



The Center for Strategic and International Studies

Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy

1800 K Street, NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006

Phone: +1-202-775-3270 • Fax: +1-202-457-8746

Web: www.csis.org/burke

Winning in Afghanistan: How to Face the Rising Threat

Anthony H. Cordesman

Arleigh A. Burke Chair

Revised: December 12, 2006

Introduction

- **This briefing is based on a trip to Afghanistan in November 2006.**
- **Most of the material is adapted, or taken directly, from expert briefings provided on an unclassified level. The opinions are the author's.**
- **The rise in threat activity is serious, but must be kept in context.**
- **The challenges to be overcome are far less serious than in Iraq.**
- **The US and NATO scored important victories in 2006.**
- **The Bush Administration is already considering major increases in military and economic aid and limited increases in US forces.**
- **NATO commanders understand the problems and weaknesses in current NATO forces and rules of engagement, and are seeking to overcome them.**

Key Trends

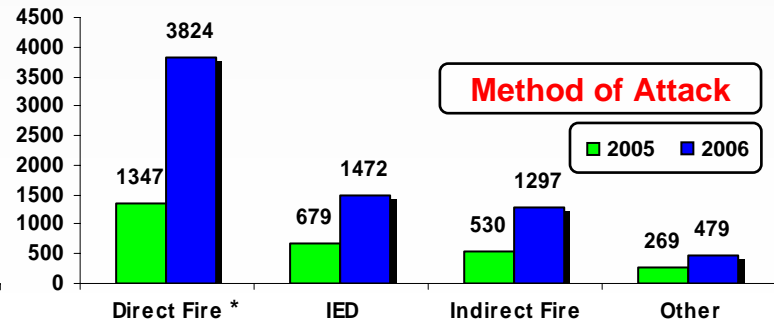
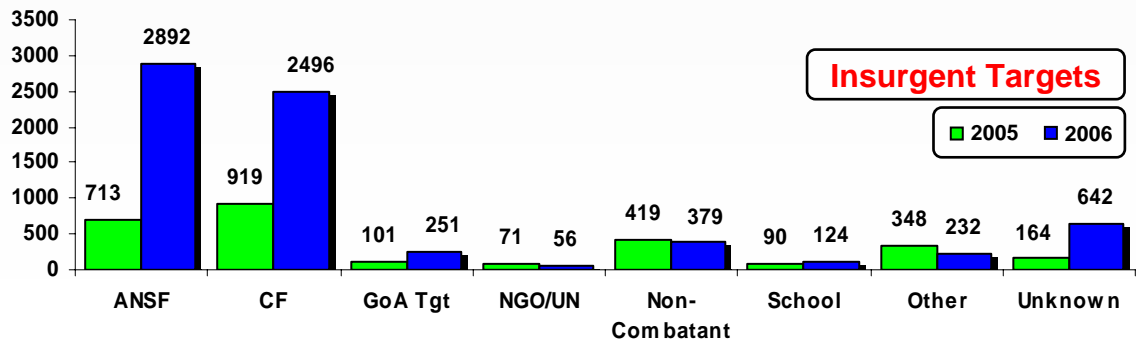
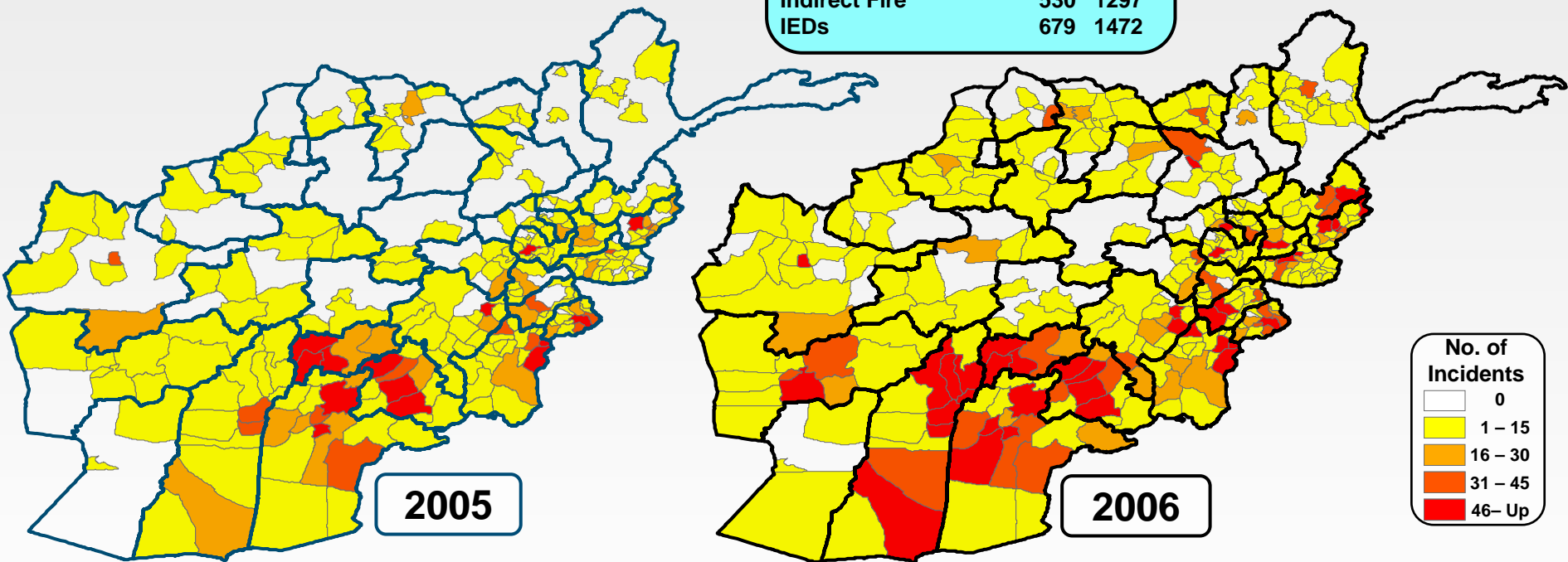
- **Development of effective government and economy will take at least 5-10 years; no instant success is possible.**
- **Current Afghan government, and US and NATO aid and activity levels are inadequate.**
- **Reconstituted enemy is more lethal and shows increased capacity for effective asymmetric warfare, including effective information operations**
- **Pakistan sanctuary is an 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.**
- **NATO effort has insufficient forces and only US, Canadian, British, Danes, Estonians, 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.**
- **Image-risk of US defeat in Iraq strong morale builder for Taliban-Al Qa'ida.**

Major Increase in Threat Activity

- Area with high levels of threat activity four times larger, some though a result of expanded NATO operations and presence.
- Comparing trends from January 1 to November 20th in 2005 to 2006, the following is evident:
 - Suicide attacks up more than six times.
 - Nearly threefold increase in direct fire attacks.
 - Indirect fire and IED attacks more than double.
 - Attacks on Coalition forces up 2 1/2 times.
 - Attacks on Afghan forces up nearly four times.
 - 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).
- US and NATO tactical victories “win,” but are not always followed by “hold” or “build.”

Enemy Activity Snap-shot (Weeks 1 – 44 for 2005 & 2006) 01 January – 04 November (2005 & 2006)

Activity for Period		
Type of Activity	2005	2006
Suicide Attacks	18	116
School Attacks	90	124
Direct Fire *	1347	3824
Indirect Fire	530	1297
IEDs	679	1472



