



MOBILIZING NATO FOR AFGHANISTAN & PAKISTAN

AN ASSESSMENT OF
ALLIANCE CAPABILITIES

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE
PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS



This Page Intentionally Left Blank

**MOBILIZING NATO FOR
AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN**
AN ASSESSMENT OF ALLIANCE CAPABILITIES

**Mobilizing NATO for Afghanistan and Pakistan:
Ensuring the Alliance's Future**

**A Project of the
Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress**

Co-Directors

David M. Abshire

W. Bruce Weinrod

Project Senior Advisor

General John Craddock, U.S. Army (Ret.)



THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS

The Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, founded in 1965, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan 501(c)(3) organization. The Center's mission is to: promote leadership in the Presidency and the Congress to generate innovative solutions to current national challenges; preserve the historic memory of the Presidency by identifying lessons from the successes and failures of such leadership; draw on a wide range of talent to offer ways to better organize an increasingly compartmentalized federal government; and educate and inspire the next generation of America's leaders to incorporate civility, inclusiveness, and character into their public and private lives and discourse.

MOBILIZING NATO FOR AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN: AN ASSESSMENT OF ALLIANCE CAPABILITIES
Copyright © 2010 CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be reproduced, by any process or technique, without the express written consent of the publisher.

Published in the United States of America.

Cover photos from NATO and ISAF.

The use of international organization symbols and national flags is purely illustrative, and does not indicate any official endorsement of this report or its findings by those organizations, their member nations, or national governments.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS
1020 Nineteenth Street, NW, Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202-872-9800
Fax: 202-872-9811
www.thePresidency.org
Copyright © 2010
All rights reserved



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	1
An Assessment of Alliance Capabilities: Expert Advisory Group	3
Executive Summary	4
European/NATO Nations' Capacity to Provide Additional Resources for Afghanistan	6
Overview	6
Additional Combat Forces.....	6
Additional Special Operations Forces (SOF).....	7
Essential Equipment Requirements: (ISTAR) Assets	7
Essential Equipment Requirements: Helicopters and Aviation/Air Transport.....	7
Additional Support Forces.....	9
Redeployable Forces	10
Removing Operational Constraints: National Caveats.....	11
Duration of Deployments	12
Afghan Security Forces	12
Improving Development and Governance in Afghanistan	16
Additional Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs)	16
The Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA)	16
Civilian Aid	17
NATO Operational Procedures and Practices	18
Public Campaign	18
Counterinsurgency (COIN)	18
Combat Capabilities	18
Civilian Mentoring	18
Operational Funding.....	18
NATO Decision-making Process	19
Force Structure	20
Command Structure.....	20
HQ Staffing	20
ISAF-ANA Cooperation.....	21
NATO-EU Cooperation.....	21
Development/Civil-Military Cooperation	21
Afghan Government Reform	21
Development.....	22
Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs)	22
NATO and Pakistan	23
Appendix A: Country-by-Country Breakdown of Available Capacities	24
Albania - Czech Republic	24-27
Denmark - Iceland	28-34
Italy - Norway.....	35-38
Poland - Slovenia	39-42
Spain - United Kingdom	43-46
Appendix B: NATO Contributions to KFOR and MNF-Iraq	48
Appendix C: Explanation of Acronyms	50
Mobilizing NATO for Afghanistan-Pakistan: Project Expert Advisory Group	51

This page intentionally left blank.



FOREWORD

This initiative to reenergize NATO's efforts in Afghanistan began in August of 2009. The goal was to help marshal key elements of the Alliance's massive resource base to more effectively and efficiently operate in Afghanistan, while pushing NATO to adopt a strategy that encompassed not only Afghanistan, but also its neighbor, Pakistan. By developing this strategy, identifying unused or maldeployed European resources, and linking the threat of widespread regional fallout and terrorism with failure in Afghanistan and Pakistan, we hope to increase European political, military, and civilian support for NATO's mission.

Additional resources are desperately needed to ensure both success in Afghanistan as well as the Alliance's future credibility, yet NATO's efforts in Afghanistan are crippled by six debilitating disconnects between NATO's goals and its methods:

- 1.) The absence of a regional focus. NATO has focused almost exclusively on Afghanistan even though the Taliban and Al Qaeda leadership are located in Pakistan in close proximity to nuclear weapons.
- 2.) Failure to understand the greater strategic threat. NATO oversees operations in Afghanistan, while the European Union (EU) loosely coordinates national justice ministries and law-enforcement agencies focusing exclusively on domestic counter-terrorism efforts. Despite the clear links between terrorist activity in Europe and NATO efforts in Afghanistan, Europe refuses to integrate NATO and EU efforts. Furthermore, NATO has not yet carried out an overall threat assessment of the destabilizing effect extremists are having on Pakistan, India, and Central Asia, and how that instability threatens European interests. This failure to understand the overall threat contributes to decreasing European public support for the Afghan mission.
- 3.) A debilitating adherence to consensus decision-making procedures. This laborious process requires unanimity of the Alliance's 28 members. NATO continues to follow this inefficient procedure when it comes to making decisions regarding Afghanistan. General John Craddock, the former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, has stated that because of this policy it took NATO over a year to adopt a coherent counter-narcotics strategy. This policy tragically undermines NATO's ability to fight a war.
- 4.) Caveats. New reinforcements must be freed of any caveats that prevent them from moving into volatile areas or engaging in combat.
- 5.) Inadequate training and investment in Afghan Security Forces.
- 6.) A reform effort disconnected from the current political reality. Many are complacently looking to the "strategic concept" exercise to address NATO's problems. This important restructuring will redefine NATO's future role and missions. However NATO is not scheduled to review or approve the Strategic Concept until the next NATO summit later this year and its recommendations will not be implemented until even later. Therefore the strategic concept time clock is completely disconnected from the fast-ticking political time clock on Afghanistan. Alliance members must understand that the future envisioned by the strategic concept will never come into being if there is a breakdown over Afghanistan.



In the United States, there is a growing perception that our European allies are becoming security consumers and not security providers. Waiting for the release of the strategic concept will undermine any immediate reform.

The entire effort is made possible by a generous grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation. It has also benefited from the advice of the Smith Richardson Foundation's Senior Vice President, Marin Strmecki, who not only recognized the urgent need and timeliness of this effort, but also provided his in-depth expertise regarding Afghanistan and Pakistan.

I want to acknowledge the extraordinary advice and detailed inputs made in the preparation of this assessment by our two Senior Advisors, Bruce Weinrod and John Craddock. The former Secretary of Defense Representative to Europe and Defense Advisor to the U.S. Mission to NATO, Bruce joined us six months ago as the Project Co-Director and took the lead in the development of data and analysis for this assessment of untapped European capacity. Soon after his retirement in 2009, General John Craddock joined us as a Senior Advisor. He brought additional expertise and wisdom and judgment in dealing with a broad range of NATO affairs and methods for reform.

I also would like to thank the 40-plus preeminent experts who made suggestions and critiques to help create and improve our original drafts. Hailing from the U.S., Europe, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, their perspectives were invaluable.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to the current Supreme Allied Commander Europe, Admiral James Stavridis, current Commander of Allied Command Transformation, General Stéphane Abrial, current Commander of U.S. Central Command, General David Petraeus, and the Embassies and Ambassadors of Afghanistan, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, and the United Kingdom. Their informal and off-the-record counsel was a critical component of the project.

Finally, I want to salute all of our extraordinarily hardworking project staff who put together the final assessment under pressure. Ryan Browne, Senior Project Coordinator and Writer, has led a highly motivated team, including Assistant Project Coordinator Dan Mahaffee, Project Advisor Jeff Thomas, John Boyer, Alex Douville, Garrett Clark, Matt Purushotham, and Gray Reilly.

This ongoing effort gathers strength from the hard work of the dedicated Center Staff, experts, and other partners. We all look forward to this initiative's future findings, as the international community seeks to curb extremist militancy in South and Central Asia and safeguard not only the members of NATO but the entire global community from this threat.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David M. Abshire".

David M. Abshire
President and CEO, Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress



AN ASSESSMENT OF ALLIANCE CAPABILITIES: EXPERT ADVISORY GROUP

THE HONORABLE DAVID M. ABSHIRE

President and CEO,
Center for the Study of the Presidency and
Congress
Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

GEN. BANTZ J. CRADDOCK, U.S. ARMY (RET.)

Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe

MS. LISA CURTIS

Senior Research Fellow, The Heritage
Foundation

PROFESSOR JAMES DAVIS

Director, Institute of Political Science
University of St. Gallen

THE HONORABLE JAMES DOBBINS

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Europe
Former Special Envoy to the Afghan Opposition
and Bonn Conference

THE HONORABLE ROBERT HUNTER

Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

THE HONORABLE KARL INDERFURTH

Former Assistant Secretary of State
for South and Central Asian Affairs

MR. FREDRICK KEMPE

President and CEO, Atlantic Council

**LT. GEN. MICK KICKLIGHTER, U.S. ARMY
(RET.)**

Former Director,
Iraq/Afghanistan Joint Transition Planning
Group

MR. EGIL "BUD" KROGH

Senior Fellow,
Center for the Study of the Presidency and
Congress
Former Executive Director, Cabinet Committee
on International Narcotics Control

MS. SALLY MCNAMARA

Senior Policy Analyst
The Heritage Foundation

GEN. KLAUS NAUMANN, BUNDESWEHR (RET.)

Former Chairman, NATO Military Committee
Former Chief of Staff of the Bundeswehr

MR. SHUJA NAWAZ

Director, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

MR. AHMED RASHID

Author, *Taliban and Descent into Chaos*

LT. GEN. WILLIAM RENO, U.S. ARMY (RET.)

Former U.S. Army Deputy Chief of Personnel

MR. BRUCE RIEDEL

Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East
Policy, Brookings Institution

PROFESSOR STEN RYNNING

Department of Political Science,
University of Southern Denmark

DR. SIMON SERFATY

Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair
Center for Strategic and International Studies

THE HONORABLE KURT VOLKER

Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

MR. W. BRUCE WEINROD

Former Secretary of Defense Representative to
Europe
Former Defense Advisor to the U.S. Mission to
NATO



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The NATO mission in Afghanistan represents a crucial test of the Alliance in the post-Cold War world. Despite the significant threat posed by radical extremists to all NATO members and to the region's stability, efforts by both NATO and Alliance members regarding Afghanistan have been hindered by differing levels of commitment, domestic politics, caveats regarding troop actions, and NATO's own processes and procedures. NATO's internal processes are too slow for what is required, and any agreed systemic reform resulting from a new NATO Strategic Concept will not come until at least early 2011. The alternative—further Americanization of the war—would shake political and public confidence in transatlantic security and potentially unravel the Alliance itself. While the current situation is challenging, NATO has changed course in the past and can do so again.

The assessment delivered by General Stanley McChrystal, the commander of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), outlines a new strategy for Afghanistan and was generally endorsed by the NATO Defense Ministers in October of 2009. This counterinsurgency strategy is resource-intensive. Currently, the NATO forces in Afghanistan are inadequate to effectively implement this strategy. **NATO members can and should do more.** This assessment highlights critical areas where NATO countries can make additional contributions. The assessment covers Canada and all European members of the Alliance and identifies how each country can positively contribute to the Afghan mission.

Along with increased combat troops, European nations are capable of providing additional:

- **Training capabilities, including military and police trainers (23 countries)**
- **Combat enablers (20 countries)**
- **Special forces (9 countries)**
- **Helicopters (8 countries)**

Training capacity is the most immediate need. Developing Afghan military and police forces to provide security is the only meaningful transition strategy for NATO forces. The NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan (NTM-A) currently lacks the necessary resources to operate effectively. European nations have the capacity to do more in this vital area.

Combat enablers and support forces, the second priority for increased European contribution, are the means that provide the support necessary for frontline troops to be fully capable. These “enablers” range from ground and air tactical mobility units and convoy security to intelligence and surveillance detachments and medical support facilities. These forces will be vital to ensuring the efficacy of any additional combat troops. These enablers also include vital engineering units to develop and sustain the infrastructure for increased troop levels, while also assisting with aid and reconstruction efforts.

The European members of NATO and the European Union (EU) must also better address the civilian side of counterinsurgency. Whether these capacities are applied through NATO, the EU, or another mechanism to be determined, their necessity remains:

- **Increased economic aid**
- **Civilian mentors**



Civilian mentoring, which is desperately needed in Afghanistan, must become a priority. Similar to the military and police training missions operating in Afghanistan, this would involve civilian bureaucrats and technocrats partnering with Afghan counterparts at the national and sub-national levels. This area will help to improve the legitimacy and efficacy of the Afghan government, while also combating corruption. In this area, cooperation between NATO and the EU will be vital.

Beyond the priority areas, NATO members will need to address other areas regarding its operations in Afghanistan. These include:

- **Operational funding**
- **Removing operational restrictions (caveats)**
- **Decision-making processes (consensus rule)**
- **Additional Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs)**
- **A wide-scale public information campaign regarding the importance of the war in Afghanistan**
- **Deployment timeline**
- **NATO-EU cooperation**

NATO also must adjust its strategy to reflect the dynamic, ever-changing situation in Afghanistan. NATO must encourage and support better coordination of civilian and military efforts and encourage stronger cooperation among ISAF participatory nations. NATO must also shift its strategy to understand that the enemy it faces is not based solely in Afghanistan. While the military effort will remain confined to Afghanistan, NATO must adopt a regional strategy that includes Pakistan. Doing so will allow for increased coordination between ISAF and the Pakistani army, along with training efforts to improve the capability of Pakistani forces fighting the Taliban. **NATO should adopt a training effort for Pakistan in the mold of the NATO Training Mission – Iraq (NTM-I) where Iraqi personnel were trained outside of Iraq. A similar approach would allow NATO to train Pakistani forces without raising concerns about NATO personnel operating on Pakistani soil.**

NATO and its heads of state and government must address these areas for the Alliance to be successful in Afghanistan. Failure is not an option. Should the Taliban retake Afghanistan, it would enable sympathetic radical groups to destabilize Pakistan, potentially gain control of nuclear weapons, provoke action from India, and plunge the whole region into chaos. Radical groups around the world would be emboldened, leading to terrorist attacks in Europe and North America.

After President Obama unveiled his plan to send 30,000 more American troops to Afghanistan in an effort to turn the tide against the Taliban insurgency, many European leaders immediately praised the new strategy. Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen pledged that NATO countries would raise at least 5,000 non-U.S. troops for the war effort, and several countries have already announced new pledges. Although this commitment of new troops certainly constitutes a welcome development, most leaders have not begun to tap the Alliance's impressive resource base.

