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Victory in Afghanistan: The Need for a New Strategy

Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee

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Key Challenges

Key Challenges

- **Government and governance ineffective at national, provincial and local levels; corruption is endemic.**
- **Economy is not moving forward at the level that benefits ordinary Afghan; rural development very weak with major problems with narcotics.**
- **Lack of an educated class, modern infrastructure, economic base to build upon.**
- **Current US and NATO aid and activity levels are inadequate.**
- **Reconstituted enemy is more lethal**
- **Pakistan sanctuary is enemy advantage**
- **Major rise in violence in West and South, Rising threat in other areas**
- **Violence likely to be at least equal next year and may well be higher.**
- **Afghan forces developing but require major increases in aid and years of support; police are a critical challenge**
- **NATO effort has insufficient forces and only US, Canadian, British, Danes, and Dutch forces are in the fight. Romanians have been in limited action but are largely road bound due to wrong APCs.**
- **Increased Narco-trafficking/crime**
- **Threat exploits limited transportation infrastructure.**

The Challenge of Afghanistan vs. Iraq

AFGHANISTAN

TOTAL US AND COALITION FORCES

~32,000

AFGHANISTAN

- Land Mass – 647,500 sq km
- Population – 31,056,947 people
- Land locked, primarily agrarian economy
- Lacks both transportation and information infrastructure
- Restrictive terrain dominates the country

IRAQ

- Land Mass – 432,162 sq km
- Population – 26,783,383 people
- Economy dominated by the oil sector
- Comparatively developed transportation and information infrastructure

IRAQ

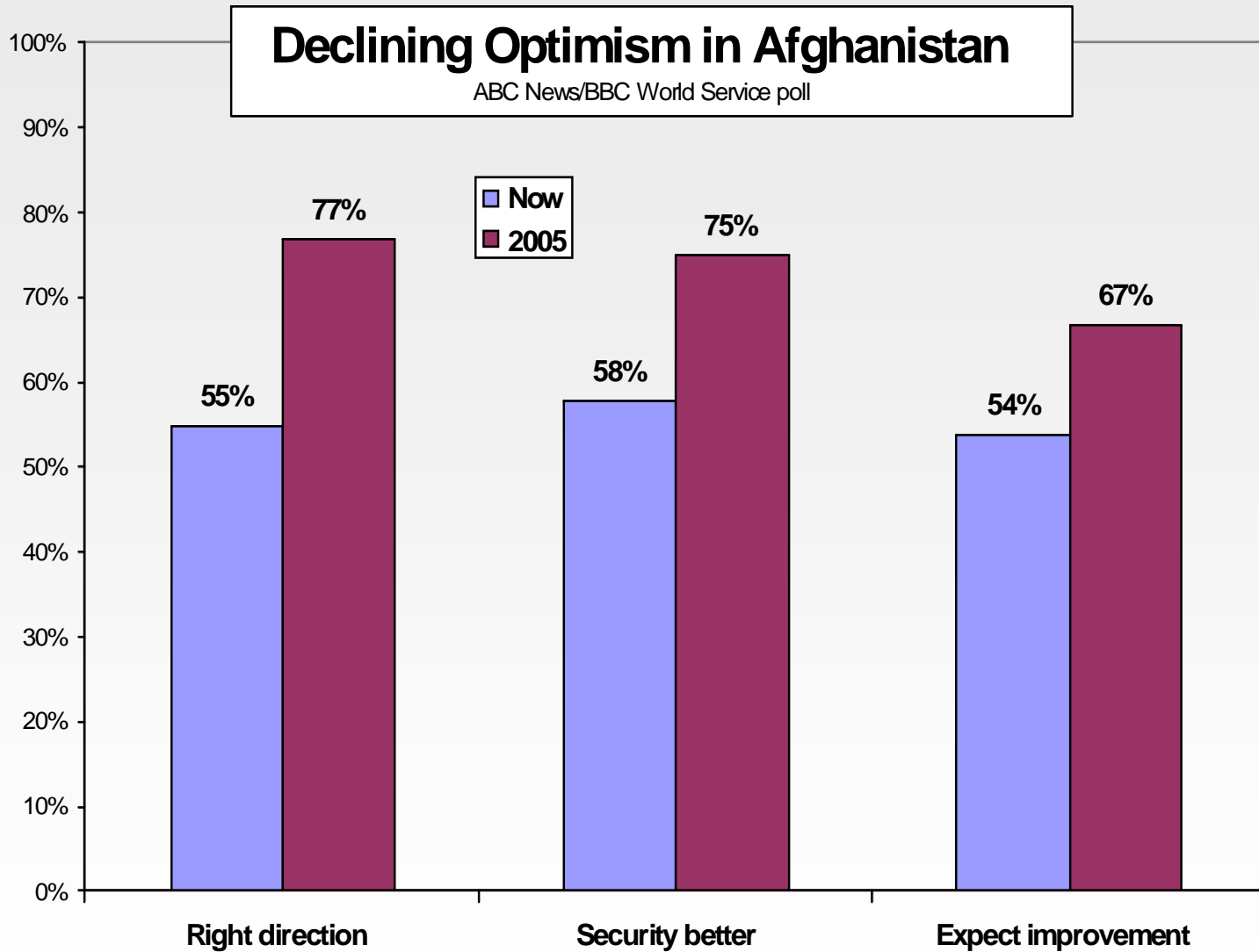
TOTAL US AND COALITION FORCES

~162,000

Afghan Public Opinion is a Key Indicator

- Fifty-five percent of Afghans still say the country is going in the right direction, but that is down sharply from 77 percent last year.
- Fifty-four percent remain optimistic rather than pessimistic about their future, but that is down from 67 percent.
- 74 percent say their living conditions today are better now than they were under the Taliban.
- Big majorities continue to call the U.S.-led invasion a good thing for their country (88 percent), to express a favorable opinion of the United States (74 percent) and to prefer the current Afghan government to Taliban rule (88 percent).
- Eight in 10 Afghans support the presence of U.S., British and other international forces on their soil; that compares with five percent support for Taliban fighters and 11 percent for jihadist fighters from other countries.
- That rating, however, is 11 points lower now than it was a year ago.
- While 58 percent say security, in particular, is better than it was under the Taliban, that is down from 75 percent a year ago. And fewer than half (43 percent), about the same as last year, say the availability of jobs and economic opportunity has improved.
- Most Afghans say the government and local police alike have a strong presence in their area (58 percent); few say so of the Taliban (5 percent) and trust the current authorities, at least somewhat, to provide security (58 percent).
- In the South, however, just three in 10 say international forces have a strong presence. And while just a quarter overall say U.S. forces should leave within a year, that is up from 14 percent a year ago.

Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006



Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

What it Takes to Win

The War in Afghanistan is Eminently Winnable - I

- The threat is not yet strong; it is growing because the NATO and US levels of effort are so weak.
- The insurgent movements do not command popular support; they grow because of a near sanctuary in Pakistan, the slow growth of the Afghan government's presence and services in the field, exploiting tribal and religious issues, and their ability to exploit the lack of security and to intimidate.
- The CFC-A phrase that the problem is not that the enemy is strong, but that the Government of Afghanistan is weak is accurate.
- Patience, a long war strategy, and adequate resources can make all the difference.
- The 10th Mountain Division has achieved counter-insurgency campaign success in extending the reach of the Government of Afghanistan wherever it has been able to mass enough forces, ensure permanent post-operation Afghan National Security force presence, secure Afghan cooperation to replace ineffective & corrupt leaders, and deliver sufficient reconstruction projects such as roads, bridges, micro-power, irrigation systems, schools, and clinics.

The War in Afghanistan is Eminently Winnable - II

- The Bush Administration is examining plans from the Embassy/CFC-A team in Afghanistan to provide the resources that are needed.
- Effective plans for developing Afghan army and police force are now underway.
- Synchronizing community engagement with maneuver and development is fundamental.
- The civil aid program is well-organized, audited, has effectiveness measures and focuses on both Afghan needs and what Afghans want.
- CFC-A and Embassy emphasis on road building and water & power development in the East & the South is well-placed.
- The current military campaign plan is sound, but synchronizing information ops with other activities is the a weakness.
- The US is making major advances in the use of precision airpower that already reduce the need for increases in US and allied ground troops.
- Private conversations with senior NATO commanders show that they fully understand NATO's limits and allied country problems.
- CERP is a war-winning asset, but ISAF needs an equivalent.
- A focus on developing Afghan governance and rule of law, rather than national Afghan politics, at a realistic pace could accomplish a great deal.

The Need for Action, However, is Urgent - I

- The next year is likely to be as bloody as this year.
- Major new funds are needed now and over time for economic aid (“build”) and the create effective Afghan governance and military and police forces (“win” and “hold”).
- Improving governance is critical, especially Ministries of Education, Finance and Attorney General -expanding rule of law.
- Even if the US funds all current recommendations, they won’t make a difference on the ground for at least a year.
- More troops are essential *now* to keep from going backwards; if NATO lacks the will to come forward the US must make up the difference for at least a year to buy time, probably longer.
- Increased funds are need *now*, even in small amounts for the auxiliary police from all donors plus rapid donations of compatible equipment (east block) from former Warsaw Pact nations are a must
- Security progress is blocked by the gap between what the IMF and World Bank see (correctly) as sustainable salary levels for the ANA, ANP, and ANAP and what must be paid to recruit and hold the size and quality of forces. The only out is a long term (at least 10 year) commitment to pay the salaries from the international community.

The Need for Action, However, is Urgent - II

- Reasonable and reliable government employee salaries, essential to establishing rule of law and reducing corruption, should also be underwritten by the international community over the same time period.
- Low salaries in the ANP (\$70 per month) are insufficient to provide for a family in Afghanistan and results in survival based corruption; Steal to provide. Also, the difference in pay between the ANA and ANP (\$100 vs. \$70) will result in a degradation in ANP recruiting. Embassy/CFC-A recommendation to increase ANP baseline pay should be approved.
- Aid dollars are needed immediately to create local activity, give the government credibility, and counter the Taliban. Unemployment is a significant threat as it provides unlimited recruits to criminal and insurgent elements.
- There must be a broad commitment to sustain adequate aid levels over time.
- Need increased Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) for building dams, schools, wells for TF Phoenix who is mentoring the ANA in over 100 locations nation wide.

Key Needs for a New Strategy

- **Quality of governance, security, and economic development need emphasis over politics.**
- **Accept reality that development of effective government and economy will take 5-10 years; no instant success is possible.**
- **Building up Afghan capabilities and fighting corruption require slow, patient efforts on national basis**
- **Major increases in economic aid are needed at sustained level at the national, provincial, and local level.**
- **Security and aid must reach ordinary Afghans in rural areas, particularly in South and Northeast.**
- **New approach to counter narcotics that emphasizes dealing with high level traffickers, time, incentives, anti-corruption, and counterinsurgency.**
- **More US and NATO forces are needed for at least several years.**
- **Restructuring of national efforts in NATO force to create a truly unified and effective effort.**
- **Major additional aid and advisory resources needed to develop security: Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP).**
- **Must deal with Pakistan as “sanctuary,” and contain Iran.**

Key Steps Toward Victory - I

- **Adopt a true long war strategy for creating an effective Afghan political and governance system**
- **Treat improvement government and governance at the national, district, and local level as a key center of gravity, build long-term institutional capability.**
- **Raise economic aid and focus on effective local services and program, and focus on mid-term water, road, and other projects to create viable economic alternatives.**
- **Provide the full package of supplemental US funding and added forces being sought by the embassy and military team.**
- **Bite the bullet and add two more US infantry battalions to a full brigade, and more SOF.**
- **Drastically increase number of non-military US Government governance, justice, counter-narcotic and economic reconstruction experts assigned to US Embassy and PRTs. The US military and CIA are disproportionately carrying the weight of what must be an all-government effort with the robust delivery of non-military campaign effects**
- **Elevate information to the status of a major line of operations.**
- **Treat counter narcotics as an integral element of counterinsurgency. Focus on traffickers and replacement crops, not eradication.**

Key Steps Toward Victory - II

- **Face the real-world dangers imposed by Pakistani action and put the necessary pressure (with major aid incentives) on Pakistan.**
- **Talk to Iran and Central Asian neighboring states; there may be little to gain, but there is little to lose. Engage with Russia, India, and China as well, to address their own regional power vital interests.**
- **Take a realistic approach to NATO's current failures and weaknesses. Seek the all the added allied forces, added aid resources, and integration that are really needed.**
- **Seek substantial British reinforcements. Accept the trade-off Britain may have to make between stepped up withdrawals in Iraq and deploying adequate forces in Afghanistan.**
- **Proliferate best counterinsurgency practices from U.S. agencies to the wider NATO/ISAF effort.**
- **Create a NATO in-country counterinsurgency school to ensure uniform doctrine and especially sharing of best business practices.**
- **Plan to provide US precision, netcentric airpower for all NATO as well as the current mix of US, Canadian, British, Romanian, Dutch, and soon Polish ground forces.**

Key Steps Toward Victory - III

- **Develop a GOA-authored and owned whole-of-government campaign plan.**
- **Bolster GOA capacity and capability, especially at province/district level.**
- **Promote greater emphasis on Afghan information operations, with emphasis on counternarcotics, in the context of a comprehensive GOA campaign plan.**
- **Promote the innovative CFC-A “Afghan First” Program that focuses on development of Afghan productive capacity with the USG, NATO, and international community to stimulate economic growth and employment.**
- **Improve the quality of Afghan Army and Police trainers by utilizing more active duty combat-seasoned officers and NCOs. 0**
- **Increase the size, scope, and quality of the ANSF training effort; the Afghan Army and Police are growing stronger but need both more ETTs and OMLTs AND more teams with previous combat experience to continue to be effective, especially with combat-experienced Afghan Army and Police forces. Provide robust resourcing for these teams.**
- **Proliferate best-practice methods of cooperation with GOA and Afghan forces, applied by US military forces, to the wider force.**

Best Practices in Afghanistan

1. **Rotation policies that allow units to become intimately familiar with a specific local operating area and population, and continually return to it**
2. **Focus on securing and controlling the population (rather than killing insurgents) as the primary mission**
3. **Robust, locally tailored information ops targeted to marginalize the enemy**
4. **Personal engagement with population and community leaders before, during and after operations**
5. **Intimate cooperation in joint planning and execution with GOA leaders at Province and District level**
6. **Close and sincere partnering and collaborative relationships with ANSF**
7. **Rapid exploitation using CERP to bring tangible benefits when the population supports the government**
8. **Synchronized application of political, economic and security measures**
9. **Calibrated use of firepower that is sparing but robust when necessary**
10. **Targeted information and development activities that force the population to choose between the GOA and the insurgents**

