

# Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Rich DeVos	1	12/22/2005	P6/b6;
002	Talking Points	Talking Points on Dobson Letter	1	12/14/2005	P5;
003	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Jim Dobson	2	12/06/2005	P5;
004	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Kay Enoch	1	11/15/2005	PRM;
005	Handwritten Note	POTUS Meeting w/ Former Secretaries of State & Defense	4	01/05/2006	P5;
006	Email	Fw: - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	1	01/02/2006	P5; P6/b6;
007	Email	Health IT - To: Karl Rove - From: Jeremy Katz	1	12/21/2005	P5;

**COLLECTION TITLE:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

**FOLDER TITLE:**

683174 [3]

**FRC ID:**

9751

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
008	Envelope	[Envelope] - To: Karl Rove - From: Glen Pedersen	1	12/19/2005	P6/b6;
009	Presentation	National Survey of Presidential Primary Voters and...	14	09/2005	PRM;
010	Memorandum	Strengthening America's Communities Initiative - To: Chief of Staff - From: Ryan Streeter	2	12/14/2005	P5;
011	Briefing	Supportive Elderly Housing - Section 202 Program	2	12/30/2005	P5;
012	Letter	[U.S. Army All American Bowl - page 2] - To: POTUS - From: Jeff Wentworth	1	01/03/2006	P6/b6;

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LIEUTENANT GENERAL PETRAEUS DELIVERS REMARKS AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ON IRAQ'S EVOLVING FORCES

November 7, 2005 Monday

PETRAEUS: It's really great to be with you all this morning, especially a day after a great win by the Redskins and, I might add, three days after Army beat Air Force at Air Force for the first time since 1977.

(APPLAUSE)

I should not applaud that, in the interest of jointness, and with a former secretary of defense here.

Dr. Schlesinger, thanks for being here today. You honor us with your presence.

And I saw former Secretary of the Army Brownlee here as well somewhere.

So, thanks, also, not just for being here but for the tremendous support you gave us.

He called me personally back in May of 2004 right before going back to Iraq for the third time and taking over what came to be known as the Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq, pledged anything, and he delivered and was hugely important as we tried to take that mission forward.

It's great to see so many others here also; a lot of others who were over there, comrades-in-arms, some wearing the uniform, some not, but all served and helped to get Iraq moving again and headed in the right direction.

I'm even privileged to have my brother-in-law, Bill, here. He'll remain anonymous so that he can ask me that softball question we agreed on after the presentation.

(LAUGHTER)

And let me thank CSIS, lastly, for assembling such a wonderful crowd and helping me celebrate my birthday. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

I opened a card my wife sent me off with last night. It was a pinata theme. She wished me a smashing birthday with my friends at CSIS. And, indeed, there are a lot of friends here.

But, like the readiness data on U.S. and Iraqi security forces, my age is classified. And I'm sure that my aide will be happy, though, to provide you an unclassified characterization if you ask him. And he can report on our morning run this morning.

But, today, what I am going to do is provide, of course, an unclassified description of what has transpired with the Iraqi security forces, the focus being, most of all, of course, on the last 17 months or so since last June -- early June of 2004, when, as I said, I assumed command as a first commander of the Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq and later in the fall became dual-hatted as the NATO Training Mission-Iraq commander as well.

I should note that I gave up command, handed it off to a great West Point classmate, Lieutenant General Marty Dempsey, who had also commanded in Iraq as a division commander, 1st Armored Division.

He has been in command since the 8th of September. But we certainly cross-leveled information this weekend when I realized just who CSIS had assembled. And so it is generally up-to-date information that I'll be presenting to you today.

This slide shows you the two logos, if you will: the Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq and the NATO Training Mission-Iraq. Again, those are the two hats that are worn by the individual who heads those two missions.

Two other interesting photos on here: Here is the minister of interior and the minister of defense; he's a Shia Arab and a Sunni Arab. They've been great partners.

PETRAEUS: I'll show you another photo of them more recently, right after they voted in mid-October in the referendum.

They took office with the new government back in the mid-spring of this past year and have really been quite admirable servants of Iraq in serving all the people of Iraq, even though they come from different groups.

Also, one of the tanks of the 1st Tank Battalion of the Iraqi 1st Mechanized Brigade. I'll talk some about their armored vehicle program and the recent progress in that regard as well.

Next slide.

I did want to show a couple of images. These are recent images. And this again, the minister of defense and minister of interior. You can see the purple index finger there that shows that they voted in the mid-October constitutional referendum, when the referendum was, in fact, approved -- the constitution.

You see an Iraqi soldier in the normal kit. I'll talk about the equipment that has been issued to them. You can see U.S. Kevlar, U.S. body armor, U.S. other kit and then the weapons -- the Warsaw Pact still; and I'll explain why that continues.

In the center here, you see some of the now 49 Cadillac-gauge armored security vehicles that are being used by the mechanized brigade of the Iraqi special police: a very good vehicle, the same one used by U.S. military police. It carries about a little less than a squad of special police and is working very well for them in Baghdad. They'll get about another 14 of those on this contract.

You see here one of the elements of the Iraqi special operations brigade fast-roping in on -- this is actually a demonstration. They would normally do that at night.

You see a graduating class from the Baghdad police academy.

This is the Iraqi counter-terrorist force, again, in another demonstration. Very, very highly trained and excellent force, already double the size of our own special mission unit and out on ops almost every night.

And then this interesting one I just saw the other day; it came in. It belies somewhat the

notion that Baghdad is, if you will, chaos.

I'm not going to in the least diminish the security challenges in that city. But you have moments like this where you have -- this is a traffic policeman here in his uniform. And in the foreground, you can see his two sons. And they're proud of what their dad does for Iraq.

And, obviously, their folks got them uniforms, complete with the hat, the shirt and all the rest of that and even pistols on their hip with a lanyard. I hope that they're not live pistols.

(LAUGHTER)

But, again, an image, I think, that conveys some of the other reality to that which is often seen, which may be of the sensational attack of the day, which often is what captures much of the news.

Next slide, please.

Well, here are the missions, the tasks, if you will, of these two organizations.

Again, MNSTCI, as the Multinational Security Transition Command- Iraq is termed, the acronym, much, much larger than the NATO training mission. But I'll describe what the NATO training mission is doing. And it is of real substance as well.

Our tasks were to help the Iraqis. And we underscored the word "help" because we very, very much believed in what Lawrence of Arabia wrote back in the famous 27 articles in 1917 when he was out helping Arabs, where he discussed about helping them rather than doing it for them.

And we took that to heart right from the very beginning. That particular quote has been in just about every brief that we've given to anyone. And it is one, again, that we subscribe to.

But these are the major elements of our mission: literally helping the Iraqis organize their forces, designing the overall force structure, literally making up what are called tables of organization and equipment -- who gets what weapons, who gets how many vehicles, what radios, all of the elements that make up a unit and designing that. And that's a huge amount of work. And there now is, in fact, a very well-defined force structure for the short term, the mid-term, and the long term.

The equipment effort: an enormous task. I will show you the numbers on that. That is one useful metric and it has really delivered tremendous quantities of weapons, vehicles, ammunition and so forth. And again, I will show you that in a moment.

We have helped them rebuild hundreds of border forts, hundreds of military bases, small and large, some as large as to hold an entire army division, others as small as company or battalion outposts; police academies; military academies; military training centers; branch schools; all of the facilities, if you will; even the ministry buildings themselves, battalion brigade division, ground forces, headquarters and so on; and all of the pieces and parts that link them together.

PETRAEUS: And I'll talk briefly about some of that. But that has been an enormous task, and it has gone quite well, especially since some of the challenges of intimidation last fall and winter mitigated somewhat, up in Nineveh province in particular.

Help them train -- now you'd say, "Gosh, they had a big army. They've done quite a bit of operations in the past" -- and indeed, they did. And indeed, they have. And there's quite a bit of experience out there. But not all of it was with what we would know as rigorous training. And, in fact, one anecdote illustrates this, I think, very powerfully.

And I was up talking to the man who is now the commander of the Iraqi mechanized division; at that time it was a brigade. And he came up and hugged me and thanked me for all that we had done to help them train. And he was so pleased with the revolutionary new training technique that we'd introduced them to.

And I looked around and I didn't see anything that was all that breathtaking. There were some people doing basic marksmanship, some others doing drills, exiting and entering vehicles, and some others pulling maintenance. And so I asked him, "What is it that is so remarkable in your mind?"

And he said, "Well, this idea of shooting live ammunition. This is really something."

I said, "What do you mean?"

And he said, "When you shoot real bullets, you can see where they actually go and how your aim is and so forth."

And it dawned on me then -- and he confirmed later -- that they shot very, very little in the past. And in fact that explains to some degree what we have sometimes termed the inshallah school of shooting, believe it or not, which is put the weapon up over your head, pull the trigger until the magazine runs dry, and inshallah, God willing, it hits the target.

So there are some cultural challenges here, and that illustrates some of those, I think, in a pretty vivid manner.

And then a very important program: what are now called the transition teams. These are 10-men adviser teams. They start with a battalion, when it enters training. They help the leaders, the officers, the noncommissioned officers, establish their training program. They take the unit, when the soldiers are added, through basic training. Then through some advanced training. And then they go into combat with them.

Those 10-man teams are real heroes. Our country should be very, very proud of them. They are with every single battalion, brigade headquarters, division, ground forces headquarters, even in the ministries, the joint force headquarters and so forth. And they are helping enormously, and I will show some of the tasks they take on and why they are so important later on in the briefing.

And by the way, this was the first commander of the 1st Battalion, 1st Brigade, 1st Intervention Force, and this was outside Najaf in August of 2004 when they became the first units committed to combat on behalf of Iraq.

Next slide.

Well, here's the bottom line up front for you. The Iraqi security forces are in the fight. They are fighting for their country. They are, as this notes, increasingly leading that fight.

And I will show you that, quantitatively, how that is tracked with some of these measures of progress. I will show you how the numbers, if you will, of trained and equipped -- and

again, that's the key. It's not just that they went through training. It's that they completed it, they're still serving, and they have the basic equipment necessary for their task.

We have focused increasingly on police, and now more and more on logistical and combat support unit development. So we're talking about engineers, artillery will be coming, a variety of the logistical support elements or transportation battalions, for example. Now, there are military police and a variety of other skill sets that are needed beyond just those of infantry, which was the initial focus.

And now increasingly, the main effort is becoming institutional capability. So we're really raising it up now, the battalions, the brigades, the divisions; that process is all moving along quite well.

PETRAEUS: And the focus now is on ensuring that the pieces that must support these battalions, brigades and divisions are strengthened so that the capability and capacity, for example, of the two ministries, Defense and Interior, are at the level required so that soldiers are paid on time, contracts are paid, and a variety of other obligations -- equipment is purchased in accordance with the right requirements, and so forth -- all of that, very, very heavy-duty stuff that, again, the former defense secretary could spell out in spades, but that is, in fact, what the civilian advisers and now our advisers who are joined with them, all under the MNSTCI, are helping to do.

Next slide.

Now, I'd like to talk through a variety of measures of progress. I know that at various times, different elements of these measures have been shown and have been discussed here in Washington. And so when I was talking to General Dempsey on Saturday -- what we thought would be useful would be to try to get all of these out and just walk through each of these, and that's what I'll do in turn, again, looking at how -- or just the sheer numbers coming along, talk about the amount of equipment that has actually been put in the hands of soldier and police, the infrastructure construction -- I'll give you a couple of examples of that -- unit generation; how we come in building battalions, brigade headquarters and so forth.

The rigorous readiness assessment that's been developed and has been briefed a couple of times -- I'll show you what the elements of that are and walk you through that, and then give you the unclassified characterization of that.

Discuss what is perhaps even more important than that; this addresses it, but that is the idea that Iraqis are, in fact, taking over battlespace from U.S. and other coalition forces, and show you where that has taken place, in an unclassified way.

Then talk about another great example, which is how are they doing in the actual operations. I talked about back in August of 2004, the first Iraqi units actually contributing - - all though they are really committed -- basically after Muqtada al-Sadr had surrendered and left the Imam Ali Shrine, but still did contribute. We'll walk through Fallujah and then look at a more recent one, Tal Afar.

And then talk about some subjective measures, which, frankly, can be as important as all the others, because if they're not right, they can undermine the more objective measures of progress.

Next slide.

Well, here's the current number of trained and equipped. This is actually now about a little over a week old. Every two weeks a new number comes out. This shows how it's broken down between the Ministry of Interior forces and then the Ministry of Defense forces here.

You can see the various elements that make this up. Really, again, all the elements that you would think of in any nation's forces that would be on the Interior or Defense side; obviously, a substantial number of police, and I'll talk about the SWAT teams and the province emergency response units.

This is the public order battalions and the police mechanized brigade that are out there. I showed you the vehicles that they were in. The police commandos -- these units.

And I highlight these because back in the summer of 2004, we realized that to defeat an insurgency requires more than just individual police. As important as they may be, it is units with cohesion, with organization, with a chain of command, with structure, and fairly robust combat power that are needed to stand up against something as brutal as the insurgents in Iraq.

If you think about what it was that combated the Mafia in Italy eventually, it was not individual police, it was the carabinieri; it was, again, units, it was protected judges, and all the rest of that. And that's the type of challenge and more so, that, of course, the Ministry of Interior in Iraq are facing.

There's a very, very good emergency response unit built on the model of the hostage rescue team of the FBI. Quite a sizable organization: several hundred now. Goes through a great deal of specialized training, already serving police.

Border enforcement, getting a great deal of additional emphasis. There's even highway patrol now.

And then this is their version of the Secret Service, which is increasingly taking on the mission of protecting their senior leaders, their so-called tier one officials: the president, vice presidents, prime minister and so forth.

That was done exclusively by U.S. Navy SEALs, gradually has transitioned to a mix, and now a number of SEALs have come off that, although there are still some there, and also some contract mentors.

On the army side, of course, you have regular combat units. That's the bulk of those numbers right there. Very, very good special operations force brigade. Well, over a 1,000 in that organization, with a commando battalion, a counterterrorist force like our own special mission unit, and some other specialized elements in that, including a robust headquarters that does a lot of the intelligence development. And they do a great deal of their own operations, although our special forces are embedded with them and assist them.

And now increasingly, as I mentioned, the focus on combat support and then service support, in other words, those elements that directly support infantrymen in a fight and then those that provide the logistical enablers to them -- medics are another element that I should have mentioned earlier -- all of those efforts ongoing.

And then, of course, the institutional training base, if you will, and that is the basic training battalions, noncommissioned officer schools, the military academy, the staff college, center

for lessons learned eventually, and so forth.

Small air force, by the way. Three U.S. C-130s in that that they are flying, although there are still U.S. Air Force mixed in with them.

And then really quite a good navy operated out of Umm Qasr as well.

So, again, grand total: 211,000. I suspect it's actually already more than that. They're growing pretty rapidly.

