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Afghan Forces on the Edge of Transition– I:

Introduction, US Policy, and Cuts in US Forces and Spending

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Introduction

Creating an effective transition for the ANSF is only one of the major challenges that Afghanistan, the US, and Afghanistan's other allies face during 2014-2015 and beyond. The five other key challenges include:

- **Going from an uncertain election to effective leadership and political cohesion and unity.**
- **Creating an effective and popular structure governance, with suitable reforms, from the local to central government, reducing corruption to acceptable levels, and making suitable progress in planning, budgeting, and budget execution.**
- **Coping with the coming major cuts in outside aid and military spending in Afghanistan, adapting to a largely self-financed economy, developing renewal world economic development plans, carrying out the reforms pledged at the Tokyo Conference, and reducing the many barriers to doing business.**
- **Establishing relations with Pakistan and other neighbors that will limit outside pressures and threats, and insurgent sanctuaries on Afghanistan's border.**
- **Persuading the US, other donors, NGCO, and nations will to provide advisors to furnish the needed aid effort through at least 2018, and probably well beyond.**

Nevertheless, Afghanistan cannot succeed unless the ANSF meets the wide range of security challenges which are the subject of this briefing. Many of these challenges are ones that all governments face in shaping an effective security response to major extremist and insurgent threats. Others are unique to Afghanistan.

It should be clear from this list and the briefing that follows that the ANSF faces problems that make a successful Transition a high risk effort even if the ANSF is the *only* factor considered in supporting an effective Transition. This risk is highlighted in much of the data that follow, and in virtually all of the narratives describing the current state of the ANSF.

At the same time, the briefing shows that there are positive as well as negative trends. The ANSF may be able to succeed if it receive suitable outside support, and particularly if it has a substantial advisory and enable presence from the US, if other key ISAF states like Germany and Italy provide a presence in in key areas, and if the donors provide the funds necessary for the ANSF to develop, operate, and mature.

A Long List of Key Uncertainties

- Can the new President win popular support… and lead?
- How long will it take to form a functional government at all levels – national, provincial, district?
- How will the mix of power brokers change?
- What security challenges will emerge and when? How will the MoD and MoI function and respond?
- Who will take charge of budgeting, economic planning, and use of international aid?
- What will be mix of corruption versus relative honesty?
- What will be the mix of capabilities – e.g., war-fighting versus security? How will Afghan leaders reshape the rule of law?
- How will layered defense actually interact with governance?
- Accommodation? Search for peace?
- Role of neighboring powers?

The Afghan Government Can Be as Serious a "Threat" as the Insurgents: The *Other* Challenges of Transition

- Creating political unity and reasons to be loyal to government
- Creating a new structure of governance and balance between factions
- Effective revenue collection, budget planning and expenditure, and limits to corruption
- Fully replacing NATO/ISAF with the ANSF and "layered defense"
- Creating a new structure of security forces, advisors, and aid funds, to include addressing the presence of US and other nations' personnel
- Acting on the Tokyo Conference: Creating effective flow and use of aid, economic reform, and limits to corruption and waste
- Stabilizing a market economy driven by military spending and moving towards development: Brain drain and capital flight
- Coping with weather and other challenges to agricultural structure and with pressures to increase the narco-economy
- Dealing with neighbors: Pakistan, Iran, Central Asian nations, India, China, and Russia

The Post-Election Challenges of Transition

- Creating political unity and reasons to be loyal to government
- Creating a new structure of governance and balance between factions
- Effective revenue collection, budget planning and expenditure, and limits to corruption
- Fully replacing NATO/ISAF with the ANSF and “layered defense”
- Creating a new structure of security forces, advisors, and aid funds, to include addressing the presence of US and other nations’ personnel
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Key Military Challenges

- Responding to the changing threat in a Political-Military War.
- Transitioning from "their way" to "our way:" new chain of command, supply. and sustainment, role of NCOs, O&M, etc.
- Top Down Leadership: New President, MoI, MoD.
- Evolution of effective overall command structure.
- Funding and management of resource; effective flow of money.
- Redefining force structure and force plans.
- Reshaping C3I/BM, IS&R.
- Role of ANA vs. ANP and ALP, rule of law.
- Promotion, enlistment, pay, medical, food, housing, security, retirement.
- Leave and recovery, AWOL and attrition.
- National, regional, ethnic, and sectarian politicization.
- Training cycle: Shifting from "force generation" to "force effectiveness."
- Reshaping role of US and other "partners," advisors, "enablers."

Economic Challenges

- "New Silk Road" is dead, and "Ring Road" is uncertain; mineral wealth is no miracle solution to economic challenges. Very little real growth other than aid and military spending driven – cyclical impact of rainfall.
- Still at war and highly aid dependent.
- Unclear who will plan and manage aid and revenues in government.
- No clear aid structure, revenue flows, outside plans and focus.
- The goal of 50% Afghan control ignores the roll back of aid/NGO presence; government ability to use and manage is insufficient.
- Failure of UNAMA, uncertain role of World Bank.
- Service sector may leave, export capital, collapse.
- Major barriers to private development.
- At least some risk of major recession and collapse of the market-driven sector.

Source: CIA World Factbook, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html, April 7, 2014.

The President's Transition "Plan" of May 27, 2014

The Obama Transition "Plan:" May 27, 2014

… Our objectives are clear: Disrupting threats posed by al Qaeda; supporting Afghan security forces; and giving the Afghan people the opportunity to succeed as they stand on their own.

Here's how we will pursue those objectives. First, America's combat mission will be over by the end of this year. Starting next year, Afghans will be fully responsible for securing their country. American personnel will be in an advisory role. We will no longer patrol Afghan cities or towns, mountains or valleys. That is a task for the Afghan people.

Second, I've made it clear that we're open to cooperating with Afghans on two narrow missions after 2014: training Afghan forces and supporting counterterrorism operations against the remnants of al Qaeda.

Today, I want to be clear about how the United States is prepared to advance those missions. At the beginning of 2015, we will have approximately 98,000 U.S. -- let me start that over, just because I want to make sure we don't get this written wrong. At the beginning of 2015, we will have approximately 9,800 U.S. service members in different parts of the country, together with our NATO allies and other partners. By the end of 2015, we will have reduced that presence by roughly half, and we will have consolidated our troops in Kabul and on Bagram Airfield. One year later, by the end of 2016, our military will draw down to a normal embassy presence in Kabul, with a security assistance component, just as we've done in Iraq.

Now, even as our troops come home, the international community will continue to support Afghans as they build their country for years to come. But our relationship will not be defined by war -- it will be shaped by our financial and development assistance, as well as our diplomatic support. Our commitment to Afghanistan is rooted in the strategic partnership that we agreed to in 2012. And this plan remains consistent with discussions we've had with our NATO allies. Just as our allies have been with us every step of the way in Afghanistan, we expect that our allies will be with us going forward.

Third, we will only sustain this military presence after 2014 if the Afghan government signs the Bilateral Security Agreement that our two governments have already negotiated. This Agreement is essential to give our troops the authorities they need to fulfill their mission, while respecting Afghan sovereignty. The two final Afghan candidates in the run-off election for President have each indicated that they would sign this agreement promptly after taking office. So I'm hopeful that we can get this done.

Adapted from White House Briefing Room, May 27, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/27/statement-president-afghanistan.

The White House Transition "Fact" Sheet: May 27, 2014 - I

Afghans Taking the Security Lead

At the 2010 NATO Summit in Lisbon, Afghanistan and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) nations agreed to transfer full responsibility for Afghanistan's security to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) by the end of 2014. This transition process has allowed the international community to responsibly draw down our forces in Afghanistan, while preserving hard-won gains and setting the stage to achieve our core objectives -– disrupting threats posed by al-Qa'ida; supporting Afghan Security Forces; and giving the Afghan people the opportunity to succeed as they stand on their own.

At the 2012 NATO Summit in Chicago, Afghanistan and ISAF nations reaffirmed this framework for transition and agreed on a milestone in mid-2013 when the ISAF mission would begin to shift from combat to support. Last June, the Afghans reached that milestone as the ANSF assumed the lead for security across the whole of Afghanistan and our coalition forces shifted their focus to the training, advising, and assisting of Afghan forces.

Today, Afghan forces provide security for their people and plan and lead the fight against the insurgency. The most recent example of this transition was the effective security provided by the ANSF to enable the April presidential and provincial elections. The ANSF will maintain its current surge strength of 352,000 to reinforce this progress and provide for a secure environment in Afghanistan.

Commitment to the U.S.-Afghanistan Partnership

In May 2012, the President signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement between the United States and Afghanistan that defined a future in which Afghans are responsible for the security of their nation. The two countries pledged to build an equal partnership between two sovereign states premised on mutual respect and shared interests. U.S. commitments to support Afghanistan's social and economic development, security, and institutions and to promote regional cooperation are matched by Afghan commitments to strengthen accountability, transparency, and oversight and to protect the human rights of all Afghans –- men and women. The Strategic Partnership Agreement includes mutual commitments in the areas of: protecting and promoting shared democratic values; advancing long-term security; reinforcing regional security and cooperation; social and economic development; and strengthening Afghan institutions and governance.

The United States continues to support a sovereign, stable, unified, and democratic Afghanistan and will continue our partnership based on the principles of mutual respect and mutual accountability. We remain fully supportive of our partners in the Afghan security forces, and we continue to proudly work side-by-side with the many Afghans who work to ensure the stability and prosperity of their fellow citizens.

International Support for Afghanistan

The United States' support is part of an international effort to assist Afghanistan as it enters the "Transformation Decade" of 2015-2024. At the 2012 NATO Summit in Chicago, Afghanistan and NATO reaffirmed its commitment to further develop an enduring partnership that would last beyond the transition of full security responsibility for Afghanistan from ISAF to Afghan forces by the end of 2014. This commitment is a clear message to the Afghan people that they will not stand alone as they take responsibility for their security. At the 2012 Tokyo Conference, Afghanistan and the international community also committed to support the sustainable growth and development of Afghanistan. The international community pledged financial support, through 2017, at or near levels of the past decade, to respond to Afghanistan's projected budget shortfalls.

Adapted from White House Briefing Room, May 27, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/27/fact-sheet-bringing-us-war-afghanistan-responsible-end.

The White House Transition "Fact" Sheet: May 27, 2014 - II

Political Transition

As the Afghans took control for their security, they also worked to usher in a historic transfer of power in Afghanistan. We congratulate the millions of Afghans who voted in the presidential elections in April, and we look forward to the inauguration of their next president later this summer. The United States affirms its support for a fair, credible, and Afghan-led election process and does not support any candidate in the elections -- the choice of who leads Afghanistan is for Afghans alone.

The United States also believes that an Afghan-led peace and reconciliation process is the surest way to end violence and ensure lasting stability for Afghanistan and the region. As the President has said, the United States will support initiatives that bring Afghans together with other Afghans to discuss the future of their country. The United States and the Afghan government have called upon on the Taliban to join a political process. We have been clear that the outcomes of any peace and reconciliation process must be for the Taliban and other armed opposition groups to end violence, break ties with al-Qa'ida, and accept Afghanistan's constitution, including its protections for the rights of all Afghan citizens, both men and women.

We believe that a stable and prosperous Afghanistan can only be possible in a stable and prosperous region. We endorse Afghanistan's vision for building strong, sustainable bilateral and multilateral relationships with its neighbors and regional partners. We encourage Afghanistan's further economic integration into the region and support the principles of good-neighborly relations, which include non-interference and respect for sovereignty.

Economic Transition

- Afghanistan has experienced rapid economic growth and remarkable improvements in key social indicators:
- Afghanistan's gross domestic product has grown an average of 9.4 percent per year from 2003 to 2012.
- In the last decade, life expectancy at birth has increased by 20 years to over 62 years.
- In 2002, an estimated 900,000 boys were in school and virtually no girls. Now there are 8 million students enrolled in school, more than a third of whom are girls.
- In 2002, only 6 percent of Afghans had access to reliable electricity. Today, 28 percent of the population has access to reliable electricity, including more than 2 million people in Kabul who now benefit from electric power 24 hours a day.

However, challenges remain, and Afghanistan will require continued international assistance to sustain its gains and further meet its development goals. In January 2013, the President reaffirmed the conclusions of the Tokyo Conference, including that the U.S. commitment to align 80 percent of our aid with Afghan priorities and channel at least 50 percent of development assistance through the national budget of the Afghan government as part of the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework.

Adapted from White House Briefing Room, May 27, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/27/fact-sheet-bringing-us-war-afghanistan-responsible-end.

A Bilateral Security Agreement but No clear Future Plan

The Bilateral Security Agreement is Finally Signed on September 30, 2014

President Karzai completed his term in office without signing the bilateral security agreement in the ten months after negotiations concluded. On September 30, 2014, the government of his successor, Ashraf Ghani, signed the BSA the day after he was inaugurated. The agreement now goes to the Afghan legislature for ratification. The Ghani administration also signed a status of forces agreement with NATO, a necessary condition for NATO member states to contribute forces to the post-2014 TAA mission in Afghanistan.

The U.S.-Afghanistan BSA is an international agreement between the United States and Afghanistan that provides the terms and conditions the United States needs to support a post- 2014 U.S. military presence in Afghanistan. The agreement is an opportunity to sustain the partnership between the United States and Afghanistan and to support Afghans in achieving lasting peace, security, and development. Although the BSA provides similar protections as the 2003 SOFA provided, President Obama had made clear the United States must have an invitation from the Afghan government to extend the U.S. force presence in Afghanistan beyond 2014.

On September 30, 2014, U.S. Ambassador James Cunningham and the new Afghan National Security Advisor Mohammed Haneef Atmar signed the BSA in Kabul. The BSA provides the United States the following protections:

- **A clear statement of U.S. exclusive criminal and civil jurisdiction for U.S. military personnel and DoD civilians in Afghanistan;**
- **Clear exemptions from taxation on U.S. forces and on the work contractors do in Afghanistan to support U.S. forces, including work performed by subcontractors;**
- **Clear acknowledgment of U.S. missions – counterterrorism operations against remnants of core al Qaeda and its affiliates, and a mission to train, advise, and assist the ANSF – in language that preserves presidential prerogatives to direct the use of U.S. forces and that preserves the right of self-defense; and**
- **Rights to access and use necessary facilities, the rights of freedom of movement, import and export, entry and exit, and other necessary daily activities, without intrusive coordination requirements that would undercut those rights.**

The BSA does not require the United States to maintain forces in Afghanistan, address the number of U.S. forces that will remain after 2014, or provide for permanent U.S. bases in Afghanistan.

