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Iraq Update SECDEF 21 June 2006

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Bottom Line Up Front

- Government formation process and Samarra bombing have added complexity to security situation.
- Will take about six months to see if this government can make a difference.
- Sectarian violence and looming confrontation with illegal armed groups complicates drawdown plans.
 - Army development remains on track logistics and ministerial development lag.
 - Major effort needed to rebuild confidence in police.
 - Transfers of Provincial Control have begun and can continue through 2006/7.

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Assumptions (1 of 2)

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The Insurgency -- "The political process, in combination with MNF-I reductions, will diminish the Sunni Rejectionist component of the insurgency"

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Armed Groups -- "Shi's militia violence can be contained with local security efforts"

■ Looming confrontation with Sadr; GOI may lack will and capability to deal with it

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Assumptions (2 of 2)

<u>Iraqi Security Forces</u> -- "ISF development will continue to match projections"

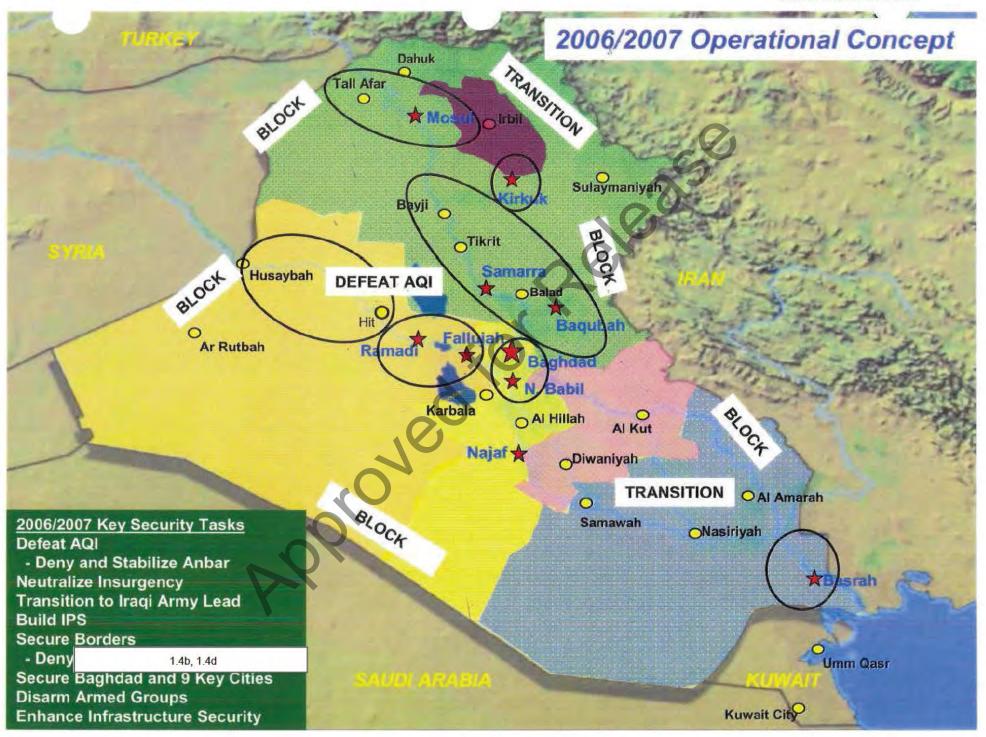
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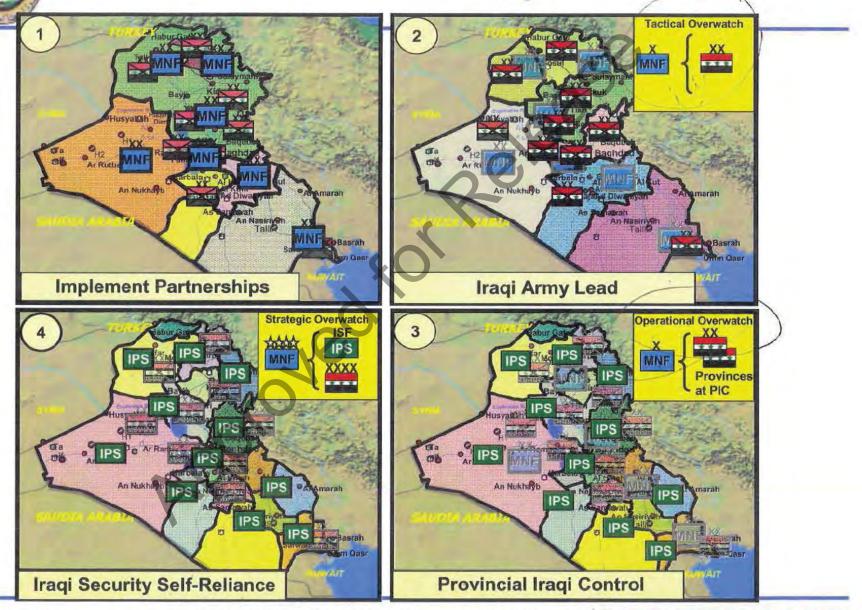
There will be tension between our desire to withdraw forces and the perceived security situation

Declassified by: MG Michael X. Garrett, USCENTCOM Chief of Staff Declassified on: 201506



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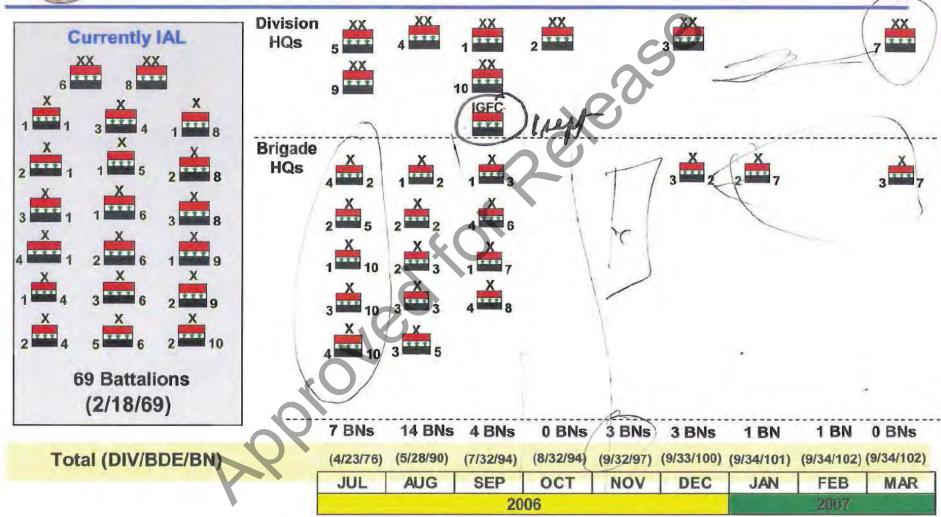
Concept of Transition



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Projected Iraqi Army Lead



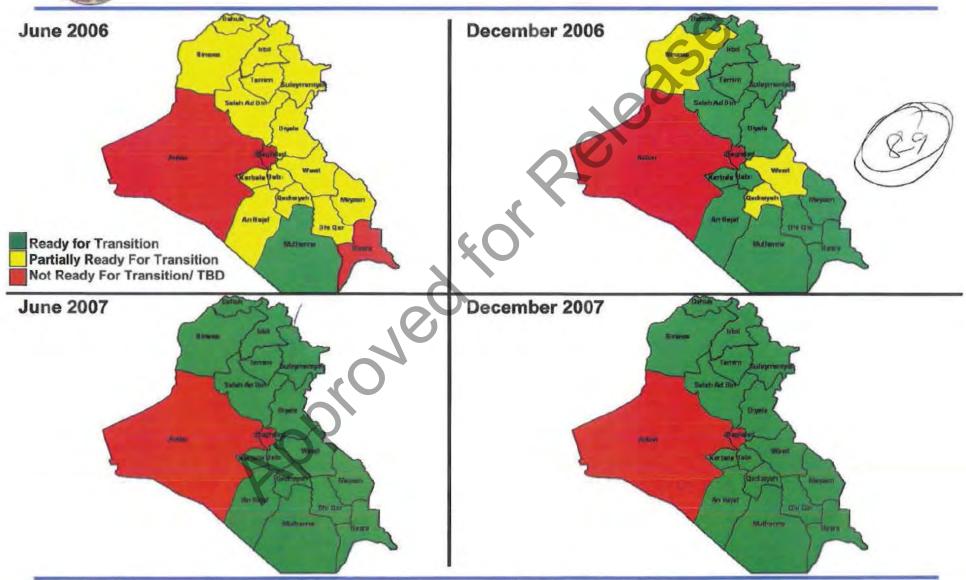
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IA Endstate (DIV/BDE/BN) - 10 Divisions, 36 Brigades, 112 Battalions

