

Commander in Chief (which reports directly to the Prime Minister) has proposed that the personnel be 1 percent Sunni and 99 percent Shi'a.¹⁷³

Quality

The National Police faces many of the same challenges in maintaining quality forces as do the Iraqi Army and Iraqi Police Service. For example, the National Police struggles to ensure that sufficient personnel are present for duty; the existence of ghost payrolling also complicates determinations of present-for-duty numbers at any given time. And like the other forces, the National Police faces a shrinking pool of quality recruits, it lacks sufficient leaders and noncommissioned officers, and it does not have an effective logistics system.

Of the approximately 25,000 National Police authorized by the MOI, on average only about 65 percent are actually present for duty on a given day. While a handful of National Police units are assigned a full complement of personnel, only two of these units have more than 80 percent of their assigned personnel present for duty.

Meetings with Civilian Police Assistance Transition Team officials highlighted additional quality concerns regarding the National Police. The pool of sufficiently high quality recruits is shrinking; identifying literate recruits has become a big challenge. In 2007 the replenishment goal for the National Police is 14,000 recruits—more than half of the entire standing National Police force. Unless this replenishment goal is an aberration, the high percentage of new recruits annually will make it hard to maintain the quality of the National Police over time. The absence of sufficient leaders is another serious concern for the National Police, where officer strength is less than 45 percent of what is authorized by the MOI. Like the Iraqi military, the National Police does not have noncommissioned officers, who could assume some of the leadership responsibilities in the organization. Finally, like the Iraqi military and Iraqi Police Service, the National Police lacks a functioning logistics or supply chain management system. As a result, the National Police struggles to maintain and repair equipment, and its operational readiness is degraded.

Future Missions and Command and Control Arrangements

There is considerable debate within the Coalition and in the broader defense community about the future of the National Police. Should it be a light infantry, a counterinsurgency force, or a civil police force? The National Police has largely been trained as a counterinsurgency force, although the Phase 2 re-bluing training places much greater emphasis on traditional police activities and includes a focus on human rights and the rule of law. At the same time, Phase 3 training under the National Police Transformation Plan is centered on a 90-day course with an emphasis on counterinsurgency operations. Presentations from Iraqis on the future of the National Police tended to emphasize “preventing rebellions,” undertaking counterterrorism operations, and preventing the movement and activities of militias.¹⁷⁴ The lack of clarity surrounding the National Police mission is

¹⁷³ CPATT briefing, July 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Meetings with Iraqi National Police officials, July 2007.

further reflected in how the National Police is equipped. An American general noted that “we ask the National Police to fight as Iraqi Army, but they are equipped like regular police.”

Command and control arrangements for the National Police are part of the broader debate about this organization’s future. Some argue that the MOI needs a set of security forces under its control that can deploy nationwide, but the National Police is not well-embedded in the ministry. There are five deputy ministers in the MOI, one of whom is responsible for security, including the provincial police—but this deputy minister is not responsible for the National Police. The National Police commander reports directly to the Minister, an arrangement that may, whether fairly or unfairly, fuel perceptions of sectarianism. Others argue that the National Police is essentially composed of soldiers, not police, and should be brought under the Ministry of Defense. Senior police officials noted that under the Baghdad Security Plan, the National Police in Baghdad are already under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense.

Recommendation: *The National Police should be disbanded and reorganized under the MOI. It should become a much smaller organization under a different name with responsibility for highly specialized police tasks such as explosive ordnance disposal, urban search and rescue, special threat action, and other similar functions.*

Although the National Police cannot be effective in their current form, there is a need for the Ministry of Interior to have a security force under its control that can augment provincial police forces when necessary. The MOI, with support from the Civilian Police Assistance Transition Team, should dissolve the National Police and draw on a portion of its former personnel to establish a network of National Emergency Support Teams (NESTs), with one team in each province. To avoid many of the problems with the current National Police, NEST units should be ethnically and religiously diverse and should reflect the population makeup of their provinces.

These NEST teams would focus on providing capabilities to the police forces in each province that are necessary but too specialized in most instances to be maintained at the local level—for example, explosive ordnance disposal; consequence management for chemical, biological, nuclear, or radiological events; urban search and rescue; air support; marine/riverine patrol; and civil disturbance response. To sustain the high level of capabilities associated with these specialized missions, NEST teams would require specialized training and equipment similar to that available to the existing national-level Emergency Response Unit.

The NEST teams, while provincially based, could be deployed nationally if an area of the country needed substantial infusions of specialized capability. If deploying to assist the Iraqi Police Service, provincial NEST teams should come under the authority of the local police commander.

The existing national-level Emergency Response Unit in the National Police contains 600 personnel. The Civilian Police Assistance Transition Team personnel spoke highly of the ERU and indicated that it was a very competent organization. If each province were to have a NEST team of about 300 people, the overall size of the NEST network would be about 6,000 personnel—only 25 percent of the existing National Police force. Former National Police personnel that did not remain as part of the NEST forces could be readily absorbed into the Iraqi Army or the Iraqi Police Service. In light of the sectarian problems that have plagued the National Police, it would be important to

ensure that all former National Police members seeking to transfer to the Iraqi Army or Iraqi Police Service are sufficiently vetted prior to being accepted into either of those organizations.

Conclusion: The National Police have proven operationally ineffective. Sectarianism in its units undermines its ability to provide security; the force is not viable in its current form. The National Police should be disbanded and reorganized.

CHAPTER 10: THE DEPARTMENT OF BORDER ENFORCEMENT

The Iraqi Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Directorate are showing uneven but improved capabilities in some locations in Iraq. Although both entities have some effective top-level leadership and have improved Iraqi border security since 2003, considerable challenges remain. For example, the Ministry of Interior (MOI), which oversees the Department of Border Enforcement (DBE), does not have authority over the nation's sea and air ports of entry. In addition, border forts, border fort annexes, and land ports of entry have only modest levels of the basic equipment they need for their personnel and daily operations, and they lack the larger pieces of equipment necessary for inspecting and monitoring the people and cargo crossing the nation's borders. Border enforcement personnel often work in conditions lacking adequate life support services and are without sufficient logistical support to meet requirements. The importance of effective border enforcement to Iraq's overall security necessitates substantial improvements in these areas and a significantly greater sense of urgency on the part of the Iraqi central government and Ministry of Interior, as well as the continued assistance of Coalition Border Transition Teams for the foreseeable future.

Overview of the Department of Border Enforcement

Iraq has 2,268 miles of land border in addition to 36 miles of coastline. Although the Department of Border Enforcement existed during the Saddam era, border security functions at that time were performed mainly by the Iraqi military and the comprehensive network of secret police. At present, the Department of Border Enforcement has a force of only 37,710 personnel to secure the border.¹⁷⁵

In the wake of the 2003 invasion, the Coalition and the Government of Iraq built the new Department of Border Enforcement from scratch.¹⁷⁶ The Iraqi Department of Border Enforcement, which was created under Coalition Provisional Authority Order 26 on August 24, 2003, is part of the Ministry of Interior.¹⁷⁷ Although the MOI is responsible for all border forts, annexes, and land ports of entry, the Ministry of Transportation (MOT) maintains control over sea and air ports of entry. On several occasions, both Coalition and Iraqi officials told the Commission that the reasons for this division of responsibilities have more to do with ministries consolidating power than with advancing the overall mission of border security. Eventually, they agreed, all ports of entry should be under the MOI's domain.¹⁷⁸ Accordingly, in 2008 the responsibility for air and sea ports of entry will shift to the MOI.

The Director of the Department of Border Enforcement is Major General Moshen, whom Coalition officials view as resourceful, effective, and an excellent administrator. Brigadier General Farhoud, who was acting director for the Ports of Entry Directorate when the Commission first

¹⁷⁵ CPATT Support Forces briefing, July 2007.

¹⁷⁶ Department of Border Enforcement and Ports of Entry Directorate overview briefing, July 2007.

¹⁷⁷ CPA Order 26, "Creation of the Department of Border Enforcement"; available at http://www.cpa-iraq.org/regulations/20030824_CPAORD_26_Creation_of_the_Dept_of_Border_Enforcement.pdf.

¹⁷⁸ Department of Border Enforcement and Ports of Entry Directorate overview briefing, July 2007.

visited, is also very highly regarded. He had been replaced by Brigadier General Ali by the time of a subsequent visit. Despite the current strength of its top-level leadership, the department has experienced a high level of turnover. For example, as of July 2007, the Ports of Entry Directorate had functioned under 10 different directors in a 15-month period.¹⁷⁹

The Department of Border Enforcement is organized into five divisions, one for each of Iraq's five geographic regions (as determined by the department). Each division has two to three brigades.¹⁸⁰ Today, there are a total of 12 brigades and 42 battalions, 38 of which are dependent on Coalition support.¹⁸¹ At present, there are 258 Coalition-constructed and supported border forts, 112 department-constructed annexes, and another 47 annexes under departmental construction. The Department of Border Enforcement and its Coalition partners have a five-year plan to bring the total number of constructed border forts and annexes to 723,¹⁸² and to reduce the distance between forts to an average of 6 to 9 miles.

