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Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE SITUATION IN  
AFGHANISTAN

Thursday, February 12, 2015

Washington, D.C.

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HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON  
THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Thursday, February 12, 2015

U.S. Senate  
Committee on Armed Services  
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:33 a.m. in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Committee Members Present: Senators McCain [presiding], Inhofe, Sessions, Wicker, Ayotte, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Lee, Graham, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill, Manchin, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, King, and Heinrich.

1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN McCAIN, U.S. SENATOR  
2 FROM ARIZONA

3           Chairman McCain: Good morning. The committee meets  
4 today to receive testimony on Afghanistan.

5           And I want to thank General Campbell, the Commander of  
6 the Resolute Support Mission in U.S. Forces-Afghanistan, for  
7 appearing before us today about security conditions on the  
8 ground, the development of the Afghan National Security  
9 Forces, and the way forward.

10          General, we've been blessed by a series of great  
11 military leaders of our forces and allied forces in  
12 Afghanistan, and you are a worthy successor to those  
13 outstanding leaders, in my view.

14          According to a recent media report, the troop drawdown  
15 in Afghanistan is now, quote, "under White House review."  
16 But, as the White House deliberates, the current plan is set  
17 to reduce the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan to about  
18 5,500, beginning in the middle of this year's fighting  
19 season. The plan was first announced by President Obama in  
20 May of 2014, before it was known that the Afghan  
21 presidential transition would require almost 6 months to  
22 conclude, before the appearance of ISIS on the Afghan  
23 battlefield, and before Pakistan military operations sent  
24 200,000 refugees from North Waziristan into Afghanistan.  
25 These unforeseen circumstances illustrate the major

1 liabilities of a calendar-based approach, and highlight the  
2 need for a conditions-based approach.

3 Like our national military strategy written in 2012,  
4 President Obama's calendar-based troop drawdown planned for  
5 Afghanistan no longer accurately reflects the facts and  
6 conditions on the ground. And, like the President's policy  
7 against ISIL, the President's Afghanistan policy wreaks of  
8 strategic disconnect, providing a list of goals or  
9 preferences, but precluding the means necessary to achieve  
10 them. Perhaps it is time for the President to exercise  
11 strategic patience, not in the sense that he has used the  
12 phrase, but as our witnesses yesterday unanimously agreed.  
13 Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, James Cunningham,  
14 having just served in Kabul, and left in December, said,  
15 quote, "I think that, under the circumstances, the timeline  
16 is probably too short and the rate of withdrawal is too  
17 steep."

18 Former Ambassador to both Iraq and Afghanistan, Ryan  
19 Crocker, said, "I hope we will take the right decisions on  
20 force levels, going forward, based on conditions, not on  
21 calendars."

22 Former Commander of Special Operations Command and the  
23 first Navy SEAL to achieve the rank of four stars, Admiral  
24 Eric Olson, said, "Actual war is too dynamic to accommodate  
25 fixed models, so I would urge strategic and operational

1 flexibility as we move forward in Afghanistan. At a force  
2 size of 5,500, our presence in Afghanistan will essentially  
3 be reduced to Kabul. Presently, in only one location, one  
4 that retreats from the north, east and south of Afghanistan,  
5 we'll relinquish Mazar-e Sharif to the drug runners, yield  
6 Herat to Iranian influence, and abandon Kandahar to the  
7 Taliban. The lack of presence creates a vacuum, and we've  
8 seen what fills that vacuum in Syria and Iraq. The  
9 ungoverned spaces will allow terrorists to foment the same  
10 disaster in Afghanistan as we have seen in Iraq: growing  
11 instability, terrorist safe havens, and direct threats to  
12 the United States."

13 I think our former national counterterrorism director,  
14 Michael Leiter, put it -- into perspective how we should  
15 look at Afghanistan. I quote, "Should the American people  
16 think this is hopeless? The last 13 years have shown us  
17 that the counterterrorism fight and protecting the homeland  
18 in this region is not hopeless. We've been very successful  
19 at stopping attacks from the region. And I would flip it  
20 around: From a homeland security perspective, I think it is  
21 close to hopeless to think that we can have that same  
22 success without some ongoing presence in the region."

23 Reducing to a, quote, "normal embassy presence" at the  
24 end of 2016, and announcing it to the enemy, gives  
25 terrorists breathing room to plot against the West. As

1 Ambassador Crocker put it, quote, "By fixing a date to draw  
2 down to a certain number, and then to draw down to,  
3 basically, an office and an embassy, simply tells our  
4 adversaries how long they have to hold out before they have  
5 the field to themselves." And, by the way, I know of no man  
6 more respected than Ambassador Ryan Crocker. "If we've  
7 learned anything from Iraq, it should be that wars do not  
8 end just because politicians say so. We cannot let the  
9 Taliban, al-Qaeda, and ISIS conquer Afghanistan. Failure in  
10 this manner would destabilize the region, especially by  
11 undermining the security of a nuclear-armed Pakistan."

12 I want to thank General Campbell for testifying today.

13 I thank him for his leadership. I look forward to hearing  
14 his assessment of conditions on the ground, development of  
15 Afghan forces, and the plan for the way forward.

16 Senator Reed.

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1           STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM RHODE  
2 ISLAND

3           Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.  
4 And let me join you in welcoming General Campbell.

5           Thank you, General, for your service to the Nation,  
6 beginning in the 504th and continuing today.

7           General Campbell, since you took command of the U.S.  
8 Forces in Afghanistan last August, Afghanistan has entered  
9 what Ambassador Cunningham yesterday called "a pivotal  
10 period." The emergence of a National Unity Government under  
11 President Ghani and Dr. Abdullah has had an immediate impact  
12 on security in Afghanistan with the signing of the Bilateral  
13 Security Agreement and the NATO Status of Forces Agreement.

14           In a recent public opinion survey, two-thirds of the  
15 Afghans polled want U.S. and coalition troops to stay to  
16 train the Afghan Security Forces. Your challenge is to  
17 successfully lead the U.S. and coalition effort to train,  
18 advise, and assist Afghan Security Forces and conduct  
19 counterterrorism operations even as U.S. and coalition  
20 forces have drawn down to post-combat levels in Afghanistan.

21           We would be interested in your assessment whether you  
22 currently have the forces you feel you need to carry out  
23 these two missions.

24           We are also seeking your best military judgment this  
25 morning on what further reductions, if any, you would

1 recommend for U.S. forces in Afghanistan, and under what  
2 condition. At yesterday's hearing, referring again to  
3 Ambassador Crocker, he warns that the consequences of  
4 disengagement can be as great or greater than the  
5 consequences of engagement, our intervention in the first  
6 place. I share the concern of many on this committee that  
7 any future reductions in U.S. force levels in Afghanistan  
8 should be based on the security conditions at the time of  
9 the proposed reductions, taking into account the  
10 capabilities of the Afghan Security Forces and the status of  
11 the counterterrorism fight.

12 We would also be interested in your views on the full  
13 range of challenges you face, including the progress of the  
14 Afghan Security Forces in building key enablers, such as  
15 logistics, special operations forces, intelligence, and  
16 airlift, the Afghanistan/Pakistan security relationship,  
17 including border coordination and counterterrorism efforts,  
18 and the reports of a growing ISIS presence in Afghanistan.

19 Again, thank you, sir, for your service to the Nation.

20 Chairman McCain: General Campbell.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL JOHN F. CAMPBELL, USA, COMMANDER,  
2 RESOLUTE SUPPORT MISSION, COMMANDER, UNITED STATES FORCES-  
3 AFGHANISTAN

4           General Campbell: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member  
5 Reed, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you  
6 very much for the opportunity to appear before you today.

7           I'm honored to lead and represent the servicemen and  
8 -women of the United States Forces-Afghanistan.

9           I'd like to begin by thanking the committee for your  
10 steadfast support of our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen,  
11 our marines, and our civilians. Due to your leadership and  
12 your commitment, they're the best-trained and best-equipped  
13 force our Nation has ever deployed. Their outstanding  
14 performance bears testimony to your backing and the backing  
15 of the American people.

16           I'd like to pay tribute to our military families, who  
17 are the unsung heroes of the last 13-plus years of conflict.  
18 In many ways, our frequent absences from home are harder on  
19 them than on us. Without their love, strength, and support,  
20 we couldn't succeed.

21           I'd also like to recognize the over-2200 servicemen and  
22 -women who have been killed in action in Afghanistan, and  
23 the over 20,000-plus who have been wounded. Each day, we  
24 strive to bring meaning to their sacrifices. We honor their  
25 memories and their loved ones by continuing to build a

1 secure and stable Afghanistan, and by protecting our own  
2 homeland.

3 Over 13 years have passed since the 9/11 attacks, and  
4 we haven't forgotten why the -- why we first came to  
5 Afghanistan, and why we remain. Since 2001, the  
6 extraordinary efforts and courage of our forces have ensured  
7 that another terrorist attack originating from Afghanistan  
8 and directed against the U.S. homeland has not occurred.

9 It's been 7 months since I appeared before this  
10 committee, and much has changed since then. Afghanistan,  
11 the region, the enemy, and our coalition have undergone  
12 tremendous transitions. And most of these have been  
13 extraordinarily positive for us. I'd like to emphasize a  
14 few of these today in order to place our current campaign in  
15 context and to reaffirm that the conditions exist for us to  
16 achieve our strategic objectives.

17 In September, Afghanistan completed the first peaceful  
18 democratic transition in history. Although prolonged, this  
19 transition was still a monumental achievement. It  
20 represented the Afghans' commitment to a democratic, open  
21 society. The difference between a new National Unity  
22 Government and its predecessor is night and day. President  
23 Ghani and CEO Abdullah have embraced the international  
24 community, our coalition, and the Afghan Security Forces.  
25 Our partnership is strong. We now have a ratified Bilateral

1 Security Agreement and a NATO Status of Forces Agreement,  
2 which grant us the necessary authorities to continue our  
3 mission.

4 Dynamics within the region continue to evolve, as well.  
5 President Ghani has made regional engagement a top priority  
6 in order to address the shared security and economic  
7 interests for his country. Nowhere is this more evident  
8 than in the Pakistan-Afghan relationship. The Pakistan  
9 Taliban's murderous attack in Peshawar on 16 December may  
10 prove to be their 9/11 and a game-changer for our future.  
11 Senior Pakistani officials recognize that they can no longer  
12 make the distinction between good and bad terrorists. In  
13 the wake of this tragedy, the blame game between both  
14 countries has stopped.