DoD, Afghan 1230 Report, October 30, 2014, pp. 21-22

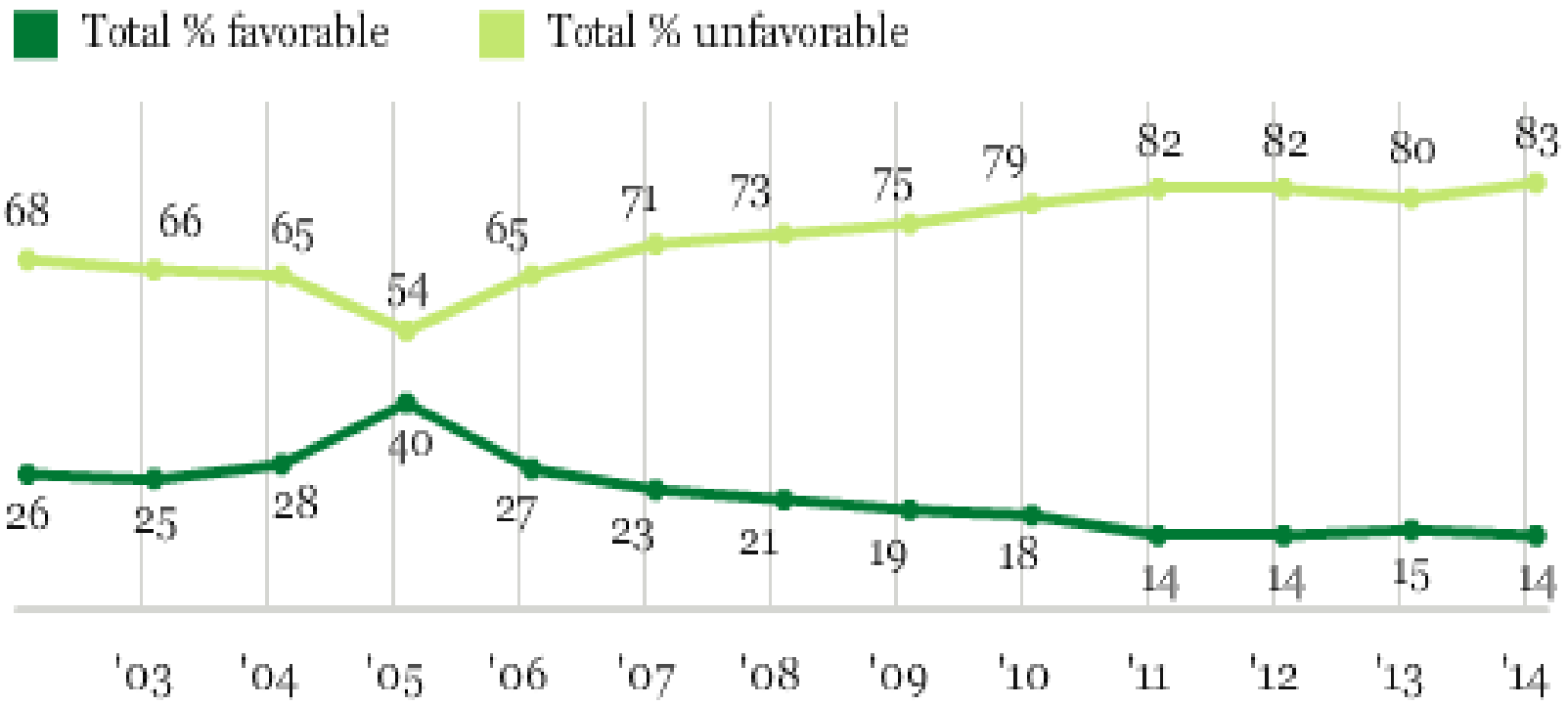
The BSA is Only One Aspect of Transition

- **Leadership and transparency to win public and Congressional support**
- **Integrated civil-military plan for post-2014 US presence and aid**
  - **A clear US and allied plan for an on-going advisory presence and aid funding of ANSF**
  - **A clear US and allied plan for governance and economic assistance and aid funding.**
- **A clear plan for setting conditions for Afghan reforms and other actions**
- **A plan for US relations with – and aid to – Pakistan and Central Asia nations, as well as other key transit and neighboring states**
- **US leadership in creating replacements for ISAF, NTM-A, UNSCOM**
- **Follow-ons to Tokyo and Chicago conferences**

The Challenge of Uncertain Public Support

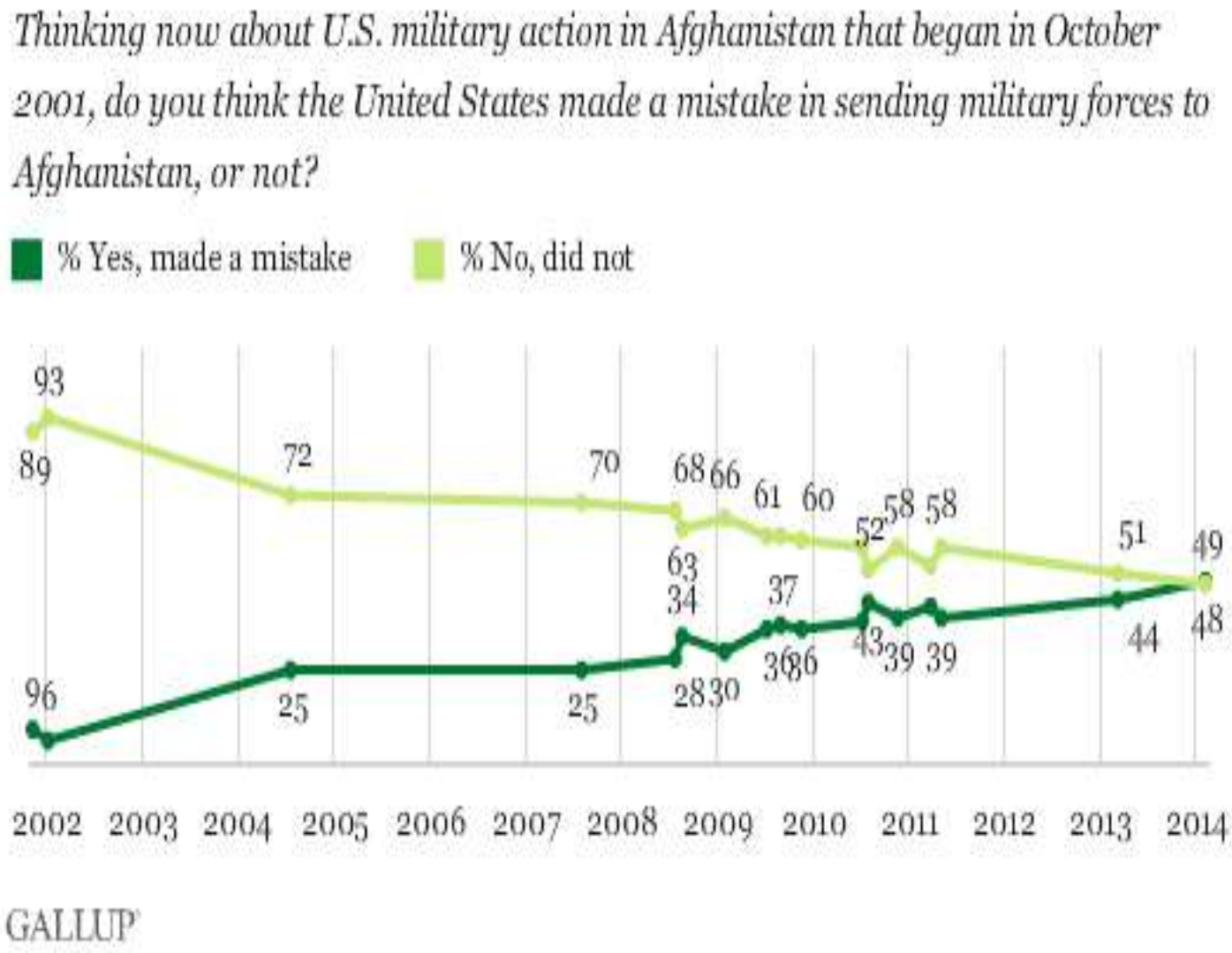
Loss of US Public Support - I

Next, I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. What is your overall opinion of Afghanistan? Is it very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?



Source: Gallup, 2014, http://www.gallup.com/poll/116233/afghanistan.aspx.

Loss of US Public Support - II

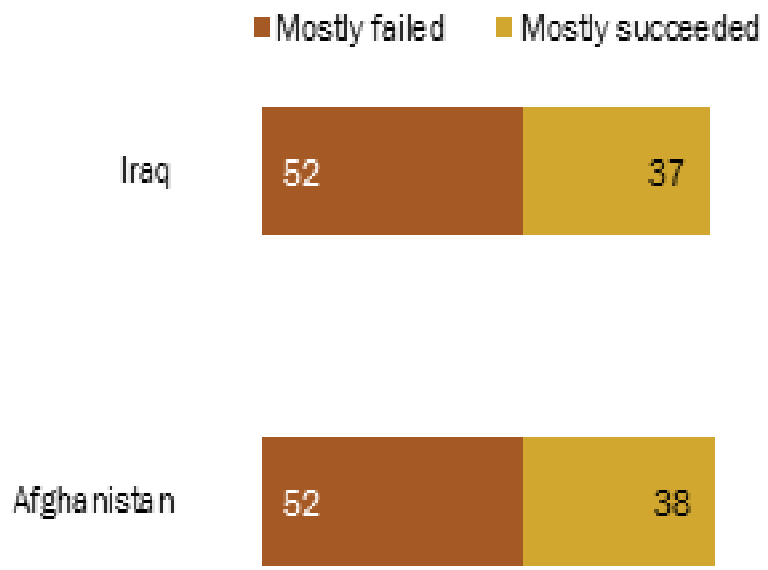


Source: Gallup, 2014, http://www.gallup.com/poll/116233/afghanistan.aspx.

Loss of US Public Support - III

Negative Views of U.S. Efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan

In achieving its goals in Iraq/Afghanistan, U.S. has ...

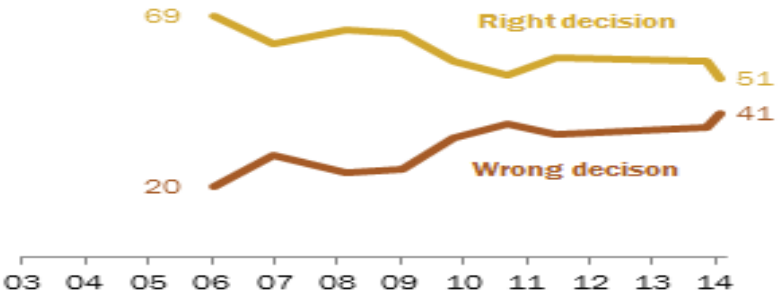


Survey conducted Jan. 15-19, 2014.
Don't know responses not shown.

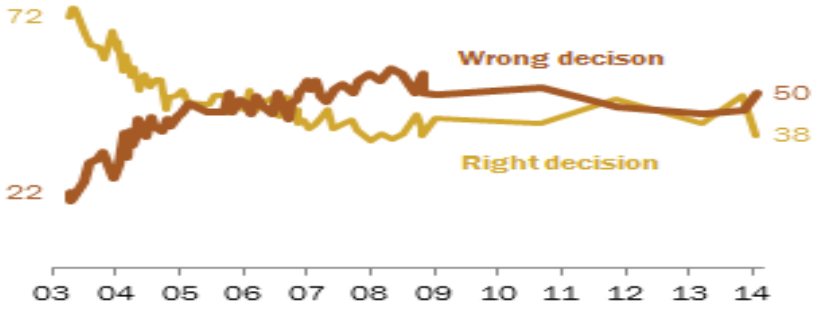
PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY

Views of Decisions to Use Military Force in Afghanistan, Iraq

Decision to use military force in Afghanistan ...



Decision to use military force in Iraq ...



Survey conducted Jan. 15-19, 2014.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY

Source: Pew Research Center, January 30, 2014, http://www.people-press.org/2014/01/30/more-now-see-failure-than-success-in-iraq-afghanistan/1-30-2014_05/.

Overview of Recent US Polls - I

NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll conducted by Hart Research Associates (D) and Public Opinion Strategies (R). June 11-15, 2014. N=1,000 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.1.

"When it comes to Afghanistan, do you think the war was worth it or not worth it?"

	Worth it	Not worth it	Depends (vol.)	Unsure
	%	%	%	%
6/11-15/14	27	65	2	6
1/12-15/13	40	51	2	7

ABC News/Washington Post Poll. May 29-June 1, 2014. N=1,002 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.5.

"Obama has said he will reduce U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan to 9,800 by the end of this year, half of that next year and near zero by 2016. Do you support or oppose this troop-reduction plan?"

	Support	Oppose	Unsure
	%	%	%
5/29 - 6/1/14	77	19	4

CBS News Poll. March 20-23, 2014. N=1,097 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.

"Most U.S. troops are expected to leave Afghanistan by the end of 2014. From what you know, how likely do you think it is that Afghanistan will be a stable country after U.S. troops leave: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely?"

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely	Unsure
	%	%	%	%	%
3/20-23/14	5	24	38	30	3

Gallup Poll. Feb. 6-9, 2014. N=1,023 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 4.

"Looking back, do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to fight in Afghanistan in 2001?"

	Yes	No	Unsure
	%	%	%
2/6-9/14	49	48	3
3/7-10/13	44	51	5

CNN/ORC Poll. Sept. 6-8, 2013. N=1,022 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.

"In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to Afghanistan, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Afghanistan, or not?"

	Yes	No	Unsure
	%	%	%

Overview of Recent US Polls - II

Pew Research Center/USA Today. Jan. 15-19, 2014. N=739 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 4.2.
5/2/11: Co-sponsored by The Washington Post.

"Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?"

	Right decision	Wrong decision	Unsure
	%	%	%
1/15-19/14	51	41	8
10/30 - 11/6/13	56	37	8

CBS News Poll. March 20-23, 2014. N=1,097 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.

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"Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?"

	Right decision	Wrong decision	Unsure
	%	%	%
1/15-19/14	51	41	8
10/30 - 11/6/13	56	37	8
6/15-19/11	57	35	8
8/25 - 9/6/10	52	38	10
1/7-11/09	64	25	11
2/20-24/08	65	24	11
12/6-10/06	61	29	10
1/4-8/06	69	20	11

"Overall, do you think the United States has mostly succeeded or mostly failed in achieving its goals in Afghanistan?"

	Mostly succeeded	Mostly failed	Unsure/ Refused
	%	%	%
1/15-19/14	38	52	10

Overview of Recent US Polls - III

CBS News Poll. March 20-23, 2014. N=1,097 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.

"Most U.S. troops are expected to leave Afghanistan by the end of 2014. From what you know, how likely do you think it is that Afghanistan will be a stable country after U.S. troops leave: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely?"

	Very likely %	Somewhat likely %	Not very likely %	Not at all likely %	Unsure %
3/20-23/14	5	24	38	30	3

CBS News Poll. March 20-23, 2014. N=1,097 adults nationwide. Margin of error ± 3.

"Most U.S. troops are expected to leave Afghanistan by the end of 2014. From what you know, how likely do you think it is that Afghanistan will be a stable country after U.S. troops leave: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely?"

	Very likely %	Somewhat likely %	Not very likely %	Not at all likely %	Unsure %
3/20-23/14	5	24	38	30	3

"All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan has been worth fighting, or not?"

