4.AR 5/3:S.HRG.109-386

S. HRG. 109–386

U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS AND STABILIZATION ACTIVITIES IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

FEBRUARY 3, JUNE 23, SEPTEMBER 29, 2005

Printed for the use of the Committee on Armed Services

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U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS AND STABILIZATION ACTIVITIES IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2005

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m. in room SH–216, Hart Senate Office Building, Senator John Warner (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Senators Warner, McCain, Inhofe, Sessions, Collins, Talent, Dole, Thune, Levin, Kennedy, Byrd, Lieberman, Reed, Akaka, Bill Nelson, E. Benjamin Nelson, Dayton, Bayh, and Clinton.

Committee staff members present: Judith A. Ansley, staff director; and Leah C. Brewer, nominations and hearings clerk.

Majority staff members present: Charles W. Alsup, professional staff member; Ambrose R. Hock, professional staff member; Gregory T. Kiley, professional staff member; Thomas L. MacKenzie, professional staff member; Lynn F. Rusten, professional staff member; Scott W. Stucky, general counsel; and Diana G. Tabler, professional staff member.

Minority staff members present: Richard D. DeBobes, Democratic staff director; Daniel J. Cox, Jr., professional staff member; Evelyn N. Farkas, professional staff member; Gerald J. Leeling, minority counsel; Peter K. Levine, minority counsel; and William G.P. Monahan, minority counsel.

Staff assistants present: Alison E. Brill, Catherine E. Sendak, and Nicholas W. West.

Committee members' assistants present: John A. Bonsell, assistant to Senator Inhofe; Chris Arnold, assistant to Senator Roberts; Arch Galloway II, assistant to Senator Sessions; James P. Dohoney, Jr. and Mackenzie M. Eaglen, assistants to Senator Collins; Lindsey R. Neas, assistant to Senator Talent; Clyde A. Taylor IV, assistant to Senator Chambliss; Meredith Moseley, assistant to Senator Graham; Christine O. Hill, assistant to Senator Dole; Sharon L. Waxman and Mieke Y. Eoyang, assistants to Senator Kennedy; Christine Evans and Erik Raven, assistants to Senator Byrd; Frederick M. Downey, assisant to Senator Lieberman; Elizabeth King, assistant to Senator Reed; Davelyn Noelani Kalipi and Richard Kessler, assistants to Senator Akaka; William K. Sutey, assistant to Senator Bill Nelson; Eric Pierce, assistant to Senator

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Ben Nelson; Todd Rosenblum, assistant to Senator Bayh; and Andrew Shapiro, assistant to Senator Clinton.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN WARNER, CHAIRMAN

Chairman WARNER. The committee meets this morning to receive the testimony of Secretary Wolfowitz, General Myers, and Mr. Schlicher on the broad range of issues relating to Iraq, Afghanistan, and the other trouble spots in the world. It is the hope of the chair, and I think joined by the ranking member, that we can move along swiftly.

I am going to ask unanimous consent that my full opening statement be placed into the record. But I do want to observe that this past weekend the world had the observation of a courageous people, the Iraqi people, fulfilling the dreams that have been repressed in that nation some half century. That is one dream that we accept on a daily basis here in this great nation, the right to vote.

It was an extraordinary moment, not just in Iraqi history, but world history. It sent a strong message far beyond the borders of Iraq. That event took place because of the sacrifices of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States, the men and women of the Iraqi Armed Forces, and most importantly the sacrifices of the courageous people of Iraq.

On March 20, 2003, U.S. and coalition forces crossed the borders to start the liberation of those people. We are not finished yet. We will dwell this morning in some detail on where the professional witnesses here view this situation and what remains to be done.

But our President I think most eloquently stated on the afternoon of the election, "Today the people of Iraq have spoken to the world and the world is hearing the voice of freedom from the center of the Middle East."

We should also be very mindful that in Afghanistan the elections have been held, after a brutal battle against the Taliban and efforts to eliminate the forces of al Qaeda. These elections were held on October 9, 2004. President Karzai was inaugurated on December 8.

In the aftermath of these historic elections, the committee meets today to receive this testimony, and we have foremost in our mind the sacrifices of so many that made them possible. There were 200 instances of terrorism in the course of the weekend of the elections. The Iraqi forces deserve great credit in showing their professionalism to step up and deal with the polling places and the security situations to enable this election. Coalition forces were at the ready, but, in the words of General Casey, they were really there but not called on. The Iraqi security forces did the job.

We hope that harkens for the future, because our plans are to strengthen in every way possible the effort to train these forces, and we are anxious to hear from General Myers particularly this morning as to the plans of Generals Abizaid and Casey and the recommendations of General Luck and his team that went over there.

We learned that there will probably be a concept of integrating small numbers of our forces into the Iraqi units. It seems to this Senator a very wise and sound tactic. But I congratulate certainly our President, the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy, the Chairman,

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the Secretary of State and his team, and all that made it possible for these accomplishments to date and making clear what remains to be done.

We will hear, I think, from the Secretary this morning in some detail the steps that must be now taken to put in place the new government. It is going to be somewhat time-consuming in the judgment of this Senator. The election results have to be confirmed, then a series of steps must be taken to put in place a prime minister, and a series of other ministers have to be ratified. The basic security for each of these individuals must be developed as well as the infrastructure in which to bring this enlarged and new interim government, preparing to write a constitution and to have subsequent elections in December.

So I conclude by again expressing my deep reverence and concern and compassion for all the sacrifices that have taken place to enable the success that we have had thus far.

The Iraqis understand, however, very clearly the need for U.S. and coalition forces to stay and assist them in developing the capacity to ensure the security of their country. I quote interim President al-Yawer, who stated on Monday: "It is only complete nonsense to ask the troops to leave in this chaos and vacuum of power."

I commend our distinguished colleague Senator Lieberman, who earlier today in a public setting addressed the issues as he saw them—and I agree with you, Senator—on what lays ahead on the road for the eventual return of our forces and other coalition forces.

So with that I conclude and put the balance of my statement in the record, and I turn to our distinguished colleague the ranking member.

[The prepared statement of Senator Warner follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN WARNER

On March 20, 2003, U.S. and coalition forces crossed the Iraq-Kuwait border and began the liberation of Iraq. Twenty-three months later—last Sunday—the Iraqi people took a bold, courageous step—in defiance of the terrorists—on the path to liberation. This important milestone would not have been possible without the contributions of the men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces, their coalition partners, and the Iraqi security forces. President Bush characterized it eloquently on Sunday afternoon when he said, "Today the people of Iraq have spoken to the world and the world is hearing the voice of freedom from the center of the Middle East."

Similarly, 3 years after U.S. forces initiated operations to liberate Afghanistan from the brutal rule of the Taliban and to eliminate al Qaeda training bases and sanctuaries, elections were held on October 9, 2004 and President Karzai was inaugurated on December 8. The Taliban is gone and al Qaeda is scattered and on the run. The Afghan people have spoken in favor of freedom and democracy.

In the aftermath of these historic elections, the committee meets today to receive testimony on continuing U.S. policy and military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. We welcome our witnesses: Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz; General Richard B. Myers, USAF, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Ronald L. Schlicher, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Iraqi Affairs. We look forward to your testimony.

Many of us take the freedoms and liberties we have in our country for granted. How humbling and awe-inspiring it was to watch the Iraqi people—in defiance of the terrorists—go in large numbers to vote, in pursuit of their dream for a free, prosperous nation. How heartening it was to see the Iraqi security forces step up to the task, and perform admirably in providing a relatively secure environment for the voters. This has inspired pride and confidence in the Iraqi security forces, as evidenced by the fact that over 3,000 Iraqis volunteered to join the new Iraqi Army in the days immediately after the election.

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Clearly, there remains much to be done to help the Iraqi people realize their dream, but they have seized the moment to free themselves of a tyrannical past and to soundly reject the insurgent violence of the moment. We can be justly proud of being their partners in this worthy endeavor.

I want to congratulate each of you, and the countless men and women who you represent, for this historic accomplishment. Many had begun to question whether the sacrifices our soldiers and diplomats were making in a decidedly difficult environment were justified. The efforts of these brave Americans were given a strong vote of confidence on Sunday by the courage of the Iraqi people.

The elections in Iraq and Afghanistan have stoked the fires of liberty and democracy in these lands and in the entire region. In this moment of optimism for the future, our thoughts and prayers are with the families of those who have been lost or seriously wounded defending liberty on distant shores, helping oppressed nations find their way to freedom.

While I do believe that a measure of optimism is warranted, we should harbor no illusions about the difficult work ahead. The Iraqis must construct a constitution and a government that is inclusive of all ethnic, religious, and tribal elements that represent the richness of the Iraqi nation and its heritage. We must help them develop the security forces that will enable political and economic development.

As we absorb the significance and meaning of this election, the question highest in the minds of the American people is: "When are our troops coming home?" It is an important question, but a complex one, and one our witnesses will address today.

The question of an exit strategy has been the subject of much discussion in recent days. I prefer to talk about an overall strategy to achieve our goals—goals that are tied to clear milestones and objectives; not to dates on a calendar. Once those goals are achieved, we can and should begin an orderly departure.

The Iraqis understand the need for U.S. and coalition forces to stay and assist them in developing the capacity to ensure the security of their country. As President al-Yawer stated on Monday, "It's only complete nonsense to ask the troops to leave in this chaos and vacuum of power."

As we discuss the way ahead, we must make it clear to Iraqis and all others that we remain committed to successfully completing the mission. We will adjust tactics as goals are achieved, giving the Iraqi forces as much responsibility as they believe they can assume. It worked in this election; it can work in the future.

It has become apparent in recent months that a key element of our strategy in Iraq is the training, equipping, and mentoring of the Iraqi security forces—in sufficient numbers and sufficient quality—so that they will be able to take over responsibility for defending their nation from both external and internal threats. The performance of these forces in providing security for the elections was a promising sign, but they are far from ready for the full range of current and future missions.

Over the past several months, many members of this committee have traveled to the region. Most of us have met with General Casey and Lieutenant General Petraeus to discuss the security situation and the status of efforts to train the Iraqi security forces. It is a difficult undertaking. We all recognize that a young person who has just gone through a few weeks of training is not a seasoned, ready combat troop or a street smart cop. Readiness to take over full responsibility for security involves many dimensions in addition to the number of "trained and equipped" soldiers or police. It involves competent, trustworthy leadership; equipment readiness; patriotism; unit cohesion; and acceptance by the people, among many other things. Building forces fully prepared to undertake these responsibilities takes time. The committee received a comprehensive briefing from the Department yesterday on this mission and what remains to be done. We must not lose patience now when the path to success is clear.

The days and months ahead will not be easy and more sacrifice of American lives and treasure will be required to transform Sunday's election into the permanent symbol of Iraq's march to democracy it deserves to be. The insurgency will not go away immediately. Those determined to return to the past will not give up easily. They can be defeated however, with our help and with our willingness to stay the course, not only militarily, but across the broad spectrum of political, economic, and social development.

Finishing the liberation and democratization of Iraq is a worthy cause, and a cause about which our men and women in uniform can be justifiably proud. It is my sincere hope that the elections and the optimism they have produced will be perceived as a great opportunity for more nations to join in this noble endeavor. It is not only the United States and its coalition partners that have a stake in Iraq. The whole world will be a better, safer place with a free, democratic, prosperous Iraq that will serve as a model of hope and inspiration for the region and beyond.

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN

Senator LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Last weekend millions of Iraqis, many at great personal risk and many who walked long distances, exercised their right to vote in the elections. They walked through a door that was opened by our soldiers and marines, who worked so bravely and tirelessly in the development and execution of a complex security plan that made the election possible.

The challenge now is to defeat the continuing insurgency, to find a way to involve the Sunnis in the political process, and to ensure that minority rights are enshrined in a new constitution, which is scheduled to be considered by referendum this fall. It is essential that we develop what should have been developed before we initiated military operations: an exit strategy. Once we see who the new government is, we should discuss with that government what our exit strategy will be.

Part of that strategy should be to promptly end our status as an occupying power. The insurgents have used that status against us in their propaganda. If the new Iraqi Government invites the international community, including us, to stay on, that invitation would end our status as an occupying power because we would then be there at the invitation of a democratically elected Iraqi Government, just as we are in South Korea at the invitation of a democratically elected South Korean Government.

Such an invitation from an Iraqi Government could also for the first time bring the military forces of Muslim nations into the international coalition.

In the meantime, we should move ahead on an accelerated basis with the training and equipping of the Iraqi security forces. Part of that effort must be a realistic assessment of the capabilities of those forces now. We should stop exaggerating the number of Iraqi security forces that have already been fully trained and are capable and willing to take on the insurgency. We need to mix a healthy dose of realism with our hopes. Currently we have no way of measuring the capabilities of Iraqi security forces. We have to establish badly needed training and equipping standards for Iraqi units, which will allow an assessment of their readiness and capability.

We already have a model in the unit status report system, by which we judge the readiness of our own military forces. Only in that way will we be able to determine and apply the resources required to establish and maintain the necessary readiness and capabilities in Iraqi units which will allow American units to turn over security responsibilities to Iraqis.

The elections in Iraq were an important milestone in a long process. That process will continue to require sacrifices of our military personnel and significant additional resources. I am satisfied those resources should be provided and will be provided. Regardless of the differences over the policies which isolated us from most of the world and all of the Muslim world when we went into Iraq, regardless of the mistakes that were made in failing to have a plan for the post-combat stability phase and in thoughtlessly disbanding the Iraqi Army, it is essential that we support our troops. Now that we are there, we must succeed in leaving Iraq secure and free of major civil strife.

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I look forward to the testimony of our witnesses laying out the plans for the next phase in Iraq, as well as addressing the next steps in Afghanistan.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Senator.

I note that yesterday afternoon this committee had an extensive briefing from members of the Department of Defense (DOD). I know other members present here expressed their appreciation for a detailed briefing which I believe, Senator Levin, went a long way to clarify the means by which we are assessing the degree of achievement in training and the professional capabilities of the Iraqi spectrum of security forces from police through and including the Guard and Reserve.

That by necessity was behind closed doors, but I feel that our witnesses today will make some reference to the same material we received yesterday.

I also am very pleased to note the presence, at the invitation of the chair and the ranking member, of Ambassador Maureen Quinn, the Coordinator for Afghanistan. Good morning, Madam Ambassador. We thank you and perhaps at some point in the course of the questioning we will ask you to join the panel.

Secretary Wolfowitz.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL WOLFOWITZ, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity. We meet in an historic week in the history of Iraq and our relations with Iraq. There are some appropriate cautions that people give about avoiding euphoria at this moment. I think those cautions are correct. I think the right way to think of what happened on Sunday is that it was a major victorious battle in a war that is still not yet won, and it is appropriate to celebrate that victory, but it is also important to think about the way ahead.

As we do so, I think it is particularly appropriate to pay honor to the memory of the 1,417 Americans that have been killed so far in this effort, but also to the 1,342 Iraqi police and army that have been killed and 126 other coalition members that have been killed. This has been a victory that has been won at considerable cost.

That sacrifice has not been lost on the Iraqi people themselves. An Iraqi blogger—which are the people who post their news on Web sites—this one named Allah, publishes his views on a Web site called "The Mesopotamian." He stated it eloquently on election day when he wrote: "My condolences to the great American people for their recent tragic losses of soldiers. The blood of Iraqis and Americans is being shed on the soil of Mesopotamia, a baptism with blood, a baptism of a lasting friendship and alliance for many years to come through thick and thin. We shall never forget the brave soldiers fallen while defending our freedom in the future." I think we had a most vivid expression of that in that remarkable hug that we all witnessed last night.

I would like to thank the members of this committee and the entire Congress for your continued support to our great men and women in uniform and to their civilian counterparts, including sev-

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eral State Department officers who have made the ultimate sacrifice in Iraq.

At the end of the day, the indispensable heroes of Sunday's historic events were the Iraqi voters who risked their lives, and at least 35 of whom paid with their lives to vote for their government representatives for the first time in their lives. As Lieutenant General Thomas Metz, the Commander of the Multinational Corps Iraq, said in congratulating his troops for the magnificent job they did on January 30: "The one thing we could not do for the Iraqis was vote and, impressively, millions of them had the courage to do so."

One of the most impressive examples of that courage occurred in Baghdad when a bomber approached the line of voters outside a primary school polling place. A 14-year police veteran named Abdul Amir al-Shuwayli pushed the bomber away, yelling: "Let me save my people, let me save my friends." As a result of al-Shuwayli's heroism, the bomber was only able to detonate his belt of explosives 50 feet away from the voting line, saving the lives of countless Iraqis but taking the life of this brave Iraqi policeman. This is one of several instances in which Iraqi police and soldiers gave their lives to shield Iraqi voters from suicide bombers and insurgents trying to penetrate the security rings around polling sites.

I think it might be appropriate on this occasion, Mr. Chairman, to put up the article from USA Today and the picture of Sergeant al-Shuwayli. I think he deserves that kind of recognition.

[The information referred to follows:]

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USA TODAY · WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2005 · 9A

World

Iraqi policeman gives his life to protect young democracy

Allawi hails officer who saved voters

By Gregg Zoroya
USA TODAY

BAGHDAD — Policemen guarding a polling station in Baghdad's Mansour neighborhood Sunday recognized the suicide bomber immediately. The young man was wearing Chinese-made high-top tennis shoes, a leather jacket and a red head scarf — the same kind of clothes as worn by an attacker at another site that same day.

Fourteen-year police veteran Abdul Amir al-Shuwayli, 29, acted without hesitation.

The bomber was steps away from a line of voters heading into Al-Zahour Primary School when Shuwayli moved toward him, police Capt. Firaz Mohammed Ali said. According to Ali, Shuwayli yelled, "Let me save the people. Let me save my friends."

Shuwayli threw his arms around the bomber and drove him backward about 50 feet into an intersection. The rush seemed to catch the suicide attacker by surprise. The bomber had a hand grenade but failed to throw it. A second or two passed before he detonated a belt of explosives, police Lt. Col. Kadham Abbas said.

The blast shredded Shuwayli, whose body took the brunt of the explosion. It also tore the bomber apart, leaving only his face intact. Shrapnel injured three other officers and perforated walls around the intersection. Windows in nearby homes shattered.

Voters continued to line up.

"Suicide bombers are not the only ones willing to give up their lives," said Ali, one of Shuwayli's commanders. "We have some people who are ready to die as well."

On Monday, interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi eulogized Shuwayli in televised remarks and declared him a young democracy's first champion. "The martyr gave his life for his country," Allawi said. "Abdul Amir is a real hero of our nation."

At the policeman's funeral Tuesday, held under a bright red tent on a street outside the home he shared with his four brothers and three sisters in southern Baghdad, family members said it was the kind of sacrifice they had long dreaded.

"We were expecting him to be killed," Shuwayli's younger sister, Amir, said softly. She wore a black head scarf and dress, her face a mask of sorrow.

She said her brother was a news junkie who followed every detail of Iraq's struggle against the militants who have killed so many civilians and police.

"He was ready to give of himself to others," Amir said as she sat in her brother's bedroom. "We knew that about him."

Family photo

"Hero of our nation": Abdul Amir al-Shuwayli, 29, appears with two young relatives in a photo displayed at his funeral. He died Sunday when he thwarted a suicide bomb attack.

The family has left the room as he kept it. Abdul Amir's jacket and shirt hang neatly from a peg on his bureau. His favorite incense burns, and his water pipe sits at the foot of his bed.

Shuwayli, a Shiite Arab, had decorated the walls with religious imagery and a family tree for the prophet Mohammed.

The third of eight adult children, Abdul Amir was a single man, following an Iraqi tradition of waiting for his sisters to marry before choosing a wife. As a police officer, he earned $235 a month.

As roast lamb and rice were served under the funeral tent, and family and tribal members gathered to mourn, Iraqi police convoys kept driving up to the house so fellow officers could pay their respects.

The family's neighborhood is rife with insurgents, and the convoys would not linger. Officers fired rifles into the air to disperse traffic so the police vehicles could leave quickly before becoming targets.

"He hated the insurgents," Amir said of her brother as the truckloads of police wheeled into the neighborhood. "His main interest was in fighting them."

Police Capt. Ali, interviewed at the Mansour police headquarters where Shuwayli was stationed, said he visited the blast site minutes after the explosion Sunday.

