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June 2005

AFGHANISTAN SECURITY

Efforts to Establish Army and Police Have Made Progress, but Future Plans Need to Be Better Defined

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June 2005

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Highlights

Highlights of GAO-05-575, a report to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives

Why GAO Did This Study

After more than two decades of war, Afghanistan had no army or functioning police and, before September 11, 2001, was a haven for international terrorists. In April 2002, the United States and several other nations agreed to reform the five pillars of Afghanistan's security sector–creating an Afghan army, reconstituting the police force, establishing a working judiciary, combating illicit narcotics, and demobilizing the Afghan militias. As the leader for the army pillar, the United States has provided about $3.3 billion. For the German-led effort to reconstitute the Afghan police, the United States has provided over $800 million. We examined the progress made, and limitations faced, in developing the army and police forces. We also identified challenges that must be addressed to complete and sustain these forces.

What GAO Recommends

GAO recommends that the Secretaries of Defense and State develop more detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army and police forces. GAO also recommends that the Secretaries work to help ensure that progress in the other security pillars is congruous with the army and police programs. Defense, Justice, and State generally concurred with the report's recommendations.

www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?GAO-05-575.

To view the full product, including the scope and methodology, click on the link above. For more information, contact David Gootnick, (202) 512-3149 or GoodnickD@gao.gov.

What GAO Found

As of March 2005, Defense had trained more than 18,300 Afghan combat troops—over 42 percent of the army's projected total of 43,000—and deployed them throughout the country. During 2004, the Department of Defense significantly accelerated Afghan combat troop training. However, Defense efforts to fully equip the increasing number of combat troops have fallen behind, and efforts to establish sustaining institutions, such as a logistics command, needed to support these troops have not kept pace. Plans for completing these institutions are not clear.

Germany and the United States had trained more than 35,000 police as of January 2005 and expect to meet their goal of training 62,000 police by December 2005. However, the Department of State has just begun to address structural problems that affect the Afghan police force. Trainees often return to police stations where militia leaders are the principal authority; most infrastructure needs repair, and the police do not have sufficient equipment—from weapons to vehicles. Furthermore, limited field-based mentoring has just begun although previous international police training programs have demonstrated that such mentoring is critical for success. Moreover, the Afghan Ministry of the Interior (which oversees the police force) requires reform and restructuring. Finally, neither State nor Germany has developed plans specifying how much the program will cost and when it will be completed.

Without strong and self-sustaining Afghan army and police forces and concurrent progress in the other pillars of security sector reform, Afghanistan could again become a haven for terrorists. However, establishing viable Afghan army and police forces will almost certainly take years and substantial resources. Available information suggests that these programs could cost up to $7.2 billion to complete and about $600 million annually to sustain. Furthermore, the other lead nations have made limited progress in reforming Afghan's judiciary, combating illicit narcotics, and demobilizing the militias.

Five Pillars of Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan

Source: GAO analysis of Department of Defense data.

Contents

Letter

1

Results in Brief 2
Background 4
U.S. Training of Afghan Combat Troops Has Outpaced Efforts to Equip and Sustain Them 11
Difficult Conditions Have Hampered Reconstituting of Police and State Does Not Have an Overall Plan to Complete the Effort 19
Efforts to Complete and Sustain the Afghan Army and Police Face Major Challenges 27
Conclusions 33
Recommendations for Executive Action 33
Agency Comments and Our Evaluation 34

Appendixes

Appendix I: Scope and Methodology 36
Appendix II: Assistance Provided to Afghan Army and Police by Non-U.S. Donors 40
Appendix III: Comments from the Department of Defense 43
Appendix IV: Comments from the Department of Justice 45
Appendix V: Comments from the Department of State 47

Tables

Table 1: U.S. Support for the Afghan Army and Police, Fiscal Years 2002-2006 9
Table 2: Number of Afghan Police Reported Trained as of January 2005 and Training Targets for December 2005 20
Table 3: Estimated Value of Assistance Provided to Afghan Army and Police by Non-U.S. Donors 41

Figures

Figure 1: Five Pillars of Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan 5
Figure 2: Afghan Army Commands and Police Training Centers 7
Figure 3: Kabul Military Training Center 12
Figure 4: Defective Boot Purchased Locally and an Afghan Soldier Wearing Sandals 16
Figure 5: Police Regional Training Center in Jalalabad–Dining Facility and Classroom Building 22
Figure 6: Jalalabad Police Station 24
Figure 7: Heavy Weapons Cantonment Site Outside Kabul 32

Abbreviations

State/INL	Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs
OMC-A	Office of Military Cooperation-Afghanistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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United States Government Accountability Office
Washington, D.C. 20548

June 30, 2005

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
Chairman
The Honorable Tom Lantos
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives

After more than two decades of war left Afghanistan without an army or a functioning police force, the country became a haven for international terrorists, including the al Qaeda terrorist group that attacked two U.S. cities on September 11, 2001. Since ousting the Taliban regime from Afghanistan in 2001, the United States has spent almost $3 billion to help reconstruct this poor and ethnically divided country.[1] However, pervasive internal security threats—including terrorists, ethnic and regional militias commanded by powerful warlords, and a large trade in illegal narcotics—continue to undermine efforts to rebuild Afghanistan's shattered economy, government, and infrastructure. The United States and allied nations maintain more than 28,000 combat and support troops in Afghanistan to counter these threats.[2]

To help Afghanistan provide for its own security, the United States and several other nations agreed at a conference in December 2002 to help create multiethnic, professionally trained Afghan national army and police forces.[3] Donor nations also agreed to help establish a working judicial sector, combat the narcotics trade, and demobilize Afghanistan's militias. As leader of the effort to create the new army, the United States provided approximately $3.3 billion during fiscal years 2002 through 2005 toward the goal of eventually establishing a 70,000 man force that includes 43,000 ground combat troops. The Department of Defense facilitates the training and equipping of the Afghan army through its Combined Forces

[1]For a detailed discussion of efforts to reconstruct postwar Afghanistan, see our report *Afghanistan Reconstruction: Deteriorating Security and Limited Resources Have Impeded Progress; Improvements in U.S. Strategy Needed*, GAO-04-403 (Washington, D.C.: June 2, 2004).

[2]These forces include about 8,300 North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeepers.

[3]The conference's final communiqué, also known as the "Bonn II" Agreement, supports efforts started under the Bonn Agreement of December 2001 to promote national reconciliation, lasting peace, stability, and respect for human rights in Afghanistan.

Command's Office of Military Cooperation–Afghanistan (OMC-A) in the capital city of Kabul. As the largest donor for the reconstitution of the national police, which is led by Germany, the United States provided about $804 million during fiscal years 2002 through 2005 for police training, equipment, and infrastructure. The Department of State oversees the U.S. police effort through its Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (State/INL) in Washington, D.C., and the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, with assistance from the Department of Justice. In its fiscal year 2006 budget request, the executive branch has requested nearly $60 million for the Afghan police but, according to Defense officials, no additional funds for the Afghan army.

To review the status of U.S. efforts to strengthen Afghanistan's security, we (1) examined the progress made, and limitations faced, by the United States and other donor nations in building Afghanistan's national army; (2) examined the progress made, and limitations faced, by the United States and other donor nations in reconstituting Afghanistan's national police forces; and (3) identified challenges that the United States, other donor nations, and Afghanistan must address to complete and sustain the Afghan army and police forces. To address these objectives, we reviewed pertinent Defense and State planning, funding, and evaluation documents for the Afghan army and police programs. We discussed these programs with cognizant officials from the Departments of Defense, Justice, and State in Washington, D.C., and Kabul, Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, we traveled to Herat and Jalalabad to view Afghan army facilities and a police training site, respectively, and to meet with cognizant U.S. and Afghan officials. We also met with government officials from Germany and other key donor nations. We determined that the data provided to us were sufficiently reliable for the purposes of this report. (See app. I for a more complete description of our scope and methodology.)

We conducted our review from January 2004 through May 2005 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

Results in Brief

The United States has made important progress in training and deploying Afghan army combat troops but has not fully addressed limitations that impede its progress in establishing a self-sustaining Afghan army. Defense has established programs for recruiting and training battalions of ethnically mixed combat troops, including a field-based mentoring program. In 2004, as security concerns persisted, Defense significantly accelerated Afghan combat troop training, and as of March 2005 more than 42 percent of the

army's total projected combat strength of 43,000 troops was deployed in strategic locations throughout the country. However, OMC-A's efforts to fully equip the increasing number of combat troops being trained have fallen behind. In addition, OMC-A's efforts to establish institutions needed to support these troops have not kept pace with the accelerated training program. Plans for the completion of these institutions are not clear. Nonetheless, U.S. trainers and other military officials have stated that Afghan combat troops generally perform well in small units, despite some shortcomings.

Germany and the United States have made progress in training individual Afghan policemen and policewomen but have not addressed many limitations impeding the reconstitution of a national police force. As of January 2005, the Department of State and Germany have trained more than 35,000 police and expect to meet their goal of training 50,000 national and highway police and 12,000 border police by December 2005. However, trainees face difficult working conditions. They return to district police stations that need extensive reconstruction or renovation; militia leaders are often the principal authority; and they lack weapons, vehicles, communications, and other equipment. In addition, the police training includes limited field-based training and mentoring, although previous international peacekeeping efforts showed that such mentoring is critical to the success of police training programs. Furthermore, the Afghan Ministry of the Interior (which oversees the police force) faces several problems, including corruption and an outdated rank structure, that require reform and restructuring. Finally, neither State nor Germany have developed an overall plan specifying how or when construction tasks and equipment purchases will be completed, how much the buildup of the police will cost, and when the overall effort to reconstitute the police will be finished.

The United States, other donors, and the new Afghan government face significant challenges to establishing viable Afghan army and police forces. Although Defense and State have not yet prepared official cost estimates, the army and police programs could cost up to $7.2 billion to complete and about $600 million annually to sustain. Moreover, slow progress in resolving other Afghan security problems—the lack of an effective judiciary, the substantial illicit narcotics industry, and the continued presence of armed militias—threaten to undermine overall progress made toward providing nationwide security and ensuring the stability of the Afghan government.

