

From: "Drouin, Lindsey E."
To: "Kavanaugh, Brett M."
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From: Thiessen, Marc A. <Marc_A._Thiessen@who.eop.gov>
To: Drouin, Lindsey E. <Lindsey_E._Drouin@who.eop.gov>; Bartlett, Dan <Dan_Bartlett@who.eop.gov>
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Remarks on the War on Terror

Monday, December 12, 2005

Draft #4

Thank you all for that warm welcome. And thank you, [XX], for that introduction – and for the invitation to come to Philadelphia. I appreciate the chance get out of the City of Brotherly Strife, and spend some time in the City of Brotherly Love. Since 1949, the Philadelphia World Affairs Council has provided an important forum for debate and discussion on vital issues of the day. And I have come to discuss an issue that is vital to the safety and security of all Americans: Victory in Iraq.

Earlier this month, my Administration released a document called the “National Strategy for Victory in Iraq” – and in recent weeks I have been discussing various elements of our strategy with the American people. At the U.S. Naval Academy, I spoke about our efforts to defeat the terrorists and train Iraqi Security Forces so they can provide for the safety of their own citizens. Last week at the Council on Foreign Relations, I discussed how we are working with Iraqi forces and Iraq’s leaders to improve security ... help Iraqis rebuild their cities ... and help the national government in Baghdad revitalize Iraq’s infrastructure and economy. Today, I want to speak in depth about another vital element of our strategy: Our efforts to help the Iraqi people build a lasting democracy in the heart of the Middle East. And I can think of no better place to discuss the rise of a free Iraq than in the heart of Philadelphia – the city where America’s democracy was born.

Acknowledgments

[TK]

A few blocks from here stands Independence Hall – where our Declaration of Independence was written and our Constitution was debated. From the perspective of more than two centuries, the success of America’s democratic experiment seems almost inevitable. At the time, however, that success did not seem so obvious or assured.

The years following the American Revolution were a time of chaos and confusion. There were uprisings, such as Shays'

Rebellion, with mobs attacking courthouses and government buildings. There was a planned coup – the Newburgh conspiracy – that was diffused only by the personal intervention of General Washington. In 1783, Congress was chased from this city by angry veterans demanding back pay – and Congress stayed on the run for six months. There was rampant inflation caused by the lack of a stable currency. There were regional tensions between mercantile North and the agrarian South that threatened to break apart our young republic. There was violence and crime and a lack of an organized police force. And there were supporters of the former regime who had to be reconciled to America's new democracy.

Our Founders faced many difficult challenges. They made mistakes, learned from their experiences, and adjusted their approach. Our Nation's first effort at a governing charter, the Articles of Confederation, failed. It took many years of debate, discussion, and compromise before we finally ratified our Constitution and inaugurated our first president. And it took a four-year civil war, and a century of struggle after that, before the promise of our Declaration was extended to all Americans.

It is worth keeping this history in mind as we look at the progress of freedom and democracy in Iraq. No nation in history has made the transition from tyranny to a free society without facing challenges, setbacks, and false starts. The past two and a half years have been a period of difficult struggle in Iraq – yet they have also been a time of great hope and achievement for the Iraqi people.

Two and a half years ago, Iraq was in the grip of a cruel dictator who defied the world, threatened his neighbors, harbored terrorists, and murdered innocent men, women, and children. Since then, the Iraqi people have assumed full sovereignty of their country ... held free elections ... drafted a democratic Constitution ... and approved that constitution in a nationwide referendum. Three days from now, they will go to polls for the third time this year, to choose a fully constitutional government. This is a remarkable transformation for a country that has virtually no experience with democracy – and which is struggling to overcome the legacy of one of the worst tyrannies the world has known. Iraqis have accomplished all this in just a few years – and they have done it under fire, while determined enemies sowed violence and destruction and actively worked to stop their progress. There is still much difficult work to be done in Iraq. But thanks to the courage of the Iraqi people, the year 2005 will be recorded as a turning point in the history of Iraq ... the history of the Middle East ... and the history of freedom.

As the Iraqi people struggle to build their democracy, their adversaries continue their war on a free Iraq. The enemy is a combination of rejectionists, Saddamists, and terrorists. The rejectionists are ordinary Iraqis, mostly Sunni Arabs, who miss the privileged status they had under the regime of Saddam Hussein – and they reject an Iraq in which they are no longer the dominant group. As we help Iraqis build a strong democracy, we believe that, over time, most of this group will be persuaded to support a democratic Iraq led by a federal government that is strong enough to protect minority rights. The Saddamists are former regime loyalists who harbor dreams of returning to power – and they are trying to foment anti-democratic sentiment among the larger Sunni community. Yet they lack popular support – and over time, they can be marginalized and defeated by the people and security forces of a free Iraq. The terrorists are the smallest but most lethal group. Many are foreigners coming to fight freedom's progress in Iraq. They are led by a brutal terrorist named Zarqawi – al-Qaida's chief of operations in Iraq – who has pledged his allegiance to Osama bin Laden. The terrorists' stated objective is to drive U.S. and Coalition forces out of Iraq and gain control of the country. They would then use Iraq as a base from which to launch attacks against America, overthrow moderate governments in the Middle East, and try to establish a totalitarian Islamic empire that reaches from Indonesia to Spain.

The terrorists in Iraq share the same ideology as the terrorists who struck the United States on September 11 ... blew up commuters in London and Madrid ... murdered tourists in Bali ... killed workers in Riyadh ... and slaughtered guests at a wedding in Amman, Jordan. This is an enemy without conscience – and they cannot be appeased. If we were not fighting and destroying this enemy in Iraq, they would not be leading quiet lives as good citizens. They would be plotting and killing our citizens – across the world and within our own borders. By fighting the terrorists in Iraq, we are confronting a direct threat to the American people – and we will not rest until this enemy is defeated.

We are pursuing a comprehensive strategy to defeat these enemies and aid the rise of a free Iraq – and that strategy has three elements: On the economic side, we are helping the Iraqis rebuild their infrastructure ... reform their economy ... and build the prosperity that will give all Iraqis a stake in a free and peaceful Iraq. On the security side, coalition and Iraqi security forces are on the offense against the enemy. We are clearing out areas controlled by the terrorists and Saddam loyalists ... leaving Iraqi forces to hold territory taken from the enemy ... and following up with targeted reconstruction to help Iraqis rebuild their lives. And as we fight these enemies, we are working to build capable and effective Iraqi security forces, so they can take the lead in the fight – and eventually take responsibility for the safety and security of their citizens without major foreign assistance. As Iraqi forces become more capable, they are taking responsibility for more and more Iraqi territory, and we are transferring bases to their control. That means American and Coalition forces can concentrate on training Iraqis – and hunting down high-value targets like the terrorist Zarqawi and his associates.

