

## 142 Retired Three and Four-Star Generals and Admirals Oppose Cuts to the International Affairs Budget

March 26, 2019

The Honorable Mitch McConnell  
Majority Leader  
U.S. Senate

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi  
Speaker of the House  
U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Chuck Schumer  
Minority Leader  
U.S. Senate

The Honorable Kevin McCarthy  
Minority Leader  
U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Speaker Pelosi, Minority Leader McCarthy, Majority Leader McConnell, and Minority Leader Schumer:

We write as retired three- and four-star flag and general officers from all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces to thank you for your leadership in recognizing that development and diplomacy are critical to keeping our country safe and prosperous and reflect our nation's core values.

As military leaders, we have seen firsthand the threats posed by rising authoritarianism around the world and the importance of development and diplomacy to counter them. Alongside its expanded global military presence, China is expected to invest more than \$1 trillion – seven times the size of the Marshall Plan – in its Belt and Road Initiative to increase its influence around the world. China has surpassed the U.S. as the leading trading partner for several Latin American countries, including Brazil – the continent's largest economy – and in sub-Saharan Africa, China is now the top exporter to 19 out of 48 countries.

America's civilian agencies also keep us safe from the challenges of fragile states that are vulnerable to violent extremism, the spread of pandemics like Ebola, instability, and mass migration. As we have seen from Venezuela to Yemen, these challenges cannot be solved by military force alone. They will require strategic investments in development and diplomacy to tackle the root causes of conflict in order to succeed for the long term. And these investments are cost effective: for every \$1 spent on conflict prevention, we save \$16 in response costs and avoid sending our troops into harm's way.

We urge you, once again, to defend critical resources for the International Affairs Budget. The State Department, USAID and our other development agencies are more important than ever in advancing our nation's interests and values.

In these turbulent times, America must not stand down from the challenges ahead of us.

cc: Members of the U.S. Senate of the 116th Congress  
Members of the U.S. House of Representatives of the 116th Congress

General Keith B. Alexander, USA (Ret.)  
Director, National Security Agency ('05-'14); Commander, U.S. Cyber Command ('10-'14)

Admiral Thad W. Allen, USCG (Ret.)  
Commandant of the Coast Guard ('06-'10)

Lt. General Edward G. Anderson III, USA (Ret.)  
Vice Commander, U.S. Element, North American Aerospace Defense Command  
Deputy Commander, U.S. Northern Command ('04)

Lt. General Thomas L. Baptiste, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Chairman, NATO Military Committee ('04-'07)

Lt. General Michael D. Barbero, USA (Ret.)  
Director, Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization ('11-'13)

Lt. General Jared L. Bates, USA (Ret.)  
Inspector General, U.S. Army ('95-'97)

Lt. General John M. Bednarek, USA (Ret.)  
Chief, Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq ('13-'15)

Lt. General Ronald R. Blanck, USA (Ret.)  
Surgeon General of the U.S. Army ('96-'00)

Lt. General Harold Blot, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff for Aviation ('94-'96)

Lt. General H. Steven Blum, USA (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. North American Aerospace Defense Command  
and U.S. Northern Command ('09-'10)

Lt. General Steven W. Boutelle, USA (Ret.)  
Chief Information Officer and G6 ('03-'07)

Admiral Frank L. Bowman, USN (Ret.)  
Director, Naval Nuclear Propulsion ('96-'04)

General Bryan D. Brown, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, Special Operations Command ('03-'07)

General Arthur E. Brown, Jr., USA (Ret.)  
Vice Chief of Staff of the United States Army ('87-'89)

Vice Admiral Michael Bucchi, USN (Ret.)  
Commander of the United States Third Fleet ('00-'03)

Lt. General John H. Campbell, USAF (Ret.)  
Associate Director of Central Intelligence for Military Support, Central Intelligence Agency ('00-'03)

General Bruce A. Carlson, USAF (Ret.)  
Director, National Reconnaissance Office ('09-'12)

General George W. Casey, Jr., USA (Ret.)  
Chief of Staff of the United States Army ('07-'11)

Lt. General John G. Castellaw, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Commandant for Programs and Resources ('07-'08)