NATO must not focus solely on the number of new resources, but must also ensure that those resources are applicable to a broad strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan and are capable of active, timely, and flexible participation in vital ISAF operations. To ensure their future security and prosperity, NATO nations must marshal all of their extensive capacities to achieve success in Afghanistan.



EUROPEAN/NATO NATIONS' CAPACITY TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR AFGHANISTAN

OVERVIEW

- Europeans and NATO have provided significant support and resources for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and this is noted and appreciated. (See Appendix A for complete breakdown of current contributions.)
- At the same time, Europeans and NATO can and should do more for the common effort in the region.
- Security is an essential precondition for a successful outcome. A counterinsurgency approach, as endorsed in a general way by NATO's Defense Ministers at their October 2009 meeting, provides a path toward this security.
- Any successful counterinsurgency strategy calls for the defense of the local population in order to separate the insurgents from the public. Security forces must then hold acquired areas so development can occur. This is a troop-intensive endeavor, as key population centers must be secured. Unfortunately, current indigenous and NATO troop commitments are inadequate to accomplish this. For a successful counterinsurgency campaign additional combat soldiers plus additional combat support units are needed to secure the key populous areas of the Helmand River Valley and Kandahar Province in southern Afghanistan and Greater Paktia in eastern Afghanistan.¹ Located deep in the Pashtun heartland, these areas are also experiencing the greatest level of insurgent violence.
- Additional NATO forces along with additional training of indigenous forces are needed to address this troop shortfall and bring about success.
- Europeans can and should do more. For example, the European members of NATO sent more troops to Bosnia and Kosovo than to Afghanistan, even though Kosovo is only about one-sixtieth the size of Afghanistan and has one-fourteenth the population.

ADDITIONAL COMBAT FORCES

Expert assessments indicate that various European nations are capable of deploying additional combat forces to Afghanistan. The following nations could contribute types of forces as indicated:²

France: Battle groups with enablers

Greece: Helicopter detachment, including aero medevac (seasonal)

Hungary: Helicopter lift; army and police trainers

Italy: Battalion with enablers; attack and lift helicopters

Portugal: Battalion with enablers; lift for countrywide Quick Reaction Force

Spain: Combat battalions; army and police trainers

Turkey: Combat battalions with enablers; army and police trainers

United Kingdom: Battalions (The U.K. recently announced the deployment of 500 additional soldiers (roughly one battalion) to Afghanistan.)



- Additional Special Operations Forces (SOF) are desperately needed in Afghanistan and should be integrated into a NATO ISAF operational framework. NATO SOF focus on training indigenous forces and helping local populations to defend themselves. This type of mission is critical in the counterinsurgency effort as it enables a wedge to be driven between the Afghan public and the Taliban.

ADDITIONAL SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES (SOF)

The following nations could provide additional SOF and SOF support

Denmark
Germany
Lithuania
Norway
Spain

France
Latvia
Netherlands
Poland

ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENTS: ISTAR ASSETS

- While there is more Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition, and Reconnaissance (ISTAR) in Afghanistan than in any previous NATO operation (with the U.S. supplying the vast majority), much of it is restricted for specific locations or uses. As a result, the NATO Combined Joint Statement of Requirements for ISTAR has yet to be filled. NATO and partner nations have the capability to provide more.

Albania: Target acquisition battery HQ with target processing station (TPS)

Bulgaria: Target acquisition battery HQ with TPS

Canada: Joint Operations Information Center – Afghanistan Collection Managers

Croatia: Target acquisition battery HQ with TPS

Italy: Eliminate caveats on Predator use

UK: Predator crew/Joint Operations Information Center – Afghanistan Collection Managers

ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENTS: HELICOPTERS AND AVIATION/AIR TRANSPORT

- Helicopters are critical in Afghanistan, because they allow combat troops to be transported across the rugged Afghan terrain without leaving them vulnerable to improvised explosive devices (IEDs), which are currently the deadliest threat to NATO soldiers in Afghanistan. Because of the rugged terrain, lack of good infrastructure (either roads or airstrips) and the dispersed nature of the population, NATO forces rely heavily on helicopters. However, the current helicopter shortfall means that operations are delayed or postponed, resupply is becoming more tenuous, and soldiers are entering into operations at higher risk.

Additional medium, heavy lift, attack, and aero-medical evacuation helicopters are needed to meet the minimum military requirement specified by the ISAF commander and validated by JFC-Brunssum and Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE).



NATO NATIONS THAT CAN PROVIDE MORE HELICOPTERS

Bulgaria: Unknown number; also donating 6 Mi-17 to Afghanistan or Pakistan

Czech Republic: Training Warsaw Pact helicopters for the Afghan National Army (ANA)

Greece: \$600,000 for helicopter task force; can provide helicopters on a seasonal basis

Netherlands: €1 million for helicopter task force

Norway: Provide additional funding for Czech helicopter task force

Poland: Provide additional helicopters and medevac

Slovakia: Provide helicopter trainers for ANA

Turkey: \$2 million to Czech helicopter initiative

- Greece has the 8th-largest combat helicopter fleet in NATO (193 combat helicopters plus 15 Eurocopter Super Puma helicopters recently purchased from France). Some of these helicopters should be made available for the transport of combat troops. Some of the helicopters may require upgrades for protection performing in the operating environment in Afghanistan—upgrades that can be made if enough political will exists. While many of the Greek helicopters are being used for firefighting missions in the Greek islands, those helicopters can be deployed to Afghanistan after the wildfire season ends in the fall. This is one way to boost Greece's commitment to Afghanistan, which is currently one of the lowest in NATO.
- Other European nations, including Germany, France, and Italy, are continuing to operate combat helicopters in Kosovo despite the major shortfalls in Afghanistan. All nations with rotary wing assets in KFOR should be urged to relocate those aircraft to ISAF upon the drawdown of forces from Kosovo.
- To help mitigate the helicopter shortfalls in ISAF operations in Afghanistan, the Czech Republic-led HIP Helicopter Task Force was created in February 2009. This program is aimed at helping countries that do not have sufficient resources to deploy and run a transport helicopter operation using Soviet and Russian-built helicopters prevalent in Eastern European inventories. Several countries that operate HIP helicopters have been willing to send additional aircraft but need assistance to modify, prepare, deploy, and operate these vital assets. Since its creation, the HIP Helicopter Task Force has been encouraging NATO allies to provide resources and expertise so that countries that operate Mi-8, Mi-17, and Mi-171 transport helicopters, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, would have the assistance necessary to set up a multinational deployable operation.
- At the 2009 October NATO Defense Ministers meeting in Bratislava, nine NATO allies—the Czech Republic, Albania, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Turkey, and the UK—declared their intent to contribute to the HIP Helicopter Task Force. Membership in this initiative is not limited to transport helicopter owners but is open to any country willing to contribute experience, know-how, or capabilities. Other countries should increase their contributions to this vital initiative.



AVIATION/AIR TRANSPORT

European NATO nations can also provide more air transport capabilities:

France

Norway

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FORCES

While additional combat units are essential, all combat and combat support units must be deployed with enablers. These critical enablers include ground and air tactical mobility units; intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition, and reconnaissance assets; communications support; and logistics capability. A number of NATO nations have capabilities that could be provided in the following areas:

- **Security Force Companies: Albania, Croatia, Romania, Spain, Slovakia, Turkey**
- **Convoy Security: Romania, Turkey**
- **Counter IED (CIED) Capacity: Canada, Estonia, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, UK**
- **Aerial Delivery Sections: Denmark, Norway, Poland, UK** – These units deliver supplies via parachute and airdrop to remote or inaccessible locations that cannot be served by ground or helicopter delivery.
- **Deployment Support Brigades: Canada, Estonia, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain**
- **Movement Control Teams: Canada, Estonia, Netherlands, Romania** – These units will help with logistical and cargo operations to ensure that ISAF and ANA forces are well-supplied and well-equipped.
- **Explosive Hazards Coordination Cell Capacities: Spain, Turkey, UK** – These forces work to develop and distribute up-to-date information to ISAF and ANA Forces regarding the various IED system deployed by insurgents and the methods by which to counter them.
- **Vehicular Maintenance and Repair Companies: Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Netherlands, Romania, UK**
- **Military Police (MP) Capacities: Canada, France, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, UK**
- **Additional Signals Companies and Tactical PSYOP Detachments: Canada, Poland, Spain, UK** – These units help ISAF forces communicate with each other as well as conduct vital outreach operations to the Afghan people.



- **Engineering Units** provide critical expertise and technical support to development efforts such as road, bridge, energy, and water infrastructure construction. These efforts are vital to counterinsurgency, as benefits from these engineering projects help to drive a wedge between insurgents and the Afghan populations. Countries that could provide additional engineers include: **Albania, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Iceland, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, UK**
- The International Institute for Strategic Studies recently reported that just 2.7 percent of Europe’s 2 million military personnel are capable of overseas deployment, contrasting sharply with NATO’s goal that 40 percent of its land forces be deployable.³ Because of this limited number of deployable forces, it is essential that Europeans strategically redeploy their limited expeditionary forces in a manner that makes the conflict in Afghanistan a priority.
- Many European countries continue to have substantial expeditionary forces deployed in Kosovo as a part of KFOR. **In August 2009, Secretary General Rasmussen announced his plan to reduce KFOR from 13,829 troops to 10,000 by January 2010 and to about 2,500 by the end of 2011.**⁴ These forces will therefore be available to be redeployed to Afghanistan to reinforce the new counterinsurgency strategy. Furthermore, at present, many of the troops stationed in Kosovo are infantry soldiers suited for combat operations in Afghanistan. Many KFOR contingents also contain combat engineers and paramilitary police units.

REDEPLOYABLE FORCES

As of October 12, 2009, several NATO nations have militarily significant forces currently in Kosovo with **11,156** non-U.S. forces serving in KFOR. (See Appendix B for details of currently deployed military forces.)⁵

Belgium: 219	Bulgaria: 47
Czech Republic: 393	Denmark: 355
France: 1,294	Germany: 2,486
Greece: 588	Hungary: 243
Italy: 1,819	Poland: 226
Portugal: 295	Romania: 145
Slovakia: 145	Slovenia: 389
Turkey: 509	

MNF-Iraq: Many members of ISAF contributed forces to the Multi-National Force – Iraq. These expeditionary forces are therefore available to be deployed in Afghanistan, many of them having gained valuable experience in counterinsurgency operations in Iraq. **The Albanian and Bulgarian forces will have had a minimum of 15 months of downtime as of March 2010, and likewise for the Estonian troops as of May 2010. Romanian and British forces will have had 15 months of downtime in October 2010.**



Withdrawn non-U.S. NATO expeditionary troops from MNF-Iraq in 2008-2009:⁶

- **Total: 5,030**
- **Albania: 240**
- **Bulgaria: 156**
- **Estonia: 35**
- **Romania: 499**
- **United Kingdom: 4,100**

REMOVING OPERATIONAL CONSTRAINTS: NATIONAL CAVEATS

While the 100,000-plus troops in ISAF appear substantial in number, significant restrictions placed on some of these soldiers by their governments substantially reduce the number of combat soldiers available to NATO command. Because of these caveats, many of the forces that NATO command receives are incapable of carrying out essential combat operations.

- Though they oversee relatively large troop deployments in terms of sheer numbers, the governments of Germany, Italy, and Spain, among others, impose “national caveats,” which confine their forces to the relatively quiet north and west while the American, British, Canadian, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, French, Romanian, and Polish forces are forced to bear the brunt of the fighting in the more volatile south and east.
- The impacts of caveats on ISAF operations are varied, but all continue to limit the flexibility of commanders at all levels. The effect that caveats have on planning is dramatic: staff planners are forced to invest more time and effort to ensure that assigned tasks can be carried out. Some operations have to be postponed or canceled because of the lack of unrestricted forces, and caveats exacerbate the shortfall of troops by imposing limitations on many of the forces present.
- At present, **56 declared caveats are still in place, and 21 of the 42 ISAF contributors still have caveats** on their forces. Of the 21 caveat-free nations, 8 are non-NATO countries.

Caveats by Category:

- **Rules of Engagement: 9 nations**
- **Counternarcotics: 6 nations**
- **Area of Operations: 16 nations**
- **Operations: 4 nations**

The Alliance leadership must push nations to eliminate caveats, especially those that place geographical limitations on forces. The removal of caveats would act like a force multiplier. Caveat removal by the following priority NATO nations would be militarily important due to the size of their forces:

Bulgaria
Germany



Italy

Netherlands (referred to as a “geographical restriction”)

Slovakia

Spain

Turkey

DURATION OF DEPLOYMENTS

- The duration of force deployments is also determined on a nation-by-nation basis. Because of this, many countries have different deployment durations. This has proved to be a hindrance to ISAF operations. Many senior positions and practically all of the mid- to lower-level positions have no rules or requirements with regard to the length of the deployment. This undermines ISAF operations, because deployed units are unable to develop experience and connections with local Afghan communities, a vital part of any successful counterinsurgency campaign.
- **Nations should immediately impose a common minimum tour length of six months to optimize operations for all of ISAF.** An assessment should be made of key billets and of ISAF and regional headquarters. After this assessment is completed, **the most critical positions should be mandated to serve tours of twelve months.**

AFGHAN SECURITY FORCES

- **Additional capacity is urgently needed to facilitate the training and building of Afghan security forces consisting of the military (ANA) and the police (both paramilitary police and local police) so they can take over additional security responsibilities.**
- At present, most NATO members are not adequately supporting the essential trainers needed to build a strong Afghan army, a necessary element of any sustainable counterinsurgency strategy. (Note: The current goal is to increase the number of Afghan army personnel from about 88,000 to 134,000 by 2011. General McChrystal and others have expressed their desire to expand the Afghan National Security Forces even more, to as many as 400,000 soldiers).⁷
- Competent police are essential for public security and are key to a successful counterinsurgency strategy.
- In a positive development, NATO recently launched a major overhaul of the way it trains Afghan security forces by putting most of the army and police training efforts under the auspices of the NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan (NTM-A). However, NATO has under-resourced this new mission and must begin to properly support NTM-A with appropriate authorities and resources. **SHAPE recommendations called for the addition of nine new authorities and nine new resource categories to fully support what the heads of state and government intended, but thus far NATO members**



have not provided the necessary resources. It is absolutely essential that this issue be re-addressed and that there be a major increase in NATO resourcing for NTM-A.