Today, I want to discuss the third element of our strategy: Our efforts to help the Iraqis build inclusive democratic institutions that will protect the interests of all the Iraqi people. We are working with the Iraqis to engage those who can be persuaded to join the new Iraq ... to isolate those who never will ... and to help the Iraqi people build the institutions of a free and representative government – and the international support they need to succeed. By helping Iraqis continue to build their democracy, we will gain an ally in the war on terror. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will inspire reformers from across the Middle East. And by helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will make the American people more secure.

From the outset, our efforts in Iraq have been guided by a clear principle: Democracy takes different forms in different cultures – yet in all cultures, successful free societies are built on certain common foundations: Freedom of speech, with a vibrant free press that informs the public and ensures transparency ... freedom of assembly, so citizens can organize to challenge their leaders and press for reform ... a free economy to create prosperity and opportunity and economic independence from the state ... an independent judiciary to guarantee rule of law and assure impartial justice ... and freedom of worship – because respect for the beliefs of others is the only way to build a society where compassion and tolerance prevail. Societies that lay these foundations not only survive, but thrive – while societies that do not lay these foundations risk backsliding into tyranny.

When our Coalition arrived in Iraq, we found a nation where almost none of these basic foundations existed. Decades of brutal rule by Saddam Hussein had destroyed the fabric of Iraqi civil society. Under Saddam, Iraq was a country where dissent was crushed ... a centralized economy enriched a dictator instead of the people ... secret courts meted out repression instead of justice ... and Shia Muslims and other groups were brutally suppressed by the ruling Sunni minority. And when Saddam Hussein's regime fled Baghdad, they left behind a country with no civic institutions in place to hold Iraqi society together.

To fill the vacuum in the early months after liberation, we established the Coalition Provisional Authority. The CPA was ably led by Ambassador Jerry Bremer – and many fine men and women from almost every department of our government volunteered to serve in the CPA. They did an amazing job under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances – helping to restore basic services ... making sure the food distribution system continued to function ... and getting abandoned government ministries up and running again.

The CPA's most important task was bringing the Iraqi people into the decision-making process of their government for the first time in their lives. Within weeks of liberation, our Coalition worked with Iraqi leaders to establish an Iraqi Governing Council. This appointed body gave Iraqis a voice in their own affairs – but it did not satisfy the hunger of Iraqis for self-government. Like free people everywhere, Iraqis wanted to be led by Iraqis – not foreign officials. And each day the CPA held power, it created a sense of occupation instead of liberation. So in August 2003, we came up with

a plan to transfer full sovereignty to the Iraqi people over a period of 18 months. Under this plan, the CPA would continue to hold power while appointed Iraqi leaders drafted a constitution ... put that constitution before the people ... and held elections to choose a new government. Only when a constitutional government had been elected would the CPA hand sovereignty over to Iraqis – and go out of business.

This initial plan met with widespread disapproval in Iraq – and if we had stuck with it, the CPA might still be in power today. Iraqis made clear to us that they wanted a Constitution that was written by the elected leaders of a free Iraq – and they wanted sovereignty placed in Iraqi hands sooner. We listened – and adjusted our approach. In November, we announced a new plan for an accelerated transition to Iraqi self-government. Under this new plan, an interim constitution – known as the Transitional Administrative Law – was established that guaranteed personal freedoms unprecedented in the Arab world. We established a July 2004 deadline to transfer sovereignty to an Interim Iraqi Government. And we laid out three major benchmarks to guide Iraq's transition to a constitutional democracy:

The first benchmark was for Iraqis to hold free elections to choose a transitional government by January 2005. The second was for Iraqis to adopt a democratic constitution – which would be drafted no later than August and put before the Iraqi people in a nationwide referendum to be held no later than October. The third was for Iraqis to choose a permanent government under that democratic constitution – with elections held by December 2005.

The transfer of sovereignty took place [three] days ahead of schedule – and since the moment they took control of their own destiny, the Iraqi people have hit every deadline.

In January 2005, Iraqis hit the first benchmark when they went to the polls and chose their leaders in free elections. Eight and a half million Iraqis defied the car bombers and assassins to cast their ballots – and the world watched in awe as jubilant Iraqis danced in the streets, held up ink-stained fingers, and celebrated their freedom.

The January elections were a watershed event for Iraq and the Middle East – yet they were not without flaws. The key flaw was the decision by the vast majority of Sunni Arabs to boycott the vote. Iraqis on all sides quickly saw what a mistake this was. When Sunni Arabs saw the success of the elections, and watched a new parliament taking power in which they had little voice, many quickly realized that opting out of the democratic process had hurt their interests. And Shia and Kurdish leaders who had won power at the polls saw that for a free and unified Iraq to succeed, they needed to share that power with Sunni Arabs who had boycotted the elections. So Iraq's elected leaders reached out to Sunni leaders – and brought them into the governing process. When the Transitional Government was seated in April, Sunni Arabs were given important posts – including Vice President, Minister of Defense, and President of the National Assembly.

The new government's main challenge was to meet the second benchmark – adopting a democratic constitution. Again, Iraq's leaders reached out to Sunni Arabs who had boycotted the elections and included them in the drafting process. [Fifteen] Sunni Arab negotiators, and [ten] Sunni Arab advisors joined the work of the constitutional drafting Committee. Together, representatives of all of Iraq's diverse communities drafted a bold constitution that guarantees freedom of speech ... freedom of the press ... freedom of assembly ... freedom of religious belief and practice ... equal justice under law ... property rights ... and women's rights.