Note: Does not include land mine strikes

* Direct Fire includes SAFIRE event

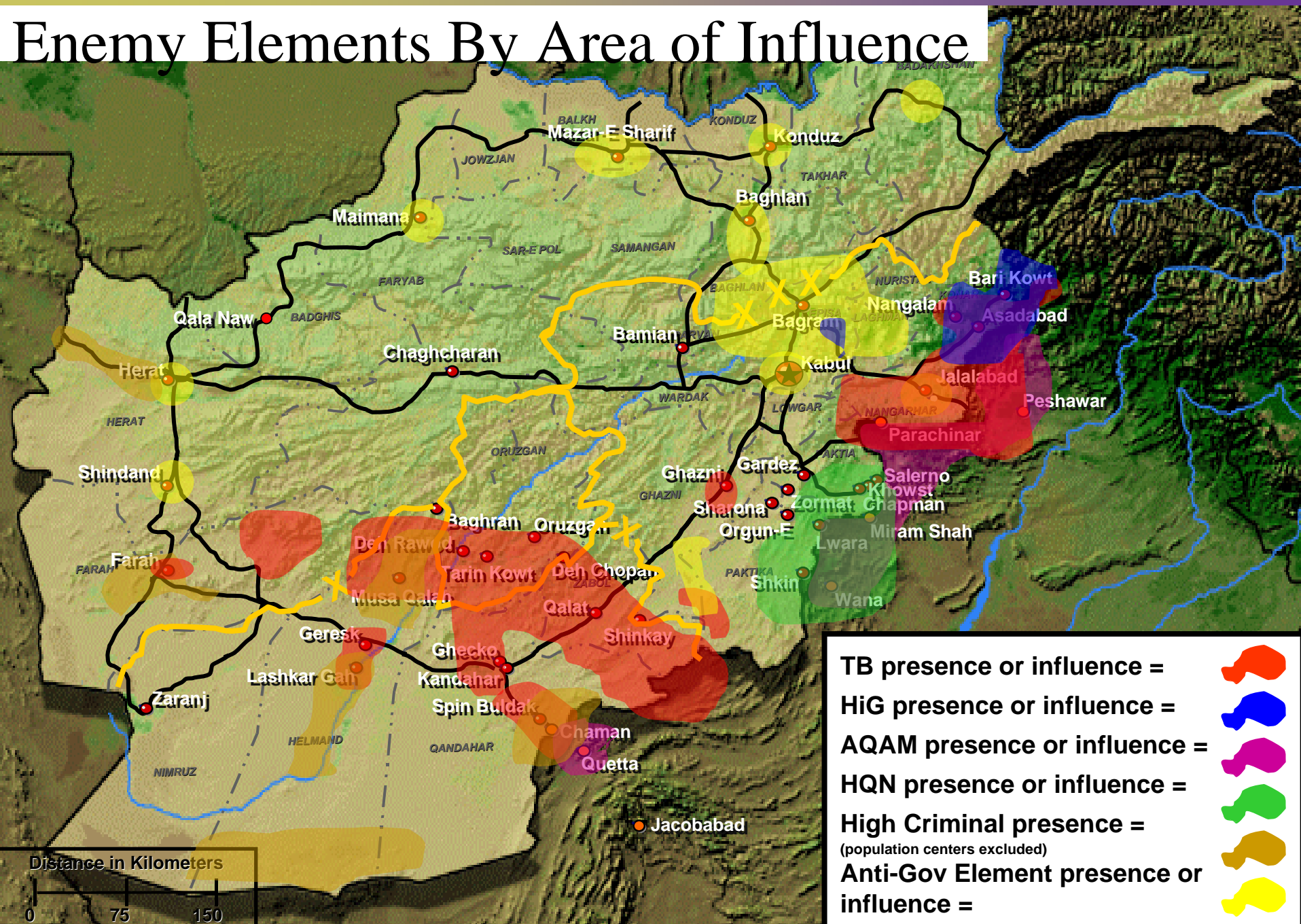
Threat is Complex, But Al Qa'ida and Taliban Dominated - I

- 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.
- Despite differences in leadership and the details of their belief structures, they do cooperate in exploiting Afghan and Coalition weaknesses and in campaign activity.
- There is a growing Iranian presence in Shi'ite areas, and among the Shi'ite minority in Pashtun areas. Also seeing more Uzbeks, Chetins, Turks and Arabs, especially in the east.

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

- The US and NATO have insufficient force to secure the south and west, and key NATO partners like France, Germany, Spain, Turkey 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.
- The lack of Afghan government presence and services, **inability to provide adequate security or improve the life of the average citizen** 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 outpay Afghan forces for asymmetric attacks, (but not for foot soldiers).

Enemy Elements By Area of Influence



Afghan Insurgent Groups

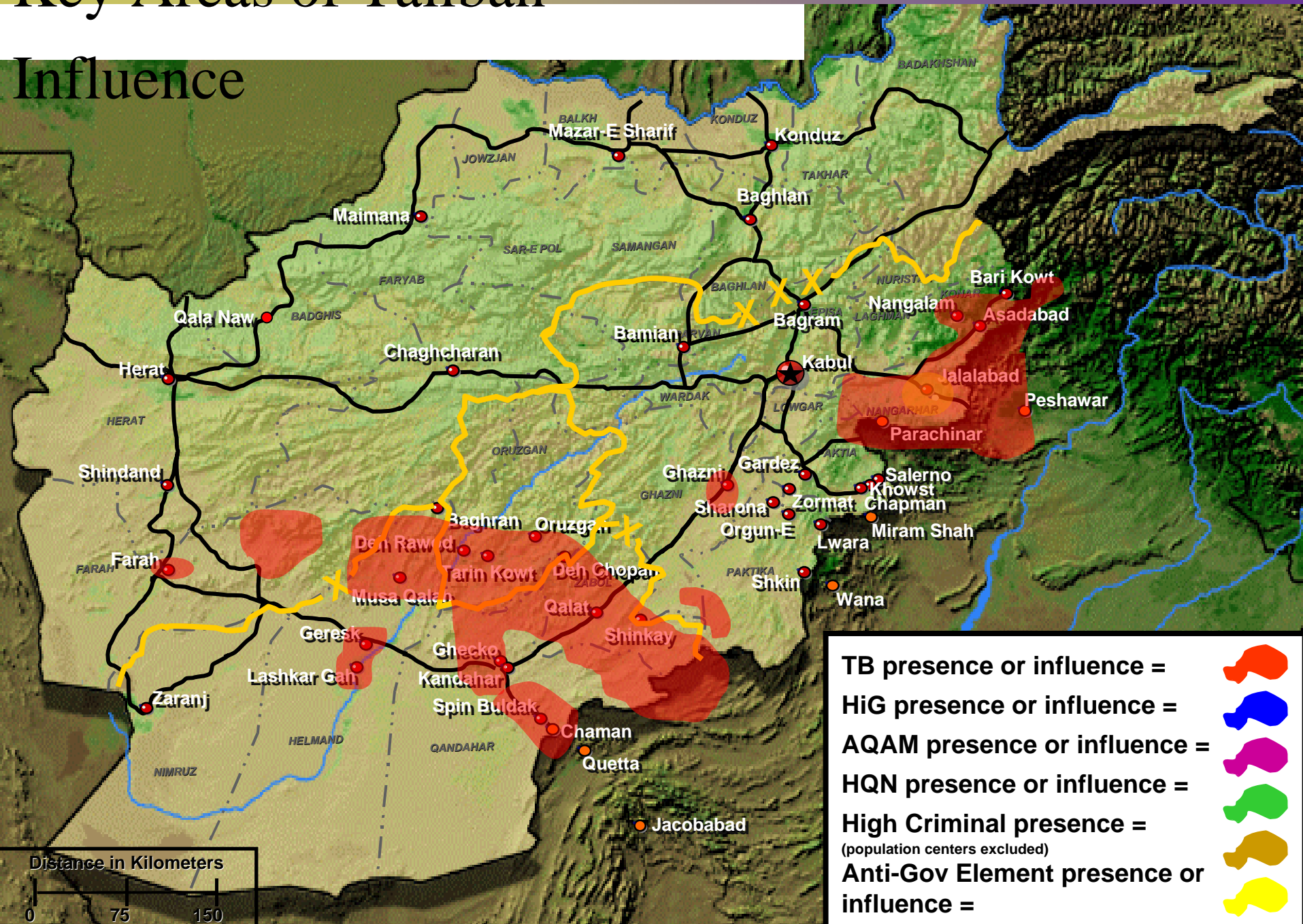
- **Three major groups: Taliban, Haqqani Network (HQN), and Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HiG)**
- **Al Qa'ida provides major support to Taliban**
- **Western and southern Pakistan (Waziristan and Baluchistan) are Taliban sanctuaries and important manpower sources..**
- **Some evidence that the Taliban, HIG, and HQN see value in coordinated efforts and will seek to capitalize on them.**
- **Pakistani Government has ceded control in the border regions.**
- **Part of ISI reportedly supports insurgents groups, but intelligence is not definitive.**

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.**

Key Areas of Taliban

Influence



Taliban Command and Control

- Organizationally, the Taliban are a loose network of affiliations based on tribal and historical connections. Generally, Taliban groups have a fluid chain of command, exhibited by changing leadership structures. While this arrangement has allowed junior members to meet and interact with senior leadership, it has also allowed alliances to form from within. Each network has its own culture and type of organization. The Taliban concentrate command and control in a Senior Shura and military Shuras in two key geographical locations – Quetta and Peshawar.
- Quetta Shura. The Senior Shura, often referred to as the Quetta Shura, is based on the Kandahari Taliban; the founding members of the Taliban movement such as Mullah Mohammad Omar. They provide legitimacy to the movement through an interpretation of Islam. Most members reside in Quetta. They rarely enter Afghanistan thus remaining physically distant from the Afghan area of operations. Combatant commanders affiliated with the Quetta Shura travel to Pakistan, to obtain funding and resources to sustain their activities, and to meet with senior members. The Senior Shura normally provides guidance for combat operations and other activities, either directly from senior members or through the Quetta Military Council (Shura); a junior military Shura that presides in Quetta.
- The Quetta Shura has traditional connections to Al-Qaeda and other foreign groups. However, the Shura directs unilateral activities within Afghanistan with foreigners taking a supporting role and rarely enter the country. Until the early summer of 2004, the Taliban did not have to contend with a permanent presence of international forces in many parts of the Southern Region (previous international forces operations were of limited duration allowing Taliban to disperse and avoid decisive engagement). Recent activity and permanent presence of international forces in traditional sanctuary have forced southern Taliban to carefully consider ISAF operations when planning their own.
- Peshawar Shura. The Peshawar Shura consists of two command elements; one for Konar, the other for the Nangarhar/Capital Region. It has a more military operational focus than ideological emphasis. It is led by former Kabul Taliban government officials (not of the original Khandahari Taliban) and has a greater diversity of tribal affiliations (more Ghilzai Tribe/Independent). Its links with Quetta vary and tensions exist over resources and status.