- **There is capacity among Europeans and at NATO to do more, both for ANA training and for police training.**

AFGHAN MILITARY TRAINING

- A number of NATO nations can provide more ANA training capabilities:
 - More embedded trainers with the Afghan army (OMLTs)
 - More sponsorship of institutional trainers – the schools for the branches of the military and for officers and NCOs, for providing staff officers to embed on the Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan (CSTC-A) staff, and to provide mentors and trainers for the Ministries of Defense and Interior. **The fastest way to build the Afghan National Security Forces is to embed international trainers with Afghan units.** (Note: At present, much of the responsibility for training Afghan National Security Forces falls to the OMLTs, which are composed of 13 to 30 personnel, (depending on the Afghan unit with which it is partnered) from one or several countries. Each OMLT is normally deployed with an Afghan unit for a minimum of six months.) **Currently 62 OMLTs are operating in Afghanistan.**⁸
- This falls short of the bare minimum required by NATO military headquarters to fully support the current Afghan National Army. Seven more OMLTs are immediately needed to fully train the current 94,000-man Afghan army. **To increase the Afghan army to the goal of 134,000, an additional 34 OMLTs will be needed. As Senator Carl Levin has pointed out, to meet the goal of training 134,000 Afghan soldiers along with 96,800 Afghan policemen by October 2010, NATO would need an additional 2,661 trainers. This is roughly 95 trainers per NATO country. If General McChrystal's suggestion to expand the Afghan army to as many as 400,000 troops were to be approved, NATO would need at least 113 training teams on the ground.**⁹

A number of NATO nations could provide more OMLTs (some in cooperation with other nations or with National Guard units from the United States):

Albania	Belgium
Bulgaria	Croatia
Czech Republic	Denmark
France	Greece
Hungary	Italy
Lithuania	Luxembourg
Norway	Portugal
Romania	Slovakia
Slovenia	Spain
Turkey	UK



POLICE (PARAMILITARY) TRAINING

Enhanced paramilitary police training is also necessary. Current plans are to increase the Afghan National Police force from about 77,000 to 84,500 by 2011. (Note: General McChrystal and others have expressed their desire to expand the Afghan National Security Forces even more, to as many as 160,000 police officers.)¹⁰

- **NATO had previously been largely uninvolved in police training, but the NTM-A will now oversee and conduct both army and police training and mentoring.** Police training had previously largely fallen under the purview of the European Union and the United States. Unfortunately, member governments have been slow to commit personnel to the EU police mission.
- Several European NATO nations could provide more paramilitary police trainers for NTM-A or otherwise:

Belgium: Federal Police (under EUPOL)

Canada: Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers

France: Gendarmerie

Italy: Carabinieri police trainers

Portugal: Gendarmerie

Slovakia: EUPOL contributions

Spain: Guardia Civil

Turkey: Gendarmerie

POLICE (LOCAL) TRAINING

- Local police training is also essential, and European NATO nations can provide additional capabilities, especially Police Mentoring Teams (PMTs), here as well:

Belgium

Croatia

France

Greece

Italy

Netherlands

Poland

Slovakia

Spain

UK

Canada

Czech Republic

Germany¹¹

Hungary

Lithuania

Norway

Portugal

Slovenia

Turkey



EQUIPPING AFGHAN SECURITY FORCES

- Currently the Afghan army is on track to receive predominantly Western and NATO standard equipment, absent fixed and rotary wing aircraft. Fixed and rotary wing aircraft donations from several NATO nations and partners have provided the Afghan air force with an inventory of old Soviet/Russian aircraft—with many of those airframes having been upgraded to modern standards via U.S. dollar investment. Largely due to U.S. sponsorship, the Afghan army will be well equipped within the next few years, assuming the current plan is fulfilled. In the meantime, the Afghan army is operating with a mix of old indigenous equipment, donations of used but serviceable equipment and weapons from NATO member and partner nations, and a smattering of recently delivered top-of-the-line U.S. gear.
- **While there has been a recent tightening of budgets, the ability of NATO member and partner nations to contribute their latest equipment will enable the Afghan National Security Forces to take over responsibility for security much sooner.** This is particularly critical for the police, whose training, equipment, and mentoring lag three to five years behind the army, according to experts on the ground.

AFGHAN NATIONAL ARMY TRUST FUND

- The NATO-Afghan National Army Trust Fund is the main conduit for channeling funds from the international community toward the ANA. Contributions to the fund become even more imperative as NATO seeks to expand the Afghan National Security Forces. The sourcing of indigenous forces sooner rather than later will allow Afghans to assume more responsibility for their own security.

These NATO nations should be encouraged to provide funding for the ANA Trust Fund or equipment for the ANA:

Belgium
Czech Republic
Estonia
Germany
Iceland
Lithuania
Netherlands
Poland
Spain
UK

Canada
Denmark
France
Greece
Italy
Luxembourg
Norway
Portugal
Turkey

Equipment
Croatia
Slovenia



IMPROVING DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE IN AFGHANISTAN *

ADDITIONAL PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TEAMS (PRTs)

- **PRTs in Afghanistan are key instruments through which the international community delivers assistance at the provincial and district level.** As a result of their provincial focus and civilian and military resources, PRTs have a unique mandate to improve security, support good governance, and enhance provincial development. The combination of international civilian and military resources also allows PRTs to have wide latitude to implement their mandate.
- Currently, 26 PRTs are operating in Afghanistan.¹² A PRT generally covers one province in Afghanistan, but some cover multiple provinces. PRTs seek to establish an environment that is secure and stable enough for the operation of international and Afghan civilian agencies to provide development support. Because of their unique composition, PRTs are also able to deliver development and support to less secure areas.

COUNTRIES CAPABLE OF PROVIDING ADDITIONAL PRTs OR PRT SUPPORT

Belgium: Establish a PRT

Czech Republic: Provide PRT government and development programs

France: Establish a PRT

Greece: Provide funding for Hungarian PRT operations

Italy: Provide PRT civilian experts

Lithuania: Lead PRT beyond 2010 with fiscal help

Luxembourg: Provide a PRT

Netherlands: Provide a PRT in Dai Kundi

Norway: Support PRT government development programs

Turkey: Establish an additional PRT

THE LAW AND ORDER TRUST FUND FOR AFGHANISTAN (LOTFA)

In May 2002, at the request of the Afghan government, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) established the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA) to ensure that police could operate throughout the country. **LOTFA receives contributions from international donors that pay police salaries and provide funding for the pursuit of other project priorities.** LOTFA is nationally managed through the Ministry of Interior and is governed by UNDP's financial rules and regulations. The Ministry of Finance is the other implementing partner.

* While this is not NATO's primary responsibility, there is more that NATO can do to be active in this area. Assisting with development and governance dovetails with NATO and ISAF's goals for establishing security in Afghanistan.



THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE LOTFA

Belgium
Germany
Norway

Canada
Luxembourg

Denmark
Netherlands

CIVILIAN AID

- The civilian aid component is vital to any counterinsurgency campaign, because it helps build support for the counterinsurgents and decreases support for the Taliban.
- The EU and its member states provide Afghanistan with nearly \$1.5 billion in civilian aid a year. The European Commission (EC), the EU's executive, provides about \$140 million of this amount.¹³
- The EU's portion—about \$1.5 billion a year since 2002—is relatively modest, however, given its unparalleled civilian capacities.
- The EC provides only slightly more aid to Afghanistan compared with other developing countries. The EC will provide Mozambique with €634.1 million, or €126.8 million per year, from 2008 to 2013. The EC has pledged to provide Afghanistan with €700 million from 2007 to 2010, or €175 million per year.¹⁴ While aiding developing nations is important, civilian aid to Afghanistan has greater benefits for European security and should be made more of a priority. The EU can and should do more to help Afghans retake control of their future.
- Both the United States and Europe had committed much more money and civilian manpower to stabilizing and rebuilding Bosnia and Kosovo than they did to an Afghanistan emerging from thirty years of full-scale civil war. Bosnia received sixteen times more economic assistance, on a per capita basis, than has Afghanistan in the immediate postwar years.
- Afghanistan is not among the top ten recipients of aid for Austria, Belgium, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Spain, and Afghanistan ranks eighth in the EC, ninth in Germany and Portugal, and eighth in Italy in terms of aid recipients.¹⁵
- In 2007, the UK, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands all gave at least twice as much aid to Nigeria as they did to Afghanistan, while France, Italy, Germany, and Spain all gave more aid to China than Afghanistan that year.
- Pledged aid also often differs significantly from aid received. From 2002 to 2008, only 18 percent of pledged Spanish aid, 4 percent of pledged Greek aid, 21 percent of pledged Luxembourgian aid, and 70 percent of pledged EC aid had been distributed in Afghanistan.¹⁶
- A recent poll by the German Marshall Fund found widespread support for increasing European civilian contributions to Afghanistan. The publics in the following countries showed significant approval for increasing civilian aid: 68 percent in Spain, 66 percent in Italy, 63 percent in the Netherlands, 59 percent in France, 56 percent in Portugal, 55 percent in Germany, 51 percent in Slovakia, 50 percent in Poland, 49 percent in the UK, and 46 percent in Bulgaria.¹⁷



NATO OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES

PUBLIC CAMPAIGN

- **NATO and the heads of government must join together to develop an engaging public information campaign explaining the danger that would be posed by failure in Afghanistan.** This campaign should involve public officials, preeminent intellectuals, and former officials and should develop a narrative on why NATO is involved in Afghanistan. **An emergency heads of government meeting should be called to boost member countries' commitments to Afghanistan.**

COUNTERINSURGENCY (COIN)

- At the October 2009 Defense Ministers Summit in Bratislava, the national Defense Ministers broadly endorsed General McChrystal's new counterinsurgency strategy for Afghanistan.
- **NATO/ISAF must adopt a counterinsurgency doctrine.** This would enable better coordination between civilian and military efforts as well as help build a more unified and coordinated approach among ISAF contributor nations.

COMBAT CAPABILITIES

- **The Alliance and individual nations should collectively and bilaterally strongly urge the Dutch and Canadians not to reduce their force levels or fundamentally change their missions.** Broad participation in the south of Afghanistan is essential.

OPERATIONAL FUNDING

- **NATO should move to engage European Finance Ministers,** who are ultimately responsible for signing off on operational funding for missions in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, at present, national Finance Ministers are often disconnected from the operational requirements in Afghanistan.

CIVILIAN MENTORING

- **NATO should immediately move to establish civilian mentoring teams.** Such a program would operate similar to the OMLT and PMT programs and would pair bureaucrats from NATO and EU countries with their Afghan counterparts. This would prove to be a valuable tool in building competence and efficiency as well as combating corruption. Both NATO and the EU have resonant capacity in this regard.



NATO DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

CONSENSUS RULE

- **The Alliance must break out of its inefficient and laborious consensus decision-making process.** This policy, requiring total unanimity for decisions and actions at all levels of NATO decision-making, remains in effect despite NATO's expansion from sixteen members to twenty-eight. While there is an ongoing initiative to give the Secretary General more executive authority—a positive step—it has yet to be finalized. The decision-making process must be altered to allow NATO to move quickly, especially regarding military operational matters.
- **With regard to Afghanistan-related operational decisions, NATO must alter the requirement of consensus at every committee or council level and for administrative-type decisions.** Immediate wartime operational decisions must be expedited. Without such reform, NATO will continue to be seen as a lethargic, organization that gives its critics reason to criticize.

OPERATIONAL FUNDING PROCESS

- **NATO must urgently provide new mechanisms for operational funding by establishing a program in ISAF comparable to the U.S. Commander's Emergency Response Program.** The program should be funded under a NATO "common-funded" banner and would permit the rapid funding of emerging operational requirements identified on the ground in Afghanistan
- Funding procedures for ISAF headquarters—through the military chain of command—are not designed for dynamic, responsive, and timely satisfaction of emerging needs. **Several requests have been sent through the Military Committee to the North Atlantic Council concerning the establishment of a counterpart program in ISAF comparable to the U.S. Commander's Emergency Response Program. All these requests have been refused.**
- There is almost no flexibility in the military command structure to fund emerging operational requirements identified in Afghanistan. At present, to meet emergency operational funding needs, NATO commanders are often forced to shift resources from funded programs to meet the urgent operational need. Doing this runs the risks of these less urgent programs getting eliminated entirely. The current policy reflects a significant misunderstanding of the nature of military requirements and the dynamic nature of warfare.
- **NATO should establish a NATO equivalent program that would be funded under a NATO "common-funded" banner.** At present, NATO leaves it up to individual nations to decide if they want to fund such operations. Absent such a NATO program, an inconsistent and unbalanced approach to implementation of a viable counterinsurgency effort will persist.



- **NATO must also allow subordinate military commanders to authorize the expenditure of funds up to a specified level.** This gives commanders the flexibility that is essential to the timely implementation of an effective counterinsurgency strategy.

FORCE STRUCTURE

- **NATO must require each country to be accountable for the training and preparation of the forces it deploys to Afghanistan so that deployed forces arrive with the proper equipment and training.**
- **NATO must ensure that personnel manning regional headquarters and the core element of the ISAF headquarters attend mission rehearsal training exercises hosted by Allied Command Transformation at Stavanger, Norway, so that all forces arriving are prepared for the fast-paced environment they find in NATO headquarters.**
- This applies to field units, headquarters elements, and individual augmenters. **Too often, despite their receiving national certifications, forces arrive in Afghanistan without the proper equipment or training.** This is particularly evident when they are paired with ISAF forces on the ground.

COMMAND STRUCTURE

- **The relationship between the NATO Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) and the Commander of ISAF (COMISAF) needs to be better defined.** This is necessary to ensure clarity and specific responsibilities regarding areas of overlap, reporting channels and transparency, and the relationship between the SCR office and ISAF political advisors. The two must work together to promote efficiency in the civilian development side of counterinsurgency. It is also essential that the relationship between the SCR and the UN SRSG, which is currently ambiguous and unbalanced, needs to be better defined.

HQ STAFFING

- **The NATO leadership must ensure that staff positions at headquarters are completely filled in a multinational manner.** The United States is initiating a program to establish a core group of field grade and flag officers to source the U.S. contributions to ISAF headquarters over time. NATO should encourage other nations to adopt a similar program.