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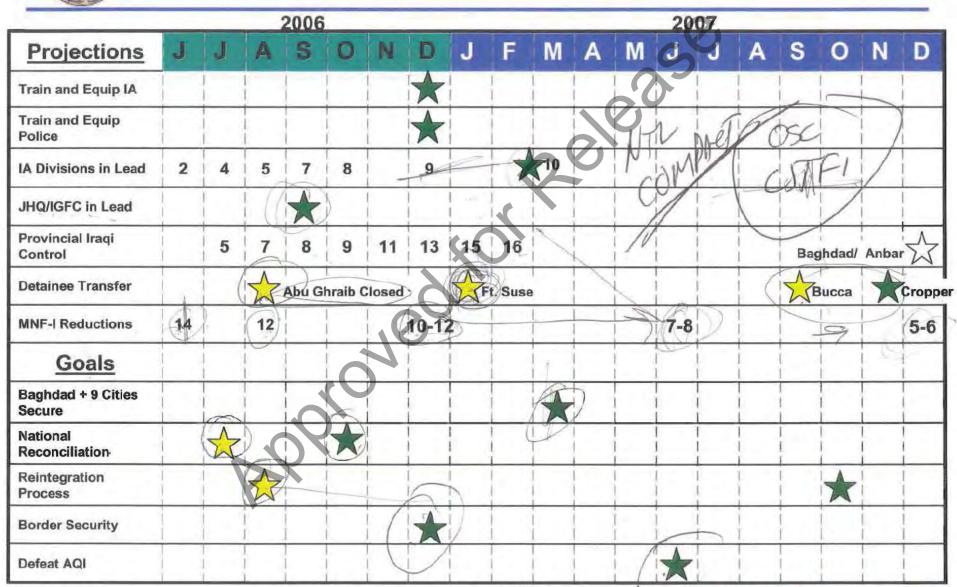
Provincial Iraqi Control



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Projections and Goals (2006-2007)



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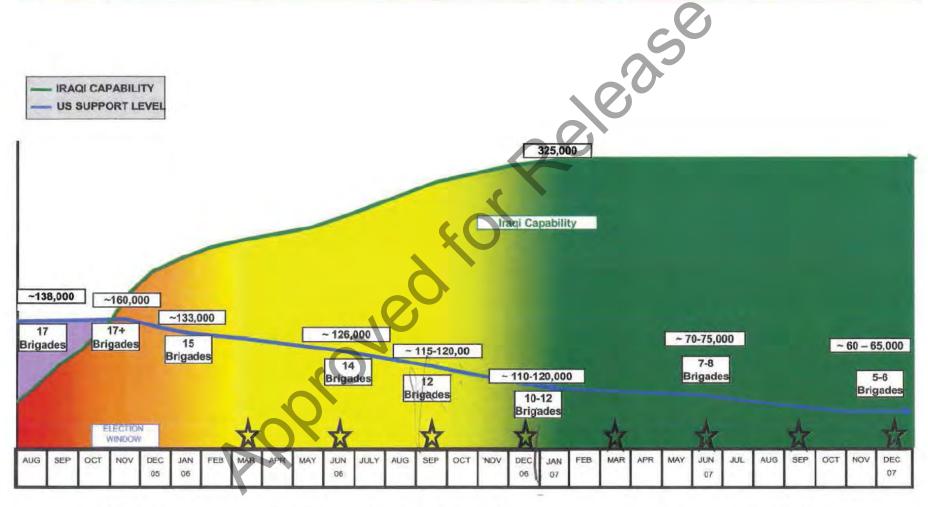
Benchmarks for Progress

| June | Baghdad Security Plan | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| July | Decision on constitutional amendment process and provincial elections Announcement of reconciliation plan De-Ba'athification plan announcement | | | | | | | | | |
| August | Announce conditions-based security transition road map Militia Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) plan | | | | | | | | | |
| September | Iraqi chain of command Intelligence reorganization | | | | | | | | | |
| October | Economic liberalization legislative package Rule of law legislative package National reconciliation agreement | | | | | | | | | |
| November | International Compact | | | | | | | | | |
| December | ■ Iraqi Army in the Lead | | | | | | | | | |

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Force Reduction Projection



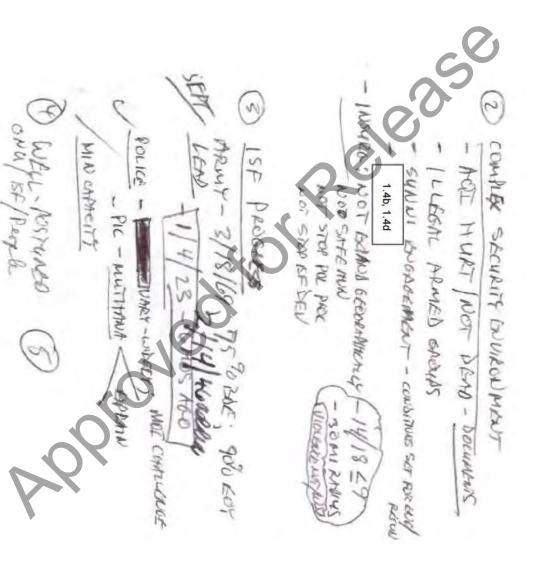
US off-ramp strategy linked to development of capable ISF

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HONN 2 WKS -BOD SEC PLAN RUNT NTL REDWOLLTION (b)(6) インニント TIME -SECULITY - PROSPERIT TO GET LEGS UNDER THEN SI/3 Chess



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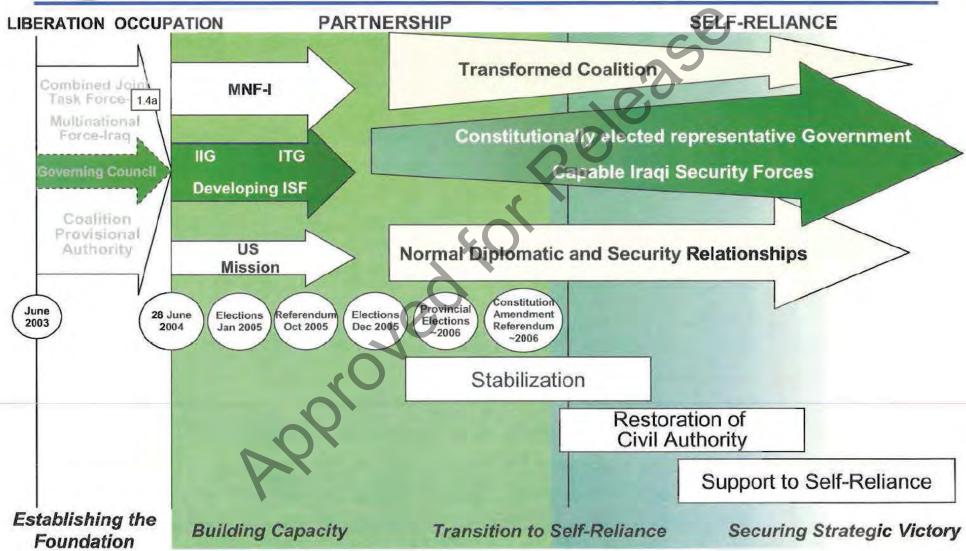
Iraq Update and Way Ahead

Tank Update

21 June 2006



The Campaign



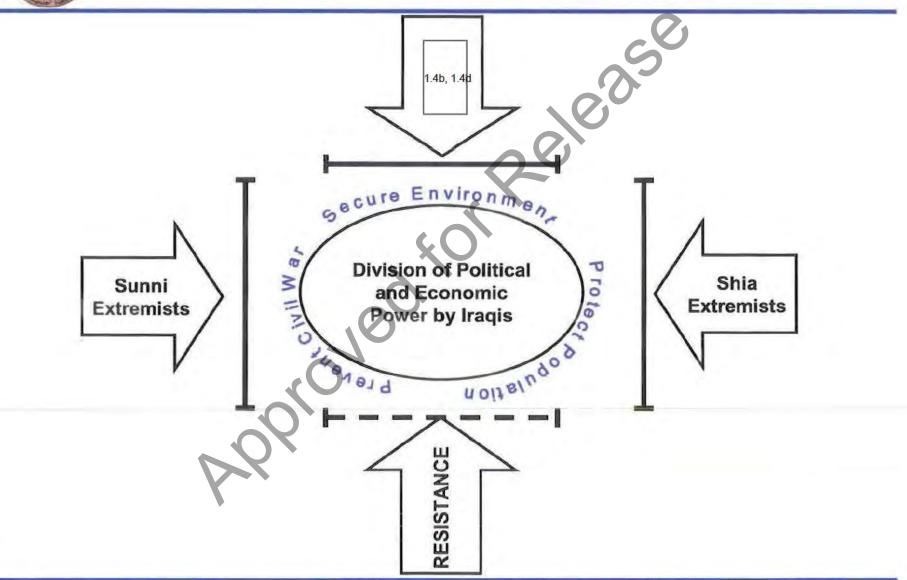


Situation

- Al Qaida continuing efforts to foment civil war; Baghdad is their focus
- Illegal Armed Groups continue to conduct kidnappings and murders; Baghdad is their focus
- There is increasing violence fueled by 1.4b, 1.4d Sadr confrontation looming
- The fundamental conflict in Iraq is between and among its ethnic and sectarian groups over the distribution of power
- Ineffective government plus Samarra bombing and aftermath have created a more complex security environment
- The Government of National Unity is stronger however the pressures of on-going sectarian violence, lagging basic needs, and weak economic development will make it harder for the new government to demonstrate substantial progress
- The Sunni population is currently participating in the political process and may be recalculating their alternatives with respect to the insurgency
- New government will likely exercise their sovereignty more and press for "Way Ahead" on coalition presence and detainees
- Army development on track; police development progressing, but police loyalty questionable in some areas
- Completion of political process and recent operations have positioned us for decisive action over the next year



Evolving Security Environment





Strategy

The US Mission and Coalition Forces and the sovereign GOI will pursue an integrated civil-military strategy that seeks to progressively improve the capabilities of traqi institutions to enhance unity, to improve security and to build prosperity

This strategy is shaped by a central tenet: enduring strategic success in Iraq will be achieved by Iraqis. Our approach will increasingly place the GOI and its institutions in the lead across all lines of operation, first with Coalition monitoring and support, and then with progressively less support until they can govern effectively without our assistance



Joint Mission Statement

The US Mission and Coalition Forces will, in support of the Government of Iraq, contribute to an environment where Iraqis can develop representative and effective institutions capable of meeting the needs of the Iraqi people, creating the conditions for the Rule of Law, defeating the terrorists and irreconcilable insurgents, bringing other insurgents into the political process, reducing sectarian tensions and militias and denying Iraq as a safe haven for terror



Evolution of the Mission

August 2004 Campaign Plan

MNF-I...conducts full spectrum counter-insurgency operations to isolate and neutralize former regime extremists and foreign terrorists...