We are recommending that the Secretaries of Defense and State develop detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army and police forces, including clearly defined objectives and performance measures; milestones; funding requirements; and a strategy for sustaining the results achieved. In addition, we are recommending that the Secretaries work with the other lead nations to help ensure that progress in the other pillars of Afghan's security reform is congruous with the progress made in the army and police programs. In both cases, we recommend that the Secretaries report their progress to the Congress. In commenting on a draft of this report, the Departments of Defense and State generally concurred with our recommendations, but both stated that appropriate reporting mechanisms are already in place. The Department of Justice strongly concurred in regards to the Afghan police training program and noted that its expertise could be more effectively utilized.

Background

Afghanistan, a mountainous and land-locked country in central Asia, is one of the poorest countries in the world. More than 60 percent of its population is illiterate. Afghanistan lacks effective nationwide communications, banking, and transportation systems. Its estimated per capita gross domestic product for 2003 was about $700. The International Monetary Fund estimates that Afghan government revenues will average $387 million per year during 2005 through 2008—less than half of its projected average annual expenditures for government salaries and operations of $879 million. Afghanistan remains dependent on other nations for support; international assistance provided 93 percent of Afghanistan's $4.75 billion budget for 2005.

Afghanistan's economic plight is partially the result of its long history of war and civil strife. Afghanistan's ethnically mixed population is due to its location on historical invasion and trade routes. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and withdrew only after waging a prolonged and destructive war against Afghan resistance groups. Following a protracted civil war, most of Afghanistan fell under the control of the fundamentalist Taliban group by 1998. Under the Taliban, Afghanistan became a haven for terrorists, and, as a result, the United States and a coalition of its allies invaded Afghanistan after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

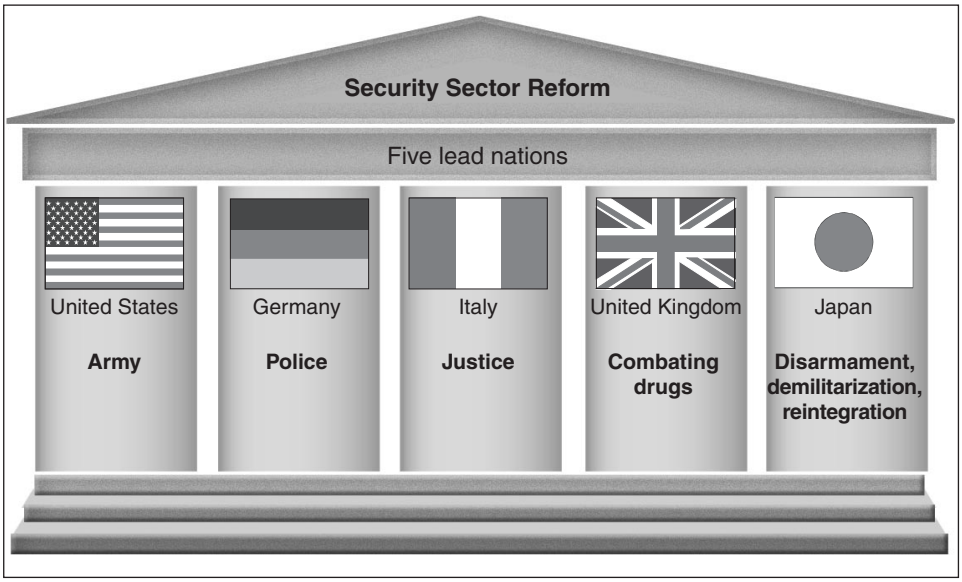
Afghanistan's security institutions, including its national army, police, and judiciary, collapsed or were severely damaged prior to the U.S. occupation. During the Taliban rule the army disintegrated and was superseded by various ethnic and regional militias. The Afghan national police force,

which was organized as a two-track system of career officers and largely untrained conscripts who served for 2 years, had also declined over the past 25 years.

Afghanistan continues to face significant internal threats. Widespread trade in opium and heroin provides drug producers and traffickers with the resources and motivation to resist efforts to curb the illicit narcotics industry. Taliban fighters and terrorist groups remain active in parts of the country, and attacks on civilian reconstruction workers have prompted some international assistance groups to leave the country. Regional warlords maintain thousands of militia fighters who could be used to challenge the authority of Afghanistan's new central government.

To help Afghanistan address such threats, the United States and several other donor nations met in Geneva, Switzerland, in April 2002. At the conference, the donors established a five-pillared security reform agenda and designated a donor country to take the lead in reforming each pillar. The United States volunteered to lead the army reform effort, and Germany volunteered to lead the police reform effort (see fig. 1).

Figure 1: Five Pillars of Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan



Source: GAO analysis of Department of Defense data.

Army

At a December 2002 conference (Bonn II) near Bonn, Germany, the Afghan government and the donor nations agreed that the new Afghan army should be ethnically balanced, voluntary, and consist of no more than 70,000 individuals (including all civilian and Ministry of Defense personnel). They also agreed that the army's commands should be located in Kabul and other geographically strategic locations. The Afghan government and the donors did not set a deadline for the completion of the army.

Following the Bonn II conference, U.S. Defense planners, in conjunction with Afghan officials, developed a force structure for the army that includes (1) 43,000 ground combat troops based in Kabul and four other cities, (2) 21,000 support staff organized in four sustaining commands (recruiting, education and training, acquisition and logistics, and communications and intelligence), (3) 3,000 Ministry of Defense and general staff personnel, and (4) 3,000 air staff to provide secure transportation for the President of Afghanistan.[4] According to Defense, the mission of the new army will include providing security for Afghanistan's new central government and political process, replacing all other military forces in Afghanistan, and combating terrorists and other destructive elements in cooperation with coalition and peacekeeping forces. As of May 2005, Defense's target date for completing the army is the fall of 2009.

U.S. efforts to establish the army are led by Defense, with support from State. The Defense-staffed Office of Military Cooperation–Afghanistan (OMC-A) in Kabul oversees the development of the Afghan army's force structure, decision processes, and garrisons, and provides equipment. OMC-A works closely with Task Force Phoenix, which is a joint coalition task force charged with training Afghan army battalions at the Kabul Military Training Center and elsewhere in the country. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and U.S. Central Command provide planning and other support, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is constructing facilities for the Afghan army's central and regional commands (see fig. 2). In Washington, D.C., the Defense Security Cooperation Agency uses Defense and State funds to provide financial and administrative support for OMC-A. The agency purchases services and equipment requested by OMC-A through the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command and transfers funds to OMC-A to allow it to procure services and equipment from local vendors.

[4]As currently planned, the air wing would not be able to transport large numbers of Afghan troops from one part of the country to another.

Figure 2: Afghan Army Commands and Police Training Centers

Sources: GAO analysis of Departments of Defense and State data; photos (GAO); Map Resources (map).

Police

Afghanistan's police reform process began formally in February 2002, when Germany, as the leader for this sector, convened a conference in Berlin to discuss international support for the Afghan police. Subsequently, donor nations agreed to establish a multiethnic, sustainable, and countrywide 62,000-member professional police service that is fully committed to the rule of law. The overall goal of the program is to enhance security in the provinces and districts outside of Kabul. They did not set a deadline for completing the police.

U.S. support for the police sector is overseen by State/INL in Washington, D.C., and by staff at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul. State has a contract with DynCorp Aerospace Technology to train and equip the police, advise the Ministry of Interior, and provide infrastructure assistance, including constructing several police training centers (see fig. 2). Defense has also provided infrastructure and equipment to police in border regions. In addition, Germany has a training program for police officers at the Kabul Police Academy and has convened several donors' conferences. Germany also tracks pledges and projects implemented by various donors. Furthermore, various donors established the United Nations' Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan to help ensure that the police are paid regularly and are issued adequate equipment.

U.S. Support

The United States has provided approximately $4.1 billion during fiscal years 2002 through 2005 to support the Afghan army and police force.[5] In the President's budget request for fiscal year 2006, the administration has requested an additional $58.5 million for the Afghan police program but, according to Defense officials, no additional funds for the Afghan army. (See table 1.)

[5]About $1.4 billion of this amount was provided during fiscal years 2002 through 2004, of which more than $980 million had been obligated and more than $511 million had been expended as of January 2005. Over $1.8 billion of this amount is part of the fiscal year 2005 emergency supplemental which was enacted into law on May 11, 2005.

Table 1: U.S. Support for the Afghan Army and Police, Fiscal Years 2002-2006

Dollars in millions

Fiscal year	2002	2003	2004	2005 (estimated)	2005 Supplemental (estimated)	2006 (proposed)	Total
Afghan army							
State[a]	$74.9	$191.4	$434.4	$421.4	$0	$0	**$1,122.1**
Defense[b]	4.3	156.2	285.0	429.3	1,285.0	0	**2,159.8**
Subtotal	**79.2**	**347.6**	**719.4**	**850.7**	**1,285.0**	**0**	**3,281.9**
Afghan police							
State[c]	26.6	0	160.0	65.0	360.0	58.5	**670.1**
Defense[d]	0	0	47.0	7.8	137.3	0	**192.1**
Subtotal	**26.6**	**0.0**	**207.0**	**72.8**	**497.3**	**58.5**	**862.2**
Total	**$105.8**	**$347.6**	**$926.4**	**$923.5**	**$1,782.3**	**$58.5**	**$4,144.1**

Source: Departments of Defense and State.

[a]Most of State's funds for the Afghan army come from its Foreign Military Financing program. Foreign Military Financing funds are administered by Defense through its Defense Security Cooperation Agency, which provides funds, equipment, and services for the army through OMC-A. State also supports the Afghan army through its Peace Keeping Operations program (from which the salaries for Afghan troops are financed) and International Military Education and Training program.

[b]Defense funds for the Afghan army are drawn from three principal sources:

The Afghan Freedom Support Act (P.L. 107-327), as amended, states that the President may exercise his drawdown authorities (as authorized under section 506 (A) (2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) by supplying Afghanistan with defense services, articles, and education "acquired by contract or otherwise." Under this provision, OMC-A has been given authority to spend U.S. Army operations and maintenance funds to train and equip the Afghan army. During fiscal years 2002 through 2004, approximately $287 million was drawn down via such contracts by Defense. In addition, under section 506 (A) (2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, approximately $11 million in military trucks and armored personnel vehicles were drawn down from Defense for the Afghan army. For more details on such drawdowns, see *Foreign Assistance: Reporting of Defense Articles and Services Provided through Drawdowns Needs to Be Improved,* GAO-02-1027 (Washington, D.C.: Sept. 20, 2002).

