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Interagency Assessment of the Counternarcotics Program in Afghanistan

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On the Cover: We have chosen the Statue of Freedom from the United States Capitol as a symbol to be reflected in our report cover.

The bronze Statue of Freedom was designed by American sculptor Thomas Crawford in 1857-1859. Crawford described his creation as being readable understandable by the American people:

“I have endeavored to represent Freedom triumphant – in Peace and War...In her left hand she holds the olive branch while the right hand rests on a sword which sustains the Shield of the United States. These emblems are such as the mass of our people will easily understandI have introduced a base surrounded by wreaths indicative of the rewards Freedom is ready to bestow...”

Allen, William C., *The Dome of the United States Capitol: An Architectural History*. Prepared under the Direction of George M. White, FAIA, Architect of the Capitol, US Government Printing Office Washington: 1992



**U.S. Department of State and
U.S. Department of Defense**



PREFACE

This report was prepared by the Offices of Inspector General of the Departments of State and Defense with input from and coordination with the Department of Justice, pursuant to the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended.

The report assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. Government's role in the counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan and provides recommendations for program improvements.

The interagency State/Defense/Justice Inspectors General team collected information from various open sources and met with senior civilian and military officials in Washington D.C.; London, United Kingdom (Joint Narcotics Analysis Center); Brussels, Belgium (European Union and NATO); and Vienna, Austria (United Nations Office of Drug Control). During their field visits to Afghanistan, the team interviewed Embassy Kabul staff members, senior U.S. and coalition military commanders, international partners, and government of Afghanistan officials.

Recommendations in the report are based on the best knowledge available to the Offices of Inspector General and have been discussed with those responsible for implementation. These recommendations should result in more effective, efficient, and economical operations.

We appreciate the cooperation of all those who contributed to the preparation of this report.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Howard J. Krongard".

Howard J. Krongard
Department of State
Inspector General

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Claude M. Kicklighter".

Claude M. Kicklighter
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Key Judgments

- The “Five Pillar” approach to counternarcotics in Afghanistan (eradication, alternative livelihoods, interdiction/law enforcement, justice reform, and public information) is reasonable and comprehensive. Attention to each pillar must move forward in a coordinated fashion. There are no quick fixes. Achieving lasting success is a long-term proposition.
- U.S. Government counternarcotics efforts depend on the Government of Afghanistan demonstrating both a firm determination and demonstrated ability to deal with the issues.
- Progress on counternarcotics issues is linked to defeating the insurgency, combating corruption, and extending effective governance throughout the country. There is consensus within the U.S. Government that counternarcotics is critical to and interrelated with all aspects of U.S. Government’s involvement in Afghanistan. The priority of counternarcotics relative to other objectives is not clear and should be established and agreed to by all U.S. Government elements involved in the effort.
- During fiscal year 2006, the U.S. Government allocated over \$420 million through the Departments of State, Defense and Justice, and the Agency for International Development for counternarcotics efforts in Afghanistan. This is dwarfed by the approximately \$755 million Afghan poppy farmers received for their 2006 crop, the estimated \$2.5 billion accrued to Afghan traffickers, and the \$38 billion ‘street’ value if that entire crop were converted to heroin (UNODC figures for London). There is no realistic possibility of outspending economic incentives in the narcotics industry.
- U.S. Government counternarcotics programs are not adequately integrated and coordinated among participating departments and agencies. Management and oversight of these programs merit more staff resources. The quality and extent of interagency cooperation are highly dependent on the capabilities of the embassy ‘drug czar,’ a contract employee. A different management model is recommended to strengthen planning, oversight, and coordination.
- The Alternative Livelihood Program, as an element of economic development, holds promise and should be continued. A newly conceived Good Performers Fund would reward provinces where there is no-to-low poppy cultivation, and the Fund should be implemented. A more focused allocation of funds between alternative livelihood programs and the good performers fund may increase the overall reduction in poppy cultivation through economic incentives to Afghan farmers. However, economic development alone cannot adequately address counternarcotics, except possibly in the very long-term.

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- United Nations pre-planting surveys indicate that 2007 poppy cultivation may equal – or even exceed – 2006 levels. Eradication capabilities have modestly increased, but preliminary goals for eradication in 2007 (at least 30,000 hectares) are unrealistic.
- The Office of Management and Budget guidance is to include U.S. Government operations in Afghanistan in annual operating budgets. The long-term nature of the undertaking requires multi-year commitments.
- Security in the poppy producing provinces is a growing concern. This necessitates further reliance on aircraft and air support for execution of counternarcotics programs. Current airlift capacity is inadequate for a variety of funding, equipment, personnel, and bureaucratic reasons.
- Public information efforts have not succeeded. Relevant U.S. programs are dependent on contractors. The contracts have statements of work that lack sufficient precision for adequate oversight. The embassy should provide closer oversight and evaluation of public information efforts.
- International Security Assistance Force assumption of control over coalition military forces will impact counternarcotics efforts. National ‘caveats’ (reservations on how respective coalition forces can be used in Afghanistan) restrict counternarcotics activities in particular provinces. Closer international coordination is needed.

Interagency Assessment

An interagency team (IG assessment team) representing the offices of Inspectors General of the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice carried out this assessment of U.S. Government-funded counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan. Between September 5 and November 5, 2006, members of the team interviewed officials and visited facilities in the U.S. (Washington DC, Tampa, Florida), Europe (London, England, Brussels, Belgium, Vienna, Austria), and Afghanistan (Kabul, Kandahar, Lashkar Gah, Jalalabad, Turkham, Faizabad, and Charchaghan).

Team members were: Ambassador David Zweifel (Department of State, Overall Team Leader); Thomas Martin (Department of State, Deputy Team Leader); George Marquardt (Department of Defense Lead Inspector); John I. Provan (Department of Justice); Jay Dehmlow (Department of State); Auburn Parker (Department of Defense); Steven Rounds (Department of State).

The information in this report is current as of November 5, 2006.

Executive Summary

Purpose:

This assessment reviewed the counternarcotics (CN) programs in Afghanistan funded, directed, managed, or contracted by the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice. The IG assessment team evaluated the overall effectiveness of U.S. strategy, management structure, and interagency cooperation and coordination. The assessment was based on the U.S. Government Five Pillar Strategy for the CN efforts in Afghanistan (eradication, alternative livelihoods, interdiction/law enforcement, justice reform, and public information). Work focused on four areas.

- Conception, conduct, and management of U.S. Government-funded counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan.
- Organization, coordination, and direction of interagency participation.
- Interaction with the Afghan government on counternarcotics issues.
- Impact, effectiveness, and prospects of these counternarcotics actions and programs.

The IG assessment team did not examine internal controls over financial, physical, and personnel resources; and reviewed management of only those contracts associated with the CN public information campaign.

Context:

CN efforts in Afghanistan have not succeeded in stemming the production, processing, and trafficking of opium and opiates. Poppy acreage under cultivation and opium production both set records in 2006, accounting for 92 percent of the world's raw opium. There is broad agreement that Afghanistan's production of and trafficking in opium and opiates is of international concern and importance. Success in countering the narcotics production and trafficking problem requires cooperation and consensus among the Government of Afghanistan (GOA) officials, the broader international community and the U.S. Government.

Afghanistan's opium and opiates are distributed and consumed primarily in Southwest and Central Asia, Western and Eastern Europe, and along the trafficking routes in between. The U.S. Government continues to assume major responsibility for undertaking CN efforts in spite of the modest direct impact of Afghan opium production on the United States. U.S. Government policy makers are keenly aware of the necessity for a strong interrelationship among the counternarcotics, rule-of-law/good governance, anti-corruption, anti-terrorist, and security programs in Afghanistan.

Since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, the GOA has taken a number of significant steps to combat narcotics, and additional, continuous national commitment is necessary

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to solve the narcotics problem. Development of an Afghan capacity – human and physical – is a prerequisite for an effective and sustainable CN program.

The insurgency and the narcotics industry are increasingly linked, and both contribute to pervasive corruption. There is consensus among foreign and Afghan observers that the narcotics problem in Afghanistan is a long-term issue.

Results:

The U.S. Government's five-pillar CN strategy is reasonable and comprehensive. The IG assessment team identified several cross-cutting factors that merit discussion.

- Security – The situation deteriorated over the past two years, adversely affecting every pillar of the Afghan CN strategy.
- Policy prioritization – The IG assessment team was unable to determine how the counternarcotics strategy fits in with broader U.S. Government objectives in Afghanistan.
- Resources availability/adequacy – Not all U.S. Government departments and agencies participating in the Afghanistan CN programs have incorporated Afghanistan programs in regular budget requests and continue to rely on Congressional supplemental appropriations.
- Contracting – Contractors carry out many U.S. Government-funded CN programs. However, with the exception of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), many CN contracts were put in place when there was no in-country contracting officer's representative or project officer.
- Interagency coordination/management – Embassy Kabul's CN organizational structure is unique: three contractors constituted the embassy's Counternarcotics Task Force (CNTF). There were times when the coordination function suffered.
- Mobility – Effective CN operations require air assets. U.S. Government-controlled air fleets dedicated for exclusive use in CN operations included U.S.-made Huey II helicopters and Beech King Air fixed wing airplanes and leased Russian-made helicopters and fixed wing aircraft. Matching aircraft to operational requirements and interoperability among fleets merit attention. Fleets should share support requirements when possible.

The report discusses each of the pillars of the CN strategy in order.

- Eradication – The Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) fostered creation of a central government-led eradication force in 2004, which achieved limited results in 2004-2006. President Karzai assigned provincial governors responsibility in 2003-2004 to conduct eradication in their own provinces, promising them financial support from the central government and international donors. The governor-led efforts eradicated six times the acreage of the central government-led force at a significantly lower cost in 2006. Embassy Kabul's tentative eradication goals for 2007 were very

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optimistic, lacking methodical planning processes to develop eradication plans with realistic targets and appropriate resources to achieve them.

- **Alternative Livelihood Program** – The Alternative Livelihood Program is the principal ‘carrot’ in the CN arsenal, but there is no evidence indicating a positive correlation between alternative livelihood programs (ALP) and reduction in poppy cultivation. The policy of linking ALP to eradication creates a perverse situation wherein ‘bad performers’ receive ALP. Provinces with no or low poppy cultivation implicitly are less favored. Both U.S. Government and Afghan officials told IG assessment team members that, indeed, farmers who are not involved in poppy have begun to grumble, speculating that growing poppy might entitle them to ALP. Many Afghans interpret ALP to imply personal compensation for desisting from the opium trade. In fact, many ALP projects benefit communities rather than individuals directly. Embassy Kabul proposed creation of a Good Performers Fund to reward provinces where there is no-to-low poppy cultivation.
- **Interdiction** – Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) officials acknowledged responsibilities for training and mentoring, but pointedly noted that the DEA is more focused on interdiction operations. An analysis of DEA personnel resources assigned to major illicit drug source locations reveals that proportionately fewer personnel are assigned to Afghanistan than elsewhere.
- **Justice Reform** – The U.S. Government is assisting Afghan authorities in developing a new Afghan judicial system. The Criminal Division of the Department of Justice (DOJ) is sending Assistant U.S. Attorneys (AUSAs) and criminal investigators to provide criminal law reform assistance; mentoring and training for the group of judges, investigators, and prosecutors who form the Criminal Narcotics Tribunal (CNT) and the Criminal Justice Task Force (CJTF); and criminal law advice to Embassy Kabul and Afghan officials. The pace at which justice reform and training has occurred in Afghanistan has been hindered by the speed with which DOJ has deployed personnel to the field. The U.S. Government extradited a major drug trafficker under applicable U.N. conventions. There is no bilateral U.S.-Afghan extradition treaty.
- **Public Information** – Program coordination of the public information effort is lacking. Multiple agencies are involved in publicizing counternarcotics efforts. Public attitudes towards CN were greatly influenced by the resurgence of the Taliban who actively work to corrupt or intimidate local leaders. The insurgents’ messages carry more punch than GOA media campaigns. Subsequent campaigns should emphasize the negative consequences of involvement in the narcotics trade by publicizing eradication and interdiction successes. The Poppy Elimination Program contributes to the CN effort and should continue with assistance from Provincial Reconstruction Teams.

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Despite some policy differences, cooperation on CN issues between the U.S. Government and coalition governments is close and generally productive. A Joint Narcotics Analysis Center (JNAC) operates in London. Representatives from INL and the British Foreign Office established the International Operations Coordinating Center (IOCC) in Kabul through an “implementing directive” signed in 2005. The implementing directive states that each government will pay for its respective staff, but assigns no responsibility for other expenses.

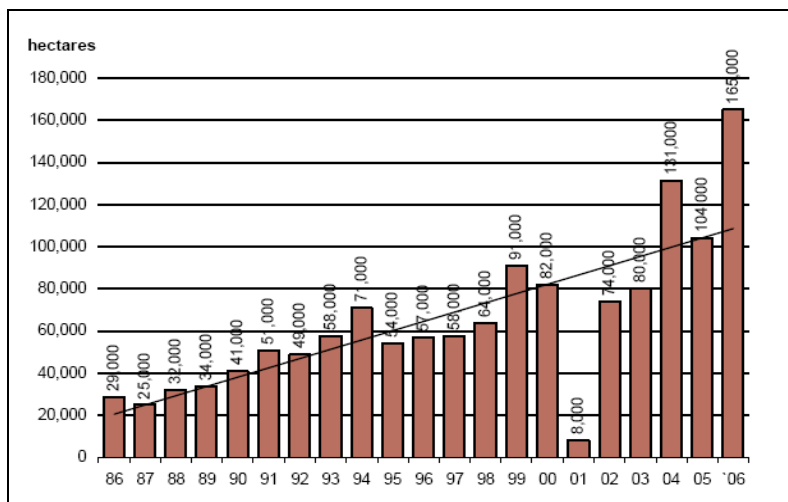
Overview

“If we do not destroy poppy, poppy will destroy Afghanistan...”
President Hamid Karzai

Background

CN efforts, including those supported by the U.S. Government, have not succeeded in stemming the opium and opiates production in Afghanistan.

Figure 1. Twenty-year trends in Afghan poppy cultivation¹
Source: UNODC “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2006”



In 2006, Afghanistan was the source of about 92 percent of the world’s supply of raw opium.

- Acreage devoted to poppy cultivation in 2006 was approximately 59 percent higher than in 2005 (165,000 hectares compared with 104,000 hectares).
- The number of Afghans involved in cultivation rose from an estimated 2 million in 2005 to 2.9 million in 2006 – about 12.6 percent of the population.²
- The United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates Afghanistan produced about 6,100 metric tons of raw opium in 2006, up from 4,100 metric tons in 2005.³

¹ The sharp drop in 2001 reflected a one-year Taliban-enforced ban on cultivation.

² Statistics cited are from the “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2006” issued by the U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC). A December 1, 2006 Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) press release put 2006 cultivation at 172,600 hectares, and opium produced at 5,644 metric tons.

³ Statistics cited for cultivation and opium production are from the “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2006” issued by the UNODC.

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- Extrapolating from UNODC figures for London, the ‘street value’ of the 2006 Afghan opium crop (if all were converted to heroin) would be more than \$38 billion.

Conversion of all the 2006 Afghan opium production to heroin would result in approximately 700 metric tons of that substance, exceeding world demand.⁴ The economic incentives for the poppy industry far outweigh existing disincentives. In 2006, income generated inside Afghanistan from the narcotics industry represented about 60 percent as much as that from legal economic activities. It is self-evident that there is no politically feasible way to outspend economic incentives that drive the narcotics trade.

There were modest countervailing results during 2006. Approximately 15,300 hectares of poppy were eradicated,⁵ and the quantity of illegal substances seized doubled over the previous year. The GOA Ministry of Interior admonished a small number of district officials for defying the central government edicts directing CN activities. One district governor and his chief of police were summarily removed from their positions, purportedly for narcotics-related corruption. Over 200 persons were indicted for narcotics-related offenses (although they were mostly minor players involved in transporting illegal substances). Convictions for 133 narcotics-related crimes were handed down and sentences were being carried out.

Even so, the overall record in 2006 was one in which basic indicators (opiates produced, processed, and trafficked) moved sharply in the wrong direction.

Whose Problem Is It?

There is broad agreement that Afghanistan’s production of and trafficking in opium and opiates is of international concern and importance. Success in countering the narcotics production and trafficking problem requires cooperation and consensus among the GOA officials, the international community, and the U.S. Government.

Afghan officials interviewed for this report emphasized the difficulties in eliminating the poppy industry. They cited limited law enforcement capacity, exacerbated by rampant corruption and security-related concerns. They also perceived that vigorous pursuit of a CN agenda risks social and political upheaval, further threatening the tenuous ‘reach’ of the central government. Moreover, Afghan officials pointed to the jobs and income benefits that accrue from the narcotics trade, equivalent to approximately one-third of Afghanistan’s gross domestic product. Finally, Afghan officials tend to externalize the problem. In doing so they note that:

⁴ The ratio of converting raw Afghan opium to heroin is approximately 8.5:1. ONDCP calculates the 2006 crop would convert to 664 metric tons of heroin.