He was surveying the scene of carnage when he saw something he found remarkable.

Residents began coming out of their homes and lining up in even greater numbers after the explosion.

"They were stepping on the bits and pieces of the insurgent with their feet as they walked in to vote," Ali said.

I would note that in fact, according to our reports, of eight attempted suicide bombings, every one of them was stopped by Iraqi security forces at the outer security perimeter. That is a pretty impressive 100 percent record. From what we can tell from reports—and we are still checking on this—that life-giving sacrifice by Po-

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liceman al-Shuwayli was not the only such incident. There seems to be another one in which a policeman was inspecting an attacker when he discovered the explosive-laden belt. The attacker pushed him to the ground, ran toward the polling station, and this policeman pursued him, tackling him outside the station in a body embrace that triggered the explosives. There seem to be, from what we can tell, two separate instances of devotion far above and beyond the call of duty.

Although the final tally of votes will not be known for several days, it is already clear that Sunday's election has been an epoch-making event. But as impressive as that election was, Iraq still faces a very difficult road ahead to defeat the terrorist threat and to achieve stability, much less freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, I think it is appropriate to take just a few moments to dwell on the breath-taking images we saw this past weekend.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, I thought, since a picture is worth a thousand words, I could save you many words and some minutes by handing out this packet of photos that my staff pulled off the Internet. I am not quite sure about copyright, so I am a little concerned about distributing beyond the members of the committee. But I think if you look at them, there is just an incredible story there of Iraqi passion for democracy.

[The packet of photographs referenced by Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz has been retained in committee files.]

Two of my favorites, if I could hold them up for a minute, are this one of an old man crying as he puts his ballot in; and then this one of two young women hugging each other and crying.

We saw an incredible display of passion for democracy. But I would say even more significantly, we saw incredible bravery. It is important to remember that. This demonstration of Iraqi commitment to the newfound democracy took place in the face of a systematic campaign of terror and intimidation that is almost unimaginable to most Americans. It included assassinations and beheadings of election workers. It included threats to the children of candidates and threats to ordinary voters, not just risking their lives when they went to the polls, but fearful of what might happen to them afterwards.

We who are lucky enough to take for granted that our elections will take place in complete peace and security can not appreciate the significance of what Iraqi voters have just done. Indeed, I think some of the most remarkable stories from last Sunday are about the courage of these voters. Two in particular that I heard from General Hamm, who is our commander up in Mosul, are worth repeating.

At one polling station in Mosul—and I would point out it was in a Sunni Arab neighborhood—the polls had been open for 2 hours and no one had come to vote, but there was a crowd gathered some distance from the polls to watch what happened. Finally, an old woman who seemed to be in her late sixties came forward and said, "I have waited all my life for this opportunity," and she came forward to vote and the rest of the crowd followed.

At another polling place in Mosul, also in a Sunni Arab neighborhood, the enemy actually brought a line of voters under small arms fire, wounding one of the voters. No doubt they expected the other

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voters to run. They did exactly the opposite. They stayed in line. They shifted the line and crouched down to protect the wounded voter while Iraqi soldiers evacuated him to a hospital.

Forty-four Iraqis lost their lives attempting to cast their ballots. By 1 p.m. Sunday, terrorists had launched a record seven suicide bombings in Baghdad and one south of Baghdad. Despite that violence, the Iraqis did not leave the lines that they had waited all their lives for.

Before the election there was concern that this purple dye that was used to mark voters' fingers—as a fraud prevention measure—could become an intimidation instrument, that people would be fearful that it would target them from the terrorists. But rather than deterring people, these marks have become a purple badge of courage, as you will see in these photos I am sure you have seen already.

One Sunni voter raised his forefinger and declared: "This is my badge of honor and, no, I am not keeping my hand in my pocket." Another Iraqi wrote: "When I moved to mark my finger with ink, I dipped it in deep, as if I was poking the eyes of all the world's tyrants."

Mr. Chairman, this election also helps to clarify without a doubt who the enemy is in Iraq. Our enemy in Iraq is not the Iraqi people. It is not a nationalist insurgency. It is an unholy alliance of old terrorists and new terrorists. The old terrorists are the ones who brutalized and tortured the country and murdered hundreds of thousands of their countrymen over the course of 3½ decades.

These secret security forces of the former regime, best analogized I think to the Gestapo and the SS of the Nazi regime, are now allied with the new terrorists drawn from across the region. Like their Baathist allies, these new terrorists are ideologically opposed to democracy and fearful of what the success of freedom in this important Arab country will mean for them.

Just 1 month before the election, Osama bin Laden declared, "Any Iraqi who takes part in this election consciously and willingly is an infidel." With that statement, bin Laden made preventing the Iraqi election one of al Qaeda's highest priorities and provided ideological justification for murdering Iraqi voters.

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, bin Laden's appointed prince in Iraq, also denounced the election. Indeed, he denounced democracy more broadly, declaring "a fierce war on this evil principle of democracy and those who follow this wrong ideology." "Democracy," he said, "is based on the right to choose your representatives and that is against the rule of God."

Through their opposition to elections and democracy, the terrorists have demonstrated that they are not interested in winning hearts and minds, but rather to simply intimidate the Iraqi people into submission. Unlike almost every other historical insurgency, they offer no positive agenda beyond their own pursuit of power, and they explicitly seek to deny Iraqis a voice in their future. That is why Iraqis refer to such men as Abdul Latif Humain, a so-called "religious" adviser to Saddam before the fall of the regime, who fled the country with large amounts of money, leaving his recruits behind, as terrorists.

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Yet the determination of the terrorists to disrupt the election was defeated by the overwhelming majority of Iraqis, who want democracy to prevail. As Major General John Batiste, commander of our 1st Infantry Division, said, "Iraq votes are bullets to the hearts of the terrorists." Iraqis know who they are fighting and they know they are fighting people who want to take them backwards to some new form of dictatorship as terrible as the one they have just been liberated from.

Mr. Chairman, as dramatic a moment as these elections were, this is not a time to sit on our hands congratulating ourselves, nor to declare victory and abandon a task that is only half accomplished. Although I find it hard to agree with anyone who would say that the election was just the easy part—it was hardly easy—there is no question that there is still much hard work to be done, principally by the Iraqis themselves, but also by those of us upon whom they still depend for support.

While the election clearly demonstrated that the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people do not lie with the terrorists, no one should imagine for one moment that these would-be tyrants will quit just because of Sunday's vote. The next few months will be particularly challenging because, while this election will produce a national assembly, that body will still face a formidable challenge to putting together a government, and it must do so in the face of a continuing war against a brutal enemy.

Mr. Chairman, while attempting to think about our immediate focused efforts in the next few months, I would suggest there are five. First is to recognize that success in this effort will require the integration of all elements of national power, both U.S. and Iraqi, as well as those of our coalition partners and hopefully others who may join in now. This is not a military effort alone and there must be equal and parallel efforts in governance and infrastructure, in economic development, in strategic information. Governance in particular presents important challenges, not only in standing up a government and writing a constitution, but in establishing government ministries that can both function effectively, which is enough of a challenge, but also that will serve the interests of the people, not their own personal agendas. The entire international community has an interest in the success of that effort.

Second, there will be many difficult compromises that will have to be made among different Iraqi groups, on everything from fundamental constitutional questions to practical questions involving the sharing of power and resources. Iraqis will have to work out these compromises. That is a big part of what democracy is really about. But we have enormous influence in Iraq and we should use it, not to advance our own agenda, but to constantly remind Iraqis of the importance of resolving these issues in ways that preserve national unity in the face of a ruthless enemy.

Third—and I will talk more about this in a few minutes—on the military side, the key to victory clearly lies in developing more and increasingly capable Iraqi security forces. That effort has produced important successes so far and we need to learn the lessons from those successes so that we can build on it and hopefully accelerate it.

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Fourth, we and the Iraqis need to attach high priority to the development of an effective legal and judicial system, one that enforces the rule of law, that punishes the guilty, that protects the rights of all citizens, and that provides the equal justice under law that is not only a key hallmark of democracy, but which is also crucial for fighting corruption and promoting economic development.

Iraq's currently weak judicial system is not yet able to punish lawbreakers effectively, even those who are guilty of the most serious crimes against the Iraqi people and against coalition forces. Finding ways to protect judges from intimidation needs to be a high priority. We also need to help the Iraqi Government strengthen the tools of law enforcement through everything from better communications equipment to identification systems for criminals and foreigners to forensic bomb analysis capability.

Fifth, we need to work with the Iraqi Government to keep up pressure on neighboring countries, particularly Syria, to stop the activities of Baathists and other terrorist supporters working from outside Iraqi and to stop the flow of foreign fighters into the country. Some of Iraq's neighbors probably fear a free Iraq, but they need to understand that it will be much more harmful for them if they try to obstruct Iraq's progress toward freedom.

Let us remember that we are facing an enemy who is not only ruthless, but adaptive and fiendlishly clever, an enemy who obviously did not give up just because Baghdad was liberated, that did not give up just because Saddam Hussein was captured, and that did not give up just because the interim government was stood up successfully on June 28. It is an enemy that will adapt, and we need to be prepared for its adaptations and anticipate them and try to be ahead of them.

But the good news, Mr. Chairman, is that this enemy does not offer anything positive to the Iraqi people. It is not an enemy that can ever defeat our soldiers one for one on the battlefield. It is an enemy that has shown itself to be horribly clever and viciously evil, with no respect for the laws of civilization or for the Iraqi people. But that will be their undoing. Ultimately it is the Iraqi people who will defeat them, with our continued help.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Schlicher I think will discuss in more detail the political process going forward. I have already emphasized the critical importance in that process of compromise. There has been a lot of attention given to the fact that the election results may be distorted by the fact that intimidation was much more severe in predominantly Sunni areas, not because I think Sunnis predominantly support the insurgency, but because the insurgents are predominantly Sunni and that is where they live. That is I think why the vote was particularly low in places like the Al-Anbar Province.

What I find encouraging is that the non-Sunnis have been very forceful in expressions like this one that came from the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) chief, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, who leads, I believe, or is near the top of this United Iraq Alliance list. "The National Assembly"—and this from a Shia cleric—shall represent all Iraqi strata and we will make an all-out effort to this end. We will defend the rights of our Sunni brothers just the same way we do for those of the Shiites."

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I think these statements are good indicators that Iraqis will work to form a transitional government that will attend to the interests of all Iraqis, including those Sunni Arabs whose vote was suppressed by severe intimidation in some places.

Mr. Chairman, I know this committee has a particular interest, as do we in the DOD, in the development of Iraqi security forces. I think it is worth recalling that last year we intercepted a letter from Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to his al Qaeda colleagues in Afghanistan. In that letter he warned of the dangers of Iraqi sovereignty and especially the creation of capable Iraqi security forces. He wrote, "With the spread of the Iraqi Army and the police, our future is becoming frightening. You end up having an army and police connected by lineage, blood, and appearance to the people of the region. How can we kill their cousins and sons? This is a democracy; we will have no pretext."

Mr. Chairman, the endeavor to create those forces has not been without setbacks and disappointments. Most significantly, barbaric acts of intimidation have targeted Iraqi soldiers and police and their families, thinning the ranks of some units and rendering others ineffective. Let me recall that since June 2003 nearly 1,400 Iraqi soldiers and policemen—I would say that is by our count, which may well be an underestimate—nearly 1,400 Iraqi soldiers and policemen have been killed in the line of duty as they sought to defend their newfound freedom.

Through it all, however, the coalition and the Iraqis have continued to press forward, modifying training programs, adapting operational constructs, and increasing equipment authorizations. Throughout that we have had strong support from this committee and from the U.S. Congress that has been critical in making that progress possible.

Mr. Chairman, this progress does not always transfer into quantifiable measures, and the quantifiable measures we come up with are sometimes undone by the shifting in categories. The shifting in categories is a necessary adaptation to circumstances and I know it gets confusing, even to those of us who track it every day.

One that I think has caused particular confusion, and let me just try to clear it up, has to do with this change when we were carrying numbers on the order of 200,000 and it seemed to suddenly drop to 130,000. Those 70,000 people are people we had always identified as the least trained, I sometimes call them a kind of Pinkerton Guard Force, the so-called Facilities Protection Service, and we took them out of our counts, frankly, because the Iraqis took them out of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Interior and shifted them over to individual ministries where they were protecting oil or protecting electricity. Since they are not part of the training responsibility of General Petraeus's command, we thought it was better not to keep them in the number count. They are still there. They performed even on election day.

More generally, we have repeatedly tried to caution against making too much of raw numbers when there are large qualitative differences that are generally more important. The term "trained and equipped" when applied to Iraqi forces cannot be analogized to how we measure readiness in American military units.

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One impressive metric is the one I mentioned last Sunday, the number of suicide bombers that were stopped at the outer security perimeter of the polling sites. That was 100 percent out of a total of eight attempted attacks and it is an impressive record.

Measurement is also complicated by the fact that there has been a consistent development of new kinds of units with different capabilities. One such unit is the special police commando battalions, which are an entirely Iraqi invention. The first one I believe was formed only last November. They are among a number of different kinds of units that have the important capability that they can be deployed anywhere in the country, not just in their local area.

Since Prime Minister Allawi took office last June, 44 deployable military and police battalions out of a total of 85 battalions overall have been established. The additional battalions include regionally-oriented National Guard battalions that were recently incorporated into the Iraqi Army. These deployable battalions have the feature that they can be moved anywhere in the country and in many cases currently are deployed in the most challenging areas. They are responsible in no small measure for the successful security that we achieved in Mosul and Baghdad on election day. There were seven such battalions helping maintain security in Mosul, nine in Fallujah, three in Samarra, and at least seven in Baghdad.

At the same time, none of these Iraqi forces are capable of replacing coalition units on a one for one basis. In fact, they may never be one for one the equivalent of our forces. But in some respects they will always be superior. What do I mean by that? I mean that they bring to the fight skills that our soldiers will never possess, particularly their understanding of the languages and cultures of Iraq, their ability to immediately recognize just by how someone speaks whether he is an Iraqi or a foreigner—that is no small talent—and they will contribute even more as we and Iraq leaders continue their development, replace their losses, and help develop their higher headquarters, combat support elements, and logistical units and systems needed for their support.

As we try to increase the speed with which they grow and with which, more importantly, they improve qualitatively, a major component in the effort will be the substantially increased emphasis that General Casey, our great commander in Iraqi, has directed be given to Iraqi security force development this year. Increasingly, I think you could say Iraqis have what I would call the hardware force component of personnel, equipment, and infrastructure. Their most important gaps are in the intangible components that all successful military units need, what you might call the software: leadership, command and control arrangements, experience, and unit cohesion. These intangibles take time to develop. Some of them are, frankly, best developed by actual combat experience. Some of the most important development will therefore take place on the job, in active military operations.

Mr. Chairman, the President and Secretary Rumsfeld are committed to providing the resources needed for this endeavor and the forthcoming request for supplemental funding will include a substantial funding request for expansion of the Iraqi security force effort. We are counting on your support and I am confident we will have it.

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In sum, we believe that considerable momentum has been achieved in the development of Iraqi security forces. However, much remains to be done as we help Iraq build not just battalions, brigades, and divisions, but the institutions that support them and the civilian ministries that direct them. That is an enormous endeavor. It is historically unprecedented. It has encountered challenges and suffered setbacks. But in recent months we have seen the results of the coalition's investigation, most importantly in the performance of Iraqi units deployed to hot spots on January 30.

Mr. Chairman, democracy is on the march in Iraq and this past Sunday Iraq's own army and police force helped to safeguard that march. Their performance was captured in an anecdote related by another Iraqi blogger, this one named Ali, on his Web site, which is called "Iraqi Lib," I guess meaning "liberation." He describes an encounter with one of the guards. He does not say whether he was a soldier or a policeman. The guard actually apologized to the voters for searching them. He said: "We do not know how to thank you; please excuse any inconvenience on our part. We wish we did not have to search you or limit your freedom. You are heroes."

I think that politeness from an Iraq soldier was something that is probably also a bit unprecedented in that country. This Iraqi voter said: "I thanked him back and told him that he and his comrades are the true heroes and that we can never be grateful enough for their services."

Mr. Chairman, today we all share that gratitude for the courage of the Iraqi forces and for the courage and sacrifice of American service men and women who have done so much to help bring Iraq to this moment and, hopefully, soon to many more like it.

Thank you. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Secretary Wolfowitz follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY HON. PAUL D. WOLFOWITZ

HEROISM AND SACRIFICE

Mr. Chairman, Senator Levin, members of the committee, I am happy to be here today to testify on the Iraqi election and on our strategy for Iraq in the coming months. On the eve of the election, an American lieutenant stationed near Baquba wrote:

> The soldiers of 2–63 armor battalion are out there hardening the election sites and working around the clock to provide security for the Iraqis. I'm pretty excited about being out there for something historical. Not all my soldiers can be out there but I have guys begging to be taken out in sector. Seeing how bad these locals want the elections to happen has been pretty inspiring for us.

I believe it goes without saying that Sunday's events, both in the bravery of the Iraqi people, as well as in the dedication of our men and women in uniform, is inspiring to all of us as well.

It is impossible to say enough about the heroism and sacrifice that it took to make this day possible. U.S. troops and our Iraqi and other coalition partners did an incredible job in preparation for the election, safely moving more than 3 million tons of election programs, and helping to secure more than 5,000 polling stations throughout Iraq.

American soldiers, marines, sailors, airmen, and coast guardsmen, as well as their civilian colleagues serving in Iraq, have performed magnificently, not just on election day but throughout Operation Iraqi Freedom. Each day for almost 2 years, American men and women have put their lives on the line to protect our security, and to help bring freedom to Iraq. Whether rooting terrorists out of strongholds such as Najaf and Fallujah, or rolling up their sleeves to rebuild and paint Iraqi schools, they have performed their duties nobly and without complaint. They have

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done everything that has been asked of them and more. More than 1,400 Americans have lost their lives in the process, and thousands more have been wounded.

This sacrifice has not been lost on the Iraqi people themselves. The Iraqi blogger named "Alaa"—who publishes his views on the Web site called The Mesopotamian—stated it eloquently on election day when he wrote:

> "My condolences to the great American people for the tragic recent losses of soldiers. The blood of Iraqis and Americans is being shed on the soil of Mesopotamia; a baptism with blood. A baptism of a lasting friendship and alliance, for many years to come, through thick and thin, we shall never forget the brave soldiers fallen while defending our freedom and future."

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of these brave young Americans, I'd like to thank the members of this committee and the entire Congress for their continued support to our great men and women in uniform and to their civilian counterparts.

At the end of the day the indispensable heroes of Sunday's historic events were the Iraqi voters who risked their lives—and at least 35 of whom paid with their lives—to vote for their government representatives for the first time in their lives. As Lieuteant General Thomas Metz, Commander of the Multinational Corps-Iraq, said in congratulating his troops for the magnificent job they did on January 30, "the one thing we could not do for the Iraqis was vote"—and, impressively, millions of them had the courage to do so.

Sunday's election in Iraq was also a heartening testament to the growing capabilities of the Iraqi security forces. On election day, those forces—and millions of Iraqi citizens—stood very tall, demonstrating courage and determination in the face of over 100 attempts to disrupt the voting process.

Coalition planning, backup, and assistance were very important on Sunday; however, it was alert, determined Iraqis who ensured that the elections were not disrupted throughout the country—and who suffered the vast majority of the casualties.

One of the most impressive examples of Iraqi heroism occurred in Baghdad when a bomber approached the line of voters outside the Al-Zahour Primary School. Fourteen-year police veteran Abdul Amir al-Shuwayli pushed him away yelling, "Let me save my people. Let me save my friends." As a result of al Shuwayli's heroism, the bomber was only able to detonate his belt of explosives 50 feet away from the voting line, saving the lives of countless Iraqis, but taking the life of this brave Iraqi policeman. This is one of several instances in which Iraqi police and soldiers gave their lives shielding Iraqi voters from suicide bombers and insurgents trying to penetrate the security rings around polling sites.

The performance of Iraqi soldiers and police this past week is the most visible and tangible evidence of progress from our substantial investment in Iraqi security forces over the past year—and, in particular, over the past 6 months.