The Department of Border Enforcement generally recruits from local populations near its facilities to man land border crossings. Some current border enforcement agents are former Ba'athist-era military, and most joined the Department of Border Enforcement because its jobs are considered easier and safer than those in the Iraqi Army. The Department of Border Enforcement addressed chronic personnel shortages in 2006 by cross-leveling manpower from existing Department of Border Enforcement facilities and by increasing hires. As a result, staffing levels are now at 98 percent across the department and its facilities, though its personnel are not necessarily equally trained. The Department of Border Enforcement did not establish a comprehensive training program until August 2004, and its training capacity remains modest.¹⁸³

While the Department of Border Enforcement has overall authority for Iraqi border security, the Ports of Entry Directorate is the component within the Department of Border Enforcement that has responsibility for the land ports of entry into the country. The Ports of Entry Directorate was only recently moved under the jurisdiction of the Department of Border Enforcement, but it was transferred without a budget—an oversight that presents a significant problem. Currently, the Department of Border Enforcement is able to provide for some but not all of the Ports of Entry Directorate's needs. There are 17 land ports of entry in Iraq, 12 of which are currently functioning; 4 were closed in February 2007 as part of the enhanced security measures then put into place in an effort to focus border resources on the Iranian and Syrian crossings where they are most urgently needed.¹⁸⁴ One additional crossing at Al Qa'im will open in November 2007. Although some have been closed, other land ports of entry are receiving significant investments. For example, the Ports of Entry Directorate intends to make Al Qa'im on the Syrian border a model border crossing and has invested \$21 million into a construction project to make the facility state-of-the-art.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ CPATT Support Forces briefing, July 2007.

¹⁸⁰ Interviews with DOD officials, July 2007.

¹⁸¹ Department of Defense, *Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq*, June 2007, p. 35 (reports of this title, submitted to Congress in accordance with section 9010 of various Department of Defense appropriation acts, are cited hereafter as 9010 Report).

¹⁸² MNSTC-I Border Forces briefing, July 2007.

¹⁸³ CPATT briefing, July 2007 (staffing levels); MNSTC-I Border Forces briefing, July 2007 (training).

¹⁸⁴ 9010 Report, June 2007, p. 35.

¹⁸⁵ MNSTC-I Border Forces briefing, July 2007.

Today the Department of Border Enforcement has about 87 percent of the basic equipment it requires. In some areas, such as firearms and radios, the department appears to have 100 percent of its needed equipment. At the same time, some required equipment has never been issued at all. Equipping rates for the Ports of Entry Directorate are lower—about 68 percent on average, with particular shortages in patrol vehicles, flatbed trucks, uniforms, generators, and body armor.¹⁸⁶ In addition, major items of equipment, including technology-based systems used to track people and cargo coming across the borders, are insufficient in both quantity and quality, as will be detailed later in this chapter.

Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq works with the MOI and the Department of Border Enforcement to provide training and advice, primarily through advisors from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Border Transition Teams working in the field. Most Border Transition Teams are composed of about 13 personnel—a mix of military personnel, contractors, and DHS employees. Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq has identified a total requirement for 70 Border Transition Teams amounting to more than 900 people, but the Coalition has not been able to fill this requirement.¹⁸⁷ Today there are just 28 Border Transition Teams distributed across the Department of Border Enforcement’s five geographic regions.

Although Border Transition Teams are stationed throughout Iraq, the Coalition has chosen to focus its 28 existing teams on difficult border crossings and rely on decent relations with countries such as Turkey and Kuwait to ensure sufficient border security in more stable areas.¹⁸⁸ The more successful land ports of entry have Border Transition Teams (also called Ports of Entry Transition Teams) that live and work with their Iraqi counterparts. For example, the port of entry director at Trebil indicated that the Border Transition Team assigned there was critical to their mission, a sentiment echoed by Iraqi officials at the Zurbatiya Port of Entry.

Challenges for the Department of Border Enforcement

The Commission met with several officials in the Iraqi Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Directorate, held discussions with many Coalition Border Transition Team advisors, and visited multiple land ports of entry, including Zurbatiya, Trebil, and Walid. Though it is clear that border security is better today than it was in the wake of the invasion, when people and goods flowed unchecked across borders, the Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Directorate face significant challenges and are not yet providing adequate border security for Iraq.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Interview with DOD officials, July 2007.

Ministry of Interior

***Finding:** The overall capacity of the Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Directorate is undermined by weak MOI capacity. Further, border security commanders have little confidence that the MOI will address their needs and concerns.*

The MOI is often not in control of the land ports of entry under the Ports of Entry Directorate's jurisdiction. The Deputy Minister of Interior for Support Forces, Major General Admed al-Khafaji, told Commissioners that the Kurds, not the MOI, administer the land ports of entry in the Kurdish autonomous region. Even more troubling, in separate meetings with the Director of the Ports of Entry Directorate and Deputy Minister al-Khafaji, it was made clear to the Commission that four land ports of entry in the south are run by militia and are not under MOI control. Furthermore, efforts to install department-assigned directors at those land ports of entry were thwarted by the militia in place. The sea port of entry at Umm Qasr as well as other, smaller sea ports of entry are also reportedly controlled by militia. None of the tariffs collected at these militia-run ports of entry end up in the national coffers, and the Department of Border Enforcement has little insight as to how these ports are administered.

Both the Deputy Director of the Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Director also expressed immense frustration with their inability to obtain funding from the MOI for infrastructure development, fuel, ammunition, and personal equipment. Border forts and annexes often experience difficulty getting required fuel and lack reliable access to electrical power. Some border fort commanders pay for fuel out of their own pockets to enable their forces to patrol. In extreme cases, Border Transition Teams have facilitated fuel delivery from Coalition resources. It is common for requests to languish for months at the MOI without explanation, and local commanders are sometimes ignored by the MOI for secular reasons.

***Finding:** The divided responsibility for land, sea, and air ports of entry between the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Transportation, together with the lack of unity of effort between these ministries, undermines the effectiveness of the Department of Border Enforcement and the Ports of Entry Directorate.*

The systemic weakness of the MOI is exacerbated by the lack of MOI jurisdiction over Iraq's sea and air ports of entry, which are currently controlled by the Ministry of Transportation. It is the Commission's assessment, based on numerous observations and discussions, that the Ministry of Transportation is equally as corrupt and dysfunctional as the Ministry of Interior. As a result, there are no MOI personnel present to even monitor activities at the sea and air ports of entry, which are likely the entry points for foreign fighters as well as equipment for improvised explosive devices and vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices, and are the staging grounds for smuggling operations.¹⁸⁹

Even at those land ports of entry where the MOI is responsible for border security, the lack of definition regarding ministerial responsibilities continues to undermine border security. Land ports of entry, though under MOI authority, involve up to 15 other ministries with border security–

¹⁸⁹ Department of Border Enforcement and Ports of Entry Directorate overview briefing, July 2007.

related functions. When the MOI appoints a port director, for example, that individual typically has no control over the non-MOI ministries and agencies (Finance, Transportation, Customs, Justice, etc.) that also operate at the border crossing. Without unity of command, or even unity of effort between the MOI, MOT, and other ministries, the Ports of Entry Directorate personnel have no choice but to compete for authority with representatives of other ministries.

Recommendation: *The Government of Iraq should establish clear guidelines to facilitate unity of effort between the MOI and MOT for border security and move quickly to consolidate overall responsibility for border security under the MOI.*

Bringing unity of effort and centralized authority to all Iraqi ports of entry—land, sea, and air—will likely require the direct involvement of the Deputy Minister of Interior for Support Forces, the Minister of Interior, and possibly the attention of the Prime Minister as well. Because the current division of responsibility between the MOI and the MOT regarding land, sea, and air ports of entry has more to do with politics than with a logical, functional division of labor, a solution will not come overnight. In the near term, a good start would be allowing MOI personnel to work with MOT personnel at sea and air ports of entry and to participate in some aspects of inspection and administration.

Finding: *The MOI has not created standardized concepts of operations, operating procedures, or processes for the Ports of Entry Directorate to apply at Iraq's land ports of entry; each appears to be run according to the initiative—or lack thereof—of the local commander.*

Policies and procedures at land ports of entry often defy logic. For example, at land ports of entry with Iran and Jordan, the contents of trucks from those nations are loaded into Iraqi-licensed vehicles and driven by Iraqi drivers through the land port of entry. Since the invasion in 2003, this downloading at the Iranian border has been conducted on the Iranian side of the border behind berms and fencing that block the view of Iraqi security forces. When the Iraqi trucks subsequently arrive at the Iraqi border, the inspections are cursory at best. Commissioners witnessed officials looking at the documentation provided by the driver and occasionally opening the door of a tractor-trailer, looking inside a van, or climbing over the loaded cargo. However, there was no evidence of cranes or forklifts to off-load and inspect cargo. Although the coordination now occurring between Iraqi and Jordanian land ports of entry will likely result in some improved efficiency, steady gains in effectiveness nationwide are unlikely absent standardized procedures and processes across all land ports of entry.