Yet for all the progress they made, negotiators could not agree on a handful of issues important to Sunni Arabs – and it appeared that Sunnis would once again be in opposition. [Four] days before the referendum, negotiators reached a deal that included legal protections for rank-and-file members of the Ba'ath Party – and new mechanisms for amending the

Constitution next year. The revised constitution was endorsed by major Sunni parties – and overwhelmingly approved in a referendum that drew over a million new voters to the polls. A Sunni negotiator described the transformation this way: “Before now, I felt like ... we are losing our power, we are losing our country, and I am like a foreigner living here. Now everything has changed.” Through hard work and compromise, Iraqis overcame decades of sectarian division, and they adopted the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world.

In three days, Iraqis will meet their final benchmark – when they go to the polls for the third time this year and choose a permanent government. Despite terrorist violence, the country is buzzing with the sights and sounds of democracy in action. The streets of Baghdad, Najaf, Mosul, and other cities are full of signs and posters. The television and radio air waves are thick with political ads and commentary. Over three hundred parties and coalitions have registered for this week’s elections – and they are campaigning vigorously. Candidates are holding rallies and debates ... laying out their agendas ... leveling charges and counter-charges ... and asking for the vote. Our troops see Iraq’s vital young democracy up close – and they are inspired by what they see. First Lieutenant Frank Shirley of Rock Hall, Maryland, says this about the campaign season in Iraq: “It’s cool riding around Baghdad and seeing the posters – it reminds me of being home during election time. After so many years of being told what to do, having a real vote is different. We should stay the course and finish it out. I have no problem coming back another time.”

Unlike the January elections, Sunnis are campaigning vigorously for office this time around. At least [three] major Sunni coalitions have registered to compete in this week’s vote – including many Sunni parties that opposed the Constitution. Other Sunni leaders have joined national coalitions that cross religious, ethnic, and sectarian boundaries – running on issues instead of identity. As one Sunni politician puts it, this election “is a vote for Iraq, not for sects. We want a national Iraq, not a sectarian one.”

To encourage Sunni participation, the National Assembly made important changes in Iraq’s electoral laws that will increase Sunni representation in the new assembly. Before, seats in the Assembly were allocated based on turnout – and because Sunnis boycotted the vote, their communities were left with little power. Now, Iraq has a system based on proportional representation – with seats in the assembly allocated by province, according to the size of the population, much like our House of Representatives. Such power-sharing mechanisms are encouraging more Sunnis to join in the democratic process – and that is strengthening Iraq’s democracy.

Many Sunnis are campaigning for office at the risk of their lives. The Iraqi Islamic Party – a major Sunni party that boycotted the January vote – has seen its offices in Fallujah and Ramadi firebombed. And the head of the party reports that at least ten members have been killed since they announced they would field candidates in Thursday’s elections. Recently a top Sunni electoral official named Izzadin al-Muhammadi visited the Sunni stronghold of Baquba to encourage local leaders to participate. As he traveled to his meeting, a roadside bomb went off. The explosion rattled his convoy, but failed to stop it. He says this about the attempt on his life: “The bomb is nothing compared to what we are doing. What we are doing is bigger than the bomb.”

More Sunnis are participating because they see Iraqi democracy succeeding – and they want to play a role in their nation’s affairs. A former Sunni rejectionist named Adnaud Dulami puts it this way: “The country needs Sunnis to join politics. The Sunnis are now ready to participate.” Abdul Samarrai is a leader of one of the most vocal Sunni groups opposed to the Coalition – the Association of Muslim Scholars. He says: Sunnis must “unite their voices and get ready to take part in the next election.... We’ll not miss this chance again.” A Sunni sheik in Diyala Province explains why Sunnis must participate this way: “In order to not be marginalized, we need power in the National Assembly.” As more Sunnis join the political process, the Saddamists and rejectionists are the ones being marginalized. As more Sunnis join the political process, they are ensuring the interests of their community are protected. And as more Sunnis join the political process, they are teaching their fellow citizens an important lesson: Sovereignty, free elections, and majority rule are only the beginnings of freedom. The promise of democracy is fulfilled by minority rights, and equal justice, and an inclusive

society in which every person belongs.

By pressing forward and hitting every benchmark, the Iraq people have built momentum for freedom and democracy. At every stage in the process, there was enormous pressure to let deadlines slide – with skeptics and pessimists declaring that Iraqis were not ready for self-government. At every stage in the process, Iraqis proved the skeptics and pessimists wrong. At every stage in the process, the enemy has tried to stop Iraqis from taking the next step on the road to democracy – and at every stage, Iraqis sent a clear message to the terrorists and Saddamists: The Iraqi people want to live in freedom. By meeting their deadlines, Iraqis are defeating a brutal enemy ... rejecting a murderous ideology ... and choosing freedom over terror. Despite the costs, the pain, and the danger, Iraqis are moving forward with courage. They are securing freedom to their people ... bringing pride to their nation ... and they are earning the respect of the world.

This week's elections will not be perfect – and they are not the end of the process. The real work of building a strong democracy begins after the polls are closed and the votes are been counted -- and Iraqis still have more difficult work ahead.

One challenge is ensuring the unity of Iraq. Many fear the possibility that Iraq could break apart and fall into civil war. It is true Iraqis have to overcome longstanding ethnic and religious tensions, and the legacy of brutal repression. Yet the past year has shown that they working out their difference through debate and discussion instead of at the barrel of a gun. Iraqis are learning that democracy is the only system that gives every citizen a voice in determining their country's future. And as Iraqis continue to develop the habits of liberty, I believe that Iraqi unity will trump Iraqi sectarianism.

Another challenge is encouraging reconciliation and human rights in a society scarred by three decades of sectarian division and arbitrary violence. During the regime of Saddam Hussein, the Shia majority was brutally oppressed by the Sunni minority – and for some there is now a temptation to take justice into their own hands. Recently, U.S. troops raided an Interior Ministry building in the city of Jadriyah where they uncovered a secret prison, with more than 170 men, mostly Sunnis, many of whom appeared to have been beaten and tortured. To ensure peace and reconciliation, bad elements like those operating the torture chamber in Jadriyah must be rooted out. And to ensure peace and reconciliation, we must help Iraqis build an impartial system of justice that protects all of Iraq's citizens – and holds even the highest ranking officials to account.

