



CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL SECURITY: WAR, TERRORISM, and WMD

November 2011

**BARRY R. McCaffrey
GENERAL, USA (RETIRED)**

Biography of General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)



Barry McCaffrey served in the United States Army for 32 years and retired as a four-star General. At retirement, he was the most highly decorated serving General, having been awarded three Purple Heart medals (wounded in combat three times), two Distinguished Service Crosses (the nation's second highest award for valor) and two Silver Stars for valor.

For five years after leaving the military, General McCaffrey served as the Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP). Upon leaving government service, he served as the Bradley Distinguished Professor of International Security Studies from 2001-2005; and an Adjunct Professor of International Security Studies from 2006-2010 at the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY. He served as an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences from 1973-1976 teaching American Government and Comparative Politics.

General McCaffrey has been elected to the Board of Directors of the National Association of Drug Court Professionals 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; Chairman of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Education Center Advisory Board; and is a member of the Board of Advisors of the National Infantry Foundation and the National Armor & Calvary Heritage Foundation. He has served on the Board of Directors of several corporations in the engineering design, technology, and services sectors. He is on the Board of Directors of CRC Health Group – the nation's largest behavioral health care company.

General McCaffrey attended Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; and graduated from West Point with a Bachelor of Science degree. He earned a master's degree in American Government from American University and attended the Harvard University National Security Program as well as the Business School Executive Education Program.

In 2007 he was inducted into the US Army Ranger Hall of Fame at the US Army Infantry Center, Ft. Benning, GA. In May 2010, he was honored as a Distinguished Graduate by the West Point Association of Graduates at the United States Military Academy.

General McCaffrey is married to Jill Ann McCaffrey. They have three adult children and six grandchildren. Their son, Colonel Sean McCaffrey, is currently serving in Afghanistan.

Currently, General McCaffrey is President of his own consulting firm based in Alexandria, Virginia www.mccaffreyassociates.com. He also serves as a national security and terrorism analyst for NBC News.

The Seven Principle Challenges to Global Security



- The proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.
- Regional war among nation states. (4 state sponsors of terrorism).
- Civil war and failed states. (53,126 total US killed and wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan).
- International terrorism. (48 Foreign Terrorist Organizations).
- The global recession and poverty.
- International crime and drug cartels.
- Humanitarian crisis/refugees.

Global Tools to Shape the International Environment



- Diplomacy is under-resourced by Congress. Superb leadership by Secretary of State Clinton and Secretary of Defense Panetta.
- International Development Assistance lacks money and international collective leadership.
- Arms Control is more effective than air attacks.
- International Law Enforcement Cooperation is a major success. (FBI lead Agency)
- Nonproliferation Initiatives lack a modern framework and appropriate international leadership.
- Shaping World Opinion is a function of sound policy and collective diplomacy -- not slick public relations.
- International Counter-terrorism Covert Action and Collection Potential has improved enormously with new resources and courageous dedication by the global intelligence community. The new CIA Director, General David Petraeus is a public servant of enormous talent and experience.
- UN/NATO/US Military Intervention must be the tool of last resort. When employed it must be violent, focused on clear objectives, and fully integrated with other elements of national power.

Protecting US Critical Infrastructure



- Protecting America's critical infrastructure and key assets is a formidable challenge. Our open and technologically complex society presents a huge array of targets. We have spent \$360 billion above pre-September 11 levels. In 2011 we will resource homeland security with \$70 billion.
- The macro numbers are enormous: 87,000 communities; 1,800 federal reservoirs; 2,800 power plants and 104 commercial nuclear power plants; 5,000 airports; 120,000 miles of railroads; 590,000 bridges; 2 million miles of pipeline; 80,000 dams.
- 85% of our critical infrastructure is privately held. Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP) must be a public-private enterprise.
- It is impossible to defend everything against every conceivable threat. We must move beyond gates, guards, and guns. We need to design security features and new technology to protect potentially high-casualty targets.
- Federal Government support is vital in the transportation sector. Transportation choke points are a particular concern. We must develop a coordinated mechanism for assessing vulnerabilities and evaluating risk mitigation activities.
- We must defend against chemical, radiological, and biological threats with both active offensive measures overseas – and serious, large-muscle defensive measures in the NORTHCOM theater of operations.