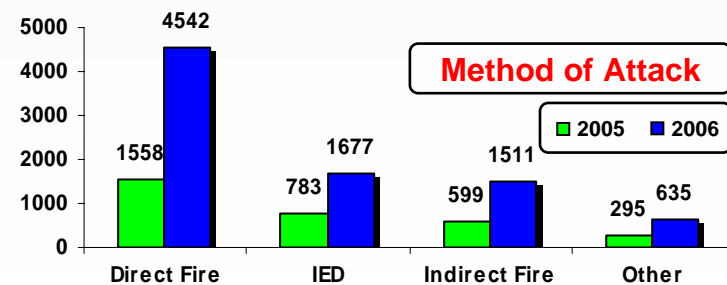
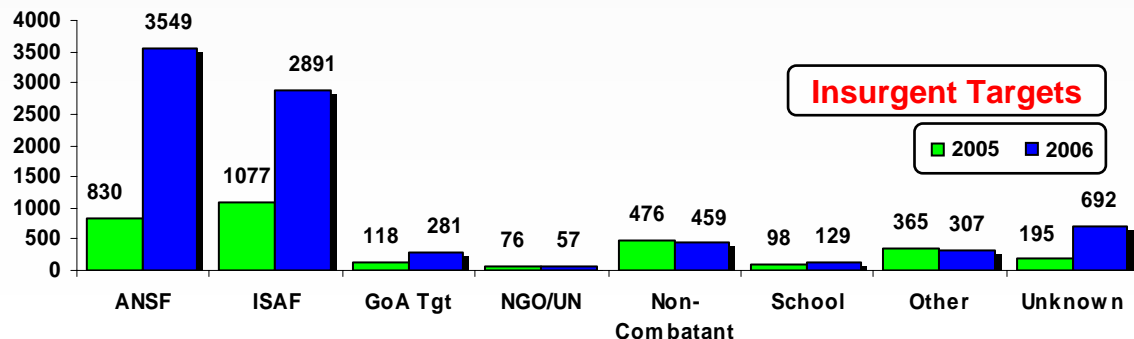
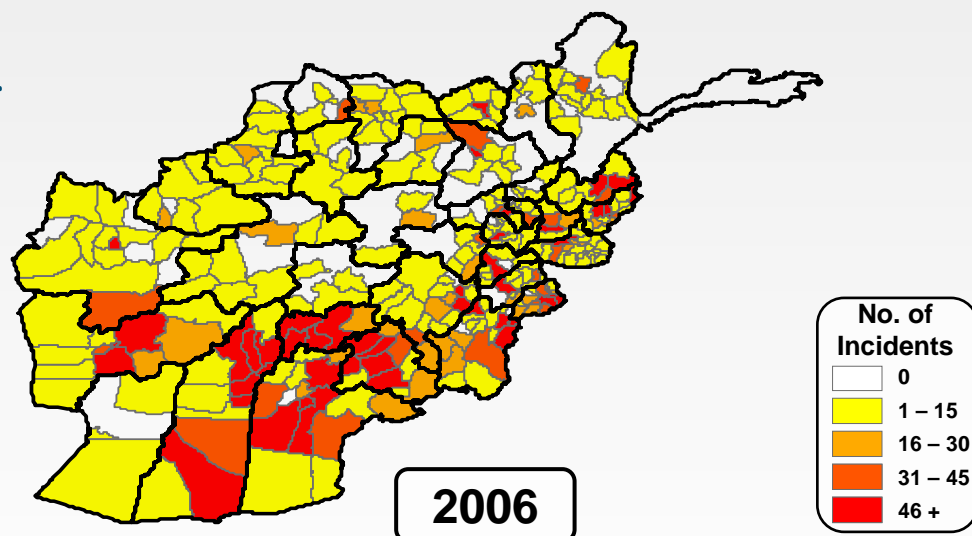
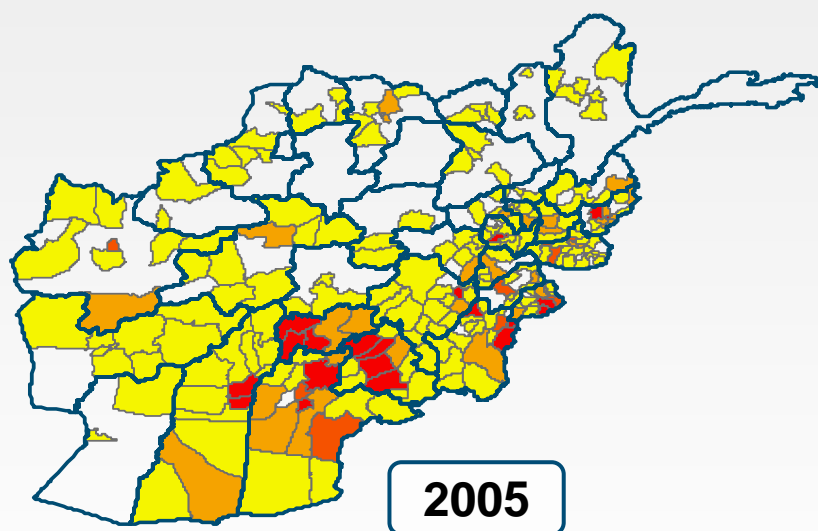
Developments in the Threat

Increase in Threat Activity: 2005 vs. 2006

- **Area with high levels of threat activity more than six times larger, some though a result of expanded NATO operations and presence.**
- **Suicide attacks up more than six times: 27 in 2005 to 139 in 2006. (Kill 15 coalition soldiers and kill 206 Afghan civilians and wound 460.)**
- **Nearly threefold increase in direct fire attacks: 1,558 to 4,542**
- **Indirect fire and IED attacks more than double. IEDs up from 783 to 1,677 - although kill 250+ IED operators (50 cell leaders). Indirect up from 599 to 1,511. Other attacks up from 295 to 635.**
- **Attacks on Coalition forces 2 1/2 times up from 1,107 to 2,891.**
- **Attacks on Afghan forces up four times: 830 to 3,549.**
- **Major increase in local fighters (GoA's lack of influence in remote areas resulting in more locally recruited fighters and greater support for the insurgency).**

Enemy Activity Snap-shot (Weeks 1 – 52 for 2005 & 2006) 01 January – 31 December (2005 & 2006)

Activity for Period		
Type of Activity	2005	2006
Suicide Attacks	27	139
School Attacks	98	129
Direct Fire *	1558	4542
Indirect Fire	599	1511
IEDs	783	1677

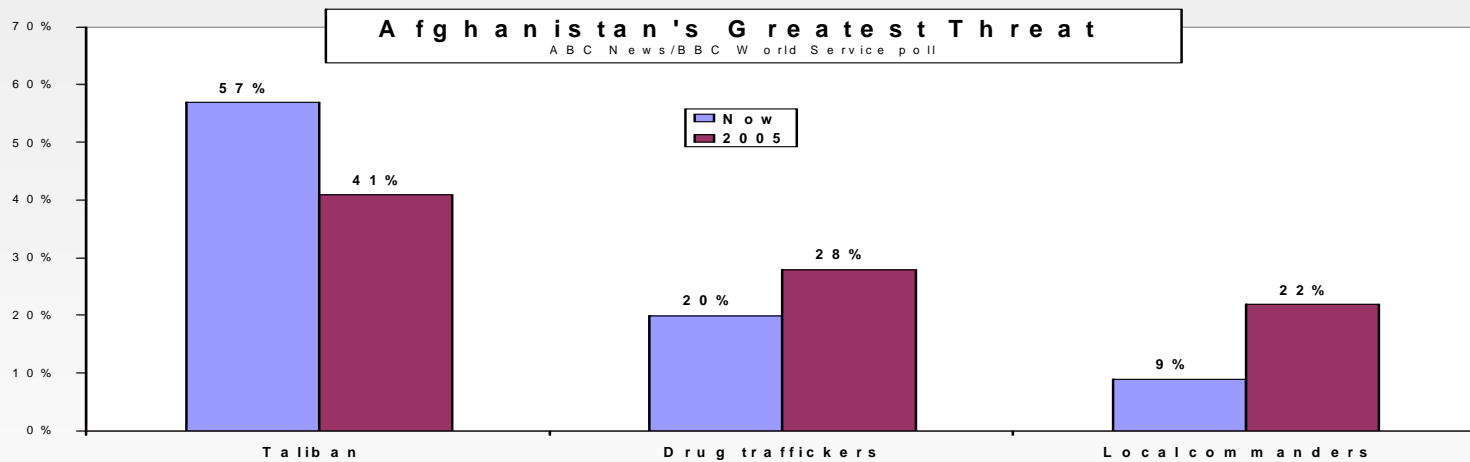


Note: Does not include land mine strikes

* Direct Fire includes SAFIRE events

Afghan Perceptions of the Rising Threat

- ABC News/BBC poll found more than four in 10 Afghans report Taliban violence in their own local area, including killings, bombings or torching of schools or government buildings and armed conflict with government troops.
- 64% saw some rise in Taliban threat.
- That soars far higher in specific regions, notably in southern Helmand and Kandahar provinces, where eight in 10 report poor security.



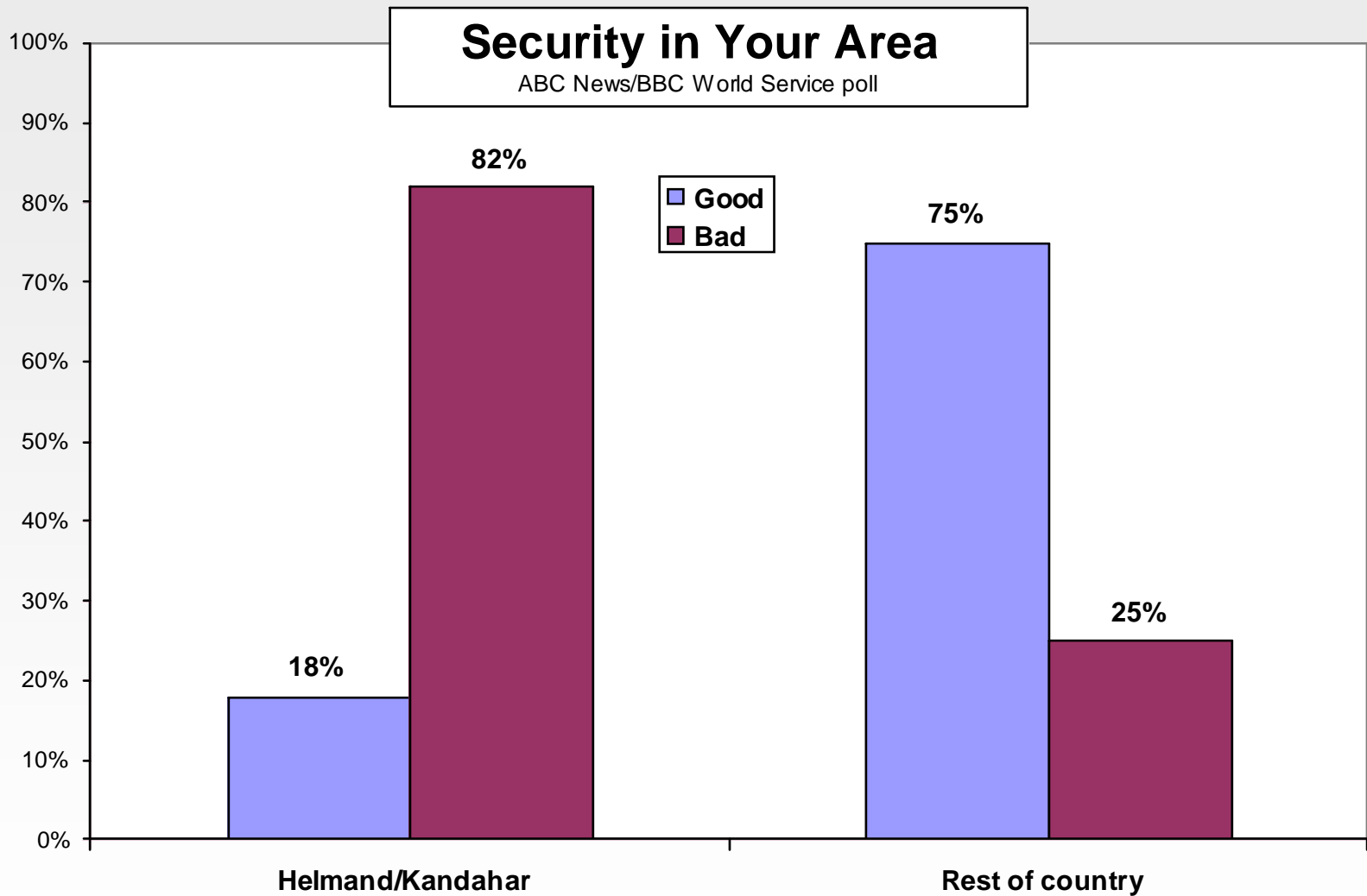
- One in six Afghans say people in their area provide Taliban fighters with food or money – and that jumps to more than a third in the Northwest, nearly half in the country's Southwest provinces overall, and two-thirds specifically in Helmand and Kandahar.
- Most Afghans, 57 percent, now call the Taliban the single greatest danger to their country, up 16 points from the first ABC News poll in Afghanistan a year ago. Only in the eastern provinces does the Taliban have a rival threat, drug traffickers.

Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

How Important is Security

- Afghans who say the country going in the right direction ranges from 71 percent in the central region to 51 percent in the South. Decline in this measure from last year is not limited to the highest conflict areas; it's down sharply in Kabul, the North and the East as well as in the South.
- Views differ across regional lines, with attitudes most negative overall, and security concerns greatest, in the South, where the Taliban is strongest (particularly in Helmand and Kandahar provinces in the Southwest), and in the Northwest provinces, where reit savit y has been on the rise.
- Majorities in the Northwest and Southwest still see security the biggest problem in Afghanistan; by contrast, that drops to a third in Kabul, the 10 in central Afghanistan and about two in 10 in the North and East.
- Just a third in the Southwest, and one in four in the Northwest, say security is better now than under the Taliban, compared with majorities elsewhere. And just a third in the Southwest say security in their area is good, compared with broad majorities elsewhere. (Indeed, two Southwest provinces, Uruzgan and Zabol, were excluded from the sample because of security concerns. Both are sparsely populated: Zabol is home to an estimated 1.2 percent of the country's population; Uruzgan, 1.1 percent.)
- In Helmand and Kandahar: 78 percent in the two provinces said things were going in the right direction in 2005; today just 43 percent still say so, a precipitous 35-point drop. Not only do eight in 10 the rate their security as bad, but six say it's worse now than it was under the Taliban.
- The Karzai government's presence is viewed as weakest in the South (47 percent call it weak there), Northwest (43 percent) and East (40 percent). Similarly, U.S. or other international forces are perceived as weakest in the South (68 percent weak) and Northwest (52 percent).
- Negative ratings are not limited to security. Availability of medical care ranges from seven in 10 in Kabul to just 37 percent in the South. Positive local school ratings range from nine in 10 in Kabul down to 44 percent in the Southwest.
- Few in the Northwest or South anticipate things will get better soon. Just 35 percent in the Northwest and 39 percent in the Southwest expect things to be better in a year; only 27 percent of provinces from the Southeast to the Kabul border. By contrast, about seven in 10 are optimistic in Kabul, and eight in 10 in the Northwest provinces.
- Widespread corruption is a factor in our view in Northwest, nearly nine in 10 – 88 percent – in the Northwest call corruption a big problem in their area, no more than four in 10 in the Northwest know someone who's had to bribe a government official.

Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

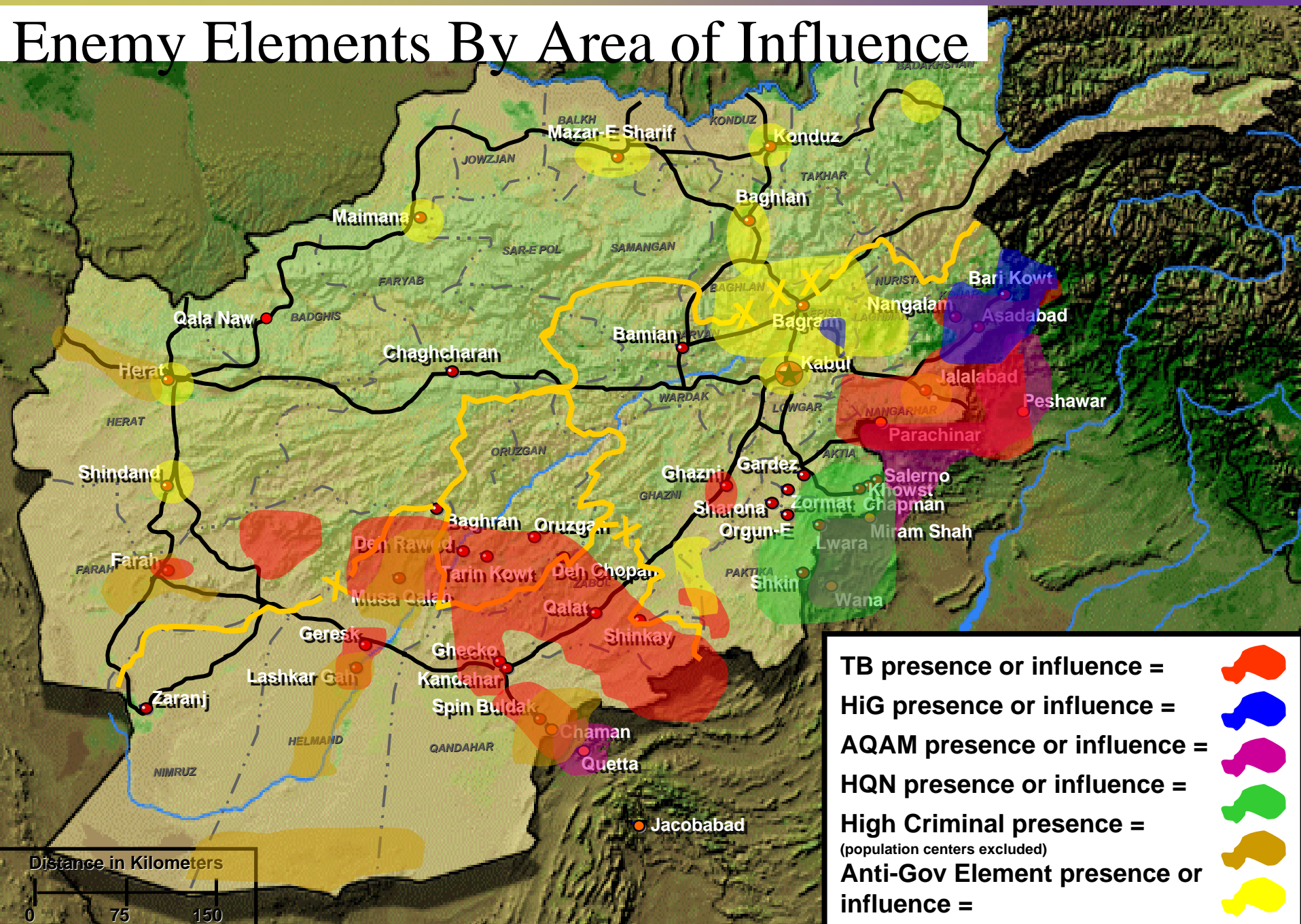


Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

Threat is Complex, But Al Qa'ida and Taliban Dominated

- At least three active Neo-Salafi Sunni Islamist insurgent and terrorist groups.
- These groups have de facto sanctuary in Pakistan, a major presence in the East and South and a growing presence in Western Afghanistan..
- Unlike the Taliban in 2001, they are organized and trained for asymmetric warfare and have successfully adapted the conflict techniques use in Iraq, Chechnya, and other areas.
- Inspire of differences in leadership and the details of their belief structures, they do cooperate in exploiting Afghan and Coalition weaknesses and in campaign activity.
- The US and NATO have insufficient force to secure the south and west, and key NATO partners like France, Germany, and Italy do not provide fighting forces.
- US force in East are spread very thin. Some think a US battalion could be pulled out and replaced with Poles who are coming without vehicles, artillery, medical support above battalion. Reality is 1-2 battalions short of need, plus need more SOF and embeds.
- There is a growing Iranian presence in Shi'ite areas, and among the Shi'ite minority in Pashtun areas. Also seeing more Uzbecks, Chetins, Turks and Arabs, especially in the east.
- The lack of Afghan government presence and services, sufficient aid and revenues, corruption, and ethnic differences creates a vacuum threat forces can exploit.
- Afghan force development is underfunded and too slow and threat forces effectively outgun and outpace Afghan forces.

Enemy Elements By Area of Influence



Afghan Insurgent Groups

- **Three major groups: Taliban, Haqqani Network (HQN), and Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HiG)**
- **Al Qa'ida provides major support to Taliban**
- **Pakistan (“Waziristan”) is a sanctuary.**
- **Baluchistan is also major sanctuary.**
- **Pakistani government has ceded control**
- **Part of ISI supports insurgents groups.**

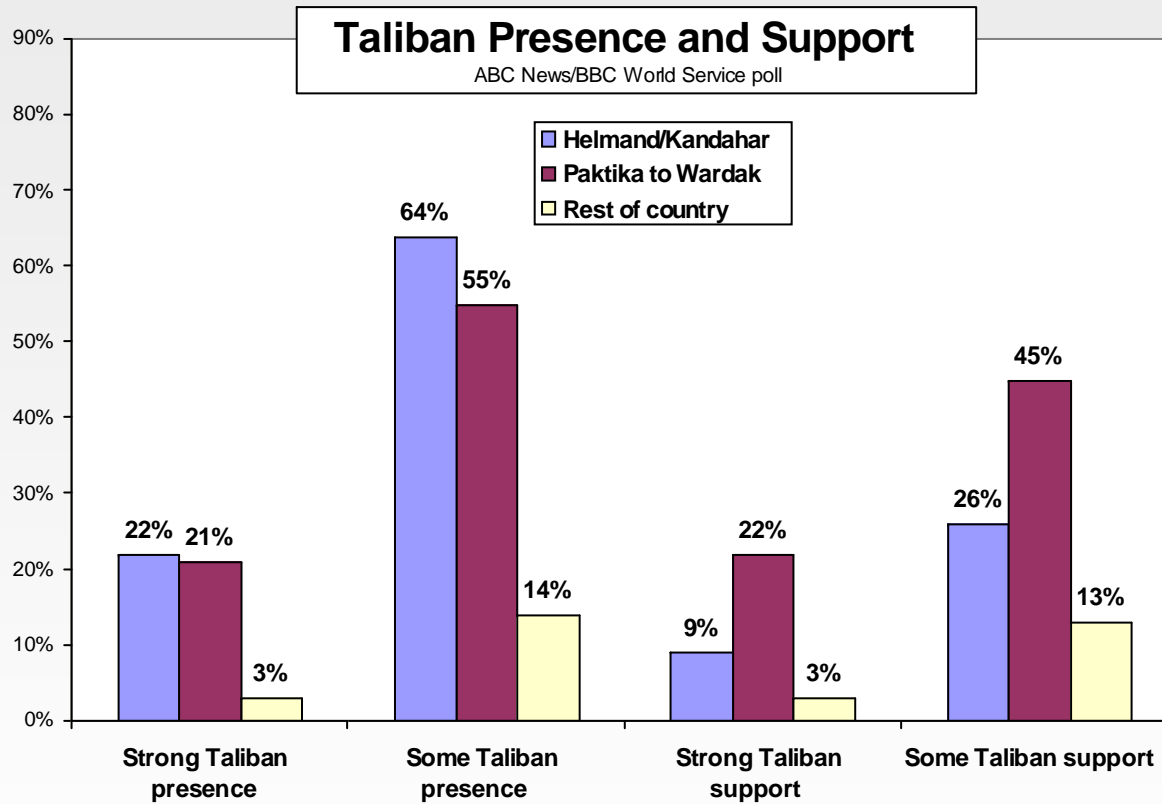
Taliban

- **The Taliban are an indigenous, religiously conservative Pashtun movement inspired by Deobandism that recognizes Mullah Mohammad Omar as the religious center.**
- **The Taliban are further characterized as active insurgents who, through violent activities or support to those activities, oppose the Kabul government and the presence of multinational security forces.**
- **Despite a common view and pursuit, the Taliban are not a monolithic group. Rather, they consist of diverse Pashtun elements that are composed of geographically determined individuals with differing commitment, focus and participation levels.**

Afghan Views of the Taliban

- Just seven percent of Afghans call the Taliban a strong presence in their area, and six percent say it has substantial local support.
- 89 percent view Taliban unfavorably overall, but 76 percent rate it “very” unfavorably. (Osama bin Laden is even more unpopular.)
- 93 percent doubt the Taliban’s ability to provide security, but 84 percent have no confidence in it at all. Seventy-four percent also say it has no presence in their area whatsoever.
- Still, 24 percent, one in four Afghans, say the Taliban has some presence in their area, when those who say it has a “fairly weak” presence are included. And when “fairly weak” support is included, 19 percent say the Taliban has at least some local support.
- Support for the Taliban is highest in a group of six provinces in the Southeast of the country, from Paktika and Khost on the Pakistan border up to Paktia and in to Ghazni, Logar and Wardak. There, while just 10 percent say they themselves support the Taliban, 22 percent say others in the area support it at least fairly strongly, and 45 percent give it some support, even if “fairly weak.”
- In Helmand and Kandahar, far more, 22 percent, report a strong Taliban presence, and nearly two-thirds report at least some Taliban presence, even if a fairly weak one.
- Even in Helmand and Kandahar, just seven percent say they themselves support the Taliban, and nine percent say others in the area support it.
- About six in 10 Afghans in Helmand and Kandahar say there've been Taliban bombings, killings and the delivery of threatening “night letters” in their area;
- Seven in 10 say the Taliban has burned buildings; more than eight in 10 report fighting; and two-thirds say people in their area have given the Taliban food or money.

How Afghan Views Vary by Area



Haqqani Network

- Haqqani's origins are with Hizbe Islami Gulbuddin (HiG) with whom he fought the Soviets prior to joining the Taliban who co-opted him as a minister to establish peace amongst the Pashtun tribesmen along the border. Through his connections and reputation, Haqqani maintains ties to a wide and diverse group of insurgents and terrorists including the hybrid of Al Qaeda, Uzbek, Chechen and Kashmiris residing in the Pakistani Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The Haqqani Network receives political support from the Muttahidda Majlis-e Ammal (MMA), a Pakistani political alliance of religiously conservative opposition parties that opposes the United States.
- Haqqani network maintains influence in its area of operations due to tribal ties and by the provision of services in the absence of the central government. The Network also takes advantage of the fact that most Waziris live in relative isolation, with little outside influence, and it can use propaganda to incite Waziris against perceived ISAF and Pakistan Military encroachment. For Waziris that view Westerners and Punjabis as a corrupting influence on their society, Haqqani is viewed as the primary leader that protects them and a vehicle to push back against outside influence.
- Haqqani Network is believed to plan operations through face-to-face meetings. Siraj Haqqani - increasingly responsible for military operations - gives detailed operational guidance to sub-commanders and coordinates logistics. However, sub-commanders retain the authority to give tactical direction.

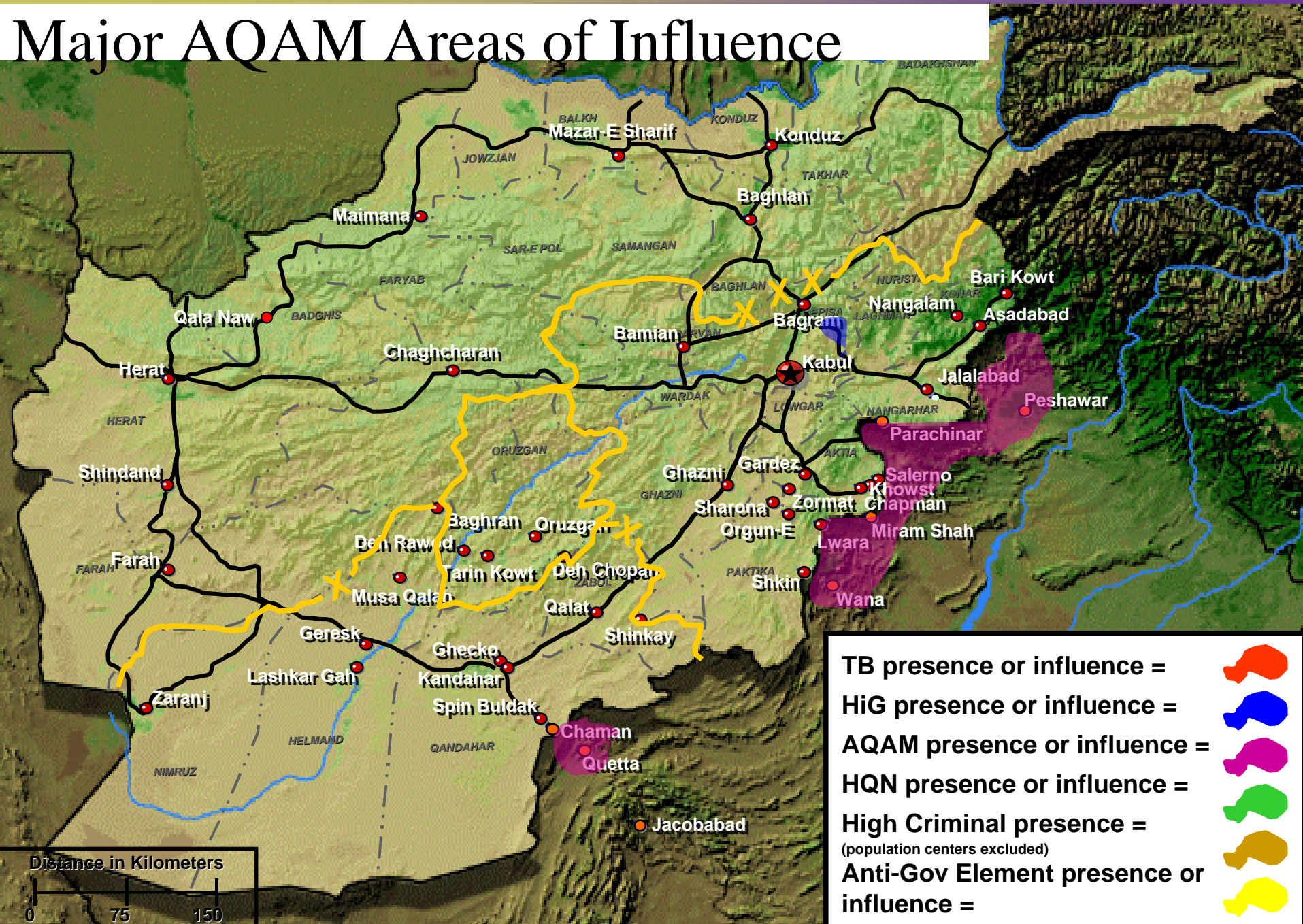
Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HiG)

- HiG is the least effective of the insurgent groups as a whole and is on the decline.
- HiG began as a radical Mujahideen movement (offshoot of Hezbe-e Islami) against the Soviet Invasion in 1979.
- The demonstrated combat proficiency of HiG's military wing in the northeast, however, indicates a tactical fighting capability superior to the other threat groups, albeit it is localized in one small part of Afghanistan.
- HiG represents a physical threat to the GoA, but not a viable threat to central political authority.

