

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing

April 2, 2008

General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

- I. **Thanks To Committee:** Chairman Sen. Biden and Ranking Member Senator Lugar.
- II. **Honored To Join:**
 - Hon. Michele Flournoy
 - LTG Bill Odom
 - MG Bob Scales
- III. **Was honored to submit earlier to the committee the briefing slides I used as opening keynote speaker on 19 March 2008 at USJFCOM Joint Operating Environment Workshop here in Washington, DC. These slides summarize my views on the general status of US National Security Policy in the global environment. You may find them helpful as a shorthand summary of my views on the employment of military power in the coming years to defend America.**
- IV. **Purpose of Hearing: "Iraq after the Surge: Military Prospects". Let me offer nine general conclusions.**
 1. **The tactical situation in Iraq is for now enormously improved.**
 - Casualties to US and Iraqi security forces are down dramatically.**
 - Economic life has improved.**
 - 80,000+ CLC members have defused the Sunni insurgency.**
 - JSOC has defeated an urban AQI insurgency.**
 2. **We now have brilliant new national security leadership in place:**
 - Sec. Bob Gates
 - General Dave Petraeus
 - Ambassador Ryan Crocker
 - Temp CENTCOM Commander LTG Marty Dempsey
 3. **The Iraqi Security Forces are improving in leadership quality, numbers, and equipment.**
 - 400,000 total and growing
 - National Police – fired 8 of 9 brigade commanders – police re-trained.

Note: Still no maintenance system, no medical system, no helicopter lift force, no significant armor nor artillery, no attack aviation. Officer leadership very thin on the ground.
 4. **The Maliki Government is dysfunctional. He must:**
 - Get Provincial Elections.
 - Get a hydro-carbon law.
 - Organize consensus among competitive Shia groups (many are criminal elements).
 - Deal with corruption.
 - Reach out to Sunnis.
 5. **The Iranians are playing a very dangerous role. They are supporting Iraqi Shia factions with: money, advisors, training in Iran, EFP's, mortars, rockets, automatic weapons, and belligerence.**
 - We must open up a multi-level dialog with the Iranians.

6. **We have never had in our country's history a more battle-hardened US military force;** courage (34,000 killed and wounded), leadership, initiative, intelligence, fire discipline, civic action. Our battalion and company commanders are de facto the low level government of Iraq.
7. **The US Army is starting to unravel.**
 - Equipment broken.
 - National Guard is under resourced.
 - Terrible retention problems.
 - Severe recruiting problems.
 - Army too small.
8. **US Air and Naval Power seriously under-resourced.**
 - Sailors and Airmen diverted to ground war.
 - Air Force equipment crashing as a system [need 350 F22A aircraft – 600 C17 (dump C5)].
 - \$608 Billion war -- diverting resources.
9. **Excessive Reliance on contractors because ground combat forces too small.**
 - Need more US Army Military Police.
 - Need more US Army medical capacity.
 - Need more US Army Combat and Construction engineers.
 - Need greatly enhanced Special Forces, Psy Ops, and Civil Affairs.
 - Need US Marine Corps to provide all diplomatic security above RSO capabilities.

Note: Without US contractors and their LN employees, the US global military effort would grind to a halt.

- Total contractor casualties may be 600 killed and 4000 wounded – many abducted.)
- Contractors run much of our global logistics, long haul communications, high-technology maintenance, etc.

V. **Summary:**

- As US Forces draw down in coming 36 months – the jury is out whether Iraq will degenerate into all out civil war with six regional neighbors drawn into the struggle.
- There is no US political will to continue casualties of 100 to 1000 US military killed and wounded per month.
- Our allies have abandoned us for lack of their own national political support.
- The war as it now is configured -- is not militarily nor politically sustainable.
- The Iraqis are fleeing – 4 million refugees – huge brain drain.

Barry R McCaffrey

Biographic Summary of General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)

General Barry R. McCaffrey is President of his own consulting firm based in Arlington, Virginia (www.mccaffreyassociates.com). He serves as a national security and terrorism analyst for NBC News. The Washington Speakers Bureau (www.washingtonspeakers.com) exclusively represents his speeches.