The Bio Threat



- The dominant existential threat to the survival of the American people are bio-warfare and cyber-warfare. Either could unravel us as an organized society. We are not prepared.
- Bio warfare on the battlefield against prepared U.S. troops is operationally inefficient – good bio-detectors and delayed impact; However – excellent terrorist weapon.
 - (Anthrax, plague, tularemia, etc. all easy to grow in quantity)
- Bio proliferation difficult to detect.
 - Dual use-bacteria fermentation (benign spores in Tide detergent).
 - “Gene splicing” and “Molecular biology” now at high school level.
 - We have made synthetic polio from scratch.
- Forensics – we can tell you what it is – but not who made it.
- The fear leverage factor of bio warfare and the low threshold for scientific entry make this the most likely weapon of choice for global terrorism. You cannot “aim” bio weapons.

The Chemical Threat



- 71,000+ metric tons of chemical agent in the world.
 - 40,886 metric tons (57.43%) of 8.67 million chemical munitions and containers covered by the CWC have been verifiably destroyed.
- If you can make good beer – you can make low stability, poorly weaponized nerve agent or mustard agent.
- The U.S. Armed Forces can operate with complete effectiveness under active chemical attack.
- Chemical attack by non-state actors against an unprotected, unwarned, confined population will be a disaster.
- Novel chemicals are difficult to control/detect. (circumvent CWC and Australian Group controls).

U.S. Nuclear Deterrence at Risk



- Credibility of U.S. “Nuclear Umbrella” for 30 allied nations impaired – Administration objective of a “nuclear free world”. (April 2009 Prague speech)
- U.S. nukes all more than 20 years old.
- U.S. nuclear physical infrastructure well over 60 years old.
- No testing since 1992. (1,054 tests 1945-1992)
- Congress killed Reliable Replacement Warhead Program in 2007.
- Life extension of nuclear warheads has focus on “refurbishment” or “reuse” only. “Replacement” (previously tested designs) only as last resort with presidential approval.
- Nuclear policy review appeared to disengage nuclear retaliation from chemical or biological attack increasing our vulnerability.
- Prague Treaty April 2010 with Russia – no application to North Korea, Iran, Pakistan, India.

Right of Boom – Where is the Fear?



- The U.S. will be attacked by a non-state actor employing radiological devices or biological agents in the coming 25 years.
- The U.S. is currently under massive, continuing reconnaissance and attack by foreign powers employing cyber warfare.
- Eventually our nuclear deterrence will lack technical credibility.
- There is a small probability (5%) of terrorist employment of a low yield nuclear device against an American city in the coming 25 years.
- There is a modest probability (20%) of employment of nuclear weapons by state actors in the coming 25 years).
- We need a U.S. Air and Army National Guard force of greatly increased manpower and technology to respond to CONUS WMD attack. (Domestic military universal service).
 - WMD reconnaissance and decontamination.
 - Military police and motorized infantry.
 - Field medical hospitals.
 - Engineer heavy construction.
 - Logistics.
 - USAF C17 and C130 airlift.
 - U.S. Army helicopter lift.
 - U.S. Joint tactical and strategic communications capability.
 - U.S. military command and control (deployable TOC's).