Al Qa'ida's Role

- Major recovery in sanctuary in Pakistan.
- Supports, but does not control Taliban.
- Source of funding and foreign volunteers.
- Significant ideological force.
- May help coordinate Taliban and other insurgents groups.
- Narcotics source of financing.

Major AQAM Areas of Influence

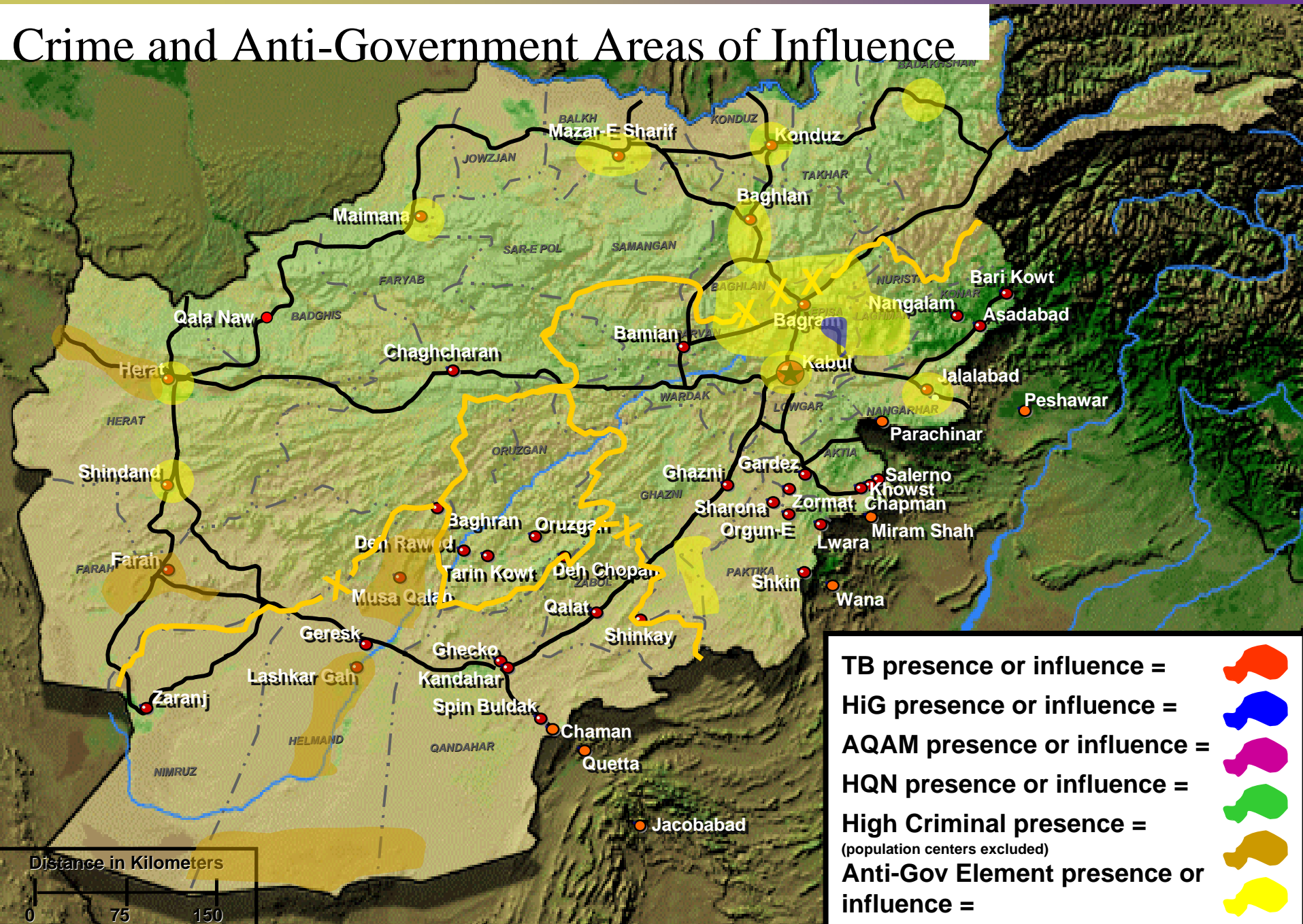


The Challenges From Key Neighbors

Iran's Uncertain Role

- Major political and aid presence in West and Shi'ite areas.
- Governors and ANA confirm Iranian presence even in eastern areas.
- Many of 31 million Afghans are Shi'ite and 50% speak Dari, the equivalent of Farsi
- 9% are Hazara and 19% are Shi'ite
- Experts differ over whether Iran acts to preserve on interests or supports action against US and ISAF. No claims such actions as yet present serious problem.
- Weak government and uncertain role of NATO in North and West gives Iraq significant geographic window.

Crime and Anti-Government Areas of Influence



Pakistan's Dangerous Role

- Little doubt Pakistani government now tolerates Al Qa'ida, Taliban, other insurgent operations.
- Peace agreement with tribal leaders on September 5th in North Waziristan was de facto surrender.
- India, Kashmir, Baluchi separatism, Pashtun question, support of native Islamists have higher Pakistani government priority than war on terrorism.
- Act as de facto government in parts of Eastern Pakistan.
- Some Madrassas are Taliban and Al Qa'ida bases, some virtually on border with Afghanistan.
- Parts of Army like 11th Division do seem committed to opposing Al Qa'ida and Taliban.
- Pakistani ISI is divided but some elements clearly aid insurgents.

Need for Changes in NATO and US Efforts

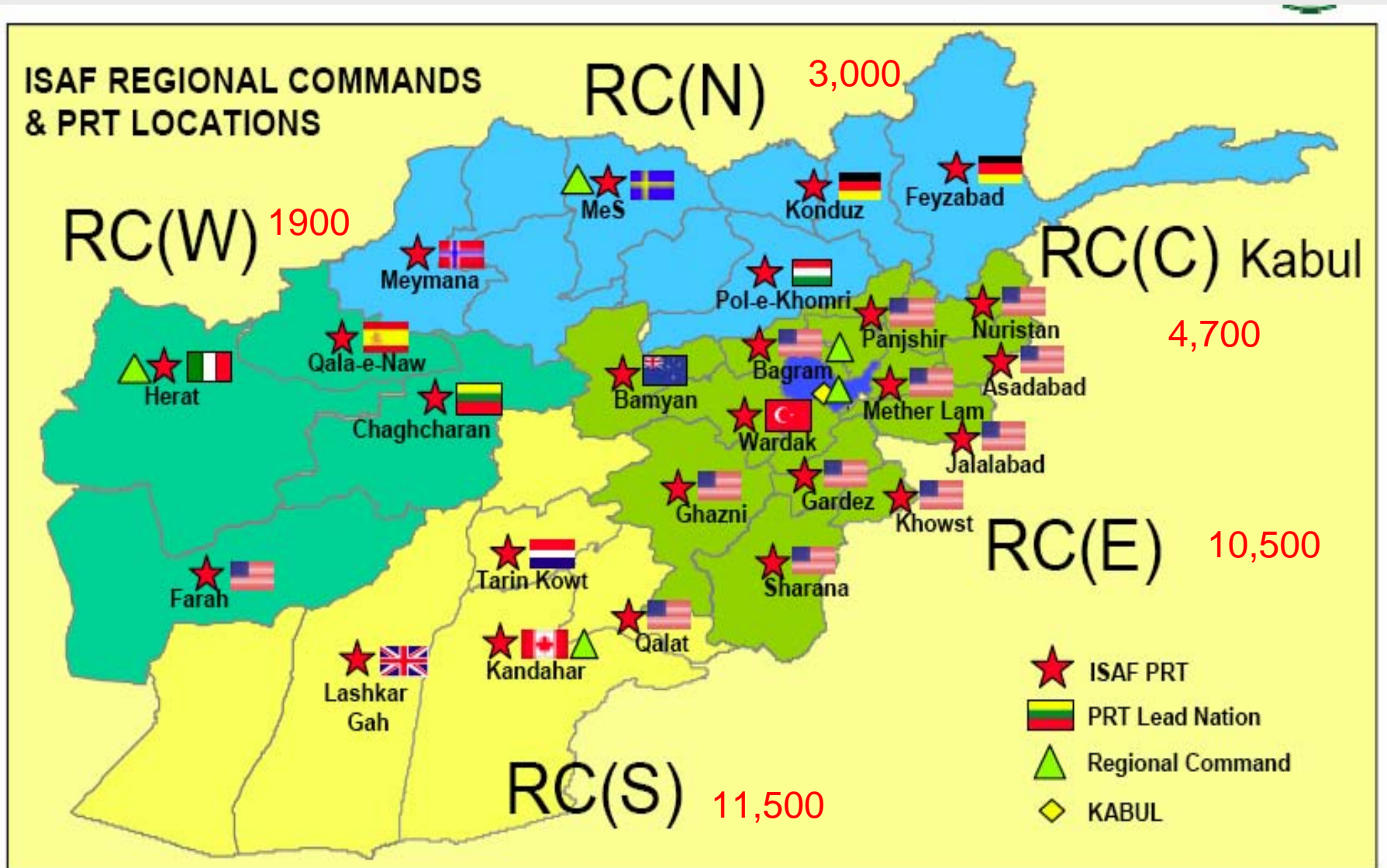
Afghan Views of US and NATO: Winning Hearts and Minds

- Seven in 10 or more Afghans say they're "grateful" rather than "unhappy" with the presence of American, British and Canadian soldiers in the country.
- Eight in 10 Afghans support the presence of U.S., British and other international forces on their soil.
- Only five percent support for Taliban fighters and 11 percent for jihad fighters from other countries.
- In the South, however, just three in 10 say international forces have a strong presence.
- Majorities from 94 to 97 percent say attacking government officials, police, schools, teachers and other civilians cannot be justified. Eighty-nine percent say there can be no justification for suicide bombings.
- The politically disaffected much less apt to see the Taliban as the country's biggest danger – 28 percent do, compared with 57 percent among all Afghans. Nonetheless, even in this group, just 14 percent say they support the presence of Taliban fighters in the country, compared with five percent among all Afghans.

NATO ISAF Force Size (End 2006)

Total ISAF=33,460 plus 8,000 US in OEF

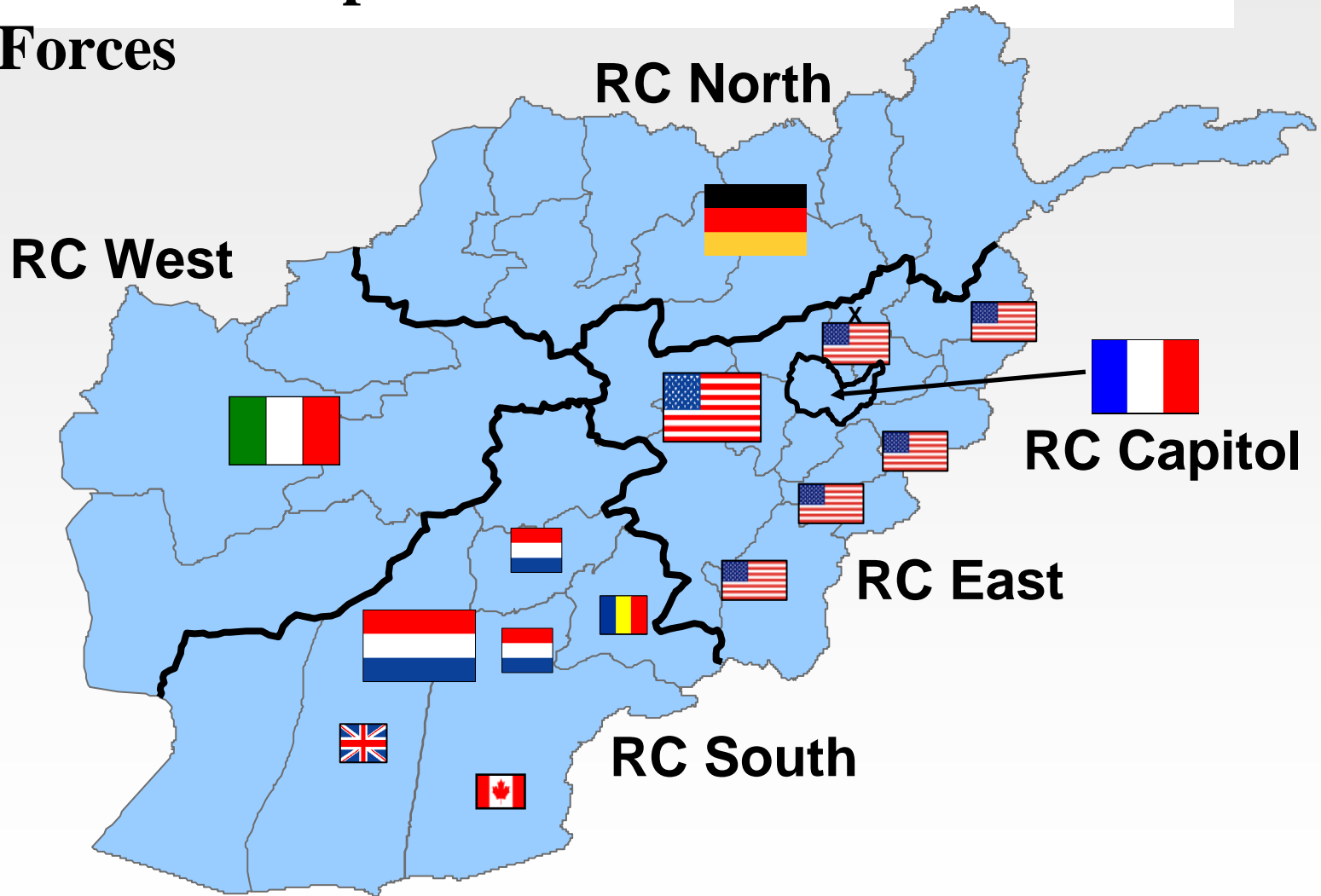
	Albania	30		Estonia	90		Lithuania	130		Slovenia	50
	Australia	500		Finland	70		Luxemburg	10		Spain	550
	Austria	5		France	1000		Netherlands	2200		Sweden	180
	Azerbaijan	20		The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*	120		New Zealand	100		Switzerland	5
	Belgium	300		Germany	3000		Iceland	5		Turkey	800
	Bulgaria	100		Greece	170		Norway	350		United Kingdom	5200
	Canada	2700		Hungary	180		Poland	160		United States	11,800
	Croatia	130		Ireland	10		Portugal	150			
	Czech Republic	150		Italy	1950		Romania	750		TOTAL	33,460
	Denmark	400		Latvia	35		Slovakia	60			