AN EPOCH-MAKING EVENT

Although the final tally of votes will not be known for several days, it is already clear that Sunday's election in Iraq has been an epoch-making event. As President Bush noted, by successfully conducting free elections, Iraqi men and women have taken rightful control of their country's destiny, and have chosen a future of freedom and of peace. There is almost no precedent for this event in modem Arab history, where too often the voice of tyrants and terrorists has predominated. But on Sunday, the voice of liberty resounded from the center of the Middle East.

As impressive as Sunday's election was, Iraq still faces a difficult road ahead to defeat the terrorist threat and achieve stability, much less freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to take a moment to dwell on the breathtaking images we saw this past weekend, and the stories of Iraqi bravery and fortitude that have emerged from this election, because this election was not only a demonstration of the passion of the Iraqi people for the opportunity they have been given for self-government—although it was certainly that. It also had strategic significance in the ongoing war, because it was a demonstration of Iraqi bravery and also a statement of the "correlation of forces," a statement to both the old terrorists who used to run the country and the new terrorists like Zarqawi who have joined them to fight democracy that the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi people do not support them. That is the meaning of scenes like these:

- Iraqis, some dressed in their finest clothes, could be seen dancing and singing as they waited in line to vote. Mohammed Nuhair Rubaie, the director of a polling station in Baghdad's Sunni neighborhood of Tunis, said: "It's like a wedding. I swear to God, it's a wedding for all of Iraq. No one has ever witnessed this before. For a half-century, no one has seen anything like it."

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• Crowds of Iraqis formed phalanxes to protect themselves as they marched, almost parade-like, to the polling centers. When a polling station closed in one Sunni town, thousands of people lined the highway as they walked 13 miles to Gazalia to vote for the first time in their lives.
• Samir Hassan, who lost his leg in a Baghdad bombing in October 2003, stated: "I would have crawled here if I had to. I don't want terrorists to kill other Iraqis like they tried to kill me." In Sulaimaniah, a 94-year old woman was carried to a voting center in a wheelbarrel by her son.
• When a shortage of ink at some polling sites was reported on Diyala Radio, callers said they would gladly use their own blood on their thumb to seal their ballots.
• The Mayor of Baghdad, Alla Al-Tamimi, said, "I can't believe my eyes. This is the greatest moment of our history. This is the future of our children. . . . People are voting for women, for freedom, for no more violence against our family, for tomorrow, for no more hunger . . . Iraqis are ready to sacrifice their life for this moment!"

Mayor al-Tamimi's statement is even more poignant considering the terrorists' threat to make the "streets run with the blood of the voter." For this demonstration of Iraqi commitment to their new-found democracy took place in the face of a systematic campaign of terror and intimidation that is almost unimaginable to most Americans—including assassinations and beheadings of election workers, threats to the children. of candidates and threats to ordinary voters, not only at the polls but even in their homes afterwards. Americans—who are able to take for granted that our elections will take place in complete peace and security—can appreciate the significance of what Iraqi voters have just done.

Indeed, some of the most remarkable stories from Sunday's election are about the courage of ordinary Iraqi voters. Brigadier General Carter Ham, the commander of coalition forces in Mosul, told me recently about two particularly impressive occurrences:

• At one polling station in a Sunni Arab neighborhood in Mosul, no one had voted by 9 a.m., 2 hours after the polls had opened. But a crowd of several hundred people had gathered to observe the polling place from a distance. Finally, an old woman who appeared to be in her late sixties came forward saying "I've waited all my life for this opportunity," and came forward to vote. The rest of the crowd followed shortly behind her.
• Another polling place in Mosul—also in a Sunni Arab neighborhood came under enemy small arms fire and one of the voters waiting in line was wounded. No doubt the enemy sniper expected the other voters to run. Instead, they staved in line, while crouching down, and shifted to provide cover for the wounded voter while Iraqi soldiers evacuated him to a hospital.

Forty-four Iraqis lost their lives while attempting to cast their ballots. By 1 p.m. Sunday, terrorists had launched a record seven suicide bombings in Baghdad. Despite this violence, Iraqis did not leave the lines they had waited all their lives for. To the contrary, the lines of voters at the polling centers grew steadily throughout the day.

Before the election, there was concern that the purple-dye used to mark voters' fingers as a fraud-prevention measure would also make voters targets for terrorists. But rather than deterring people, these marks have become a "purple badge of courage" in even the most dangerous areas. In the Doura neighborhood, normally a haven for terrorist activity, one Sunni voter raised his forefinger and declared, "This is my badge of honor. No, I'm not keeping my hand in my pocket." Another Iraqi wrote, when "I moved to mark my finger with ink, I dipped it deep as if I was poking the eyes of all the world's tyrants."

In addition to the remarkable bravery demonstrated by the Iraqi people on this historic day, we should also remember the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi victims of Baath Party rule who did not live to see this day. I do not have to recount for the members of this committee the extent of Saddam's brutality, and the degradations he imposed on a proud people. The haunting images of mass graves and of Halabja that we have all seen speak for themselves.

After voting, one Iraqi, whose father was jailed and executed as part of the mass murders following the failed Shia uprising after Operation Desert Storm, said:

"My father helped bring this election today. This election is the fruit of every drop of blood that was shed in 1991. I thank my father. He had three sons who married. None of us had a wedding party, out of respect for him. Today, we can celebrate. Today, we will have a wedding party."

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This election was made possible in part by the courage and sacrifice of countless Iraqis who died resisting Saddam and did not survive to see this day.

WHO THE ENEMY IS

This election also helps to clarify without a doubt who the enemy is in Iraq. Our enemy in Iraq is not the Iraqi people. It is not a nationalist "insurgency." It is an unholy alliance of "old terrorists" and "new terrorists." The old terrorists are the ones who brutalized and tortured the country and murdered hundreds of thousands of their countrymen for 35 years. These secret security forces of the former regime are now allied with new terrorists drawn from across the region. Like their Baathist allies, these new terrorists are ideologically opposed to democracy and fearful of what the success of freedom in this important Arab country will mean for them. One month before the election Osama bin Laden declared that "any Iraqi who takes part in this election consciously and willingly is an infidel." With this statement, Osama bin Laden made preventing the Iraqi election one of al Qaeda's highest priorities. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, bin Laden's appointed "prince" in Iraq, also denounced the election, stating: "We have declared a fierce war on this evil principle of democracy and those who follow this wrong ideology. Democracy is . . . based on the right to choose your religion" and that is "against the rule of God."

Through their opposition to elections and democracy, the terrorists have demonstrated that they are not interested in winning the "hearts and minds" of the Iraqi people, but rather to simply intimidate them into submission. Unlike almost every other historical insurgency, they offer no positive agenda beyond their own pursuit of power, and they explicitly seek to deny Iraqis a voice in their future.

This is why Iraqis refer to men such as Abed al Latif Homayen, a "religious advisor" who before the fall of the regime received more than 2 billion Dinar from Saddam to recruit Iraqis for Jihad and then cravenly fled the country with the money, leaving his recruits behind, as terrorists, not insurgents. Yet the determination of the terrorists to disrupt the election was defeated by the overwhelming majority of Iraqis who want democracy to prevail. As one Iraqi woman told Major General John Batiste, Commander of the 1st Infantry Division, Iraqi votes are "bullets to the hearts of the terrorists." Deputy President Ibrahim Ja'fari declared that "Iraqi voters today have proven the strength of their votes is more powerful than the strength of bullets." Iraqis know who they are fighting, and they know they are fighting people who want to take them backwards to some new form of dictatorship as terrible as the one they have just been liberated from. Iraqi voters have demonstrated that the true nationalists are those who express themselves with ballots rather than with bombs.

THE WAY AHEAD

As dramatic a moment as these elections were, this is not a time to sit on our hands congratulating ourselves, nor to declare victory and abandon a task that is only half accomplished. Although I find it hard to agree with people who say that the election was "just the easy part," there is no question that there is still much hard work to be done—principally by the Iraqis, but also by those of us upon whom they still depend for support. While the election clearly demonstrated that the "hearts and minds" of the Iraqi people do not lie with the terrorists, no one should imagine for a moment that these would-be tyrants will quit as a result of Sunday's vote.

The next few months are going to be particularly challenging, because, while this election will produce a National Assembly, that body will still face a formidable challenge to put together a government. It will have to do so in the face of a continuing war and a brutal enemy. Among the principal things we need to focus on the next period leading up to writing of a Constitution and two more votes before the end of the year are:

1. Number one, I think, is to recognize that success in this effort is going to require the integration of all elements of both U.S. and Iraqi national power, as well as those of our coalition partners. This is not a military effort alone, and there must be equal and parallel efforts in governance and infrastructure, economic development and strategic information. Governance presents particularly important challenges, not only in the writing of a Constitution but in establishing government ministries that can function effectively and serve the interests of the people, not their own personal agendas. The entire international community has an interest in the success of this effort.

2. Second, many difficult compromises will have to be made among. different Iraqi groups, on everything from fundamental constitutional issues

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to practical questions involving the sharing of power and resources. Iraqis will have to work out these compromises themselves. That is a big part of what democracy is really about. But the United States has enormous influence in Iraq and we should use it—not to advance our own agenda but to constantly remind Iraqis of the importance of resolving these issues in ways that preserve national unity in the face of a ruthless enemy.

3. Third, on the military side, the key to victory clearly lies in developing more and increasingly capable Iraqi security forces. That effort has produced important successes so far, and we need to figure out how to build on it and accelerate it.

4. Fourth, we and the Iraqis need to attach high priority to the development of an effective Iraqi legal and judicial system—one that enforces the rule of law, that punishes the guilty, that protects the rights of all citizens, and that provides the equal justice under the law that is one of the key hallmarks of democracy and is also so important for economic development. Iraq's currently weak judicial system is not yet able to punish lawbreakers effectively, even ones who are guilty of the most serious crimes against the Iraqi people and against coalition forces. Finding ways to protect judges from intimidation needs to be a high priority. We also need to help the Iraqi Government strengthen the tools of law enforcement, everything from communications equipment to identification systems for criminals and foreigners to forensic bomb analysis capability.

5. Finally we need to work with the Iraqi Government to keep up pressure on neighboring countries, in particular Syria, to stop the activities of Baathists and other terrorist supporters working from outside Iraq and to stop the flow of foreign fighters into the country. Some of Iraq's neighbors probably fear a free Iraq, but they need to understand that it will be much more harmful for them if they try to obstruct Iraq's progress toward freedom.

It is critically important to remember we are facing an enemy that is not only ruthless but adaptive and fiendishly clever; an enemy that obviously didn't give up just because the Baghdad was liberated, that didn't give up just because Saddam Hussein was captured and did not give up just because the interim government was stood up successfully on June 28. It's an enemy that will adapt and we need to be prepared for its adaptations and anticipate them and be ahead of them.

The good news is that the enemy does not offer anything positive to the Iraqi people. It's not an enemy that can ever defeat our soldiers one for one on the battlefield. But it is an enemy that's shown itself to be horribly clever and viciously evil, with no respect for the laws of civilization or for the Iraqi people. Ultimately, it is the Iraqi people who will defeat it, with our continued help.

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

In the coming days, after the votes are counted, the Transitional National Assembly (TNA) will form a new government and begin the ardous process of drafting a new Iraqi constitution. In October, this permanent constitution will be put to the Iraqi people for ratification through a popular referendum. In December, Iraqis will again return to the polls to elect a new, permanent government under the rules of that constitution.

As Americans know well, democracy should not impose a "winner-take-all" system on a nation. Successful democracy requires leaders to respect the rights of minorities and of those who did not vote for them and to attend to the aspirations and interests of all citizens. Many leading political figures in Iraq have already demonstrated both their commitment to respecting minority rights and that most crucial of democratic skills, compromise.

This was evident in the drafting of an impressive document, the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), sometimes described as Iraq's interim constitution. Many of the current candidates for the TNA were instrumental in the negotiation of the TAL—which lays out the framework in which the present political process is taking place—and which also contains important assurances of freedom of religion, expression, assembly, and of the press. The TAL guarantees equal rights for all citizens of Iraq regardless of ethnicity, denomination, or sex. The TAL is already the freest basic governance document in the Arab world, and gives promise that in the future, Iraq will not belong to one dictator, one clan, or one tribe.

Recent statements by Iraqi leaders suggest they are strongly committed to ensuring that the TNA will represent the entire Iraqi nation, rather than a narrow sectarian or ethnic interest.

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- In a recent press interview, Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) chief Abdul-Aziz al-Hakim said that "the National Assembly shall represent all Iraqi strata, and we will make an all-out effort to this end. We will defend the rights of our Sunni brothers just the same way we do those of the Shiites."
- Mowaffak al-Rubaie, Iraq's former national security adviser and a confidant of Grand Ayatollah Sistani, said, "The Shiites will form a majority, but there has to be a prominent presence of Sunnis in the government. Now is the time for the Shiites to exercise statesmanship."
- On Monday Interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi noted, "The whole world is watching us. As we worked together yesterday to finish dictatorship, let us work together towards a bright future Sunnis and Shiites, Muslims and Christians, Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmen."

These statements are good indicators that Iraqis will be able to form a transitional government that will attend to the interests of all Iraqis, including the Sunni Arabs whose vote appears to have been suppressed somewhat by the severe intimidation they face in some provinces.

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

This election, in fact, is part of a larger 2-year process that, despite setbacks and tragedies, is still on track. The key to this process has been enabling Iraqis to emerge from the shadow of dictatorship and gradually become more self-reliant. Nowhere is this process more important than in the development of the Iraqi security forces.

Last year we intercepted a letter from Zarqawi to his al Qaeda colleagues in Afghanistan, in which he warned of the dangers of the advent of Iraqi sovereignty, especially the creation of capable Iraqi security forces. He wrote:

> With the spread of the [Iraqi] Army and the police, our future is becoming frightening. The problem is you end up having an army and police connected by lineage, blood and appearance to the people of the region. How can we kill their cousins and sons . . . This is the democracy . . . we will have no pretext.

The endeavor to create these forces has not been without setbacks and disappointments. Most significantly, barbaric acts of intimidation have targeted Iraqi soldiers and police—and their families—thinning the ranks of some units and rendering others ineffective. Since June 2003, nearly 1,400 Iraqi soldiers and policemen have killed in the line of duty as they sought to defend their newfound freedom.

Through it all, however, the coalition and the Iraqis have continued to press forward, modifying training programs, adapting operational constructs; and increasing equipment authorizations. Over time, we have achieved substantial progress in the effort to equip Iraqi forces, to reconstruct their infrastructure, and, most importantly, to develop Iraqi units—police, as well as Army—that will fight aggressively for their country. None of this has been easy, and I want to publicly recognize the Iraqis and coalition members who have been engaged in this critically important endeavor, particularly the advisors who helped train and then fought alongside Iraqi soldiers and police and who have, in some cases, shed blood with them as well in Najaf, Fallujah, Baghdad, Samarra, Mosul, and numerous other locations. Of course, the support of the United States Congress and this committee has been especially critical in helping to make this progress possible.

This progress does not always translate into quantifiable measures such as number of personnel and equipment. There is understandable confusion when the total strength of the Iraqi security forces fluctuates dramatically due to the refinement of definitions or the reclassification of various categories of forces. An important example of this confusion occurred when the roughly 70,000 members of what had been called the Facilities Protection Service were devolved into their respective ministries, and out of the control the coalition command or the Ministries of Defense or Interior, resulting in what appeared to be a sudden drop in the total strength we were reporting for Iraqi security forces, from roughly 200,000 to roughly 130,000. However, that was really nothing more than an accounting change and the Facilities Protection Service continue to perform their functions, although as we have always emphasized their capability is largely limited to simple guard duty and they are not part of Multi-National Force Iraq's (MNF–I) training and equipping effort.

More generally, we have repeatedly tried to caution against making too much of raw numbers, when there are large qualitative difference which are generally more important. The term "trained and equipped" when applied to Iraqi forces is not intended to be analogous to how we measure readiness in American military units. There are currently 136,000 personnel listed as "trained and equipped." These indi-

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viduals have met the training and equipping criteria for their element of the police or military, and the growth in this number is a reflection of progress. But other intangible factors such as leadership, cohesion, and morale are even more important determinants of the capability of Iraqi units, and these factors are difficult to measure numerically.

A better indicator of the progress of the Iraqi security forces than raw numbers of troops is how well these forces did on January 30. One impressive metric is the number of suicide bombers stopped at the outer security perimeter of the polling sites, which was 100 percent of a total of eight attempted attacks.

Measurement is also complicated by the fact that there has been a consistent development of new kinds of units with different capabilities, such as the development of special Police Commando Battalions. These are among a number of different kinds of units that have the important capability to be deployable anywhere in the country, not just in their home area. Since Prime Minister Allawi took office last June, 44 deployable military and police battalions—and more than 85 battalions overall—have been established. (The additional units include regionally-oriented Iraqi National Guard battalions that were recently incorporated into the Iraqi Army.)

Deployable battalions can be moved anywhere in the country—and, in many cases, currently are deployed in the most challenging areas. On election day, for example, there were seven such battalions helping maintain security in Mosul, nine in Fallujah, three in Samarra, and at least seven in Baghdad. Smaller numbers were deployed at numerous other locations. Few of these battalions are fully manned, most will profit from the additional training they will receive as they go through the "train, fight, train" cycle MNF–I is establishing, and none are yet capable of replacing coalition units on a one-for-one basis. However, they are contributing enormously already. Iraqi security forces lack many of the capabilities that our forces demonstrate so superbly. However, Iraqi forces bring to the fight skills that our soldiers will never possess, particularly their understandings of the languages and cultures of Iraq. They will contribute even more as we and Iraqi leaders continue their development, replace their losses, and help develop the higher headquarters, the combat support elements, and the logistical units and systems needed to support these units. All of that is planned.

Much work clearly remains to be done. To help Iraq achieve full responsibility for its own security, we must intensify our efforts to assist Iraq in the organization, training, equipping, and mentoring of Iraqi security forces. We must continue to help rebuild Iraqi security force bases, training academies, border forts, and other facilities. We must assist in establishing robust institutions—institutions that can provide appropriate support, oversight, and direction to Iraq's military elements and police forces, and institutions that can gather and analyze the intelligence that is so important in counter-insurgency operations.

A major component in this effort will be the substantially increased emphasis that General Casey, the MNF-I Commander, has directed be given to Iraqi security force development this year. Increasingly, Iraqis have the "hardware" force component of personnel, equipment, and infrastructure. Their. most important gaps are in the intangible components required of all successful military units: leadership, command and control, experience and unit cohesion. These intangibles will take time to develop and some of the most important development will take place on the job—in active military operations.

The President and Secretary Rumsfeld are committed to providing the resources needed for this endeavor and the administration request for supplemental funding will include a substantial funding request for expansion of the Iraqi security force effort. We are counting on your support.

In sum, we believe that considerable momentum has been achieved recently in the development of Iraqi security forces. However, much remains to be done as we help Iraq rebuild not only battalions, brigades, and divisions, but the institutions that support them and the ministries that direct them.

This is an enormous endeavor, one that is historically unprecedented. It has encountered countless challenges and suffered numerous setbacks. In recent months, however, we have seen the results of the coalition's investment, most importantly in the performance of Iraqi units deployed to the hot spots in that country. We should be particularly heartened by the performance of Iraqi soldiers and police on January 30, when they courageously thwarted the enemy's concerted effort to deny the Iraqi people the tremendous opportunity that U.S. and other coalition forces have provided to them—the opportunity to vote for own representatives. Democracy is on the march in Iraq. This past Sunday, Iraq's own Army and police force helped to safeguard that march.

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Their performance was captured in an anecdote related by another Iraqi blogger named Ali on his Web site "Iraqilibe":

> As I left [the polling place] one of the guards said to me as he handed me back my cellular phone, "God bless you and your beloved ones. We don't know how to thank you. Please excuse any inconvenience on our part. We wish we didn't have to search you or limit your freedom. You are heroes." I was struck with surprise and felt ashamed. This man was risking his life all these hours in what has become the utmost target for all terrorists in Iraq and yet he's apologizing and calling us heroes. I thanked him back and told him that he and his comrads are the true heroes and that we can never be grateful enough for their services. [misspellings in the original]

Today, we all share his gratitude for the courage of the Iraqi forces, and for what our American service men and women have done to help Iraqis achieve this moment, and hopefully soon, many more like it.

Thank you, I look forward to your questions.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Again, I thank you for your long participation in this endeavor personally, professionally.

General Myers.