Taliban Motivation

- In a recent statement published by the Afghan Islamic Press, Mullah Mohammed Omar articulated the motivations for continuing the Jihad against the United States and other foreign occupiers. Omar appealed to the unity of Islamic people and their mutual obligations by making the following points:
 - All good Muslim Afghans should fight to end foreign occupation of Afghanistan.
 - An Islamic political and social order in accordance with Taliban interpretations of Islam must be established for the salvation of the people of Afghanistan.
 - This jihad is an obligation, a personal struggle to cleanse infidel impurities.
 - All good Muslims must protect Islam from debasement by infidels.
 - Loyalty to sacrifices made by other Afghans martyred in the cause must be honored by further struggle. (This theme ties the appeal of Islamic values to Pashtun Wali by linking Islamic values to the importance of family ties.)
- While this statement and others similar give us the public motivations of the Taliban movement, the statement does not address the complex issues of individual motivations exploited by Taliban leaders and recruiters.

Taliban Network, Conduct of Operations, and Goals

- The Taliban leadership sustains its operations through a resource network relay extending well beyond the borders of Afghanistan. Its fighter base is largely indigenous and founded within the Pashtun tribes. The movement does not just rely on individuals who are supportive to the Jihad, but draws fighters through coercion, bribes, and tribal obligations. Full time combatants are indoctrinated and trained through the Pakistani madrassa networks, sometimes by experienced Mujahideen and foreign fighters. The quality of training varies with some madrassas reportedly focusing predominantly on ideological training, at the expense of military skills, evidenced by younger, less capable fighters emerging from border areas.
- Although Afghanistan provides ready access to weapons and explosives, additional resources are brought into the country through traditional smuggling routes and networks. The Taliban maintain local allegiances with tribes, government officials and most likely drug traffickers who provide assistance at border crossing points in vicinity of southern Helmand, southeastern Kandahar, Zabol, southern Paktika, southern Nangarhar, Konar, and Nuristan. The Taliban receives funding from both international donors and indigenous sources (in both Afghanistan and Pakistan). It is believed that elements of the Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISID) – not necessarily working under government sanction – provide resources to the Taliban movement. Additionally, it is believed that the Hawala informal banking system plays a significant role in transferring money from international sources.
- The Taliban recognizes this is a war of perception and attempts to maintain an extensive Information Operations (IO) effort. It has a media commission, currently consisting of three primary spokesmen who are internally well-connected. In attempts to influence the population, Taliban rely on a steady campaign of night letters, radio broadcasts, tribal jirgas and press statements (call-ins). They will also leverage western open source reporting to gain situational awareness on ISAF activities and events that can be exploited through selective presentation.
- Taliban combatants understand that they lack the military capability to defeat international forces in decisive engagements. Instead, they primarily avoid major combat and use violence against international forces to achieve second and third order effects such as deterring ISAF donor commitment to Afghanistan, or undermining local perception of central government ability to provide security. Taliban forces also use violence against Afghans, especially security forces and local government to serve both immediate objectives and important downstream effects.
- 2005 saw an increase in the use of various types of IEDs while maintaining a capability to conduct ambushes and indirect attacks. When attacking international forces, Taliban elements often seek to avoid decisive engagement by ambushing international forces, using IEDs, or indirect fire. They used larger groups early in '05, then scaled back, surprised us with big fights in '06 then scaled back; may see return to large fights in '07 if they think it will shatter NATO political support.
- In contrast, Taliban elements target Afghan forces and individuals using various means including violent intimidation against individual Afghans, raids on the police or the Afghan National Army (ANA), ambushes on Afghan forces, indirect attacks, and assassinations.

Taliban Campaign Plan

- In pursuit of its ultimate objectives, the Taliban weights its priority of effort towards the local population, especially at the village level. Obtaining the acquiescence, or perhaps active support of the population, allows the Taliban freedom of movement within their operational areas and across their support networks. The second tier in the Taliban's priority of effort may include up to three separate objectives whose relative priority to each other changes depending on the circumstances.
 - First, the Taliban seek to disrupt the reconstruction effort, often by targeting non-governmental organizations as well as other targets involved in national or regional development.
 - Second, the Taliban target government officials and local opinion makers.
 - Third, the Taliban target Afghan security forces, both the Afghan National Army and increasingly the Afghan National Police (ANP) to undermine the Government of Afghanistan's (GoA) ability to provide security.

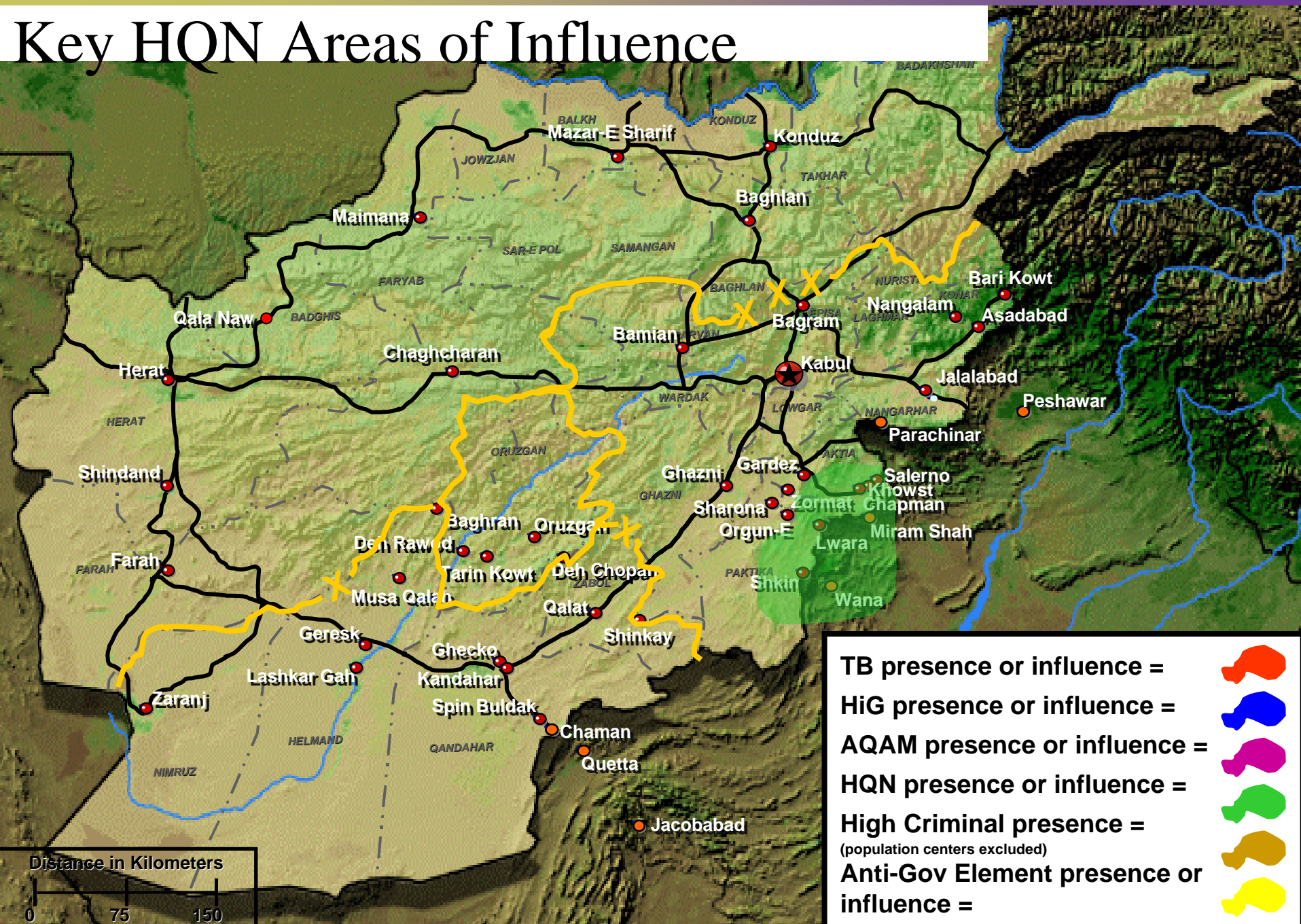
- The last tier in the Taliban's priority of effort is the targeting of international forces. Depending on the activities of international forces, the Taliban in a specific area may or may not consider international forces a threat to their activities. If international forces interfere with the ability of the Taliban to pursue its goals, the Taliban will attempt to limit international forces effectiveness to enable the pursuit of higher priorities. Thus, Taliban activity against international forces is not an effective measure of the status of the insurgency.