15 I've witnessed, firsthand, substantive changes in the  
16 interactions between the Afghan and Pakistan military  
17 leadership in just the last couple of months. They're now  
18 talking. Positive exchanges between corps commanders  
19 recently occurred in Kandahar and Jalalabad. Last week, six  
20 Afghan army cadets are now attending the Pakistan military  
21 academy. And this wasn't happening before.

22 We're doing everything we can to promote their closer  
23 cooperation, particularly to address extremist sanctuaries  
24 on both sides of the border. While we must temper our  
25 expectations, I remain optimistic that both countries are

1 working towards a more productive relationship.

2 The enemy remains in a state of flux, too. The Taliban  
3 failed to achieve any of their stated objectives in 2014.  
4 Constantly pressured by the ANSF, suffering from dissension  
5 within their own ranks, and lacking popular support, they  
6 turned to high-profile terrorist attacks, particularly  
7 against soft targets inside of Kabul. In their desperate  
8 attempt to remain relevant, they're failing to win over the  
9 Afghan population. They're killing innocent civilians and  
10 their fellow Afghans, and it's now time for them to lay down  
11 their arms and heed President Ghani's call to rebuild an  
12 Afghan nation.

13 The possible rise of Daesh, or ISIL, is also a new  
14 development. Thus far, we believe that the nascent Daesh  
15 presence in Afghanistan represents more of a rebranding of a  
16 few marginalized Taliban, but we're still taking this  
17 potential threat, with its dangerous rhetoric and ideology,  
18 very, very seriously. We're working closely with the ANSF  
19 to evaluate and understand the dynamic nature of this  
20 fledgling network.

21 The potential emergence of Daesh represents an  
22 additional opportunity to bring the Afghans and the  
23 Pakistanis together to confront this common threat, and we  
24 will continue to engage with leaders from both countries on  
25 ways we can collaborate to meet this challenge. We're all

1 driven to prevent Daesh from establishing a meaningful  
2 foothold in Central Asia.

3 U.S. Forces-Afghanistan and our coalition have  
4 undergone tremendous changes, as well, since I assumed  
5 command. On 1 January, U.S. Forces-Afghanistan formally  
6 ended its combat mission, Operation Enduring Freedom, and we  
7 commenced with our new mission, Operation Freedom Sentinel.  
8 We've also ended all detainee operations. Simultaneously,  
9 troops from over 40 nations, which comprise the new NATO  
10 mission, Resolute Support, began executing their train,  
11 advise, and assist mission in order to build the  
12 capabilities and long-term sustainability of the ANSF.

13 On 1 January, the ANSF also assumed full security  
14 responsibilities. They're ready, and it's time. In their  
15 second fighting season in the lead, the ANSF were challenged  
16 and tested, but they held their own against a determined  
17 enemy. On the battlefield, the ANSF fought tenaciously and  
18 demonstrated their increasing capabilities. Today, the  
19 Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan remains  
20 firmly in control of 34 potential capitals and all of its  
21 major cities. The ANSF successfully promoted -- or  
22 protected 8 million Afghans who courageously defied  
23 insurgent intimidation and voted in two rounds of elections.  
24 The ANSF's professionalism and their nonpartisanship enabled  
25 them to remain cohesive in the face of an extended political

1 impasse after the elections. All portions of the Afghan  
2 Security Forces continue to respect and obey Afghan  
3 authority.

4 The ANSF Special Forces, in particular, have proven to  
5 be the most proficient in the entire region. They're  
6 consistently executing unilateral direct-action missions  
7 against insurgent leaders and facilitators. They're  
8 leveraging their own intelligence, using their own special  
9 mission-wing helicopters to carry out long-range insertions  
10 in low illumination. And these are pretty remarkable, a  
11 remarkable capability for any military.

12 For both the ANSF and the coalition, Afghanistan  
13 continues to be a dangerous place. Casualty rates for all  
14 the ANSF increased in 2014, roughly 5 to 7 percent higher.  
15 However, this must be viewed in light of the fact that their  
16 operational tempo was four times greater in 2014 than it was  
17 in 2013, and that over 100,000 coalition forces were no  
18 longer on the battlefield.

19 Even considering these higher casualties, the ANSF  
20 attrition rates, which account for all losses to the force,  
21 have not impacted combat readiness too severely. The army  
22 and the police recruiting has not been a problem. Afghan  
23 youths continue to join the ranks of the ANSF. Service in  
24 the security forces is widely respected and viewed as an  
25 honorable, patriotic profession. The Afghan National Army

1 remains the most trusted institution in the country and the  
2 Afghan shield and sword of an exceptionally proud people in  
3 a fledgling nation.

4       On balance, after watching the ANSF respond to a  
5 variety of challenges over the past 6 months, I don't  
6 believe the insurgents represent an existential threat to  
7 the Government of Afghanistan. However, the ANSF still need  
8 a great deal of help in developing the systems and processes  
9 necessary to run a modern professional army and police  
10 force. They also need sustained support in addressing their  
11 capability gaps in aviation, intelligence, and special  
12 operations.

13       To address these gaps, our train, advise, and assist  
14 mission and mentorship will be vital. Our advisors at the  
15 security ministries, army corps, and police zones are now  
16 our main effort. Although clear challenges exist, I do  
17 believe that the ANSF capabilities or capacity and the  
18 morale will be sufficient, backstopped by our advisory  
19 efforts and limited enabler support. And this will provide  
20 Afghanistan the long-term security at the end of the  
21 Resolute Support Mission.

22       President Ghani recently remarked, and I quote,  
23 "Compelled by tragedy and cemented by mutual sacrifice, the  
24 partnership between Afghanistan, NATO, and the U.S. has  
25 entered a new phase," end quote. I believe that we're at a

1 critical inflection point in our campaign. Many challenges  
2 remain before us as the new Afghan government forms. It's  
3 still finding its footing, and it must do so while  
4 contending with a security threat, corruption, and economic  
5 challenges. Yet, the myriad of changes and transitions over  
6 the last 7 months offer us a tremendous opening.

7       The Ghani administration offers us an extraordinary  
8 opportunity to develop a meaningful strategic partnership  
9 that will stabilize Afghanistan and, in turn, offer greater  
10 security for the region and the U.S. homeland. There's a  
11 new spirit of cooperation in Kabul, something we didn't have  
12 before. I firmly believe that our concurrent CT and TAA  
13 efforts will reinforce and deepen our strategic partnership,  
14 and shape conditions for a favorable outcome to this  
15 conflict. And we could offer no greater tribute to the  
16 American people, our fallen, and their loved ones than by  
17 finishing this mission well.

18       If I could, I think the members have charts at your  
19 tables, there. I'd like to just show you a couple of  
20 statistics. I'm asked, What does progress mean? Have we  
21 had success? Has it been worth it? I'd just offer you  
22 these two slides that lay out 2001 and 2014. And every  
23 measurable statistic, from roadways, cell phone usage,  
24 schools, teachers, females in schools, literacy rate, on and  
25 on and on, continues to go up. The one that's quite



1 striking is the life expectancy, on the bottom-right, there.  
2 2001, it was 43 years. Today, it stands at 64 years. If  
3 you times that by about 35 million -- we haven't had a  
4 census in a while -- that's 741 million life years of hope  
5 that the coalition and the American people have provided to  
6 the Afghan people.

7 The bottom two charts show Kabul, then and now -- 2001,  
8 2014. Scott, if you can raise those up. And then, on the  
9 right is present-day Kabul at night, the fifth fastest-  
10 growing city in the world.

11 That's progress. That's success. And that could only  
12 happen with the coalition and the security that is provided.

13 Finally, let me conclude by stating that U.S. Forces-  
14 Afghanistan is currently involved with a winter review of  
15 the Afghanistan campaign. This review is looking at all of  
16 our lines of effort in Afghanistan, not just the military.  
17 As I stated, President Ghani is a credible and effective  
18 partner. He has asked for NATO and the United States to  
19 provide some flexibility in our planning to account for the  
20 fact that his government remains in transition. I have  
21 provided options on adjusting our force posture through my  
22 chain of command. The issue is how long we stay engaged at  
23 the regional level in the transition year of 2015.

24 Once again, I express my profound gratitude to all the  
25 committee members for your unfailing support of our mission

1 and our troops in Afghanistan. I'm humbled, and I'm  
2 privileged to lead the men and women of their caliber and  
3 their courage. Every day, they make us all proud.

4 I look forward to your questions. Thank you.

5 [The prepared statement of General Campbell follows:]

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1 Chairman McCain: Thank you very much, General.

2 In an address to the Nation on 27 May 2014, President  
3 Obama said about Afghanistan, quote, "We will bring  
4 America's longest war to a responsible end and then announce  
5 calendar dates for our withdrawal. At the beginning of  
6 2015, we'll have approximately 9,800. By the end of 2015,  
7 we'll have reduced that presence by roughly half, and we  
8 will have consolidated our troops in Kabul and on Bagram.  
9 We will have consolidated our troops in Kabul and on Bagram.  
10 One year later, by the end of 2016, our military will drawn  
11 down to a normal embassy presence in Kabul, with a security  
12 assistance component" -- and I'm not making this part of his  
13 statement up -- "just as we've done in Iraq."

14 General, we are worried about it being "just as we've  
15 done in Iraq."

16 So, I guess the fundamental question I have for you, in  
17 light of the fact that there is a 6-month transition of the  
18 Government of Afghanistan, ISIS is now locating there, and  
19 other things have happened since the President made this  
20 statement. Do you believe that our troop presence in  
21 Afghanistan should be adjusted -- the schedule should be  
22 adjusted, in light of ensuing events since the President  
23 made his statement on 27 May 2014?

24 General Campbell: Sir, thank you for the question.

25 Sir, as I mentioned in the oral statement, I have

1 provided options to my chain of command to take a look at,  
2 as we do this winter update, for additional options --

3 Chairman McCain: You've provided those options. Do  
4 you favor those options?

5 General Campbell: Sir, absolutely.

6 Chairman McCain: I thank you.

7 If the -- are you worried about a lack of U.S. military  
8 presence in Kandahar, the spiritual home of the Taliban,  
9 including ISR, air power capability, and advisors there?

10 General Campbell: Sir, currently, with the forces that  
11 we have in Kandahar, I'm comfortable where we are through  
12 2015. They provide us the opportunity to continue to do our  
13 mission of train, advise, and assist down in Kandahar.  
14 That's what the 205th Corps, with the police, with the  
15 special operating forces, and with the air force. And we  
16 have the requisite ISR to be able to continue that mission  
17 through 2015.

18 Chairman McCain: Those options that you've provided to  
19 the President, does that mean that we will -- the options  
20 that you support would not draw down to a "normal embassy  
21 presence in Kabul"?