Last week, millions of Iraqis saw their independent judiciary in action, as their former dictator, Saddam Hussein, was put on trial in Baghdad. The man who once struck fear in the hearts of Iraqis was forced to sit and listen as his victims recounted the acts of torture and murder he ordered. One Iraqi watching the proceedings said this: "We all feel happiness about this fair trial." Another who survived the massacre for which Saddam is now being prosecuted puts it this way: "We want the deserved punishment for the guilty and fair treatment for those who will be found innocent, even if it were Saddam Hussein or his aides." Slowly but surely, with the help of our Coalition, Iraqis are replacing rule of fear with the rule of law – and in so doing, they are laying the foundations for a lasting free society. And as Iraqis see their former leaders held to account, they will gain confidence in the future – and will be able to put the past behind them.

Another challenge is encouraging greater support from Iraq's Arab neighbors. Most Arab nations were relieved when Saddam Hussein was removed from power – because it removed a grave threat to their countries. Yet the establishment of a constitutional democracy in their neighborhood has been an unsettling development for many. Some Arab nations are only now taking their first steps on the path to democracy – and when citizens of these nations see Iraqis campaigning and voting and exercising real power, they are inspired to demand the same freedoms for themselves.

Many Arab states have kept a democratic Iraq at an arms distance. While Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates have reopened their Baghdad embassies, most Arab League members have not established a diplomatic presence in the Iraqi capital. Yet as more Arab states are beginning to recognize that a free Iraq is here to stay, they are starting to get off the fence and give Iraq's new government more support. Recently, Saudi Arabia welcomed Prime Minister Ja'afari on a state visit to Riyadh – and last month, the Arab League hosted a meeting in Cairo, where Arab foreign ministers met with Iraqi leaders to discuss Iraqi reconciliation. These are important steps – and Iraq's Arab neighbors need to do more. Arab leaders must recognize that the choice in Iraq is between democracy and terrorism – and there is no middle ground. The success of Iraqi democracy is in their vital interests – because the terrorists have made clear that if they prevail in Iraq, they will target Iraq's Arab neighbors next.

Another challenge is dealing with Iranian influence in Iraq. The Iranian regime does not want a flourishing democracy across its border in Iraq, because Iraqi democracy threatens the legitimacy of Iran's brutal theocracy. Iran's leaders are doing all they can to undermine the success of a free Iraq – and they must not be allowed to succeed. We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq, and pay a bitter cost of casualties, and liberate 25 million people, only to allow Iran's clerics to remake Iraq the image of their dictatorship. The vast majority of Iraqis do not want to live under an Iranian-style theocracy ... they will reject foreign interference their democratic progress ... and the United States of America stands with them.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, people across the broader Middle East are drawing inspiration from Iraq's progress. When the new Iraqi government takes power in January, Iraq will become the first constitutional democracy in the Arab world – and this will have an impact that reaches far beyond Iraq's borders. As Iraqis begin to enjoy the better life that freedom brings, democratic reformers across the region will have a cause for hope – and an example to show their countrymen. A free and stable Middle East begins with a free and stable Iraq. And as hope and freedom spread across that region, the American people will be more secure.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the terrorists' most powerful myth is being destroyed. The whole world is seeing that the car bombers and assassins are not fighting a foreign occupation – they are fighting will of the Iraqi people. In his 1998 fatwa, Osama bin Laden argued that the suffering of the Iraqi people was justification for his declaration of war on America. Now bin Laden and al-Qaida are the direct cause of the Iraqi people's suffering. It is al-Qaida that blew up mounmers at a funeral inside an Iraqi mosque, and murdered Iraqi children and their parents at a toy give-away outside an Iraqi hospital. These terrorists are killing and maiming innocent Iraqis by the thousands – and after this week's vote, they will be fighting to overthrow a free and constitutional government chosen by the Iraqi people. It is becoming clear that the terrorists are not fighting on behalf of the Iraqi people – they are murdering innocent Muslims to serve their own will to power and their desire for dominion over others. And as more Muslims across the world see this, they are turning against the terrorists.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the enemy will continue to sow violence and death. Our Coalition faces ruthless adversaries in that country – men who celebrate murder, incite suicide, and thirst for absolute power. These enemies will not give up because of a successful election – they understand what is at stake in Iraq. They know that as democracy takes root in that country, their hateful ideology will suffer a devastating blow – and the Middle East will have a clear example of freedom and prosperity and hope. And when the hope of liberty spreads in the Middle East, the terrorists will begin to lose their sponsors ... lose their recruits ... and lose the sanctuaries they need to plan new attacks.

The terrorists will continue fighting freedom's progress with all the hateful determination they can muster – and they believe they can break our will and force us to retreat. In his recent letter to the terrorist Zarqawi in Iraq, the al-Qaida leader Zawahiri invokes the American abandonment of Vietnam as a reason to believe the terrorists can prevail in Iraq. Zawahiri writes, quote: "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam – and how they ran and left their agents – is noteworthy." End quote. Now some in Washington are likening Iraq to Vietnam – and they are proposing the

same solution. These politicians need to explain to the American people how we will be safer by doing the one thing that al-Qaida hopes we will do.

Abandoning Iraq would not make Americans safer – it would put the American people at greater risk. It would send a signal across the world that America is a weak and an unreliable ally. It would send a signal to our enemies – that if they wait long enough, America will cut and run and abandon its friends. And it would vindicate the enemy's tactics of beheadings and suicide bombings and mass murder – and invite new attacks on America. So I make you this pledge: We will endanger our own citizens by quitting before the job is done.

Most Americans want two things in Iraq: They want to see our troops win, and they want to see our troops come home as soon as possible. And those are my goals as well. To achieve victory, our military will continue to hunt down the enemy in Iraq – and prepare the Iraqi Security Forces to defend their own free nation. We will continue to help Iraqis rebuild their cities and lives so they can enjoy the prosperity that freedom brings. We will continue to stand with the Iraqi people as they move forward on the path to democracy. And when victory is achieved, our troops will come home with the honor they have earned.

Before victory comes, there will be more hard fighting and heartbreak. Yet we can have confidence in our cause, because the Iraqi people are determined – and our troops have the courage to see the mission through.

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b(3) 10 USC 130b- Like every American serving in Iraq, [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b
[REDACTED] is fighting to defeat our enemy in Iraq so we do not have to face him here at home. And our Nation will not rest until that enemy is defeated and we have achieved complete victory.

A free Iraq will not be a quiet Iraq – it will be a nation full of passionate debate, and vigorous political activity. Iraqis are showing they have the patience and the courage to make democracy work. And Americans have the patience and courage to help them succeed. By helping Iraqis lay the foundations of a lasting democracy, we are adding to our own security -- and laying the foundations of peace for generations to come.