April 2005 Campaign Action Plan

MNF-I...progressively transitions the counterinsurgency
campaign to the ITG and Iraqi Security Forces...

May 2006 Joint Campaign Plan

USEMB and MNF-I...contribute to an environment where Iraqis can develop representative and effective institutions...



Concept of Operations - Phases

Phase One - Stabilization (2006 to Early/Mid 2007)

- Objective: Stabilize the security situation to the point where political and economic development can take place without disruption.
- Endstate: Iraqi Army in the lead, AQI defeated and conditions set for the transfer of security responsibilities to capable Iraqi civil authorities. Ministerial and provincial development continuing.

Phase Two – Restoration of Civil Authority (Early/Mid 2007 to Early/Mid 2008)

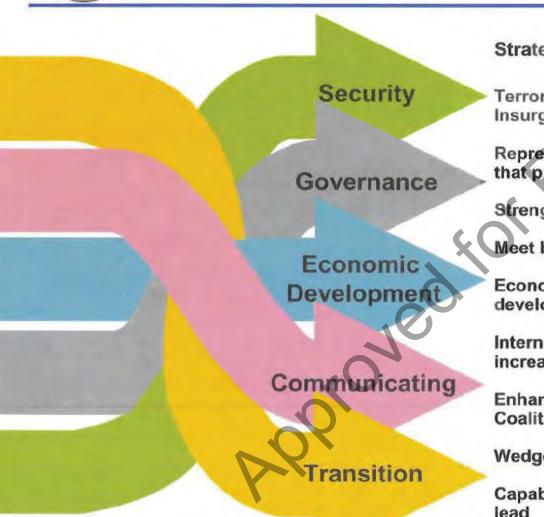
- Objective: Place capable Iraqi civil authorities in the lead for security throughout Iraq. Build accountable local and national governments underpinned by a robust rule of law program.
- Endstate: Insurgency neutralized, Iraqi civil authorities in the lead, GOI ministries and institutions operating with minimum Coalition support and more normal security relationships established.

Phase Three - Support to Self-Reliance (Early/Mid 2008 Thru 2009)

- Objective: Achieve Iraqi self-reliance, across all lines of operation.
- Endstate: Achievement of our campaign endstate: Iraq at peace with its neighbors and an ally in the War on Terror, with a representative government that respects the human rights of all Iraqis, and security forces sufficient to maintain domestic order and to deny Iraq as a safe haven for terrorists



Lines of Operation



Strategic Effects:

Terrorists defeated and Insurgents neutralized

Representative government that promotes national unity

Strengthened rule of law

Meet basic needs

Economic reforms spur development

International support for Iraq increased

Enhanced understanding of Coalition efforts

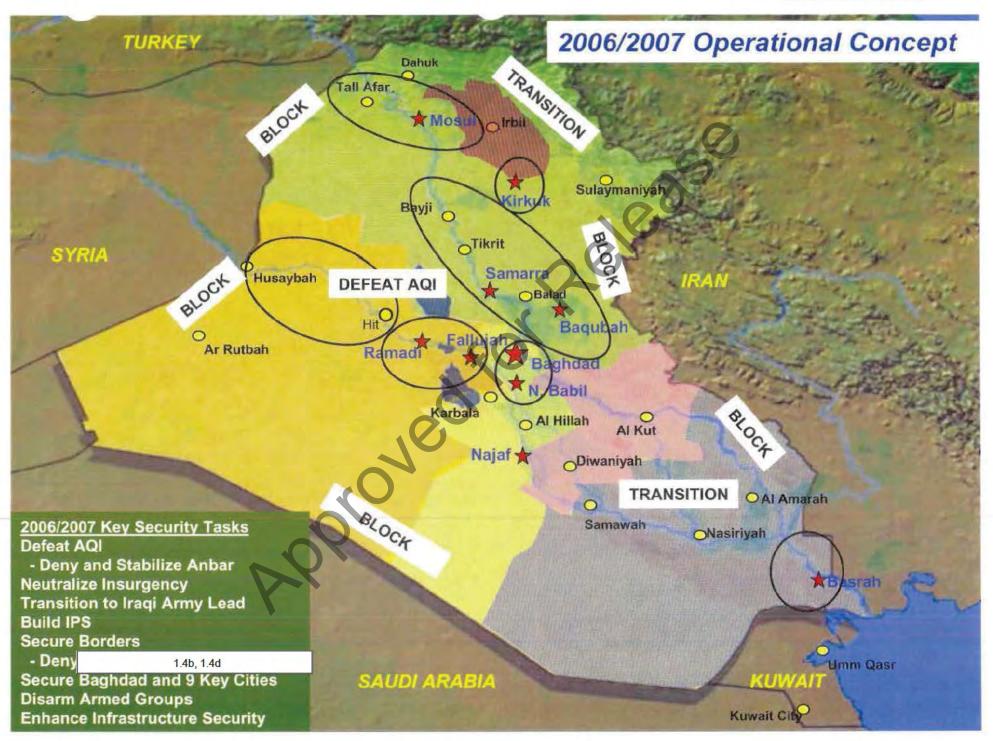
Wedge driven

Capable ISF assume security lead

End-State:

Iraq at peace with its neighbors and an ally in the War on Terror, with a representative government that respects the human rights of all Iraqis, and security forces sufficient to maintain domestic order and to deny Iraq as a safe haven for terrorists.

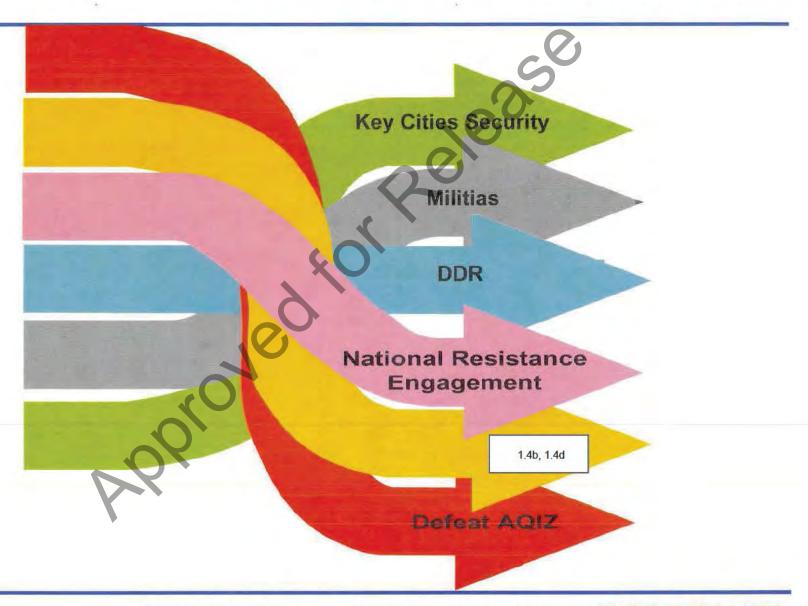
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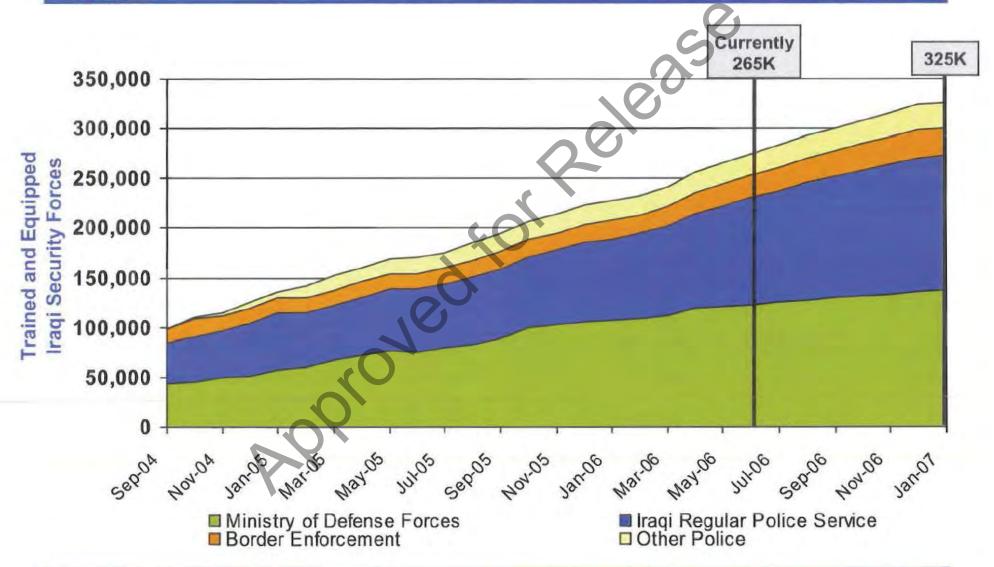