Equipment

Finding: *Many land ports of entry have neither the quantity nor the quality of monitoring and detection systems required for border security operations to function effectively.*

The distribution of major security equipment to track people and goods crossing the borders at land ports of entry throughout the five regions is uneven and inadequate. Most land ports of

entry use outdated, inefficient systems to monitor cargo and track people.¹⁹⁰ At many border crossings, even this substandard equipment is either broken or nonexistent, as the Commission observed during visits to Zurbatiya, Trebil, and Walid. Backscatter radars, if assigned, are often inoperable, and there is a dire lack of the forklifts or cranes required to access cargo for inspection. The Commission saw no logical method for apportioning even this outdated equipment. Further, even if adequate and functioning systems were in place to screen cargo and track people, loopholes would remain. For example, there are limited mechanisms in place for the personnel working at the border crossings to share intelligence with local police, so that even a functioning watch list might prove somewhat ineffectual.

Lack of adequate security equipment has an immediate impact on the Ports of Entry Directorate's capacity to function. The Deputy Director of the Department of Border Enforcement estimated that 95 percent of all traffic entering or leaving Iraq by land passes through the land ports of entry. However, only a small amount of all traffic entering these ports of entry is inspected. Port directors do not have adequate technical or mechanical means to inspect a higher volume, and the lack of technological solutions and equipment causes huge backups at the land ports of entry—waiting lines of vehicles from neighboring countries sometimes exceed 10 miles. When commissioners visited the crossing at Walid, the backup from Iraq to Syria was estimated at 15 miles, and Border Transition Team members at Trebil on the Jordanian border estimated the wait to enter Iraq at three weeks.

Recommendation: *The Coalition should continue to emphasize to the MOI that the territorial integrity of the country relies heavily on the Department of Border Enforcement's ability to secure the borders and that funding for detection and monitoring equipment for those forces should be accorded a very high priority to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of ports of entry security forces.*

The Ports of Entry Directorate requires facilities, infrastructure, and equipment that can better check incoming personnel and cargo at the land ports of entry; its needs include concrete ramps, tarmacs, and space to conduct inspections as well as equipment such as forklifts, cranes, backscatter radar, lighting systems, and metal detectors that will enable personnel to inspect cargo. Indeed, current backscatter systems may not be sufficiently rugged or powerful enough to make an impact at Iraqi border crossings. Gamma-ray scanners such as the VACIS machine—often used in the United States—would be more useful, but also far more costly for the MOI. A senior Ports of Entry Directorate official told the Commission that if Iraqi land ports of entry were equipped with even 10 percent of the equipment used by neighboring countries, the ports of entry would function adequately.¹⁹¹ In addition to direct inspection equipment, the Department of Border Enforcement needs technical solutions such as electronic surveillance to monitor sections of the borders not covered by the department's current forts and annexes. In short, infiltration of foreign fighters, contraband, and weapons through the land ports of entry will likely continue until the necessary equipment, technology, and personnel to screen and inspect a greater percentage of incoming traffic and people are provided.

¹⁹⁰ MNSTC-I Border Forces briefing, July 2007.

¹⁹¹ Meeting with senior Ports of Entry Directorate official, July 2007.

Support Systems

Finding: *The Department of Border Enforcement lacks sufficient logistics, support systems, and infrastructure to sustain many of its forces in the field.*

Many of the logistics and support system challenges that plague the Army and other elements of the Iraqi security forces are also major problems for the Department of Border Enforcement. Maintaining equipment can be difficult, particularly because in some areas it is simply too dangerous to move vehicles and other large pieces of equipment to repair facilities. Centralization of distribution in the MOI can mean that access to appropriate quantities and types of arms and ammunition is impeded. Weapons are obtained by submitting a request memo to the director general of logistics, and units must pick up the requested goods at the MOI in Baghdad. Obtaining fuel is similarly complex, time-consuming, and bureaucratic. Logistics support exists at the local level with little assistance from the MOI. Port directors and Department of Border Enforcement commanders are generally left to their own devices to support their forces with what little money they receive from the central government.

Finally, living conditions and capacity appear problematic in some border stations. In some regions, there are significant challenges related to poor life support services and lack of area Forward Operating Bases, particularly in the southeast. There is also significant unevenness in quality among the installations at different ports of entry—ranging from adequate infrastructure and staffing at some to a lack of even basic buildings at others.¹⁹²

Recommendation: *Coalition forces should strongly encourage the Department of Border Enforcement to implement its national Headquarters Distribution Plan while continuing to provide logistical and maintenance support in the near term so that Department of Border Enforcement and ports of entry personnel can accomplish their mission.*

The Department of Border Enforcement needs to establish a logistics system that is driven from the top down, satisfies the requirements of provincial and local commands, and accounts fully for all personal and unit equipment. Central to this system is a mechanism that reduces the need to travel great distances from the Department of Border Enforcement forts and annexes for vehicle maintenance. Another important element of a functioning distribution and support system would be a communications network that links Department of Border Enforcement locations with one another and with the nearest land ports of entry, providing a means to pass intelligence between port directors, Department of Border Enforcement and Ports of Entry Directorate personnel, and the MOI. This system should also be centrally linked to the Iraqi Army and police.

¹⁹² Meeting with senior Ministry of the Interior official, July 2007.

Corruption

***Finding:** Corruption is a serious problem at many land ports of entry. This fact has not yet been adequately addressed.*

Corruption continues to erode the territorial integrity of Iraq by reducing the ability of the central government to legitimately collect import tariffs, by enabling contraband to pass undetected, and by undermining the efforts of the Department of Border Enforcement. The Commission found that even points of entry under Iraqi and Coalition control suffer from pervasive corruption. In addition, the presence of several ministries at a single land port of entry fosters corruption because multiple parties at each land port of entry can maneuver for a cut of a particular type of good (e.g., agricultural commodities). Moreover, it is likely that at least some ministries view border crossings permissively once they receive their own share of kickbacks. In addition, Iraqi and Coalition officials told the Commission that personnel at the border crossings are often discouraged from doing their jobs “too well,” lest they disrupt lucrative smuggling operations that benefit senior-level officers in the MOI. To address these issues, the central government has changed leadership in some areas, taken punitive action in some instances, and at times has even sent delegations to try to address corruption at the border crossings, but these efforts have not been particularly successful.¹⁹³ Coalition forces are trying to stem existing corruption by training all border crossing personnel to a common standard and by using a “train the trainers” approach.

Two additional areas that provide ample opportunity for corruption are the taxation of people and goods entering the country and the transportation of fuel across the border.¹⁹⁴ Border Transition Team members told the Commission that large amounts of tax revenues never make it to the MOI, and in some cases tax revenues that arrive at the MOI are not ultimately deposited in the national treasury.¹⁹⁵ Transport of refined fuel into Iraq is another major source of corruption. The movement of fuel back and forth across borders for refinement and distribution provides ample opportunities for payoffs and fuel “skimming.” Efforts to reduce opportunities for tampering with fuel distribution have been rejected as too expensive, but such dismissals may simply reflect an unwillingness to build new systems that reduce opportunities for corruption.

***Recommendation:** Eliminating corruption will most likely be a generational undertaking in Iraq, but Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq, Multi-National Corps–Iraq, and civilian agencies should work together to try to increase Border Transition Team oversight of Department of Border Enforcement and Ports of Entry Directorate facilities, as well as to develop a standardized training program emphasizing leadership and professional ethics.*

Some short-term solutions can be put in place, such as an increased Border Transition Team presence at land ports of entry and more consistent punitive actions for those involved in corrupt practices at the border. However, corruption cannot be eliminated with a single training course or

¹⁹³ Corruption was so prevalent in Region 2 that the central government sent members of the Commission for Public Integrity to the port of entry; but because the investigators were Shi’a in a Sunni region, little was accomplished.

¹⁹⁴ Interviews with former Coalition Brigade Transition Team leads, June 2007.

¹⁹⁵ For example, one port of entry in May 2006 recorded collecting \$2.3 million in taxes on the basis of a specific amount of traffic across the border. Seven months later, in December 2006, the same port of entry processed the same amount of traffic and collected only \$300,000, with no explanation given for the discrepancy.

the implementation of an isolated new policy. It is a pervasive problem that will require real change within the Department of Border Enforcement and increased capacity—and, more importantly, will—in the MOI to exert central government authority over Iraqi border security.

Conclusion: Iraq's borders are porous. The Department of Border Enforcement suffers from poor ministerial support from the MOI. Border forces often lack the equipment, infrastructure, and basic supplies to conduct their mission. Overall border security is further undermined by the division of responsibilities between the MOI and the Ministry of Transportation. Corruption and external influence and infiltration are widespread. Absent major improvements in all these areas, Iraq's borders will remain porous and poorly defended.