22 General Campbell: Sir, the options I presented to my  
23 chain of command were several options that laid out -- to  
24 make sure that we can continue with our mission of TAA. I'm  
25 particularly concerned about the summer 2015. The Afghans

1 -- the is the very first fighting season completely on their  
2 own. They've had the lead for 2 years. They've done quite  
3 well. But, this is the first one at the current force  
4 levels that we're at. As you mentioned up front, the  
5 current plan brings it down to Kabul-centric by the end of  
6 2015. And, as we look at that -- again, we've -- we're  
7 asking -- President Ghani has asked for some flexibility,  
8 and, in my options, I think I provide some options both for  
9 President Ghani and for my senior leadership here to take a  
10 look at, that would allow us the flexibility to continue to  
11 get after the TAA mission and the CT mission.

12 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

13 A group of us met with President Ghani over the  
14 weekend, and he was very strong and adamant that this  
15 current plan will put the nation in danger. And I hope that  
16 our leadership will pay attention to him when he comes for a  
17 visit here, I believe in March.

18 Senator Reed.

19 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

20 Thank you, General.

21 You have two distinct missions. One is train, advise,  
22 and support Afghan National Security Forces. And the other  
23 is the counterterrorism mission. And those two missions  
24 might have -- require different footprints, in terms of  
25 where you've located in country. Is that being considered

1 by you in your recommendations to the President? I mean,  
2 that sort of dichotomy between the two missions? And does  
3 that shape your recommendation, in terms of what sort of  
4 locations that you must hold? Some you might hold simply  
5 for counterterrorism, others you might be integral to  
6 training. Is that -- that's accurate?

7 General Campbell: Sir, absolutely. You know, both  
8 counterterrorism and train/advise/assist are complementary  
9 missions. They complement each other to lead toward force  
10 protection. And so, I have to take a holistic look at both  
11 those as we provide options to the senior leadership.

12 Sir, I might add that we have been showing great  
13 flexibility in the past. In the October timeframe, we came  
14 forward for some flexibility on authorities, enablers, and  
15 people, and the President granted some great flexibility  
16 that enabled us to continue with the Resolute Support  
17 Mission after 1 January.

18 Senator Reed: There's another aspect of the  
19 counterterrorism, which was alluded to in -- by our panel  
20 yesterday. That is, regional threats, not just solely  
21 located within Afghanistan itself. Is that something you're  
22 considering, too, in terms of recommendations to the  
23 President?

24 General Campbell: Sir, I would tell you that both U.S.  
25 Forces-Afghanistan, Central Command, my higher headquarters,

1 President Ghani, as he's reached out to the region, take a  
2 look at this regional approach all the time. As I mentioned  
3 up front, what's different in the last 6 months is the  
4 reachout that President Ghani's had, especially to Pakistan,  
5 and the mil-to-mil, economic-to-economic, people-to-people,  
6 intel-to-intel, those areas that he continues to look at  
7 very hard. I've seen change in the attitude. I've seen  
8 military-to-military talking together. This hasn't happened  
9 since about 2011-2012. And that's quite good. And I think  
10 if they continue to work that very hard and understand they  
11 have a common enemy to face -- they have to get rid of the  
12 sanctuary on both sides -- that that'll lead to a positive  
13 outcome. We do look at a regional approach, yes, sir.

14 Senator Reed: Let me go to an area that is sometimes  
15 not highlighted. That's the Afghan National Police.  
16 Because the responsibility to train and also to create a  
17 justice system is -- overlaps not only with yourself but  
18 with many other U.S. agencies and international partners.  
19 You've talked, I think, in general terms about the status of  
20 the Afghan National Army, and particularly their Special  
21 Operations Forces, but what about the police? They're  
22 ultimately long gone, and it will be the police and the  
23 villagers that will make sure the country is stable.

24 General Campbell: Sir, absolutely. The police, about  
25 157,000 strong, plus another 30,000 Afghan local police -- a

1 little bit different training than the army, a little bit  
2 different equipped. However, they continue to do some of  
3 the same type missions that the army has to go through.  
4 When they work together, the army, the police, the ALP,  
5 they're quite good. This cross -- what we call "cross-  
6 pillar coordination" -- as I tell people, with the changes  
7 in leadership, having confidence, holding people  
8 accountable, working together, that the Taliban cannot  
9 defeat them. And the Taliban don't have the D-30 howitzers,  
10 they don't have the up-armored humvees, they don't have the  
11 MI-17s, they don't have the intel fusion, none of that. So  
12 --

13 But, the police continue to work that very hard. They  
14 are working through a holistic review on a force  
15 optimization piece on the army and the police. President  
16 Ghani and the senior leadership have looked at some changes  
17 to the police and how they're organized and how they work  
18 more toward the community policing piece of it. And I know  
19 that's where they want to get to. We do advise, at the  
20 ministerial level, MOI, and then at the senior police level.  
21 And, sir, we'll continue to work that very hard.

22 Senator Reed: Finally, there are requirements that the  
23 Government of Afghanistan has asked us to fulfill. Are  
24 there any outstanding requests that we have to the  
25 Government of Afghanistan that they must fulfill that will



1 ensure our mission is successful?

2 General Campbell: Sir, you're talking in terms of  
3 troops, equipment, or --

4 Senator Reed: Troops, equipment, reform of the --  
5 their systems. You know, it is a partnership, and we're  
6 focusing on what they are asking of us. I know, under the  
7 previous presidency, there was a long list of things we  
8 asked, and were not particularly successful in getting. You  
9 seem to imply, I think quite accurately, that, with  
10 President Ghani and Dr. Abdullah, there is a new sense of  
11 cooperation, et cetera. But, are there some significant  
12 issues out there that they must deal with and we must be  
13 aware of?

14 General Campbell: Sir, I think both President Ghani  
15 and Dr. Abdullah continue to work very hard, one at the  
16 National Unity Government, they're working at the corruption  
17 piece. We've asked them to look at that very hard. They  
18 continue to work at that. They've embraced the  
19 international community. Everywhere I go, every event I've  
20 seen both Dr. Abdullah and President Ghani, first thing they  
21 do is thank the international community, thank the American  
22 people for their sacrifices for the last 13-plus years. You  
23 didn't hear that before. They're working very, very hard on  
24 being -- President Ghani is the Commander in Chief, and he's  
25 embraced the Afghan Security Forces, both the army and the

1 police. You haven't seen that before. In fact, the Afghan  
2 Security Forces were probably handcuffed the last 3 or 4  
3 years on what they could and couldn't do. And we'd be in a  
4 different place if President Ghani had been in position  
5 there the last couple of years. But, I think, sir,  
6 everything that we talk about with MOI, MOD, ask President  
7 Ghani to take a hard look at, he absolutely gets on that.

8 Senator Reed: Thank you, sir.

9 Chairman McCain: Senator Inhofe.

10 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 And thank you, General. And thank you also for the  
12 time that you spend with us personally on these issues.

13 I -- Senator Reed brought up the thing about the --  
14 talking about the police versus the army. Give the -- us a  
15 general idea of the size of each. I mean, the army is much  
16 larger than the police. But, tell me, is it a 10-to-1, or  
17 what is it? I should know, and I don't.

18 General Campbell: Sir, the army is -- 352,000 is the  
19 Afghan Security Forces; 195,000 for the Army, 157,000 for  
20 the Afghan Police, and then there's an additional 30,000  
21 that are the Afghan local police.

22 Senator Inhofe: Yeah, I understand that one. Thank  
23 you very much.

24 I took a very personal interest, back -- oh, as far  
25 back as 2003 -- in the training of the Afghan. And one

1 reason is, the Oklahoma 45th played a very significant role,  
2 not just in '03, in the early years, but also '06 and '07.  
3 So, I spent quite a bit of time over there. I watched what  
4 they were doing. And I was there when they opened up the  
5 Kabul Military Training Center. And I even commented that  
6 it reminded me, when I looked at it, as Fort Sill. It's  
7 really state-of-the-art.

8 Now, you talked about Kabul. It's growing -- the  
9 fastest-growing city and all that. How is the -- the  
10 Training Center, is it -- remained as effective as it  
11 initially was, or is it growing? What's the capacity there?

12 General Campbell: Sir, the KMTC continues to be a  
13 bright spot, a training place that absolutely embraces, the  
14 last several years, what we've put into that. But, each of  
15 the corps have their own regional training centers, as well.  
16 The Special Operating Forces have the equivalent of a Center  
17 of Excellence, like we have at Fort Bragg. It's quite --  
18 very, very good. I was out west, in Herat, here about a  
19 week and a half ago, told the corps commander I want to go  
20 look at his training. So, this was unannounced. He took me  
21 out there, walked through their medical training, walked  
22 through their marksmanship training, walked through their --  
23 how they cleared buildings, and all of those -- again,  
24 unannounced, just walking out there, all --

25 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

1           General Campbell:  -- Afghan-led.  It was pretty  
2 remarkable, and I came away refreshed that, you know, all of  
3 that training that goes on, for the most part, is Afghan-led  
4 -- had been with our help several years ago --

5           Senator Inhofe:  Yeah.

6           General Campbell:  -- but I feel very confident that  
7 they continue to do that --

8           Senator Inhofe:  Well, I have to tell you, I was really  
9 impressed, in those early years, because I was -- as I say,  
10 I was there because we were participating in that in a very  
11 personal way.  And then, the expressions on the faces of the  
12 Afghans, I thought, you know, they really wanted to train,  
13 they were very proud of the accomplishments, particularly at  
14 the Training Center.  And I never dreamed, at that time,  
15 we'd be back here, 10-12 years later, talking about it.

16           Just -- this has been asked before, but for a different  
17 reason.  Let me just reflect back on what's happening right  
18 now.  We had the administration talking about 5,500, then we  
19 had the -- President Ghani wanting us to reexamine that; and  
20 then, just yesterday or the day before, we agreed, or the  
21 administration talked about doing it.  What concerns me is,  
22 if we're at 10,000 now -- and we had General Mattis tell  
23 this committee, just a few -- a short while ago, that we  
24 should be looking at approximately a recommendation of  
25 20,000, and you're readjusting from 10,000, are you -- is

1 that implying that -- somehow that we're going make an  
2 adjustment from the 5,500, but it's not going to be up  
3 anywhere close to what General Mattis said we needed?

4 General Campbell: Sir, none of the options recommend  
5 an increase like that. Most of the options I've -- I'm  
6 discussing with my senior leadership includes allowing more  
7 flexibility on glide slope, allowing more flexibility on  
8 locations.

9 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Does it bother you that we're  
10 talking publicly about all the -- what we're going to be,  
11 when we're going to withdraw and when we're going to be  
12 downsizing and all of that? Because, obviously, you know,  
13 they know everything we know. Does that concern you?