NATO: Need More Unity and More Forces

- NATO has good military leaders on the ground, but no unity of mission, or true interoperability National caveats to what are effective rules of engagement need to be removed
- Force levels are inadequate to deal with existing threat and contain its expansion.
- Forces began as protectors of nation building, now must fight.
- Britain, Canada, Netherlands and US are in the fight. Danes and Romanians have done some fighting; Poles are coming with out adequate equipment but willing to fight.
- France, Germany, and Italy are not in the fight because of political constraints and rules of engagement.
- Britain, Canada, Netherlands lack adequate armor, IS&R, and airpower, although are getting better. Canada will be first to introduce tanks.
- Britain needs a 50% to 100% increase in force strength to deal with high threat provinces like Helmand. Has been forced into a “devils” bargain with the tribal leaders Helomand Province that limits its operation and gives Taliban added freedom of action.
- NATO lacks a “long war” strategy, and economic aid levels to match its military efforts. Must have a campaign plan to deal with expected Taliban spring offensive in the South.
- Germany failed to develop effective police forces and wasted a three year window of opportunity
- Britain and NATO are trapped into a unrealistic and unworkable drug eradication effort and strategy.

The Regional French, German, Italian Power Vacuum and Impact of Insufficient British and US Forces



US Four Point Program for NATO Allies

- Increased troops, and military and police advisors.
- More money to underwrite the reconstruction and civilian aid teams
- End restrictions by each country on what their forces are allowed to
- Greater effort to fight poppy production and drug trafficking through Afghanistan

Changing NATO

- **Seek sustained NATO-wide commitment to sustained military and economic aid at required levels Create integrated operations with common rules of engagement.**
- **Create true integrated command with suitable continuity of service, tour length.**
- **Bring France, Germany, Spain, Turkey, and Italy into the fight. “stand aside” forces are unacceptable.**
- **Raise force levels to needed levels now to prevent defeat or need to deploy much higher levels later.**
- **Provide adequate member country armor, artillery, tactical mobility, and air.**
- **Continue to integrate US advanced IS&R assets into common NATO and Afghan operations.**
- **Develop an integrated structure for using advanced US air and IS&R assets in the Combined Air Operation Center (CAOC) in Qatar.**
- **Restructure counter narcotics effort to focus on near term economic development, anti-corruption, and high pay-off law enforcement; eradication phased over time.**
- **Broaden aid effort to government, education, clinics, and other local services provided by government to reduce profile of US -- make aid truly international.**
- **Develop a comprehensive, workable strategy for dealing with battlefield detainees**
- **NATO/ISAF should eliminate caveats and find ways to assist CSTC-A and the International Police community in building the capacity of the Ministry of Interior and in training, equipping and basing the Afghan National Police.**

Burns Statement on NATO

- ...we feel this is an existential issue for NATO and I mean that quite sincerely, an existential issue. NATO is all about collective work together and solidarity. And when you have 26 allies in Afghanistan and you have four countries doing the majority of the fighting, Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, it is right for us to ask the other allies to make a greater effort to remove the military restrictions so that everybody can be called upon to make the kind of sacrifices that need to be made.
- The President and Secretary took this issue up at the NATO summit in Riga in late November. The Secretary took it up again today. Some countries did announce today an end to their caveats and that was very positive news. Other countries have very detailed conditions put upon the deployment of their forces by their national parliaments. Germany is an example of that, where the Bundestag has very carefully narrowed the options and the initiative that the German army can -- the German armed forces can take up in Kundas, where they're stationed.
- And what we're saying is there should be no caveats, no restrictions whatsoever on the use, the tactical use of NATO forces inside Afghanistan. Let me give an example very quickly. Two -- three years ago in March of 2004 in Kosovo, there was rioting by the Muslim population against Serbs, in mid-March of 2004. And some of the NATO troops stayed in their barracks because of restrictions, caveats placed upon them. They didn't respond to the commander's call to go into the streets and put down the riots. And there were a number of Serb Christians who lost their lives in this sectarian violence and churches burned.
- And we vowed at NATO then, three years ago, that we'd never experience such a degree of restrictions again, that we'd take the caveats off. We did in Kosovo. We now need to do so in Afghanistan. That was the message -- that's our clear message to the NATO allies.

Afghan Attitudes Towards US Forces

- Fifty-five percent say U.S. forces should remain, not on a specific timetable, but until security in the country has been achieved.
- That's down from 65 percent last year; as noted, there's been a 10-point increase in the number who want the U.S. to withdraw within the next year.
- Desire for U.S. forces to stay in place until security is restored is highest, at nearly seven in 10, in the capital, Kabul; it drops dramatically, to four in 10, in the East and Northeast.
- In the south, just a quarter overall say U.S. forces should leave within a year, but that is up from 14 percent a year ago.
- Drop in belief that attacks on U.S. forces can be justified – 13 percent say so, down from 30 percent last year. (The number who say such attacks can be justified soars, to 51 percent, among the one in 10 who say the United States was wrong to invade.)
- Politically disaffected Afghans – the one in eight who both think the country's going in the wrong direction and lack confidence in its government – are much more likely than others to think attacks against U.S. forces can be justified; 35 percent say so.
- They're also much less likely to say the U.S.-led invasion was a good thing (though most still do), to support the continued presence of U.S. forces or to view the United States favorably.

The US: Need More Resources and Forces

- The US has an excellent country team at the embassy, aid, and military levels, but they lack the resources to do the job and are under pressure to rush what should be a long campaign to win a long war.
- The basic strategy is correct, but The US does not have economy of force, it has inadequacy of force and resources.
- It does not have a properly resourced near and long-term economic and military aid program, because the threat is far more serious than anticipated several years ago and resources are inadequate. The current strategy is underfunded and force numbers are inadequate.
- The US needs at least two more infantry battalions, and probably a full brigade. Extending the 10th Mountain Division sets the precedent. Also needs major increase in SOF.
- Major new funds and supporting manpower are needed to salvage and build the effort to create effective Afghan military and police forces, and the effort needs to be restructured as a long-term effort.
- Forging an effective Afghan government is a long-term, not short term effort, and requires patience and resources at the PRT, provincial, and local level.
- The US has the core of a good economic aid effort, but it is badly underfunded, and must be seen as a substitute for any rapid expansion of Afghan government services and presence in the field.
- The US anti-narcotics campaign is wrong in timing, goals, and resources. Afghanistan must build an alternative economy first.

The Uncertain US Land Build-Up: Too Little for Too Short a Time?

- 3,500 soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division who've served in Afghanistan for a year have been extended by 4 months.
- The 3rd Brigade will now come home in early June. They'll now serve alongside their replacements from the 82nd Airborne Division creating a 2 brigade presence in Afghanistan for the first time in 2 years.
- There are currently 24,000 US troops in Afghanistan. An additional 2,500 soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division will return home as scheduled, these serve in the Division HQ and the Aviation Brigade. About 500 members of these units have already come home and will not return.
- An extension of troops had been expected for another unit, 2-30 battalion from Fort Polk -- 1,000 soldiers, LA which had gone to Afghanistan on a 4-month rotation. They'll come home instead and prepare for a deployment to Iraq later this year.
- This extension will provide an increase in combat firepower for 4 months and maintain the troop level in Afghanistan at 24,000 for about a month.
- That's because the extension of the 3,200 soldiers of the brigade will be offset by the return home of 2,500 soldiers from HQ and aviation units as well as the upcoming return of the 1,200 soldiers in the 2-30 battalion. So the extension provides a net gain in combat troops for 4 months, but in a month's time the US returns to the average troop strength in Afghanistan of 21,000.
- **Need another full brigade for safe margin of capability; maintain two full brigade teams.**

The US AirLand Team: A Key Force Multiplier

- The US air-land team in Afghanistan already uses a combination of advanced intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (IS&R) assets and precision strike capabilities are making there. Such approaches to warfare have serious limits in urban warfare. They succeed best in low population areas, and areas where there is a minimal risk of civilian casualties and collateral damage. If the US is forced into accelerated troop reductions, however, and the Afghan Army and Police are not ready, airpower may well be a better answer than defeat.
- New tools like UAVs, (although currently seriously short of enough UAVs) near real time targeting and strike capability, time sensitive targeting processes, innovative communications integrators, counter-IED air operations, non-traditional IS&R, near real time ground control of strike assets, the GBU-39 small diameter 250 pound precision guided glide bomb, new uses of air mobility, and precision airdrop delivery have already demonstrated the ability to use airpower far more effectively as part of the air-land battle than in 1991, 2001, and 2003. Precision urban close air support is becoming a credible option.
- Other new tools are becoming available that offer even more control and precision and the experience of SOF forces and embeds and the 10th Mountain Division in working with forward deployed air power, B-1 bombers, and the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) at Al Udeid Air Force Base in Qatar is impressive; the end result is some 42 strike sorties a day in Afghanistan, and the impact of the air-land battle and precision air power is the only reason that US and allied ground forces are now able to defeat the Taliban and other insurgent forces given the limited number of ground forces deployed in theater.

US Airpower Critical to ISAF Economy of Force

- Airpower is no substitute for more force on ground; adequate troops and aid from NATO allies.
- But, could not have succeeded against Taliban in 2006 without constant support of precision airpower and IS&R assets.
- Goal must be adequate US, NATO, and Afghan forces to minimize risk of civilian casualties and collateral damage, not to paralyze effective air operations with impractical ROEs and political constraints.
- Advanced IS&R, precision small diameter bombs, precision drops critical.
- CENTAF operations now concentrate on Afghanistan, roughly half of sorties flown.
- Total 12 month CENTAF roll up (Iraq and Afghanistan) is:
 - 98,186 sorties: 25,199 combat, 13,067 tanker, 48, 077 airlift.
 - 1,956 strikes (1,924 weapons), 1982 TICs supported, 2,120 shows of force, 355 air drops.
 - Move 1,175,938 personnel, 350 million pounds of cargo, 135,800,000 gallons jet fuel.

US Tactical Use of Airpower in Afghanistan = Use in Iraq

Daily Average Sorties over 30 Days: 14 October - 13 November

Mission	Operation Enduring Freedom (OIF)	Operation Iraqi Freedom (OEF)
■ Strike Sorties	42	41
■ EW Sorties	6	9
■ C2ISR Sorties	5	13

Combat Sorties : 14 October - 13 November

Mission	Operation Enduring Freedom (OIF)	Operation Iraqi Freedom (OEF)
■ TICs	49	149
■ SoF Support	52	142
■ Strikes	191	18
■ Airdrops	36	0

30 Day Roll-Up: 14 Oct – 13 Nov 06

Strike/EW/ISR

Operation Iraqi Freedom

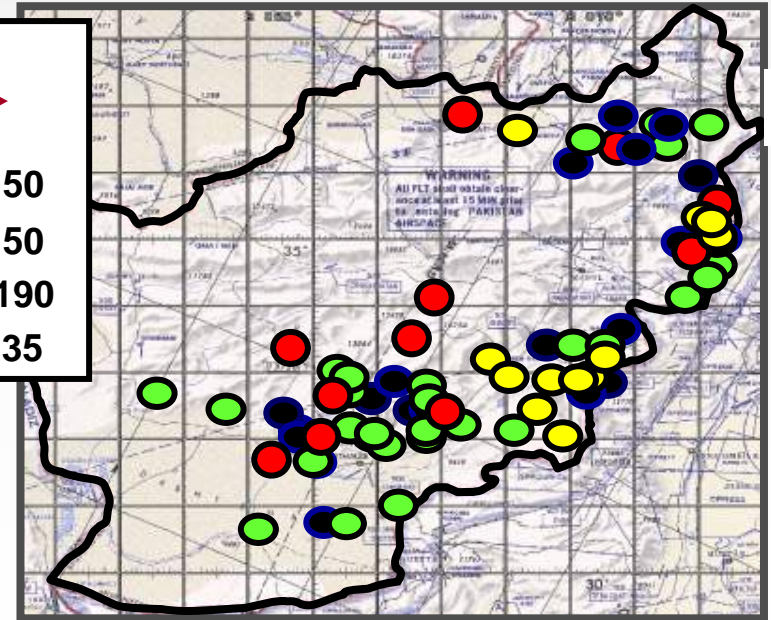
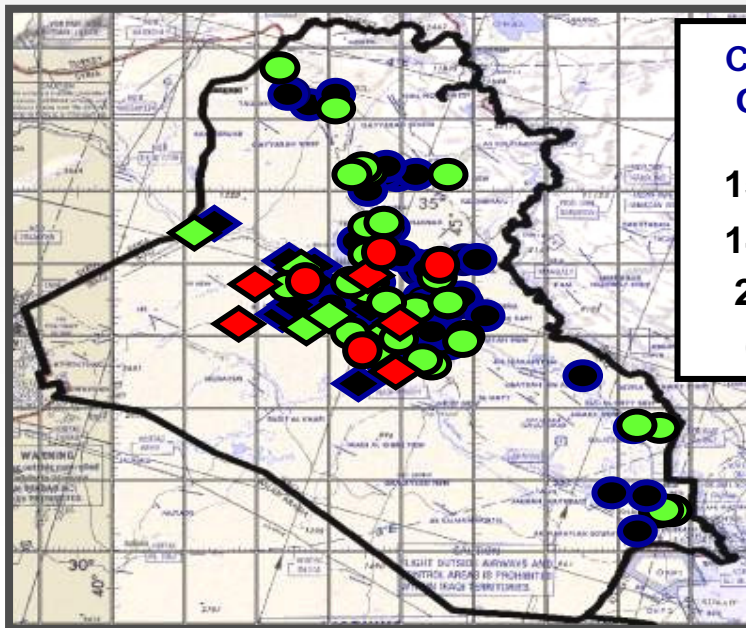
■ Daily Averages:

■ Strike Sorties:	40
■ EW Sorties:	10
■ C2ISR Sorties:	10

Operation Enduring Freedom

■ Daily Averages:

■ Strike Sorties:	40
■ EW Sorties:	5
■ C2ISR Sorties:	5



Proper Use of Airpower is Critical

- **Operations Planning in the Coalition environment -- standardized TTPs, different weapon systems within the Coalition**
- **Intelligence preparation of the environment**
- **Command and Control – accurate picture of environment**
- **Airspace Management – clear airspace control measures**
- **Collateral Damage Mitigation**
 - **Strict adherence to ROE**
 - **Weapons used are effects based (500lb bomb used vs. 2000lb)**
 - **Collateral Damage Estimates performed**
 - **Precise, appropriate yield, low failure rate**
 - **Positive ID / Release Authority**
 - **Every weapon employed can produce strategic effects**

Afghan Internal Problems

Afghan Government Weaknesses

Continuing tension between government in Kabul and ethnic and sectarian regions: Warlords, Mujahideen, regional leaders, legislature, and president.