The Powerful US Global Economy



- 2010 global GDP was \$61.96 trillion
 - U.S. (population 307 million) contributed 24% (\$14.72 trillion)
 - China (population 1.3 billion) contributed 9% (\$5.745 trillion)
- Giant U.S. GDP:
 - Brazil GDP = Florida + Illinois GDP
 - Russia GDP = Texas GDP
 - India GDP = ½ of California GDP
- U.S. Defense spending 4.7% of GDP. (Includes war direct expenditures).
 - Operations in Iraq & Afghanistan have cost the U.S. \$1.1 trillion, with \$999 billion going to DoD, as of 1 September 2010.
- U.S. is a leading global exporter. (China \$1.58 trillion; Germany \$1.34 trillion; U.S. \$1.28 trillion -- 2010).
- U.S. is still the leading global manufacturing power. (21% of all global manufacturing output. America remains #1 manufacturing country out-producing #2 China by more than 40%).
- U.S. is the world's leading single-country exporter of agricultural products. (\$122 billion in 2010).
- The U.S. still has dominant efficiencies from the NAFTA market place.

Afghanistan in Peril - 2011



- Afghanistan (28 million people) has become a nation with a struggling democratic government; a developing economy; an increasingly effective Army; a mostly free press; and active diplomatic and economic ties with its neighbors and the world.
- Afghanistan – 2nd most corrupt nation on earth, and the 5th most impoverished. This war is about 40,000 villages.
- The intensity of fighting against the Taliban has increased rapidly. NATO combat forces have increased to 150,000 (US 100,000) troops in Afghanistan. NATO now has lead for the entire effort (42 nations).
- Afghanistan is a Narco-state which will produce 5,800 tons of opium in 2011. (Up 61% over previous year.) 900,000 drug users. Two million people are employed in the opium trade. Taliban and warlords are supported by the \$1.4 billion in the 2011 opium production.
- The US has tripled non-military aid to Pakistan to \$1.5 billion a year for five years. (Since 2002 total \$12.3 billion total aid). The Pakistan Armed Forces are taking selective military offensive action against Taliban in the border regions. The political stability of a nuclear armed Pakistan is uncertain.
- Operations in Afghanistan cost \$10 billion per month. The war is not supported by two thirds of the American people.
- Special Operations Forces and the CIA are brilliant tools of enormous leverage. (Bin Laden Termination)
- U.S. leadership in Afghanistan is the first-team – General John Allen, USMC – Ambassador Ryan Crocker.

Iraq – An Uncertain Success



- General Lloyd Austin our U.S. Commander in Iraq now commands a rapidly withdrawing US troop presence with a “train and assist” mission. We will be gone by the end of this year.
- The morale, fighting effectiveness, and counter-insurgency skills of U.S. combat forces have been simply awe-inspiring. (4,484 killed; 32,219 wounded).
- The Iraqi Army is reasonably effective and responsive to central authority. They lack joint capabilities (air and maritime). The Iraqi Police are the focus of continuing efforts in training, leadership development, and equipment. (670,000 military and police.) The security forces in general still are feared as Shia sectarian by the Sunni and Kurdish populations.
- Iraq cannot sustain political and economic recovery (31.5 million people) without enhanced, long-term international support.
- The Iraqi state has fragile and uncertain democratic institutions and continues to be impaired by corruption and competence issues. The Maliki regime is unstable.
- Iraq’s six neighboring states are not headed to regional war over Iraq.

