

Afghanistan: Campaign Trends

Anthony H. Cordesman Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy

CSIS CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Burke Chair in Strategy July 14, 2010

www.csis.org



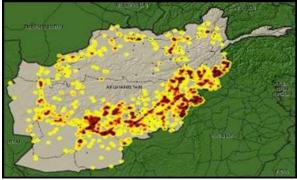
The War Escalates: 2004-2009

950 900 850 800 750 700 650 600	Bombs (IED and Min Bombs (IED and Min Ambush, grenade, R Mortar, Rocket, and Attack trend	es), Exploded es), Found and Cleare PG, and Other Small A Surface to Air Attacks Is are expected to col	Arms Attacks Threat Assessm Intinue with levels of sec			uration
550 500 450 400 350	Ramadan 18 OCT - 14 NOV 04 5 OCT - 4 NOV 05 24 SEP - 23 OCT 06 13 SEP - 13 OCT 07 1 SEP - 28 SEP 08 22 AUG- 20 SEP 09		Transfer of Authority to ISAF 31 JUL 06		8	
300 250 200 150 100	Presidential Elections OCT 04	Parliamentary Elections 18 SEP 05				
50 0	Jam-04		Jan-06 Apr-06 Jul-06 Oct-06	Jan-07 Apr-07 Jul-07 Oct-07 Coct-07	Apr-08 Jul-08 Oct-08	Apr-09
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009

Source: Adapted from Major General Michael Flynn, *State of the Insurgency, Trends, Intentions and Objectives*, Director of Intelligence, International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan, U.S. Forces, Afghanistan, based on Afghanistan JOIIS NATO SIGACTS data as of 15 December 2009 reporting.

Threat Summary: 5-2010

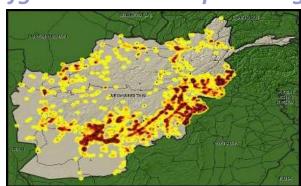
The insurgency in Afghanistan has expanded geographically



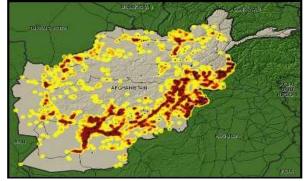
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

