



AFGHAN NATIONAL SECURITY FORCES:

SHAPING HOST COUNTRY FORCES AS PART OF ARMED NATION BUILDING

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Executive Summary

Afghanistan and Iraq have both shown that the United States must look far beyond the normal definition of counterinsurgency to determine how it can conduct armed nation building as a critical element of hybrid warfare. This requires an integrated civil-military effort in which providing lasting security for the population, and economic and political stability, will often be far more important than success in tactical engagements with enemy forces. It also requires the US to understand that important as its traditional allies are, the key ally will be the host country and not simply its government but its population.

How to Use Host Country Forces to Win a War – And Lose One

Shaping the full range of host country security forces – from armed forces to regular police – has already proven to be a critical element in building such an alliance. No amount of experience, area expertise, or language skills can make US forces a substitute for local forces and the legitimacy they can bring. The US cannot structure its forces to provide a lasting substitute for the scale of forces needed to defeat an insurgency, deal with internal tensions and strife, fight what will often be enduring conflicts, while also fulfilling other US national security requirements.

No amount of US efforts in strategic communications or aid can substitute for a host government's ability to both communicate with its own people and win legitimacy in ideological, religious, and secular terms. Key aspects of operations – winning popular support, obtaining human intelligence, minimizing civilian casualties and collateral damage, and transitioning from military operations to a civil rule of law – all depend on both the quality and quantity of host country forces, as well as a level of partnership that assure the populace of a host country that the US will put its government and forces in the lead as soon as possible – and will leave once a host country is stable and secure.

The US has taken more than a half a decade to learn these lessons in both Afghanistan and Iraq. It has made major progress in recent years, but its efforts remain deeply flawed and the US military as well as outside military analysts still have not learned many of the painful lessons of Vietnam, Lebanon, and previous advisory efforts. At the same time, a US “whole of government” integrated civil-military effort, and true civil-military joint campaign plan represent at best a work in progress and are often little more than a triumph of rhetoric over reality.

Some of the gravest problems lie on the civil side, and the failure of the State Department and the civil departments of government to develop the necessary operational capabilities even after more than eight years of war. The US military, however, has yet to demonstrate that it can effectively and objectively manage its efforts to develop host country forces in ways that honestly assess their progress, the trade-offs needed between quality and quantity, and the need to create partners, rather than adjunct or surrogate forces.

This is partly a failure at the formal training level – sometimes dictated by unrealistic efforts to accelerate force quantity without considering the real world pace at which progress can occur. The pace of host nation force development can be slowed by a number of factors, including: national traditions and social values, the impact of a lack of political accommodation and

capacity in the host country government, and the impact of ethnic, sectarian, and tribal divisions within the armed forces.

There also, however, have been two chronic failures in US efforts.

- One is the inability to properly structure efforts to create true partners once new units complete the formal training process and provide the proper quality and number of mentors, partner units, enablers, and efforts to integrate higher level command structures. Far too often the US has also sought to rush new battalion-sized combat elements into service to meet its own short term needs without considering the resulting problems in quality, force retention, and host country perceptions of the result. Expediency has led to fundamentally misleading ratings of unit warfighting capability like the CM rating system, using up half-prepared forces in combat, and major leadership and retention problems. The US and NATO/ISAF are turning out the minimum possible standard to meet the timeline given. The result is poorly trained soldiers and a low retention rate.
- The other is a series of far more drastic failures to create effective police and security forces. These include the failure to properly assess the need for paramilitary police that can operate in a hostile counterinsurgency environment; the need to structure other police and security elements in ways that suit the constraints imposed by a lack of government capacity, corruption, differing cultural values; and the need to create a “rule of law” or civil order based on host country standards rather than US or Western values.

The US will lose the war in Afghanistan unless it makes far more effective efforts to correct these problems in what now seems likely to be an effort to accelerate training to reaching current force goals while doubling the overall size of the force. Military action is only a part of the strategy needed to win in Afghanistan, but no other effort towards victory will matter if the Afghan people cannot be given enough security and stability to allow successful governance, the opportunity for development, and an established civil society and rule of law that meets Afghan needs and expectations.

The creation of more effective host country forces is critical to achieving these ends. NATO/ISAF and US forces cannot hope to win a military victory on their own. Their success will be determined in large part by how well and how quickly they build up a much larger and more effective Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) first to support NATO/ISAF efforts, then take the lead, and eventually replace NATO/ISAF and US forces. The challenge is find a workable trade off between how well is ‘good enough’ the how quickly is as fast as possible.

No meaningful form of success can occur, however, without giving the development of ANSF forces a much higher priority. The US and other NATO/ISAF nations need to act immediately to begin to support and resource NTM-A/ CSTC-A plans to accelerate current ANSF force expansion plans. They also need to act immediately to establish the groundwork for further major expansions of the ANA and ANP by 2014-2016. Recent planning efforts indicate that such an effort must nearly double the size of the ANA and ANP, although early success could make full implementation of such plans unnecessary. Making a fully resourced start will ensure that adequate ANSF forces will be available over time, and will greatly ease the strain of maintaining and increasing NATO/ISAF forces. Funding such expansion to the ANSF will also be far cheaper than maintaining or increasing NATO/ISAF forces. At a key moment of the ANSF’s expansion, mentor strength is decreasing because the priority of effort is based on operations rather than training

But, such efforts must not race beyond either Afghan or US/NATO/ISAF capabilities. Quality will often be far more important than quantity, and enduring ANSF capability is far more important than generating large initial force strengths. US/NATO/ISAF expediency cannot be allowed to put half-ready and unstable units in the field. It cannot be allowed to push force

expansion efforts faster than ANSF elements can absorb them or than US/NATO/ISAF can provide fully qualified trainers, mentors, and partner units and the proper mix of equipment, facilities, enablers, and sustainability. At the moment, the US and NATO/ISAF are producing quantity not quality, and that is the inevitable result of speed of production.

US/NATO/ISAF expediency cannot afford to ignore the impact of Afghan cultural needs, regional and ethnic differences, family and tribal structures, and the real world “friction” that affects force development. Slogans and rhetoric about ideological goals, leadership, and morale cannot be allowed to lead the force development effort to ignore Afghan material realities: problems in pay, corruption, problems in promotion, inadequate facilities and equipment, poor medical care, overstretching or over committing force elements, problems in supporting families, vulnerability to insurgent infiltration and threats, and a lack of meaningful compensation for death and disability. The US military and NATO/ISAF have systematically ignored such problems in the past, and understated or lied about their impact. As one expert puts it, “In my view the biggest single issue is the J1 piece where at the moment we can not be sure that promotion is on merit or that people are posted on a regular systematic plot.”

It may be conceptually attractive to compare the price of creating Afghan forces to those of deploying US and NATO/ISAF forces. It is certainly clear that the US and NATO/ISAF cannot or will not deploy and sustain the forces necessary to compensate for any failure to expand Afghan forces. It will be a disaster, however, if the real world problems in creating truly effective ANSF partners are not fully addressed and equal attention is not given to correcting these problems. Each problem is a way to lose, and force expansion that fails to solve them cannot be a way to win.

They also need to realize that improvements in the training base are needed to emphasize the training at the Kandak level, and that these units must be integrated and trained as whole unit before going out into the field. These improvements proved to be very beneficial in Iraq, and while they could make the training effort longer – not shorter – they pay off the moment units become active in the field. At the same time, no element of the ANSF can simply be trained and thrust into operations. Moreover, the key to success is not the quality of the training in training centers, but the quality of the partnering, mentoring, support, and enablers once a unit enters service. This requires an ongoing, expert effort per unit for 6 to 12 months at a minimum, and the CM definition of a “in the lead” is little more than a joke.

Realistic efforts to shake out new units, give them continuity of effective leadership, deal with internal tensions and retention problems, and help them overcome the pressures of corruption and power brokers requires both time and careful attention to continuity from the embedded training/mentoring effort. Partnering and the creation of effective units in the field is an exercise in sustained human relationships, and the short tours and rapid changes in US and NATO/ISAF trainers can be as crippling as the assumption that training is more critical than mentoring and partnering.

Further shifts will be needed in the structure of training and partnering as ANSF forces move into populated areas and take on the full range of “shape, clear, hold, and build” tasks. Every aspect of **clear**, **hold**, and **build** requires help in preparing ANSF elements to go from a combat ethos to one of effective civil-military relations. At this point in time, it is unclear that even the most dedicated advocates of a population centric strategy within the US military and NATO/ISAF can really define how to implement **clear**, **hold**, and **build** in terms of tangible ways to execute and manage the tasks involved and chose truly valid measures of effectiveness.

The moment such efforts become operational on a large-scale basis, however, they must be ready to partner ANSF forces and help them find the best way to deal with such problems. The COIN academy helps in this regard and the recent Afghan decision to open an Afghan COIN academy is a step in the right direction

The US and NATO/ISAF military need to address these issues at every level of command and operations. They need to take the warning from junior and mid-level officers, and in far too much media reporting, fully seriously. They must not downplay the number of times that “optimism” and exaggerated declarations of success have hurt US efforts in the past, or the continuing impact of problems documented by the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, the General Accountability Office, and sensitive field reporting on the performance and retention problems in Afghan units in the field.¹

This study examines some of the issues affecting the expansion of Afghan forces, including the need for major changes in the way NATO/ISAF trains, mentors, and partners Afghan forces. It raises serious issues about the impact of excessive corruption and Afghan power brokers in the ANSF, particularly the Afghan National Police, and its highlights acute resource problems and issues in force quality. Its key recommendations, however, focus on the expansion of two key elements of the ANSF: The Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police.

The Afghan National Army (ANA)

The fact that there are problems in Afghan force development should not minimize the impact of recent successes. The training effort is far better funded, manned, and structured than it was up to the fall of 2007, and partnering has improved – particularly with the Afghan National Army. The ANA has already proven its value in combat. In the near-term, the ANA will play a key role in the shape and clear missions, as well as in the hold mission because the ANP is not yet strong enough or capable enough to perform the task. The ANA needs to be expanded and fully resourced for its de facto role in the current fight, even while more concerted efforts are made to build an effective ANP for the longer term.

NATO/ISAF and the US must focus in the near-term on building up the ANA to carry out critical counterinsurgency tasks and to *hold* in threatened population areas. At the same time, they must improve the ANP and Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP) forces so they can provide *hold* capabilities where there is a less serious threat but when, and only when, this is clearly within their current capacity. This effort can only succeed if adequate resources are provided, if adequate time is taken to provide force quality as well as force quantity, and if NATO/ISAF and the US are willing to support the resulting force not only during critical periods of combat, but in phasing it down to a post conflict size that the GIRoA can fund and sustain.

CSTC-A has already begun active efforts to expand ANA forces from an assigned strength of roughly 91,000 to 134,000, and from 117 fielded Kandaks to 179. It is procuring improved equipment and raising the number of Commando Kandaks from 6 to 8. A total of 76 of the 117 fielded units are already capable of leading operations.

¹ For a recent example, see Inspector General, United States Department of Defense, Special Plans and Operations, *Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces*, Report No. SPO-2009-007, September 30, 2009.

A successful US strategy to win the war in Afghanistan – and to create a true host country partner – does, however, require the full – *and ruthlessly self-honest and objective* – implementation of three additional decisions concerning the future of the ANA.

- *The first decision is to accelerate training and current force expansion goals, and to set a new goal for the expansion of the ANA that will increase it from a goal of 134,000 men to 240,000 in 2014. This will mean a major expansion in funding, training facilities, trainers, equipment, and in mentors or partner units. Resources to do this well should be identified and committed concurrently.* Every regional and task force commander visited or interviewed indicated that such an expansion is now needed. If NATO/ISAF proves to be more successful, then this process can be slowed and/or the force goal cut. Given the lead times, however, it is necessary to act now to begin this force expansion process, particularly if it is to be done both at the pace Afghans can support and to maintain the necessary force quality.
- *The second decision is to end the shortfall in NATO and ETT mentors, and resources.* There are no easy ways to quantify the present shortfall, but CSTC-A reports that the ANA had a need for a minimum of 67 OMLTs plus US trainers in July 2009. However, it had 56 OMLTs on the ground, of which only 46 were validated. American ETTs were also under resourced in the past, though ETTs are being replaced by the “two BCT” concept of providing mentors. The requirement for OMLTs also will expand along with the ANA. It will rise to 91 by the end of CY2010, and only a maximum of 66 OMLTs will actually be on the ground. This is a deficit of 25. Expert analysis is needed, but it may take the equivalent of a third new brigade combat team (changing the two-BCT approach to a three-BCT one) to correct this deficiency. Expanding to 240,000 men would require substantially more OMLTs plus additional ETT mentors, many of which must be carefully chosen to help the ANA develop critical new “enablers” like artillery, engineering, C2, medical services, as well as logistics and sustainability. The development of new ‘enablers’ is tied to the expansion of the branch schools that will provide depth to the ANA Orbat. These are not ETT members these are mentors in the NTMA orbat filling roles within CTAG-A.
- *The third decision is to create a full operational partnership, focused around the development of the ANA and key elements of the ANP, so that Afghans are a true partner in all NATO/ANSF and US operations and take the lead in joint operations as soon as possible.* It is not enough for NATO/ISAF units to partner with the ANSF. The ANSF must be made a full partner at the command level as well. Afghans should see Afghans taking the lead in the field as soon as practical, and as playing a critical role in shaping all plans and operations as well as in implementing *hold and build*. This often cannot be done immediately; it must be done as soon as possible. This can be accomplished by embedding a brigade combat team, brigade, or similar force into each echelon of each ANA Corps (which cover the same areas as the ANP regional commands) to provide the expertise and enablers to carry out joint planning, intelligence, command and control capabilities, fire support, logistic expertise, and other capabilities that the ANA now lacks and can acquire through partnership and joint operations with the US. Partners need to come back to join the Afghans when they are doing their collective training.

There is a fourth critical decision that the US, NATO/ISAF, the Afghan government, and the Afghan Ministry of Defense need to make. It is all very well to use a slogan like “shape, clear, hold, and build.” It is quite another to systematically implement it as part of a population centric strategy. No matter how much effort is made to improve the integrity, size, and capability of the various elements of the Afghan police, improve governance at the local level, and create an effective structure for prompt justice – there will be 3 to 5 years in which the ANA must play a critical role in various **clear** and **hold** efforts, and in solving **build** problems with local, aid, and government workers. No effort to make a population centric strategy work – or that relies on hope and rhetoric to make “shape, clear, hold, and build” work without explicit plans that reflect this reality can succeed.

The ANA Air Corps (ANAAC)

The Afghan National Army Air Corps will take time to form as an effective force, although it already is contributing to the COIN fight, and further contributions – particularly airlift and CASEVAC [CASEVAC vs. MEDEVAC] better captures the majority of what the Afghans

have done to date. MEDEVAC missions are beginning to be scheduled but lack of doctors and med-techs challenges them. Expanding the ANAAC could relieve ISAF of some key requirements, but ANAAC development plans must be tailored to Afghan needs and capabilities. There is a clear case for giving the ANSF at least the currently planned mix of airlift, battlefield, mobility, RW attack, multi-role trainer and attack capability, and ISR. This would expand the ANAAC from a total of 43 aircraft and 2,800 soldiers and airmen in October 2009 to 154 aircraft and over 8,000 soldiers and airmen by CY 2016.

One senior expert notes, however, that

“Since just about every seemingly simple decision has to be made at the highest levels of ANA leadership (ANA GS/G3 or higher) timely decisions are very hard to come by.] – would [I would put ISR last since I believe it will be the last developed. The Afghans have a phenomenal HUMINT capability, but little to no high-tech ability or know-how. Additionally, their lack of C2 capability will inhibit near real time transmission of airborne-collected data.”

The mistakes the US and NATO/ISAF have made in using airpower over the last eight years have shown, however, that there is a broader and more urgent role that the ANAAC may eventually be able to perform. It can develop the skills to support NATO in targeting and managing air operations, and take on responsibility for vetting air strikes and air operations. Such a partnership would do much to assure Afghans that Afghan forces were true partners in all air operations and played the proper role in reducing civilian casualties and collateral damage. Such a “red card” role would present obvious difficulties, but it could in time be applied to all NATO/ISAF operations, including ground operations, in time. Working to make it effective now as well as a key partner and part Afghan and NATO/ISAF strategic communications could have major benefits.

At the same time, a senior expert warns that,

“[I can’t speak to the “mistakes” the US and NATO/ISAF have made in using airpower over the last eight years, and although I agree with what is said with regard to intent, it can NOT happen “now.” There is a twofold reason for this in my opinion: 1) lack of English skills severely hampers the Afghan airmen being accepted into the ICAO community of airmen. It is our long-term goal to help them overcome this, but the learning process is excruciatingly slow. Until the Afghans send the best candidates to English Language Training (be it by DLI or contracted teachers) rather than political candidates, I don’t see much change with regard to our expectations in the near term, and 2) their C2 capability is extremely immature; they continue to rely on “cell phone” C2 with little to know prior planning...from the highest levels of MoD and the ANA GS down to the lowest levels of “command.” (Command in quotes since their sense of command leaves much to be desired.) Just the process of having their Taskiel manning document reflect the requirement for C2 personnel to man the multiple C2 nodes (NMCC, ACCC, Base Operations/Command Post, and as we do integrate more and more with the IJC, the IJC JOC) is very slow in coming.”

The Afghan National Police (ANP)

Improving the various elements of the ANP, while less time critical in terms of direct combat operations, is equally urgent due to the ANP’s central role in performing the *hold* function in population centers, without which COIN will not succeed. Such improvement, however, presents different challenges than improving the ANA.

The ANP currently suffers from critical problems in capability, leadership, corruption, supporting governance. It is also affected by shortcomings at the district and local levels and lacks the courts, legal services, and detention facilities necessary to implement prompt justice

and a rule of law. Most of the ANP also lacks the ability to support the hold and build missions in the face of insurgent attacks, bombings, and subversion. In July 2009, the Afghan Uniformed Police had an authorized strength of 47,000 and 51,000 assigned. Strength, however, is only part of the problem. The ANP faces critical problems in winning popular support and acceptance. Unlike the ANA, which is the most respected institution in the Afghan government, there is a wide consensus that many elements of the ANP are too corrupt, and too tied to politics and power brokers, to either be effective or win/retain popular support.

As a result, NATO/ISAF plans raise serious questions as to whether the *hold* function can be performed with the NATO/ISAF and ANSF resources available, and without a major expansion of and improvement in the ANP. Time is critical because the initial phase of the *hold* function will require a transition to proving regular policing activity and supporting the prompt administration of justice, and ANP are not yet sufficiently trained, effective, and free of corruption in this regard. At the same time, the build phase cannot be properly implemented unless the ANP has the capacity and integrity to support an effective civil rule of law by Afghan standards and custom.

There are several areas where NATO/ISAF and the US need to work with the Afghan government at the central, provincial, and local level to shape the future of the ANP:

- *First, reducing current levels of corruption in the ANP, and limiting the impact of political abuses and power brokers must be part of the operational plan for shape, clear, hold, and build.* NATO/ISAF cannot succeed in its mission unless these problems are sharply reduced, and the ANP can carry out the political aspects of the hold mission and show that they provide real security and prompt justice. As is the case with the ANA, fighting corruption and political misuse of the ANP are as critical as expanding forces. This can only be done through great improvements in ANP leadership, facilitated by far more robust mentoring and training efforts.

The Focused District Development (FDD) program is one *possible* key to this process. The program is still in development, and any effort to apply it is necessarily slow, because it is time and trainer/mentor limited. The Directed District Development program may offer a possible solution to provide an additional quick reaction capability, and this will need continuing reassessment to determine what scale of effort is practical. Both programs also need to be tightly focused on ensuring that they meet the needs in the population areas most threatened by insurgent activity and where providing the hold function is most urgent.

No ANP programs can succeed, however, where political interference, corruption, and power brokers block effective ANP action or ensure it cannot be reformed. Power brokers have a clear incentive and need to disrupt this process, as it directly threatens their operations. This must be understood and be included as part of the planning for ANP improvement. The political dimension of ANP development is as critical as the military and civil dimensions.

- *Second, major efforts need to be made to increase the size and quality of the ANP.* NATO/ISAF should begin to expand the ANP and the other elements of the Afghan police from an authorized strength of 82,000 to 160,000. In Kabul alone, for example, the current goal for the ANP is 4,800 and commanders feel some 7,200 are needed. Current plans seem to leave the ANP underequipped for some aspects of its mission, in spite of current orders, and that additional attention is needed to improve the quality of its leadership and facilities.

The ANP's most urgent immediate need in order to execute this expansion, however, is adequate numbers of qualified trainers and mentors who have the military experience and counterinsurgency background that will be required for several years to come. These must be placed under CSTC-A and the NTA-A, and not under civil leadership or trainers. The day may come when the ANP's main mission is conventional law enforcement in a secure environment, but that day is years away and the ANP needs to focus on security.

Filling these gaps will be difficult. The ANP faces even more severe shortfalls in partnering and training than the ANA. A CSTC-A report in July 2009 stated that the ANP needed at least 98 additional Police

Operational Mentor Liaison Teams POMLTs), plus added US PMT trainer/mentors by the end of CY 2010, and 46 more by the end of CY 2011. It is requesting a total of 182 POMLTs and PBMTs by the end of CY2011. There will be a need for added PMTs as well. However, these requirements will be substantially increased if the goal for the end-strength of the police was raised to 160,000 by the end of CY 2014.

- *Third, a major reorganization is needed to strengthen several major elements within the ANP. These include elite gendarmeries or paramilitary elements to deal with counterinsurgency and key hold missions.* These could build on ANCOP and police commando cadres. The Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP) are designed to provide more capable forces that can defend themselves, perform key hold functions in urban areas, and provide a lasting police presence in less secure remote areas. Its assigned strength was 3,345 in July 2009, and it had four fielded brigade headquarters and 16 fielded battalion headquarters. It could grow to 20 battalions by the end of the year; and significant further increases could take place in 2010. Other special elements may be needed to work with the NDS and ANA to eliminate any remaining insurgent shadow government, justice systems, and networks; and to deal with the investigation of organized crime and power brokers involved in gross corruption. The majority of the Afghan police can be trained to the levels of police capability suited to meet Afghan standards and needs.
- *Fourth, the development of the ANP must be linked to improvements in the Afghan formal and informal legal processes to provide prompt and effective justice.* The ANP cannot succeed in meeting one of the most critical demands of the Afghan people -- the need for prompt justice -- unless ANP development is linked to the creation of effective courts and the rest of the formal justice and corrections systems, or use of Afghanistan's informal justice system. The ANP's problems with corruption also cannot be corrected unless the criminal justice system is seen as much less corrupt and subject to political influence. Fixing these problems reflects one of the most urgent demands of the Afghan people. An integrated approach to ANP development and improved popular justice is critical and may need substantially more resources on the justice side of the equation.

The Afghan Border Police (ABP)

The ABP already has an authorized strength of 17,600 authorized and 12,800 assigned. Afghanistan will require a competent and sufficient border police function in the future. However, border forces are notoriously difficult to create and make effective under counterinsurgency conditions. Afghanistan's geography and historical border disputes make border enforcement even more difficult than usual, and NATO/ISAF and the ANSF have more urgent priorities.

Present plans to develop the ABP should be executed, and the Focused Border Development program may help to improve performance, reduce corruption, and increase government revenues. These efforts should be complemented by specific technologies, including biometrics and ISR, to the extent feasible.

Border protection, however, should not be a priority area for NATO/ISAF action or additional forces and capabilities. A tightly focused effort could help the Afghan government get substantial revenues from commercial vehicle traffic across the border than are now being lost through corruption. There is no prospect, however, that the ABP can seal the borders or do more in the near-term than harass the insurgency while becoming a source of casualties and more corruption. This is particularly true as long as elements of the Pakistan government and ISI covertly support key elements of the Taliban.

The Afghan Public Protection Program (AP3)

Tribal and local security forces can play a useful role under carefully selected conditions. The AP3 is a tribal force designed to provide the equivalent of security guards for district-sized areas.

(In Afghanistan, there are 364 districts, excluding major urban areas). This force is still in development, and Afghanistan's tribal and regional differences mean that it may not work in every area and needs to be carefully tailored to local conditions.

The best approach is to use the AP3 model only where it is clear that local Afghan commanders and officials, and local NATO/ISAF commanders, feel this can work. Ensure that the expansion of the AP3 is fully coordinated with Afghan provincial and district officials, local ANSF commanders, and NATO/ISAF regional and task force commanders to limit loyalty problems and tribal friction.

The Need for a Far More Effective NATO/ISAF Effort

NATO/ISAF and the US must follow several "iron laws" for force development in carrying out all these efforts. First, they must pay as much attention to ANSF force quality as to increasing force quantity. They must not create units where there are inadequate mentors, partner units, facilities, equipment, and training capacity. Furthermore they must pay close attention to performance in the field versus formal training and quantified readiness measures. Second, they must properly equip and support ANSF forces or not put them into harm's way. So far, this is not taking place, indeed as capacity increases, the relative numbers of mentors is decreasing, NATO needs to deliver troops to mentor.

Every increase in ANSF force quantity must be accompanied by suitable improvements in force quality and in the size and capability of NATO/ISAF mentoring and partnering capabilities. As ISAF and USFOR-A adjust their command structures, regardless of the specific decisions about command structure, it will be critical to retain both the mentoring and partnering components of ANSF development. Mentors will still be required in the fielded force, although their numbers can decrease as the partners will be able to provide force protection and 'fires.'

NATO/ISAF cannot win if it pursues the fragmented, stove-piped, and under resourced efforts -- and real world lack of integrated civil-military efforts -- that have helped cripple ANSF development in past years. "Unity of effort" has been an awkward cross between a lie and an oxymoron. Far too many national efforts have acted as if the ANSF was not involved in a real war. This cannot continue if a very real war is to be won.

Third, NATO/ISAF and the US must act to give to "partnership" real meaning. All the elements of NATO/ISAF must begin to work together with all of the elements of the ANSF to create equivalent forces that can conduct combined operations together. This will take time, resources, and patience. NATO/ISAF regional command task force commanders must understand, however, that partnering with ANSF forces does not mean simply using them as they are, but making them effective, and treating operations as key real world aspects of training.

The Need for an Integrated Civil-Military Partnership

More broadly, this partnership must go beyond simply fighting the insurgency. NATO/ISAF and the ANSF will lose the war unless their military successes are matched by a timely and effective civil-military effort in the field. It is not enough for the ANSF to be able to perform its security missions and develop an effective NATO/ISAF/US/Afghan partnership in security. A mix of NATO/ISAF and ANSF fighting forces can perform the *shape* and *clear* missions and part of the *hold* mission, but if this is all that is accomplished they will still lose the war to an opponent that

can win a battle of political attrition against an Afghan government that is perceived as over-centralized, distant, failing to provide basic services, and which is seen as corrupt as well as supporting power brokers rather than the people.

NATO/ISAF, the US, and the ANSF must work together to provide civil-military action programs while security is being established and make this a key aspect of the *hold* and *build* missions. A transition should take place to leadership civil aid efforts and to Afghan provincial, district, and local government as soon as this can be made effective at the local level, but NATO/ISAF and the ANSF cannot wait and must establish basic services, encourage local leaders, and provide a functioning justice system immediately.

