

**Iraq: Next Steps**  
**How to Internationalize Iraq and Organize the**  
**U.S. Government to Administer Reconstruction Efforts**

Statement by

**John J. Hamre**  
**President and Chief Executive Officer**  
**Center for Strategic and International Studies**  
**Washington, D.C.**

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Chairman Lugar, Senator Biden, distinguished members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it is an honor to be able to testify before you today on the issue of next steps in Iraq. This is a critical hearing. There must be “next steps” for Iraq. America is now a Middle East power. We cannot forsake our responsibilities or avoid our obligations. We must succeed in rebuilding Iraq in order to help create a government that is representative of its people, at peace with its neighbors, and offers a future of hope and promise for its citizens.

### **CSIS post-conflict assessment trip to Iraq**

This past July, I was privileged to be able to testify before this committee after my colleagues and I returned from our assessment trip to Iraq on behalf of Secretary Rumsfeld. We returned with two broad suggestions— we need to dramatically “indiginize” the security program in Iraq and we need to expand the international base of support for the operation. At that time, we indicated that the Coalition Provisional Authority was rapidly running out of money and would soon need supplemental funds. We also stated that the security situation in Iraq remained problematic and, without dramatic improvements, the remainder of the rebuilding effort would be substantially impeded.

In the 10 weeks since we visited Iraq, I believe there have been some security improvements in areas that do not get coverage in the American media, especially in the northern and southern portions of the country. We receive reports from friends and acquaintances in Iraq that attest to this, despite the attacks on our forces. Even with these advances, the country is still far from having a secure environment. Just last week the major pipeline from the oil fields north to Turkey was attacked yet again. Assaults on our troops have become more sophisticated and daring. The economic plundering of the country continues.

We continue to believe that the highest priority for enhancing security should rest with expanding the role of Iraqi security personnel. The Administration has launched new efforts to recruit security personnel, as contract security officers for specific installations, as policemen, and, increasingly, as border guards. These actions are a step in the right direction, even more so because it does not appear, at this point, that there will be significant contributions of foreign military personnel. We have to continue to build the Iraqi’s own capacity to bring security to the country.

### **President’s request for supplemental funds for Iraq**

President Bush has requested that Congress appropriate an additional \$87 billion for Iraq and Afghanistan. I know that there is a great deal of controversy associated with this request. Nonetheless, Mr. Chairman, it is critical that the Congress appropriate these funds.

As I said at the outset, for better or worse, America is now a Middle East power. We now own this problem. We cannot walk away from it; rather we must now shoulder it. The American people need to know that this investment is necessary, that the plans are well conceived, and the budget meets critical unmet needs. Here I believe the Administration has not followed through adequately.

To date, there has not been a satisfactory accounting of how funds are being spent or how these additional funds are being planned for. I used to be the Comptroller at the Defense Department and I know full well that we live in a world of estimates. The best, planned estimate will always be

wrong. I know this from first hand experience. But I also know, from the same experience, that the sharpest critic would accept estimates so long as I offered a complete accounting of the facts upon which I based them and the assumptions I had to make to get there. Congress will accept estimates so long as they understand how they are made and if they can conclude that they are reasonable.

I have full confidence in the current DoD Comptroller, Dr. Dov Zakheim. I have worked with him for years and I know he is a thoroughly honest man. Unfortunately, over the past two years, a general level of distrust has developed between the Administration and the Congress on budget matters and on defense issues. The lack of trust is limiting the development of an enduring consensus to the long-term challenges we face.

Therefore, I strongly encourage the Defense Department to provide as complete and comprehensive an assessment as possible of the costs that they are incurring and are forecast to incur during the coming year on its Iraq operation. This assessment will enable the Congress to become more directly engaged in supporting the Administration's efforts to help bring security to the region and ultimately to America.

### **Assigning responsibility for next steps in Iraq**

I continue to believe that we have too narrow an institutional base to support the reconstruction efforts in Iraq. I think it was an excellent idea for Ambassador Bremer to establish a liaison office here in Washington, headed up by Mr. Ruben Jeffries. But, I also believe Mr. Jeffries has too few people to support him and too little authority. In general, the efforts to enlist a wider base of support in the federal government for the reconstruction effort remain insufficient.

This raises the question whether or not the federal responsibilities for rebuilding Iraq should be assigned exclusively to the Defense Department. I understand and appreciate Secretary Rumsfeld's view that the Defense Department would overwhelmingly field the assets required for reconstruction, and therefore the Department should have complete authority to undertake the task. In theory I agree with this point. But, in practice it has not worked. The patterns of cooperation inside the government broke down during the past year. DoD now has to manage tasks for which it has no background or competence, and it has not been effective in inviting the support of others in the government who have that background and competence. Either DoD needs a new approach for collaboration with others, or the President needs to change the assignment of responsibilities. The challenge of rebuilding Iraq is enormous and our ability to be effective in this effort is being eroded by the bureaucratic struggles here in Washington.

### **Conclusion**

Mr. Chairman, Senator Biden, distinguished Senators, we must succeed in our task to rebuild Iraq. This isn't a matter of America's credibility. This is a question of our security. We will be substantially less secure as a nation if we fail. We have made important progress during the past four months. The task of rebuilding Iraq is challenging, but it is not hopeless. We have the capacity to succeed, and I join you in offering my full efforts to make this possible.

Thank you. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have at the appropriate time.