apache attack helicopters circling the western edge of Balad. He radioed the battalion commander, Col. Shujaa Jawad Hussein, and another officer, Maj. Mohammed Ali Abdul Mutalib. The commanders gathered every soldier they could find and headed to the canal. When they arrived, Poteet explained that three American servicemen were still in the water. Naouma and Abdul Mutalib, known to the Americans as “Major Mohammed,” began to strip. Several Iraqi soldiers followed suit.” Steve Fainaru, “Humvee Tragedy Forges Brotherhood of Soldiers, Iraqis Persevere to Recover Dead Americans,” *The Washington Post*, February 22, 2005 (Nexis)

<sup>85</sup> **“When I saw those Iraqis in the water, fighting to save their American brothers, I saw a glimpse of the future of this country,”** said Col. Mark McKnight, commander of the 1st Brigade, 3rd Infantry Division, which had overall responsibility for the unit in the accident, his eyes tearing.” Steve Fainaru, “Humvee Tragedy Forges Brotherhood of Soldiers, Iraqis Persevere to Recover Dead Americans,” *The Washington Post*, February 22, 2005 (Nexis). According to MNF-I, Col. McKnight commands the 1BCT (Brigade Combat Team) that is currently task-organized as part of Task Force LIBERTY, 42nd Infantry Division. 1BCT confirmed Col. McKnight’s comments, and added that the unit has commended the Iraqi Army soldiers for their assistance. Information provided by MNF-I, via Joint Staff OT Team Chiefs.

<sup>86</sup> With no interpreter in sight, Poteet and the Iraqi soldiers began to argue in broken English, according to Poteet and other soldiers present. “No, you can’t go in there,” said Poteet. “Why? Why?” Abdul Mutalib pleaded, nearly crying. “Because you’ll die,” Poteet said. “No, I’m strong. I’m strong,” Abdul Mutalib replied. Abdul Mutalib, 34, a short, wiry man with close-cropped salt-and-pepper hair and pale eyes, was in the Iraqi military before the war. But before the U.S. invasion, he said, he traded his AK-47 assault rifle for civilian clothes and went home. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, he said, “I saw what American

freedom in Iraq, and proud to stand with brave Iraqis at our side.]

Three and a half years ago, the United States mourned our dead, gathered our resolve – and accepted a mission. We made a decision to stop threats to the American people before they arrive on our shores – and we have acted on that decision. We are also determined to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

This objective will not be achieved easily, or all at once, or primarily by force of arms. We know that freedom, by definition, must be chosen, and that the democratic institutions of other nations will not look like our own. Yet we also know that our security increasingly depends on the hope and progress of other nations now simmering in resentment and despair. And that hope and progress is found only in the advance of freedom. This advance is a consistent theme of American strategy – from the Fourteen Points,<sup>87</sup> to the Four Freedoms,<sup>88</sup> to the Marshall Plan,<sup>89</sup> to the Reagan

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power is like. I didn't want to face it again." **Asked why he now felt so strongly about helping the Americans, Abdul Mutalib said through an interpreter: "These people come 10,000 miles to help my country. They've left their families, their children. When we get hurt, they help treat us and take us to hospitals. If we can give them something back, just a little, we can show our thanks."** .” Steve Fainaru, “Humvee Tragedy Forges Brotherhood of Soldiers, Iraqis Persevere to Recover Dead Americans,” *The Washington Post*, February 22, 2005 (Nexis)

<sup>87</sup> “Finally, on January 8, 1918, Wilson proceeded on his own. With extraordinary eloquence and elevation, he put forth America’s war aims in Fourteen Points which were divided into two parts. He described eight points as being obligatory in the sense that they “must” be fulfilled. These included open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, general disarmament, the removal of trade barriers, impartial settlement of colonial claims, the restoration of Belgium, the evacuation of Russian territory, and, as the crown jewel, the establishment of a League of Nations. Wilson introduced the remaining six points, which were more specific, with the statement that they “should” rather than “must” be achieved, presumably because, in his view, they were not absolutely indispensable. Surprisingly, the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France was included in the non-obligatory category, even though a determination to regain that region had sustained French policy for half a century and through unprecedented sacrifices in the war. Other “desirable” goals were describes as autonomy for the minorities of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, readjustment of Italy’s frontiers, evacuation of the Balkans, internationalization of the Dardanelles, and the creation of an independent Poland with access to the sea.” Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, 1994), p. 225