⁵ The UNODC-verified figures show approximately 2,250 hectares eradicated by the Afghan Eradication Force and approximately 13,050 hectares eradicated via Governor Led Eradication (GLE) efforts. Both programs receive U.S. Government funding through INL.

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- The overwhelming market for opium and opiates is outside Afghanistan, despite a disturbing growth in domestic addiction to banned substances.⁶
- Most major traffickers are nonresidents of Afghanistan; hence, beyond the reach of GOA law enforcement or judicial processes.
- Most of the income generated by the narcotics trade never enters Afghanistan.⁷
- Neighboring governments should assume more responsibility for interdicting precursor chemicals used to refine opium.

Afghanistan's opium and opiates are distributed and consumed primarily in Southwest and Central Asia, Western and Eastern Europe, and along the trafficking routes in between. European Commission officials told IG assessment team members that their respective governments consider narcotics abuse to be of health or social concern, not primarily activity of a criminal nature. Their governments seem inclined to settle for containing the Afghan narcotics problems or reducing them to 'manageable' levels. One ranking European military officer summed up this attitude: "I don't want my soldiers to die for the sake of a drug addict."

There are exceptions to these attitudes. For example, the Iranian government – confronting one of the world's highest rates of opium and opiate addiction – has criminalized use of narcotics and actively seeks to suppress the flow of such substances from Afghanistan.

In operational terms, the U.S. Government continues to assume major responsibility for undertaking CN efforts. The U.S. Government-perceived urgency for action has to be balanced with the long-term need to build Afghan CN capacity and determination. When U.S. Government elements fill the breach, their activities ease pressure on the GOA or other governments to take action.

The U.S. Government's significant CN role in Afghanistan is irrespective of the modest impact of Afghan opium production on the U.S.:

- Heroin consumption in the United States ranged between 11 and 14 metric tons per year between 1993 and 2000.
- Estimates are that only about 5.7 percent of heroin consumed in the United States in 2000 was of Southwest Asian (presumably mostly Afghan) origin.

⁶ Analysis by the UNODC is that over 900,000 Afghans are addicted to illegal substances.

⁷ This underscores the fact that the bulk of revenues stemming from Afghanistan's poppy culture are generated outside the country. Although beyond the scope of this interagency assessment, attention should focus on money-laundering activities. Dubai is a major locus for money laundering related to Afghan opiates.

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- Although the proportion of heroin entering the U.S. market from Southwest Asia appears to be increasing (from an estimated 286.5 kilograms consumption in 1996 to 759.2 kilograms in 2000), this is miniscule in relation to Afghan production.⁸

How Important Are Counternarcotics Efforts?

The Taliban involvement in the narcotics industry, discussed elsewhere in this report, is a means to an end: usurpation of power. Narcotics provide a formidable funding source for all forces attempting to undermine the GOA. Without an effective CN effort, the corrupting influence of the narcotics industry would likely set the stage for Afghanistan's reemergence as a safe haven for international terrorist operations.

One could pose three arguments against continuing U.S. Government CN efforts in Afghanistan: it is essentially a European problem; the long history of opium production in Afghanistan will prevail; or successful CN efforts are not an essential element to achievement of overall U.S. Government objectives in Afghanistan.

Contrarily, the U.S. Government approach to CN problems is tightly interrelated with the goal of an independent, democratic, prosperous Afghanistan. Trafficking and consumption patterns can and have shifted quickly in the past; there is no assurance that relatively low level American dependence on Afghan-origin opiates will continue. U.S. Government policy makers demonstrated they are aware of the necessity for a strong interrelationship among the counternarcotics, rule-of-law/good governance, anti-corruption, antiterrorist, and security programs in Afghanistan. A holistic approach to problems is required if the U.S. Government is to succeed in fostering stable, progressive governance in Afghanistan.

Given the previously described complexities of the CN program, efforts in Afghanistan require a long term commitment. This has resource implications. It is difficult to calculate how much U.S. Government funding might be adequate, how such monies should be channeled, and how to structure programs that deal both with immediate (e.g., operational) aspects and those of a longer-term nature (notably capacity building). The IG assessment team notes that opium production increased dramatically in 2006 over 2005 while U.S. Government funds allocated to CN dropped from about \$959 million in FY 2005 to about \$480 million in FY 2006. Reduced funding in the face of a growing problem poses the dilemma of how to match U.S. Government efforts to an achievable, defined outcome.

⁸ Cited statistics are from Estimation of Heroin Availability 1996 – 2000, Office of National Drug Control Policy, March, 2002.

Are There Alternatives?

The IG assessment team notes four possible alternatives in dealing with opium production in Afghanistan.

- **Legalize.** The Paris-based Senlis Foundation advocates legalization. Senlis' basic premise is that there is a global shortage of opiates for production of medicines, creating a potential licit market for Afghan opium. No reliable independent source supports this Senlis contention. The GOA and U.S. Government are among concerned parties who dismiss the Senlis proposal out of hand.⁹
- **Buy-out.** A buy-out proposition is nonviable. The market for opium and opiates is very elastic. In 2003, an effort by the United Kingdom Government (UKG) and GOA to buy-out poppy production in Helmand Province (a \$40 million program) failed to produce lasting results.
- **Ignore.** As noted in figure 1 (see p. 8), poppy cultivation has increased on an almost-uninterrupted scale over the past 20 years. In the view of the IG assessment team, to acquiesce and ignore the problem would be contrary to building a competent, honest and self-sustaining Afghan government.
- **Confront.** Involved governments agree that actively combating the problem is the only viable option. Incremental progress has been achieved under difficult conditions. It would be incorrect or premature to judge CN efforts to have failed. However, adjustments are in order. This report identifies ways to improve the overall effort.

The U.S. Government's five-pillar CN strategy (eradication, alternative livelihoods, interdiction/law enforcement, justice reform, and public information) is reasonable and comprehensive. However, it is unclear how this strategy fits in with broader U.S. Government objectives such as security, good governance, and economic development in Afghanistan. U.S. Government departments and agencies do not share a common operational approach to CN issues. The U.S. Government has not used either 'carrots' or 'sticks' in the most effective manner.

As the U.S. Government moves ahead on the CN front, there is a need for a closer match between resources allocated to CN and realistic goals and objectives. There is no easy solution. There are no panaceas or quick fixes. The U.S. Government must pursue vigorous, comprehensive, expensive, and long-term CN activities in Afghanistan. The efforts will be marked by incremental progress and setbacks.

⁹ During the course of the IG assessment's time in Afghanistan, the GOA expelled non-Afghan Senlis representatives from the country.

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The Afghan Dimension

“Whoever rules Afghanistan, the incentives for misgovernment are nearly irresistible.”¹⁰
Barnett Rubin, in 2000

One of the major missing elements to date has been a robust effort on the part of the government of Afghanistan. The verbal commitment of President Karzai and lead Afghan officials to the counternarcotics effort outpaces both GOA ability and national will to act aggressively to combat the narcotics industry in Afghanistan. Since the fall of the Taliban in 2002, the government of Afghanistan has taken a number of significant steps to combat narcotics. President Karzai’s government:

- established the Ministry of Counter Narcotics, headed by a cabinet level minister, in December 2004;
- decreed a comprehensive Counter Narcotics Drug Law in December 2005;
- published an updated five-year National Drug Control Strategy in January 2006;
- prepared detailed implementation plans for all pillars of that strategy for final approval in October 2006; and,
- moved forward in 2006 on a broad-based public information campaign to support the strategy.

These steps helped organize and legally equip Afghan authorities to mount CN efforts, but greater capacity, political will, and anti-corruption measures are needed.

Development of an Afghan capacity – human and physical – is a prerequisite for an effective and sustainable CN program. Decades of fighting ruined almost all Afghan institutions and prevented development of human capital sorely needed to rebuild those institutions.

Efforts to establish, train and equip an effective counternarcotics police for Afghanistan (CNP-A) are under resourced and incomplete. The judicial system is generally ineffective, beset by corrupt judges, ill-trained prosecutors, and illiterate police. Afghan police, prosecutors, and judges continue to debate division of authorities within the system. Although key Afghan officials wish to see prosecution of significant cases in country and oppose extradition, the judicial system does not appear strong enough to survive a major scandal or robust physical attack.

¹⁰ Noted Afghan scholar as quoted by Mark Shaw in Chapter 7, *Afghanistan’s Drug Industry: Structure, Functioning, Dynamics, and Implications for Counter-Narcotics Policy*, edited by Doris Buddenberg and William A. Byrd.

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The removal of the Taliban allowed Afghans to elect their country's first democratically elected president. However, following parliamentary elections, the members of the new parliament had limited political experience upon which to draw. Virtually every aspect of political life in present-day Afghanistan is new. The impact of nascent institutions is heavily dependent on support of the Afghan populace and the efforts of dedicated, honest officials. Meanwhile, the insurgency increasingly hinders efforts to develop and stabilize political life.

Illiterate farmers relied on traditional cultivation methods that made little or no use of insecticides or herbicides. This detracted from any rational discussion of the use of herbicides to destroy poppy. Much of the public simply does not trust Afghan security forces – the police and army – to protect them from threats from the Taliban or other persons and organizations involved in the narcotics trade.

The Afghan Minister for Counternarcotics told IG assessment team members that income from the poppy culture was so important to the economy of the country that too-quick action to deal with the problem would risk economic collapse. Given limited tax receipts, customs revenues, and foreign assistance, the Afghan Finance Minister stated that the economy cannot afford to lose the strong economic stimulus of the poppy crop in the near future. These representative points of view suggest the GOA's reluctance to deal with CN issues.

GOA officials whom the assessment team interviewed opined that corruption permeates all levels of Afghan society – the police, warlords, local and provincial leaders, and the bureaucracy. For example:

- One provincial governor was recently caught with over nine tons of opium in his basement. Though removed from that position, he subsequently was elected to be a senator in the parliament.
- After removal of a senior official in the border guard for corruption, the individual defied orders and returned to his post.

Conditions such as these hamper CN efforts. Provincial governors have relative autonomy because the central government has limited ability to influence events at the provincial level. Ethnic and tribal allegiance further complicates the mix. The tendency has been to revert to time-honored reliance on family and tribal connections. In numerous interviews with the IG assessment team, corruption at all levels of the Afghan government ranks second to the security problem.

However, the recently appointed Afghan attorney general made anti-corruption his top priority. He asserted to the IG assessment team that the general populace is frustrated with the current state of affairs and demands action against corrupt individuals.

There is consensus among foreign and Afghan observers that the narcotics problem in Afghanistan is a long-term issue. Estimates range from 3 to 5 years to get the problem “under control,” to 15 to 20 years for achieving a “solution.” There is also a general view that Afghans will require USG and international support to sustain a

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credible CN effort on their own for the foreseeable future. Thus, the international community must commit to a long haul effort to improve the Afghan dimension. One senior German police mentor defined the issue clearly: “We must stay. What are the options?”

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Cross-cutting Issues

Security

All aspects of CN programs are hampered by the deteriorating security environment in Afghanistan – especially in Helmand and other southern provinces with very high cultivation of poppy. There was a notable increase in suicide bombers and improvised explosive devices throughout the country -- tactics that in the recent past had been uncommon. American and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) military officials confirmed that the insurgency increased its strength and presence, especially in the poppy-dense southern provinces.

During the 2006 spring eradication season, the Afghan Eradication Force (AEF) repeatedly encountered resistance, particularly in Helmand, Badakshan, and Baghlan provinces. Since creation of a centrally led eradication force in 2004, nine members of the AEF were killed and 17 wounded. Resistance included standoff rocket attacks, sniping, roadside improvised explosive devices, land mines, and hostile crowd incidents.

The threat of violence and the uncertain availability of *in extremis* support¹¹ hindered interdiction efforts by the Afghan Narcotics Interdiction Unit (NIU) operating with and mentored by the DEA. As with eradication, interdiction efforts – e.g., arrest of suspects, destruction of laboratories, etc. – often depend on force protection provided by coalition military units. Without assurance of *in extremis* support, CN missions were canceled, and NIU attempts to schedule interdiction raids were halted for several months.

The prospect of violence made delivery of ALP more expensive, as U.S. Government contractors and direct-hire employees required additional protection. In May 2005, attacks on ALP teams in Helmand resulted in 11 deaths and a five-month suspension of work by USAID contractor, Chemonics. Another consequence of deteriorating security is a significant restriction of where ALP teams can operate. For example, in Helmand, the largest poppy-producing province in the country, the very active Taliban presence severely constrains ALP activity.

The links between the insurgency and the narcotics industry are increasing and troubling. Delivered anonymously to farmers, insurgent-drafted “night letters” threaten retaliation for failure to cultivate poppy or cooperation with the GOA. These are more persuasive than contrary GOA-sponsored public information (PI) messages.

Policy Prioritization

The U.S. Government’s ‘five-pillar’ CN strategy is consonant with the GOA’s eight-pillar CN strategy (the GOA’s additional pillars are: institution building; regional

¹¹ ‘*In extremis* support’ denotes situations in which elements under attack must be rescued by use of military assets.

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cooperation; and demand reduction, prevention, and treatment.) The IG assessment team found the U.S. Government approach to be reasonable and comprehensive. It is less clear how the CN agenda ranks among other U.S. objectives in Afghanistan, such as: counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, good governance, combating corruption, rule-of-law, and economic development. There is consensus among Washington-based elements, Embassy Kabul, the Combined Forces Command – Afghanistan (CFC-A), and ISAF that CN is integral to progress on these other objectives.

However, differing organizational mandates blur the focus and efforts of some participants in the CN effort:

- CFC-A’s primary missions are counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. The command plays a supporting role for CN.¹²
- Under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) operations plan, ISAF is directly tasked with a CN support role. However, ISAF involvement is contingent on resource availability at any point in time, with prioritization defined by the ISAF commander.¹³
- USAID has the U.S. Government lead in implementing alternative livelihood programs. To a degree, any and all USAID projects could be categorized as ALP.
- INL in the Department of State and Embassy Kabul’s INL section are responsible for contracting and oversight of police training, as well as coordinating CN programs.
- The DEA is responsible for training and mentoring the Afghan NIU. Most training and mentoring takes place ‘on the job’ while DEA is developing cases against traffickers.

In short, the priority granted to CN and concomitant responsibilities of various U.S. Government elements is not sufficiently clear and specific. Interlocutors, both in Washington and Afghanistan, were unable to point to a clear, overarching strategy. Some cited the “Afghanistan Compact” drawn up in London in early 2006, as the most authoritative statement of objectives shared among the GOA and coalition governments. That document categorizes CN as a “cross-cutting priority” – hardly precise enough to define responsibilities or to inform decisions on allocation of resources.¹⁴ The Inter-Agency Counternarcotics Strategy Group, chaired by the Assistant Secretary of State for INL, is best positioned to press for clarification of U.S. Government policy priorities.

¹² CJCSI 3710.01A, DOD Counterdrug Support, dated March 30, 2004, prohibits “transportation support in direct tactical support of the operational portions of ongoing LEA [law enforcement agency] ... operations, or of any activities where CD-related [Counter Drug] hostilities are imminent.” (para. 4.f.4, p A-5)

¹³ In late November 2006, ISAF – for its first time – provided aircraft for a DEA operation in Herat.

¹⁴ The Afghanistan Compact, agreed to at London in January 2006 states: “Meeting the threat that the narcotics industry poses to national, regional and international security as well as the development and governance of the country and the well-being of Afghans will be a priority for the Government and the international community...” The Compact also set general benchmarks and timelines – e.g. “By end-2010, the Government will implement programmes to reduce the demand for narcotics and provide improved treatment for drug users.”

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Relevant decisions require agreement at the level of the Deputies' Committee or the Principals' Committee.¹⁵

Recommendation 1: The Department of State should take the lead to develop a policy document specifying the priority of counternarcotics relative to other U.S. objectives in Afghanistan and, thence, respective roles and responsibilities for pursuing an agreed counternarcotics strategy for Afghanistan. This document should be referred to the Deputies' Committee and, if necessary, Principals' Committee for approval. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with members of the Inter-Agency Counternarcotics Strategy Group)

In their comments to the draft report, INL disagreed, stating that “counternarcotics is among the top four policy priorities in Afghanistan. Development of a policy document specifying a numerical priority to each objective would undermine current efforts to integrate the activities...” The intent of the IG assessment team’s recommendation is not to develop a priority list, but to establish in writing a top-level policy that will focus efforts and drive resources among the interrelated priorities across agencies.

Under the 2002 Bonn Agreement,¹⁶ the UKG had the coalition lead in dealing with CN issues. Although there are some bilateral differences in approach, British and American policy makers and program implementers collaborate closely. Other NATO and ISAF member governments contribute to the effort in varying degrees.