ISAF-ANA COOPERATION

- **ISAF and NATO must put in place agreements that specify procedures and processes to ensure coordination of effort between ISAF and the Afghan National Army.**

NATO-EU COOPERATION

- **NATO and the EU must knock down the barrier between them and draw on the strengths of each organization to better the effort in Afghanistan.** Twenty-one nations are common to both organizations, and the EU holds considerable expertise and capacity in the civilian side of the civil-military function.
- Despite both NATO and the EU being based in Brussels, cooperation between them has been extremely limited because of bureaucratic barriers and national objections to increased collaboration. This has severely hindered the international effort in Afghanistan. **A public campaign is needed to overcome political barriers that prevent cooperation and coordination.**

DEVELOPMENT/CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION

- **NATO allies and partners in Afghanistan must recognize the integrated nature of counterinsurgency (COIN) methods and techniques. NATO must fully support those nation-building efforts being carried out by others.**
- With regard to civil-military cooperation, NATO/ISAF must formalize the duties and responsibilities and clarify reporting responsibilities and channels of both the SCR and COMISAF. This is necessary to minimize or end current gaps; without it, disconnects will continue and will hinder progress.
- While there is precedent in Kosovo, East Timor and elsewhere for the UN to take the lead, in reality, the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan is clearly not in charge. **Until it is made clear who is in charge of civilian development efforts in Afghanistan, current gaps and disconnects will continue and will hinder progress.**

AFGHAN GOVERNMENT REFORM

- At present, NATO is underutilizing key capabilities of new NATO members when it comes to providing support for comprehensive government and security reform efforts in Afghanistan. Many of the newer NATO members have much experience in transforming corrupt communist systems into cleaner, more effective democratic systems that are responsive to state and public needs. These countries are thus very well placed to assist the Afghans in their own reform efforts. **NATO should encourage its members and partners with experience in combating corruption and implementing security modernization to share through appropriate mechanisms their expertise and skill set with the Afghans.**



DEVELOPMENT

- **NATO and ISAF should more clearly define their civilian sector needs.** ISAF must make clear what functions are needed, where those functions are needed, and how civilians carrying out those functions will be protected. ISAF command must also clearly define what the chain of command is for civilian-military efforts.
- **ISAF must determine whether there should be “core” rules for employment and deployment of civilian sector support,** and if there should be disqualifiers for contributions if those rules are not met. It is essential that we ensure operational unity of effort both on the civilian and military sides. This can be accomplished only without national caveats and national interests prevailing over Alliance requirements. NATO must actively push for this.

PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TEAMS (PRTs)

- **PRT contributing nations must address the future of PRTs.** To eliminate the imbalance of PRT resources, NATO must seek out additional ways of utilizing PRTs and enlist international donors to provide needed project funds for PRTs sponsored by nations that lack adequate resources. There must be a combined national and ISAF assessment of each PRT with a view to determine if the current organization, structure, and resourcing match tomorrow’s operating environment.
- **The PRT contributing nations must impose some core organizational, structural, and resource mandates.** Each nation that has assumed responsibility for a PRT has structured, organized, and resourced it differently—a situation that must be remedied. The fact that the PRTs are under the command of various nations, each pursuing reconstruction in a somewhat different fashion, has on occasion produced criticism for lack of an overarching coherent strategy. But there is an upside to the current situation. One can regard the PRTs as laboratories where different approaches can be tested and best practices established. A clearinghouse must be set up in which PRT commanders can exchange information and experiences and a series of best or innovative practices can be established and disseminated.
- This assessment must identify what, if any, changes are needed and then develop an implementation plan. **That plan should be designed to ultimately transition PRT functions to local authorities.** The timeline for such planning will vary among each PRT based on the current and projected operating environment for the provinces. Additionally, the effectiveness of the PRTs has improved with the focused effort of the PRT Executive Steering Committee. This committee must be kept viable, and that responsibility resides with ISAF.



NATO AND PAKISTAN

- **The NATO-led ISAF effort must fully embrace a broader Af-Pak mission.** While NATO cannot send troops to Pakistan, the twenty-eight members of the Alliance and the other fifteen non-NATO members of ISAF should coordinate their military and civilian aid to Pakistan to boost Pakistani efforts to combat extremists. Additionally, NATO must ensure that ISAF sustain its outreach with the Pakistani military via the Tripartite Commission and its subordinate functional committees.
- The reinvigoration of this process over the past year has yielded important and valuable progress along the Afghan-Pakistan border and has gone a long way to eliminate mistrust between ISAF and Pakistani forces.
- Although Pakistan most likely constitutes the greater strategic issue both globally and regionally, **NATO has focused almost exclusively on Afghanistan, despite the fact that the Taliban and al-Qaeda leadership are based in Pakistan, where they are in close proximity to nuclear weapons.**
- While the North Atlantic Council has encouraged the Secretary General to establish greater dialogue with Pakistan and has endorsed ISAF tactical and operational exchanges of information and intelligence to ensure greater situational awareness and force protection for ISAF forces along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, NATO has not yet fully embraced the interconnectivity of the Af-Pak mission. The North Atlantic Council has granted few incentives to encourage the Pakistanis to engage with NATO. NATO has offered the Pakistan military only some military schooling and exercise observation and participation. NATO headquarters has yet to receive permission from Pakistani authorities to establish a liaison office in the Pakistan military headquarters—a request made by NATO headquarters in the spring of 2007. This effort must be reenergized by the Secretary General.
- **NATO training of Pakistan’s military is much more palatable to Pakistanis than U.S. training. While Pakistan is hesitant to let foreign trainers on its soil, NATO can build on the model of the NATO Training Mission – Iraq (NTM-I) where it used out-of-country facilities in the Middle East and elsewhere to train Iraqi troops.** Similar installations should be developed for the training of the Pakistani military and as NTM-I moves its operation into Iraq, NATO could use former out-of-country NTM-I facilities. Pakistan has already agreed to allow its troops to be trained by Australia outside of Pakistan. NATO’s HIP Helicopter Task Force also has the capability to assist with Pakistan’s helicopter lift capability, as the Soviet and Russian-built helicopters of the HIP task force are largely similar to Chinese-built equipment used by the Pakistani army.



APPENDIX A: COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF AVAILABLE CAPACITIES

ALBANIA



Current ISAF Contingent: 245¹⁸ (1 infantry company)¹⁹

Recent Actions: Albania pledged to contribute 85 troops in the wake of President Obama's December 1 speech.²⁰ This would increase the Albanian contingent to 335 troops.

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 240 expeditionary infantry soldiers from MNF-Iraq (reaching 15 months' downtime in March 2010)
- **ISTAR:** Target acquisition battery HQ with TPS
- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Engineering:** Capable of providing multiple engineering companies and teams with significant bilateral support
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 OMLTs in conjunction with Turkey or the New Jersey National Guard
- Albania has the 21st-largest military in NATO, with 14,300 troops, and is the 19th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 245 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Albania has pursued a very Atlanticist foreign policy and has been a strong supporter of NATO missions. Albanian forces in Afghanistan operate without any caveats.

BELGIUM



Current ISAF Contingent: 545²¹ (Air Component 4 F-16 Fighting Falcons)²²

Civilians Deployed: 0²³

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$48.10 million²⁴

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$48.86 million²⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 219 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Support Forces:** Medical units
- **Engineering:** Capable of providing multiple engineering companies and teams
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 OMLTs beyond RC-N OMLT
- **Training:** Federal police (under EUPOL)
- **Training:** Capable of providing PMTs
- **Afghan National Army (ANA) Fund:** Can provide additional support
- **Development:** Capable of providing a second PRT



- Belgium has the 13th-largest military in NATO, with 38,000 troops, and is the 13th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 545 soldiers deployed. Belgian forces are restricted by caveats.



BULGARIA

Current ISAF Contingent: 495²⁶

Civilians Deployed: 0²⁷

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 47 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Combat Troops:** 156 infantry soldiers from MNF-Iraq (reaching 15 months' downtime in March 2010)
- **ISTAR:** Target acquisition battery HQ with TPS
- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional helicopters
- **Support Forces:** Vehicular maintenance company
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 additional OMLT
- **Caveats:** Remove caveats
- Bulgaria has the 15th-largest military in NATO, with 29,000 troops, and is the 15th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 495 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Bulgarian troops in Afghanistan are prevented from participating in frontline combat operations because of caveats. The Bulgarian forces are providing logistical and technical support, as well as security for U.S. and Italian bases. In an attempt to reduce the costs of its operations in Afghanistan, the Bulgarian government will relocate all of its forces to one location. This relocation will be completed by mid-2010. At the recent NATO Defense Ministers' meeting in Bratislava, the Bulgarian Defense Minister announced his government's intention to increase Bulgaria's military contingent in Afghanistan.



CANADA

Current ISAF Contingent: 2,830²⁸ (Army: 1 light infantry battalion headquarters; 2 light infantry convoys; 1 armed squadron; 1 armed reconnaissance squadron; 1 artillery battery; 1 unmanned aerial vehicle fleet; 1 combat engineer squadron; 1 maritime patrol convoy; 20 *Leopard C2* main battle tanks; some light armored vehicles III *Kodiak*; some light armored vehicles-25 *Coyote*; 6 M-777; some *Sperwer* unmanned aerial vehicles)²⁹

- Task Force Kandahar—Kandahar Airfield; responsible for central and western Kandahar Province—Commanded by Canadian Brigadier General Daniel Menard
 - Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry – Kandahar Airfield; operating in Panjwayi district – Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jerome Walsh³⁰
- PRT Kandahar³¹



2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$1.049 billion³²

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$953.94 million³³

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Refrain from withdrawing forces in 2011
 - **ISTAR:** Joint Operations Information Center – Afghanistan Collection Managers
 - **Combat Support:** Counter IED (CIED) capacity
 - **Combat Support:** Deployment support brigade
 - **Combat Support:** Additional medical units
 - **Combat Support:** Movement control teams
 - **Combat Support:** Vehicular maintenance company
 - **Combat Support:** Additional MP combat support company
 - **Combat Support:** PSYOPS detachment
 - **Engineering:** KAF engineering team facility, multi-role bridge platoon
 - **Training:** Deploy additional Mounted Police officers
 - **Training:** Capable of providing additional Police Mentoring Teams (PMTs)
 - **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
 - **LOTFA:** Capable of contributing to the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
- Canada has the 11th-largest military in NATO, with 55,000 troops, and is the 6th-largest contributor to ISAF, with 2,830 troops deployed to Afghanistan. Canadian forces have been an active partner in Afghanistan, operating in the volatile Kandahar Province without caveat restriction. However, facing strong public opposition to the Afghanistan deployment, the government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced a 2011 withdrawal date for Canadian forces. The current perception in Canada is that the NATO alliance is too broken to deal with the situation in Afghanistan.³⁴ Keeping Canadian forces in Afghanistan past 2011 will be vital for the ISAF mission, but Canadian politics require a strong recommitment from NATO allies before any extension of the 2011 withdrawal deadline. On December 8, 2009, General Walt Natynczyk, chief of Canada's defense staff, confirmed that Canada's military contingent will be withdrawn by the end of 2011. The Harper government has committed to providing humanitarian and reconstruction forces beyond 2011, but the security situation will still require the presence of combat-capable forces. Canada also has the capacity to provide combat support units that can deal with the threat of IEDs, carry out medevac operations, and train Afghan security forces. These contributions would greatly help the ISAF mission while avoiding the political concerns surrounding the deployment of more combat forces.

CROATIA



Current ISAF Contingent: 295³⁵

2002-2013 Pledged Aid: \$28.10 million³⁶

Available Capacity:

- **ISTAR:** Target acquisition battery HQ with TPS



- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Training:** Capable of providing an additional OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of providing an additional Police Mentoring Team (PMT)
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing equipment
- Croatia has the 19th-largest military in NATO, with 18,600 troops, and is the 17th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 295 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan.



CZECH REPUBLIC

Current ISAF Contingent: 370³⁷ (Army: 19 IVECO DV LMV Panther)³⁸

- PRT Logar³⁹

Civilians Deployed: 14 (8 civilian experts to ISAF; 5 police officers to EUPOL; 1 expert seconded to UNAMA)⁴⁰

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$22 million⁴¹

Recent Actions: Following President Obama's December 1 speech, the Czech Republic is considering sending an additional 100 troops.⁴²

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 393 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Combat Support:** Additional medical units
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMT
- **Training:** Capable of training Warsaw Pact helicopters for Afghan National Army
- **Development:** Capable of providing additional Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) and development programs
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- The Czech Republic has the 16th-largest military in NATO, with 24,000 troops, and is the 17th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 370 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. The Czech Republic is also one of only five NATO countries to have more troops in Kosovo than in Afghanistan. The Czech Republic is one of the few NATO countries that have not fielded or pledged to field an OMLT. Conversely, Latvia and Slovenia, countries with militaries that are less than one-third the size of the Czech Republic's, participate in the OMLT program. Czech forces in Afghanistan are also operating under caveats. Czech popular opposition to the war is substantially less than it is in many other European countries. A poll conducted in July 2009 found Czech citizens to be evenly split between those who favored their military's presence in Afghanistan and those who were opposed to it. The same poll found that two-thirds of Czechs believed that the training of Afghan soldiers and securing safety for the inhabitants was important.⁴³ The Czech Republic should be lauded for its sponsorship of the HIP Helicopter Task Force to address the helicopter shortfall that is hindering ISAF efforts in Afghanistan. The caretaker status of the current Czech government may make it difficult for the government to substantially increase its commitment in Afghanistan until the June 2010 elections. However, the lack



of widespread opposition to the military's involvement in Afghanistan would make an increase much less controversial.