The Threatening Situation in Mexico



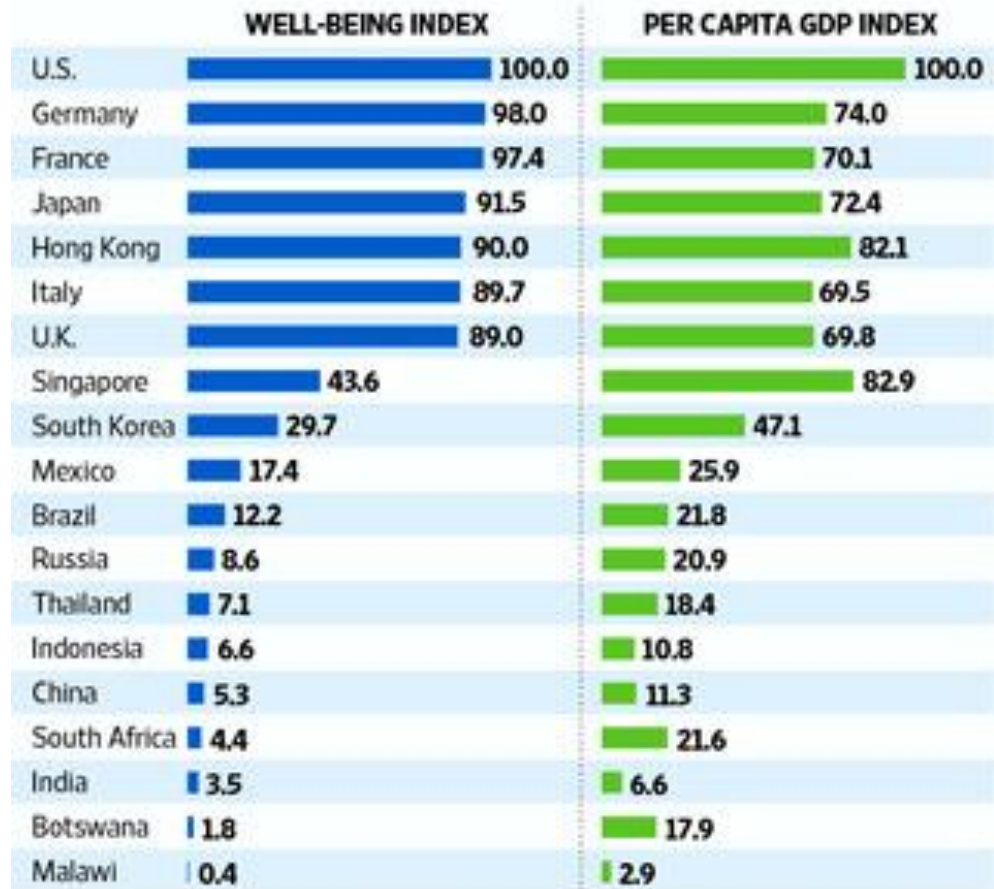
- Mexico's courageous senior leadership – President Felipe Calderon, the Mexican Army and Navy, and SSP Secretary of Federal Police leader Genaro Luna are successfully confronting criminal drug cartels. (Increased security budget from \$2 billion to \$9.3 billion.)
- The Mexican State is engaged in an increasingly violent, internal struggle against heavily armed narco-criminal cartels. (43,000+ murdered). Drug trade generates approximately 5% of Mexican GDP.
- President Calderon has boldly used the tool of extradition to the US. Bi-national cooperation is extremely good. (300+ major drug criminals sent north.)
- Mexico has formed a strategy to break up the major drug cartels and strip away their firepower and huge financial resources.
 - Calderon has deployed 45,000 soldiers to 8 Mexican states with the highest levels of drug-related violence.
- President Obama has endorsed the promising US-Mexican Merida Initiative. (\$1.3 billion promised over three years).
 - This vital program is under-funded and slow to be implemented.
- Much is at stake for future US economic and national security policy.
 - **Drug addiction** is a social malignancy that is a major factor in the incarceration of more than 2 million Americans, has clogged our courts, and placed enormous burdens on our health system.
 - Drug legalization would intensify the addiction problem and incentivize the drug cartels.

The Arab Spring – The Middle East in Chaos



- Disconnected political objectives among NATO, the UN, the Arab states, and the United States.
- War weariness and the American people. (53,000+ US casualties and \$1 trillion+).
- Generalizing the conflict – Syria, Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, Yemen, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, et al.
- What will happen in Egypt and Tunisia?
- The late Colonel Gaddafi and his family – 41 years of hated rule and despair for the Libyan people.