- In pursuit of these priorities, the Taliban pursue a campaign plan consisting of:
 - subversion of the Afghan Government (non-security elements);
 - subversion of the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP);
 - isolation of international forces from local nationals;
 - containment of international forces (and turning ISAF strengths into vulnerabilities);
 - rendering ISAF and Government of Afghanistan Information Operations (IO) ineffective;
 - obtaining support or acquiescence of village populations; and
 - disrupting the reconstruction effort.

The Haqqani Network (HQN) and Foreign Fighters (FF)

- **The Haqqani network (HQN) is a coalition of like motivated tribesmen based in North Waziristan and Khowst Province, headed by Jalaluddin Haqqani - former Taliban Minister of Tribal Affairs, Zadran tribal elder, religious cleric, respected former-mujhiadeen commander - and his sons.**
- **The Haqqani network both accepts assistance from and provides assistance to a diverse set of clients and patrons to promote the interests of various militant groups.**
- **It has ties to numerous militant and insurgent groups in the region including Al Qaeda, Taliban, Hizb e Islami (HiG), Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), Tehrik Nefaz-e-Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM) and the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM).**
- **The Haqqani Network has probable ties to elements of traditionally Kashmir-focused groups like Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Hizb-ul-Mojajedin (HM), as well as foreign fighters not formally affiliated with any distinct group.**

Key HQN Areas of Influence



Haqqani Network Command and Control

- 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.

Haqqani Network Motivation

- While Haqqani is considered a separatist focused on territorial dominance, he is also a businessman and as such is not considered as radical as other militants opposing Kabul. Despite promoting jihad and encouraging a stand against the corrupting influence of Western and secular influence, the Network's key motivation for opposing the GoA and central Pakistan authority is to protect Haqqani control over areas of Paktika, Khowst, and Paktia (P2K) and the Waziristan territory.
- Haqqani provides a service, acting as a protector of Waziri interests and facilitating Al Qaeda Associated Movements (AQAM) and foreign fighters and training. A focus of Haqqani is disrupting GoA occupation and development initiatives in their Zadran homeland of Khowst as well as the greater Paktia region.

Haqqani Operating Areas and Areas of Influence

- Haqqani elements live, train, and conduct planning in a support area that extends from the southern border of South Waziristan, to North Waziristan, Parachinar, and Kurram agencies. The northern border of this support area ends roughly at the Khyber Agency. The Haqqani Network conducts attacks mainly along the Paktika, Khowst, and Paktia border (mainly within 10km of the border), with infrequent forays deeper into Afghanistan in areas like Khowst city, Khowst-Gardez pass, and Orgun-E, probably to conduct surgical attacks, emplace IED devices and remove local leaders who have challenged Haqqani supremacy in the region.
- Foreign fighters are an element of both Haqqani operations and wider insurgent activity, either facilitating training, in support roles, or as hired guns. These foreign entities consist of Arabs, Uzbeks, Chechens, militant Pakistanis, Kashmiris, Uighers and others located throughout the Haqqani area of operations.
- Both Al Qaeda and foreign fighter groups exploit the absence of strong central government authority in the tribal area in order to maintain their influence. Like Haqqani, they use intimidation and assassination where necessary to gain the acquiescence of the local population, and to eliminate rival opinion makers.
- Haqqani facilitates the movement of weapons, ammunitions, advisors, and other assistance to foreign fighters through the madrassa networks and other critical nodes in Waziristan. Haqqani acts as an expeditor and provides a launching point, which accounts for the elevated rate of incidents along the border of Paktia, Paktika, and especially Khowst.

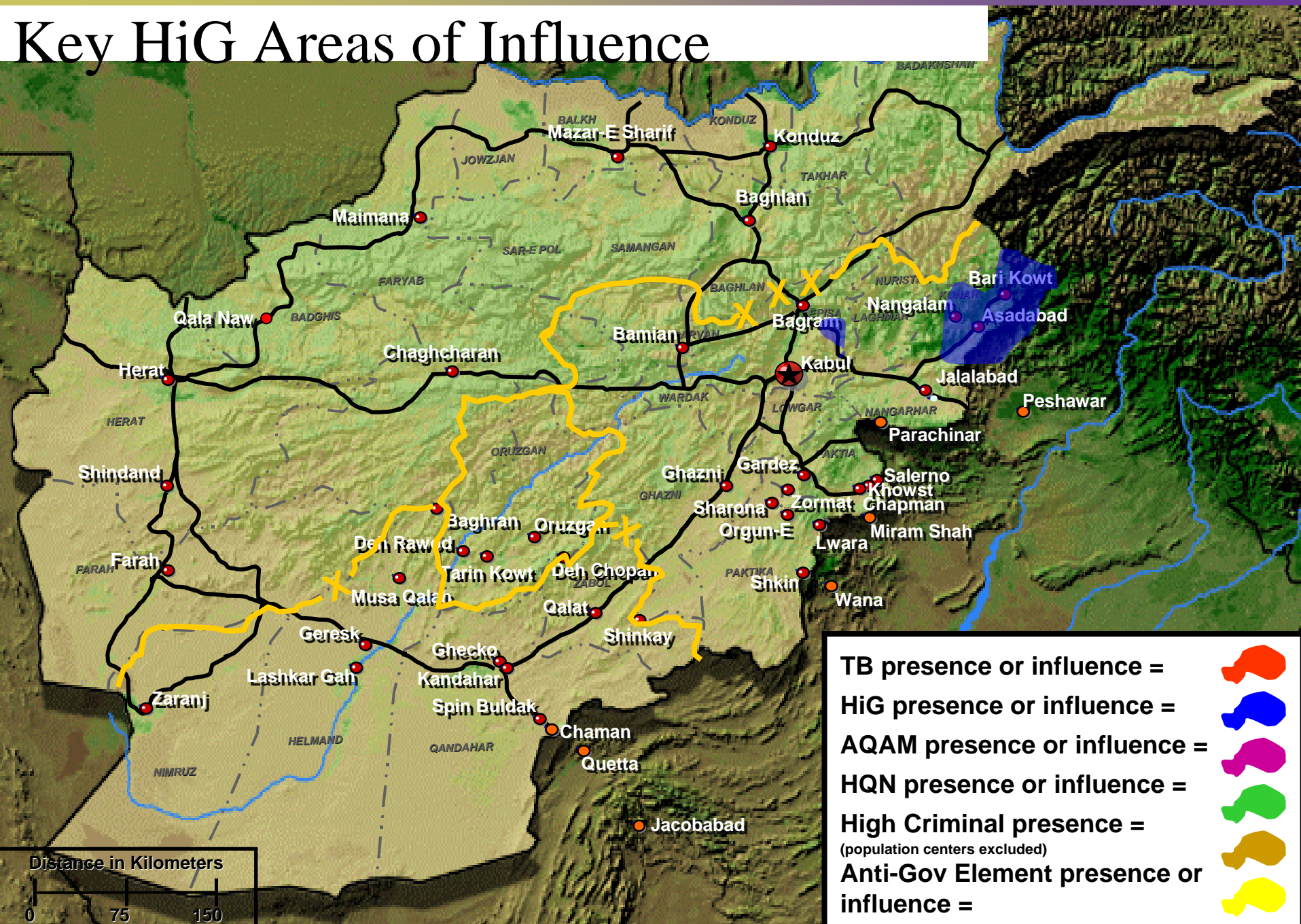
Haqqani Network Campaign Plan

- **The Haqqani desired end state is autonomy or control of Paktia and Khowst. Jalaluddin is a displaced regional leader who seeks to regain power in his traditional area of influence. As such, the Haqqani Network campaign plan is straightforward.**
- **Conduct border post attacks in order to kill ISAF and Afghan security forces and score a propaganda or IO victory (videotape attack and post-attack) while undermining the morale of indigenous forces loyal to Kabul or Islamabad in the border region. This in turn will demonstrate continued viability as a fighting organization and maintain or bolster Haqqani reputation in the eyes of local supporters and benefactors.**
- **Prevent establishment of entrenched provincial government in Khowst and Paktia by conducting targeted assassinations of key opinion makers and officials who support ISAF and GoA. Haqqani looks to conduct an IO campaign, use intimidation and propaganda in an attempt to force locals to choose sides now, while the 'winner' in controlling the Paktia and Khowst region is still not certain in Afghan eyes.**
- **Exploit the situation in the FATA for personal/family gain.**

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.