In the complex dimensions of CN efforts in Afghanistan, the gap between aspirations and accomplishments poses continuing problems. An understandable desire for measurable ‘outcomes’ results in pressure to establish goals. This, in turn, has engendered unrealistic expectations, both on the part of Afghans (e.g., some farmers reportedly expected personal compensation from ALP rather than projects that benefit communities) and for Washington policy makers and other American officials who sometimes are quicker to note shortfalls than to recognize accomplishments (e.g., in eradication or interdiction ‘measurables’). For example, the CN team at Embassy Kabul

¹⁵ In addition to INL, membership in the Inter-Agency Counternarcotics Strategy Group includes the Counter-Narcotics Center (CNC), the Drug Enforcement Administration, Central Command (CENTCOM), the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Justice Criminal Division, National Security Agency, Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), Department of State’s Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs (SCA), Department of the Treasury and USAID. The National Security Council (NSC) chairs the Deputies’ Committee; appropriate departments are represented at the deputy secretary level; similarly, the NSC chairs the Principals’ Committee with participation at the Cabinet level.

¹⁶ Under U.N. auspices, Afghan political leaders met in Bonn with representatives of governments that participated in the coalition that overthrew the Taliban regime. The resulting “Bonn Agreement” set out the framework for an elected GOA and also defined donor governments that would assume lead responsibility for security (U.S.), counternarcotics (United Kingdom), police training (Germany), judicial reform (Italy) and infrastructure development (Japan). The Afghanistan Compact retermed ‘lead nations’ as ‘key partners’ with the GOA as the ‘lead’ for all programs in country. Nonetheless, international partners informally continue to exercise some primary responsibilities (e.g. the UKG on CN).

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tentatively has set very high targets for eradication in 2007.¹⁷ The IG assessment team concludes that these goals are unrealistic. (Setting targets for eradication is discussed further in the ‘Eradication’ section of this report).

Resource Availability/Adequacy

Since the 2001 coalition liberation of Afghanistan, the U.S. Government has provided over \$10.3 billion in assistance, not counting funding for military operations.¹⁸ Of that total, approximately \$1.6 billion has been dedicated to CN efforts (see Figure 2).

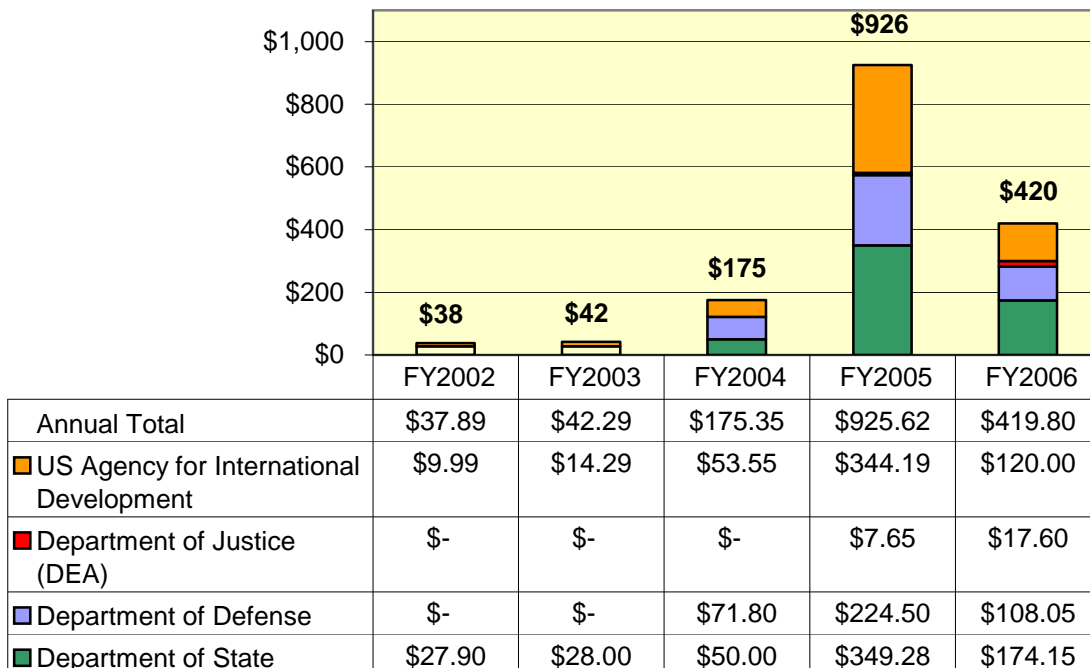


Figure 2. U.S. Government counternarcotics funds allocated to USAID and the Departments of State, Defense and Justice (\$ in millions)¹⁹

¹⁷ At the time of this assessment, Embassy Kabul’s tentative 2007 goals were to eradicate about 30,000 hectares – almost twice the acreage eradicated in 2006. INL officials state that about 25 percent eradication of an illicit crop would be necessary to have a real deterrent effect on farmers’ decisions on whether or not to cultivate such crops. In the case of Afghanistan, that would have entailed eradication of approximately 45,000 hectares in 2006 and (likely) a comparable acreage in 2007.

¹⁸ Summary of U.S. Assistance – London Conference on Afghanistan, Department of State Fact Sheet, 2006/125, February 1, 2006.

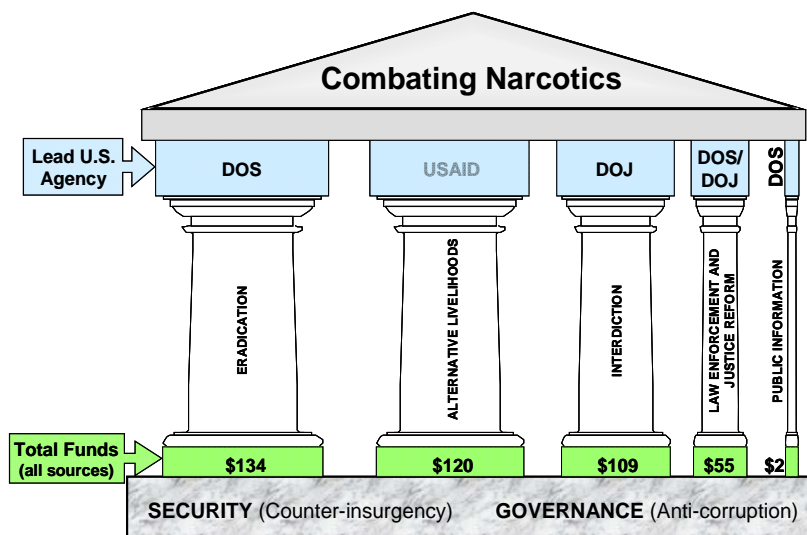
¹⁹ By comparison, the UKG expended the equivalent of approximately \$127 million in 2005-2006 out of a budgeted equivalent of \$272 million for 2005-2008.

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Throughout this period, most funding for programs in Afghanistan has come through Congressional supplemental appropriations. While the supplemental process provides a mechanism for responding to emergencies, it does not provide budget continuity. Programs reliant on supplemental appropriations are often subject to uneven implementation if funding is interrupted or if a fiscal year begins under continuing resolution. Failure to incorporate programs funded by supplemental appropriations into annual budgets results in inaccurate baseline figures and complicates planning and accountability.

Understandably, funding varies across the five pillars. Figure 3 illustrates the application of FY 2006 U.S. Government funding across the CN pillars. Departments and agencies applied more than 60 percent of the funds for FY 2006 to eradication efforts and ALP. (Note that the amounts shown include funds initially allocated to more than one department.)

Figure 3. FY 2006 U.S. Government funds applied to CN pillars
(in \$ millions)



Not all U.S. Government departments and agencies participating in Afghanistan CN programs have incorporated Afghanistan programs in regular budget requests. The Department of State and USAID have included budget and performance elements in planning cycles for Afghanistan, although the numbers developed during those cycles have not been consistently incorporated into their respective budget submissions. Much of the funding was allocated to the Department of Defense (DOD). In accordance with the Economy Act (31 U.S.C. 1535), some of those monies were transferred to INL to use in CN-related programs. Within the DOJ, DEA funds staffing of its country attaché office, but prospectively will rely on the GOA for helicopter support. In turn, GOA aircraft and associated training are funded by DOD. All concerned U.S. Government

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elements must address the issue of the long-term costs to support their respective administrative and operational CN activities.

The Afghanistan Inter-Agency Operations Group (AIOG)²⁰ in Washington has begun discussing five-year budget plans to fund U.S. Government programs in Afghanistan. This is a working process that proposes funding through regular budget requests that may not always receive ‘full’ funding approval. Consequently, there may be occasions in which supplemental requests will be required. However, reliance on supplemental appropriations is contrary to guidance currently provided by the Office of Management and Budget.

The five-year approach provides a more realistic timeframe to develop CN programs and to measure results. As the process continues, it is essential that the involved agencies develop outcome, not just output, performance measures. Budget planning should reflect the performance targets and take into account contributions of other donors, as well as those of the GOA.

Recommendation 2: The Department of State working through the Afghanistan Inter-Agency Operations Group should prepare a rolling five-year budget and performance plan for U.S. Government funded counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan. The plan should include outcome measures to track the effectiveness of these programs. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

Recommendation 3: The Afghan Inter-Agency Operations Group should present the rolling five-year budget and performance plan to participating departments and agencies for use in budget preparations. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

The size, complexity, and need for expertise and continuity are primary factors that cause heavy reliance on contractors to carry out many U.S. Government-funded CN programs. The contracting process often occurred quickly and, as far as the IG assessment team was able to determine, with minimal input from Embassy Kabul. With the exception of USAID contracts, many were concluded at a time when there was no in-country contracting officer's representative or project officer available to review statements of work. The result was that at least two statements of work, those for DynCorp support to the Poppy Elimination Program (PEP) and for Hill & Knowlton (H&K) contracts for the public information pillar, were written in such vague terms that the current in-country contracting officer's representative, project manager, and the contractors were uncomfortable with the imprecise reportable outcomes in the contracts.

²⁰ The Afghanistan Inter-Agency Operations Group was created in August 2003 and is co-chaired by the Department of State and the National Security Council. Membership includes all federal agencies that have programs or interests in Afghanistan. Discussions are often conducted on specific issues thereby limiting the number of attendees.

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Recommendation 4: The Department of State should ensure the in-country contracting officer's representative and project officer are involved in developing all future statements-of-work for counternarcotics related contracts. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with A/OPE and Embassy Kabul)

Interagency Coordination/Management

Embassy Kabul's CN organizational structure is unique. At most embassies either the deputy chief of mission (DCM) or the chief of the narcotics affairs section is in charge of the CN effort. In Kabul, though, a contractor directed the embassy's CNTF, reporting to the Ambassador through the DCM.

The CNTF director brought strong experience to the job, having worked as a DEA special agent in the region and having served in a senior position at DEA headquarters. In October 2006, he began his third year working at Embassy Kabul, which gives him institutional memory on relevant issues. The CNTF director worked directly with GOA ministers, senior American and British military officers, and representatives of various donor entities. The Ambassador had full confidence in the incumbent with whom he and the DCM met regularly.

Notwithstanding these contributions, the IG assessment team learned that there are times when the coordination function suffered.²¹ The CNTF director was supposed to chair weekly meetings of the CNTF. In practice, there was only one such meeting from early September through the beginning of November 2006. The open door style of both the Ambassador and DCM encouraged direct dialogue – at times without keeping the CNTF director informed. As a contractor, the CNTF director could not supervise U.S. direct-hire personnel or directly oversee contracts or contractors, yet those were two of the most important coordination functions. Finally, the contract for the incumbent was to expire in the summer of 2007. It appeared that he was not interested in extending his contract.

Effective management of the CN mission is a complex task. At the time of this assessment, only a deputy and a manager of the PEP teams – both contractors – reported directly to the CNTF director. In contrast, the British Embassy Drug Team (BEDT) consisted of approximately 20 personnel. DOD, with limited direct responsibility for CN efforts, had more than 20 staff members working on CN support activities. Although the embassy's coordinator worked closely with other CN entities, the overall effort would be more efficient with additional personnel assigned to perform specific CNTF functions.

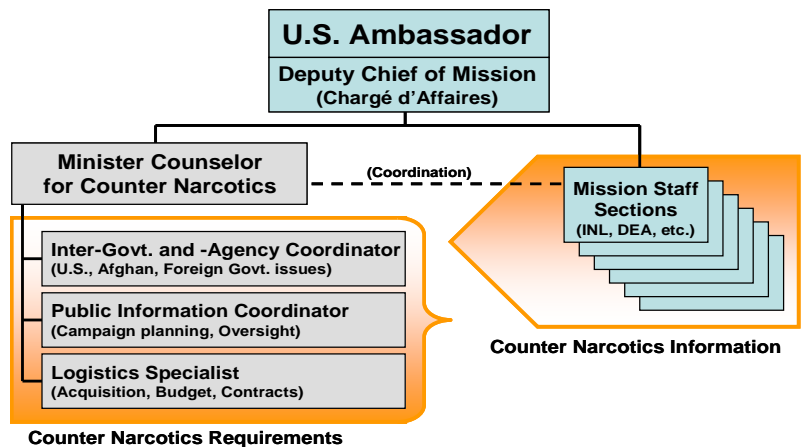
Continuity is an important element in management of the CN programs. The short-tour assignment of personnel detracts from the continuity. The aspects of supervision of personnel and oversight of contracts, along with the need for additional attention to management issues, prompted the IG assessment team to propose an

²¹ Other sections of this report cover public information efforts, and an appendix deals with air mobility. Both areas are examples of efforts that could have proceeded better with more direct coordination or the more rapid use of the authority of the ambassador to sort out operational questions.

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expanded functional organization of the CNTF. The IG assessment team concluded that full-time U.S. Government American employees should fill four positions outlined in Figure 4. In the view of the IG assessment team, such persons do not have to be from the Department of State, but could be drawn from any of a number of agencies. However, Department of State officials stated that existing collective bargaining agreements with the American Foreign Service Association inhibit recruitment from across the government.

Figure 4. Proposed Embassy Kabul organization for CN activities.



In the judgment of the IG assessment team, the CNTF director’s position should be retained. In contemplating departure of the current director, the Ambassador’s intention was to identify the staff member in country at the time whom he deemed best able to fill the position. The IG assessment team concludes it would be better to establish this as a regular – not-contract — position and more precisely define its policy parameters and management responsibilities. In view of the importance of continuity, this should be a two-year assignment. Further, the IG assessment team believes that in order to attract well-qualified senior officers to the position, it should be designated as “Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics.” The person in this position would report to the Ambassador through the DCM.

Recommendation 5: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for the Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics at Embassy Kabul. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 6: The Department of State should fill the position of Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics at Embassy Kabul with an officer at the Minister Counselor level on the basis of a two-year assignment. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

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CN efforts undertaken by various U.S. Government departments and agencies are often dependent on one-on-one conversations or exchanges among a small number of participants. Decisions are not always agreed by or communicated to all participants. USAID separately (and apparently with little or no interagency coordination) contracted Chemonics to publicize ALP projects in the southern region (and planned to have counterpart contractors in other regions of the country mirror those efforts).

Intergovernmental communications also need closer attention. The CNTF interacts with several GOA ministries, foreign governments, and international organizations. Each of these requires attention by U.S. Government officials, sometimes in joint sessions, often in one-on-one meetings. The IG assessment team envisions the Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics to be the principal point of contact for these purposes. The IG assessment team recommends assignment of a person designated specifically to assist the Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics in ensuring proper interagency and international coordination.

Recommendation 7: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for a coordinator of interagency and intergovernmental counternarcotics issues at Embassy Kabul. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 8: The Department of State should fill the position of coordinator of interagency and intergovernmental counternarcotics issues at Embassy Kabul with a qualified officer. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

Various entities share responsibility for PI efforts conducted or funded by the U.S. Government. Within the embassy, the INL section, USAID, the Public Affairs Section, and the CNTF each have PI roles. Military personnel under CFC-A likewise are involved. The INL section managed a contract with H&K for overall public information projects. The CNTF oversaw the PEP campaign. All PI programs should be coordinated with other affected sections within the embassy, military units, contractors, and the GOA to achieve a more effective process.

Ensuring effective PI messaging on CN presents major challenges. At the time of the assessment, contractors crafted message content in consultation with GOA authorities. These were cleared with the public affairs officer (PAO) and the INL PI officer. Surveys indicated that most Afghans realize that poppy cultivation is illegal, contrary to religious teachings, and poses serious health risks. Contrarily, the public receives little information about law enforcement or eradication activities. Successes in eradication and interdiction should be widely publicized. The public needs to know of actions against corrupt officials and traffickers – especially in cases of removal from office and/or judicial prosecution.