And as with the run-up to the 30 January elections earlier this year and the mid-October referendum, there's a push on -- literally, the timing for a lot of this is designed to ensure that as many units and individuals are on the street for the elections -- in this case mid-December -- as possible.

And I think that that will approach 230,000 by mid-December, which would put them at about 100,000 more trained and equipped than were on the streets, or on the rolls back in the elections of 30 January this year.

Next slide.

This depicts that for you, if you will. You can see -- again, if you go back to the end of January, here again, about 130,000. And I think, again, they'll approach 230,000 by mid-December.

There's, for example, about 15 combat battalions alone of the police and army that are in training right now, a number of which will be out of training well before that and into the force and helping with those mid-December elections.

I do want to point out one thing here. This did not begin with the Multinational Security Transition Command by any means. It started back in the CPA days. Paul Eaton on the CMAT side, on the military side, and then some civilian advisers on the police side got all of this going. And we built on the foundation that they laid when it was all pulled together under the Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq in early June when that was formed.

PETRAEUS: And then, of course, we added in the NATO training mission in the fall -- all coming along.

Next slide.

People ask: What does the training consist of?

Well, this is what it consists of. And it has gotten better and we've tweaked it and increased the rigor and done a variety of other things like that.

The Iraqi basic training is roughly the length of U.S. training, for example. Actually, now it is a five-week common core course and then, typically, say for an infantryman, it's another eight weeks added on to that. So it ends up being 12, 13 weeks for an infantryman. And then the other skills, depending on what additional training they need, will take a little more or a little less than that.

You can see very, very good training that's provided for the special operations forces and

then the same for their smaller air force and the navy.

Up on the police side, we've already lengthened the police training from eight to 10 weeks. The rigor in that -- I'll talk about in a second -- has changed very substantially.

There are also courses for people who are already serving, who were previous academy graduates, graduates of the several-year academy. So, they had a transitional program they had to go through.

And I'll talk about the variety of specialized training courses that are offered. And now, there are even refresher training courses so that, periodically, throughout a year, the police go back, requalify with weapons, get refreshers on perhaps advanced techniques and identifying improvised explosives, perhaps something on human rights, treatment of detainees -- those types of things, whatever the concern is at that moment.

And you can see the other courses that are here. Many of these build on already serving police training.

Next slide.

This is just one example for you. This is actually the academy in Jordan but, frankly, the same thing has happened in Iraq. The Baghdad academy, in fact, is even bigger than this. It can now hold 4,000 students at a time. The Jordan academy holds 3,500 at its full capacity.

You can see where it was in November. The individuals in charge of the program at that time gradually helped build it. So this is really a photo from a few months back because it has continued to add additional areas for practical exercises. There's one called IED alley. There's a model checkpoint. There is going to be a model police station and so forth.

It started out relatively focused on what one might call a Balkans model, which is what, in fact, the SimPol (ph), the international police, advisers and trainers were familiar with. That was the basic assumption at that time.

Over time, to confront the insurgency, there were substantial changes made in the training. You can see it became much more hands-on. Still do emphasize these important qualities right here but added a lot more practical survival skills.

The course at the time was focused just on shooting a pistol. The challenge in Iraq is much more than that which can be handled by a pistol, so AK-47s were added to the mix and also added to the armaments of the police station.

So, as I mentioned, added two weeks.

Gradually getting Iraqi instructors doing more and more of the teaching. That's true throughout Iraq. In fact, the academy in Hilleh, the biblical Babylon, is actually transitioned completely to Iraqi control. The one in Suleimaniyah is close to that. Others are very much close to that: the one that has been restarted in Mosul and in Baghdad. Again, the number of Iraqi instructors increased dramatically.

We've had a lot of drama at various times with those types of issues down there. Most of those are resolved, although there's still the potential for those out there because of the challenges with the ministry development that I'll talk about later on and just the sheer bureaucracy we have to work through sometimes.

Next slide.

These are specialized courses and I'd like to walk through these a little bit.

You can see here Iraqi instructors.

By the way, the staff college has Iraqi instructors. We actually made a deliberate decision. That was NATO mission, by the way. And with the NATO hat, we made the decision to train the Iraqi instructors, take a few extra months, get them in front of the classroom, rather than starting out with coalition or NATO instructors in the front because that makes the transition much more difficult.

Two courses running now: the junior and the senior course. You can see the number that are in training. This opened toward the end of September.

The military academy started in its present incarnation in January. It is based on a Sandhurst model; the U.K. Not surprisingly, it's a British-led model. We, sort of, favored West Point. But, you know, they were in charge of that one, so we acceded.

And, actually, it made a great deal of sense. Because they do need officers and the one-year model, we think, is more than adequate if they come in with the right civilian education up front.

You can see the number of students who are in there right now. That continues to increase. It will get to about a thousand steady state. So that'll be a substantial course.

And now you can see the start of noncommissioned officer academy courses as well. And the squad leader platoon sergeant courses will be soon joined by a first sergeants course and then even a sergeants major academy course, so that this very important element of any military, its noncommissioned officer corps, is developed and strengthened and achieves the level of training and professional military education that it really needs.

PETRAEUS: And here's an interesting one, but we found that to enable them to really discharge their responsibilities, particularly at the ministry level, that there actually needed to be assistance with contracting. And, in fact, our lawyers and a variety of Army Contracting Agency individuals and civilians have helped teach that over time.

Now, these are the various combat support and then combat service support. Think of these of the individuals who directly support the infantry in a fight, if you will.

You can see quite a bit of emphasis on the intelligence. A lot of those are human intelligence collectors, recon and surveillance soldiers.

By the way, when they graduate, they get a laptop, a cell phone, a digital camera and an old beat-up used car which they can use for their missions.

Engineers, of course, very important. The engineer school is up and going.

The military police school. And then there's also a logistical school in addition to a bomb disposal school. Also a separate medical school.

But you can see very substantial numbers here going through those courses. A variety of

lengths for them. A lot of these, there's a follow-on to the common core basic training courses.

But you can get some sense of the complexity of this overall endeavor as you go through this.

On the police side, in addition, again, to the basic courses that we talked about earlier, an officer course that will be starting soon, you can see these specialized courses that have been ongoing for quite some time and greatly adding to the skill sets of the Iraqi police.

I'd like to highlight this here, some 28 provincial SWAT teams have been trained. Of course, there are 18 provinces, so clearly a couple of the larger provinces have more than one of those teams. Also especially equipped for their tasks. And they've proven to be very important.

I'll talk about the importance of the concept of backup for police in a station that comes under attack. If they don't know that there's someone going to back them up, who's coming to the rescue, obviously they're not going to hang tough.

We saw that back in the November time frame was the most recent case, I think, of one where once they realized that nobody was coming to the rescue, they went out the back door.

That has not happened, that we know of, in any case since, at the least, 30 January, the elections from which the Iraqi security forces took an enormous lift. And they got another boost out of the mid- October referendum as well.

PETRAEUS: You can see this specialized course as well, which is brought on each time as they approach. You say, "Well, what is that?"

Well, it's force protection, it's how to search, it's traffic control point techniques, and so forth.

Next slide.

Equipment: Now, we've chosen this date because it was a few weeks after MNSTCI was stood up. We had our data collection all starting to get online. And it was the transition of sovereignty for the country.

So we used that as the baseline. And you can see what has been delivered to the soldiers and the police since that time. And I think you can see it's very, very substantial.

I can tell you there's no shortage of ammunition in Iraq. That is, indeed, 340 million rounds of ammunition, and that is a big change over last summer, frankly.

Kevlar helmets, again, an enormous number of those have gone out there.

These are heavy machine guns, not light machine guns. These are so-called are PKMs.

You can see the number of radios that's gone out; AK 47s; body armor. This is the same body armor that was issued to our soldiers.

In fact, we now buy from the Defense Logistics Agency, I might add, because, in fact, it

delivers on time, where we want it, in the quantities agreed upon, at a reasonable price, negotiated well in that regard, I think. And again, it's basically the same stuff that our soldiers have including the uniforms, even Gore-Tex parkas, Kevlars and so forth.

And that was something that we did change to over time with MNSTCI, as we worked our way along on some of these various issues.

A lot of vehicles. I'll talk about the armored vehicles in a second. And then large numbers of uniforms.

Next slide.

I just want to give you one snapshot of just one element of the reconstruction effort. And, again, this is just one of those. There are many, many others. You could put one up that would be military bases. You could have military academies, training academies, police stations, highway patrol stations and so forth.

But just on border force, because border control is so important, you can see the effort. And now, out of 258 or so forts that 163 are actually -- in fact, it's more than that, because this one, again, is three weeks old. They'll update this one about every month.

You can see a number of others that are under construction. Most of these are renovations; a few are new ones as well.

By the way, the strategy here has been to push gradually down.

This is where the big fighting is right now; the recent offense at Al Qaim, Husaybah. And where the Marines and the Iraqi forces and the Iraqi special units are operating. And they gradually pushed their way down here and pushed their way up here, with border forts, while the Iraqi and coalition forces push their way out the Euphrates River Valley.

PETRAEUS: And I'll show you in a moment the number of forces, for example, that are in Fallujah, Iraqi forces, and how this has really changed again over the course of about, oh, the last 10 months or so, to the point that there's now about 18 Iraqi battalions in that area, the equivalent of about two divisions just in Anbar province at this point.

Next slide.

I just wanted to show training academies again. This is on the interior ministry side, similar slide with even more, frankly, on the military side. But it gives you idea, again, the number of basic police training academies that are out there. The capacity is roughly 8,000 at a time in these 10-week basic courses.

There are also some that are being used for advanced training. There are border academies, as you can see, special police academy, even a mechanized police academy up at Taji there, and the highway patrol academy also at Taji.

Again, this is just to give you some sense of the amount of training infrastructure that has been established and had to be established in order to carry out the training appropriately.

Next slide.

I want to talk -- just to show you now, as we switch gears -- to generation of forces. Now

we're talking about combat battalions. And this is just a subset of the army forces. These are what used to be called national forces.

PETRAEUS: I have not -- deliberately not -- put in the Iraqi national guard -- former Iraqi national guard, Prime Minister Allawi incorporated into the regular army around November or so of last year. If those were added in, there would be more -- even at that time there would be some more, although again the assessment process with them had really not taken place yet.

So if we focus just on what at that time were called regular army intervention force special operations forces, or mechanized forces, you can see that back in 1 July of '04 there were only six battalions and all of them were in training.

That's what the blue means on these slides that you'll see. And these are two of the big training bases right here. There's another large one here. Other large ones here and here.

By the way each of these one, two, three, four holds an entire division.

Next slide.

And there are just again that same category. So, again, we don't have in the dozens and dozens of Iraqi national guard, which now are assessed -- have been brought up to standard and so forth, in some cases given additional training.

But as you can see, just a real proliferation of battalions. And green means they are operational, conducting operations and in the fight.

And, more importantly, notice that all of these are operating in the so-called Sunni Triangle area. Even those operating out of Numaniyah are working up just southeast of Baghdad at what used to be a very tough area until about probably seven or eight months ago when the police commandos and the army moved in there and eventually established a full-time presence.

So that's what's out there now. And you can see if you track this slide overtime -- and there's some that are in here -- I (inaudible) in here earlier, by the way, from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- made visit after visit over there. He will remember this slide when there were certainly none out in Anbar province at all.

You can see now, for example, in Fallujah alone there are two full Iraqi army brigades. And, in fact, some of them have their own area of operation. An increasing number in the Ramadi area, although that includes this base that's now been built at Habbaniya, which also will eventually be a division (inaudible) space. There will be a division headquarters there. And many of these actually have pushed out the Euphrates River Valley; some of these have pushed down as well.

PETRAEUS: This is an old slide -- again, three weeks old -- or it would be classified if it were current.

You can also see the number of forces up in Nineveh province, very important area. This is, again, just the regular army forces -- originally regular army. There's another entire Iraqi national guard division up there that's doing a very, very good job.

Next slide.

Special police: On 1 July, '04, last year, there were no police commando battalions, public order battalions or mechanized battalions in training.

Next slide.

This is the number that is out there now actually in operations, plus added a category of special border forces in there, which were created particularly for the Syrian border southwest of Al Qaim, running around (inaudible) Trebil, this corner right here, which is a really key area.

Again, you can see these forces almost all operating up in the Sunni triable area. These are the deployable elements of the police. And you can also see, by the way, on there, the emergency response unit battalion, minus size, hostage rescue-team-like organization.

By the way, this illustrates -- I'll talk about this unit. I'm going to talk about the various levels, level two and so forth, level one, level two, level three, in a moment.

The emergency response unit's a level two unit. That means it's in the lead, but it is not judged fully independent. And the reason is because it still does get some small amount of assistance from coalition advisers, even though it does all of its operations fully independent and develops its own intelligence or gets it from the Ministry of Interior.

But among the things with which they get help are moving through traffic control points actually. They're located in the greater Baghdad International Airport complex, and their advisers take them as far as the checkpoint, move them through there, tell them to have a good operation, and then stay there and meet them when they come back.

Next slide.

Here is the transition readiness assessment, the TRA. It is essentially the same as, say, the USR, the unit status reports, that those from the U.S. Army are familiar with. It looks at level of personnel fill and then the qualification.

It looks at the hardware for command and control, the coms and so forth, and then also the software, if you will, the training of the staffs and the commander, training against their mission-essential task list, their ability to sustain themselves, their level of equipment, and then its level of its maintenance, and then a subjective evaluation of the leadership; leadership being particularly critical in Iraqi units, which, as you know, has generations of Iraq that were really in the mode of taking orders from above in the Saddam era -- truly a generational challenge for that country.

PETRAEUS: All that together adds up to the assessment of a unit, and that is either then assessed as level one, two, three, four. Four just means that it's in their formation stages, in the basic training. But all three of these are in the fight to varying levels.

Level three means that they're fighting alongside. They're literally embedded with our units, perhaps a company of theirs with a company of ours, but not yet conducting independent operations the way a level two unit would which, in the lead, is the assessment. That means that they can do this on their own basically, but with some support.

Now, typically that support is some form of logistics, especially if you move into the Anbar province area, where the sustainment capability of the Ministry of Defense is very limited, to

understate that, probably. That's one of those elements that we're helping them to develop.

But, again, they can do these tasks right here. And as I'll show you in a moment, a level two unit, the reason this is so important is because it's at this level that Iraqi units can take on their own area of operations and therefore allow coalition forces to move elsewhere or eventually move home.

Fully independent -- you've heard a lot of discussion about this. This is a very, very high bar for Iraqi units, and will be for some time. It means not just that they can operate on their own, because all of the level twos can operate on their own. That's not the question about operating.

The issue here is this sustainment piece, typically. So fully independent means just that. It means they don't need anything whatsoever from the coalition.

And again at the stage of development of some of the support apparatus, that's very, very rare, indeed.

Again, in all this, there's also a projection that is in the coalition reports on when those units can assume security responsibility. And I'll show you what has been assumed so far.

Next slide.