Security Lines of Operation



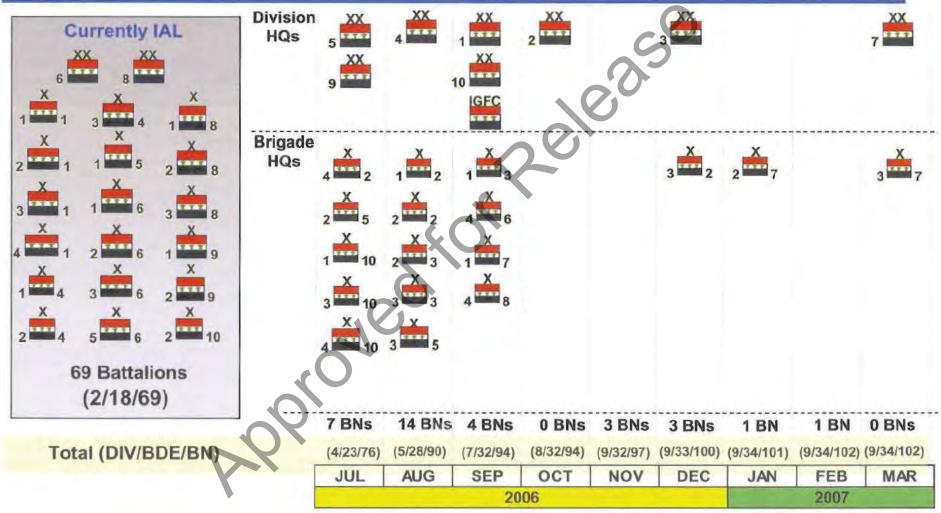


ISF Trained and Equipped





Projected Iraqi Army Lead

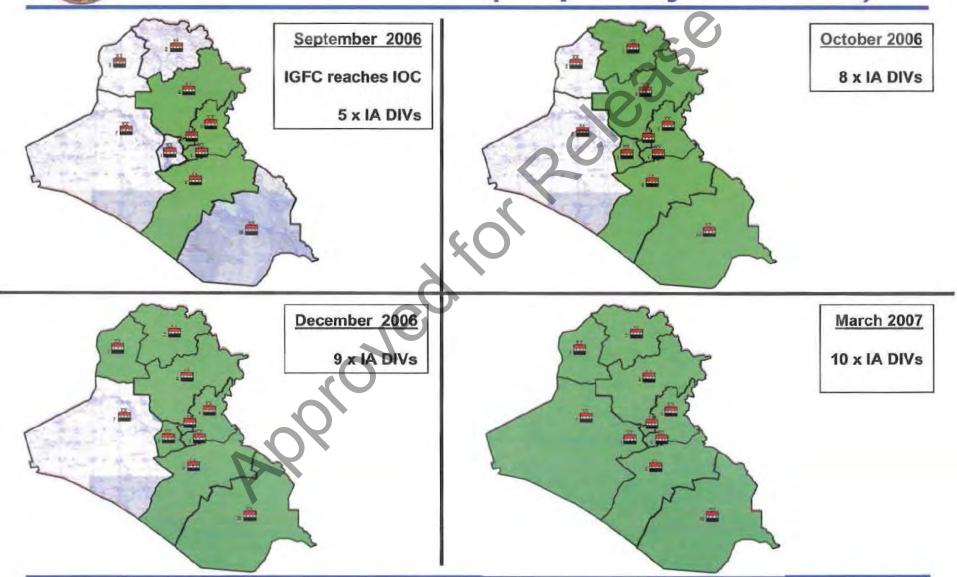


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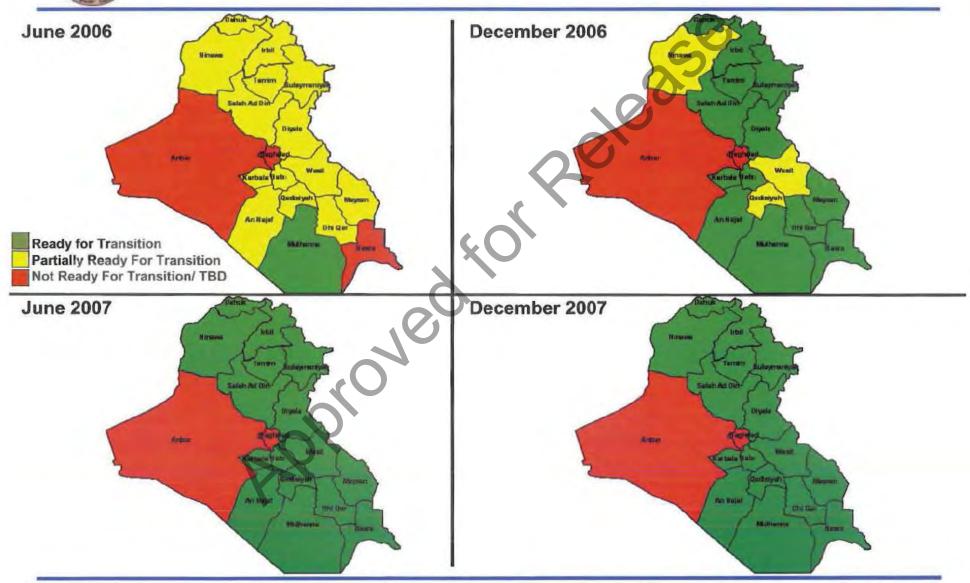


IGFC Assumption of C2 (Iraqi Army Divisions)





Provincial Iraqi Control





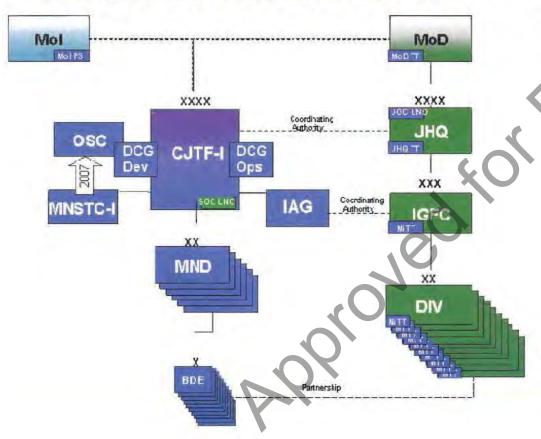
Projections and Goals (2006-2007)

| | 2006 | | | | | | | | | 2007 | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------|---|-----------|-------|---------|--------|-------|------------|---------|--------|---|-----|-----|---|---|----|--------|------|--------|--|
| Projections | J | J | A | S | 0 | N | D | J | F | M | A | M | 4 | J | A | S | 0 | N | D | |
| Train and Equip IA | 1 | | 1 | I | 1 | 1 | * | I | | I I | | 57 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Train and Equip Police | | | | | | 1 | * | | | | | O | | | | | | | | |
| IA Divisions in Lead | 2 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 8 | | 9 | | 1 | 70 | | | | | | | | | | |
| JHQ/IGFC in Lead | 1 | | 1 | * | | | | | 15 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | - | 1 | | | |
| Provincial Iraqi Control | | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 15 | 16 | | | | 1 | | | Ba | ghdad/ | Anba | \$ | |
| Detainee Transfer | | | * | Abu G | hraib (| Closed | 6 | ☆ F | t. Suse | | | | | | | \$ | Bucca | * | Croppe | |
| MNF-I Reductions | 14 | | 12 | | 1 | 1 | 10-12 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 7-8 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | | 5-6 | |
| Goals | | | 1 | | C | 12 | | | 1 | | | j - | | | I | Į. | 1 | | 1 | |
| Baghdad + 9 Cities Secure | | | | 5 | | | - | | | * | | | | | | | | | I | |
| National Reconciliation | | * | | 2/ | * | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Reintegration Process | | | ** | | | | | | | | | | | | Ì | | * | | | |
| Border Security | | | İ | | i | 1 | * | | | 1 | i | 1 | | 1 | i | i | i | | | |
| Defeat AQI | 1 | | ļ. | | | | | | | I | | | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | | 1 | | |



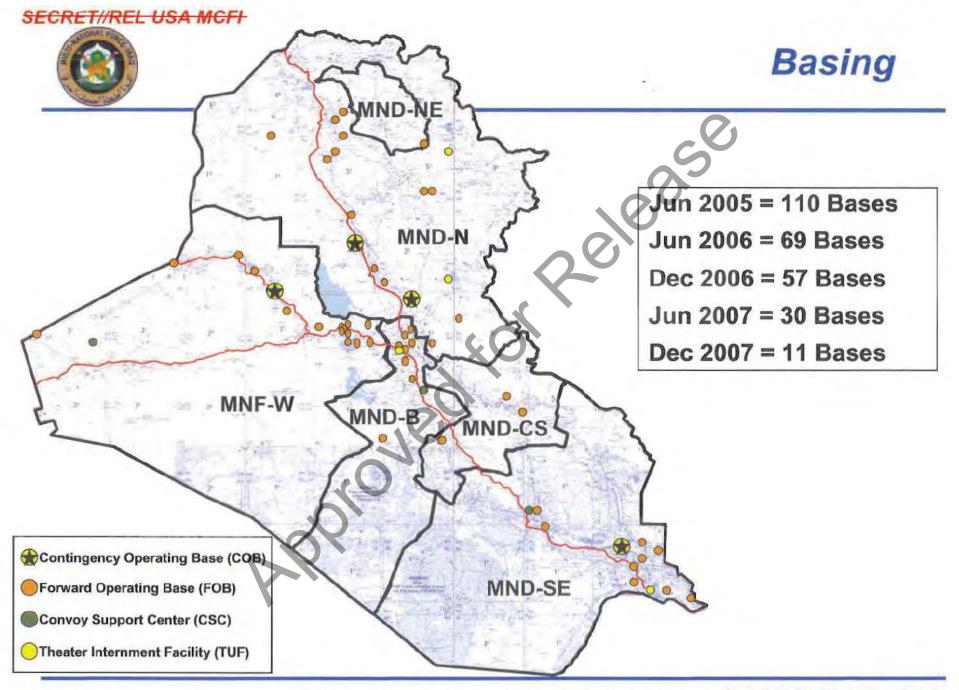
C2 Transformation Concept

Combines MNF-I and MNC-I into CJTF-I



Common to all CJTF Options:

- 4-star leadership for:
 - Strategic engagement with GOI and ISF
 - Ensure Campaign Plan sustains momentum
 - Build US Embassy support in execution of Campaign Plan
 - OSC needed to continue development of MoD and Mol; develop normal defense relationship with Iraq
- HQ element in the International Zone to drive Campaign Plan development across all lines of operation with US Embassy







- Loss of Coalition will
- Collapse of National Unity Government
- Sectarian violence leading to sustained sectarian conflict
- Fracture of Iraqi Security Forces along sectarian lines
- Illegal Armed Groups remain unchecked by government and fuel sectarian conflict
- Sunni population decides to support AQI out of

1.4b, 1.4d

1.4b, 1.4d

- Rampant corruption and failure of the rule of law
- Strategic surprise
- Loss of or diminishing consent for Coalition presence/freedom of action



What Do We Need?

Interagency

- Continue diplomatic pressure on Iraq's neighbors to curb support for extremist groups in Iraq
- Regional engagement to increase support for the GOI
- Establish policy for enduring, normal security relationship
- Engage donor nations to follow through on pledges to sustain reconstruction post-IRRF

DOD

- Sustain force provider requirements in line with the changing nature of operations
- Sustain strategic, operational and potentially three MSC headquarters through the end of 2007



Back-Up Slides



Priority Objectives for Next 12 Months

- A government of national unity composed of representatives of all major political forces and led by professional and competent ministers (EMB)
- Adoption by the government of an ambitious program of reforms and action to improve the lives of the Iraqi people (EMB)
- An accommodation between the Iraqi government and the insurgents that results in an improving security situation (EMB/MNF)
- Baghdad and nine key cities secure (MNF/EMB)
- A governmental strategy to diminish the influence of Illegal Armed Groups (MNF/EMB)
- Iraqi government and security forces taking responsibility for security in an increasing number of areas. Police at a level where they can continue assuming responsibilities for domestic order (MNF)
- An increased capacity of Iraqi ministries and provincial governments to deliver good governance and basic services (EMB/MNF)
- An increased capacity by the Iraqi government to establish law and order through the rule of law and effective institutions. Detainee operations transferred to Iraqi control (EMB/MNF)
- Increased economic growth led by the private sector. (EMB)

Containment and roll back of 1.4b, 1.4d in Iraq and a strategic change in 1.4b, 1.4d (EMB/MNF)

 A significant increase in the political and economic support from the international community and regional neighbors (EMB) SECRET//REL USA MCFI



Assumptions (1 of 2)

Political Situation -- "The new GOI will form in early 2006"

The delay in government formation contributed to a more complex security environment

Al Qaeda in Iraq -- "AQI's ability to foment sectarian violence is the most dangerous threat in 2006"

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Looming confrontation with Sadr; GOI may lack will and capability to deal with it

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1.4b, 1.4d

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The new GOI supports continued MNF-I presence in the short term. There will be tension between our desire to withdraw forces and the perceived security situation SECRE . KEL USA, AUS, GBR



Force Structure Assessment

21 June 2006

This briefing is classified

SECRET

REL USA, AUS, GBR

Derived from: Multiple sources DECL ON: 6 June 2016 SECRE .EL USA, AUS, GBR



Bottom Line Up Front

- Formation of the Iraqi Government, coupled with the continuing development of the Iraqi Security Forces and the death of Zarqawi, sets the conditions to go forward with the next force structure step.
- On 5 May 06 we discussed the option for
 - 2/28 ID is replaced with in-country forces
 - 2/1 ID (based in Germany) does not deploy to Iraq; remains in Germany, prepared to deploy if additional forces required.
 - Announce formal off-ramp decision after formation of Prime Minister Maliki's Government.
- We have also completed our June Force Structure Assessment and recommend that we do not backfill 2 additional brigades that will depart in August. (-2000 People) /
- Still require Call Forward Force and PTDO force to mitigate risk.
- Will discuss with Prime Minister in early July.

SEC. ://REL USA MCFI



Situation

- Government formation process and Samarra bombing have added complexity to security situation.
- Will take about six months to see if this government can make a difference.
- Sectarian violence and looming confrontation with illegal armed groups complicates drawdown plans.
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SECRL KEL USA, AUS, GBR



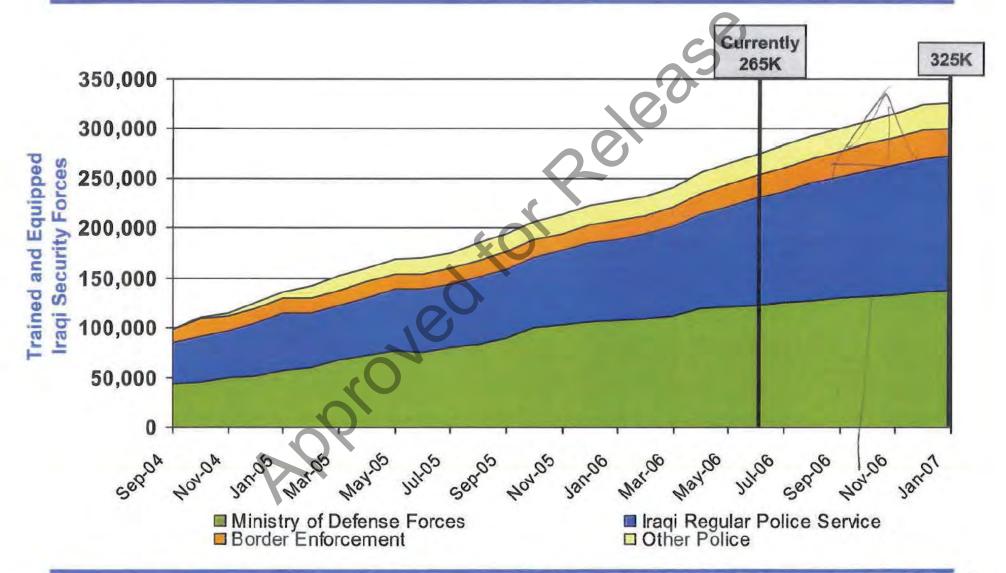
Progress

- Continued progress in Iraqi Security Force development.
 - Over 265,000 Iraqi Security Forces now trained and equipped (increase of ~ 50,000 since Nov 05).
 - 2 divisions, 18 brigades, and 69 battalions have assumed the lead in their areas (increase of one division, 14 brigades, and 46 battalions since Nov 05).
 - 5 divisions, ~32 brigades, and ~94 lraq Army battalions are projected to assume the lead by the end of Sep 06.
 - Continued professional performance by Iraqi Security Forces:
 - Exceptional performance of security forces in support of Referendum, Election and Arba'een security support.
 - Recent performance against the enemy in Baghdad and Divala Provinces also very positive.
 - Police performance improving; but, in some places, loyalty remains questionable.