They must realize that national elections and democracy do not bring any form of political legitimacy or loyalty without tangible actions - only actions count. The grim reality is that the Afghan central government is too corrupt and incapable to take these necessary actions in far too many areas and far too many ways. At the same time, outside civil aid efforts are far too narrow, far too security conscious and far too oriented towards talk and planning to serve Afghan needs in the field. The ideal is an integrated civil-military effort.

The reality must become a consistent operational demand for effective civilian and formal Afghan government action. This will take time, however, and in the interim some combination of NATO/ISAF and ANSF must act immediately to provide at least enough civil services and support to local governance to offer an alternative that is more attractive than the Taliban and at that at least takes initial steps to hire young men and underpin security with stability. They must provide at least enough justice, local security, jobs, and progress in areas like roads, electricity, water/irrigation, clinics, and schools to establish lasting security and stability.

The mix and phasing of such efforts will vary as much by region and locality as the need for given kinds of tactics, and range from meeting urban needs to those of scattered rural tribal areas. In far too many cases, however, this will require dramatically new standards of performance by the US, and other national aid donors. There must be a new degree of transparency that shows which aid efforts actually produce effective and honest results in the field, and actually win broad local support and loyalty, and move towards a true "build" phase.

In the process, a significant number of national caveats and restrictions on aid will have to be lifted. Corrupt aid officials and contractors will need to be removed and blacklisted. Exercises in symbolism, ephemeral good works, fund raising and "branding" will need to be put to an end. Above all, the military must act immediately when civilians are incapable and these efforts will need ANSF support and leadership where the Afghan civil government cannot act. There is little point in fixing the efforts that can win the war, and not fixing the efforts that will lose the peace.

One key step in this process is for the US to look in the mirror. The US country team failed dismally to create the kind of truly integrated civil-military plan the US needs to have for its own ends, to lead NATO/ISAF by example, and to meet the needs of the Afghan people. Stovepipes and turf fights, and internal bickering - particularly by elements within the State Department -- crippled the effort necessary to create a plan with the depth, detail, and content needed. The resulting compromise has not created the kind of plan or effort required. Petty interagency bickering continues in Washington, and the Obama Administrations needs to force real unity of effort at every level.

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Introduction: Creating the Afghan Forces Needed to Win

The Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) have made significant advances during the last few years, but their development had low to moderate priority for nearly half a decade. It was not until 2006-2007 that the ANSF began to have meaningful force goals, and to have adequate NATO/ISAF and US aid in developing its “force quantity.” Its present goals are probably still only about half the level needed to work with NATO/ISAF forces; implement the ISAF/Afghan strategy of shape, clear, hold, and build, and defeat the insurgency. Critical problems still exist in “force quality” because of a long-standing lack of mentors and partners, equipment, and a lack of the financial support the ANSF needs to grow and become effective.

This situation must be reversed as soon as possible. The insurgency has steadily gained ground for the last half decade, and the war has reached the point of crisis. The Afghan government, NATO/ISAF, and the US cannot win – even in the limited sense of giving Afghanistan reasonable stability and security and ensuring it is not a haven for international terrorist movements -- unless this situation changes radically and immediately. An effective ANSF is only one of the elements of any meaningful kind of victory, but it is a critical one. It also involves significant lead times, and placing ANSF development on the right track requires immediate decisions and resources

The following key shortcomings still cripple the ANSF, and must now be corrected:

- The ongoing problems growing out of past failures to set the proper goals for ANSF expansion, provide adequate numbers of mentors and partners, and to fund the level of effort required.
- A lack of sufficient capacity and capability of all types of ANSF, across the theater;
- A lack of clear near-term priorities and timelines for developing the capacity and capabilities of the ANSF required for the current fight extend beyond the ‘near-term’ of 12-24 months;
- A lack of longer term plans to expand and sustain the ANSF for the length of the entire campaign, and help Afghanistan achieve lasting security and stability.
- A NATO/ISAF effort that has lacked unity of command, and the ability to flexibly apportion both ANSF and ISAF forces across the battle-space;
- A failure to make the ANSF a full partner with the ISAF and to lay the ground work for transfer of lead security responsibility; and
- A lack of effective coordination among the elements of the ANSF.

Virtually all of these shortcomings are correctable over the next three to four years, and major progress can occur in the next 12-24 months. The flaws in ANSF force development are not the result of Afghan decisions, or the efforts of US and NATO/ISAF advisory teams and planners in Afghanistan. They have been inflicted by decisions made in national capitols, and largely in Washington.

They have stemmed from years of acting as if Afghanistan did not face a serious and growing insurgency; under resourcing every aspect of the war in ways that allowed the insurgents to take the initiative. In the case of the US, many of the failures in today’s ANSF are the product of a critical half-decade in which the White House, OMB, and OSD cut back on requests from US commanders and ambassadors, and essentially had no meaningful strategy for Afghanistan.

It was decisions in Washington that gave priority to Iraq in ways that created a major risk that the US and its allies will lose the war in Afghanistan. Most such decisions came from the executive branch, but others were the product of a US Congress that talked about Afghanistan, but failed to act. For Americans, the fault does not lie in our allies but in ourselves.

The ANSF is Vital to NATO/ISAF Success

This situation has to change – and the US has to lead in terms of providing the necessary support and resources – or the war will be lost. More than that, there will be no meaningful exit strategy where NATO/ISAF and the US can transfer security responsibility to the Afghans. The cost of failure will be far higher in body bags and funds than effective action, and it will leave the Afghan people caught up yet again under extremist leaders or in another round of civil conflict.

Just as NATO/ISAF cannot succeed unless it addresses and helps to eliminate the critical weaknesses in the Afghan government, it cannot succeed unless it creates strong and effective Afghan National Security forces. The NATO/ISAF effort to train, partner, and expand the ANSF must have as high a priority as direct military action against the Taliban and other elements of the threat.

NATO/ISAF strategy now has this priority for the development of the ANSF, but the actual execution of such a strategy has been hampered by a severe lack of resources. Correcting existing problems in force quality, acceleration of current ANSF growth plans, and expanding the ANSF to the needed force levels will require additional U.S. and other ISAF partners, mentors, and funds. These resources also need to be committed immediately. Near-term (12-24 months) requirements for the ANSF forces needed to fighting the insurgency are already time critical.

The exact costs of these changes are still being examined, but they will not be cheap. At present, the Department of Defense reports that CSTC-A receives funding through the Afghan Security Forces Fund (ASFF) to equip, train, and sustain the ANSF. These funding streams have been erratic, and have also been driven by the need to constantly readjust expenditures to deal with rising force goals, accelerated development plans, and a persistent failure to anticipate the demands imposed by a steadily intensifying conflict.

ANSF force development is now receiving far better funding for the ANSF's existing force goals at the existing pace of development. As is shown below, the ANSF will receive some \$5.6 billion in FY2009 and \$7.4 billion in FY2010. This funding profile is summarized below:

	FY 2009	FY 2010
ANA	\$4,023.9M	\$4,702.4M
ANP	\$1,513.6M	\$2,752.9M
Related Activities	\$69.3M	\$7.4M
Totals	\$5,606.8M	\$7,462.7M

It still, however, presents serious problems even in funding existing force goals. DoD reported in its report on *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan* in June 2009 that,

The fiscal Year (FY) 2009 ASFF request for the existing force totaled \$5.6 billion, including \$4.0 billion for the ANA, \$1.5 billion for the ANP, and \$68.0 million for related activities including the training and operations of Detainee Operations and COIN activities. FY 2009 Bridge Funding was received in the sum of \$2.0 billion, including \$1.2 billion for the ANA, \$842.0 million for the ANP and \$4.0 million for the Related Activities. An additional \$3.6 billion has been requested in the FY 2009 Supplemental Appropriation. ANSF development efforts are conditions-based; therefore it is not possible to provide a reliable estimate of a long-term ANSF budget.

Until the beginning of 2009, the NATO ANA Trust Fund was used only for ANSF development costs, which included fielding, equipping, and shipping of donated equipment. In March 2009 NATO approved the expansion of the ANA trust fund to cover ANA sustainment costs to allow non-NATO

countries to contribute. The expectation is that the expansion of the trust fund will encourage increased international contributions for ANSF sustainment; however, as of April 2009, contributions have been limited.

...The ANA will reach its current objective of 134,000 forces by December 2011. The United States will take the lead in supporting the expansion by providing funds for the initial training and equipping of new ANA units. CSTC-A has requested \$589 million in supplemental funds in order to build the first eight *kandaks* of the new force structure in FY 2009. Because of the limited amount of equipment immediately available for accelerated fielding, these *kandaks* will initially receive only 40 percent of the standard infantry *kandak* transport capabilities. The new *kandaks* will be used to provide security along the Ring Road. The long-term final end-strength for the ANA is conditions-based and may increase in the future.

There is no meaningful public reporting on the shortfalls in funding the ANSF, or cost estimates of the cost of fully implementing and sustaining current ANSF force plans, and the options for expanding them. Doubling the force will obviously mean sharp increases in cost, but these increases will depend heavily on the rate of force expansion, force quality, and a host of other factors. As an estimate, the range could be an increase from the present \$5.6 billion to some \$9 billion to \$13 billion a year – but this is truly a guess. What is clear is that the Afghan government has no near to mid-term capability to pay these costs, they will need to be sustained for some five to ten years, and allied contributions will be limited at best.

The Key Elements of Success and the Key Challenges

Current plans to develop the ANSF are summarized in Figure One. These plans will make significant additional progress, but they will not be adequate to create the combination of ANSF and NATO/ISAF forces needed to achieve the immediate objectives of the next 12-24 months, and to create *the circumstances and* an ANSF that can accept lead security responsibility and eventually *permit NATO/ISAF forces to depart*.

Building the Force

NATO/ISAF commanders at every level express nearly universal concerns about the need for such action: there are currently too few ANSF forces in their areas to accomplish the mission; the proposed timelines for fielding additional ANSF to their areas are too slow; the capabilities of the current ANSF, particularly the ANP and ABP, are inadequate; and some of the ANSF, particularly the ANP and ABP, are riddled with corruption which leads to popular alienation as well as ineffectiveness.

At the same time, increased and higher quality Afghan forces are presently needed in offensives that are already underway. As ISAF and ANSF forces clear key population centers, Afghan forces must assume the task of keeping these centers cleared (*hold*) and to performing the mix of COIN and regular policing activity necessary for hold and build. It is the ANSF, working with local Afghan officials, who will ultimately give the critical hold and build phases of NATO/ISAF strategy effectiveness and win popular support.

Current ANSF resourcing and expansion plans are simply not adequate to meet these challenges of the COIN fight. Work by the US-led advisory team in CSTC-A, and NATO/ISAF advisors show that key elements of the currently planned expansion of the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP) need to be accelerated immediately, that the total size of both the ANA and the ANP need to be nearly doubled by 2014, and that outside funding may have to double as well.

Dealing With the Problems of Afghan Corruption and Power Brokering

Getting the proper support from the US and NATO/ISAF countries, however, is only part of the challenge. The problems in the ANSF have been -- *and are* -- compounded by failures in the Afghan government, although there are many competent Afghan officials and officers. Corruption and the lack of capacity in the GIROA have created critical problems in developing and employing the ANSF, particularly the ANP and ABP.

Corruption in the ANSF is widespread. The DoD Inspector General's office described the scale of the problem in September 2009: "lack of accountability for funds, equipment, and personal actions remains problematic throughout the ANSF. Inspectors General and Internal Affairs personnel ranging from the Ministries of Defense and Interior, to ANA Corps and ANP Regional commands reported what they described as substantiated cases of corruption that resulted in little, if any, disciplinary action. Equipment has been consistently damaged, lost or diverted to other uses through noncombat actions without any systematic process to hold ANSF personnel accountable, when appropriate. Processes and procedures were generally not established to be able to determine individual accountability for equipment. Those accountability processes and procedures in place were generally ineffective or not followed."ⁱ

It is not enough to create Afghan forces that are effective in combat. The Afghan people must perceive the ANSF as legitimate and trustworthy if it is to be effective in the 'hold' and 'build' missions. Corruption and the perception of corruption in both the Afghan government and the ANSF -- particularly in the ANP -- has shaken popular confidence and affected the Afghan people's decisions about their ability to trust Afghan forces. Worse, the broader corruption and influence peddling in the Afghan government, partly the central government, has reached the point where it often interferes in the leadership, deployment, and use of Afghan forces in ways that sharply undermine their effectiveness and discredit them from the outside.

Fortunately, there are many honest and competent Afghan officers and officials at every level. US and NATO/ISAF must work with them directly to ensure that corruption and power brokers cease to present major problems in shaping the ANSF and in its operations. Failed and corrupt officials and officers need to be removed, bypassed, isolated, and deprived of all NATO/ISAF and US funds and support. In contrast, NATO/ISAF and the US need to work closely with honest officials and officers in ways that are transparent and that the Afghan people see provide lasting security, create a climate that helps provide prompt justice, and creates civil-military programs to meet their economic needs -- rather than simply uses the ANSF as a fighting force.

The Need for a Moral and Ethical Approach to Afghan Force development

NATO/ISAF and the US face an equally serious challenge in shaping the way Afghan forces are used. The expansion of Afghan forces will involve experiments in training cycles, force expansion, and partnering as substitutes for military experience that are high risk efforts and will need to be constantly evaluated and recalibrated.

Such efforts have a moral and ethical dimension as well as a military one. Afghan forces must not be rushed into the field in ways where NATO/ISAF and the US sacrifice Afghan soldiers and policemen in the interest of victory, or ask them to take unreasonable risks that NATO/ISAF and US forces will not take. It is one thing to push the development of Afghan forces in the face of a military crisis. It is another to overstretch them, rush them into service, and use them up.

Current OPTEMPOs for the ANSF, -- including developing and fielding a force while simultaneously fighting an insurgency -- has left little room for forces, particularly the ANA, to maintain a balanced cycle of combat, training and leave time. They need to be put on such a cycle even as some aspects of the training process are accelerated. If continued without respite, that OPTEMPO is likely to exhaust the force; to have a deleterious impact on retention; and to allow no room for the critical additional training required.

Two Critical Conditions for Success

In short, NATO/ISAF and the US cannot succeed in developing the ANSF in the ways required unless they meet two tests.

- First, every aspect of force development must be tied to clear demands that the ANSF serve the nation and the Afghan people in ways that minimize corruption, power brokering, the interests of given national and regional leaders, and tie the aid and force development efforts to commanders and the use of the ANSF to valid military requirements. It must be clear to Afghan officials, officers, and power brokers at every level that they will be pushed out of their positions, bypassed, or blacklisted when they serve their own interests and not those of the nation.

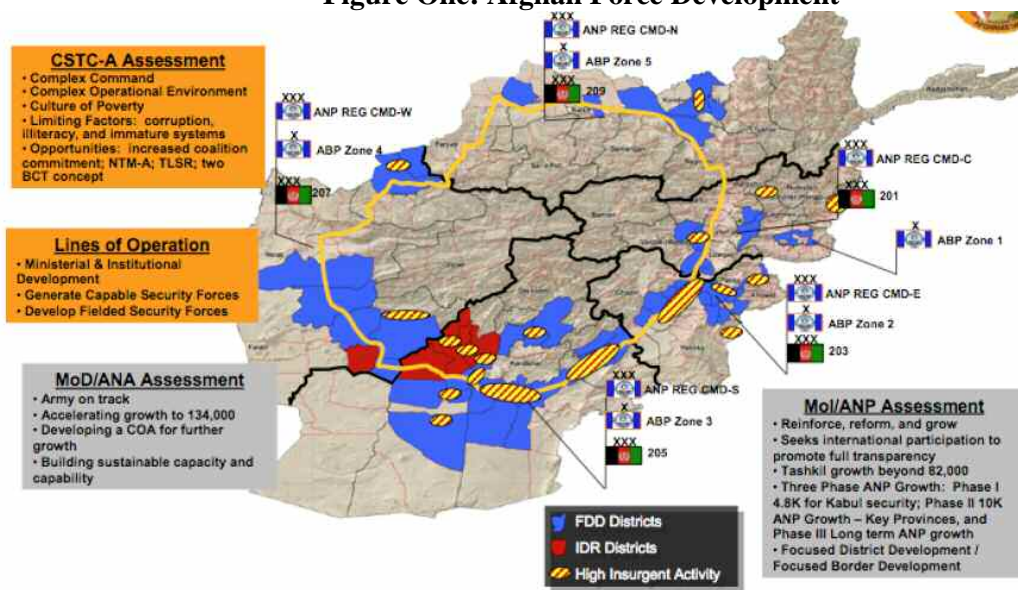
It will be particularly critical to expand every element of ANSF forces at an Afghan pace that will produce adequate numbers of properly trained officers and NCOs, to ensure that those who prove competent are promoted and put in key command positions, and to remove those who are not competent, corrupt, or that respond to informal power brokers and political favoritism.

- Second, the standard for force development must be that NATO/ISAF and the US accelerate force development with adequate funds, mentors, and partners, in ways that limit casualties and the strain on Afghans to levels approaching those that allied forces face. Short term tactical expediency is not a substitute for real and lasting partnership, or using up Afghans as a substitute for coalition forces.

As has been mentioned earlier, NATO/ISAF and the US must also look beyond the short term needs of force expansion and the shape and clear phase of the fight. It must develop plans to make the ANSF a force that can independently defend the nation, and to deal with probable force cuts once the insurgency is defeated.

Both of these requirements seem to be fully understood by NATO/ISAF and US officials, commanders, and advisors in Afghanistan. It is far less clear that capitols have the same understanding of these priorities or are presently prepared to act and set the proper standards for action.

Figure One: Afghan Force Development



Creating a True Partnership

More resources and more realistic force goals are critical. The best way to meet the other conditions for successful force development is to make the ANSF a true partner in every NATO/ISAF and US operation. The ANSF has rarely been a true partner in operations in the past. One Canadian OMLT member observed that “as soon as one of your Coalition colleagues started talking about ‘putting an Afghan face on the operation,’ you knew that meant that rather than engage in the frustrating process of ANA skills development involved in mounting a joint operation . . . they were going to grab a couple ANP officers from somewhere at the last minute and throw them on the helicopter to meet the ISAF Conop requirements. The gap in understanding between Afghans and Coalition was seen as simply too wide to rely on them in battle. And mentors, forced to fall back on personal diplomacy in the absence of any other leverage, were unable to bridge the gaps.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Mentors for ANA units are clearly necessary for the ANA development mission. Yet they are not sufficient. ANA units need to be partnered with ISAF units and need to truly work with them on operations. Too often, the attitude among ISAF officers is that the ANA are the mentor’s ‘problem,’ and mentors are used as an excuse to avoid contact with the relatively unreliable ANA. General McChrystal appeared to be well aware of this problem, making one of the pillars of his strategy to “improve effectiveness through greater partnering with ANSF. We will increase the size and accelerate the growth of the ANSF, with a radically improved partnership at every level, to improve effectiveness and prepare them to take the lead in security operations.”ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

NATO/ISAF and the US already have other important reforms underway. NATO/ISAF and US efforts to improve ANSF development have hardly been passive; they have rather been critically under-resourced.

The overall command structure of NATO/ISAF and US forces affecting the development of the ANSF is shown in Figure Two. NATO/ISAF and US force development efforts are now being combined under one commander and into a NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan (NTM-A). This is creating the structure shown in Figure Three, and is a critical step towards fully integrating the NATO/ISAF and US training efforts:

- SHAPE guidance signed on 25 June 09 provided implementation instructions for creating NTM-A
- The guidance directs:
 - Sixteen tasks for NTM-A to be implemented as and when resources are available.
 - Cdr, CSTC-A is being dual-hatted as COM, NTM-A report directly to the COM ISAF.
- NTM-A was established in concept by the NAC Summit in April 09.
- NLT 15 Sept 09.
- Key tasks will remain within CSTC-A’s current Generate the Force and Develop the Force Lines of Operation. NTM-A will not execute MoD and MoI Ministerial Development.

Other, more detailed, improvements are taking place within the command and control (C2) structure of the training and command process and are shown in Figure Four. These steps could do much to correct the past problems in what has been a poorly coordinated and inefficient effort.

It is also important to note, however, that the new three-star HQ and when NTM-A only began operations in late October 2009. It seems likely that this will enable CSTC-A and NTM-A to focus more effectively on improvements in force development. The establishment of NTM-A, including the dual-hatting arrangement with CSTC-A, has the potential to help solve several major challenges that the ISAF has faced.

- First, the arrangement may help synchronize ISAF and U.S. approaches toward the ANSF mission. One caveat is that the transfer of TF Phoenix to the three-star HQ will require close integration among the dual-hatted NTM-A/ CSTC-A, and the three-star HQ, on the ANSF mission, to ensure top to bottom integration from the ministerial to the ground level.
- Second, NTMA provides a readily available alternative for those TCNs that are ready to contribute but prefer not to provide combat forces.

Figure Two: The Overall NATO/ISAF and US Command Structure Affecting Afghan Force Development

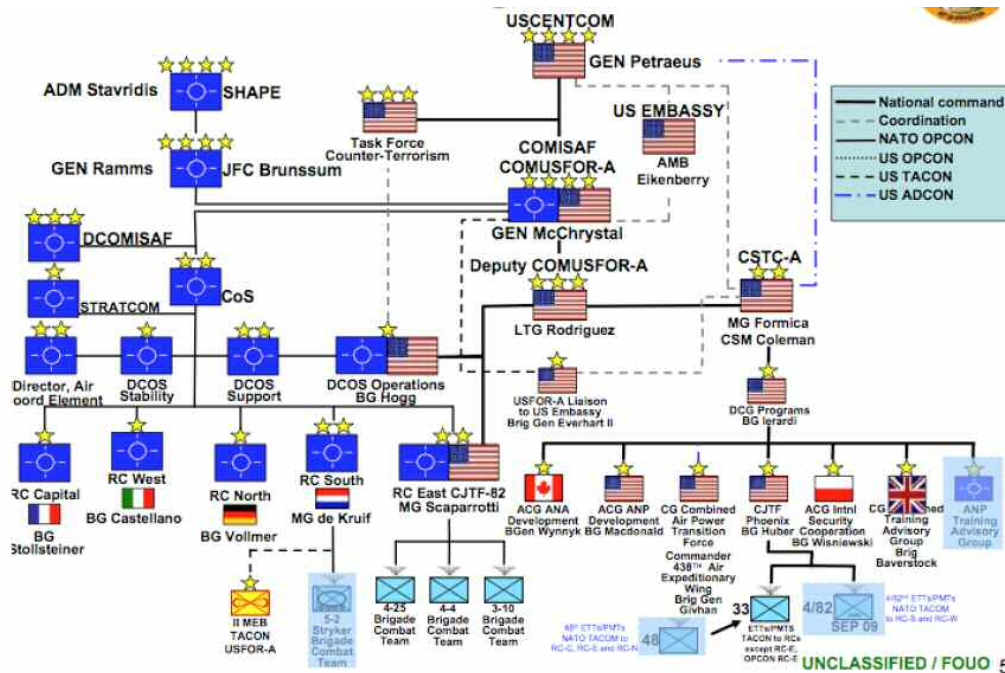


Figure Three: The Creation of the NATO Training Mission - Afghanistan

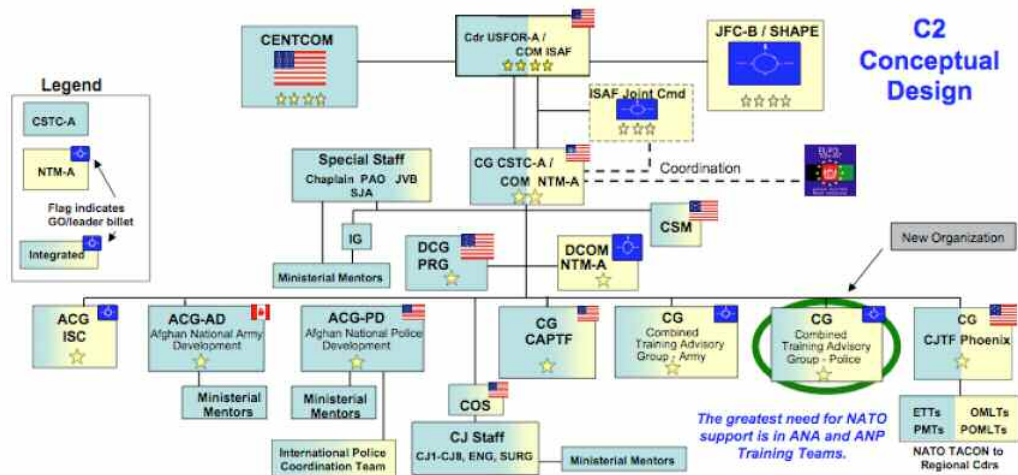
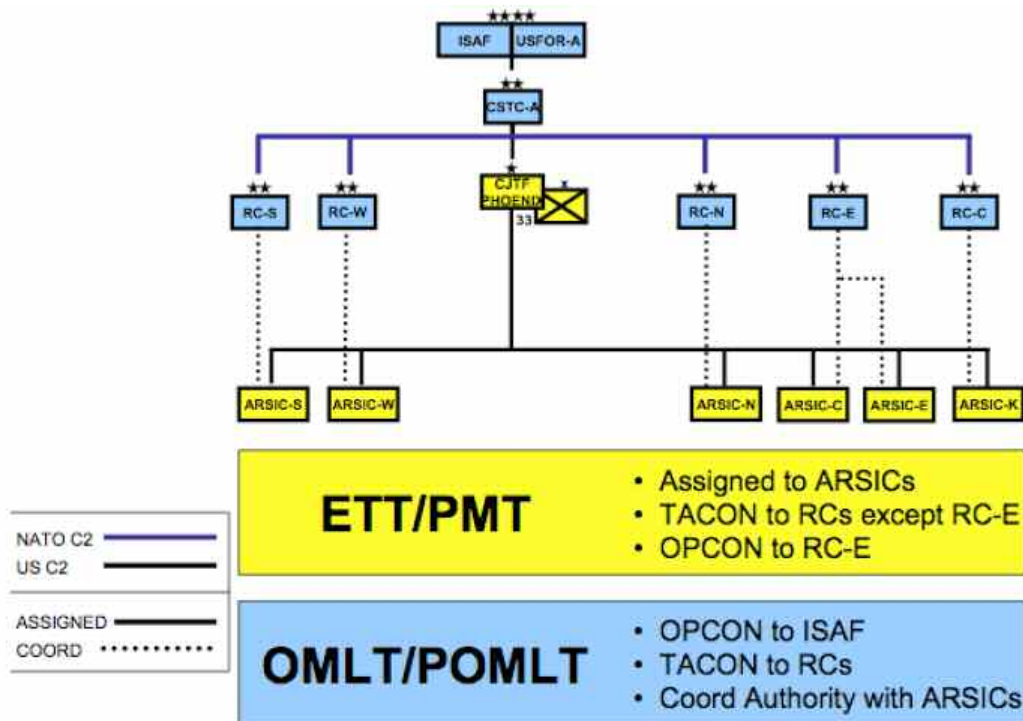
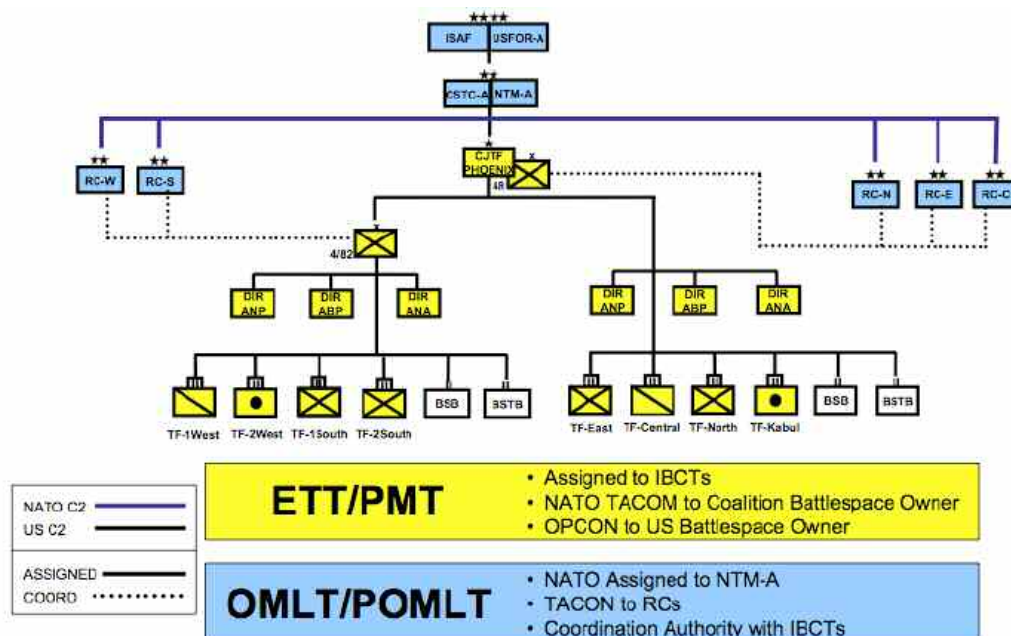


Figure Four: Planned Changes to Integrate Command and Control of the Training and Partnering Efforts

Current Training Team Command and Control Structure



Future Command and Control Structure




Correcting Key Shortfalls in the NATO/ISAF and US Effort

More resources and reforms in the NATO/ISAF and US approach to ANSF force development will only be effective, if they result in key changes in the way ANSF force development is supported. This requires a far more integrated effort. It requires one that clearly separates the training mission that provides training for Afghan officers, NCOs, and enlisted men from the mentoring and partnering effort necessary to make them an effective fighting unit in the field. It requires all of the coalition countries involved to actually develop and resource a coordinated effort.