It is essential that the various agencies and contractors convey common public information messages, tailored to the correct audience and properly timed within the

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poppy cultivation season. Those involved in various PI efforts must understand the roles played by each other PI element. By federal regulation, the contractor presently managing the PEP could not supervise U.S. Government or other contract employees.²²

Recommendation 9: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for a public diplomacy officer to organize and oversee counternarcotics public information programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 10: The Department of State should assign a qualified officer to oversee counternarcotics public information programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

The CN effort in Afghanistan suffers from the absence of any system of centralized records to assess what individual agencies are spending, where funds are being spent, funds remaining, and what is being accomplished. While each agency or office attempts to track funding in its area of responsibility, there is no central point to provide an overall picture. This hampers both the planning of CN programs and the evaluation of those efforts. There is a similar lack of a single source for information on acquisition of and accountability for relevant U.S. Government-purchased equipment and supplies. A persistent theme voiced to the IG assessment team was the need to sort out competing demands for limited CN resources (e.g., multiple demands for use of the limited number of aircraft).

Recommendation 11: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for an administrative support officer to serve within the Embassy Kabul Counternarcotics Task Force. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 12: The Department of State should assign a qualified officer to serve within Embassy Kabul's Counternarcotics Task Force as administrative officer. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

In their comments to the draft report, the US Embassy Kabul and INL disagreed, offering different reasons. US Embassy Kabul stated that the Interagency Resource Cell meets the requirement, while INL referred to the scheduled deployment of contracting officer's representatives in mid 2007. However, the Director of the Interagency Resource Cell does not report to the CNTF, and personnel in Afghanistan cannot be counted until they actually arrive. The IG assessment team did not change the recommendation to reflect concern over providing the CNTF Director with sufficient staff to accomplish the mission.

²² Subsequent to field work done for this assessment, a public information officer has been assigned to Embassy Kabul's Narcotics Action Section. Depending on the relevant job description, this may constitute satisfactory compliance with recommendations 9 and 10.

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Mobility

Travel in Afghanistan is difficult. After 30 years of conflict most roads are in very poor condition. Overland travel is slow and dangerous. Therefore, most CN operations require air assets. Two air fleets are dedicated for exclusive use in CN operations.

- INL operates 10 Huey II helicopters in Afghanistan for use in the eradication effort. The U.S. Government retains title to these aircraft. INL also leased a number of Russian-made helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft.
- DEA initially deployed to Afghanistan on an understanding that its air mobility would come from CFC-A, either directly or through leased assets. DOD is in the process of procuring ten Mi-17 helicopters for exclusive use by the NIU. Those helicopters will be turned over to the GOA once they arrive in country.²³ DEA deployed one fixed wing (King Air) aircraft and planned to add another, but it continues to need helicopter support.

The capabilities of the existing aircraft did not always match operational requirements. For example, the Huey IIs were unable to operate effectively in some of the higher elevations in Afghanistan's poppy producing provinces. Even at lower elevations, there were tradeoffs between cargo, passengers, and fuel. INL, because of security concerns, had not been able to preposition fuel in locations close to many of the proposed eradication zones. None of the INL aircraft had reconnaissance/surveillance capabilities, so the eradication force often resorted to using hand held digital cameras to collect field information.

In terms of airlift, the operational needs of INL and DEA are different. INL's focus on eradication allows for more long-term planning, whereas DEA's interest in interdiction requires aircraft availability on a more immediate basis to exploit targets of opportunity. INL provided some support to DEA over the past 12 months and pledged to do so in the future, depending on other mission priorities. Both organizations will continue to require periodic U.S. military or ISAF air support, to include *in-extremis* missions.

While the airlift needs for eradication and interdiction are different, the support requirements are similar. Securing operations and maintenance support for any aircraft in Afghanistan is expensive and the pool of qualified vendors limited.

Recommendation 13: The Department of State should lead an interagency assessment of the Afghanistan counternarcotics air mission requirements, including aircraft types, quantities, and sustainment. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

²³ Appendix B is a case study of the evolution of the air mobility issue.

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INL, DEA, the United Nations, Afghan Ministry of Defense, DOD, and ISAF actively sought space at Kabul International Airport. In short, available space at that airport is tight. Senior U.S. Government officials received conflicting briefings outlining land use plans at the beginning of 2006. One plan required approval from the Afghan Ministry of Interior, while the second required sign-off by the Ministry of Transportation. Also, one plan explicitly provided a parcel of land to both DEA and INL, while the second plan mentioned neither. The IG assessment team observed first hand the confusion concerning land use continued at the end of 2006.

Recommendation 14: Embassy Kabul should develop a coordinated list of U.S. Government requirements for space at Kabul International Airport for use in the counternarcotics mission and negotiate with the Afghan government for such allocation. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan)

The Five Pillars

Eradication

Eradication encompasses destruction of opium plants in the fields before farmers are able to harvest their illicit crops. Thus, the possibility of eradication is a key factor in the decision of Afghan farmers on whether or not to plant poppy. The five-pillar strategy involves a carrot and stick approach in which a credible threat of eradication is an integral component.

In terms of U.S. Government funding since FY 2001, eradication of Afghanistan's poppy crop has been the largest pillar in the CN strategy. In addition, given more readily measurable outcomes and understandable metrics – e.g., crop surveys, estimates of opiates processed, and hectares eradicated – this pillar garnered the highest level of public attention in the media and received close political scrutiny inside government circles year after year. For some, the pillar's title conveys the tempting impression of an easy solution, one in which bold steps, once taken, might solve Afghanistan's drug problems. However, in the five years since the fall of the Taliban the size of the country's annual poppy crop more than doubled and – with the exception of 2005 – registered increases every year. In response, the overall Afghan eradication effort was slow to evolve. Results have been modest and achieving the GOA's publicly stated goals for reduction in poppy cultivation is unlikely in the near term.²⁴

Eradicating Afghanistan's poppy crop poses formidable challenges not easily reducible. At ground level, poppy is a low-risk crop in a high-risk environment. There are few if any other legal crops or commercial activities to which Afghan subsistence farmers can profitably turn, although the overwhelming majority of farmers cultivate legal crops. Thus, poppy has come to serve multiple purposes. It is a high return crop that provides a basis for obtaining credit, is a source of employment for family members, and holds out prospects of year-round funds sufficient to feed one's family. UNODC estimated that, in relation to the 2005-06 poppy season, each hectare of poppy cultivated created 5.6 related jobs in the rural economy.

Afghanistan was one of the world's poorest countries long before the Soviet invasion.²⁵ Between that invasion in 1979 and the cultivation ban by the Taliban in 2001, poppy cultivation, processing, and trafficking were the only sectors of the Afghan economy that flourished.

²⁴ Afghanistan's National Drug Control Strategy, as re-issued in January 2006, set a goal of a 70 % reduction of opium poppy over five years and elimination in 10 years.

²⁵ According to World Bank statistics, the 2005 per capita income in Afghanistan was \$293 – a notable increase since the fall of the Taliban. However, this contrasts with a 2003 per capita income of \$404 in Haiti.

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U.S. Government-funded eradication efforts trace back to late 2003-early 2004, when preliminary U.S. Government and UNODC surveys began to show a very large increase in poppy cultivation underway in Afghanistan.²⁶ Under the five-pillar strategy unveiled in fall 2004, INL focused on the nascent eradication efforts of Afghan authorities, both of the central government in Kabul and by provincial governors.

Political pressure is building within the U.S. Government for use of large-scale aerial application of herbicides in hopes this might bring poppy cultivation effectively under control. Unfortunately, application of herbicides is not a ‘silver bullet.’ The GOA – which has the final say – is opposed to this approach, in part reflecting the history of defoliants applied by the Soviets during occupation of the country. The UKG and other coalition partners are likewise against aerial spraying of poppy. Some proponents of spraying argue that most Afghans would not react negatively to use of herbicides since such a small proportion of the population (about 12 percent) are directly involved in the narcotics industry. The potential for collateral damage to licit crops, exaggerated health worries and concern for the environment – all dimensions easily exploitable by traffickers and insurgents alike – almost certainly would broaden Afghan opposition to use of herbicides.

Eradication efforts by the Central Government

The first U.S. Government/GOA joint eradication efforts took place during the 2003-04 crop season. INL launched a Central Poppy Eradication Force (CPEF) in April 2004. The concept was to deploy the CPEF where governor led eradication (GLE) failed or when governors requested eradication assistance. CPEF was designed to operate as one large unit, consisting of nearly 600 Afghan police officers who were to travel in convoy over Afghanistan’s limited road system. However, after starting late in the season, the CPEF was only able to eradicate 978 hectares (see figure 5).

In the following year (2004-05), the CPEF was plagued by its cumbersome size and organizational structure. Logistical and mechanical problems and unexpectedly difficult weather conditions slowed and, in some cases, prevented the force from arriving at planned sites. Further contributing to the CPEF’s woes were delays by the UKG in developing and delivering targeting packages, the GOA’s unwillingness to address stalling by provincial governors, and organized

Figure 5. Hectares of poppy eradicated by planting year.

| Planting Year | Hectares Eradicated | | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------|
| | Central Force | Governor Led | Total |
| 2003-2004 | 978 | | 978 |
| 2004-2005 | 1100* | 4,000 | 5,100 |
| 2005-2006 | 2,373 | 13,100 | 15,473 |

* Includes one-time 890 hectare effort by Afghan National Police

²⁶ There is additional historical detail on the evolution of poppy cultivation in Afghanistan in appendix A to this report.

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resistance to eradication.²⁷ As a result, the CPEF's eradication numbers dropped to a scant 213 hectares. The Afghan National Police (ANP) augmented that number with an unverified one-time eradication effort that they claimed eliminated 890 hectares.²⁸ The total reported crop eradication by the central government for that season totaled 1,100 hectares – one percent of the 2005 crop.

Later in 2005, those low numbers prompted a major review and reorganization of the CPEF. First, its name changed to the AEF. Then, reorganization and training transformed it into four smaller mobile teams of up to 150 officers each. Half of each team was to provide security and logistics support, while the other half served as eradicators.

Air mobility, a new component, was to enable AEF teams to deploy with the necessary logistical support to different parts of the country simultaneously. Russian-made helicopters and a fixed wing aircraft became available under a lease arrangement, providing “lift” necessary to establish base camps and deploy troops and cargo quickly. The U.S. Government retained title to the INL-purchased Huey II helicopters provided to conduct reconnaissance, force protection, search and rescue, and medical evacuations. During the harvest season, the reorganized force conducted timely deployments to Helmand, Badakshan, and Baghlan provinces.

INL reported that over 50 percent of the time that the AEF teams were deployed on the ground was “downtime.” That was because of coordination procedures among Afghan officials in Kabul, delays by the BEDT in granting final approval to targeting packages, intentional stalling by governors, and deliberate sidetracking by local police units assigned to guide eradication teams to fields.

Nevertheless, in 2005-06, the AEF reported – and UNODC verified – that it had managed to eradicate 2,373 hectares. This was an impressive 11-fold increase over 2005, but only amounted to a third of the AEF's official target of 7,000 hectares. Equally important, the AEF proved the value of Afghan mobile teams conducting multiple eradication efforts simultaneously in different locations throughout the country.²⁹

²⁷ Targeting packages are the body of information that eradicators put together when planning a mission. They typically include maps, photos, and geographic positioning system coordinates of illicit crops. In Afghanistan, the process of assembling and then approving targeting packages also includes a review by the UKG, the designated coalition lead on CN. That review, conducted by the BEDT, employs a list of some fifteen criteria that take into account factors that shape the ability of farmers to switch from poppy cultivation to alternative legal commercial activity (e.g., existence of roads, irrigation, markets, and micro-finance).

²⁸ UNODC reported, however, that it was not able to verify that ANP claim.

²⁹ 2006 also saw precedent setting military/civilian cooperation in eradication. In March-April 2006, CFC-A orchestrated ‘Operation Riverdance,’ bringing elements of the Afghan army and police together as a joint security force during counterinsurgency operations in Helmand province. The operation included a self-contained AEF team, operating 28 tractors that conducted eradication operations in southern district of Helmand. The ANP provided an inner ring of security and the Afghan army established outer ring security.

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Governor Led Eradication Efforts

Meanwhile, the eradication efforts of provincial governors were more successful. In 2003-04, President Karzai had assigned the governors responsibility to conduct eradication in their own provinces, promising them financial support from the central government and international donors. In the 2004-05 crop year, almost 4,000 hectares were destroyed through GLE efforts, a figure reported and verified by UNODC. As such, the GLE number was nearly four times what the central government had achieved during the same period.

In light of promising GLE numbers, INL took two additional actions to assist the governors. First, INL reimbursed the governors for their expenses at a rate of \$60 per hectare of UNODC-verified eradication.³⁰ Second, INL underwrote the costs of the PEP teams (discussed under the public information pillar). At the conclusion of the 2006 spring harvest, the governors of 19 provinces reported – and UNODC verified – a total of 13,100 hectares eradicated, more than triple the level of the preceding year. This contrasted with 2,373 hectares eradicated by the AEF. Moreover, GLE efforts had the added advantages of bolstering local counternarcotics capacities and strengthening district and provincial local governance. However, GLE efforts required a relatively permissive security environment, whereas the AEF anticipated the possibility of active hostility.

GLE also posed a number of verification challenges and manipulation problems. According to UNODC, its on-site surveyors found that on average only a little more than half of the area for which the governors claimed credit could be verified as actually having been eradicated. (UNODC estimates include figures only for acreage verified to have been eradicated by GLE.) To address this concern in the 2007 harvest season, INL will embed UNODC verifiers directly into GLE units, to ensure accuracy in reporting.

Further, the UNODC reported that in 2006, on average two-thirds of the cultivated poppy area in each village was left standing after GLE teams carried out their activities. This seemed to confirm third-party reports that GLE eradication teams may have negotiated deals with local authorities on where and how much eradication would take place.³¹ There was also evidence of “early lancing,” the partial harvesting that takes place when farmers anticipating eradication prematurely extract part of the latex from the pods in a field.³² UNODC surveyors only credited areas in which eradication activities resulted in complete or near complete loss of the opium harvest, and only fields where the harvest had not yet started.³³

³⁰ The requirement for UNODC verification was critical to ensuring accurate record keeping and the GLE’s cost effectiveness.

³¹ p. 56, UNODC’s “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2006”.

³² Normal practice is to ‘lance’ poppies several times during the harvest season in order to maximize the amount of gum extracted. Although eradication during any part of the harvest cycle is worthwhile, the objective is to do so as early as possible, preferably before the first lancing.

³³ p. 57, UNODC’s “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2006”.

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GLE eradication was far cheaper than that done by the AEF, although cost comparisons might be misleading. In FY 2006, INL received \$104 million to support the AEF, plus an additional \$124 million for air mobility assets. A large portion of those funds went to training and a one-time acquisition of equipment. However, simple division shows that the AEF's eradication costs would be more than \$50,000 per hectare without aviation support (and as much as \$92,000 per hectare with aviation expenses fully included). Meanwhile, during the 2006 harvest season, INL continued to reimburse the governors for poppy eradication at a rate of \$60 for each hectare of poppy that UNODC surveying teams verified as having been eradicated.

Both GLE and AEF efforts are critical to the eradication program. However, a comparative study of the costs of AEF and GLE eradication, along with analyses relative to optimal mixes of the two, would be useful both to the interagency community and eradication program managers in the field.

Recommendation 15: The Department of State, through the U.S. section of the intergovernmental Counternarcotics Strategy Group, should request that the Joint Narcotics Analysis Center in London analyze the cost-benefit ratios of central government-led eradication and governor-led eradication in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with members of the Counternarcotics Strategy Group)

In their comments to the draft report, the US Embassy Kabul, INL, and the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Counter Narcotics all agreed with the need for the analysis, but stated the JNAC was not the appropriate organization to conduct the analysis. The IG assessment team defers to State/INL for final action.

The Path Ahead

While the IG assessment team was in Afghanistan, officers at Embassy Kabul were discussing 2007 eradication goals of more than 30,000 hectares. Those figures were still tentative at the time this report was drafted, and the Washington interagency community had yet to receive and approve a comprehensive eradication plan for the 2007 season. Planning was premised on some application of herbicides through ground-based spraying (GBS). Concurrently, President Karzai insisted that there be consensus approval among other governments and international institutions involved in CN; British support was critical. At the time of the assessment, the UKG had not formally concurred in the proposal to incorporate ground application of herbicides, a proposal endorsed in principle by President Karzai.³⁴ The debate about potential use of herbicides took on added importance in light of UNODC's annual surveys of poppy farmers' intentions that pointed to poppy cultivation in 2007 equal to or perhaps exceeding that of 2006.³⁵

³⁴ Subsequent to this assessment the UKG agreed to limited GBS in select areas of Afghanistan, notably to exclude Helmand province.

³⁵ On January 21, 2007, President Karzai decided against any spray program during 2007. This reflected the Afghan cabinet's near-unanimous opposition to use of herbicides.