The Emergency Supplemental Appropriation Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004, (P.L. 108-106), and the Defense Appropriations Act for fiscal year 2005 (P.L. 108-287) authorize Defense to use U.S. Army operations and maintenance funds for several purposes, including training and equipping the new Afghan armed forces. Defense has provided a total of $440 million in such funds for the Afghan army.

The Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes (P.L. 109-13) authorizes Defense to provide up to $1.285 billion in assistance to the Afghan army. Of this amount, $290 million will be used to reimburse the U.S. Army for costs incurred to train, equip, and provide related assistance to the Afghan army.

[c]State has supported the Afghan police through programs managed by its Bureau for International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement Affairs. Of the $160 million that State provided in 2004, $50 million was drawn from fiscal year 2003 Emergency Response Funds.

[d]Defense has supported the Afghan police with counternarcotics funding provided through its Office for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, as authorized by the Emergency Supplemental

Appropriation Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004, (P.L. 108-106). Defense also drew on approximately $17 million in Commanders Emergency Response Program funds to support police projects.

Other Donor Support

More than 40 nations and international organizations have also provided funds, equipment, and training to support the Afghan army and police. As of March 2005, other donors had provided about $193 million to supplement U.S. efforts to create the Afghan army and about $246 million for reconstituting the Afghan police. (See app. II for more information on other donors' support for the army and police.)

Allied and multilateral forces

Pending the creation of functioning Afghan army and police forces, more than 28,000 foreign troops operate in Afghanistan. These include about 18,000 U.S. troops, an estimated 1,900 troops from other members of the coalition, and over 8,300 peacekeepers from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In August 2003, NATO assumed control over the International Security Assistance Force in response to a United Nations' mandate to provide security in the Kabul area and to support the reconstruction of Afghanistan. In addition, NATO's members agreed to begin establishing provincial reconstruction teams in northern and western Afghanistan. Although NATO has had difficulty persuading nations to provide the resources needed for these teams, it has established seven provincial reconstruction teams. After taking control of a team sponsored by Germany in Kabul, NATO announced in June 2004 that it would also assume control of four additional teams in northern Afghanistan. These teams are sponsored by the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands. British and German officials informed us that their teams focus primarily on reconstruction and have limited roles in providing direct security for local Afghans and in working with the Afghan army and police. On May 31, 2005, NATO took control of two additional provincial reconstruction teams in western Afghanistan. They are sponsored by Italy and the United States.

U.S. Training of Afghan Combat Troops Has Outpaced Efforts to Equip and Sustain Them

Defense, with the government of Afghanistan, has established programs for recruiting and training battalions of Afghan combat troops. OMC-A significantly accelerated Afghan combat troop training in 2004, and over 42 percent of the army's total projected combat strength of 43,000 soldiers was deployed throughout the country. However, OMC-A's efforts to fully equip the increasing number of combat troops have fallen behind. In addition, OMC-A's efforts to establish the institutions needed to support these troops have not kept pace, and plans for their completion are not clear. Despite some shortcomings, OMC-A personnel and the embedded trainers we met with told us that Afghan combat troops have generally performed well under U.S. supervision.

The United States Has Established Recruiting Effort

Defense, in conjunction with the government of Afghanistan, is establishing recruiting stations in each of Afghanistan's 34 provinces. To help ensure that the army is ethnically balanced, Defense attempts to form new battalions[6] for training with volunteers drawn from Afghanistan's major ethnic groups.[7] Information provided by OMC-A indicates that the army as a whole generally reflects the country's balance of major ethnic groups.[8]

While many of those initially recruited left the army before competing their terms, by late 2004 the army's attrition rate had dropped to 1.1 percent per month.[9] While attrition appears to have abated, U.S. and Afghan officials told us that soldiers often leave their units without permission for as long as 2 weeks to take their pay home to their families. The officials attributed these unauthorized absences to the lack of an Afghan national banking

[6]An Afghan battalion consists of about 610 men.

[7]According to Defense officials, volunteers are vetted through community elders and State. Ex-militia fighters may enlist on an individual basis, but United Nations reports indicate that less than 2 percent had done so as of February 2005.

[8]According to the U.S. government, as of January 2004, the ethnic composition of the Afghan population was 42 percent Pashtun, 27 percent Tajik, 9 percent Hazara, 9 percent Uzbek, and 13 percent "other." According to OMC-A, as of February 15, 2005, the ethnic composition of the Afghan army was 49 percent Pashtun, 21 percent Tajik, 6 percent Hazara, 3 percent Uzbek, and 22 percent "other" (the total of the individual percentages is greater than 100 percent due to rounding). Individual units vary in their ethnic balance. According to OMC-A, at least two battalions have no or very few Uzbek troops.

[9]Defense fielding plans for the army assume an attrition rate of 2 percent per month. Soldiers absent for more than 60 days are dropped from the army's rolls.

system and the absence of significant penalties for such absences from the volunteer Afghan army.

Army Troops Receive Basic and Field Training

OMC-A and Task Force Phoenix have established programs for training Afghan army troops in battalions at locations including the Kabul Military Training Center (see fig. 3) and in the field. Battalions now receive 14 weeks of training at the center and elsewhere, including training for officers and noncommissioned officers. According to Joint Chiefs of Staff planners, this training includes 6 weeks of basic training, 6 weeks of advanced individual training, and 2 weeks of collective training. The program also includes training on human rights and the laws of war, as well as specialized training for some troops in tank maintenance, logistics, and medical skills. OMC-A and Task Force Phoenix officials informed us that the Afghan army now conducts basic training classes. U.S. officials also stated that France and the United Kingdom have helped train Afghan army personnel.

Figure 3: Kabul Military Training Center

Source: GAO.

Training at the Center is followed by training in the field. OMC-A embeds a team of U.S. trainers and mentors in each battalion to help achieve full operational capability. The embedded team accompanies the battalion into the field and provides leadership, tactical training, and logistical support. As originally envisioned, embedded trainer teams were to include 16 U.S. officers and noncommissioned officers and remain with battalions for 2 years.

Defense Accelerated Training

At OMC-A's recommendation, Defense accelerated its training of Afghan combat troops throughout 2004 by more than doubling the number of battalions in basic training at a given time. As a result, OMC-A had deployed more than 42 percent of the army's total projected combat strength at commands throughout the country as of March 2005. OMC-A projects that it will complete basic training for all 43,000 combat troops by the fall of 2007.

Defense time frames for building the Afghan army were in flux throughout 2004. As security concerns persisted, OMC-A accelerated the training and fielding of combat troops.[10] In January 2004, OMC-A increased the number of battalions in training at one time from two to three; in May 2004, it began training four battalions; and, as of the end of January 2005, it was training five. These concerns also prompted Defense and the Afghan government to change their plans for establishing the army's four regional commands. At the beginning of 2004, they had planned to establish the four regional commands in sequence, with the fourth command to be established in 2006. By May 2004, Defense and the Afghan government had decided to establish all four regional commands by the end of September 2004, with as few as 150 troops stationed at each one.

According to the Joint Chiefs of Staff planning staff, as of March 2005, more than 18,300 troops—over 42 percent of the army's total projected combat strength of 43,000 men—had completed basic training. Having fully staffed the Kabul central command with about 10,500 troops, OMC-A assigned the remaining 7,800 troops to the four regional commands.[11] It plans to field

[10]The security concerns included factional unrest in Herat in March and August 2004, as well as violence preceding Afghanistan's first-ever democratic presidential election in October 2004.

[11]The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is constructing facilities at these locations. As of January 2005, funding provided to the Corps for this effort totaled $740 million.

combat troops to the regional commands as quickly as possible to provide more security for Afghanistan's parliamentary elections (currently planned for September 2005). Accordingly, it increased the number of combat troops assigned to regional commands by more than 18 percent between February and March 2005.

In early 2005, OMC-A projected that it would complete basic training for the remaining 24,700 combat troops by the fall of 2007 if it continued to train five battalions at once. However, in May 2005, OMC-A proposed increasing the number of combat troops in the planned force structure from 43,000 to 46,000 and projected that it could train the additional 3,000 combat troops by the fall of 2007. Although OMC-A is seeking permission to begin training six battalions at once, it has not been able to fully equip the units already trained and faces a shortage of embedded trainers.

Afghan Army Is Experiencing Equipment Shortages

According to U.S. Defense and Afghan army personnel, Afghan army units are experiencing equipment shortages. U.S. embedded trainers and other defense personnel informed us that Afghan soldiers have had to cope with shortages of useable uniforms, boots, communications gear, infantry weapons, ammunition, and vehicles.[12] Embedded trainers provided us with examples of poorly made uniforms and boots and told us that Afghan army units must use old and often faulty small arms and ammunition. OMC-A logistics personnel confirmed that Afghan battalions do not have needed vehicles. Embedded trainers told us that the equipment shortages have negatively affected the army's effectiveness and discipline.

OMC-A is responsible for managing efforts to supply the army's rapidly growing combat element needed equipment, but it has had difficulty establishing requirements and complying with security assistance procedures to fulfill those requirements. Defense Security Cooperation Agency and U.S. Army Security Assistance Command personnel informed us that in many cases OMC-A had not provided them with adequately prepared requests and forecasts of future requirements in a timely manner. For example, Defense Security Cooperation Agency staff noted that OMC-A

[12]One embedded trainer informed us that he has had to rely on a cell phone that he purchased at a U.S. retail outlet to communicate with his unit during operations.

required almost a year to establish specific requirements for a standard light tactical vehicle to transport Afghan troops.[13]

OMC-A and other Defense personnel told us that several factors complicate OMC-A's efforts to project the army's requirements and to use the defense security assistance process. These include the numerous changes that OMC-A made in its plans to build the army, including accelerating the number of battalions in training and establishing the regional commands simultaneously in 2004. OMC-A officials also noted that the involvement of nascent Afghan army units in combat and the lack of historical data on material usage rates further complicated their efforts to project requirements. In addition, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, and State officials in Washington, D.C., and OMC-A officials told us that OMC-A has not had adequate numbers of personnel trained in security assistance procedures to support its efforts. OMC-A officials stated that OMC-A has never been staffed at more than about 71 percent of its approved personnel level.[14] They also noted that Defense efforts to train OMC-A personnel in defense security assistance procedures and preserve the institutional knowledge of lessons learned from former personnel are constrained by the rotation of Air Force, Navy, and Marine personnel from OMC-A after as few as 4 months.[15]

To address some shortages of needed equipment, OMC-A bought items directly from non-U.S. vendors.[16] However, it sometimes purchased faulty items because it did not take adequate steps to ensure their quality. For example, OMC-A purchased combat boots from regional vendors to support the new higher basic training rate of five battalions. OMC-A

[13]The light tactical vehicle is essentially a modified pickup truck that would replace four different types of vehicles now used by the army. These vehicles were donated by the United Arab Emirates, Germany, and Greece. OMC-A officials told us that these donations helped fill the Afghan army's early requirement for transportation but are now complicating the army's logistics situation.