14 General Campbell: Sir, I think General Dunford put it  
15 best, you know, when he was -- testified last July and he  
16 said he hoped that there would be more ambiguity here. Sir,  
17 it's out in the open. We are where we are. We'll continue  
18 to work that and mitigate --

19 Senator Inhofe: I know we are where we are, but do we  
20 have to continue being "are where we are"? You know, I  
21 mean, when do we go and start making our own plans,  
22 exclusively us, looking after our own defense? Hopefully,  
23 that time will come. I won't ask for an answer.

24 The last thing I'd -- would mention. When you talk  
25 about having to do something on the size of the force, right

1 now we have -- we have Afghanistan, we have Iraq, we have  
2 Syria, Africa, and we've got problems there, Jordan, of  
3 course, we talked about that last week, and, just yesterday,  
4 introduced legislation to try to get more of our help in --  
5 to our very great ally, Poroshenko and those in the Ukraine.  
6 Now, do you look at the overall picture and talk to the rest  
7 of them as to what our capacity is with all these things  
8 going on? And is that factored into any recommendation  
9 you're going to have, in terms of changing our structure in  
10 Afghanistan?

11 General Campbell: Sir, when I look at the options I  
12 present to my senior leadership, I'm cognizant of what else  
13 is going on in the world and the --

14 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

15 General Campbell: -- the requirements that the Joint  
16 Staff and OSD have to deal with. But, I particularly focus  
17 on Afghanistan, the impact it has there. I'm not looking at  
18 what AFRICOM has, EUCOM --

19 Senator Inhofe: Sure. Appreciate it very much.

20 General Campbell: I provide those options, then the  
21 Joint Staff, the OSD, will work through that.

22 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. But, I know that you'll be --  
23 in making recommendations, in terms of overall force  
24 strength and all of that, and that, I'm sure, will factor  
25 into it.

1 Thank you very much.

2 General Campbell: Thank you, sir.

3 Chairman McCain: Senator Gillibrand.

4 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and  
5 Ranking Member, for hosting this hearing. I appreciate it  
6 very much.

7 General, what role -- what should the role of  
8 Afghanistan's neighbors, particularly Pakistan, be in the  
9 reconciliation process? Do you have concerns about the role  
10 that Afghanistan neighbors are currently playing? And what  
11 do you see our greatest challenges being?

12 General Campbell: Thank you, Senator.

13 I think, you know, Afghanistan -- and President Ghani  
14 said this several times, is that he wants to lead  
15 reconciliation. This is an Afghan process, an Afghan-led  
16 process. He wants to take charge of this. This is very,  
17 very important for him. He knows it's going to take some  
18 time. He's also reached out to Pakistan, to General Rahil,  
19 Chief of the Army there, and said, "You know, I need some  
20 help, here. We have to work this together." And I think  
21 that dialogue continues to go between them.

22 I was in Pakistan last week, had these conversations  
23 with General Rahil. I talked to both President Ghani and  
24 General Rahil yesterday morning. They continue to dialogue.  
25 Neither one of them wants to let the other one down. And I

1 think Pakistan, for years and years, has been an issue.  
2 We've always said, "You can't talk about Afghanistan unless  
3 Pakistan" --

4 Senator Gillibrand: Right.

5 General Campbell: -- "is in that equation." I think,  
6 with General Rahil, he's moving in a different direction  
7 than we've seen in the past. Again, I've been there four or  
8 five times in the several months I've been on the ground  
9 there. I met with him. I met with him and the President,  
10 together. And I think that there's very, very good dialogue  
11 as we move forward.

12 And I think General Rahil understands that he has a big  
13 piece to play in this, and his leadership will make a  
14 difference as he works with some of the internal issues he  
15 has in Pakistan. If you're in Afghanistan, you think  
16 everything bad comes out of Pakistan. If you're in  
17 Pakistan, you think everything bad comes out of Afghanistan.  
18 They've got to work through that piece of it together to  
19 fight this common enemy. And I think, in the last 45 to 60  
20 days, I've seen that more than I have ever seen before in  
21 Afghanistan. And we have an opportunity now, if we work  
22 very, very hard, to make this reconciliation piece a  
23 potential reality, where it hadn't been before.

24 Senator Gillibrand: Are there particular challenges  
25 with regard to the border?



1           General Campbell: As far as cross-border? Well, there  
2 always is, ma'am. I mean, it -- you know, up in the Hindu  
3 Kush, up in Paktia, along Kunar, Nangahar, I mean, there's  
4 nothing that says, "This is the border." And so, people  
5 have families that live on side -- the Afghanistan side,  
6 have families just right across the border, continues to be  
7 that.

8           There is more cooperation now between the Afghan Border  
9 Police and the Frontier Corps on the Pakistan side. Again,  
10 about 2 weeks ago, the 201st Corps and the 203rd Corps met  
11 in Jalalabad and met with the 11th Corps commander, who's in  
12 Peshawar. They talked about borders. Last week, Lieutenant  
13 General Fazli, who is the Afghan Border Police's senior  
14 border policeman for Afghanistan, went to Pakistan for a  
15 week and toured different spots on the Pakistan side. So,  
16 they continue to talk.

17           We're building back the coordination center that we  
18 used to have at Tourk. That should open up very soon. Used  
19 to have U.S., Afghan, and Pakistan, will now have Pakistan  
20 and Afghan. I was up there probably 4 weeks ago with  
21 General Karimi, the Chief of Army. But, this will put  
22 Afghans and Pakistanis together in a coordination center at  
23 a key point on the border. We'll put another one down  
24 south, just south of Kandahar. So, we'll continue to work  
25 that. So, I think they're working this very hard.

1           Senator Gillibrand: I'm very grateful for all the work  
2 you've done to protect women's rights and to educate girls.  
3 What are we doing now to ensure that progress on women's  
4 rights will be protected as we transition into a more  
5 adversary -- excuse me -- a more advisory capacity? And is  
6 the Afghanistan Government capable of sustaining the  
7 progress that you've made?

8           General Campbell: Ma'am, they work this very hard.  
9 Thank you for the question. They work this very, very hard.  
10 I have a gender advisor that works that with the senior  
11 people in the Afghan government. We continue to see change  
12 in the number of women that join the police, that join the  
13 army. They've -- they get some very tough goals to try to  
14 get to over time, but they're working very hard toward that.  
15 I think the police and MOI are doing a little bit better  
16 than the army, but they understand how important it is.

17           President Ghani has made this one of his priorities.  
18 He spoke about this to all the senior leadership in both the  
19 MOI and the MOD, in meetings that I've been in. He's also  
20 trying to incorporate more civilian and women into the  
21 ministries of both MOI and MOD. Again, MOI is a little bit  
22 better than MOD. Their goals that they have, of about 10  
23 percent over the next several years, is going to be very,  
24 very tough, just based on the culture. But, I think all of  
25 them that I talk about really want to get after this, and I

1 think -- I do believe they're very genuine about this.

2 Senator Gillibrand: What's the status of terrorism  
3 attacks specifically against schools with girls?

4 General Campbell: Ma'am, I don't have those  
5 statistics. I can get those --

6 Senator Gillibrand: But, is it rising or falling, or  
7 is it the same, or -- I just don't have a sense of it today.

8 General Campbell: Ma'am, I can tell you it's probably  
9 about the same. Again, I think wherever there are soft  
10 targets that the Taliban and other insurgents can go after,  
11 they're going to try to do that. If they go to a school, if  
12 they go inside of Kabul, it gives them more of a strategic  
13 impact, because the media will pick up on that, just like  
14 they did this tragic incident in Peshawar on the 16th of  
15 December. They hit a military-type school and killed all  
16 those children. The Afghan people understand, you know,  
17 that they want their kids to go to school, to continue to  
18 have this education. But, I haven't seen a spike in those  
19 numbers at all, ma'am.

20 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

21 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 Chairman McCain: Senator Sessions.

23 Senator Sessions: Thank you.

24 General Campbell, thank you for your testimony and your  
25 service.

1           Just on that question, to follow up, if the Taliban are  
2   victorious, this would be devastating, would it not, for the  
3   rights of women in Afghanistan? They've made a great deal  
4   of progress in recent years.

5           General Campbell: Sir, absolutely.

6           Senator Sessions: General Campbell, Ambassador  
7   Cunningham told us yesterday, as did all the panelists, that  
8   the rate of withdrawal is too high or too steep in  
9   Afghanistan. I tend to agree with that. I think that's  
10  very difficult for anybody to dispute, if you analyze it. I  
11  believe our Congress, in a bipartisan way, is open to having  
12  a more robust assistance to the Afghan forces. I feel it,  
13  in talking to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. I  
14  think the American people are willing to stay the course and  
15  help in a -- not a out-front way, but in a supportive way,  
16  more than a lot of people think, if we articulate that. I  
17  believe it's important for the President to articulate that.  
18  He's the Commander in Chief, and I think it's important for  
19  you to be clear to him, and the Defense Department to be  
20  clear, to help alter the present course we are on.

21           And secondly, I'm really pleased that you have gone  
22  even further than our panelists yesterday in saying that  
23  this is not a hopeless case. A lot of progress has been  
24  made. We just don't want to let it slip away.

25           And I do not see this, in any way, that we're starting

1 a new war. We are been -- we are partners with Afghanistan  
2 for 13-plus years. We've stood shoulder-to-shoulder with  
3 them. We've lost, as you said, over 2,000 soldiers, 20,000  
4 wounded. It needs to end successfully.

5 So, I just hope that somehow we don't make the mistake  
6 that Senator McCain has so wisely warned us of, in  
7 Afghanistan, to rush out when just a little more presence  
8 and a little more support would be there. And I encourage  
9 you to speak out on that. I assume that your report, from  
10 what I hear you say, your advice, calls for a stronger  
11 presence there.

12 And I -- so, I appreciate the optimism that you have.  
13 And you've said there's a new spirit there. It does appear  
14 that President Ghani is much more attuned with the  
15 challenges than President Karzai was, and that a lot of  
16 progress is made. But, I have to tell you, we've heard that  
17 before. And we've been hearing this for a long time,  
18 "There's a new spirit there." And I think there's truth to  
19 it. But, isn't it true that, in a combat situation  
20 involving, say, Iraqi or Afghani soldiers, that if just a  
21 few U.S. forces, with communications ability, the ability to  
22 call in air strikes, can embolden and encourage them to a  
23 remarkable degree, and help them to be successful in a way  
24 that, if they are out under attack and they don't have that  
25 kind of support and confidence, they are not as effective

1 fighters? I've heard lower ranking -- and high ranking  
2 officers say that's true.