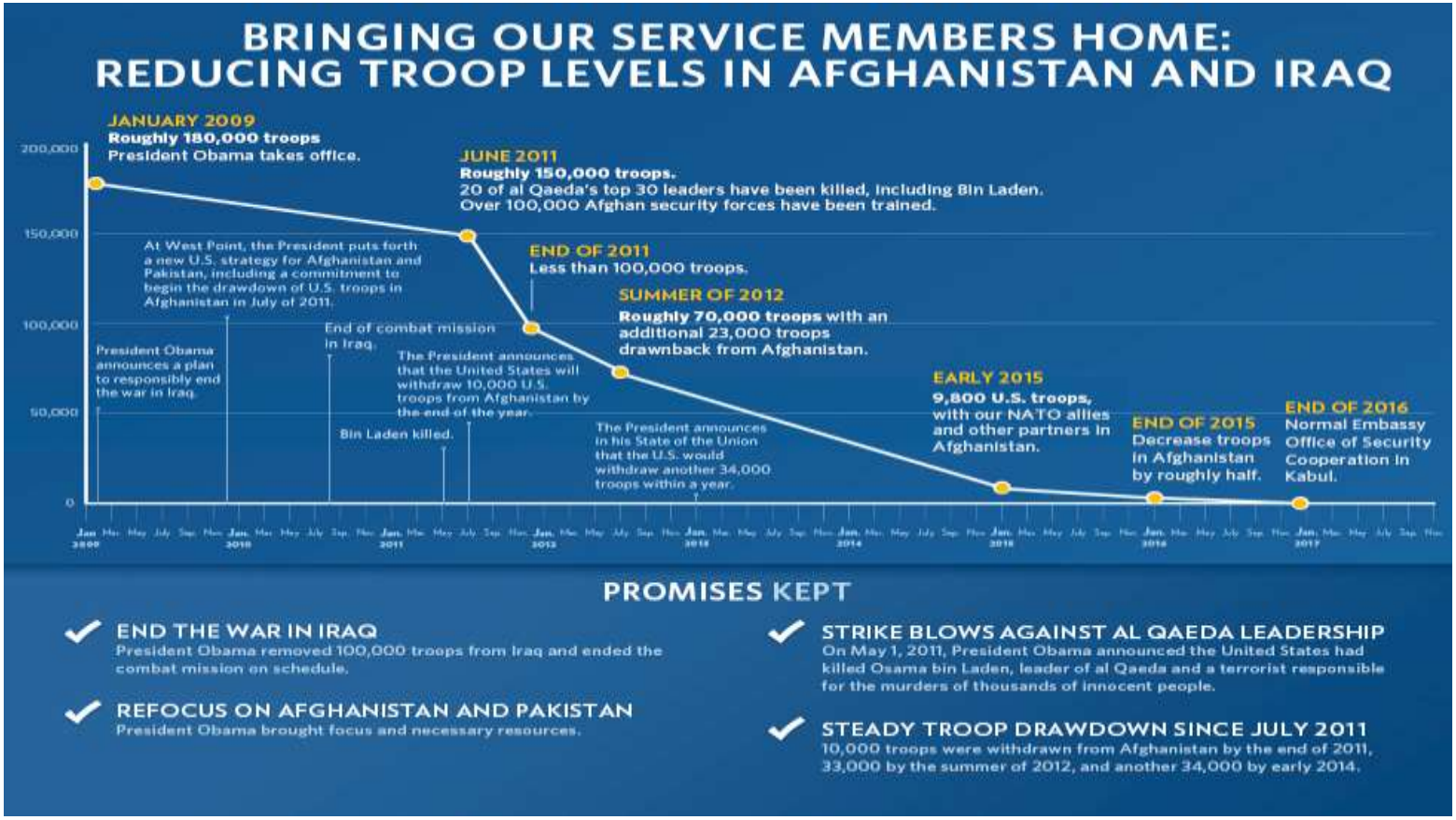
10/09: "All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan was / has been worth fighting, or not?" -- "was" and "has been" each asked of half the sample.
9/09 & earlier: "All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan WAS worth fighting, or not?"

	Worth fighting %	Not worth fighting %	Unsure %
12/12-15/13	30	66	4

Source: http://www.pollingreport.com/afghan.htm

Cuts in US Forces Moving Towards Transition

Cuts in US Forces in Afghanistan and Iraq: White House View

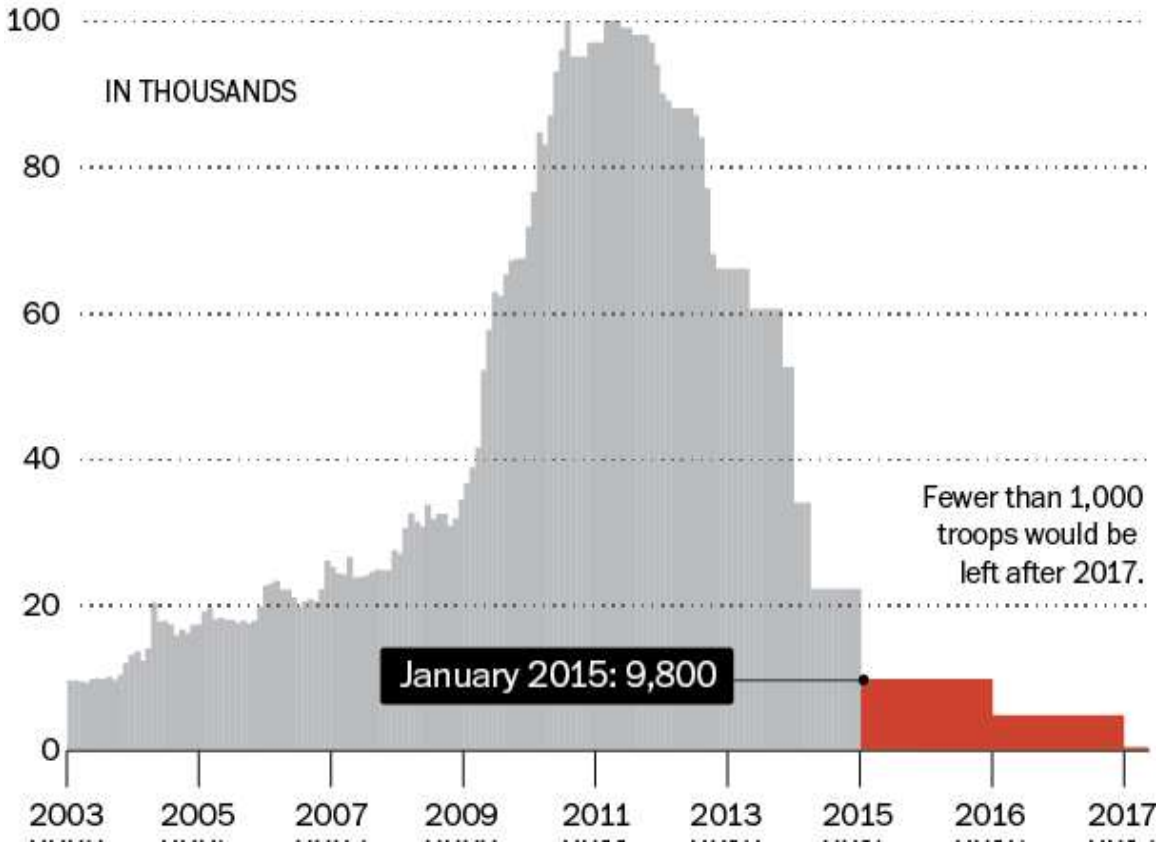


The troop surge that the President announced at West Point in December 2009 set the conditions that allowed us to push back the Taliban and build up Afghan forces. In June 2011, the President announced that we had completed the surge and would begin drawing down our forces from Afghanistan from a peak of 100,000 troops. He directed that troop reductions continue at a steady pace and in a planned, coordinated, and responsible manner. As a result, 10,000 troops came home by the end of that year, and 33,000 came home by the summer of 2012. In February 2013, in his State of the Union address, the President announced that the United States would withdraw another 34,000 American troops from Afghanistan within a year -- which we have done.

Today the President announced a plan whereby another 22,000 troops will come home by the end of the year, ending the U.S. combat mission in December 2014. At the beginning of 2015, and contingent upon the Afghans signing a Bilateral Security Agreement and a status of forces agreement with NATO, we will have 9,800 U.S. service members in different parts of the country, together with our NATO allies and other partners. By the end of 2015, we would reduce that presence by roughly half, consolidating our troops in Kabul and on Bagram Airfield. One year later, by the end of 2016, we will draw down to a normal embassy presence in Kabul, with a security assistance component, as we have done in Iraq. Beyond 2014, the mission of our troops will be training Afghan forces and supporting counterterrorism operations against the remnants of al-Qa'ida.

Adapted from White House Briefing Room, May 27, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/share/bringing-our-troops-home?utm_expid=24505866-29.4LXulRTVQ9abc7McEWUX4g.0, and http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/27/fact-sheet-bringing-us-war-afghanistan-responsible-end.

A Different View: Erratic US Military Role in Afghanistan: Surging far Too Late and then Running for the Exits



US surge came several years after insurgent surge reflected in following graphs, and US troops will actually drop in a downward curve in 2015-2016, not steps. Original US plans called for substantial conditions-based US advisory presence through 2016, and US commanders recommended higher levels than President decided upon.

**US surge came several years after insurgent surge reflected in following graphs, and US troops will actually drop in a downward curve in 2015-2016, not steps.
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Source: US Department of Defense, and Washington Post, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-troops-in-afghanistan/2014/09/30/45477364-490d-11e4-b72e-d60a9229cc10_graphic.html, accessed October 1, 2014.

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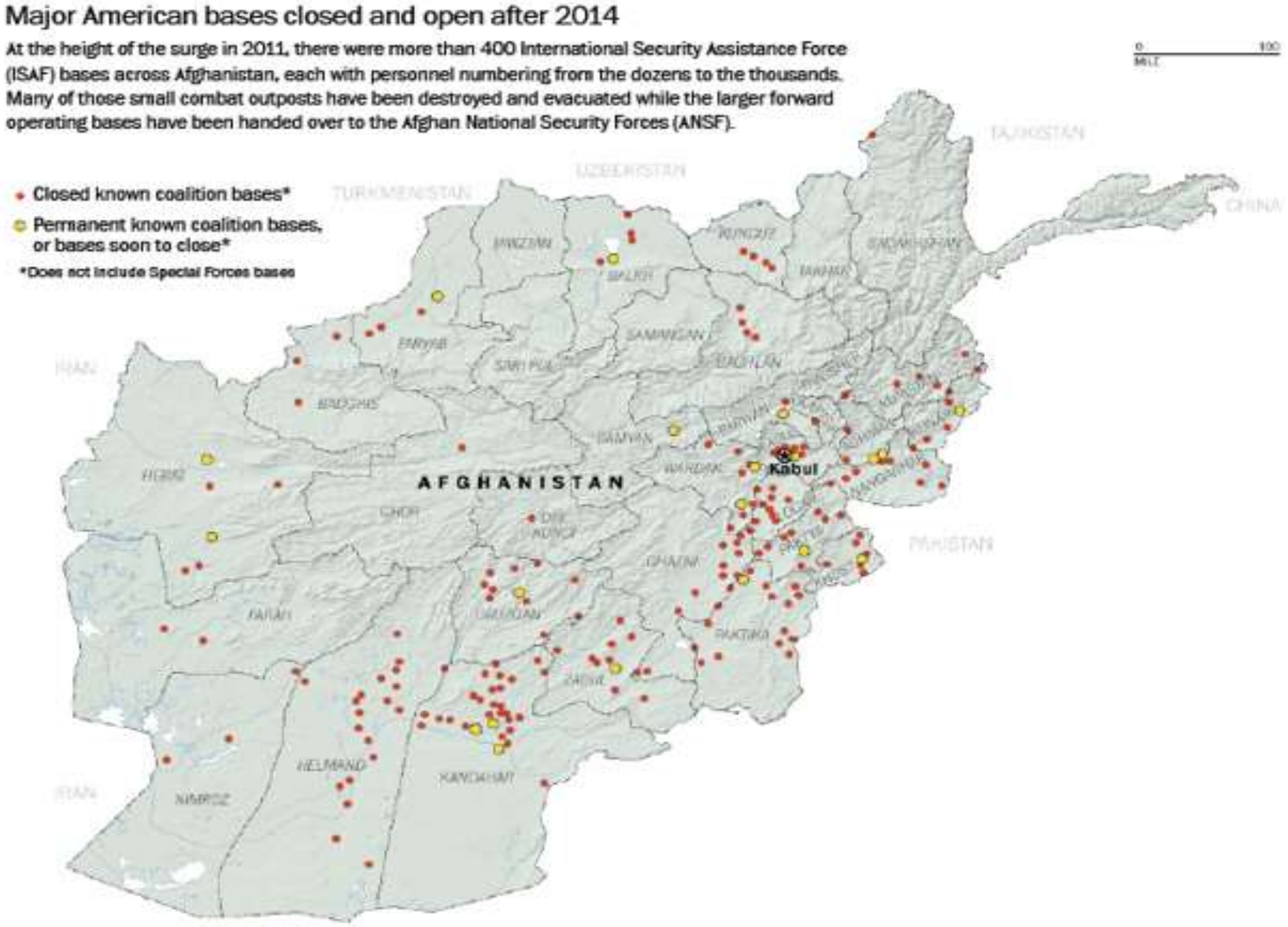
US Base Closure Impact



Source: DoD and Washington Post, http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/page/world/a-slow-steady-drawdown-to-10000/1451/.

Uncertain Future CIA Support for US Military

- **Press reports indicate CIA will withdraw operational elements in Afghanistan by end 2014. Quotes US officials as saying,**

  "CIA Director John Brennan informed U.S. military commanders in March that his agency would start to shutter Afghan operations outside Kabul, the capital, removing CIA clandestine officers and analysts as well as National Security Agency specialists responsible for intercepting insurgents' communications, which have been a rich source of daily intelligence, the officials said. ...Pentagon officials warn that the CIA drawdown is coming at a time when insurgent attacks normally intensify, after a winter lull. As a result, the plan has strained relations between the agency and military commanders in Kabul...

  "The CIA footprint is entirely dependent on the military's," a senior U.S. official said Thursday. "There is no stomach in the building for going out there on our own," said a former CIA operator who has spoken to current officers about the pullback. "We are not putting our people out there without U.S. forces."

  John Maguire, who retired from the CIA in 2005 after 23 years as a case officer, noted that CIA officers on horseback were the first U.S. forces into Afghanistan after the terrorist attacks of Sept.11, 2001. He criticized the spy service for the current drawdown. "There is ample evidence and a long historical record of the agency working alone in any number of difficult and dangerous places, and if they can't do it by themselves without the military, then they should close the organization," he said.

  The CIA also plans this summer to stop paying the salaries of Afghan paramilitary forces that it has armed and trained for more than a decade to help fight the Taliban-led insurgency in the country's east, near the Pakistani border. It is unclear what will happen to the militias. The Pentagon is trying to persuade the CIA to slow its withdrawal, arguing that keeping CIA and NSA operators in the field as long as possible would help prevent a surge in militant attacks before the end of the year, when most U.S. troops are due to leave.