Here's an unclassified characterization of the transition readiness assessment right now. This means, again, nearly 120 are in level one, two, or three. That means they're fighting. Varying levels, but what's really important is these 40 right here -- over 40 -- that are in the lead or better.

And for those of you who are really tracking this carefully and maybe some of the Pentagon press who were there a month or so ago when I briefed them, you'll notice that has indeed nudged up, and that has been a steady improvement over time, over the course of the last six or seven months that we've actually had the transition readiness assessment. Very substantial in fact.

And again, that is critical because that's the level at which the Iraqi forces can take on their own area of responsibility and allow coalition forces to focus elsewhere.

PETRAEUS: That is very, very critical and that's where we should focus. Next slide.

This is, in fact, dated just for classification reasons. But this is where they were on the 24th of October. Twenty-four of their battalions had assumed their own battle space. That is very, very significant.

And there is increasing focus on this, as you might imagine, because this is in a sense the proof that that level two unit can in fact operate as we assess it.

You can see where most of them are. Actually, interestingly, in Baghdad, nine battalions -- a great deal of effort was put into the division there by the 1st Cavalry Division, then commanded by Major General Pete Corelli, who's going to return to Iraq as the Multinational Corps Iraq commander and then by the 3rd Infantry Division under Major General Glenn Webster.

They have sustained that, built on that. The advisers then joined all their forces and so forth

-- even some units in Anbar province that have their own area.

Again, more in the eastern Anbar area than, certainly, out in the west, but Iraqi forces out here now as well; a very fine division down in the Multi-National Division Center South area, eight of its battalions with their own area and even a number of battalions in the Multi-National Division North Center area.

There are elements, actually, that have had their own area in Mosul. They were actually re-deployed elsewhere. And there are projections of units, when they'll take over areas and down in Multi-National Division Southeast.

But, again, a very important data point: There are 24 battalions that, as of a couple weeks ago, had actually assumed their own area of responsibility.

Next slide.

OK. I talked, if you think back, first to August of '04, the Battle of Najaf, you'll recall Muqtada al-Sadr's militia was hunkered down in the shrine of Imam Ali.

That was the first time in which Iraqi forces were moved in. But, as I mentioned earlier, in that case, they really didn't get into the fight until after the surrender of Muqtada al-Sadr and after his forces -- those that were left -- had left the shrine without their weapons.

PETRAEUS: The Iraqi forces then did move in. They did some very good post-surrender operations that netted, in one case, for example, in one night alone, three dump trucks full of weapons and equipment. But, again, not directly involved in the fighting, although they were prepared to. Had they had to go into the shrine, they were going to do that mission.

So Fallujah is the first real test.

The battle of Fallujah in November, the first introduction of Iraqi forces. They had five battalions, the coalition had roughly nine; three full brigades with a lot of combat multipliers.

But as you can see in this case, in most situations, the Iraqi forces were moving behind or at best with coalition forces, tended to then secure ground that had been already cleared by coalition forces. Although they certainly did continue on and took a number of killed and wounded throughout this operation and did a lot of work in the flanks and reconnaissance and surveillance.

The commandos were in the lead; at times the emergency response unit. But by and large, this was the characterization of the Iraqi forces in that operation.

Next slide.

Then about nine months later, September, Tal Afar up in western Nineveh province, west of Mosul, you can see -- as was briefed back then -- Iraqi forces actually outnumbering the coalition combat power. And this is the size of the force not just in the city of Tal Afar itself, although you can see very much again the number of Iraqi battalions -- that's this symbol here -- to coalition battalions; even in the city itself they very much outnumbered.

But also there were other operations out in the surrounding areas conducted during that some time. And some of these forces then have subsequently redeployed down to the

southwest to assist on the shoulder of the operations in Anbar province.

Here is the real important fact: that is they started to do independent operations. They did control their own battlespace in these -- and they had their own command and control in many cases during this period.

And I'll show you a comment of the armored cavalry regiment commander, the U.S. commander, H.R. McMaster, in a second.

Next slide.

OK, what about some of the other measures, if you will; the intangibles, those other factors that are so critically important but less easy to measure?

Well, there's an oath out there. There's also a soldier's creed. There's an NCO creed.

These may seem insignificant, but I can tell you that anybody who's been in the brotherhood of the close fight knows that this type of intangible is crucially important.

There has been commitment now to a code, if you will, of ethics and so forth that all professional militaries embrace and professional police. This commitment very, very important.

In fact, recently the Ministry of Interior reached out to attract, for example, Sunni Arabs for the public order battalions that were about to be formed.

PETRAEUS: The recruiting effort on the military side for Sunni Arabs has been ongoing for six months or so and was helped enormously by a fatwa put out by some Sunni Arab imams after the 30 January elections that announced that it was the duty of Sunni Arab males to serve in their country's military forces.

That was very important, because back in that period of November through about February the intimidation of those Sunni Arabs serving in the military, and in the police as well, was very substantial, caused some big problems. And that has helped to repopulate, if you will, and to ensure the important diversity in the Iraqi forces.

The work's not all done yet but the key is the recognition and the commitment to it. And it has moved forward now for some six to eight months.

There have been problems with corruption, particularly in the Ministry of Defense under the previous minister. That's the bad news. The good news is the Iraqis pressed charges against those individuals alleged to have committed crimes. They have presented those. They'll be heard in the Iraqi court system.

And more importantly, the incumbents took some very, very important lessons from that, put in new controls, and then established much greater transparency and openness in the way they're doing business, which will help everybody involved, including the advisers, to make way together.

Next slide.

Here's that oath I talked about, the important intangibles.

Next slide.

Some other initiatives. It is Iraqis now, in fact, who are doing just about all the military basic training.

PETRAEUS: I think they're doing all of it, in fact. And, in fact, what started out as contractors, then transitioned to coalition, then gradually transitioned to an Iraqi basic training company, then a battalion, now is about to become an entire basic training brigade.

I showed you the other courses, the noncommissioned officer courses, the branch schools, as we call them in our military. Again, the vast majority of those being taught by Iraqis, and that is key. Same with specialized training, gradually transitioning that.

Talked about the transition of responsibility in the police academies.

And now even building an Iraqi training and doctrine command; again, complete with branch schools, military academy, staff college, center for lessons learned, center for ethics and leadership and so forth.

Critical: Commissioned and noncommissioned officer courses must inculcate the professional ethics into all they're doing. The NATO mission is playing a big role in this. I'll show you a slide on that in a second.

Also critical: treatment of all Iraqis, treatment of detainees and, again, respecting those who don't just come from your own tribe, political party, ethnic group or sect. And I mentioned these being established as well.

Again, these will attempt to get at these softer sides, but equal important elements, of the development of a professional military and the professional police.

Next slide.

I talked about the transition teams: Again, these are the 10-man adviser teams that are out there with each Iraqi battalion, brigade headquarters, division headquarters and above. And they go all the way up, actually, the size at the ground forces, the joint headquarters and the ministry, considerably larger than 10 men.

But they're out there. They are very, very important in performing these tasks right here, helping to continue the training of the Iraqi units when they're not in combat and they go through a cycle of train/ fight/leave, train/fight/leave, as they work their way through that.

They're out there on the battlefield with them. As required, they can link to coalition support if there's a need for, for example, close air support, air medevac, emergency, logistical, resupply and so forth.

Very, very important elements in the strategy. General Casey has made this point repeatedly here and, of course, in Iraq and has pushed this forward aggressively, and it is bearing fruit.

PETRAEUS: In fact, it is really identified now as the main effort so that over time, gradually, coalition forces can shift to a support role. And, again, those 24 battalions that I talked about earlier have, in fact, transitioned -- taken over control of their area of responsibility, and that's what is the plan and the hope for all the rest of the area as well.

There are also partnership programs. Each Iraqi battalion has a coalition partner. Each brigade headquarters, division headquarters as well. They link with the transition teams, the advisers, and provide additional assistance to the units who are in their area.

Next slide.

The NATO mission, they are helping enormously in three different operation centers in Baghdad: Defense, Interior and the national joint operations center. They provide a lot of out-of-country training. There have been a couple hundred -- now, these are important individuals. They're all field grade officers, general officers, and so forth, and they've provided a good deal of equipment.

You can see some of the numbers here, and that does not include the arrival, I believe, this weekend of a ship with 77 T-72 tanks that were donated by Hungary and 36 BMP tracked armored personnel carriers donated by Greece. They were refurbished over a period of months but paid for by Iraq, I might add -- the refurbishment -- the systems were donated themselves.

That is enough equipment for an entire additional Iraqi brigade, two tank battalions and a mech brigade. Will help enormously. And they should be on the streets, as well, by the elections in mid-December.

The Iraqi training command -- I talked about the training and doctrine command, all these various structures. Some of them have actually come into being. The rest are designed.

And that includes this center right here at a place called Aristimiya (ph) on southeast Baghdad. This is the headquarters of the Iraqi staff college.

PETRAEUS: It's also the -- that's the same base in which the Iraqi military academy is located. And you can see just a couple of data points there.

The lead nation for that, by the way, is Italy. They have carried the junior and senior staff college effort forward and they are also, and have been taking on -- the war college will be the next one to develop and that will be sometime next year.

Next slide.

Now, I talked about ministry capability being absolutely crucial. But it was recognized some months back that we can develop all the battalions, brigades, divisions and ground forces and police so forth in the world but they have got to be supportable and supported by the Ministries of Defense and Interior to ensure eventual self-reliance in transition to complete Iraqi control.

So when the new ambassador came in, he sat with General Casey. One of the assessments that was done was of the ministries -- there was a decision that all that effort should be combined under MNSTCI; that the civilian character of the adviser effort would be retained.

One is a British adviser to the Ministry of Defense, British civilian, U.S. ambassador under Ministry of Interior. But that there would be unity of effort given the huge resources that MNSTCI can bring to bear. It's about 2,000 people all told, substantial budget from Congress in the supplemental, and a lot of capacity, if given the mission, to help thicken the effort that was ongoing.

So that all took place. There was an assessment of the systems.

We're at the point now there where when I talked to Marty Dempsey on Saturday, they're now cross-leveling military assets in to help with some of those tasks.

And it's particularly interesting that because of the number of reserve officers that are in the MNSTCI headquarters, we had, for example, the vice president from Goldman Sachs with us: enormous capability, very talented officer. That's the type of officer who can help enormously in this mission and will, in fact, do that.

There's now an action plan in the early beginnings of the assessment tool, all of which will guide this process -- 18 key processes, I'll show you the eight core priorities in a second.

PETRAEUS: But to get at these issues of budgets, training the civil service -- this is particularly important because, as you all need to reflect and realize, the fourth Iraqi government in 18 months will take office in the early part of next year.

Remember, there was the Iraqi government that was in place prior to transition, the Allawi government after transition, the Jaafari government now, and, of course, there will be elections in mid-December and a new government after that.

So getting a core of really trained civil servants who will stay and provide the stability through these transitions looms very large in importance. And there's a good deal of effort going into that.

Next slide.

These are the eight core processes. Again, look at this and you get some sense of the complexity and the challenge that we're taking on -- but these very, very important systems that have to be established.

Next slide.

I want to talk a little about the logistical side of the military as well, again to give some sense of the complexity of what's going on out there.

But to establish a full logistical capability, you have to start off with having a national depot. And that has actually been created at Taji, an enormous base north of Baghdad.

That's where supplies that come through Baghdad International Airport, through the two ports down in the south -- the location to which they're moved. They're then put into various warehouses, catalogued, put on computer databases. And, of course, we literally had to assign numbers for every part.

So, again, I hope the sense of complexity here, I hope, is coming out to you.

They are then pushed forward to eight or nine regional support units that are at these very large bases that I talked about. And then they either go forward to a smaller base support unit or they can go directly, by Iraqi or coalition trucks, to the actual battalion itself that might be in the fight and moving their assets through the headquarters and support company that each battalion is building.

So you can see the echelons, if you will, of this support.

PETRAEUS: You can see, again, the challenges of helping build all this.

And for example, the corps support command of the multinational corps is doing a great deal of work to help develop -- there's three transportation battalions out there now, for example. There's a battalion that will become a brigade at the Taji national depot, with experts in warehousing, databasing, and all the different classes of supply and so forth.

So a good bit of effort going into this. And this is, in fact, the type of effort that will enable units to move from level two to level one, to be truly independent.

Next slide.

A lot of talking about vetting of police. Some six months or so ago, a pretty rigorous process went into place, put in there by the Iraqis with some assistance, but that enables them to check for each of the recruits whether there's a criminal record or whether they were high-level Baathists. They do a written test.

This is a very interesting evaluation here, done by some contractors. And it has washed out as many as a quarter to a third of those who apply. It's basically an assessment of the suitability of an individual for police duty.

Of course, a medical and physical test.

And then and only then are they accepted and then scheduled for slots at the either the major academies in Baghdad or Jordan or the slightly smaller academies that I showed you on the slide earlier.

Next slide.

This puts it all together, if you will, talking about what is required for effective Iraqi security forces. And, of course, it is not just training and equipping: great strides made there. It's not just the adviser effort, the transition teams and the partnership piece. It's all these other elements here as well.

I'd like to highlight these, because, again, these are the critical aspects of an environment that can, again, support effective Iraqi security forces.

Obviously, competent leadership, these institutions in place that can support -- that means ministerial capacity and capability -- and, of course, a political environment in which all this can move forward and Iraqis can feel that they are serving a country they're proud of and serving all Iraqis in that country.

PETRAEUS: This is a quote from Colonel H.R. McMaster. He was the commander of the armored cav regiment during the operation in Tal Afar, and I think it's a revealing quote. Those who know him know that he is quite forthright in his statements, and some will also know that he wrote quite a seminal work on the Vietnam era. He's got a doctorate in military history.

Next slide.

Some recent initiatives. Talked about the ministry development mission, merging these Iraq

reconstruction management office adviser teams on the Interior and Defense Ministry sides with MNSTCI and making way together on that one.

Very, very important, the development of short-, mid- and long- term plans. Again, if you don't know where you're going to go, if you don't know where you want to be five, six years from now, you will not take the steps right now, of course, to get there by then.

To give you an example, if you want a West Point graduate in the Iraqi armed forces, you got to start right now to get him out graduating in five years from now. He'll have to probably go to language training, may require some additional education in English, and other skills, then enter, of course, West Point, four years there, graduate.

So you get the timing of some of this, and it's very, very important, again, to know what you want the ultimate force structures to look like. And those now have been agreed with the Iraqi Ministries of Interior and Defense.

Same what you want to look like in the 18-month to, say, two-year time frame. And, again, there's agreement on that.

And, of course, the short term, which is what we tend to focus on -- how many battalions today, tomorrow, how many trained and equipped, how much more equipment delivered -- but, again, it's about knowing what you want to look like down the road that enables you to make the decisions now and guides the processes that can produce what you want 18, 24 months, five years from now.

Talked about the logistics structure enough probably.