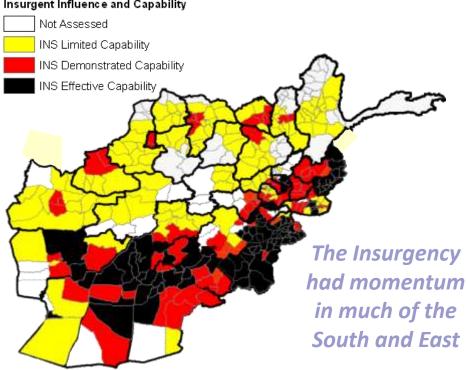
Security Incidents 2007

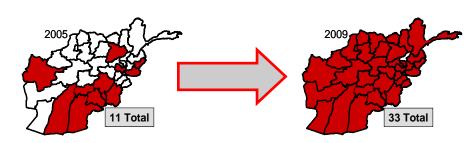


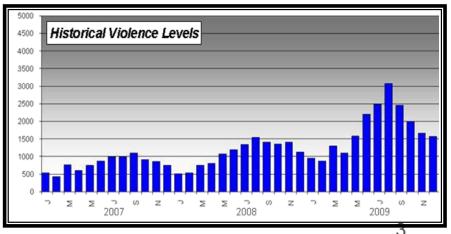
Security Incidents 2008



Security Incidents 2009





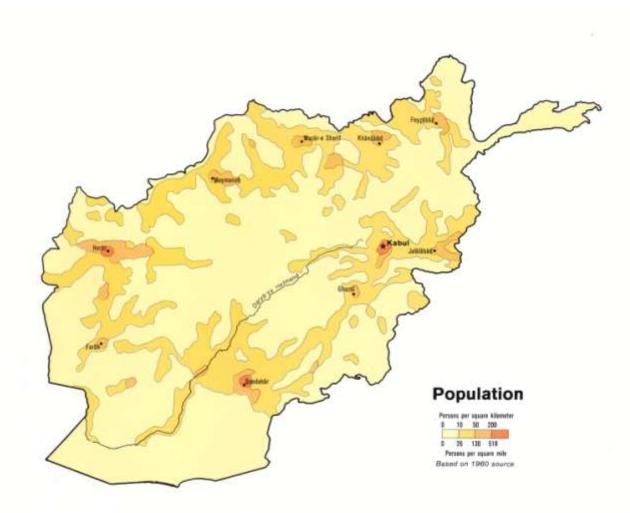


Insurgent Influence and Capability

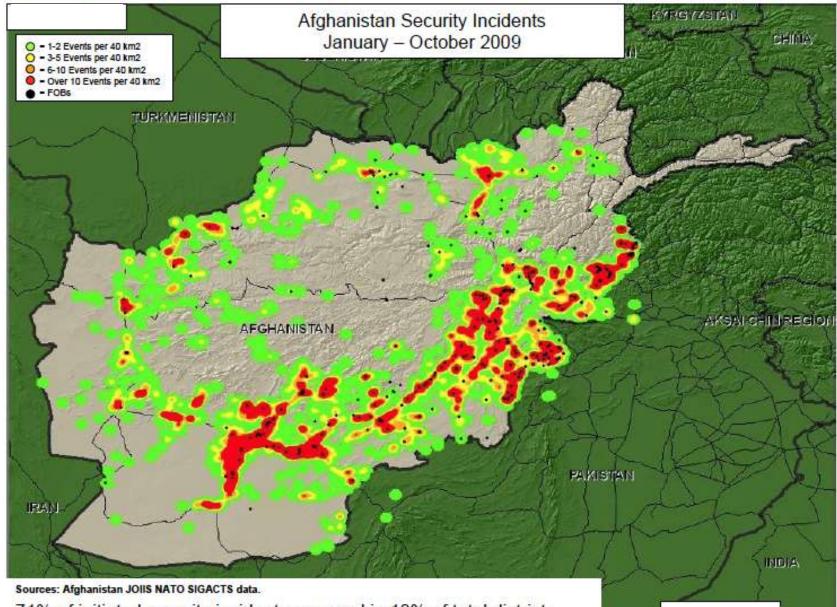
CSIS



Population Density of Afghanistan



Where the Fighting Is: End 2009



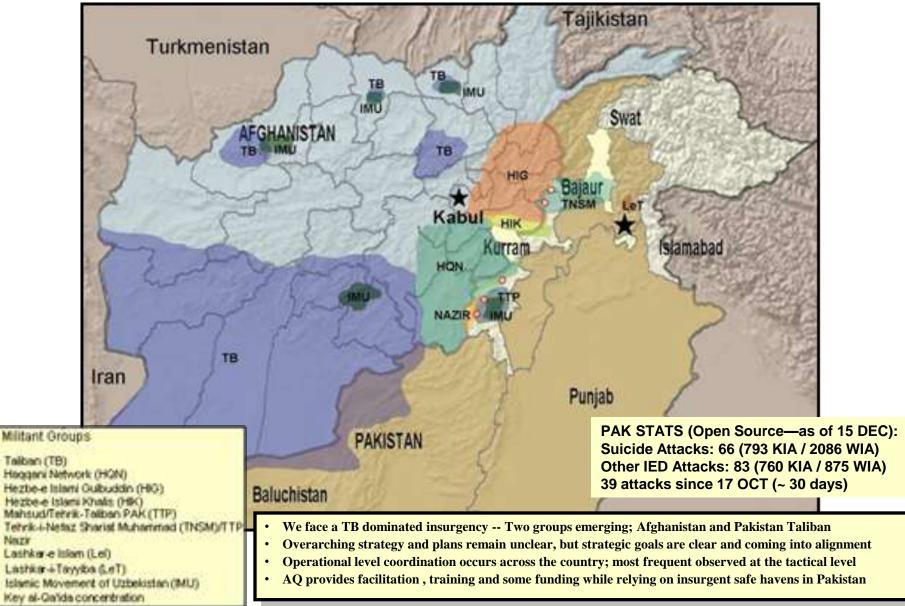
71% of initiated security incidents occurred in 10% of total districts.

CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CSIS CENTER FOR STRATEGIC 6 INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

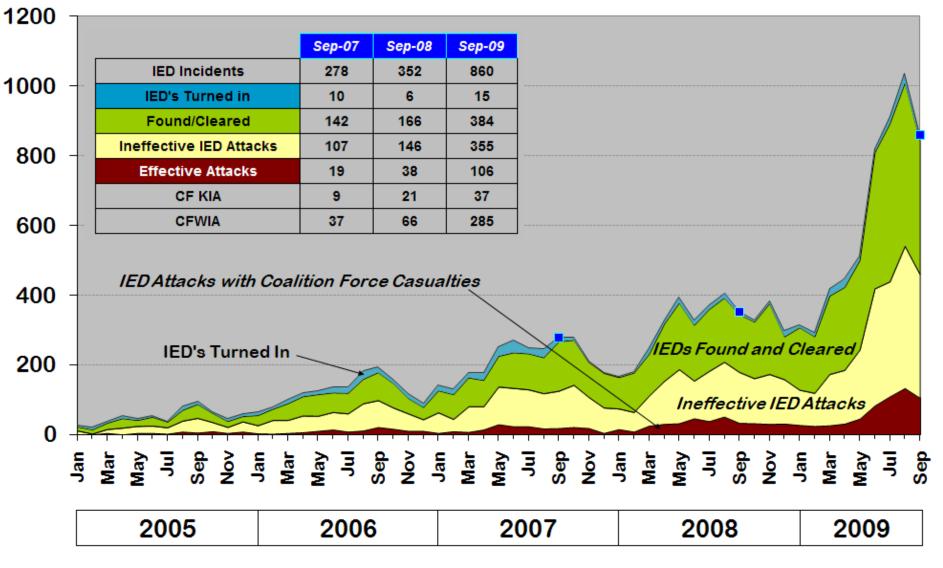
The Afghan Insurgency at End-2009



Source: Adapted from Major General Michael Flynn, State of the Insurgency, Trends, Intentions and Objectives, Director of Intelligence, International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan, U.S. Forces, Afghanistan, as of 22 DEC, 2009



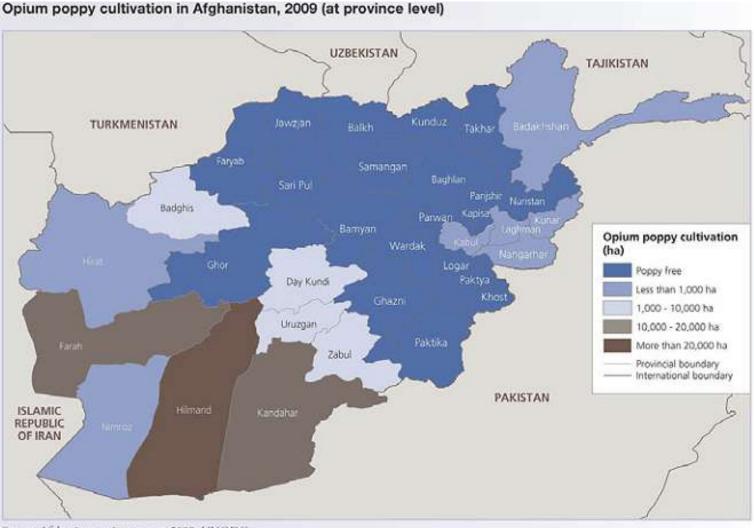
IED Attacks in Afghanistan: 2005-2009



JIEDDO J9 – 10 OCT 09 Source: IDA Scrubbed SigActs (CIDNE)