Lt. General Dennis D. Cavin, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, US Army Accessions Command ('02-'04)

Lt. General Robert D. Chelberg, USA (Ret.)  
Chief of Staff, U.S. European Command ('91-'93)

General Peter W. Chiarelli, USA (Ret.)  
Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Army ('08-'12)

Lt. General Daniel W. Christman, USA (Ret.)  
Superintendent, United States Military Academy ('96-'01)

Lt. General George R. Christmas, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs ('94-'96)

General Wesley K. Clark, USA (Ret.)  
Supreme Allied Commander, Europe ('97-'00)

General Richard Cody, USA (Ret.)  
Vice Chief of Staff, US Army ('04-'08)

General James Conway, USMC (Ret.)  
Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('06-'10)

General Donald G. Cook, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Air Education and Training Command ('01-'05)

General John D.W. Corley, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Air Combat Command ('07-'09)

General Bantz J. Craddock, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. European Command and NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe ('06-'09)

Vice Admiral Lewis W. Crenshaw, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Resources, Requirements, and Assessments ('04-'07)

General Terrence R. Dake, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant USMC ('98-'00)

Lt. General Robert R. Dierker, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. Pacific Command ('02-'04)

Admiral Kirkland H. Donald, USN (Ret.)  
Director, Naval Nuclear Propulsion ('04-'12)

Vice Admiral David J. Dorsett, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Information Dominance ('08-'11)

Lt. General James M. Dubik, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, Multi National Security Transition Command and NATO Training Mission-Iraq ('07-'08)

Lt. General Kenneth E. Eickmann, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Aeronautical Systems Center, U.S. Air Force ('96-'98)

Admiral James O. Ellis, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Strategic Command ('02-'04)

Vice Admiral Malcolm I. Fages, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chairman, NATO Military Committee ('01-'04)

Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Pacific Command ('02-'05)

Lt. General Vern M. Findley, USAF (Ret.)  
Vice Commander, Air Mobility Command ('08-'11)

Admiral Mark P. Fitzgerald, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe ('07-'10) and U.S. Naval Forces Africa ('09-'10)

General Douglas M. Fraser, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Southern Command ('09-'12)

Lt. General Benjamin C. Freakley, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Army Accessions Command ('07-'12)

General Carlton W. Fulford, Jr., USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander in Chief, United States European Command ('00-'02)

Lt. General Robert G. Gard, USA (Ret.)  
President, National Defense University, ('77-'81)

Lt. General William B. Garrett III, USA (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. European Command ('14-'16)

Admiral Edmund P. Giambastiani, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff ('05-'07)

Lt. General Jerome H. Granrud, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Japan/IX Corps ('92-'94)

Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert, USN (Ret.)  
Chief of Naval Operations ('11-'15)

Lt. General Arthur J. Gregg, USA (Ret.)  
Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics ('79-'81)

Lt. General Wallace C. Gregson, USMC (Ret.)  
Commanding General, Marine Corps Forces Pacific and Marine Corps Forces Central Command ('03-'05)

Vice Admiral Lee F. Gunn, USN (Ret.)  
Inspector General, U.S. Navy ('97-'00)

General Michael W. Hagee, USMC (Ret.)  
Commandant, Marine Command ('03-'06)

Lt. General Frank L. Hagenbeck, USA (Ret.)  
Superintendent, United States Military Academy ('06-'10)

Lt. General Michael A. Hamel, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Air Force Space and Missile Systems Center ('05-'08)

General John W. Handy, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Transportation Command  
Commander, Air Mobility Command ('02-'05)

Lt. General Russell J. Handy, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Alaskan Command, 11th Air Force, Alaskan NORAD Region ('13-'16)

General Richard E. Hawley, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander in Chief, U.S. Air Forces in Europe  
Commander, Allied Air Forces Central Europe ('95-'96)  
Commander, Air Combat Command (COMACC) ('96-'99)

General Michael V. Hayden, USAF (Ret.)  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency ('06-'09)

General Richard D. Hearney, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('94-'96)

Lt. General Frank G. Helmick, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, XVIII Airborne Corps ('09-'12)

Lt. General Rhett A. Hernandez, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Army Cyber Command ('10-'13)