  ...The spy service already has sharply cut the pace of lethal drone strikes in Pakistan, flown from airfields in Afghanistan. One official said the agency was making plans to continue operating the armed drones on a much smaller scale, from Bagram.

Source: David S. Cloud, CIA, "U.S. military at odds over Afghanistan pullback plan," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 May 2014, http://www.latimes.com/world/afghanistan-pakistan/la-fg-cia-afghanistan-20140509-story.html#page=1.

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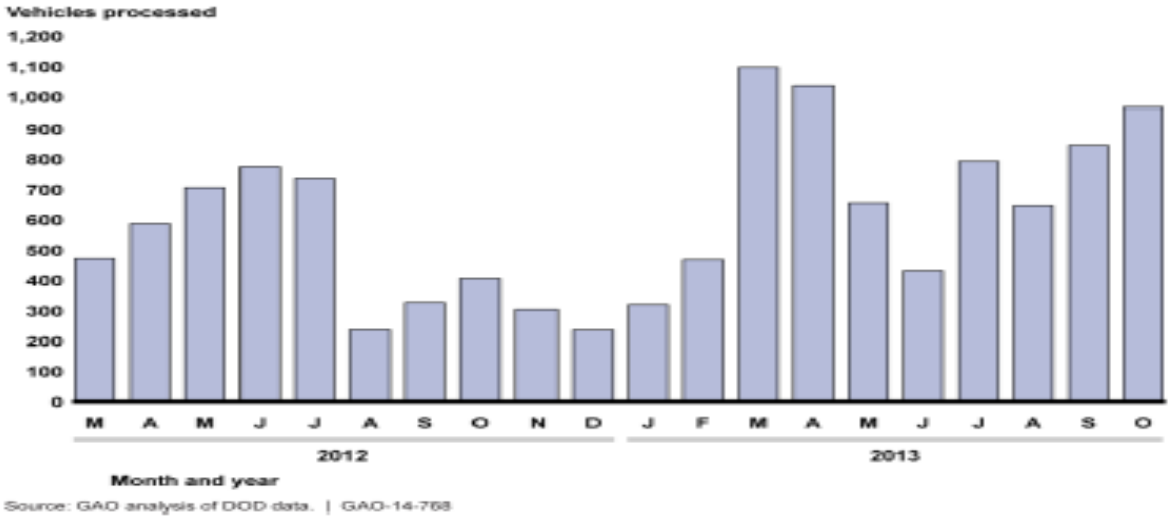
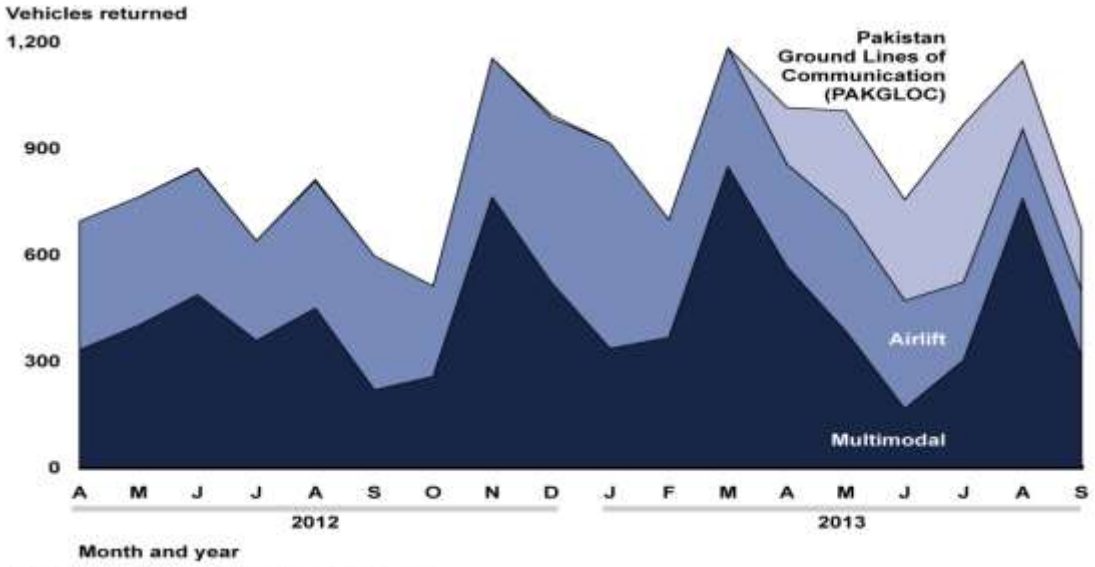
US Vehicles Processed per Month

Number of Vehicles Processed at Afghanistan Redistribution Property Assistance Teams (RPAT) Yards



Source: GAO analysis of DOD data. | GAO-14-768

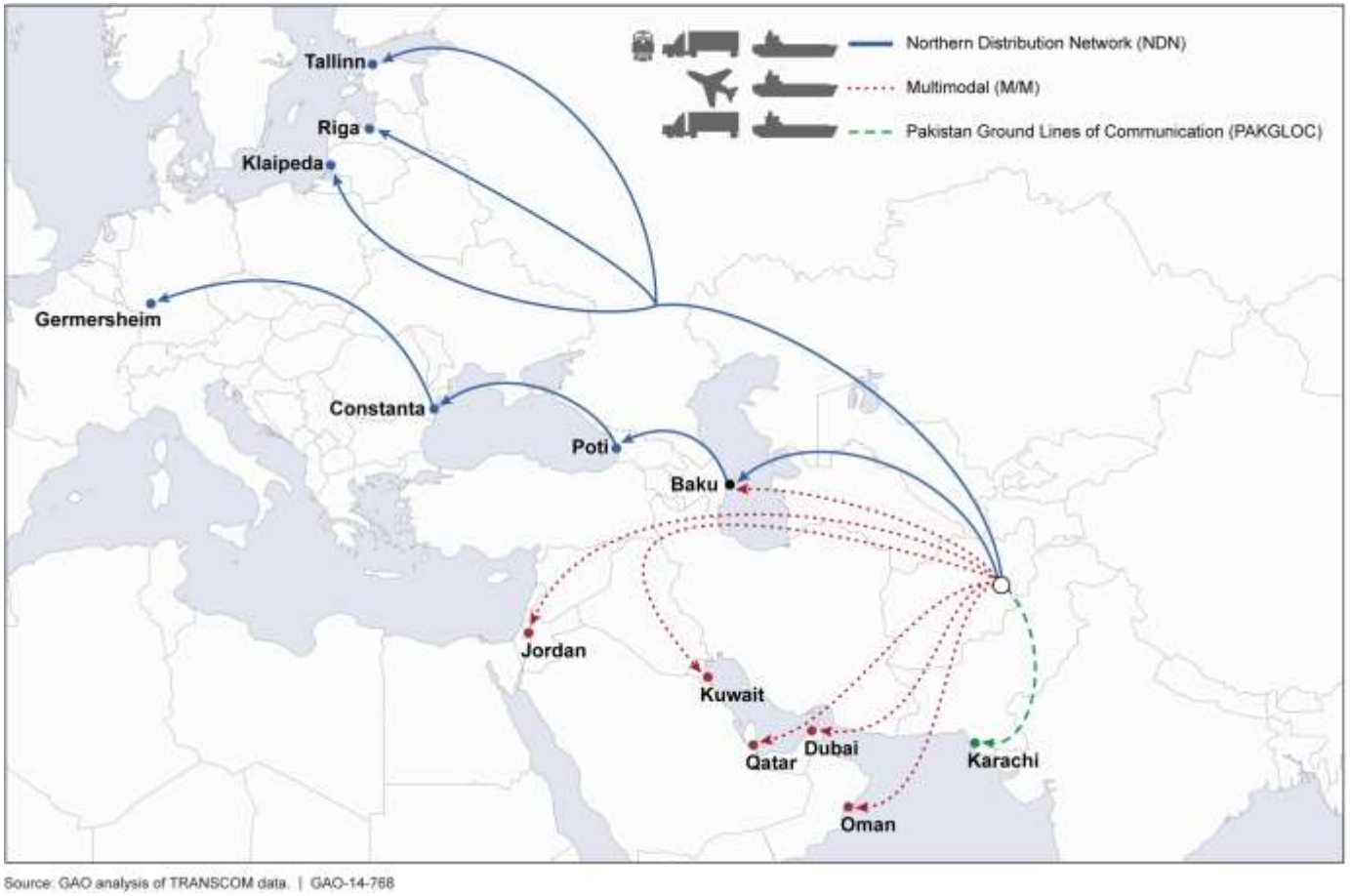
Return of Vehicles by Mode, April 2012–September 2013



Source: GAO analysis of DOD data. | GAO-14-768

Source: GAO, *Afghan Equipment Drawdown*, GAO-14-768, September 2014, http://www.gao.gov/assets/670/666235.pdf, p. 24,25

Transport Routes for Leaving Afghanistan



17The Northern Distribution Network (NDN) routes combine ship, rail, and truck modes, and they are used to transport equipment through combinations of countries including Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Russia, and Uzbekistan. The NDN routes all cross the northern border of Afghanistan.

On the ground, equipment moves through Pakistan, using the Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication (PAKGLOC) or through European and central Asian countries, as part of the Northern Distribution Network (NDN), to seaports from which it can be loaded onto ships for onward movement overseas.
7 As we have previously reported, however, geopolitical complexities in the region make the use of these ground routes challenging for equipment return. There are also airlift and multimodal airlift (air and sea) options that fly equipment from Afghanistan to ports in the region, from which the equipment can be transported onward via ship. According to DOD, although airlift and multimodal airlift are the more expensive transportation options, they have to date been the most reliable in the equipment drawdown due to limitations associated with the ground routes

Source: GAO, *Afghan Equipment Drawdown*, GAO-14-768, September 2014, http://www.gao.gov/assets/670/666235.pdf, p. 10-11.

Transition Costs Per Vehicle by Route

Route	Average transit time (days)	Mode	Range of transportation costs per vehicle (dollars)[a]
Jordan	61	Air/sea	$17,400–107,400
Azerbaijan	87	Air/sea	16,100–93,400
United Arab Emirates	60	Air/sea	13,700–83,500
Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication (PAKGLOC)	65	Ground/sea	5,700–23,800
Northern Distribution Network (NDN)-Russia	71	Ground/sea	5,700–23,800

Source: GAO analysis of TRANSCOM data. I GAO 14-768

Notes: Data are from fiscal year 2013.

[a]The cost per vehicle is based on data furnished by U.S. Transportation Command (TRANSCOM) for the estimated cost of returning a heavy and a light vehicle from Kandahar Air Force Base, Afghanistan. Lowest cost reflects transport of a trailer. Highest cost reflects transport of a heavy (18.5-ton) tactical vehicle on the same route.

Vehicle type	Weight (pounds)	Demilitarization cost per vehicle (dollars)	Transport cost to United States per vehicle (dollars)
Tactical vehicle	32,500	$9,100–$10,100	$23,800–$107,400
Trailer	5,850	1,600–1,800	5,700–17,400

Source: GAO analysis of U.S. Transportation Command and Defense Logistics Agency Disposition Services data. I GAO 14-768

In a 12-month period, the Army and Marine Corps returned more than 1,000 potentially unneeded vehicles, thereby incurring estimated transportation costs of up to $107,400 per vehicle, depending on the type of vehicle. DOD guidance indicates that equipment exceeding certain service-approved quantities should not be retained unless economic or contingency reasons support its retention. However, neither the Army nor the Marine Corps documented and reviewed justifications for returning items exceeding these approved quantities. Federal internal control standards state that documentation and review should be part of an organization's management

from October 2012 to October 2013, DOD returned from Afghanistan or destroyed 14,664 vehicles, an average of 1,128 vehicles per month.

Future progress toward drawdown goals will depend on equipment turn-in rates, which, in turn, depend on having more information about the post-2014 force level and mission.

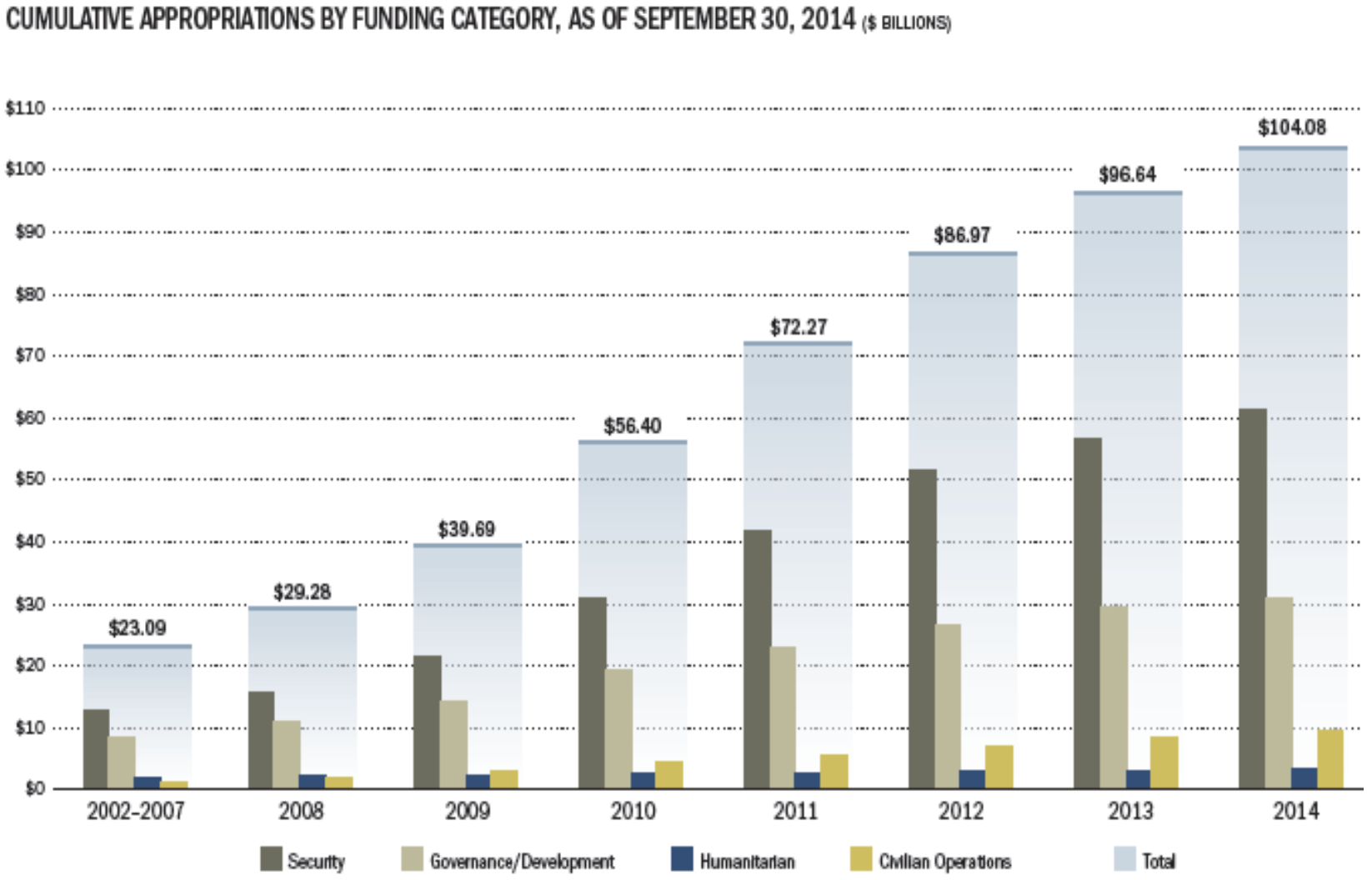
In addition, over the course of the last 8 months of the above period, the number of vehicles turned in by units for the drawdown averaged 55 percent of what had been forecast. This is because some vehicles that had been forecast for turn-in were instead redistributed to other units in Afghanistan. A senior DOD official stated that units have retained equipment because of uncertainty regarding future operational needs in Afghanistan.