[14]At the time of our work in Afghanistan, Defense had allocated OMC-A 211 military positions and 95 contractor and civilian positions.

[15]According to OMC-A, Air Force personnel were assigned to Afghanistan for 4 months, Navy and Marine Corps personnel for 6 months, and Army personnel for 12 months. Defense officials in the United States informed us that Air Force personnel may now be assigned to fill certain critical positions for as long as 12 months.

[16]OMC-A requested and received offshore procurement waivers between fiscal years 2002 and 2005 to spend up to $596 million to procure non-U.S. items overseas.

officials told us that many boots proved to be defective because OMC-A had given vendors too much latitude in filling their contracts. U.S. trainers told us that Afghan troops sometimes wore sandals during operations in mountainous, difficult terrain because their boots had failed (see fig. 4). OMC-A personnel informed us that they now use a broader array of local vendors, set more stringent specifications, and employ Afghan civilians to inspect the quality of locally procured goods.

Figure 4: Defective Boot Purchased Locally and an Afghan Soldier Wearing Sandals

Source: GAO.

Defense has also experienced difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of serviceable Soviet-era equipment. Early in the Afghan army program, Defense decided to equip the army with donated and salvaged Soviet weapons and armored vehicles. It did so because (1) such equipment was widely used by the former Afghan army and by Afghan militias and (2) several coalition nations once allied with the former Soviet Union were willing to provide equipment from their arsenals. However, much of the donated and salvaged equipment proved to be worn out, defective, or incompatible with other equipment. For example, Defense officials abandoned plans to use Soviet armored personnel carriers after they determined that the vehicles had been manufactured to differing standards depending on the country of origin. Defense and State officials also informed us that the demobilization of Afghan militias had yielded fewer serviceable Soviet AK-47 assault rifles and ammunition caches than

anticipated. In response, OMC-A has cannibalized serviceable parts from the assault rifles obtained to make usable weapons and has purchased more weapons than originally planned. Defense and State officials informed us that they are stepping up efforts to obtain donations of serviceable arms.

Number of Embedded Trainers Does Not Meet Needs

OMC-A's acceleration of the number of battalions in basic training has strained its embedded trainer team program. By increasing the number of battalions in training from four to five, OMC-A's requirement for embedded trainers increased from about 410 to nearly 700. Because it was unable to obtain the additional trainers from the military services in a timely manner, Task Force Phoenix reassigned officers from other duties in Afghanistan. It also temporarily reduced the number of embedded trainers assigned to a battalion from 16 to 12.

According to the Joint Chiefs of Staff's Afghanistan desk, another 192 trainers will be needed if OMC-A increases the number of battalions in basic training to six. Because individuals with the skills needed to serve as trainers are in demand in other theaters, increasing the training rate to six battalions could require Defense to reassign U.S. personnel in Afghanistan to serve as embedded trainers.[17]

OMC-A's need for more embedded trainers could further increase if it determines that individual battalions are not yet ready to operate without trainers. While some battalions have already operated with embedded trainers for longer than the initially planned 2-year period, OMC-A has not yet fully implemented recently developed criteria for assessing a battalion's readiness to operate without trainers. As of May 2005, none of the Afghan battalions had graduated from the embedded trainer program.

Sustaining Institutions Are Lagging and Plans for Their Completion Are Not Clear

OMC-A's efforts to establish sustaining institutions (such as an acquisition and logistics command) needed to support the combat troops have not kept pace with the accelerated basic training program. The Afghan army currently consists almost entirely of infantry forces that cannot sustain themselves. At the beginning of 2005, Defense planners envisioned that the

[17]Defense officials informed us that NATO members may contribute embedded trainers in the future.

army would need 21,000 support personnel in four sustaining commands to provide essential services to the army's combat elements. However, as of March 2005, it had assigned only 1,300 personnel to the sustaining commands. In an apparent attempt to address this shortfall, OMC-A proposed, in May 2005, that the number of personnel assigned to these commands be reduced from 21,000 to 14,000 and that the time frames for completing these commands be extended from the end of 2008 to the fall of 2009.

Without fully functioning sustaining commands, the Afghan army will continue to rely on OMC-A, embedded trainers, and other U.S. military forces for acquisition, logistics, communications, and other key support functions. OMC-A informed us that it would continue to sustain the Afghan army on an interim basis to ensure the rapid introduction of Afghan army combat units. According to Defense officials, they plan to use $210 million from the 2005 emergency supplemental to help ensure that the sustaining commands can keep pace with the fielding of combat units.

To ensure that the Afghan army's combat elements are fully trained and supplied and can readily communicate with one another, OMC-A would have to recruit, train, and organize at least 12,000 individuals for the sustaining commands. To ease the difficulty of doing so in a largely illiterate country that has had little exposure to U.S. logistical practices, OMC-A may recruit former militia fighters with logistics experience. However, Defense plans for ensuring that these sustaining commands are fully functional by the fall of 2009 are not clear. Defense has not yet adopted plans that would guide OMC-A's efforts to complete these commands nor have Defense planners in the United States and OMC-A reached agreement on an overall concept of operations for the Afghan army.

Afghan Troops Said to Perform Well Despite Shortcomings

Defense officials in Afghanistan, including representatives of the U.S. combat operations command, told us that U.S.-trained Afghan troops had accompanied U.S. forces in operations against terrorist groups, helped restore stability in Herat in response to riots and clashes between militias, assisted in providing security for Afghanistan's first democratic presidential election, and protected army infrastructure construction sites around Afghanistan. U.S. embedded trainers we met with near Kabul and in Herat, as well as U.S. combat officers, praised the quality, morale, and motivation of the Afghan troops in conducting these operations. For example, they noted the speed with which Afghan units were able to

mobilize for transportation to Herat and their ability to quell civilian rioters.[18] The commander of OMC-A told us that coalition forces have sought out opportunities to work with Afghan troops. According to U.S. embedded trainers and OMC-A officials, the multiethnic Afghan army units typically have developed good relations with Afghan citizens in different parts of the country. None reported significant evidence of ethnic discord within the army. However, U.S. Defense personnel informed us that Afghan troops and officers have not yet gained significant experience in battalion-level operations. They also noted the army's command processes are limited by the high rate of illiteracy among the troops.

Difficult Conditions Have Hampered Reconstituting of Police and State Does Not Have an Overall Plan to Complete the Effort

Germany—the lead nation for rebuilding the Afghan police—and the United States have trained thousands of Afghanistan police officers and patrolmen and expect to meet training targets for end of 2005. However, many trainees return to difficult working conditions, including police stations where resources are inadequate and militia leaders are still the principal authority, and they receive limited opportunities for follow-up training or mentoring. Furthermore, Afghan's Ministry of the Interior, which oversees the Afghan police, faces pervasive problems that require reform or restructuring. Finally, neither State nor Germany has an overall plan delineating what is needed to complete the rebuilding of the police sector.

Donors Expect to Meet Police Training Targets

As of January 2005, Germany and the United States had trained more than 35,000 national, highway, and border police, and they expect to meet the overall goal of training 62,000[19] by December 2005 (see table 2). The United States initiated its police training program in Afghanistan in 2003 because of concerns that the German training program was moving too slowly and was concentrating on officers. Initially, the U.S. program focused on training police patrolmen (and some women) to establish a national police presence for the Afghan presidential elections.[20] The U.S. program has

[18]In 2004, Afghan troops were flown to Herat on U.S. military and allied aircraft.

[19]The target numbers were derived by considering the security needs and population density of geographic areas, as well as the expected organizational structure of the police.

[20]More than 20,000 police were trained before the Afghan presidential elections in October 2004.

emphasized meeting specific training targets set by the Afghan government in consultation with U.S. and German governments.[21]

Table 2: Number of Afghan Police Reported Trained as of January 2005 and Training Targets for December 2005

Afghan police role[a]	Police reported trained as of January 2005[b]	Training target for December 2005
National police	33,903	47,400
Highway police	220	2,600
Border police	1,151	12,000
Total	**35,274**	**62,000**

Source: State/INL data (includes German officer training data).

[a]National police fill the traditional role of community law enforcement. Highway police focus on road security outside of Kabul. Border police are responsible for border protection and control.

[b]State/INL could not readily identify the numbers of officers versus patrolmen and women by police role.

The United States employs a "train the trainer" approach. More than 800 Afghans who have completed a 3-week instructor development course conduct the training with DynCorp advisors. The basic training consists of an 8-week course for new recruits and a 2-week program for veteran police. Highway and border police receive 2 weeks of additional specialized training. U.S. trainers have also developed a shortened training program to accommodate illiterate recruits. According to State/INL and DynCorp officials, the Afghan police trainees are generally eager to learn and they support the idea of a national police force dedicated to the rule of law. In addition, according to these officials, attrition rates have been low.

Germany's chief role in rebuilding the police has been to refurbish the Kabul Police Academy near Kabul and establish a permanent training program there for commissioned and noncommissioned Afghan police officers.[22] The program, which began in August 2002, provides 3 years of

[21]The United States assumed responsibility for the border police when Norway and Germany did not follow through on commitments to provide the training. Norway provided some funding for the renovation of the border police academy.

[22]Commissioned and noncommissioned officers constitute the police's upper and intermediate ranks, respectively, while patrolmen are lower level.

training for officers and 1 year of training for noncommissioned officers. According to a German Ministry of Interior official, as of January 2005, 41 officers and 2,583 noncommissioned officers had completed the full German program, and an additional 4,880 commissioned and noncommissioned officers had received short-term specialized training. According to this same official, Germany plans to train an additional 4,950 commissioned and noncommissioned officers at the Academy and the regional training centers by December 2005.

Although the Bonn II agreement calls for a multiethnic police force, the Afghan government, Germany, and the United States do not track the ethnicity of police trainees. German and State officials reported that they had received no complaints about the ethnic composition of police units or deployments or their interaction with minority populations. However, neither had systematically surveyed the impact of ethnicity on police performance, relying instead on anecdotal accounts.