Lt. General Mark P. Hertling, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe ('11-'12)

General James T. Hill, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, United States Southern Command ('02-'04)

Lt. General Walter S. Hogle, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, 15th Air Force ('00-'01)

Lt. General Russel Honoré, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. First Army ('04-'08)

Lt. General Steven A. Hummer, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander for Military Operations, U.S. Africa Command ('13-'15)

Lt. General Kenneth W. Hunzeker, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Army V Corps ('07-'09)

Lt. General William E. Ingram, Jr., USA (Ret.)  
Director, U.S. Army National Guard ('11-'14)

Lt. General Ronald W. Iverson, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. Forces Korea and Commander, 7th Air Force ('94-'97)

General James L. Jamerson, USAF (Ret.)  
"Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command ('95 - '98)

Lt. General Arlen Jameson, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Strategic Command ('93-'96)

Admiral Gregory G. Johnson, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe; Commander, Allied Forces Southern Europe ('01-'04)

Admiral Jerome L. Johnson, USN (Ret.)  
Vice Chief of Naval Operations ('90-'92)

General John P. Jumper, USAF (Ret.)  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Airforce ('01-'05)

Lt. General Francis H. Kearney, USA (Ret.)  
Deputy Director for Strategic Operational Planning, National Counter-Terrorism Center (10-'-'12)

Lt. General P.K. Keen, USA (Ret.)  
Chief, Office of the U.S. Defense Representative to Pakistan ('11-'13)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. Southern Command ('09-'11)

Lt. General Richard L. Kelly, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Commandant, Installations and Logistics ('02-'05)

Lt. General Claudia J. Kennedy, USA (Ret.)  
Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence ('97-'00)

General Paul J. Kern, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Materiel Command ('01-'04)

Lt. General Donald L. Kerrick, USA (Ret.)  
Deputy National Security Advisor to The President of the United States ('00-'01)

General Ronald Keys, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, Air Combat Command ('05-'07)

Lt. General Timothy A. Kinnan, USAF (Ret.)  
U.S. Military Representative, NATO Military Committee ('01-'04)

Vice Admiral Albert H. Konetzni, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. Fleet Forces Command and U.S. Atlantic Fleet ('01-'04)

General Charles C. Krulak, USMC (Ret.)  
Commandant of the Marine Corps ('95-'99)

Admiral Samuel J Locklear, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Pacific Command ('12-'15)

Vice Admiral Stephen F. Loftus, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Logistics ('90-'94)

Admiral Thomas J. Lopez, USN (Ret.)  
Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces Europe  
Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe ('96-'98)

General Lance W. Lord, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Air Force Space Command ('02-'06)

Admiral James M. Loy, USCG (Ret.)  
Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard ('98-'02)

Lt. General Douglas E. Lute, USA (Ret.)  
Special Assistant to the President  
Senior Coordinator for Afghanistan and Pakistan, National Security Council, The White House ('09-'13)

General Robert Magnus, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('05-'08)

Lt. General Raymond V. Mason, USA (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff, G-4, U.S. Army ('11-'14)

Admiral Henry H. Mauz, USN (Ret.)  
Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet ('92-'94)

Lt. General William C Mayville, USA (Ret.)  
Vice Commander, US Cyber Command ('17-'18)

General Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Southern Command ('94-'96)

Lt. General Dennis M. McCarthy, USMC (Ret.)  
Commander, Marine Forces Reserve ('01-'05)

Vice Admiral Justin D. McCarthy, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Fleet Readiness, and Logistics ('04-'07)

General Stanley A. McChrystal, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan ('09-'10)

General Dan K. McNeill, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan ('07-'08)

Lieutenant General Paul T. Mikolashek, USA (Ret.)  
Inspector General, U.S. Army  
Commanding General, Third Army ('00-'02)

General Thomas R. Morgan, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('86-'88)

Lt. General John W. Morgan, III, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, Allied Force Command Heidelberg ('10-'13)

Vice Admiral John G. Morgan, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Information, Plans, and Strategy ('04-'08)

Lt. General Carol A. Mutter, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff, Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Marine Corps ('96-'98)