SEC. ///REL USA MCFI



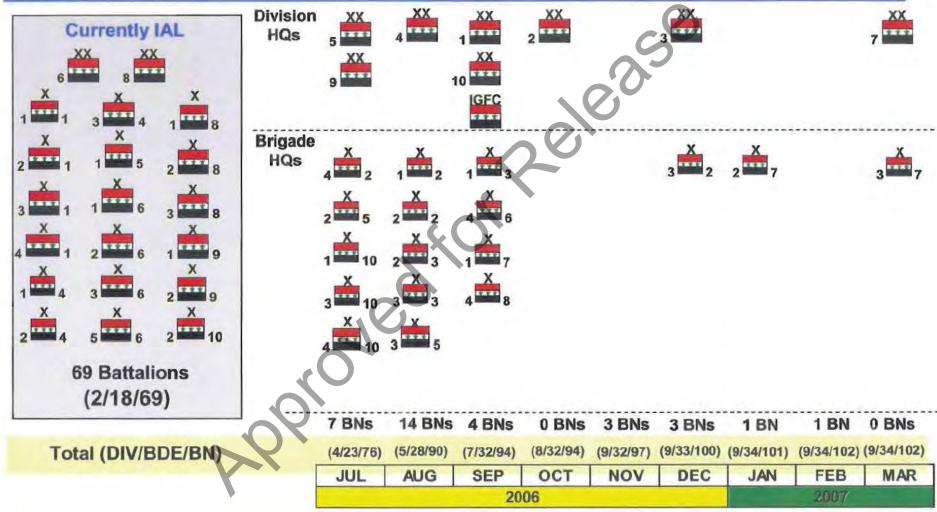
ISF Trained and Equipped



SEC. ///REL USA MCFI



Projected Iraqi Army Lead



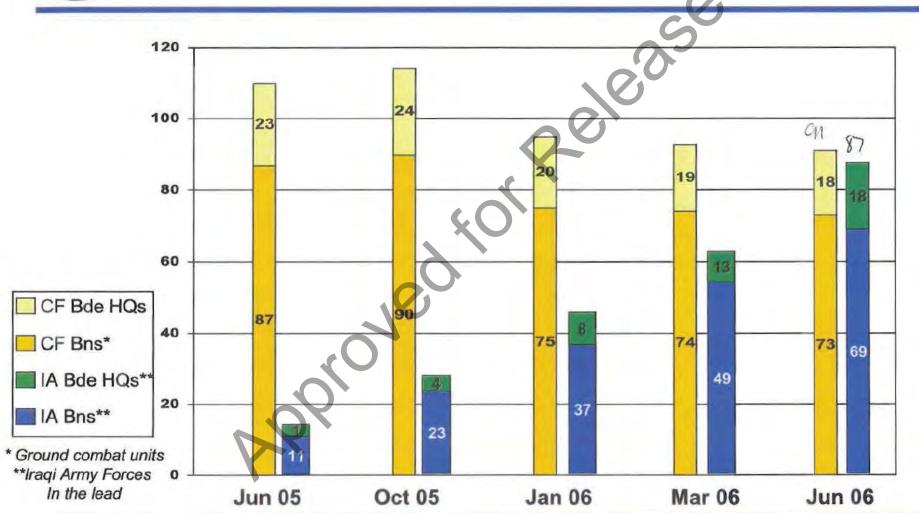
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SECRL KEL USA, AUS, GBR



Security Forces in Iraq



From ~93,000 Mol forces in June 05 to ~ 166,000 Mol forces in June 06

SECR. REL USA, AUS, GBR



Opportunity

- Continuing the gradual, conditions-based reduction of Coalition forces, tied to improved Iraqi Security Force capability, and done from a position of strength, can:
 - + Build on the continued success of the Iraqi Security Forces.
 - + Help the new Iraqi Government build momentum and gain legitimacy.
 - + Create sense of urgency in the Iraqi Government and its security forces
 - + Undercut those calling for a Coalition withdrawal timeline.
 - + Continue to remove a central motivation attracting foreign fighters and drawing lraqis into the insurgency.
 - + Send a signal that we are making progress.
 - + Send a signal to Iraqis that we mean what we say, "As you stand up, we stand down."

SECRET....EL USA, AUS, GBR





- The effectiveness of the new Iraqi Government
- Impact of the expected increased exercise of sovereignty
- Impact of the illegal armed group threat in southeastern and central Iraq as well as the impact of efforts to address the militia challenge.
- Impact of the political process Sunni engagement on the insurgency.
- Impact of Zarqawi's death on AQIZ operations.
- Impact of AQIZ's continuing efforts to foment sectarian violence.
- Cumulative impact of increased Iraqi Army assumption of security lead and associated Coalition force transitions in the next six months.

1.4b, 1.4d

SECRL REL USA, AUS, GBR



Risks if we do

- Going too fast could unhinge ISF progress
- Reduction in tactical and operational effectiveness and flexibility – Moderate.
- Insurgency increases in size and effectiveness and threatens political and economic progress — Moderate.
- Misperceived as US "running away" and creation of expectation for continuous reduction – Moderate.
- Ministries cannot sustain security forces Moderate.
- Employment of a PTDO force could be seen as regressing – Moderate.

SECR. REL USA, AUS, GBR



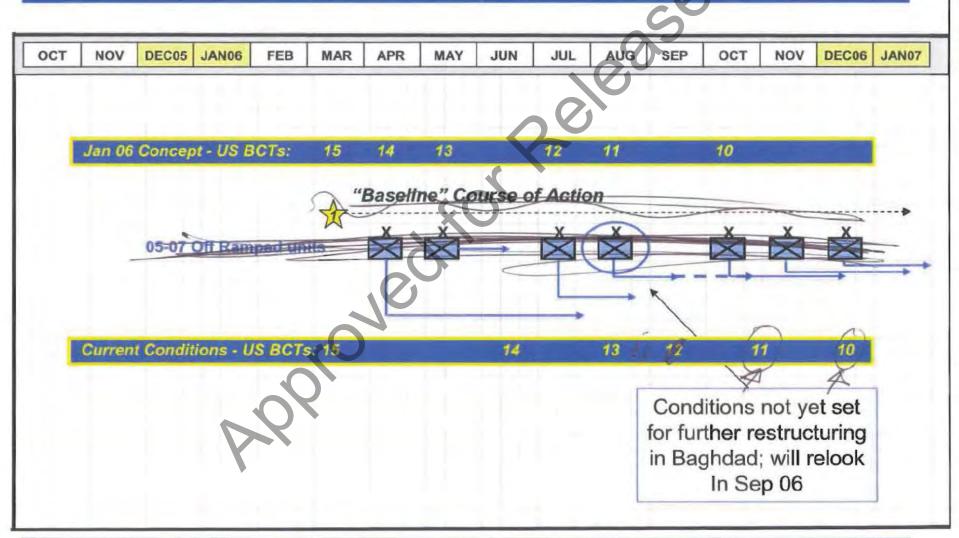
Risks if we don't

- Misses opportunity to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of the new Iraqi Government.
- Misses opportunity to demonstrate progress and take advantage of the positive developments in Iraq.
- Misses opportunity to demonstrate that we do intend to depart as Iraqi Security Forces improve.
- Demonstrates a lack of confidence in Iraqi Security Force capability.
- Increases the potential for Iraqi dependency on Coalition forces.
- Strengthens perception of occupation in Iraq.

SECRL ... REL USA, AUS, GBR



Force Structure Projection



SECRE .. REL USA, AUS, GBR



Bottom Line / Way Ahead

- Request approval for:
 - Not backfill three brigades of Coalition Forces in Iraq
 - Retain one brigade in Kuwait and one on PTDO to mitigate risk
 - Announce formal off-ramp decision after consultation with the GOI (~ Early Jul 06)
- Way Ahead:
 - Coordinate message across the US Government, Coalition Partners, and the Iraqi Government.
 - Next MNF-I force structure assessment in September 06; will assess opportunity for additional force restructuring.

SECRE KEL USA, AUS, OBR



Conditions (5 Jan 06 Tank Briefing)

- Formation of a representative Iraqi government by Spring 2006.
- Political process and Sunni engagement diminishes violence to level that the ISF can contain (with Coalition support) in affected areas.
- Threat of sectarian / militia-led violence remains low.
- Iraqi Army / Police development continues near projected levels;
 ISF assuming battlespace are consistently able to hold it.
- Iraqis assume greater security responsibility for Baghdad; improved security in the other 9 key cities
- Sustained success in Mosul, Tal Afar, Western Euphrates River Valley, and border regions.
- Security ministries continue to improve and can sustain forces with Coalition support.
- No expansion of US battlespace due to Coalition reductions.

Declassified by: MG Michael X. Garrett, USCENTCOM Chief of Staff Declassified on: 201506



Options to add 50 Battalions to Iraqi Army

- +50 Battalions @ 750 per Battalion = 37,500 add'l Soldiers.
 - 2350 Officer; 16750 NCO; 18850 Enlisted.
 - 2 years, ~\$2B one time, \$.75B annual.
- Two COAs
 - #1 Add 2xCompanies to each of 93 existing Infantry Battalions.
 - \$1.8B one-time; \$.7B annual sustainment.
 - #2 Add 4th Battalion to each Brigade plus 4 new Brigades.
 - \$2B one-time; \$.8B sustainment.
 - Infrastructure cost TBD depends on stationing. COA #2 costs more.
 - Analysis required to determine required logistics support increase.
 - Train (24 Months); Equip (5 months); Station (12 months).
- LIMFACs
 - Training thruput requires 2 yrs. Officer (1K/yr) and Enlisted (10K/yr).
 - Can mitigate Enlisted to 1 yr if 5 (v13) wk Basic Training.
 - Can mitigate Officer to 1 yr if accept ~1K former Army officers.
 - Iraqi Budget ability to absorb additional costs.