STATEMENT OF GEN. RICHARD B. MYERS, USAF, CHIEF, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

General MYERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Senator Levin and members of the committee, for your continuing support of our men and women in uniform and for this opportunity to report on our progress in Iraq. After visiting our troops in Iraq many times, I can only imagine their great pride as our troops and their coalition partners witnessed the Iraqi people lining up at the polls, bravely and emphatically taking responsibility for their own future.

Some Iraqis compared election day to a wedding or a birthday and, as you saw on the TV news footage, some carried their children with them to the polls. By voting these Iraqis were helping to chart their own future and the Iraqi that their children would inherit.

The election was not without violence, as Secretary Wolfowitz said. One U.S. marine and a number of Iraqis gave their lives protecting this fledgling democracy on election day.

Not every Iraqi chose to vote. Yet we have hope that many of them will see this election as a call to abandon the insurgency and join the political process, just as we saw with the Taliban in Afghanistan. In the days before the election, as Secretary Wolfowitz said, terrorist leader Zarqawi declared war against democracy. To Zarqawi, the Iraq people have said: We will not let you win.

A senior U.S. Army officer serving in Baghdad commented on what he had witnessed on Sunday. His quote is: "Voters paraded down the street, holding up their fingers, marked with the blue ink from the polls, in overwhelming pride. Every Iraqi I talked to said thank you for this opportunity, for this freedom. Today they earned their freedom." This lieutenant colonel went on to say: "We should all be joyful for that."

Of course, we are, because the election was a very important milestone on a very long road. The Iraqi Government and the coalition, as Secretary Wolfowitz also said, still have much work to do. The coalition must focus our efforts on reaching the point where we can shift our mission from fighting the counterinsurgency ourselves to developing Iraqi capacity to conduct those operations and create

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an environment that encourages sustained political and economic progress.

Since this last July, the coalition has accomplished a great deal in improving the quality of the Iraqi security forces on duty. Many of these forces are now much better trained and equipped, and if you look at their performance in Fallujah this past October and during the election you can see that.

I believe we have also gained a better understanding of their capabilities. For them to be able to operate independently, they are going to need our continued help to build their leadership, command and control, and intelligence capabilities at all levels.

I would also like to reemphasize that security means more than just physical security. Iraqis need help building the Iraqi economy and industrial base to create jobs and incomes sufficient to support local and State government services for individuals and families. They must be able to provide for their social welfare, ensuring educational opportunities, adequate wages, health care, and other safety net programs are available to ensure the population has basic human services. All Iraqis must be able to participate in government without fear of intimidation. They need a mature judicial system and confidence in the government's ability to maintain the rule of law.

Since the transition to Iraqi sovereignty last June, the Iraqi Government has 26 ministries working to provide services to the country along with governments at the regional and local level. But these organizations have a very tough task because Saddam Hussein's regime sapped the Iraqi people of their spirit and tried to render them totally dependent. Saddam's government left behind a decayed infrastructure and no tradition of caring for the needs of the population. The Iraqi Government needs our continued support and mentorship as well.

So we must stay focused and we must not waver in our resolve. The Iraqi people and the Iraqi security forces showed their resolve on Sunday, as did the coalition. We are grateful for the support of the American people and that support must continue.

Now is the time for the entire international community to show its resolve in the war on terrorism. As I have said before, this war is ultimately a test of wills, and the Iraqis certainly passed that test on Sunday. So right now there is an enormous upsurge of hope and enthusiasm, but the situation in Iraq certainly remains dynamic.

I firmly believe we have the right strategy for capitalizing on this recent success and helping build a new Iraq, democratic, at peace with its neighbors, and representative of all its people. I am extremely proud of how well our military has performed, especially their flexibility and their adaptability in dealing with a difficult enemy. I am proud of their ability to cooperate with the Iraqi Government and its citizens. I am proud of their courage and am equally proud of their compassion under some very challenging conditions.

So on behalf of all the Joint Chiefs, I express my condolences for all the American, coalition, and Iraqi men and women and their loved ones who have either been killed or wounded in this very

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noble endeavor. Because of their sacrifices, 25 million Iraqis have the chance to build a new democracy.

I thank you for your continued support and look forward to your questions.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you very much, General. All of us here on the committee share the sentiment you have expressed. These elections would not have taken place had it not been for the steadfast commitment of the Coalition Forces and the sacrifices that they took, and then in the final round they fought really side by side with their Iraqi military partners and it is a partnership which we have henceforth that will make this successful.

Mr. Schlicher, do you have an opening statement?

STATEMENT OF RONALD L. SCHLICHER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, COORDINATOR FOR IRAQ

Mr. SCHLICHER. Yes, sir, I do have some brief opening remarks.

Chairman WARNER. All right, let us have your brief opening remarks.

Mr. SCHLICHER. Mr. Chairman, Senator Levin, members of the committee: I thank all of you for the opportunity to come and appear before you today to discuss the progress that we have seen in Iraq as the Iraqis lay the foundations of the democratic government that they have so clearly shown us that they are determined to achieve.

With your permission, I will make a few brief remarks and submit my complete statement for the record. Please let me remind, as the chairman noted at the beginning, that, though my remarks are about Iraq, we also have with us today Ambassador Maureen Quinn, the Afghan Coordinator in the Department of State, who is available to answer any questions about Afghanistan that the committee might have.

Please let me amplify and echo some of the themes that Secretary Wolfowitz so eloquently laid out earlier. Earlier this week, we saw enormously brave Iraqi men and women defy threats and bombs, lining up in their streets, walking to cast their votes in Iraq's first genuine election in a generation. Even as we speak, independent Iraqi election officials are counting those votes and Iraqi political leaders, anticipating the results, are debating the shapes of possible alliances to best represent their constituencies and the interests of their entire nation. Iraqi voters meanwhile are celebrating the opportunity to shape their own future.

As Secretary Wolfowitz noted, the bravery of the millions of Iraqi voters has really been remarkable. Terrorists threatened, kidnapped, and killed candidates, killed election officials, killed security forces, killed potential voters, and intimidated many thousands, perhaps millions, of other voters. Some Iraqis unfortunately as a result of this intimidation chose to stay home, some out of fear, but there are also those who chose to stay home out of alienation and perceived disenfranchisement.

We hope and expect that the new government, when it is formed, will reach out to all Iraqis to ensure that the voice of all elements in Iraq are heard in the continuing development of the democratic process. This subject principally alludes, of course, to the question of Sunni inclusion. We, like Secretary Wolfowitz, have noted the

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many public statements and we have also heard private statements in which all elements of the political class in Iraq right now are determined that the approach to the upcoming political processes that they have be inclusive and include all members of society. We certainly do applaud that intention on their part.

But in the face of violence, of threats, millions of Iraqis did go to the polls. They cast their secret ballots in accordance with their personal convictions. You may have seen on TV this very illustrative scene of an Iraqi official holding up the ballot for this election on Sunday with 111 choices and a ballot from the last so-called election of the Saddam era where there was one choice. I think that kind of said it all, especially if you are an Iraqi.

It is also really important to note the enormous numbers of Iraqi women who came forward to vote for their freedom. After the election, people celebrated, not for the victory of any particular party because the results are not yet known; instead, they celebrated democracy.

Mr. Chairman, if you would allow me a personal comment at this point, as someone who spent the last quarter century working in this part of the world and I think understands the yearnings of average people there pretty well, I have to say this was a deeply, profoundly moving moment, and I feel very proud to have been a small part of it.

While nothing should dim the glory of the election day, we should recognize that the election process was still new to Iraqis, so there are certain aspects in which it was not perfect. There have been a few reports of logistical problems, of voting irregularities, of some communities, villages, that did not have the opportunity to vote. The Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI), which is the same body that has done so well in managing the logistics of Sunday's election, they are charged with administering and addressing all of these complaints, and we think that they will do so. We will be watching and encouraging them to do so, and we think it is really important that they do so in a transparent process, especially a process that is transparent to all Iraqis, and if there are glitches that were the result of logistical problems, to explain those glitches to the people. If there is some case where an election official did not do what he or she should have done, the commission should point that out to the people as well.

At the same time, in the wake of the election all Iraqis can be pleased with the report of the International Mission for Iraqi Elections. That is the international mission that was established to observe the elections. They found that the IECI prepared and put in place a framework for an election that generally meets recognized standards in terms of the election law, of planning, and of preparations.

We think that the Iraqi people likewise can be pleased by the courage and professionalism displayed by the Iraqi security forces and police, which Secretary Wolfowitz and General Myers have also mentioned. This played an essential role in safeguarding the elections and preventing their disruption by the practitioners of terror.

Now, without question and again as my colleagues have pointed out very clearly today, the Iraqi people still have a long struggle ahead. But we are determined to stand resolutely beside them. The

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sacrifices of Multi-National Forces-Iraq (MNF–I) to assure security and assist with logistics and the tireless work of the American civilian and military personnel have helped make this great day possible for the Iraqis. In this regard, Mr. Chairman, please allow me to salute the incredible job that Ambassador John Negroponte and his team at the embassy in Baghdad and at the embassy offices throughout Iraq have also done in this regard.

We also salute the United Nations (U.N.) Election Assistance Division, which did really an heroic job of working with the IECI to actually make the elections possible in the face of all of the problems of security, of logistics, of organization that they have faced. We look forward to continued U.N. involvement in Iraq in support of the subject matter and in the manners that the Iraqi Government may request of them.

Sir, the elections as I judge it will have a longer-term effect on security as well. The elections can help to convince those who have been sitting on the fence that an elected legitimate government of Iraq is empowered and is here to stay, that it is receiving support from Iraqis of all ethnicities, all religions, and from all provinces. In the end, I hope it will convince them that the solution to their problems lies within the political process and not with the ranks of those who practice terror and seek to disenfranchise their fellow citizens via that terror.

By voting, millions of Iraqis have told the insurgents that they are not wanted, that their agenda is not accepted, that their way is not legitimate, that their way is not representative of the people of Iraq. The Iraqis have decided that security and the freedom to choose are what are important to them.

Our continued commitment will be necessary to help the Iraqi people rebuild their country. They need and deserve to see the quality of their daily lives improve. Hand in hand with increased security, Iraqis want dependable electricity and water and medical care, all of which the practitioners of terror have also been trying to deprive them of over the last months.

Closely coordinated with the Iraqi Government, our reconstruction efforts have made progress in restoring central services, in expanding the availability of quality medical assistance, in rehabilitating public buildings and roads, in advising the government on economic and financial reforms, and in introducing Iraqis at all levels to the basics of democratic practice and the rule of law.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schlicher follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY RONALD L. SCHLICHER

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss developments in Iraq and the progress of the Iraqi people as they rebuild their country and lay the foundations of a democratic government. Earlier this week, we saw brave Iraqi men and women defying threats and bombs, lining up in the streets to cast their votes in Iraq's first genuine election in generations. Even as we speak, independent Iraqi elections officials are counting those votes, and Iraqi political leaders are debating the shape of possible alliances to best represent their constituencies and the interests of their nation. Iraqi voters are celebrating the opportunity to shape their own future.

But some Iraqis did not survive the election. Terrorists threatened, kidnapped, and killed candidates, elections officials, security forces, and voters. Some Iraqis, unfortunately, chose to stay home—some out of fear, and others out of alienation and disenchantment. We firmly hope that the new government will reach out to all

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Iraqis to ensure that the voice of all is heard in the continuing development of the democratic process.

But in the face of violence, threats, and intimidation, millions of Iraqis did go to the polls. They cast their secret ballots in accordance with their personal convictions. Women came forward to vote for their freedom. Afterward, many people celebrated—not the victory of any particular party, because indeed the results of the election are still unknown. They celebrated democracy. In some parts of the country, people danced and sang in the streets, while in other areas there was a quiet pride and determination to defy those who would deny Iraqis a democratic future; to go out and vote and move Iraq one giant step forward from its authoritarian past. Some Iraqis brought their children to the polls to teach them the value of freedom, and afterward many of those children went out to play in streets that during Saddam's rule were filled with fear and despair.

The election process was not perfect. We have heard reports of logistical problems, voting irregularities, and communities that did not have an opportunity to vote. In a process of this magnitude, carried out in this short timeframe, under such challenging security conditions, these kinds of problems were expected. The Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI), charged with administering the elections from top to bottom, is also charged with hearing and resolving all challenges and complaints to the electoral process.

Meanwhile all Iraqis should be pleased with the preliminary report of the International Mission for Iraqi Elections—the international mission established to observe the elections—which found that "Iraq's Electoral Commission has prepared and put in place a framework for an election that generally meets recognized standards in terms of election law, planning, and preparations." They can be pleased by the courage and professionalism demonstrated by Iraqi security forces and police which played an essential role in safeguarding the elections and preventing their disruption by the insurgents and terrorists.

Without question, the Iraqi people still have a long struggle ahead. But we will stand resolutely beside them. The sacrifices of the Multi-National Forces-Iraq (MNF–I) to ensure security and assist with logistics, the tireless work of American civilian and military personnel—including, if I may be excused some pride, the tremendous job done by Ambassador Negroponte and his dedicated staff at the Embassy in Baghdad and Embassy offices throughout Iraq—and the contributions of the international community helped make their great day possible. As called for in United Nations (U.N.) Security Council resolution 1546, the U.N. provided critical assistance to the IECI. We look forward to continued U.N. involvement in Iraq's political transition.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to describe our understanding of the next steps of the political process, according to the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) and the regulations of the IECI. In most areas, voters participated in two elections simultaneously—the National election and their respective provincial election. In addition, voters in the Kurdish areas in northeastern Iraq participated in an election for the Kurdistan Regional Government. Immediately after the close of polls, election workers at each poll began to count the ballots. When they were tallied, those results were secured and physically transported to the IECI national headquarters in Baghdad for tabulation.

Once the IECI has received and tabulated all of the results from the more than 5,000 polling stations around Iraq, it will begin to calculate the allocation of seats to the respective assemblies—the 275-seat Transitional National Assembly (TNA), the 18 provincial assemblies, and the Kurdistan Regional Government. The IECI has stated that it expects to announce the progress of the tally periodically; its target for final results is February 15. Meanwhile, we understand that political parties have already begun negotiating the shape of the coming government, on a speculative basis, as they await the election results.

Once the allocations of seats are announced, we expect that the TNA will convene. The Assembly's first responsibility is to elect its own leadership and adopt internal rules. It will then select, by a two-thirds majority vote, the three-member Transitional Government Presidency Council, consisting of the President of the State and two Deputy Presidents, on a single slate.

Under the TAL, the three members of the Presidency Council are required to unanimously name a Prime Minister within 2 weeks. If the Presidency Council fails to name a Prime Minister within 2 weeks, the responsibility moves to the TNA, which in this instance must confirm a nomination by a two-thirds majority.

The Prime Minister then has up to 1 month in which to name a Council of Ministers. If the Prime Minister is unable to nominate a Council of Ministers within 1 month, the Presidency Council shall name another Prime Minister.

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The Prime Minister and Council of Ministers must then be approved by a simple majority vote of the TNA before commencing their work as a government. The current Iraqi Interim Government Prime Minister and Council of Ministers will remain in place until their replacements are confirmed. Upon confirmation by the TNA, the new Prime Minister and Council of Ministers will assume power.

The new transitional government will govern for only a limited period of time. Its primary task will be drafting a new constitution, which, according to the TAL timeline, is to be completed by August 15 and put before Iraqi voters in a referendum not later than October 15. If Iraqi voters approve the constitution, they will vote again according to its precepts for a permanent government by the end of this year.

We believe that the development of the political process will encourage all Iraqis to put faith in their elected officials as they continue to work with MNF-I forces to improve security. The key to U.S. force reduction in Iraqi is improving the readiness and training of the Iraqi security forces; our goal remains doing all we can to facilitate Iraqis becoming responsible for their own security in all its aspects. An essential part of this effort, in addition to training, will be the dedication, patriotism, and courage of the Iraqi security forces and their leadership, whose members step forward—as they did on election day—in defense of their country to overcome the terrorism, threats, and intimidation directed against them and their families.

We have seen a steady increase in capability as measured by success in fighting on the ground. Iraqi forces had limited success in the fighting last April. But since then, they have done steadily better in the disarming of the Sadr militia in August and the fighting in Fallujah in November. Most recently, security forces displayed vigilance and preparedness in providing security for the elections.

My colleagues from the Department of Defense are here today to address how we are training the soldiers, and how we are inculcating leadership skills, including through promising experiments with advisory teams. I would like to make two points to add to their remarks:

First, this is an area in which international engagement is necessary and has been forthcoming. On the military side, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has begun its training mission, which will be specializing in officer and staff training. NATO training will expand rapidly as its instructors arrive on the ground in Iraq. Jordan has offered to host some NATO training, and Norway has already hosted a course for senior officers. Other countries are also pitching in, including Egypt, which has trained several hundred soldiers.

On the police side, we have police liaison officers from a number of countries helping with on-the-ground mentoring in Iraq. Again, we should recognize the contribution of Jordan, which has helped us set up the International Police Training Center near Amman. Germany has trained 400 police in the United Arab Emirates, and France has offered out-of-country training to up to 1,500.

Second, security can only move forward in tandem with the political process. Soldiers will fight only if they have something to fight for. In this regard, I would like to highlight the successful cooperation between the Iraqi security forces and the IECI, a partnership that further demonstrated that Iraqi forces will fight for responsible Iraqi political leadership and defend the Iraqi public against aggression.

Mr. Chairman, the security situation in Iraq is still difficult. There are still thousands of insurgents, loose weapons, and explosives are still easily obtained, and terrorists are still able to assassinate and kill. We have seen no diminution in the number of incidents.

But the elections will, I believe, have a longer-term effect on security. They can help to convince those who are sitting on the fence that an elected, legitimate government of Iraq is empowered and here to stay, that it is receiving support from Iraqis of all ethnicities, religions, and provinces; and that, in the end, the solution to their problems lies within the political process, and not with the ranks of the insurgents. By voting, millions of Iraqis have told the insurgents they are not wanted. The Iraqis have decided that security and the freedom to choose are what is important to them. We hope that those Iraqis who have heretofore been undecided will take heart from the courage and democratic yearnings of their fellow citizens, and make the environment much tougher for insurgents to operate in.

Engaging the population in the political process—especially in the process of drafting the new Iraqi constitution—is a key to changing the security environment for the better. As the Iraqi Transitional Government gains the trust of Iraqis, Iraqis will make the country less hospitable to the insurgents. This will take time, patience—and commitment.

It will also require our continued commitment to help the Iraqi people rebuild their country. Iraqis need and deserve to see the quality of their daily lives improved. Hand in hand with increased security, Iraqis want dependable electricity

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and water and medical care. Closely coordinated with the Iraqi Government, our reconstruction efforts have made progress in restoring essential services, expanding the availability of quality medical assistance, rehabilitating public buildings and roads, advising the government on economic and financial reforms, and introducing Iraqis at all levels to the basics of democratic practice and rule of law.

Most of this work occurs out of the media spotlight. It is easy to overlook the progress when compared to the monumental challenges that remain in a country so devastated by decades of conflict and Saddam's neglect. But despite the continuing hardships of their daily lives, Iraqis know and appreciate what donors are doing to help accelerate reconstruction and promote economic and political reform. The election demonstrates the importance of programs to promote democracy and re-forge the links of civil society.

Despite the formidable security challenges, we have now obligated $13 billion (or 62 percent) of the $20.9 billion in Iraq Relief and Reconstruction I and II funds. We have disbursed over $4.7 billion, or 22 percent of the total. We continue to adapt our programs to circumstances on the ground in order to ensure that funding is available for the most urgent needs. We appreciate the support from Congress we have in all these efforts, including recent efforts to reallocate Iraq reconstruction resources.

As we enter this post-election period, our reconstruction efforts will be focused on assisting the Iraqi Transitional Government to improve security, create jobs, develop economic policy and regulatory frameworks, and expand private enterprise. Establishing momentum toward longer-term stability will help improve the climate for other donors and private investors to join the reconstruction and economic development effort, stimulate economic growth, and enable the Iraqis to progressively assume a greater role internationally.

Let me be clear: I think Iraqis are anxious to take on that role. In fact, they have already begun to speak loudly and proudly on the international stage. As President Bush said on the day of the elections, "The people of Iraq have spoken to the world, and the world is hearing the voice of freedom from the center of the Middle East."