DENMARK

Current ISAF Contingent: 740⁴⁴ (Army: 2 mechanized infantry companies; 1 tank platoon; 1 helicopter detachment; 4 *Leopard 2A5*)⁴⁵

- Danish Battle Group 8 – FOB Price; operating in Gereshk area⁴⁶
- PRT Lashkar-Gah (with Estonia and the United Kingdom)⁴⁷

Civilians Deployed: 17 (2 civilian advisors in Helmand Province; 1 senior civilian national representative and 2 education advisors with the Danish Provincial Reconstruction Team; 8 police officers to EUPOL, including the head of mission; 4 experts seconded to UNAMA)⁴⁸

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$253.04 million⁴⁹

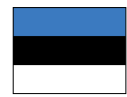
2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$214.49 million⁵⁰

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing additional Special Operations Forces (SOF)
- **Combat Troops:** 242 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Air Transport:** C130J Hercules in the Air Transport Wing
- **Helicopters:** 14 EH101 helicopters, 6 of which are dedicated to tactical troop transport, in the Helicopter Wing. The 6 EH101 for troop transport are only now arriving and the personnel are being trained, but it may be possible to expedite the process and get some EH101s to Afghanistan.
- **Combat Support:** Vehicular maintenance company
- **Combat Support:** Aerial delivery section
- **Combat Support:** Additional medical units
- **Combat Support:** PSYOPS detachment
- **Engineering:** Multi-role bridge platoon
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- **LOTFA:** Capable of providing additional funds to the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
- Denmark has the 20th-largest military in NATO, with 18,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 12th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 740 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Denmark therefore has one of the largest proportional commitments to Afghanistan. Danish troops have been active in the southern part of the country, operating without any caveats on its forces. The Danes are mainly located in Helmand with attachments at RC-S HQ and ISAF Kabul HQ. They are fully integrated into the British force structure in Helmand, operating under British command and sometimes commanding British units. Danish soldiers have been lauded by their fellow NATO combatants for their fighting skill. Public opinion in Denmark is also much more favorable toward the presence of Danish military forces in Afghanistan (53 percent



support their country's military participation there) than it is for the respective troops of many other European countries.⁵¹ NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, a former Danish Prime Minister, played a major role in helping to turn Danish public opinion in favor of the Danish military's involvement in Afghanistan by often speaking publicly on the reasons for the international mission. The center-right governing majority strongly favors continued engagement. The Social Democrats, the main opposition party, recently hinged their support on the likelihood that the Afghan state can become viable. The next general election is scheduled for November 2011. While Denmark has been steadfast in its support of ISAF, some Danish officials have expressed concerns that their country's sacrifice has gone unnoticed especially by the United States and that they are rarely consulted on strategy decisions regarding NATO and ISAF.



ESTONIA

Current ISAF Contingent: 155⁵² (1 mechanized infantry company with 4 *Mamba*; 12 XA-180 *Sisu*; 1 mortar detachment with 3 81mm; 1 explosive ordnance disposal team)⁵³

- PRT Lashkar-Gah (with Denmark and the United Kingdom)⁵⁴

Civilians Deployed: 4 (1 civilian with the CSTC-A; 1 civil servant with UNAMA; 1 senior expert on health care with the UK-led Provincial Reconstruction Team in Helmand Province; 1 police officer and 1 administration officer to EUPOL)⁵⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 35 infantry soldiers from MNF-Iraq (reaching 15 months of downtime in May 2010)
- **Combat Support:** Deployment support brigade
- **Combat Support:** Movement control team
- **Combat Support:** Counter IED (CIED) capacity, in addition to CIED Support Element CIED Targeting
- **Combat Support:** Vehicular maintenance and repair company
- **Engineering:** Multi-role bridge platoon
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Estonia has the 25th-largest military in NATO, with 5,000 troops, and is tied for being the 22rd-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 155 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Estonia has pursued a very Atlanticist foreign policy and has been a strong supporter of NATO missions. Estonian forces in Afghanistan operate without any caveats.



FRANCE

Current ISAF Contingent: 3,750⁵⁶ (1 combined arms battle group with 1 paratroop regiment, elements 1 armed cavalry regiment, elements 1 artillery regiment, elements 1 engineer regiment; 6 *Mirage* 2000D/SEM; 3 EC-725 CSAR helicopters; 3 *Gazelle* attack helicopters)⁵⁷

- Task Force La Fayette / 27th Mountain Infantry Brigade – FOB Nijrab, Kapisa; responsible for Kapisa Province and Surobi district – Commanded by Brigadier General Marcel Druart
 - 2nd Foreign Parachute Regiment – operating in Surobi district
 - 13th Alpine Chasseurs Battalion – operating in Kapisa province⁵⁸

Civilians Deployed: 2 (2 police officers to EUPOL)⁵⁹

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$109.4 million⁶⁰

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$124.3 million⁶¹

Recent Actions: Following President Obama's speech on December 1, France, along with Germany, announced that it would wait until the international conference regarding Afghanistan in January before making any decision about deploying additional troops.⁶²

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing 1 or 2 battle groups with enablers
- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing additional SOF personnel
- **Combat Troops:** 1,294 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional aviation support including redeploying helicopters from Kosovo
- **Combat Support:** Military Police capacity—additional MP combat support company (both military and paramilitary)
- **Training:** Capable of providing 3 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing 150 gendarmerie within NTM-A
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of establishing a PRT
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- France has NATO's 3rd-largest military, with 347,000 members in its armed forces. France is the 4th-largest contributor to ISAF with 3,750 French troops operating in Afghanistan. While this is significant in comparison to the contributions of other nations, this is only 0.9 percent of the French armed forces. The majority of these forces are based in and around Kabul to conduct stability operations or are in army training missions throughout Afghanistan. There are also 720 French troops involved in extensive combat operations in eastern Afghanistan, where they are under U.S. command. Some 300 French gendarmes are also deployed to assist with the creation of NTM-A. France has become increasingly active in NATO operations, and in March of 2009 made the historic step of rejoining the NATO military structure. President Nicolas Sarkozy has been the major force behind this active participation and reintegration into NATO. It is believed



that his interest in the war goes beyond Afghanistan and is driven by a desire to forge a strong Europe that is closely united with the United States. Sarkozy faces no real political opposition and is most likely to be reelected in May 2012.

While 51 percent of the French public wishes to withdraw or reduce French troops in Afghanistan, this is the lowest opposition level among the major countries of Western Europe.⁶³ Furthermore, in September 2008, when French Socialists forced a parliamentary debate on the presence of French troops in Afghanistan, large margins in both the National Assembly and the Senate voted to continue the French deployment.⁶⁴ However, on October 15, 2009, while reaffirming the need for NATO to stay in Afghanistan, Sarkozy announced that France would not be sending additional troops.⁶⁵ Recently French officials have put off the announcement of any potential troop increases until after the UN-sponsored International Conference on Afghanistan to be held in London on January 28, 2010.



GERMANY

Current ISAF Contingent: 4,280⁶⁶ (Army: equipment including *Marder* AIFV; TPz-1 *Fuchs*; *Fennek*; 100 *Dingo II*; LUNA unmanned aerial vehicles; Air Force: equipment including 6 *Tornado* ECR (SEAD); CH-53 support helicopters; C-160 transport aircraft)⁶⁷

- Regional Command – North / Airmobile Brigade I – FSB Marmal, Mazar-e-Sharif – Commanded by Brigadier General Jurgen Setzer
 - 1 German Quick Reaction Force Battalion—FSB Marmal, Mazar-e-Sharif; operating in Kunduz area in northern Afghanistan⁶⁸
- FSB Mazar-e-Sharif⁶⁹
- PRT Feyzabad, PRT Kunduz⁷⁰

Civilians Deployed: 95 (36 police officers and 9 civilians to EUPOL; 5 civilians and 1 military expert seconded to UNAMA; 30 military police as part of the German Police Project Team; and an additional 14 police officers)⁷¹

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$1.252 billion⁷²

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$851.14 million⁷³

Recent Actions: Following President Obama's speech on December 1, Germany, like France, announced that it would wait until the international conference regarding Afghanistan in January before making any decision about deploying additional troops.⁷⁴

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing an SOF contingent
- **Combat Troops:** 2,486 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Helicopters:** Capable of redeploying helicopters from Kosovo (26 Leopard C2; 17 Sp z-2 (TOW); 3 CH-53 Sea Stallion; 9 UH-1D Iroquois)
- **Training:** Capable of increasing EUPOL trainers to 120



- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Caveats:** Eliminate caveats; allow OMLTs to deploy beyond Regional Command – North
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- **LOTFA:** Capable of providing additional funds to the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
- Germany has the 4th-largest military in NATO, with 252,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 3rd-largest contributor to ISAF, with 4,280 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Germany's deployment in Afghanistan is restricted by caveats and a ceiling on the number of forces. The ceiling is 4,500. (Note: On November 13, 2009, German Defense Minister Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg announced a planned increase of around 100 German soldiers in Afghanistan.) Germany has some of the most restrictive caveats within ISAF. Recently, due in part to worsening conditions in the northern part of Afghanistan near Kunduz, German forces have been given some increased flexibility to engage insurgents with force. With 2,486 troops and a substantial number of helicopters stationed in Kosovo, Germany is currently KFOR's largest contributor.

The 2009 reelection of German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the formation of a ruling coalition between Germany's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) have caused wide speculation that the new center-right coalition will give Chancellor Merkel a freer hand in the realm of foreign policy. Many believe that the FDP is less likely to oppose German involvement in Afghanistan than its Social Democrat predecessors. Also there is no longer a risk of Afghanistan becoming an election issue. Others argue that given the priority her new coalition government is likely to place on domestic economic issues, Chancellor Merkel is unlikely to gamble her limited popularity on such a losing political issue as a war. Germany's military actions in Afghanistan are controlled by a parliamentary mandate, which was renewed in December 2009 for another year. So far there has been little attempt by German leaders to explain the country's position in the war and why it might be necessary to take a more active role there. This has resulted in widespread public opposition to the war in Afghanistan. A poll conducted in September 2009 found that 54 percent of Germans oppose Germany's military operations in Afghanistan, and only 44 percent support them; 58 percent oppose any extension of the mission, and only 39 percent support an extension.

A NATO air strike that was called by a German officer resulted in the deaths of 142 people, most of them civilians, in September 2009. The fallout from the incident led to the resignation of Franz Josef Jung as Defense Minister and of Wolfgang Schneiderhan, Germany's top soldier, as the Bundeswehr Inspector General.

In the wake of the air strike, Chancellor Merkel gave a public speech defending Germany's presence and role in Afghanistan. A poll conducted immediately afterward revealed a sharp increase of 10 points since July in the percentage of German citizens who thought German troops should remain in Afghanistan.⁷⁵ This would seem to suggest that a sustained public campaign by the German leadership could bolster public support for the mission.



Germany should be especially concerned as it has been the target of extremists groups operating along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. It has been reported that the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), an Uzbek militant group that broke off from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and has affiliated itself with al-Qaeda and the global jihad movement, has recently begun reaching out to recruit Central Asian, Caucasus, and Turkish Muslims in Turkey and Europe. Turkish communities in Germany were especially affected. Turks from Germany joined the IJU for training in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area. Later, German converts joined the IJU and were used together with Turks living in Germany to set up an operational cell that plotted an attack on American and German targets inside Germany. Recently, German officials have put off the announcement of any potential troop increases until after the UN-sponsored International Conference on Afghanistan to be held in London on January 28, 2010.



GREECE

Current ISAF Contingent: 15⁷⁶ (Army: 1 engineering company; Air Force: 1 C-130)⁷⁷

Civilians Deployed: 0⁷⁸

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$280,000⁷⁹

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$260,000⁸⁰

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing helicopter detachment to include aero medevac (seasonal)
- **Combat Troops:** 588 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional helicopters
- **Helicopters:** \$600,000 for helicopter training fund
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of funding the Hungarian PRT operations
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Greece has the 8th-largest military in NATO, with 134,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 26th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 15 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Greece also possesses NATO's 8th-largest fleet of combat helicopters with more than 200. Yet despite its large military, Greece is tied for having the 3rd-smallest NATO member contribution to Afghanistan and does not have one helicopter stationed there. Greece is also one of only five NATO countries to have more troops in Kosovo than in Afghanistan. While Greece's military is undergoing a modernization and reorganization effort, it continues to have substantial capacity. Greece recently held parliamentary elections, which gives the new government of Prime Minister George Papandreou some political breathing space and the opportunity to increase Greece's commitment in Afghanistan. Prime Minister Papandreou has made it a goal to improve relations with Turkey and wants to fast-track a lasting agreement over Cyprus that will



hopefully lead both nations to achieve a rapprochement and allow them to focus on helping the international community promote stability in South and Central Asia.

HUNGARY



Current ISAF Contingent: 255⁸¹ (Land component 1 light infantry company)⁸²

- PRT Pol-e-Khomri⁸³

Civilians Deployed: 8-9 (2 civilian experts in ISAF and 3 or 4 civilians on an “occasional basis”; 3 police officers to EUPOL)⁸⁴

2002-2013 Pledged Aid: \$3 million⁸⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 243 expeditionary soldiers in KFOR
- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing helicopter lift and army and police trainers
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 additional OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Hungary** has the 18th-largest military in NATO, with 19,000 troops, and is the 18th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 255 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan.

ICELAND



Current ISAF Contingent: 4⁸⁶

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$9.35 million⁸⁷

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$8.75 million⁸⁸

Available Capacity:

- **Engineering:** Real estate engineering team
- **Training:** Capable of providing ANP mentors
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding



ITALY

Current ISAF Contingent: 3,150⁸⁹ (Army: some AIFV *Dardo*; 6 A-129 *Mangusta*; 3 CH-47; Air Force, 2 RQ-1 *Predator*; 2 C27-J; some C-130)⁹⁰

- Regional Command – West / “Sassari” Mechanized Brigade –FSB Herat
 - 1st Bersaglieri Regiment – FSB Herat; Operating in Herat Province – Commanded by Colonel Francesco Maria Ceravolo
 - 151st Mechanized Infantry Regiment – FSB Herat; Operating in Herat Province – Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sossio Andreottola
 - 152nd Mechanized Infantry Regiment – Camp El-Alamein; force protection in Farah Province – Commanded by Colonel Roberto De Masi⁹¹
- PRT Herat⁹²

Civilians Deployed: 30 (1 civilian to EUPOL; 14 Carabinieri and police officers to EUPOL; and 15 development cooperation experts, including 4 in the Rule of Law area)⁹³

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$373.72 million⁹⁴

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$424.41 million⁹⁵

Recent Actions: Following President Obama’s speech of December 1, Italy is considering whether to pledge to deploy 1,000 additional troops to Afghanistan, but it is unclear if this figure includes the 500 troops already pledged for the Afghan elections.^{96,97}

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing additional battalion with enablers; attack and lift helicopters; Carabinieri
- **Combat Troops:** 1,819 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of doubling Carabinieri police trainers to 100
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of providing PRT civilian experts
- **Caveats:** Remove caveats
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Italy has the 5th-largest military in NATO, with 195,000 troops in its armed forces, and is the 5th-largest contributor to ISAF, with 3,150 troops deployed to Afghanistan. However, caveats restrict these troops to operating in the Kabul area and Herat Province where Italy leads Regional Command – West. Removal of these caveats would allow for greater flexibility for the deployment of Italian forces and greater flexibility in the type of operations these forces can engage in. As operations wind down in Kosovo and Bosnia, significant numbers of Italian expeditionary forces will be freed up for the urgent mission in Afghanistan. The Combined Arms Force and Mountain Infantry Battalion in Kosovo are ideal for operating in Afghanistan. Italian forces can also provide greater assistance to training and reconstruction operations through the deployment of OMLT forces, Carabinieri, and civilian experts.