Big effort to help the Ministry of Interior consolidate control of the ports of entry. There are a number of different Iraqi bureaucracies that each have elements at these ports of entry. I'm talking about the official border crossings. Very, very important to get a tighter grip on those, because, of course, the foreign fighter problems are very substantial, not necessarily in terms of numbers, but in terms of the impact that they have, because, of course, it is they who are the ones who are typically willing to blow themselves up and take others with them.

That is going on. The Department of Homeland Security is helping. Four border support teams in there. These are truly armies of one, or armies of three, if you will: three-man teams that have a transformational impact on these crossings when they're located there. Very, very helpful.

Talked about the border forts and the border strategy. And then the armored assets and all the effort ongoing in that regard.

What I would mention there is that there are two Iraqi mechanized brigades already, one on the army side that actually has one additional battalion. It's got three mechanized battalions and a tank battalion.

PETRAEUS: And I talked about the arrival of the ship of 77 T-72 tanks and the BMPs that will enable them to form an additional brigade and get it out there by the elections.

On the police side, three battalions. They have both some Warsaw Pact armored vehicles that were given to them by Jordan, and now 49 of 63 Cadillac-gauge armored security vehicles, top of the line, that are doing very, very well for them.

We ordered sometime back a number of wheeled armored personnel carriers. Right now, there's about a hundred South African Rivas (ph) they're called. They have, sort of, a boat-hull shape, works very well against the IED threat that has become so important over there, carries an entire squad.

And a handful have already arrived. They should get about the rest of the hundred before the end of the year and then there will be additional purchases of either those or some others that are being tested over there right now.

Additional number of BMPs will be given to Iraq, already committed. Others that have been purchased and will be delivered.

The first 114 Humvees just arrived at that Taji national depot just in the past couple of days. They have armor kits on them. There are others that are fully up-armored that are already on order: hundreds of those as well.

Finally, there are 600 armored vehicles that the Iraqis ordered from Poland that are due in. And there are contracts at nine different Iraqi base support unit locations throughout the country to put basically locally constructed armor on the vehicles.

Next slide.

Couple myths out there. Talked about the challenges that have existed. I mean, culturally throughout the region, frankly, cronyism, taking care of one's tribe and so forth, part of business I guess.

But the Iraqi government again took their experiences to heart, realized they've got crack down on this. They have now. And, in fact, that will help the resources get to work for the Iraqi people.

Remembering that this is a very centrally planned economy, all the resources that flow in there, very substantial, hundreds of millions of dollars a week from oil exported mostly through the south, but that is coming in. But it all has to flow to the people through the ministries. And so it's very important, again, that the capacity and the capability of those ministries be assessed.

There's a reason that it started out with Warsaw Pact equipment. It was actually made before MNSTCI stood up, but it's a sound reason, and that is that's it suitable. AK-47s are great weapons. They're very affordable compared with the alternatives. They shoot 7.62 millimeter ammo that they have tons of. They know how to operate them.

I walked into a police academy class one time, basic academy; they were just starting into a block of instruction on the AK-47, in fact, it was a U.S. M.P. sergeant -- this was about a year ago -- teaching it and we decided just to do a test, see how many in the group could tear down and put together an AK-47 in less than 45 seconds.

PETRAEUS: And once they found out that there was a CGs (ph) coin that went to the winners, every hand went up and, in fact, every one that we tested -- about four or five -- passed that test. They can use it. It works very, very well.

On the other hand, our bringing in, as I mentioned, vehicles and so forth from both the United States and from other countries based on what is best for them. And a key issue

here is whether or not it can be maintained and making sure that the technology is not so sophisticated that it requires months or even longer of training on a variety of computerized diagnostics, turbines and so forth.

A lot of training going on outside the country somewhere around this number on a daily basis. To be sure, the bulk of that, the vast majority of it, over 3,000, in Jordan, either at the police academy or at a special ops training facility. Both providing superb training and both have developed very, very well over the course of the past year or so.

But there are others out all over the country. There's actually one out in Fort Leavenworth at the Command and General Staff College, the post in which I'm located. They're sprinkled throughout U.S. courses, other courses in the U.K., Australia, a variety of NATO schools and so forth.

So they are taking advantage of this, but the offers are, in fact, balanced because they do cost them money in many cases, and then it takes time to pull a unit out of the fight, assemble it, get airlift for it, get it over there. And the question is, is this better training than could be provided in Iraq? And given the investment in the training infrastructure in Iraq -- the shoot houses, the ranges, the live-fire facilities and all the rest -- the answer oftentimes is no.

And they are certainly fighting across sectarian lines. I mentioned the effort earlier to ensure that the Iraqi forces represent the population at large. There are certainly some units, particularly some of the police public order battalions, that do not; that are very, very heavily Shia. But the Ministry of Interior has long committed to ensuring that a proper mix, as with the police commandos and military and so forth, is achieved.

PETRAEUS: Next slide.

OK, the way ahead. I talked about the criticality of institutional capability and how that has quickly become the main effort. So we're not just now generating -- though we'll certainly generate more police, soldiers, small units and so forth, that will continue.

Increasing effort on the service support and combat support side, but also now shifting to place greater emphasis on assisting the ministers and the ministry staff.

And then finally, helping to develop truly national institutions that can help keep this country together, develop a sense of national identity and so forth.

So what is the equation for Iraqi self-reliance? Well, it's leaders, it's that institutional capability and it is, of course, continued force generation.

Next slide.

Here's the bottom line, the last substantive slide here. Again, they're in the fight and they're increasingly leading it. Generation on track. And you saw the new main effort.

Huge progress over the course of the last 15, 17 months in which I've focused, was built on that work that was done prior to that, during the CPA days, by some great individuals, and established the foundation on which we built. And clearly still much work ahead.

Next slide.

We occasionally use as a metaphor the idea of the Mesopotamian Stampede. I had envisioned, frankly, sort of, a nice orderly cattle drive when I was discussing this with my staff the first time. And the cattle I guess are either the tasks or the security forces or what have you. And the idea of just keeping them moving, getting up some momentum, keeping them all together and getting to Cheyenne or whatever the destination is for this particular endeavor.

PETRAEUS: And the staff came back and said, "Well, you may think it's an orderly cattle drive, but we think it's a stampede." And, in fact, they produced this great Frederic Remington print called "The Stampede."

A lot of great Iraqi and coalition outriders out there. And I can tell you there is very substantial momentum in this effort. The herd has gotten stronger and stronger and stronger. The role of the Iraqi outriders has, obviously, increased, where many of them are now leading elements of this.

But it's tough terrain. It's rocky. It's raining cats and dogs. There's lightning bolts out there. There's bad guys out on the perimeter trying to shoot at the cattle and shoot at us and shoot at our Iraqi colleagues. And, of course, there's some even inside the herd that may get weak or faint-hearted.

We talk about if some will fall behind, if they're important, we'll go back and get them. Some will actually get out ahead; we'll catch up with them.

But this is the idea. This captures this sense that there is, again, huge momentum in the Iraqi security force development mission.

And the key is to keep it moving, keep it headed in the right direction, continue to build the strength and build the capacity of those to support this endeavor, again, from the institutions.

And with that, I'd say thank you very much and I'll be happy to take your questions.

(APPLAUSE)

MODERATOR: Ladies and gentleman, I think that we've had a remarkably thorough briefing. And we also have a very tight timescale since we have to end by noon.

A lot of the questions I've received on cards have been answered. I'm not sure we really have the time for gathering more, but I've clustered these into groups. And perhaps one of the most striking groups is how much your experience in Iraq and in Kosovo is going to influence your approach to your new command.

There have been other questions about how would you change the values and the career paths for U.S. officers? Do we need to retain people longer on special tours? How will it affect the training of U.S. officers and NCOs?

And one question which, sort of, pushes the envelope as to whether the general staff college has any courses on counter-insurgency or guerrilla-type warfare, and it quotes an article as saying that the staff college had no courses.

So if I can put all of those together under one question.

PETRAEUS: Well, let me start off with the last one first.

The command general staff college of which I'm the commandant -- there's actually a brigadier general whose the deputy commandant -- Jim Warner, who really oversees that effort.

But there are very much courses on counter-insurgency. There's a core portion of the course and then there's a variety of electives.

PETRAEUS: Core course is generally in the first three months or a little less. There's a minimum of 18 hours if you take rigorous counting rules that are explicitly about counter-insurgency and stability ops. And those were added just in the last year or so.

So I think the information on which that quote was provided or based clearly was dated.

Beyond that, though, all of the other core course elements -- so when you talk about ethics and leadership, the case studies have to do with typically counter-insurgency topics. In fact, I think that's actually out of an article that discussed a lieutenant colonel named Nate Sassamon (ph), great Army football player, was a battalion commander, had some real challenges over there, and, in fact, retired from the Army after his tour in Iraq and made some very tough calls.

And the students out there agree that there was one that went over the line, by the way.

But that article already has become a huge topic of discussion, as have earlier case studies about similar situations in Iraq.

The other course elements -- again, the electives, a very substantial number on a whole variety of different topics that are all related, again, to counter-insurgency tactics, techniques and procedures. The scenarios for the exercises are very much keyed to ongoing -- what's called the contemporary operating environment.

And that's true of other elements of the command that I'm privileged to lead now, the Combined Arms Center. The center, for example, oversees doctrine, new counter-insurgency FM; an interim field manual, went out over the course of the last year. They're already working on the second edition.

Reaching out to counter-insurgency experts. In fact, in this town as well, Andy Krepenovich (ph). John Nagl, who wrote that wonderful book "Eating Soup with a Knife," from a quote from T.E. Lawrence as well. And then after he served as a major out in Ramadi, he added a new chapter to it that was titled "Spilling Soup on Myself." Wonderfully self-effacing officer, Rhodes scholar, and a brilliant example, now a lieutenant colonel.

So the doctrine side, great deal of effort in that regard. And then a variety of other subjects that have been introduced in the past year or so.

In the leader development realm, the Command and General Staff College, just one example, but in the basic courses, the advanced courses for our officers and our noncommissioned officers, similar changes made. And, in fact, we just recently sent out an operation order to all those different branch schools and centers that discuss the importance of the addition of cultural awareness training, and that is also being done.

The training aspect, collective training, if you look at the national training center -- which

some of you have visited, I look around the room.

PETRAEUS: When they visited it, it was a big tank battle in what's called central corridor. It's not anymore. It is not your father's -- your grandfather's NTC.

It now looks like western Anbar province. And they will have as many as 500 or more Iraqis, Iraqi-Americans out there as role-players, representing everything from Iraqi security forces to local officials to imams, to you name it, out there and, again, fulfilling all the roles that our soldiers will find in a scenario.

They've added nine or so villages out there that are as close as we can make them to Iraqi villages. And so enormous changes are made in that regard.

The Joint Readiness Training Center in Louisiana -- same changes have been made down there and had actually always had something called the low-intensity conflict phase anyway.

And then we have the Center for Army Lessons Learned, again, also under CAC (ph). This organization has really blossomed in recent years. It has people collecting lessons and tactics, techniques and procedures on the battlefield, in Iraq, in Afghanistan, at the training centers and so forth, and then feeds that back very quickly. And in this digital age, of course, they can capture them and they can just push them out right away.

And that has been very, very effective in helping officers and noncommissioned officers who are going to deploy to profit from the experience of others who have been interviewed by the Center for Army Lessons Learned.

Even the Military Review, which is out there, our professional journal, they have a counter-insurgency writing contest they're about to announce.

So again, enormous changes throughout our Army in terms of its doctrine, its training, its leader development and the way that we're capturing all of that.

Even the Defense Language Institute, which is under CAC (ph) as well, as you might imagine, quite a shift in the emphasis on certain languages over others. And they, by the way, provide interpreters to the U.S. units that go through the national training center in these rotations so that they can interact with the Iraqi role-players who are on that particular training battlefield.

So big, big changes that have been made in that regard.

PETRAEUS: Keeping key people in particular positions longer. I think all you have to do actually is ask my wife.

(LAUGHTER)

About three and a half years, the last four and a half deployed, one year in Bosnia and then the better part of two and a half in Iraq.

Ask General Casey's wife. He's been over there now, I think it's approaching 17 months or so and I believe that he will stay longer.

So I think there is a commitment and I think that also folks have responded in the right way to those requests.

Efforts to retain officers and noncommissioned officers; there's a great deal of work going on that.

We had an officer from the 101st, by the way, who volunteered. She went back with the Multinational Security Transition Command. She also had been deployed for the better part of three of her first four years in the Army.

We contacted the Army's human resources command, said, "Hey, how about something that would really give her a break? Develop some potential for the future. Invest in this great young captain so that there's a dividend down the road." And they showed enormous flexibility in allowing her to go to graduate school before commanding a company. She'll still come back out, do company command and, obviously, the Army will get its return on the investment.

But that type of thinking is ongoing. And there is a commitment already to send a couple of hundred extra officers to graduate school starting in the coming year.

So I think there's quite a bit of sensitivity to the points that you mentioned there and in looking at all these various issues, because there clearly is a recognition what our soldiers and their families are being asked to do.

MODERATOR: Colonel, thank you very much.

I have quite a stack of questions here. We have already, sort of, gone over the formal time. And the next time we have General Petraeus here for a week, I will save these questions and ask all of them.

But let me ask just very quickly two questions which were asked in quite a number of different forms.

The first one was, "How real and how successful have the efforts been to ensure that Iraqi units really are integrated in terms of tribal background, ethnicity and religion and ensure, as they're put into the field, they are not Kurdish, Shiite or somehow otherwise ethnic forces?"

PETRAEUS: It is a mix. And as I mentioned, the Sunni Arab intimidation in the period of November through February was a challenge. Forces that were generated during that time, obviously, would have a much higher Shia mix than would the representation of the population.

And so that was the reason that I highlighted the commitment of the two ministers and of really the Iraqi government to making sure that, where necessary, they redress that.

That was the genesis of an outreach to Sunni Arabs, some several thousand of which were recruited during the period that started about probably five or six months ago.

Again, it then takes several months for those to go through the training pipeline, get the advanced training, take their post-graduation leave and then move into units.

But that has been ongoing. As I mentioned, they actually held recently a class of the public order battalions that was going to expand those units until they had additional Sunni Arabs signed up to join them, and also some additional Christians, by the way, as well, and then

others like the Azidis, Iraqi Kurds and so forth.

So I think they recognize it, which is really the key. They know the importance of it. They know the challenges that they have out there to address it. And they are continuing to work on that.

MODERATOR: Ladies and gentlemen, I apologize. There are a lot of excellent questions here, but we have also had, I think, a really excellent and remarkably thorough briefing.

So, on your behalf, I think we'd all like to thank **General Petraeus** for what I think has been one of the greatest insights into what's happening in Iraq that I can remember in recent presentations.

Thank you very much.

**WHAT THEY'RE SAYING  
ABOUT MEDICARE PRESCRIPTION DRUG COVERAGE**

“Shortly after 10 a.m. on Sunday, Margaret A. Riney, 76, of Cincinnati, walked into a Walgreens store two blocks from her home to fill prescriptions for a thyroid ailment and an eye infection. She handed over her insurance card for the Medicare drug plan, which took effect on Sunday, and the pharmacist promptly found her name among the approved beneficiaries.