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you again for the opportunity to testify about our progress in Iraq. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

Chairman WARNER. Mr. Schlicher, we are going to have to get to the questioning now.

Mr. SCHLICHER. Yes, sir.

Chairman WARNER. I am going to put your full statement in, and I am glad that you acknowledge, as we do, the very valuable work done by our diplomatic corps under Ambassador Negroponte and the many who serve with him in civilian capacities.

Mr. SCHLICHER. Thank you, sir. I will pass that on.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you very much.

We are going to move quickly into a first round, gentlemen, and we hope to have a second round. General, I would like to start with you. The President last night made these remarks which bear directly on the future of the employment of our military forces. I paraphrase him: Our strategy is adapting to circumstances. So my first question would be, what visible changes have there been in strategy and the manner in which we coordinate our responsibilities with the growing, presumably, professional capabilities of the Iraqi security forces?

The President continued: We will not set an artificial timetable. I thoroughly agree with him on that and I would like to have your views on that.

Lastly, the President said: We are in Iraq to achieve a result—a country that is democratic, representative of all of its people, at peace with its neighbors, and able to defend itself. When that result is achieved, our men and women serving in Iraq will return home with the honor they have earned.

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Can you expound on those very wise remarks by our President last night in the State of the Union Address?

General MYERS. Mr. Chairman, I will. I think one of the things that most Americans ought to be proudest of is how U.S. and coalition forces have adapted in Iraq, starting with major combat. But as major combat ended, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was stood up, and that gave way to the current Iraqi Government, which will give way now to a new government.

Over that time frame also we had a change in the opposition and the insurgency built up slowly over the first year and became very intense over the last 6 months for sure. So we have adapted all the way along. Secretary Wolfowitz talked about part of that adaptation as we tried to categorize the sort of Iraqi security forces that were there to help provide for their own security. Initially we tracked those that were on the payroll and realized very quickly that was not sufficient. Then we tracked those that were trained and decided later on that, no, it is not just training; it is training and equipping, and we have to move—one of the adaptations you will see is we are going to have to move—and I think Senator Levin mentioned this in his opening remarks—we are going to have to move to a way where we can start tracking the capability.

This is not easy. We have spent a lot of decades trying to perfect a way to track our true U.S. military capability, and you have to realize in that country without a robust Ministry of Defense, without a robust Ministry of Interior, without the sort of reporting and communications abilities that we have, this will be difficult. But I talked to General Petraeus today and that is certainly one of the adaptations where we have to go.

The other thing, I think yesterday in your briefing with General Sharp and others we talked about, and in my opening statement while we focused on fighting the insurgency, we need to now focus on helping the Iraqis become self-reliant in their own security capability. So you will see some changes in how we do that in some of our emphasis, some of our focus.

That is going to have to occur over time. That is why I think setting time lines—this ought to be conditions-based, not timelines-based, and that is what we have said all along. I hope that we will have support to do that. Certainly that is the President's intention and that is the order we are marching to.

If you will put up that first slide on the mission.

[The information referred to follows:]

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US Mission Statement

The United States will help the Iraqi people build a new Iraq, at peace with its neighbors, with a constitutional, representative government that respects human rights and has security forces sufficient to maintain domestic order and deny Iraq as a safe haven for terrorists.

This is the mission that we have been using and it is in our national strategy, not just military strategy. This is the U.S. mission statement. I think it goes right along with what we heard last night in the State of the Union message and what we have been marching to. But that is our mission. That is in the first few pages of our national strategy.

Chairman WARNER. Can you give us a few specifics? For example, we have received, obviously, through some of our sources the recommendations of General Luck, and I fully understand that Generals Abizaid and Casey are working through that and through the Secretary of Defense and his staff and yourself you will give us more specifics. But generally, we are looking at the option of including relatively small numbers of our forces into the Iraqi units. You might call it embedding. That is a term the American people understand now because of the courage of the journalists actually working with them. This is on a daily basis. They are actually 24 hours a day, 7 days a week right with that unit, doing some training, coordinating, and the like.

Can you expound on that. To me, that is a very important change in our basic tactics.

General MYERS. We have already instituted some assistance, training support, where we essentially do what you just said, Mr. Chairman, and that is to embed trainers with Iraqi units. Of course, our forces, while fighting the insurgency, have also trained the National Guard Forces, who in many cases work right along side our forces.

So this is just an extension of that, realizing that when you talk about capability with the Iraqi security forces it is a function of several things. It is certainly a function of leadership. It is a function of motivation. It is a function of training, experience, and the infrastructure they have to operate. It is a function of the equipment they have.

One of the things, of course, we do well is we can help them in many of these areas in terms of mentorship. We can also bring them real capability. We often throw around the term, which is an-

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other acronym, but "C4I," which is command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence. If you think about it in terms of Iraqi forces, command and control, we can help with that because we bring the next "C", which is communications. We can help with moving——

Chairman WARNER. Let me just finish up. In summary then, in every way we are recognizing the growing competence of the Iraqi forces and enabling them to go into positions and missions which formerly were performed by our forces; am I correct in that?

General MYERS. Well, obviously the goal is that, to get them to take over.

Chairman WARNER. They certainly exhibited that on election day. That gave them a tremendous sense of confidence. I would hope that momentum—as a matter of fact, am I mistaken, some 2,000 or 3,000 Iraqis have volunteered in the last 72 hours to join their military forces? That is a clear manifestation.

General MYERS. Yes, sir. General Petraeus said in the last 2 days that there have been 2,500 people on each day trying to sign up——

Chairman WARNER. On each day?

General MYERS. On each day, trying to sign up.

Chairman WARNER. Well, that is a strong sign. Thank you.

General MYERS. Yes, they have been empowered.

Chairman WARNER. Mr. Secretary, the coming government as it begins to take charge, what changes in terms of their relationship with the direction and the operation of our troops do you anticipate, and will there be a new status of forces agreement to give adequate protection to our troops and its missions?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. If I could preface that, Mr. Chairman, by responding to your question about the changes in strategy the President referred to. I think it is important to help people understand that we have adapted to circumstances as we find them on the ground. I think the most significant change was what we saw in the elections on Sunday, because, as you recall, Ambassador Bremer's original plan was to keep the CPA in operation as an occupation authority until the end of this year. When it became clear in the summer of 2003 that that was not a satisfactory way to go forward, first we talked about a transfer of sovereignty to an appointed government. When the Iraqi reaction was, well, wait a minute, particularly from Sistani in particular, but I think more broadly, we would like an elected government, we came up with the plan that the President announced in I believe it was in the fall of 2003, which has produced first the interim government on June 28 and now this election.

We need to be prepared to adapt further. As you correctly point out, we are going to have what is called a transitional government, which will be elected, which now has authority under the U.N. resolution that the previous government did not have, to negotiate a status of forces agreement, a security agreement. You can call it different things, but it is the arrangement under which coalition forces will continue to operate in Iraq.

Also, as we have said over and over again, if they want us to leave they have the authority to ask us to leave.

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Chairman WARNER. Yes. Very clearly both the President and the Prime Minister said unequivocally that for the time being it is essential that these coalition forces remain in place.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I think that is clear.

Chairman WARNER. Senator Levin.

Senator LEVIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We have been given a sheet of paper I guess that comes from the Department of State, but which carries the estimate that we had as of January 19, 125,373 trained on-hand Iraqi security forces. General, I would like to ask you the first question. Approximately how many of these Iraqi security forces are would you say fully-trained and equipped and capable and ready to neutralize insurgents? Give us an estimate. Is it half? Is it two-thirds? Is it one-third?

General MYERS. Let me put up that other chart, on the train and equip. We will just put the chart up. I think it uses the same numbers, Senator Levin, that you have, so everybody can see them.

[The information referred to follows:]

Current Status of Trained and Equipped Iraqi Security Forces

Ministry of Interior Forces

COMPONENT	TRAINED & EQUIPPED
POLICE	57,290
HIGHWAY PATROL	
OTHER MOI FORCES	21,826
TOTAL	79,116*

Ministry of Defense Forces

COMPONENT	OPERATIONAL
ARMY	56,284
AIR FORCE	139
NAVY	526
TOTAL	56, 949**

Total Trained & Equipped ISF:

136,065

* Ministry of Interior Forces: Unauthorized absences personnel are included in these numbers

** Ministry of Defense Forces: Unauthorized absences personnel are not included in these numbers

Data as of 31 Jan 05

A couple of things about the numbers. These are, as you correctly said, these are trained and equipped. So in some cases those numbers are folks that have been trained and equipped a while back and have great capabilities. In other cases they are just fresh out of training. I might add, though, the training has very high standards and it is also tailored to the specific units, because, as you have seen before, there are several different types of police units, there are several different types of Iraqi Army units and Navy and Air Force units buried in those numbers. So it is complex.

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You will also notice that for the Ministry of Defense we think we are counting the actual numbers that are on duty. In the Ministry of Interior we have a lot less confidence that our numbers include those that may be absent from their duty station. The reporting there, the Ministry of Interior just put out a new policy where they are going to issue new ID cards and do a complete accounting of their forces.

Of those numbers, Senator, you cannot give one number. Of those numbers that are deployable around the nation to meet the most pressing needs, General Petraeus says 48 battalions, which is about—and that is police and Ministry of Defense battalions, and that is about 40,000 that can go anywhere in the country and take on almost any threat.

It does not mean the rest of them are not useful, because in many parts of the country all you need are police on duty, and police on duty in the southern part of the country are very useful doing police duties down there. So that is what I mentioned earlier when I was trying to answer Chairman Warner's question, is that we have to devise better ways to track their overall capacity, and that is one of the things we are going to do.

Senator LEVIN. Would you be able to give us an estimate as to what percentage, just an estimate, of the 136,000 are in my description fully-trained and equipped, capable and ready to neutralize the insurgents? Would you give us a percentage, a rough estimate? Half, two-thirds, one-third?

General MYERS. I think what I just said was that there are 48 deployable units around the country, which equals about 40,000 men, which is the number that can go anywhere and do anything. No, I cannot give you an estimate because that capacity and capability is building every day and it varies widely, as I just tried to describe. So it is difficult to do that.

It is, by the way, as we try to describe our own forces, you may remember there have been times when a U.S. Army division will come back from combat and they will go from reporting C–1, which is our highest level of readiness, to reporting C–3, and people ask the question: Well, wait a minute; they just came out of combat; are they not exquisitely trained and prepared and motivated? The answer is, yes, but then they come back and they take leave and they do other things.

So we even have a harder time describing in these numbers because we do not have the exquisite system yet to do that. It is not just our system. It is a system the Iraqis have to devise with their Ministry of Defense and their Ministry of Interior.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Levin——

Senator LEVIN. I am going to run out of time here.

If I could just ask you about that specific number. Yesterday we were given a chart which says "Department of State," which had a total of 130,000, but did not break down the components by number. We were told that that was classified. But now today you are giving us apparently unclassified numbers for police. I am very glad. I was going to raise havoc here this morning with the Department of State for giving us just a total without a breakdown of the components and I was going to ask them whether or not this rep-

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resents a new approach of not giving us the breakdown component by component.

But I gather from the fact that you have given us a January 31, 2005, listing of components with numbers, General, that that is going to continue to be an unclassified approach. Is that fair to say?

General MYERS. Yes, sir. Yes, Senator.

Senator LEVIN. Now, General, could you give us an estimate as to how many insurgents there are? Here is the reason I ask you that question: General Casey, who is the MNF–I Commander, said just last week that Coalition Forces had killed or captured about 15,000 suspected insurgents last year. He went on to say that this means that the previous U.S. estimates of an insurgent force of 6 to 9,000 fighters were clearly inaccurate.

In response to a question, he stated that he thought that a recent estimate by Iraq's intelligence chief that the insurgency numbered as many as 40,000 hardcore fighters or—excuse me—or 200,000 when part-time combatants and sympathizers were included, was too high an estimate. That is what General Casey said last week.

Could you give us an estimate of the number of insurgents that we are facing, both hardcore fighters and then that second figure that was used by the Iraq intelligence chief of part-time combatants and sympathizers, just a rough estimate?

General MYERS. Sir, I will have to do that for the record, if we can get that from the Intelligence Community. We do not have the insight into those numbers in most cases to provide a good estimate that would be a fair thing to throw in front of the committee right now.

What I can say is that there is a good intelligence report out just recently by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that details an individual and what motivated this individual to participate in the insurgency. As General Luck stated when he came back—and we have described the threat I think very accurately several times in front of the committee in closed session. So we know the elements of the threat very well. But to put numbers, accurate numbers, against them, because there are so many fence-sitters—and fence-sitters can be very dangerous. They can have an occupation by day and then plant an improvised explosive device (IED) at night, and they can attack the coalition, they can attack Iraqi security forces, they can attack Iraqi citizens.

I think one of the things that we know from the elections, there will be a lot less fence-sitters because they saw their fellow citizens go out and vote. I think that will help.

But to come up with accurate estimates is just very difficult in this type of insurgency.

[The information referred to follows:]

The Defense Intelligence Agency/J–2 assess current insurgent strength is between 10,000–20,000. It is further estimated that an additional 1,100–1,200 foreign fighters are active in the insurgency; however, the National Intelligence Council recently determined that current methods for determining insurgent manpower trends in Iraq are too uncertain and ill-suited to be used in gauging the evolving strategic strength of the insurgency. Insurgents drift in and out of active participation as the political environment and their personal situation evolves. Moreover, robust criminal networks act as insurgent and extremist force multipliers.

Many Sunni Arabs, motivated by fear, financial incentive, perceptions of marginalization and exclusion from Iraqi government and security institutions act

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as insurgent sympathizers or "fence-sitters," capable of supporting the insurgency. The estimated 2.5 million Sunni Arab males in Iraq will remain an insurgent recruiting pool and support network as long as the social, economic, and historical grievances persist.

Individual coalition insurgent capture and kills have modest impact on the overall strength of the insurgency due to insurgent regeneration. In addition to active sympathizers, the former regime's military and security apparatus provides a pool of well-trained personnel. Pre-Operation Iraqi Freedom uniformed military and security personnel are contributing skill sets, organization and leadership to insurgent cells.

Senator LEVIN. Is it fair to say it is more than a few or a handful?

General MYERS. Certainly, yes.

Senator LEVIN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you very much.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. I want to thank the witnesses and we share their exuberance as we take this victory lap over the elections. We are indeed encouraged and optimistic about the future. I also think that we should view it with some concern because we know that it is going to be a rather long and difficult experience.

General Myers, I am disappointed that you do not have even a rough estimate of the number of insurgents. I do not know how you defeat an insurgency unless you have some handle on the number of people that you are facing.

General MYERS. We do have estimates. I said I would provide them. Most of them are classified——

Senator MCCAIN. I am surprised you do not have them readily at hand.

General MYERS. The ones I have seen——

Senator MCCAIN. Since it is a fundamental aspect of the conflict that we are facing.

General MYERS. Right.

Senator MCCAIN. I do not have much time. Secretary Wolfowitz——

General MYERS. They are classified, Senator. I will get them to you. I will get the classified numbers to you.

Senator MCCAIN. I think the American people should know the nature of the enemy that we are facing. I am not sure that classified numbers are appropriate here.

Secretary Wolfowitz, what level of U.S. forces would you expect us to maintain for the next 6 months or the next year?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I think we will be able to come down to the level that was projected before this election. Senator, we overlapped our deployments and extended the, I guess it was, Operation Iraqi Freedom 3 (OIF–3) so that we get a bump-up of about 15,000 to cover the elections, which I think was, in hindsight, a prudent thing to do.

We believe that we can come down by that 15,000, which I think would bring us—General Myers knows the numbers better than I—I think to about 17 brigades, about 135,000 troops. That is what we are looking at——

Senator MCCAIN. I would just like a number.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Pardon?

Senator MCCAIN. I would just like a number.

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Secretary WOLFOWITZ. 135,000.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you.

In the case of this continuing question about fully trained and equipped Iraqis, one of the reasons why there are continuous questions is because of the various setbacks we have had in the training and equipping of the Iraqis, and we know how important it is for them to assume those responsibilities.

I think it would be—and I made the suggestion yesterday that we go to a grading system, such as we use for U.S. forces—we do not know how many individual American soldiers are fully-trained and equipped, but we do grade their units. Perhaps we could at some point get a better handle as to unit readiness, and that would help us in assessing their ability to take on the tasks.

By the way, how many of the—it says "Unauthorized absences personnel not included in the numbers" of the Ministry of Defense forces. How many unauthorized absences are there?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. There is a considerable number, in part, Senator, because the whole notion of absence in their system is different from ours and in part because of, frankly, the mechanics involved in paying. There is no way for a soldier to send a check to his family in southern Iraq, so he has to take the cash and travel with it.

I think the level—it is hard to say whether it is authorized or unauthorized, but I would say—and General Myers, please correct me—that on average for the fill-in units, it is about 60 percent. One of the things that General Luck is looking at is what can be done to get that up.

What you say, sir, I think is absolutely correct. It is units that really are most important. One of the reasons these numbers seem to change constantly is because a lot of experimentation is going on with units. We had I believe on June 28, when the interim government took over, only one battalion that was considered deployable and there are now 45 such units. My sense is that is one of the most important measures. It is still maybe 20 percent of the total force, but it is the most important part of the force.

Senator MCCAIN. I agree. Again, I think that combat readiness of units is probably a far more accurate indicator of our ability to carry out the mission.

I want to talk just for a minute about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). We continue to hear about NATO involvement. At one time there was going to be a NATO training battalion and other involvement. What is the current level of NATO involvement in training and what are the plans for increasing it?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. General Myers?

General MYERS. NATO has agreed to take on training at staff college level, officer and noncommissioned officer (NCO) development, and NATO nations have done some of that outside Iraq. For instance, Germany is training truck drivers on specific equipment they are donating to the Iraqi forces in the United Arab Emirates. But the status inside Iraq is they are in the process of standing that capability up inside Iraq to provide the higher level education of the officer and the Iraqi NCO corps.

Senator MCCAIN. That is the extent of NATO involvement?

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General MYERS. To this point, I think that is where they are focused. They are looking at things that they can do in the future and, of course, we are always hopeful they will want to provide more.

Senator MCCAIN. Well, Mr. Secretary, I would, since we have such an enormous strain on our Active, Guard, and Reserve Forces, place a high priority on a common interest that we and our NATO allies have, and that is to see democracy established in Iraq. It seems to me it is now in our NATO allies' interest as well as ours to see that happen. I would give a very high priority to consultations with our NATO allies to see if there are ways they can help us.

I do not think we are going to get a lot more troops there, but there certainly is a myriad of ways that our NATO allies could assist us in training and equipping, relieving us of some of our noncombat responsibilities and others, because I think there are many of us who are aware that this burden that has been placed on our present-sized Active-Duty, Guard, and Reserve Forces is a very heavy one. It seems to me that after this election has proven to our NATO allies that we can win this thing, they should take a fresh look at assisting us.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator, I think you are absolutely right. The numbers are not where we would like them in terms of NATO contribution. I think you are right, there is an opportunity now to boost those numbers. I think also that we need to look at whether some of our coalition partners might better participate in training than in some of the sort of fixed site protection they are doing now, which is much less needed. I think it is something we should be taking up.

I think you will be going to Vercunda. I am sure you will take it up and I think it is important.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. By the way, on that point, if I just might add one other thing. The number of trainers is in some ways—the total number may not sound demanding, but since you need capable field grade officers for training, you are taking those numbers out of a much more limited pool. I think NATO has a lot of very capable field grade officers and it would be a wonderful thing for them to contribute more.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WARNER. I wish to associate myself with Senator McCain's observation about NATO participation. I just checked with staff. My own recollection is that NATO made the announcement in July that they were going to go in there and start that training program. Would you supply the committee with the number of boots on the ground and what they have achieved in this period of time? Because that is a fairly significant lapse of period of time and I just wanted to know how far along they are on this program. But I do not want to interfere with other members going.

General Myers, on the important question asked by Senator McCain, the threat from these insurgents and the quantum, I asked that question in closed briefings yesterday and they said, "We are building up the Iraqi forces in proportion to what we perceive that threat would be." So I am confident there are some fig-

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ures out there, and I think it is important that we release these figures publicly, with regard to the magnitude and the quality of the insurgency that is being mounted in the past and we hope will begin to attenuate in the future, given the extraordinary performance by so many over the weekend.