3 General Campbell: Sir, as you know, our men and women  
4 of our Armed Forces are incredibly gifted, they're bright,  
5 they're intelligent. When other forces are around them,  
6 they learn through osmosis. I mean, it's pretty incredible.  
7 So, anytime we're around Iraq or Afghan forces, in my  
8 experiences, they continue to get better. So --

9 Senator Sessions: I was talking --

10 General Campbell: -- I would not argue that.

11 Senator Sessions: -- to an experienced officer in Iraq  
12 last week. Been there a number of times. And he said --

13 General Campbell: What I --

14 Senator Sessions: -- the Iraqis will fight, and they  
15 fight so much better and so much more confidently if just a  
16 few Americans are embedded with them. It creates a  
17 confidence that goes beyond -- way beyond the numbers. Do  
18 you agree with that general philosophy?

19 General Campbell: Sir, I've spent about 19 months in  
20 Iraq. I've sent three different tours in Afghanistan. And  
21 I would tell you that the Afghanistan -- their fighters,  
22 they've been fighting for 35-plus years. There's no doubt,  
23 with the proper leadership, they will continue to fight.  
24 The difference between Iraq and Afghanistan, what I've seen  
25 now, is that the Afghans have a nationalist pride about

1 being, "I'm for Afghanistan. I'm not Sunni, I'm not Shi'a,  
2 I'm an Afghan. And so, I'm not a Pashtun, I'm not a Tajik,  
3 I'm an Afghan." And they have this pride, and they're very  
4 proud that they stood firm during the political instability.  
5 They didn't break underneath ethnic lines. With the right  
6 leadership, they can carry the day, here, sir.

7 Senator Sessions: Well, we're moving to no troops  
8 outside of the capital, it appears, to a ministerial force  
9 and advisory -- a normal State Department relationship with  
10 the Afghan government, soon. Less than, you know, 2 years.  
11 I just think that's taking a risk. And I hope that you will  
12 make clear your view, from a military point of view. And I  
13 think the American people will support it. I think  
14 President Obama will listen. And I think we can have  
15 bipartisan support, here, for a more realistic approach to  
16 the drawdown in Afghanistan.

17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator McCaskill.

19 Senator McCaskill: Thank you.

20 Thank you, General Campbell. I really appreciated the  
21 time we spent together yesterday going over a challenging  
22 problem, and that is how we do the requisite oversight of  
23 what we're doing in Afghanistan, and how, at the same time,  
24 as we pull into the back and allow the Afghan forces to take  
25 the lead, how you protect data that could make them more

1 vulnerable once they are in the lead and once we are in a --  
2 just a supportive role. And I completely understand the  
3 tension there.

4         And I just wanted to put on the record that I think you  
5 have worked very hard to reverse some of the confusion that  
6 existed around the special -- Inspector General's report as  
7 to what should and shouldn't be classified. And I know  
8 you've taken steps to declassify a wide swath of that  
9 information. And I think the commitment you made to me,  
10 that we'll continue to work on what you feel strongly about,  
11 in terms of unit data and some of the other data that could,  
12 in fact, put people at risk if it were continued to be  
13 unclassified. And I just want to thank you for your  
14 attention to that. I think you understand that the  
15 oversight is important. And I think you also are very  
16 cognizant of the risks associated with some of that data  
17 getting into the wrong hands. So, I appreciate your help on  
18 that.

19         I want to express my sympathy for the deaths, not just  
20 of Kayla Mueller, but of the other contractors, that have  
21 occurred. And this has been a theme of mine for years, and  
22 that is, How do we manage the contracting force in theater?  
23 How do we oversee the contracting force in theater? And how  
24 do we protect the contracting force in theater? I am  
25 worried about that.



1           We put into the -- last year's National Defense  
2 Authorization, a prohibition against funding any projects  
3 that we can't inspect because of security reasons. And I  
4 want to get your take on where we are, in terms of  
5 protection of the contracting force. I mean, we've got  
6 contractors that are going to have to maintain some of these  
7 systems, because Afghanistan is not ready to -- they don't  
8 have the technical capability of maintaining some of what we  
9 have equipped them with. Contractors are going to be a  
10 reality in that space for a long time. And I think we need  
11 to discuss that protection, not just force protection, but,  
12 obviously, contractor protection.

13           General Campbell: Yes, ma'am. Thank you very much for  
14 the question.

15           Absolutely concur with you that force protection, both  
16 for our servicemen and -women and our contractors or other  
17 civilians in Afghanistan, is utmost on my mind. We do  
18 absolutely everything we can to make sure we give them the  
19 right resources. We provide them what we call "guardian  
20 angels" to provide that force protection support. Without  
21 going into our TTPs, or our techniques and tactics of  
22 procedures of how we would do that, that could potentially  
23 put them more at risk, I would just tell you that this is  
24 utmost on my mind, of all the men and women, of all the  
25 leadership. We'll continue to watch that very closely.

1 I do agree that, as we downsize, we can't just say  
2 we're taking the military out. We've got to add another  
3 contractor in there. We've got to take a holistic look at  
4 what the requirement actually is. And there are some places  
5 where we'll say, you know, we're not going to put a  
6 military, we're not going to put a contractor there, as  
7 well. We'll just have to mitigate that a different way.  
8 And so, we look at it very hard.

9 It was a very unfortunate incident, about 2 weeks ago,  
10 with Kayla, where we did have three of our contractors  
11 killed by an Afghan soldier. We've learned some lessons  
12 from that. The Afghans continue to learn lessons from that,  
13 as well. Our green-on-blue incidents have gone way, way  
14 down. We want to continue to keep it that way. But, a lot  
15 of that is because of the procedures we put in place, the  
16 procedures that the Afghans have put in place, as well, to  
17 help vet their security forces.

18 But, ma'am, we'll continue to look at that very hard.

19 Senator McCaskill: If you could speak briefly to --  
20 you know, President Bush was the first one who spoke out  
21 about the propaganda tool that GTMO represented, the  
22 recruiting tool that it represented. It continues to be,  
23 we're aware, a recruiting tool. Could you speak to the  
24 issue of GTMO as it relates to what is maybe the biggest  
25 threat we face, and that is the recruitment worldwide of

1 terrorists to join the fight, particularly the fight that  
2 ISIS is conducting in a barbaric fashion that has nothing to  
3 do with conventional warfare?

4 General Campbell: Thank you, ma'am.

5 I think there's a lot of things out there that -- a lot  
6 of things out there that would incite people to attack  
7 Americans already, that they're already preconceived to  
8 attack Americans. I can't tell you how much GTMO does or  
9 doesn't do that, or impact on their recruiting piece of it.  
10 But, you know, my experience tells me that there are people  
11 that want to do harm to people both in Afghanistan and back  
12 here in the United States, and any number of things can make  
13 them do that. But, many of them are preconceived to do  
14 that. And we can -- what I have to do is continue to work  
15 that hard on my force protection inside of Afghanistan, and  
16 worry about that piece of it. I don't go out and look at  
17 different pieces and how they recruit. I look more at the  
18 force-protection piece inside of Afghanistan.

19 Senator McCaskill: That makes sense. Thank you,  
20 General.

21 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte.

22 Senator Ayotte: I want to thank, General, you for your  
23 tremendous service to the country and for your family and  
24 for all those that serve underneath you. I think we're very  
25 fortunate to have your leadership.

1 I wanted to follow up to understand, just in terms of  
2 where we are in the current plan, and in the consequences of  
3 it. Just so we understand, if we keep the current timeline  
4 that was proposed by the administration, and they don't  
5 adopt some of the options that you've proposed to them, what  
6 does that mean, in terms of when the withdrawal would have  
7 to start, in terms of the fighting season? So,  
8 logistically, what would that mean for you?

9 General Campbell: Ma'am, I -- you know, a military guy  
10 would never use the term "withdrawal." We -- we're going to  
11 transition as we continue to work that piece of it.

12 The current state of play is, we have 9800 U.S. I have  
13 about 12.9-, with the total NATO force. We're centered in  
14 Kabul and Bagram. We have tactical advise-and-assist  
15 commands in Mazar-e Sharif in the north and Herat in the  
16 West and Kandahar in the south, Jalalabad and Gamberi in the  
17 east, and we have several special operating camps at our --  
18 or Special Operating Forces used inside of Kabul and other  
19 places in the country. To be able to get down to the  
20 numbers that we're at, we'd have to go to Kabul-centric by  
21 the end of the year. And so, I would have to work that  
22 glide slope.

23 Senator Ayotte: But, would that also require you to  
24 move out of places during the fighting season?

25 General Campbell: Ma'am, part of that is physics --

1 Senator Ayotte: Right. Meaning logistically.

2 General Campbell: Yes, ma'am.

3 Senator Ayotte: So, that would have to be done while  
4 you're in the middle of the fighting season.

5 General Campbell: Ma'am, part of that, we would de-  
6 scope and try to mitigate that as much as we could so that  
7 we didn't impact on the fighting season. But, just based on  
8 physics, you'd have to come out --

9 Senator Ayotte: Just based on physics. That's  
10 something that we hope the President will take into  
11 consideration as he looks at your options. Because it's an  
12 important matter of physics to not --

13 General Campbell: Yes, ma'am.

14 Senator Ayotte: I mean, we wouldn't normally pick to  
15 have to do this in the middle of a fighting season. Is that  
16 true, General?

17 General Campbell: Ma'am, we'd like to have every  
18 opportunity to make sure we provide the right training,  
19 advising, and assisting to the Afghans. And it's very  
20 important, as I said up front, for this fighting season '15.  
21 We're doing everything right now in the winter campaign to  
22 get them ready to do that. Again, we're advising at the  
23 ministerial level, MOI and MOD. We're advising at the  
24 corps. We're not on combat operations every day with the  
25 brigades. And we do advise -- train, advise, assist at the

1     kandak level, or the battalion level, tactical level with  
2     the Special Operating Forces. So, it would have an impact,  
3     but we would continue to work through that. Yes, ma'am.

4             Senator Ayotte: Appreciate it, General.

5             General, last march, you testified before the Readiness  
6     Subcommittee, and you had called the A-10 a game changer.  
7     And you had said, "What I think the soldiers on the ground,  
8     both the special operators and the conventional force, would  
9     tell you, it's a game changer. It's ugly, it's loud. But,  
10    when it comes in and you hear the 'bvrrrr,' it just makes a  
11    difference. And so, it would be a game changer." Do you  
12    still believe that? And how has the A-10 performed during  
13    the conflict in Afghanistan?