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INL officials in Washington pointed out that eradication efforts had taken out the equivalent of one percent of the Afghan crop in 2004, almost five percent in 2005, and over eight percent in 2006. They expressed confidence in an ability to push those percentages higher in 2007 and following years. At the same time, they told the IG assessment team that earlier UNODC studies show that 25 percent is a critical tipping point in successful eradication campaigns elsewhere in the world. The studies indicate that when farmers calculate the risk of eradication at that level, they may elect not to plant illicit crops. By these measures, the 2006 ‘breakpoint’ target for eradication in Afghanistan would have been more than 40,000 hectares.

INL/Kabul program managers were in a quandary in attempting to set achievable goals for eradication. Setting very ambitious goals would arouse high expectations and might later prompt charges of failure. If more modest, more realizable goals were set, there may be criticism for being timid. In that context, INL/Kabul outlined for the IG assessment team the elements of a basic plan for the 2006-07 season consisting of three “prongs”:

1. Increasing from six to 14 the number of poppy-free provinces in Afghanistan.
2. Sustaining the sizeable poppy reductions previously achieved in five provinces, by setting specific targets and holding provincial authorities responsible for meeting those targets.
3. Reducing cultivation in Helmand province by 20,000 hectares (equivalent to nearly 30 percent of the province’s crop in 2006) through dissuasion and/or eradication.

Elements of this plan were problematic. For example, the Helmand prong would require the AEF to eradicate mechanically some 7,000 hectares in the province. To do so, the force would need to operate without political constraints and in an essentially permissive security environment. Ground-based spraying might eliminate an additional 3,000-5,000 hectares. GLE in the province presumably would need to account for the remainder, somewhere between 8,000-3,000 hectares – up from 3,000 hectares the year before. There have been only modest increases in eradication capabilities since the last harvest season. Indications are that there will be a significant increase in cultivation in Nangahar (the ‘poster child’ for previous CN success). In light of such factors, the IG assessment team concluded that initial plans for 2007 eradication were unrealistic.

The difficulties in planning for eradication during the 2006-07 crop season were not new. They stemmed from several recurring factors:

- annual U.S. and U.N crop estimates are not released until late in the fall of each year;
- complex shifting crop patterns as poppy cultivation mushroomed in Afghanistan;

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- higher eradication targets as Afghanistan's poppy cultivation expands;
- resource levels have not kept up with the need to support larger eradication campaigns;
- uncertainty about the use of new methods of eradication such as ground-based spraying;³⁶
- reliance on AEF versus GLE;
- difficulties anticipating the security situation in target areas;
- airlift capacity (e.g., availability, passenger vs. cargo lift requirements, pre-positioning fuel supplies, competing demands for interdiction, etc.)

Earlier and more methodical planning processes should result in eradication plans with realistic targets and appropriate resources to achieve them.

Recommendation 16: The Department of State should develop a regular process to prepare and present a detailed annual Afghan poppy eradication plan by October of each year for implementation in the following harvest season. This plan should be shared with all U.S. agencies involved in counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Alternative Livelihoods

Conceptually, the goal of the alternative livelihood pillar is to discourage poppy cultivation by providing different, licit economic activities. The term “ALP” is frequently misleading. Many Afghans interpret ALP to imply personal compensation for desisting from the opium trade. The ALP focused on projects to benefit communities and on cash-for-work programs. Examples include road construction and restoration of irrigation systems. At Embassy Kabul and in conversation with GOA officials, there was consensus that a more correct characterization would be ‘rural development’ or ‘economic development.’

Within the U.S. Government, ALP is the responsibility of USAID. USAID's strategy seeks to develop a private sector-led economy that will increase incomes and reduce poppy cultivation. USAID allocated \$141.3 million in FY 2006 to offset cultivation in nine principal poppy producing provinces. Development projects included building primary and secondary roads and repairing power supply, water and sanitation systems. Cash-for-work projects were intended to mitigate the loss of income from farmers' choosing not to cultivate poppy or from experiencing eradication. USAID predicted that by the end of FY 2007, ALP, in conjunction with other U.S. Government-funded CN programs, should reduce poppy production by 30

³⁶ Embassy Kabul reporting subsequent to the IG assessment team's departure from Afghanistan indicated that GBS is less promising than hoped for. Field tests revealed a number of problems with the equipment that resulted in taking longer to spray each hectare of poppy than would be the case with manual eradication (about 75 minutes per hectare as opposed to about 12 minutes using manual eradication).

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percent from 2005 levels. In light of 2006 statistics and UNODC estimates of poppy cultivation in 2007, the IG assessment team believes this goal cannot be achieved.

The ALP and eradication efforts are conceived to be mutually coordinated and reinforcing. ALP is the principal ‘carrot’ in the CN arsenal, but there is little evidence indicating a positive correlation between ALP and reduction in poppy cultivation (see figure 6). Instead, ALP allocations in Helmand were roughly \$4.5 million in FY 2005 and \$13.5 million in FY 2006, while poppy cultivation in that province registered 26,500 hectares in 2005 and 69,324 hectares in 2006. On the other hand, cultivation in Nangahar dropped sharply in 2004 – the year before ALP was initiated. USAID officials acknowledge that the primary factor in that drop in Nangahar cultivation was strong leadership from the then-governor. Subsequently, ALP for Nangahar went to \$2.5 million in FY 2005 and \$13.6 million in FY 2006. Poppy cultivation in the province then rose to 1,093 hectares in 2005 and then 4,872 hectares in 2006.³⁷ Contrary to the popular thesis of a poverty-poppy correlation, a 2006 UNODC study concluded that there is no direct relationship between cultivation and poverty. In fact, Helmand and Nangahar – historically among the top poppy cultivation provinces – are among the more prosperous areas in Afghanistan and places where alternatives to poppy-generated income already exist.

Figure 6. Relationship between ALP funding and poppy cultivation for selected provinces.

| Province | FY 2005 | | FY 2006 | |
|----------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | ALP Funding (\$ in millions) | Poppy Cultivation (in hectares) | ALP Funding (\$ in millions) | Poppy Cultivation (in hectares) |
| Helmand | \$4.5 | 26,500 | \$13.5 (+200%) | 69,324 (+160%) |
| Nangahar | \$2.5 | 1,093 | \$13.6 (+444%) | 4,872 (+346%) |

The policy of linking ALP to eradication often creates a perverse situation wherein areas that are ‘bad performers’ receive additional development funds in the form of ALP. Provinces with no or low poppy cultivation implicitly receive fewer or no benefits. Both U.S. Government and Afghan officials told IG assessment team members that, indeed, farmers who are not involved in poppy have begun to grumble, speculating that their growing poppy might improve their prospects for obtaining ALP. Nonetheless, USAID/Kabul’s plans are to allocate all FY 2007 ALP funds to nine provinces with high poppy cultivation. The GOA, UKG, and other CN players endorse this approach.

During this assessment, Embassy Kabul proposed creation of a Good Performers Fund (GPF). The concept was then approved in Washington in December 2006. However, prospective FY 2007 funding for the GPF is about \$23 million, a very small fraction of the approximate \$375 million in ALP funds already allotted. The GPF proposal would reward provinces where there is no-to-low poppy

³⁷ Figures provided by Embassy Kabul. Obligation of ALP funds lags the crop cycle by about one year.

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cultivation. Provincial governors in those areas must commit to discourage poppy production and at least maintain the status quo in terms of cultivation. With such elements in place, the provincial governor annually could propose development projects costing up to \$500,000. If approved by overseers for the intergovernmental Counternarcotics Trust Fund, the costs of such projects would be defrayed by the GPF.

The IG assessment team noted that the GPF proposal also provided that a 50 percent reduction in cultivation in a high poppy-producing province would qualify the provincial government to apply for GPF funding. Under this formulation, cultivation in Helmand of about 35,000 hectares – an effective 50 percent decrease from 2006 levels – would rank the province as a ‘good performer’ eligible for GPF.

In essence, ALP and GPF are both subsets of the U.S. Government’s economic assistance efforts in Afghanistan. The IG assessment team concluded that the GPF proposal held promise to make U.S. Government use of both the ‘carrots’ and ‘sticks’ in the CN programs more effective, but only if GPF were significantly increased and widely publicized such that the incentive provided to nonproducing areas is noticed by poppy growers.

Recommendation 17: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Government of Afghanistan, and other counternarcotics partners, should consider whether providing alternative livelihood program funding to provinces with zero or low poppy cultivation would increase the overall elimination of poppy cultivation (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/INL, USAID, GOA, and other CN partners)

Recommendation 18: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Government of Afghanistan, and other counternarcotics partners, should consider increasing the funding for the Good Performers Fund so as to maximize overall reduction of poppy cultivation. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with Department of State/INL, USAID, GOA, and other CN partners)

Interdiction/Law Enforcement

Interdiction encompasses efforts to destroy drug labs, seize precursor chemicals and opiates, and arrest major traffickers. For the U.S. Government, DEA is responsible for direct action and for training and mentoring the Afghan NIU within the CNP-A. Although Germany had the Bonn Agreement lead for training the ANP, the U.S.

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Government provides most of the resources to train and equip that force.³⁸ The bulk of that funding initially is allocated to DOD. DOD then transfers funds to INL, which is responsible for program implementation relative to law enforcement capacity-building.

After coalition forces removed the Taliban from power, DEA reopened its Kabul office in 2002. In October 2006, with support from the Departments of State and Defense, DEA prepared a five-year plan entitled: “Strategic Concept for the Development of the Counter Narcotics Police – Afghanistan and Associated DEA Programs.” The plan sought to address deficiencies in the CNP-A and to build additional Afghan CN capacity. It outlined an estimated first year cost of \$153 million for construction of facilities and acquisition of equipment for the CNP-A, followed by out-year costs of approximately \$45 million per year.

According to the five-year plan, the goals of the DEA in Afghanistan are to: (1) train, advise, and mentor the CNP-A so that it becomes a sustainable and effective CN unit capable of conducting operations; (2) develop the capacity of the DEA’s Afghan counterparts to gather and exchange intelligence in a secure manner with foreign law enforcement entities; (3) in conjunction with coalition partners, deter narcotics trafficking through the prosecution of those involved with drug trafficking organizations in the most appropriate judicial venue available; and (4) reduce the availability of illicit opiates in the region.

In conversations with the IG assessment team, DEA officials acknowledged responsibilities for training and mentoring, but pointedly noted that the DEA focuses on interdiction operations. Further, DEA dedicated limited resources to the training of Afghan forces. As of November 2006, DEA had allocated 16 authorized positions to its Kabul country office – including eight special agents, three intelligence analysts, three pilots, and two administrative positions (see figure 7). Five of the eight special agent positions had full-time assignments to mentor and train the NIU.

In addition, the DEA dedicated 34 temporary duty positions to Foreign Advisory Support Teams (FAST) in Afghanistan. The FAST program conducted investigations with the NIU to identify, target, and disrupt major drug trafficking organizations.³⁹ During these operations, FAST personnel also mentored and trained the NIU in an effort to promote self-sustaining Afghan CN law enforcement. Five FAST teams worked in Afghanistan. Each generally consisted of a team leader, four special agents, and one intelligence research specialist. Two teams at a time rotated into Afghanistan every 120

³⁸ See “Interagency Assessment of Afghanistan Police Training and Readiness” issued by the Inspectors General of State and DOD, November, 2006.

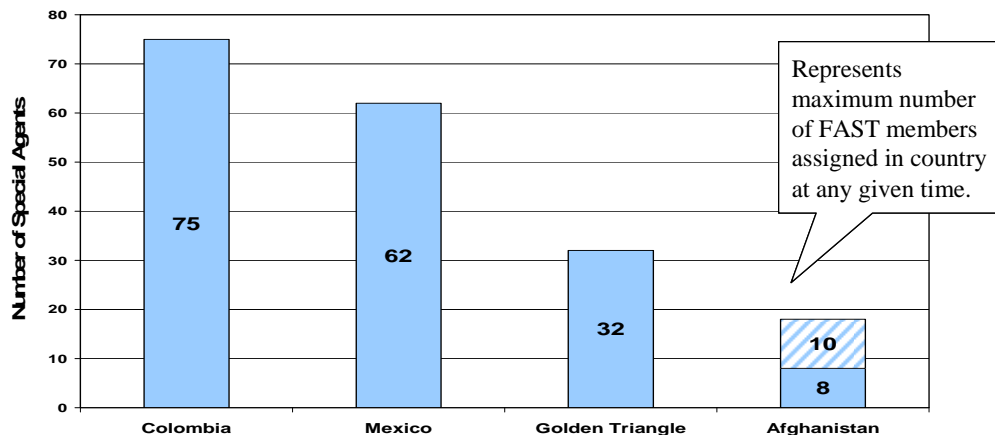
³⁹ High-level DEA targets are known as primary target organizations (PTO). As of September 2006, DEA identified 13 PTOs based in Afghanistan. DEA reported having disrupted three and dismantled two of the organizations. DOJ defines “disrupt” as impeding normal and effective operation of a targeted organizations, as indicated by changes in the organization’s leadership, trafficking patterns, and drug production methods. “Dismantle” is defined as destroying the organization’s leadership, financial base, and supply network so that the organization is incapable of operating and/or reconstituting itself.

days.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the teams that were back in the U.S. assisted the deployed teams by keeping track of the cases being worked in the field.

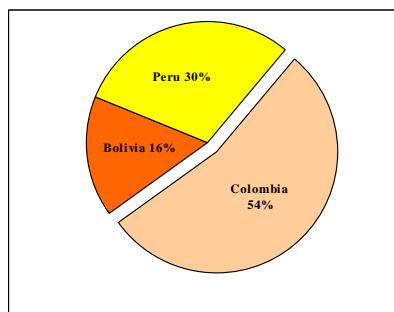
An analysis of DEA personnel resources assigned to major illicit drug source locations reveals that proportionally fewer personnel are assigned to Afghanistan than elsewhere (see Figure 7). Colombia produced a majority of the world’s supply of cocaine and received the largest of DEA international personnel resources. In contrast, Afghanistan produced most of the world’s opium/heroin yet with a minimal allocation of DEA personnel. Even if adjusted to include the FAST personnel (two teams at any particular point in time), the highest number of DEA Special Agents in country was 18.

Figure 7. Analysis of DEA Special Agent distribution and drug cultivation.
Source: U.S. DEA and United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime

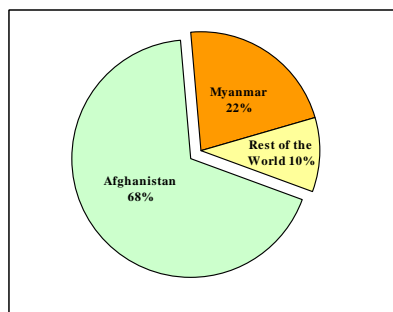
**DEA Special Agents 2006 Authorized Positions
to Major Drug Source Locations⁴¹**



2005 World Coca Cultivation



2005 World Poppy Cultivation



DEA anticipated increasing its mentoring and training efforts with the creation of a dedicated training team that would rotate in and out of Afghanistan. However, at the

⁴⁰ The FAST teams had DOD contracted support staff of two medics, two communication specialists, one logistics expert, and two intelligence officers who were available to augment teams when they deployed to Afghanistan.

⁴¹ The Golden Triangle includes the following countries (assigned agents): Burma (3), Laos (2), Thailand (25), and Vietnam (2). Afghanistan poppy cultivation has increased in 2006 and now represents 82% of the world’s supply of poppy cultivated.

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time of this assessment's preparation, this initiative was still in the planning stages and no personnel had been assigned. The DEA also planned to create a sensitive investigative unit within the national interdiction unit of the CNP-A.⁴² Neither of these initiatives offered an immediate solution to DEA's personnel challenges in Afghanistan. DEA faced fundamental problems training a CN police force drawn from a generally illiterate and uneducated population. Since bolstering Afghanistan law enforcement capacity is an important U.S. Government goal, the DEA should dedicate more personnel assets to CN training.

Recommendation 19: The Department of Justice should evaluate the number of agents assigned to Afghanistan and attempt to assure adequate resources to accomplish counternarcotics objectives, including mentoring. (Action: Department of Justice/DEA, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Justice Reform

The objective of the justice reform pillar is to strengthen the GOA's capacity to arrest, prosecute, and punish narcotics traffickers and corrupt officials. While Italy had the Bonn Agreement lead for this sector, the U.S. Government has become the predominant player in judicial reform as related to counternarcotics.

In December 2005, President Karzai issued a special decree enacting a comprehensive CN law. Drafted mainly with DOJ assistance, the law enables Afghan law enforcement agencies to use modern investigative techniques (such as wiretaps, undercover operations, and plea bargaining) to disrupt and dismantle drug trafficking organizations.⁴³ The new law created the CNT with exclusive, nationwide jurisdiction over any cases involving seizure of two or more kilograms of opium/opiates or ten or more kilograms of hashish comes under the jurisdiction of this court in Kabul. However, as of November 2006, the CNT's focus in prosecutions was only on "small fish," such as individuals caught transporting illegal substances. Many observers contend that the ultimate success of the CN tribunal concept depends on successful prosecution and in-country incarceration of major traffickers.