An effective force development effort also requires transparency and honesty. There is a tendency among US and ISAF/Coalition personnel to over-estimate the capabilities of their soldiers. This tendency was also observed among US officers training the Iraqi Army, and is likely due to a number of factors, from loyalty to those being mentored, to a desire to demonstrate progress. For instance, reports indicate that some ANA units rated Capability Milestone 1 (CM1) had not received field training as a full unit. Units rated CM1 are supposed to be able to conduct independent operations with only liaison and air support or other support elements from ISAF forces. While this practice appears to have stopped, giving a unit the highest capability rating before it has ever been trained together as a full unit is clearly inaccurate.

Even when a unit is given a chance to operate in the field before receiving its CM rating, its capabilities may still be 'spun' to a higher rating than it deserves. One Canadian OMLT member observed a number of serious shortcomings in the ANA brigade he was mentoring, only to have it declared CM1, the highest rating possible. These observations make a sharp contrast with the official requirements for a CM1 rating in Figure 5.

Figure Five: CM1 rating requirements versus observations from OMLT member


CM 1 Criteria	S2 Mentor's Evaluation
Develop humint sources and fuse humint into operations	Limited (personal sources)
Provide situational understanding of the enemy to higher, lower, own HQs	Limited (no plotting/analysis)
Provide reasonably accurate understanding of enemy capabilities	Limited
Track historical and background information on threats within their sector	Limited
Determine threat patterns and trends	Limited
Employ and manage the brigade recce company effectively	Not observed
Provide intelligence to enable ops through IPB	Not observed
Develop enemy COAs as part of planning	Not observed
Conduct intelligence gathering from detainees	Not effective

Source: Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defense Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 7

The training and mentoring base is critical. NATO/ISAF cannot afford to embark on force expansions that are not properly supported by qualified trainers and mentors, as well as adequate facilities. As is highlighted later in the discussion of key elements of the ANSF, the current situation is one where NATO/ISAF and US mentors and partners fall far short of meeting even current existing requirements. As of June 2009, only 2,928 of CSTC-A's total combined ETT/PMT/OMLT requirement of 5,668 (51%) personnel was filled.^{iv} CSTC-A provided the following summary of shortages in the mentoring effort of Operational Mentoring Liaison Teams or OMLTs in June 2009:

According to NATO requirements, 67 OMLTs are currently required

- 56 OMLTs on the ground, 46 validated
- Confirmed offers -13
- Unofficial offers -5

Projected Status –End of CY 2009

- NATO requirement -75
- CSTC-A projection -62 OMLTs on the ground
- Deficit will be 13

Projected Status –End of CY 2010

- NATO requirement -91
- CSTC-A projection -66 OMLTs on the ground

- Deficit will be 25

There were even more serious problems in providing adequate trainers and mentors for the Afghan police. CSTC-A provided the following summary of shortages in the mentoring effort of Police Operational Mentoring Liaison Teams or POMLTs in June 2009:

CSTC-A is requesting that NATO provide 38 POMLTs by end of CY 2009

- 14 POMLTs on the ground
- Confirmed offers -10
- Unofficial offers -8

Projected Requirements –End of CY 2010

- 98 additional POMLTs

Projected Requirements –End of CY 2011

- 46 additional POMLTs

CSTC-A is requesting that NATO provide 182 POMLTs and BMTs by the end of CY 2011

Any continuation of such personnel shortages will be crippling to the CSTC-A mission and affects virtually every aspect of ANSF development. The DoD IG found numerous examples of personnel shortages affecting the training and mentoring mission:^v

ARSIC-S reported that its operations have been stressed by the lack of personnel resources. For example, the minimum force protection requirement for movement off of a Forward Operating Base (FOB) by an ETT to conduct an outreach operation is nine personnel. However, some teams are comprised of as few as four soldiers.

Because of this, some ANA units in outlying FOBs in ARSIC-S have not received the ETT mentoring support required. Those FOBs were visited whenever possible, but the ETTs could not provide the overwatch actually needed.

In ARSIC-E, ETTs are at less than 50 percent strength, staffed with four to six personnel, far short of the required 16. ARSIC-C reported that ETTs have an average of only four of 16 personnel required and are forced to “borrow” the necessary support and security personnel from nearby U.S. combat units.

Staff from the Regional Corps Advisory Command (RCAC) in ARSIC-E stated that replacement individual augmentees were rarely assigned by CSTC-A to the billet against which they were requisitioned, apparently due to a combination of combat and noncombat losses, as well as the changing situation on the ground. And, in many instances, personnel who were trained at Ft. Riley did not know whether they would be assigned as ETTs or PMTs until arrival in-country.

CSTC-A staff assigned to the CFC noted that ETTs accompanying Afghan infantry battalions (kandaks) were invariably under-strength.

Many of the ARSICs reported that MOS skills and specialties required of the ETTs/OMLTs and PMTs/POMLTs are not always analogous with the functions they are mentoring; personnel did not have the skill sets required for their positions.

Fixing such problems requires far more than simply providing NATO/ISAF warm bodies to serve in a mentoring and partner role. In some instances, CSTC-A needs more than just military and police trainers. For example, DoD IG found that CSTC-A exerted “insufficient contract oversight” due to a lack of trained contracting officers and contracting officer representatives in country.^{vi}

The personnel involved must be motivated and competent – something lacking in many of those who have been arbitrarily assigned to such roles in the past. These positions must be treated as what they are: at least as important to victory as command roles in NATO/ISAF forces.

Every increase in ANSF force quantity must be accompanied by suitable improvements in force quality and in the size and capability of NATO/ISAF mentoring and partnering capabilities. As ISAF and USFOR-A adjust their command structures, regardless of the specific decisions about command structure, it will be critical to retain both the mentoring and partnering components of ANSF development.

NATO/ISAF cannot win if it pursues the fragmented, stove-piped, and under resourced efforts -- and real world lack of integrated civil-military efforts -- that have helped cripple the ANSF development in past years. “Unity of effort” has been an awkward cross between a lie and an oxymoron. Far too many national efforts have acted as if the ANSF was not involved in a real war. This cannot continue if a very real war is to be won.

Giving Partnership Real Meaning

NATO/ISAF ‘mentors’ must support and coach ANSF units through training and advice, including ‘observer/controller-like’ functions. Both functions will be critical, whether provided by the same or discrete coalition ISAF units. Minister Wardak and many ISAF commanders have stressed the impact top-flight partners have on raising the capabilities of ANSF units.

Effective partnership also requires forces that can fight and survive. This is particularly true of the effort to develop the ANP. The ANA has at least been trained for the right mission. The ANP has not and NATO/ISAF must take direct responsibility for many of the casualties that the ANP have suffered. The ANP do not take the bulk of the casualties in the fighting because they are leading the fight. They take them because NATO/ISAF has not been trained and equipped them to survive in a counterinsurgency environment.

For far too long, the ANP has been treated as if their mission was to act as conventional police that could operate in climate of security, while serving in a broader structure of a civil rule of law. These conditions simply do not exist, and cannot exist until the shape and clear phases are complete and hold and build have reached a level of stability and security where police can concentrate on crime, a criminal justice process and courts actually exist, and when there are normal jails. In the interim, the ANP and all other elements of the ANSF must be trained and equipped to be part of the fight.

In this context, the Canadian approach to PMTs may be more beneficial than the American approach. In Kandahar province, Canadian PMTs were embedded in police stations 24 hours a day, and had strengthened their stations to western standards of force protection. American PMTs would sleep on American bases, driving out to ANP stations each morning. While the American approach may provide more flexibility, and more force protection for Americans, it was also unsuitable to the hostile climate of Afghanistan. According to a member of a Canadian OMLT in Kandahar in 2009, Afghan police stations were incredibly vulnerable. The Taliban was able to destroy these with “impunity,” and only stations protected by embedded mentors “could be counted on to still be there the next morning.”^{vii}

Moving Towards Joint Command

The role of joint NATO/ISAF and ANSF commands needs to be developed and expanded as quickly as possible as ANSF forces grow more capable and are able to take the lead in a growing number of operations. NATO/ISAF, the ANA, the ANP, and other elements of the ANSF need to have joint headquarters and carry out joint operations at every level from the regional command on down.

The provision of adequate numbers of mentors, partners, and enablers like combat support units and intelligence needs to be tied to joint planning, intelligence, and operations that move the ANSF steady from a role where NATO/ISAF is effectively in the lead to the point where they are in the lead and then replace NATO/ISAF forces. Both those serving in the ANSF and the Afghan people must see that NATO/ISAF plans to leave as soon as Afghan forces are ready, that NATO/ISAF respects Afghan sovereignty the moment Afghan governance is capable and honest, and furthermore that Afghans steadily increase their role in deciding where military force should be used and how best to protect Afghan civilians.

Some experts have suggested that this can be accomplished at the regional level by imbedding elements or all of a brigade or brigade combat team with the regional command center and forces of the ANA and ANP. This is a decision for the NATO/ISAF command, but it is clear that any workable solution means expanding partnership at each major echelon of operations and not simply the top. It is equally clear that such efforts must be supported at every level by active NATO/ISAF enablers and partner units until the ANSF is ready to fully take over all aspects of the mission.

The need to coordinate a wide range of ANA, ANP, and NDS operations is a further reason for bringing the new OCC system – which is now being set up -- to full operational capability. It is a reason for strengthening its coordination functions, for providing the OCCs with better communications and display systems, and for providing mentors and partners. Giving the OCCs and added command and control function and could make them a key tool in ensuring that Afghan forces can take the lead when they are ready, and shift from the remaining areas where NATO/ISAF is in the lead to operations centers where the ANSF is in the lead and NATO/ISAF is in support.

Changing the Culture of NATO/ISAF and US Operations

These steps require a change in the NATO/ISAF military culture as well as efforts to create effective ANSF units. NATO/ISAF commanders and troops must uniformly treat the ANSF units they work with as real partners, and see their development as having equal or greater priority than day-to-day kinetic operations against the insurgents.

There must be a feedback loop to CSTC-A and the NM-A to constantly improve the training process, and to Afghan Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Interior, and NATO/ISAF top command to keep altering the equipment mix and supply system for each type of ANSF force so that it can both fight effectively beside NATO/ISAF units and develop a force structure that is tailored to Afghan needs and the eventual creation of independent ANSF units that Afghanistan can afford and can sustain.

This will sometimes mean that NATO/ISAF and the US must move at an Afghan pace and respect Afghan priorities and values. ANSF force development cannot be managed on the basis of NATO/ISAF priorities and standards of efficiency. Issues like leave and OPTEMPO need to

take account of the need Afghans have to deal with their families and to avoid breaking units by overusing them. Efforts to create Afghan officers and NCOs that mirror Western military systems have to be tempered with the understanding that there are limits to how quickly Afghan concepts of military training and operations can be changed – if at all. The task is to help the Afghans become more efficient in doing it their way; not to try to transform them.

Finally, there will be a need for effective, comprehensive ministerial advisory support, a mission currently led by CSTC-A. While such efforts sometimes have less visible impact than building combat power, building key systems at the Ministry and service level – personnel management, logistics accounting – are essential to ensuring that the ANSF can eventually stand on their own. This mission also requires appropriate resourcing, including sufficiently senior-level advisors who have actually helped run ministries in their own countries.

Providing Proper Equipment and Funding

ANSF forces must acquire the necessary enablers and equipment, in as timely a manner as possible. The DoD Inspector General found that the ANSF has shortages of a number of essential unit equipment; including howitzers, mortars, communications, and engineers.^{viii} Work by CSTC-A shows that it will be particularly critical to provide the equipment needed for ANSF units to be interoperable with NATO/ISAF forces and weapons, and to ensure that such weapons are delivered as soon as ANSF forces are ready to absorb them. This does not mean that all equipment has to come from the West. There are systems like the Mi-17, D-30, SPG-9, and RPG-7 that are cheap and meet Afghan needs. A partner force, however, must be able to draw on NATO/ISAF support and sustainment and work directly with NATO/ISAF forces. It also cannot wait on time-consuming delays in the US FMS process or financial rules that block force development.

More flexibility is needed to rapidly provide existing funds to meet immediate needs. Equipment procurement and delivery needs to be made more rapid. ANA trust money should not be rigidly limited to the ANA when helping the ANP is critical. CSTC-A has identified the following immediate priorities:

- Timely receipt of funding
- Support for an FY 10 Supplemental if necessary to fund ANSF growth
- Realignment of function with Bureau of INL --Police development, mentor contracts
- International financial support to ANSF growth and sustainment
- Waivers for continued procurement of Mi-17s

Equally important, ANSF force development is far cheaper than providing equivalent NATO/ISAF forces. According to the DoD IG, “CSTC-A estimates the cost (in 2010 dollars) to generate ANA forces to be \$1B/10,000 personnel, and the cost to generate ANP forces to be \$.35M/10,000 personnel. They also estimated that the annual sustainment costs for the ANA would be \$210M/10,000 personnel; and the ANP would be \$182M/10,000 personnel. By contrast, the Congressional Research Service in 2005 estimated that the annual cost to field and sustain U.S. forces in Afghanistan was \$267,000 per soldier, which amounts to \$2.67B/10,000 soldiers.”^{ix}

Yet funding for the ANSF development effort cannot be allowed to swing from year-to-year on a feast and famine basis that makes effective management of the effort impossible. While much attention has been paid to the stability of funding to the ANSF development effort, delays in providing funds continue: the FY 2009 Bridge Appropriation was not made available to CSTC-

A until the second quarter of FY 2009.^x NATO/ISAF members need to carefully review their own near- and longer-term commitment to the ANSF. This includes ensuring that ANSF development and operations are funded by alliance nations on a sustained basis until the war is won and Afghanistan has moved solidly towards security, stability, and development.

Developing a Sufficient Afghan Logistics Capability

CSTC-A has not placed a strong past emphasis on developing ANSF logistics capabilities, and has had to focus on the quick development of combat capabilities. The ISAF logistics system has thus had to step in to provide the ANSF with needed materials. While this arrangement may work adequately in the short term, if the ANSF is ever to take the lead or takeover security in Afghanistan, it clearly needs an independent logistics capability.

Both the ANA and ANP logistics systems are far too small and inefficient to supply ANSF personnel. The DoD Inspector General's office found major problems with ANSF logistics:^{xi}

The Afghan National Security Forces' logistics systems that support the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP), respectively, remained institutionally immature and insufficiently effective. Army and Police personnel have not become proficient in applying the established logistical model and did not demonstrate a high degree of confidence in the logistics system's capacity to perform as designed. To ensure the supply system worked somewhat effectively, the ANA and ANP often depended upon U.S. mentors and trainers to "push" them needed equipment and supplies by mobilizing the support of U.S. counterparts in the ANSF supply chain.

This occurred because the ANA and ANP logistics functions were still in an early stage of development, with the ANP significantly lagging the ANA. Neither the ANA nor the ANP had enough trained and experienced logistics personnel to make their logistics processes and procedures function properly. Moreover, trained logistics personnel and units had been periodically diverted to "front line" security roles, which has been the ANSF and Coalition forces' priority.

In addition, CSTC-A did not have an overarching strategic plan with corresponding operational implementation plans for developing logistics capability within the ANSF, and has not, until recently, sufficiently emphasized the importance of developing a sustainable ANSF logistics function appropriate to its growing operational capability. In addition, CSTC-A did not have enough mentoring personnel to address effectively both security forces expansion and logistical development issues.

Finally, establishing modern military and police logistical systems will require overcoming the still strong legacy among ANSF leaders of the former Soviet-style, highly centralized, logistical mindset, as well as the cultural tendency to hoard, resulting from the country's prolonged experience with poverty. Corruption, which has been endemic in the ANSF supply system and continues to be problematic, undermines the potential effectiveness of the Army and Police logistical systems.

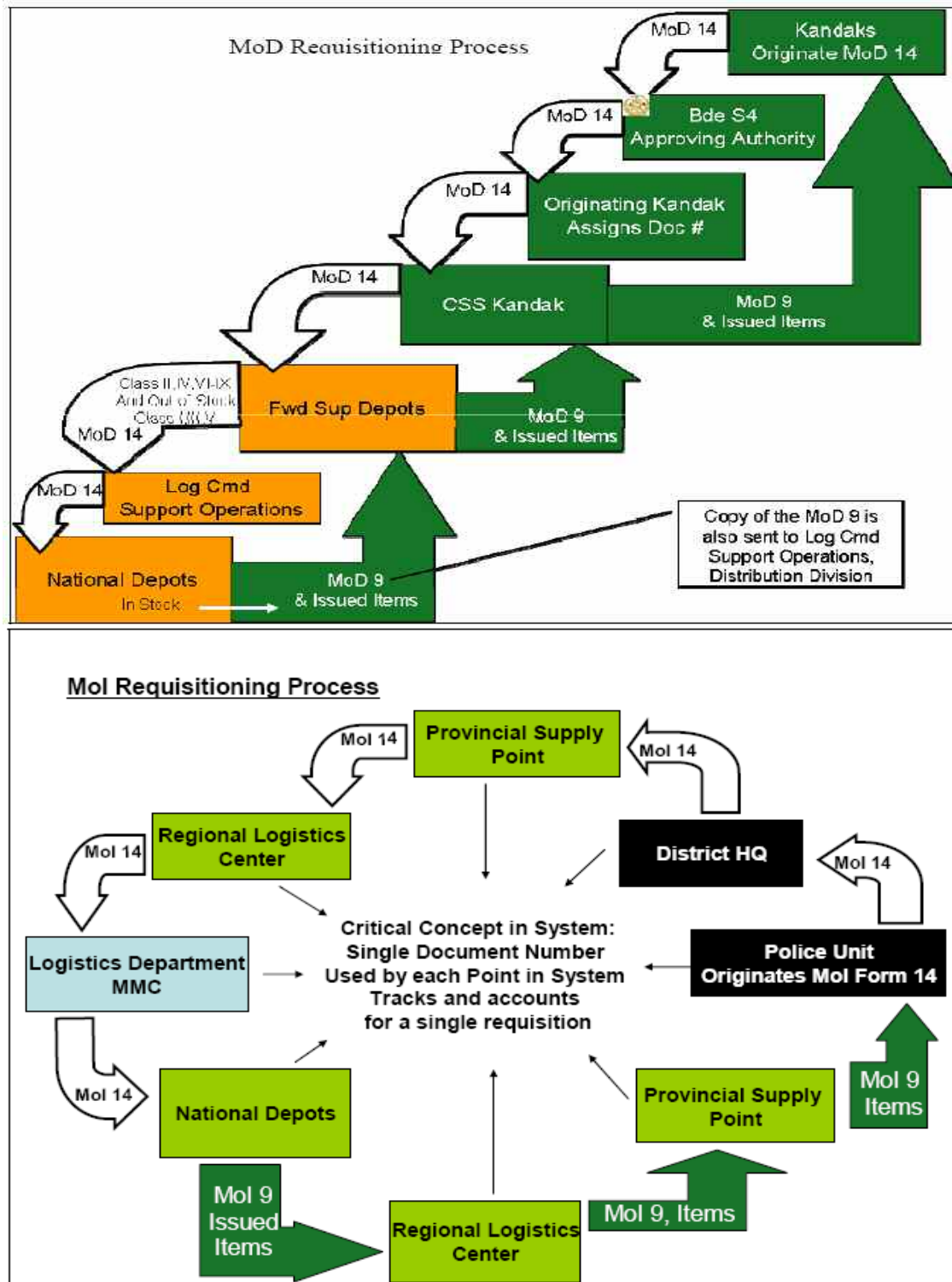
As a result, the ANSF systems were unable to reliably meet army and police logistical needs. Moreover, a widening gap has developed between the logistical and operational capabilities of the ANSF. This has limited the capacity of the ANSF to support its current force size, which could lead to a growing logistical gap, prolonged ANSF dependence on the U.S and ISAF/Coalition, and delayed building of a logistically sustainable Afghan security force.

CSTC-A has had a critical shortage of logistics mentors, greatly retarding the growth of Afghan logistics capabilities. Before 2007, logistics mentoring was provided only at the senior levels of the MoD and MoI, with some logistician in the ETTs providing limited assistance at the Corps and Kandak level.^{xii} Logistics mentoring below the MoI level was never provided before 2008 due to personnel shortages. CSTC-A has begun to improve this situation, yet: "it was not until 2008 that CSTC-A began to organizationally coordinate and synchronize its logistics mentoring resources, with the objective of establishing a logistics mentoring organization capable of

integrating and focusing logistics training for the ANA and ANP. The continuing shortage of logistics mentors – particularly for the ANP – has limited the impact of this effort.”^{xiii}

As seen in Figure 6, the official logistics processes for the MoI and Mod are complex, even when they function correctly. Yet these systems rarely function correctly. These systems are based upon Western models and may not be appropriate for Afghanistan. CSTC-A advisors reported that “because there was little transparency in ANSF supply distribution, each step in the requisition and distribution process was vulnerable to significant inefficiency, as well as outright blockage of supplies due to corruption from bribes or from pilferage.

This has led to chronic supply delays or failure to receive ordered supplies. U.S. mentors to the ANA and ANP chains of command have sometimes been able to determine the cause of a supply problem and address the issue. But, because supplies were often not delivered to ANSF units in a timely fashion, if at all, CSTC-A and ANSF personnel reported widespread frustration with the supply requisition and issuance process and a lack of confidence in using it as designed.”^{xiv} These problems are all compounded by a lack of Afghan personnel with logistics training.

Figure Six: The MoD and MoI Logistics System

Source: "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 28-29

Taking Account of National Directorate of Security (NDS)

The NDS does not fall under MoD or MOI command, but it cooperates closely with ANSF at every level. There are no indications that the present role and capabilities of the NDS need to be changed. It is clear, however, that NDS activities do need to be fully integrated with those of the ANSF and NATO/ISAF, and there have been coordination problems in the past.

Both the Afghan government and the ANSF will need an integrated approach to both internal security and to HUMINT that mixes effective counterinsurgency with careful steps not to alienate key elements of the population. Afghan intelligence can play a critical role in supplementing NATO/ISAF and US collection and analysis capabilities, particularly at the local level where HUMINT is critical. It can be equally critical in ensuring that counterinsurgency operations have the kind of Afghan face, planning, and execution that avoids civilian casualties and collateral damage.

At the same time, any combination of intelligence and internal security efforts all too often lead to excesses and popular alienation. Finding the right balance will be difficult at best, particularly as long as many elements of the population have little practical reason to trust the Afghan government, are unsure it will win a lasting victory, and/or do not have a local rule of law that offers both swift justice and relative freedom from corruption. It will take a systematic NATO/ISAF effort to help the ANSF and NDS find the best achievable and practical balance in any given area, as well as to ensure that the end result is to steadily build up the credibility and capacity of local governance. This will be particularly important in executing amnesty programs, handling detainees, and attempting to bring moderate elements of the Taliban and insurgency back into the government and the mainstream of Afghan society.

Integrated Civil-Military Partnership

More broadly, this partnership must go beyond simply fighting the insurgency. NATO/ISAF and the ANSF will lose the war unless their military successes are matched by a timely and effective civil-military effort in the field. It is not enough for the ANSF to be able to perform its security missions and develop an effective NATO/ISAF/US/Afghan partnership in security. A mix of NATO/ISAF and ANSF fighting forces can perform the *shape* and *clear* missions and part of the *hold* mission, but if this is all that is accomplished they will still lose to the war to an opponent that can win a battle of political attrition against an Afghan government that is perceived as over-centralized, distant and failing to provide basic services, while furthermore being viewed as corrupt and as supporting power brokers rather than the people.

NATO/ISAF, the US, and the ANSF must work together to provide civil-military action programs while security is being established and make this a key aspect of the *hold* and *build* missions. A transition should take place to leadership civil aid efforts and to Afghan provincial, district, and local government as soon as this can be made effective at the local level, but NATO/ISAF and the ANSF cannot wait and must establish basic services, encourage local leaders, and provide a functioning justice system immediately.

They must react to the reality that national elections and democracy do not bring any form of political legitimacy and loyalty by themselves; only actions count. The grim reality is that the Afghan central government is too incapable and corrupt to take such actions in far too many areas and far too many ways. At the same time, outside civil aid efforts are far too narrow, far

too security conscious, and far too oriented towards talk and planning to serve Afghan needs in the field. The ideal is an integrated civil-military effort.

The reality must become a consistent operational demand for effective civilian and formal Afghan government action. This will take time, however, and in the interim some combination of NATO/ISAF and ANSF must act immediately to provide at least enough civil services and support to local governance to offer an alternative that is more attractive than the Taliban and takes at least initial steps to hire young men and underpin security with stability. They must provide at least enough justice and local security, jobs, and progress in areas like roads, electricity, water/irrigation, clinics, and schools to establish lasting security and stability.

The mix and phasing of such efforts will vary as much by region and locality as the need for given kinds of tactics, and range from meeting urban needs to those of scattered rural tribal areas. In far too many cases, however, this will require dramatically new standards of performance by the US, and other national aid donors. There must be a new degree of transparency that shows what aid efforts actually do produce effective and honest results in the field, do actually win broad local support and loyalty, and move towards the true “build” phase.