Not far from where we are gathered today is a symbol of freedom familiar to all Americans: the Liberty Bell. When the Declaration of Independence was first read in public, the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration – and a witness said: “It rang as if it meant something.” Today, the bell of liberty tolls in Baghdad, Basra, and other Iraqis cities – and its sound is echoing across the broader Middle East. From Damascus to Tehran people hear it – and they know it means something. It means that the days of tyranny and terror are ending ... and a new day of hope and freedom is dawning.

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

Drafted by: Marc Thiessen, Bill McGurn, and Chris Michel, Office of Speechwriting

Office: 202/456-2170, 202/456-2553, and 202/456-5860

Cell: 202/494-9952, 202/441-1671, and 202/486-9403

Remarks on the War on Terror
Monday, December 12, 2005
Draft #4

Thank you all for that warm welcome. And thank you, [XX], for that introduction – and for the invitation to come to Philadelphia. I appreciate the chance get out of the City of Brotherly Strife, and spend some time in the City of Brotherly Love. Since 1949, the Philadelphia World Affairs Council has provided an important forum for debate and discussion on vital issues of the day. And I have come to discuss an issue that is vital to the safety and security of all Americans: Victory in Iraq.

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intervention of General Washington. In 1783, Congress was chased from this city by angry veterans demanding back pay – and Congress stayed on the run for six months. There was rampant inflation caused by the lack of a stable currency. There were regional tensions between mercantile North and the agrarian South that threatened to break apart our young republic. There was violence and crime and a lack of an organized police force. And there were supporters of the former regime who had to be reconciled to America's new democracy.

Our Founders faced many difficult challenges. They made mistakes, learned from their experiences, and adjusted their approach. Our Nation's first effort at a governing charter, the Articles of Confederation, failed. It took many years of debate, discussion, and compromise before we finally ratified our Constitution and inaugurated our first president. And it took a four-year civil war, and a century of struggle after that, before the promise of our Declaration was extended to all Americans.

It is worth keeping this history in mind as we look at the progress of freedom and democracy in Iraq. No nation in history has made the transition from tyranny to a free society without facing challenges, setbacks, and false starts. The past two and a half years have been a period of difficult struggle in Iraq – yet they have also been a time of great hope and achievement for the Iraqi people.

Two and a half years ago, Iraq was in the grip of a cruel dictator who defied the world, threatened his neighbors, harbored terrorists, and murdered innocent men, women, and children. Since then, the Iraqi people have assumed full sovereignty of their country ... held free elections ... drafted a democratic Constitution ... and approved that constitution in a nationwide referendum. Three days from now, they will go to polls for the third time this year, to choose a fully constitutional government. This is a remarkable transformation for a country that has virtually no experience with democracy – and which is struggling to overcome the legacy of one of the worst tyrannies the world has known. Iraqis have accomplished all this in just a few years – and they have done it under fire, while determined enemies sowed violence and destruction and actively worked to stop their progress. There is still much difficult work to be done in Iraq. But thanks to the courage of the Iraqi people, the year 2005 will be recorded as a turning point in the history of Iraq ... the history of the Middle East ... and the history of freedom.

As the Iraqi people struggle to build their democracy, their adversaries continue their war on a free Iraq. The enemy is a combination of rejectionists, Saddamists, and terrorists. The rejectionists are ordinary Iraqis, mostly Sunni Arabs, who miss the privileged status they had under the regime of Saddam Hussein – and they reject an Iraq in which they are no longer the dominant group. As we help Iraqis build a strong democracy, we believe that, over time, most of this group will be persuaded to support a democratic Iraq led by a federal government that is strong enough to protect minority rights. The Saddamists are former regime loyalists who harbor dreams of returning to power – and they are trying to foment anti-democratic sentiment among the larger Sunni community. Yet they lack popular support – and over time, they can be marginalized and defeated by the people and security forces of a free Iraq. The terrorists are the smallest but most lethal group. Many are foreigners coming to fight freedom's progress in Iraq. They are led by a brutal terrorist named Zarqawi – al-Qaida's chief of operations in Iraq – who has pledged his allegiance to Osama bin Laden. The terrorists' stated objective is to drive U.S. and Coalition forces out of Iraq and gain control of the country. They would then use Iraq as a base from which to launch attacks against America, overthrow moderate governments in the Middle East, and try to establish a totalitarian Islamic empire that reaches from Indonesia to Spain.

The terrorists in Iraq share the same ideology as the terrorists who struck the United States on September 11 ... blew up commuters in London and Madrid ... murdered tourists in Bali ... killed workers in Riyadh ... and slaughtered guests at a wedding in Amman, Jordan. This is an enemy without conscience – and they cannot be appeased. If we were not fighting and destroying this enemy in Iraq, they would not be leading quiet lives as good citizens. They would be plotting and killing our citizens – across the world and within our own borders. By fighting the terrorists in Iraq, we are confronting a direct threat to the American people – and we will not rest until this enemy is defeated.

We are pursuing a comprehensive strategy to defeat these enemies and aid the rise of a free Iraq – and that strategy has three elements: On the economic side, we are helping the Iraqis rebuild their infrastructure ... reform their economy ... and build the prosperity that will give all Iraqis a stake in a free and peaceful Iraq. On the security side, coalition and Iraqi security forces are on the offense against the enemy. We are clearing out areas controlled by the terrorists and Saddam loyalists ... leaving Iraqi

forces to hold territory taken from the enemy ... and following up with targeted reconstruction to help Iraqis rebuild their lives. And as we fight these enemies, we are working to build capable and effective Iraqi security forces, so they can take the lead in the fight – and eventually take responsibility for the safety and security of their citizens without major foreign assistance. As Iraqi forces become more capable, they are taking responsibility for more and more Iraqi territory, and we are transferring bases to their control. That means American and Coalition forces can concentrate on training Iraqis – and hunting down high-value targets like the terrorist Zarqawi and his associates.

Today, I want to discuss the third element of our strategy: Our efforts to help the Iraqis build inclusive democratic institutions that will protect the interests of all the Iraqi people. We are working with the Iraqis to engage those who can be persuaded to join the new Iraq ... to isolate those who never will ... and to help the Iraqi people build the institutions of a free and representative government – and the international support they need to succeed. By helping Iraqis continue to build their democracy, we will gain an ally in the war on terror. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will inspire reformers from across the Middle East. And by helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will make the American people more secure.