DynCorp completed construction of the Central Training Center for Police in Kabul in May 2003, and in 2004 it constructed and began training at seven regional centers across the country. (Fig. 5 shows the police training center in Jalalabad, Afghanistan.) The Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program developed the curriculums, which include such topics as crime investigation, operational police skills, and human rights.

Figure 5: Police Regional Training Center in Jalalabad–Dining Facility and Classroom Building

Source: GAO.

Police Face Difficult Working Conditions

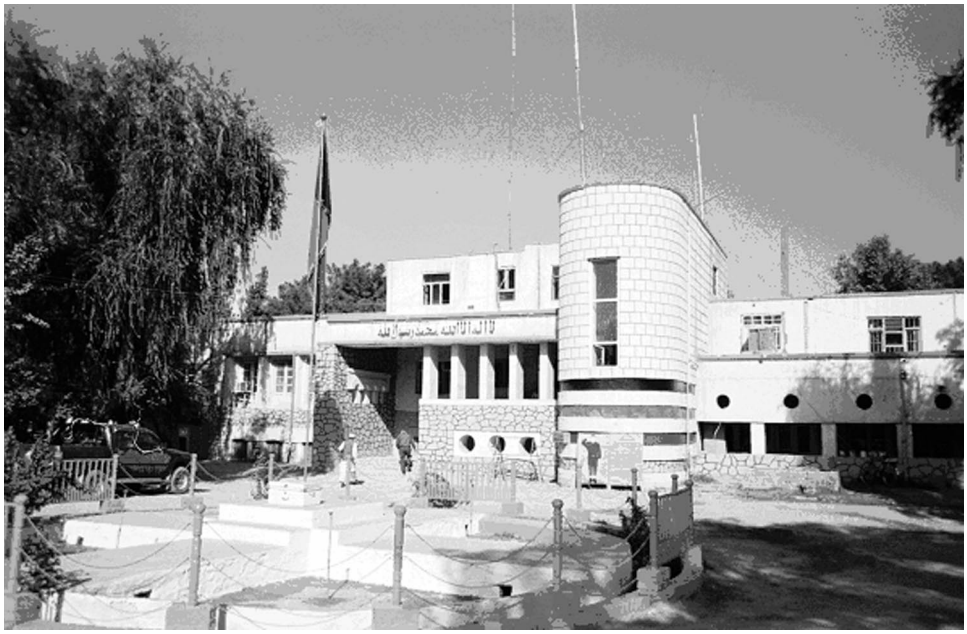
A number of difficult conditions hamper the effort to rebuild the police in Afghanistan. Newly trained police often return to community police stations staffed by poorly trained, illiterate conscripts or former militia members who have little loyalty to the central government. According to State/INL and Defense officials, many of the untrained officers remain loyal to local militias in an environment dominated by ethnic loyalties. Working with untrained colleagues, newly trained policemen often find it difficult to apply the principles they learned during training. For example, according to several DynCorp trainers, some recently trained police were forced to give their new equipment to more senior police and were pressured by their commanders to participate in extorting money from truck drivers and travelers. U.S. and other donor officials told us that many police resort to corrupt practices, in part because their salaries are low and inconsistently paid. The Afghan Ministry of the Interior has limited awareness over police operations outside of Kabul and has not systematically vetted existing police staff for human rights violations or corruption, which complicates the ministry's efforts to support and oversee the police.

In addition, police across Afghanistan confront shortages of equipment. According to a 2002 German government assessment, less than 10 percent of the police had adequate equipment, and U.S. and other donor government officials noted that the police are often outgunned by militias, criminals, and drug traffickers because they lack adequate numbers of weapons or ammunition supplies. According to DynCorp, the Ministry of the Interior has approximately 36,500 serviceable rifles and pistols on hand, mainly seized weapons. DynCorp officials estimate that the police need an additional 48,500 side arms, 10,000 automatic rifles, and 6,250 machine guns. Through March 2005, trainees were not receiving firearms training, because the United States and the other donors had not yet provided weapons and ammunition. Further, DynCorp officials estimated that the Afghan national police have approximately 3,000 serviceable vehicles and require an additional 7,400 vehicles. Most police do not perform routine patrols because they lack adequate numbers of vehicles and the fuel to operate them. State/INL officials reported that police often rely on civilian complainants for transportation during law enforcement investigations.

Moreover, poor infrastructure conditions hamper police work. According to the 2002 German government assessment, approximately 80 percent of police infrastructure was destroyed. According to a Defense estimate, varying degrees of construction or renovation are needed for more than 800 buildings among Afghanistan's provincial police stations, district police and border police brigade stations, and subdistrict and village level stations.[23] State/INL officials reported that criminal suspects are sometimes detained in private residences because most police stations lack secure holding facilities or reliable electricity and drinking water and have only rudimentary office furniture and equipment. On our visit to a Jalalabad police station (see fig. 6), we observed prisoners in a communal holding facility with dirt floors and rudimentary toilet facilities. We also noted that police manning a nearby guard tower were sleeping outside between their shifts.

[23]The fiscal year 2004 supplemental provided Defense's Office for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict $73 million to support Afghan border security, law enforcement, and counter narcotics efforts. The program was refocused in the spring of 2004 to concentrate on police infrastructure and capabilities in southern and southeastern Afghanistan.

Figure 6: Jalalabad Police Station



Source: GAO.

In addition, although the U.S. government recently constructed a communication network that links the provincial headquarters with the Ministry of Interior, police at the provincial, district, and subdistrict levels are generally unable to communicate with police in other locations. DynCorp officials estimate that the police need 420 base radios for district and border stations, more than 10,400 mobile-vehicle mounted radios, and 20,700 hand-held radios.

Limited Follow-Up Training, Mentoring, or Evaluation of Trainees

In early 2005, DynCorp deployed police trainers to the field for the first time—12 outside of Kabul and 4 at a district headquarters in Kabul. International peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor have shown that such training is critical to the success of similar programs.[24] Field-based training and mentoring allows trainers to build on classroom

[24]According to officials from the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations, field-based training of local police by international police trainers was key to establishing professional police forces in these countries.

instruction and provide a more systematic basis for evaluating police performance. Nevertheless, the German, U.S., and Afghan governments have only limited ability to evaluate police trainees' performance after graduation—especially in the more remote areas of Afghanistan. State/INL officials cited the high costs, the security threat to training personnel stationed in the field, and the difficulty of recruiting sufficient numbers of international police as impediments to implementing a countrywide field-based program. OMC-A estimates a first-year cost for implementing a countrywide training and mentoring program at approximately $160 million.

Nonetheless, U.S. government and other donor officials reported overall improvements in police performance since the training programs began and noted that public attitudes toward the police are becoming more positive. According to U.S. officials, police played a stabilizing role before and during the presidential elections in October 2004. For example, according to U.S. military personnel, police confiscated weapons and explosives in 12 separate incidents on election day in Jalalabad. However, according to OMC-A officials, police failed to control a riot that occurred after the Afghan government removed the provincial governor from power in Herat in August 2004. As a result, the Afghan army was called in to restore order.

Afghan Ministry of the Interior Undergoing Reform

The Afghan Ministry of the Interior, which is responsible for managing the country's national police force, faces a number of problems that require reform or restructuring. According to State/INL and DynCorp officials, these problems include pervasive corruption; an outdated rank structure overburdened with senior level officers; lack of communication and control between central command and the regions, provinces, and districts; pay disparity between the army and the police; and a lack of professional standards and internal discipline. To address these problems, State embedded 30 DynCorp advisors within the ministry at the end of 2004 and drafted a comprehensive reform program. According to ministry and State officials, the reform package was accepted by the Afghan Government, and implementation has begun. The ministry adopted a new, streamlined organizational structure to address command and control problems, including a new rank structure with salaries commensurate with responsibilities. The ministry also created a professional standards unit (similar to an internal affairs unit) that is responsible for disciplining corrupt or underachieving officers throughout the police force. DynCorp officials stated that the operation of this unit will be critical to the success

of the police reform effort. However, according to DynCorp officials, the overall reform program will require more than a year to implement and will not produce results across the country for several years.

The Ministry of the Interior has not yet reformed its police pay system. Patrolmen generally are paid $30 to $50 per month, less than the $70 per month new army recruits are paid and often less than day laborers can earn on construction sites. According to DynCorp officials, patrolmen's salaries are insufficient to support a family's living expenses and often cause policemen to resort to corruption to augment their income. Ministry officials told us that they are aware that low salaries are hurting the professionalism of the police force and that they are working to institute a new salary structure.

State and Germany Do Not Have an Overall Plan for Reconstituting the Afghan National Police

In 2003, Germany developed a strategy paper that assessed the condition of the police and proposed ways to reconstituting the police sector. However, this strategy was not widely circulated and was not adopted by other donors, including the United States; State/INL officials told us that they could not provide us a copy of the German strategy because they did not possess a copy themselves. According to cognizant German officials, Germany has viewed its role as one of advising and consulting with other donors and the Afghan government rather than as the major implementer or funding source for the police sector.

State has not developed a plan for addressing the overall requirement of equipping and fielding a fully functioning police force by a stated end date. Budget estimates produced (at our request) by DynCorp provide a partial listing of essential elements for building the police—personnel, equipment, facilities and communication equipment—through 2006 that totals more than $580 million. However, State has not specified how or when these equipment purchases and construction projects will be completed; what additional infrastructure, equipment, and training are needed; how much the total buildup of the police will cost; and when the overall effort to build the Afghan police will be finished.

In addition, State did not have adequate staff in Kabul to manage the day-to-day activities of the police program, hampering State's effort to plan for and execute the rebuilding of the Afghan police. In 2003, the U.S. Embassy in Kabul had one full-time staff member assigned to manage the police program. When this person left to take another position with the Afghan Ministry of the Interior, State used a series of temporary duty staff in 2004

and 2005 to manage the program, employing one temporary staff member for more than 6 months to manage both the Embassy's police and counternarcotics programs.[25] According to the temporary-duty official, because of understaffing she was limited in her ability to oversee and monitor the program, dependent on DynCorp contractors for progress reports and management support, and unable to attend many donor and other coordination meetings. In January 2005, to help address this problem, State/INL established a Narcotics Affairs Section in Kabul to oversee the U.S. police and counternarcotics programs. At the time, one full-time U.S. direct-hire employee and one personal services contractor were assigned.