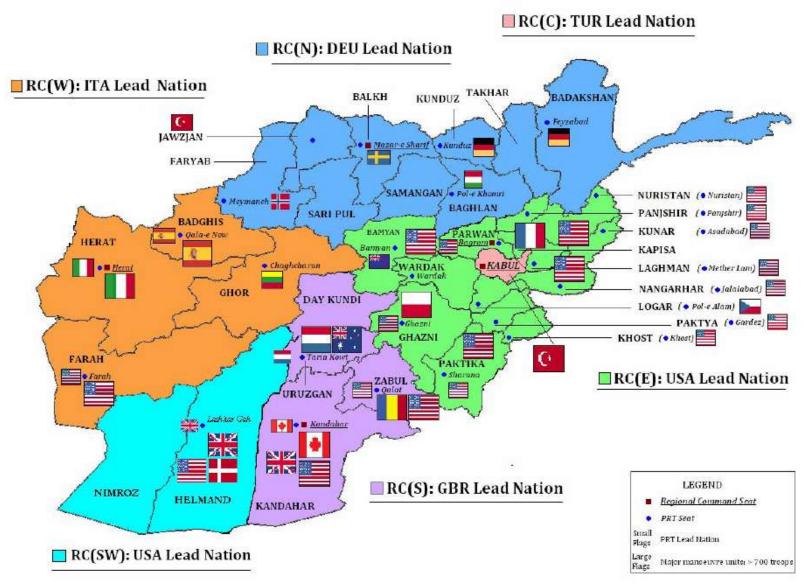
Taliban Dominates: Opium Poppy cultivation in Afghanistan, 2009 (at province level)



Source: Afghanistan opium survey, 2009, UNODC.

Source: Afghanistan opium surveys, 2009 UNODC

The Need for Unity of Effort: ISAF in a "Nationwide" War

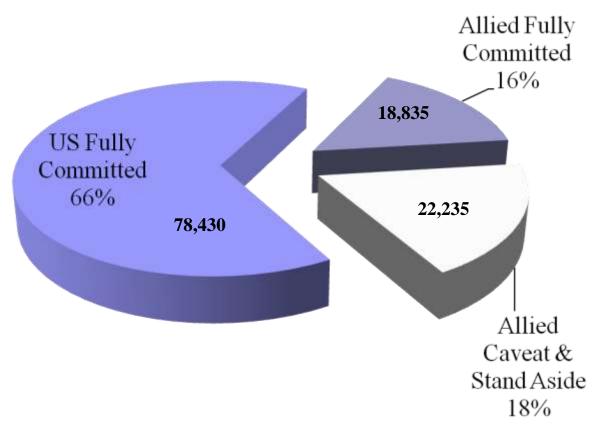


Source:NATO/ISAF: http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.html, as of 21 June 2010

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



The Problem of "Stand Aside" Forces: ISAF Troops in Afghanistan by Level of Engagement: June 21, 2010



At least 4,715 of 18,835 fully committed allied forces leave in 2011



Campaign Strategy

Protect the Population.

 Prioritize effort in high-density population areas where insurgent groups operate primarily with disaffected Pashtun populations. Reduce civilian casualties.

Enable Afghan National Security Forces.

• Accelerate and expand indigenous security force capacity and capability. Partner at every echelon.

Neutralize malign influence.

Identify and report corruption; forge responsible and accountable governance.

Support extension of governance.

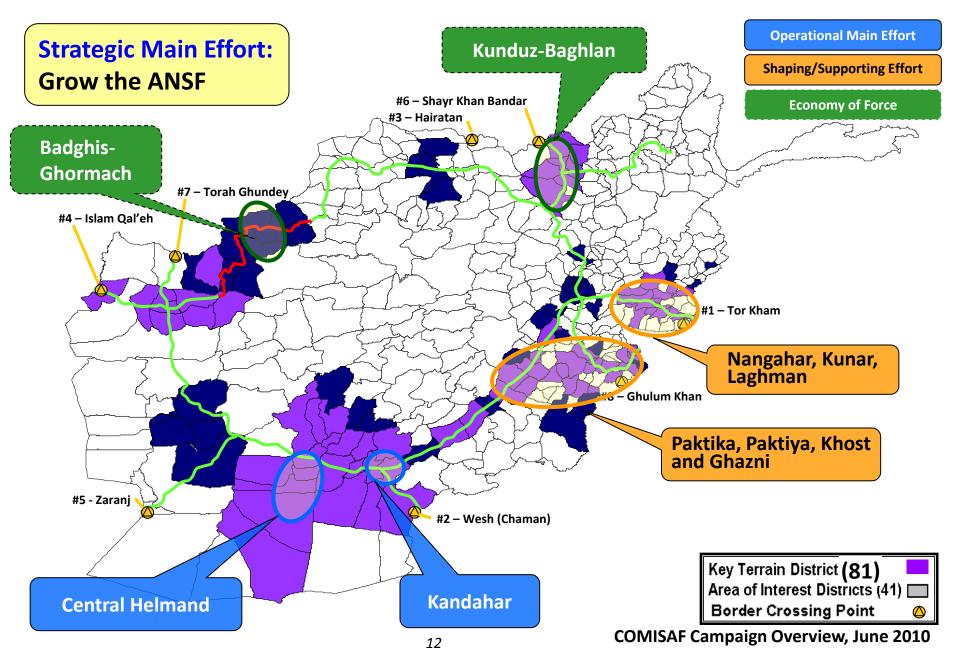
 Gain active support of the population by empowering legitimate sub-national leaders with effective population security measures.

Support socio-economic development.

 Gain active support of the population by creating security conditions that provide space for community-based development opportunities. Connect econ corridors.