CHAPTER 11. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Having responded to our Congressional tasking, the Commission would like to offer some additional thoughts relative to the findings and conclusions of our work. Though we were not asked specifically to comment on such related subjects as Iraqi governance, or the general trends associated with our ongoing national efforts, the three weeks the Commission spent on the ground in Iraq, coupled with the extraordinary access it was provided, enabled Commissioners to arrive at informed opinions with regard to the overall trends on Iraq. This final chapter offers a compendium of our thinking on the subject and provides some answers to the unasked question: “What does this all mean in terms of the future in Iraq?”

Assessment Recap. Though the overwhelming conclusion of the Commission is that the Iraqi government holds the key to the most pressing problem of sectarian violence, the progress of the Iraqi Army is certainly real. It is, however, limited to an increased capability to combat the internal security threats in Iraq. While still lacking in combat support and combat service support capabilities, the new Iraqi armed forces (most especially the Army) show clear evidence of developing the baseline infrastructures that lead to the successful formation of a national defense capability.

The Ministry of Defense is assessed as being one of the better functioning agencies of the Iraqi government. There is evidence to show that the emerging Iraqi soldier is willing to fight against the declared enemies of the state, with some exceptions remaining along ethnic lines. The Commission concurs with the view expressed by U.S., Coalition, and Iraqi experts that the Iraqi Army is capable of taking over an increasing amount of day-to-day combat responsibilities from Coalition forces. While a more advanced ability to function independently remains in the future, there is currently great focus on the requirements and capabilities necessary to achieve this long-term goal.

As the pace of development continues, we wish to underscore that the standard for acceptable Iraqi military readiness should not be “mirror imaged” to the U.S. standard. “Good enough” in terms of Iraqi military capabilities will indeed be “good enough.” This is particularly true with regard to the development of logistics capacities.

The difference between the new Iraqi Army’s ability to meet and overcome internal threats vice being capable of defending Iraq against external aggression is significant and must be well understood. While Iraq’s Army, in particular, is moving toward greater capacity to achieve the former capability, the latter remains a future goal. This is to be expected, given the relatively short timeframe and the enormous task of rebuilding the Iraqi armed forces, which were defeated in 2003 and dismantled by Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) policy directive.

The Commission noted the adverse effects of duplicate chains of command and intelligence structures within the government and concludes that they are redundant and unnecessary. They also fuel the perceptions of mistrust and sectarianism throughout the national defense community.

Offsetting the positive direction of the armed forces and the Ministry of Defense is the less positive trend of Iraqi police development, and the distinctly negative trend found in the Ministry of

Interior. Sectarian partisanship, bureaucratic inefficiency, the Ministry of Interior's reputation for corruption, a near universal rejection of the National Police as currently formed and administered, and a weak and ineffective Department of Border Enforcement continue to impede Iraq's overall progress towards security and stability.

Bureaucratic bungling and ministerial incapacity are often perceived as intentional acts of sectarian bias. Achieving competence and transparency in ministerial operations and decision-making can ease this problem. While there have been some recent efforts by the Minister of Interior to reshape his ministry, much remains to be done.

The most visible sign of police success remains at the local level, where police units are organized along ethnic lines representative of their communities. The Commission believes that it should be acceptable for local police to reflect the ethno-sectarian makeup of the communities they serve. This pragmatic accommodation may be necessary until such time that national reconciliation efforts have succeeded in making sectarian and ethnic associations secondary to a prevailing sense of Iraqi national identity. The makeup of Iraq's police forces is key to bringing stability to the neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the Commission cannot report favorably on the current situation. This is due in large part to the government's failure to achieve consensus in establishing policies and practices that promote national reconciliation.

There are still too few indications that police units, the armed forces, and their respective ministries, work well together in the aggregate. National reconciliation efforts must recognize and seek to address perceptions, whether fact or fiction, that fuel sectarian animosity by improving ministerial capacity, increasing governmental transparency, and establishing more effective lines of communication between the government and all constituencies.

The Commission wishes to underscore the problems and delays associated with the U.S. Foreign Military Sales system, as other official visitors to Iraq have recently reported. Any prolonged delays in providing equipment for which the Iraqi government has already paid directly hampers progress in developing Iraq's military capabilities. The Commission was surprised by the magnitude of the Foreign Military Sales problem in Iraq, and noted the extreme frustration it has caused our military commanders and the Iraqi government. The Department of Defense and the Department of State have been made aware of this problem. Commissioners who have significant career experience with the Foreign Military Sales system believe it is in need of major reform if it is to support our global policies. Foreign Military Sales as a national program is in need of overall reform, a fact well known to those of us who have served previously in senior positions.

The Surge. Much has been said about "the surge" in operations in the Baghdad region. Though not fully recognized, there have always been two principal participants in the implementation of this tactic; the Iraqi Security Forces and Coalition forces. The Iraqi component of the surge began in January 2007, and the U.S. surge contribution became operational in May of this year. The Commission wishes to underscore that the surge should not be viewed as the introduction of a new strategy. It is more accurate to describe it as a tactic supporting our overall national strategy in Iraq.

The surge, if successful, will play an important role in enabling the evolution of our strategy. There are signs of encouraging tactical successes in the Baghdad capital region, which remains the epicenter of enemy focus and of their competing strategy. Unable to achieve conventional military victory, the opposing forces must rely on spectacular bombing attacks on innocent Iraqi citizens, as well as ISF and Coalition forces. As the international media is mostly Baghdad-based, successful attacks receive disproportionate coverage relative to some very real progress achieved in other areas of the country, such as Anbar province. The result, unfortunately, is enemy momentum in the battle of strategic messaging despite the growing popular rejection of terrorist ideology in that region. The people's outrage at al Qaeda's savagery and their realization that it is a movement not of liberation but of occupation, has helped transform this province from being the most violent to being one of the least violent in Iraq. Coupled with the emerging capabilities of the Iraqi Security Forces and the promise of the Coalition's "clear, hold, and build" tactic, there are some encouraging indications of a positive trend in this region.

Strategic Shift. The strategic implications of such continuing successes are encouraging. Coalition forces could begin to be adjusted, realigned, and re-tasked as the Iraqi Army is able to take on more responsibility for daily combat operations. The Commission finds it reasonable to believe that such adjustments could begin in early 2008, depending on the continuing rate of progress of the Iraqi Security Forces.

The circumstances of the moment may continue to present the opportunity for considering a shift in the disposition and employment of our forces. This could be characterized as a transition to a "strategic overwatch" posture. Such a strategy would include placing increasing responsibilities for the internal security of the nation on the ISF, especially in the urban areas. Coalition forces could be re-tasked to better ensure the territorial defense of the state by increasingly concentrating on the eastern and western borders and the active defense of the critical infrastructures essential to Iraq. Existing threats from Syria, coupled with the alarming increase in Iranian presence, and their combined threats to Iraq's stability, more than justify new strategic thinking. Though Iraq's armed forces are currently incapable of countering both internal security missions and the nation's external threats simultaneously, the Commission believes that the Iraqi Army has taken an important first step in proving its increasing competence in combating the nation's internal threats. The next step will come in time.

The Commission concludes that the evidence of Iran's increasing activism in the southeastern part of the country, including Basra and Diyala provinces, is compelling. Left unaddressed, this escalating threat will most certainly have the effect of delaying efforts to resolve sectarian difficulties, provide security and stability in the nation, stimulate economic reform, enhance the rule of law, and fight corruption. The current rise of the Jaysh al-Mahdi in the region is evident, and the Iranian influence over the militant arm of this militia is increasing. It is an accepted fact that most of the sophisticated weapons being used to "defeat" our armor protection comes across the border from Iran with relative impunity.

The Syrian border is more generally associated with the flow of foreign fighters, who are entering Iraq at an estimated rate of 75–80 per month. There are allegations that training camps for these fighters exist in Syria. Any increased Coalition presence capable of bringing focus to the border regions will help reduce the external threats facing Iraq and, the Commission believes, will

cause the two nations in question to reassess their current destabilizing policies and practices. The Commission believes that an “overwatch” strategy, focusing on the border regions, will more comprehensively address the most serious threats facing Iraq. A key to implementing any future plans to assist Iraqi Security Forces lies in maintaining the presence and the critical contributions of the various transition teams assigned by the Coalition to work with, train, and help develop Iraqi Security Force units; they represent indispensable links in our overall effort to transform the ISF.

Perceptions and reality are frequently at odds with each other when trying to understand Iraq’s problems and progress. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the impressions drawn from seeing our massive logistics “footprint,” our many installations, and the number of personnel (military and civilian), especially in and around the Baghdad region. The unintended message conveyed is one of “permanence”, an occupying force, as it were. What is needed is the opposite impression, one that is lighter, less massive, and more expeditionary. The decision to occupy Saddam Hussein’s former palace complex with our military headquarters, while expedient in 2003, has most likely given the wrong impression to the Iraqi population. We recommend that careful consideration of the size of our national footprint in Iraq be reconsidered with regard to its efficiency, necessity, and its cost. Significant reductions, consolidations, and realignments would appear to be possible and prudent.