Efforts to Complete and Sustain the Afghan Army and Police Face Major Challenges

The United States, other donors, and the new Afghan government face significant challenges to their plans to establish viable Afghan army and police forces. Completing and sustaining the army and police will cost several billion dollars over the next decade. Moreover, slow progress in resolving other Afghan security problems could undermine the prospects for effective army and police forces.

Long-Term Costs Unclear but Likely to Be Substantial

Defense and State have not clearly defined the long-term costs of completing the army and police programs. However, available information suggests that these institutions could cost up to $7.2 billion to complete and about $600 million per year to sustain.

- Defense has not clearly defined the cost of completing the Afghan army. However, in November 2004, OMC-A officials indicated that completing the army could cost another $5.4 billion (in fiscal year 2005 dollars).[26] Future funding would be used to fully supply the Afghan army with equipment and vehicles; train Afghan troops; complete the regional and sustaining commands; and provide the capability to safely transport the Afghan president by air. However, these funds would not suffice to provide the army with the capability to airlift large numbers of troops

[25]By contrast, Defense's Combined Forces Command had assigned up to 10 personnel to a law enforcement planning cell to prepare for a possible Defense role in the police buildup.

[26]OMC-A officials stated that the total cost of the army program would be at least $7 billion. The United States and other donors have already provided approximately $1.6 billion for the army through fiscal year 2004.

from one part of the country to another. OMC-A officials told us that adding this capability could cost as much as $3 billion.[27]

- State has not clearly defined the cost of reconstituting the police. However, our analysis of State and Defense planning documents suggest that completing the police program could cost between $800 million and $1.8 billion.[28] Most of these funds would pay for construction and equipment, including more than $500 million to construct police stations and buildings; about $100 million for trucks, buses, and other vehicles; and more than $85 million to provide each patrolman a weapon, uniform, ammunition, and related gear.

Similarly, Defense and State have not clearly defined the annual cost of sustaining the completed army and police forces. OMC-A officials and Joint Chiefs of Staff planners told us that sustaining the completed Afghan army could cost at least $420 million (in 2005 dollars) annually. The majority of these costs would be for general equipment repair, maintenance, supplies, medical support, salaries, and food. DynCorp police planning documents project that maintaining police force operations could cost $180 million annually (in 2005 dollars). Of this amount, about $100 million would cover personnel costs. The rest would pay for fuel, vehicle replacement and maintenance, ammunition, and facilities upkeep.

The United States has not committed to pay for creating and sustaining the army and police. To date, the United States has been the major contributor to Afghan's security sector reform, providing about 90 percent of funding for the Afghan army and the largest share of funding for police, judiciary, and counternarcotics efforts. At the same time, other nations have not demonstrated the willingness to provide the funds that may be needed to complete and sustain these forces. For example, while the United States has provided the $277 million it pledged at a 2004 police donor conference, as of March 2005, the other donor nations had provided only about half of the $73 million that they pledged at the same conference. Also, donors have provided the United Nations Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan

[27]Adding a larger air wing would also require English-language training for a greater number of Afghans if the air wing were equipped with U.S. manufactured aircraft.

[28]The higher estimate includes an expanded field-based training program, additional civilian staffing, an aviation capacity, and a doubling of the Afghan border police from the current plan of 12,000 to 24,000.

with about $60 million of the $149 million pledged for April 2004 through March 2005.

Slow Progress in Addressing Other Pillars Could Undermine Afghan Security

The ability to field fully functioning Afghan army and police forces is dependent on concurrent success in the other security sector reform pillars. The lack of an effective judicial sector, the substantial illicit narcotics industry, and the continued existence of armed militias threatens to undermine overall progress toward providing nationwide security and the stability of the Afghan government.

Afghanistan Lacks Effective Judicial Sector

Establishing a working judiciary based on the rule of law is a prerequisite for effective policing. However, according to donor officials, few linkages exist between the judiciary and the police, and the police have little ability to enforce judicial judgments. In addition, judges and prosecutors are not being exposed to police training and practices, and the police training curriculum does not include instruction on criminal law and procedure. Moreover, according to U.S. embassy officials, the Afghan judiciary has not yet acquired the political authority needed to adjudicate a criminal or drug case against a high-level political or warlord figure.

Supported by the United States, other donors, and international organizations, Italy—the lead nation for reforming the judiciary—has followed a three-pronged strategy: (1) developing and drafting legal codes, (2) training judges and prosecutors, and (3) renovating the country's physical legal infrastructure. The Italian government has provided approximately $10 million annually to support the judicial reform, and the United States has provided approximately $28 million for fiscal years 2003 through 2004. However, according to Italian and U.S. government officials, the reform program is under funded and understaffed.

Italy and the other donors have made some progress in promoting reform. These include drafting a new criminal procedure code, training several hundred judges, and renovating courthouses. However, these accomplishments address only a small portion of Afghanistan's overall need for judicial reform. Afghanistan's judicial sector is currently characterized by a conflicting mix of civil, religious, and customary laws, with few trained judges, prosecutors, or other justice personnel. Furthermore, its penal system is nonfunctioning, and its buildings, official records, and essential office equipment and furniture have been damaged extensively. U.S. and donor officials informed us that progress in rebuilding the judicial sector lags far behind the other security pillars and that the

reform effort is being undermined by systemic corruption at key national and provincial justice institutions.

Illicit Narcotics Industry Threatens Government Authority

The production and trafficking of illicit narcotics poses a serious challenge to the Afghan government's authority. According to the United Nations, Afghanistan produces almost 90 percent of the world's illicit opium, generating revenues equivalent to about 60 percent of Afghanistan's gross domestic product for 2003. According to State, narcotics revenues breed corruption at virtually all levels of the Afghan government while providing resources to Taliban remnants, drug lords, and other terrorist groups. Solving the narcotics problem in Afghanistan is widely seen as critical to achieving security in Afghanistan.

The United Kingdom is leading international counternarcotics efforts in Afghanistan and is trying to persuade other nations to contribute to a new Afghan counternarcotics trust fund. From 2002 to 2004, the United States obligated approximately $380 million and assisted the counternarcotics efforts by training Afghan narcotics interdiction units, constructing border and highway checkpoint facilities, and supplying operational support and nonlethal equipment to Afghan eradication teams. For fiscal year 2005, the United States has provided about $966 million for a counternarcotics program that includes public information, alternative livelihoods, law enforcement, interdiction, and eradication campaigns. The goal of the new U.S. program is to ensure that narcotics production and drug trade do not subvert efforts to rebuild the Afghan police and army.

Although the president of Afghanistan took several counternarcotics initiatives at the end of 2004,[29] the decree banning opium production has been weakened by the Afghan government's lack of a transparent criminal justice system and the underequipped, decentralized police force. The Afghan government's eradication force and provincial forces have undertaken only marginal crop destruction in a few locations. U.S. officials stated that these eradication efforts have had no material effect on the quantity of opium produced. In addition, U.S. proposals for large-scale aerial eradication programs have been resisted by Afghan government officials and other international donors. According to U.S. officials, opium

[29]Two days after Afghanistan's December 2004 presidential inauguration, the president of Afghanistan launched a counternarcotics campaign. The president appointed a cabinet-level minister for counternarcotics and created a subcabinet interagency working group that includes the Afghan counternarcotics, interior, finance, and rural development ministries.

is being produced in record amounts in all 34 provinces, and a centrally trained and directed Afghan counternarcotics force would likely face significant opposition from provincial drug lords and many citizens. Although U.S. and internationally sustained counternarcotics and security programs could potentially reduce the amount of opium produced over time, State officials expect that drug processing and trafficking will continue until security is established.

Militias Have Not Been Fully Reintegrated

Although the number of known militia fighters has been reduced in recent months, the disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating of members of Afghanistan's once-dominant militias is not complete. While many militias are under the nominal authority of the Afghan Defense Ministry, they pose a threat to the stability of the Afghan government and its ability to extend control throughout Afghanistan. Of concern, according to Japanese officials, is that former combatants may be attracted by the higher salaries provided by militia leaders in the illegal narcotics industry.

To help the Afghan government disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate militia fighters, donor nations established the Afghan New Beginnings Programme in early 2003. Under the auspices of Japan and the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan, the program oversaw the demobilization of more than 34,000 former combatants by January 2005. The program also oversaw the seizure or destruction of more than 90 percent of the heavy weapons formerly controlled by militias (see fig. 7). Defense is providing transportation for heavy weapons and is monitoring the surrender of militias' small arms and light weapons. Also, the U.S. Agency for International Development donated $4 million to the Afghan New Beginnings Programme in fiscal year 2005.

Figure 7: Heavy Weapons Cantonment Site Outside Kabul

Source: GAO.

However, the program's success is not assured. According to U.S. and Japanese government officials responsible for monitoring the demobilization process, the total number of troops still belonging to militias and other armed factions remains unknown.[30] In addition, U.S. troops monitoring and assisting in the disarmament process reported that the Afghan government has collected only limited numbers of poor-quality assault rifles and that better quality weaponry may still be held by the former combatants and their commanders.

Former combatants have limited employment opportunities when they leave the militias and attempt to reintegrate into society. As of January 2005, only one reintegration center in Kabul provided vocational training to former combatants. Although Afghanistan plans to open another seven regional centers by early 2005, the eight centers together can retrain only 2,000 students per year.

[30]Estimates of the total number of militia fighters and other armed factions operating in Afghanistan in 2002 have ranged from 100,000 to over 1 million.

Conclusions

Without strong and self-sustaining Afghan army and police forces, international terrorists could again create a haven in Afghanistan and jeopardize donor efforts to develop the country. However, Afghanistan remains dependent on other nations for support—international assistance provided over 90 percent of Afghanistan's $4.75 billion budget for 2005. The International Monetary Fund estimates that Afghan government revenues will average less than $400 million per year through 2008—less than half its projected expenditures just for government salaries and operations.

The United States has provided over $4.1 billion since 2002 to help create a new Afghan army and reconstitute Afghanistan's police force. Despite initial progress, the United States and the other donors continue to face numerous challenges. Although Defense has succeeded in training and fielding thousands of Afghan combat troops, it has not been able to fully equip them and it has lagged in establishing the institutions the Afghan army needs to sustain itself. Similarly, while State has trained thousands of police, it has just begun to address the structural problems that affect the Afghan police force. In addition, neither Defense nor State has fully addressed how and when Afghanistan will be able to sustain its completed security forces.