Within 10 minutes, Ms. Riney had her medications, having paid \$3 for the eye prescription and \$8.40 for the thyroid drug. Under her previous coverage, she often had to pay \$96 for the same thyroid prescription and as much as \$20 for the eye medication. **‘I feel pretty good about things today,’** Ms. Riney said. **‘I just hope, as I need more medications, that it's this easy. I thought about not signing up for the plan because it was so confusing, but I was paying way too much for my pills. I think I did the right thing.’** *The New York Times*, Jan 3, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/03/politics/03drug.html>

“And many of them like Lottie Evans are excited about it. Lottie Evans, **‘I'll use it on January 9th. That's when my prescriptions will be refilled and I can't wait (laughter) to see my savings.’**

Lottie is one of a million people who qualify for extra help who've signed up for the program.

Now she has a card that will get her five prescriptions for two or five dollars each. **‘It feels really good. I get a big sense of relief because this just helps so much. I just really, I'll sleep better tonight,’** she says. *KSLA-TV News 12*, Jan 2, 2006. <http://www.ksla.com/Global/story.asp?S=4309080&nav=0RY5>

**“I didn't feel I had to use the computer,’** said Williams, who opted for one of the 54 programs and improved her prescription coverage as a result. **‘I saw a sheet that listed all the providers and what they offered, and reputation was one of the top things I went by. ‘To me, it wasn't all that difficult once I looked into it and read up on it and compared the companies,’** Williams said. **‘I chose based on the premiums and the deductible and went with a reputable company. ‘**

‘There were some that only had an low premium, but I had never heard of them,’ she said.

Williams enrolled in an AARP-recommended plan that required a \$19 monthly premium. She will pay \$5 or \$10 out of pocket for generic drugs or \$20 for brand names. She currently pays about \$250 per month out of pocket for half a dozen prescriptions, but will pay less with her new plan. In addition, her former employer will pay the \$19 monthly premium as part of her retirement benefits and will kick in when the Medicare coverage hits its limit of \$2,250.

**‘What I had before wasn't as good,’** she said.” *Charleston Daily Mail*, Dec 30, 2005. <http://www.dailymail.com/news/News/2005123032>

“Advising eligible people has been rewarding, Pearson said. **When one person learned her monthly cost would be \$28, she replied, ‘Which drug?’ It was for all of them.**

Another person saw the drug costs go from \$4,300 to \$800 through available supplementary assistance from Social Security, she said." *The Decatur Daily*, Jan 3, 2006. <http://www.decaturdaily.com/decaturdaily/news/060103/medicare.shtml>

"Despite a confusing start, local pharmacists say the new Medicare Part D prescription drug plan is moving forward pretty smoothly.

On its debut, so far so good.

'We're taking it one day at a time making sure we have things moving properly and in one direction,' says Peck.

Peck adds, **'It has gone relatively smooth. We've run into a few stumbling blocks but for the most part it's been a smooth transition for everyone that I can tell.'**

*WBIR.com*, Jan 3, 2006. <http://www.wbir.com/news/news.aspx?storyid=31110>

"Baer went to the Medicare Web site, typed in her nine medications, and printed out the two or three dozen plans she could choose from.

'Look, their prices range from \$480 to \$3,972!' she said. 'I picked Humana's plan, but now that I think about it, I'll probably change.

**You just have to decide to do it,'** she added. **'If I can do it, anybody can.'** *The Star Press*, Dec 21, 2005.

**"It was painless,"** an obviously relieved Gabel said. Gabel had done her homework before sitting down with Claire Wood last week at the Senior Center. Wood was able to quickly enter information into a computer and show how the plans available in Alabama differ in price and features.

**A few minutes later they were done, and Grateful Young was enrolled in a Medicare prescription drug plan.** Her coverage begins Jan. 1.

"They should send her a packet in the next two weeks with a prescription drug card," Wood said, as Gabel gathered papers and put them in a bulging folder.

**"I can put all this in the file cabinet now,"** she said. *The Huntsville Times*, Dec 11, 2005.

<http://www.al.com/search/index.ssf?/base/news/113429618840320.xml?huntsvilletimes?lheal&coll=1>

"At one session, I sat with retired bank executive Bob Quasius and his wife, Mary. Bob said what it boils down to is comparing all costs of programs, including premiums, co-payments and deductibles, based on the drugs that you take.

He said he felt he understood the offerings after attending two lengthy sessions on Humana and Network programs, but he still had plenty of reading and price comparing to do before making a decision.

**'I don't think it's a quick, easy decision, but I think the new drug coverage is a good thing,'** he said. 'Two months ago, I might not have been convinced of that.'

**What he knows is that he's seen a couple of programs that will reduce his wife's annual drug cost by way more than half.'** *Appleton Post Crescent*, Dec 14, 2005.

<http://www.postcrescent.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20051214/APC0701/512140632/1436/APCbusines>  
ss

“Connecticut seniors are signing up for the new Medicare prescription drug benefit - and many of them are saving thousands of dollars a year. Few expected Connecticut seniors to have such a positive response so early after sign-ups began.

**This good news for seniors may be disappointing to those cynics who seem to be hoping the new drug benefit will fail. But Connecticut seniors are proving them wrong.**

Some seniors, like Shirley Rabinowitz of Waterbury, are saving much more. Shirley, 79, said that in a 30-minute session with a seniors' counselor, **she learned that she could save \$4,000 a year under the new program.**

Take Thomas Bernatchy, 81, and his wife, Margaret. Mrs. Bernatchy, 77, takes many drugs, which cost the couple more than \$7,000 a year. After discussing his wife's needs with a Medicare counselor at the local senior center, Mr. Bernatchy signed himself and his wife up for Medicare drug plans that will save them more than \$5,000 a year.

Anita Willequer, 70, who also lives in Plainville, said that while attending an exercise class at the area senior center, she decided to meet with a Medicare counselor. She will save more than \$500 a year. **‘There's a tremendous savings,’ she said. ‘I was glad I asked about it. I hope it helps a lot of people.’**

I recently heard from Nancy Lindoerfer, the director of the New Milford Senior Center in the western part of the state. She and her staff have met with more than 200 seniors who are learning how helpful the Medicare drug benefit will be. One New Milford senior, she said, takes two expensive drugs and will save \$400 a month with the Medicare drug benefit.

In Salisbury, Joe Soper, 73, had words of encouragement for his fellow seniors, according to published reports. Although he was apprehensive at first, he later expressed relief and signed up for a plan to help pay for the expensive drugs he and his wife take.”

*The Hartford Courant*, Dec 6, 2005 [http://www.courant.com/news/opinion/op\\_ed/hc-johnson1206.artdec06.0.3543834.story?coll=hc-headlines-oped](http://www.courant.com/news/opinion/op_ed/hc-johnson1206.artdec06.0.3543834.story?coll=hc-headlines-oped)

**“This is a real blessing to have this opportunity,”** said Spokane resident Sharon Stillwell, 64, sitting next to Tartella at a computer after his talk. **“I would have crawled over here.”** *The Spokesman Review*, Dec 1, 2005

“Medicare specialists explained the program and answered questions. Seniors were also able to get one on one counseling to find out what prescription plan best fits their medical needs.

**‘I’m leaving here very happy let me tell you because it takes a load off it really does, and I recommend this for every senior citizen, everybody,’** says Lucy Poe.

**‘If you coverage that’s as good as Medicare’s it’s a voluntary program, you don’t need to make a decision. You have something. But if you don’t that’s when we start to look at people and say okay, this is the time frame you have to make a decision, and there’s plenty of time,’** explains Gaetana Marshall, State Lead/Health Insurance Specialist.”--*WALB News*, Nov 28, 2005

<http://www.walb.com/global/story.asp?s=4174090&ClientType=Printable>

“Just ask Charlotte Moore of Kinston. She knew exactly what kind of plan she wanted when she went to her brother and had him use his computer to sign her up online.

'I listened to different people discuss the signup process and paid attention to what's been going on,' Moore said. 'I read information about the plan I was considering, looked to see it covered all the drugs I take, and then went to the drugstore and got a price list of all of the drugs I take regularly.'

**After doing all the research, Moore said, signing up on the computer was easy. The information just had to be entered in the proper forms.**--*The Kinston Free Press*, Nov 29, 2005

<http://www.kinston.com/SiteProcessor.cfm?Template=/GlobalTemplates/Details.cfm&StoryID=32430&Section=Local>

**"Still, the most important target population - the millions of Americans who previously had no drug coverage and the minority who have enormously high drug costs - should find the new program a boon.** Retirees and elderly workers currently covered by employer or union drug plans may want to stay put if they receive notices that their existing plans are as good or better than Medicare's.) The new program is also off to a surprisingly auspicious start from the viewpoint of the consumer. Far more insurance companies are participating than anyone dreamed likely and many are offering a wide variety of plans." -- *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 2005

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/27/opinion/27sun1.html>

"One piece of good news here is the way the market has responded to the legislation. During the Congressional debate in 2003, many suggested that private insurers might not even show up to the drug-benefit party. But there are 80-some offering coverage in the New York City area, and more than 40 in most parts of the country. Some plans come with monthly premiums as low as about \$2, and the average premium is \$32 (the feds had estimated \$37). To some degree, the private providers are even saving Congress from itself by filling in the dreaded donut hole. They are allowed to offer coverage in the "gap" as long as the overall benefit is "actuarially equivalent" to -- i.e., not richer than -- the one Washington specified, and about 15% do. A whopping 58% of plans eschew the suggested \$250 deductible. Meanwhile, the lower-than-projected premiums suggest that the private benefit managers are doing a good job wringing discounts out of the pharmaceutical industry, despite Democratic demands to impose government-mandated price controls." -- *The Wall Street Journal*, Nov 26, 2005

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB113296627475107058-search.html?KEYWORDS=medicare&COLLECTION=wsjie/6month>

"Hocking advises seniors to try the website [www.medicare.gov](http://www.medicare.gov), which includes a handy tool that allows seniors to plug in the names of the drugs they take and their location, to compare plans.

The same tool can be accessed by calling the toll-free number 1-800-medicare.

**'The information that is available on that website is fabulous,' she says.**

**'It will tell you all of the programs that cover all of your drugs.'**--*Carlisle Sentinel*, Nov 24, 2005

<http://www.cumberlandlink.com/articles/2005/11/24/news/news02.txt>

"On the other hand, Tom Clarke, 77 of Minnetonka, is a happy man. He and his wife, Mary, say they have identified two drug plans that will cut their costs from about \$5,500 this year to about \$1,450 next year. **'We were thinking about celebrating our 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in Italy, and savings like this means it might happen,' he said. 'All the chaos may be worth it.'** -- *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, Nov 20, 2005

<http://www.startribune.com/stories/1244/5737017.html>

"With the help offered at the senior center, the Adamses both enrolled in a plan that costs \$29 a month but doesn't have a deductible. If they get new prescriptions that aren't covered by the plan, they'll have to pay, until they can switch plans at the end of next year. Still, they were glad to have enrolled. **'It eases your mind, now that you know you've got it,' Frank Adams said.**" -- *Kentucky Herald Leader* Nov 21, 2005.

<http://www.kentucky.com/mld/kentucky/13222166.htm>

"At a table nearby, Ellen Harris of Pontiac was hoping to enroll in prescription drug coverage right then and there.

The former electrical factory worker, 49, has bladder and kidney problems that have left her disabled. She takes 15 drugs that cost about \$500 a month. 'I have a lot of medical expenses,' she said. 'I want drug coverage today.' But the computer she was trying to use was down, so she just waited. By a wall of windows nearby, Livingston of Wixom shuffled her cowboy boots on the plush carpeting and put on a smile. She had a stroke two years ago. Now, she takes three drugs, which cost her about \$571 every three months. After waiting for more than an hour, she learned that she could reduce her payments by about half. She took a printout of her best options to show her daughter and her pharmacist. **'It was worth waiting for,' she said. "Very enlightening."** *Detroit Free Press* Nov 16, 2005

<http://www.freep.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20051116/FEATURES08/511160365/1001/NEWS>

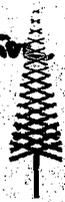
"Bill Meyer of Monroe, communications director for AARP, spoke last week at a condominium in Fort Lee on the Medicare Plan D drug program, which begins its enrollment period today. Meyer has chosen a plan for him and his wife, and came away from the process calling it **"the best thing that has ever happened to Medicare."** When shopping for the plan he chose he was given the option of a zero deductible or a \$250 deductible. "They showed me that at the end of the year I was far ahead of the game with the higher deductible," he said. Plans also vary according to specific drugs and participating pharmacies. "I have yet to find a pharmacy that isn't participating," said Meyer. -- *Home News Tribune* Nov, 15 2005.

<http://www.thnt.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20051115/NEWS/511150421/1001>

10/2

Taken care of 1/4/06  
(Declined w/ explanation via phone to Judy)

DEC 23 2005  
8:00 a.m.



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**FAX COVER SHEET**

*call list*

<b>To:</b> Mr. Karl Rove	<b>From:</b> Judy Lachniet for Mr. Rich DeVos
<b>Company:</b> Executive Office of the White House	<b>Phone:</b> 616-787-8985
<b>Phone:</b>	<b>Fax:</b> 616-787-5695
<b>Fax:</b> 202-456-0191	<b>Date:</b> December 22, 2005
<b>Pages:</b> 2	<b>Re:</b> Inauguration of new President of Liberia / Mr. Ken Ross

**Mr. Rove:**

**Attached please find a letter of request from Mr. Richard DeVos for your review.**

**Thank you - Judy**

*2 of 2*

**Richard M. DeVos**

7575 Fulton Street East  
Ada, Michigan 49355

Phone number: 616.787.8985  
Fax number: 616.787.5695



December 22, 2005

Mr. Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President  
Executive Office of the White House  
1<sup>st</sup> Floor  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Karl:

A business associate of mine, Ken Ross, would like to go to the inauguration of the new President of Liberia. He knows Liberia well, having been there many times. To facilitate travel from the inland to markets in the city, we were able to clear several miles for a railroad there and get it back into business. We also have a gold mine we're in the process of proving out.

Ken is on a list of forty people who are coming to the White House, of whom five are to be selected to go personally to this outstanding event. I would appreciate it if you would do what you can to keep him in the final five.

If you have any questions, please call me at:

Home: (b)(6)

Office: 616-787-8985 or 6222

Florida: (b)(6)

Thanks, Karl, and have a Merry Christmas!

Rich DeVos

C: Ken Ross

Rich DeVos

Corresp

7575 Fulton Street East  
Ada, Michigan 49355

Phone number: 616.787.8985  
Fax number: 616.787.5695

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12/12/05

To Karl Rove:  
White House.

I had this in my  
pocket to give to the  
Pres. at a dinner.

I forgot to give it.  
Would you please  
handle it.