The Commission believes that it would be important to establish an Iraqi-Coalition Transition Headquarters designed to shape, coordinate, and monitor all aspects of transition efforts. Such a headquarters should be composed of Iraqi and Coalition civilian and military personnel, and should be jointly led by senior civilian authorities. In this manner, momentum of transition could be carefully monitored, recorded, and future plans could be more visible than they are at present. For all of its great work, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq is not designed to be such a headquarters, though it would certainly play a critical role were one to be established. Visible and consistent progress toward transition ought to be one of the most important efforts of our presence in Iraq.

Provincial Iraqi Control (PIC). To further reinforce the image that we are not “occupiers” in Iraq, the Commission recommends that consideration be given to implementing two additional efforts. The first is to reform the system by which we transfer authority to the Iraqi government. The current process seeks to apply standard criteria to each of Iraq’s 18 provinces in order to determine when total responsibility should be transferred to regional authorities.

To date, 7 out of 18 provinces have been transferred under this system. Upon close inspection however, the Commission was unable to conclude that current metrics for transfer of control were being uniformly applied to each province. Further, the Commission became convinced that the conditions in many of Iraq’s 18 provinces are so diverse that a uniform standard cannot be achieved, to include those pertaining to security and stability. Disparities are most visible when conditions in northern Iraq (Kurdish region) and southern Iraq (Shi’a region) are compared. In the north, three provinces have been transferred to Provisional Iraqi Control and one finds evidence of good governance, stability, security, a functioning police force, a developing economy, and public order. In the south, where four provinces have been transferred to Provisional Iraqi Control, conditions are completely different as evidenced by the rise of the Iranian-influenced Jaysh al-Mahdi, Shi’a-on-Shi’a violence, and excessive militia influence. Recently, as if to underscore the

point, two southern governors have been assassinated. Nonetheless, considerations are under way to transfer Basra to Provincial Iraqi Control. Such a decision would be enthusiastically supported by the British Regional Coalition commander (Multi-National Force–South) who considers his forces to be an impediment to progress in the region.

The Commission believes that each of Iraq's provinces should be transferred to Iraqi control as a matter of policy. The existing PIC system is not an effective vehicle; it is difficult to understand, impossible to apply uniformly, and actually impedes momentum and progress toward goals which should be to cede to Iraqi governmental institutions at the local, regional and national levels as much authority and responsibility as possible.

Such transfer of authority should be supplemented by the necessary levels of mentoring and assistance to ensure success. The Commission has discovered that the Government of Iraq wishes to be given control and responsibility for all of its provinces. Our current policy of determining when a province may or may not be controlled by its own government reinforces the popular perception of the Coalition as an occupation force. This may contribute to increased violence and instability. Granting Iraq full control of its provinces is symbolically important and vests the Iraqi government with the responsibility it needs in order to mature and develop. The workload of the Coalition resulting from such a policy would be unchanged.

The Commission wishes to emphasize that there is a fine line between assistance and dependence. Identifying those areas in which Iraqis can do things on their own, even if in ways different from those we prefer, should be acceptable wherever possible. Additional focus and help in improving the infrastructure of the country, and an increasing capability to ensure general access to basic needs such as water, power, fuel, schools, and public sanitation, will have a large impact in gaining popular support for the central, regional, and local governments.

Status of Forces Agreement. The second recommendation the Commission wishes to offer is that consideration be given to pursuing an agreement akin to a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with the Government of Iraq. Appropriately drawn, it would have the effect of codifying our relationship with the host nation, reinforcing its sovereignty and independence, and would be consistent with other such agreements we enjoy with many nations where we have a military presence. Ancillary to such an agreement, we believe that all our bases in Iraq should demonstrate evidence of Iraqi national sovereignty (Iraqi headquarters and national flag). Placing Iraqi units close to Coalition forces, when and where possible, will have a positive effect on the development of national security forces.

Goals and Benchmarks. Before closing, the Commission emphasizes the vital importance of setting strategic goals, benchmarks, and metrics designed to serve the needs of all "stakeholders", including commanders, public policymakers, and the public. Such goals must be part of all planning and implementation efforts and must be among the most visible aspects of our mission to restore Iraq to its rightful and respectable place among nations.

Concluding Thoughts. The Commission wishes to thank Congress for the opportunity to conduct an independent review of the capabilities of the security forces of Iraq. While much remains to be done before success can be confidently declared, the strategic consequences of failure, or even

perceived failure, for the United States and the Coalition are enormous. We approach a truly strategic moment in this still young century. Iraq's regional geo-strategic position, the balance of power in the Middle East, the economic stability made possible by the flow of energy to many parts of the world, and the ability to defeat and contain terrorism where it is most manifest are issues that do not lend themselves to easy or quick solutions. How we respond to them, however, could well define our nation in the eyes of the world for years to come.

At the end of the day, however, the future of Iraq and the prospects for establishing a professional, effective, and loyal military and police service, hinges on the ability of the Iraqi people and the government to begin the process of achieving national reconciliation and to ending sectarian violence. For the time being, all progress seems to flow from this most pressing requirement.

APPENDIX A: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

General James L. Jones, USMC (Ret.)

General James L. Jones (Ret.) is currently president and CEO of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Institute for 21st Century Energy. On February 1, 2007, General Jones completed 40 years of active duty service in the Marine Corps. His most senior assignments in uniform included duties as Commandant of the Marine Corps (1999-2003), Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (2003-2006), and Commander, U.S. European Command (2003-2006). During a period of great transformation of the Alliance's expeditionary capabilities and seeking to increase better agility and mobility in the forward presence of U.S. forces in Europe and Africa, General Jones advocated for greater strategic focus and understanding of the 21st century threats to our nation and to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

General John Abrams, USA (Ret.)

General John Abrams, U.S. Army (Ret.), currently serves on the Board of Directors of the Virginia National Defense Industrial Authority. He retired from the U.S. Army in 2003. General Abrams commanded the Army's Training and Doctrine Command and was one of the primary architects of the "Army of the 21st Century." He began his military career as a tank crewman in 1966 and, over the next 36 years, rose from private to four-star general. He is also President of Abrams Learning and Information Systems, Inc.

Lieutenant General Martin R. Berndt, USMC (Ret.)

Lieutenant General Martin R. Berndt (Ret.) retired from the Marine Corps in October 2005, having served for 36 years. He was privileged to serve as an infantry officer in a variety of service and joint billets, completing his career as Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic, Europe, and South. He currently serves as a senior mentor to the Marine Corps and U.S. Joint Forces Command. Additionally, he serves on the North Carolina Military Foundation and as a director with several private and public businesses.

General Charles G. Boyd, USAF (Ret.)

General Charles G. Boyd, U.S. Air Force (Ret.), became president and CEO of Business Executives for National Security (BENS) in May of 2002. Before joining BENS, he served as Senior Vice President and Washington Program Director of the Council on Foreign Relations. General Boyd was commissioned through the aviation cadet program in July 1960 and retired in 1995 after 35 years of service. General Boyd was the only Vietnam POW to achieve four-star rank, and his final military

assignment was as Deputy Commander of U.S. European Command. Following his retirement from active duty, he served as the director of the 21st Century International Legislators Project for the Congressional Institute, Inc., and strategy consultant to then Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. He currently serves as a member of the Board of Directors of the Nixon Center; DRS Technologies, Inc.; Forterra Systems, Inc.; and In-Q-Tel.

Command Sergeant Major Dwight J. Brown, USA (Ret.)

Command Sergeant Major Dwight J. Brown, a native of Lexington, Kentucky, enlisted in the Army in January 1973. He is a graduate of the United States Army Sergeant Major Academy, First Sergeants Course, Army Basic Noncommissioned Officer Course, Drill Sergeant School, Operations and Intelligence (Battle Staff) Course, and the Joint Fire Power Air Ground Operations Course. His assignments have included five tours in the Federal Republic of Germany: the 11th Armor Cavalry Regiment, Fulda/Bad Hersfeld; three tours in 1st Armored Division, Katterback/Ansbach, Erlangen, and Bad Kreuznach; and the 8th Infantry Division, Mainz. His deployments include Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia; Operation Restore/Continue Hope, Somalia; Operation Uphold Democracy, Haiti; Hurricane Andrew Relief, Florida; Operations Joint Guard/Forge, Bosnia-Herzegovina; Operation Enduring Freedom; and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Command Sergeant Major Brown served as the Command Sergeant Major, United States Central Command, MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida, from August 4, 2000, to August 1, 2004. He retired from the military on August 1, 2004, after more than 31 years of military service and went on to found D. Brown and Associates, a small, service-disabled veteran-owned business.

The Honorable Terrance Gainer

Terrance Gainer is a decorated veteran who served in the Vietnam War and as a captain in the United States Naval Reserve until 2000. During his law enforcement career, Gainer served as Deputy Inspector General of Illinois, Deputy Director of the Illinois State Police, and in the United States Department of Transportation before he was appointed as Director of the Illinois State Police in March 1991. Chief Gainer spent 20 years as a homicide detective with the Chicago Police Department. Ultimately his superior legal skills were put to use as the department's Chief Legal Counsel. Gainer went on to serve as Executive Assistant Police Chief, second in command of the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, beginning in March 1998, and as Chief of the United States Capitol Police from June 2, 2002, to March 3, 2006. On November 14, 2006, Gainer was appointed by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) as the Sergeant-at-Arms of the U.S. Senate for the 110th United States Congress.