The U.S. Government is assisting Afghan authorities in developing a modern Afghan judicial system. The Criminal Division of DOJ sends AUSAs to Afghanistan to provide mentoring and training for the group of judges, investigators, and prosecutors who form the CNT and the CJTF. The CJTF includes the Afghan judges and prosecutors of the CNT. The judges, prosecutors, and international mentors are vetted to ensure the integrity of the task force. According to the AUSAs who train the CJTF, as of September 2006, the CN Tribunal had achieved convictions in 133 cases.

⁴² A sensitive investigative unit is a vetted foreign law enforcement unit. The DEA screens these individuals with a polygraph exam, urinalysis test, and a background investigation. The individuals assigned to this unit attend law enforcement training at the DEA training academy. Ultimately, Congress must approve the creation of an SIU.

⁴³ The law was issued by presidential decree shortly before the elected parliament took office. At the time of this assessment, some members of parliament were pressing for revision of the law.

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The pace of justice reform and training in Afghanistan is hindered by the speed with which DOJ has deployed personnel to the field. The Criminal Division of DOJ has allocated four AUSA positions, funded by INL and approved through the NSDD-38 process, for the CJTF and plans to add more. As of November 2006, DOJ had only two of the AUSA positions filled and one of the AUSAs in country was working full-time mentoring the new Afghan Attorney General. That left one AUSA and one law enforcement contractor to mentor the 12 Afghan judges and 35 prosecutors in the CJTF.

Recommendation 20: The Department of Justice should take steps to expedite assignment of Assistant U.S. Attorneys to the Criminal Justice Task Force in Afghanistan. To help ensure continuity, the assistant U.S. attorney's assignments should be at least one year in duration. (Action: Department of Justice Criminal Division, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Concern about corruption was the primary motivation for processing all narcotics-related crimes that occur in Afghanistan to the Central Narcotics Tribunal in Kabul. But potential violence against judges and prosecutors is another factor hampering delivery of justice. Afghan judges and prosecutors have expressed reluctance to try cases of large-scale drug traffickers due to concerns for their personal safety and that of their families.

The DOJ's U.S. Marshals Service (USMS) is the U.S. federal law enforcement agency charged with providing security in the U.S. for federal judges, court rooms, and witnesses. While the USMS does not have an office in Afghanistan, DOJ has requested that USMS provide assistance and expertise to the CN Tribunal. The USMS is planning to start training an Afghan Marshals Service in country in FY 2007.

Using DOD supplemental funding, USMS is reviewing security arrangements for judges, prosecutors, and witnesses. The USMS has already identified serious physical security weaknesses in the new CN Tribunal compound, which construction contractors plan to correct. The IG assessment team concluded that security of the judges and prosecutors will substantially improve once work on the new compound is complete. In addition, the Afghan Marshals Service will provide personal security for judges and prosecutors going to and from their homes and while in the courtroom.

The United States and Afghanistan do not have a bilateral extradition treaty. However, pursuant to the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, the U.S. Government obtained Afghan agreement to extradite a major indicted drug trafficker. In addition, a new provision of law, the U.S. Patriot Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2005 amending 21 U.S.C. §959, allows U.S. Government law enforcement entities to obtain indictments on Drug Trafficking Organizations whose illicit proceeds are shown to be funding terrorist organizations.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Public Law 109-177, Section 122.

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Public Information

The public information pillar has two objectives: (1) to persuade the Afghan public that poppy cultivation and trafficking are bad for the country; and (2) to convince those directly involved in the poppy trade to abandon it.

The resurgence of the Taliban and traditional suspicion of foreigners greatly influenced attitudes towards CN issues. The Taliban and the traffickers are in direct and frequent contact with their target audience, speak the local language, share the local mindset, and actively work to corrupt or co-opt district and tribal leaders. Insurgents' "night letters," conveying the basic message of "plant poppy or we will kill you and your family," carry more punch than GOA media campaigns. The security situation makes it dangerous, if not impossible, for non-Afghan personnel to communicate directly with Afghan farmers and local leaders. It is within this difficult context that the PI campaign takes place.

At the time of this assessment, the PAO represented the embassy at the weekly meeting of the Strategic Communications Working Group (for counternarcotics), chaired by the Afghan Minister of Education.⁴⁵ Apart from this activity, the PAO devoted most of her attention to developing and managing a range of cultural and media programs, many unrelated to counternarcotics. The IG assessment team concludes that the person within the CNTF assigned specifically to focus on CN PI issues would be a more appropriate person to represent Embassy Kabul at the Strategic Communications Working Group meetings.

Recommendation 21: Embassy Kabul should transfer the Public Affairs Officer's external coordinating functions relative to counternarcotics to the public information officer assigned to the Counternarcotics Task Force specifically to work on counternarcotics issues. (Action: Embassy Kabul)

At the time of this assessment, the U.S. Government was pressing for eradication using ground-based spraying, a politically sensitive issue. By consensus, any implementation of GBS should be preceded by an intensive PI campaign to assuage concerns about side effects and possible collateral damage. However, no such campaign had been devised even though it was hoped that GBS might be used in the 2007 crop year.⁴⁶

More attention should focus on timing of PI campaigns. For example, by late fall, poppy has already been planted; it is then too late to convince farmers not to sow the crop and PI attention should shift to focus on eradication. A forward-looking PI campaign plan should address such issues.

⁴⁵ Other participants include representatives from the United Nations Assistance Mission – Afghanistan (UNAMA), ISAF, CFC-A, the British and Canadian embassies and other Afghan ministries.

⁴⁶Nonetheless, IG assessment team members attended *shuras* in Badakshan and Ghor at which Deputy Minister of Interior for CN, General Daud, warned attendees that ground based spraying (GBS) – and eventually aerial spraying – well might eventuate.

Recommendation 22: Embassy Kabul should develop an annual public information plan that would address issues such as synchronization of efforts with the poppy cultivation cycle and address initiatives such as prospective use of herbicides. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the intergovernmental Strategic Communications Working Group)

The IG assessment team was informed that USAID concluded that attention to PI aspects of ALP by H&K was inadequate. USAID thus turned to its contractor, Chemonics, to publicize its ALP efforts in the southern region.⁴⁷ Both Chemonics and H&K subcontracted with the same Afghan firm, Sayara, for language services needed in conjunction with their respective PI work. Issues of possible duplication of effort by Chemonics and H&K and possible double billing by Sayara should be clarified.

Recommendation 23: Embassy Kabul should examine the contracts with and activities of Hill & Knowlton and Chemonics to ensure that there is no duplication of effort and that the U.S. Government is not double-billed for services provided by the sub-contractor, Sayara. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with USAID/Kabul)

Poppy Elimination Program

The CNTF's main contribution to PI is the Poppy Elimination Program. The U.S. Government and UKG support this GOA program. PEP teams support provincial governors by addressing three needs: (1) community outreach, (2) development liaison, and (3) gathering information on poppy cultivation. The teams operate in the seven top poppy producing provinces (Helmand, Kandahar, Farah, Uruzgan, Nangahar, Badakshan, and Balkh).

Each PEP team consists of two international advisors and up to six GOA employees who are preparing to take over the provincial PI role. Teams have workspaces near those of the respective provincial governor. A seven-man security-driver crew consisting of six guards/drivers and a DynCorp translator supports each team. Because of the security situation, the international members of the PEP teams live in secure locations.

At the time of this assessment, a contract employee working in the CNTF was the Embassy Kabul PEP program manager. The IG assessment team heard repeated complaints that this person's insistence on tight control over the program had alienated some employees, prevented linkages with other embassy programs, and may have been an important contributing factor in the perceived inadequate performance of DynCorp,

⁴⁷ USAID planned to task counterpart ALP contractors in other parts of the country to publicize ALP efforts. The team did not ascertain whether or how relevant contracts were amended to provide this extra service.

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the contractor that provided logistic and security support to the teams. There were countervailing complaints about DynCorp's performance. The differences among these players should have been mediated through oversight and supervision. However, as a contractor, the embassy's PEP manager did not have supervisory authority. A regularly assigned officer, logically the PI coordinator recommended in the 'Cross-cutting Issues' section earlier in this report, should supervise the PEP program.

Recommendation 24: Embassy Kabul should assign the management of the poppy elimination program to the career public information officer within the embassy's Counternarcotics Task Force. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

In their comments to the draft report, both US Embassy Kabul and INL stated that a new Poppy Elimination Program advisor, a Department of State employee, had arrived and was addressing the identified problems. The IG assessment team does not disagree with this solution, providing the advisor effectively integrates the program into the efforts of the CNTF.

PEP and H&K maintain separate PI teams in seven provincial capitals. U.S. military information officers are also assigned at some of those locales. These PI units have little interaction. For example, during a visit to a provincial reconstruction team (PRT), IG assessment team members were informed that the military information specialist (assigned by CFC-A) was instructed not to work with the locally based PEP team. Coordination, to include sharing of 'best practices', would enhance the overall impact of U.S. Government-funded PI efforts. An informal recommendation was made.

As they work directly with farmers and others in high poppy-cultivation areas, the PEP teams and their H&K counterparts are ideally situated to gain insights into the opium industry. Although both PEP and H&K teams are supposed to report periodically on their activities, there is no systematic processing of information of high interest to Washington end-users. The IG assessment team made an informal recommendation to address this issue.

Contracts

The IG assessment team confirmed by inspection that PI contracts were loosely written (especially as related to desired outcomes). As described above, management and oversight of the contracts merit attention. Within the embassy there was considerable dissatisfaction with the contracts and the contractors.

INL contracted with H&K to carry out all its PI activities. The contract called for H&K to: (1) build PI capacity at the Ministries of Agriculture, Interior, and Rural Reconstruction and Development through mentoring and planning;⁴⁸ (2) conduct PI campaigns in narcotics growing areas; and (3) give the embassy strategic advice. The contract's only firm metric was the number of hours worked by H&K's international

⁴⁸ Curiously, the H&K contract did not include working with the Ministry for Counternarcotics.

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staff. Much of the embassy's frustration with H&K centered on the impression that the PI campaign was insufficiently vigorous. However, there was no evidence that the embassy had instructed H&K to change its priorities. The H&K contract will expire in May 2007. Tighter contracting procedures are recommended in the section on 'Cross-cutting Issues.'

Subsequent to the initial contract, H&K was assigned an additional responsibility. In 2006, the embassy's CNTF and the GOA developed a PI program called Message Multipliers (MM). The purpose is to underwrite the costs of organizing *shuras* (community meetings) at which provincial governors and central government officials ("message multipliers") seek to persuade farmers not to cultivate poppy. The message is to be further "multiplied" by *maliks* (tribal leaders attending the *shura*) who thereafter are to spread the word throughout the province. The MM program covers expenses involved in these meetings at a standard rate of \$10,000 per governor-led *shura*. INL agreed to fund the MM program. Because of legal difficulties in directly transferring the funds, INL engaged H&K as the transferring agent. This program seems worthwhile, but the money trail is irregular and insufficiently documented. This procedure should be altered to document disbursement of funds and to evaluate the resulting program. The IG assessment team made informal recommendations relevant to the MM program.

A second PI-related contract is with DynCorp and covered logistic support and security of the seven PEP teams. The PEP manager and team members were unhappy with DynCorp's alleged repeated failures to respond promptly to complaints and to address problems adequately. Company officials asserted that the PEP program manager ordered PEP team members not to communicate their concerns directly to the contractor, and that the PEP manager denied the contractors regular contact with the teams on site by restricting their access to flights to the provinces. This DynCorp contract expired in September 2006, but has been extended through January 2007.

When new contracts are drawn for both basic PEP efforts and associated life support for international staff, those contracts should provide for regular oversight by an embassy officer. The matters of how to provide life support of PEP international staff at lowest cost should be addressed in the new contracts.

Recommendation 25: The Department of State should draw up and compete new contracts for conduct and support of the counternarcotics public information effort in Afghanistan. The contracts should specify measurable outcomes and clear lines of oversight and control. (Action: Department of State's Office of Acquisition Management (A/AQM), in coordination with INL and Embassy Kabul)

Under the DynCorp support contract, non-Afghan members of the PEP teams were to live in PRT facilities and thus be able to "piggy-back" on the PRTs' life support arrangements. When CFC-A declined to accommodate the PEP teams on the PRTs, DynCorp was confronted with the need to build and equip secure facilities in five provinces. However, the pattern was not entirely consistent. A PRT headed by the Dutch

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hosted a PEP team while PRTs under U.S. leadership in other provinces denied access to counterpart PEP teams. Transfer of responsibility for military operations from CFC-A to ISAF opens the possibility for revisiting this issue. However, although ISAF tries to coordinate PRT efforts, the command does not control these activities. Support to PEP will be up to the key partners at the respective PRT.

Recommendation 26: Embassy Kabul should seek agreement from International Security Assistance Force authorities to accommodate poppy elimination program International Advisors within provincial reconstruction team facilities where practical. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with ISAF)

In their comments to the draft report, US Embassy Kabul stated that the recommendation should make a distinction between the International Advisor and the Poppy Elimination Team, and that “a wide range of logistical issues dictate where [advisors] reside.” The IG assessment team accepted those points and modified the recommendation.

Regional Players and Issues

Intergovernmental Cooperation

The U.S. Government has been the predominant source of international funding for CN efforts in Afghanistan. During FY 2005 and FY 2006, the U.S. Government allocated over \$1.3 billion through the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and USAID for relevant programs. However, as noted elsewhere, the GOA recognizes the UKG as their 'key partner' for CN issues. This does not give the UKG a 'veto' over U.S. Government initiatives, but success in CN efforts counsels an integrated approach whenever possible.

Despite some policy differences (e.g., the UKG and most coalition governments oppose use of herbicides in eradication), cooperation on CN issues between the U.S. Government and UKG was close and generally productive. A bilateral U.S. Government-UKG, interagency "Counternarcotics Strategy Group," which meets about once every six months and rotates between Washington and London, is instrumental in formulating CN policy decisions. In Afghanistan, Embassy Kabul's CNTF and the British Embassy's BEDT coordinate on CN plans and program implementation. Leaders of those two offices interact on essentially a daily basis.

U.S. Government legal advisers crafted the Afghan CN law. The U.S. Government was instrumental in President Karzai's decision to issue the law by decree in December 2005. Italy had the Bonn lead for the justice reform pillar. In something of a mismatch with the American-drafted CN law, the Afghan criminal code mirrors the Italian prosecutorial approach. Meanwhile, Afghan prosecutors and judges working on CN cases receive training principally from Norwegian and U.S. mentors.⁴⁹

Germany had the Bonn Agreement lead for training the ANP force, but the U.S. Government funds most training, including that of the subsidiary CNP-A. Within the CNP-A, Blackwater (with DOD funding) is the contractor responsible for training the NIU.

Practical steps ensued from Washington – London collaboration on CN issues. A JNAC operates in London. Key U.S. agencies work at that center alongside British counterparts.⁵⁰ The JNAC mandate is to prepare integrated analyses of narcotics-related issues drawing on all-source intelligence. Some JNAC studies are in response to requirements that the bilateral Counternarcotics Strategy Group establishes; other

⁴⁹ All cases involving two or more kilograms of opium/opium derivatives or ten or more kilograms of hashish are handled through the centralized Criminal Justice Task Force (CJTF) in Kabul. Centralization aims to eliminate – or at least reduce – corruption. The caseloads resulting from these low "floors" threatens to overwhelm the limited capacities of the CJTF.

⁵⁰ The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) representative is the U.S. Government lead liaison officer at the JNAC.

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analyses come from ‘taskings’ within the JNAC itself or in response to requests generated in Afghanistan.

Several U.S. Government agencies were represented at the JNAC. A notable exception is DEA. JNAC participants have pressed repeatedly for DEA to assign an individual to the organization. DEA has declined to fill the position, stating that the benefit to the DEA and its operations would be minimal. However, DEA officials informed the IG assessment team that the DEA and UKG officials have agreed that instead of assigning a person to the London facility, the DEA will coordinate with the JNAC in a virtual environment.

Among principal users of JNAC analyses is the IOCC in Kabul. Leadership of the IOCC rotates between representatives from the UKG’s Serious Organised Crimes Agency (SOCA) and DEA. Drawing on JNAC input and more real-time intelligence, the IOCC prepares ‘targeting packages’ for interdiction efforts carried out by law enforcement agencies of the U.S. Government and UKG in conjunction with Afghan units trained and mentored by each.