Louise  
Guthrie

**Richard M. DeVos**

7575 Fulton Street East  
Ada, Michigan 49355

Phone number: 616.787.8985  
Fax number: 616.787.5695



CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD



ALTICOR  
CO-FOUNDER



OWNER & CHAIRMAN

December 9, 2005

The Honorable George W. Bush  
Executive Office of the White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

A friend of the Bush family needs a favor...one you can do easily.

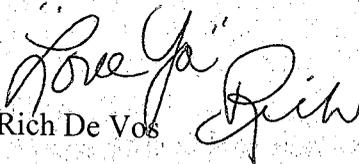
A friend and associate of mine for many years wants to be on the list to go to Liberia for the inauguration party in Monrovia. He is on the current list for 40 coming to the White House.

He has worked in Liberia with me trying to develop a gold mine. We currently run a railroad there to help the people get to town with what they produce.

We have plans for other projects there and he needs to be on the list. His name is Ken Ross from Grand Rapids, Michigan.

I have spent over \$10 million in Liberia to help this cause.

Thanks!

  
Rich DeVos

C: Ken Ross

683174

**CPT John T. Griffin**  
U.S. Army, JAG Corps

683174

**Trial Counsel & Special  
Assistant U.S. Attorney**

Criminal Law Branch, OSJA  
Headquarters, Fort Campbell Installation  
Fort Campbell, Kentucky 42223-5000

w: (270) 798-0721

c: (501) 837-5190

f: (270) 798-7197

john.t.griffin@us.army.mil



683174

*update  
database  
& reform.*

LINDA O. SHAW  
Guilford County Commissioner  
DISTRICT 3

*683174*

Commissioners' Office  
301 W. Market Street  
P.O. Box 3427  
Greensboro, NC 27402  
(336) 641-3351  
Direct Line: (336) 641-3368  
Fax (336) 641-3209



Home Address:  
P.O. Box 8618  
Greensboro, NC 27419  
Home: (336) 855-7533  
Home Fax: (336) 632-1305  
Email: IMLSHAW@aol.com

Xc: Mike Gerson  
Claude Allen

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/12/05

To: Claude Allen  
From: Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rove

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Deadline
- Other

Chris Tanner  
6-4574

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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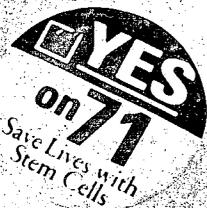
Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

683 484

Despite federal opposition to embryonic stem cell research, the promise of medical benefits, academic freedom and profits in California is luring scientists to the field

**BY JON COHEN**  
**PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK RICHARDS**

# STEM CELL PIONEERS



AS IRVING WEISSMAN DRIVES PAST Cannery Row in Monterey, California, in a light rain, he waves an open palm like an impresario, showing off the picturesque bay and craggy coastline. "Spectacular," Weissman says as he pulls onto the grounds of the Hopkins Marine Station. He's a distinguished immunologist, best known for his studies of blood cells, but he's also a straight-shooting Montana native who sports the type of rugged beard you might expect on a fur trader, his father's profession.

When he sees David Epel walking by, Weissman stops his black Lexus sedan and lowers a window.

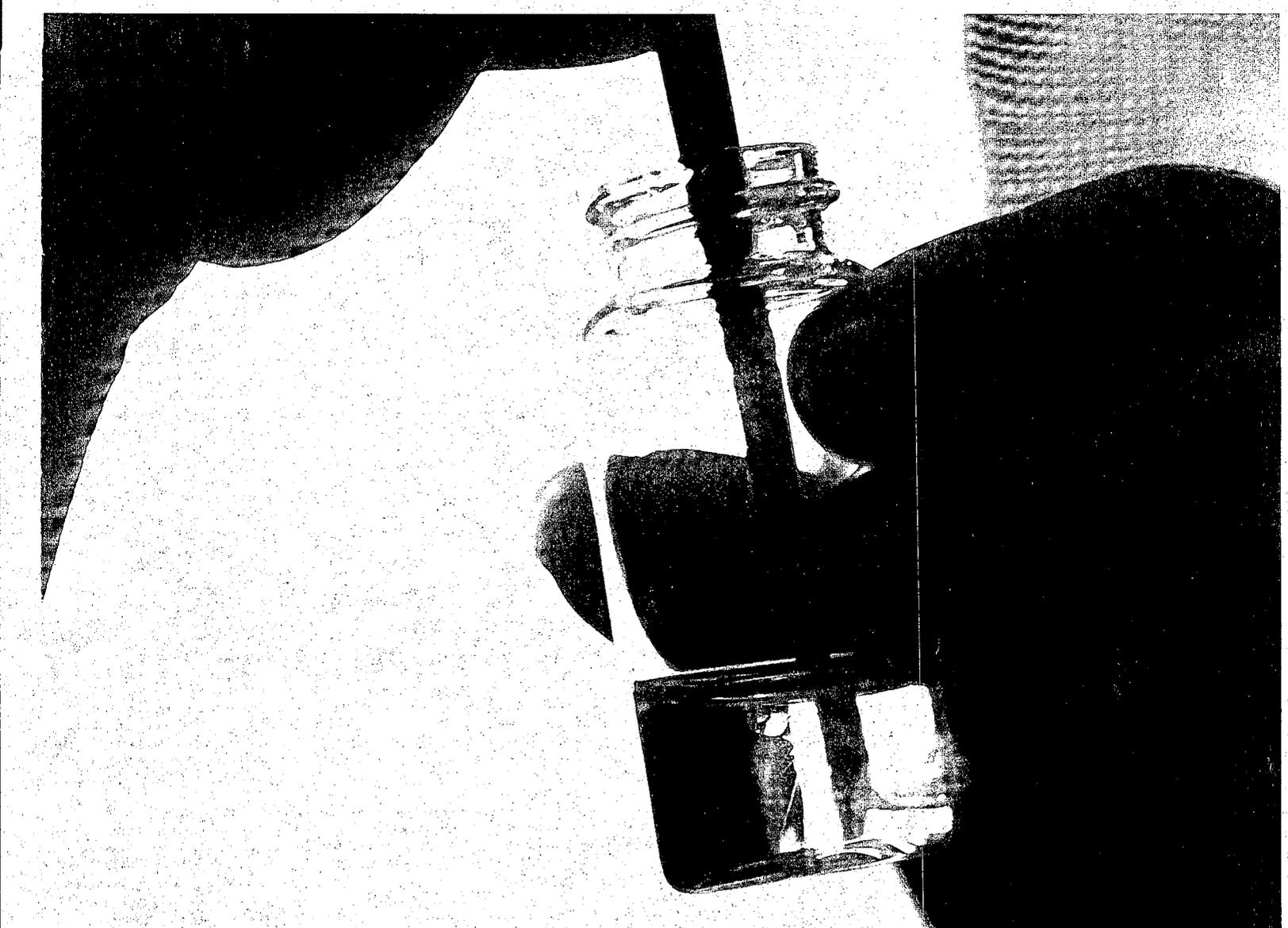
"How can you sleep at night?" asks Epel, a marine biologist who investigates fertilization in sea urchins.

"Nobody can," smiles Weissman.

Epel and Weissman are marveling over the decision made by the voters of California in November 2004 to spend up to \$3 billion in the state over the next ten years on human embryonic stem cell research. Known as Proposition 71, the initiative has created a gold rush fever that's caught the attention of stem cell scientists everywhere. Many prospectors envision rewards well beyond dollars: new treatments and possibly cures for a wide array of medical conditions, such as Alzheimer's, diabetes, Parkinson's, osteoporosis, multiple sclerosis, spinal cord injury, cancer and heart disease.

Passage of the stem cell referendum sent a blaring signal to Washington. President Bush, backed by leading Republicans in Congress who share his beliefs that a human embryo has the same moral rights as a person, has strictly limited the use of federal funds to pursue this avenue of scientific inquiry. One bill in the U.S. Senate even proposes to criminalize what Weissman and others see as the single most promising aspect of the research—the ability to use an ailing patient's own cells to develop treatments. So Prop. 71, which was supported by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, a Republican, and garnered a whopping 59 percent of the vote, is almost a declaration of secession. And New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Wisconsin and several other states have proposed similar legislation to fund stem cell research within their own borders. Even so, some stem cell scientists in the United States worry that they are falling behind their colleagues in other countries.

TRAZER HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES



The stem cell frontier provokes some of the most contentious questions in society: When does life begin? Should religious belief play a role in shaping laws? How much should government limit research?

Since Californians voted last year to fund embryonic stem cell work (a biologist in San Diego), other states have considered becoming havens for the research.

Weissman, who has a small lab at the Hopkins Marine Station and a much larger one 90 miles away at its parent institution, Stanford University, played a starring role in the Prop. 71 campaign. He helped shape the proposition and attracted crucial funding for it, meeting privately with politicians, influential Hollywood producers and other deep-pocketed supporters including Bill Gates. Weissman also became a go-to expert for the news media and even starred in a TV ad for the "Yes on 71" campaign. He has taken up the cause before the U.S. Congress, President Bush's Council on Bioethics and the late Pope John Paul II, warning at every turn that limiting or blocking stem cell research would hamper development of potential treatments and cures—a moral dilemma of its own.

The stem cell frontier provokes some of the most contentious questions in society: When does life begin? Should religious belief play a role in shaping laws and regulations? How much should governments limit research? Does the fate of an embryo matter as much as the health of a living person?

Weissman stumbled into the issue in 2001 when he chaired a National Academies panel on cloning, a scientific technology that overlaps with stem cell biology. While Weissman abhors the idea of cloning humans—and the panel he chaired called for a legally enforceable ban on the procedure—he saw that using cloning technology to derive embryonic stem cells opened a new world of medical possibilities. That's when he decided to champion the idea. "I didn't choose this position, I promise you," he says. And though Weissman pioneered the discovery of stem cells in

adults, his academic labs and the three biotechnology companies he co-founded, SyStemix, Inc., StemCells, Inc. and Cellerant Therapeutics, Inc., do not yet work on human embryonic stem cells. As he likes to half joke: "My advocacy of human embryonic stem cell research is in fact probably felt by my companies to be competitive to their interests."

Before leaving Epel at the Hopkins Marine Station, Weissman confides that he is attempting to lure a prominent human embryonic stem cell researcher from Massachusetts to Stanford—part of Weissman's continued efforts to bolster California's prominence in the field. The researcher is scheduled to lecture at the Hopkins Marine Station. "I thought I would drive him down and try to convince him how nice the

*JON COHEN, a correspondent for Science magazine, is the author of Coming to Term: Uncovering the Truth about Miscarriage. Photographer MARK RICHARDS is based near San Francisco.*

West Coast is," says Weissman. Then he gazes at Monterey Bay and grins. "Let's hope it's really sunny that day," he says.

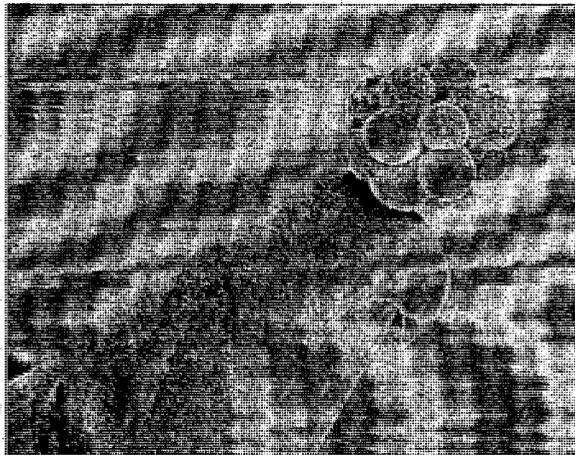
STEM CELLS, unlike all the other cells in the body, can copy themselves indefinitely. So-called adult stem cells are found in many parts of the body, constantly rejuvenating the brain, remodeling arteries so blood can scoot around clogs, and growing new skin to heal wounds. Virtually no one objects to studies on adult stem cells. In a landmark experiment in 1988, Weissman's lab isolated adult stem cells from mouse bone marrow. These mouse stem cells were able to create the entire fleet of blood cells, including lymphocytes that help form the immune system, platelets that promote clotting, and red blood cells that shuttle oxygen to tissues. Three years later, Weissman's lab isolated similar adult stem cells from humans. The discovery paved the way to improved bone marrow transplantation in cancer patients who had received radiation or chemotherapy.

But adult stem cells, versatile as they are, have more limited power than embryonic stem cells, which can turn into any type of cell in the body. In the late 1990s, two independent discoveries pushed embryonic stem cells to center stage.

First, scientists in Scotland rocked the world in February 1997 with the announcement that they had created a cloned lamb, Dolly. Ian Wilmut and his co-workers accomplished that feat by removing a cell from the body of a 6-year-old ewe and then fusing it with a sheep egg that the scientists had hollowed out to remove its genetic material. The egg functioned like a time machine. It somehow made a regular

old body cell revert all the way back to its embryonic root and behave like a normal fertilized egg. The rejuvenated cell then developed into Dolly. Much as Dolly wowed the public, her existence raised the question of whether a human being could be created by cloning. The prospect sent shivers through scientific, political and religious communities.

The second breakthrough was announced in November 1998. Scientists led by James Thomson of the University of Wisconsin had grown human embryonic stem cells in a culture dish, a scientific first. They'd constructed embryonic stem cell "lines" that, like a yogurt or sourdough culture, could renew in perpetuity and be propagated in still more cell cultures. These cell lines, which a nonprofit subsidiary of the University of Wisconsin would soon sell to researchers around the world (two vials, \$5,000), made minds race. Scientists could attempt to turn the embryonic cells into any tissue the body makes. Imagine: an endless supply of young neurons to



New findings suggest embryonic stem cells might be made without destroying an embryo (a 3-day-old human embryo on a pin), bypassing a major objection.

DR. YUKIYA NIKAI / PHOTO RESEARCHERS

682484

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/12/05

To: Joel Kaplan

From: Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rowe

Christanner  
5-4567

- FYI
  - Appropriate Action
  - Direct Response
  - Prepare Response For My Signature
  - Per Our Conversation
  - Let's Discuss
  - Per Your Request
  - Please Return
  - Deadline
  - Other
- Comments: \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

# Distinguished Marines

The Postal Service issued the 37-cent, Distinguished Marines commemorative stamps in four designs, in first day ceremonies held November 10, 2005, at the Marine Barracks in Washington, DC. A second first day dedication ceremony took place at Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California.

These stamps commemorate four legendary marines who served with bravery and distinction during the 20th century: John Basilone, Daniel J. Daly, John A. Lejeune, and Lewis B. Puller. This issuance honors a tradition of excellence in military service that began with the establishment of the first two battalions of marines by the Continental Congress in 1775.

**John Basilone** — Famous for his heroism during World War II, John Basilone (1916–1945) was a Congressional Medal of Honor recipient whose name and reputation are synonymous with the sacrifices and sense of duty shared by generations of enlisted Marines.