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IRAQ UPDATE

23 Une 2006

SECRET // REL TO USA and MCFI//20160623

SECRL REL USA MCFI



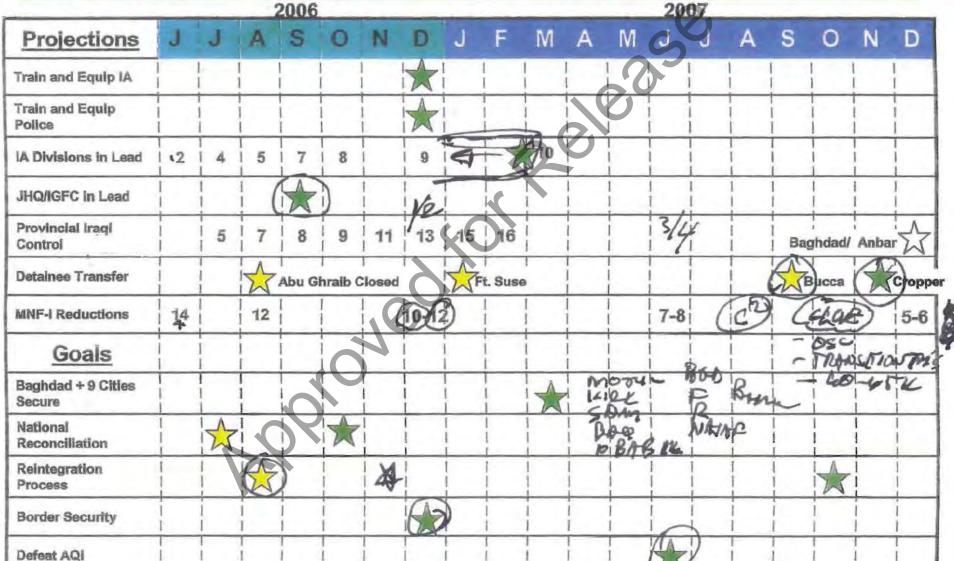
Rublie? Benchmarks for Progress

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Projections and Goals (2006-2007)



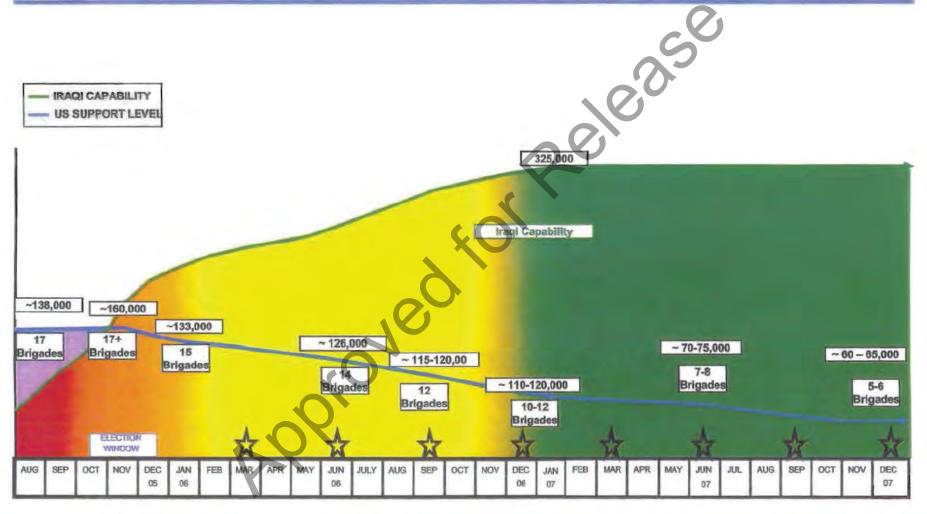
Iraq Update v_21 June 2006

Iltizam Mushtarak - United Commitment SECRET//REL USA MCFI

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Force Reduction Projection



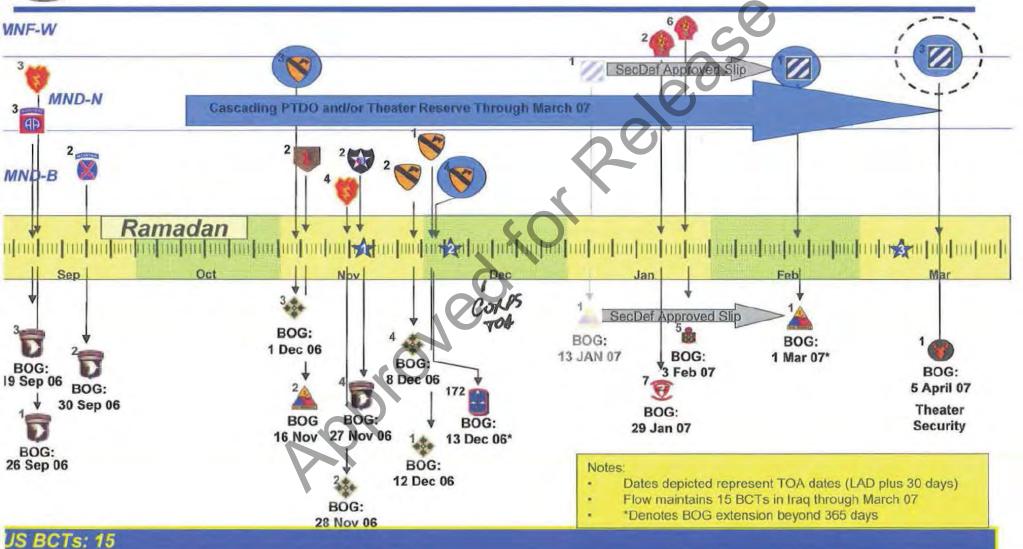
US off-ramp strategy linked to development of capable ISF

CR. REL USA, GBR, AUS



Force Flow 06-08 CENTCOM RFF 526 mod 3

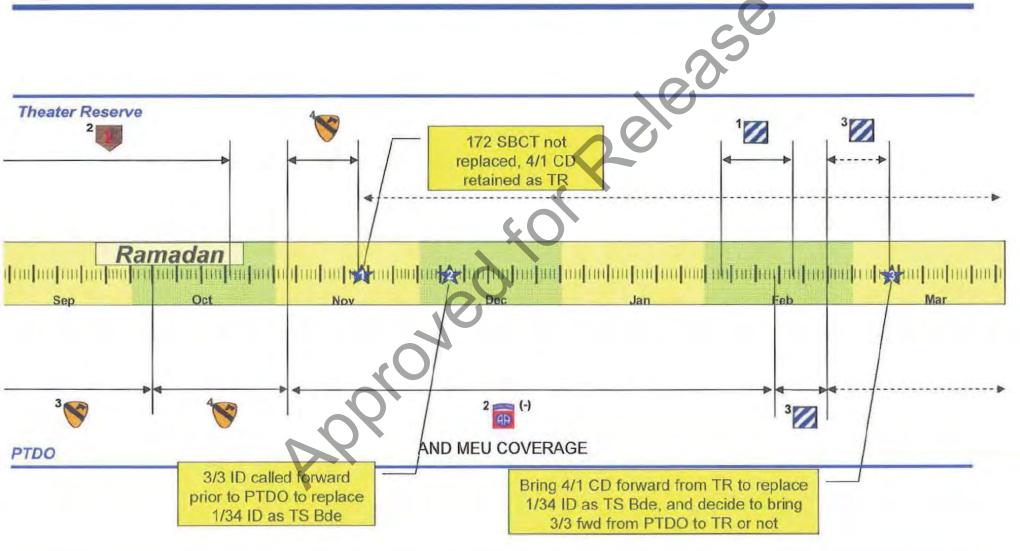
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CR. REL USA, GBR, AUS



06-08 Theater Reserve/PTDO



ECR REL USA, GBR, AUS



Force Flow Changes/Options

- Changes Based on SecDef decisions 22 Sept 06
 - Approved extension of 1/1 AD by 46 days (new TOA w/1/3 ID 17 Feb 07).
 - 1/3 ID will NOT serve as a PTDO prior to arrival in Kuwait (18 Jan 07)
 - 3/3 ID MAY be designated as PTDO effective 14 Feb 07
 - 3/3 MAY be the replacement for 1/34 ID (Theater Security Brigade)
 - SecDef has approved use of 2/82(-) and MEU as PTDO effective 3 Nov 06
- Decisions: (assumptions based on commitment of 3/3 ID to PTDO and potential backfill for 1/34 ID)
- Do NOT backfill 172 SBCT, Leave 4/1 CD as TR 18 NOV 06 (prior to 4/1 CD coming North from Kuwait)
- Bring 3/3 ID Forward to replace 1/34 ID as Theater Security Bde 7 Dec 06 (normal 105 day flow from ordering ship to LAD) Can either bring 3/3 ID in as TR or to replace 1/34 ID IF 4/1 CD has NOT backfilled 172 SBCT. Assumes 3/3 ID available for alert notification on this date. APS5 utililization could be considered to mitigate shipping issues if required
- Bring 4/1 CD forward from TR to replace 1/34 ID and leave 3/3 as PTDO or bring them forward as TR. 8 MAR 07

Declassified by: MG Michael X. Garrett, USCENTCOM Chief of Staff

Declassified on: 201506



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Gol Reconstruction Funding Status

- Al Anbar Province (\$171M)
 - DFI Post Kinetic Reconstruction (\$75M)
 - No funds transferred, 43 projects ready to award (\$22,6M)
 - Iraqi Reconstruction / Development Funds (\$96M)
 - · No funds transferred
- Tall Afar (\$50M) promised by PM Jafari
 - \$10M Humanitarian Relief \$7M spent / \$3M with governor to distribute
 - \$40M in Reconstruction \$32M left to transfer, \$8M in contracts awarded, ongoing contracts slowed due to payment delays
- Samarra DFI Post Kinetic Reconstruction (\$25M)
 - no funds transferred
- Baghdad Iraqi Reconstruction / Development Funds (\$513M)
 - \$204M transferred \$75 in contracts awarded
- Ninawa Province- Iraqi Reconstruction / Development Funds (\$96M)
 - \$39M transferred
- Salah Ad Din Province Iraqi Reconstruction / Development Funds (\$96M)
 - \$39M transferred

Note: The Ninawa & Salah Ad Din transfers are similar to the other Provinces in the amount transferred. Al Anbar is the exception.