ISAF Campaign Plan – June 2010





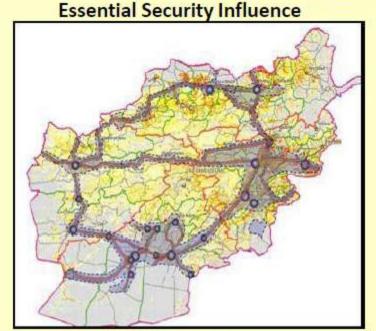
Must Show Can Reverse Insurgent Momentum at a Broader Level: Struggle for the Rest of the Population



Prevent GIRoA development and influence Limit population ability to choose

Elements of Insurgent Influence

- Shadow governance
- Population intimidated and/or coerced
- Insurgents have Freedom of Movement
- Friendly Freedom of Movement limited
- Infrastructure development disrupted
- Economic capacity truncated



Create time and space Enable population opportunity to choose

Elements of Security Influence

- National thru local governance improved
- Security in key population centers
- Security connected between regions
- Friendly Freedom of Movement assured
- Major infrastructure projects ongoing
- Economic corridor sustainable



<u>WAYS</u> Strategic Communications / CIV-MIL Operational Cohesion

Campaign Design

Lines of Operation	Operational Objectives	<u>Ends</u>	
PROTECT the Population Partner with ANSF to secure population centers Tailor force packages with mentor teams Isolate INS from population 	Tier 1: Kandahar, Helmand, Khowst, Paktia, Paktika; Tier 2: Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar River Valley, Kapisa, Wardak, Logar, Zabul, Uruzgan; Tier 3: Kabul, Herat, Mazar-e Sharif, Jalalabad, and Kunduz.	Phase 3 ends when the insurgency is defeated and no longer able to threaten the survival of GIRoA, Afghanistan is stabilized, legitimate governance extends to local levels, socio- economic programs benefit the majority of Afghan people, and GIRoA, with ISAF in support, is capable of assuming the lead for the provision of security.	
 Reduce INS intimidation, coercion, persuasion Disrupt INS C2, operations and sustainment ENABLE Afghan National Security Forces Recruit and train ANSF for COIN operations Build sustainable capacity and capability in ANSF 	Accelerate ANA growth to 134,000 by Fall 2010. BPT raise new target ceiling of 240,000 for ANA. BPT raise target strength of ANP to 160,000. Increase mentors, trainers, partners, funding and GIRoA participation.		
 Professionalize the force thru reform/accountability Identify corruption; assist GIRoA with detainee system Disrupt foreign sponsorship / support to INS in AFG 	Malign actors are marginalized, illegitimate governance denied, narcotic profiteering reduced, foreign fighter networks disrupted, development project extortion reduced and majority of population views GIRoA as legitimate.		
Prevent narco-state; deny narco-profiteering Enhance Regional Cooperation SUPPORT Extension of Governance Increase GIRoA institutional capacity; enhance RoL Enhance Provincial Reconstruction Teams	Ministries and sub-national governance partnered with civil surge; Afghan reconciliation policy established; local governance mechanisms allow for reintegration; RoL and legitimate, responsive, and accountable governance extended to the population.		
Support formal and informal sub-national structures Support provision of essential services SUPPORT Socio-economic Development Establish infrastructure and transportation networks	GIRoA revenue collection and resource distribution mechanisms enhanced; infrastructure and road networks bolster licit economy and increase employment; incentive structures increase stability in local communities.		
 Increase employment opportunities / alternative livelihood Establish education programs Solicit Donors / establish Afghan Development Zones UNCLASSIFIED 	MEANS • GIROA and ANSF • NATO-ISAF, Troop Contributing Nations, UNAMA, Partners • Funding: International Community, Donors, UN, NATO, EU		

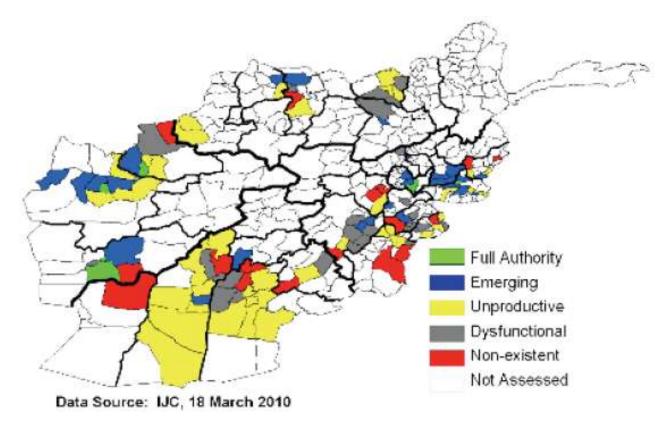


Governance is a Main Effort: A Real Campaign Plan or An Empty Slogan?

- Commitment from the Afghan government Reinforce key CIVMIL partnerships with GIRoA at all levels
- GIRoA capacity to deliver services Channel International Community resources through GIRoA ministries
- Contracting and corruption
 Scrutinize new contracts and broaden range of beneficiaries
- Ability to mitigate malign powerbrokers
 Strengthen legitimate political bodies; reduce informal influences