In the process, a significant number of national caveats and restrictions on aid will have to be lifted. Corrupt aid officials and contractors will need to be removed and blacklisted. Exercises in symbolism, ephemeral good works, fund raising and “branding” will need to be put to an end. Above all, the military must act immediately when civilians are incapable and these efforts will need ANSF support and leadership where the Afghan civil government cannot act. There is little point in fixing the efforts that can win the war, and not fixing the efforts that will lose the peace.

The Afghan National Army (ANA)

While any study of future requirements must focus on problems and challenges, there is good news at many levels. In spite of a past lack of resources, the Afghan National Army is the most respected institution in the Afghan government. It has elements that are both effective and that can take the lead in operations, and it is already growing substantially. The force goal for the ANA was still only 60,000 in February 2006. It was then raised to 80,000 in February 2007, and to 134,000 in September 2008. The goal of 134,000 which was originally was set for 2013 is now the aim for 2011. Some experts even believe it can be accelerated to late 2010.

Figure 7 shows the past growth of the Afghan Army, and detailed tables and graphics describing the size and readiness of the ANA are included in Annex B to this report. The Department of Defense described the progress and problems in the ANA as follows in its June 2009 report on *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*:

- The ANA is subordinate to the MoD and is divided into five regional corps (aligned with the ISAF regional commands) and an air corps. Each corps is divided into brigades comprised of three infantry kandaks, one combat support kandak, and one combat service support kandak. The commando kandaks are under the tactical control of the regional corps. ANA force generation remains on schedule in accordance with the accelerated program to increase the ANA end-strength to 134,000 soldiers by December 2011. Development of existing ANA forces continues to progress; as of May 2009, 29 kandaks had achieved Capability Milestone (CM) 1.
- Each ANA combat unit is accompanied by either a U.S. Embedded Training Team (ETT), or an ISAF Operational Mentor and Liaison Team (OMLT). ETTs and OMLTs provide ANA unit leadership with advisory support on all unit functions and direct access to U.S. and ISAF resources that enhance the ability of the ANA to operate effectively. ETTs, OMLTs, and U.S. Special Forces Units assess ANA units, helping the units identify strengths, shortfalls, and opportunities for improvement.
- As of May 2009, the total requirement for U.S. ETT personnel for ANA training is 3,313 military personnel. ANA Units at the Corps level and below require 2,663 U.S. training personnel. The current U.S. contribution is 1,175 personnel, with 1,204 of those military personnel training ANA units at the Corps-level and below. The international community contribution of 55 OMLTs fills an additional 831 requirements. The low U.S. fill-rate is due to the concurrent mission to train the ANP. As stated above, a significant portion of the planned 2009 U.S. force increases will be dedicated to the ANSF training mission.
- NATO has committed to providing 103 OMLTs by the time the ANA reaches 134,000 personnel in 2011. As of April 2009, there were a total of 53 OMLTs out of the current requirement of 65 OMLTs.
- As of January 2009, the ANA has recruited 28,292 soldiers. We expect to recruit in excess of 34,000 by March 2009. The recruiting process remains unchanged from the previous report. The year-to-date re-enlistment average in the fielded ANA is 57 percent for soldiers and 63 percent for NCOs. This is an increase of seven percent for both soldiers and NCOs from the previous year. To encourage re-enlistment, the ANA approved an incentive pay package, a \$20 per month pay increase, and the option for soldiers to sign one-year contracts.
- The current annual ANA absent AWOL rate is nine percent. With the exception of the 203rd Corps, AWOL rates are highest in units with high operational tempos. Other factors that contribute to high AWOL rates include poor leadership, difficulty returning from leave, and difficulty in supporting their families while deployed.
- The overall assessment of the ANA officer corps effectiveness from the kandak- to corps-level is unchanged from the previous report; trends are positive and ANA officers continue to work to improve their professionalism. In January 2009, the first 84 lieutenants graduated from the internationally-accredited National Military Academy of Afghanistan (NMAA) and received their commissions. The academy will provide an annual influx of professionally-trained young officers for the Army and Air Corps.

- ANA communications capability continues to improve. As of March 2009, the ANA is in the process of completing a planning annex to the National Military Command Center (NMCC). In March 2009 the planning annex attained initial operating capability. This new capability is already greatly improving planning coordination between the ANA and coalition forces and enhancing development of ANA planning staff.
- The capability of the ANAAC continues to improve. Several milestones were reached in 2008. The first large fixed-wing movements of ANCOP occurred in July and August, moving 230 policemen from Herat to Kabul. A new ANAAC record for passengers transported in a single month was set in October 2008, with 9,337 personnel moved. The Air Corps moved an average of 54,000 kilograms (kg) of cargo and 9,100 passengers per month from between October and December of 2008, with an average of 810 sorties per month. Airlift numbers during January and February 2009 were lower due to poor weather conditions.

CSTC-A provided the following additional summary of the status of the ANA at the end of June 2009:

- **Growing**
 - Already above 90,000.
 - Acceleration to 134,000 end-strength by Dec 2011; possible acceleration to achieve goal in 2010.
 - Expanding Afghan National Army Air Corps (ANAAAC) capability; growing to 72 fixed wing aircraft and 67 helicopters by 2016
 - Building coordination with the ANP and NDS through five Operations Coordination Centers Regional and 29 Provincial
 - Increasing ANA infrastructure, completed 187 projects with 82 projects on-going and another 61 projects planned
- **Fielding**
 - 117 of 179 units fielded, 91,911 assigned of the 134,000 end-strength
 - NATO weapons and up-armored HMMWV fielding on-going; fielded 32,768 M16s and M4s, 1,760 M203s, 2,199 M249s, 1,138 M240Bs, 100 M2s, and 1,912 UAHs
 - 8 accelerated Infantry Kandaks for Hwy 1 security fielded between May – Dec 2009
 - 6 of 8 Commando Kandaks fielded, 7th kandak fielded Jan 2010
- **Fighting**
 - 76 of 117 units capable of leading operations
 - ANA has led 56% of the deliberate combat operations in the last 90 days
 - ANAAAC currently executes over 90% of air movement requests for fixed wing aircraft
 - SOF mentoring 5 conventional Infantry Kandaks, and partnering with 14 other units

Major Ongoing Problems

While there are clearly bright spots in ANA development, major problems remain. Pervasive corruption is one of the greatest challenges facing the force. This is evident at every level of the ANA, and in all regions of the country. The DoD Inspector General's Office found a number of examples of persistent corruption in visits to the regional commands:

ARSIC-Central ETTs:

Some corrupt ANA leaders appear to be getting around the Electronic Pay System (EPS) process in order to continue extorting soldiers' pay. For example, there are reports of officers and NCOs devising methods to

“get around the EPS system” to extort part of a soldier’s pay. This would occur, for example, when the soldier is required to give up his military ID card to the officer or NCO to obtain permission to go downtown to the bank. On his return, the soldier is required to pay to get the ID card back.

ARSIC-South, J3 Staff:

There is a problem in the 205th Corps with accountability and responsibility, not only for weapons and equipment, but also for personal behavior. There is no system in place for soldiers to be held accountable for their weapons, uniforms, assigned vehicles, or other equipment. There should be a functioning process and procedure for discipline at the Corps-level.

ARSIC-East, RCAC Mentors:

There is little accountability (e.g., clothing/inventory records), poor quality assurance and control, and virtually no consequences for loss or damage to equipment.

ARSIC-East, HQ Personnel:

For every 100 units of supply ordered by an ANA unit, on average, only about 80 or 90 will make it to the company. Additionally, 300 percent of the necessary cold weather gear had to be fielded to the 1st brigade, with no explanation for the duplication and no consequences to anyone for the loss and/or theft of the gear. And with no inventory records to document what has been issued to each soldier, the situation will not prove. ISAF/Coalition forces need to emphasize mentoring the concept of personal responsibility and accountability.

ARSIC-South, OMLT Mentors (Canada):

Very rarely is anyone punished for corruption or for losing equipment or uniforms, and if someone is reprimanded, it is usually quickly forgotten. A kandak commander from 205th Corps was caught stealing items from the unit’s mosque. When confronted, he blamed the interpreter, despite the fact that the items in question were found in the commander’s quarters. Although he was verbally reprimanded by the Corps Commander, supposedly court-martialed, and relieved of his command, the kandak commander went back to his unit and is still in command. Reportedly, a Corps Commander does not have the authority to relieve a kandak commander. That authority is held at the MoD. In another case, a kandak was issued 25 new vehicles, but while transporting them from the depot to the unit location, 21 of the vehicles were damaged or destroyed. No one was held accountable.

Paying for police commander positions is another manifestation of the wider corruption issue. Wealthy Afghans pay enormous sums (\$200,000 – \$400,000) to be installed as commanders. These sums seem outrageous, yet a police commander in the south can earn more than \$600,000 a year extorting and collecting taxes on the drug trade. Unfortunately, most police commanders are appointed directly from Kabul, rather than from the provinces in which they operate, complicating efforts to combat this practice.

While efforts to combat this corruption are ongoing, they have been hampered by a lack of enforcement of rules and regulations in both the ANP and ANA. Inspector General programs in the MoI and MoD are under-staffed, under-resourced, and under-mentored. According to an OMLT member, “they had no functioning military law or administrative punishment systems so even if they wanted to sanction someone it would have been impossible.”^{xv}

Related to the corruption issue is the problem of personnel accountability. ANA and ANP recruits are still not properly vetted. Personnel use this lack of vetting to abuse the system in various ways. For instance, a common practice among ANA soldiers stationed in the south is to go AWOL or leave after their first 3 years are finished and then head north to join the ANA again under a different name.^{xvi}

These problems are often enabled by the low motivation of the officer corps. Low motivation is by no means universal, and many ANA units have fought fiercely, and taken casualties. But stories about unmotivated ANA officers and enlisted men are common. One OMLT

member observed, upon visiting an ANA brigade headquarters “his [brigade commander Gen. Bashir] cell phone is their primary communications link. The G2 is off somewhere playing chess with a source, the G3 is driving around the city by himself looking for troops to jack up and the G4 is taking a nap. Most of the rest of the headquarters are off playing cards or chess or watching Bollywood videos on a cell phone.”^{xvii} This brigade was rated capability milestone 1 (CM1), the highest possible rating for an ANA unit.

Retention of personnel is another major problem in the ANSF. Retention is particularly bad with the Afghan Uniformed Police, (AUP) who lose approximately 150 policemen a month. This is caused by a number of factors. Pay to both ANA and ANP personnel is often irregular, and is frequently stolen by superior officers, despite the best efforts of CSTC-A to prevent this. Paid leave is also irregular in both forces, a major problem when soldiers and police frequently have to travel far through Afghanistan’s poor transport systems to reach their families and deliver the money they have earned. Many ANSF go on leave and are forced to stay on leave until their family gets enough cash together to buy the service member a ticket back to their unit.

Another factor that negatively affects retention rates in the ANA is unit rotation. There are essentially no regular unit rotations in Afghanistan.^{xviii} That means that ANA units stationed in the south or east, where fighting is constantly intense, never get a break. Meanwhile forces in the north rarely see real combat. Not surprisingly, this results in the units in constant combat having much higher attrition rates. Even during training, before units deploy to the south, desertions can be high. According to Lt. Col Daniel J. Walczyk, “as soon as they find out we are sending them to the south, we start losing them.”^{xix}

Detainee operations also pose a problem. While ISAF forces have recently revised their detainee procedures to better separate hard-core insurgents from more reconcilable ones, ANA detainee operations remain troubling.

A Canadian OMLT member described typical Afghan treatment of detainees:

“The army handed over detainees as soon as possible to the NDS, who tended to immediately release them. At the time, all detainee cases had to be resolved within 72 hours. No questioning was conducted, and any statements of identity taken at face value: to do otherwise was considered rude. In most cases the detainee would soon be released upon payment of a surety: only the friendless went to Sarpoza [the Kandahar detention facility]. We’d run into some of them again, and it’s fair to say every high level insurgent in the province had been through the mill at least once. More problematic to me was the disposition of detainees while in custody, either left to sit around in the intelligence office, or sometimes next to the brigade commander . . . for extended periods. It’s fair to say that any bona fide insurgent in ANA custody probably learned more from the experience than the other way around.”^{xx}

Illiteracy remains a major challenge to the development of the ANSF. Only 28% of Afghans are literate – 13% of females and 43% of males. About 70% of recruits to the ANSF are functionally illiterate. Some sources place the illiteracy rate of new recruits at 90%.^{xxi} The ability to read is necessary in a number of positions in the ANSF, most prominently NCOs and mechanics/logistics technicians.

While the problem of illiteracy was foreseeable and clearly solvable, CSTC-A’s literacy programs only recently became priority, and have thus far been marginally effective. The ANP and ANA literacy programs have run into many of the same problems affecting the rest of force development – a shortage of qualified teachers, a lack of PMTs and ETTs, the difficulty of reaching personnel in remote locations, poor oversight, and the demands of the security situation.

As with many other problems, illiteracy was worse among the ANP than the ANA. Unfortunately, CSTC-A “has not yet published a literacy development plan, with metrics to measure performance, nor issued clear guidance to its trainers and mentors on program oversight responsibilities.”^{xxii} While CSTC-A has recently begun to make literacy training a priority, it remains to be seen whether it will be effective at raising literacy rates in the ANSF.

ANA military intelligence also appears to have major problems. Intelligence issues are inherently difficult to discern from an unclassified perspective. However, it is clear that ANA intelligence capabilities are severely lacking. According to one Canadian intelligence office in a OMLT,

“The ANA intelligence section responsible for this area comprised five personnel. The two officers had received some training in their responsibilities; the NCOs had received only OJT. At the kandak level, the intelligence section was between 1 and 3 personnel. There is supposed to be one reconnaissance company per brigade, but throughout Afghanistan these are being used as regular infantry to hold fixed locations. That meant the combat intelligence teams had no information to evaluate other than the remarkably useless intreprs they would receive from Corps. All the officers had their personal and confidential network of contacts, but that information would never be written down or passed on. With nothing coming in, at battalion, brigade, even corps levels, there was no collation system, no battle map to update, no analysis to conduct, no briefings to give.”^{xxiii}

Equipment Issues

Finally, the equipment issues touched upon earlier need to be addressed in detail. ANA equipment is getting better, The Department of Defense stated in its June 2009 report on *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan* that,

M16 assault rifle fielding continues in the 201st Corps, 203rd Corps, 205th Corps and Capital Division. NATO weapons fielding will be complete by spring 2010. Commando *kandaks* are currently equipped with U.S. and NATO weapons systems that include the M4 carbine and 81mm mortars. As of March 2009, the CSTC-A program to refurbish existing artillery (122mm, D30) is funded and awaiting award of contract. CSTC-A is attempting to acquire additional D30 artillery systems to expedite artillery fielding. In addition to artillery, CSTC-A is currently in the process of fielding more than 4,100 high mobility multi-purpose wheeled vehicles (HMMWVs) to the ANA, with expected completion by mid-2010.

The fact remains, however, that ANA Corps commanders report that their soldiers have old and unreliable equipment left over from the mujahedin DDR process, and their ammunition is of lower quality and reliability than that of the insurgent. CSTC notes that not every unit will be given new Western equipment, but that five corps now have M-16s or reconditioned AK-47s, unarmored HUMVEEs, new uniforms and body armor, and the other equipment they need. It reports that the other Corps will get such equipment by the end of 2009. Accelerating the growth of the ANA may require new units to be formed with full combat support, but not combat service support, and older – though functional and reconditioned types of equipment.

Under-equipping Afghan forces is both morally reprehensible, and fiscally irresponsible. A trained Afghan soldier is far more expensive to replace than is his weapons and ammunition, should he become a casualty or fail to reenlist due to substandard equipment that puts him at undue risk. If partner troops who rely on NATO for support (ANA) are committed to combat, they should have modern equipment that is at least a match for insurgents, and reliable ammunition.

NATO/ISAF also needs to be sensitive to Afghan concerns that the ANA and its Air Corps eventually acquire the heavier weapons needed to defend the country without NATO/ISAF

support. It is easy to forget that Afghan forces once operated some 15 divisions with 1,300 tanks, over 1,000 armored fighting vehicles, large numbers of artillery and 120 jet combat aircraft plus armed helicopters. There is a clear need to concentrate on the insurgency, but NATO/ISAF must not forget that Afghanistan's neighbors are scarcely pacifists and issues like Afghan honor and prestige remain significant.

Current ANA Expansion Plans

The current structure of the Afghan Army, and estimates of its readiness, are shown in Figure 7. The ANA, like the ANP, has already proven its value in combat. In the near-term, the ANA will be the most essential element of the ANSF for the current fight because of the need to give shape and clear priority and because the ANP is not yet strong and capable enough to perform some aspects of the hold mission.

The ANA partners with ISAF and OEF forces in shape and clear operations; and while the ANP is arguably the appropriate eventual lead for holding as well as building, the ANP currently lacks the capacity and capabilities needed to play that role comprehensively. The ANA needs to be resourced for its de facto role in the current fight, even while more concerted efforts are made to build an effective ANP for the longer term.

CSTC-A reports that current plans call for growing the ANA from 91,911 assigned troops (as of June 30, 2009) to the target end-strength of 134,000 assigned troops by the end of calendar year 2011. Plans call for growing from the current 117 fielded ANA kandaks to 179. Already six of eight planned commando kandaks have been fielded. The Growth of the ANA is shown in Figure 8.

A total of 76 of the 117 fielded units are already capable of leading operations. These force expansion goals for the ANP can be achieved, and significantly accelerated with the proper changes in training and resources, but they must be kept in context. The original date for expanding the ANA to 134,000 was 2013, and resources have only recently begun to be programmed for a faster level of force expansion.

While growing the ANA may be desirable in terms of meeting the increasing threat from the Taliban, caution must be used in order to prevent a tradeoff of quantity over quality. This tradeoff is already happening to some extent. According to a Canadian OMLT member, "Increasingly the rapid growth of the organization [the ANA] nation-wide was working against efforts to improve quality, diluting those officers and men with potential in a bigger and bigger pool, and elevating mediocrities for lack of any better alternative. ISAF's focus on quantity over quality, which continues today, had already resulted in a significant reduction in the ANA's ability to contribute to the kinetic fight in our province by late 2008."^{xxiv}

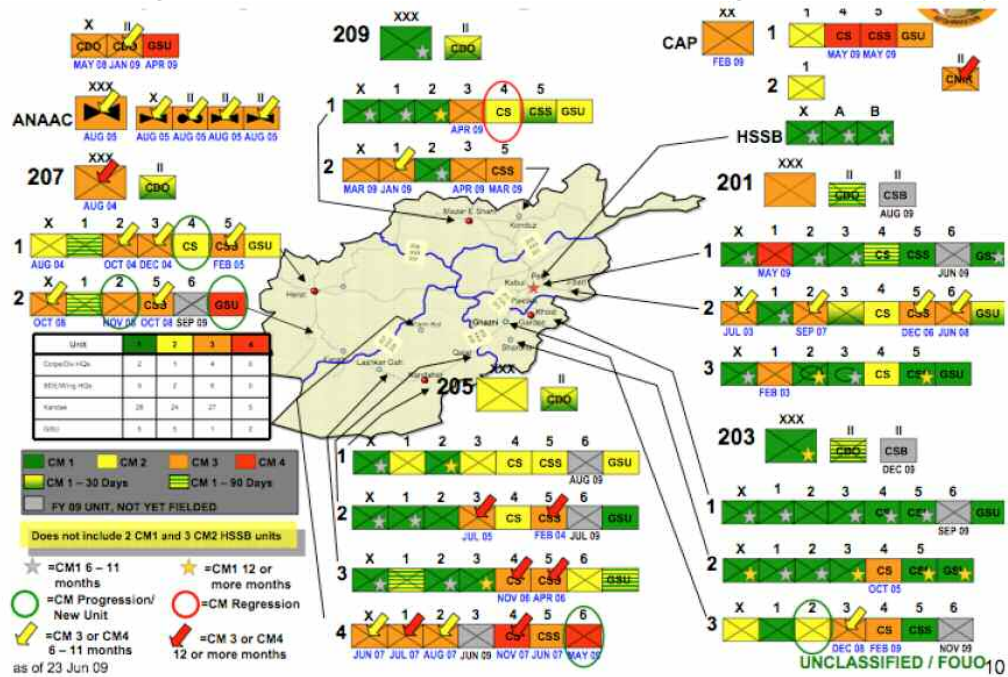
Figure Seven: The Size and Readiness of the Afghan National ArmyUNCLASSIFIED / FOUO¹⁰

Figure Eight: Growth of the ANA

ANA Force Numbers	As of
1,750	March 2003
6,000	September 29, 2003
6,000	January 22, 2004
7,000	February 2004
8,300 + 2,500 in-training	April 30, 2004
12,360	June 29, 2004
13,000	August 2004
13,350 + 3,000 in-training	September 13, 2004
13,000	December 2004
17,800 + 3,400 in-training	January 10, 2005
26,900	September 16, 2005
36,000	January 31, 2006
46,177	January 10-22, 2007
50,000	October 18, 2007
57,000	December 28, 2007
65,000	August 8, 2008
70,000	November 2, 2008
80,000	March 10, 2009
91,911	June 30, 2009

Note: Figures are approx. Adopted from: "Afghan National Army (ANA)" Institute for the Study of War. April 15, 2009. Pg. 3. <http://www.understandingwar.org/themenode/afghanistan-national-army-ana>

Creating the ANA Needed to Win

In summary, the goal for increasing the end-strength of the ANA should be raised to roughly 240,000, with allowances for more rigorous calculations as the war progresses NATO/ ISAF need to act immediately to close the current gap in partner/mentor support; and that NATO/ISAF plan adequately to provide mentors and partners for further ANA units to be developed. To succeed, however, NATO/ISAF and the US must carry out the following additional tasks to improve and expand the ANA:

- Focus on improving the quality of its effort to partner, mentor, and train ANA units in the field and to continuously monitor the success of its efforts to create truly effective forces. NATO/ISAF commanders at every level must make partnering and training key real-world parts of their operations and ensure that ANA units achieve true operational readiness.
- Identify and commit the resources needed to rapidly execute this expansion. These resources should include a third U.S. BCT on the model of the two new partner/mentor BCTs.
- Properly equipping and supplying ANA soldiers for combat must be a high priority.
- Alter the present CM rating system to rate actual combat performance; to gauge capability to conduct truly independent operations without enablers; and to track the success of partnering and mentoring.
- Ensure that ANA forces have proper NATO/ISAF support and enablers. This should not be a secondary role, when the ANA can be made a key part of operations. This reliance on NATO/ISAF should be reduced steadily with time, but it should not limit the development of the ANA, and the quality of partnership, in the interim.
- Constantly re-evaluate the deployment of the ANA and other ANSF forces to reflect the overall needs of the campaign and not the demands of Afghan politics and power brokers. Some ISAF and ANSF commanders in the field proposed to the Team that ANA forces be reapportioned across Afghanistan –

typically, with a net increase in their own respective battles paces. In practice, there does not seem to be much room for implementing unit rotation policies to relieve units now engaged in combat, since no region currently has a surplus of ANA forces, and since far more ANA forces are already deployed in relatively 'hot' areas, including the south and east, than in the north and west. MoD's fielding plans call for prioritizing the south, but NATO/ISAF needs to press the GIRoA to ensure that newly formed units are allocated where they are most needed, and not for political purposes.

The core element of a successful strategy will consist of a NATO/ISAF decision that the only cost-effective way to achieve an adequate overall mix of NATO/ISAF and ANA force levels is to fund a substantial further expansion of the ANSF. This means sustained financing of the ANA by the international community, probably first of all the United States Government, as well as other states and NATO as a whole. It means making it a matter of highest priority to meet growing requirements for mentors and partners. It means that ANA training centers must be expanded to include more regional centers and more capacity. Given the lead times, this decision should be no later than 2009.

Key Strategic Decisions about ANA Force Development

A successful US strategy to win the war in Afghanistan – and to create a true host country partner – will, however, require the full – *and ruthlessly self-honest and objective* – implementation of several additional decisions about the future of the ANA.

- *The first decision is to accelerate training and current force expansion goals, and to set a new goal for expansion of the ANA that will increase it from a goal of 134,000 men to 240,000 in 2014. This will mean a major expansion in funding, in training facilities and trainers, in equipment, and in mentors or partner units. Resources to do this well should be identified and committed concurrently.* Every regional and task force commander visited or interviewed indicated that such as expansion is now needed. If NATO/ISAF is more successful, then this process can be slowed and/or the force goal can be cut. Given the lead times, however, it is necessary to act now to begin this force expansion process, particularly if it is to be done both at the pace Afghans can support and to maintain the necessary force quality.
- *The second decision is to end the shortfall in NATO and ETT mentors, and resources.* There are no easy ways to quantify the present shortfall, but CSTC-A reports that the ANA had a need for a minimum of 67 OMLTs plus US trainers in July 2009. However, it had 56 OMLTs on the ground, of which only 46 were validated. American ETTs were also under resourced in the past, though ETTs are being replaced by the "two BCT" concept of providing mentors. The requirement for OMLTs also will expand along with the ANA. It will rise to 91 by the end of CY2010, and only a maximum of 66 OMLTs will actually be on the ground. This is a deficit of 25. Expert analysis is needed, but it may take the equivalent of a third new brigade combat team (changing the two-BCT approach to a three-BCT one) to correct this deficiency. Expanding to 240,000 men would require substantially more OMLTs plus additional ETT mentors, many of which must be carefully chosen to help the ANA develop critical new "enablers" like artillery, engineering, C2, medical services, as well as logistics and sustainability. The development of new 'enablers' is tied to the expansion of the branch schools that will provide depth to the ANA Orbat. These are not ETT members these are mentors in the NTMA orbat filling roles within CTAG-A.
- *The third decision is to create a full operational partnership, focused around the development of the ANA and key elements of the ANP, so that Afghans are a true partner in all NATO/ANSF and US operations and take the lead in joint operations as soon as possible.* It is not enough for NATO/ISAF units to partner with the ANSF. The ANSF must be made a full partner at the command level as well. Afghans should see Afghans taking the lead in the field as soon as practical, and as playing a critical role in shaping all plans and operations as well as in implementing *hold and build*. This often cannot be done immediately; it must be done as soon as possible. This can be accomplished by embedding a brigade combat team, brigade, or similar force into each echelon of each ANA Corps (which cover the same areas as the ANP regional commands) to provide the expertise and enablers to carry out joint planning, intelligence, command and control capabilities, fire support, logistic expertise, and other capabilities that the ANA now lacks and can acquire through partnership and joint operations with the US. Partners need to come back to join the Afghans when they are doing their collective training.

There is a fourth critical decision that the US, NATO/ISAF, the Afghan government, and the Afghan Ministry of Defense need to make. It is all very well to use a slogan like “shape, clear, hold, and build.” It is quite another to systematically implement it as part of a population centric strategy. No matter how much effort is made to improve the integrity, size, and capability of the various elements of the Afghan police, improve governance at the local level, and create an effective structure for prompt justice – there will be 3 to 5 years in which the ANA must play a critical role in various **clear** and **hold** efforts, and in securing **build** problems by local, aid, and government workers. No effort to make a population centric strategy work – or that relies on hope and rhetoric to make “shape, clear, hold, and build” work without explicit plans that reflect this reality can succeed.