Did you have an opportunity to——

General MYERS. Mr. Chairman, let me just talk a little bit more about it. Part of the reticence is that the numbers I see are normally classified, so in an open hearing I am a little reluctant to release that. If that is the wish, then we will look at that, of course.

I think we have a pretty good handle on the number of foreign fighters that are in Iraq. We generally say around a thousand or so. But there are for instance, criminals. General Luck comes back and tells us that he thinks a lot of the activity we are seeing is just basic criminal activity. How many criminals there are in Iraq is pretty difficult to tell in any country. So that is why I am hesitant just to throw out a number of what the enemy is, because the character of the enemy is so different. Zarqawi, who is absolutely amoral, will do anything, will kill anybody to achieve his view of the world, is different from the fence-sitter that I described, of which there are probably thousands, but who on any given day or depending on how the situation is going might be willing to join the political process in Iraq.

So it is a very difficult thing to get our hands around and throwing out one number probably does not do the complexity of the threat justice. We will provide it to the committee and as we can we will work with those who classify it to declassify it. There are parts of it that are classified.

[The information referred to follows:]

At the time of the testimony, DOD was still working on the possible declassification of the size and nature of the insurgent threat. As stated later by Secretary Rumsfeld in the annual Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2006 hearing on February 17, 2005:

"On the insurgency question, one can't help but agree with you. In a perfect world you would like very much to have a good grip on the numbers.

You, obviously, have access to the classified different views that exist within the government and they're all qualified by saying it's a moving target and it's difficult to pin down.

Since I didn't do these, I can't declassify them myself. But I can certainly ask the Intelligence Community to what extent they're willing to declassify the estimates as to the insurgency.

I think the important thing, as you hinted at, is that the insurgents are, first of all, a moving target. They're not static. The numbers change.

Second, they're made up of different elements, criminals, Baathists, the former regime elements, the Zarqawi network and jihadists. Even though the jihadists are the smallest portion of them, they appear to us to be the most lethal; they're the ones that are doing the most damage.

The recruiting base is fairly large if you think of criminals in that country and people who are available to be recruited. So how successful we are in reducing the money is a big part of how big the insurgency is.

So it's a dilemma. It would be nice to have a hard number, but my fear is that the number would change from week to week."

Chairman WARNER. Thank you very much.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Chairman, could I just mention why this is important?

Chairman WARNER. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. We went from a few dead-enders to killing or capturing 15,000 in the period of a year, and that is why there is

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a certain credibility problem here as to the size and nature of the enemy we face. It is our responsibility to provide the wherewithal to conduct the conflict and if we go from a few dead-enders to 15,000 killed or injured, and without any good handle on the threat that we are facing, I think it is hard for us to do our job and it is hard for the American people to realize how difficult is the task that lies ahead of us.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Kennedy.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Mr. Chairman, do you want the NATO numbers? Because I did find them.

Chairman WARNER. Quickly.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Very quickly, the total mission size is 459 personnel and 30 percent of that is U.S. Of the other 70 percent, there are still some 50 spots that are not filled, and the initial operating capability is scheduled for February 20. It is in my view a first step, and I encourage all of you to urge more steps. It is the right direction, but it needs to go faster.

Chairman WARNER. There has been sufficient time.

Senator Kennedy.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I think all of us take extraordinary pride in the incredible achievement of the Iraqis and their willingness to vote in these past elections. I think all of us take recognition of that.

Of course, the United States for some 200 years has been a beacon of hope to peoples all over the world. I can remember when democracy was restored in Chile, turning out Pinochet. I remember when it was restored with Alfonsin in Argentina. I remember the people that waited 72 hours—because one gentleman was 72 years old—to get a vote in South Africa. So we have seen over the period of history that America has had a very important impact in terms of seeing the march towards democratic regimes.

But now we have in Iraq, in listening to what is going to be determined as success as defined by Mr. Wolfowitz, the governmental agencies are going to be up and they are going to be functioning. There are going to be compromises. Iraqis are going to need help. We are going to be helpful to them in reaching compromises. Iraqi security forces are going to be up and trained. They are going to be related to the number of terrorists, and yet we are unsure—one thing we are sure is the total number is increasing. They are going to have a legal and judicial system that is going to protect all rights of people. It is going to give equal justice under law. We are also going to protect justices and develop the capability of bombing experts. Then we are going to put pressure on Syria and other countries.

You talk about mission creep. Where is Osama bin Laden? This whole process started as the war on terror. This started with weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). This started with the alleged fact that Iraq was involved, as later disproved, with the terrorists. Now we hear the spokesman for the administration talking about the maintenance of American personnel and troops, where we have already lost over the 1,400, and they are going to be there until some governmental agencies are functioning effectively. Many people do not think governmental agencies are functioning effectively here in

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this country. They will be there until the Iraqi security forces are up and trained, as well as the legal-judicial system.

America, listen to that. How long are we going to be there? That is why we went to Iraq? That is why we went to Iraq? We have our forces over there.

Now, given the extraordinary achievements and accomplishments of this last week, where the Iraqi people indicated that they want to control their own political destiny, people ask me, how long is it going to take to train Iraqis to fight for their own country, to shed their own blood, as Americans are doing it?

My wife has a nephew. Let us just call him Charles William. I will spare his last name. He is from Shreveport, Louisiana. A little over 8 months ago he joined the United States Army. He went for 12 weeks to Fort Benning and got infantry training. He had 10 days off, then he went to Fort Lewis, where he got his equipment. He was supposed to go to Kuwait for additional training. He went directly to Mosul. He is a tail gunner on a Stryker. Nine personnel in that. He is the oldest one. They call him "Pops." He is just back here now after 8 months over there and he is rotating back.

This soldier wants to stay in the military. But he had that amount of training and he is over there representing the best of the best.

You are getting 2,500 people that want to join that Iraqi military. You have the 127,000 or 140,000 you think are equipped. When are the Iraqis going to fight for their own country? When are they going to start shedding that kind of blood?

We are all proud of those individuals, Mr. Secretary, that exhibited this extraordinary heroism on election day. No one is begrudging that. We are all proud of that. We have other times in American history. We are proud of our service men and women. We want to know when the Iraqis are going to go out there and shed their blood, as American service men with this amount of training are willing to shed theirs.

Is that going to take 4 months? Is it going to take 12 months? Is that asking too much? Is it asking too much that after the new administration takes over we are going to say, look, okay, in 12 months we will start drawing down some of our troops? Are we prepared to say that after 18 months we should be able to get a good many of our troops out, with the goal of getting the rest of ours out of Iraq, as I have stated?

When in the world are we going to have the Iraqis being able, and why in the world cannot we expect them to take on these responsibilities when American service men are doing it and they are losing their lives, and American taxpayers are paying out? How long are we going to do this? Mr. Secretary?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Kennedy, first of all I recall vividly that same process you described, the advance of democracy in the 1980s. I was at the State Department playing some role in supporting the transition to democracy in the Philippines when Ferdinand Marcos was removed peacefully, the following year when Korea established its first democracy in history, one which has proven to be vital and viable. I witnessed that process in Indonesia, where I was ambassador. It took longer than I would have liked, but that country is on a march toward democracy.

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It is an impressive movement. People want freedom, they want to pick their own representatives. There is something importantly different in Iraq. In all the cases that you mentioned and that I just mentioned, these people were not fighting the remnants of a regime that was as brutal and as evil as Stalin or Hitler. That is what the Iraqi people are facing.

The level of intimidation is extraordinary, and they are facing it bravely. They are shedding their blood. As I mentioned in my opening comments, nearly 1,400 by our count. As I said, I think we underestimate. We count our people by name. We are not so good at counting Iraqis. 1,342 Iraqi soldiers and policemen have died in the line of duty fighting for a new Iraq, and those numbers are going up faster, not that we want to see any numbers go up, those numbers are going up faster than ours.

They are assuming more and more responsibility. One of our principal objectives here—we are not going to wait until they have functioning governmental institutions before we hand over security to Iraqi forces. But what I said in my comments is they will be able to handle the job sooner the more effective their government is at functioning. This is not just a military task.

But our goal is to get them up and capable as fast as possible. That is one of the principal considerations that I know General Casey and General Abizaid will have in mind when they make recommendations on things like force levels. The goal is not just to get our people home if that leaves the people who are still there in greater danger. The real thing is to get Iraqis on the front lines and Americans in a supporting role.

Senator Levin referred earlier to Korea. We have had for over 50 years a strategy for winning in Korea, a strategy for preserving peace on the peninsula and creating conditions under which the Koreans have been able to create one of the most impressive democracies in the world. We have not left. We have not exited yet. But with some tragic exceptions over the course of that 50 years, we have been able to avoid a war and keep Americans from dying.

I think that is what we have to keep our eye on here. I think you will see that process proceed. I have talked to some of our commanders in the area. They believe that over the course of the next 6 months you will see whole areas of Iraq successfully handed over to the Iraqi Army and Iraqi police. But what we do not want to do is prematurely hand over an area and then create a place where the enemy can organize and operate. I think you can see over the last couple years there have been a couple such mistakes. We do not want to repeat them.

Senator KENNEDY. My time is up.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I know that we are all very aware that the cut-and-runners are out there and they are sincere. I think the argument out there that should not be there any longer is that there is reason for the insurgency that is out there, to protest the American occupation there, American troops there, as opposed to the fact that it was a long-calculated risk.

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I would like to read from three publications that are certainly not Republican publications. In October 2003 Newsweek reported: "The terrorist campaign was planned by Saddam Hussein and his lieutenants, and Iraqi agents bought vast quantities of detonators, timers, and wiring supplies, as well as a coordinated guerilla and war strategy hatched before the invasion of Iraq."

Last April, The New York Times reported that: "The Iraqi officers of the special operations and antiterrorism branch were responsible for the planted IEDs and some of the larger car bombs in Iraq," and "they had prepared explosive-laden vests for suicide bombers before the war."

In December U.S. News and World Report disclosed that "Saddam sent more than 1,000 security and intelligence officers to military facilities near Baghdad in the fall of 2002 for 2 months of guerrilla training."

I would just like to ask for a short answer, Mr. Secretary and Mr. Schlicher. The continuation of violence in Iraq, is it a popular uprising stemming from the U.S. presence there or part of a calculated campaign by Saddam Hussein's security apparatus? Just a short answer.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Inhofe, I think there is a growing body of evidence that we are dealing with Saddam Hussein's security apparatus, that some degree of what we are confronting—and maybe a large amount—was prepared before the war. If you read the Duelfer report carefully, which almost no one has, you will see it in there. I reference in my testimony his religious adviser who was recruiting foreign fighters before the war.

In testimony before this committee, I have shown passports of foreign fighters that came in from Syria in March 2003 during the major combat phase. One of them crossed the border with an entry in his visa permit, and the stated purpose of visit was to perform jihad. Syrian intelligence knew what this guy was doing. Iraqi intelligence knew what this guy was doing. It was Iraqi intelligence that moved this guy down south where our marines killed him.

One of the problems with answering the question that we heard earlier about numbers of enemy is that, I would say, one of the few strengths this enemy has beyond its brutality is the ability to keep secrets. In fact, the brutality is part of how it does keep secrets. So we are trying to figure out how much of what appears to be a growth in enemy is simply a growth in our estimates of the enemy, because we are learning more about them and how much is in their ability to recruit more.

I have to say, I was personally somewhat pleasantly surprised by what appeared to be a relatively ineffective attack on January 30. I thought they were capable of much more than they showed and I do not think anyone would say they were holding back.

But as to your question, I think to some very large degree we are fighting the old regime. There are, by the way, within Zarqawi's network former members of the Special Security Organization, former members of the Special Republican Guards. This is not a simple independent operation.

Senator INHOFE. This bothers me. It always bothers me to have people continuously say that there is not a relationship between al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein, Zarqawi, the training that was taking

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place there. We knew that before the invasion took place. I think you probably agree with that statement, do you not?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I do. As Secretary Powell pointed out to the U.N., a man like Zarqawi does not hang around in a police state like Iraq without somebody noticing he is there.

Senator INHOFE. I do not want to run out of time here, so I am going to, with your indulgence—tonight, Senator Thune and I are going to Iraq and we have a number of things we want to do there. First of all, we want to see what it looks like after the election. But I have another mission. I was very proud of a very courageous Lieutenant Colonel, Tim Ryan, the Commander of Task Force 2, 12th Cavalry, in the First Cavalry Division in Iraq. He led the troops into battle in Fallujah late last year and recently was involved in security operations.

He is not afraid to come out and talk about it, and I am going to actually quote from an article that he has written. I plan to meet with him. I plan to talk to other soldiers over there. To me, the most effective voice we can have to getting the truth out about our victories in Iraq is from our soldiers themselves.

He said: "All right, I have had enough. I am tired of reading distorted and grossly exaggerated stories from major news organizations about the failures of the war in Iraq. The inaccurate picture they paint has distorted the world view of the daily realities in Iraq. The result is a further erosion of international support for United States efforts there and a strengthening of the insurgents' resolve and recruiting efforts, while weakening our own. Through their incomplete, uninformed, and unbalanced reporting, many members of the media covering the war in Iraq are aiding and abetting the enemy." That is pretty strong. "From where I sit in Iraq"—and he is sitting where he knows things we do not know—"things are going quite well. We are not under attack by the enemy. On the contrary, we are taking the fight to him daily and have him on the ropes. Fallujah, the area around the former insurgent stronghold, is more peaceful than it has been for more than a year. The total number of attacks in the greater al-Anbar Province is down by at least 70 to 80 percent since late last October."

Still quoting now: "Why do not the papers lead with 'Coalition crushes remaining pockets of insurgents' or 'Enemy forces resort to suicide bombings of civilians'? Instead, headlines focus almost exclusively on our hardship. The key to the enemy's success is use of his limited assets to gain the greatest influence over the masses. The media serves as that glass through which a relatively small event can be magnified to international proportions, and many of the enemy is exploiting this with incredible ease. This is not good for the news, to counteract this. So the enemy scores a victory almost every day as a result of the media."

Every time I come back from over there I feel like I am coming back as a truth squad to tell the American people what these kids come up and tell me, the ones who are in the lines, risking their lives, and recognizing that they have a mission that is the most significant mission perhaps that any soldier has ever had on the battlefield before.

So I would only say that if we are going to encourage them to do this, I would hope that, General Myers, as you talk to people

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you will encourage them to come out and tell the truth about what is going on, the great job that we are doing over there. It does not require an answer.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General MYERS. Thank you, Senator.

Chairman WARNER. I think we should give the witnesses the opportunity if they wish to respond. It is an important observation that you made.

General Myers, you looked as if you wanted to add.

General MYERS. Well, I am just very sympathetic to what Senator Inhofe said. I have a chance to speak at many different forums around this country and I always tell them that you would be better off if you could just beam in one soldier, sailor, airman, or marine that is over there in Iraq or Afghanistan. If you could just beam them in, pick a social security number at random and ask them to come up here and tell you what they think, you will get it straight and you will be proud of their understanding of the problem and their devotion to the mission. So I just identify myself with those remarks and I think that is absolutely right.

Chairman WARNER. I thank you, General.

Senator Reed.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. You can beam them in. You can go to I think it is worldtribune.com for that particular account. I found a lot of valuable information that is not in our main news media, both from Americans in Iraq and from Iraqis in Iraq, that appears on these Web sites. It is a fascinating phenomenon. I quote it, too, in my testimony.

Chairman WARNER. In the next round I intend to invite Mr. Schlicher to give his views as to how the Arab press has covered the elections. But I will wait for that time.

Senator Reed.

Senator REED. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, gentlemen. Mr. Secretary, you indicated to Senator McCain that you anticipate 135,000 troops to be in Iraq next year. By rough calculation that is about $50 billion. Will those funds be in the President's budget that is submitted in the next few days?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. They will be in the supplemental request which will come up shortly after the budget.

Senator REED. So we are already looking at a supplemental budget for operations this year, I believe?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Correct.

Senator REED. These troops next year will be paid out of the supplemental budget that is going to be considered in the next few months?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Well, you will have a supplemental budget request that will be up here for fiscal year 2005, along with a fiscal year 2006 authorization request. The fiscal year 2006 authorization request will not make a prediction about what we think our force levels will be in 2006. Those will be covered in the second supplemental. We plan to fund the 2006 expenditures for Iraq and Afghanistan with another supplemental request in fiscal year 2006.

Senator REED. So we can assume that we will consider an $80 billion supplemental this year for 2005 and we will have already

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anticipated a $50 billion or more supplemental in 2006, is that accurate?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I would not predict 2006. I was asked what force levels we are planning on, I thought, over the next 6 months or through the end of this calendar year, and I said we are planning on 135,000, and that is not a prediction. That is a planning factor. If we can bring those numbers down intelligently, we will always work to bring them down.

But let me make an important point here. At roughly $4 billion a month for our forces, if we can bring Iraqi forces up more quickly by keeping Americans in Iraq a little bit longer, just in cost alone it is a worthwhile tradeoff, and in terms of American lives at risk it is an even more worthwhile tradeoff.

As I said earlier in comment to Senator Kennedy, we want to do whatever we need to do to increase Iraqi capability as fast as possible. That may mean a little more investment at the front end in our capabilities so that we bring them on line faster.

Senator REED. Mr. Secretary, I do not argue with your logic, but I think that logic suggests rather strongly that it is more than a planning estimate, that it is probably the best estimate right now of roughly 130,000 troops, 17 brigades, in Iraq through the end of 2006. I think officials of the Army have indicated that. In fact, I think I would not be surprised if even the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander would support that estimate.

So to sit here and suggest that we are going to consider an $80 billion supplemental for this year, but we should not even think about a significant $50 billion supplemental next year, I think is a little disingenuous.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator, I did not say there will not be a significant supplemental in 2006. I said I cannot tell you what the size of it will be. General Myers may comment. I do not think CENTCOM makes a prediction about what we will need in 2006.

I think we have a reasonably good fix on what we will need through the end of this calendar year and certainly through the end of this fiscal year, and the Army general you referred to I think is making a prudent assumption about what he may be asked to provide forces for. But what we will actually need in calendar year 2006, unless General Myers has a different estimate, I think it would be a wild guess at this point.

General MYERS. That is correct, Senator Reed. The process that both the Army uses and that we use on the Joint Staff, trying to source what General Abizaid in CENTCOM and General Casey needs, we do a lot of worst case planning because of the stress on the force, so we can make sure we can fulfil what we think would be the worst case needs.

But those are not the predictions. That will be up to General Abizaid and General Casey, and they continually think through those. So to say that our worst case planning is going to reflect reality, that is not correct.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. But there will be, I would predict, a substantial request for supplemental funding in fiscal year 2006.

General MYERS. Right, that is right.

Senator REED. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. I think we all can agree upon that.

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Let me get one other metric. If the figure is 136,000 troops, it would roughly equate to about $50 billion?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I would want to check that for the record, but I think for Iraq alone that is right.

[The information referred to follows:]

Your metric is roughly correct. The Fiscal Year 2005 Supplemental Appropriations request includes about $56 billion for Operation Iraqi Freedom based on an assumption that deployment levels for U.S. military personnel deployed to Iraq will return to about 138,000 troops by the summer of 2005—after reaching about 160,000 in January 2005 because of the Iraqi national elections.

Senator REED. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Remember, the $80 billion includes Afghanistan as well as Iraq and some other things as well.

Senator REED. Thank you.

General Myers, you indicated when you had your chart up, that chart in fact, that these are very high standards these troops are being exposed to in terms of their training. How long is the training for a Ministry of Defense soldier, either National Guard or military?

General MYERS. I will have to make sure I get this to you for the record. It varies by the type of unit.

Senator REED. Let us just say, what is the average?

General MYERS. The average, I will get back to you exactly. I will get you all the units and I will break out the averages.

Senator REED. You do not have sort of just a rough notion of how long these troops are being trained?

General MYERS. Sir, several months. But there are so many different types of units buried in those numbers that I would like to give you specifically by unit. There are some units there that are—the regular Army, for a regular Army individual, 12 weeks. There is some basic training that goes on for 8 weeks and there is 4 weeks of cadre training.