Establishing viable Afghan army and police forces will almost certainly require years of effort and the investment of additional resources. Available information suggests the army and police programs could cost up to $7.2 billion to complete and an estimated $600 million annually to sustain. However, Defense and State have not developed detailed plans, performance measures, cost estimates, or milestones for completing and sustaining these forces. Moreover, progress in the other pillars of Afghan's security reform is critical to eventually sustaining and maximizing the effectiveness of the Afghan army and police forces. Yet, reform of the Afghan judiciary lags behind the other security pillars, trafficking in illicit narcotics remains a challenge to the Afghan government's authority, and thousands of militia fighters have not been disarmed and reintegrated into society.

Recommendations for Executive Action

Because of Afghanistan's prolonged conflict and its limited financial resources, we recommend that the Secretaries of Defense and State develop detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army and police forces. The plans should include clearly defined objectives and performance measures; milestones for achieving stated objectives; future

funding requirements; and a strategy for sustaining the results achieved, including transitioning program responsibility to Afghanistan. The Secretaries should provide this information to the Congress when the executive branch next requests funding for the Afghan army or police forces.

In addition, because reform in the other pillars of the Afghan security sector—building an effective judiciary, curbing the production and trafficking of illicit narcotics, and disarming and reintegrating militia fighters—is critical to the success of the army and police programs, we recommend that the Secretaries of Defense and State work with the other lead donor nations to help ensure that progress in the other pillars is congruent with the progress made in the army and police programs. The Secretaries should regularly report to the Congress, but no less than annually, on the progress made in addressing these other security pillars.

Agency Comments and Our Evaluation

The Departments of Defense, Justice, and State provided written comments on a draft of this report. See appendixes III, IV, and V, respectively. We also met with cognizant officials from Defense and State to discuss their comments and observations. Both departments provided technical comments and updates that we incorporated throughout the report, as appropriate. Overall, Defense, Justice, and State found the report helpful, thorough, and accurate.

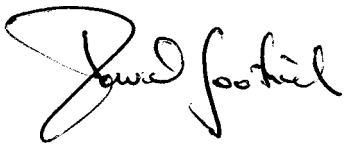
Justice characterized the Afghan police training program as extremely important and enormously complex. It shared our concerns that more detailed plans for the creation of a sustainable and effective Afghan police force must be developed. Justice went on to note that its International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program is providing critical support to the Iraqi Police Service and has assisted other police training programs around the world, but has almost no role in the ongoing efforts to assist the Afghan police.

Although Defense and State generally concurred with our recommendations, both suggested that existing reporting requirements addressed the need to report their plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army and police forces. Defense indicated that detailed plans will allow it to effectively manage already scarce manpower and resources and should foster deliberate and proactive long-term planning with State. State noted that coordination efforts have characterized these programs since inception and will continue.

We do not dispute that current law, including the Afghan Freedom Support Act of 2002, as amended, and the fiscal year 2005 emergency supplemental, mandate a number of reports on Afghanistan. However, our analysis of past Defense and State reporting—both internally and to the Congress—indicates that the departments do not have detailed plans for equipping and fielding fully functioning Afghan army and police forces by a stated end date. We continue to believe that developing and following such plans and ensuring concurrent progress in the other security pillars is essential to the overall future success of the Afghan security effort. Whatever reporting mechanisms Defense and State choose, the departments need to specify what their objectives are and how they will assess progress, when the effort to build the Afghan army and police will be completed, and what future funding will be needed. In addition, in light of the Justice comments, we encourage State to take advantage of Justice's police training expertise in developing its detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan police program.

As agreed with your office, unless you publicly announce its contents earlier, we plan no further distribution of this report until 30 days from the date of this letter. At that time, we will send copies of this report to interested congressional committees and to the Secretaries of Defense and State. We will also make copies available to others on request. In addition, this report will be available at no charge on the GAO Web site at http://www.gao.gov.

If you or your staff have any questions about this report, please contact me at (202) 512-3149 or GootnickD@gao.gov. Key contributors to this report were Al Huntington, Pat Dickriede, Reid Lowe, Pierre Toureille, Eve Weisberg, and Joe Zamoyta.



David Gootnick, Director
International Affairs and Trade

Scope and Methodology

To examine the progress made, and limitations faced, by the United States and other donor nations in creating a new Afghan national army, we reviewed documents obtained from several offices and agencies in the U.S. Department of Defense, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff/J-5 (Office of Strategic Plans and Policy's Afghanistan Desk), U.S. Central Command, the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (Middle East, Asia and North Africa division), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, the Office of Military Cooperation–Afghanistan, and Task Force Phoenix. We also reviewed documents from State's Bureau of South Asian Affairs. Our review of these documents provided us with information concerning the program's structure, current time frames and objectives, progress, limitations, and funding status. In addition, we met with the following various cognizant officials to discuss the progress made and limitations faced by the United States:

- In Washington, D.C., we met with officials from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. At State, we met with officials from State's South Asia and Political-Military Affairs bureaus. In Tampa, Florida, we met with officials of the U.S. Central Command, which has military oversight for Afghanistan.

- We attended a meeting on the status of Afghan military construction projects at the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' Transatlantic Programs Center in Winchester, Virginia, which oversees the Corps' construction projects in Afghanistan.

- We attended a 3-day conference in New Cumberland, Pennsylvania, where representatives from the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, and the Office of Military Cooperation–Afghanistan discussed problems that were impeding security assistance to the Afghan army.

In Kabul, Afghanistan, we met with officials of the Combined Forces Command, the Office of Military Cooperation–Afghanistan, and Task Force Phoenix; U.S. embedded trainers; and the Afghan Deputy Minister of Defense. Also in Afghanistan, we traveled to Herat, where we met with U.S. embedded trainers, the commander of the Afghan army's regional command, and some Afghan army troops.

To examine the progress made, and limitations faced, by the United States and other donor nations in reconstituting the Afghan national police, we reviewed relevant documents on police program planning, resources, and implementation. We analyzed documents from State's International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs/Resource Management Office to obtain a detailed costs and funding sources. Defense's Office of Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict provided us with planning materials on the police-related counternarcotics program, as well as funding documents for this program. In addition, we reviewed the U.S. curricula for Afghan police training provided to us by the Department of Justice. We also examined documentation from the United Nations Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan to obtain an overview of funding from non-U.S. donors. We reviewed German government documents on the German strategy for the Afghan police, German police program, and its funding information. We also met with the following cognizant officials to discuss the progress made, and limitations faced, by the United States and the other donors:

- In Washington, D.C., we met with officials from State's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs who focus on police training and the rule of law, as well as with officials from State's South Asia Bureau. At Justice, we spoke with officials from the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program. We also met with representatives of DynCorp Aerospace Technology—the State contractor for the Afghan police program. At Defense, we met with officials from the Office of the Secretary of Defense's Office for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict.

- In New York City, we held discussions with representatives of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations' Civilian Police Division and with officials from the United Nations Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan.

- In Afghanistan, we met with U.S. embassy officials overseeing the police training program, officials at the Afghan ministry of Interior, and representatives of the German embassy charged with overseeing Germany's police program. In addition, we traveled to Jalalabad to meet with DynCorp police trainers and Afghan police personnel; we also toured a police training facility and inspected an Afghan police station.

To identify future challenges that the United States, other donor nations, and Afghanistan must address to complete and sustain the Afghan army

and police forces, we reviewed documents prepared by Defense, State, the government of Afghanistan, foreign donor governments, and international organizations. We also met with Defense, State, and DynCorp officials in the United States and Afghanistan to obtain information concerning the potential future costs of the army and police programs. In Afghanistan, we met with officials at the embassies of Italy, the United Kingdom, and Japan to discuss the Afghan judiciary, the Afghan narcotics problem, and the continued presence of militia fighters, respectively. In the United Kingdom and Germany, we met with officials from those nations' ministries of foreign affairs and defense to discuss overall Afghan security issues. In Belgium, we met with U.S. officials at the U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels, Belgium, and with officials at its Supreme Headquarters for Allied Powers in Europe in Mons, Belgium, to discuss their perspectives on the challenges posed by the Afghan security situation.

To determine the reliability of the funding data, Afghan army troop data, and Afghan police training data obtained from Defense and State officials, we compared multiple reports and sources and interviewed cognizant officials regarding the controls and checks they used to compile the data.

- To help confirm the completeness and consistency of U.S. and international funding data, we compiled and compared data from multiple sources—Defense, State, Justice, and other donor countries—with information from cognizant U.S. agency officials and donor country officials in Washington, D.C., and Afghanistan. We used a questionnaire to address the accuracy of the data; the security of the databases used; and the limitations, if any, of the data. We also compared the funding data to appropriations and authorization legislation, congressional budget requests, and reports to the Congress. Although we did not audit the funding data and are not expressing an opinion on them, based on our examination of the documents received and our discussions with cognizant agency officials, we concluded that the funding data we obtained were sufficiently reliable for the purposes of this engagement.

- To assess the reliability of the data regarding the number of Afghan troops assigned to Afghan army commands, we discussed with Defense officials how they check data from the commands and compared it with information from embedded trainers and payroll records. To assess the reliability of the data regarding the number of Afghan police trained, we interviewed State officials who received data from DynCorp, Justice, and the German Ministry of Interior to determine how they verify the data; we also compared the various information sources provided to us.

However, because of the security situation in Afghanistan, we could not independently verify or test the army and police training information at field locations. Nevertheless, based on our assessments of the data provided and our discussions with the cognizant officials, we concluded that the Afghan army troop data and Afghan police training data provided to us were sufficiently reliable for the purposes of this report.

Assistance Provided to Afghan Army and Police by Non-U.S. Donors

Forty-one non-U.S. donors have provided approximately $439 million in cash, equipment, and services for the Afghan army and police (see table 3). Approximately $193 million was donated to supplement U.S. efforts to build the Afghan army, and about $246 million was provided for the Afghan police program (see table 3). Six donors—the Czech Republic, the European Union, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the World Bank—provided almost 65 percent of the total donations.