From the outset, our efforts in Iraq have been guided by a clear principle: Democracy takes different forms in different cultures – yet in all cultures, successful free societies are built on certain common foundations: Freedom of speech, with a vibrant free press that informs the public and ensures transparency ... freedom of assembly, so citizens can organize to challenge their leaders and press for reform ... a free economy to create prosperity and opportunity and economic independence from the state ... an independent judiciary to guarantee rule of law and assure impartial justice ... and freedom of worship – because respect for the beliefs of others is the only way to build a society where compassion and tolerance prevail. Societies that lay these foundations not only survive, but thrive – while societies that do not lay these foundations risk backsliding into tyranny.

When our Coalition arrived in Iraq, we found a nation where almost none of these basic foundations existed. Decades of brutal rule by Saddam Hussein had destroyed the fabric of Iraqi civil society. Under Saddam, Iraq was a country where dissent was crushed ... a centralized

economy enriched a dictator instead of the people ... secret courts meted out repression instead of justice ... and Shia Muslims and other groups were brutally suppressed by the ruling Sunni minority. And when Saddam Hussein's regime fled Baghdad, they left behind a country with no civic institutions in place to hold Iraqi society together.

To fill the vacuum in the early months after liberation, we established the Coalition Provisional Authority. The CPA was ably led by Ambassador Jerry Bremer – and many fine men and women from almost every department of our government volunteered to serve in the CPA. They did an amazing job under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances – helping to restore basic services ... making sure the food distribution system continued to function ... and getting abandoned government ministries up and running again.

The CPA's most important task was bringing the Iraqi people into the decision-making process of their government for the first time in their lives. Within weeks of liberation, our Coalition worked with Iraqi leaders to establish an Iraqi Governing Council. This appointed body gave Iraqis a voice in their own affairs – but it did not satisfy the hunger of Iraqis for self-government. Like free people everywhere, Iraqis wanted to be led by Iraqis – not foreign officials. And each day the CPA held power, it created a sense of occupation instead of liberation. So in August 2003, we came up with a plan to transfer full sovereignty to the Iraqi people over a period of 18 months. Under this plan, the CPA would continue to hold power while appointed Iraqi leaders drafted a constitution ... put that constitution before the people ... and held elections to choose a new government. Only when a constitutional government had been elected would the CPA hand sovereignty over to Iraqis – and go out of business.

This initial plan met with widespread disapproval in Iraq – and if we had stuck with it, the CPA might still be in power today. Iraqis made clear to us that they wanted a Constitution that was written by the elected leaders of a free Iraq – and they wanted sovereignty placed in Iraqi hands sooner. We listened – and adjusted our approach. In November, we announced a new plan for an accelerated transition to Iraqi self-government. Under this new plan, an interim constitution – known as the Transitional Administrative Law – was established that guaranteed personal freedoms unprecedented in the Arab world. We established a July 2004 deadline to transfer sovereignty to an Interim Iraqi Government.

And we laid out three major benchmarks to guide Iraq's transition to a constitutional democracy:

The first benchmark was for Iraqis to hold free elections to choose a transitional government by January 2005. The second was for Iraqis to adopt a democratic constitution – which would be drafted no later than August and put before the Iraqi people in a nationwide referendum to be held no later than October. The third was for Iraqis to choose a permanent government under that democratic constitution – with elections held by December 2005.

The transfer of sovereignty took place [three] days ahead of schedule – and since the moment they took control of their own destiny, the Iraqi people have hit every deadline.

In January 2005, Iraqis hit the first benchmark when they went to the polls and chose their leaders in free elections. Eight and a half million Iraqis defied the car bombers and assassins to cast their ballots – and the world watched in awe as jubilant Iraqis danced in the streets, held up ink-stained fingers, and celebrated their freedom.

The January elections were a watershed event for Iraq and the Middle East – yet they were not without flaws. The key flaw was the decision by the vast majority of Sunni Arabs to boycott the vote. Iraqis on all sides quickly saw what a mistake this was. When Sunni Arabs saw the success of the elections, and watched a new parliament taking power in which they had little voice, many quickly realized that opting out of the democratic process had hurt their interests. And Shia and Kurdish leaders who had won power at the polls saw that for a free and unified Iraq to succeed, they needed to share that power with Sunni Arabs who had boycotted the elections. So Iraq's elected leaders reached out to Sunni leaders – and brought them into the governing process. When the Transitional Government was seated in April, Sunni Arabs were given important posts – including Vice President, Minister of Defense, and President of the National Assembly.

The new government's main challenge was to meet the second benchmark – adopting a democratic constitution. Again, Iraq's leaders reached out to Sunni Arabs who had boycotted the elections and included them in the drafting process. [Fifteen] Sunni Arab negotiators, and [ten]

Sunni Arab advisors joined the work of the constitutional drafting Committee. Together, representatives of all of Iraq's diverse communities drafted a bold constitution that guarantees freedom of speech ... freedom of the press ... freedom of assembly ... freedom of religious belief and practice ... equal justice under law ... property rights ... and women's rights.

Yet for all the progress they made, negotiators could not agree on a handful of issues important to Sunni Arabs – and it appeared that Sunnis would once again be in opposition. [Four] days before the referendum, negotiators reached a deal that included legal protections for rank-and-file members of the Ba'ath Party – and new mechanisms for amending the Constitution next year. The revised constitution was endorsed by major Sunni parties – and overwhelmingly approved in a referendum that drew over a million new voters to the polls. A Sunni negotiator described the transformation this way: “Before now, I felt like ... we are losing our power, we are losing our country, and I am like a foreigner living here. Now everything has changed.” Through hard work and compromise, Iraqis overcame decades of sectarian division, and they adopted the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world.

In three days, Iraqis will meet their final benchmark – when they go to the polls for the third time this year and choose a permanent government. Despite terrorist violence, the country is buzzing with the sights and sounds of democracy in action. The streets of Baghdad, Najaf, Mosul, and other cities are full of signs and posters. The television and radio air waves are thick with political ads and commentary. Over three hundred parties and coalitions have registered for this week's elections – and they are campaigning vigorously. Candidates are holding rallies and debates ... laying out their agendas ... leveling charges and counter-charges ... and asking for the vote. Our troops see Iraq's vital young democracy up close – and they are inspired by what they see. First Lieutenant Frank Shirley of Rock Hall, Maryland, says this about the campaign season in Iraq: “It's cool riding around Baghdad and seeing the posters – it reminds me of being home during election time. After so many years of being told what to do, having a real vote is different. We should stay the course and finish it out. I have no problem coming back another time.”