The Low Quality of District Government is a Critical Issue

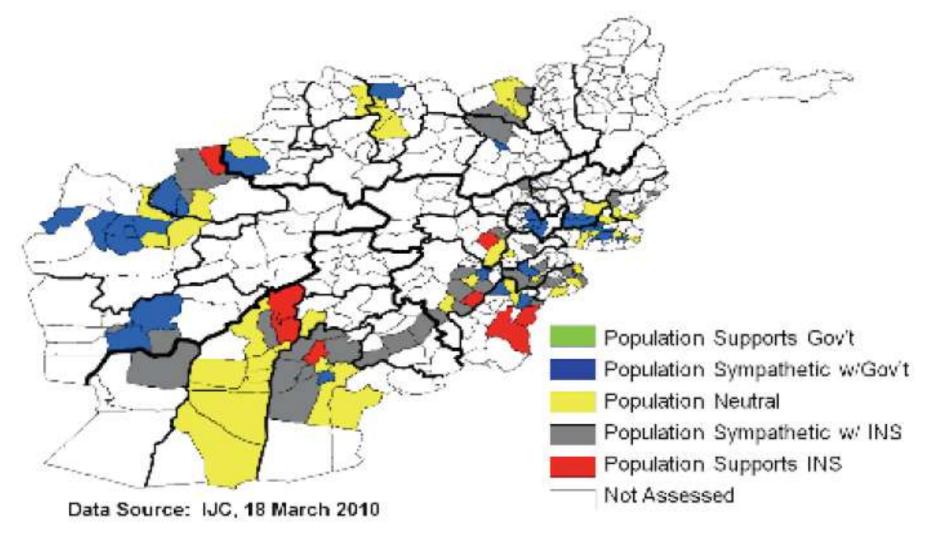


In March 2010, 30% of Afghans believed that the government was less corrupt than one year prior while only 24% believed that it was more corrupt. Eighty-three percent of Afghans stated that government corruption affected their daily lives --a 1% decrease from December 2009 but still 4% higher than September 2009. Twenty-nine percent of Afghans believed their president to be corrupt, while 33% believed their provincial governor to be corrupt, and 34% believed their district governor to be corrupt. These results actually represent drops of 5% from the previous quarter (a positive indicator).

Despite their feelings about government corruption, Afghans confidence in their government reached a new high (since polling started in September 2008). Between September and March of 2009, Afghan confidence in the national administration increased by six percentage points to 45%, confidence in the provincial governor increased by five percentage points to 47%, and confidence in the district governors increased by six percentage points to 44%. When asked if the government was heading in the right direction, 59% of Afghans responded "yes" This represents an increase of eight percent over the previous September 2009.

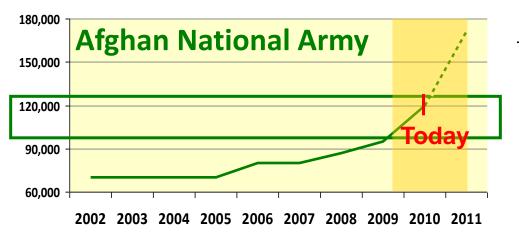


Winning Popular Support is As Much a Challenge as the Threat

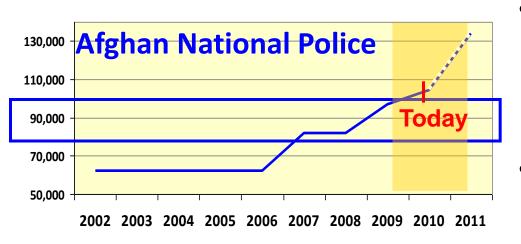


"Department of Defense, Report on Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan/United States Plan for Sustaining Afghan Security forces, April 2010, defenselink.mil (publications), p. 36

ANSF Historical and Future Growth



Growth acceleratingChallenged by attrition and retention

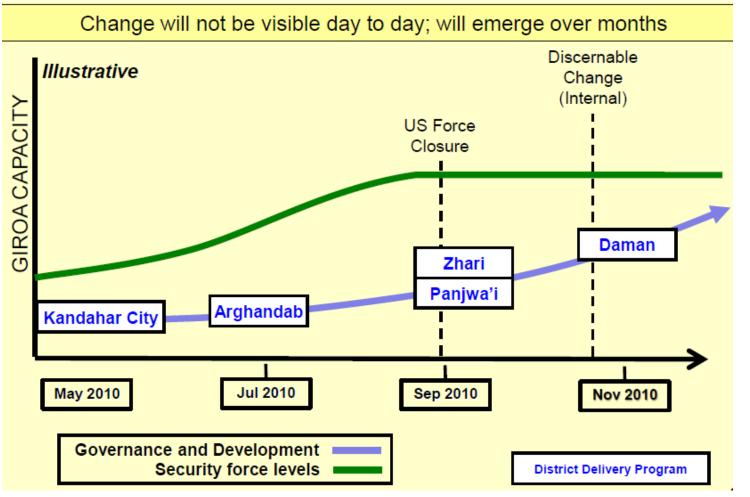


Promising Growth, Challenges Remain

- Growth on track for 2010;
 - ANCOP attrition enduring concern
 - Entering historical summer lull
- ANA quality improving, however;
 - Leader development lagging
 - Officer & NCO shortages persist
- Keys to arresting ANP attrition:
 - Recruit-Train-Assign Model
 - Pay-Partner-Predictable Cycle
 - Leader Development & Literacy
- Ministerial capacity improving projecting self sustaining in 2012



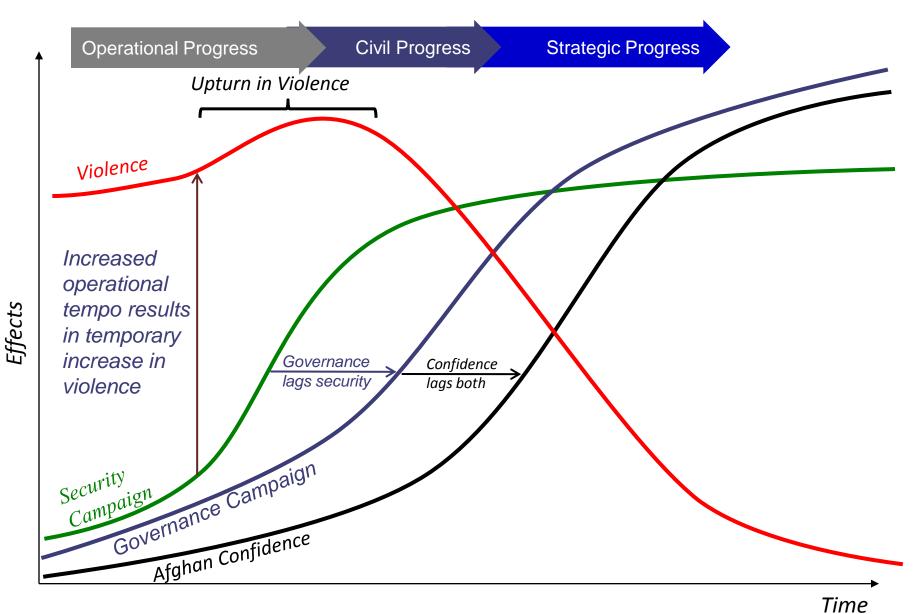
Setting a Realistic Campaign Timeline: Success Requires a Sustained Effort Long Beyond 2010 or 2011



• Proof that new strategy and tactics work is possible by mid-2011

- Major transition to ANSF should not begin until force is ready -probably late 2012 at earliest.
- Slow phase down of US troops must be conditions based.
- Foreign aid and continued funding of most ANSF costs probably needed well beyond 2015.