For the National Guard it is 3 weeks of basic training and then 4 weeks of collective training. For the intervention force, which is a little bit higher level force and some of those forces that we talked about earlier that are deployable around the country and that can handle the bigger threats, it is 8 weeks of basic training, 4 weeks of cadre training, and then some urban operation training that goes on for 5 weeks. Then you get up into the special forces type units and they have 13 weeks on top of all that. I can provide that for the record if you wish.

[The information referred to follows:]

Iraqi Regular Army (RA): Officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in the Iraqi RA begin their training with a 4-week cadre preparation course. This course is designed to make the officers and NCOs effective instructors so they can eventually teach and train their own troops. The cadre course covers leadership, training, techniques, weapons training, and tactics. Following this cadre training of the officers and NCOs, basic trainees are introduced into their units to be taught by these new instructors, under the supervision of Multi-National Security Transition Command-Iraq (MNSTC–I).

Basic Training is 5 weeks long although the entire 1st week is considered the selection and in-processing week. After 4 weeks every soldier is sent to skills training, which runs from a minimum of 5 weeks (Iraqi Medic Course) to as long as 7 weeks (Infantry Course). The cadre teaches their own soldiers physical training, soldier discipline, basic infantry skills, weapons training, land navigation, and squad-level tactics. This method of having the officers and NCOs train their own troops is used

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so that unit cohesion can be quickly established between the officers, NCOs, and soldiers.

Following graduation, soldiers are sent to their units for collective training following a training program outlined by MNC–I. This program consists of a series of collective training gates each squad, platoon, company, etc., must pass through to be considered initially operationally qualified and eventually fully operationally qualified.

Selectees from each unit are sent to attend the four levels of NCO training, Squad Leader Course, Platoon Sergeant Course, Company Warrant Officer Course, or Battalion Command Sergeants Major School. Currently, only the first two courses are being offered and the latter two begin in August as a pilot program. Only infrastructure limits the number of attendees, not the course itself. By the end of August, we anticipate a throughput of over 1,000 soldiers per month in the Noncommissioned Officers' Educational System.

Selectees from each unit are also sent to branch school training for enhanced skills education. This includes front line NCOs, supervising NCOs, and both the Company and Battalion-level officers. Currently we are training all logistics specialties, including transportation, medical, supply, maintenance management, and personnel management. The engineer and military police schools conduct leader training concurrent with a collective training formal program. Combat unit training includes a combat platoon leader course and company commander pilot course.

Iraqi National Guard: Officers, NCOs, and soldiers receive a 3-week block of instruction taught by cadre from the Major Subordinate Commands (MSC) in the Multi-National Corps-Iraq (MNC–I). The training course includes many of the same topics taught to the RA recruits including physical training, weapons training, land navigation and basic infantry skills. The new officers, NCOs, and recruits are partnered with an MSC unit in the. area in which they will operate and transition into a 4-week collective training phase where they practice newly acquired skills.

Iraqi Intervention Force: Officers, NCOs, and soldiers initially follow the same process as the RA, beginning with the 4-week cadre course followed by the 8-week basic training course. After the cadre and basic training, Iraqi Intervention Force soldiers receive an additional 5 weeks of specialty training that focuses on military operations in urban terrain in order to conduct anti-insurgent operations in cities and towns.

Iraqi Special Operations Forces (ISOF): These forces consist of two components: the Counterterrorist Task Force and the Commando Battalion. The soldiers who go through the standard 8-week basic training course are identified and recommended by the U.S. Special Forces cadre for recruitment into the ISOF. Many of the recruits recommended to join the ISOF have Special Operations training from prior service. Once accepted, the recruits identified for the Counterterrorist Task Force are cycled through a 13-week special operators course in Jordan. Those recruits identified for the Commando Battalion undergo a 3-week commando course taught by U.S. Special Forces that focuses on small unit tactics and U.S. Army Ranger-type specialty skills.

Iraqi Police Service (IPS): Iraqi Police recruits undergo an 8-week academy training course taught at the Jordan International Police Training Center (JIPTC) or in one of the seven police academies in Iraq. Training highlights include basic police skills, basic criminal investigation, kidnapping investigation and marksmanship. The instruction has been modified to reflect the security environment focusing more on survival skills and combat skills. Police recruits who were former police officers under the previous regime are trained under the 3-week Transition and Integration Program (TIP). This program, taught by Iraqis, reinforces police professionalism, standards, and accountability. Additionally, there are several advanced and specialized training courses for the IPS to combat the insurgency. Examples of these include post-blast investigations taught by Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) officials, counterterrorism investigations taught by the FBI and Explosive Hazardous Awareness Training taught by the U.S. military.

Iraqi Civil Intervention Forces (CIFs): CIFs operate in two components: public order battalions and a mechanized police brigade. Recruits brought into the service for public order battalions undergo a 5-week training course taught by the U.S. Investigative Services. Training focuses on riot control, civil disorder management and explosives awareness. Recruits joining the mechanized police brigade undergo a 5-week course designed to familiarize them with operating and maintaining their armed personnel carriers. In addition, they are taught perimeter security techniques, light armor movement skills, marksmanship and civil disorder management.

Emergency Response Unit (ERU): The ERU is an elite team trained to respond to national-level law enforcement emergencies. Recruits undergo a robust 8-week specialized training course focusing on high-risk search, arrest, hostage-rescue and crisis-response operations. Recruits for the force must first complete the standard

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8-week police academy or TIP training before entering specialized training modeled after the U.S. DOD antiterrorism and ATF training programs.

Special Police Commando (SPC) Battalion: SPC recruits are Iraqi officers and soldiers made up of prior-service special forces professionals and other skilled service members with specialty unit experience. Recruits complete a 3-week training program focused on marksmanship, weapons training, and small unit paramilitary training focusing on offensive counterterrorism tactics.

Department of Border Enforcement (DBE): The formal training program for DBE officers and guards is a 4-week course taught at the JIPTC. Training topics include customs and immigration, cargo search and marksmanship. Current and new border policemen attend training at JIPTC, the first centralized training program established for DBE personnel since the coalition began training Iraqis. Prior to this training program, the major subordinate commands conducted training of border police. Regional DBE training academies in Iraq are being established with an operational date of mid-spring. Border assistance teams will help train current border guards in the coming months.

Iraqi Highway Patrol (IHP): Until recently, IHP officers first completed the standard 8-week police academy or TIP training. Following graduation, they were assigned to one of the six highway patrol barracks throughout Iraq for further specialized training on IHP equipment and patrol techniques. MNSTC–I has recently established a 3-week training program specifically for the IHP and future patrolmen.

Bureau of Dignitary Protection: Officers identified for dignitary protection duties undergo an initial 3-week course taught at the Baghdad Police Academy by the U.S. Investigative Service. They receive an additional 3 weeks of specialized training taught by U.S. contractors.

Senator REED. Thank you, General.

Let me just follow up on an issue related to General Luck's report. It is the suggestion in at least the press that 5,000 soldiers and marines would be assigned as mentors embedded in Iraq units. Do we have 5,000 trained, not just professionally trained as military officers and NCOs, but with language skills and cultural skills, to work in a unit maybe with one or two other Americans? Mr. Secretary, General Myers?

General MYERS. The numbers that I have seen, the estimates that were in the—I did not see any numbers in the Luck report. I saw some assessments by——

Senator REED. You have an advantage on us, General. We have not seen the Luck report or General Luck, which I think would be very helpful to us. Do you have any objections, by the way, if General Luck would come up here and testify before the committee or informally brief us?

General MYERS. I will leave that to the Secretary.

Senator REED. Mr. Secretary, do you have any objections?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I think, Senator, General Luck is providing his advice to General Casey and General Abizaid, and the Secretary is waiting to hear what they recommend based on that report. We would certainly want to make information available that might be—in a closed session I think you discussed that the other day with the Secretary. We certainly want to make the information available, but we would like to have a chance to see what our commanders conclude from it first.

Senator REED. That is entirely fair. But getting back to your point——

General MYERS. The answer is we do not know the numbers yet. General Casey and General Abizaid are looking at that, and General Metz, who is the MNC–I Commander over there. They are going to have to look at this and see what the numbers would be.

But you are absolutely right. The types of individuals you would place with these units would be officers and NCOs. You would need

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translators. You would need people that would hopefully be culturally aware. So they are people of some talent. But how many and how we are going to put those in the units, that is up to General Casey to figure out, the total number, the final number. In fact, for that matter the exact concept has not been determined by General Casey. We are going to wait for him. He has been asked to provide that detail and he will.

Senator REED. My time has expired, but just a final point if I may, General Myers. Are you concerned there is a capacity limitation, though, in terms of whatever numbers that are agreed to, that will limit our ability to fully staff all of these brigades or slow down our ability to integrate American mentors into these units?

General MYERS. We are going to have to wait and see what General Casey finally comes up with. But as you pointed out, these would be some very highly qualified individuals if we go that route, and depending on how extensively we go down that road.

Senator REED. Thank you.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. But I might say, Senator Reed, I think there are different levels of that capability. You referred to language capability, for example, which is an extraordinarily high requirement. I think for the most part we would probably look at having people working through translators. It is not perfect, but right now I think Major General Chiarelli has some 500 of his people essentially doing that with the 7 Iraqi battalions that are in Baghdad and they I am assuming, most of them, are not Arabic speakers, so they must be working through translators.

I think it is important to recognize that one of the principal functions of that is to provide not so much advice and mentoring, although there is a large piece of that, but also just the connection with the capabilities that we have that are way above the level of what Iraqis might have in terms of intelligence and communications and air support and so forth.

Senator REED. Again I am presuming on my colleagues, but I would suspect that you are looking back to our experiences in other places, particularly Vietnam, about both the effectiveness and limitations of advising cultures that are much different than ours.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. There are some lessons from the past. Frankly, I think there are more lessons from the last couple years in Iraq, because each culture is different and each condition is different.

Senator REED. Thank you.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Senator Reed. I appreciate your bringing up the issue of General Luck. The Senate was informed in great detail about his mission and it was highly publicized when he went over and we can understand that there is a time in which he has to consult with his military commanders and prepare Secretary Rumsfeld. But it seems to me that time has run pretty full length now. I think it is appropriate that the Department as early as possible begin to share that report with the Congress of the United States. Thank you.

Senator Collins.

Senator COLLINS. Thank you.

General Myers, you mentioned that you wished that you could beam service members here so we could talk to them directly and

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hear what they say. I would suggest that, although we cannot do that, we can communicate with them by e-mail. I hear from marines and soldiers in Iraq all the time.

They are very patriotic. They are very proud of the work that they are doing. But they are also frustrated by continuing shortages of safety equipment and basic supplies. Over the past year I have repeatedly brought to the attention of the Pentagon specific instances that I have heard from my soldiers about. Yet the problems persist.

Today I want to read you parts of three different e-mails from three different soldiers serving us in Iraq. I would note that each of them is involved in training Iraqi security forces. Here is what the first soldier wrote:

> "We have tried to get ammo from other sources and through our proper chain of command. In this case we have been told to get Iraqi weapons and ammo as backup weapons. We have done this, but nobody is very confident with this plan. We have very little training in their weapons. We are not qualified with the AK–47. We have not sighted these weapons in and they are not as reliable as our American weapons.
>
> "I am proud to serve my country and I am willing to give my life for it. I hope that if one thing is accomplished here it is that I will not have to send my son here 10 years from now. I need ammunition to make this happen and to be able to return home to my family in a year or so."

Here is the second one:

> "The holidays are very tough on the guys. I am planning a Christmas Eve service because we cannot get a chaplain to come out here. We cannot keep oil or water delivery truck drivers, nor interpreters, nor other civilian help, because they all think it is too dangerous. We are on the road where insurgents travel from Syria to Mosul. We have had problems with water, fuel, shortage of ammunition, et cetera."

Here is the third one:

> "Right now we do not have radios to communicate with our units. We depend heavily on e-mail. Yup, e-mail, Yahoo, is our communications line."

I cannot tell you how troubled I am about this. I have written to the Pentagon. I brought it up at previous hearings last year. I keep getting these reports. There are a sufficient number of them that I have to believe there is some sort of logistics problem.

This is not a question of money. We in Congress will give you all that you need to make sure that our troops who are serving so bravely have everything they need to accomplish their dangerous mission as safely as possible. Why are we still having these problems with such basic supplies, not to mention safety equipment like the up-armored High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles (HMMWVs) and body armor?

General MYERS. Senator, you raise a very good question and I obviously would be deeply troubled by that as well. I appreciate when you do send us specific instances so we can run them to ground and

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find out if we do have a problem. The only one of those issues you have just mentioned that I am aware of would be the radio issue, because I know in the type of combat that our Army and Marine Corps finds itself in today, the ground combat, they want radios at levels that they have never had to have radios before.

I do not know that we are short. I have never heard that. But I know that they have had to aggressively pursue additional radios so that all echelons, echelons that were never planned to have radios, would have them so they could communicate, as indicated in that e-mail.

So all I can say is we will go back and look at this. None of this has come to the attention of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I can guarantee you that. We will continue to try to chase this down.

Senator COLLINS. With one of these units, in December I did contact the Pentagon and they did act to get this unit resupplied. But you can imagine how troubling it is to me that these soldiers are having to come to a United States Senator to get the ammunition, water, food, and basic supplies that they need.

General MYERS. You bet.

Senator COLLINS. In each case, these soldiers are telling me that they went up the chain of command and just could not get what they needed. Now, as I said, in one of these cases it has been solved, but solved through my intervention, which it just should not be.

General MYERS. It should not take that, no. But the point you raise about logistics is very important. That is critical to our capability over there. We will go back and talk to our commanders to make sure that they have what they want. But we do not see any of those shortages. I do not see those. I get briefed on this every day and we do not see that. So I do not know where the disconnect is, but it will be my obligation to go find it.

Senator COLLINS. I think there is one. While I appreciate the help we have had from the Pentagon in solving some of these specific issues, in my mind they just should not be happening. We have to solve this problem once and for all.

General MYERS. Agreed.

Senator COLLINS. General Myers, I also want to just very quickly touch on the training of the Iraqi troops. I too find the election so inspiring and I am so proud of the courage shown by the Iraqi security forces. But again, I think the numbers indicate that we have a long ways to go to have fully equipped, trained, reliable, and willing Iraqi forces who can substitute for American forces.

Again, I have an e-mail from someone who is deeply involved in the training. This major tells me: "It is scary to think just how out of touch the chain of command is from what we are doing. The Iraqis are starting to quit now that we have been here 2 weeks. When they quit the Iraqi commander says that they are on leave so that we do not drop them from the rolls. They have been lying about their numbers in order to get more money. They say they have 150 when there are only 100. The senior officers take a cut from the top.

"We have caught soldiers in houses stealing property and the commander will not react to it. They have no interest in learning the job because right now the marines are doing all of it. We have

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to let them take a week's leave every 3 weeks and they usually return late, if at all. We had 134 go on leave a week ago and only 37 returned."

I thought that Secretary Wolfowitz made a very important distinction between the hardware versus the software and the training of unit cohesion, leadership. I guess I would ask you whether you think this case that I just read to you is an isolated incident or is there a pattern that is very challenging for us?

General MYERS. I think the case you read is—first of all, I think you said that this individual does not think the chain of command is aware of the situation over there. I would take exception to that. When I talk to General Casey, I know who he talks to and I have been with his division commanders when I visit there. They know very well what is happening and they know that we are in a system—let me go back to General Luck's comments, some of which I had in my opening statement.

A system that was devastated under many decades under Saddam—he broke their spirit. Corruption was rampant. There was a sense of helplessness. Anybody that showed initiative would be whacked on the head or their family members hurt or injured, killed, tortured. So that is what has to change.

I think on January 30 a lot of that did change. I think we saw a lot of Iraqis stand up and take responsibility. So hopefully that will have an impact on the culture that was devastated by Saddam Hussein. So I do not know if that is typical. Certainly it happens, but that was the kind of society that has bred over all these decades.

I think one of the things that whoever sent you that e-mail ought to take a lot of pride in is that our men and women in the Armed Forces, a lot of what they do besides train people how to shoot an AK–47 or platoon tactics—they learned well in their civics classes and they are role models about what democracy means, what tolerance means.

So is it going to take time? Yes. Are those incidents going to continue? Probably. I do not think they are necessarily the rule. I think those are issues.

The leave issue is interesting. Under Saddam Hussein, since they had a conscript army, they would allow them to go on leave, but there was no penalty for not returning on time. The only penalty was you had to add that time on to your conscription time. Say they were going for a week. They would come back in 2 weeks and they had to add 7 days on to their year, so now it is a year and 7 days.

So it is a different culture and it is hard to get used to. It is hard for us to probably understand it. It is part of what has to develop. So I do not know if that is typical. I know that that happens certainly, and I think our commanders are well aware of that.

Senator COLLINS. Thank you.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Collins, I just might say I do not think it is typical, but I also would hasten to say that the hero I mentioned earlier and whose picture I put up is not typical either. The typical is somewhere in between and we are trying to raise the level of typical. I think the events of last Sunday not only give us some confidence that things are working better, but I think it cre-

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ates two important facts. Number one, enormous pride in what Iraqis as a whole have done and what the Iraqi Army has done, and pride is a critical part of countering the kind of phenomenon you describe. Second, more and more they will be feeling that they are fighting for their country, for their government, and this impression that it is all us pulling the strings and it is an occupation force hopefully will change some of that pattern.

But as General Myers said, we are dealing with a number of pretty deep-seated habits that will take some time to work out.

Senator COLLINS. Thank you, and thank you all for your hard work.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your indulgence.

Chairman WARNER. Thank you, Senator Collins. I commend the witnesses for their clear responses to those good questions, and I would hope that maybe in this hearing you can address that culture, because it is perplexing, Mr. Schlicher. It is such a stark contrast to our strong discipline: You are absent, you are in trouble. But it is not true in that culture. They go back home for extended periods. As was pointed out, they have no banking system, they have no way to convey the money they receive for their services to their wives and children and needy persons, so they have to journey all the way home with a pocket full of cash and then come back again.

At this time I must go to the floor to deliver remarks on behalf of Judge Gonzales for Attorney General. Senator Sessions will continue as the chair. Thank you very much.

We will now have Senator Bayh.

Senator BAYH. Gentlemen, thank you for your presence here today and thank you for your service to our country. I agree with all the sentiments that have been expressed both by you and members of this committee about the election being a proud moment for freedom and a proud moment for our country, and I hope you will let those who are serving under your command know how grateful we are to them for having brought this about.

I have a couple of questions. Let me start by praising the administration and what I understand may be the decision to increase the death benefit for those who have lost their lives in the line of duty. I think that is exactly the right thing to do.

What I would like to ask is whether you would be willing to consider going a bit beyond that, and let me tell you about a conversation I had just last week with a bankruptcy official in Indiana, who was recounting to me an alarming increase in the number of bankruptcies by military families, particularly reservists and guardsmen and women who have been called up for extended periods of time and have found themselves with an inability to meet their mortgage payments, health care bills, that sort of thing. So many of these families are being forced into bankruptcy.

I have referred to the pay cut that many of them take as the patriot penalty that they are now paying. Some of our businesses are willing to step forward and make this up, but many cannot afford to do that. I proposed some legislation to deal with this, but there is no pride of authorship. I would like to know whether you would be willing to take a look at this issue, because many of these families are under great financial distress and it is, frankly, heart-

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breaking to think that they are being forced into bankruptcy while they are putting their lives on the line for our country and the cause of freedom.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I would be happy to take a look at it, and I guess I would also—first of all, I would like to thank all of you and Senator Sessions, who I know particularly took a lead on this question of death benefits. One thing you can help us with is, if you agree with me that we have some special obligations to those people who are risking their lives in combat zones and we need to extend special benefits to them—but if we then say, well, it is such a nice thing to have we should extend it elsewhere, because after all military service is dangerous even here in the United States, if we cannot put some boundaries around benefits in combat zones we will quickly find that they are not affordable for anybody. I think some special care and attention is necessary for service members and their families who are living with that kind of risk and danger for a year at a time, and that is what we need to look after.

Senator BAYH. I hope we can work together on this in a way that is sustainable financially, but in a way that does right by these families, because I do not think any of us want to see the kind of situation that is beginning to increase as the periods of being called up are longer and longer, beyond what they could have reasonably expected or planned for in their financial situation.

So I hope we can work together to try and address this in a way that is responsible.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. I am happy to take a look at that.