The Honorable John J. Hamre

John Hamre was elected CSIS president and chief executive officer in January 2000. Before joining CSIS, he served as U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense and Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller). As comptroller, Dr. Hamre was the principal assistant to the Secretary of Defense for the preparation, presentation, and execution of the defense budget and management improvement programs. Before serving in the Department of Defense, Dr. Hamre worked for 10 years as a professional staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. During that time he was primarily responsible for the oversight and evaluation of procurement, research, and development programs; defense budget issues; and relations with the Senate Appropriations Committee. From 1978 to 1984, Dr. Hamre served in the Congressional Budget Office, where he became its Deputy Assistant Director for National Security and International Affairs. In that position, he oversaw analysis and other support for committees in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Colonel Michael Heidingsfield, USAF (Ret.)

Colonel Michael Heidingsfield served from 1991 to 1998 as the Chief of Police and Director of Public Safety for the City of Scottsdale, Arizona. Following his first three years of law enforcement service with the University of Texas System Police, Colonel Heidingsfield served with the Arlington (TX) Police Department from 1978 to 1991, leaving there as the Senior Deputy Police Chief after having been selected through a nationwide recruitment process to lead the Scottsdale Police Department. At the time of his retirement from the City of Scottsdale, he was accorded the title of Chief of Police Emeritus. Prior to the start of his law enforcement career, Colonel Heidingsfield served as an active duty Air Force officer and retired in 2004 as a full colonel in the U.S. Air Force Reserve assigned to the Security Forces Directorate at the Pentagon. Following his retirement from the military, he served from 2004 to 2006 as the State Department's first Contingent Commander for the Police Advisory Mission in Iraq. Colonel Heidingsfield is currently the president and CEO of the Memphis Shelby Crime Commission in Memphis, Tennessee.

Admiral Gregory G. Johnson, USN (Ret.)

Admiral Gregory G. Johnson, U.S. Navy (Ret.), served as former Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Europe and Commander in Chief, Allied Forces, Southern Europe. Since retiring in December 2004, Admiral Johnson has founded Snow Ridge Associates, which provides strategic advice and counsel. While in the U.S. Navy, he oversaw the successful implementation of NATO's Operation Active Endeavor, assumed command of the NATO Response Force at the Istanbul Summit in June 2004, and was responsible for the establishment of NATO's training support mission in Iraq. He was also assigned to several senior policy positions in Washington, most notably serving as the executive assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chief of Staff (1992 to 1993) and military assistant to the Secretary of Defense (1999 to 2000). Admiral Johnson also is chairman of Snow Ridge Associates, which provides strategic advice and counsel; is active in community and civic affairs; and serves on several for-profit and nonprofit boards.

General George Joulwan, USA (Ret.)

General George A. Joulwan, U.S. Army (Ret.), is currently President of One Team, Inc., a strategic consulting firm. He retired from the Army in 1997 after 40 years of service in war and peace, including two combat tours of Vietnam. From 1990 to 1997, he was the Commander in Chief of both U.S. Southern Command and U.S. European Command, as well as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. In 1992 he helped facilitate a peace agreement with the FMLN insurgents and the government of El Salvador. He also developed a successful strategic counternarcotics plan linking more than 40 U.S. agencies and several Central and South American nations. In 1995, as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General Joulwan was the architect of NATO's Bosnian Operation, which ended the vicious atrocities in that country without one NATO hostile fatal casualty in over ten years of engagement. General Joulwan was also instrumental in developing the U.S. State Partnership Program and NATO's Partnership for Peace Program, which included former communist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine among them.

Lieutenant General James C. King, USA (Ret.)

Lieutenant General King is the President and CEO of Athena Innovative Solutions, Inc. During his 33 years in the U.S. Army, he was involved in foreign and national security policy formulation and implementation, intelligence operations, and leadership of large organizations. He led the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, a Department of Defense and National Intelligence Agency composed of 13,000 employees and contractors, created as a result of the merger of eight distinct organizations. He served as the principal architect for the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance input for information superiority and information operations planning and implementation for the Secretary of Defense and Joint Chiefs of Staff. He was responsible for implementing one of the largest digital information management acquisition programs in government, and led the Department of Defense and intelligence community effort to establish a national collaborative environment.

Assistant Chief Constable Duncan McCausland, PSNI

Duncan McCausland joined the Northern Irish Police Service in 1983 and served as a Constable and Sergeant in Belfast and Dungannon. He was promoted to the rank of Inspector in 1991 and to Chief Inspector in 1995. He was transferred on appointment to Superintendent in 1998 and took charge of Dungannon as Sub-Divisional Commander. In 2000, he returned to Headquarters as Head of Command Secretariat. From February 2001 until April 2002 he was Staff Officer to the Chief Constable. In March 2002 he was promoted to Chief Superintendent. On October 6, 2003, he was appointed Assistant Chief Constable Urban Region, including Belfast City, based at Castlereagh. As ACC Urban, he is responsible for the provision of effective professional policing within 12 District Command Units, utilizing some 4,600 police and civilian support staff.

Lieutenant General Gary S. McKissock, USMC (Ret.)

Lieutenant General Gary S. McKissock (Ret.) is the former Deputy Commandant of the Marine Corps for Installations and Logistics. Since leaving active service, McKissock has served on the board of both the Sapient Corp. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Acorn Growth Companies of Midwest City, Oklahoma. Additionally, he has served as an executive fellow at the Institute for Defense and Business in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and is founder and principal of CorpsStrategy LLC, a consulting firm specializing in organizational planning.

Sergeant Major Alford McMichael, USMC (Ret.)

Alford L. McMichael is the founder and president of the 4-DREW Foundation, a foundation that supports children at risk. He also provides counseling to young men at two Catholic high schools in Harlem and the Bronx, where he teaches the importance of pursuing excellence in all endeavors in life. He has served on three congressional task forces on sexual assault in the military services, on the military academies, and on domestic violence and sexual harassment. Sergeant Major McMichael served as the 14th Sergeant Major of the United States Marine Corps from 1999 to 2003, and from 2003 to 2006 served as the 1st Sergeant Major in the history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He retired from the United States Marine Corps in October 2006 after 36 years of service.

Brigadier General Richard Potter, USA (Ret.)

Brigadier General Richard Potter, U.S. Army (Ret.), currently serves as a senior advisor to Sierra Nevada Corporation–Integrated Mission Systems. After a distinguished 35-year career in the military, Brigadier General Potter retired in 1994 from his post as Deputy Commanding General, United States Army Special Operations Command. Since 1995, he has provided independent consulting services specializing in high-tech firms and companies within the defense industry, including Raytheon, Northrop Grumman, Jacobs-Sverdrup, ACS Defense, Gray Hawk Systems, Inc., and Areté Associates. Additionally, he has served as a consultant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Command Control Communications Computers Intelligence (ASDC⁴¹), the United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), and United States Army Special Operations Command (USASOC), as well as with the Department of the Army and other government agencies on special projects both domestically and abroad.

Major General Arnold L. Punaro, USMC (Ret.)

Arnold Punaro is a retired Marine Corps Major General who served as Commanding General of the 4th Marine Division (1997–2000) and Director of Reserve Affairs at Marine Corps

Headquarters during the post-9/11 peak reserve mobilization periods. Following active duty service in Vietnam, he was mobilized three times: for Operation Desert Shield in the first Gulf War, to command Joint Task Force Provide Promise (Fwd) in Bosnia and Macedonia, and for Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003. He worked on Capitol Hill for 24 years for Senator Sam Nunn and served as his Staff Director of the Senate Armed Services Committee for 14 years. He is currently Executive Vice President of Science Applications International Corporation. He is also chairing the Independent Commission on the National Guard and Reserves established by Congress in 2005.

Chief Charles H. Ramsey

Charles H. Ramsey served as Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department from April 1998 to December 2006, making him the longest-serving chief of the MPDC since home rule was granted to the District of Columbia in 1973. He has since served as consultant to the U.S. Senate Sergeant-at-Arms. Under Chief Ramsey's leadership as Chief, the MPDC regained its reputation as a national leader in urban policing: crime rates declined by approximately 40 percent, community policing and traffic safety programs were expanded, and MPDC recruiting and hiring standards, training, equipment, facilities, and fleet were all dramatically upgraded. His notable initiatives included a September 1998 reorganization of the Department that put more police resources in the community, cut bureaucracy, and enhanced accountability by creating a system of Regional Operations Commands. The Chief also oversaw a multimillion-dollar upgrade to district stations and other Department facilities, as well as new communications and information technology, including mobile data computing and the 3-1-1 non-emergency system. Chief Ramsey redefined the Department's community policing mission to focus on crime prevention. The program he instituted, Policing for Prevention, encompassed law enforcement, neighborhood-based partnerships and problem solving, and systemic prevention efforts. Prior to joining the Metropolitan Police Department, Chief Ramsey served for 29 years in the Chicago Police Department (1968–1998), retiring as a Deputy Superintendent of Police. While serving in this capacity he developed the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) that has been internationally recognized as an innovative community policing model.