The ANA Air Corps (ANAAC)

The Afghan National Army Air Corps will take time to form as an effective force, although it already is contributing to the COIN fight, and further contributions – particularly airlift and CASEVAC [CASEVAC vs. MEDEVAC better captures the majority of what the Afghans have done to date. MEDEVAC missions are beginning to be scheduled but lack of doctors and med-techs challenges them. Expanding the ANAAC could relieve ISAF of some key requirements, but ANAAC development plans must be tailored to Afghan needs and capabilities. There is a clear case for giving the ANSF at least the currently planned mix of airlift, battlefield, mobility, RW attack, multi-role trainer and attack capability, and ISR. This would expand the ANAAC from a total of 43 aircraft and 2,800 soldiers and airmen in October 2009 to 154 aircraft and over 8,000 soldiers and airmen by CY 2016.

One senior expert notes, however, that

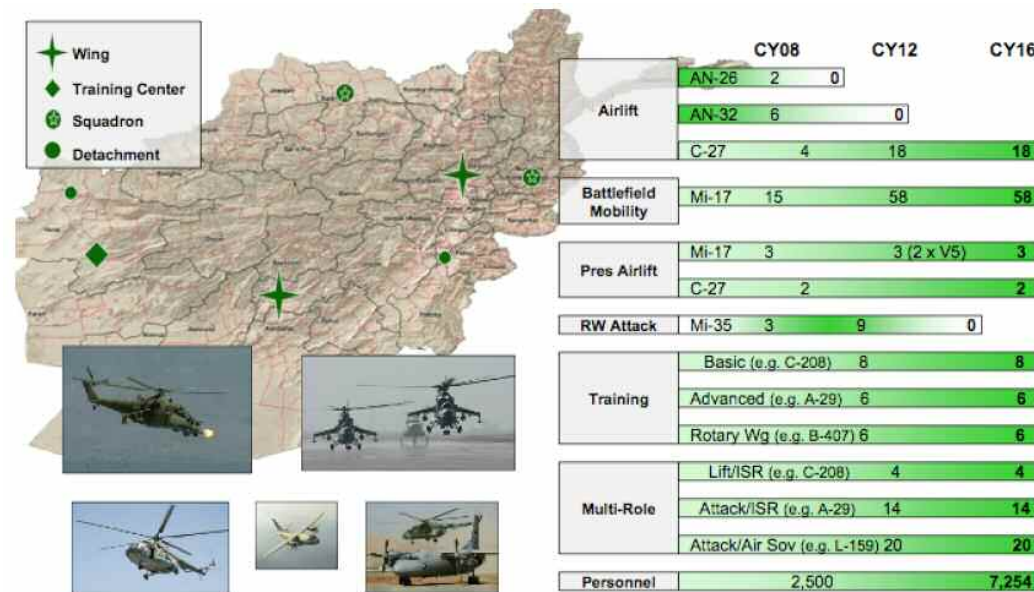
“Since just about every seemingly simple decision has to be made at the highest levels of ANA leadership (ANA GS/G3 or higher) timely decisions are very hard to come by.] – would [I would put ISR last since I believe it will be the last developed. The Afghans have a phenomenal HUMINT capability, but little to no high-tech ability or know-how. Additionally, their lack of C2 capability will inhibit near real time transmission of airborne-collected data.”

The mistakes the US and NATO/ISAF have made in using airpower over the last eight years have shown, however, that there is a broader and more urgent role that the ANAAC may eventually be able to perform. It can develop the skills to support NATO in targeting and managing air operations, and take on responsibility for vetting air strikes and air operations. Such a partnership would do much to assure Afghans that Afghan forces were true partners in all air operations and played the proper role in reducing civilian casualties and collateral damage. Such a “red card” role would present obvious difficulties, but it could in time be applied to all NATO/ISAF operations, including ground operations, in time. Working to make it effective now as well as a key partner and part Afghan and NATO/ISAF strategic communications could have major benefits.

At the same time, a senior expert warns that,

“[I can’t speak to the “mistakes” the US and NATO/ISAF have made in using airpower over the last eight years, and although I agree with what is said with regard to intent, it can NOT happen “now.” There is a twofold reason for this in my opinion: 1) lack of English skills severely hampers the Afghan airmen being accepted into the ICAO community of airmen. It is our long-term goal to help them overcome this, but the learning process is excruciatingly slow. Until the Afghans send the best candidates to English Language Training (be it by DLI or contracted teachers) rather than political candidates, I don’t see much change with regard to our expectations in the near term, and 2) their C2 capability is extremely immature; they continue to rely on “cell phone” C2 with little to know prior planning...from the highest levels of MoD and the ANA GS down to the lowest levels of “command.” (Command in quotes since their sense of command leaves much to be desired.) Just the process of having their Taskiel manning document reflect the requirement for C2 personnel to man the multiple C2 nodes (NMCC, ACCC, Base Operations/Command Post, and as we do integrate more and more with the IJC, the IJC JOC) is very slow in coming.”

Figure Nine: The Afghan National Army Air Corps



The Afghan National Police (ANP)

Like the ANA, the Afghan National Police have already expanded significantly in recent years. This expansion has been more slow than that of the ANA, reflecting both resource problems and just how late NATO/ISAF and member countries were in realizing that conventional police could not survive in a growing insurgency. NATO/ISAF also did not realize that how difficult it would be for the ANP to function as a civil police force in country without a functioning criminal and civil justice system in most areas; without courts and jails; and where the formal justice system is far more corrupt, ineffective, and harder to access for some 95% of the population than the informal local justice system.

The force goal for the ANP was still only 60,000 in February 2006, and for a country of some 33.6 million – a far larger population than in Iraq with a larger territory, a far more dispersed population, and far worse lines of communication and ease of movement at every level. It only rose to 82,000 in May 2007, and then to 86,800 in April 2009 and 96,800 in June.

The Current Status of the ANP Development Plans

The current size and readiness of the Afghan National Police are shown in Figure 10. The Afghan National Police (ANP) now includes several distinct forces: the Afghan Uniform Police (AUP), responsible for general policing; the Afghan National Civil Order Police (ANCOP), a specialized police force that provides quick reaction forces; the Afghan Border Police (ABP), which provides law enforcement at Afghanistan's borders and entry points; and the Counternarcotics Police of Afghanistan (CNPA), which provides law enforcement support for reducing narcotics production and distribution.

Detailed tables and graphics describing the size and readiness of the ANP are included in Annex A to this report. The Department of Defense described the progress and problems in the ANP as follows in its June 2009 report on *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*:

- The target for the ANP is to build a reformed force of at least 86,800 personnel. The ANP consists of the Afghan Uniformed Police (AUP), the Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP), the Afghan Border Police (ABP), Counternarcotics Police of Afghanistan (CNPA), and additional specialized police with responsibilities that include criminal investigation, counter- terrorism, and customs. Development of existing ANP forces continues at a slow pace because of the shortage of Police Mentor Teams.
- The MoI is instituting the Afghan Public Protection Program (AP3) as a pilot initiative in Wardak province. As of March 2009, the AP3 comprises 243 candidates and empowers and encourages local community leaders and communities to take responsibility for their own security.
- The goal for the ANP is 432 units, including district AUP units and specialized police units, rated at CM1. The number of CM1-rated ANP units increased from 17 in October 2008 to 24 in May 2009. The number of units at CM2 more than doubled, going from 13 units to 28.
- ...challenges with personnel accountability may lead to inaccuracy in MoI-reported force levels. The MoI has deployed 34 provincial teams to establish personnel and equipment accountability throughout the country. As of March 2009 the MoI had completed work in 341 of 365 districts.
- Between March 2008 and February 2009, nationwide recruiting numbers for all police programs was 17,191 (2,737 ABP, 3,562 ANCOP, and 9,468 AUP and specialty police). It is important to note that the MoI has not had any problems achieving any of their recruiting goals. Positive polling data on popular support for the police and the propensity to serve as well as recent experiences with FDD suggest that this

trend can continue.

- The MoI will transition from locally-based recruiting to a national recruiting system in 2009. The MoI is currently developing its own senior-level vetting system to ensure merit based promotions and to validate the quality of his current leaders. Rank reform was largely completed in 2008 with the total number of officers going from 15,001 to 6,820. At the highest ranks there are now 120 Generals down from 319; 235 Colonels from a high of 2,447, and 305 Lieutenant Colonels from 1,824. Officers took a written test as part of the reform process.
- Those that did not pass the test were provided a second opportunity to demonstrate their skills. The individuals who failed both tests were reduced to NCOs or patrolmen. Many candidate officers do not complete the vetting and training process. ANP ranks are further decreased by high casualty rates and the failure of ANP officers to report for duty.
- As of March 2009, the ANP is paid at parity with the ANA and all thirty-four provinces are using Electronic Funds Transfer to pay police. Electronic Funds Transfer is intended to eliminate the hand-to-hand method of payment that provides many opportunities for corruption. However, such opportunities persist. It is still possible for ANP commanders to demand a portion of their officers' salaries after disbursement from the electronic system.
- Police Mentor Teams (PMTs) are composed of both military and civilian personnel and train and mentor ANP units. More than 500 civilian police trainers and mentors are deployed with PMTs in the field and at training centers. The objective is to provide a PMT to every ANP unit. However, limited resources and the broad geographic scope of the ANP will necessitate additional training capacity and equipment if this objective is to be met.
- CSTC-A is currently able to provide PMTs to no more than one-fourth of all ANP organizations and units. Assuming that one-third of AUP districts will have PMTs assigned at a given time, minimum PMT manning needs to be 2,375 personnel. As of January 2009, 922 personnel were assigned to PMTs and six districts had PMTs provided by the Special Purpose Marine Air-Ground Task Force (SPMAGTF).
- U.S. maneuver forces that deploy to Afghanistan beginning in the spring of 2009 will have the additional mission of providing police mentors in districts where they are operating. The request for forces (RFF 920) that outlines this program projects that these U.S. maneuver forces will be able to provide 1,278 police mentors for the PMT mission.
- AUP districts will continue to undergo reform through the FDD program. Unit PMTs will participate in the district assessment, police training, and mentorship following the training to ensure that the teams are fully integrated into the FDD process.
- The remainder of the police mentor requirements beyond the RFF 920 sourcing was identified in RFF 937, which provides the full requirement for both ANA and ANP mentor teams over time. RFF 937 outlines the requirement for 1,097 police mentors and 3,349 Army mentors for FY 2009. The Joint Staff is currently planning to source RFF 937 with two brigade combat teams (BCTs). If this sourcing solution is approved, the BCTs will be terrain-oriented with one BCT responsible for the CSTC-A training team mission (ETTs and PMTs) in the west and south, and the other BCT responsible for the training mission in the north and east.
- To date, EUPOL ANP training and mentoring has only been executed at the regional and provincial levels. This restriction enhances the importance of NATO and other international ANP development programs that provide trainers and mentors down to the district police level.

CSTC-A provided the following additional summary of the status of the ANP at the end of June 2009:

- **Growing**

- Acceleration of 4.8K ANP for Kabul by Aug 2009

- Expanding by 10K ANP in 14 key provinces by Aug 2009

–Afghan National Civil Order Police (ANCOP) --16 of 20 battalions fielded

–Increasing ANP infrastructure, completed 102 projects with 331 projects on-going and another 351 projects planned

- **Reforming**

–Reinforce good policing where it exists

–Accountability Reforms

- Rank Reform (100%), Electronic Pay (98%), Electronic Funds Transfer (70%), and Bio-metrics (21%)

–Ministerial Reform Initiatives

–Financial Disclosure and Merit Based Appointments

- **Developing**

–Focused Border Development (FBD)

- Cycle 1 -3 complete; Cycle 4 and 5 on-going

–Focused District Development (FDD)

- 64 Districts and 12 Provincial reserve companies in FDD Cycles 1-8

–Ministerial Development

CSTC-A reported the following goals for near term growth:

- **Phase I: 4.8K Growth for Kabul**

–The 4.8K ANP growth approved by Washington D.C. and the JCMB

–Recruited, Vetted, Trained, and Fielded by elections

–Two Phase training program

–CSTC-A will have the resources to fund this entire requirement

- **Phase II: 10K Growth –Key Provinces**

–Approved in principle by JCMB in April 09; plan approved by IPCB in June 09, subject to the availability of funds

–The 10K will be deployed in 14 high threat provinces: Kandahar, Helmand, Uruzgan, Zabul, Nimroz, Paktika, Khost, Paktia, Ghazni, Nooristan, Badghis, Farah, Konduz, and Baghlan

–Two Phase training program

–The total cost of the 10K growth estimated at \$260M; coordinating with the International Community for funding

Afghan Priorities for Development of the ANP

The Afghan Ministry of Interior has its own near-term priorities for the development of the ANP and these may be summarized as follows:

- **Accelerate FDD & Other Programs**

1. International PMTs

2. Survivability (MEDEVAC/IED/Force Protection)

3. FDD/FBD/ANCOP

- **Eliminate Corruption**

1. Ministerial Reform

(Merit Based Appointment/Investigations)

2. Major Crimes Task Force / CN Justice Task Force

3. Inspection/International Audit Teams

4. Logistical/Financial Accountability

- **Improve Police Intelligence**

1. Anti-Crime Reorganization

2. Neighborhood Watch/Community Engagement

3. Technology (intercept/analyses/Kabul Camera)

4. Expand Expertise (Mentors/LEP/Forensics)

5. Enhance Counter Narcotics Operations

- **Increase Tashkil**

1. Kabul Increase now to 4,800

2. 10K Increases by Election

3. Increase to enable COIN "Hold"

- **Secure Key Cities & Highways**

1. Eliminate illegal Tolls

2. Expand APPF

3. Expand Partnering with SOF

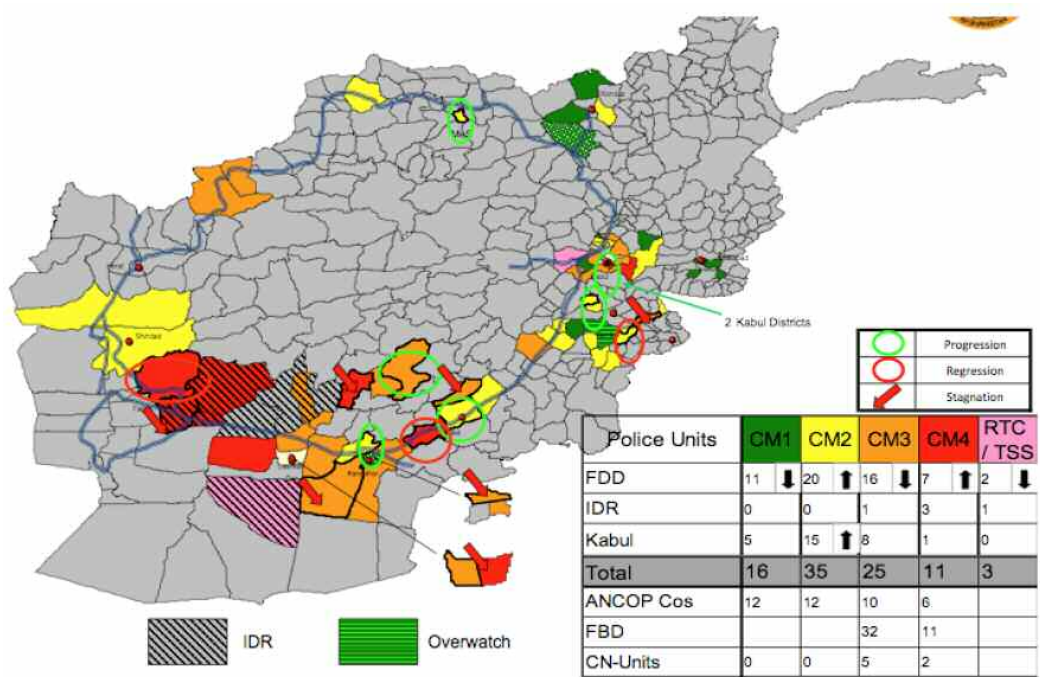
- **Secure Elections**

1. OCCRP Activation

2. Security and Protection of Candidates

3. Election Security Planning as of 15 Jun 09

Figure Ten: The Size and Capability of the Afghan National Police



Force Development and the Need for Greater Force Integrity

Some elements of the ANP have already achieved considerable capability and ANP forces have taken serious casualties and sometimes fought with great courage. Afghan police forces are at the forefront of the COIN fight, and this is reflected in their casualty rate: the ANP suffers casualties at three to four times the rate of the ANA.^{xxv} Since the removal of the Taliban regime, however, the international community has significantly under-resourced the building, training, equipping, and mentoring of the ANP.

As a result, the overall ANP force is woefully lacking in both capacity and capabilities. This is already mission-critical. The ANP should play the lead role in “holding” any area that has been cleared, and in providing security during “building”. These shape/clear/hold/ build activities should not be thought of as sequential in any given battle-space, let alone across the theater – instead, they are usually iterative, which makes a competent ANP all the more essential.

Today’s ANP is further crippled by elements that suffer from serious corruption, manifested most powerfully to the Afghan population by frequent street-level ‘shake-downs’ by the police. There are no disciplinary units at the provincial level to control police forces.^{xxvi} These problems are enabled by both corruption at higher levels of command within the MoI and in other local governance structures. Senior officials lack control of their personnel, and do not regularly monitor performance.^{xxvii} They are compounded by political interference, and by the lack of a robust justice sector.

NATO/ISAF must take immediate steps to properly resource the police training and development mission. Further, it must urgently review current ANP growth plans, which seem inadequate in terms of both timeline and capacity to meet Afghanistan’s policing requirements.

These programs cannot succeed, however, where political interference, corruption, and power-brokers block effective ANP action or ensure that it cannot be reformed. Power brokers have a clear incentive and desire to try to control and influence the ANP, as it directly threatens their operations. This must be understood and be included as part of the planning for ANP improvement. The political dimension of ANP development is as critical as the military and civil dimensions.

Moreover, the ANP cannot succeed in meeting one of the most critical demands of the Afghan people -- the need for prompt justice – unless ANP development is linked to the creation of effective courts and the rest of the formal justice and corrections systems, or use of Afghanistan’s informal justice system. Unfortunately, a gap exists between the ANP and the justice system. The DoD IG found that “The professional connection and cooperation between the ANP and the criminal justice/Rule of Law (ROL) system at the district level in Afghanistan was tenuous at best.”^{xxviii}

The major reason for this gap is the lack of justice personnel. Some districts simply have too few no judges and prosecutors, and many have none at all. The DoD IG found that “Regional Command-West PMTs reported in their monthly Capability Evaluation that in one district there was no prosecutor or judge available locally and, therefore, the police were unable (or unwilling) to arrest any suspect because a prosecutor’s guidance was required. Another report on a district in Regional Command-Central simply stated that its district AUP had no coordination with the

prosecutors, and therefore conducted no investigations and no arrests. As a consequence, the AUP does not develop the effectiveness intended or the credibility with the population.”^{xxxix}

The police-justice system gap is exacerbated by cultural and bureaucratic factors as well. According to representatives of the ROL Office at Embassy Kabul “prior to 2005, the police were not treated as part of the justice system in Afghanistan.” This problem was compounded because, “the police have been primarily trained as a military force, not a police force.”^{xxx} The relationship between justice personnel and the ANP has never been close, with MoJ officials describing the police as “thugs and non-professionals.”^{xxxi}

The FDD program has done little to erase this gap. According to the DoD IG, “a review of the basic eight-week ANP Program of Instruction revealed that of the total 263 hours allotted, only 28 hours were collectively devoted to topics such as ethics, the Constitution, penal code, criminal procedures, and human rights. The preponderance of instruction was directed at safety/survival instruction, terrorist tactics, counterterrorism, defense, and weapons qualification. Training in criminal investigations during basic police training received little attention.

The Regional Training Centers (RTCs), where the FDD training for the police is being accomplished, were also used to train Ministry of Justice personnel (prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges) through the State Department’s Justice Sector Support Program. Despite using common facilities, there had been no overlapping training between Justice Ministry students and ANP students. While at the RTC, in effect the two groups did not formally interact through receiving any joint training on how to professionally cooperate to assist one another in their respective functions to achieve common goals. This compartmentalized operational and training philosophy has repeatedly been identified as a potential problem by PMTs, PRTs, and Justice Training Teams.”^{xxxii}

Improving the Rule of Law will require strengthening of the informal justice system while trying to create links that tie it in some ways to the formal justice system that is too weak, too limited in coverage, and too corrupt to meet the needs of some 90% of Afghanistan’s population. Military security is not security, and there is no time to wait the decade or so it will take to create an effective formal justice system – if, indeed, the Afghan people want or will ever trust the systems Western nations are now trying to implement. There must be some form of function civil and criminal justice, and one that is administered locally, promptly, and in ways ordinary Afghans can access.

The ANP’s problems with corruption also cannot be corrected unless the criminal justice system is seen as less corrupt and subject to political influence. Fixing these problems reflects one of the most urgent demands of the Afghan people. An integrated approach to ANP development and improved popular justice is mission critical and may need substantially more resources on the justice side of the equation. If this effort is not made a key part of the hold and build phase, the problems that have done so much to empower the Taliban in so many areas – and demonstrate that the Afghan government lacks practical legitimacy regardless of how it is chosen -- will continue. Like the other key failures in civil-military operations that have been warned about earlier, a failure in this area risks losing the war.

Dealing with this practical crisis in the implementation of shape, clear, hold, and build requires NATO/ISAF, the US, and aid workers to work together to ensure that corrupt and incompetent ANP officials and officers are bypassed, excluded from NATO/ISAF support, publicly identified, and pushed out of office. It also means, however, using the same combination of

incentives and disincentives to give the ANP protection from corrupt and incompetent Afghan officials and power brokers when this threatens the integrity of the force and its ability to perform its mission. To date, NATO/ISAF, and the US and other countries, have often been part of the problem. They have tolerated too much or put too little pressure on at the top to support commanders and officials in the field. Empowering failure may be political, but it is also a way to lose. The ANP faces critical problems in winning popular support and acceptance. Unlike the ANA, which is the most respected institution in the Afghan government, there is a wide consensus that many elements of the ANP are too corrupt, and too tied to politics and to power brokers, to either be effective or win/retain popular support.

Reducing current levels of corruption in the ANP, and limiting the impact of political abuses and power brokers must be part of the operational plan in SCHB. NATO/ISAF cannot succeed in its mission unless these problems are sharply reduced, and the ANP can support the governance aspects of the hold mission by showing that they provide real security and prompt justice. As is the case with the ANA, fighting corruption and political misuse of the ANP are as critical as expanding forces. This can only be done through great improvements in ANP leadership, facilitated by far more robust mentoring and training efforts.

The Focused District Development Program

The Focused District development (FDD) program is described in Figures 11 to 13. It is still being refined and evaluated, but it may prove to be one key to this process. It is necessarily slow, however, because it is limited by the availability of formal trainers, coalition units to partner with the re-trained AUP units, and ANCOP units to backfill for the AUP during training. The Directed District Development program may offer a possible solution to provide a quick reaction capability, and this will need continuing reassessment to determine what scale of effort is practical. Both programs also need to be tightly focused on ensuring that they meet the needs in the population areas most threatened by insurgent activity and where providing the hold function is most urgent.

The Focused District Development program operates by taking the police off-line in entire districts, putting in replacement units, and putting the offline force through an eight-week training course. All the police from that district are then withdrawn simultaneously, sent to a regional training center together for 8 weeks to receive training appropriate to position and prior training and literacy levels, and re-equipped with all authorized equipment. Police who fail to graduate, or cannot be vetted, are removed from the police force. During training, the Afghan National Civil Order Police (ANCOP) cover the police district, and are withdrawn when the ANP return. Following their return, the police are monitored and provided with follow-on training, and police officers are trained further in specific topics to become trainers organic to the district.

As of February 2009, 52 districts had undergone FDD, as well as 25 city precincts. CSTC-A estimates that 2012 would be the earliest that FDD could be completed in all of Afghanistan's 365 districts.^{xxxiii} Accelerating the FDD program does not appear to be possible under current resource constraints, due to a lack of sufficient training capacity, a shortage of PMTs, and a shortage of ANCOP personnel to relieve the ANP while in FDD.

As with many aspects of ANSF development, the problems of the FDD program are exacerbated by a shortage of US and ISAF/Coalition training personnel. The shortage of PMTs is the most critical factor hindering the FDD program, according to CSTC-A. The total PMT requirement is for approximately 2,375 personnel. Only 39% of that requirement had been met as of May 2009. Of the 635 required PMTs, CSTC-A fielded only 90, and these were under-strength. The

decision to send an additional BCT to train the ANSF will significantly reduce this shortfall, but it will not eliminate it.^{xxxiv}

Additionally, while the ANCOP seems to have enough personnel to meet the current demands of backfilling police districts while they undergo FDD, the force is stretched thin. Efforts to conduct FDD without backfilling the force while it is away for training have proved unsuccessful. Any acceleration of the FDD program will require more ANCOP personnel to be trained, or an alternative force to backfill the districts in FDD must be found.

The Department of Defense described the program as follows in its June 2009 report on Afghanistan,

The Focused District Development (FDD) is a comprehensive program divided into six phases for assessing, training, and validating district AUP units. The program began in late 2007. Each phase includes units between seven and 11 AUP units. Fifty-two police districts out of a total of 365 districts in Afghanistan are currently enrolled in the Focused District Development (FDD) program.

To date, selection of FDD districts has focused on districts in the south and east, near the Ring Road. For the first seven cycles of FDD there were no formalized procedures for collaborating with international partners to select which districts would go through the FDD program. FDD cycle eight will incorporate a more collaborative approach to district selection. CSTC-A, through USFOR-A, approached ISAF to propose developing a more formal and integrated approach to district selection. CSTC-A, USFOR-A, ISAF, UNAMA, the ICMAG, and the MoI worked together to produce a prioritized list of FDD districts coordinated closely with the COIN strategy. This collaborative approach to district selection will be continued for future FDD cycles.

The first six cycles of FDD included only district-level AUP. However, cycle seven will consist of eight provincial police companies and four district units mentored by international PMTs (IPMTs) from Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. The inclusion of provincial ANP in the FDD is the result of the lack of PMTs. The fact that provincial police have assigned mentors has eased the PMT constraint and facilitated their inclusion in FDD. It is also of significant value to the provincial police chiefs and governors to provide a trained police resource for quick response to crises and to provide flexibility within the province. At full manning levels, the FDD program would take three years to complete. As mentioned above, there are significant shortages in PMTs and overall ANP training personnel.

... AUP districts will continue to undergo reform through the FDD program. Unit PMTs will participate in the district assessment, police training, and mentorship following the training to ensure that the teams are fully integrated into the FDD process.

An effort has been made to focus the training cycles on regions with high levels of insurgent activity, primarily in the East and South of Afghanistan. However, due to problems in threat assessment, and a lack of intelligence advisors, the selection of districts may not be linked to the priorities that would emerge from an integrated concept of operations based on better intelligence and planning. There are some indications that districts have been picked on the basis of districts in need of help, but not the districts that need the *most* help.

Given the broad limitations of the resources available, the FDD may offer the best chance of success that the ANP has had to date in meeting Afghanistan's most urgent needs. Districts that have undergone FDD have experienced significantly lower civilian casualties after completion of the program.^{xxxv} However, one of the consistent curses of the lack of credible transparency and reporting on virtually every aspect of U.S., allied, UN and Afghan government operations is that public and unclassified reports on the real-world result of plans and concepts have been "spun" into claims of success before they have had a real or lasting impact on actual performance.