Key HiG Areas of Influence



Hezb-e Islami Organization & Command and Control

- While the true size of the HiG is not known, a high-end estimate for personnel strength is 300-400 fighters.
- Numbers will vary depending on the location and circumstances of an engagement. Ethnicity is predominantly Afghan/Pakistani.
- HiG has a limited ability to generate more fighters, although its sphere of influence has expanded into other regions of the country.
- Most HiG fighters are willing to fight for the right price, but only if supporting HiG does not become more of a problem than it is worth.
- The number of fighters supporting the HiG could expand if Hekmatyar is able to purchase additional fighters within his tribal network.
- Hekmatyar probably works to maintain relationships with Al Qaeda and the Taliban out of necessity. It is assessed that Al Qaeda provides training and funds in exchange for refuge in HiG-controlled areas.

Hezb-e Islami Motivations

- **Hekmatyar is motivated by power and the goal to control an Islamic state.**
- **Despite Hekmatyar's radical Islamic teachings, the HiG has never really been fully motivated by a rigid adherence to radical Islamic fundamentalism.**
- **The HiG leadership have been similarly motivated by monetary and political gain**

Hezb-e Islami Operating Areas and Areas of Influence

- HiG primary operating areas for fighters is in the Nangahar, Nuristan and Konar (N2K) region and Laghman Province.
- Hekmatyar is originally from the Konduz area in north-central Afghanistan, therefore he lacks strong familial or tribal links in his current operating area.
- Limited operations have been observed as far south as Kandahar as well as attempts to expand activity in Baghlan and pockets of Badakshan and Balkh.
- HiG's stronghold in northeastern Afghanistan is based on established HiG networks, personal loyalty to Hekmatyar and his ability to buy support.
- However, most Afghans abhor Hekmatyar for the atrocities conducted by his forces during the civil war. This has limited the HiG's ability to increase its influence.
- HiG is believed to be the largest purchaser of processed poppy in Konar and Nuristan Provinces, allowing the organization to maintain influence in areas that don't support HiG ideology.

Hezb-e Islami Operations

- Within northeast Afghanistan the HiG is the most tactically proficient of the ACM groups; capable of conducting sophisticated coordinated attacks - possible training influenced by foreign fighters.
- In Konar, Nuristan and Laghman provinces, the HiG is able to move and operate with little restriction, and conduct attacks with minimal risk. These include attacks on non-government organizations (NGOs), against ISAF/government military compounds and convoys. Konar and Nuristan are becoming harder for them as US expands there.
- Their tactics techniques and procedures (TTP) in these areas include IEDs, rocket attacks, and direct fire ambushes. In Nangarhar and Kaspisa provinces, HiG is able to move and operate with some restrictions along the main Kabul-Jalalabad corridor.
- Attacks have included IEDs and rocket attacks against government military facilities, convoys, the Jalalabad Airport, and NGOs. However, HiG attacks on international forces or assets have been rare.
- In Wardak, Lowgar, Parwan, and Kabul provinces, the HiG retains a limited ability to conduct operations due to the areas being geographically separated from their core support network.
- In the eastern region of Paktia, Paktika, and Khowst Provinces, the HiG retains a minimal capability. They have limited support in this region, and operate at the mercy of local tribal and regional networks.

Hezb-e Islami Resources & Support

- Within northeast Afghanistan the HiG is the most tactically proficient of the ACM groups; capable of conducting sophisticated coordinated attacks - possible training influenced by foreign fighters.
- In Konar, Nuristan and Laghman provinces, the HiG is able to move and operate with little restriction, and conduct attacks with minimal risk. These include attacks on non-government organizations (NGOs), against ISAF/government military compounds and convoys.
- Their tactics techniques and procedures (TTP) in these areas include IEDs, rocket attacks, and direct fire ambushes. In Nangarhar and Kaspisa provinces, HiG is able to move and operate with some restrictions along the main Kabul-Jalalabad corridor.
- Attacks have included IEDs and rocket attacks against government military facilities, convoys, the Jalalabad Airport, and NGOs. However, HiG attacks on international forces or assets have been rare.
- In Wardak, Lowgar, Parwan, and Kabul provinces, the HiG retains a limited ability to conduct operations due to the areas being geographically separated from their core support network.
- In the eastern region of Paktia, Paktika, and Khowst Provinces, the HiG retains a minimal capability. They have limited support in this region, and operate at the mercy of local tribal and regional networks.

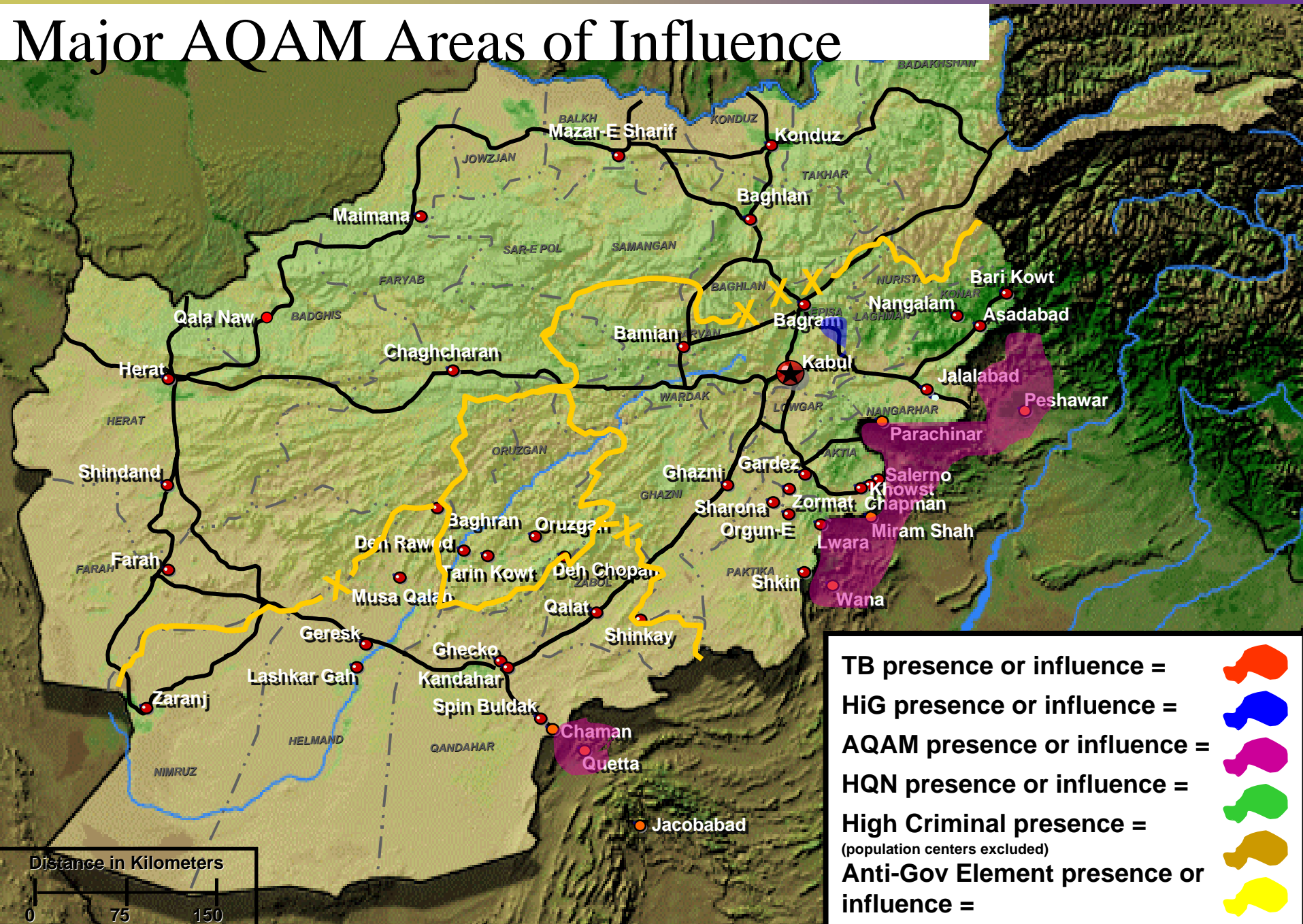
Hezb-e Islami Campaign Plan

- HiG remains committed to forcing the international's departure from Afghanistan. Hekmatyar desires recognition from all parties involved in Afghanistan, including the international. He also desires a position within the government and may feel betrayed following his early support to anti-Taliban efforts in late 2001.
- HiG IO campaign is focused on overstating Hekmatyar's popularity and capability. Operations are intended to create instability, and undermine central government credibility. Hekmatyar wishes to maintain his powerbase and influence over local governments.
- Short term goal of HiG is to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the GoA and create instability within their sphere of influence in Afghanistan. This done by attacking infrastructure development and local pro-government supporters, conducting harassing attacks against ISAF and Afghan security forces, and ongoing attempts to infiltrate public office.
- In the long term, HiG seeks to ready themselves for offensive operations against the emerging Afghanistan Government following the departure of the US and international. Evidence suggests that HiG goals are limited primarily, if not exclusively, to establishing and maintaining control of Afghanistan.