14            General Campbell: Ma'am, I currently do not have any  
15    A-10s in Afghanistan. But, in my experience, the A-10 has  
16    been a superb close-air-support platform. The comments I  
17    made back in March, to include the sound effects, I would  
18    still stand by, yes, ma'am.

19            Senator Ayotte: Excellent.

20            So, you would agree, certainly with what General  
21    Odierno has said, that the A-10 is our Nation's best close-  
22    air-support platform.

23            General Campbell: Well, ma'am, I would tell you that  
24    the Air Force does an incredible job of providing the close-  
25    air support that I have in Afghanistan today. They're not

1 doing that with A-10s today, and I -- so, I would tell you  
2 they continue to provide me the best I can have. And I  
3 appreciate that. And I ask, "I need this," and the Air  
4 Force picks that platform to do that.

5 Senator Ayotte: Thank you.

6 Let me ask you about "no contracting with the enemy."  
7 That's something -- legislation that Senator Brown and I --  
8 Scott Brown, when he was here -- we had pushed before the  
9 committee. And then, now it's been expanded, the  
10 authorities, beyond Department of Defense, but also to  
11 USAID, State Department. And how has that worked in  
12 Afghanistan? When we -- I know that Senator McCaskill had  
13 asked about the issue about contractors, and we -- you know,  
14 we had money going to our enemies. We had money going to  
15 people who were misusing our funds to work against our  
16 interests. So, how has that and the task force to implement  
17 that been working in Afghanistan?

18 General Campbell: Ma'am, in that lane, it's been an  
19 absolute game changer, as well. So, probably about 780-plus  
20 different contractors since 2010, we've taken a look at and  
21 vetted those, and only probably 100-plus have been able to  
22 -- we've been able to contract through, based on some ties  
23 there. It's denied insurgents probably \$9.8 billion in  
24 money that we haven't put toward those kind of contracts,  
25 where the enemy would have access to that. So, that's been

1 a game changer there. We continue to work that. Most of  
2 that, for me, is what we call "over the horizon," so I don't  
3 have them on the ground. But, we can work -- reach back  
4 very quickly with that. And then, based on that success,  
5 NATO has also adopted that methodology to work the  
6 contracting piece.

7 Senator Ayotte: Thank you, General.

8 Chairman.

9 Chairman McCain: Senator Donnelly.

10 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 And, General, thank you for meeting with me yesterday.  
12 I appreciated your time.

13 And I agree that there is a need for more flexibility  
14 to do what's needed, that we should look at the situation on  
15 the ground and determine from that the decisions that we  
16 make. And, when we do -- you had mentioned before, Kabul-  
17 centric, that we might at some point -- if we found ourself  
18 in a Kabul-centric situation. What would that do in areas  
19 like Helmand and Nuristan, Nangahar, Kunar, if we wound up  
20 in that situation?

21 General Campbell: Sir, the plan is that, in the other  
22 -- when we go Kabul-centric, that we would have sufficiently  
23 worked the corps through our TAA at the corps level, that  
24 they have the capacity to be able to sustain the fight  
25 there, and then we would continue the TAA inside of Kabul,



1 at the ministry level.

2 Senator Donnelly: When you look at the numbers that  
3 we'll need -- and there's -- obviously, there's no exact  
4 number that you know. As you go, month to month, and take a  
5 look, you determine what you need. What are your -- best  
6 ballpark, if you were being given flexibility, where we need  
7 to be, approximately, in 2015, '16, '17, U.S. forces?

8 General Campbell: Sir, again, I've provided those  
9 options to my senior leadership. I'd rather discuss that in  
10 a classified session, sir, if I could do that.

11 Senator Donnelly: That would be fine.

12 As you look at a Helmand, and you look at a Nuristan,  
13 what is your definition of success in those areas, say, at  
14 the beginning of 2017?

15 General Campbell: Sir, I think definition of success  
16 for Helmand would be that the Afghan Security Forces have  
17 sufficiently contained the insurgency, or that the  
18 governance and the district governors, provincial governor,  
19 they're providing the necessary governance to the people of  
20 that particular province. Sir, without going into great  
21 detail, I see great work happening in Helmand today. I was  
22 there Thursday. And again, I can discuss more in a  
23 classified hearing with you on what we intend to do with  
24 Helmand. But, I think that the cooperation between the  
25 police and the army that I saw Thursday when I was in

1 Helmand is quite good and bodes well for the future of  
2 Helmand.

3 Senator Donnelly: When you look at the Taliban and  
4 their goals and their aims, what are the things that give  
5 them hope, and how do we eliminate those things?

6 General Campbell: Sir, I think I would tell you that  
7 even President Ghani has said probably 70 percent of the  
8 Taliban want to come back in and get in the peace process.  
9 They're tired of this fight. I've told you that a lot of  
10 their leadership is disenfranchised, they're away in  
11 sanctuary, they're not in Afghanistan. I think now, with a  
12 new National Unity Government that almost 85 percent of the  
13 people want in that country, there's no reason that the  
14 Taliban can't come to the table and talk and be part of the  
15 political process. And President Ghani has reached out to  
16 them to be able to do that.

17 There's always going to be a small portion that will be  
18 irreconcilable, that would not want to come back into a talk  
19 like that. But, I think President Ghani, Dr. Abdullah,  
20 continue to work this very hard. They're engaging with many  
21 of the tribal elders and elements, different parts of the  
22 country. They're showing them that the government can  
23 provide to the people. And that's, I think, what the  
24 Taliban want, to have a government that will provide what  
25 they want to have, whether that's jobs, whether that's

1 medical. And I think President Ghani, the National Unity  
2 Government, is on the way to doing that.

3 Senator Donnelly: Well, I want to thank you and your  
4 whole team, because, when I was there last year, there was  
5 real question as to -- or I shouldn't -- there was no  
6 question from the military as to whether the Afghans were  
7 going to hold. But, there was concern. And, from  
8 everything we've seen, the way it was laid out, we've hit  
9 our metrics, and more. Would you agree with where we are in  
10 the metrics that we laid out?

11 General Campbell: Sir, I would. And, not these  
12 metrics, but the metrics we work with our Afghan partners  
13 and --

14 Senator Donnelly: Right.

15 General Campbell: -- the police and the army, from the  
16 numbers, from the level of training -- they've taken over  
17 all the training. Sir, I see that -- again, I've been there  
18 three times, and this time there's just a stark difference  
19 in the motivation, in the leadership, them understanding  
20 that, you know, they don't have as many of the U.S. and the  
21 coalition forces there, they have to do this on, they want  
22 to take this on. And so, I think they continue to get  
23 better and better.

24 I've talked before about their special operating  
25 capability. It's quite good. I've talked about four MI-17

1 version 5s going from Kandahar to Helmand, 125 kilometers at  
2 night, at 3 percent illumination, going onto a very small  
3 LZ, guys getting out the back, they have a little iPad-type  
4 device, they're talking to a PC-12, which is Afghan flown,  
5 that has full motion video, and they tell them there's an  
6 insurgent, 200 meters, and they go. That's pretty  
7 remarkable capability that they have. The rest of the --  
8 that the Taliban ought to know about, because they don't  
9 stand a chance with that capability. So, sir, they continue  
10 to get better.

11 Senator Donnelly: And thanks for your hard work on the  
12 Pakistan piece. I think it's absolutely critical. I know  
13 how hard you're working on it. And, as you continue to get  
14 that in a better and better place, I think the whole area  
15 becomes a better and better place.

16 General Campbell: Thank you.

17 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, sir.

18 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 Chairman McCain: Senator Fischer.

20 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 And thank you, General, for being here. I appreciate  
22 your service. I appreciate your frank conversation that you  
23 had with me yesterday in my office.

24 To follow up on Senator Donnelly's comments on the  
25 Taliban, do you think that they will make significant

1 movements to reassert control over certain territories? And  
2 how important would be our CT mission there to counter that?

3 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think the -- again, the  
4 Taliban are a resilient force. They have the issue -- they  
5 have issues, but they continue to hang on in certain areas.  
6 They do -- they have changed their approach a little bit, as  
7 I talked about in the opening statement, inside of Kabul,  
8 some of the remote areas outside the cities, where it's  
9 very, very hard to have the Afghan Security Forces. They go  
10 after soft targets, whether it's the Afghan local police  
11 checkpoint with only two or three people on it, away from  
12 the village, not properly equipped or trained, don't have  
13 the right leadership. They see that, they attack that.  
14 There's reports that they will take over a district center.

15 When I was there before, they would take over a  
16 district center, and the Afghan Security Forces would not be  
17 able to take that back. Today, as I said up front, all the  
18 district centers are owned by the Government of Afghanistan.  
19 If the insurgents were able to attack a district center and  
20 take that over, the difference today is that the police and  
21 the army would get that back in 6 hours, 7 hours, you know,  
22 as soon as they were able to get the forces there. So,  
23 there's no doubt they continue to work that very hard.

24 Our CT capability, without going into -- in a  
25 classified hearing -- as you know, ma'am, is the best in the

1 world. We continue to have brave men and women that provide  
2 us a capability that's the number-one in the world, and we  
3 continue to have that as one of our missions. And I can  
4 give you more information, ma'am, if we go into a classified  
5 piece, on that.

6 Senator Fischer: What does that mean for al-Qaeda? Do  
7 you believe that they will see increased pressure?

8 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think that you have to  
9 continue to keep the pressure on, on AQ. I think that, over  
10 the last several years, in the last 4 or 5 months in  
11 particular, that the pressure we've had on AQ has been quite  
12 good. Part of that is based on what Pakistan has done on  
13 the big operation they've had going on since June in North  
14 Waziristan. It has forced people into Afghanistan. And I  
15 think that, again, our CT capability is quite good.

16 Senator Fischer: Yesterday, we spoke a little bit  
17 about the capability gaps of the Afghan forces. Do you feel  
18 that that's going to have an adverse operational impact on  
19 them?

20 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think we're going to  
21 continue to try to work that and close that gap. You know,  
22 the places they have gaps are hard for any army, so  
23 logistics is hard for the U.S. Army, it's hard for the  
24 Afghan army. We've built in programs over the last several  
25 years now, as we kind of step back and take a look at it.

1 In some places, quite frankly, we've provided them too much  
2 stuff or we've provided them a program that, you know,  
3 they're not going to get to. And now we're going to come  
4 back a little bit and say, "Okay, how can we adjust this,  
5 how do we modify this, what will work best for Afghanistan?"  
6 And that's what I'm starting to see now. And a lot of that  
7 happens in the logistics realm. Again, very hard for us to  
8 do that for any army, for the Afghan army and the way they  
9 distribute equipment, very, very tough. But, we're working  
10 that very hard. They understand how important that is, so  
11 we'll continue to work that.