Progress Toward Stability



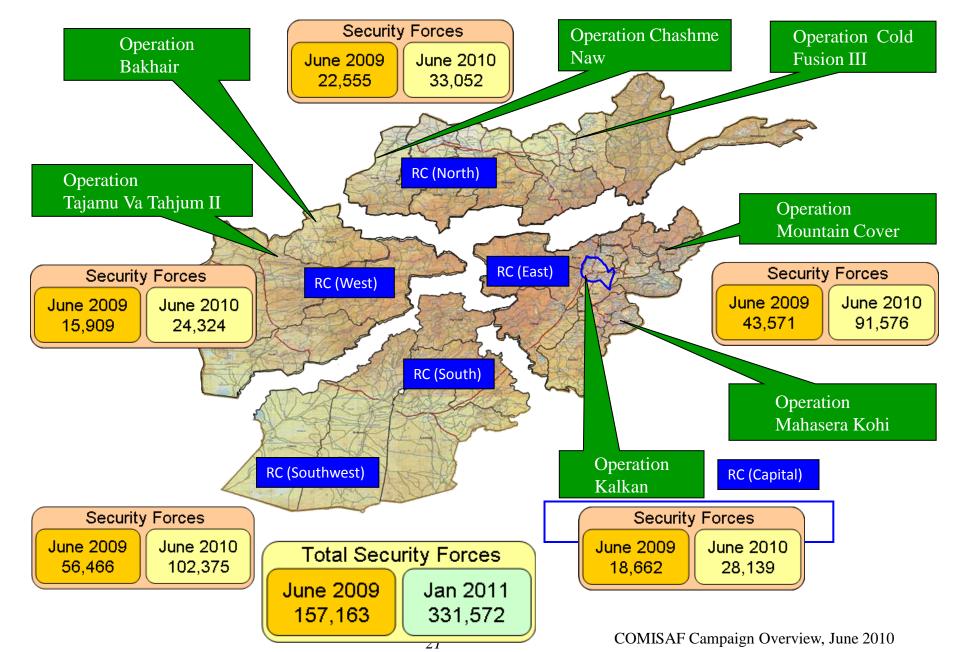
CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

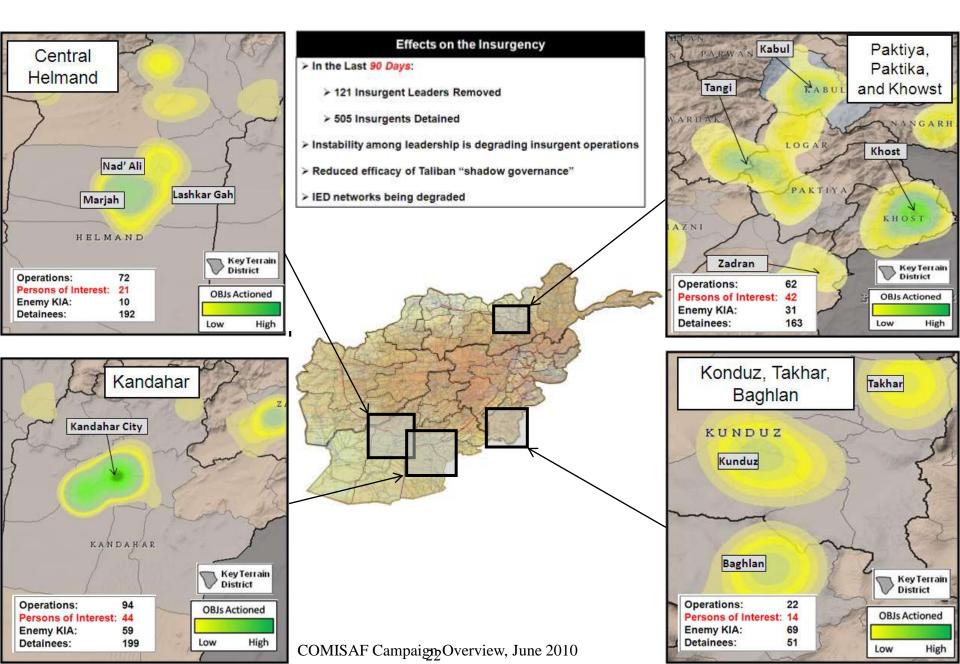
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & Beyond the South: A National Campaign

CSIS

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



CSIS CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & SOF Effects: Degrading the Insurgency

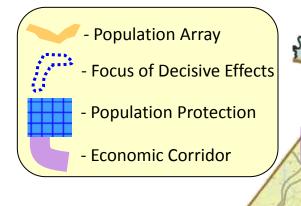


Operational Main Effort: RC-South

• Most significant Taliban influence over the population

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

- Protect the population in threatened or key areas
- Create time and space for governance to improve
- Create conditions for development, with freedom of movement and security along contiguous economic corridor