Senior U.S. officers, advisors, and intelligence personnel raise serious questions about the extent to which the problems with corruption and power brokers in the ANP reassert themselves over time, although most agree that the program does produce at least some lasting benefits and improves popular Afghan perceptions of the police.

What is more serious is that they also question whether the FDD program, or any police reform program, can work without changing the basic environment in which the ANP now operates. The police cannot exist in a vacuum. If governance is excessively corrupt and subject to power brokers at the national, provincial, and local levels, the police inevitably will follow. If the police operate in an environment where they have to deal with the insurgency and organized crime to survive, they will do so. If there is no functioning rule of law with formal or informal courts and adequate jails, or prosecutors and judges are corrupt or vulnerable to political pressure, the police will become a law unto themselves.

Creating an Afghan National Police (ANP) that Can Clear, Hold, and Build

Once again, some key decisions are required about Afghan force development. Improving the various elements of the ANP, while less time critical in terms of direct combat operations, is equally urgent due to the ANP's central role in performing the *hold* function in population centers, without which COIN will not succeed. Such improvement, however, presents different challenges than improving the ANA.

The ANP currently suffers from critical problems in capability, leadership, corruption, and supporting governance. It is also affected by shortcomings in district and local levels of courts, legal services, and detention facilities necessary to implement prompt justice and a rule of law. Most of the ANP also lacks the ability to support the hold and build missions in the face of insurgent attacks, bombings, and subversion. In July 2009, the Afghan Uniformed Police had an authorized strength of 47,000 and 51,000 assigned. Strength, however, is only part of the problem. The ANP faces critical problems in winning popular support and acceptance. Unlike the ANA, which is the most respected institution in the Afghan government, there is a wide consensus that many elements of the ANP are too corrupt, and too tied to politics and power brokers, to either be effective or win/retain popular support.

As a result, NATO/ISAF plans raise serious questions as to whether the *hold* function can be performed with the NATO/ISAF and ANSF resources available, without a major expansion of, and improvement to, the ANP. Time is critical because the initial phase of the *hold* function will require a transition to proving regular policing activity and supporting the prompt administration of justice, and ANP are not yet sufficiently trained, effective, and free of corruption in this regard. At the same time, the build phase cannot be properly implemented unless the ANP has the capacity and integrity to support an effective civil rule of law by Afghan standards and custom.

There are several areas where NATO/ISAF and the US need to work with the Afghan government at the central, provincial, and local level to shape the future of the ANP:

- *First, reducing current levels of corruption in the ANP, and limiting the impact of political abuses and power brokers must be part of the operational plan for shape, clear, hold, and build. NATO/ISAF cannot succeed in its mission unless these problems are sharply reduced, and the ANP can carry out the political aspects of the hold mission and show that they provide real security and prompt justice. As is the case with the ANA, fighting corruption and political misuse of the ANP are as critical as expanding forces. This can only be done through great improvements in ANP leadership, facilitated by far more robust mentoring and training efforts.*

The Focused District Development (FDD) program is one *possible* key to this process. The program is still in development, and any effort to apply it is necessarily slow, because it is time and trainer/mentor limited. The Directed District Development program may offer a possible solution to provide an additional quick reaction capability, and this will need continuing reassessment to determine what scale of effort is practical.

Both programs also need to be tightly focused on ensuring that they meet the needs in the population areas most threatened by insurgent activity and where providing the hold function is most urgent.

No ANP programs can succeed, however, where political interference, corruption, and power brokers block effective ANP action or ensure it cannot be reformed. Power brokers have a clear incentive and need to disrupt this process, as it directly threatens their operations. This must be understood and be included as part of the planning for ANP improvement. The political dimension of ANP development is as critical as the military and civil dimensions.

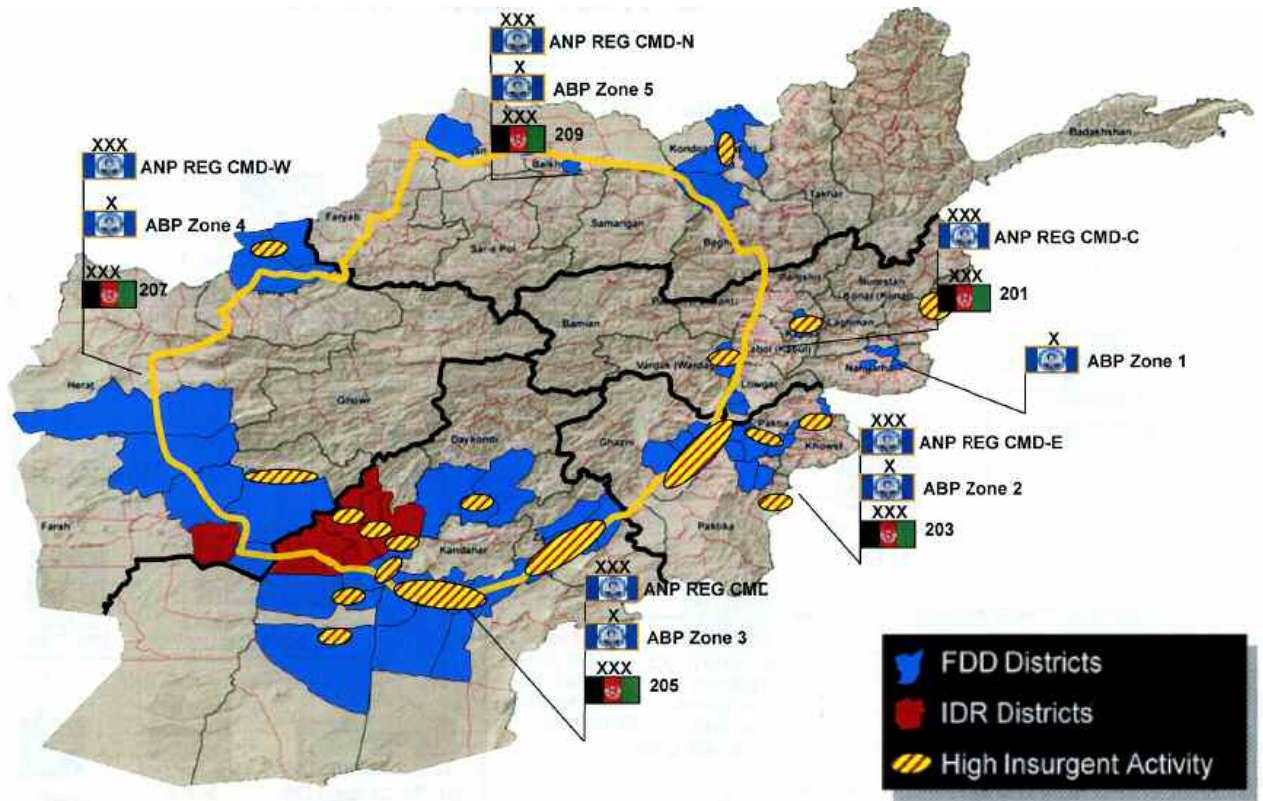
- *Second, major efforts need to be made to increase the size and quality of the ANP. NATO/ISAF should begin to expand the ANP and the other elements of the Afghan police from an authorized strength of 82,000 to 160,000. In Kabul alone, for example, the current goal for the ANP is 4,800 and commanders feel some 7,200 are needed. Current plans seem to leave the ANP underequipped for some aspects of its mission, in spite of current orders, and that additional attention is needed to improve the quality of its leadership and facilities.*

The ANP's most urgent immediate need in order to execute this expansion, however, is for is adequate numbers of qualified trainers and mentors who have the military experience and counterinsurgency background that will be required for several years to come. These must be placed under CSTC-A and the NTA-A, and not under civil leadership or trainers. The day may come when the ANP's main mission is conventional law enforcement in a secure environment, but that day is years away and the ANP needs to focus on security.

Filling these gaps will be difficult. The ANP faces even more severe shortfalls in partnering and training than the ANA. A CSTC-A report in July 2009 stated that the ANP needed at least 98 additional Police Operational Mentor Liaison Teams (POMLTs), plus added US PMT trainer/mentors by the end of CY 2010, and 46 more by the end of CY 2011. It is requesting a total of 182 POMLTs and BMTs by the end of CY2011. There will be a need for added PMTs as well. However, these requirements will be substantially increased if the goal for the end-strength of the police was raised to 160,000 by the end of CY 2014.

- *Third, a major reorganization is needed to strengthen several major elements within the ANP. These include elite gendarmeries or paramilitary elements to deal with counterinsurgency and key hold missions. These could build on ANCOP and police commando cadres. The Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP) are designed to provide more capable forces that can defend themselves, perform key hold functions in urban areas, and provide a lasting police presence in less secure remote areas. Its assigned strength was 3,345 in July 2009, and it had four fielded brigade headquarters and 16 fielded battalion headquarters. It could grow to 20 battalions by the end of the year; and significant further increases could take place in 2010. Other special elements may be needed to work with the NDS and ANA to eliminate any remaining insurgent shadow government, justice systems, and networks; and to deal with the investigation of organized crime and power brokers involved in gross corruption. The majority of the Afghan police can be trained to the levels of police capability suited to meet Afghan standards and needs.*
- *Fourth, the development of the ANP must be linked to improvements in the Afghan formal and informal legal processes to provide prompt and effective justice. The ANP cannot succeed in meeting one of the most critical demands of the Afghan people -- the need for prompt justice -- unless ANP development is linked to the creation of effective courts and the rest of the formal justice and corrections systems, or use of Afghanistan's informal justice system. The ANP's problems with corruption also cannot be corrected unless the criminal justice system is seen as much less corrupt and subject to political influence. Fixing these problems reflects one of the most urgent demands of the Afghan people. An integrated approach to ANP development and improved popular justice is critical and may need substantially more resources on the justice side of the equation.*

Figure Eleven: The ANP Focused District Development Program in March 2009



Source: CSTC-A. "Command Overview", March 28, 2009. Pg. 3.

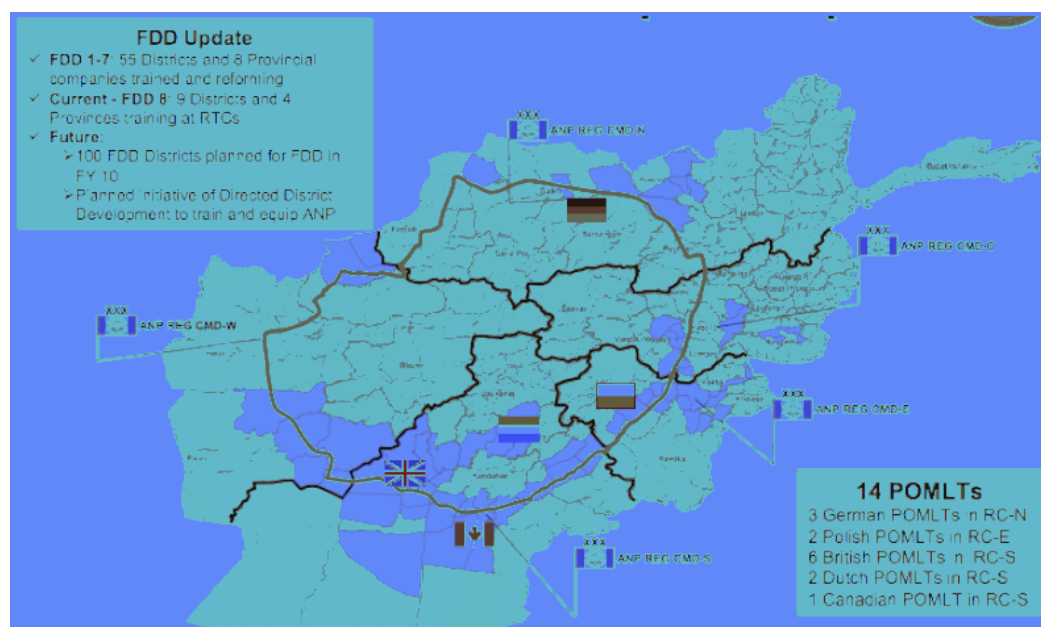
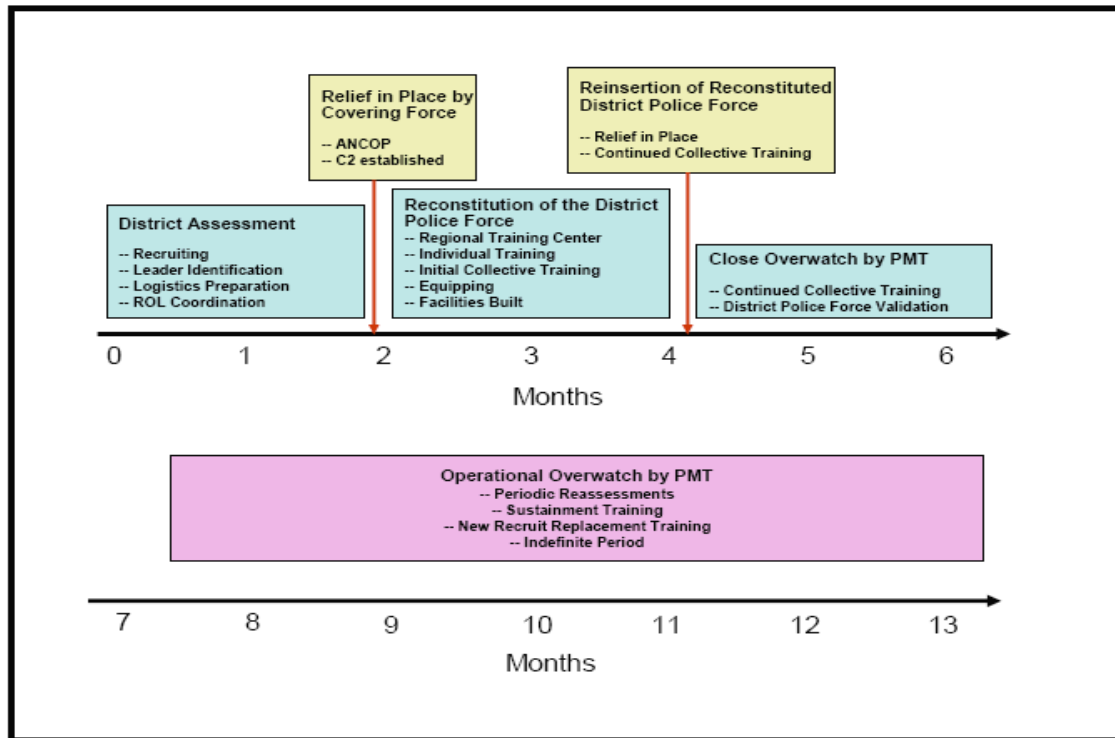
Figure Twelve: The Focused District Development Program in July 2009

Figure Thirteen: Typical FDD time Phases

Source: "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 126

Developing the Afghan Uniformed Police (AUP)

The Afghan Uniformed Police has an authorized strength of 47,000 and 51,000 assigned. It seems likely that a zero-based review will conclude that major efforts need to be made to nearly double the size and quality of the AUP. Recent decisions to add 4,800 police to Kabul, and 10,000 more in 14 provinces (including folding in some existing but non-tashkil police officers), are steps in the right direction, but are only a first step. CSTC-A's recommendations seem to be a good ballpark figure.

Once again, NATO/ISAF and the US will need to pay as much attention to force quality as force quantity and to making the ANP a true partner. The ANP now lacks the equipment to support the hold and build missions in the face of insurgent attacks, bombings, and subversion. Many current AUP lack adequate equipment and facilities – and such gaps urgently need to be addressed.

The Department of Defense states in its June 2009 report on *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan* that progress is being made, but this progress will still leave the ANP far too vulnerable for service in the hold and build phases of the conflict and to protect itself in high threat areas,

The ANP is equipped with light weapons, including AK-47s and 9mm pistols. Most police elements also have light machine guns. The ANP will be provided heavy machine guns later in 2009 in recognition of the increased threat and capabilities of enemy forces operating in the border regions. ANCOP units will also be provided heavy machine guns. Former Warsaw Pact weapons are provided through donations or through U.S.-funded purchases. Specialty organizations, such as counternarcotics and counterterrorism police receive

equipment consistent with their mission.

The ANP is provided Ford Rangers as light tactical vehicles (LTVs) and International Harvesters as Medium Tactical Vehicles (MTVs). The ANCOP is currently fielded with LTVs and MTVs, but these will be replaced with armored HMMWVs in late fall 2009. Ambulances are scheduled to be provided in March 2009 to ANCOP and ABP elements. CSTC-A is building an Internet Protocol-based network and a wireless radio network for the ANP and the MoI. The networks will connect the five regional commands, all 34 provinces, and as many of the districts as possible. CSTC-A is also installing network and radio systems in Regional and Provincial Operational Coordination Centers that will be linked to the MoI National Police Command Center (NPCC) and the MoD NMCC. Based on current fielding plans, the networks will be completed by 2012.

At present, however, the most urgent need seems to be trainers and mentors. The AUP faces even more severe shortfalls in partnering and training than the ANA, and any end-strength increases, though very welcome, will only exacerbate the gap. According to CSTC-A, the ANP needs a minimum of 38 POMLTs by the end of CY 2009. It now has 14 POMLTs on the ground. The deployment of a third U.S. BCT would help meet the most urgent of these needs, but the goal of 38 POMLTs represents the impact of past under resourcing of the ANSF, and is roughly half the real requirement.

Even if no decision is taken to double the ANP, past plans indicate that the CSTC-A will need at least 98 additional POMLTs plus added US PMT trainer/mentors by the end of CY 2010, and 46 more by the end of CY 2011. It is requesting a total of 182 POMLTs and BMTs by the end of CY2011, and there will be a need for added PMTs as well. These requirements will, however, be substantially increased if the goal for the end-strength of *all* elements of the police is raised to 160,000 by the end of CY 2014.

Developing the Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP)

The Afghan Civil Order Police (ANCOP) are designed to provide higher-end police capabilities – specifically, to maintain civil order in urban areas, and to provide a police presence in less secure remote areas. The current ANCOP authorized strength is over 4,000 men. Its assigned strength is 3,345, in four fielded brigade headquarters and 16 fielded battalion headquarters. Current plans call for growing the ANCOP to 20 BNs by the end of the year; if an increase in ANP target end-strength is approved, that growth would include corresponding increases in the ANCOP.

Other ANP Force Development Tasks

NATO/ISAF must carry out additional tasks to support the ANP and meet the needs of the Afghan people:

- ISAF Regional and task force commanders need to work with mentors to integrate partnering, mentoring, and training ANP units in the field in ways that will help create effective forces. It also is not enough to use the current rating system; NATO/ISAF commanders at every level must make partnering and training key real-world parts of their operations and ensure that ANP units achieve true operational readiness and it must be clear where such activity is adequate and where it is not.
- Partnering means ensuring that ANP forces have proper support when they come under attack from threat forces. This means strengthening NATO/ISAF and ANA quick reaction forces, but it may also mean strengthening the ANP's ANCOP forces, and providing armored vehicles. Furthermore, it is a further reason for fully supporting the ANA Air Corps development plan to provide mobility and air support.
- As long as ANP forces are so limited, NATO/ISAF needs to press the GIRoA to ensure that ANP forces that have been re-blued, and are judged competent, are allocated where they are actually needed, and not for political purposes.

- NATO/ISAF provide the basic equipment necessary for ANP forces to survive engagement with limited numbers of insurgent forces and mobility necessary to perform their mission.
- NATO/ISAF should adjust its readiness rating system for the ANP that explicitly assess the degree of corruption in individual units and areas. There should be public pressure for performance and reform, and to show NATO/ISAF is making real efforts to aid the Afghan people.
- NATO/ISAF efforts to expand the role of regional training centers to relieve the burden on existing centers needs to be accelerated, and putting this training under CSTC could improve its quality and focus.
- Finally, NATO nations need to commit the fiscal and human resources to making ANP development work. This may involve approaches with which some countries are uncomfortable, such as using non-governmental hiring practices to get sufficient numbers of qualified police mentors. This includes not only police trainers, but police managers who can help the ANP and the MOI improve the structure and performance of Afghan law enforcement systems.

Afghan Border Police (ABP)

The Afghan Border Police currently have limited effectiveness and significant problems with corruption where they are deployed in areas that involve significant commercial traffic across the border. The Focused Border Development Effort may help this situation, but its effectiveness is more uncertain than that of the FDD. The Program is summarized in Figure 14, and the Department of Defense described it as follows in June 2009:

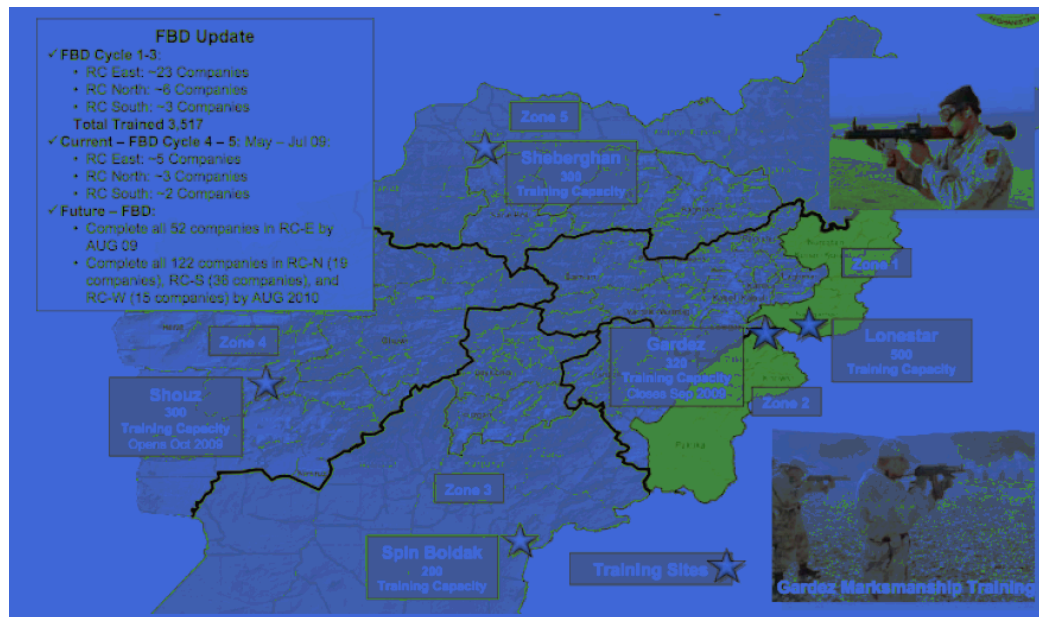
Focused Border Development (FBD) is a program designed to enhance the effectiveness of Afghan Border Police (ABP) line companies in the RC-East area of operations. CSTC-A and CJTF-101 have partnered to accelerate the fielding of ABP companies in these areas. FBD will man, train, and equip 52 companies. Following the training and equipping stage, the ABP companies will establish partnering relationships with CJTF-101 units. The program is in the process of expanding to six companies in RC-South and eight companies in RC-North. Initial reports from partner units indicate positive progress, with ABP companies returning from training with increased capability to conduct operations. Eighteen companies have completed the training as of March 2009, which amounts to 1,677 border police trained. Additionally, 784 ABP are currently in training. ABP companies are provided with vehicles, weapons, and communication assets as they complete their training cycle.

The FBD program is different, and less effective, than the FDD program in a number of ways. ABP units do not come off-line to attend training as a unit. Instead, groups of 30-40 personnel at a time are selected by the Kandak commander to undergo training. This is done because there is no ANCOP equivalent to backfill for an entire ABP unit. Additionally, there are no assigned military training teams to carry out FBD. Instead, local Coalition battle commanders assign mentoring teams. Finally, two different contractors (DynCorp and Blackwater) have contracts to carry out FBD in different areas. Each contractor until had a different training program, depriving the ABP of a homogeneously trained force. CSTC-A has recently adopted a single standardized FBD program.^{xxxvi}

In the future, Afghanistan will require a competent and sufficient border police function. The ABP already has an authorized strength of 17,600 and 12,800 assigned. However, border forces are notoriously difficult to create, Afghanistan's geography and historical border disputes make border enforcement all the more difficult, and NATO/ISAF and the ANSF have more urgent priorities.

Present plans to develop the ABP should be executed, and the Focused Border Development program may help to improve performance and reduce corruption. As is the case with the ANP,

these efforts should be complemented by specific technologies including biometrics and ISR, to the extent feasible. Border protection, however, should not be a priority area for NATO/ISAF action or additional forces and capabilities.

Figure Fourteen: The Focused Border Development Program

The Afghan Public Protection Program (AP3) and Other Local Security Forces

The Department of Defense describes the AP3 program as follows in its June 2009 report on Afghanistan:

The Afghan Public Protection Program (AP3) is a current MoI initiative. The AP3 is an Afghan-initiated and Afghan-led program that relies on increased community responsibility for security. The AP3's mission is to enhance security and stability, strengthen community development, and extend the legitimate governance of the GIRoA to designated districts in key provinces through community-based security forces. The AP3 comprises security forces under MoI authority, closely coordinated with the ANA, ANP, and international forces. The AP3 leverages the same community elder groups that the Independent Directorate for Local Governance (IDLG) has worked with through the Afghan Social Outreach Program (see below). These community elder groups select members of the security forces. The AP3 pilot began in Wardak province in RC-East in March 2009. Wardak province was selected to facilitate partnering and monitoring by U.S. forces. Once the program has been validated it will be expanded to other areas.

In practice, the AP3 program is focused on securing areas roughly the size of a district (note that traditional structures, such as shuras, may not line up with district boundaries, so they may not exactly mirror districts). The goal of the program is to involve the people in keeping their neighborhoods clear of insurgents once they have been cleared and while they are being held. The program can best be described as a contract among three primary groups:

- Coalition Forces (both battle space owners and special forces, who train the guardians);
- The GIRoA, to include the Governor, MOI and the ANP;
- The people of a district

The coalition forces' role is to ensure that the district is secure enough so that the APPF will not be overmatched by organized insurgent forces. The GIRoA's job is to provide both proper administration and oversight of the effort through the MOI and ANP, respectively, and to develop consensus among the key local leaders so that they will not only support the program, but also provide reliable manpower for it. The people's role is, through community and district councils as well as informal structures, to nominate military aged men (25-45) to serve in the guardian force and to provide popular support to it.

All three sets of players, as well as the NDS, help in vetting recruits. Special forces ODAs train and mentor them to ensure they continue to improve and do not become militias. The ANP commander for a province oversees the program, and the MOI pays the soldiers through direct deposit.

The underlying premise of the Afghan Public Protection Program (AP3) is that neither ISAF nor the ANSF have sufficient strength to provide security for local communities, and members of local communities – if properly selected, trained, and overseen – are capable of providing some first-layer security. AP3 may also free up some AUP from providing fixed site security, or manning local check-points, thus allowing them to focus on policing tasks. That premise – especially in the absence of sufficient ANSF during the 12-24 month near term – is tantalizing enough to make AP3 worth exploring further. At the same time, failed past experiments with

community-based forces – most notably the Afghan Auxiliary Police – underscore that the GIRoA and ISAF must exercise caution in several distinct ways.

First, it is imperative to comprehensively assess the successes – and challenges – of the AP3 test pilot in Wardak province. By most reports (the Assessment Team is writing before visiting the province), the training of the initial AP3 class proceeded smoothly, and the group was well-received back in their home community, but subsequent classes may have encountered glitches.