12 Intelligence, I see them continue to work in the  
13 intelligence realm very well. They're working more  
14 together. They're in stovepipes -- MOI, MOD, their NDS or  
15 their intel agency. Today, they have many fusion cells that  
16 bring them together, like we've done in the past. And so, I  
17 think that'll give them a greater capability as they move  
18 forward.

19 Their close air support continues to grow. Their air  
20 force continues to grow. And so, the train, advise, and  
21 assist mission, staying with them here, we'll continue to  
22 build that capability. It will allow us to be able to  
23 continue to transition out.

24 What President Ghani has told me, our most important  
25 legacy will be the systems and processes that we provide to

1 Afghanistan. That's our legacy from the last 13-plus years.

2 Senator Fischer: Are there some missions that they  
3 just won't be able to do?

4 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think there's -- I think  
5 there are some areas that we have to continue to work with  
6 the Afghans to make sure they have the confidence. I have  
7 no doubt in my mind they have the capability to do all the  
8 missions that are required in Afghanistan. But, sometimes  
9 it's the leadership, the confidence that leadership brings  
10 to be able to do that. They've had many people that have  
11 been around for years and years. President Ghani just  
12 retired 48 generals yesterday. And so, what it's doing --  
13 and they had -- you haven't had retired of generals in 4 or  
14 5 years in Afghanistan. When he first took over, he retired  
15 15 generals. What that does is open it up for some of these  
16 young, bright, energetic officers they have, the  
17 noncommissioned officers they have in the Afghan army that  
18 have been trained in the U.S., in the U.K., in Germany, to  
19 assume leadership positions now. And they've been waiting  
20 for that. And I think President Ghani is enabling them to  
21 be able to do that. And, with this infusion of new  
22 leadership, and then they hold them accountable, I mean, I  
23 think, you know, leadership makes a difference, and that's  
24 going to be a game changer, as well.

25 Senator Fischer: And am I correct in saying that it's



1 an all-volunteer army?

2 General Campbell: Yes, ma'am.

3 Senator Fischer: And that -- and with the retirement  
4 of these generals, that should encourage more enthusiasm  
5 within the ranks, as well, wouldn't you say?

6 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think they'll see that  
7 there is hope to continue to move up. They've been stymied  
8 a little bit the last several years. Now they see that  
9 there is room to move. That'll continue to energize some of  
10 the young lieutenant colonels and colonels. Again, it is a  
11 -- a very good point -- it is an all-volunteer army, like  
12 our Army. As I said in the opening statement, they do not  
13 have issues with recruiting. The issues they have is --  
14 they've only been recruiting in the winter, as opposed to 12  
15 months in the year. And that's what we're trying to get  
16 them to do, is recruit on a sustainable basis, the entire  
17 year, not just during the winter timeframe. And they're  
18 working through that now.

19 Senator Fischer: Thank you, sir, very much.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 Chairman McCain: Senator Shaheen.

22 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 And thank you, General Campbell, both for your service  
24 and for being here today.

25 I am struck by the tables that are provided in your

1 testimony about both the changes in Afghan society as a  
2 result of the last 13 years and how Afghans feel about  
3 what's happening in the country right now. And I think most  
4 of us, as politicians, would love to have some of these  
5 numbers: 77 percent of Afghans express confidence in their  
6 new government; 64 percent believe it's unlikely that the  
7 Taliban will return to power; 55 percent believe their  
8 country is heading in the right direction.

9 What -- do you have a sense of what would happen to the  
10 way Afghans feel about the progress in their country if the  
11 United States withdrew all of our troops and support?

12 General Campbell: Ma'am, the Afghans that I talk to  
13 continue to express their appreciation for the sacrifices of  
14 our men and women, express their appreciation for what the  
15 coalition, especially the United States, has provided to  
16 them over the last 13-plus years. Again, the difference  
17 between Iraq and Afghanistan, here, is that Afghanistan  
18 people and the government now do not want the coalition to  
19 leave. I think, to the average Afghan, if they see us  
20 continue to go at that pace, that it would lower the morale,  
21 it would give them a feeling that they were being abandoned.

22 But, again, I think the Afghan senior leadership  
23 continues to tell the Afghan people, you know, "There are  
24 ways to mitigate, we're going to continue to get better, we  
25 appreciate the support. But, this is going to be an Afghan

1 fight. We've got to take this on." And so, there's a  
2 balance there, I think. But, they absolutely do understand  
3 the sacrifices we've provided, and there's a difference,  
4 night and day, again, between this leadership we have today  
5 in the senior leadership in Afghanistan and where we were  
6 just a couple of months ago.

7 Senator Shaheen: You talked about the efforts of  
8 President Ghani and CEO Abdullah to reach out to the Taliban  
9 and to try and begin some sort of negotiations. Can you  
10 give us any insights into how far along that is?

11 General Campbell: Ma'am, I'd rather discuss that in a  
12 classified session, if I could.

13 Senator Shaheen: Okay.

14 And to what extent are the Taliban -- do we see signs  
15 that they're being influenced by what's happening with ISIL  
16 in other parts of the Middle East and the new reports that  
17 ISIL has begun to infiltrate Taliban?

18 General Campbell: Well, ma'am, the Taliban and the  
19 ISIL are like this. You know, they have different  
20 ideologies. They want to fight each other. And so, you do  
21 have some Taliban that are -- feel disenfranchised from the  
22 Taliban, potentially because Mullah Omar hasn't shown his  
23 face for many, many years. So, they see this ISIS, or  
24 Daesh, as another way to gain resources, as another way to  
25 gain media attention. And so, you do have some of the

1 Taliban breaking off and claiming allegiance toward ISIS.  
2 Part of that is happening in different parts of Afghanistan.  
3 A lot of what we get is through our Afghan partners, as they  
4 see that probably before we do. We have seen some of the  
5 recruiting, we have seen some night letters, we have seen  
6 some talk of it at some of the universities. It is a  
7 concern to President Ghani, therefore a concern to me. But,  
8 we continue to work that with our Afghan partners to make  
9 sure that we understand where this is going inside of  
10 Afghanistan and Pakistan.

11 Senator Shaheen: And do we have any sense how the  
12 public in Afghanistan and Pakistan views ISIL?

13 General Campbell: Ma'am, I think it depends on where  
14 they are and how much they read or hear about it. If you're  
15 inside of Kabul, and you have access to the communications  
16 and newspapers, radios, or TV, they're starting to get that  
17 media blast of that in some of the outward parts of  
18 Afghanistan where they may not have that communications,  
19 they may not even know that that's going on. But, again, it  
20 has come up quite a bit, here, in the last 45 to 60 days.  
21 President Ghani has talked to the Afghan people about it,  
22 he's talked to the Afghan Security Forces about it. I've  
23 made it a -- what I call a PIR, Party Information  
24 Requirement, for my forces. So, we'll continue to work hard  
25 with our Afghan partners, here, to make sure we understand

1 this network.

2 Senator Shaheen: And a final question. You've -- most  
3 of the discussion has been about how the National Security  
4 Forces are doing, but can you comment on what's happening  
5 with local police efforts and to what extent they are  
6 professionalizing their operations?

7 General Campbell: Yes, ma'am, I can talk more about  
8 Kabul and the police. There are about 14,000 police inside  
9 of Kabul. Because I see them on a day-to-day basis. They  
10 continue to work hard on the training, and they continue to  
11 work hard on trying to do more community policing. You  
12 know, these high-profile attacks inside of Kabul. What you  
13 did hear about in late December timeframe is an uptick. It  
14 is very, very tough to have -- to stop one or two people  
15 from taking a magnetic ID and sticking it on a bus, to take  
16 two or three people and stop them from having a suicide vest  
17 and attacking an NGO. In a city of 3.5 million, again,  
18 very, very tough.

19 But, what you don't hear about are all the number of  
20 attacks, all the number of caches, all the number of people  
21 that have been arrested by the Afghan police inside of Kabul  
22 that didn't result in an HPA. And what I would tell you is,  
23 that number, compared to the number of HPAs, is quite high.  
24 And so, I think one of the things that we can probably work  
25 better with Afghanistan is to make sure they publicize this,

1 as well.

2 But, the police do quite well, because of their ability  
3 to work with the Afghan people and their HUMINT networks to  
4 get after these threats. So, ma'am, I think they continue  
5 to progress, not only the Afghan police inside of the city,  
6 but some of the specialties in the forensics. I've visited  
7 one of their labs in Herat, sort of their CSI, where they do  
8 fingerprints, where they do explosives, where they take a  
9 look at rifle rounds that have gone off, to bring that  
10 together. They've gotten quite good at their technology on  
11 the forensics, and we'll continue to work that with them.

12 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

13 Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

14 Chairman McCain: Senator Ernst.

15 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 General Campbell, thank you so much for joining us here  
17 today. And I know I don't need to say anything to boost  
18 your self-esteem or your ego, but I do want you to know,  
19 sir, how widely respected you are amongst the men and women  
20 that have served under your leadership. We greatly  
21 appreciate that and thank you very much for your service to  
22 our Nation. All of us here on the panel appreciate you  
23 being here. And you are in a very difficult position at a  
24 very tentative time as we move forward in this transition.

25 One thing that has been of great concern to me is

1 ensuring that, as our United States Armed Services are  
2 moving or transitioning -- I don't want to say "withdrawing"  
3 -- but, as they are transitioning out of the more  
4 leadership-type positions, that we do have the Afghan  
5 capability to back it up. Logistics is always a great  
6 concern of mine. And I did ask the panel yesterday some  
7 thoughts on logistics. And a great comment that came from  
8 Admiral Olson was that -- as it applies to the Afghan  
9 Security Forces, is that great shooters do not make a great  
10 army. There is a total army that needs to be out there.

11 And so, I would just like to know that we do have plans  
12 in place, or that the Afghans are training to be logistical  
13 supporters, as well, whether it's the medical community,  
14 transportation, making sure that we have the maintainers for  
15 their equipment and their weapons. Do they have those  
16 capabilities without that United States support?

17 General Campbell: Thank you, Senator. Thank you for  
18 your service, as well.

19 And we do, we continue to work the logistical piece.  
20 Again, we identify this as a gap that we would continue to  
21 have to do TAA on for a while. Maintenance, as you know, in  
22 the U.S. Army, we continue to have contractors. CLS, in  
23 many places. A lot of that in the aviation realm. So, we  
24 do have that in Afghanistan. We continue to work very hard  
25 to build the mechanics, to build the right level of

1 personnel to take care of the Afghan equipment. And so,  
2 that is moving along, but that will continue to take time,  
3 and we have to continue to do TAA to build that capacity for  
4 the Afghans.