A 2005 “implementing directive” signed by INL and SOCA established the IOCC. Each government pays for its respective staff. However, the implementing directive makes no mention of funding for other expenses (such as office space, equipment, and communications). Meanwhile, in Kabul, logistical considerations take on greater significance as plans move forward for relocation of the IOCC from the CFC-A base to the ISAF compound. The IG assessment team concluded that funding and support aspects of the IOCC should be formally agreed and specified between Washington and London, with flexibility to encompass the planned expansion to include representatives from Australia and Canada.

Recommendation 27: The Department of State should negotiate a memorandum of understanding between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to replace the implementing directive that established the International Operations Coordinating Center in Kabul. The memorandum should specify tasking authority, funding, staffing and operational responsibilities of each government. (Action: Department of State/SCA-led CN Strategic Group, in coordination with the Department of State/L and EUR)

ISAF assumption of responsibility for coalition military operations in Afghanistan directly impacts CN operations. The ISAF mandate specifies a CN support role. In reality, ISAF engagement likely will take the form of *in extremis* and quick reaction force operations. A major constraint is that, at the time of this assessment, ISAF (representing 37 governments) had a total of 27 helicopters for all operations in Afghanistan. Although the ISAF Commander reiterated to the IG assessment team the commitment to support CN efforts, he was candid in noting that such support would be conditioned by “means and capabilities,” subject to other requirements and demands on ISAF resources.

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Another ISAF dimension stems from “national caveats” that various ISAF member countries place on the involvement of their forces in CN operations. The NATO Secretariat focused on national caveats at a November 2006 summit in Riga, Latvia. Most attention – judging from media coverage – dealt with caveats relating to involvement in ‘kinetic’ (i.e., combat) operations. Similar constraints – sometimes subject to interpretation by the on-scene commander – pertain to CN. For example, Germany does not permit its military forces to participate in CN operations. CN planners and implementers, therefore, need -- but presently do not have -- an accurate compendium of national caveats and a corresponding analysis of implications for CN programs. The IG assessment team informally recommended compilation of such information.

Regional Factors

Poppy cultivation, opium gum collection, and initial trafficking are domestic problems within Afghanistan and require an Afghan solution with foreign assistance. A JNAC analysis concludes that an increasing volume of opium paste is converted to heroin inside Afghanistan. One British scholar states that “only about 30 percent of Afghanistan’s opium is exported raw and the remainder is transformed into either morphine base or heroin. This is a relatively new development indicative of the maturing of the opium industry.”⁵¹

However, the effects of the Afghan poppy culture are not limited to the country itself. Considerable conversion from morphine to heroin takes place in Pakistan, Turkey, and other venues. Most consumption occurs outside Afghanistan, although domestic addiction is enough of a concern to prompt the GOA to include “demand reduction, prevention, and treatment” as one pillar of their CN strategy. Importantly, the vast majority of the revenue stream from the narcotics industry is generated outside the country. Less than ten percent of the total revenues end up inside Afghanistan.

Dealing with aspects of the narcotics industry that transcend Afghanistan’s borders requires a transnational CN effort. The Afghans recognize this, including “International and Regional Cooperation” as one pillar in their CN strategy.

As with all other institutions, the Afghan border organizations are underdeveloped. The border police, customs police, and customs officer organizations are understaffed, barely equipped, and poorly paid. Much of their leadership is corrupt. A senior U.S. Government representative told the IG assessment team that border officials have only negative incentives. Effective officers receive no additional monetary compensation, but attract the ire of traffickers and corrupt senior officials. PRT representatives and senior diplomats relayed

⁵¹ Jonathan Goodhand, “Frontiers and Wars: The Opium Economy in Afghanistan”, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 5 No. 2, April 2005, pp. 191-216.

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instances of corrupt Afghan border officials. For example, one provincial Afghan border official was suspected of skimming hundreds of thousands of dollars a week, but his political and social connections prohibited the provincial governor from taking action.

The Afghan border has three distinct sections: northern (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan), eastern-southern (Pakistan), and western (Iran).

The northern border traverses rugged terrain with limited crossing points and divides tribal lands. In one case, an Afghan official suspected of also being a senior trafficker lives and works in Afghanistan, but also has a permanent residence in Tajikistan. The U.S. Corps of Engineers Afghanistan Engineer District, USAID, and the European Union are all conducting development projects along this stretch of the border, but progress is slow.

The British established the eastern-southern border (the 'Durand Line') as the northern limit of India prior to Pakistani independence. It divides traditional Pashtun tribal lands. Pakistan and Afghanistan have never formally agreed to a border trace, and people and goods cross back and forth virtually at will. Control improvements are difficult along this part of the border because of ongoing combat operations.⁵² Especially in this area, there is increasing evidence of connection between narcotics trafficking and the Taliban insurgency.

The Afghan and Iranian governments mutually accept the western border. As evidenced by seizures and other anecdotal evidence, Iran was a primary transit route for Afghan opiates. The Iranian government appears determined to combat the problem, and with the UN assistance is constructing a moat along the Afghan-Iranian border in an attempt to establish control over the common border with Afghanistan. As of October 2006, there were virtually no conventional coalition forces in Nimruz province, and little control at the border crossing near Zaranj (both on the Afghan side of the border.) Coalition construction of a modern border crossing facility near Zaranj initially caused Iranian consternation, but once explained generated a positive response.

⁵² As this report was being prepared, a Pakistani proposal to fence and/or mine stretches of the boundary drew sharp, negative reaction from the government in Kabul.

Formal Recommendations

Recommendation 1: The Department of State should take the lead to develop a policy document specifying the priority of counternarcotics relative to other U.S. objectives in Afghanistan and, thence, respective roles and responsibilities for pursuing an agreed counternarcotics strategy for Afghanistan. This document should be referred to the Deputies' Committee and, if necessary, Principals' Committee for approval. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with members of the Inter-Agency Counternarcotics Strategy Group)

Recommendation 2: The Department of State working through the Afghanistan Inter-Agency Operations Group should prepare a rolling five-year budget and performance plan for U.S. Government funded counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan. The plan should include outcome measures to track the effectiveness of these programs. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

Recommendation 3: The Afghan Inter-Agency Operations Group should present the rolling five-year budget and performance plan to participating departments and agencies for use in budget preparations. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

Recommendation 4: The Department of State should ensure the in-country contracting officer's representative and project officer are involved in developing all future statements-of-work for counternarcotics related contracts. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with A/OPE and Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 5: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for the Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics at Embassy Kabul. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 6: The Department of State should fill the position of Minister-Counselor for Counternarcotics at Embassy Kabul with an officer at the Minister Counselor level on the basis of a two-year assignment. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

Recommendation 7: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for a coordinator of interagency and intergovernmental counternarcotics issues at Embassy Kabul. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 8: The Department of State should fill the position of coordinator of interagency and intergovernmental counternarcotics issues at Embassy Kabul with a qualified officer. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

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Recommendation 9: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for a public diplomacy officer to organize and oversee counternarcotics public information programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 10: The Department of State should assign a qualified officer to oversee counternarcotics public information programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

Recommendation 11: Embassy Kabul should develop a position description for an administrative support officer to serve within the Embassy Kabul Counternarcotics Task Force. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 12: The Department of State should assign a qualified officer to serve within Embassy Kabul's Counternarcotics Task Force as administrative officer. (Action: Department of State/DGHR)

Recommendation 13: The Department of State should lead an interagency assessment of the Afghanistan counternarcotics air mission requirements, including aircraft types, quantities, and sustainment. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with the AIOG)

Recommendation 14: Embassy Kabul should develop a coordinated list of U.S. Government requirements for space at Kabul International Airport for use in the counternarcotics mission and negotiate with the Afghan government for such allocation. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan)

Recommendation 15: The Department of State, through the U.S. section of the intergovernmental Counternarcotics Strategy Group, should request that the Joint Narcotics Analysis Center in London analyze the cost-benefit ratios of central government-led eradication and governor-led eradication in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with members of the Counternarcotics Strategy Group)

Recommendation 16: The Department of State should develop a regular process to prepare and present a detailed annual Afghan poppy eradication plan by October of each year for implementation in the following harvest season. This plan should be shared with all U.S. agencies involved in counternarcotics programs in Afghanistan. (Action: Department of State/INL, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 17: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Government of Afghanistan, and other counternarcotics partners, should consider whether providing alternative livelihood program funding to provinces with zero or low poppy cultivation would increase the

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overall elimination of poppy cultivation (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/INL, USAID, GOA, and other CN partners)

Recommendation 18: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Government of Afghanistan, and other counternarcotics partners, should consider increasing the funding for the Good Performers Fund so as to maximize overall reduction of poppy cultivation. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in consultation with Department of State/INL, USAID, GOA, and other CN partners)

Recommendation 19: The Department of Justice should evaluate the number of agents assigned to Afghanistan and attempt to assure adequate resources to accomplish counternarcotics objectives, including mentoring. (Action: Department of Justice/DEA, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 20: The Department of Justice should take steps to expedite assignment of Assistant U.S. Attorneys to the Criminal Justice Task Force in Afghanistan. To help ensure continuity, the assistant U.S. attorney's assignments should be at least one year in duration. (Action: Department of Justice Criminal Division, in coordination with Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 21: Embassy Kabul should transfer the Public Affairs Officer's external coordinating functions relative to counternarcotics to the public information officer assigned to the Counternarcotics Task Force specifically to work on counternarcotics issues. (Action: Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 22: Embassy Kabul should develop an annual public information plan that would address issues such as synchronization of efforts with the poppy cultivation cycle and address initiatives such as prospective use of herbicides. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with the intergovernmental Strategic Communications Working Group)

Recommendation 23: Embassy Kabul should examine the contracts with and activities of Hill & Knowlton and Chemonics to ensure that there is no duplication of effort and that the U.S. Government is not double-billed for services provided by the sub-contractor, Sayara. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with USAID/Kabul)

Recommendation 24: Embassy Kabul should assign the management of the poppy elimination program to the career public information officer within the embassy's Counternarcotics Task Force. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with Department of State/DGHR and INL)

Recommendation 25: The Department of State should draw up and compete new contracts for conduct and support of the counternarcotics public information effort in Afghanistan. The contracts should specify measurable outcomes and clear lines of

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oversight and control. (Action: Department of State's Office of Acquisition Management (A/AQM), in coordination with INL and Embassy Kabul)

Recommendation 26: Embassy Kabul should seek agreement from International Security Assistance Force authorities to accommodate poppy elimination program International Advisors within provincial reconstruction team facilities where practical. (Action: Embassy Kabul, in coordination with ISAF)

Recommendation 27: The Department of State should negotiate a memorandum of understanding between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to replace the implementing directive that established the International Operations Coordinating Center in Kabul. The memorandum should specify tasking authority, funding, staffing and operational responsibilities of each government. (Action: Department of State/SCA-led CN Strategic Group, in coordination with the Department of State/L and EUR)

Informal Recommendations

Narcotics-related issues reach into every element of Afghan political, economic and social life. Various U.S. Government and international observers have highlighted CN as the first or second most important effort being undertaken in Afghanistan by the international community, yet the IG assessment team learned that some officers at Embassy Kabul were ill informed about CN policies and programs. Reportedly, CN issues were not addressed as part of their in-brief, either in Washington or upon arrival in country.

Informal Recommendation 1: Embassy Kabul should develop a standard counternarcotics briefing for officers assigned to the positions that involve representation or reporting functions.

Public information contractors and personnel have overlapping responsibilities in some provincial capitals. There was minimal interchange among these elements in the field. In at least one case observed by the IG assessment team, there were direct instructions to a military information officer not to work with the locally based PEP team. The different PI units would benefit from exchanging information to include “best practices.”

Informal Recommendation 2: Embassy Kabul should convene periodic meetings to bring together leaders of U.S. Government-funded public information programs for an exchange of views. In between such sessions, there should be regular and systematic electronic communication among and between public information elements, *inter alia* to share best practices.

During the survey phase for this assessment, a number of Washington end-users of reporting from Kabul pointed to the need for more CN reporting from Embassy Kabul. Perhaps the desire for such information was greater than could be met by the embassy staff, but the IG assessment team concluded that the Embassy Kabul could tap into additional resources to augment the reporting stream. Prime among these are the PI teams and officers who work in provincial capitals.

Informal Recommendation 3: Embassy Kabul should encourage public information personnel to report on a regular basis, then process and forward the items that would be most informative for Washington departments and agencies that rely on Embassy Kabul reporting.

The ‘message multipliers’ program was loosely conceived to underwrite expenses for CN *shuras*. At the time of this assessment, H&K was responsible for disbursing MM funds. Accountability for these expenditures was not well defined, nor were there established processes for evaluating the impact and effectiveness of the MM program.

Informal Recommendation 4: Embassy Kabul should work with the Department of State to ensure that the contract to succeed the one with Hill & Knowlton (that expires in

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May of 2007) defines responsibilities for message multipliers fund accountability and periodic evaluation of the impact and effectiveness of these programs.

National 'caveats' restricted or conditioned the operational engagement in CN efforts by various ISAF governments. This hindered the effectiveness of the overall CN effort. At the time of this assessment, Embassy Kabul did not have full knowledge of what relevant 'caveats' might be or how those might affect CN operations. The transfer of coalition security responsibility from CFC-A to ISAF presents opportunities better to understand the 'national caveats' and how these might affect CN efforts.

Informal Recommendation 5: Working with International Security Assistance Force officials and counterparts in coalition governments' embassies in Kabul, Embassy Kabul should endeavor to catalogue national 'caveats' related to counternarcotics and analyze how those might impact operations.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| AEF | Afghan Eradication Force |
| AIOG | Afghanistan Inter-Agency Operations Group |
| ALP | Alternative Livelihoods Program |
| ANP | Afghan National Police |
| AUSA | Assistant United States Attorney |
| BEDT | British Embassy Drug Team |
| CFC-A | Combined Forces Command – Afghanistan |
| CJTF | Criminal Justice Task Force |
| CN | Counternarcotics |
| CNP-A | Counternarcotics Police – Afghanistan |
| CNT | Counternarcotics Tribunal |
| CNTF | Counternarcotics Task Force |
| CPEF | Central Poppy Eradication Force |
| DCM | Deputy Chief of Mission |
| DEA | Drug Enforcement Administration |
| DOD | Department of Defense |
| DOJ | Department of Justice |
| FAST | Foreign Advisory Support Team |
| GBS | Ground Based Spraying |
| GLE | Governor Led Eradication |
| GOA | Government of Afghanistan |
| GPF | Good Performers Fund |
| H&K | Hill and Knowlton (Department of State contractor) |
| IG assessment team | Inspectors General assessment team |
| INL | Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (Department of State) |
| IOCC | International Operations Coordinating Center |
| ISAF | International Security Assistance Force |
| JNAC | Joint Narcotics Analysis Center (London) |
| MM | Message Multipliers |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NIU | Narcotics Interdiction Unit |
| ONDCP | Office of National Drug Control Policy |
| PAO | Public affairs officer |
| PEP | Poppy Elimination Program |
| PI | Public Information |
| PRT | Provincial Reconstruction Team |
| PTO | Primary Target Organization (Department of Justice) |
| SOCA | Serious Organised Crime Agency (UKG entity) |
| UKG | United Kingdom Government |
| UNODC | United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| USMS | U.S. Marshals Service |

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Appendix A: History and Background

c. 3400 B.C.—First records of opium cultivation, in lower Mesopotamia.

c. 1300 B.C.—Egyptians and Phoenicians grow poppy. Mediterranean opium trade flourishes.

330 B.C – Alexander the Great introduces opium to the people of Central Asia – Persian Afghanistan, and India.

1600's-1700's – Opium becomes main commodity of British trade with China. British East Indian Company controls the Bengal and Bihar opium-growing districts for the opium trade out of Calcutta.

1803 – Using acid and ammonia, Friedrich Serturmer discovers alkaloids – the active ingredient of opium – and the result is morphine.

1843 – Dr. Alexander Wood discovers new – and more effective – technique of administering morphine, injection with a syringe.

1895 – Heinrich Dreser, of the Bayer Company in Germany, dilutes morphine with acetyls, producing a new drug – which he calls “heroin.”

1932 – First year of recorded opium production in Afghanistan: 75 metric tons.

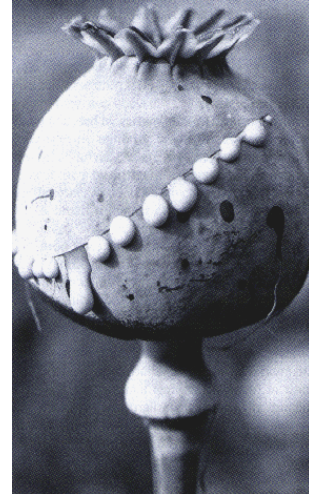
1971 – Opium production was reportedly about 100 metric tons.

1978 – U.S. supported aerial spray program in Mexico successfully reduces poppy fields producing “Mexican Mud.” This triggers an upsurge in cultivation and processing in the Golden Crescent of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

1979 – Soviet Union invades Afghanistan in December.