Once the post-2014 force level and mission are announced, these vehicle turn-in rates may increase

Source: GAO, *Afghan Equipment Drawdown*, GAO-14-768, September 2014, http://www.gao.gov/assets/670/666235.pdf, p. 9, 27.

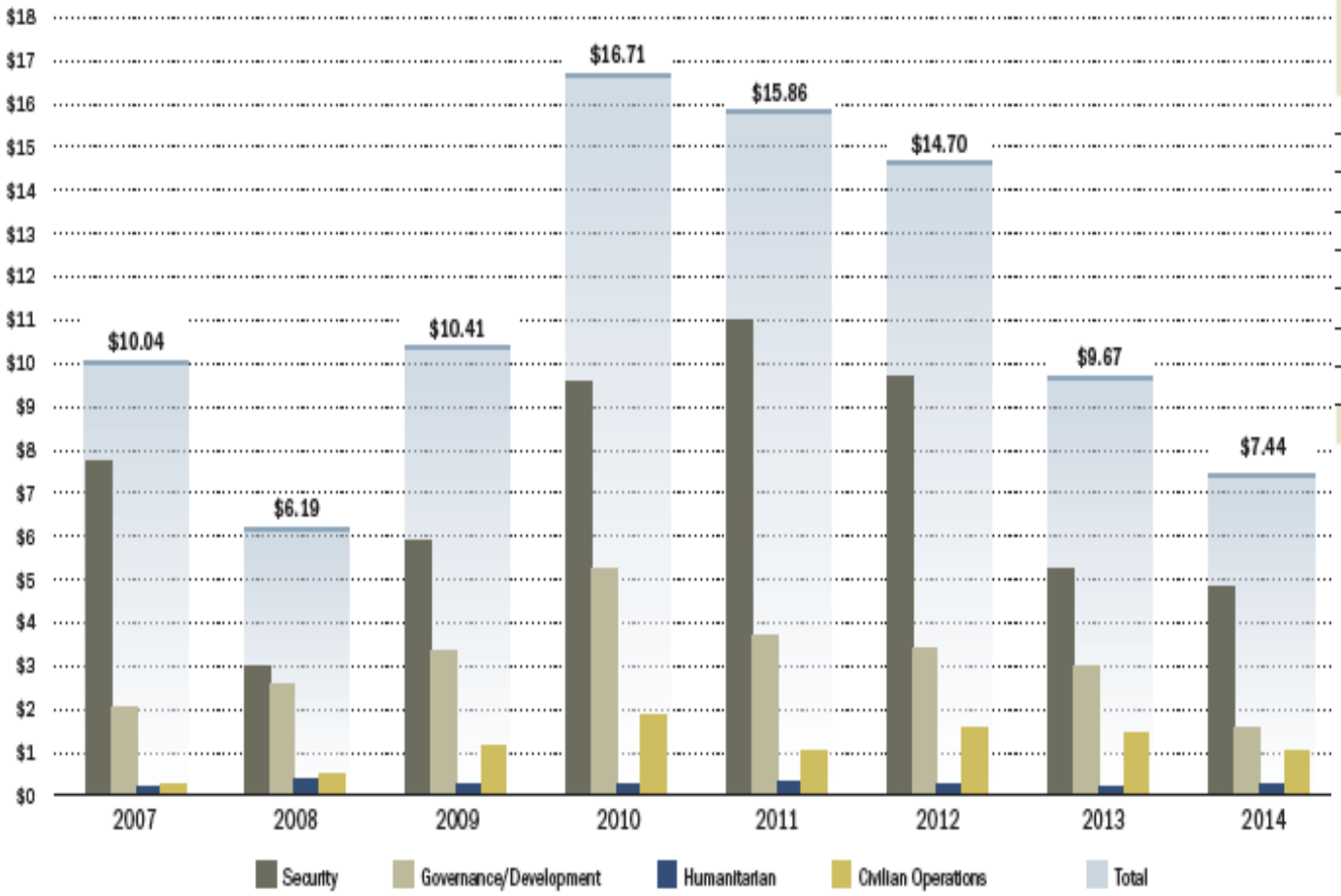
Growing US Reductions in Spending on Afghanistan

Massive Past Impact: $104 billion in US Aid – Largely Security Aid – as of June 30, 2014 – versus $103.4 B for Entire Marshall Plan



SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 72.

Ongoing Cuts in US Aid – $14.7B in FY2012: $9.7B in FY2013, $7.4B in FY2014, $5.8B in FY2015

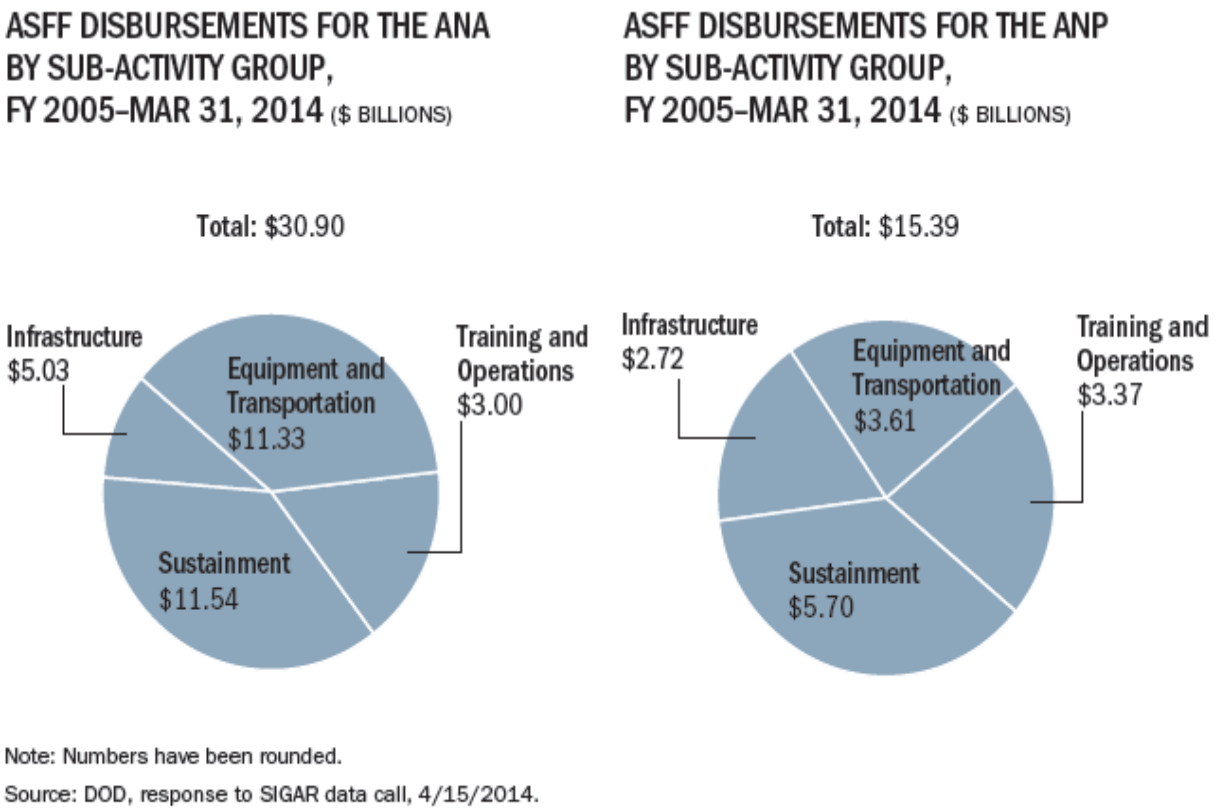


FY 2014 APPROPRIATIONS COMPARED TO THE FY 2015 BUDGET REQUEST ($ MILLIONS)

	FY 2014	FY 2015 Req
ASFF	$4,726	$4,109
CERP	30	15
AIF	199	0
TFBSO	64	5
DOD CN	86	148
ESF	852	1,225
INCLE	225	325
TOTAL	**$6,182**	**$5,827**

SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 73..

ASFF Disbursements for the ANA & ANP by Category



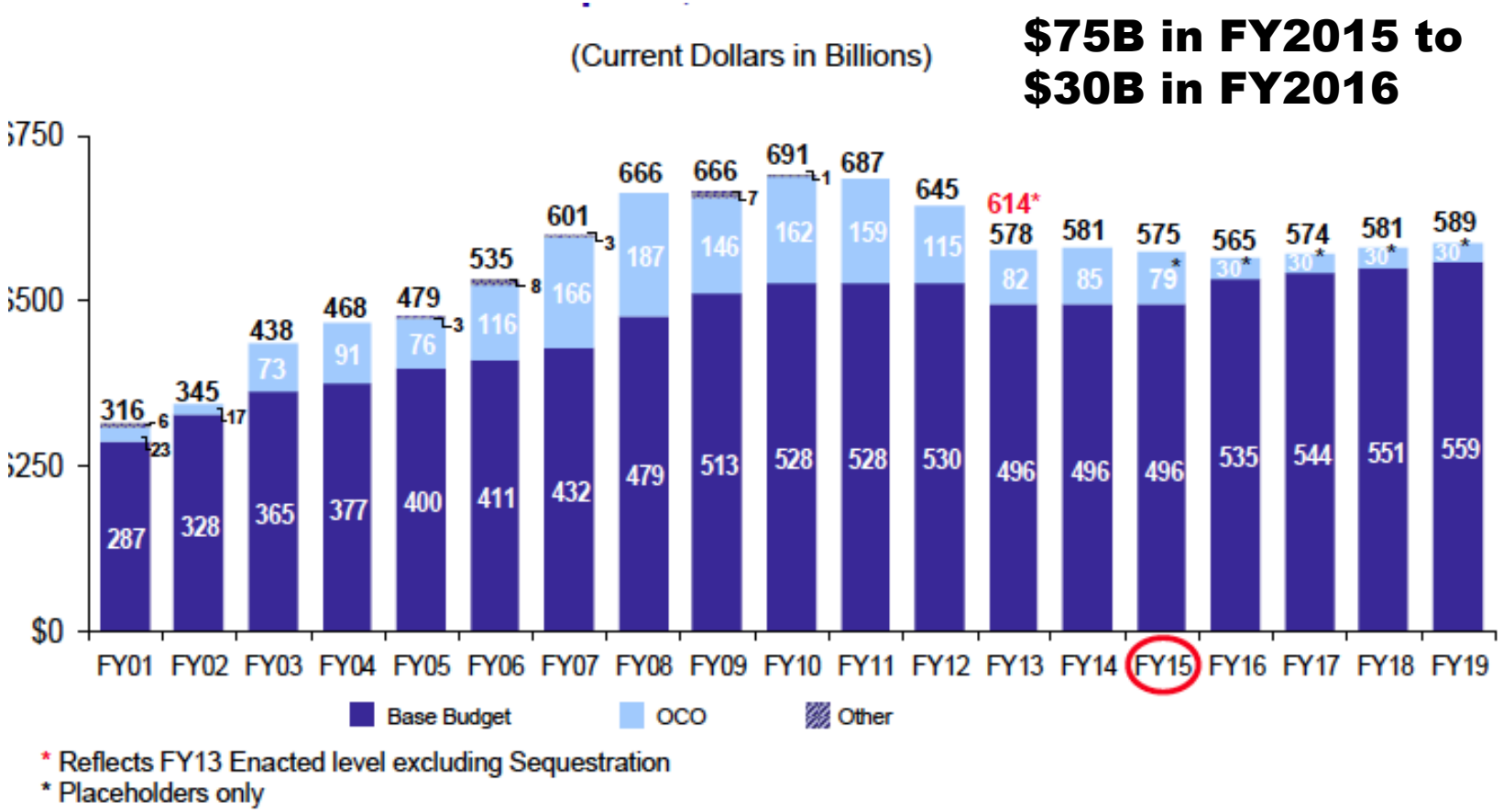
Note: Numbers have been rounded.

Source: DOD, response to SIGAR data call, 4/15/2014.

Source: Special Inspector general for Afghan Reconstruction, Quarterly Report, March 31, 2014, p. 75.

No US DoD Plan and Hollow Placeholder OCO Budget

$75B in FY2015 to $30B in FY2016



* Reflects FY13 Enacted level excluding Sequestration
* Placeholders only

Focus Only On Base Budget For Remainder Of Briefing
No FY 2015 OCO Budget Yet

Source: FY2015 Budget Request, OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (COMPTROLLER) / CFO March 2014, p. 2.

State FY2015 Budget Request Down to $2.1 Billion with no Clear Plan for Transition

- **$2.6 billion of the State Department FY2015 budget request is allocated to Afghanistan under conditions where State cautions that "the Administration has not yet determined the size and scope of any post-2014 US presence."**
- **State indicates that the United States will sustain "our diplomatic platform and security operations in Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif, and Herat, while assuming selective reductions in personnel in preparation for transition."**
- **The budget prioritizes technical assistance and channels more aid through Afghan institutions, while holding the Government of Afghanistan accountable for undertaking concrete reforms and improving efficiency and sustainability.**
- **FY2015 funds will sustain gains in health and education, economic self-sufficiency through improved agricultural production, good governance, rule of law, and women's rights as laid out in the strategic Partnership agreement.**

Source: Congressional Budget Justification, Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs, FY2015, p. 3.

President Makes OCO Budget Recommendation for State and DoD on June 27, 2014 - I

Reduces Totals with No Break Out for Afghanistan: $58.6 billion for DOD OCO activities, which is $20.9 billion less than the $79.4 billion placeholder for DOD OCO in the FY 2015 Budget. It would also provide $1.4 billion for State/OIP OCO activities, which is in addition to the $5.9 billion for State/OIP included in the FY 2015 Budget. Overall, these amendments would decrease the total OCO funding requested for FY 2015 by $19.5 billion.

The United States' goals in Afghanistan beyond 2014 are to continue to support the Afghan National Security Forces, support economic development and governance efforts, and pursue U.S. counterterrorism goals against al Qaeda and its affiliated groups. As you announced in May, the United States will conclude combat operations in Afghanistan by the end of this calendar year. The United States will draw down to approximately 9,800 U.S. servicemembers in Afghanistan by early 2015, which, together with NATO allies and other partners, will allow the United States to continue advising key Afghan forces and to sustain counterterrorism operations. By the end of 2015 the United States will have reduced that presence by roughly half and consolidated its military and diplomatic presence to Kabul and Bagram Airfield. By the end of 2016, DOD will draw down to a more conventional embassy-based security assistance presence in Kabul.