The pilot program suggests some broad lessons:

- First, community-based security forces need to be fully supported and vetted by local community leaders; they should be overseen in some form by the ANSF; for the foreseeable future ISAF needs to play a strong advisory and oversight role; and like many other security efforts, success may be catalyzed by linkage to locally-based development initiatives.
- Second, ISAF commanders and Afghan officials at all levels caution against a blanket application of a single AP3 model in all geographic areas. Community-based security forces will only work if they enjoy full legitimacy from their home communities, and their shape and nature may need to vary by area. Furthermore, in some areas, the basic premise of a community-based force linked to official GIRoA structures may founder as a result on the community's current strong antipathy toward Kabul.
- Third, it is essential that Kabul-based GIRoA retain approval authority over the formation of community-based security forces, on the fundamental Weberian principle that the state exercises the monopoly on the legitimate use of force in its territory. Though little known outside theater, there is already a small proliferation of 'home-grown' forces, including not only AP3, but also the KAU in Uruzgan, and the Helmandi Scouts...and possibly more.

Regional and task force commanders across the theater are actively – and sometimes skeptically – considering the application of AP3 to their battle spaces. ISAF HQ ICW the ANSF and security ministries should take a hard look, now, at options and opportunities to expand AP3. That hard look needs to include, for any given geographic area, a clear definition of the requirement for a local force; and clearly assigned training and oversight roles to ANSF and coalition forces respectively.

In Wardak province, U.S. SOF are playing two key roles – training the ANP trainers, and providing embedded oversight of trained AP3 units, and links to US enablers and fire support. However, U.S. SOF is a precious and limited commodity, and likely cannot play that role for all AP3 should the program expand significantly. The next pilot, scheduled for Kunduz province, seems not yet to have met these prerequisites – and seems to have taken the RC Commander by surprise.

The creation and use of AP3 forces must also be based on a coordinated approach developed by regional and local NATO/ISAF, ANA, and ANP commanders -- working closely with the provincial and district governor where this is possible. AP3 forces should not be imposed, and must be tailored to support all local conditions in ways that do not compete with other elements of the GIRoA, the ANSF, and NATO/ISAF forces.

ISAF should also work closely with the ANSF and security ministries, now, to plan the 'way forward' for the AP3, including transition into service in the ANSF, or vocational training and transition into civilian jobs.

Counternarcotics

There is no question that narcotics are a major source of corruption and problems for the Afghan government – as well as a source of suffering for the Afghan people and nations throughout the world. The solution, however, lies in providing substitute crops and the markets and food processing that will give Afghan farmers a living, and not in eradication per se. This is a long term solution that can only come with security in many areas, and sometimes after substantial aid and development. Efforts to combine eradication with alternative crops must be combined and carefully phased so as to not alienate the Afghan people and thus empower insurgents in contested areas.

This does not mean, however, that counternarcotics are not an important part of security operations. Narco-traffickers both help fund the insurgency *and are a key source of excessive corruption and the abuses by various power brokers*. They undermine support for the Afghan government and undermine the effectiveness of the ANP and ANB. Accordingly, NATO/ISAF should focus on helping the Afghan security forces arrest the traffickers and related criminal networks and officials, and on making it clear which officials and informal power brokers are tied to drugs as a public way of pressuring them to change their behavior.

This does not mean that NATO/ISAF should not work to eradicate drugs in areas where they clearly help finance the Taliban. Such action, however, must be carefully targeted, and should not interfere with shape, clear, hold, and build operations which require popular support. In these cases eradication should only take place where there are immediate and credible options to provide alternative crops.

Conclusions: Fully Addressing the Challenges of Force Development

There are many more detailed steps that can help boost the capacity and capabilities of the ANSF to first of all ensure that NATO/ISAF and the Afghan government collectively, win the fight, and second, to accelerate the timeline for an eventual drawdown of NATO/ISAF forces. The key challenges are developing goals for the expansion of the ANSF that can ensure that the combined total of NATO/ISAF and ANSF forces can perform the mission, that realistic decisions are made about the respective roles, over time, of the ANA and ANP in “holding”; that ANSF forces have the proper training and support, and that active efforts are made to reduce the problem of corruption and political influence in the ANA and ANP. Each case requires urgent action.

It should also be recognized that any approach to ANSF force development requires efforts that are both innovative and necessarily experimental. Many aspects of NATO/ISAF’s shape, clear, hold, and build strategy involve major uncertainties, and that there is no precise way at this point to determine what kind of combined NATO/ISAF and ANSF troop to task ratio will succeed. It is far easier, however, to scale back an ANSF expansion program than to cope with one that does not meet the need. It also is clear that investments in the ANSF, CSTC-A, and added mentors will be far cheaper than any practical alternative.

At the same time the US, its NATO/ISAF allies, and the Afghan government must look beyond force development in the narrow sense of the term. Afghanistan and Iraq have both shown that the United States must look far beyond the normal definition of counterinsurgency to determine how it can conduct armed nation building as a critical element of hybrid warfare. This requires an integrated civil-military effort in which providing lasting security for the population, and economic and political stability, will often be far more important than success in tactical

engagements with enemy forces. It also requires the US to understand that important as its traditional allies are, the key ally will be the host country and not simply its government but its population.

How to Use Host Country Forces to Win a War – And Lose One

Shaping the full range of host country security forces – from armed forces to regular police – has already proven to be a critical element in building such an alliance. No amount of experience, area expertise, or language skills can make US forces a substitute for local forces and the legitimacy they can bring. The US cannot structure its forces to provide a lasting substitute for the scale of forces needed to defeat an insurgency, deal with internal tensions and strife, and fight what will often be enduring conflicts, while also fulfilling other US national security requirements.

No US efforts in strategic communications or aid can substitute for a host government's ability to both communicate with its own people and win legitimacy in ideological, religious, and secular terms. Key aspects of operations – winning popular support, obtaining human intelligence, minimizing civil casualties and collateral damage, and transitioning from military operations to a civil rule of law – all depend on both the quality and quantity of host country forces, and a level of partnership that assure the people of a host country that the US will put the host government and host forces in the lead as soon as possible – and will leave once a host country is stable and secure.

The US has taken more than a half a decade to learn these lessons in both Afghanistan and Iraq. It has made major progress in recent years, but its efforts remain deeply flawed. The US military as well as outside military analysts still have not learned many of the painful lessons of Vietnam, Lebanon, and previous advisory efforts. At the same time, a US “whole of government” integrated civil-military effort, and true civil-military joint campaign plan represent at best a work in progress and often are little more than a triumph of rhetoric over reality.

Some of the gravest problems lie on the civil side, and the failure of the State Department and the civil departments of government to develop the necessary operational capabilities even after more than eight years of war. The US military, however, has yet to demonstrate that it can effectively and objectively manage its efforts to develop host country forces in ways that honestly assess their progress, the trade-offs needed between quality and quantity, and the need to create partners, rather than adjunct or surrogate forces.

This is partly a failure at the formal training level – sometimes dictated by unrealistic efforts to accelerate force quantity without considering the real world pace at which progress can occur. The pace of host nation force development can be slowed by a number of factors, including: national traditions and social values, the impact of a lack of political accommodation and capacity in the host country government, and the impact of ethnic, sectarian, and tribal divisions within the armed forces.

There also, however, have been two chronic failures in US efforts.

- One is the inability to properly structure efforts to create true partners once new units complete the formal training process and provide the proper quality and number of mentors, partner units, enablers, and efforts to integrate higher level command structures. Far too often the US has also sought to rush new battalion-sized combat elements into service to meet its own short term needs without considering the resulting

problems in quality, force retention, and host country perceptions of the result. Expediency has led to fundamentally misleading ratings of unit war fighting capability like the CM rating system, using up half-prepared forces in combat and major leadership and retention problems. The US and NATO/ISAF are turning out the minimum possible standard to meet the timeline given. The result is poorly trained soldiers and a low retention rate.

- The other is a series of far more drastic failures to create effective police and security forces. These include the failure to properly assess the need for paramilitary police that can operate in a hostile counterinsurgency environment; the need to structure other police and security elements in ways that suit the constraints imposed by a lack of government capacity, corruption, differing cultural values; and the need to create a “rule of law” or civil order based on host country standards rather than US or Western values.

The US will lose the war in Afghanistan unless it makes far more effective efforts to correct these problems in what now seems likely to be an effort to accelerate training to reaching current force goals while doubling the overall size of the force. Military action is only a part of the strategy needed to win in Afghanistan, but no other effort towards victory will matter if the Afghan people cannot be given enough security and stability to allow successful governance, the opportunity for development, and an established civil society and rule of law that meets Afghan needs and expectations.

The creation of more effective host country forces is critical to achieving these ends. NATO/ISAF and US forces cannot hope to win a military victory on their own. Their success will be determined in a large part by how well and how quickly they build up a much larger and more effective Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) first to support NATO/ISAF efforts, then take the lead, and eventually replace NATO/ISAF and US forces. The challenge is find a workable trade off between how well is ‘good enough’ the how quickly is as fast as possible.

No meaningful form of success can occur, however, without giving the development of ANSF forces a much higher priority. The US and other NATO/ISAF nations need to act immediately to begin to support and resource NTM-A/ CSTC-A plans to accelerate current ANSF force expansion plans. They also need to act immediately to establish the groundwork for further major expansions of the ANA and ANP by 2014-2016. Recent planning efforts indicate that such an effort must nearly double the ANA and ANP, although early success could make full implementation of such plans unnecessary. Making a fully resourced start will ensure that adequate ANSF forces will be available over time, and greatly ease the strain of maintaining and increasing NATO/ISAF forces. Funding such expansion to the ANSF will also be far cheaper than maintaining or increasing NATO/ISAF forces. At a key moment of expansion mentor strength is decreasing because the priority of effort is based on operations rather than training

But, such efforts must not race beyond either Afghan or US/NATO/ISAF capabilities. Quality will often be far more important than quantity, and enduring ANSF capability far more important than generating large initial force strengths. US/NATO/ISAF expediency cannot be allowed to put half-ready and unstable units in the field. It cannot be allowed to push force expansion efforts faster than ANSF elements can absorb them or the US/NATO/ISAF can provide fully qualified trainers, mentors, and partner units and the proper mix of equipment, facilities, enablers, and sustainability. At the moment, the US and NATO/ISAF are producing quantity not quality, and that is the inevitable result of speed of production

US/NATO/ISAF expediency cannot afford to ignore the impact of Afghan cultural needs, regional and ethnic differences, family and tribal structures, and the real world “friction” that affects force development. Slogans and rhetoric about ideological goals, leadership, and morale

cannot be allowed to lead the force development effort to ignore Afghan material realities: problems in pay, corruption, problems in promotion, inadequate facilities and equipment, poor medical care, overstretching or over committing force elements, problems in supporting families, vulnerability to insurgent infiltration and threats, and a lack of meaningful compensation for death and disability. The US military and NATO/ISAF have systematically ignored such problems in the past, in addition to understating or lying about their impact. As one expert puts it, "In my view the biggest single issue is the J1 piece where at the moment we can not be sure that promotion is on merit or that people are posted on a regular systematic plot."

It may be conceptually attractive to compare the price of creating Afghan forces to those of deploying US and NATO/ISAF forces. It is certainly clear that the US and NATO/ISAF cannot or will not deploy and sustain the forces necessary to compensate for any failure to expand Afghan forces. It will be a disaster, however, if the real world problems in creating truly effective ANSF partners are not fully addressed and equal attention is not given to correcting these problems. Each problem is a way to lose, and force expansion that fails to solve them cannot be a way to win.

They also need to realize that improvements in the training base are needed to emphasize training at the Kandak level, and that these units must be integrated and trained as whole unit before going out into the field. These improvements proved to be very beneficial in Iraq, and while they could make the training effort longer – not shorter – they pay off the moment units become active in the field. At the same time, no element of the ANSF can simply be trained and thrust into operations. Moreover, the key to success is not the quality of the training in training centers, but the quality of the partnering, mentoring, support, and enablers once a unit enters service. This requires an ongoing, expert effort per unit for 6 to 12 months at a minimum, and the CM definition of a "in the lead" is little more than a joke.

Realistic efforts to shake out new units, give them continuity of effective leadership, deal with internal tensions and retention problems, and help them overcome the pressures of corruption and power brokers take time and require careful attention to continuity from the embedded training/mentoring effort. Partnering and the creation of effective units in the field is an exercise in sustained human relationships, and short tours and rapid changes in US and NATO/ISAF trainers can be as crippling as the assumption that training is more critical than mentoring and partnering.

Further shifts will be needed in the structure of training and partnering as ANSF forces move into populated areas and take on the full range of "shape, clear, hold, and build" tasks. Every aspect of **clear**, **hold**, and **build** requires help in preparing ANSF elements to go from a combat ethos to one of effective civil-military relations. At this point in time, it is unclear that even the most dedicated advocates of a population centric strategy within the US military and NATO/ISAF can really define how to implement **clear**, **hold**, and **build** in terms of tangible ways to execute and manage the tasks involved and chose truly valid measures of effectiveness. The moment such efforts become operational on a large-scale basis, however, they must be ready to partner ANSF forces and help them find the best way to deal with such problems. The COIN academy helps in this regard and the recent Afghan decision to open an Afghan COIN academy is a step in the right direction

The US and NATO/ISAF military need to address these issues at every level of command and operations. They need to take the warning from junior and mid-level officers, and in far too much media reporting, fully seriously. They must not downplay the number of times that

“optimism” and exaggerated declarations of success have hurt US efforts in the past, or the continuing impact of problems documented by the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, the General Accountability Office, and sensitive field reporting on the performance and retention problems in Afghan units in the field.²

The Need for a Far More Effective NATO/ISAF Effort

NATO/ISAF and the US must follow several “iron laws” for force development in carrying out all these efforts; first, they must pay as much attention to ANSF force quality as to increasing force quantity. They must not create units where there are inadequate mentors, partner units, facilities, equipment, and training capacity. Pay close attention to performance in the field versus formal training and quantified readiness measures. Second, they must properly equip and support ANSF forces or not put them into harm’s way. So far, this is not taking place, indeed as capacity increases, the relative numbers of mentors is decreasing, NATO needs to deliver troops to mentor.

Every increase in ANSF force quantity must be accompanied by suitable improvements in force quality and in the size and capability of NATO/ISAF mentoring and partnering capabilities. As ISAF and USFOR-A adjust their command structures, regardless of the specific decisions about command structure, it will be critical to retain both the mentoring and partnering components of ANSF development. Mentors will still be required in the fielded force, although their numbers can decrease as the partners will be able to provide force protection and ‘fires’

NATO/ISAF cannot win if it pursues the fragmented, stovepiped, and under resourced efforts -- and real world lack of integrated civil-military efforts -- that have helped cripple ANSF development in past years. “Unity of effort” has been an awkward cross between a lie and an oxymoron. Far too many national efforts have acted as if the ANSF was not involved in a real war. This cannot continue if a very real war is to be won.

Third, NATO/ISAF and the US must act to give “partnership” real meaning. All the elements of NATO/ISAF must begin to work together with all of the elements of the ANSF to create equivalent forces that can conduct combined operations together. This will take time, resources, and patience. NATO/ISAF regional command task force commanders must understand, however, that partnering with ANSF forces does not mean simply using them as they are, but making them effective, and treating operations as key real world aspects of training.

The Need for an Integrated Civil-Military Partnership

More broadly, this partnership must go beyond simply fighting the insurgency. NATO/ISAF and the ANSF will lose the war unless their military successes are matched by a timely and effective civil-military effort in the field. It is not enough for the ANSF to be able to perform its security missions and develop an effective NATO/ISAF/US/Afghan partnership in security. A mix of NATO/ISAF and ANSF fighting forces can perform the *shape* and *clear* missions and part of the *hold* mission, but if this is all that is accomplished they will still lose the war to an opponent that can win a battle of political attrition against an Afghan government that is perceived as over-

² For a recent example, see Inspector General, United States Department of Defense, Special Plans and Operations, *Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces*, Report No. SPO-2009-007, September 30, 2009.

centralized, distant, failing to provide basic services, and which is seen as corrupt as well as supporting power brokers rather than the people.

NATO/ISAF, the US, and the ANSF must work together to provide civil-military action programs while security is being established and make this a key aspect of the *hold* and *build* missions. A transition should take place to leadership civil aid efforts and to Afghan provincial, district, and local government as soon as this can be made effective at the local level, but NATO/ISAF and the ANSF cannot wait and must establish basic services, encourage local leaders, and provide a functioning justice system immediately.

They must realize that national elections and democracy do not bring any form of political legitimacy or loyalty without tangible actions, only actions count. The grim reality is that the Afghan central government is too corrupt and incapable to take these necessary actions in far too many areas and in far too many ways. At the same time, outside civil aid efforts are far too narrow, far too security conscious and far too oriented towards talk and planning to serve Afghan needs in the field. The ideal is an integrated civil-military effort.

The reality must become a consistent operational demand for effective civilian and formal Afghan government action. This will take time, however, and in the interim some combination of NATO/ISAF and ANSF must act immediately to provide at least enough civil services and support to local governance to offer an alternative that is more attractive than the Taliban and takes at least initial steps to hire young men and underpin security with stability. They must provide at least enough justice and local security, jobs, and progress in areas like roads, electricity, water/irrigation, clinics, and schools to establish lasting security and stability.

The mix and phasing of such efforts will vary as much by region and locality as the need for given kinds of tactics, and range from meeting urban needs to those of scattered rural tribal areas. In far too many cases, however, this will require dramatically new standards of performance by the US, and other national aid donors. There must be a new degree of transparency that shows what aid efforts actually do produce effective and honest results in the field, actually do win broad local support and loyalty, and move towards a true “build” phase.

In the process, a significant number of national caveats and restrictions on aid will have to be lifted. Corrupt aid officials and contractors will need to be removed and blacklisted. Exercises in symbolism, ephemeral good works, fund raising and “branding” will need to be put to an end. Above all, the military must act immediately when civilians are incapable and these efforts will need ANSF support and leadership where the Afghan civil government cannot act. There is little point in fixing the efforts that can win the war, and not fixing the efforts that will lose the peace.

One key step in this process is for the US to look in the mirror. The US country team failed dismally to create the kind of truly integrated civil-military plan the US needs to have for its own ends, to lead NATO/ISAF by example, and to meet the needs of the Afghan people. Stovepipes and turf fights, and internal bickering – particularly by elements within the State Department -- crippled the effort necessary to create a plan with the depth, detail, and content needed. The resulting compromise has not created the kind of plan or effort required. Petty interagency bickering continues in Washington, and the Obama Administration needs to force real unity of effort at every level.

ANNEX A:

Doing It Wrong: Host Country Force Development Lessons from Vietnam, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Iraq

Developing host country forces requires a wide range of military expertise at every level, and no one should discount the progress the US military has made in these areas. At the same time, however, this progress should not lead US force development efforts to ignore the practical problems it has encountered from failing to look beyond the purely military aspects of force development in past wars or those that have damaged or crippled past efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Armed nation building is very different from aiding an ally with effective governance and an established force structure. An effective force development effort cannot tacitly assume that the ally is a host country capable of creating effective forces with a relatively strong central government or authority and with considerable unity of effort within its armed forces. It must address all key aspects of what happens when force development must take place under nation building conditions, in fractured or divided states, where alignments with the US are uncertain, and civil military operations are both difficult and critical.

These problems may not be critical to US advisory and training efforts in the many less demanding cases in the world, but they are the problems that have characterized all of the critical cases the US has had to deal with over the last half century, and where the US has had to relearn the same lessons again and again.

Critical Shortfalls in US Force Development Efforts

The US needs to look beyond the cases where the force development task is to respond to host country governments that have a high degree of unity and common objectives, and where the need to provide a politically sensitive advisory effort, linked to something approaching nation building caught up in complex irregular or asymmetric wars is minimal.

Virtually every major US military intervention since World War II has shown that US force development efforts must address a checklist of critical problems that repeatedly occur in fractured or weak host countries. Korea, Vietnam, Lebanon, the Balkans, Iraq, and Afghanistan all serve as a warning that US force development efforts must make much better efforts to address several critical problems:

1. ***Fractured states and divided states require a different approach:*** Host country force development efforts often involved divided and competing security forces. There may be large elements within the host country leadership, political structure, and forces the US cannot trust. The force may have strong anti-US or anti-regime elements. The finance ministry, or its equivalent may not function, and individual combat elements may be under rival sectarian, ethnic, tribal, or factional control -- some involving serious loyalty problems. The advisory team may have to bridge over critical ethnic, sectarian, and tribal differences. The basic structure for force management, procurement, and budgeting may be weak, lacking, and/or corrupt.

The US needs to find the best way to address these conditions in a functional way. It must find better ways to analyze a country's capability or problems, and work around a failed or formative system. It must make conducting a network analysis to map out the "good" and "bad" guys a key aspect of force development and find better ways to deal with rival and competing groups.

2. ***Host country force development must become an integrated part of civil-military operations, stability operations, and nation building.*** The most challenging cases exist when the nation state is fractured, divided, or formative. This means the US must find much better ways to build Ministries, develop forces that can work in a counterinsurgency environment or deeply divided state, train forces to work with civil authorities, and determine how force development can create forces that can perform all of the relevant tasks in the “hold” and “build” phases of “shape, clear, hold, and build.” The problems in dealing with corruption, power brokers, political interference in promotion and retention, and the lack of civil capacity and the civil instruments of a rule of law need to be addressed far more explicitly.
3. ***Zero-Based Force Building:*** Creating new forces virtually from scratch is very different from improving or expanding an effective force structure already in existence and has posed crucial problems that the US has had to relearn how to deal with every time they have arisen. This affects a key host country force development task: Deciding what force structure is needed within the elements of a nation’s security forces, and how to build forces from a very limited or zero base.

Consider Iraq and Afghanistan: The US failed to determine the proper size of the forces needed, the speed of the build-up required, and the proper mix of elements within the armed forces, security forces, and police. It found that the formal training effort was only part of the force development task, and that mentoring, partnering, and enabling were critical once forces were supposedly trained and equipped. The size of the army required constant increases, often at a rate and in ways that created chronic leadership issues, promotion and retention problems, and issues with corruption in terms of pay and the creation of phantom forces.

The US had to create battalions from scratch in ways the manual does not touch upon, phase in higher headquarters and formations, deal with issues in creating sustainability, and slowly find replacements for US enablers – where the need for such outside support was a critical part of the force development task where no clear system existed for deciding how to address the tasks. The various planning and coordinating groups lack experience and instruction and took years to function with moderate effectiveness – when they did.

4. ***Every new effort to create a police and security force in a fractured country and under the conditions of armed nation building has failed, or repeated the same initial mistakes, over the last 50 years.*** These previous problems have been even more severe in dealing with the security services, intelligence, branches, and various forms of police. Each case has led to efforts to create a civil police and formal rule of law that cannot function or survive in a counterinsurgency environment. It has repeated the same initial mistakes in deciding how to structure such forces, the problems between DoD and State in creating forces that can survive in divided states and in a counterinsurgency environment; and the failures of allies like Germany in Afghanistan. It has understated or ignored the need for specialized or paramilitary police and other security elements, and the hard choices to be made as to what kind of training and vetting can really be provided for local police. It has also led to many of the same initial problems in creating border police, specialized anti-terrorism units, and dealing with issues like narcotics.

The effort to create civil police that could not operate in a counterinsurgency environment has been a disaster in Iraq and Afghanistan. The failure to deal with the real world need for paramilitary police and for creating a force in a climate where the state is corrupt and/or the rule of law was tenuous or failed has been a problem again and again. The manual does not highlight these real world problems and issues.

This, however, is only part of the story. The US has found itself dealing with countries that do not have a well-structured rule of law in the field. This effort to create police without the rest of the justice system has often coincided with an ongoing insurgency or civil conflict. The police have to be paramilitary to survive and are not supported by effective civil courts, jails, lawyers, etc. Moreover, force development efforts need to be structured from the start to prepare for the problems created by corrupt officials, power brokers, and the use of the police as players in civil conflicts.

5. ***Dealing with a corrupt, divided, and/or disloyal military.*** Divided nations, a lack of capacity, poor pay and corruption, and sectarian/ethnic/tribal issues have other impacts. The misuse of promotion and military pay, phantom soldiers, equipment and weapons theft and sales, promotion by faction or personal loyalty, bypassing of training standards, and false ratings of unit effectiveness and readiness, are endemic in the developing world. The risks of such problems and how to work around them are never realistically addressed, but any review of SIGIR, GAO, and DoD IG reports on past SFA efforts would make it clear that these are critical tasks.
6. ***Dealing with a corrupt, divided, and disloyal mix of host country governance and politics:*** The US must make clear and hard decisions regarding the ways in which its force development efforts fit into the broader US country team, outside alliance, and US command and intelligence problems in dealing with state building for either regular armed forces or police. How many times have we had to fix or bypass key officials and ministries in such countries? Deal with ministries lacking in capacity, caught up in political struggles, interference from outside power brokers, problems with Prime Ministries and finance ministries? What guidance does an SFA team need?
7. ***Problems with contractors:*** Afghanistan and Iraq made contracting a critical problem in US force development efforts and in operating where US military efforts have limited control in a resource-limited environment. It is far from clear that the US military has yet developed anything close to the adequate tools needed to manage, audit, and control contract support. Both DoD and SIGIR have documented critical problems and failures in Iraq.
8. ***Shortfalls in trainers and mentors:*** Far too often, US training and partnering efforts have glossed over shortfalls in the quality of trainers and mentors; their lack of motivation and experience; and the tendency to use, rather than partner, host country forces. In Afghanistan, NATO/ISAF still faced this problem in late 2008 when it had only about one-third the police trainers and 50% of the required army trainers as the force development effort scaled up. The US was not prepared to deal with either its own shortfalls or the problems that occurred when allies did not deliver as planned.
9. ***Addressing the “training” – “partnering” gap:*** They also need to realize that improvements in the training base are needed to emphasize training at the Kandak level and integrated into the entire unit level before new units go out into the field. These

improvements proved to be very beneficial in Iraq, and while they could make the training effort longer – not shorter – they pay off the moment units become active in the field. At the same time, no element of a host country force can simply be trained and thrust into operations.

Moreover, the key to success is not the quality of the training in training centers, but the quality of the partnering, mentoring, support, and enablers once a unit enters service. This requires ongoing, expert effort for 6 to 12 months at a minimum, and the CM definition of a “in the lead” is little more than a joke.

10. ***Continuity of effort, and dealing with the need for sustained human relationships at the partnering and mentoring level:*** Realistic efforts to shake out new units, give them continuity of effective leadership, deal with internal tensions and retention problems, and help them overcome the pressures of corruption and power brokers takes time and continuity of at least the embedded training/mentoring effort. It is an exercise in sustained human relationships and short tours and rapid changes in US trainers can be as crippling as the assumption that training is more critical than mentoring and partnering.
11. ***Understanding the emerging importance of civil military relationships and training:*** Further shifts will be needed as forces move into populated areas and take on the full range of “shape, clear, hold, and build” tasks. Every aspect of **clear**, **hold**, and **build** requires help in preparing ANSF elements to go from a combat ethos to one of effective civil-military relations.