Demonstrable, near-term stabilization of the south is critical to success

Jun 2009

Security Forces 56,466

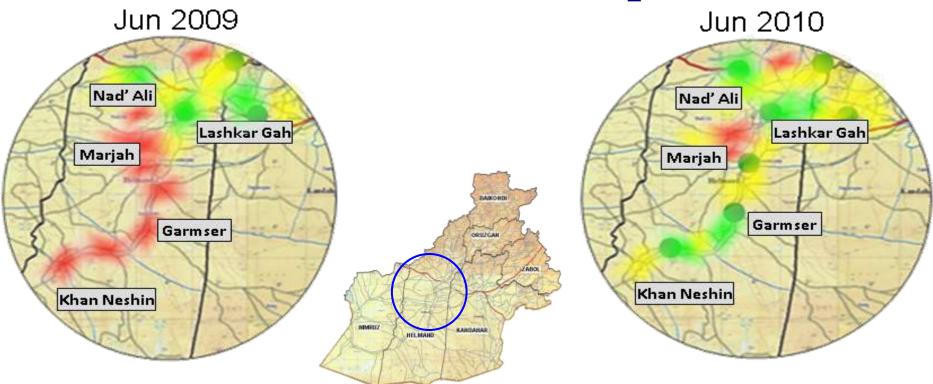
Jun 2010

Security Forces

102,375

Jun 2011 Security Forces ~132,000

Central Helmand Update

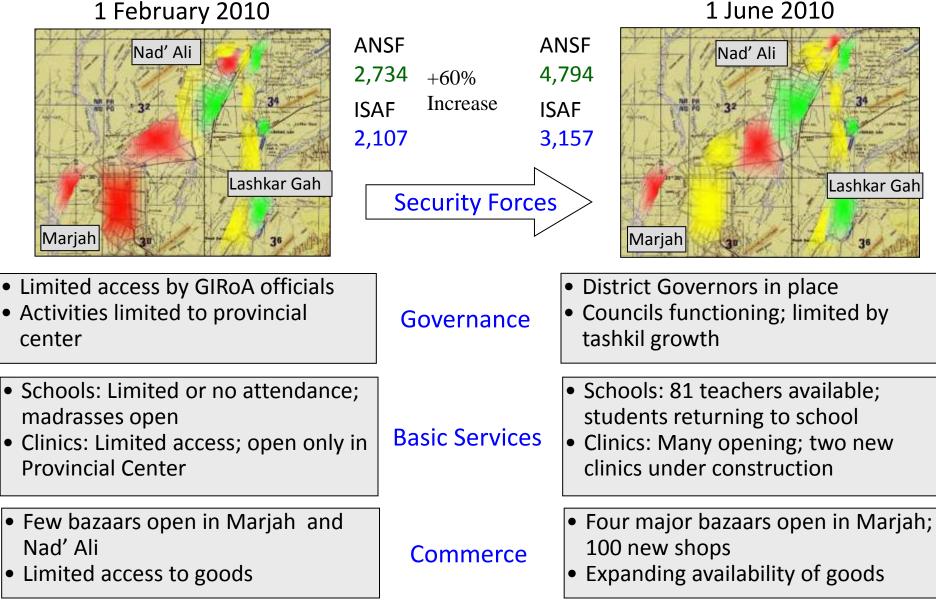


- Central Helmand under insurgent control; Marjeh insurgent-narco hub
- Restricted freedom of movement; Illegal checkpoints and IEDs
- Negative perception of GIRoA

- Initiative shifting to Coalition; presence in every major village
- Increased freedom of movement; IED threat remains
- Attitude of population trending positive

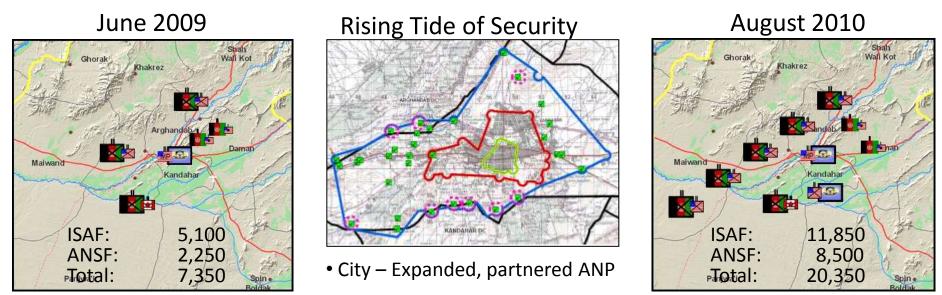
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC 6 Moshtarak Update (Marjah and Nad' Ali)

1 February 2010





Kandahar: Plan Overview



• Gradual increase of GIRoA influence in surrounding districts

Political Reform

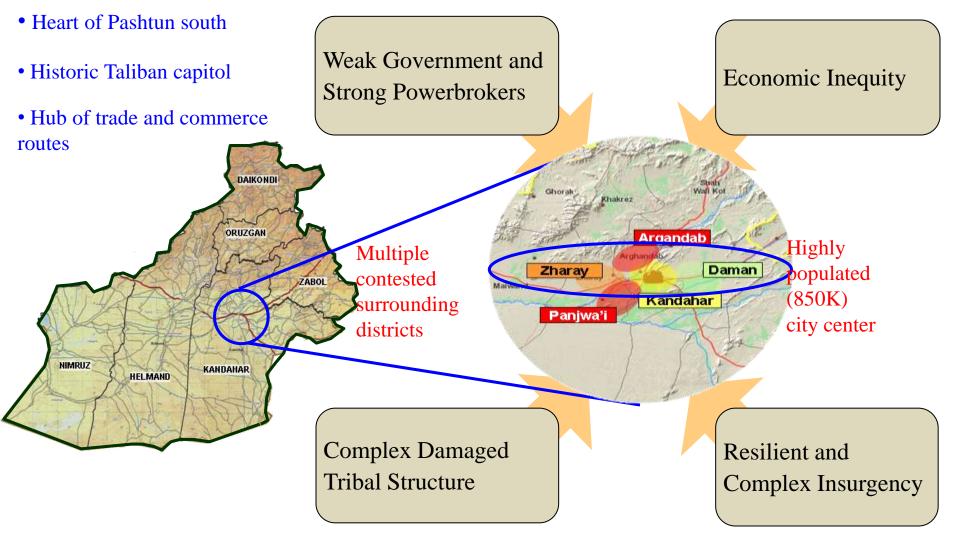
- Manage relationships: Powerbrokers and Political elite
- Protect, resource and empower District Governors, khans, maliks, mullahs
- Use the shura to gain trust and confidence of local communities