Chief John F. Timoney

John Timoney was appointed Chief of Police of the Miami Police Department on January 2, 2003, after serving one year as CEO of an international private investigation and security company in New York City. He has served four years as the Police Commissioner of the Philadelphia Police Department, where he commanded a diverse police force of approximately 7,000 officers and over 900 civilian employees in the fifth-largest metropolitan city in the United States. Prior to that Chief Timoney spent more than 29 years with the New York Police Department, eventually becoming the youngest four-star chief in the department's history.

Lieutenant General John A. Van Alstyne, USA (Ret.)

John A. Van Alstyne is a career infantry officer with 36 years of service. In his last assignment on active duty, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Military Personnel Policy. He currently serves as Commandant, Corps of Cadets, Texas A&M.

General Charles Wilhelm, USMC (Ret.)

A career infantry officer and a veteran of combat operations in Vietnam, Lebanon, the Persian Gulf, and Somalia, General Wilhelm commanded Marine units at every level, from Rifle Platoon and Company Commander in Vietnam to Commander of the II Marine Expeditionary Force and all Marine forces in the Atlantic, Europe, and South America. In his final military assignment, he served as Commander of the United States Southern Command, where he was responsible for all U.S. military activities with the 32 nations of the Caribbean and Central and South America. General Wilhelm currently serves as Vice President and Director of Battelle's Office of Homeland Security.

APPENDIX B: ENABLING LEGISLATION

SECTION 1314(e)(2) – Page 14

ASSESSMENT OF THE CAPABILITIES OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the Department of Defense, \$750,000, that the Department, in turn, will commission an independent, private sector entity, which operates as a 501(c)(3), with recognized credentials and expertise in military affairs, to prepare an independent report assessing the following:

(i) The readiness of the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) to assume responsibility for maintaining the territorial integrity of Iraq, denying international terrorists a safe haven, and bringing greater security to Iraq's 18 provinces in the next 12 to 18 months, and bringing an end to sectarian violence to achieve national reconciliation.

(ii) The training, equipping, command, control and intelligence capabilities, and logistics capacity of the ISF.

(iii) The likelihood that, given the ISF's record of preparedness to date, following years of training and equipping by U.S. forces, the continued support of U.S. troops will contribute to the readiness of the ISF to fulfill the missions outlined in clause (i).

(B) REPORT.—Not later than 120 days after the enactment of this Act, the designated private sector entity shall provide an unclassified report, with a classified annex, containing its findings, to the House and Senate Committees on Armed Services, Appropriations, Foreign Relations/International Relations, and Intelligence.

APPENDIX C: INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED DURING ASSESSMENT

Current and Former United States Officials

U.S. Civilian Officials

U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice

U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates

Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England

Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns – *Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs*

Ambassador Ryan Crocker – *U.S. Ambassador to Iraq*

Ambassador Charles Snyder – *Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs*

Ambassador Marcie Ries – *Political Military Counselor, U.S. Embassy, Baghdad*

Ambassador David Satterfield – *Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Rice and Coordinator of Iraq Policy*

Dr. Meghan O’Sullivan – *National Security Council*

Ms. Betsy Philips – *Head of Joint Strategy, Plans, and Assessments Office, U.S. Embassy Baghdad*

Brigadier General (Ret.) Mark Kimmitt – *Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for the Middle East*

U.S. Military Officials

The White House

Lieutenant General Douglas Lute – *Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan Policy and Implementation*

The Joint Staff

General Peter Pace – *Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*

Admiral Edmund Giambastiani – *Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*

Plans and Policy, J-5

Lieutenant General John Sattler – *Director, Plans and Policy, Joint Staff*

Major General Philip Breedlove, USAF – *Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Staff*

Colonel Joseph di Salvo – *Iraq Division Chief, J-5*

Colonel Sean MacFarland – *Iraq Division Chief, J-5*

Lieutenant Colonel Larry Reeves – *Iraq Division, J-5*

Lieutenant Colonel Andrea Begel – *Iraq Division, J-5*

Central Command

Admiral William Fallon – *Commander, U.S. Central Command*

Multi-National Force–Iraq

General David Petraeus – *Commanding General, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Major General John Paxton – *Chief of Staff, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Major General Mastin M. Robeson – *Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Major General Douglas Stone – *Deputy Commanding General, Detainee Operations, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Major General Michael Barbaro – *Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Brigadier General Kevin Bergner – *Spokesman, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Colonel Lawrence Morris – *Law and Order Task Force, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Colonel Ken Tovo – *Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force*

Colonel M. Fugues -- *Multi-National Force–Iraq, G-5*

Commodore Nicholas Lambert (U.K.) – *Combined Task Force 158, Royal Navy*

Captain Robert Sanguinetti (U.K.) – *Combined Task Group 158, Royal Navy*

Lieutenant Commander Nicholas Wheeler (U.K.) – *Combined Task Force I58 Liaison Officer to Multi-National Division South East*

Command Sergeant Major Marvin Hill – *Command Sergeant Major, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Michael F. Walther – *Law and Order Task Force, Multi-National Force–Iraq*

Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq

Lieutenant General James Dubik – *Commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq and Commander, NATO Training Mission–Iraq*

Lieutenant General Martin Dempsey – *Former Commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Major General Berraghan (U.K.) – *Chief Coalition Advisor, Baghdad Operations Center*

Rear Admiral Edward Winters – *Counter Terrorism Coordinator, Commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Colonel Michael Fuller – *Training and Education, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Colonel Juan Arcocha – *J-4, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Colonel David Dornblasser – *FMS, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Mr. John Cochrane – *Coalition Advisor, Ministry of Defense Transition Team, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Mr. Dan Maguire – *Intelligence Transition Team, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Command Sergeant Major Tommy Williams – *Command Sergeant Major, Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq*

Coalition Police Assistance Training Team, MNSTC-I

Major General Ken Hunzeker – *Former Commanding General, Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Brigadier General Mike Jones – *Commanding General, Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Brigadier General Pettit – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Brigadier General Robert Weighill (U.K.) – *Deputy Commanding General for MOI Capability, Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Brigadier General David Phillips – *Deputy Commanding General for MOI Forces, Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Alexander – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Mark French – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Brown – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Buechler – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Galloucis, *Police Training Team Leader, Baghdad*

Lieutenant Colonel Tye – *Coalition Advisor, Ports of Entry Directorate*

Lieutenant Colonel Goodrich – *Coalition Advisor, Border Security*

Lieutenant Colonel Mark Winn – *Former Lead, Border Transition Team, Region 2*

Major Bain – *Ports of Entry Transition Team, Walid*

Major Yi – *Ports of Entry Transition Team, Trebil*

Major Anthony Lamb – *Border Transition Team Leader*

Major Tom Harris – *National Police Transition Team Chief*

Major Phil Stauffacher – *Former Border Transition Team Lead, Trebil Port of Entry*

Captain Padill – *Border Transition Team, Trebil*

First Lieutenant Michael Warren – *Aamel Iraqi Police, Police Transition Team Leader*

Mr. Stephen Mangino – *U.S. DHS, Attaché and DHS Country Coordinator*

Mr. Walter Redman – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Ms. Kimberly Riffe – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Mr. Rick Andy – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Mr. George Murray – *Coalition Police Assistance Training Team*

Mr. James Davis – *Legal Attaché, Major Crimes Task Force*

Coalition Military Assistance Training Team

Brigadier General Robin Swan – *Iraqi Army Coordinator, Commander, Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Brigadier General Dice Allardice – *Commander, Coalition Air Force Training Team*

Captain Keith Harvey (U.K.) – *Advisor to the Head of the Iraqi Navy*

Captain Tim Stockings (U.K.) – *Commander, Naval Transition Team*

Colonel Andrew Bristow – *10 Iraqi Army, Military Transition Team Chief*

Colonel Pat Matlock – *Commander, Blackjack Military Transition Team, 4-9 Cavalry*

Colonel Pollock – *Military Transition Team Commander, 6th Iraqi Army*

Colonel Diemer – *Director, COIN Academy*

Colonel Mike Smith – *Chief, 3rd Iraqi Division Military Transition Team*

Colonel Steed – *Chief, Military Transition Team with Iraqi Ground Forces Command*

Colonel Chris Mitchell – *Chief, 2nd Iraqi Division Military Transition Team*

Colonel Amato – *Chief, Iraqi Army Division Military Transition Team*

Colonel Hall – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Ferral – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Johnson – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Colonel Bryant – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Lieutenant Colonel Shell – *Deputy Chief, Military Assistance Team, 1st Brigade, 3rd Iraqi Army Division*