In support of OEF and related follow-on activities, DOD OCO funding would support several key efforts, including:

Source: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/budget_amendments/final_fy_2015_oco_amendment_-_062414.pdf

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In support of OEF and related follow-on activities, DOD OCO funding would support several key efforts, including:

- concluding the combat mission in Afghanistan at the end of 2014 and positioning U.S. military and intelligence forces in Afghanistan for their post-2014 mission;
- drawing down to approximately 9,800 U.S. servicemembers in the country by early 2015 from an average of 38,000 in FY 2014;
- continuing to support the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) as they assume full responsibility for security in Afghanistan after December 2014;

Source: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/budget_amendments/final_fy_2015_oco_amendment_-_062414.pdf

President Makes OCO Budget Recommendation for State and DoD on June 27, 2014 - II

- sustaining the fight against transnational terrorists who seek to undermine the United States and its allies;
- providing warfighters with the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) support that has proven essential for mission success in Afghanistan and around the region;
- providing support to Coalition allies in Afghanistan and the surrounding region;
- disposing of unexploded ordnance in Afghanistan and continuing to support Coalition and partner efforts to counter improvised explosive devices;
- returning thousands of cargo containers and pieces of equipment from Afghanistan to their home stations;
- replenishing or replacing expended munitions and ammunition as well as combat-damaged equipment, including helicopters, ground vehicles, and unmanned aerial systems; and
- supporting a portion of temporary Army and Marine Corps end strength that currently supports OEF, but will not be required under the defense strategy articulated in the 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review.

Although the FY 2015 OCO request reflects a transition as the United States concludes combat operations in Afghanistan partway into the fiscal year, most costs will not decline precipitously. For example, DOD will still incur significant costs to transport personnel, supplies, and equipment back to their home stations. Funding to sustain the ANSF will continue to be needed to ensure that Afghan forces can provide sufficient security. There will be continued costs to repair and replace equipment and munitions as DOD resets the force over the next few years.

Source: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/budget_amendments/final_fy_2015_oco_amendment_-_062414.pdf

OCO Funding for ANSF: June 27, 2014 - II

Afghanistan Security Forces Fund (Overseas contingency operations) FY 2015 Budget Appendix Page: 264

FY 2015

Proposed Amendment: $4,109,333,000

Revised Request: $4,109,333,000

For the "Afghanistan Security Forces Fund", $4,109,333,000, to remain available until September 30, 2016: Provided, That such funds shall be available to the Secretary of Defense, notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of allowing the Commander, Combined Security Transition Command—Afghanistan, or the Secretary's designee, to provide assistance, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to the security forces of Afghanistan, including the provision of equipment, supplies, services, training, facility and infrastructure repair, renovation, and construction, and funding:

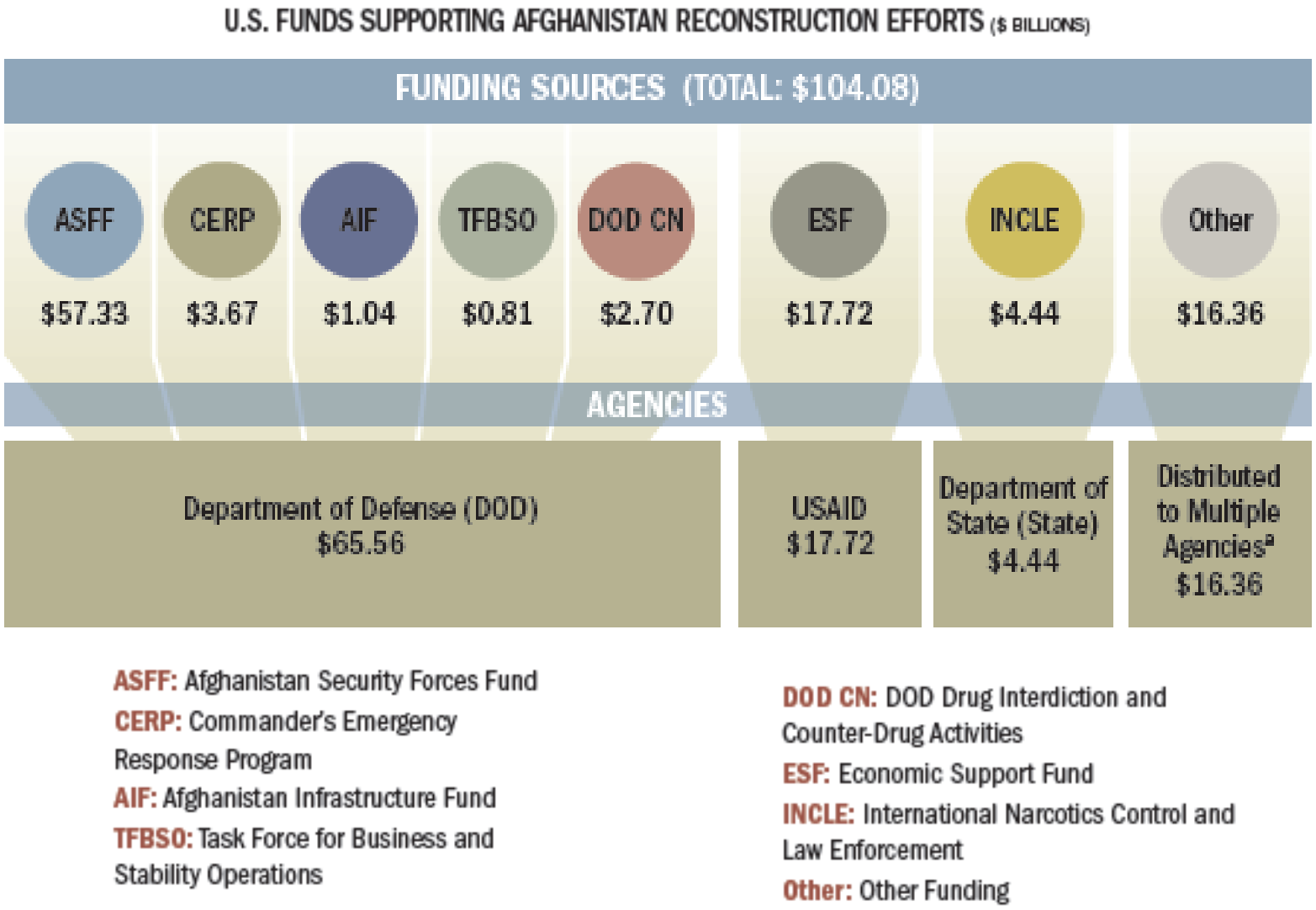
- Provided further, That the authority to provide assistance under this heading is in addition to any other authority to provide assistance to foreign nations: Provided further, That contributions of funds for the purposes provided herein from any person, foreign government, or international organization may be credited to this Fund, to remain available until expended, and used for such purposes:
- Provided further, That the Secretary of Defense shall notify the congressional defense committees in writing upon the receipt and upon the transfer of any contribution, delineating the sources and amounts of the funds received and the specific use of such contributions: Provided further, That the Secretary of Defense shall, not fewer than 15 days prior to obligating from this appropriation account, notify the congressional defense committees in writing of the details of any such obligations: Provided further, That the Secretary of Defense shall notify the congressional defense committees of any proposed new projects or transfer of funds between budget sub-activity groups in excess of $25,000,000:
- Provided further, That equipment procured using funds provided under this heading in this or prior acts, and not yet transferred to the security forces of Afghanistan or transferred to the security forces of Afghanistan and returned by such forces to the United States, may be treated as stocks of the Department of Defense upon notification to the congressional defense committees:
- Provided further, That such amount is designated by the Congress for Overseas Contingency Operations/Global War on Terrorism pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended: Provided further, That such amount shall be available only if the President designates such amount for Overseas Contingency Operations/Global War on Terrorism pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A).

This amendment would provide the funding and authorities needed to adequately sustain the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). It continues the shift from growth to the professionalization of the This funding and the associated authorities are essential to support the ANSF as they work toward self-sufficiency. This funding and the associated authorities are essential to support the ANSF as they work toward self-sufficiency.

Source: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/budget_amendments/final_fy_2015_oco_amendment_-_062414.pdf

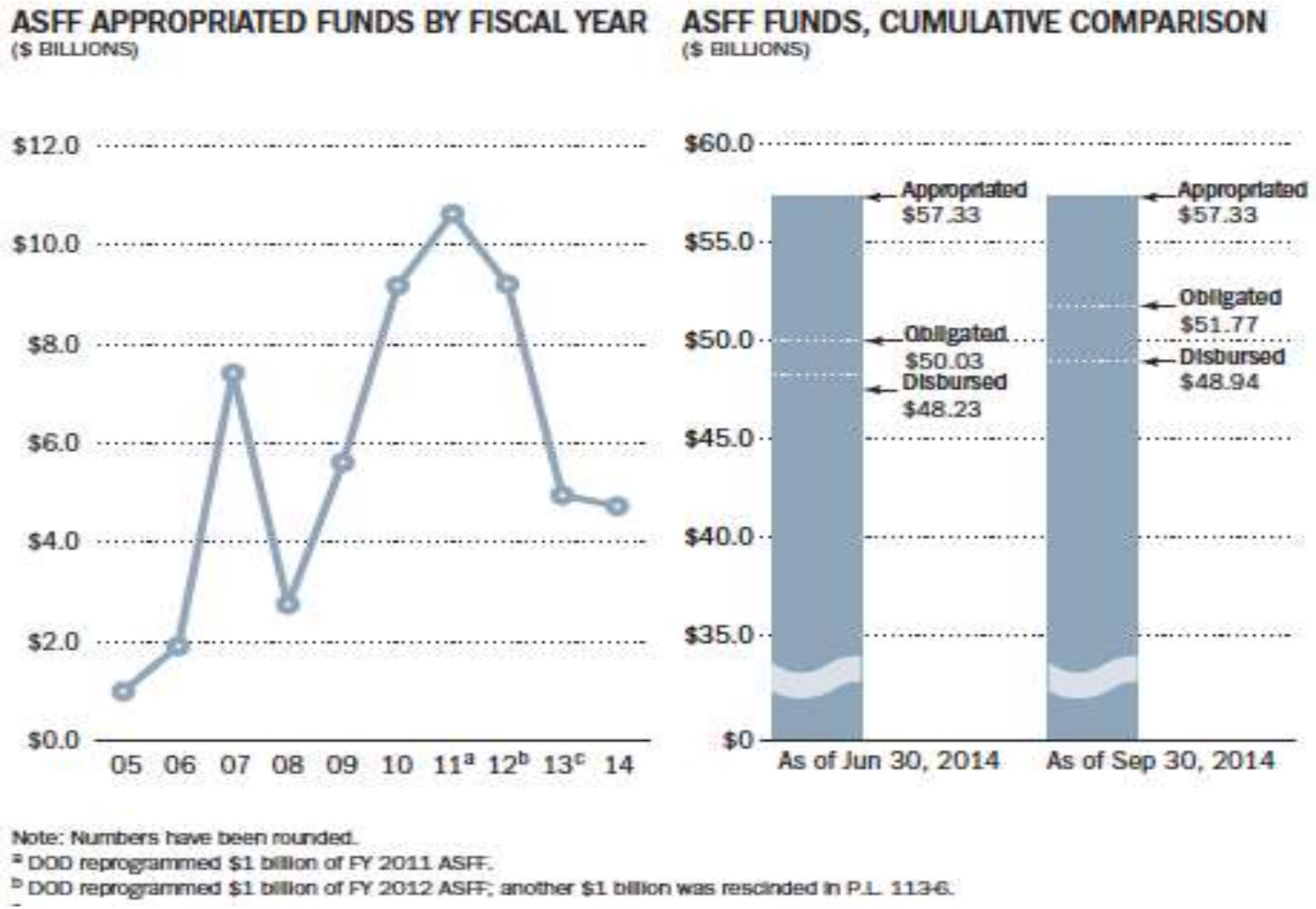
Erratic Past Resource Resourcing of ANSF; Uncertain Future

Complex Mix of DoD Funding of ANSF



SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 71.

US Aid to ANSF – No Clear Plan for FY2015 and Beyond

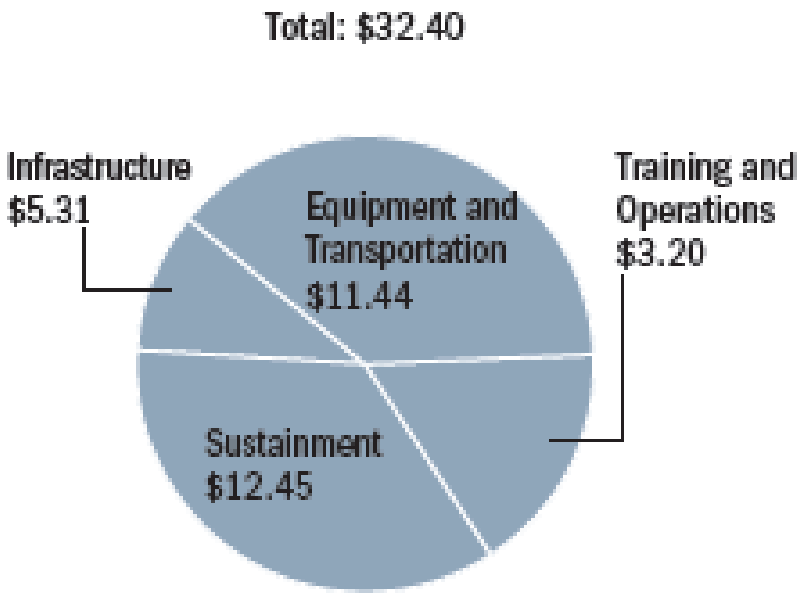


Note: Numbers have been rounded.
[a] DOD reprogrammed $1 billion of FY 2011 ASFF.
[b] DOD reprogrammed $1 billion of FY 2012 ASFF; another $1 billion was rescinded in P.L. 113-6.

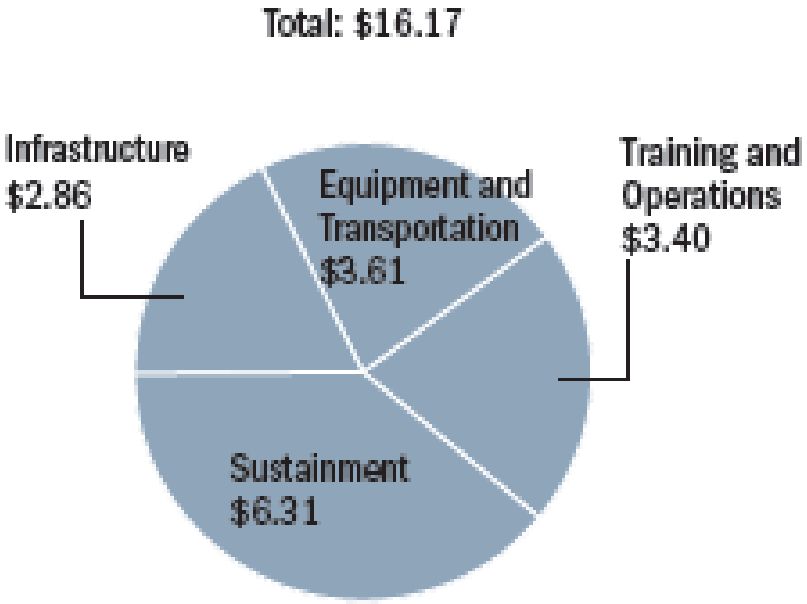
SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 74.

