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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
HOUSE OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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Chairman Towns, Congressman Issa, Subcommittee Chairman Tierney,
Congressman Flake, and Distinguished Members of the Committee:

Thank you for inviting me here today. We appreciate the Committee's sustained attention to Afghanistan and Pakistan. My Deputy Paul Jones testified before you on May 19, focusing on the civilian increase in Afghanistan. I welcome the opportunity today to provide an overview of and update on the Administration's new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, with a focus on interagency coordination. As the President said in his March 27 speech introducing this strategy, he appointed me to this post "to work closely with General David Petraeus to integrate our civilian and military efforts." We have since moved into the implementation phase. I would like to provide an overview of where we are, including concrete examples of how we are implementing this policy with broad, interagency participation and coordination. I will also address the Committee's concerns about increased contracts in Afghanistan and Pakistan, as we step up the civilian presence in Afghanistan and potentially triple our non-

military aid to Pakistan, and your related concerns about the use of private security contractors.

Strategy on Afghanistan and Pakistan

Following 60 days of a comprehensive, interagency review and debate, President Obama announced the Administration's new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan on March 27. Our strategy acknowledges not only the fundamental relationship of the security threats in Afghanistan and Pakistan, but also the interwoven nature of security and development assistance; population security and effective local governance; and agricultural development and counternarcotics. The Strategic Review places a priority on an integrated civil-military counter insurgency strategy in Afghanistan, and on intensive, consistent engagement with Pakistani leadership in both civilian and military spheres.

The President's core strategic goal is to disrupt, dismantle, and eventually defeat al-Qaeda and affiliated extremist groups, and to eliminate their safe havens in Afghanistan and Pakistan. While accomplishing this goal will require some military means, we are intensifying our civilian efforts to build capacity in both nations so that Afghan and Pakistani security forces can lead the counterterrorism fight with reduced U.S. assistance.

Achieving our core goal is vital to U.S. national security. It requires, first of all, realistic and achievable objectives. These include:

- Disrupting terrorist networks in Afghanistan and especially Pakistan to degrade any ability they have to plan and launch international terrorist attacks.
- Promoting a more capable, accountable, and effective government in Afghanistan that serves the Afghan people and can eventually function, especially regarding internal security, with limited international support.
- Developing increasingly self-reliant Afghan security forces that can lead the counterinsurgency and counterterrorism fight with reduced U.S. assistance.
- Assisting efforts to enhance civilian control and stable constitutional government in Pakistan and to promote a vibrant economy that provides opportunity for the people of Pakistan.
- Involving the international community to actively assist in addressing these objectives for Afghanistan and Pakistan, with an important leadership role for the UN.

I understand that the President, Congress, and the American people will not support our strategy for long unless it delivers demonstrable progress. We need to show results.

Interagency Coordination and the Office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan

I have been directed by the President and Secretary of State to lead a coordinated, civil-military effort to achieve our goals in Afghanistan and Pakistan. To do so, I have brought together experienced civil servants, Foreign Service officers, intelligence officers, military officers, and well-known outside experts to create one unified team. My staff consists of senior representatives from eight agencies, including the State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Department of Defense (Joint Staff and Office of the Secretary of Defense), Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Agriculture, Department of Justice, and Treasury Department, as well as the UK Foreign Office. They speak Dari, Pashto, Farsi, Punjabi, Arabic, and Turkish, and include internationally recognized experts on Afghanistan and Pakistan. They serve as key conduits to their home agencies and ensure that we remain connected and coordinated on a constant basis. Virtually all have extensive field experience, including working closely with our military counterparts in various settings. Our outside experts provide essential advice and also help keep us connected to the NGO, think tank, and academic communities. We have formed teams for the civilian increase in Afghanistan, diplomacy, assistance and international coordination, information and influence efforts, and other key topics.

Far from a parallel organization, my office is fully integrated with key offices of the State Department and other agencies. My Deputy Paul Jones serves in a dual-hatted position both as the Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan and also as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Afghanistan and Pakistan. In this way, he serves as the nexus between my office, the Afghanistan and Pakistan Desks in the Bureau of South-Central Asian Affairs, and other offices in the State Department that work on aspects of the Afghanistan-Pakistan challenge. Additionally, we recently requested and received approval for five new Foreign Service Officer positions on each of the Afghanistan and Pakistan desks.