- For the Afghan army, over $52 million was donated in cash and an estimated $141 million was donated in weapons, ammunition, vehicles, infrastructure support, communications equipment, medical equipment, and clothing.[1]

- For the Afghan police, over $120 million was donated in cash to the United Nations' Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan,[2] and an estimated $126 million was donated in equipment, construction assistance, and training.

In addition, Defense estimates that approximately $24 million of military equipment was recovered from the demobilization of militias and other salvaged equipment in Afghanistan.

[1]OMC-A and U.S. Central Command calculated the value of donated resources and services in U.S. dollar equivalents in the year donated. These figures do not include the value of donors' training teams or support to the Kabul Military Training Center.

[2]Donors reported the monetary value of their donations to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the year they provided the donations.

Table 3: Estimated Value of Assistance Provided to Afghan Army and Police by Non-U.S. Donors

Dollars in millions

Donor	Army[a] (as of March 2005)	Police (as of January 2005)	Totals
Albania	$*	$0	**$***
Australia	0	1	**1**
Belgium	*	0	*
Bosnia	1	0	**1**
Bulgaria	17	0	**17**
Canada	2	10	**12**
China	0	2	**2**
Croatia	4	0	**4**
Czech Republic	59	0	**59**
Denmark	*	*	*
Egypt	2	0	**2**
European Union	0	86	**86**
Finland	0	*	*
France	5	20	**25**
Germany	1	68	**69**
Greece	2	0	**2**
Hungary	9	0	**9**
Iceland	1	0	**1**
India	10	0	**10**
Ireland	0	1	**1**
Italy	*	0	*
Japan	0	20	**20**
Kazakhstan	*	0	*
Liechtenstein	0	*	*
Netherlands	0	8	**8**
New Zealand	*	0	*
Norway	1	5	**6**
Pakistan	2	0	**2**
Poland	1	0	**1**
Qatar	5	0	**5**
Romania	8	0	**8**
Russia	1	0	**1**
Slovenia	2	0	**2**

(Continued From Previous Page)

Dollars in millions

Donor	Army[a] (as of March 2005)	Police (as of January 2005)	Totals
South Korea	1	0	**1**
Spain	2	0	**2**
Switzerland	1	1	**2**
United Arab Emirates	3	0	**3**
Ukraine	1	0	**1**
United Kingdom	20	2	**22**
World Bank	0	22	**22**
Other	32	0	**32**
Total	**$193**	**$246**	**$439**

Source: GAO analysis of data from the U.S. Central Command and U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency (Afghan army) and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Afghan police).

*Less than $500,000.

[a]Bulgaria, Canada, France, Germany, Mongolia, Romania, South Korea, and the United Kingdom also provided military trainers to the Afghan army.

Comments from the Department of Defense

DEFENSE SECURITY COOPERATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2800

JUN 1 0 2005

In reply refer to:
05/007846-ME

Mr. David Gootnick
Director, International Affairs and Trade
US General Accounting Office
Washington, D.C. 20548

Dear Mr. Gootnick:

This is the Department of Defense (DoD) response to the GAO draft report (05-575), 'AFGHANISTAN SECURITY: Efforts to Establish Army and Police Have Made Progress But Future Plans Need to Be Better Defined,' dated May 11, 2005 (GAO Code 320240,320278).

DoD acknowledges receipt of the draft report, and we concur with the report in principle. Our response to the recommendations posed by GAO is attached.

The Department appreciates the opportunity to comment on the draft report. My point of contact on this matter is LTC Brett Floro. He may be contacted by email: brett.floro@dsca.mil or by telephone at (703) 604-6626.

Sincerely,

JEFFREY B. KOHLER
LIEUTENANT GENERAL, USAF
DIRECTOR

Attachments
As stated

GAO DRAFT REPORT DATED MAY 11, 2005
GAO-05-575 (GAO CODE 320240,320278)

"AFGHANISTAN SECURITY: EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH ARMY AND POLICE HAVE MADE PROGRESS BUT FUTURE PLANS NEED TO BE BETTER DEFINED"

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE COMMENTS TO THE GAO RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATION 1: The GAO recommended that the Secretaries of Defense and State develop detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army or police forces. The plans should include clearly defined objectives and performance measures; milestones for achieving stated objectives; future funding requirements; and a strategy for sustaining the results achieved, including transitioning program responsibility to Afghanistan. The Secretaries should provide this information to the Congress when the executive branch next requests funding for the Afghan army or police forces. (p. 38/GAO Draft Report)

DOD RESPONSE: Partially Concur. Detailed plans will allow the Departments to effectively manage already scarce manpower and resources to meet the Combatant Commander's requirements. While there are situations beyond U.S control which will impact on established plans, detailed plans with specific requirements should foster deliberate and proactive long-term planning between the Departments. The Department of Defense also recommends that the information to be provided to Congress be incorporated into existing reporting requirements of the recently enacted FY 2005 Emergency Supplemental Act. Also, the Department suggests that funding for Afghanistan security forces be made available until expended to ensure funding availability corresponds with ongoing multi-year programs.

RECOMMENDATION 2: The GAO recommended that the Secretaries of Defense and State work with the other lead donor nations to help ensure that progress in the other pillars is congruent with the progress made in the army and police programs. The Secretaries should regularly report to the Congress, but no less than annually, on the progress made in addressing these other security pillers.. (p. 38/GAO Draft Report)

DOD RESPONSE: Concur. While we have made great strides training the Afghan National Army, it is only one of the five pillars. For the Government of Afghanistan to operate effectively, the other pillars must be built, trained and sustained. Additionally, all five pillars must develop close working relationships and learn to integrate their actions among themselves.

Attachment

Comments from the Department of Justice

U.S. Department of Justice

Criminal Division

International Criminal Investigation Training Assistance Programs *Washington, D.C. 20530*

June 16, 2005

David Gootnick, Director
International Affairs and Trade (IAT)
United States Government Accountability Office (GAO)
Washington, DC 20548

Dear Mr. Gootnick,

The Department of Justice greatly appreciates the opportunity to comment on this document, and lauds GAO's efforts to address an extremely important and enormously complex program initiative.

We strongly support GAO's statement *that "[w]ithout strong and self-sustaining Afghan army and police forces and concurrent progress in the other pillars of security sector reform, Afghanistan could again become a haven for terrorists."* Further, we share GAO's concerns that more detailed plans for the creation of a sustainable and effective Afghan police force must be developed posthaste – to include "*clearly defined objectives and performance measures; milestones; funding requirements; and a strategy for sustaining the results achieved.*"

The Department's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) is uniquely qualified to develop, implement and manage such a large-scale program effort. ICITAP is the USG's lead implementing agency in the area of international law enforcement development and training worldwide with 19 years of unequaled experience in over 50 countries. In Iraq for example, ICITAP has provided critical support to the development of the Iraqi Police Service since May of 2003. ICITAP and the Department's law enforcement components work directly with Multi-National Security Transition Command - Iraq (MNSTC-I) and the U.S. Embassy's Senior Law Enforcement Advisor, who serves as the principal deputy of the MNSTC-I Civilian Police Assistance and Training Team (CPATT). ICITAP has not only participated in the leadership of CPATT since inception, but it has developed and/or delivered roughly 15 distinct basic, advanced or specialized police training courses, and has over 330 International Police Trainers (IPTs) actively deployed in Iraq and Jordan in support of these efforts. ICITAP has operational oversight of the mentoring program, which includes up to 500 U.S. police liaison officers deployed by the Department of State.

ICITAP currently has almost no role in on-going program efforts to assist the Afghan police forces. While the report notes that ICITAP developed curricula for the Afghanistan

mission, it does not speak to this matter, and it does not clearly articulate the role the Department and ICITAP should play in future program efforts. We continue to be dedicated to interagency cooperation and the ultimate success of the USG's mission in Afghanistan, but are concerned that our expertise is not being utilized – much to the detriment of the USG's efforts.

We believe GAO's recommendations should include consideration of the USG's operational law enforcement interests that are directly tied to U.S. national security. In that light, the Department of Justice should logically have a prominent role in developing and training the Afghan police forces and rule of law institutions, both from a national security and a best practices perspective. Any ambiguity in this area could be detrimental to the development of the Afghan police forces, the emerging Afghan democracy, and our national security interests.

Sincerely,

R. Carr Trevillian, IV
Deputy Director

cc: Bruce C. Swartz
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division
Department of Justice

2

Comments from the Department of State

United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary and Chief Financial Officer

Washington, D.C. 20520

Ms. Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers
Managing Director
International Affairs and Trade
Government Accountability Office
441 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20548-0001

JUN 10 2005

Dear Ms. Williams-Bridgers:

We appreciate the opportunity to review your draft report, "AFGHANISTAN SECURITY: Efforts to Establish Army and Police Have Made Progress But Future Plans Need to Be Better Defined," GAO Job Code 320240.

The enclosed Department of State comments are provided for incorporation with this letter as an appendix to the final report.

If you have any questions concerning this response, please contact Ron Packowitz, Afghanistan Desk Officer, Bureau of South Asian Affairs at (202) 647-1113.

Sincerely,

Sid Kaplan (Acting)

cc: GAO – Terry Hanford
SA – Christina Rocca
State/OIG – Mark Duda

Department of State Comments on GAO Draft Report
"AFGHANISTAN SECURITY – Efforts to Establish Army and Police Have Made Progress But Future Plans Need to Be Better Defined"
GAO-05-575
GAO Code 320240

The Department of State has reviewed the draft report and the GAO's recommendations. We concur in the recommendation that the Department of State and Department of Defense develop more detailed plans for completing and sustaining the Afghan army and police. We also concur in the recommendation to work with other lead nations. Such internal and international coordination efforts have characterized these training programs since they were established and will be continued.

The U.S. Government's security assistance mission, providing support for the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police, Border Police, and Highway Patrol, is rapidly helping the Afghan government build capacity to provide public security. Our goal is to develop competent, professional security forces with sufficient training, equipment, infrastructure, institutional capacity, and organizational structure. Our support for the Afghan army and police is doing just that, and we are pleased that FY 2005 supplemental funds will allow us to increase our assistance in these vital efforts.

While the Department agrees with the recommendations noted in the first paragraph above, we respectfully disagree with the recommendation for new reporting to Congress. Currently mandated reports from the Department of State on Afghanistan are quite comprehensive, and include a report due later this year that will describe "the procedures of the Department of State and Department of Defense to ensure the coordination of police and army training efforts..." We believe we can address the GAO's concerns in our currently mandated reports.

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