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1. THE CONGRESS MUST STEP UP TO YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL DUTIES:

- Let me begin by saying this statement is the same argument I was privileged to make to the Senate Armed Services Committee on 17 April 2007. I thank you for the opportunity to testify today. This House Committee is a vital part of America's defense. Thanks to all of you on this committee for your intelligent oversight, your commitment to our Armed Forces, and for upholding Article 1 of the Constitution to raise and support an Army and maintain a Navy.
- America has a lot at stake in the coming 24 months. The war in Iraq is going badly. The under-resourced war in Afghanistan is now starting to turn around for the better despite the growing Taliban violence and the massive drag of opium production which has turned the nation into the largest narco-state in history. The consequences of failure in Iraq will be a disaster to the American people and our allies if we cannot achieve our objective to create a stable, law-based state which is at peace with its neighbors. Iraq must create enough consensus among the three major warring factions of Shia, Kurds, and Sunni to govern without the continuation of the bitter civil war which now has engulfed the Iraqi people.
- We have 160,000 US troops in combat in Iraq and 22,000 fighting bravely with our NATO allies in Afghanistan. These are the finest, most courageous military men and women we have ever fielded in battle. Our commanders -- almost without exception at company, battalion, and brigade level have served multiple combat tours. They are the most capable battle leaders that I have encountered in my many years of watching our Armed Forces with admiration.
- Our new leadership team in Iraq -- our brilliant new commander General Dave Petraeus and the equally talented and experienced Ambassador Ryan Crocker---are launched on a new approach to use political reconciliation, new tactics, more equipment to strengthen the Iraqi Security Forces, and enhanced US combat protective power to stabilize the situation. We must give them time and space. They deserve Congressional political backing to push this one last chance at success in Iraq.
- However, the purpose of my testimony is not to talk about the ongoing tactical operations in CENTCOM -- but instead the disastrous state of America's ground combat forces. Congress has been missing-in-action during the past several years while undebated and misguided strategies were implemented by former Secretary Rumsfeld and his team of arrogant and inexperienced civilian

associates in the Pentagon. The JCS failed to protect the Armed Forces from bad judgment and illegal orders. They have gotten us in a terrible strategic position of vulnerability. The Army is starting to crack under the strain of lack of resources, lack of political support and leadership from both the Administration and this Congress, and isolation from the American people who have now walked away from the war.

- No one is actually at war except the Armed Forces, their US civilian contractors, and the CIA. There is only rhetoric and posturing from the rest of our government and the national legislature. Where is the shared sacrifice of 300 million Americans in the wealthiest nation in history? Where is the tax supplement to pay for a \$12 billion a month war? Where are the political leaders calling publicly for America's parents and teachers to send their sons and daughters to fight "the long war on terror?" Where is the political energy to increase the size of our Marine Corps and US Army? Where is the willingness of Congress to implement a modern "lend-lease program" to give our Afghan and Iraqi allies the tools of war they need to protect their own people? Where is the mobilization of America's massive industrial capacity to fix the disastrous state of our ground combat military equipment?
- We are fortunate that we now have Bob Gates as the Secretary of Defense. He is experienced, a patriot, and open to pragmatic logic on dealing with the perils we now face. Secretary Condi Rice is immensely experienced and now using the leverage of her powerful office to exert America's essential "goodness" in the diplomatic arena. The White House Chief-of-Staff Josh Bolton has now opened a frank dialog with many in the public policy arena to begin to build the unity that we will need to deal with the international menaces we now face. We are not going to successfully deal with the many national security problems we now encounter unless the Congress and the Administration can hammer out a new strategy going forward which depends on international dialog, political and economic nation-building, and strong military determination and power.

2. THE CURRENT ARMY IS TOO SMALL:

- Our Army has 44 brigades – but 24 are deployed. We cannot sustain the current rate (22+ brigades to Iraq; 2+ brigades to Afghanistan) of deployment. The Army will unravel.
- We will not be able to handle possible missions to Korea, the Taiwan Straits, the Balkans, Cuba (death of Castro), Syria, Venezuela, Darfur, and possibly Iran. We may be attacked by terrorists here in the continental United States. We may suffer from natural disasters – massive earthquakes or major hurricanes such as the devastation caused by Katrina in the Gulf Coast States.
- The Secretary of Defense recently announced a 3-month extension on all Army deployments – a 25% increase. This was a good call by Secretary Gates for Army families. We have been piecemealing out these extensions to an enormously over-committed force at the last minute. However, this is just another indication of inadequate Army manpower.

3. THE HOUSE SHOULD CONCLUDE THAT WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH TROOPS:

- The combat overload on the Army is having a negative effect on readiness. First time active-duty soldiers will spend more time at war than at home.
- We are encountering a negative effect on the retention of mid- and senior-grade noncommissioned officers. We also are already seeing the impact on the retention of company-grade officers.