Political uncertainties surrounding the Berlusconi government could potentially hinder any attempts to further increase Italy's commitments in Afghanistan. Battered by political and personal scandals, the government has seen a sharp decline in support and will likely be reluctant to spend political capital on raising public support for any shift in Italy's ISAF mandate. The politics of the Italian coalition government may further complicate NATO operations. Following the September 17, 2009, suicide bombing in Kabul that killed six Italian soldiers, the leader of the Lega Nord party, Umberto Bossi, publicly denounced the mission in Afghanistan and urged a withdrawal of Italian troops. Such a public denouncement from a member of the governing center-right coalition raises concerns about the viability of the Italy's Afghan deployment.⁹⁸

LATVIA



Current ISAF Contingent: 175⁹⁹

Civilians Deployed: 3 (2 representatives of state police and 1 political and development advisor from the ministry of foreign affairs)¹⁰⁰

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing SOF training and mentoring
- **Training:** Capable of providing an additional OMLT
- Latvia is tied for having the 25th-largest military in NATO, with 5,000 troops, and is the 21st-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 175 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan.

LITHUANIA



Current ISAF Contingent: 250¹⁰¹

- PRT Chaghcharan¹⁰²

Civilians Deployed: 4 (2 police officers to EUPOL; 2 civilian experts, one a political advisor and the other a development advisor)

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$1.62 million¹⁰³

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$1.17 million¹⁰⁴

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of increasing their SOF contingent
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 Regional Command – West OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of leading PRT beyond 2010
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Lithuania has the 23rd-largest military in NATO, with 10,000 troops, and is tied for being the 22nd-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 175 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan.



LUXEMBOURG

Current ISAF Contingent: 9¹⁰⁵

Civilians Deployed: 0¹⁰⁶

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$2.75 million¹⁰⁷

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$1.5 million¹⁰⁸

Available Capacity:

- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional helicopter funding
- **Engineering:** Multiple engineering teams
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 OMLT
- **Development:** Capable of providing a PRT
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Luxembourg has the 27th-largest military in NATO, with 900 troops, and has the 27th largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 9 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Luxembourg is also one of only five NATO countries to have more troops in Kosovo than in Afghanistan.



THE NETHERLANDS

Current ISAF Contingent: 1,950¹⁰⁹ (Army: 1 infantry battle group; 40 Bushmaster infantry mobile vehicle; some YPR-765; 12 *Fennek*; 3 Pzh self-propelled; some *Sperwer* unmanned aerial vehicles; Air Force: 4-8 F-16 *Fighting Falcon*; 6 AH-64D Apache; 5 AS-332U2 *Cougar*; some C-130)¹¹⁰

- Task Force Uruzgan / 11th Airmobile Brigade – Camp Holland, Tarin Kowt; responsible for Uruzgan Province – Commanded by Brigadier General Marc van Uhm
 - 17th Armored Infantry Battalion – Camp Holland; operating around Tarin Kowt¹¹¹
- PRT Tarin Kowt (with Australia)¹¹²

Civilians Deployed: 22 (13 civilians in Uruzgan province; 1 political advisor in Kandahar province; 4 police officers to EUPOL; 4 additional civilians committed for the regional HQ in Kandahar Province)¹¹³

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$753.2 million¹¹⁴

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$440.5 million¹¹⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Refrain from withdrawing troops in 2010
- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing SOF with air transport
- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing €1 million for helicopter task force
- **Support Forces:** Deployment support brigades



- **Support Forces:** Movement control teams
- **Support Forces:** Counter IED (CIED) capacity
- **Support Forces:** Additional medical unit
- **Support Forces:** Vehicular maintenance and repair company
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of providing a PRT in Dai Kundi
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- **LOTFA:** Capable of providing additional funds to the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
- The Netherlands has the 12th-largest military in NATO, with 44,000 members in its armed forces. The Dutch are the 8th-largest contingent in ISAF, with 1,950 troops currently deployed in Uruzgan Province in the south. While restricted to this province, Dutch forces have been cited by the Obama Administration as a model participant in ISAF.¹¹⁶ While the Dutch Parliament reconfirmed the July 2010 withdrawal date, the Dutch Defense Minister, Eimert van Middelkoop, announced that the Netherlands was keeping all options open.¹¹⁷ The Dutch military deployment does not require the approval of parliament, but it would go against practice and tradition for the government to continue the deployment without parliamentary approval. The Dutch armed forces are also able to provide OMLTs and PMTs, while assisting with the funding of the training of Afghan security forces and the development of NATO airlift capability. Ideally, any shift in the Dutch position on the Afghan mission would provide a large amount of political momentum to the ISAF mission and aid efforts to continue Canadian and Australian involvement.



NORWAY

Current ISAF Contingent: 500¹¹⁸ (Army: 1 Mechanized Infantry Company; 1 Support Company)¹¹⁹

- PRT Meymana¹²⁰

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$449.3 million¹²¹

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$349.8 million¹²²

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing additional SOF
- **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional funding for Czech helicopter task force
- **Air Transport:** Capable of providing C-130 for theater-wide airlift support
- **Support Forces:** Aerial delivery section
- **Engineering:** Prime power engineering team
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of supporting PRT government development initiatives
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding



- **LOTFA:** Capable of providing additional funds to the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
- Norway has the 23rd-largest military in NATO, with 10,000 troops, and is the 14th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 500 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Norway is also one of the largest providers of aid to Afghanistan.



POLAND

- **Current ISAF Contingent: 1,955**¹²³ (Army: 35 Rosomak; 68 other infantry fighting vehicles; 4 Mi-24 Hind; 2 Mi-17 Hip)¹²⁴
- Task Force White Eagle – FOB Ghazni; responsible for Ghazni Province – Commanded by Colonel Rajmund Andrzejczak
 - Polish Battle Group – FOB Ghazni; operating in Ghazni Province¹²⁵
- PRT Ghazni (with the United States)¹²⁶

Civilians Deployed: 3 (police officers to EUPOL)¹²⁷

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$5.03 million¹²⁸

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$4.41 million¹²⁹

Recent Actions: On October 23, 2009, Poland pledged 600 additional soldiers for ISAF, pending agreement between the President and the Cabinet.¹³⁰

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 226 expeditionary infantry soldiers from KFOR
 - **Combat Troops:** Additional combat forces
 - **Helicopters:** Capable of providing additional helicopters and medevac support in Regional Command-East
 - **Support Forces:** Aerial delivery section
 - **Support Forces:** Counter IED (CIED) capacity—CIED targeting
 - **Support Forces:** Additional signals company
 - **Training:** Capable of leading SOF training and mentor group
 - **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
 - **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Poland has the 7th-largest military in NATO, with 150,000 troops, and is the 7th-largest contributor to ISAF, with 1,955 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan and 600 more on the way. Poland has been an active participant in ISAF operations, reflecting its political desire for a strong transatlantic relationship and strong support for the NATO alliance. At its peak involvement, Poland had 2,500 troops in Iraq, but it has since withdrawn them all. Poland also has 226 troops serving in KFOR. Polish troops in Afghanistan mainly patrol Ghazni Province, in central eastern Afghanistan. President Lech Kaczynski, Prime Minister Donald Tusk, and Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski have pledged their strong support for the Afghanistan mission.



Poland has repeatedly increased troop levels to respond to the threat of violence in the 2009 elections as well as increased violence because of combat operations in neighboring provinces. During the October meeting of Defense Ministers in Bratislava, Poland joined the HIP helicopter initiative to provide helicopter airlift support for NATO. Poland has a large number of transport helicopters that have not been deployed to Afghanistan. These Mi-8 and Mi-2 helicopters could provide much-needed airlift and medevac capability in RC-E, and more Polish Mi-24 helicopters provide a unique armored transport and attack capability.

PORTUGAL



Current ISAF Contingent: 105¹³¹

Civilians Deployed: 1 (military observer to UNAMA)¹³²

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$2.13 million¹³³

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$1.43 million¹³⁴

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing 1 battalion with enablers; lift for countrywide QRF
- **Combat Troops:** 295 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Support Forces:** Military Police capacity—additional MP combat support company/additional MP law and order detachment
- **Gendarmerie:** Capable of deploying additional Gendarmerie
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Gendarmerie
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Portugal is tied for having the 13th-largest military in NATO, with 38,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 24th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 105 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Portugal is also one of only five NATO countries to have more troops in Kosovo than in Afghanistan. While a 2009 German Marshall Fund poll found that 52 percent of Portuguese want to reduce or withdraw their military forces from Afghanistan, 41 percent support increasing or maintaining the troop levels. This 41 percent was the highest percentage of the twelve European counties polled. Furthermore, 31 percent of Portuguese would approve a request from President Obama to increase the number of Portuguese combat troops in Afghanistan, a percentage that was also the highest of all countries polled.¹³⁵ In July 2009, Portugal pledged to send about 150 more troops to Afghanistan in 2010. Part of the Portuguese force has been guarding Kandahar airport in southern Afghanistan.



ROMANIA

Current ISAF Contingent: 900¹³⁶ (Army: 1 infantry battalion; some TAB-77; some TABC-79; some *Piranha* IIIC)¹³⁷

- Task Force Zabul / 280th Infantry Battalion – FOB Lagman; operating around Qalat – Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Karl Slaughenhaupt¹³⁸
- PRT Qalat (with the United States)¹³⁹

Civilians Deployed: 19 (5 police officers to EUPOL; 13 civilians to UNAMA; 1 military observer)¹⁴⁰

Recent Actions: On December 7, 2009, Romanian interim Foreign Minister Catalin Predoiu announced that Romania will send 100 more troops to Afghanistan in 2010.¹⁴¹

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 499 expeditionary infantry soldiers from MNF-Iraq (reaching 15 months' downtime in October 2010)
- **Combat Troops:** 145 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Support Forces:** Additional convoy security company
- **Support Forces:** Deployment support brigade
- **Support Forces:** Movement control team
- **Support Forces:** CIED, in addition to CIED support element and CIED targeting
- **Support Forces:** Additional medical unit
- **Support Forces:** Vehicular maintenance and repair company
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- Romania has the 10th-largest military in NATO, with 62,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 11th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 900 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Romania under President Traian Basescu has pursued a staunchly Atlanticist foreign policy. Romania did not hesitate to deploy combat forces to Iraq and Afghanistan and has recently granted permanent basing rights to the United States in Romania. Romanian soldiers operating in volatile southern Afghanistan have no restrictions on their operations. Romanian troops serving in Iraq and Afghanistan have received a lot of valuable experience in counterinsurgency operations. Despite domestic political tensions, popular opposition to the deployments, and the economic crisis, Romania is planning to increase its forces in Afghanistan. Romanian officers in Afghanistan are the only non-U.S. officers with command authority over American soldiers.



SLOVAKIA

Current ISAF Contingent: 240¹⁴²

Civilians Deployed: 0¹⁴³

2002-2013 Pledged Aid: \$1 million¹⁴⁴

Recent Actions: On November 17, 2009, Slovakian Prime Minister Robert Fico announced the deployment of 250 additional soldiers to Afghanistan.¹⁴⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 145 expeditionary infantry soldiers from KFOR
- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Support Forces:** Additional medical units
- **Support Forces:** Military Police—additional MP combat support company; additional MP law and order detachment
- **Engineering:** Multiple engineering companies with significant bilateral support
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 additional OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of increasing EUPOL contributions
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Helicopters/Training:** Capable of providing helicopter trainers for ANA
- Slovakia is the 22nd-largest military in NATO, with 14,000 troops. It is the 20th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 240 troops deployed.



SLOVENIA

Current ISAF Contingent: 70¹⁴⁶

Civilians Deployed: 2 (civilians with the Italian Provincial Reconstruction Team; plans to increase to 5 Rule of Law civilians)¹⁴⁷

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 389 expeditionary infantry soldiers from KFOR
- **Engineering:** Multi-role bridge platoon
- **Training:** Capable of providing 1 OMLT
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Equipment
- Slovenia is the 24th-largest military in NATO, with 7,000 troops. It is the 25th-largest NATO contributor to ISAF, with 70 troops deployed. Slovenia is also one of only five NATO countries to have more troops in Kosovo than in Afghanistan.



SPAIN

Current ISAF Contingent: 1,065¹⁴⁸

- “Electoral Battalion”– Qala-i-Naw district, Badghis; election security
- RC(C) - Kabul International Airport¹⁴⁹
- FSB Base Herat¹⁵⁰
- PRT Qala-e-Now¹⁵¹

Civilians Deployed: 24 (6 police officers and 5 guardias civiles to EUPOL; 13 experts from the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and Development)¹⁵²

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$62.75 million¹⁵³

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$25.60 million¹⁵⁴

Recent Action: Following President Obama’s December 1 speech, Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Zapatero announced that Spain was considering sending an additional 200 troops to Afghanistan and discussed the issue with parliamentary leaders to begin the process of gaining approval for such an action.¹⁵⁵

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing an additional 1 or 2 battalions and army and police trainers
- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing an SOF group
- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Support Forces:** Deployment support brigades
- **Support Forces:** Explosive hazards coordination cell
- **Support Forces:** Military Police—additional MP combat support company (both military and paramilitary); additional MP law and order detachment
- **Support Forces:** Additional signals company
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Gendarmerie:** Capable of deploying additional Gendarmerie (Guardia Civil)
- **Caveats:** Remove caveats
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- Spain has the 9th-largest military in NATO, with 129,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 10th-largest contributor to ISAF, with 1,065 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. At its peak involvement in Iraq and Kosovo, Spain had more troops (1,300 and 1,200 respectively) than it has currently serving in Afghanistan. In the spring of 2009, Spain unilaterally withdrew all of its 600 troops from Kosovo, thus increasing its number of deployable combat soldiers. Spain was tragically attacked by terrorists in the deadly March 2004 bombings that were carried out by terrorists with links to al-Qaeda and the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region. Spanish authorities are prosecuting members of a 14-member terrorist cell, many of whom received training in Pakistan with the intent of carrying out suicide bombings in Spain.