Lack of qualified officials, depth in actual government.

Corruption and nepotism.

Impact of dependence on narcoeconomy, backlash against it.

Weakness, corruption, and ineffectiveness of justice system and police.

Pashtun tensions with other groups, tribalism.

Resentment of modernization and reform; religious and cultural backlash.

Poor quality of governance; failure to provide effective services and presence in field: Water, roads, schools, health, security.

Critical infrastructure and water problems.

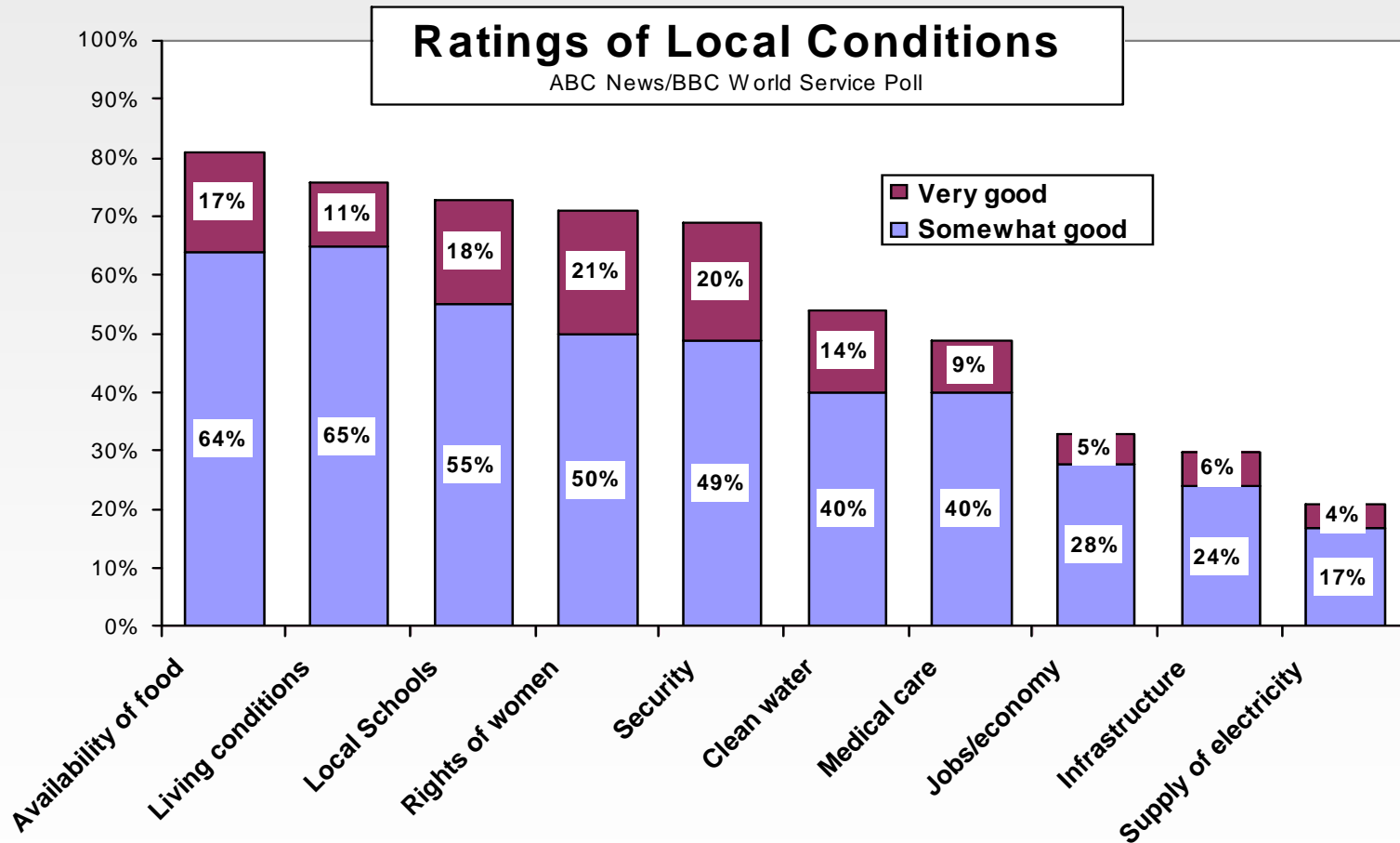
Lack of economic progress and reform; scale of aid program and government activity.

Rampant corruption, absence of rule of law, and failure of Government to provide equitable social services are rapidly undermining Afghan popular support for democratic governance model and possibly foreign military presence

Problems in Politics and Governance

- Most Afghans say the government and local police alike have a strong presence in their area – few say so of the Taliban – and trust the current authorities, at least somewhat, to provide security.
- Again likely reflecting the Taliban's broad unpopularity, big majorities continue to call the U.S.-led invasion a good thing for their country (88 percent), to express a favorable opinion of the United States (74 percent) and to prefer the current Afghan government to Taliban rule (88 percent).
- Sixty-eight percent approve of Karzai's work – down from 83 percent last year, but still a level most national leaders would envy.
- Fifty-nine percent think the parliament is working for the benefit of the Afghan people – down from 77 percent, but still far better than Americans' ratings of the U.S. Congress.
- Positive ratings of the performance of the United States in Afghanistan are down by 11 points, to 57 percent. Provincial governments are rated positively by 52 percent.
- 78 percent of Afghans call official corruption a problem in the area where they live – and 55 percent call it a big problem.
- One in four report that they or someone they know has had to pay a bribe to receive proper service from the government – and that jumps to four in 10 in the country's Northwest, where corruption is particularly severe.

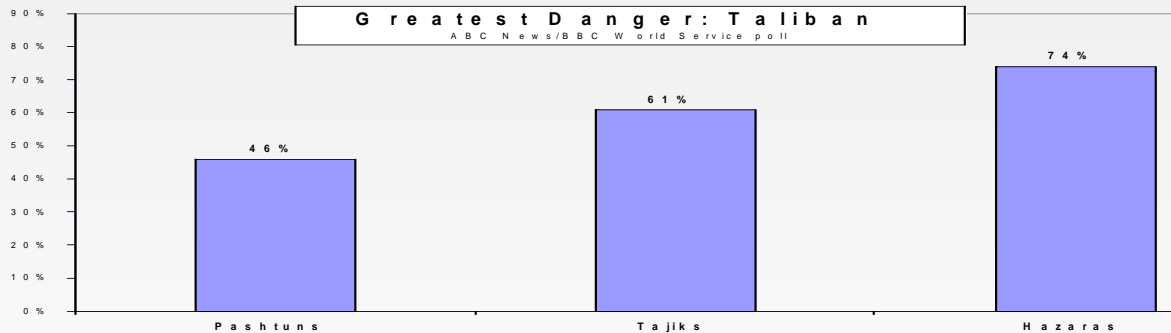
Afghan Priorities



Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

Ethnic and Sectarian Differences

- About four in 10 Afghans are Pashtuns, concentrated in the East and South, a bit fewer are Tajiks, mostly in the center and North, and just over one in 10 are Hazaras, in the central Hazarjat region.
- Pashtuns dominate the Taliban; indeed 18 percent of Pashtuns express a favorable view of the Taliban, compared with four percent of other Afghans.
- Far fewer Pashtuns describe the Taliban as the country's greatest danger – 46 percent, compared with 74 percent of Hazaras and 61 percent of Tajiks. Pashtuns also are more conservative socially – seven in 10 call it unacceptable for women to supervise men at work – and less optimistic than other Afghans.



- Afghanistan is not riven by the Sunni/Shiite sectarian divisions seen in Iraq; one difference is that Afghanistan's population is more homogenous – 87 percent Sunni, 12 percent Shiite.
- Shiites, naturally, express greater concern about the Taliban, a fundamentalist Sunni movement. Shiites are 22 points more likely than Afghan Sunnis to call the Taliban the country's biggest threat – and concomitantly 26 points more apt to call the U.S.-led invasion that overthrew the Taliban five years ago a “very good” thing for the country.

Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

Major Ethnic Divisions



The Narco-Economy

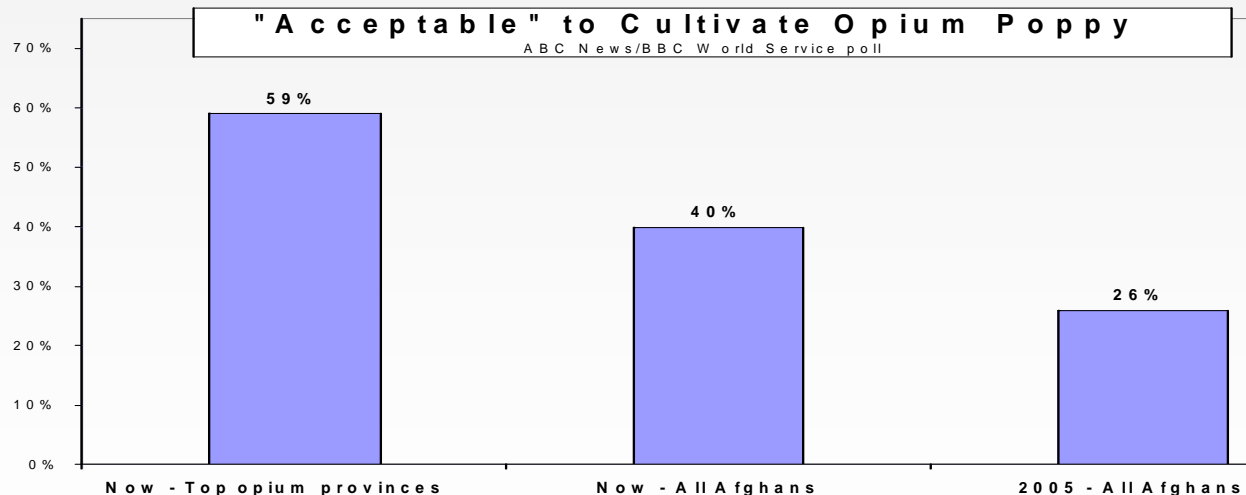
- **Opium production up 49% in 2006**
- **90% of global illegal opium output**
- **Opium economy 1/3 of total economic activity**
- **But, involves 4% of cultivatable areas**
- **Most districts and localities do not grow opium**
- **An estimated 13 percent of the population involved in opium poppy cultivation.**
- **Income concentrated in a few powerful players**
- **“Counternarcotics efforts have deepened the corruption and hurt the poorest.”**

Crime and Narcotics

- **Key threat to stability, government, Afghan military, police, and justice systems.**
- **Major source of corruption.**
- **Supports “warlords,” regional power centers.**
- **Important source of terrorist/insurgent financing.**
- **Overlaps with mixed areas of opposition to government.**
- **Serious religious and local backlash.**
- **Ineffective anti-narcotics and eradication programs, mixed with failure to provide incentives and development, create further problems for government, nation building, and allied forces.**
- **Eradication efforts had little impact in 2005, but sent a signal that more was coming and led to a major increase in drug support for Taliban in 2006.**

Eradication without Aid Supports the Taliban

- Signaling frustration with the slow pace of development, there's been a jump in acceptance of growing opium poppies, the country's illicit cash crop.
- Nationally, 40 percent now call it acceptable if there's no other way to earn a living, up sharply from 26 percent last year. And in the top-producing opium provinces, more – a majority, 59 percent – endorse poppy cultivation.
- Despite eradication efforts, Afghanistan is the world's top opium poppy producer – and nearly three-quarters of Afghans suspect the Taliban is protecting the trade.



Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

World Bank on Need For Changed Programs

... phasing out drug production will take decades rather than months or years, and that there is a need for an equally smart and effective strategy to curtail demand for opiates in the consuming countries. Most of all, the Afghan Government, with international support, needs to combat the high-level drug trafficking network and its protectors.

... there are no easy answers and short-term strategies can do more harm than good. Aerial eradication, for instance, which has already been ruled out by the Afghan leadership, poses particular risks since opium poppy is interspersed with other crops and next to areas used for human settlement and lives to risk. This could easily fuel discontent and strengthen the insurgency in the volatile south of the country.

Imposing anti-money laundering provisions too quickly risks discouraging the Afghan people from using the formal financial sector. In the meantime, anti-money laundering provisions need to be more restrictively enforced on banks in neighboring countries as well.

Furthermore, the Hawala (informal financial transfer) system, which serves as a vehicle for drug money laundering as well as much more benign purposes such as transferring money to poor Afghans from relatives abroad, poses particular challenges.