DoD Funding: ANA vs. ANP

ASFF DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE ANA BY SUBACTIVITY GROUP, FY 2005–SEP 30, 2014 ($ BILLIONS)

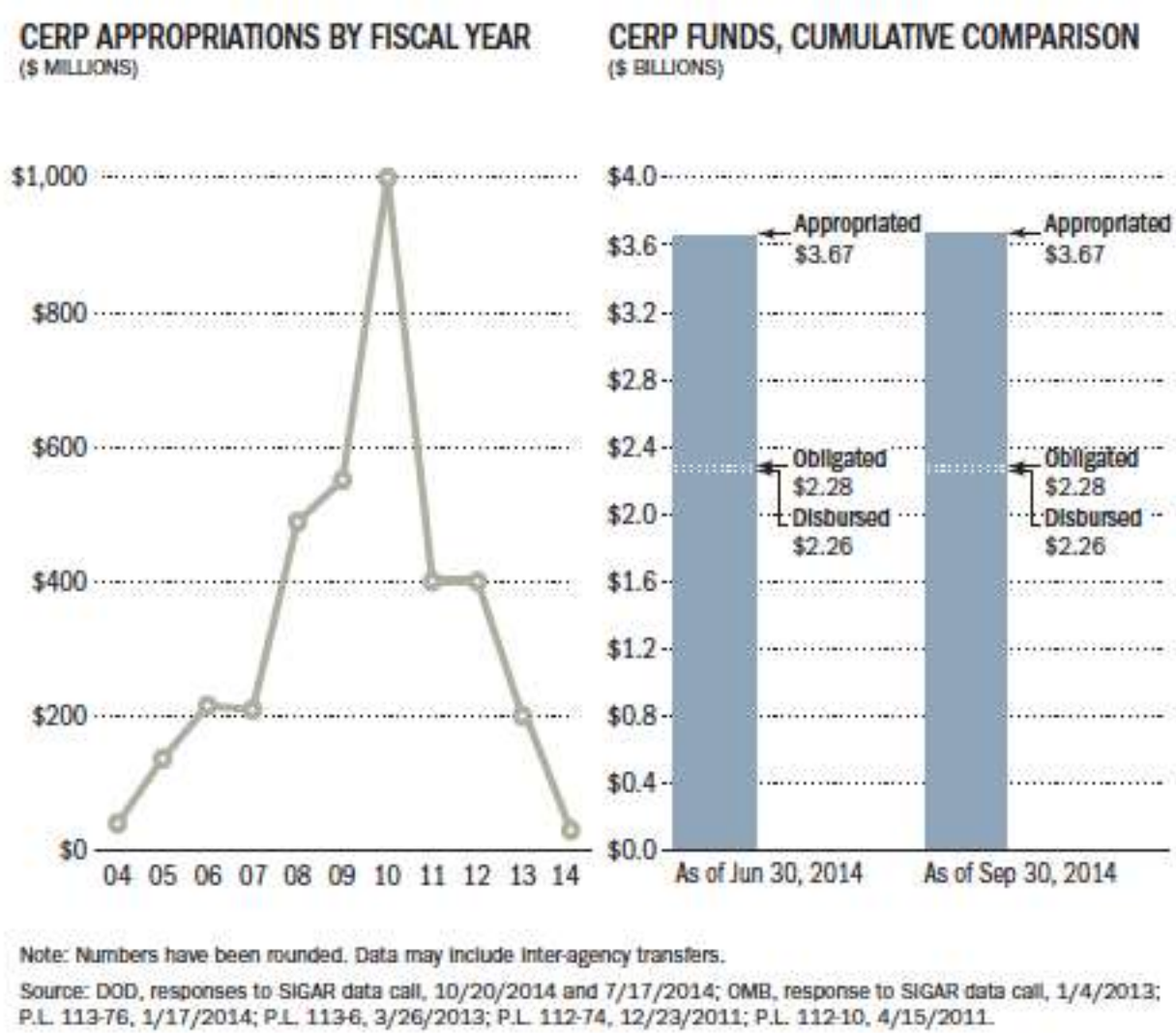


ASFF DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE ANP BY SUBACTIVITY GROUP, FY 2005–SEP 30, 2014 ($ BILLIONS)



SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 74.

CERP Program Ended in 2014

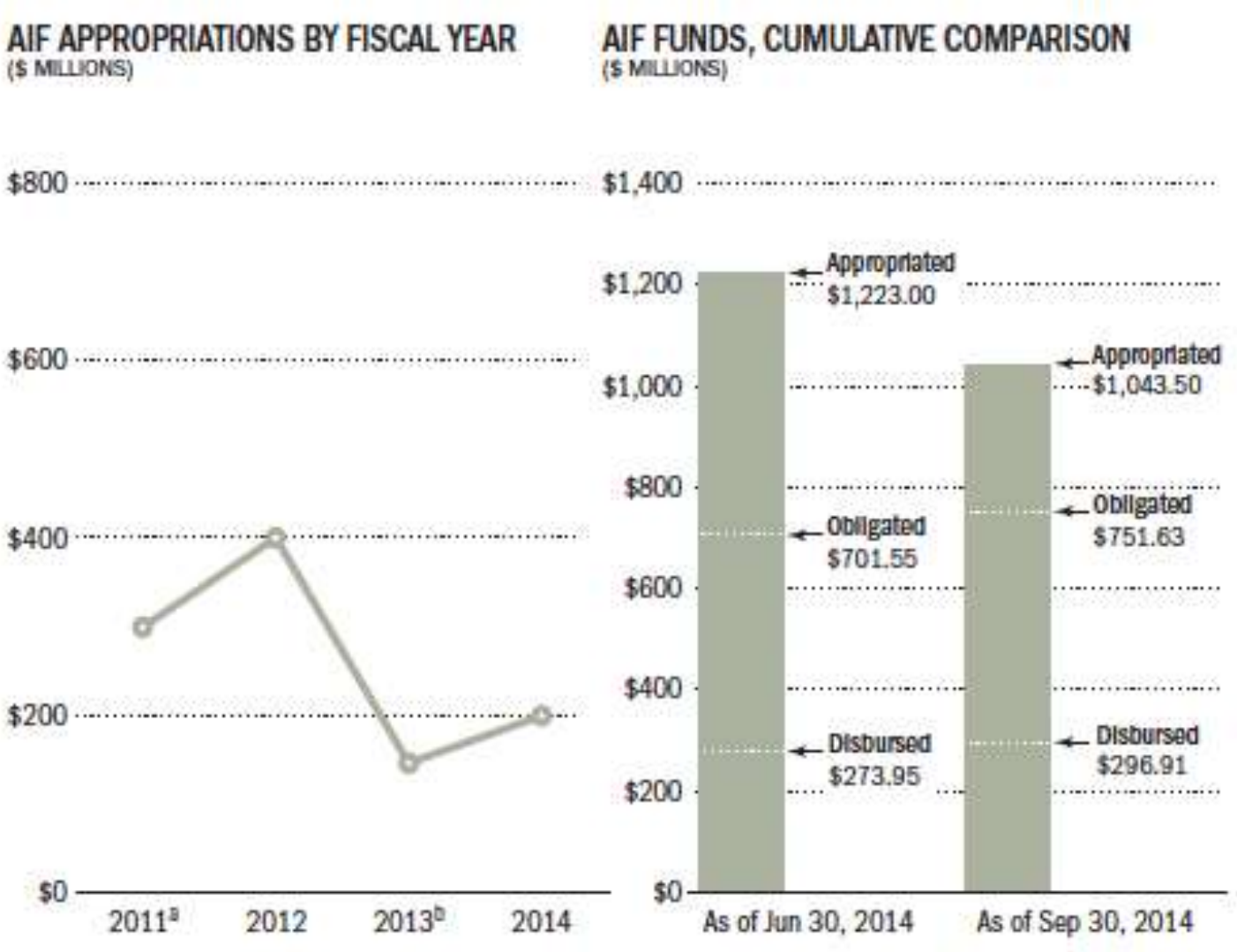


Note: Numbers have been rounded. Data may include inter-agency transfers.

Source: DOD, responses to SIGAR data call, 10/20/2014 and 7/17/2014; OMB, response to SIGAR data call, 1/4/2013; P.L. 113-76, 1/17/2014; P.L. 113-6, 3/26/2013; P.L. 112-74, 12/23/2011; P.L. 112-10, 4/15/2011.

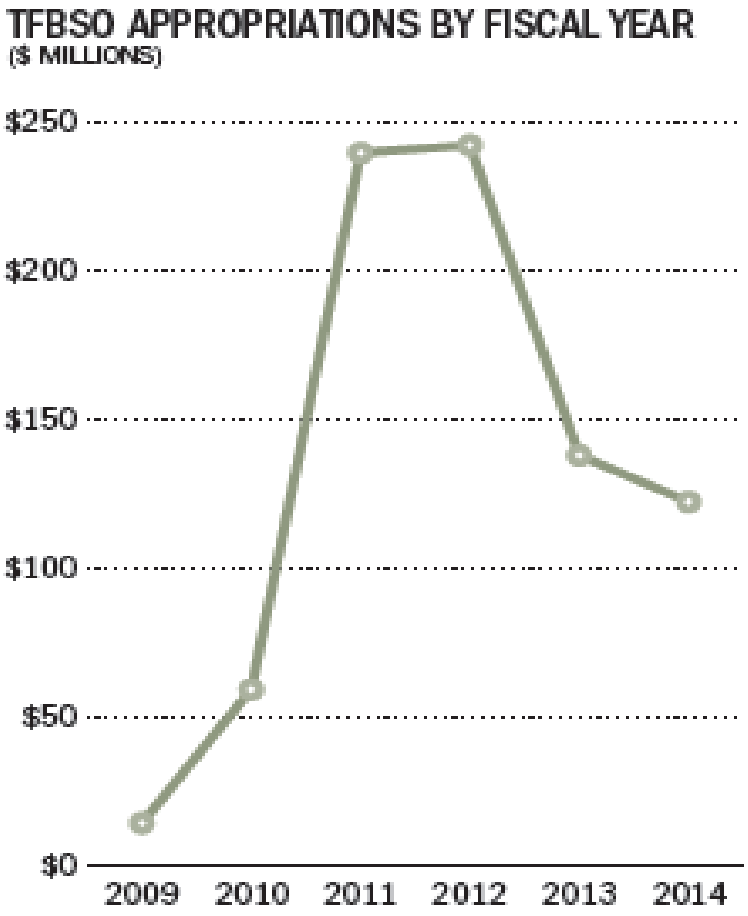
SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 76.

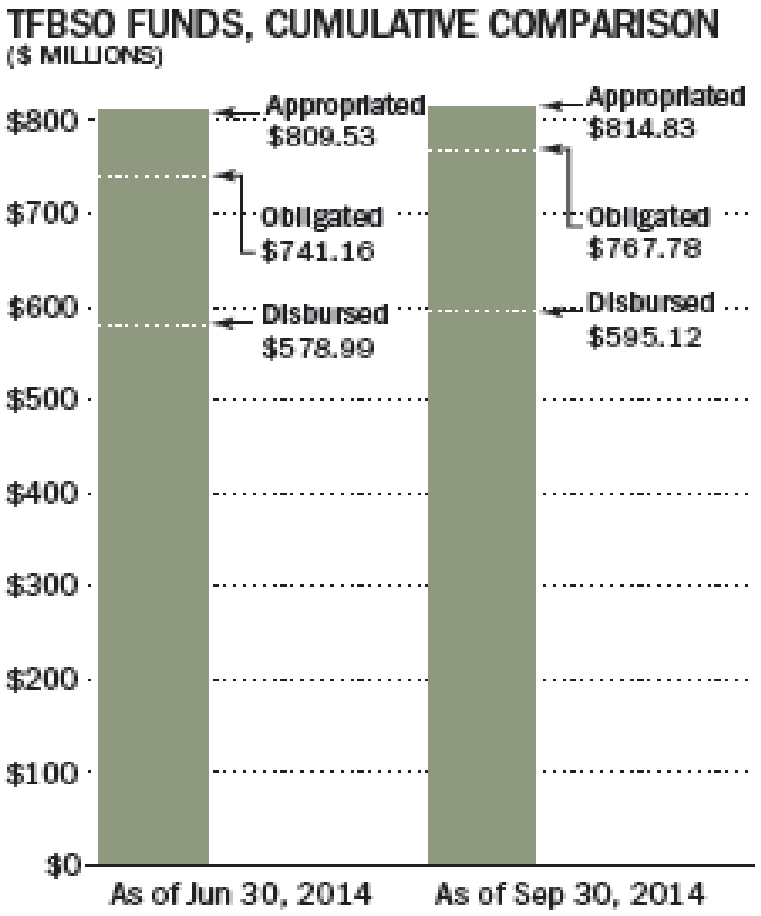
Infrastructure Program Becoming Minimal



SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 76.