This new interagency model has already delivered excellent results. In numerous situations, we are able to move more quickly and have better access to top levels of multiple government agencies than if we were not co-located. We will continue to apply this whole-of-government approach to contingencies and our daily work, and we look forward to additional agencies – including Homeland Security – sending representatives.

This is the most diverse team of experts that I have worked with during my government career and its agility in implementing policy will be critical to delivering the results that I know the President and Congress expect.

Trilateral Consultations

To be effective our interagency collaboration must engage the Afghans and Pakistanis as partners. For that reason, we have brought together their military and civilian leaders, at the highest levels and across numerous ministries, for Afghanistan-Pakistan-U.S. trilateral consultations. The first of these discussions was held in late February, and the second, held at the Summit level with President Obama, President Karzai and President Zardari, took place May 6-7. Through this trilateral mechanism, we have advanced unprecedented cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan. All parties involved reaffirmed their shared commitment to combat the spread of terrorism and extremism.

To maximize the effectiveness of these discussions, the trilaterals have involved a wide range of USG agencies – at the highest level – that are implementing our strategy in the region. We are exploring new areas of cooperation on foreign policy, economic policy, agriculture, police and prison reform, and intelligence. During the May 6-7 Trilateral meetings, the Secretary of State hosted an opening session with FBI Director Mueller, Secretary of Agriculture Vilsack, Acting USAID Administrator Alonzo Fulgham, Defense Department Under Secretary for Policy Flournoy, CENTCOM Commander General Petraeus, CIA Director Panetta, and their counterparts from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Senior officials from the National Security Council, Treasury

Department, Commerce Department, and U.S. Trade Representative also participated. Through these substantive discussions, the following practical and concrete initiatives were delivered.

- Afghanistan and Pakistan signed a memorandum of understanding committing their countries to achieving a transit trade agreement by the end of this year.
- Afghanistan and Pakistan agreed to continue the cross-border jirga process after the Afghan elections.
- Afghanistan and Pakistan committed to opening two additional Border Coordination Centers in 2009, one in Afghanistan and the other in Pakistan.
- The U.S., Afghanistan, and Pakistan plan to increase cooperation on agricultural development and research, as well as launching a Regional Infrastructure and Trade Development initiative to accelerate cross-border infrastructure projects.
- Afghanistan and Pakistan plan to pursue, with U.S. support, a Joint Action Plan outlining areas of common concern on issues of law enforcement, border security and management, terrorism financing, and rule of law.

The next Trilateral Consultations are planned for this fall.

International Engagement

Fostering international dialogue and coordinating and integrating international assistance are critical components of the President's Afghanistan/Pakistan strategy. We are working with our international partners to determine our areas of comparative strength and political support, so that our shared efforts will be most effective in achieving our goals in Afghanistan and Pakistan, while strengthening our broader relationships with NATO and other key partners. Our partners at conferences in the Hague, at the NATO Summit, and at the Pakistan Donors Conference in Tokyo have committed themselves to doing more in both countries.

Our regional and international engagement advances several objectives: First, we seek to improve vastly coordination and integration of international assistance flowing to both Pakistan and Afghanistan. On Pakistan we are seeking to increase donations for urgent humanitarian needs and to begin a coordinated international dialogue on longer-term reconstruction. We anticipate that the "Friends of Democratic Pakistan" group, chaired by Pakistan and including key donors nations, will play a role. On Afghanistan, we are working with the international donor community, increasingly under the auspices of the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA), to create a common assistance framework that can guide and integrate all donors' assistance to Afghanistan. We

are also developing a comprehensive inventory of all donors' assistance to Afghanistan in anticipation of supporting UNAMA and the Afghan Minister of Finance in its efforts to map all foreign assistance. The second element of regional and international engagement involves developing and strengthening strategic partnerships with the large number of regional and global stakeholders in a stable and secure Pakistan. Many of these partners share long-standing historical, political, and economic ties with Pakistan and recognize that a stable, secure, and democratic Pakistan is vital to our shared national interests. By consulting closely with these current and future partners, including among others Turkey, Saudi Arabia, China and the United Arab Emirates, we will greatly increase our ability to address security, governance, and development goals in Pakistan coherently and comprehensively.