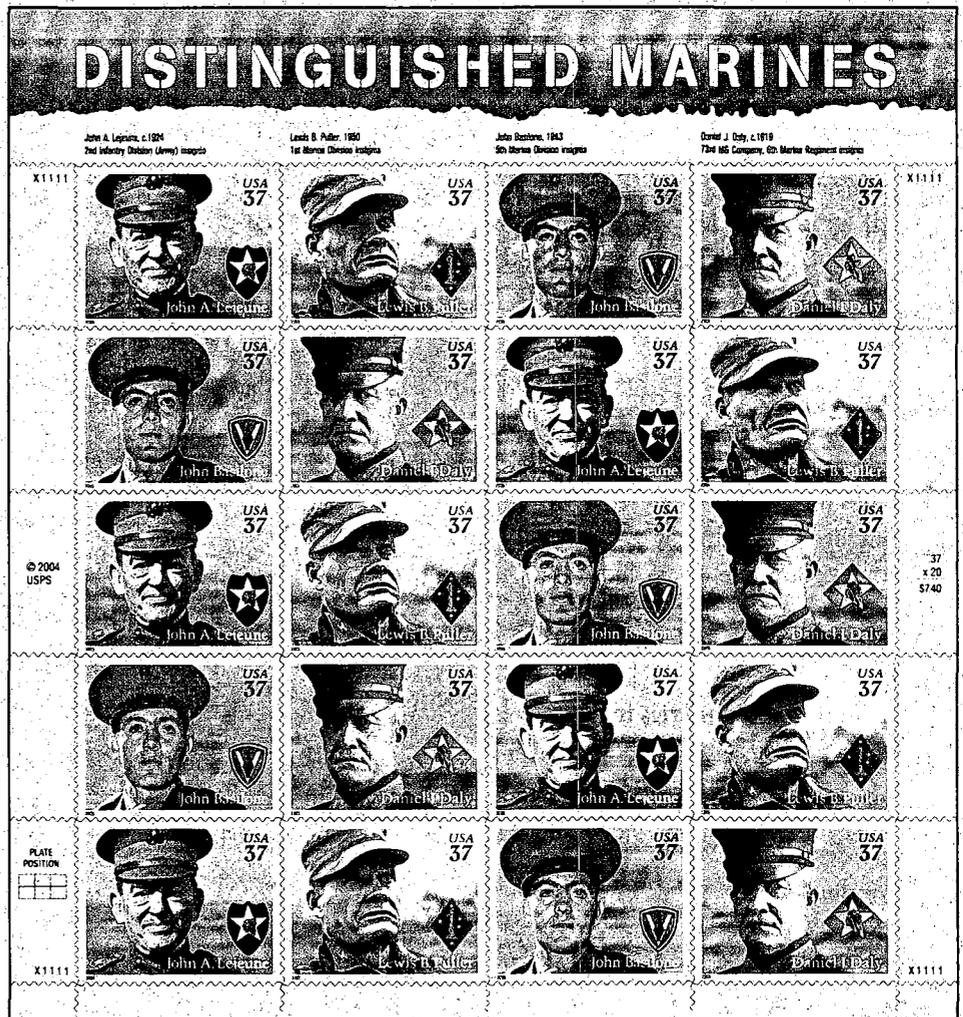
**Daniel J. Daly** — A highly decorated Marine, Daniel J. Daly (1873–1937) was one of only two Marines to be awarded two Medals of Honor for separate acts of heroism. The 1954 *Marine Corps Gazette* remembers Daly as “a sort of legendary figure in his own time,” and the *Historical Dictionary of the United States Marine Corps* states “his record as a fighting man remains unequalled in the annals of Marine Corps history.”

**John A. Lejeune** — John A. Lejeune (1867–1942) made history during World War I as the first Marine to command an Army division. Remembered for his professionalism and dedication, Lejeune is often referred to as “the greatest of all leathernecks,” and his leadership and foresight helped prepare the Marine Corps for the amphibious assaults of World War II.

**Lewis B. Puller** — Nicknamed “Chesty” for his physique as well as for his aggressive bearing, Lewis B. Puller (1898–1971) had a reputation for incredible toughness. Renowned for his leadership during crucial battles in World War II and the Korean War, Puller became one of the most highly decorated Marines, rising through the ranks from private to

general and receiving the Navy Cross five times.

**Denomination:** 37-cent commemorative  
**Format:** Pane of 20 (4 designs) with header  
**Designer/Art Director:** Phil Jordan, Falls Church, VA  
**Typographer:** John Boyd, New York, NY  
**Modeler:** Joseph Sheeran  
**Manufacturing Process:** Offset  
**Printer:** Ashton Potter (USA) Ltd., Williamsville, NY  
**Press Type:** Mueller Martini, A 74  
**Paper Type:** Block Tagged  
**Adhesive Type:** Pressure-sensitive  
**Colors:** Black, cyan, magenta, yellow, green, purple  
**Orientation:** Horizontal  
**Sizes (w x h):** 36.068 x 27.559 mm (image); 39.624 x 31.115 mm (overall); 183.896 x 190.5 mm (full pane)  
**Plate Numbers:** “P” followed by 6 single digits.  
**Marginal Markings:** ©2004 USPS; Plate position diagram; Price; 4 Plate numbers; Salvage biographical texts; Header; 4 Barcodes on back of pane.



# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Talking Points	Talking Points on Dobson Letter	1	12/14/2005	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
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**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

**FOLDER TITLE:**

683174 [3]

**FRC ID:**

9751

**OA Num.:**

10775

**NARA Num.:**

10833

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Jim Dobson	2	12/06/2005	P5;

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2015-0037-F

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Kay Enoch	1	11/15/2005	PRM;

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**MICHAEL R. TURNER**

3RD DISTRICT, OHIO

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT REFORM

ASSISTANT MAJORITY WHIP

NRN



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

November 22, 2005

683174  
1740 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-6465

DISTRICT OFFICES:

120 WEST 3RD STREET  
SUITE 305  
DAYTON, OH 45402  
(937) 225-2843

15 EAST MAIN STREET  
WILMINGTON, OH 45177  
(937) 383-8931

NOV 22 2005  
2:55p

Mr. Karl Rove  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Rove,

Thank you for hosting several of my colleagues and me at last week's listening session. I appreciate your interest in our thoughts concerning important policy issues facing our nation.

One of the most pressing issues facing Congress and the Administration is how to rebuild the lives, communities, and businesses impacted by Hurricane Katrina. As we discussed, Hurricane Katrina called the nation's attention to concentrations of urban poverty. We now have an opportunity to develop a new 21<sup>st</sup> century agenda that addresses the broad range of challenges facing urban America, including public housing.

Another area where many members see an opportunity for impact is providing incentives that encourage the redevelopment of brownfields. Brownfield redevelopment can be an effective tool for facilitating economic growth in urban areas. Since brownfields are found in every city and Congressional district, a brownfields cleanup plan can provide positive recognition for many individual members as well as the Administration.

I look forward to further discussing the issues raised at the listening session, and to supporting the President as we formulate an aggressive policy agenda for 2006.

Sincerely,

Michael R. Turner  
Member of Congress

cc: Mr. Barry Jackson

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	POTUS Meeting w/ Former Secretaries of State & Defense	4	01/05/2006	P5;

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# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	1	01/02/2006	P5; P6/b6;

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Records Management, White House Office of

### SERIES:

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

YOU WERE CALLED BY—

YOU WERE VISITED BY—

Ben Cohen  
SEC

OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE (Enter area code, if necessary)  
202-551-2133

DSN

WILL CALL AGAIN

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

responding to your inquiry.

RECEIVED BY

LK

DATE

1/4

TIME

1:15

NSN 7540-00-634-4018  
50363-111  
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OPTIONAL FORM 363 (Rev. 7-94)  
General Services Administration



# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Health IT - To: Karl Rove - From: Jeremy Katz	1	12/21/2005	P5;

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For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the  
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

**FOLDER TITLE:**

683174 [3]

**FRC ID:**

9751

**OA Num.:**

10775

**NARA Num.:**

10833

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

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683174

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/4/06

To: Richard Phillips EEOB 379

From: Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rove

Chris Tanner  
6-4574

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return with recommendation
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: Please make recommendation on how to properly handle.  
Thank you

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
Dec 2, 2005

EXEC. DIR. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2006 JAN -4 PM 1:07

**Cold War Hero to Visit the United States**

Dear Mr. Rove —

*Is there some way the United States can officially welcome and express its gratitude to Stanislav Petrov? It seems that the prosperity America enjoys today is directly linked to this man.*

*Glen Pedersen*

Stanislav Petrov, the retired Soviet military officer who averted a potential worldwide nuclear war in 1983, is planning to travel to the United States Jan. 14-24, 2006. Though his itinerary is not yet final, he will likely spend most of his time in New York City, and possibly some time in Washington, D.C.

While in the United States, Lieutenant Colonel Petrov is expected to speak at a public meeting in New York City and also participate in several interviews and other meetings. Although not yet final, it is possible he may meet with United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as well as the president of the General Assembly. Highlights of Lt. Col. Petrov's trip to the United States will be included in a documentary being produced by a Danish film company.

Interviews and meetings are being arranged now, with more information about Lt. Col. Petrov's visit available from:

**Douglas Mattern, President  
Association of World Citizens  
55 New Montgomery Street, Suite 224  
San Francisco, CA 94105  
USA**

**Telephone: (415) 541-9610  
FAX: (650) 745-0640**

**E-mail: worldcit@best.com**

Information about the 1983 incident involving Stanislav Petrov can be found on this Web site (a tribute site with articles, photos, links to many reports, etc.):

**<http://www.brightstarsound.com>**

# *Stanislav Petrov Averts a Worldwide Nuclear War*

*Excerpts from various media reports (1998–2004)*

*(These reports can be seen in their entirety through links on Web site [www.brightstarsound.com](http://www.brightstarsound.com))*

---

## **BBC News** (Great Britain)

Fifteen years ago, a Russian army officer, detecting an incoming missile strike, disobeyed procedure and reported a false alarm. In so doing he saved the world from possible nuclear catastrophe. But he did so at the cost of his health and his job.

---

## **Daily Mail** (Great Britain)

Petrov should have been praised to the skies by a grateful world.

---

## **The Washington Post** (United States)

Despite the electronic evidence, Petrov decided – and advised the others – that the satellite alert was a false alarm, a call that may have averted a nuclear holocaust. But he was relentlessly interrogated afterward, was never rewarded for his decision and today is a long-forgotten pensioner living in a town outside Moscow.

---

## **Knight Ridder Newspapers** (United States)

The man who saved America - and probably the world - is living out his days on a measly pension in a dank apartment in a forlorn suburb of Moscow.

---

## **Weekendavisen** (Denmark)

If Stanislav Petrov today appears to be a pathetic being, a lonely, drunken pensioner and widower, he is nonetheless a man who has done more for mankind than most. Perhaps even more than any other person living today.

---

## **Baltimore Sun** (United States)

Petrov's health was broken by the stress of the incident and its aftermath, and he soon retired from the military. When his actions that day were revealed by a Russian magazine in 1998, reporters found him infirm and surviving on a tiny pension outside Moscow. Petrov's unsung heroism . . .

---

## **The Indian Express** (India)

Petrov's action became widely known, in particular in the West, following the publication of memoirs by the former commander of the Soviet Air Defence's Missile Defence Units, Col. Gen. Yury Votintsev. At the awards presenting ceremony, Roginsky highly praised Petrov for making an independent decision that so many people would have relegated to their superiors to avoid responsibility.

---

## **USA Today** (United States)

"All the 20 years that passed since that moment, I didn't believe I had done something extraordinary. I was simply doing my job and I did it well," Petrov said on Russia's NTV television.

---

## **The Moscow News** (Russia)

Recently, it was 20 years since the incident. There was another wave of publications in the West as well as invitations for Petrov to come to the United States to be presented with a Distinguished World Citizen Award. They still remember him there.

---

## **MosNews.com** (Russia)

The director of Memorial, Russia's historical heritage and human rights organization, Arseny Roginsky, congratulated Petrov on behalf of the Association of World Citizens (AWC) in an awards ceremony that took place at Moscow News' office. The only regret AWC had, he said, was that they hadn't acknowledged Petrov's heroic action years ago. "They believe, you see, that in this world, people who are capable of actions like that can be counted up on one hand."



## 20TH ANNIVERSARY: WORLDWIDE NUCLEAR WAR AVERTED

*Exactly 20 years ago this week Stanislav Petrov, a Soviet military officer, averted a worldwide nuclear war. But, ironically, instead of being honored and praised for his actions, he found his life nearly ruined.*

by Glen Pedersen  
Bright Star Sound

September 25, 1983, is a date that could have been burned into the history books forever. On that day, against overwhelming odds, a Soviet military officer averted a worldwide nuclear war. What almost happened would have dwarfed into near obscurity any wars or terrorist attacks or natural disasters in memory.

News of this incident first surfaced in 1998 in press interviews with Stanislav Petrov, a retired lieutenant colonel, who described the chain of events that nearly led to the massive devastation of much of the Northern Hemisphere.

In a military bunker near Moscow, in the former Soviet Union, Petrov was in charge of an early warning system that used computers and satellites to alert the Soviet Union if there were ever a nuclear missile attack by the United States. The Soviet Union's strategy at that time was to fire its arsenal as soon as possible after receiving indications of an attack, according to Bruce Blair, a Cold War nuclear strategies expert and nuclear disarmament advocate with the Center for Defense Information.

It was just after midnight Sept. 26, 1983, Moscow time - still Sept. 25, a Sunday, in the West - when something went wrong. Suddenly the computer alarms sounded, warning that an American missile was heading toward the Soviet Union. Petrov reasoned that a computer error had occurred, since the United States was not likely to launch just one missile if it were attacking the Soviet Union - it would launch many. So he dismissed the warning as a false alarm.

A short time later, however, the situation turned very serious. Now the early warning system was indicating a second missile had been launched by the United States and was approaching the Soviet Union. Then it showed a third missile being launched; and then a fourth and a fifth. The sound of the alarms in the bunker was deafening, Petrov said. In front of him the word "Start" was flashing in bright lettering, presumably the instruction indicating the Soviet Union must begin launching a massive counterstrike against the United States.

Even though Petrov had a gnawing feeling the computer system was wrong, he had no way of knowing for sure. He had nothing else to go by. The Soviet Union's land-based radar was of limited usefulness since it was not capable of detecting missiles beyond the horizon. And worse, he had only a few minutes to decide what to tell the Soviet leadership. He made his final decision: He would trust his intuition and declare it a false alarm. If he were wrong, he realized nuclear missiles from the United States would soon begin raining down on the Soviet Union.

He waited. The minutes and seconds passed. Everything remained quiet - no missiles and no destruction. His decision had been right. Those around him congratulated him for his superb judgment.

It had indeed been a false alarm, and a subsequent investigation determined that the early warning satellite system had mistakenly interpreted sunlight reflections off clouds as the presence of enemy missiles.