Al Qa'ida's Role

- Major recovery in sanctuary in Pakistan.
- Considers Afghanistan and the FATA its symbolic heartland dating from its birth during the anti-Soviet jihad
- 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



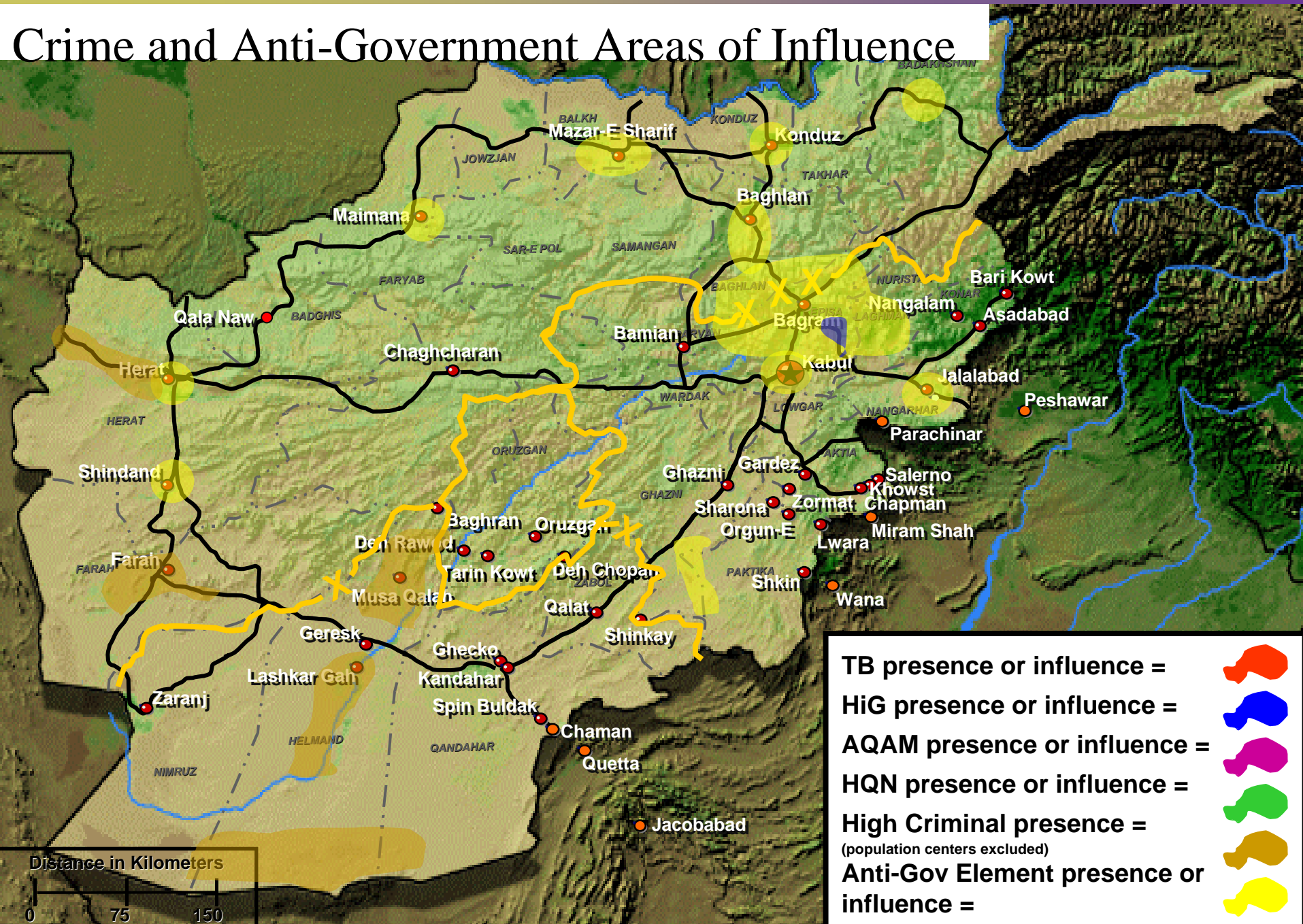
Iran's Uncertain Role

- 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
- Well over 10% are Hazara [hard to estimate the number of Hazara – may be up to 15%] and 19% are Shi'ite
- Experts differ over whether Iran acts to preserve on interests or supports action against US and ISAF. No claims that 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 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.**
- **Many agencies from the UK, US and Afghanistan are involved but have difficulty gathering support for their agenda and lack consensus from strategic to tactical levels**
- **Ineffective anti-narcotics and eradication programs, mixed with failure to provide alternative livelihood 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.**

Crime and Anti-Government Areas of Influence



Pakistan's Dangerous Role

- Little doubt Pakistani government now tolerates Al Qa'ida, Taliban, and other insurgent operations.
- Peace agreement with tribal leaders on September 5th in North Waziristan appears to be de facto surrender.
- India, Kashmir, Baluchi separatism, Pashtun question, support of native Islamists have higher Pakistani government priority than war on terrorism.
- Taliban and other factons act as de facto governments 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 appear to aid insurgents.

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

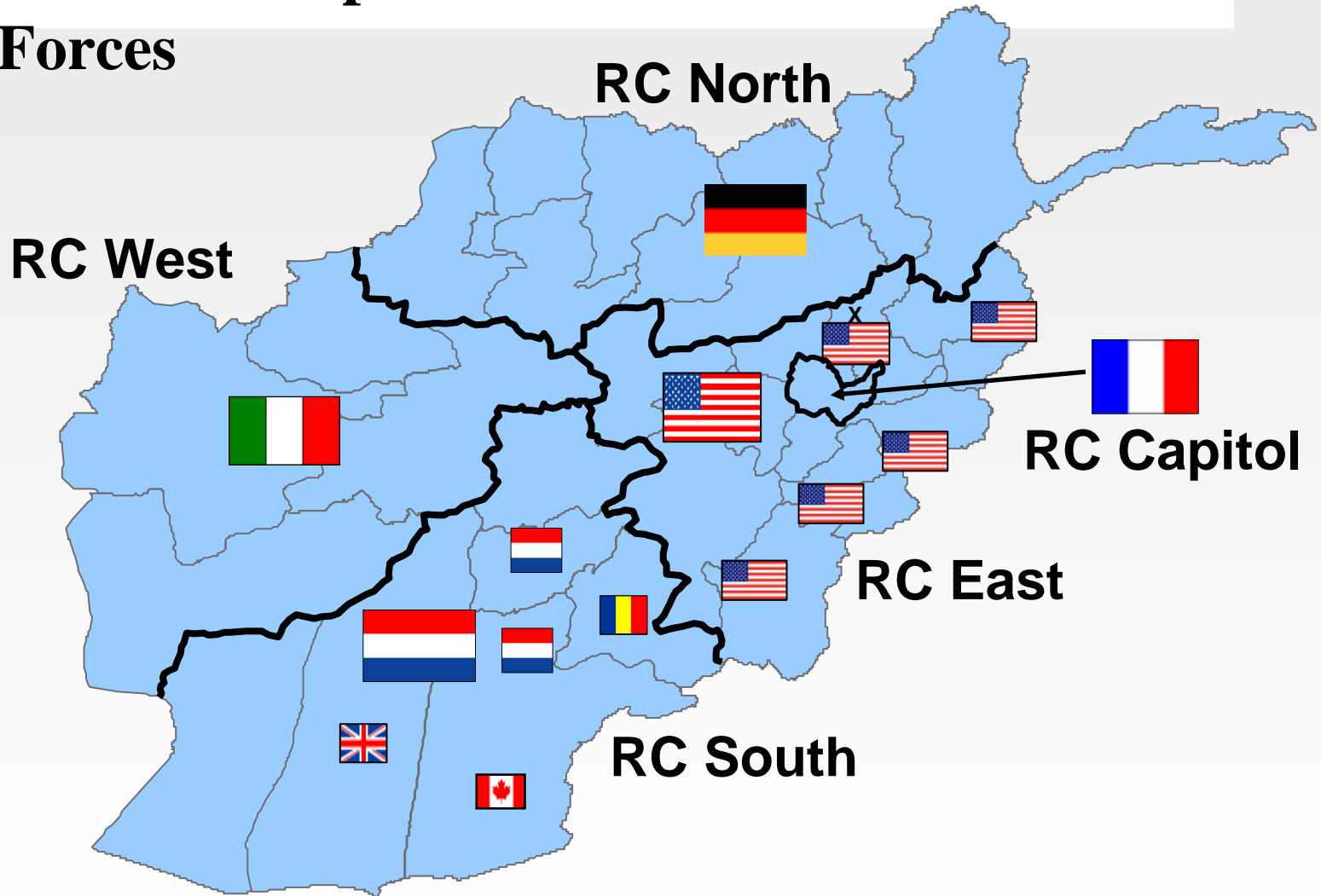
NATO as a Threat Rather than a Solution - I