Strategic Communications

Under General Petraeus' and my leadership, we are implementing a new integrated civilian-military strategic communications effort in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This effort will focus on three simultaneous goals: redefining our message; connecting to the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan on the ground in new ways through cell phones, radio, and other means; and identifying and supporting key communicators who are able, through local narratives, to counter

extremists' propaganda and present a positive alternative. Additional personnel and structures in Kabul and the Afghan provinces and in Islamabad/Peshawar will be necessary to implement this new program and I am working with our Embassies in Kabul and Islamabad to identify and address these needs.

Broad interagency participation will be key to developing and implementing our new communications strategy. In April, my office co-hosted with the Department of Defense (DoD) an interagency meeting attended by over 50 representatives from State, DoD, USAID, and the Intelligence Community, to discuss current strategic communication activities within Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the urgent need for a comprehensive and coordinated strategic communications plan for the region. We are also consulting with experts and engaging the private sector to develop new ideas. We have requested resources in support of our strategic communications efforts in the FY 2009 supplemental and FY 2010 budget and will remain in close consultation with Congress as we further define this effort.

Civilian Increase in Afghanistan

Our program to increase the number and improve the quality of our civilian presence in Afghanistan is the expression in the field of our interagency approach

to executing our policy. We are committed to deploying the best people to work with our military, no matter their agency or institutional affiliation. The deployment timeline for civilian experts is based on requirements generated by Embassy Kabul - in consultation with U.S. Forces Afghanistan - and is synchronized with: the deployment of additional U.S. forces, the provision of additional security, and the establishment of additional Provincial Reconstruction Teams, District Support Teams, and U.S. Consulates.

State and USAID are on track for hiring and deploying civilian experts for Afghanistan. To date, over 800 applications have been received for the 75 temporary direct hire (“3161”) positions that the Department of State must fill between now and the end of the calendar year. We are also in the process of filling 50 new field positions reserved for Foreign Service Officers. The response has been positive and we expect to have no difficulties in deploying these FSOs over the coming months.

While we expect to be able to fill all of State’s positions, we are reviewing resumes provided by DoD of DoD civilians who have volunteered to deploy as part of DoD’s Civilian Expeditionary Workforce (CEW) as well as of private citizens interested in serving in Afghanistan. We are also considering a number of resumes provided by State’s Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization

(S/CRS), to ensure we have the best pool of qualified personnel ready to select from. To prepare civilian personnel headed to Afghanistan, the State Department's Foreign Service Institute offers interagency personnel an Afghanistan Familiarization course, a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) course, and a counter-threat course. These courses provide civilian personnel the information they need about the Afghan environment to operate effectively. The training program will soon include a new one week civil-military course to be offered at the Indiana National Guard Training Center at Camp Atterbury, Indiana. We are on track to receive the first group of interagency personnel on July 12. The civil-military training course will complement and complete the classroom coursework and will ensure that civilians understand and can work closely with their military counterparts.

State is also implementing steps to improve continuity of personnel during the summer rotational cycle. The phased arrival of civilians for one-year tours outside of Kabul will limit the disruption of future rotations. As we develop a corps of Afghanistan-Pakistan experts, we will increasingly rotate personnel between Afghanistan- and Pakistan-related assignments in the field and in the State Department.

In expanding our civilian presence in Afghanistan, we have demonstrated our commitment to supporting Afghan efforts to clear, hold, and build their

country. At the same time, we are integrating the U.S. civilian increase with an impressive Afghan Government proposal requesting additional technical assistance, together with the civilian increase plans of international organizations, our partners, and of our Allies. The Afghan government presented in late April, and has recently updated, a request for 650 additional Afghan and international civilian specialists. The U.S. Embassy and UNAMA have worked with the government to ensure a truly international response to the proposal, including a joint assessment of the gaps and overlaps between the Afghan proposal and international plans for civilian increase. Expanding the civilian presence, in response to this Afghan request, is an area where we are counting on greater involvement from the international community.

Our hundreds of experts are working alongside thousands of Afghan civilians, many funded by our assistance programs, to execute and implement essential programs. Indeed, our main effort in Afghanistan is to help the Afghan people build the capacity necessary to secure and govern their country themselves. This approach will increase exponentially the impact that American tax dollars are having in Afghanistan – we are not only building, but training others to build. We are not merely delivering experts; we are developing technical expertise among the Afghan people.