Senator BAYH. On to my second question, Mr. Secretary. I want to agree with something that you said in your testimony about the role of Syria and Iran. The Syrians seem to me to be playing a game which I have called a strategy of passive aggression, where they may not be actively assisting those who are coming into Iraq to do us harm, but certainly they are not doing enough to prevent that.

The Iranians, if you believe published reports, have infiltrated into the Shia community and are awaiting that day when it might be in their interest to more actively participate in the insurgency, clearly building up a capacity, maybe not as actively involved right now, but clearly with the potential to do that at some future point in time.

I agree with your sentiment that we need to send them a clear signal that it is not in their best interest, either of them, to facilitate the insurgency in Iraq. With the position that we are in right now, being stretched fairly significantly, what kind of credibility do our warnings have? In other words, what could we look at to do in either Syria or Iran that would in a tangible way discourage them from inappropriate behavior in Iraq, other than just our verbal warnings?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Well, let us be clear. I do not think it has anything to do with our capacity being limited. We are not looking to end this behavior with another war. But I think there are many things that—I mean, Syria is not a strong country. Part of what they do, as I indicate in my testimony, is out of fear of how a successful Iraq may further weaken their own people's support for them.

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But I think what we need to stress is there is going to be a successful Iraq, and it is in your interests to be on friendly terms with that successful Iraq. We notice what you are doing. I think it is very important to call attention to what they are doing. Frankly, I think it may be important to call attention to who is responsible. There is some argument as to whether President Assad is fully in control in Syria or not. But we do know this is a police state and somebody is in control, and we have a list of who the top 12 leaders are. They all have some accountability here.

But we also need to make clear that we are not in a position of hostility. It is not our policy to destabilize Syria. It should not be their policy to destabilize Iraq, or Lebanon for that matter.

I think another thing to do is to point to a potentially important opportunity. Things are moving forward on the Israeli-Palestinian front. I guess we should caution here too about the danger of euphoria, but I think a lot of us are hopeful that some real breakthroughs are possible there. I think the Syrians should think about whether they want to be left behind in that process or whether they want to participate, and if they want to participate then they had better stop interfering with their neighbor.

Senator BAYH. Just briefly, Mr. Secretary—and thank you for that—my final question would be with regard to—we all want the new government to be successful. I am concerned that if time passes without some tangible improvement in the economic activity at the local level, perhaps some disillusionment will set in, which could undermine all of the euphoria that rightfully has existed after the election and could itself feed the insurgency.

So my final question would be, what can we do to try and demonstrate some tangible results at the local level? We have focused heretofore on larger projects, infrastructure projects. That is understandable. But those take time and I am concerned that we have a window of opportunity here to try and show that democracy has some tangible benefits in addition to the obvious political freedom. What can we do to step up our economic development efforts in a way that will be felt at the street level and encourage people that, yes, this is the right thing to do?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Well, first of all, let me agree strongly with the concern you expressed. In fact, the euphoria has a risk built into it, that people's expectations may now be too high and can be disappointed, although I think most of the euphoria is just the pride they take in having stood up and taken risks and sent a message to the terrorists.

But I am sure there is also a sense that somehow this is going to make their lives better. So I think it is important to try to make sure that happens. One of the challenges—and this is why I talked about effective government ministries—is the Iraqis have very substantial revenues. Mr. Schlicher can correct me, but I think it is on the order now of $20 billion a year. We need to get them to put more of that money into places like Fallujah, for example, where people are coming to our marines and asking, where are the payments that we were supposed to get for rebuilding our houses?

So we need to keep the pressure on the Iraqi Government. But I think also we need to look at how our own resources are being allocated. I agree with what was implied in your question, that it

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is important to focus on things that produce immediately visible results, even if that means giving up some of the desirable longer term infrastructure projects. In that respect, I guess I am going to appeal to what you just said. Sometimes I encounter people downrange, as we say, meaning people in Iraq, who say, well, there is this complicated process for notifying Congress and all this stuff has been notified and it is in certain lines and we cannot move the lines. I say my impression is if you come back with any reasonable justification for reallocating you will get it. You may have to notify and consult, but it does not take forever. So tell us what you need to have. Do not feel you are in some kind of straightjacket because of what you said 12 months ago.

Then finally, let me also say I hope that this demonstration by the Iraqi people of what they are capable of will generate more support from other countries, so if we have to shift our funds from long-term infrastructure into more immediate projects, that there is money coming from other countries to backfill what we have to do. This should not be just the United States and Iraq paying for this.

I think it's time in particular—I'm going to say this: It's time in particular for those countries that are enjoying huge revenue windfalls from the high oil prices to stop and think what their interest is. I am not asking them out of altruism. I think those countries have a stake in success in Iraq and that that success should come sooner rather than later. One thing they can do is help provide financial support.

Senator BAYH. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Senator SESSIONS [presiding]. Thank you, Senator Bayh. You raise some important comments.

I thank you, Secretary Wolfowitz, for mentioning Fallujah. I was there just 2 weeks ago with General Sadler and he was concerned that some of the commitments the Iraqi Government had made with regard to refurbishing that town had not been met.

Mr. Schlicher, just briefly, who is responsible, who has the authority or responsibility for ensuring that the water, electricity, and other, sewage, in the country is being improved from our side? Is it State or Defense?

Mr. SCHLICHER. Sir, all of the programs that help bolster the programs of the Iraqi ministries are centered in the embassy under an organization called the Iraq Reconstruction Management Office (IRMO). That is a State organization. It is headed by Ambassador Bill Taylor, who prior to this mission was our Afghan Coordinator. He works very closely in turn with the Projects and Contracting Office (PCO), which answers to the DOD.

Senator SESSIONS. That is a State Department entity?

Mr. SCHLICHER. IRMO is State, PCO is DOD, Department of the Army I believe.

General MYERS. Yes.

Mr. SCHLICHER. If I could, sir, they partner both with the Iraqi ministries and, in the case of certain post-conflict zones like Fallujah, the Iraqi Government has identified ministerial action officers, if you will, who are—it is minister Hajamal Husni in the case of Fallujah. Prime Minister Allawi wants those points of contacts to get together the different line ministries who can help in

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those places to coordinate their efforts together and in turn to partner with the mission's efforts.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator, it is a somewhat complicated division of responsibilities and, rather than try to add any detail to what Mr. Schlicher already said, I would like to second what he said earlier about Ambassador Negroponte and, for that matter, his number two, Ambassador Jim Jeffrey. There is a great State Department team. There is real cooperation between State and DOD.

A wonderful example of it I believe is how they went through the difficult reallocation, I guess it was in August, to move $1.8 billion of project money from infrastructure into security forces to meet General Petraeus's needs. So I do not know any way to do this in a simple way. We have two U.S. Government departments and then we have multiple Iraqi ministries, as Mr. Schlicher just said, and we just have to do the best to work closely together.

Senator SESSIONS. Well, I have worked in the Federal Government with a lot of different agencies and I know how difficult it can be. But I suppose the answer to the question is if we in Congress have questions about how well the infrastructure improvements are going we call you.

Mr. SCHLICHER. Yes, sir; I am your man.

Senator SESSIONS. Then you can blame it on the DOD if they did not do their part. We used to blame Secretary Wolfowitz for it all, I guess. Now we have a relationship with General Casey and Ambassador Negroponte that I hear is working real well. I guess that is at the bottom line, the personal relationships. Meeting every day, as I understand they do, is a key to that cooperational level we need.

Mr. SCHLICHER. Yes, sir. Our impression is that that cooperation is excellent. In addition to the great personal relationship and working relationship, the mission has built in different sorts of institutions into the scheme to make sure that the political and military sides of the house are knit up.

Senator SESSIONS. I think we would like to see if we can improve that. I think there is a consensus here in Congress that we would love to see the electricity and water and all do better, for the reasons you have previously stated.

Secretary Wolfowitz, I am just going to take a moment to say this. I have been so proud of our men and women in uniform and we have repeatedly talked about that. But I also want to say, I have been proud of President Bush for his steadfastness and his insight and courage to stay the course. I think the same goes for Secretary Rumsfeld. He is a man of extraordinary experience and good judgment, who has seen this big picture correctly.

I know many have blamed you. They have said you are the ones that really thought it all up and conjured these things up, so any difficulty is your fault. But I think you have been a brilliant Deputy Secretary of Defense and you have served our country extraordinarily well. The election that we had just a few days ago, those pictures, if you looked at them, that you passed out would bring tears to anyone's eyes who has sensitivity to the historic moment.

I would also say that this has not been the only accomplishment. I have visited with President Karzai in Afghanistan on two different occasions. He is a wonderful, decent, good person. They are

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establishing a decent good government. A war of 20 years' decimation of that country has ended.

You have worked with Pakistan and they have turned against terrorism and they are a good ally with us in fighting the terrorists. We have seen now the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein collapse and a new election occur, a historic thing. Qadafi in Libya has renounced terrorism. We have had an election for the Palestinian leader. Sure, we are not there yet, but that is an historic event. The Ukraine has had a free and democratic election, tense and tough, and you were on the right side of pushing for a reelection count that allowed forces for progress to succeed.

This Abdul Khan and his proliferation of nuclear weapons ended because the United States was willing to use force when we had to to confront the bad problems that are around our world.

So I will just say that, no, we do not need to get overly optimistic. There are a lot of difficulties ahead. But I am telling you, that election just a few days ago in Iraq I believe was historic. It was achieved by the excellent performance of our men and women in uniform and the courage and the professionalism, General Myers, they have shown. But it also is—I think those of you who have been in the hot seat, who have had to make the tough calls day after day, have performed well.

Nobody is perfect, but I think we have made real progress, and I for one want to say thank you.

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Sessions, thank you for that and thank you for the personal comment. I must say I find it almost laughable when people suggest that Secretary Rumsfeld needs me to tell him what to think or Secretary Powell somehow needs me to tell him what to think and, most of all, that the President of the United States needs other people to tell him what to think. He has made some very tough decisions, as you point out, which have had some very big successes.

Let me just say, the one in that list—it is an impressive list, but one that you did not mention and people are very afraid to mention it because if we talk too much about our success in preventing attacks on the United States, we know we could be attacked tomorrow. We know the enemy is out there plotting every day.

I cannot tell you that we are safe. But I can tell you that we know that many attempted plots have been broken up because we have killed or captured thousands of terrorists, because we have worked with some 90 countries around the world to get information about those plots. It has required, by the way, difficult decisions, which I know have caused controversy about how you deal with detainees, how you get information from detainees. But that information is life-saving information. The President has taken a lot of criticism for it and I think he deserves a lot of credit for the fact that we have done as well as we have.

But people should not be lulled into a false sense of complacency that, because we have not been attacked here since September 11, things are safe. The enemy is out there. Osama bin Laden is still out there, although there are a lot of indications that he is in increasingly difficult circumstances. Let us not forget: He declared war on Sunday's election. It was a big defeat for him and for his friend Mr. Zarqawi.

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We are really in a fight to not just protect the lives of Americans, but to protect the open society that we live for and that the whole world depends on. It is not going to be over any time soon, but I think we have made a lot of progress in the, what is it, 3 years since September 11.

Senator SESSIONS. I have to agree. I think any objective observer would agree.

Senator Byrd, I believe you are next.

Senator BYRD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, thank you for your testimony. I know that millions of Americans are pleased at the results of the recent election in Iraq. Iraq by all indications, then, if we base it on the election results—and we are not sure that we know exactly the results yet—is beginning to take care of itself. To me this indicates that we should start bringing our troops home soon.

I think our troops have performed magnificently, under the most stressful conditions. The wounds that they bring home are the most terrible wounds of the most terrible war that our service men have ever fought. I wonder about the mental strains and stress that these men undergo 24 hours a day, how they must watch to their left and watch to the right and watch to the rear and watch to the front, because they know not from where that single bullet or that explosive may leave a resounding hole in their own flesh, and that concern and prayerful waiting by those who love them and who await their return.

I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that we realize to the fullest extent how much these men deserve, how much they have suffered. They did not ask to go there, most of them, and they were made promises that have not been kept. I think they have been imposed on in many respects. Yes, they are patriotic. They are doing what they were told to do. But they are not there for what they were told was the cause and the reason or reasons why we should invade Iraq.

I think this is a major imposition upon them and their loved ones. So I shall do everything I can insofar as the Appropriations Committee is concerned to support every penny that is asked for for those men and women, the soldiers and the marines and the people who have served so well in this most dreadful of wars that will leave the most dreadful of wounds upon our body politic.

We are fighting two wars, Mr. Secretary. We are fighting a war in Afghanistan in which we were attacked, in which the United States was attacked by 19 hijackers on September 11, 2001. Not one of these hijackers was an Iraqi, not one. That war is different from the war that we are fighting in Iraq.

I was fully supportive and am still supportive of the war in Afghanistan. Our country was invaded by these 19 hijackers. I was supportive and am still supportive of our Commander in Chief, our President—I prefer to call Mr. Bush our President rather than the overdrawn term "Commander in Chief." I was supportive of everything he did, his quick reaction, his going after the attackers. I am still supportive of that war.

But that is not the same war that we are fighting in Iraq. They are different wars. In Iraq we were not attacked. No, we did the attacking. That war is the result of the Bush administration's per-

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nicious preemptive strike doctrine and nothing we can say will erase the blot upon the escutcheon of the Senate when it voted 77 to 23 to turn over lock, stock, and barrel the power to send our military forces wherever the President wished, whenever he wished, and for whatever he wished in respect to Iraq. That was a terrible blotch upon the escutcheon of the Senate and that is why today the President can say, we will do this, or we will not do this, and Mr. Rumsfeld can say, we will do this and we will stay there until this happens or that happens. It is because we turned over the Senate's, Congress', prerogative to declare war under the Constitution to one man. Whether he be Democrat or Republican, that turnover of power will remain there until kingdom come unless Congress at some point votes to retrieve that power.

This preemptive strike doctrine, on which I suppose you had a considerable amount of input, is unconstitutional on its face because it takes away from the collective bodies, not just one but bodies, of the Legislative Branch under the Constitution, it takes away from those collective bodies the power to declare war and shifts it to one man, which the framers would never have intended happen. I am not one of the 77. I am one of the 23.

But all that aside now—we can talk about that for a long time. All that aside, the war in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan, not being the same but two separate wars, the war in Afghanistan having been a war which resulted from the invasion of our country by 19 hijackers, causing the deaths of 3,000 Americans and causing many other terrible results, that war is one war.

But the war in Iraq is the result of, as I say, that pernicious doctrine under this administration of preemptive strikes. I am against that war. I was against it. I will remain against it. But I shall never fail to support the American troops. It was not their fault that they were lulled in or brought into a war to which the American people were lied about and misled time and time again about.

Having said that, these two wars have already cost the American taxpayers almost $150 billion. We are told that the President will be requesting another $80 billion for the war effort in the next few days. Yet the President stubbornly refuses to share with the American people any notion of a timetable—you see, that would not have been the case if the Senate had done its duty. That would not have been the case—any notion of a timetable for withdrawing our troops from Iraq or Afghanistan.

It has been almost 2 years since the invasion of Iraq and the U.S.-led coalition, which was never robust to begin with, is shrinking, not growing. I read that the President made a round of telephone calls to world leaders about the Iraqi elections. That is all well and good, but telephone calls do not pay the bills.

What, if anything, is the administration doing to relieve the burden on American taxpayers and attract more monetary support and more military support from Iraq's neighbors and from the international community? How much longer does the President expect the American people to shoulder almost 100 percent of the cost in Iraq and 90 percent of the casualties, 90 percent of the blood that has been shed there of the occupation forces?

Could you give us some insight as to when the burden on the American taxpayers can be expected to be at least one in which

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there is attracted more monetary and military support from the world community and from Iraq's neighbors?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. Senator Byrd, if I could just make I guess four points. First of all, with enormous respect for your views and your real scholarship about the Constitution, I do not believe that these are separate wars. Mr. Zarqawi was alive with Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan and running training camps in Afghanistan. He was organizing worldwide terrorist operations in France and England and Turkey and Georgia before we went into Iraq. He is now focused on Iraq. He is a major enemy.

Osama bin Laden is focused on Iraq. He has attached his prestige to this war. Winning this war in fact will be a big blow against Osama bin Laden.

Second, you spoke eloquently and I cannot improve on it about the tragic price of war. I think any war is terrible, and with an enemy that resorts to the kinds of vicious weapons that this one does it has a particular ugliness. But I think it is also a lesson that we can take from history that it is important not to leave a weakened enemy out on the battlefield.

In fact, I think it is fair to say that we rested on our laurels when the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan and concluded we had dealt with the problem and we could ignore it, and that is part of what created a sanctuary from which Osama bin Laden could organize the attacks of September 11. I think it is very important that we not only defeat them, but that we not give them that opportunity in Iraq.

Third, I think it is very important to say, while every American casualty is painful, we are not 90 percent of the casualties. As I mentioned previously, the Iraqis police and army have lost almost as many now as we have and in a shorter period of time. Since June 1 they have taken a larger share of the combat. Our goal is to have them take an increasing share of the combat.

Finally, on this question of who pays, I agree with you that I think it is in the interest of the entire world to see the Iraqi people succeed and I think Sunday was a powerful statement to the whole world of what the Iraqi people want, and I hope it will inspire those countries that love freedom and democracy—our closest allies around the world—to look at this issue in a different light after the Iraqi people made that statement on Sunday.

Second, I agree with you that the countries in the region, especially the ones that enjoy substantial oil wealth, have an interest in stability and that interest in stability will be promoted by helping to bring this war to an end as quickly as possible, and I think that is what our goal should be.

So while we may disagree on certain points, I think we agree on the way ahead.

Senator SESSIONS. Senator Thune.

Senator BYRD. Mr. Chairman, may I not pursue that just a moment?

Senator SESSIONS. Briefly, yes, sir. I give extra time to the Senator from West Virginia.

Senator BYRD. Mr. Chairman, a little extra time here I do not think is going to make any of us suffer. I have waited a long time. I have listened to the rosy scenarios that have been spread before

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this committee time and time and time again. I am about filled up with these scenarios, these wonderful scenarios. I have heard of them time and time and time again.

So the credibility as far as I am concerned, Mr. Secretary—and I say it with all respect to you—your credibility has suffered and so has the administration's by the time and time again rosy scenarios and by the failure to find those WMDs which would lead to mushroom clouds. Thank God there were none, but that is why we went into Iraq.

So credibility is an important thing here, too. But I still have not heard the Secretary answer my question. How much longer does the President expect the American people to shoulder almost 100 percent of the cost of the war in Iraq and 90 percent of the casualties, 90 percent of the casualties?

Would I give my son, if I had a son, would I give a grandson? Mr. Secretary, would you give a son? Would you give a grandson? Perhaps you have given some. I know not. But would you give them and then answer the questions as you have?

Let me ask you once more: What, if anything, is the administration doing to relieve the burden on American taxpayers and attract more monetary and military support from Iraq's neighbors and the international community? Can you answer that question?

Secretary WOLFOWITZ. We have made several efforts, Senator Byrd, over the last 2 years—and Mr. Schlicher might elaborate on them—in various fora to elicit contributions from international financial institutions and from our allies, and those have met with some success, though not as much as we would have liked, I think.

We have a new opportunity in the wake of these elections to look at going further and, while it is a little early to say how we will do it, I think we should.

Ron, do you want to add anything?

Mr. SCHLICHER. Yes, sir, if I could add on the military burden side with just a few observations on recent coalition developments. The MNF–I includes 28 non-U.S. contributors right now. They total 25,000 troops. There are four other non-MNF–I nations which contribute to U.N. protection and to the NATO training mission.

The number of coalition nations has dropped at the end of 2004 as countries completed their scheduled deployments. But in the most recent period the number of troops as I understand it has actually grown, in part due to the new arrival of 3,000 Korean troops. Additionally, the U.S. is helping Bosnia prepare an explosive ordnance disposal unit for their first deployment this summer, and there are also going to be additional troops from Romania and Georgia, 550 and 100 respectively, who are going to be coming in the next few weeks to do U.N. protection duty. Those are recent additions, so that that helps answer the part on the military burden, sir.

On the economic burden, we have been working closely with the Iraqis and the bilateral joint economic commission on a full range of economic issues. One of those issues is how the Iraqis can get out in front in organizing according to their desires how the international donor community can help them meet their needs. There is another donor meeting scheduled—please do not hold me to it—I think it is in April. So that is going to be a very pivotal point.

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