Unlike the January elections, Sunnis are campaigning vigorously for office this time around. At least [three] major Sunni coalitions have

registered to compete in this week's vote – including many Sunni parties that opposed the Constitution. Other Sunni leaders have joined national coalitions that cross religious, ethnic, and sectarian boundaries – running on issues instead of identity. As one Sunni politician puts it, this election “is a vote for Iraq, not for sects. We want a national Iraq, not a sectarian one.”

To encourage Sunni participation, the National Assembly made important changes in Iraq's electoral laws that will increase Sunni representation in the new assembly. Before, seats in the Assembly were allocated based on turnout – and because Sunnis boycotted the vote, their communities were left with little power. Now, Iraq has a system based on proportional representation – with seats in the assembly allocated by province, according to the size of the population, much like our House of Representatives. Such power-sharing mechanisms are encouraging more Sunnis to join in the democratic process – and that is strengthening Iraq's democracy.

Many Sunnis are campaigning for office at the risk of their lives. The Iraqi Islamic Party – a major Sunni party that boycotted the January vote – has seen its offices in Fallujah and Ramadi firebombed. And the head of the party reports that at least ten members have been killed since they announced they would field candidates in Thursday's elections. Recently a top Sunni electoral official named Izzadin al-Muhammadi visited the Sunni stronghold of Baquba to encourage local leaders to participate. As he traveled to his meeting, a roadside bomb went off. The explosion rattled his convoy, but failed to stop it. He says this about the attempt on his life: “The bomb is nothing compared to what we are doing. What we are doing is bigger than the bomb.”

More Sunnis are participating because they see Iraqi democracy succeeding – and they want to play a role in their nation's affairs. A former Sunni rejectionist named Adnau Dulami puts it this way: “The country needs Sunnis to join politics. The Sunnis are now ready to participate.” Abdul Samarra is a leader of one of the most vocal Sunni groups opposed to the Coalition – the Association of Muslim Scholars. He says: Sunnis must “unite their voices and get ready to take part in the next election.... We'll not miss this chance again.” A Sunni sheik in Diyala Province explains why Sunnis must participate this way: “In order to not be marginalized, we need power in the National Assembly.” As more Sunnis join the political process, the Saddamists and rejectionists are the ones

being marginalized. As more Sunnis join the political process, they are ensuring the interests of their community are protected. And as more Sunnis join the political process, they are teaching their fellow citizens an important lesson: Sovereignty, free elections, and majority rule are only the beginnings of freedom. The promise of democracy is fulfilled by minority rights, and equal justice, and an inclusive society in which every person belongs.

By pressing forward and hitting every benchmark, the Iraq people have built momentum for freedom and democracy. At every stage in the process, there was enormous pressure to let deadlines slide – with skeptics and pessimists declaring that Iraqis were not ready for self-government. At every stage in the process, Iraqis proved the skeptics and pessimists wrong. At every stage in the process, the enemy has tried to stop Iraqis from taking the next step on the road to democracy – and at every stage, Iraqis sent a clear message to the terrorists and Saddamists: The Iraqi people want to live in freedom. By meeting their deadlines, Iraqis are defeating a brutal enemy ... rejecting a murderous ideology ... and choosing freedom over terror. Despite the costs, the pain, and the danger, Iraqis are moving forward with courage. They are securing freedom to their people ... bringing pride to their nation ... and they are earning the respect of the world.

This week's elections will not be perfect – and they are not the end of the process. The real work of building a strong democracy begins after the polls are closed and the votes are been counted -- and Iraqis still have more difficult work ahead.

One challenge is ensuring the unity of Iraq. Many fear the possibility that Iraq could break apart and fall into civil war. It is true Iraqis have to overcome longstanding ethnic and religious tensions, and the legacy of brutal repression. Yet the past year has shown that they working out their difference through debate and discussion instead of at the barrel of a gun. Iraqis are learning that democracy is the only system that gives every citizen a voice in determining their country's future. And as Iraqis continue to develop the habits of liberty, I believe that Iraqi unity will trump Iraqi sectarianism.

Another challenge is encouraging reconciliation and human rights in a society scarred by three decades of sectarian division and arbitrary

violence. During the regime of Saddam Hussein, the Shia majority was brutally oppressed by the Sunni minority – and for some there is now a temptation to take justice into their own hands. Recently, U.S. troops raided an Interior Ministry building in the city of Jadriyah where they uncovered a secret prison, with more than 170 men, mostly Sunnis, many of whom appeared to have been beaten and tortured. To ensure peace and reconciliation, bad elements like those operating the torture chamber in Jadriyah must be rooted out. And to ensure peace and reconciliation, we must help Iraqis build an impartial system of justice that protects all of Iraq's citizens – and holds even the highest ranking officials to account.

Last week, millions of Iraqis saw their independent judiciary in action, as their former dictator, Saddam Hussein, was put on trial in Baghdad. The man who once struck fear in the hearts of Iraqis was forced to sit and listen as his victims recounted the acts of torture and murder he ordered. One Iraqi watching the proceedings said this: "We all feel happiness about this fair trial." Another who survived the massacre for which Saddam is now being prosecuted puts it this way: "We want the deserved punishment for the guilty and fair treatment for those who will be found innocent, even if it were Saddam Hussein or his aides." Slowly but surely, with the help of our Coalition, Iraqis are replacing rule of fear with the rule of law – and in so doing, they are laying the foundations for a lasting free society. And as Iraqis see their former leaders held to account, they will gain confidence in the future – and will be able to put the past behind them.

Another challenge is encouraging greater support from Iraq's Arab neighbors. Most Arab nations were relieved when Saddam Hussein was removed from power – because it removed a grave threat to their countries. Yet the establishment of a constitutional democracy in their neighborhood has been an unsettling development for many. Some Arab nations are only now taking their first steps on the path to democracy – and when citizens of these nations see Iraqis campaigning and voting and exercising real power, they are inspired to demand the same freedoms for themselves.