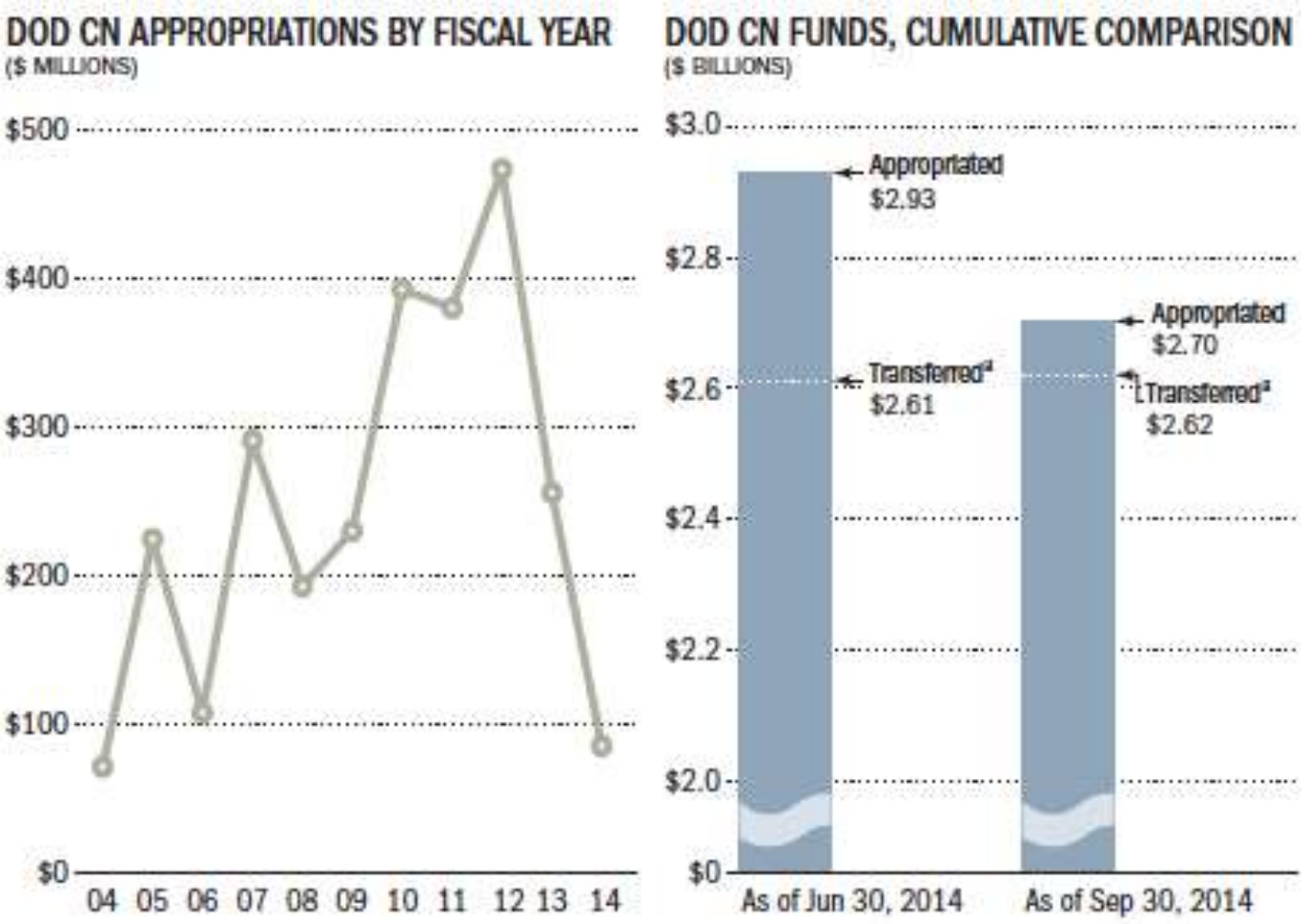
Task Force for Business and Stability Operations (TFBSO) Program Fading





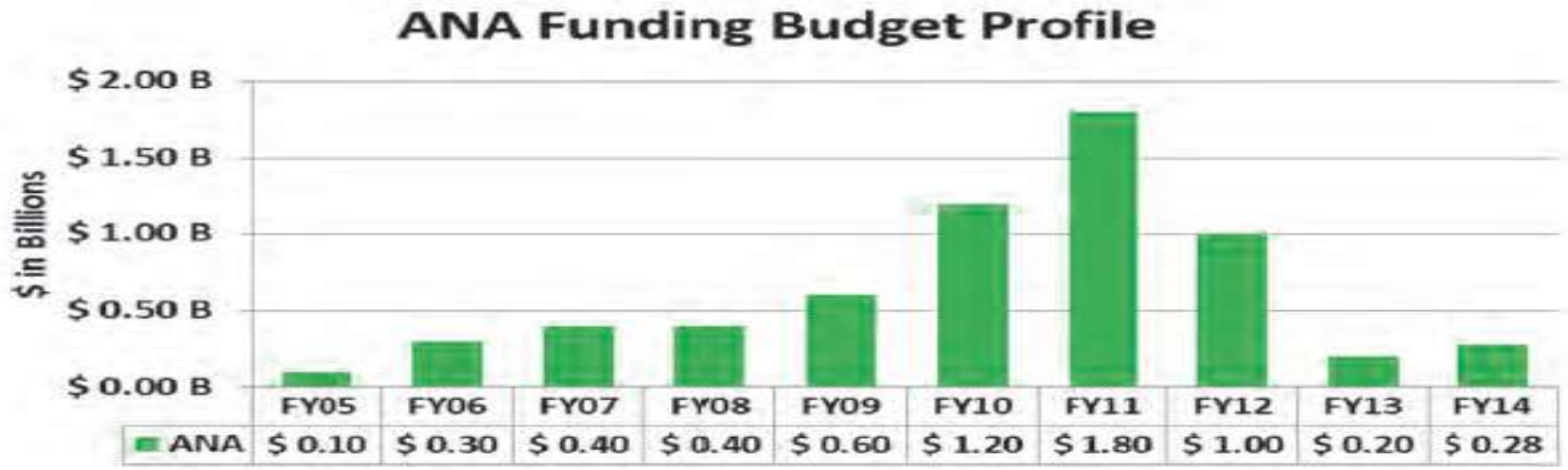
SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 78.

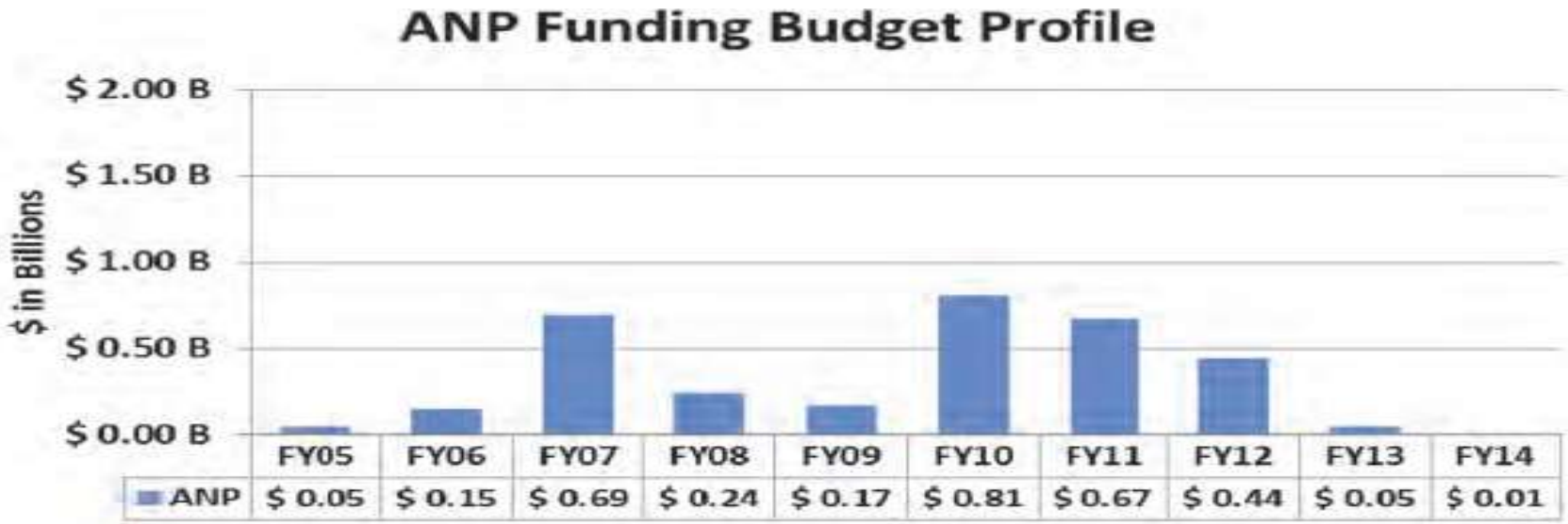
Wasteful and Ineffective Counternarcotics Program Also Fading



SIGAR, *Quarterly Report to Congress*, October 30, 2014, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-10-30qr.pdf, p. 79.

Afghan Government Budget Pays for Very Limited Portion of ANSF Costs





Source: Department of Defense, Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan, October 30, 2014, pp. 61-62.

Uncertain US ANSF Aid Funding

The Afghanistan Security Forces Fund (ASFF) is a Title 10 authority to build, equip, train, and sustain the ANSF. The ASFF is the key enabler and primary funding source for the U.S. mission, providing the money and authority necessary to succeed in Afghanistan. For FY 2014, Congress appropriated $4.7 billion for ASFF, a decrease of $3 billion from the President's budget request of $7.7 billion. FY 2014 is the first year the DoD Leahy Law applies to ASFF funding. As such, DoD was delayed in executing FY 2014 funds, pending DoD execution guidance to ensure ASFF was used in accordance with the Leahy Law.

Section 8057 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2014, provides that no DoD funded training, equipment, or other assistance may be provided to members of a unit of a foreign security force if the Secretary of Defense has credible information the unit has committed a gross violation of human rights (GVHR). ASFF exists for the sole purpose of "providing assistance to the security forces of Afghanistan," and therefore all assistance provided through the ASFF appropriation is subject to the DoD Leahy Law.

Senior MoD officials understand that failure to respond decisively to allegations of extra-judicial killings and gross violations of human rights is inconsistent with operating under the rule of law and potentially undermines MoD's sustained international community support. However, a weak and corrupt judiciary and unpopular detention policies by the Afghan administration have led some ANSF commanders to order subordinates to kill rather than capture insurgent operatives in order to avoid what they see as a pipeline from the judiciary system back to the battlefield. A capable, non-corrupt, and accountable judiciary is critical to ensuring the ANSF operate within the bounds of international laws and norms on human rights. The ANSF's goal is to have no incidents of extra-judicial killings and gross violations of human rights, and to ensure that any incidents that do occur are investigated and appropriate response measures are taken. The ANA needs to increase its operational law manning level and develop the abilities to meet this goal.

TAA efforts at the ministerial level continue to focus on these risks and to emphasize the importance of preventing and effectively responding to allegations. ISAF continues to engage with all levels of ANSF leadership to reinforce the importance of preventing GVHR to not only maintaining long-term viability, but also to the continuation of U.S. assistance to the ANSF. Additionally, ISAF continues to assist the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), the Attorney General's Office (AGO), and the Supreme Court. ISAF supported the development of the GIRoA's National Priority Program 5, "Law and Justice for All," which outlines the GIRoA's justice sector priorities over the next three years, and will now work to support its implementation.

Source: Department of Defense, Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan, October 30, 2014, pp. 61-62.

Limited Allied ANSF Aid Funding

During the September 4-5 NATO Summit in Wales, the international community committed to continue funding the ANSF through the end of 2017 and support to the ANSF through the transformation decade to 2024. International donors reconfirmed over $1 billion in annual contributions to sustain the ANSF through the end of 2017. Donors provide funding for validated ANSF requirements through bilateral or multi-lateral channels. The two multi-lateral channels are the UNDP LOTFA and the NATO ANA TF.

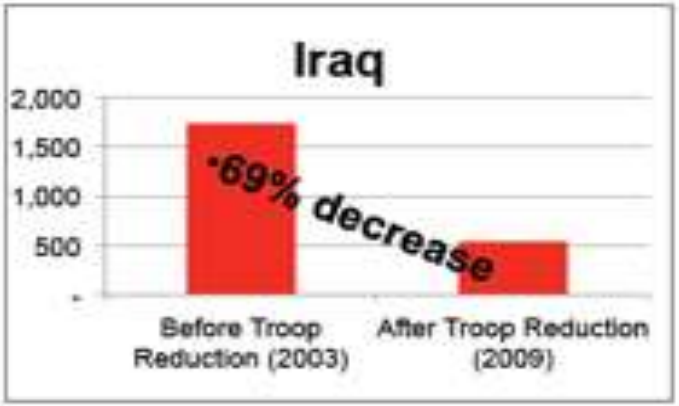
The Afghan government has recommitted to providing approximately $500 million in 2015 toward the ANSF. This amount is expected to increase progressively until Afghanistan assumes full financial responsibility for its security forces by 2024.

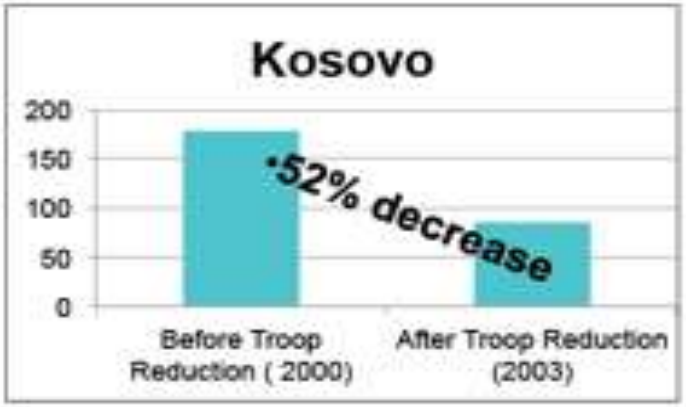
CSTC-A and DoD manage the NATO ANA TF on behalf of international donors to provide support and sustainment of the ANA. Since the beginning of the NATO ANA TF, 23 nations have contributed more than $900 million. The DoD will continue managing the ANA TF during the post-2014 Resolute Support mission. It is anticipated that approximately half of all international contributions for ANSF sustainment reconfirmed at the NATO Wales Summit will flow through the ANA TF with the remainder supporting the ANP through the UNDP LOTFA.

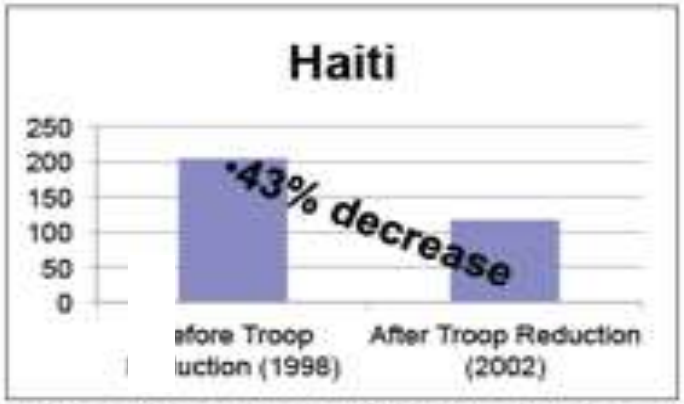
Source: Department of Defense, Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan, October 30, 2014, pp. 61-62.

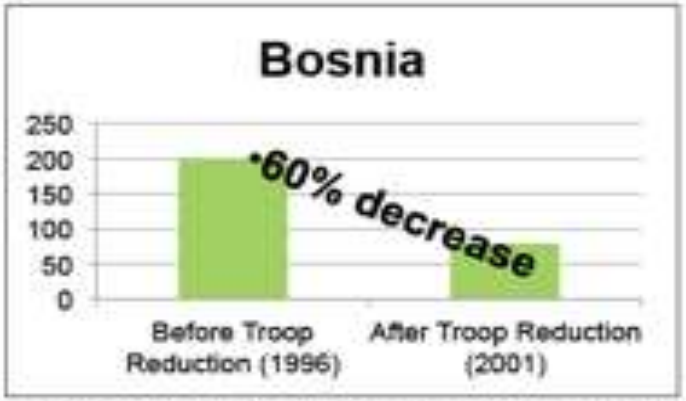
History is a Warning: Declare Victory and Leave?

Development Assistance Levels Before and After Troop Reductions









- Following the withdrawal or significant reduction in troop levels, Iraq, Kosovo, Haiti, and Bosnia saw significant decreases in development assistance levels.

Source: USAID, "USAID Afghanistan: Towards an Enduring Partnership," 28 January 2011.