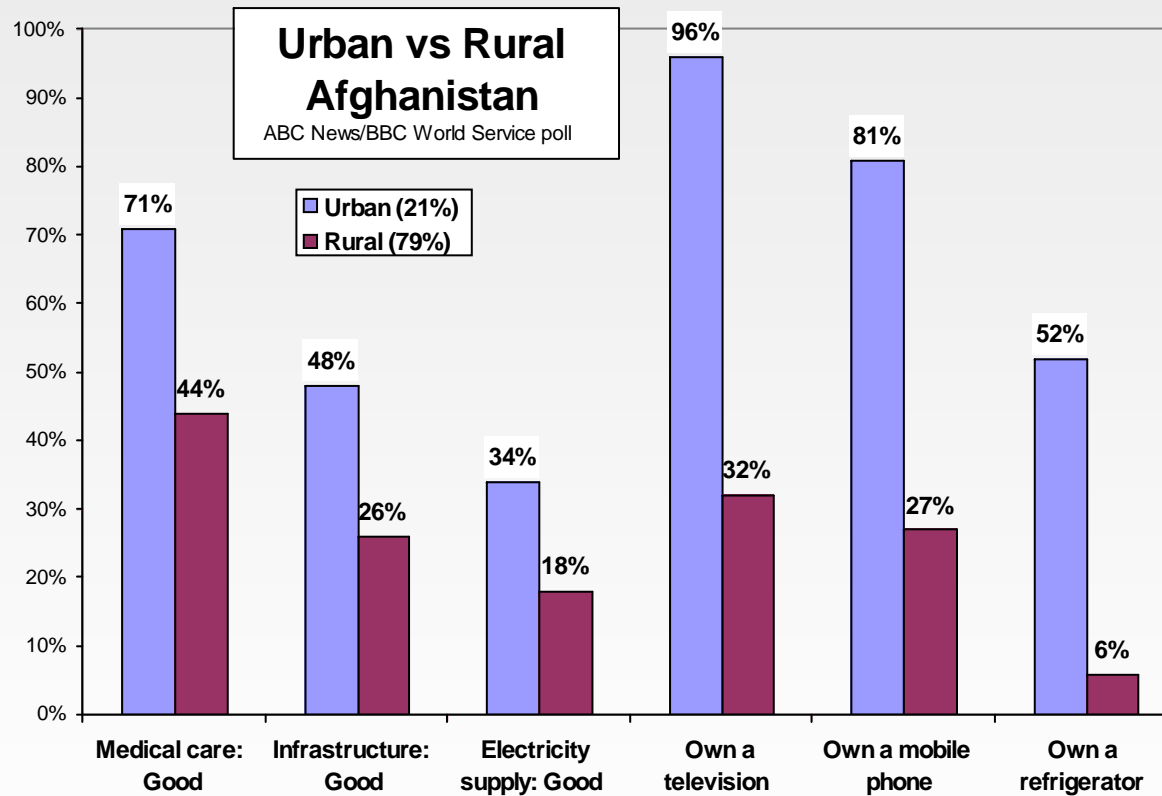
Corruption should be fully taken into account in designing and implementing counter-narcotics measures. Experience shows that implementation of eradication programs - especially if they are partial or limited to certain areas - is inevitably distorted by corruption, so they disproportionately affect the poor and those without local political connections.

This underlines the importance of increased efforts to strengthen and reform key institutions such as the police in order to reduce their vulnerability to drug-related corruption and rebuild trust in government.

"The critical advantage of development impact of action against drugs is on poor farmers and rural wage laborers. Any counter-narcotics strategy needs to keep short-run expectations modest, avoid worsening the situation of the poor, and adequately focus on long-term rural development."

Key Aid Needs

Aid and the Urban-Rural Gap



Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

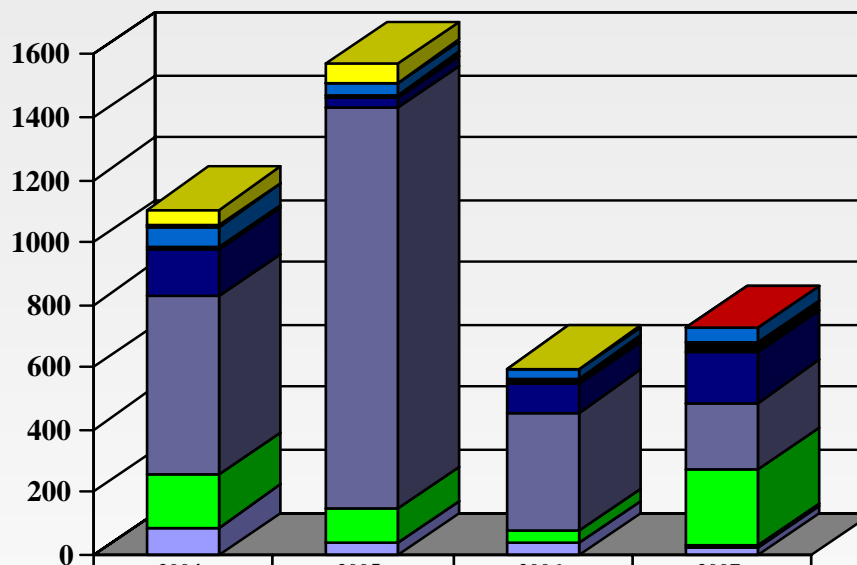
Scale of Urban-Rural Differences

- The median age (among adults only) is 32, compared with 44 in the United States. Four in 10 Afghans are illiterate, 47 percent have had no formal education whatsoever, barely over four in 10 have completed primary school, just 18 percent are high school graduates and a bare three percent have had a university education.
- Nearly three-quarters report monthly household incomes of fewer than 12,000 Afghanis – the equivalent of \$244, or less.
- 10-point drop in the number of Afghans who say the economy's in good shape – now 31 percent. And just 34 percent give a positive rating to the availability of jobs and economic opportunity where they live, unchanged from last year.
- While just 31 percent rate the local roads, bridges and infrastructure positively, that's up from 24 percent last year. And 34 percent report owning an electric generator, up from 20 percent last year.
- Local medical services rated positively by 71 percent of urban residents, up from 54 percent last year – but no change among the nearly 80 percent of Afghans who live in rural areas.
- While 41 percent of Afghans report having no electrical power whatsoever (rising to 52 percent in rural areas), that's down from 58 percent last year. Most power is from generators – just two in 10 get it from power lines – and of all local services, power supply continues to be the single biggest complaint. Just 21 percent rate theirs as good.
- Just one in 100 Afghans has a landline telephone; 38 percent live in a household with a mobile phone, but most by far remain phone-free.
- Just 13 percent of Afghan households have a car, while 43 percent own a work animal.

Source: Adapted from Gary E. Langer, ABC News and ABC News/BBC Poll, December 2006

Recent US Aid: Too Little, Too Late

**Note:
Programs do
Not Add to
Total**



	2004	2005	2006	2007
■ TOTAL	*1,133.3	*1,568.8	*617.7	*802.8
■ PL 480	49.2	57	2.1	-
■ Other Infectious	1	2.1	3.5	1.1
□ Vulnerable Children	4.8	4.2	0	1.5
■ Child/Maternal Health	65.9	34.1	26	46
■ Family Planning/Rep Health	8.3	11.9	22	28.8
■ Democracy & Governance	147	29.2	88	161
□ Human Rights	1.9	-	-	-
■ Economic Growth	571.8	1282.7	381.6	214.5
■ Agriculture & Environ	165.9	109.9	37	246
■ Higher Education & Training	0	0	0	4
■ Basic Education	89.2	37.9	37.8	24

USAID, FY2007 Program Justification, Program Budget by Sector

The New US Aid Request

- Total aid will be \$10.6 billion, this in the FY07 supplemental
- -- \$2 billion in civilian reconstruction aid
- May become available too slowly. It will be a combination of '07 CR, 07 supplemental and \$335 million (in an '08 GWOT supplemental that has.
- -- \$8.6 billion on military training and assistance
- Since 2001, the US has given \$14.2 billion in aid to Afghanistan...
- -- \$9 billion in security assistance
- -- \$5.2 billion for reconstruction

The US Supplemental Military Aid Package

- New realities on the ground—reconstituted threat, continued narco-terrorism—and persistent problems with infrastructure, require dramatic action and increased resources in the FY07 Supplemental budget
- Approximately approx 70% targeted at the ANA (Army), the other 30% for the ANP (Police).
 - Accelerate and expand ANA Development.
 - Fund effort to rebuild police development after failures of 2001-2004.
 - Equip and facilitize for serious counterinsurgency.
- Expect Congressional action spring 2007; with funds becoming available in July 2007

Cost for “Fully Developed” Force in ‘08

	<p>Total \$5.9B</p>	<p>Expand to Full Capacity \$1.2B</p> <p>Current request will provide a <u>70,000-Soldier developed ANA</u> and a <u>fully-equipped 82,000-member ANP in 2008</u>. Creates <u>sufficient capacity</u> of ANSF to handle counter-insurgency operations fully independent of US and Coalition and establish Rule of Law throughout Afghanistan.</p>
	<p>Total \$4.7B</p>	
		<p>Development \$2.6B</p> <p>Revised request will provide the ANSF a <u>50,000 developed ANA with combat enablers</u> and a <u>62,000 ANP with Civil Order Police capabilities</u>. This fully developed ANSF will possess <u>sufficient capability</u> to conduct independent combat operations with a force structure optimized for counter-insurgency operations (COIN). Eliminates “in extremis” support required from the U.S. and Coalition partners. (No Growth)</p>
<p>Total \$2.1B</p>		
<p>Base FY07 Supplemental \$2.1B</p> <p>Base request to provide the ANSF with the most basic resources to continue their development. Includes sustainment, continued training, and infrastructure projects. Funds are only sufficient for a <u>50,000 ANA</u> and <u>62,000 ANP</u> with <u>insufficient capability or capacity</u>. (Lacks Sufficient Develop)</p>		

Current Afghan National Security Forces

- **MOD/ANA - Force of choice, in the fight, capable of contributing effects at all levels (MOD/General Staff through Kandak)**
 - **Still developing capability. Serious manning and equipment problems.**
 - **Needs resources and time to become effective; has been rushed into the fight.**
- **MOI/ANP - Rank Reform 100%, equipping 60% (move 35%, shoot 85%, commo 60%), training 75%, facilities 25%.**
 - **Sporadic effectiveness, building trust of Afghan people, taking up the fight along side the ANA, Regional Commands effective**
 - **Insufficient partnership capacity commitment from the International Community**

Goals in Developing Afghan Capability

Afghan National Police

- Critical to the counter-insurgency fight is to build trust between the Afghan National Police & populace

Afghan Border Police

- Capability increased by US Military Police mentorship and increased Coalition Forces presence

Afghan National Army

- Parallel planning conducted at Afghan General Headquarters & Afghan Army Corps levels
- Multi-Corps operations
- Afghan National Army General Headquarters supports construction of combat outposts
- Afghan Air Corps supports with cargo aircraft, lift and attack helicopters

Competing Lines Of Operation

Coalition Forces/GoA

Taliban

Security

- Credible ANSF
- ANSF/CF defeat elements of AQ, TB, HQN, HiG, and IJU/IMU
- Afghan led
- Coherent campaign plan

Clear

Governance and Justice

- Responsive, representative, and capable govts at all levels
- Extend reach of Afghan govt
- Credible Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF)

Hold

Economic Development

- Viable Provincial/District level infrastructures
- Determine AF needs at local level
- Flexible approach to reconstruction

Build

Border Strategy

- Develop cross border cooperation with PAKMIL
- Interdict Taliban network
- Collaborative operations and planning
- Effective, responsive tactical comms

Engage

ENDSTATE
Moderate, stable, representative Afghanistan

ENDSTATE
Re-establish Taliban Government in Afghanistan

- Link CF/ANA to unpopular actions
- Infiltrate security services
- Reduce CF/ANSF freedom of movt
- Fix CF to urban areas and LOCs
- Attack Afghan National Army, Afghan National Police & Civilians

Shaping Effort

Defeat CF/ANSF

- Provide capable shadow govt
- Exploit eradication effort
- Identify GoA with W influence
- Reduce Intl Participation
- Institute Talibanization
- Assassinate GoA officials

Taliban Main Effort

Separate Populace

- Assassinate GoA officials
- Intimidate population
- Kill contractors
- Destroy reconstruction projects

Shaping Effort

Undermine District Gov

- Establish safe haven
- Build/maintain tng system
- Build and maintain effective recruitment system

Shaping Effort

Undermine National Gov

UNCLASSIFIED

Afghan National Security Forces Regional Organization



Afghan National Army – Current Status

- ~30,100 Soldiers; growing to 50,000 for now
 - ↳ 5 Maneuver Corps / 10 Brigade Headquarters
 - ↳ Emerging Air Corps (Presidential Airlift focus)
- Insufficient assigned personnel, low numbers present for duty
- Pay, benefits, and administration major problems.
- Ethnic and sectarian tensions
- Not trained and equipped for level of threat than may now be developing.
- Improving training base
- Afghan units directly in “the Fight;” 5 Corps supporting current combat operations
- Collective combat skills improving
- Growing competent and confident leaders
- Partnership with NATO and Coalition forces enhancing unit proficiency

Current force levels have insufficient capability and capacity, making them overly reliant upon U.S. and Coalition forces for combat enablers.

Building Afghan National Army (ANA)

Required to Counter Threat

Current Situation

Build and sustain:

- **50,000-strong, 10-Brigade ANA**
- **Basic Infantry** force
- Air Corps for **Presidential airlift** only
- Partnering with Coalition required to conduct COIN
- *Deficiencies:*
 - *Donated weapons unreliable*
 - *No combat enablers*
 - *Insufficient force protection*

**Body Armor/Kevlar/
HMMWV's**

Commandos

**Sustainable Airlift
and Attack Capability**

**Mission-effective
Weapons/Artillery**

Enabling Units

Additional Troops

Force Protection

- Body armor; Kevlar helmets
- Advanced first aid kits
- Up-armored HMMWVs

Basic Counter-Insurgency Capability

- 6 Commando Battalions w/ COIN focus
- Specialized training; Rapid deployment

Small, capable Air Corps

- Mi-17/ Mi-35 lift/attack helicopters
- Fixed wing tactical airlift

Reliable Weapons

- Assault rifles; machineguns
- Howitzers; Mortars

Combat Support Units

- Engineering units; counter-IED capabilities
- Military Intel companies; Military Police

Increased Force Structure

- 70,000-Soldier Army; fully equipped/ trained
- 14 brigades; 70 battalions

Efforts to Strengthen the Afghan Army

- **Goal for the ANA:** Set the conditions for the ANA to be able to conduct independent counterinsurgency operations (COIN) by end of CY08
- **FY07 Supplemental will provide resources to train, equip, sustain:**
 - An ANA commando capability—roughly equivalent to US Army Rangers
 - Improved ANA mobility and force projection capability by expanding the Air Corps to include fixed-wing and rotary-wing transport assets and rotary-wing gun ships
 - An enhanced 50,000 soldier (10 Brigade) force structure with reliable weapons, increased force protection.
 - An expanded ANA which adds 20,000 soldiers (4 Brigades), who will be manned, trained, equipped to the enhanced level described above
- **Allows for sufficient force structure for country with size, topography of Afghanistan**
- **Combat enablers (i.e. military intelligence, combat engineers) to leverage ANA capabilities; included in the expanded force structure**
- **Important for ANA to be a credible respected force domestically; as an all-ethnic and national apolitical institution, it will greatly help contribute to national unity as the country confronts political challenges in the coming years.**