In September 2009, Spain decided to send an additional 220 soldiers to Afghanistan to protect its forces operating in western Afghanistan. Prime Minister Zapatero has also considered keeping in Afghanistan the contingent of soldiers he ordered to temporarily safeguard the elections. In late 2008 Spain's parliament approved lifting a limit on how many troops the country can deploy overseas, which grants it the freedom to increase its contributions in Afghanistan. Prime Minister Zapatero is also seeking closer ties with the United States after having notoriously cold relations during the Bush Administration. Spanish troops in Afghanistan are operating under heavy restrictions and caveats and are confined to mainly reconstruction and development efforts in the western part of the country.

TURKEY



Current ISAF Contingent: 1,755¹⁵⁶

- HQ Regional Command Capital – Camp Warehouse, Kabul – Commanded by Turkish Brigadier General Levent Colak
 - Turkish Battle Group – operating in southern Kabul¹⁵⁷
- PRT Wardak (civilian-led)¹⁵⁸

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$166.7 million¹⁵⁹

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$76.75 million¹⁶⁰

Recent Action: During a trip to the United States on December 6, 2009, Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan said Turkey would not contribute additional troops to Afghanistan. Further remarks by Turkish President Abdullah Gul signaled that Turkey was refraining from taking on a combat role in Afghanistan to avoid undermining Turkish influence over radical Pashtun groups.

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** Capable of providing 2 battalions with enablers and army and police trainers
- **Combat Troops:** 509 expeditionary soldiers from KFOR
- **Helicopters:** \$2 million to Czech helicopter initiative
- **Support Forces:** Security force company
- **Support Forces:** Additional convoy security company
- **Support Forces:** Explosive hazards coordination cell
- **Gendarmerie:** Capable of providing one unit/element
- **Engineering:** Multiple engineering companies and teams
- **Training:** Capable of providing 2 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Gendarmerie
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **Development:** Capable of establishing a PRT
- **Caveats:** Remove caveats
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding



- Turkey has the 2nd-largest military in NATO, with 496,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 9th-largest contributor to ISAF, with 1,755 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. Turkish troops are also well versed in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations having conducted many missions over the years against the PKK terrorist organization. Yet Turkey, despite its November increase from 720 to 1,755 troops with its takeover of command of the NATO peacekeeping operation in Kabul, commits a very small percentage of its forces to Afghanistan. Furthermore, none of these troops are allowed to participate in combat operations because of political restrictions enacted by the ruling government in Ankara. Turkish military commanders have privately expressed their willingness to take a more active role within ISAF.

However, political leaders have not been as open to increased Turkish participation. On December 3, 2009, Turkey rejected a U.S. request that Turkish troops engage in combat operations. Turkey should be especially concerned with maintaining regional stability given its major economic and energy interests in Central Asia as well as its historical and cultural links to the region. Turkey has also been the target of terrorism linked to al-Qaeda on multiple occasions. The Turkish cultural understanding of Islam as well as the Turkish connection with several minority groups in Afghanistan would be a major asset in the region. Turkey also could draw upon its experience eliminating its own illegal heroin industry during the 1960s. These lessons could prove valuable in counternarcotics efforts in Afghanistan.

Currently Turkey has 20,000 troops deployed in Cyprus, including an armored brigade, a mechanized infantry brigade (composed of 2 infantry divisions, a commando regiment, and an aviation command), and a small fleet of helicopters. This is nearly double the size of the Greek-Cypriot military forces stationed on the island (10,000 active Cypriot National Guardsmen, 950 Greek soldiers and 200 Greek officers and NCOs seconded to the Cypriot National Guard). The recent election of Papandreou, a supporter of increased federalism in Cyprus, as Prime Minister of Greece, will hopefully lead to a cooling of tensions between Greece and Turkey over the status of Turkish Cypriots. Such a relaxation could free up some of the substantial number of infantry troops stationed on the island for NATO-led counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan. This relaxation would also enable greater NATO-EU cooperation, as Turkey has been reported to have stopped some NATO-EU joint efforts because of disagreements over Cyprus and Turkish accession into the EU. While a 2009 German Marshall Fund poll found that 50 percent of Turkish citizens want to reduce or withdraw their military forces from Afghanistan, 35 percent supported increasing or maintaining the troop level and 27 percent would approve of a request from President Obama to increase the number of Turkish combat troops—the 2nd-highest percentage of the twelve countries polled. This represents a dramatic change from 2008, when 68 percent favored a withdrawal or reduction.¹⁶¹



UNITED KINGDOM

Current ISAF Contingent: United Kingdom: 9,500¹⁶² (Army: 1 reconnaissance regiment; 2 light infantry battalion; 1 artillery regiment; 1 guided multiple-launch rocket system troop; STA; 1 unmanned aerial vehicle battery; 1 explosive ordnance disposal troop; 1 support battalion; 1 theater logistic support group; 1 medical battalion; 29 *Warrior*; 130 *Mastiff*; 12 L-118; 4 guided multiple-launch rocket systems; 8 AH-64D *Apache*; 5 *Lynx*; some *Hermes 450*; some *Predator B*; some *Desert Hawk*; Royal Navy: 1 brigade headquarters (3rd Commando); 2 commando regiments; 55 *Viking*; 6 *Sea King* HC Mk4; Air Force: 8 *Harrier/Tornado*; 4 C-130 *Hercules*; 8 CH-47 *Chinook*)¹⁶³

- Regional Command – South / 6 Division – Kandahar Airfield – Commanded by Major General Nick Carter
 - Task Force Helmand / 11 Light Brigade – Camp Lashkar Gah; responsible for northeastern Helmand province – Commanded by Brigadier James Cowan
 - Household Cavalry – Camp Musa Qala; operating in Musa Qala district
 - 1 Coldstream Guards – operating in Babaji area between Lashkar Gah and Gereshk
 - 1 Grenadier Guards – Camp Lashkar Gah; operating in Nad-e-Ali district
 - 2 Yorkshire Regiment – Camp Tombstone; advising Afghan Army forces
 - 3 Rifles – Camp Sangin; operating in upper Sangin valley¹⁶⁴
- PRT Lashkar-Gah (with Denmark and Estonia)¹⁶⁵

Civilians Deployed: 210 (150 civilians in Kabul and 60 in Helmand Province)¹⁶⁶

2002-2008 Pledged Aid: \$1.486 billion¹⁶⁷

2002-2008 Distributed Aid: \$1.055 billion¹⁶⁸

Recent Actions: The UK recently announced the deployment of 500 additional soldiers, or roughly 1 battalion, to Afghanistan. This deployment was dependent on the Afghan government's speeding up the training of Afghan troops, the availability of the proper military equipment, and an agreement that other forces in Afghanistan increase their contributions. In addition to the 700 troops already in Afghanistan for the 2009 elections, this would result in a force pledge of 1,200 additional troops.¹⁶⁹

Available Capacity:

- **Combat Troops:** 2 or 3 additional battalions
- **Combat Troops:** 4,100 expeditionary soldiers from MNF-I (reaching 15 months' downtime in October 2010)
- **Support Forces:** Aerial delivery section
- **Support Forces:** Additional CIED—in addition to CIED support element, CIED targeting
- **Support Forces:** Explosive hazards coordination cell
- **Support Forces:** Additional medical unit



- **Support Forces:** Vehicular maintenance and repair company, including aviation classification repair depot
- **Support Forces:** Additional signals and PSYOPs
- **Engineering:** Multiple engineering companies and teams, plus Bastion engineering team facility
- **Training:** Capable of providing 3 additional OMLTs
- **Training:** Capable of providing additional PMTs
- **ANA Trust Fund:** Capable of providing additional funding
- The UK has the 6th-largest military in NATO, with 173,000 members in its armed forces, and is the 2nd-largest contributor to ISAF, with 9,500 soldiers deployed to Afghanistan. The United Kingdom has continually been the 2nd-largest contributor to ISAF and a steadfast, active partner in operations. The 6th-largest NATO military, with 173,000 troops, the British have sent troops to both Afghanistan and Iraq.

British ISAF forces have been active in securing Helmand Province and suffered a casualty rate of more than 150 a week during summer operations.¹⁷⁰ The UK has pledged 500 additional soldiers in response to General McChrystal's recommendations. Furthermore, the 4,100 British troops who served in Iraq will have had 15 months' downtime in October 2010.

While the British armed forces have served well in Afghanistan and are willing to contribute more combat troops, there have been many concerns about their equipment and logistics, particularly helicopters and armored vehicles. The shortage of transport and combat helicopters has become a political issue for Prime Minister Gordon Brown.¹⁷¹ For the 9,000 British troops, there are only 19 transport helicopters in theater (5 *Lynx*, 6 *Sea King*, and 8 *Chinook*). The deployment of helicopters from other NATO countries would help to reinforce the British deployment and improve the operational tempo in Helmand Province.

Public support for the war has declined, as 41 percent of Britons favor withdrawal and 19 percent favor a reduction of British troop levels.¹⁷² NATO support for the British mission would help to soothe concerns. Political support has remained strong despite the decline in public support. The two main parties, Labour and the Conservatives, support the mission in Afghanistan, but the Liberal Democrats, the third party in parliament, publicly announced their plan to withdraw British troops from Afghanistan during their party conference in September 2009.¹⁷³ Despite this opposition from the party rank-and-file, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, Nick Clegg, publicly stated that the Afghanistan war needs a new comprehensive strategy and the necessary forces and equipment to ensure success.¹⁷⁴ Thus far, the position of the parties and the split in the Liberal Democrats does not appear to have affected the outlook for the 2010 general election.



APPENDIX B: NATO CONTRIBUTIONS TO KFOR AND MNF-IRAQ

NATO Countries with Substantial Expeditionary Troops Currently in KFOR (Operation Joint Endeavor) Kosovo as of October 12, 2009¹⁷⁵**KFOR Total: 12,631**

- **Belgium: 219**
- **Bulgaria: 47**
- **Czech Republic: 393**
- **Denmark: 355**
- **France: 1,294** (Army: 1 infantry battalion; 1 gendarmerie regiment; some support units, including attack helicopters)
- **Germany: 2,486** (Army: 1 infantry battalion HQ; 3 infantry companies; elements of 1 helicopter battalion; elements of 1 reconnaissance company; elements of 1 engineering company; 1 signals battalion; 1 CIMIC company; elements of 1 logistic unit; elements of 1 Military Police company; 1 medical unit. Equipment includes 26 Leopard C2; 17 Sp z-2 (TOW); 3 CH-53 Sea Stallion; 9 UH-1D Iroquois)
- **Greece: 588** (Army: 1 mechanized infantry battalion)
- **Hungary: 243** (1 motorized infantry company)
- **Italy: 1,819** (1 combined arms battle group; 1 mountain infantry company, 1 engineering unit, 1 helicopter unit, 1 signals unit, 1 CSS unit, 1 Carabinieri regiment)
- **Poland: 226** (1 infantry battalion)
- **Portugal: 295**
- **Romania: 145**
- **Slovakia: 145** (1 infantry company)
- **Slovenia: 389** (Army: 1 infantry battalion HQ; 2 motorized infantry companies; 1 CSS company)
- **Turkey: 509** (Army: 1 infantry battalion HQ; 2 infantry companies, 1 logistics company, elements of 1 helicopter battalion, elements of 1 reconnaissance company, elements of 1 engineering company, elements of 1 Military Police company; Marines: 1 company. gendarmerie: 1 platoon)

MNF-Iraq: Many members of ISAF contributed forces to the Multi-National Force – Iraq. The vast majority of MNF-Iraq members withdrew their troops by the end of 2008. All British forces were withdrawn in July 2009. These expeditionary forces are therefore available to be deployed in Afghanistan, many of them having gained valuable experience in counterinsurgency operations in Iraq. **With the exception of the British and Romanian forces, all of these troops will have had a minimum of 15 months of downtime in May 2010.** The **Albanian and Bulgarian forces will reach 15 months in March 2010**, and the **Estonian troops in May 2010.** **British and Romanian forces will have had 15 months of downtime in October 2010.**

Substantial Withdrawn Non-U.S NATO Expeditionary Troops from MNF-Iraq in 2008 and 2009:¹⁷⁶**Total: 5,030**

- **Albania: 240** (2 infantry companies)
- **Bulgaria: 156** (1 infantry company, 1 infantry platoon)



- **Estonia: 35** (1 infantry platoon)
- **Romania: 499** (1 infantry battalion)
- **United Kingdom: 4,100** (1 armored brigade (20th), including 1 armored regiment, 3 mechanized infantry battalions, and 1 engineering regiment)



APPENDIX C: EXPLANATION OF ACRONYMS

AIFV = Armored Infantry Fighting Vehicle
ANA = Afghan National Army
ANP = Afghan National Police
CIED = Counter-Improvised Explosive Device
COIN = Counterinsurgency
COMISAF = Commander, International Security and Assistance Force
CSAR = Combat Search and Rescue
CSS = Combat Service Support
CSTC-A = Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan
EC = European Commission
EU = European Union
EUPOL = European Union Police
FOB = Forward Operating Base
FSB = Forward Support Base
IED = Improvised Explosive Device
ISAF = International Security and Assistance Force
ISTAR = Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition, and Reconnaissance
KFOR = Kosovo Force
LOTFA = Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
MNF-I = Multi-National Force – Iraq
MP = Military Police
NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTM-A = NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan
NTM-I = NATO Training Mission – Iraq
OMLT = Operational Mentoring and Liaison Team
PMT = Police Mentoring Team
PRT = Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSYOP = Psychological Operation
RC-C = Regional Command – Capital
RC-E = Regional Command – East
RC-N = Regional Command – North
RC-S = Regional Command – South
RC-W = Regional Command – West
SACEUR = Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SCR = Senior Civilian Representative
SEAD = Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses
SHAPE = Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SOF = Special Operations Forces
TOW = Tube-launched, Optically-tracked, Wire-guided missile
TPS = Target Processing Station
UNAMA = United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan



MOBILIZING NATO FOR AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN: PROJECT EXPERT ADVISORY GROUP

DIRECTORS

THE HONORABLE DAVID ABSHIRE
President and CEO, Center for the Study of the
Presidency and Congress
Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

THE HONORABLE W. BRUCE WEINROD
Former Secretary of Defense Representative to Europe
Defense Advisor to the U.S. Mission to NATO