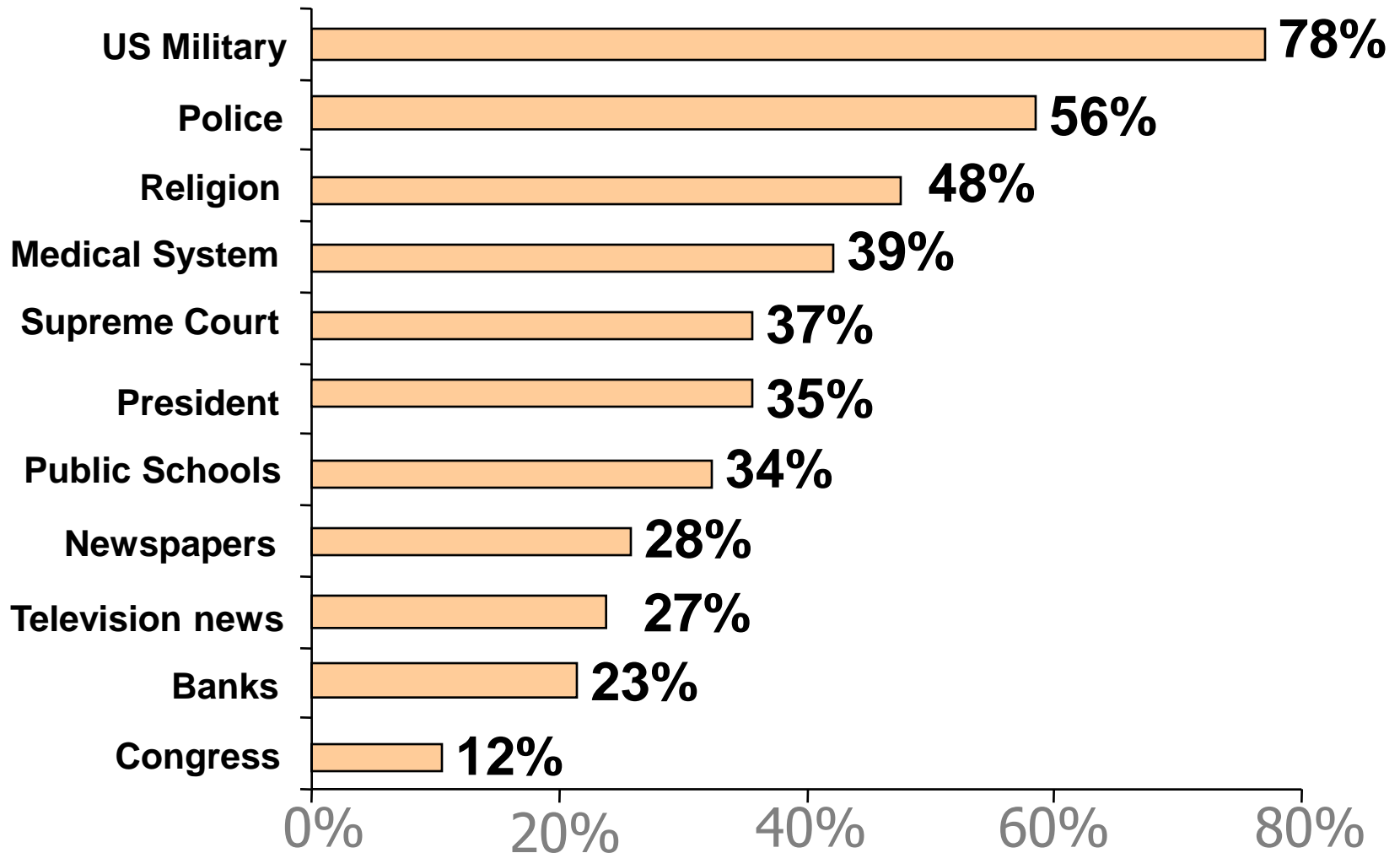
Putting a Value on America



Note: 2000 data

Source: Peter Klenow and Charles Jones, Stanford University

The American People: A Crisis of Confidence in Institutions



Source: The Gallup Organization, Poll dated June, 2011