General McCaffrey is also an Adjunct Professor of International Affairs at the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY. From January 2001 to May 2005, General McCaffrey served as the Bradley Distinguished Professor of International Security Studies.

General McCaffrey graduated from Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He holds a Master of Arts degree in civil government from American University. He attended the Harvard University National Security Program as well as the Business School Executive Education Program.

In October 2004, General McCaffrey was elected by the Board of Directors of HNTB Corporation (www.hntb.com) to serve as the Board Chairman of a newly formed subordinate company, HNTB Federal Services. In January 2008, General McCaffrey was elected to the HNTB Companies Board of Directors. HNTB is a preeminent U.S. engineering and architectural design firm with net revenue of \$500 million and 3000 + employees.

He has been elected to: the Board of Directors of DynCorp International, CRC Health Corporation, McNeil Technologies, Phoenix House Foundation and the Atlantic Council of the United States. He is also: a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; an Associate of the Inter-American Dialogue; a Principal for the Council on Excellence in Government; a member of the CSIS U.S.-Mexico Binational Council; Chairman of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Education Center Advisory Board; a Senior Executive Associate for Army Aviation Association of America and is a member of the Board of Advisors of the National Infantry Foundation. General McCaffrey also participates in US Army Fires Center - Senior Field Artillery Advisory Council, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

General McCaffrey stepped down as the Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) in January 2001. He was confirmed to the position by unanimous vote of the U.S. Senate in February 1996 and served as a member of the President's Cabinet and the National Security Council for drug-related issues. As ONDCP Director, he coordinated the \$19 billion federal drug control budget and developed the *U.S. National Drug Control Strategy*.

General McCaffrey is active in national security affairs. He co-chaired the Atlantic Council of the United States NATO Counterterrorism Working Group, leading a delegation to Moscow, Mons, Brussels and Warsaw. In 2004 he addressed the "Security of the Americas Conference" in Mexico City and met with senior officials of the Mexican Government. In April 2004, General McCaffrey helped release the CSIS Bi-national Commission Reports on Migration and Border Security. In February 2002, General McCaffrey visited Cuba and participated in a small group session with Fidel and Raul Castro discussing U.S.-Cuba policies. His article on Cuba can be found at www.mccaffreyassociates.com. General McCaffrey periodically conducts political-military evaluations of Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. His After Action Reports on all these trips are available at www.mccaffreyassociates.com.

Among the honors he has received are: Health and Human Services Lifetime Achievement Award For Extraordinary Achievement in the Field of Substance Abuse Prevention (2004); recognized as one of the 500 Most Influential People in American Foreign Policy by World Affairs Councils of America (2004); the Department of State's Superior Honor Award for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; The Central Intelligence Agency Great Seal Medallion; the United States Coast Guard Distinguished Public Service Award; the NAACP Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award; the Norman E. Zinberg Award of the Harvard Medical School; The Federal Law Enforcement Foundation's National Service Award; The Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America Lifetime Achievement Award; and decorations from France, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela. In 2007 he was given the National Leadership Award by the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America. The Society of American Military Engineers (SAME) awarded General McCaffrey their "Golden Eagle" recognition in 2007. General McCaffrey was inducted into the US Army Ranger Hall of Fame in 2007 at the US Army Infantry Center, Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Prior to confirmation as the National Drug Policy Director, General McCaffrey served as the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command coordinating national security operations in Latin America. During his military career, he served overseas for thirteen years and completed four combat tours. He commanded the 24th Infantry Division (Mech) during the Desert Storm 400-kilometer left hook attack into Iraq. At retirement from active duty, he was the most highly decorated four-star general in the U.S. Army. He twice received the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second highest medal for valor. He was also awarded two Silver Stars and received three Purple Heart medals for wounds sustained in combat. General McCaffrey served as the assistant to General Colin Powell and supported the Chairman as the JCS advisor to the Secretary of State and the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Effective 17 March 2008