At this point in time, it is unclear that even the most dedicated advocates of a population centric strategy within the US military can really define how to implement **clear**, **hold**, and **build** in terms of tangible ways to execute and manage the tasks involved and chose truly valid measures of effectiveness. The moment such efforts become operational on a large-scale basis, however, they must be ready to partner ANSF forces and help them find the best way to deal with such problems.

Other Issues That Need to Be Addressed

There are a wide range of other areas that have been important in recent US force development experience. They too form a checklist that effective force development efforts must explicitly address:

1. ***Case studies:*** Where does the user go to find the lessons from recent US efforts? How do trainers and partners determine what experience may be most relevant?
2. ***Continuity of Effort:*** Shifts in command, particularly at the partnering and mentor level, often lead to a lack of proper continuity of effort, a breakdown or gaps in critical US-host country relationships, and a mutual lack of trust. Repeated rotations have helped US officers reduce these problems, but they still need far more attention.
3. ***Partnering:*** The US military must now find the best way to actually implement and create a partnering structure of the kind General McChrystal has put forward in his new strategy for Afghanistan. It must move from talk about empowering Host Country commanders and making them more independent; and shaping the use of embedded mentors and partner units in a practical way. It must address the need to develop steadily

higher levels of real world host country C2 capabilities, help host country elements move into the lead; and truly partner – not use – host country forces. ISAF must also examine the complex transition from being in the lead to the advisory role.

4. ***Mentoring, Embeds, and Enablers:*** Like partnering, finding the right mix of mentors, embeds, and enablers is critical; particularly in helping new units adjust to the realities of combat and allowing effective leaders to emerge. The complex tasking and organization required in such efforts has repeatedly been underestimated, and the interface with partnering and enabling US and allied combat units supporting a host country force has not been realistically addressed.
5. ***C4I/IS&R:*** Modern force development requires far more sophisticated and technically advanced C4I/IS&R capabilities. These have been critical problems in shaping host country capabilities in Iraq and Afghanistan. The practical problems encountered are not addressed, nor are the solutions worked out over time.
6. ***Sustainability:*** Few areas in force development have presented more recent problems in both operations and force generation. Progress has occurred in this area, but it still poses major challenges at every level.
7. ***CM and Readiness Ratings:*** Developing meaningful ratings of how ready a unit actually is presented problems in Vietnam that helped lose the war. It has presented major problems in both Iraq and Afghanistan – raising serious questions about whether the SFA team can develop objective independent ratings that can be trusted, and whether quantitative metrics are a substitute for narratives on how units are actually led and behave in combat. The issue of who rates the raters is not addressed, nor is the problem of rating units once they actually enter combat.

New metrics are needed that illustrate the impact of ethnic, sectarian, and tribal divisions. A system needs to be put in place that provides practical help and experience to the actual force development effort in the field, and helps it find the right metrics for a given case and determine how to get reliable and useful data.

8. ***Retention, unit manning, and unit leadership:*** These have all been interrelated and critical problems in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Retention is often country, culture, and subgroup related and requires careful assessment of local practices, values, and methods. The problems in leave/family and local ties and other factors affected in unit manning as well as the problems created by ghost manning need much greater attention. So does the fact that formal training in new units can rarely provide a reliable picture of officer and NCO quality in combat, and there is a need to identify and remove weak and incapable leaders as soon as possible as well as to help the inexperienced develop in other cases. The SFA manual tended to assume that the SFA task is building elements in a relatively mature force when this often will not be the case.
9. ***The NCO Problem:*** It is far easier to try to introduce this aspect of US practice in different cultures and developing states than to make it actually work. This issue needs explicit attention in current and future US force development efforts.
10. ***Donors from multiple states:*** The US needs to focus far more on creating “alliances of the effective” and much less on getting as many different allied efforts and resources as

possible. NATO/ISAF have made progress, but proper coordination and the development of effective allied efforts remains a problem.

11. ***Developing pay, promotion, facility, medical, disability, death benefit, and family contact systems and ratings.*** The US had often stressed leadership and morale in its force development efforts and ignored the realities of what actually drives human behavior and capability – particularly in forces that have a high element of politicization, corruption, and weak capacity. Any effective SFA effort and system must address all of these issues as key potential problem areas.
12. ***Counterterrorism and irregular warfare:*** US force development efforts have often focused far too much on formal combat training, and too little on counterterrorism and irregular warfare. Talking about hybrid warfare is not enough. The US must find better ways to make it part of the force development effort.
13. ***Military mission:*** The US has experienced constant problems where it sought to develop forces for its view of the mission when this differed from key elements in the military and political structure of the divided host country . A force development effort that pretends there is agreement on the mission within a host country, or between the US and all key elements of the host country, has repeatedly created a climate of illusions that has presented serious problems in creating effective host country forces and operations in the field.

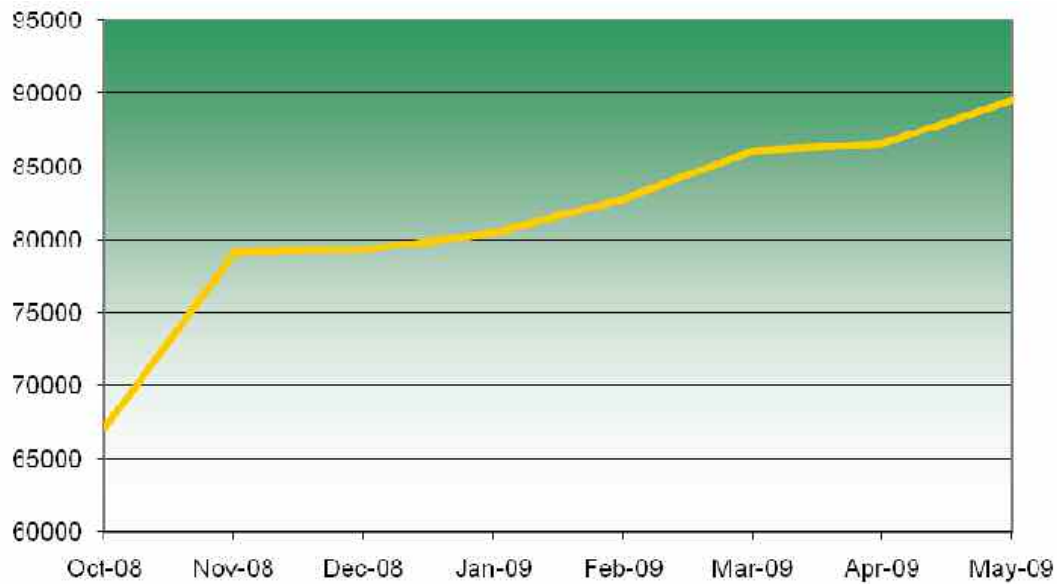
ANNEX B:

Current Status of Afghan National Security Forces: A Graphic and Tabular Analysis

Authorized and Assigned Manning of ANSF Forces in June 2009

Component	Authorized	Assigned	Date Complete
Ministry of Defense Forces			
MoD/GS	3,246	2,651	Sep 2011
Sustaining Institutions	1,519	1,259	Jun 2011
Intermediate Commands	15,484	15,048	Jun 2011
Detainee Operations	554	520	TBD
CN Infantry Kandak	854	780	TBD
ANA Combat Forces	66,406	53,417	Jun 2012
ANA Air Corps	3,412	2,562	Jun 2016
TTHS	12,000	13,284	N/A
TOTAL MoD	103,475	89,521	Jun 2012 ⁹
Ministry of Interior Forces			
Moi Headquarters	5,059	4,273	Mar 2010
Counternarcotics	2,519	3,572	Dec 2011
Customs Police	600	603	Dec 2008
Uniformed Police	47,384	51,406	Dec 2011
Border Police	17,621	12,792	TBD
Anti-Crime	5,103	4,013	Dec 2012
Civil Order Police	5,365	2,462	Mar 2011
Fire/Medical/Training	3,149	2,388	TBD
TOTAL Moi	81,956	81,020	Dec 2012
TOTAL	190,275¹⁰	171,030	DEC 2012

Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, p. 26

Afghan National Army Trained and Assigned, October 2008 – May 2009

Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, p. 28.

Afghan National Army Kandak Levels

ANA Kandak/Squadron Capability Milestone (CM) Levels, October 2008 – May 2009

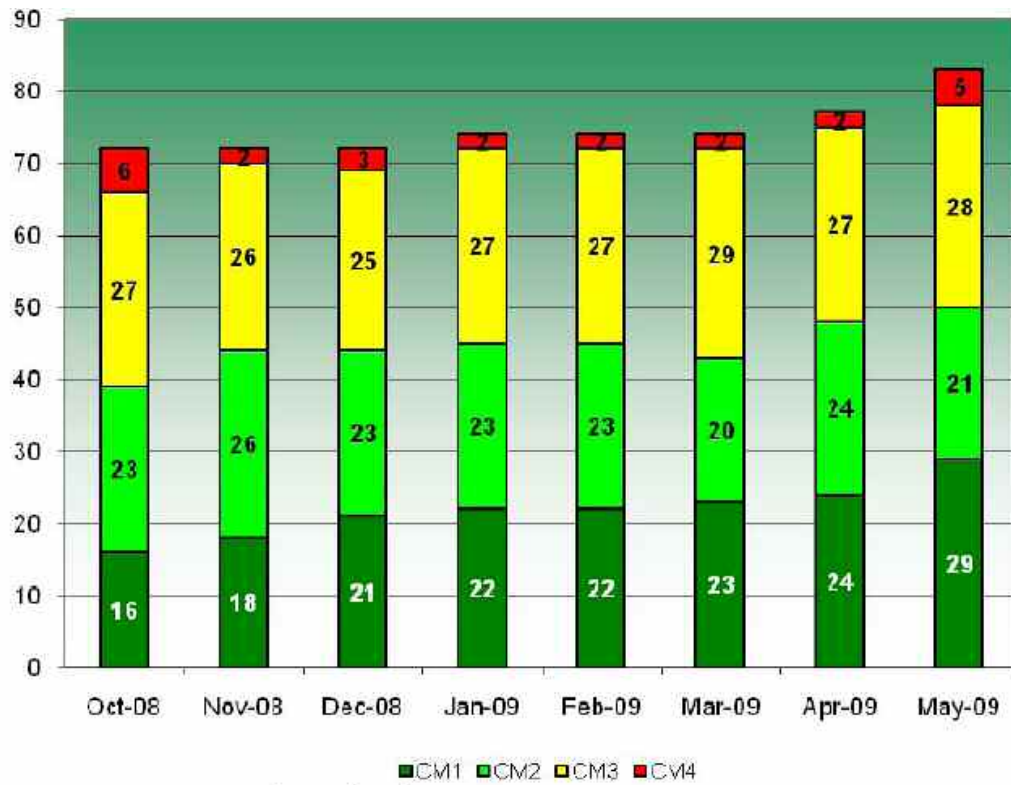


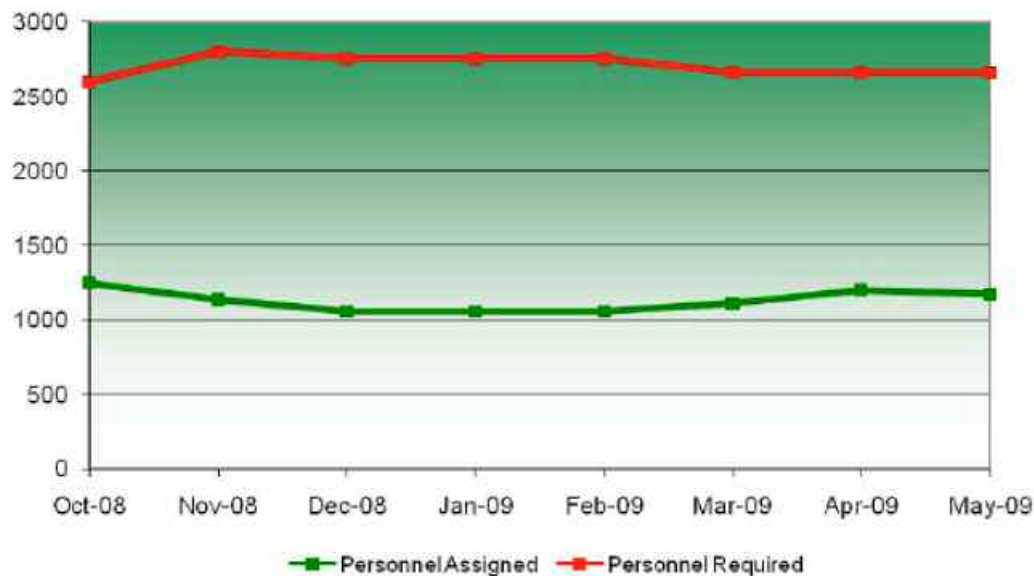
Table 5- ANA unit CM levels, May 2009

ANA Unit	CM1	CM2	CM3	CM4
Kandak	29	21	28	5
Brigade HQ	9	1	5	1
Corps HQ	2	1	3	0
Other	6	0	0	2

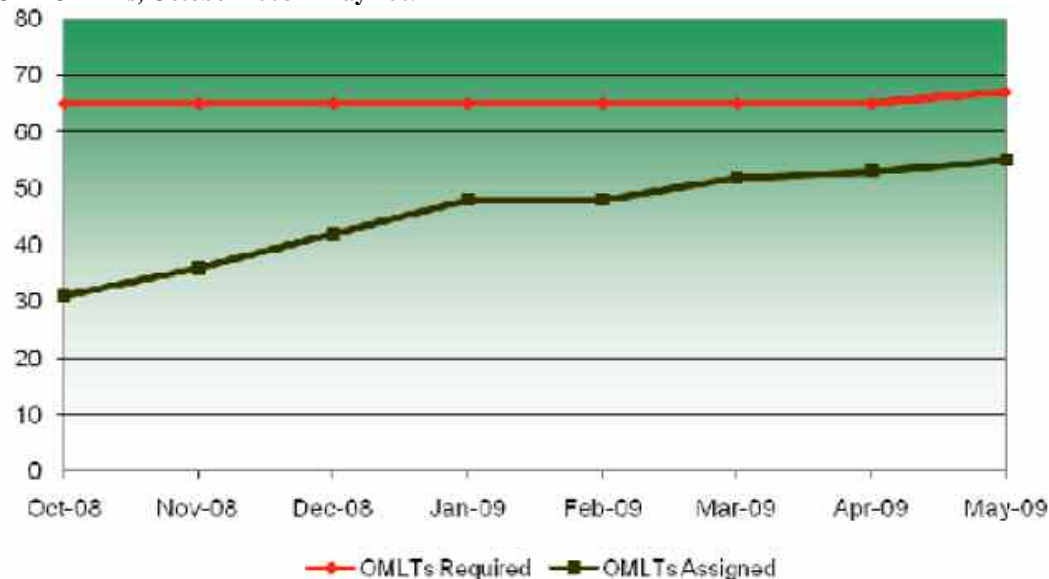
Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, p. 33.

ANA US U.S. Embedded Training Team (ETT) Personnel, and ISAF Operational Mentor and Liaison Teams (OMLTs). Required versus On-Hand

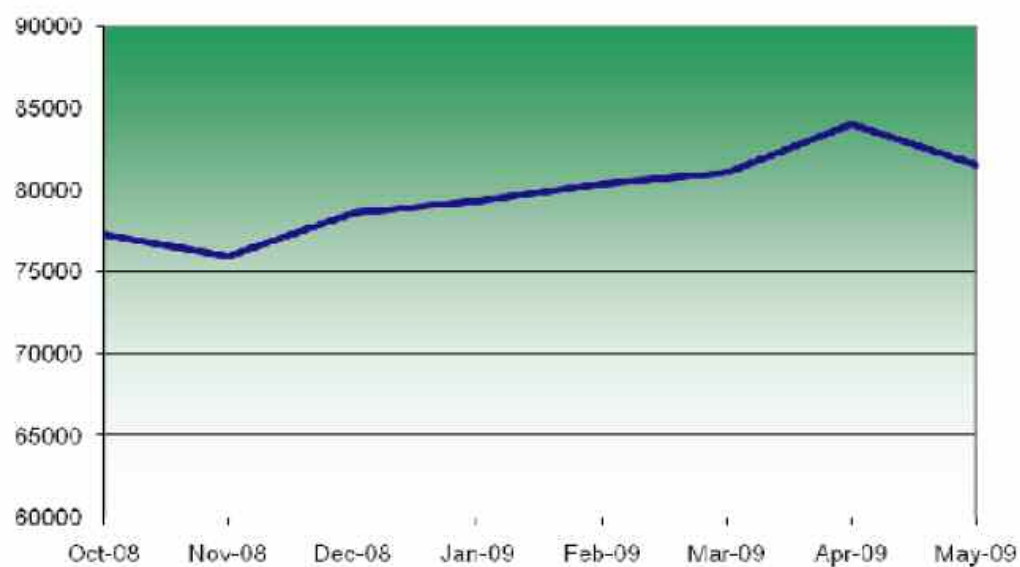
U.S. ETT Personnel Required and Assigned, October 2008 – May 2009



ISAF OMLTs, October 2008 – May 2009

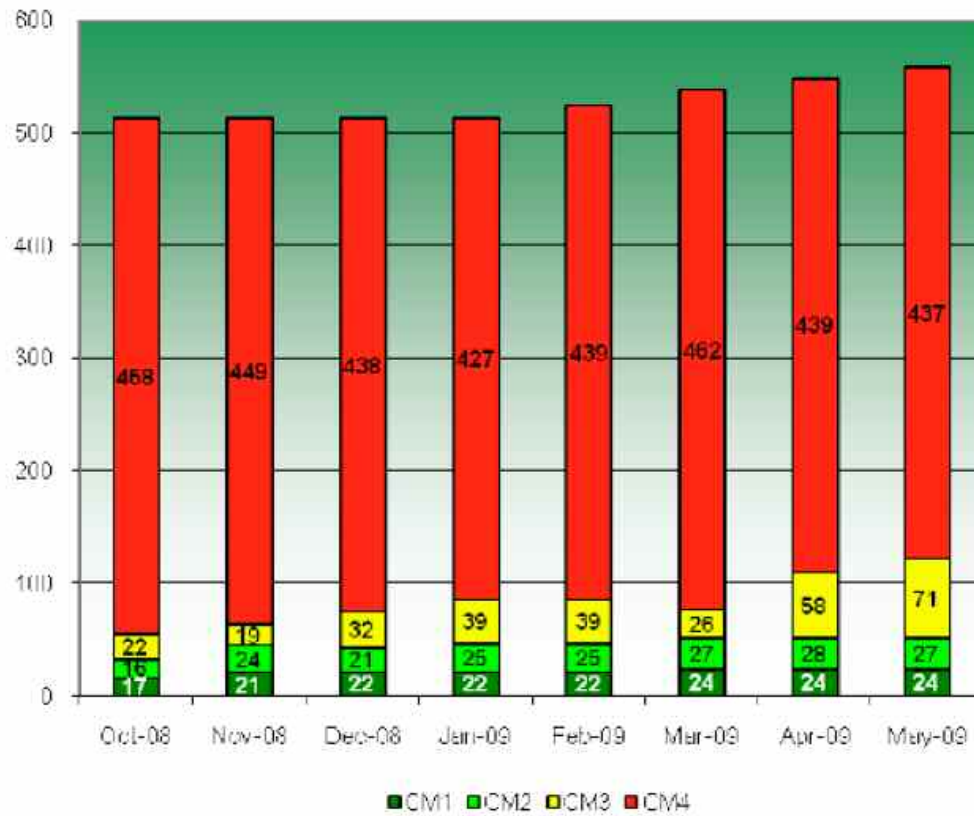


Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, pp. 30-31.

Afghan National Police Assigned, October 2008-May 2009

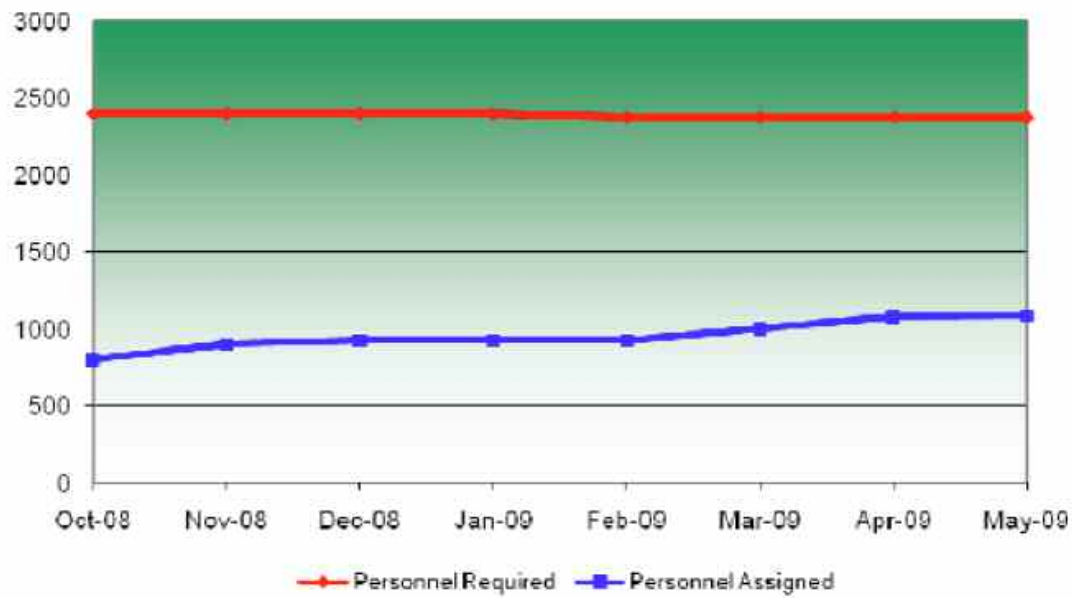
Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181), June 2009, p. 26.

**District AUP and Specialized Unit CM levels, October 2008 –
May 2009**



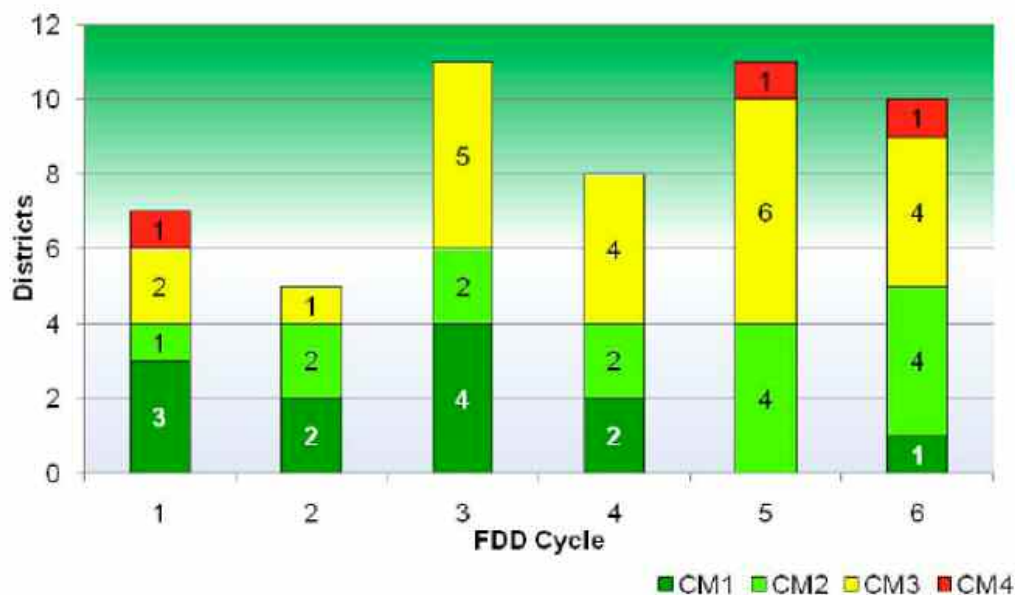
CM1	CM2	CM3	CM4
24	27	71	437

Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, p. 40

U.S. Police Mentor Team (PMT) Personnel; Fielded and Required; October 2008-May 2009

Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, pp. 35.

District CM levels of FDD Cycles, As of May 2009



The above figure illustrates the CM levels for district AUP units through the first six cycles of FDD, as of May 2009. Focused District Development (FDD) is a comprehensive program divided into six phases for assessing, training, and validating district AUP units. The program began in late 2007. Each phase includes units between seven and 11 AUP units. Fifty-two police districts out of a total of 365 districts in Afghanistan are currently enrolled in the Focused District Development (FDD) program. To date, selection of FDD districts has focused on districts in the south and east, near the Ring Road.¹² For the first seven cycles of FDD there were no formalized procedures for collaborating with international partners to select which districts would go through the FDD program. FDD cycle eight will incorporate a more collaborative approach to district selection. CSTC-A, through USFOR-A, approached ISAF to propose developing a more formal and integrated approach to district selection. CSTC-A, USFOR-A, ISAF, UNAMA, the ICMAG, and the MoI worked together to produce a prioritized list of FDD districts coordinated closely with the COIN strategy. This collaborative approach to district selection will be continued for future FDD cycles.

The first six cycles of FDD included only district-level AUP. However, cycle seven will consist of eight provincial police companies and four district units mentored by international PMTs (IPMTs) from Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. The inclusion of provincial ANP in the FDD is the result of the lack of PMTs. The fact that provincial police have assigned mentors has eased the PMT constraint and facilitated their inclusion in FDD. It is also of significant value to the provincial police chiefs and governors to provide a trained police resource for quick response to crises and to provide flexibility within the province. At full manning levels, the FDD program would take three years to complete. As mentioned above, there are significant shortages in PMTs and overall ANP training personnel.

Department of Defense, *Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act (Section 1230, Public Law 110-181, June 2009, pp. 36-37.

ⁱ "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. III.

ⁱⁱ Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. pg. 16

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- iii McCrystal, Stanley. "COMISAF Initial Assessment (Unclassified) -- Searchable Document." *Washington Post*. September 21, 2009. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/09/21/AR2009092100110.html>
- iv "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 39
- v "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 39
- vi "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 17
- vii Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009.
- viii "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. II.
- ix "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 85
- x "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 85
- xi "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 25
- xii "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 26
- xiii "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 26
- xiv "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 29
- xv Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 7
- xvi Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 5
- xvii Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 10
- xviii Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 5
- xix Barnes, Julian E. "Afghan Troops' Training Hampered by Shortage of Instructors." *LA Times*. September 13, 2009.
- xx Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 12
- xxi Abrashi, Fisman. "Why Afghan Army is Hard to Train." *Philadelphia Inquirer*. September 15, 2009.
- xxii "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 77
- xxiii Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 8

^{xxiv} Rolston, Capt. G.B. "Military Intelligence Mentorship in Kandahar Province: Limitations of the 'Afghan Face' Approach." Speech to the Conference of Defence Studies Institute, Ottawa, ON, Canada, on 7 Oct 2009. Pg. 5

^{xxv} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 110

^{xxvi} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 59

^{xxvii} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 59

^{xxviii} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 117

^{xxix} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 117

^{xxx} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 120

^{xxxi} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 120

^{xxxii} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 120 - 121

^{xxxiii} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 128

^{xxxiv} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 128, 41.

^{xxxv} Petty Officer 2nd Class Paul Dillard, "Provincial development added to FDD program," The Enduring Ledger, Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan (CSTC-A) Public Affairs, February 2009, 6.

^{xxxvi} "Report on the Assessment of U.S. and Coalition Plans to Train, Equip, and Field the Afghan National Security Forces." Department of Defense Office of Inspector General., September 30, 2009. Pg. 134