Petrov felt an enormous sense of relief, but now he faced another problem. He had disobeyed military procedure by defying the computer warnings, and as a result he underwent intense questioning by his superiors about his actions during this ordeal. Perhaps because he had ignored the warnings, he was no longer considered a reliable military officer. Presumably in the military it is understood that orders and procedures are to be carried out unflinchingly, without question.

In the end, the Soviet military did not reward or honor Petrov for his actions. It did not punish him either. But his once promising military career had come to an end. He was reassigned to a less sensitive position and soon was retired from the military. He went on to live his life in Russia as a pensioner.

The false alarm involving Petrov occurred at a time of severely strained relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Only three weeks earlier, the Soviet military had shot down a Korean passenger jet that had wandered into Soviet airspace, killing all 269 people on board, including many Americans. The KGB sent a flash message to its operatives in the West, warning them to prepare for possible nuclear war, according to CNN.

Blair said the Russians "saw a U.S. government preparing for a first strike, headed by a president capable of ordering a

first strike."

Reflecting the tensions of the time, the American leadership had referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

With conditions so volatile at the time of the false alarm, if Petrov had declared the nuclear attack warning valid, as his instruments indicated, the Soviet leadership likely would have taken his decision as fact. A mistaken massive nuclear attack by the Soviet Union would undoubtedly have been followed by a devastating response from the Pentagon. Because of Petrov's actions, however, the risk of nuclear war was stopped well before it reached this point.

Petrov has said he does not regard himself as a hero for what he did that day. But in terms of the incalculable number of lives saved, and the overall health of the planet, he appears to have emerged as one of the greatest heroes of all time.

There is something else unsettling about this incident. Petrov was not originally scheduled to be on duty that night. Had he not been there, it is possible a different commanding officer would not have questioned the computer alarms, tragically leading the world into a nuclear holocaust. As it turned out, this incident ended fortunately for America and for the world. But unfortunately for Stanislav Petrov, it ruined his career and his health, and it deprived him of his peace of mind. This is one debt the world will never be able to repay.

On the Web: [www.brightstarsound.com](http://www.brightstarsound.com)

Sources:

<http://www.brightstarsound.com>  
Burrelle's Information Services (Dateline NBC, Nov. 12, 2000)  
Washington Post (Feb. 10, 1999)  
BBC News (Oct. 21, 1998)  
Daily Mail (Oct. 7, 1998)

###

NOTE TO EDITOR:

This incident was reported by several credible news organizations after it first became public in 1998. For links to some of these reports, see [www.brightstarsound.com](http://www.brightstarsound.com) (links are near the bottom of the Home Page).

### Contact Information

**Glen Pedersen**  
Bright Star Sound  
<http://www.brightstarsound.com>

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GLEN PEDERSEN

(b)(6)



Mr. Karl Rove  
Presidential Adviser  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

20500-0004



DEC 19 2005

✓ #174

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683174

The New York Times  
nytimes.com

KARL  
FYI - JARED

January 5, 2006

## Minister, a Bush Ally, Gives Church as Site for Alito Rally

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

The Rev. Herbert H. Lusk II is a maverick black minister who took to his pulpit in Philadelphia in 2000 and pledged his support for a Bush presidency, a speech broadcast live at the Republican National Convention. Two years later, Mr. Lusk was criticized when he received a \$1 million grant through the president's new religion-based initiative to run a housing program for the poor.

This Sunday, Mr. Lusk has offered his church in Philadelphia as the site for a major political rally intended to whip up support for the president's Supreme Court nominee, Judge Samuel A. Alito Jr., whose confirmation hearings begin on Monday.

The event, dubbed "Justice Sunday III," will be broadcast by satellite nationwide to churches and Christian radio and television stations, and organizers say it will reach 80 million households.

The speaking lineup includes the Rev. Jerry Falwell of Liberty University; James Dobson, the founder of Focus on the Family, a multimedia ministry in Colorado Springs; and Senator Rick Santorum, Republican of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lusk said he agreed to be the host of the event at his Greater Exodus Baptist Church more out of loyalty to Mr. Bush - "a friend of mine" - than out of support for Judge Alito.

"I don't know enough about him to say I actually think he's the right man to do the job," Mr. Lusk said in a telephone interview on Wednesday about Judge Alito. "I'm saying I trust a friend of mine who promised me that he would appoint people to the justice system that would be attentive to the needs I care about" - stopping same-sex marriage, assisted suicide and abortions for minors, and supporting prayer and Christmas celebrations in schools.

Other black pastors criticized Mr. Lusk for providing a black church as a stage for a pro-Alito event when they say Judge Alito has a poor record on civil rights. The Rev. Robert P. Shine Sr., president of the Pennsylvania State Wide Coalition of Black Clergy, said, "The rights gained by blacks and other minorities are subject to reversal in the event that Alito, along with Roberts, sits on the court."

Mr. Lusk says he is accustomed to controversy. After his speech to the Republican National Convention, he was reported to the Internal Revenue Service by Americans United for Separation of Church and State, a watchdog group based in Washington, which accused him of violating tax rules that prohibit churches from endorsing political candidates.

"In one person, Herbert Lusk represents what is wrong with mixing religion and government," said Barry Lynn, executive director of Americans United.

Mr. Lusk said the I.R.S. dropped the investigation because he never literally "endorsed" Mr. Bush, only the faith-based initiative. An I.R.S. spokesperson said the agency routinely refused to discuss investigations of taxpayers, or even to confirm whether an investigation took place.

Mr. Bush has visited Mr. Lusk's church twice to highlight its social service programs, once in 2001 and again in 2004.

Mr. Lusk's network of poverty programs has received several federal grants through the faith-based initiative, according to the White House press office: \$999,952 for the housing program in 2002; \$310,842 for a community technology center in 2003, and the same amount again in 2004; and \$126,000 for a program to mentor the children of prisoners in 2004.

Jim Towey, director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, said in an e-mail response that Mr. Lusk's church had won the grants not because of favoritism, but through a competitive bidding process administered by federal agencies.

"There shouldn't be a double standard here where a handful of grants to those organizations that work with President Bush to house the homeless and treat the addicted are subject to close scrutiny, while the great multitude of grants go to organizations who have been affiliated with the Democratic Party for years," Mr. Towey said.

Mr. Lusk said he would await the confirmation process to determine whether his support for Judge Alito was justified. "I may be wrong on Alito, I don't know that, but I know I'm right on George W.," he said. "He's always done what he's told me he would do."

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Presentation	National Survey of Presidential Primary Voters and...	14	09/2005	PRM;

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#### COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

#### SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

#### FOLDER TITLE:

683174 [3]

#### FRC ID:

9751

#### OA Num.:

10775

#### NARA Num.:

10833

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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#### Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

1/4/06 RK - Make Sure Weinstein knows we're coming for viewing of Emancipation Proc only on MLK Day. *sl* 683174

National Archives and Records Administration  
700 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Room 111  
Washington, DC 20408

**Office of the Archivist**

# Fax

JAN - 3 2005  
4:50 p.m.

<b>To:</b> The Hon. Karl Rove	<b>From:</b> Allen Weinstein
<b>Fax:</b> 456-1907	<b>Pages:</b> Cover + 4
<b>Phone:</b>	<b>Date:</b> 12/27/05
<b>Re:</b>	<b>CC:</b>

● **Comments:**

Attached please find a new letter of invitation to the President, along with two earlier letters. Would you kindly convey these to the President? Many thanks. Happy New Year.

Allen

Donna Gold  
Executive Assistant – Archivist of the United States  
Office: (202) 501-5130  
Fax: (202) 208-3267  
donna.gold@nara.gov

# National Archives



Archivist of the United States

Washington, DC 20408

January 3, 2006

The Honorable George W. Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

Happy New Year greetings to you and the First Lady from Adrienne and me.

I write to invite you to a special viewing of the original Emancipation Proclamation prior to its opening to the public at the National Archives on Friday, January 13. Should your schedule allow, I would suggest that the special viewing occur that morning before 10 a.m. We would welcome any remarks you wish to make at that time.

You may recall that I invited you similarly last Fall to participate in ceremonies marking the completion of the Archives' Freedmen's Bureau Preservation and Access Project. Those ceremonies will take place later in the day on January 13, but should you be interested in viewing some of the extraordinary Freedmen's Bureau documents and photographs, we would be honored to arrange that as well.

I look forward to hearing from you.

With every good wish for the New Year,

Sincerely,

*Allen*

ALLEN WEINSTEIN  
Archivist of the United States

# National Archives



Archivist of the United States

Washington, DC 20408

October 11, 2005

The Honorable George W. Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I write to update the National Archives' September 1, 2005 letter (copy enclosed) inviting you to participate in ceremonies marking the completion of the Freedmen's Bureau Preservation and Access Project. A close review of Congress's anticipated calendar for the Winter showed that the majority of Members would be unavailable in Washington for such a celebration on Martin Luther King Day weekend. For this reason, we have adjusted our program schedule so that there are now two separate opportunities for you to join us for this celebration, should you wish to do so.

We are moving ahead with our plans to place the original Emancipation Proclamation on display from Friday, January 13 through Monday, January 16. We have typically had large crowds for this once-a-year event. This year we will be combining the display of the document with the beginning of three weeks of programs related to the Freedmen's Bureau records. This means that we could readily organize an event on the evening of the 12<sup>th</sup> or the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> in which we invite you to open the festivities standing in front of the Emancipation Proclamation.

We are also planning a closing event sometime in early February to which the Congressional Black Caucus will be invited. At this time we will recognize former Representative J.C. Watts and Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald who co-sponsored the Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000 and honor the many volunteers who made this project possible. This event might also be an appropriate venue for your participation.

We would consider it a great honor if you could join us for either of these celebrations. I hope to work with your staff to see if we can find a date that works.

ALLEN WEINSTEIN  
Archivist of the United States

# National Archives



Archivist of the United States

Washington, DC 20408

September 1, 2005

The Honorable George W. Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear President Bush:

I write to invite you to participate in ceremonies marking the completion of the Freedmen's Bureau Preservation and Access Project. This winter we will celebrate the results of five years of intense labor by National Archives' staff and citizen volunteers that has literally opened a whole new chapter in American history: opening, conserving, and making available a treasure trove of records that document the African-American experience during the transition from slavery to freedom.

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was established in March of 1865 by the War Department and charged with "the supervision and management of all matters relating to the refugees and freedmen and lands abandoned or seized during the Civil War." For the next four years the Freedmen's Bureau served as a critical social service agency, establishing schools, formalizing marriages, monitoring labor contracts, and documenting attacks on the newly freed citizens. For more than a century the field records of the Bureau from fourteen states were shelved in the War Department and later at the National Archives, without full conservation or processing. Representative J.C. Watts and Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald cosponsored the Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000 to address the challenge of making these records truly accessible. With the completion of the field office records of the Commonwealth of Virginia anticipated this November, the project will draw to a close as all records become available for microfilm distribution.

(continued)

-page 2-

We have tentatively planned both a recognition ceremony and a public academic symposium to mark this event. Our initial planning has focused on Martin Luther King Day weekend when we traditionally place the original Emancipation Proclamation on display next to the Rotunda. We had considered Thursday, January 12 as the most probable date, a time when Congress is expected to be in session and when the supporters of this legislation could be recognized for their achievement. If it would better accommodate your schedule, however, we could rearrange these events for a date in February, as part of the program for Black History Month. We plan for this special evening to be an invitational reception and ceremony that would include the Congressional Black Caucus as well as business and academic leadership.

Please let me know if this program is of interest. We would be happy to work with appropriate parties on your staff to make suitable arrangements.

Sincerely,

ALLEN WEINSTEIN  
Archivist of the United States

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Strengthening America's Communities Initiative - To: Chief of Staff - From: Ryan Streeter	2	12/14/2005	P5;

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

**Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.**

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Briefing	Supportive Elderly Housing - Section 202 Program	2	12/30/2005	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the  
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

### COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

### SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

### FOLDER TITLE:

683174 [3]

### FRC ID:

9751

### OA Num.:

10775

### NARA Num.:

10833

### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

### Deed of Gift Restrictions

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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### Records Not Subject to FOIA

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683179 P. 01/03

SENATOR JEFF WENTWORTH  
SENATE DISTRICT 25



PRESIDENT PRO TEM  
OF THE TEXAS SENATE  
2004-2005

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# The Senate of The State of Texas

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Bexar (north) Hays  
Comal Kendall  
Guadalupe Travis (south)

1/4/06 MB -  
Decline ASAP.  
SR

## FAX TRANSMITTAL FORM

**TO:** Ms. Susan Ralston  
**PHONE:** (202) 456-1414 **FAX:** (202) 456-1907  
**FROM:** Senator Jeff Wentworth (210) 826-7800  
San Antonio District Office (210) 826-0571 - fax  
**STAFF:**  
**NUMBER OF PAGES:**     - 3 -     (Including transmittal form)

\*\*\*\*\*

### MESSAGE

It would be fabulous if the President could do this!

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The Senate of  
The State of Texas

January 3, 2006

PRESIDENT PRO TEM  
OF THE TEXAS SENATE  
2004 - 2005

COMMITTEES

Jurisprudence, Chairman  
Administration  
Intergovernmental Relations  
Transportation and Homeland Security

COUNTIES IN  
SENATE DISTRICT 25

Bexar (north)	Hays
Comal	Kendall
Guadalupe	Travis (south)

**The Honorable George W. Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500**

**Dear Mr. President:**

**The U.S. Army All-American Bowl is scheduled for the Alamodome here in San Antonio at noon Saturday, January 7, 2006.**

**This is the premier high school football game in the nation and features the country's top 78 high school senior football players in a classic East vs. West gridiron battle.**

**The 11 a.m. pre-game ceremony, "Saluting the American Soldier: Answering the Call to Duty," honors the men and women who have served and those who currently serve our great country, protecting our liberties and defending our nation's security.**

**Fifty soldiers, veterans of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom, will be recognized.**

**Tens of thousands will be in the Alamodome cheering these young men during the game, and it will be nationally telecast on NBC. (Both USC's Reggie Bush and Texas' Vince Young got their first national exposure in this bowl game in 2002 and 2003.)**

**The game is preceded at 7 p.m. on Friday evening, January 6, 2006, with an Awards Dinner at the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center sponsored by the largest Rotary Club in the world, the Rotary Club of San Antonio. One thousand or so will attend the dinner.**



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**The Honorable George W. Bush  
January 3, 2006  
Page Two**

**On game day coaching legend Lou Holtz and Heisman Trophy winner Pete Dawkins will team up to bring San Antonio students and coaches a game day clinic.**

**Other than your personal attendance at either the Awards Dinner or the game itself, nothing would be the highlight of the weekend more than a two-minute video from you welcoming football fans to this American patriotic classic and thanking and congratulating the men and women of America's military and their families.**

**Please have your staff call me at my Senate district office at (210)826-7800 or on my cell phone at (b)(6) if additional information is needed.**

**Sincerely,**

**Jeff Wentworth**