SPECIAL ADVISOR

GENERAL BANTZ J. CRADDOCK
Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, 2007-2009

LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE

THE HONORABLE R. NICHOLAS BURNS
Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO
Former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs

GEN. KLAUS NAUMANN, BUNDESWEHR (RET.) Former
Chairman of the NATO Military Committee

ADM. JEAN BETERMIER, FRENCH NAVY (RET.)
Vice President for Research Special Advisor to the Chairman,
EADS

DR. ROBIN NIBLETT
Director
Chatham House

PROFESSOR MICHAEL CLARKE
Director
Royal United Services Institute

THE HONORABLE THOMAS PICKERING
Former Ambassador to the United Nations
Former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs

THE HONORABLE ROBERT HUNTER
Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

**THE RIGHT HONORABLE GEORGE ROBERTSON, BARON
ROBERTSON OF PORT ELLEN**
Former Secretary General of NATO

THE HONORABLE KARL INDERFURTH
Former Assistant Secretary of State
for South and Central Asian Affairs

THE HONORABLE RICHARD SOLOMON
President
United States Institute of Peace

MR. FRED KEMPE
President and CEO, Atlantic Council

THE HONORABLE KURT VOLKER
Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO

EXPERT ADVISORY GROUP

LISA ARONSSON
Head
Transatlantic Program
Royal United Services Institute

LISA CURTIS
Senior Research Fellow
The Heritage Foundation

ALASTAIR CAMERON
Head
European Security Program
Royal United Services Institute

JAMES DAVIS
Director
Institute of Political Science, University of St. Gallen

FRANK CILLUFFO
Director
Homeland Security Policy Institute
George Washington University

JAMES DOBBINS
Director
International Security and Defense Policy Center
RAND Corporation

JOSEPH COLLINS
Professor of National Security Strategy
National War College

JOHN L. ESPOSITO
Professor of Religion and International Affairs
Georgetown University



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS

THOMAS FINGAR
Former Chairman
National Intelligence Council

ROHAN GUNARATNA
Management Staff Head
The International Centre for Political Violence and
Terrorism Research

BRUCE HOFFMAN
Professor, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

ADMIRAL JONATHAN HOWE USN (RET.)
Former Deputy National Security Advisor

LT. GEN. MICK KICKLIGHTER USA (RET.)
Former Director
Iraq/Afghanistan Joint Transition Planning Group

EGIL "BUD" KROGH
Senior Fellow
Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress
Former Executive Director,
Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control

JEFFREY D. LIGHTFOOT
Assistant Director
Program for International Security
Atlantic Council

JULIAN LINDLEY-FRENCH
Professor of Military Art and Science
Royal Netherlands Military Academy

SALLY MCNAMARA
Senior Policy Analyst
The Heritage Foundation

PETER MANDAVILLE
Co-Director
Center for Global Studies
George Mason University

GILES MERRITT
Director
Security and Defence Agenda

A. WESS MITCHELL
President
Center for European Policy Analysis

SHUJA NAWAZ
Director
South Asia Center
Atlantic Council

OLGA OLIKER
Senior International Policy Analyst
RAND Corporation

ROGER PARDO-MAURER
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense

AHMED RASHID
Author, *Taliban and Descent into Chaos*

LT. GEN. WILLIAM RENO, USA (RET.)
Former U.S. Army Deputy Chief of Personnel

BRUCE RIEDEL
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy
The Brookings Institution
Chair
2009 White House Afghanistan Review

JEFF ROSENBERG
Director, NPR Worldwide
National Public Radio

STEN RYNNING
Professor, Department of Political Science
University of Southern Denmark

SIMON SERFATY
Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair
Center for Strategic and International Studies

J. ALEXANDER THIER
Director, Afghanistan and Pakistan, Center for Post-
Conflict Peace and Stability Operations, Center for Conflict
Analysis and Prevention

LORENZO VIDINO
Research Fellow
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Author, *Al Qaeda in Europe: The New Battleground of
Global Jihad*

DAMON WILSON
Director
Program for International Security
Atlantic Council

It should be noted that while a consensus of members of this project supports the overall thrust of the report, not all members would necessarily agree with every item. Members of the issue teams are not responsible for the opinions expressed throughout this document.



MOBILIZING NATO FOR AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN: ENSURING THE ALLIANCE'S FUTURE

Project Staff

President & CEO

David M. Abshire

Project Director

W. Bruce Weinrod

Project Senior Advisor

General John Craddock, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Project Coordinator

Ryan Browne

Project Executive/Legislative Relations Director

John Boyer

Assistant Project Coordinator

Dan Mahaffee

Project Staff

Garrett Clark

Phyllis D'Hoop

Alex Douville

Dana Martin

Jonathan Murphy

Matthew Purushotham

W. Gray Reilly

Jeffrey Thomas

Special Thanks

General Stéphane Abrial, French Air Force, Commander Allied Command Transformation-NATO

General David Petraeus, U.S. Army, Commander, U.S. Central Command

Admiral James Stavridis, U.S. Navy, Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Ambassador Said T. Jawad and the Embassy of Afghanistan

The Embassy of Canada

Ambassador Friis Arne Petersen and the Royal Danish Embassy

Ambassador Pierre Vimont and the Embassy of France

Ambassador Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata and the Embassy of Italy

Ambassador Renée Jones-Bos, and the Royal Netherlands Embassy

Ambassador Adrian Vierita and the Embassy of Romania

The Embassy of the United Kingdom

Stephanie Christel

CSPC Interns



NOTES

- ¹ Kagan, Frederick and Kimberly Kagan. "Afghanistan Force Requirements." Institute for the Study of War and the American Enterprise Institute, September 19, 2009. http://www.understandingwar.org/files/Afghanistan_Force_Requirements_0.pdf
- ² For a complete country-by-country listing of capacities, see Appendix A.
- ³ The International Institute for Strategic Studies. *The Military Balance 2009*. London: Routledge Journals, 2009.
- ⁴ http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/newsbriefs/2009/08/04/nb-05
- ⁵ KFOR Placemat, October 12, 2009.
- ⁶ See Appendix B for additional details of withdrawn military forces.
- ⁷ General Stanley McChrystal's initial assessment. August 30, 2009. http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf
- ⁸ Fact Sheet: NATO's Operational Mentor and Liaison Teams (OMLTs). October 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/topics/factsheets/omlt-factsheet.pdf>
- ⁹ Lekic, Slobodan. "NATO Hopes to Boost Training Teams in Afghanistan." The Associated Press, November 10, 2009. <http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5grqbKDXU-SoL0fsAMxbVQWgazWNgD9BSNAFO2>
- ¹⁰ General Stanley McChrystal's initial assessment. August 30, 2009. http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf
- ¹¹ As of October 10, 2009, Germany has pledged to send 1,200 police officers to Afghanistan to train local law enforcement as part of NTM-A
- ¹² ISAF Placemat.
- ¹³ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹⁴ [European Union Council Secretariat. "EU Engagement in Afghanistan." March 2009. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/090330-EU_engagement_Afghanistan.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/090330-EU_engagement_Afghanistan.pdf)
- ¹⁵ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
- ¹⁶ OECD
- ¹⁷ 2009 Transatlantic Trends – German Marshall Fund
- ¹⁸ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁹ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ²⁰ Fidler, Stephen. "Governments Pledge Additional Troops." *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009.
- ²¹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ²² "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ²³ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ²⁴ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009. http://budgetmof.gov.af/units/Aid_Coord_Effectiveness/ACU_Resources/DFRR_2008/2nd_DFR/DFR%20Final%20with%20changes%2023-2-2009.pdf
- ²⁵ Ibid
- ²⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ²⁷ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ²⁸ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ²⁹ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ³⁰ Norman, Wesley. "Afghanistan Order of Battle." Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>



- ³¹ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ³² Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ³³ Ibid
- ³⁴ http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20091002/Ottawa_Afghanistan_091003?s_name=&no_ads
- ³⁵ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ³⁶ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ³⁷ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ³⁸ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ³⁹ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁴⁰ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁴¹ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁴² Fidler, Stephen. “Government’s Pledge Additional Troops.” *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009.
- ⁴³ ČTK. “Half of Czechs Do Not Want Czech Soldiers in Afghanistan—Poll.” July 20, 2009. <http://www.ceskenoviny.cz/news/zpravy/half-of-czechs-do-not-want-czech-soldiers-in-afghanistan-poll/388869>
- ⁴⁴ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁴⁵ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁴⁶ Norman, Wesley. “Afghanistan Order of Battle.” Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ⁴⁷ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁴⁸ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁴⁹ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid
- ⁵¹ “Poll Show Support for Taliban Talks.” *The Copenhagen Post*. May 4, 2009. <http://cphpost.dk/news/national/88-national/45570-poll-shows-support-for-taliban-talks.html>
- ⁵² “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁵³ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁵⁴ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁵⁵ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁵⁶ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁵⁷ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁵⁸ Norman, Wesley. “Afghanistan Order of Battle.” Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ⁵⁹ Ibid
- ⁶⁰ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.



- ⁶¹ Ibid
- ⁶² Neuger, James and Janine Zacharia. "Germany, France Face Pressure; NATO Adds 7,000 Troops." *Bloomberg*, December 4, 2009.
<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=alm2VkiNNixg&pos=9>
- ⁶³ Transatlantic Trends 2009 – German Marshall Fund
- ⁶⁴ Morelli, Vincent and Paul Belkin. "NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance." Congressional Research Service. August 25, 2009 version.
<http://www.france24.com/en/20091015-france-president-nicolas-sarkozy-interview-no-extra-troops-afghanistan>
- ⁶⁵ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁶⁷ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁶⁸ Norman, Wesley. "Afghanistan Order of Battle." Institute for the Study of War. December 2009.
<http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ⁶⁹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁷⁰ Ibid
- ⁷¹ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁷² Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁷³ Ibid
- ⁷⁴ Neuger, James and Janine Zacharia. "Germany, France Face Pressure; NATO Adds 7,000 Troops." *Bloomberg*, December 4, 2009.
<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=alm2VkiNNixg&pos=9>
- ⁷⁵ <http://www.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=de&u=http://www.netzeitung.de/politik/deutschland/1459259.html>
- ⁷⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁷⁷ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁷⁸ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁷⁹ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid
- ⁸¹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁸² "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁸³ Ibid
- ⁸⁴ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁸⁵ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁸⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁸⁷ Ibid
- ⁸⁸ Ibid
- ⁸⁹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁹⁰ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ⁹¹ Norman, Wesley. "Afghanistan Order of Battle." Institute for the Study of War. December 2009.
<http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>



- ⁹² “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ⁹³ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ⁹⁴ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid
- ⁹⁶ Cowell, Alan. “Italy May Add 1,000 Extra Troops in Afghanistan. *New York Times*, December 3, 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/04/world/europe/04reax.html>
- ⁹⁷ Fidler, Stephen. “Governments Pledge Additional Troops. *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009. <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1924841,00.html>
- ⁹⁸ <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1924841,00.html>
- ⁹⁹ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁰⁰ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ¹⁰¹ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁰² Ibid
- ¹⁰³ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid
- ¹⁰⁵ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁰⁶ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ¹⁰⁷ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid
- ¹⁰⁹ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹¹⁰ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ¹¹¹ Norman, Wesley. “Afghanistan Order of Battle.” Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ¹¹² “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹¹³ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzbv4y.pdf
- ¹¹⁴ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid
- ¹¹⁶ “Afghanistan’s Dutch Model Province.” *The Economist*. March 12, 2009. http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2395300.ece/Dutch_Afghanistan_presence_up_in_the_air_again
- ¹¹⁷ http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2395300.ece/Dutch_Afghanistan_presence_up_in_the_air_again
- ¹¹⁸ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹¹⁹ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ¹²⁰ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹²¹ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹²² Ibid
- ¹²³ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹²⁴ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.



- ¹²⁵ Norman, Wesley. "Afghanistan Order of Battle." Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ¹²⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹²⁷ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹²⁸ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid
- ¹³⁰ Fidler, Stephen. "Governments Pledge Additional Troops." *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009.
- ¹³¹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹³² Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹³³ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid
- ¹³⁵ 2009 Trans-Atlantic Trends, German Marshall Fund Poll.
- ¹³⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹³⁷ "The Military Balance 2009." International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ¹³⁸ Norman, Wesley. "Afghanistan Order of Battle." Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ¹³⁹ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁴⁰ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹⁴¹ "Romania Will Send Another 100 Soldiers to Afghanistan." *Romanian Times*. December 7, 2009.
- ¹⁴² "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁴³ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹⁴⁴ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹⁴⁵ Fidler, Stephen. "Governments Pledge Additional Troops." *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009.
- ¹⁴⁶ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁴⁷ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹⁴⁸ "International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown." December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid
- ¹⁵² Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzv4y.pdf
- ¹⁵³ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid
- ¹⁵⁵ Agence France-Presse. "Spain Could Send Another 200 Troops to Afghanistan: Report." December 2, 2009.



- ¹⁵⁶ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁵⁷ Norman, Wesley. “Afghanistan Order of Battle.” Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ¹⁵⁸ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid
- ¹⁶¹ <http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/nefaijuoct08.pdf>
- ¹⁶² “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁶³ “The Military Balance 2009.” International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2009.
- ¹⁶⁴ Norman, Wesley. “Afghanistan Order of Battle.” Institute for the Study of War. December 2009. <http://www.understandingwar.org/files/AfghanistanORBAT.pdf>
- ¹⁶⁵ “International Security Assistance Force and Afghan National Army Strength & Laydown.” December 22, 2009. <http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf>
- ¹⁶⁶ Korski, Daniel. *Shaping Europe’s Afghan Surge*. European Council on Foreign Relations. March 25, 2009. http://ecfr.3cdn.net/4599862142844e090e_oum6bzy4y.pdf
- ¹⁶⁷ Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Finance. *Donors Financial Review: Report 1387*. January 2009.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid
- ¹⁶⁹ Fidler, Stephen. “Governments Pledge Additional Troops.” *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2009. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/jul/21/record-uk-casualties-helmand-taliban>
- ¹⁷⁰ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jul/16/afghanistan-helicopter-shortage-commons-defence-committee>
- ¹⁷¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jul/16/afghanistan-helicopter-shortage-commons-defence-committee>
- ¹⁷² Transatlantic Trends 2009 – German Marshall Fund.
- ¹⁷³ <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article6844041.ece>
- ¹⁷⁴ http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article6914792.ece
- ¹⁷⁵ Composition of units and equipment from *The Military Balance*. (The International Institute for Strategic Studies. *The Military Balance*. London: Routledge Journals, 2009.)
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE
PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS

1020 19th Street, NW Suite 250 | Washington, DC 20036 | 202-872-9800 | www.thePresidency.org