



WITHDRAWAL UNDER PRESSURE AFGHANISTAN 2013-2014 THE COMING CIVIL WAR

February 13, 2013

**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 is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Inter-American Dialogue. He 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 Chairman of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Education Center Advisory Board. 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 married adult children and six grandchildren. Their son, Colonel Sean McCaffrey, just retired from the Armed Forces after his third combat tour.

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.

2013-2016 National Security Challenges to America



- **#1 RISK** -- WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN:
 - 68,000 US forces in NATO-ISAF are 870 miles from the open sea--- and the US Navy.
 - Pakistan safe transit essential to logistics survival of the force. (60,000 vehicles; 100,000 conex containers).
 - 2014 declared withdrawal shapes entire political/military calculus of the Karzai government and the Taliban.
- **#2 RISK** – Aggression by a nuclear armed Iran and war in the Gulf.
- **#3 RISK** – North Korean transition fails. Military/nuclear confrontation with US, South Korea, Japan.
- **#4 RISK** – Pakistan implodes – General Kayani and the Pak Army/ISI lose control – security of 90-110 nuclear weapons at risk.
- **#5 RISK** – Chavez dies in Venezuela – Fidel Castro dies in Cuba – violent regime change takes place.
- **#6 RISK** – The newly elected Mexican Administration of President Peña Nieto might come to an agreement with the six drug cartels. Rule of law collapses.

Afghanistan in Peril - 2013



- Afghanistan – Among most corrupt nations on earth. Most impoverished. This war is about 40,000 villages.
- The intensity of fighting against the Taliban has increased rapidly. 110 attacks a day in June 2012 -- the most since the war began. US combat forces have decreased to 68,000 troops in Afghanistan (as of 1 October 2012). All US combat forces will be withdrawn by 2014.
- Afghanistan is a narco-state which produced more than 6,400 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 competence and reliability of the Afghan Army and Police are unraveling. 20% of US KIA are caused by Afghan Security Force treachery.
- 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 \$6 billion per month. The war is not supported by two thirds of the American people.
- Total US casualties 20,000+ killed and wounded.
- Direct US expenditures \$641.7 billion.

President Hamid Karzai



- 55 year old, Sunni Muslim, ethnic Pashtun of distinguished Popalzai tribe.
- Intelligent. Kindly. Patriot. Well educated. Popular. Master's degree India. Multi-lingual (seven languages).
- Personally courageous. (60% chance of death).
- CIA contractor 1980's Soviet war Afghanistan.
- Father murdered by Taliban in 1999 in Quetta.
- October 2001 re-enters Afghanistan. Wounded in US missile strike.
- "Mayor of Kabul".
- 2001 rejected poppy eradication. Concern for environment.
- Interim President 2002-2004.
- Five year elected term 2004. (55.4% vote)
- Won second five-year term 2009. (50%+ vote) electoral fraud.
- Karzai has six brothers (one murdered). One sister. Chicago and east coast. Corruption? Nepotism? Electoral fraud? Mental health?
- Corruption – Afghanistan, Somalia, North Korea tied. Most of the world's opium.
- Karzai – seriously confused. Thinks we need success more than he does.

Incoming ISAF Commander – General Joseph Dunford, USMC



- Assistant Commandant Marine Corps.
- Two combat tours Iraq. Personal courage.
- Son of marine veteran Chosin Reservoir.
- Thoughtful, calm, zero ego.
- MA Georgetown. MA The Fletcher School.
- No real Afghan experience. Not known by Karzai. (White House passed over Army Gen. Dave Rodriguez and Army LTG Mike Scaparrotti).
- Has confidence of White House.
- Note: Marine General John Allen to SACEUR (NATO).
- This is a “withdrawal strategy” personnel decision.

Just The Facts -- Afghanistan



- Afghan Army 184,000. Afghan Police 148,000.
- ISAF Forces down 34%.
- 100% transition of combat responsibility to ANSF in 2013.
- Huge attrition and desertion rate ANSF.
- 90% global opium production Afghanistan. 5% total population involved in opium cultivation.
- Afghanistan among world's largest producers of cannabis and supplier of hashish. (1300 metric tons).
- Corruption – Transparency International. Afghanistan eight points of possible 1000. Going down. (23% of Afghanistan's GDP paid in bribes) (69.5% respondents – "corruption affects daily life").
- Top three problems – Insecurity, Unemployment, Corruption.
- Sympathy for armed opposition – 30%.
- 8.2 million children in school (38% girls).
- Roads, rail, electrical grid, health care, literacy, mobile phones, media all up dramatically.
- Afghan highest level fear – "Encountering international forces".

So what is our strategy?



- Transition and withdraw.
- War stalemated.
- No endgame strategy.
- Congress must fund \$15 billion per year or ANSF will immediately unravel. (Max two years).
- Must have a political settlement. Why would the Pashtun Taliban negotiate?
 - We are now shrinking the ANSF.
 - US and allies leaving.
 - US effectively targets Taliban leadership.
 - Taliban want to come home from Pakistan.
 - May take them ten years to win the war.
- Terms of a settlement.
 - US requires - no Taliban base area to attack US.
 - US demands - do not bring down the Pakistan Government.
 - US demands - Taliban renounce Al Qaeda.
 - Taliban demands - constitution, human rights, and women governed by Islamic principles.
- Obama Administration strategy appears to be political disinvestment.

What will happen in Afghanistan?

(Layers of mayhem, feud's and thuggery)



- This is Obama's war. Must not lose immediately or expensively.
- The Taliban are very, very clever.
- No consistent message –
 - Obama signals resolve.
 - Biden creates doubt.
 - Karzai destroys US political support.
- Democratic Party and the Tea Party want out.
- Need 20,000 to 30,000 US troops 2014-2017. Need 10,000 US troops 2018-2028.
- Danger - Karzai will manipulate the coming 2014 election. Brother? Non-Pashtun?
- Will the Northern Alliance overtly partner with India?
- Will the Pakistanis believe they have any other option than to be US partner?
- After Benghazi – does US have stomach for “advise and assist” mission risk?
- Will the Afghan political and economic elite flee from 2014 on?