Progress over months; process not an event

Economic Opportunity

- Address principal sources of corruption and grievance: contracting, private security companies, land disputes
- Significantly expand electrical supply to meet rising demand

Kandahar: Complex and Unique Challenge

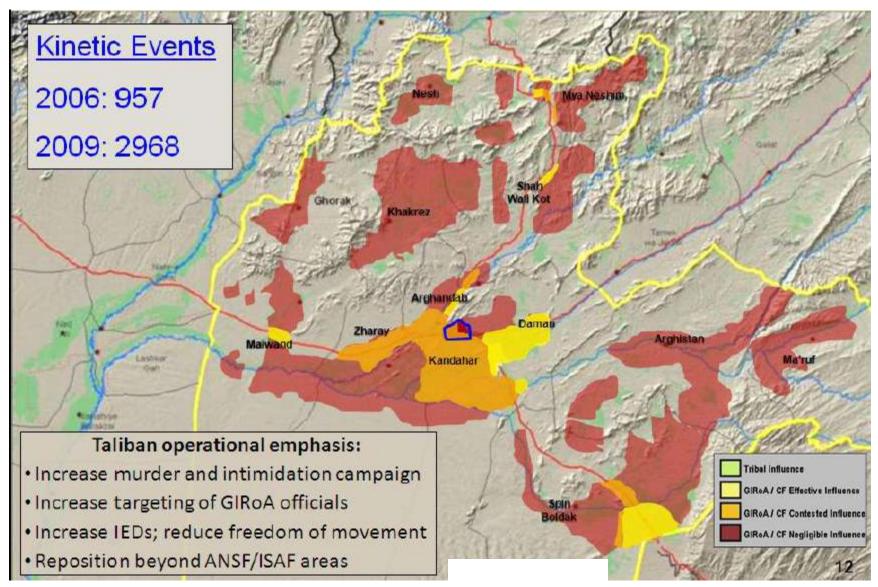


Each is difficult; collectively a unique challenge

CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC 6

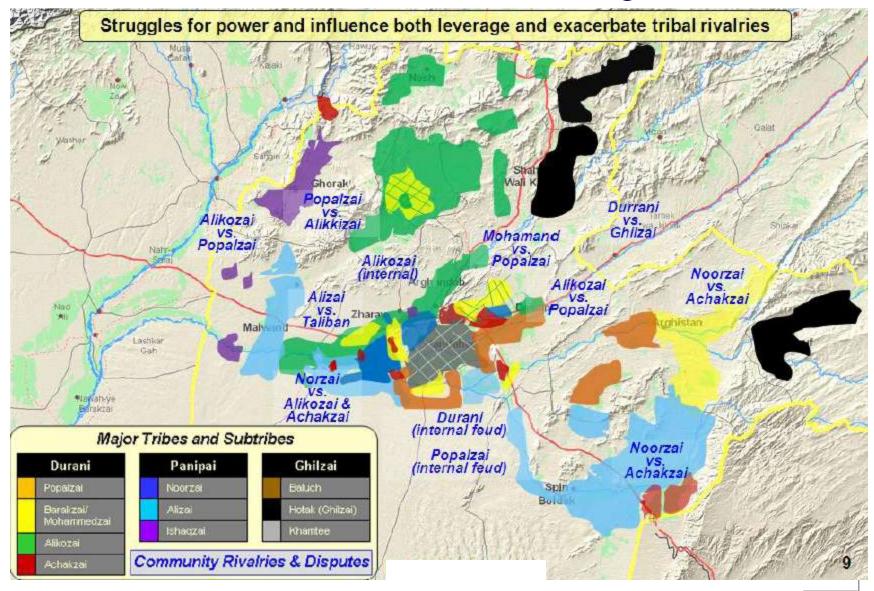
Resilient and Complex Insurgency



CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Tribes, Power Brokers, and Fragmentation

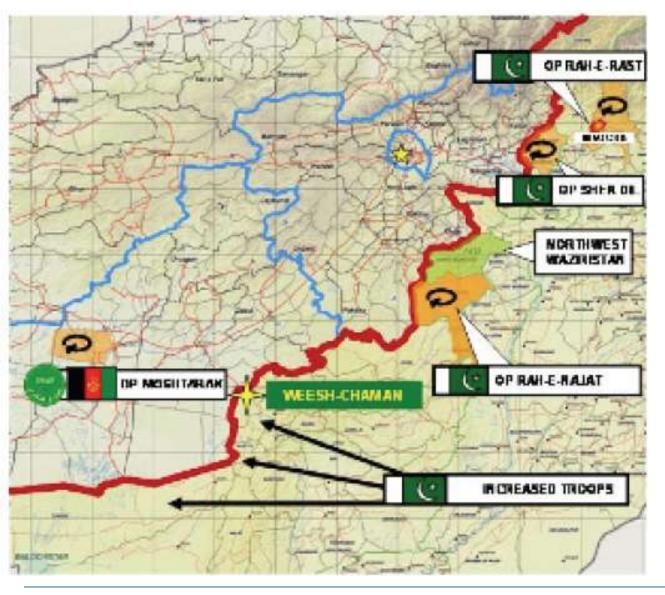


CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &

CSIS CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Afghan-Pakistan Military Operations: March 2010



Largest deployment of PAKMIL forces on the western border of Pakistan in the nation's history, with over 130,000 PAKMIL deployed to the FATA and Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). More than 100,000 PAKMIL troops were moved from the eastern border with India.

"Department of Defense, Report on Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan/United States Plan for Sustaining Afghan Security forces, April 2010, defenselink.mil (publications), p. 32