Many Arab states have kept a democratic Iraq at an arms distance. While Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates have reopened their Baghdad embassies, most Arab League members have not established a diplomatic presence in the Iraqi capital. Yet as more Arab states are beginning to recognize that a free Iraq is here to stay, they are

starting to get off the fence and give Iraq's new government more support. Recently, Saudi Arabia welcomed Prime Minister Ja'afari on a state visit to Riyadh – and last month, the Arab League hosted a meeting in Cairo, where Arab foreign ministers met with Iraqi leaders to discuss Iraqi reconciliation. These are important steps – and Iraq's Arab neighbors need to do more. Arab leaders must recognize that the choice in Iraq is between democracy and terrorism – and there is no middle ground. The success of Iraqi democracy is in their vital interests – because the terrorists have made clear that if they prevail in Iraq, they will target Iraq's Arab neighbors next.

Another challenge is dealing with Iranian influence in Iraq. The Iranian regime does not want a flourishing democracy across its border in Iraq, because Iraqi democracy threatens the legitimacy of Iran's brutal theocracy. Iran's leaders are doing all they can to undermine the success of a free Iraq – and they must not be allowed to succeed. We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq, and pay a bitter cost of casualties, and liberate 25 million people, only to allow Iran's clerics to remake Iraq the image of their dictatorship. The vast majority of Iraqis do not want to live under an Iranian-style theocracy ... they will reject foreign interference their democratic progress ... and the United States of America stands with them.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, people across the broader Middle East are drawing inspiration from Iraq's progress. When the new Iraqi government takes power in January, Iraq will become the first constitutional democracy in the Arab world – and this will have an impact that reaches far beyond Iraq's borders. As Iraqis begin to enjoy the better life that freedom brings, democratic reformers across the region will have a cause for hope – and an example to show their countrymen. A free and stable Middle East begins with a free and stable Iraq. And as hope and freedom spread across that region, the American people will be more secure.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the terrorists' most powerful myth is being destroyed. The whole world is seeing that the car bombers and assassins are not fighting a foreign occupation – they are fighting will of the Iraqi people. In his 1998 fatwa, Osama bin Laden argued that the suffering of the Iraqi people was justification for his declaration of war on America. Now bin Laden and al-Qaida are the direct cause of the Iraqi people's suffering. It is al-Qaida that blew up mourners at a funeral inside an Iraqi

mosque, and murdered Iraqi children and their parents at a toy give-away outside an Iraqi hospital. These terrorists are killing and maiming innocent Iraqis by the thousands – and after this week's vote, they will be fighting to overthrow a free and constitutional government chosen by the Iraqi people. It is becoming clear that the terrorists are not fighting on behalf of the Iraqi people – they are murdering innocent Muslims to serve their own will to power and their desire for dominion over others. And as more Muslims across the world see this, they are turning against the terrorists.

As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the enemy will continue to sow violence and death. Our Coalition faces ruthless adversaries in that country – men who celebrate murder, incite suicide, and thirst for absolute power. These enemies will not give up because of a successful election – they understand what is at stake in Iraq. They know that as democracy takes root in that country, their hateful ideology will suffer a devastating blow – and the Middle East will have a clear example of freedom and prosperity and hope. And when the hope of liberty spreads in the Middle East, the terrorists will begin to lose their sponsors ... lose their recruits ... and lose the sanctuaries they need to plan new attacks.

The terrorists will continue fighting freedom's progress with all the hateful determination they can muster – and they believe they can break our will and force us to retreat. In his recent letter to the terrorist Zarqawi in Iraq, the al-Qaida leader Zawahiri invokes the American abandonment of Vietnam as a reason to believe the terrorists can prevail in Iraq. Zawahiri writes, quote: "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam – and how they ran and left their agents – is noteworthy." End quote. Now some in Washington are likening Iraq to Vietnam – and they are proposing the same solution. These politicians need to explain to the American people how we will be safer by doing the one thing that al-Qaida hopes we will do.

Abandoning Iraq would not make Americans safer – it would put the American people at greater risk. It would send a signal across the world that America is a weak and an unreliable ally. It would send a signal to our enemies – that if they wait long enough, America will cut and run and abandon its friends. And it would vindicate the enemy's tactics of beheadings and suicide bombings and mass murder – and invite new attacks on America. So I make you this pledge: We will endanger our own citizens by quitting before the job is done.

Most Americans want two things in Iraq: They want to see our troops win, and they want to see our troops come home as soon as possible. And those are my goals as well. To achieve victory, our military will continue to hunt down the enemy in Iraq – and prepare the Iraqi Security Forces to defend their own free nation. We will continue to help Iraqis rebuild their cities and lives so they can enjoy the prosperity that freedom brings. We will continue to stand with the Iraqi people as they move forward on the path to democracy. And when victory is achieved, our troops will come home with the honor they have earned.

Before victory comes, there will be more hard fighting and heartbreak. Yet we can have confidence in our cause, because the Iraqi people are determined – and our troops have the courage to see the mission through.

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

Like every American serving in Iraq, [REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b

[REDACTED] b(3) 10 USC 130b is fighting to defeat our enemy in Iraq so we do not have to face him here at home. And our Nation will not rest until that enemy is defeated and we have achieved complete victory.

A free Iraq will not be a quiet Iraq – it will be a nation full of passionate debate, and vigorous political activity. Iraqis are showing they have the patience and the courage to make democracy work. And Americans have the patience and courage to help them succeed. By helping Iraqis lay the foundations of a lasting democracy, we are adding to our own security -- and laying the foundations of peace for generations to come.

Not far from where we are gathered today is a symbol of freedom familiar to all Americans: the Liberty Bell. When the Declaration of

Independence was first read in public, the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration – and a witness said: “It rang as if it meant something.” Today, the bell of liberty tolls in Baghdad, Basra, and other Iraqis cities – and its sound is echoing across the broader Middle East. From Damascus to Tehran people hear it – and they know it means something. It means that the days of tyranny and terror are ending ... and a new day of hope and freedom is dawning.

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

*Drafted by: Marc Thiessen, Bill McGurn, and Chris Michel, Office of Speechwriting
Office: 202/456-2170, 202/456-2553, and 202/456-5860
Cell: 202/494-9952, 202/441-1671, and 202/486-9403*