To ensure that our programs operate according to the highest standards of effectiveness and integrity, we are committed to supporting the efforts of the Congressionally-mandated Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction (SIGAR), as well as the Government Accountability Office (GAO) and State, USAID, and DoD Inspectors General. We support Major General Fields' call for new audits at the national and provincial levels, to review the oversight and anti-corruption capabilities and performance of the Afghan government, and to assess efforts by the U.S. and other donors to strengthen these capabilities. Congress created SIGAR to independently audit the use of the funds and we would like to see them in every province. We value SIGAR and respect and support their mission, and I would support expanding their mandate and responsibilities.

Because the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan is so dynamic, we must evaluate and adjust our policy and programs even as we execute them. To support our civilian and military colleagues in the field, we will continue the consultation process highlighted by the May 2 coordination session co-hosted by General Petraeus and myself that brought together many civilian and military experts who work on Afghanistan every day. That session focused on Afghanistan, but we expect a working session on Pakistan later this summer.

Implementing Increased Assistance with Civilian Personnel

This Committee has raised very valid concerns about the potential increase in contractors on the ground in Afghanistan and Pakistan, given the civilian increase in Afghanistan and the potential tripling of our aid to Pakistan. The first issue is one of oversight: how will we monitor this influx of aid, and avoid the errors made in Iraq regarding large contracts that render oversight difficult? I have committed to reviewing every USAID contract and program in Afghanistan and Pakistan to ensure that our reinvigorated assistance is aligned with the President's new strategy and that assistance is reaching the Afghan and Pakistani people, instead of foreign contractors. USAID is revisiting its operational models and hiring additional (direct hire) staff in Afghanistan and Pakistan to implement much larger development assistance programs. Specifically, USAID is expected to increase staffing in Pakistan, as well as support staff in Washington, to allow more rapid and effective implementation of assistance, by permitting USAID to effectively manage greater numbers and larger development assistance programs. The State Department will also boost support staff, primarily in Washington, in order to increase its reporting and coordination capacity for Pakistan.

In addition to the routine monitoring and evaluation processes that are standard and long-standing practices for USAID programs in Pakistan and around the world, USAID has designed a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system specifically for the non-permissive environment in the frontier region of

Pakistan, which can be applied to other parts of the country. USAID's M&E system uses overlapping, multi-tiered checks and balances which reinforce the Government of Pakistan's (GOP) own M&E efforts. The system utilizes a range of actors including local program staff, GOP interlocutors, community members, and independent monitors to follow the process from project development through implementation to provide overlapping layers of oversight. Oversight feedback is provided back to U.S. personnel and implementing partners from a variety of sources allowing them to identify and verify where there might be issues.

Secondly, more USG civilian personnel and contractors require security to do their work. During Deputy Special Representative Paul Jones' May 19 hearing before this Committee, Members voiced serious concern about the use of private security contractors (PSCs). In Afghanistan, our current use of PSCs for USG civilian personnel is very limited. As Paul Jones stated in his testimony, the U.S. military has been very supportive of an increased civilian presence in Afghanistan, and has committed to providing USG civilians the necessary protection for secure and timely mobility on the ground. At the same time, however, there will be more implementing partners on the ground, and they inevitably will employ private security contractors. In Pakistan, where U.S. military personnel are not engaged in combat, Peshawar is the only location where USG personnel are provided protection by State Department's Diplomatic Security Services (DSS). That

protection will soon be transferred from DSS to a private security contractor, but only in order for the PSC to train local Pakistanis, who will eventually take over this security function in Peshawar.

Our Response to Pakistan's Internal Refugee Crisis

Another example of the effectiveness of our new interagency mechanism is the agile USG response to the humanitarian crisis in Pakistan prompted by Pakistan's security operations against extremists. In the first weeks of May, Pakistan's crisis of displaced civilians dramatically escalated. The Secretary of State quickly decided that, in coordination with efforts by the Government of Pakistan, the United States needed to respond with as much assistance as the U.S. could offer to help meet displaced people's urgent needs and mitigate further suffering. In my government experience, the speed of our coordinated response has been a first. The key is that our interagency personnel are co-located yet simultaneously able to reach back to their home agencies to make things happen quickly. Since early May, we have:

- assembled and announced on May 19 an initial \$110 million assistance package – involving State, USAID and DoD humanitarian accounts;

- on June 2 announced an additional \$200 million for humanitarian relief, pending congressional approval of the FY2009 Supplemental;
- created an innovative program to spread awareness about the crisis and urgent needs. Secretary Clinton asked Americans to pick up their cell phones and text “swat” to 20222, to make a \$5 donation to UNHCR that provides medicine, tents, food, and clothing to Pakistanis displaced by the fighting against militants in the northwest;
- coordinated a fast U.S. response to a Pakistani request for additional Mi-17 helicopters and provided four Mi-17 helicopters so far, with plans to deliver more;
- coordinated demarches to the international donor community, with particular focus on the European Union and Persian Gulf states, to raise funds for Pakistan’s efforts to address the internal refugee crisis.