1980 – Authorities in Kabul begin to lose control of provinces, and poppy cultivation expands in parallel with collapse of state authority. Meanwhile, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey undertake harsh anti-drug campaigns, providing producers in Afghanistan – which accounts for 19 percent of world production -- an opportunity to expand supplies to foreign markets.

1981-83 – Regional military commanders and warlords turn increasingly to poppy cultivation, opium production, and drug trafficking as sources of revenue and influence. Opium production rises to 300 metric tons in 1982, then 575 metric ton the next year.



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1989 – Total withdrawal by Soviet Union in February, after losing 40,000-50,000 troops.

1989 – Opium crop registers 585 metric tons.

1992 – By the time that Soviet support for the Kabul regime ended and the United States stopped arms shipments to the resistance, Afghan *mujahadin* guerillas were already greatly expanding opium crops as an alternative source of finance, according to the UN anti-drug commission.

1992-93 – Between four and six million Afghan refugees, who had lived for a decade in Pakistani camps along the border, return to a war-ravaged homeland. Poppy, as one of the few viable crops available to farmers, increasingly becomes an economic survival mechanism.

1993 – Opium crop stands at 900 tons.

1994 – Taliban movement is created in mid-year.

1995 – Afghan opium production reportedly stands at 3000 metric tons, representing 52 percent of the global market.

1995-96 – Taliban militia achieve massive battlefield gains through Afghanistan, establishing regime in Kabul. Taliban officials mirror practices of warlord predecessors, raising revenue from poppy cultivation and opium trade – *ushr*, an agricultural tax in kind amounting to ten percent, and *zakat*, a traditional Islamic tithe.

1998 – In August, United States launches cruise missiles against bases/training facilities used by Osama bin Laden and followers.

1999 – In October, UN Security Council Resolution 1267 is adopted, imposing sanctions against the Taliban on grounds that they offered sanctuary to Osama bin Laden.

2000 – Taliban impose ban on poppy cultivation in July, but allow the opium trade to continue, amidst speculation that the move is an effort to improve the international image of the government, widely criticized for its human rights practices. Later, experts conclude that the ban was designed to increase the market price of opium stocks held by the Taliban.

2000 – In December, UN Security Council Resolution 1333 is adopted; additional sanctions against the Taliban for their continuing support of terrorism and cultivation of narcotics

2001 – Spring harvest falls to 185 metric tons, only six percent of the preceding year's level.

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2001 – September 11 attacks on World Trade Center and the Pentagon kill more than 3,000 people.

2001 – The U.S. and British governments, working with Afghan allies, launch air strikes against Taliban forces in October. Anticipating fall of the Taliban regime, Afghan farmers resumed annual planting of opium poppy.

2001 – Bonn Agreement in December: Under UN auspices, Afghan political groups come together to form an interim government, with Hamid Karzai selected as chairman.

2002 – In January, Afghan leaders commit new government to combat opium poppy cultivation and request international counternarcotics assistance. British assume Bonn Agreement lead on counternarcotics issues.

2002 – Interim government in Kabul issues an April decree on eradication and offers compensation of US \$250 per *jerib* (i.e. \$1,250 per hectare), which later increases to \$300 per *jerib* (i.e. \$1,750 per hectare). The program produces few results. In any case, it reportedly encourages farmers to increase poppy cultivation in hope of attaining more compensation the following year.

2002 – *Loya Jirga* elects Hamid Karzai as President of a transitional government in June. Karzai picks members of his administration to serve until elections in 2004.

2002 – Interim authorities issue a new ban on poppy cultivation in August that also covers processing and trafficking of opium products.

2002 – UNODC October announcement that Afghanistan has produced an estimated 3,400 metric tons, making it the world's largest opium producer.

2003 – Interim government issues National Drug Control Strategy in May, the country's first such document.

2004 – Afghanistan adopts a new constitution, creating a republic with three branches of government (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary).

2004 – After two delays, presidential elections take place in December. Hamid Karzai receives 55 percent of the votes and assumes office.

2006 – In January, the new government issues an "Updated Five Year Strategy for Tackling the Illicit Drug Problem."

2006 – At a February conference in London, Afghanistan and the international community announce an "Afghanistan Compact." It calls counternarcotics "a cross-cutting priority" and establishes goal of "a sustained and significant reduction in the production and trafficking of narcotics with a view to complete elimination."

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Appendix B: Case Study: Airlift

Execution of many CN programs requires moving personnel and equipment by air. U.S. Government elements with air assets used to support CN efforts in Afghanistan are INL, DOD, DEA, and USAID. This appendix discusses actions during 2005 and 2006. During these years, participating U.S. Government agencies deployed aviation assets in an uncoordinated manner. This resulted in a mosaic of airframes as shown in figure 1. There is no single office to optimize use of these limited but critical assets.

INL is primarily responsible for eradication. As of October 2006, INL had taken two major actions to acquire aviation support for eradication: a “wet lease” of rotary and fixed wing assets, and procurement of 10 Huey II aircraft. Aviation assets were to provide support for “medical evacuations, reconnaissance, search and rescue, transportation of personnel, transportation of equipment and materials, and deployment and recovery of counternarcotics teams.” The assets are divided between airfields at Kandahar and Kabul.

In August 2005 INL contracted for leased air support, requiring three helicopters and two fixed wing aircraft (two Mi-8, one Mi-26, one Antonov-12, and one Antonov-32 or equivalents). In early 2006, INL representatives in Kabul documented significant concerns with contract performance causing capability limitations. Specifically, helicopter crews refused to perform tasks within the contract scope and insisted on light loading of the aircraft due to inadequate insurance. However, INL exercised a contract option year for 2007, but removed the Mi-26 as a cost saving measure.

In August 2005, INL requested and received funding for 10 Huey II helicopters for delivery to Kabul, Afghanistan to support eradication operations commencing in February 2006. Their mission concept was to provide helicopter support to ground eradication forces from a main operating base in Kabul and selected forward operating bases. In addition to the missions listed above, INL listed gunship support, command and control, general personnel transport, and support to DEA tactical training as further justification for the air wing.

INL procured and deployed the assets using contract pilots, flight operations, and maintenance. According to an INL briefing in August 2006, concerned parties were aware that altitude throughout the area of operations limited the maximum weight

Figure 1.

| U.S. Agency Aircraft Supporting CN Efforts (as of October 2006) | |
|--|-------|
| ORGANIZATION | |
| Aircraft Type | Total |
| DoD (support to Afghan NIU) | |
| Mi-17 | 10* |
| INL | |
| Mi-8 | 2 |
| Mi-26 | 1** |
| An-32 | 1 |
| Huey II | 10 |
| DEA | |
| Beach King Air 350 | 1 |
| USAID | |
| Beach King Air 200 | 2 |

* Planned - 2 in Kabul as of October 2006
** Lease terminated as of November 2006

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allowance and restricted the Huey II operating range to 98 miles from their base. Security concerns necessitated that forward operating bases must collocate with DOD installations or National Police regional training centers. Finally, the element was not staffed for 24-hour operations and could conduct night operations only in emergencies. Air transport limitations were a critical planning element for the 2007 eradication campaign.

DOD typically provides *in extremis* support to CN operations, as such support is available. DOD also participates in two CN related aviation tasks: providing helicopter transport to DEA, and building the Afghan Counter Narcotics Aviation Squadron. The first is a short-term assistance mission. The second is a long-term project that will build NIU capabilities and replace operational support provided by DOD to DEA.

As discussed earlier in this report, the perception of the low priority assigned by DOD to DEA requests generated interagency frustration during 2006. According to information provided by DOD, DEA requested support for 17 missions between January and July 2006. DOD supported 12 administrative requests for routine personnel transport. Four of five operational missions were cancelled prior to launch. DOD denied support for the final request. DOD support for DEA operations is prohibited under certain conditions, even when deployed⁵³.

A functional Afghan Counter Narcotics Aviation Squadron would provide the long-term solution. The planned force structure for the Afghan Joint Aviation Program includes two CN elements, but in October 2006 this organization remained in a formative stage. Once fully fielded, the Afghan owned, piloted, and maintained aircraft under the direction of the Afghan Ministry of the Interior will support CN missions.

- The Counter Narcotics Aviation Squadron consisting of Mi-17 helicopters will support the National Interdiction Unit in operations throughout Afghanistan. Host nation aviation is the normal support for DEA in international environments.
- The Afghan Special Narcotics Force Squadron consisting of Mi-17 helicopters will support operations throughout Afghanistan. As of October 2006, this unit was mentored by the UKG and conducted primarily paramilitary operations using contract pilots. British officials confirmed their plan to convert the unit to law enforcement as security improved.

In January 2006, U.S. Central Command published an information paper stating a “counternarcotic aviation squadron has been created under control of the Afghan MoI (Ministry of Interior) to support Afghan narcotics interdiction efforts.” During 2006 DOD worked to make the announcement a reality on the ground. The decision to provide the counternarcotics aviation squadrons with Mi-17 helicopters increased the time required to procure airframes, train pilots, certify operational capability, and prepare for maintenance. As a result, only two of ten Mi-17s were present in Kabul in October 2006, and neither was fully operational.

⁵³ CJCSI 3710.01A, DOD Counterdrug Support, dated March 30, 2004, prohibits “transportation support in direct tactical support of the operational portions of ongoing LEA [law enforcement agency] ... operations, or of any activities where CD-related [Counter Drug] hostilities are imminent.” (para. 4.f.4, p A-5)

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DOD plans call for shared maintenance and logistics at the Joint Aviation Facility at Kabul International Airport. The Joint Aviation Facility phase I construction during 2006 supported this concept. Support for the Afghan Eradication Force was not included.

The absence of operational Afghan aviation limits DEA's ability to conduct interdiction operations. The DOD discussion above outlines DEA's reliance on DOD for both direct support and equipping the Afghan NIU. DEA operational planning is hindered by limitations on the INL wet lease and Huey II aircraft, as discussed relative to INL air assets.

In August 2005, DEA requested approval for basing support from DOD for an Afghanistan based Beach King Air 350 aircraft. DEA also requested for DOD to obtain a maintenance contract to support the aircraft. DOD stated that there was capacity and ramp space, but insufficient land available for hanger construction at Bagram Airfield. DEA accepted a temporary space at Kabul International Airport pending completion of the Joint Aviation Facility.

Finally, USAID established an administrative air transport service called "Provincial Reconstruction Team Air (PRT-Air)." The service commenced in October 2004, providing passenger and accompanying baggage transport via two contracted King Air 200 fixed-wing aircraft. While not primarily a CN asset, the planes provide another means of moving personnel and equipment while further adding to the complexity of aircraft mix.

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Appendix C: Announcement of Interagency Assessment



AUG 14 2006

MEMORANDUM FOR U.S. EMBASSY, KABUL
COMMANDER, U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND
COMMANDER, COMBINED FORCES COMMAND-
AFGHANISTAN

SUBJECT: Interagency Assessment of the Counter Narcotics Program in Afghanistan
(Project D2006-DIP0E2-0242.000)

The Inspectors General of the Departments of State and Defense will conduct an interagency assessment of the USG-funded counter narcotics program in Afghanistan. A representative of the Department of Justice Office of Inspector General will also participate. Fieldwork for this assessment will coincide with an audit of alternative livelihood programs conducted by the Inspector General of USAID.

The focus of this assessment will be on activities funded, directed, managed, or contracted by the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice. Since execution of the counter narcotics programs in Afghanistan relies on collaborative interagency participation, cooperation from all agencies involved in counter-narcotics programs in Afghanistan is solicited during all phases of this project.

The team will use the United States Government Five Pillar Strategy for the Afghan Counter Narcotics Program as a guideline for this assessment. Within this framework, the team will assess:

- Conception, conduct, and management of the USG funded counter narcotics program in Afghanistan.
- Organization, coordination, and direction of interagency participation.
- Effectiveness of Embassy Kabul's policy direction in this area.
- Interaction with the Afghan government on counter narcotics issues.
- Impact, effectiveness, and prospects of these counter narcotics actions and programs.
- Contract management and internal control over financial, physical, and personnel resources.

The survey phase for this assessment will commence on or about September 5, 2006, and the team plans to travel to Afghanistan in early October 2006 to spend approximately 3 weeks in country. During that time, the team will need the broadest

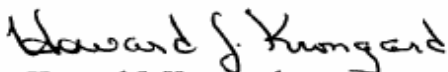
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possible access/exposure to venues and programs. This will entail travel outside of Kabul as determined useful and feasible in consultation with Embassy Kabul and Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan.

Please inform the appropriate entities within your agency/command of this assessment and alert them to the fact that the interagency team will request meetings and access to records and material. All member of the team will have appropriate security clearances.

Country and theater clearances, logistics requirements, and security clearance information will be submitted separately.

The points of contact for this assessment are Thomas Martin, at DOS IG (phone (703) 284-2759 martinh2@state.gov), Mr. Stanley Meyer at DoD IG (phone 703-604-9130, DSN 664, Stanley.Meyer@dodig.mil), and Ms. Carol Taraszka or Mr. John Provan at DOJ IG (phone (312) 353-1203 carol.s.taraszka@usdoj.gov or john.i.provan@usdoj.gov).



Howard J. Krongard
Department of State
Inspector General



Thomas F. Gimble
Department of Defense
Acting Inspector General

cc:

Inspector General, Department of Justice
Inspector General, United States Agency for International Development
Undersecretary of Defense (Policy)
Office of the Inspector General, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Inspector General of the Army
Naval Inspector General
Inspector General of the Air Force
Inspector General of the Marine Corps

Appendix D: Scope and Methodology

Scope

This assessment was a self-initiated evaluation of the U.S. government's counternarcotics efforts in Afghanistan. It resulted from discussions between representatives of the Inspectors General of State and Defense, U.S. Embassy Kabul, and Combined Forces Command – Afghanistan during 2005. The assessment focused on the overall effectiveness of U.S. strategy, management structure for implementing the strategy, and interagency cooperation and coordination.

The assessment team did not examine internal controls over financial, physical, and personnel resources specified as an objective in the announcement for this assessment (see Appendix C). The report does address contract management, but only of contracts associated with the counternarcotics Public Information campaign.

Methodology

An interagency team representing the Offices of Inspectors General of the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice carried out this assessment. From September through November 2006, the IG assessment team performed the following steps:

- Reviewed public law, Presidential Directives, and agency policy governing funding and implementation of the program.
- Conducted interviews with over 50 senior U.S. government officials responsible for the program, including: professional staff from the House of Representatives, representatives from the National Security Agency, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Central Intelligence Agency, and representatives of subordinate agencies within the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice.
- Conducted site visits and interviews at: the Joint Narcotics Analysis Center in the United Kingdom, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union in Belgium, and the United Nations Office of Drug Control in Austria.
- Conducted fieldwork and interviews with senior civilian and military Coalition government, Government of Afghanistan, and U.S. government officials in Afghanistan. Interviewed non-government officials from the United Nations Office of Drug Control and the World Bank in Afghanistan.
- Visited U.S. and Coalition personnel and facilities in Afghanistan, to include Kabul, Kandahar, Lashkar Gah, Jalalabad, Turkham, Faizabad, and Charchaghan.
- Conducted exit briefs with senior officials of the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice to obtain their comments on preliminary results.

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Appendix E: Management Comments and Evaluation Response

Management Comments

In February 2007, the IG assessment team provided CN program stakeholders with a draft report and requested management comments. The following organizations provided formal comments in March 2007:

- Department of State
 - U.S. Embassy, Kabul
 - Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs
 - Director General, Bureau of Human Resources
- Department of Defense
 - Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Counter Narcotics
 - U.S. Central Command
 - Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan
- Department of Justice
 - Criminal Division
 - Drug Enforcement Administration

Comments from management are either technical corrections to stated facts or responses to recommendations. Technical corrections include editorial changes. The U.S. Embassy, Kabul, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs and Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Counter Narcotics made the distinction in their responses. The remaining organizations did not clearly divide their comments.

Evaluation Response

The IG assessment team accepted all verifiable technical corrections, changing report language to reflect improved data or concepts. In a small number of cases, changes referring to information only available after November 2006 were not accepted.

The IG assessment team also reviewed all instances of partial concurrence and nonconcurrence with our recommendations. Short summaries of management's comments and IG actions are included in italicized text following each recommendation. Recommendations with which management concurred have no follow-on text.

Copies of the organization's management comments were too voluminous for inclusion in the report, but are available on request.

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202-647-3320 or 1-800-409-9926

Or e-mail oighotline@state.gov

You may also write to
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U.S. Department of State
Post Office Box 9778
Arlington, VA 22219

Cables to the Inspector General should be slugged "OIG Channel" to ensure confidentiality

If you suspect Fraud, Abuse, or Mismanagement in the Department of Defense:

Call the Office of Inspector General

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1-800-424-9098 or e-mail hotline@dodig.osd.mil

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