- All “fully combat ready” active-duty and reserve combat units are now deployed or deploying to Iraq or Afghanistan. No fully-trained national strategic reserve brigades are now prepared to deploy to new combat operations.
- Secretary Gates has publicly stated that the 15 month extension recognizes that “our forces are stretched...there’s no question about that.”
- We have used a back-door draft to keep 70,000 soldiers in the Army with the “stop loss program” beyond their voluntary commitment. We have jerked 20,000 sailors and airmen into ground combat roles and taken them away from their required air and sea power duties. We have recalled as many as 15,000 IRR (individual readiness reserve) – in many cases these people had no current, relevant military skills. They were simply needed as bodies.
- We have called up all of our National Guard enhanced readiness combat brigades at least once for 18 months of combat requirements. The reserve components have been forced to act as an alternate full-time combat extension of our active units with protracted deployments. This is not what they enlisted for – nor is it a sensible use of the national reserve components.

4. SENIOR ARMY LEADERS HAVE SPOKEN:

- Gordon Sullivan, the President of AUSA and former Army Chief-of-Staff has publicly stated that even with 65,000 new G.I.s by 2012 – the entire U.S. Army will only be 547,000 soldiers. In my view, the Army should be 800,000. The Army and Marines are being asked to shoulder a disproportionate share of nation’s burden.
- Gen. Peter Schoomaker our just departed Army Chief-of-Staff stated that “We have to go to some extraordinary measures to make sure that we have the ability to respond properly [to the President’s surge strategy]. General Speakes noted: “We can fulfill the national strategy but it will take us increased casualties to do the job.”
- In recent Senate testimony, the former Army CSA Pete Schoomaker said that the increase of 17,500 Army combat troops in Iraq represents only the “tip of the iceberg” ---and will potentially require thousands of additional support troops and trainers, as well as equipment -- further eroding the Army's readiness to respond to other world contingencies.
- General Schoomaker further asserted to the Senate Armed Services Committee: "I am not satisfied with the readiness of our non-deployed forces...We are in a dangerous period." He added that he recently met with his Chinese counterpart, who made it clear that China is scrutinizing U.S. capabilities.
- Even if United States were to carry out a significant troop reduction in Iraq, General Schoomaker said in Senate testimony that he would advise going ahead with the Army's plan for a permanent increase of 65,000 active-duty soldiers by 2013. "The Army's too small for the century we're in," he said.

5. THE MARINES NEED MORE TROOPS:

- In Senate testimony, the past Marine Corps Commandant General Conway discussed a required increase of Marine troops from 180,000 to 202,000 – an increase of 5 battalions. This Marine increase will take 5 years; it doesn’t address the current shortage of Marines.

- Deployment-to-dwell ratio is currently 1:1; DOD policy states that stateside training and recovery time should be 1:2. We do not have enough Marines. The numbers speak for themselves.
- This increase in deployment-to-dwell ratio means a direct decrease in the readiness of deployed units to carry out the full range of missions required for our global fighting force.
- Over 70% of the proposed Marine Corps end strength increase will be comprised of first-time Marines – challenging recruiting and retention efforts.

6. WEAKENING OF THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD:

- The mathematics of our extended deployments suggest that we will be forced to call up as many as nine National Guard combat brigades plus required support forces in the coming 12 months for involuntary second combat tours ---if we are to re-set the force and create a strategic reserve. (Note that DOD Assistant Secretary Chu states that this is “no big deal.”)
- The second round of involuntary call-ups may begin to topple the weakened National Guard structure which is so critical to US domestic security.
- 88% of non-deployed Army National Guard units are rated as not ready or poorly equipped. The readiness of our National Guard forces is at a historic low.
- However, the Washington Post has reported that the Pentagon is still planning to rely on these unready forces to meet surge requirements.
- The Army Guard/Reserve is anticipated to grow to 20-30 percent of deployed combat forces.
- We are now seeing a high loss rate in both active and reserve components of senior NCOs, West Point graduates, and many other highly-qualified battle leaders.

7. RECRUITING STANDARDS ARE COMPROMISED; TROOP BASIC TRAINING STANDARDS ARE COMPROMISED:

- The Army is lowering standards to meet enlistment goals and initial entry training standards in order to make manpower requirements. Recruitment will continue to be challenging as the Army tries to power up to add 65,000 permanent troops.
- In 2006, there was almost a 50% increase in waivers of enlistment standards from 2004 – waivers for moral turpitude, drug use, medical issues and criminal records.
- Recruitment from least-skilled category recruits have climbed eight-fold over past 2 years; the percentage of recruits who are high school graduates dropped 13% from '04 to '06.
- We are increasing the age of first-time enlistees – we are now enlisting 42 year old soldiers. We should only want soldiers in superb health – from age 18 to about 30 years old. The Army is not push-button warfare – this is brutal, hard business.