Admiral Robert J. Natter, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, Fleet Forces Command  
Commander, U.S. Atlantic Fleet ('02-'03)

Lt. General Richard Y. Newton, III, USAF (Ret.)  
Assistant Vice Chief of Staff and Director, Air Staff, Headquarters U.S. Air Force ('10-'12)

Lt. General Lawrence D. Nicholson, USMC (Ret.)  
Commanding General, III Marine Expeditionary Force ('15-'18)

Lt. General William L. Nyland, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('02-'05)

General Raymond T. Odierno, USA (Ret.)  
Chief of Staff, U.S. Army ('11-'15)

Admiral Eric T. Olson, USN (Ret.)  
U.S. Special Operations Command ('07-'11)

Lt. General H.P. Osman, USMC (Ret.)  
Commanding General II MEF ('02-'04)



Lt. General Jeffrey W. Oster, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Administrator and Chief Operation Officer, Coalition Provisional Authority, Iraq ('04)

Admiral Bill Owens, USN (Ret.)  
Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff ('94-'96)

Vice Admiral Frank C. Pandolfe, USN (Ret.)  
Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff ('15-'17)

General David Petraeus, USA (Ret.)  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency ('11-'12)  
Commander, Coalition Forces in Afghanistan ('10-'11) and Iraq ('07-'08)

Vice Admiral Carol M. Pottenger, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff, Capability Development at NATO Allied Command Transformation ('10-'13)

Lieutenant General Harry D. Raduege, Jr., USAF (Ret.)  
Director, Defense Information Systems Agency ('00-'05)  
Commander, Joint Task Force - Global Network Operations  
Deputy Commander for Global Network Operations and Defense, U.S. Strategic Command Joint Forces Headquarters, Information Operations ('04-'05)

Vice Admiral Norman W. Ray, USN (Ret.)  
Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee ('92-'95)

Lt. General John F. Regni, USAF (Ret.)  
Superintendent, United States Air Force Academy ('05-'09)

General Victor Renuart, Jr., USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Northern Command ('07-'10)

General Robert W. RisCassi, USA (Ret.)  
Commander in Chief, United Nations Command  
Commander in Chief, ROK/U.S. Combined Forces Command  
Commander, U.S. Forces Korea ('92-'93)

Vice Admiral Ronald Route, USN (Ret.)  
Naval Inspector General ('04-'07)

Lt. General Bennet S. Sacolick, USA (Ret.)  
Director for Strategic Planning, National Counterterrorism Center ('14-'16)

Lt. General Norman Seip, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, 12th Air Force, Air Forces Southern ('06-'09)

Admiral William D. Smith, USN (Ret.)  
U.S. Military Representative, NATO Military Committee ('91-'93).

Admiral Leighton W. Smith, Jr., USN (Ret.)  
Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces Europe  
Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe ('94-'96)

Lt. General James N. Soligan, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff for Transformation, Allied Command Transformation ('06-'10)

Admiral James G. Stavridis, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. European Command and NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe ('09-'13)

Lt. General Martin R. Steele, USMC (Ret.)  
Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies and Operations, U.S. Marine Corps ('97-'99)

Vice Admiral William D. Sullivan, USN (Ret.)  
U.S. Military Representative to NATO Military Committee ('06-'09)

Admiral Harry G. Ulrich, USN (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe and Commander, Allied Joint Force Command Naples ('05-'07)

General Charles F. Wald, USAF (Ret.)  
Deputy Commander, U.S. European Command ('02-'06)

General William S. Wallace, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command ('05-'08)

Lt. General William E. Ward, USA (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Africa Command ('07-'11)

Lt. General Joseph H. Wehrle, USAF (Ret.)  
Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, Headquarters U.S. Air Force ('02-'03)

Lt. General William Welser, USAF (Ret.)  
Commander, 18th Air Force, Scott Air Force Base ('03-'05)

General Charles E. Wilhelm, USMC (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Southern Command ('97-'00)

General Michael J. Williams, USMC (Ret.)  
Assistant Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps ('00-'02)

General Johnnie E. Wilson, USA (Ret.)  
Commanding General, U.S. Army Material Command ('96-'99)

General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Ret.)  
Commander, U.S. Central Command ('97-'00)