VISIT

Zilmer MajGen Richard (CG MNF-W/I MEF FWD)

From: Zilmer MajGen Richard (CG MNF-W/I MEF FWD)

Sent: Wednesday, September 20, 2006 10:23 PM

(b)(3), (b)(6) (CE G2 AC/S)

To

Subject: RE: (S) Total Insurgent Casualties Since TOA

Categories: Classification Caveat: TOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY SECRET, FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Classification Classification: SECRET

Classification: SECRETI/FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

(b)(3), (b)(6)Many thanks. May need to run this stat again from time to time. Detentions are huge.

Classification: SECRETATOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

From: (b)(3), (b)(6) (CE @2 AC(S))
Sent: Wednesday, September 20, 2006 5:24 PM

To: Zilmer MajGen Richard (CG MNF-W/I MEF FWD)

572 Named Its

Cc: Neller BGen Robert (DCG (O) MINF-W/T MEF FWD)

Subject: [5] Total Insurgent Casualties Since TOA

Classification: SECRET

General: analysts in the TFC provided the following data for total insurgent casualties since TOA:

| 5360 | 264 | 1190 | TOTAL |
|----------|---------|--------|-------|
| 688 | 20 | 45 | SEP |
| 149 | 44 | 168 | AUG |
| 1066 | 41 | 167 | JUL |
| 953 | 27 | 201 | JUN |
| 1174 | 57 | 271 | MAY |
| 293 | 48 | 229 | APR |
| 1037 | 27 | 109 | MAR |
| DETAINED | WOUNDED | KILLED | |

instructed. The vast majority of enemy casualties were in Ramadi and environs The numbers for KIA are a little lower than I expected, but the analysts were being conservative

×R

(b)(3), (b)(6)

AC/S G-2 IMEF

VOIP: DVNT (b)(6)

JWICS: (b)(3), (b)(6)

Classification: SECRET

Page 66 redacted for the following reason:

Approved for Release

DUR RECOMMENDATION. bre is more undeced OUT HOW WE WOULD HOUR INGLEMENTIONS of while home of the ASOUT PLAT

Declassified by: MG Michael X. Garrett,
USCENTCOM Chief of Staff
Declassified on: 201506

- KIRKUK ML 15 SWES 18F-FRANCE - COKSIM COUT NOT SUAT MICORS 1.4b, 1.4d

Declassified by: MG Michael X. Garrett,
USCENTCOM Chief of Staff
Declassified on: 201506

WITH DUTW DOWN IN FARE OF VIOLENCE?

O Enduring success only achieved by begins @ BALANCE CAPACITY V. DEBOOD

- 2/14/45 in 6 MOS PLMS FOR TRANSITION

Approved for Release,

June 7, 2004

Some thoughts on Iraq and how to think about it

the globe. even despair. And it is the media that is shaping public opinion here and across world generally focus on the problems and the difficulties, creating pessimism and about the progress being made and what they see as the solid prospects for Military commanders and other visitors to Iraq have confidence and conviction But, television and press reports in the United States and in much of the

thinking on this important matter? correct, and, therefore, which view ought to be shaping U.S. policy and world It is fair to ask: Which of the two widely differing perspectives is correct, or more

they seem to understand that war has never been tidy, orderly or predictable. insurgency that the Iraqi people face. They see, first-hand, ground truth. Further, hijack a religion from the majority of moderate Muslims. They see the terrorist progress against. The dedicated volunteer soldiers engaged in the struggle against extremists are on the front lines. They see first-hand the extremists trying to One reason for the disparity in perspectives may be the standard that one measures

has been so throughout history. So, those brave souls on the front line of this terrorize, to frighten and to alter behavior - and it works. There have always been those who, when terrorized, change course and seek to appease the terrorists. become targets of assassins. They know that the purpose of terrorism is to killed and wounded. They see the Iraqis who courageously step forward and Our troops recognize that conflicts have always been difficult, that people get

personal experiences struggle see the conflict for what it is, and their expectations tend to be realistic. Their perspectives are rooted in an understanding of history and their own

sure to win, and that what is being done is imperfect, or wrong, or misguided, or our publics risk failing prey to the argument that all is lost, that the terrorists are media report events in Iraq that are not tranquil and, in many cases, are ugly. So, even malevolent their struggles for freedom, countries that today enjoy relative tranquility. The experience, but against a false standard of countries that have already succeeded in to compare the many difficulties and challenges, not against history or personal media, tend to see it differently. Their perspectives are shaped by those who seem Conversely, those removed from the battle, who receive their information from the

their freedom misses the point. measure the Coalition's progress against countries that have successfully achieved freedom has always been difficult, dangerous, and marked by ugliness. So, to societies. Only by considering history can one fully appreciate that the path to that have made that difficult and dangerous journey from dictatorship to civil struggles that have taken place over the decades and the experiences of countries The more correct perspective, I believe, is to look to history, to consider the

people were steadfast and courageous and did not listen to counsels of despair. riots, battles, deaths - but we made it. We succeeded because the American over the decades. So, despite understandable concerns, it can be done. It has been road that has been successfully, if perilously, traveled by a number of countries road filled with lethal dangers. But, as tough as it is, it is the right road. It is a What is taking place in Iraq is not unusual. The Iraqi people are Our own country went through tough periods, surviving demonstrations, on a tough road, a

case, it was hard. It took time. But they succeeded, to the benefit of the civilized fascism to civil societies. But, although it was not easy, they made it. In each Many contended that Japan, Germany and Italy could not successfully move from

democracy, "One ought not to expect to be transported on a featherbed." For a people to achieve great things requires that they be purposeful and steadfast. They must have a concentration span of something greater than a 30-second sound They need to appreciate why Thomas Jefferson said of the path to

that the struggle cannot be won or that winning it is not worth the cost. certain. U.S. and Coalition forces cannot be defeated on the battlefield in Iraq. The only way this noble cause can be lost is if people become falsely persuaded Coalition nations will suffer casualties, as they are, but they cannot be defeated. it failing? No. Is there a good chance it will succeed? You bet. One thing is not predictable. But it should not be expected to be perfect or predictable. What is taking place in Iraq is hard, to be sure. It is far from perfect and certainly But is

"on a featherbed"? Why should Iraq be measured against an unrealistic standard? peaceful, stable, constitutional, civil society without difficulties or loss of life or predictable? When has a country gone from a repressive dictatorship to a Iraq against unrealistic expectations. Ask: When in history it has ever been easy Those who seek the truth should challenge any who would measure progress in

being achieved in Iraq, as well as in Afghanistan - the hospitals built, the clinics deserve is an accurate, truthful recognition of the progress that has been and is assessment by their countrymen of what it is they are doing. The least they What is taking place is tough. It is uncertain. may God bless them all. But the very least they deserve is a totally honest requiring the sacrifice of fine young men and women - each a volunteer - and It is dangerous. It is ugly.

who have stepped up to become governors, city council members and police they have demonstrated - by their security forces and by the hundreds of Iraqis progress. And the least the Iraqi people deserve is an appreciation of the courage chiefs, at risk to their lives opened, the schools staffed and provided new textbooks and the economic

with those protections, has a responsibility to be fair, honest, and accountable deserve it from the media that benefits from the constitutional protections, and, balance and historical perspective. The American people deserve that. They The test of wills we face - and it is a test of wills, let there be no doubt - calls for

percent of Iraqi Kurds and 80 percent of Shia agree. lives are better today, despite the drumbeat to the contrary. figure is only slightly below 50 percent. So the Iraqi people understand that their Arab Sunnis, many of whom governed the country under Saddam Hussein, the getting rid of Saddam Hussein was worth the hardships they face today. Over 90 have killed some 400 Iraqi security forces - that 70 percent of Iraqis say that terrorists and extremists kill innocent Iraqi citizens by the dozens each week - and attacks, assassinations, and disruptions to services, and despite the fact that whole. They are opposed to a breakup of the country. We know, despite terrorist flow from them. More than 80 percent of the Iraqi people say they want Iraq to be The Iraqi people want their freedom, their security and the opportunities that will Even among the minority

are not attractive. They include suggest? Some say leave. What if the coalition were to leave? The possibilities the 25 million recently liberated Iraqis, for that troubled region, and for the United It is instructive to ask: What might be the alternatives to the course we are on for What alternatives do those who criticize and contend that all that is lost

to attack the United States and other civil societies. A failed state, anarchy, with terrorists taking over and creating a safe haven

- A civil war and ethnic cleansing, filling up still more of Saddam's mass grave sites.
- Takeover by a neighboring country and radical clerics.
- A split up of Iraq into several parts, or
- dictatorship. A new Saddam Hussein could take control and re-impose a vicious

borders? single country, at peace with its neighbors, not trafficking with terrorists and respectful of women and all ethnic, religious and minority groups within their Which of those options would any argue would be better than the goal of Iraq as a

better alternative for the Iraqi people, for the region, for the United States or for history of countries that have navigated through these difficult seas. There is no We are on the right course. The difficulties we face are understandable, given the

paralysis demonstration of the good center of gravity of the American people, and their of months. there seems to be a suspension of civil discourse. So, we are time in history. And it is being waged during a Presidential election year, when common sense ability to separate fact from fiction and perseverance from is being waged during an era of 24-hour news, seven days a week - for the first only be lost if people come to the conclusion that it cannot be done. This struggle I repeat: there is no way this struggle can be lost on the ground in Iraq. It can But, when we are successful, it will be a fresh 21st century in for a rough period

⁽b)(6) Current MFRs/Thoughts on Iraq