Afghan National Police – Current Status

- **49,700 trained and equipped police:**
 - ↳ **Uniform, Standby (Quick Reaction Force), Border, Counter-Narcotics Police, and Afghan National Auxiliary Police**
- **ANP reliability and credibility are weak; not previously recruited, trained, equipped, facilitated for emerging threat.**
- **Reforming the force:**
 - ↳ **Moving in stages. All Regional, Border, Uniform, Standby & Provincial Police Commanders have been selected, in position, and making a difference; District Chiefs of Police selected in October**
 - ↳ **Pay and Rank Reform still encountering major problems but progressing**
- **Police operations and coordination with Afghan Army is improving:**
 - ↳ **Police Regional Commands are being established; enhancing command & control, coordination, & planning; good US military innovation - commands are coterminous with Army and National Security Directorate Regional Commands, greatly increasing Afghan and NATO operational and intelligence effectiveness.**
 - ↳ **Integrated in coalition and ISAF Operations**
 - ↳ **Mentor presence having an effect**
- **Developing partnership opportunities with Coalition & NATO-ISAF:**
 - ↳ **Border Police successfully partnered with US Military Police Brigade during current combat operations**
 - ↳ **Police partnering with U.S. Special Forces developing**
 - ↳ **NATO-ISAF needs to step up and partner with Afghan Police**

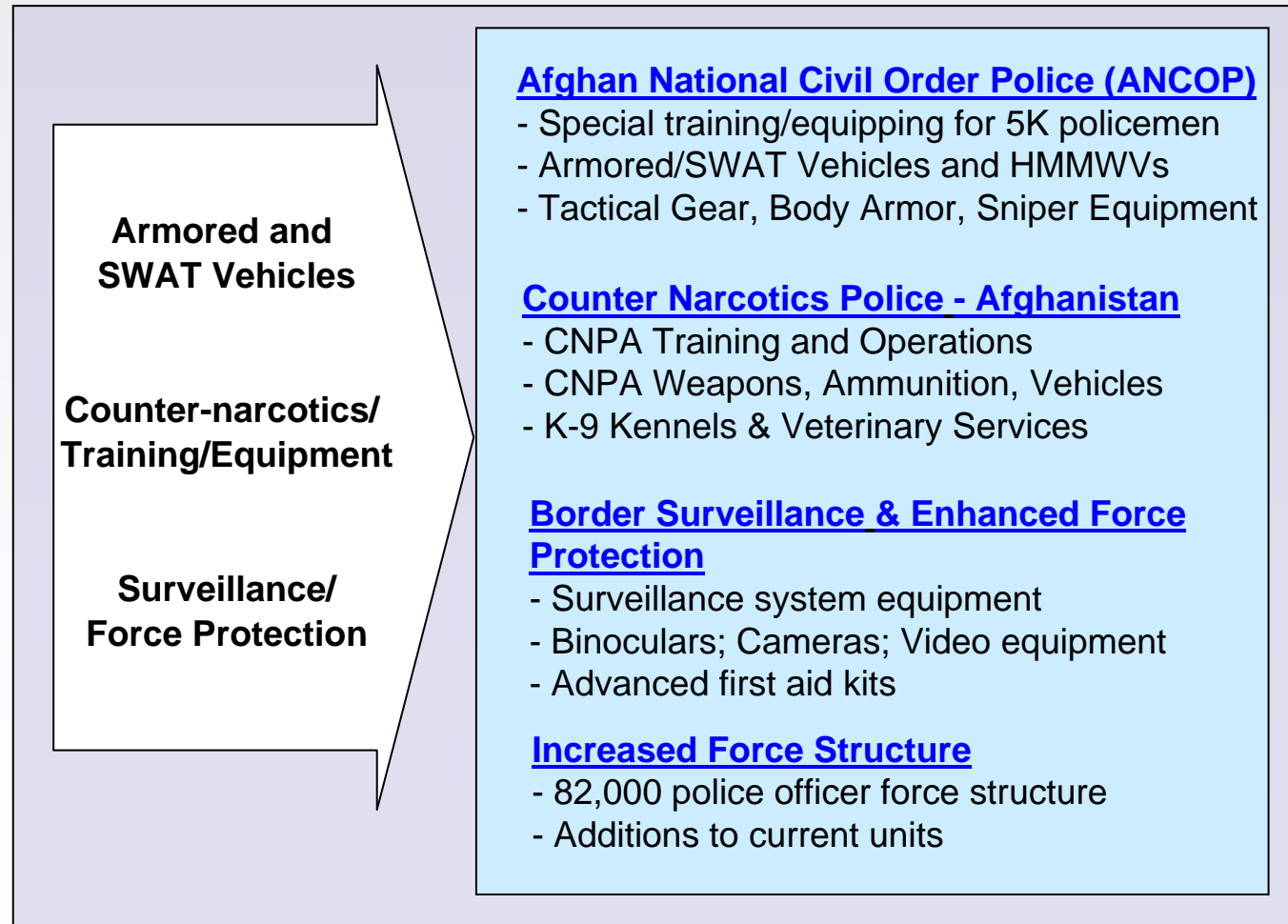
Building Afghan National Police (ANP)

Required to Counter Threat

Current Situation

Build and equip:

- 62,000-strong, trained ANP
- **Uniformed Police:** law enforcement patrolmen
- **Border Police:** border checkpoints; tariffs
- **Stand-by Police:** Reserve Force
- **Deficiencies:**
 - No Crowd control
 - Limited Counter-Narcotics Capability
 - Weak Counter-Insurgency (COIN) capability
 - No Counter IED
 - Insufficient force protection



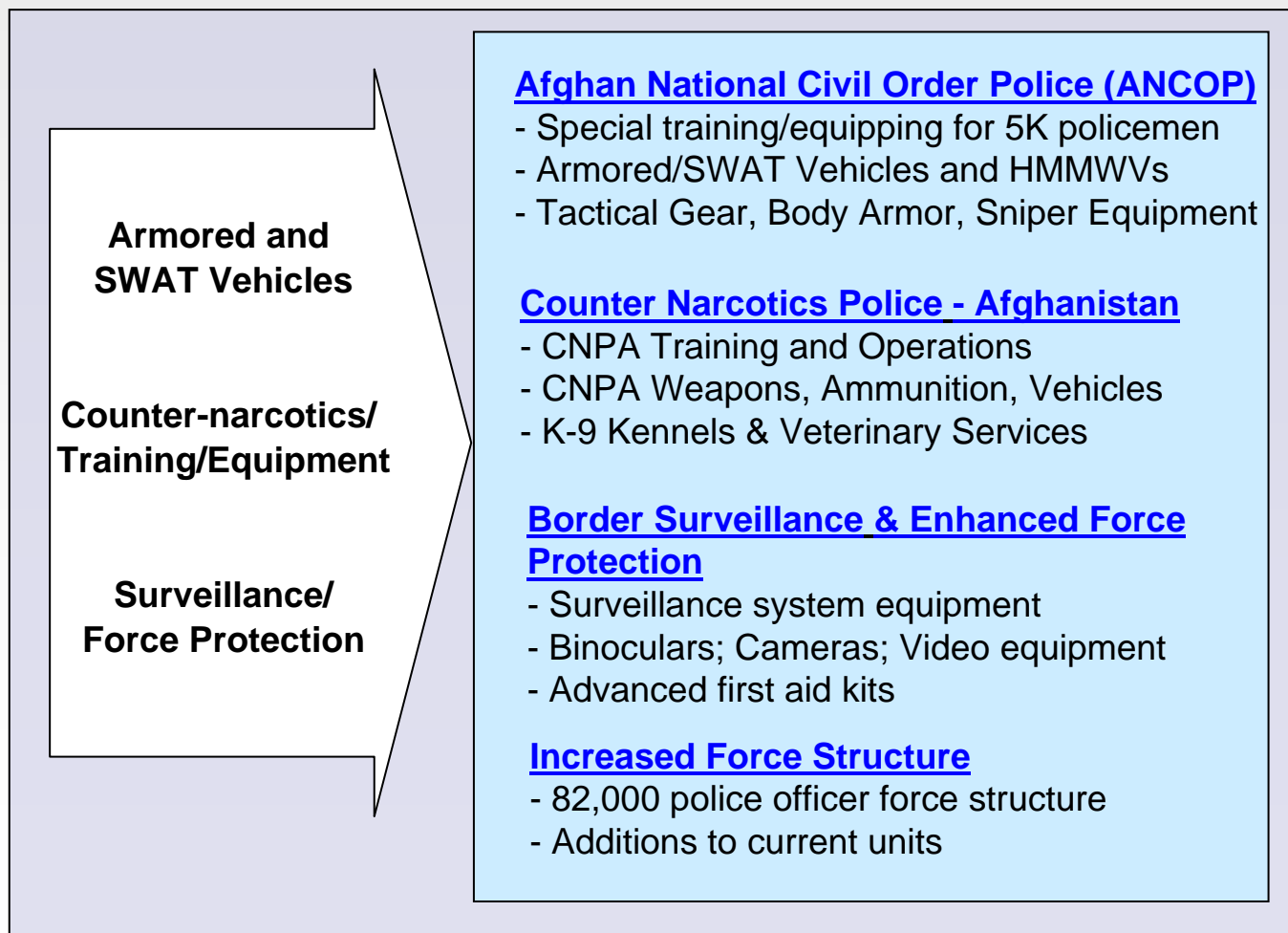
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Efforts to Strengthen the Afghan Police

- **Goal for the ANP: Set the conditions for the ANP to be able to ensure the Rule of Law exists throughout the entire country of Afghanistan**
- **FY07 Supplemental will provide resources to train, equip, sustain:**
 - ↳ **The ANCOP (Afghan National Civil Order Police) that will provide COIN first-responder capability**
 - **Will allow the police to better respond to emergencies like the May 06 riots in Kabul**
 - ↳ **The existing 62,000 member ANP with weapons to match those carried by insurgents, criminal gangs, narco-terrorists; as well as adequate mobility, comms and force protection equipment**
 - ↳ **Expand the ANP by 20,000 police officers**
 - ↳ **Provide more mentors (both civilian and military police professionals): at least 2000 more personnel are required to provide complete mentoring at the district and provincial levels. (already requested by country team)**

The Key Focus in the Economic Aid Package Request

Total Additional Aid for Reconstruction	1,007,000
-- Support to GOA ESF	--
-- Roads ESF	--
-- Power ESF	
-- Rural Development ESF	--
-- PRT Projects ESF	--
Food Aid P.L. 480	30,000
USAID OE AID OE	15,000
U.S. Mission Security and Operations D&CP	67,200
Total Civil Supplement	1,119,200

US Aid Team Efforts

■ PRTs

- Assist in the development of a legitimate Afghan security and political infrastructure by building Afghan institutional capacity and supporting the legitimate Afghan government.
- Facilitate reconstruction by initiating and prioritizing reconstruction projects, promoting economic development, and coordinating with UN agencies, NGOs, and Afghan government officials.

■ ETTs

- Consistent partnering relationship from training to the battlefield
- Partnering from corps level down
- Training and mentoring
- Ensuring a trained and ready force prior to deployment

■ ADZs

- Focusing resources and attention where it will matter most in the provinces that are mostly likely to show success
- Building economic momentum through focused development

NATO PRTs 11-2006

25 NATO PRTs Total

NATO PRTs 11-2006

The map illustrates the distribution of NATO Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan as of November 2006. The country is divided into four operational stages, each color-coded and labeled with a stage number:

- STAGE 1 (Blue):** Located in the northern part of the country, including provinces like Faryab, Badkhash, and Kunduz.
- STAGE 2 (Pink):** Located in the western part of the country, including provinces like Herat, Badghis, and Faryab.
- STAGE 3 (Yellow):** Located in the southern part of the country, including provinces like Kandahar, Helmand, and Nimroz.
- STAGE 4 (Purple):** Located in the eastern part of the country, including provinces like Paktia, Paktika, and Khost.

Twelve PRT locations are marked with green dots and numbered 1 through 12. Other labeled locations include major cities like Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, and Mazar-e Sharif, as well as neighboring countries: UZBEKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN, IRAN, PAKISTAN, and TAJIKISTAN.

25 NATO PRTs Total

US Aid-PRTS

- Assist in the development of a legitimate Afghan security and political infrastructure by building Afghan institutional capacity and supporting the legitimate Afghan government.
- Facilitate reconstruction by initiating and prioritizing reconstruction projects, promoting economic development, and coordinating with UN agencies, NGOs, and Afghan government officials.
- Develop a close working relationship with Afghan government ministries at the provincial level, UN agencies, and NGOs in order to promote unity of effort in achieving common objectives.
- Enhance security, in parallel with conventional forces, by developing relationships with the local population, promoting knowledge of ongoing international and Afghan government efforts, collecting and disseminating intelligence, and defeating ACM, warlords, and other anti-stability actors.
- US PRTs spend about \$6.4M each; allows the PRT commander and his DoS & USAID partners to assess his local area along with the elders/provincial leaders and decide which projects should be prioritized. This leads to greater security of the area, as the people there have more invested in each project.

The US AED Program

- AED conducts construction and engineering operations for reconstruction and infrastructure development.
- AED's programs include: Afghan Security Forces (ANA and ANP), US/Coalition Forces Support, Counter Narcotics and Border Management and Strategic Reconstruction which includes support to USAID and CERP.
- AED's \$1.8B FY07 program is largely composed of \$1.2B of ANSF requirements. Over half of the ANSF program is contingent upon FY07 Supplemental approval.
- The large USAID investment in FY07 is contingent upon USAID receiving the \$600M for RC East/South roads
- \$600M request for RC E/S roads is still pending resource assignment
- USAID's total current program cost is estimated at \$2,373M, and includes support of roads, the Border Management Initiative, CERP, counter narcotics, justice reform, expansion of PRT projects and law enforcement

The CFC-A Afghan Engineering District Program

- AED conducts construction and engineering operations for reconstruction and infrastructure development.
- AED's programs include: Afghan Security Forces (ANA and ANP), US/Coalition Forces Support, Counter Narcotics and Border Management and Strategic Reconstruction which includes support to USAID and CERP.
- AED's \$1.8B FY07 program is largely composed of \$1.2B of ANSF requirements. Over half of the ANSF program is contingent upon FY07 Supplemental approval.
- The large USAID investment in FY07 is contingent upon USAID receiving the \$600M for RC East/South roads
- \$600M request for RC E/S roads is still pending resource assignment
- USAID's total current program cost is estimated at \$2,373M, and includes support of roads, the Border Management Initiative, CERP, counter narcotics, justice reform, and law enforcement
- AED now has engineers assigned to all PRTs
- AED has greatly increased Afghan construction capacity through innovative contracting that requires and rewards foreign contract firms to hire and train Afghan labor, and increasingly utilize Afghan subcontractors and contractors over time.