- The Promotion rates for officers and NCOs have skyrocketed to replace departing leaders. We are short thousands of officers. We have serious mismatch problems for NCOs.
- We have been forced to use US and foreign contractors to substitute for required military functions. (128,000 contractors in Iraq – includes more than 2000 armed contractor personnel.) Thousands of these brave and dedicated people have been killed or wounded. They perform most of our logistics functions in the combat zone. (Transportation, maintenance, fuel, long-haul communications, food service, contractor operation of computer based command and control, etc.) Under conditions of great danger such as open warfare caused by Iranian or Syrian intervention—they will discontinue operations. Our logistics system is a house of cards.

8. A LOT OF US ARMY COMBAT EQUIPMENT AND TOO MANY AIR FORCE AIR LIFT ASSETS ARE BROKEN:

- The shortfall on Army equipment is \$212 billion to reset the force and its reserve stockpiles – as well as buy the required force modernization for the additional troops.
- The National Guard Bureau Chief – LTG Steven Blum in House testimony stated that the Army Guard has only 40% of its required equipment. (Generators, trucks, communications, helicopters, tentage, modernized fighting vehicles, medical equipment, etc.) We are compromising the quality of National Guard force training and limiting the Guard’s ability to respond to domestic disasters; fundamentally the National Guard is in a “degraded state back at home.”
- About 40 percent of Army/Marine Corps equipment is in Iraq or Afghanistan or undergoing repair/maintenance. We are now drawing down gear from prepositioned stocks of major equipment. (i.e., Humvees, tanks) The situation creates a US strategic vulnerability since rapid deploying units will find their equipment is unavailable for other conflicts.
- LTG Blum has stated that even if the National Guard receives the funding currently pledged by the Army and Air Force – the equipment accounts will still be short \$40 billion required to bring units back to 90% level of readiness.
- Equipment shortages mean troops train on outdated equipment – or equipment which is not identical to the material they will be using in combat.
- The nature and pace of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan is wearing out critical equipment much faster than expected. In some cases, equipment is being used as much as nine times the intended peacetime training tempo.
- The DOD Inspector General concluded that U.S. troops are being sent into combat without the necessary equipment – troops are forced to delay operations while they wait for the right equipment to become available. (DoD/IG, Equipment Status of Deployed Forces.)
- The required number of late model Improved Humvees will not reach Iraq until the end of year. The latest models of up-armor Humvees will better protect against the advanced roadside bombs which currently cause about 70% of all US casualties in Iraq. Only MRAP vehicles will have the armor to defeat current attacks.

- We are flying the wings off our C17, C5, and C130 fleet. We are being forced into excessive reliance on contract air lift for personnel and cargo. (To include former Soviet aircraft).

9. CONCLUSION:

- We are breaking our commitment to our soldiers. In return for their voluntary service – we are not providing them with tools they need to carry out their mission. We must fix the broken equipment of the Army, Marines, and Air Force on a crash basis.
- We are failing our troops in that we are stretching them too thin and asking them to do more with much less. Many of these combat, CS, and CSS units are now serving on their third, fourth, or even fifth combat tour. 32,000 have been killed or wounded. Their training resources are being grossly short-changed. Their follow-on medical care is inadequate and under-resourced. We have ignored the reality of inadequate numbers of ground combat troops. We must increase the active duty US Army strength by 150,000 soldiers in the coming 36 months. We must increase the active duty Marines by 25,000 troops. We must create the Special Operations forces needed to protect us in the coming 25 years of the War on Terror. We must buy the strategic airlift and air re-fueling requirements to deploy global combat power. (600+ C17 aircraft for a single aircraft fleet.)
- The monthly burn rate of \$10 billion a month in Iraq and \$2 billion a month in Afghanistan has caused us to inadequately fund the modernization of the US Air Force and Navy by diverting funds (as much as \$55 billion) to support the on-going ground war. If this continues, we will be in terrible trouble in the coming decade when the PRC emerges as a global military power. We will then have inadequate deterrence power in the Pacific.
- Secretary Rumsfeld unilaterally pushed through a concept to bring our deployed military forces back from Europe, Okinawa, and South Korea. There was no serious debate on the strategic wisdom of abandoning NATO/Japanese/Korean provided training and basing infrastructure – for an unfunded infrastructure requirement in the United States. Have we analyzed and funded the Air Force and Naval resources required to project power from US basing back to operational areas in the global fight? How much time will be required to build the US transportation systems (rail, inter-state highways, airports, and seaports) required to launch stateside units back to operational areas? Why is it a good idea to increase the separation of military families from their service members with a concept of unit unaccompanied deployments to rotational missions in the Balkans, etc?
- The U.S. Armed Forces are in a position of strategic peril. Congress must act.

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