- NATO has good military leaders on the ground, but no unity of mission, true interoperability and effective rules of engagement.
- 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, Estonians, and Romanians have done some fighting; Poles are coming without adequate equipment but willing to fight.
- France, Spain, Turkey, Germany, and Italy are not in the fight because of political constraints and rules of engagement. (French SOF is and has been in the fight, but departs Jan 07.)

NATO as a Threat Rather than a Solution - II

- 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 achieved economy of force by striking bargains with the tribal leaders Helmand Province that end active hostilities but likely cede to Taliban added freedom of action.
- NATO lacks a “long war” strategy, and economic aid levels to match its military efforts.
- As the international “lead nation” for law enforcement, Germany failed to develop effective police forces and wasted a three year window of opportunity
- Britain (the international “lead nation” for CN) 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



The US as a Threat Rather than a Solution - I

- **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, although trying to employ economy of force, actually has inadequacy of force and resources.**
- **It does not have a properly resourced near and long-term 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 one more infantry battalion for the 10th Mountain just to hold and consolidate its position in RC East, and probably needs to double its existing infantry forces and SOF presence.**

The US as a Threat Rather than a Solution - II

- 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 and judicial system is a long-term, not short term effort, and requires patience and resources at the PRT, provincial, and local level. Much more effort needs to be applied to achieving this goal; effective Afghan Army and Police forces will not be able to deliver lasting security in the absence of good governance and comprehensive law enforcement.
- 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 unrealistic in timing, goals, and resources. Afghanistan must build an alternative economy first. Targeted law enforcement operations against key trafficking nodes, however, should be increased.

That Said, 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.**

That Said, 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, properly 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 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”).
- 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 Steps Toward Victory - I

- **Take a realistic approach to NATO's current failures and weaknesses. Seek the added forces, added aid resources integration, force strength that are really needed.**
- **Adopt a true long war strategy for creating an effective Afghan political and governance system 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 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 disproportionably 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.**

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.
- 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 IO and CN, 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.
- 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**

U.S. forces and agencies in Afghanistan that consistently apply these practices are among the best we currently field anywhere.

Changing NATO

- 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.
- Seek sustained NATO-wide commitment to sustained military and economic aid at required levels.
- 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.

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.

Airpower Critical to 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

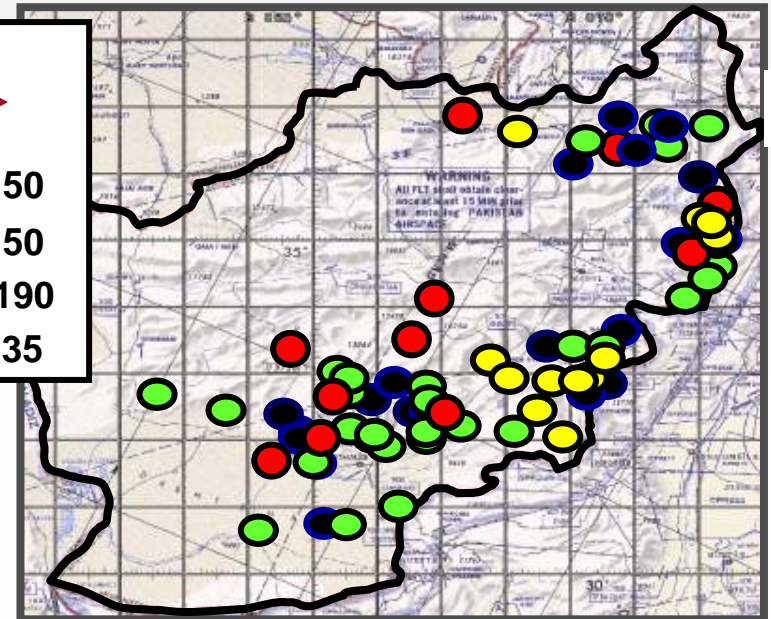
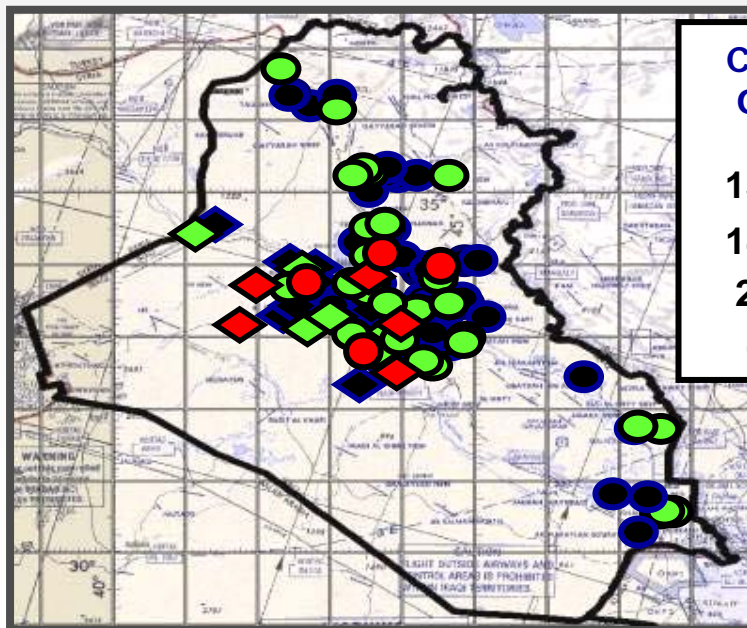
■ Daily Averages:

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

Operation Enduring Freedom

■ Daily Averages:

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



US Recognizes that 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**

The US Supplemental Military Aid Package

- **FY07 Supplemental package submission is under review within OSD**
- **Cost of total package far less than current one-year operating costs of US forces in Afghanistan which = over \$10 billion USD Following OSD review, approval, will be reviewed by Office of Management and Budget and then submitted to Congress in early 2007**
- **Expect Congressional action spring 2007; with funds becoming available in July 2007**
- **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**

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 **and fertile river valleys**
- Comparatively developed transportation and information infrastructure

IRAQ

TOTAL US AND COALITION FORCES

~162,000

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

Goals in Developing Afghan Capability

Afghan National Police

- Critical to the counter-insurgency fight is the need 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 Auxiliary Police

- 11, 271 man force designed to provide additional security for a period of one year to augment the ANP in designated provinces. Allows continued security once an area is brought under GoA control.

Afghan National Civil Order Police

- Provides a riot control capability in the largest cities.
- Extends GoA influence to the remote provinces and provides additional presence to establish security.

