



Adjunct Professor of International Affairs

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing
April 2, 2008**

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- 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, fires discipline, civic action. Our battalion and company commanders are defacto 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