Lieutenant Colonel Todd Walsh – *Military Transition Team, 4th Brigade, 1st Iraqi Army Division*

Lieutenant Dildar -- *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Major W. Caldwell – *Team Leader, Military Transition Team*

Major Kevin Nicholas – *Iraqi Army, Military Transition Team*

Captain Ferguson – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Captain Shrewsbury – *Coalition Military Assistance Training Team*

Lieutenant Biet – *Department of Border Enforcement Military Transition Team*

Ms. King – *Ministry of Defense Transition Team*

Mr. Chessnoe – *Ministry of Defense Transition Team*

Mr. Horne – *Ministry of Defense Transition Team*

Mr. Prince – *Ministry of Defense Transition Team*

Multi-National Corps–Iraq

Lieutenant General Ray Odierno – *Commander, Multi-National Corps–Iraq*

Lieutenant General Rich Zilmer – *Former Commander, Multi-National Force-West*

Major General Robert Neller – *Former Deputy Commanding General for Operations, Multi-National Force-West*

Major General Walt Gaskin – *Commander, Multi-National Division West, U.S. II Marine Expeditionary Force*

Major General Rick Lynch – *Commander, Multi-National Division Center, U.S. 3rd Infantry Division*

Major General Randy Mixon – *Commander, Multi-National Division North, U.S. 25th Infantry Division*

Major General Graham Binns (UK) – *Multi-National Corps–Iraq*

Brigadier General Jim Huggins – *Deputy Commander, Multi-National Division Center*

Brigadier General James Yarbrough – *Commander, Iraqi Assistance Group*

Brigadier General John Allen – *Deputy Commanding General, Multi-National Force-West, II Marine Expeditionary Force*

Brigadier General Vincent Brooks – *Acting Division Commander, Multinational Division Baghdad, U.S. Army 1st Cavalry Division*

Brigadier General Charles Gurganus – *Commanding General, Ground Combat Element, Multi-National Force-West*

Colonel Charlie Flynn – *82nd Airborne, Multi-National Corps–Iraq*

Colonel John Charlton – *Commander, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 3rd Infantry Division*

Colonel Paul Funk – *Commander, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 1st Cavalry Division*

Colonel Richard Simcock – *Commander, Regimental Combat Team 6, Multi-National Forces-West*

Lieutenant Colonel Swindell – *Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force, Multi-National Division-Center*

Lieutenant Colonel Jack Marr – *Commander, Command Operations Post Cleary, 1-15 Infantry*

Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Frank – *Battalion Commander, 1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Command Sergeant Major Clifford Dockter – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Sergeant Major Rodney Lewis – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Captain Sean Lyons – *COP Attack, Multi-National Corps–Iraq*

Chief Warrant Officer 5 Terry Walker – *Multi-National Forces - West*

Command Sergeant Major Citola – *Multi-National Corps Iraq*

Command Sergeant Major Burrows – *Iraqi Assistance Group*

First Sergeant Jeffrey Griffith – *COP Attack, Multi-National Corps–Iraq*

Sergeant Smith – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Specialist Benner – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Specialist Riahi – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

Private First Class Graff – *1-28 IN, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division*

NATO Training Command–Iraq

Major General Pompegnani – *Commander, NATO Training Command–Iraq*

Current and Former Iraqi Officials

Iraqi Civilian Officials

President Jalal Talabani – *State President of Iraq*

Deputy Minister Barham Salih – *Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq*

His Excellency Abdul-Qader al-Obeidi – *Minister of Defense*

Deputy Minister Maliki – *Deputy Minister of Defense*

Major General Mahmood – *Director General of Programs and Budgets, Ministry of Defense*

Dr. Mumtaz – *Director General of Personnel, Ministry of Defense*

Mr. Abid Ali Jasim – *Director General of Armaments and Supply, Ministry of Defense*

Mr. Mudhfar – *Director General of Contracts and Purchases, Ministry of Defense*

Major General Kamal – *Director, National Information and Investigation Agency*

His Excellency Samir Shakir M. Sumaida'ie – *Iraqi Ambassador to the United States*

Dr. Bassima Al Jaidri – *Advisor to Prime Minister Maliki*

Iraqi Military Officials

General Faruq – *Office of the Commander in Chief*

General Mohan – *Iraqi Commander, Basra Operations Command*

Lieutenant General Ali – *Commander, Iraqi Ground Forces Command*

Lieutenant General Aboud – *Commander, Baghdad Operations Center*

Lieutenant General Talib Kinani – *Commander, Counter Terrorism Bureau*

Lieutenant General Abdulrazzak – *Joint Headquarters, M-3*

Lieutenant General Aboud – *Commander, Baghdad Operations Center*

Lieutenant-General Kamal al-Barzanji – *Commander, Iraqi Air Force*

Major General Khorsheed – *Commander, 3rd Division Iraqi Army*

Major General Abu Ghani – *Commander, Government of Iraq Counter-Terrorism Command*

Major General Abdul Amir – *Commander, 6th Iraqi Army*

Major General Ala'a – *Deputy Head of Iraqi Air Force*

Major General Jassim – *Joint Headquarters, M-7*

Major General Kamal – *Joint Headquarters, M-2*

Major General Othman – *Joint Headquarters, M-1*

Major General Jawdat – *Joint Headquarters, M-4*

Rear Admiral Muhammad Jawad Kadhim – *Head of the Iraqi Navy*

Brigadier General Kahleel – *Iraqi Air Force*

Brigadier General Qaid – *Iraqi Air Force*

Brigadier General Kareem – *Iraqi Air Force*

Brigadier General Fadhil al Berwari – *Commanding Officer, Iraqi Special Operations Forces*

Brigadier General Alaa – *Comptroller, Joint Headquarters*

Brigadier General Muttah – *Commander, 2nd Iraqi Army Division*

Colonel Abdul Rahim – *Commanding Officer, Iraqi Counterinsurgency School, Iraqi Army*

Commander Ahmed Maarij – *Operational Commander, Iraqi Navy*

Captain Nasir – *Patrol Base Whiskey 1, Iraqi Army 6th Division*

Sergeant Major Kassam – *Iraqi Ground Forces Command*

Iraqi Ministry of the Interior

Ministry of the Interior Officials

His Excellency Jawad al-Bolani – *Minister of the Interior*

Major General Admed al-Khafaji – *Deputy Minister of the Interior for Support Forces*

Deputy Minister Adnan al-Assadi – *Deputy Minister of the Interior for Administration*

Deputy Minister Hala Shakir – *Deputy Minister of the Interior for Financial Affairs*

Major General Jihan – *Director of Training and Qualification, Ministry of the Interior*

Major General Jodah – *Assistant Deputy Minister, Iraqi Police Service Affairs/Security*

Major General Jawad – *Director of Contracts, Ministry of the Interior*

Brigadier General Farhoud – *Ports of Entry Directorate, Ministry of the Interior*

Brigadier General Jasim – *Ports of Entry Directorate, Ministry of the Interior*

Iraqi Police Service and National Police

Major General Mahdi Juma'a Salma al-Salami – *Dean, Baghdad Police College*

Major General Jasim Hassam Attia – *Dean, High Institute, Baghdad Police College*

Major General Ameer – *Director of Logistics, Baghdad Police College*

Brigadier General Khalid Adulani – *Dean of Police Academy*

Major General Khadim Hamid Shi'wa al-Mohammadadawi – *Baghdad, Provincial Director of Police*

Brigadier General Baha – *Commander, 5th Division 2nd Battalion Iraqi National Police*

Deputy Minister Sinjari – *Deputy Minister of Interior, Kurdish Region*

General Jamal Ahmad Muhamad – *Provincial Police Chief, Sulaymaniyah*

Major General Hussein al Awadi – *National Police Commander*

Outside Experts

Dr. Jon Alterman – *Director, Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies*

General John Abizaid (Ret.) – *Former Commander, U.S. Central Command*

Dr. Stephen Biddle – *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

Dr. Anthony Cordesman – *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Colonel Paul Hughes (Ret.) – *Senior Program Officer, Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations, U.S. Institute of Peace*

Dr. Frederick W. Kagan – *Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute*

Dr. Phebe Marr – *Leading U.S. Expert on Iraq, Author of The Modern History of Iraq*

Mr. Robert Perito – *Senior Program Officer, Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations, U.S. Institute of Peace*

Ms. Sarah Farnsworth – *Strategic Advisor*

The Honorable Patrick T. Henry – *Strategic Advisor*

Mr. John Raidt – *Strategic Advisor*

Colonel Arthur White, USMC (Ret.) – *Strategic Advisor*

Note: *The Commission has made every attempt to list all individuals consulted during the course of its work. Despite best efforts, the Commission recognizes this list does not include many of the members of the U.S. and Coalition forces and the Iraqi Security Forces who spent time with the Commissioners on the ground in Iraq.*

APPENDIX D: REVIEW OF MAJOR REPORTS & ANALYSES

United States Government Sources

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Stephen Biddle

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Anthony H. Cordesman

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Dr. Phebe Marr

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