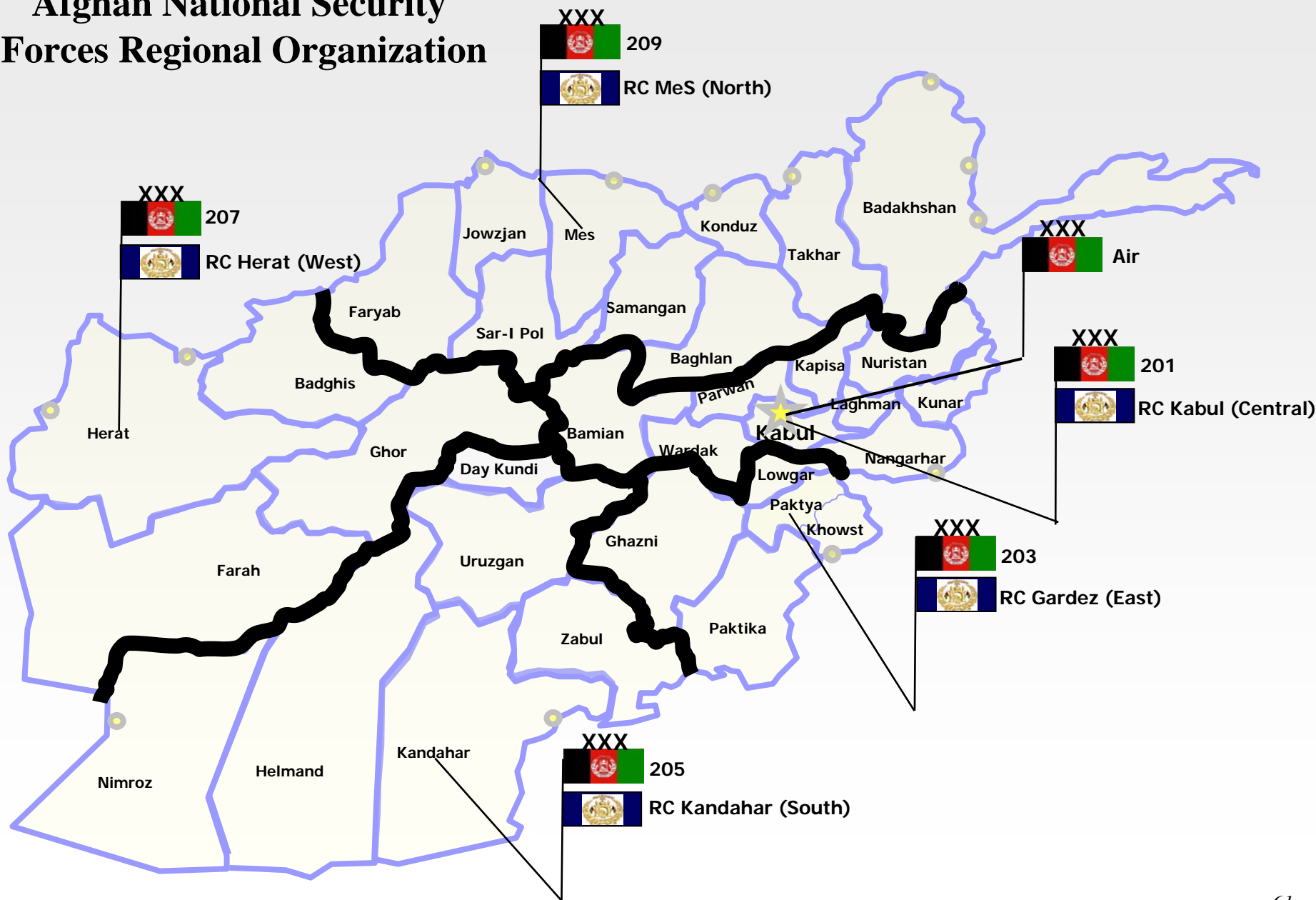
Afghan National Army

- 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

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 - Pay and Rank Reform 50%, equipping 60% (move 35%, shoot 85%, comms 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**

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.
- Some 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
- Comprehensive deliberate approach to building values-based all national force increasingly delivering results but will require more time and patience
- Aggressive partnering with US forces enhancing unit proficiency; NATO partnering lagging

Current force levels have insufficient capability and capacity, making them heavily 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**

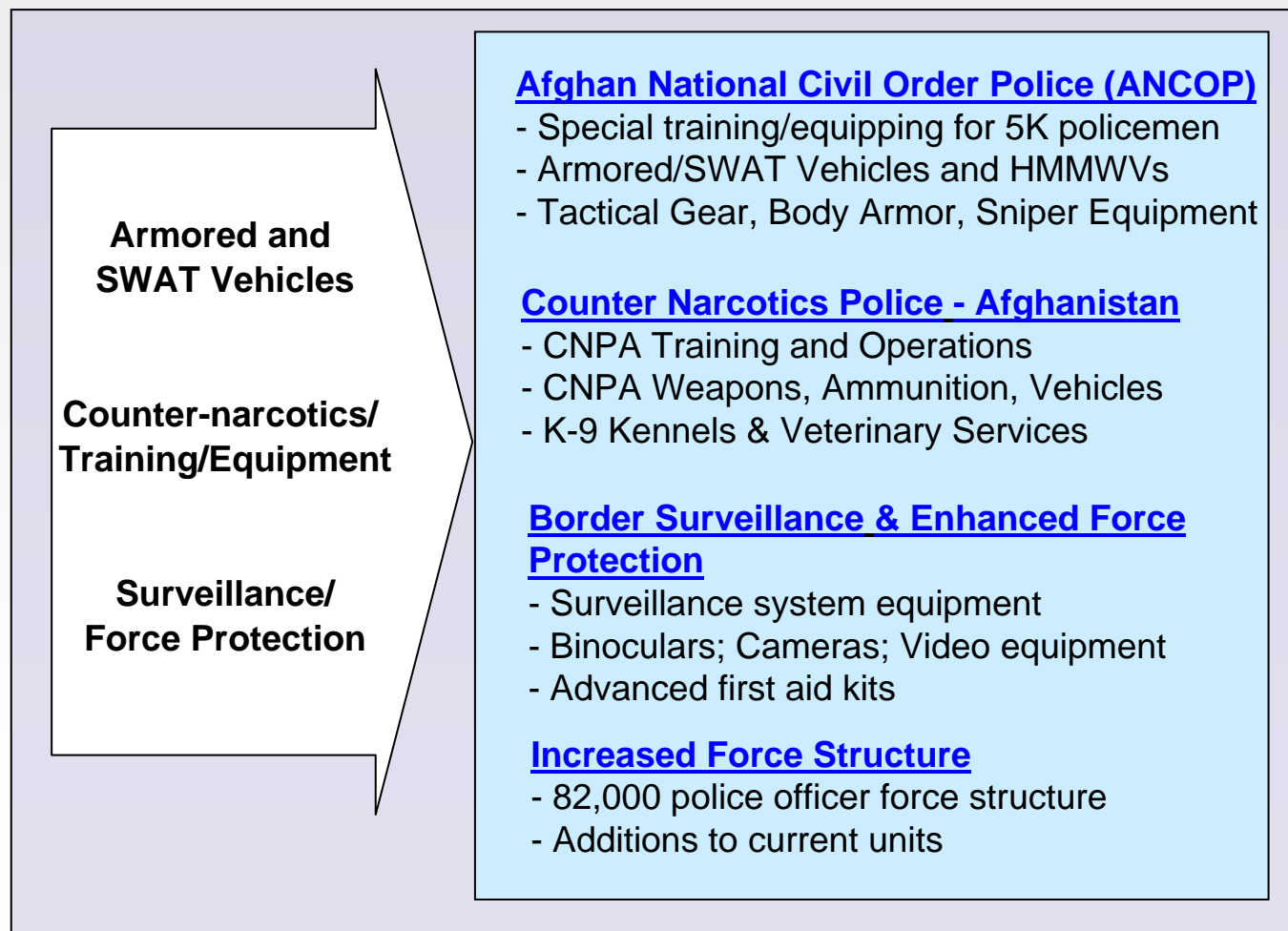
Building Afghan National Police (ANP)

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



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.**

Progress in ANP Development

- Although corruption, ineffective leadership, under-manning and equipment issues continue to plague the progress of both the ANP and Afghan Border Police (ABP), there have been ngains within this area that allow this policing function to grow as a professional force.
- In Khost, the Khost ANP/Provincial Coordination Center (PCC) model has integrated and synchronized the efforts of the PRT, its Police Training Assistance Team (PTAT), maneuver units operating throughout the province, contractor mentors, and the MP platoon IOT support capacity building, partnership, and combined operations.
- In Bamyan, the New Zealand PRT has instituted extensive capacity building programs both at the PRT and at the Bamyan Regional Training Center (RTC) to include: Literacy Training; Mechanics and Drivers Train-Trainer Program; District Commander Seminars; Office Management Training and Additional Weapons Qualification Training.
- The Afghan National Auxiliary Police (ANAP) implementation in Ghazni has set the stage for the successful expansion throughout RC-East and RC-Central. TF SPARTAN has planned for and stands ready to implement ANAP throughout its Area of Responsibility (AOR) – projects 95% implementation in applicable provinces and districts within 1 year, if and when approved by the Ministry of Interior (MOI).
- A 10th Mountain Division combat brigade has initiated the first comprehensive recruiting campaign tied to kinetic and non-kinetic operations, to include an effort to tie RTC class schedules to ANP recruiting goals and efforts.

The US Supplemental Political and Economic Aid Package Request

(The OMB pass back may eliminate the power and some of the rural development.)

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

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.

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.
- 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.