<sup>88</sup> “This, in January 1941, Roosevelt summed up America’s objectives in what he called the Four Freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.” .Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, 1994), p. 389.

<sup>89</sup> “Once the challenge had been defined as the very future of democracy, America could not wait until a civil war [in Turkey] actually occurred, as it had in Greece; it was the national character to attempt the cure. On June 5, less than three month after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, Secretary

Doctrine.<sup>90</sup> Yet the success of this approach does not depend on grand strategy alone. We are confident that the desire for freedom, even when repressed for generations, is present in every human heart – and that desire can emerge with sudden power to change the course of history.

Americans, of all people, should not be surprised at freedom's power. A nation founded on the universal claim of individual rights should not be surprised when other peoples claim those rights. Those who place their hope in freedom may be attacked and challenged – but they will never be disappointed, because freedom is the design of humanity and the direction of history.

In our time, America has been attacked. America has been challenged. Yet the uncertainty, and sorrow, and sacrifice of these years have not been in vain. Millions have gained their liberty; and millions more have gained the hope of liberty that will not be denied. The trumpet of freedom has been sounded, and that trumpet never calls retreat.

Before history is written in books it is written in courage – the courage of honorable soldiers; the courage of oppressed peoples; the courage of free nations in difficult tasks. Our generation is fortunate to live in a time of courage. And we are proud to serve in freedom's cause.

Thank you very much.

*Drafted by: Mike Gerson, John McConnell, and Marc Thiessen, Office of Speechwriting*

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Marshall, in a commencement address at Harvard, did just that when he committed America to the task of eradicating the social and economic conditions that tempted aggression. America would aid European recovery, announce Marshall, to avoid "political disturbances" and "desperation," to restore the world economy, and to nurse free institutions." Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, 1994), p. 453.

<sup>90</sup> 'The Reagan Administration achieved these successes by putting into practice what became known as the Reagan Doctrine: that the United States would help anticommunist counterinsurgencies wrest their respective countries out of the Soviet sphere of influence.' Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, 1994), p. 774.

## APPENDIX

### Nations Providing Equipment and Training for the Iraqi Military

All 26 NATO countries offered training, equipment, money, or staff support for the NATO Training Mission-Iraq at the 22 Feb 2005 Summit in Brussels (some of the staff support is in Brussels, vice in Iraq) **(Source: NATO Summit, 22 Feb 2005)**

**Current Breakdown: (Source: MNF-I)**

**Training Assistance: (Source: MNF-I)**

- United Kingdom
- Australia
- South Korea
- Italy
- Poland
- Ukraine
- Kazakhstan
- Czech Republic
- Albania
- Netherlands
- El Salvador
- Romania
- Denmark
- Portugal

Outside Iraq; countries that have helped with or hosted training: **(Source: MNF-I)**

- Jordan
- Egypt
- Italy
- Norway (through NATO)
- Germany (through NATO in Obergammerau, Germany, Bi-laterally in UAE)
- France (has made bi-lateral offer of Police training that is still being worked by the Iraqi Government)
- UAE

**Equipment Donors: (Source: MNF-I)**

- Jordan
- Japan
- S. Korea
- Germany
- Austria
- UAE
- Poland

**Equipment Donors through NATO Training Mission-Iraq: (Source: MNF-I)**

- Romania
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Hungary (has offered equipment; offer accepted but equipment not yet on hand)
- Slovenia (has offered equipment; offer accepted but equipment not yet on hand)
- Latvia (has offered equipment; offer accepted but equipment not yet on hand)

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