During my June 2-8 visit to Pakistan and Persian Gulf states, I was able to capitalize on the groundwork laid by this swift, interagency approach. At President Obama’s personal direction, I undertook the trip to demonstrate American concern for the humanitarian crisis enveloping western Pakistan, to offer more support and see for ourselves the situation on the ground, and to seek robust contributions from our partners in the Gulf.

Visiting two large refugee camps, we witnessed firsthand not only the continuing need for urgent assistance, but also the good that U.S. contributions to the UN-led effort have done. However, we were acutely aware that schools and families hosting refugees are under tremendous strain, and future reconstruction needs will be great. Moreover, in my meetings with President Zardari, Prime Minister Gilani, Foreign Minister Qureshi, opposition leader Nawaz Sharif, Chief of Army Staff General Kayani and other senior military officers, and members of civil society, I witnessed the emergence of a consensus behind the Government's actions.

During my subsequent visits to Gulf states, I was able to relay these observations – that pressing humanitarian needs remain, and the Pakistani government is showing resolve in confronting the extremist threat – in order to deliver the above-mentioned demarches. I asked our partners to make more substantial contributions to Pakistan's efforts to address its internal refugee crisis.

Afghan Elections

As we look ahead, our team is engaged on a range of issues critical to the success of the President's strategy. A key test for Afghanistan is the elections for President and provincial council members on August 20. The U.S. has no favorite candidate; our stance is neutral on the outcome. We are encouraging the Afghans

to determine the issues, demand that candidates explain the programs, and vote for their future in an electoral process that is credible, secure, and inclusive. These elections can show continued evolution toward a government that reflects and responds to Afghan popular will.

Our support for elections reflects their importance and our commitment to them: we have pledged \$120 million to the UN to support the elections; fielded a team headed by senior American diplomats to assist the Afghans and the UN; and continually consult with the Afghans and the UN on security and other critical issues. USAID is also funding separate elections-related projects through a number of NGOs in-country such as the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. Relying on decades of experience, these international experts work with the official Afghan organizations, such as the Independent Election Commission and Electoral Complaints Commission that have the duty to educate the public, manage, publicize, and oversee the elections, monitor media coverage and conduct, and adjudicate complaints of fraud or misconduct. With our military partners in the International Security Assistance Force, we work with the Afghan Ministries of Defense and Interior to plan election security and to leverage the growing competence and prestige of the Afghan security forces. Domestic and international

observers of the election bring additional experience, and eyes and ears to ensure transparency and help the Independent Election Commission guard against fraud.

Strengthening Pakistani Capacity

In Pakistan, we are putting more attention and resources toward Pakistan's economic and governance challenges. The President has pledged his support for Congressional efforts to increase non-military assistance to Pakistan to \$1.5 billion per year for five years. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee's passage of S. 962 on June 16, and the passage of H.R. 1886 – which included important Reconstruction Opportunity Zone (ROZ) legislation – on June 11 in the House demonstrate Congress' support of our long-term commitment to helping the Pakistani people.

Successfully shutting down the Pakistani safe haven for extremists will require consistent and intensive strategic engagement with Pakistan's civilian and military leadership. It is vital to strengthen our efforts to both develop and enable Pakistani security forces – both the military and civilian law enforcement – so they are capable of carrying out sustained counterinsurgency operations. We must ensure that Pakistan has the resources and training to recalibrate its military from a traditional conventional threat posture to one that addresses extremists on its Western frontier that pose a danger to Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States.

Ensuring the Effectiveness of Our Aid

The National Security Council and State Department's Policy Planning Office are finalizing a comprehensive set of specific measures of performance for our economic, social, and military assistance to Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Administration is committed to working closely with the members of this committee, and Congress, to ensure that together we are able to not only provide the resources necessary to carry out our new strategy in Pakistan, but also to monitor and ensure the effectiveness of those resources.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to speak before your committee about the administration's new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and particularly our efforts on interagency coordination.