5 I think they'll continue to have a small portion that  
6 will need contractors to work some of the very, very tough  
7 pieces of equipment in the aviation realm. But, for the  
8 most part, I do think they continue to grow that capacity.

9 Again, I said I went and saw some training in the  
10 maintenance area and went into one of their maintenance  
11 bays. They had -- probably eight Humvees are up. They had  
12 several of the mechanics working. These were all Afghan  
13 army men working on these vehicles. And they were doing  
14 quite well. Their issue, quite frankly, was parts, not  
15 getting the right parts. So, as we did a deep dive on that  
16 one back to Kabul and looked at the warehouses, the parts  
17 are there. So, their issue really is how they distribute  
18 the parts from the warehouses, get them down to the corps,  
19 get them down to the brigades and the kandaks. So, we're  
20 working that very, very hard.

21 I went into eight warehouses inside Kabul. It was like  
22 a Super Home Depot. They had all the things that they  
23 needed in there, and it -- so, I told President Ghani,  
24 "We've got to get the corps commanders in there to take a  
25 look at this." Once they got them in there, they talked to



1 the senior logisticians, "You've got to move this stuff."  
2 You know, honestly, the culture inside of Afghanistan is to  
3 hoard. And so, they get this in there, they hold on to it,  
4 they don't want to get that out. But, now they've worked  
5 that very hard, and they understand the impact it's going to  
6 have on the fight. And so, I think the senior leadership  
7 has moved that quite well, here, in the recent weeks. And  
8 they're using the winter timeframe right now to make sure  
9 that all classes of supply continue to move out to the --  
10 where the units need it to build that readiness up for the  
11 fighting season.

12 Senator Ernst: Thank you.

13 As Senator McCaskill had mentioned, that -- just the  
14 contracting piece, also, and any engagement. So, we see  
15 that the Afghans are picking up more of the maintenance.  
16 And I'm pleased to hear that. I have been just very  
17 concerned about that particular piece of it.

18 But, will we see a transition, then, away from American  
19 contractors, more towards more national-type contractors  
20 within that region? One thing that President Ghani had made  
21 clear in his meeting with us this last weekend was that, if  
22 there were not United States troops there, he would like to  
23 see more U.S. contractors. Do you have a feel for if it  
24 would be our contractors serving in nation, or would it be  
25 more of a local force?

1           General Campbell:  Ma'am, to give you rough figures, if  
2 we have 30,000 -- probably 34,000 contractors; out of that,  
3 24,000 are probably a combination of U.S. and third-country  
4 nationals, and the other 10,000 are probably Afghan  
5 contractors.  We continue to work that number.  That number  
6 will go down quite significantly this year.  And we continue  
7 to try to make sure that we have Afghans tied into all these  
8 so they build that, not only for jobs in Afghanistan, but  
9 also to make sure they can sustain that over time.

10           Senator Ernst:  Great.  Thank you very much, General.  
11           Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12           Chairman McCain:  Senator Kaine.

13           Senator Kaine:  Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14           And thank you, General, for your great service.

15           Senator King and I enjoyed being with you in  
16 Afghanistan in October, and learned a good deal.  I'm  
17 incredibly heartened by the progress.  We just have to tell  
18 this story.  This is something that Americans should be  
19 proud of.  We should thank those who have served in  
20 Afghanistan over and over, because this progress has been  
21 hard won, at a great cost.

22           But, you know, just two items.  The increase in life  
23 expectancy of 21 years over the course of the last 14 years  
24 is just virtually unheard of.  I mean, you could look across  
25 human history, nation to nation, you will not see a life

1     expectancy increase of that kind in such a short period of  
2     time.

3             And the second thing I'm interested in is women in the  
4     parliament, from zero to 28 percent in 14 years. Our first  
5     woman came to Congress 99 years ago, Janette Rankin, 1960.  
6     And we've gone from zero to 28 percent in 100 -- zero to 20  
7     percent in 100 years. They've gone from zero to 28 percent  
8     in 15 years. That's pretty impressive.

9             I agree with, I think, a bipartisan consensus on this  
10    panel. We've got to maintain this progress. Everything we  
11    do should be conditions-based, not calendar-based. I think  
12    it's okay to have a plan, but -- you know, but then you need  
13    to adjust it based on the reality. I know you had -- you  
14    encouraged the White House to make some adjustments, in  
15    terms of the authorities granted to U.S. troops during  
16    calendar year 2015. And, after consideration, they did  
17    grant some changes in the authorities. That's good. We've  
18    got to have a conditions-based approach.

19            Personally, I think this is important for Afghanistan.  
20    It's important because of the investment we've made. It's  
21    also important because I think there is a powerful narrative  
22    about the success in Afghanistan that we can apply around  
23    the globe. And I view it as sort of a contrasting  
24    narrative, Iraq and Afghanistan.

25            Iraq didn't want us to stay. We're not occupiers, and

1 so we didn't stay. They then ran a government of national  
2 disunity, where the Shi'as kicked around the Kurds and the  
3 Sunnis. The situation in Iraq went to hell in a handbasket,  
4 and the U.S. and others are playing a leadership role in now  
5 trying to rescue it.

6       Afghans want us to stay. Seventy-seven percent of the  
7 Afghan population, according to your statistics, think the  
8 coalition staying and helping is a good thing. These are  
9 people who chased the Soviet Union out of that country,  
10 battled them to the death to chase them out. They want the  
11 United States to stay. They want the coalition to stay.

12       Afghanistan's success creates a powerful argument that  
13 the U.S. is the partner of choice in the world. We are the  
14 partner of choice. And we're actually seeing that in some  
15 interesting places in the world today. India, which has had  
16 a transition of non-alignment or even tilting toward Russia,  
17 now does more military exercises with the United States than  
18 with any other nation. They are seeing us, whether it's  
19 joint exercises or training or purchase of military  
20 platforms, as a partner of choice.

21       I was on the phone with Admiral Gortney at NORTHCOM  
22 yesterday. Mexico has had a military tradition of leaning a  
23 little bit toward Russia. But, they are now viewing the  
24 U.S. military as their partner of choice.

25       I think success in Afghanistan -- and I agree with the

1 Chair and all this committee -- we've got to make it  
2 conditions-based, we've got to stay and harvest the value of  
3 the success, because, every day, we are showing that the  
4 United States is the partner of choice.

5 Couple of concerns. I was first in Afghanistan in 2006  
6 to visit my Guard men and women who were there from  
7 Virginia. And then-Ambassador Newman said, "You've let Iraq  
8 take your eye off the ball in Afghanistan. Iraq pulls our  
9 attention away." When we were in Afghanistan in '01, by '02  
10 we were in Iraq, too, and that pulled some attention away.  
11 And, at that point in time, in '06, he was worried about the  
12 same thing happening.

13 I have been calling on Congress since June. We need to  
14 be in this battle against ISIL, and we need to be strong in  
15 it. And I'm going to support strong military action against  
16 ISIL. But, I am nervous -- and I think we do need to use  
17 history as our guide and not let the battle against ISIL  
18 deflect any attention away from the situation in Afghanistan  
19 and our continued need to harvest and accelerate the gains  
20 that we've made there.

21 So, that's just an editorial comment. As we get into  
22 the discussion about ISIL, I'm going to try to make sure  
23 that we're not taking our eye off the ball in Afghanistan  
24 and the great work you're doing.

25 You indicated -- I thought it was interesting that you

1 don't think the Taliban is now an existential threat to the  
2 nation. We had testimony last year, I think from your  
3 predecessor, that corruption could be an existential to the  
4 nation, because it weakens people's belief in the  
5 effectiveness of government, and it also can exacerbate  
6 sectarian divisions if people think one group of people is  
7 getting more than the other. Talk about the efforts of the  
8 new administration to tackle corruption.

9 General Campbell: Sir, thank you for your question.

10 And I do agree that corruption is -- and President  
11 Ghani agrees, too -- that that could change the entire  
12 dynamic for him. So, he ran, and Dr. Abdullah ran, on the  
13 idea that we would have to get after corruption -- they  
14 would have to get after corruption. One of the first things  
15 he did was reopen the Kabul bank case and really held people  
16 accountable there. He's taken a hard look at how they  
17 assign senior leadership in all of the ministries, and he's  
18 taken corruption into that. And so, I think he and Dr.  
19 Abdullah, in everything they do, that's foremost in their  
20 mind as they select new leadership, as they engage with new  
21 companies, on and on, they take in the corruption to  
22 understand how that has -- how bad that has been and how  
23 that impacts the donor nations that they need so much for  
24 the next several years as he continues to work on his  
25 economy. He's told me, in private, that he's works -- he

1 works 20 percent security, 20 percent on the -- I'm sorry --  
2 40 percent on security, 40 percent on the economy. And I  
3 know, as part of that, the corruption piece comes on both  
4 sides. But, he worked very hard to make sure that he picked  
5 ministers that were not corrupt, didn't have bad influence.  
6 And Dr. Abdullah did the same thing. I think they'll  
7 continue to work that very hard.

8       It is of concern to all of the army and the police  
9 senior leadership I talked to. They absolutely want to  
10 remain apolitical, they absolutely want to make sure that  
11 they can get anybody that is corrupt outside of their  
12 leadership. And so, even at that level, they continue to  
13 express their concerns and then work hard to make sure they  
14 can do everything they can to get rid of corruption when  
15 they see it.

16       Senator Kaine: Great. Thank you so much.

17       Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18       Chairman McCain: Senator Cotton.

19       Senator Cotton: General Campbell, first, thank you for  
20 your years of distinguished service and brave service to our  
21 country. I and the people I represent are all very grateful  
22 for all you have done.

23       You have a little over 10,000 troops left in  
24 Afghanistan right now. Is that correct?

25       General Campbell: That is correct. I have -- the CJ

1 SOR, the Statement of Requirements, for the NATO mission is  
2 about 12,900.

3 Senator Cotton: And most Americans who didn't serve in  
4 the military, you know, see it and experience it through  
5 movies, television, so forth. If you look at the recent  
6 popular movie, "American Sniper," where the Chris Kyle  
7 character is giving overwatch to marines going door to door  
8 in Anbar Province, kicking down doors, that's probably what  
9 they have in mind when they think about our operations, both  
10 in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you have many, or any,  
11 infantrymen or dismounted tankers or artillerymen conducting  
12 those kind of operations in Afghanistan today?

13 General Campbell: I have men and women that continue  
14 to be able to provide for their own force protection. We do  
15 not do -- we do not plan offensive combat operations at all.  
16 But, I have to make sure that the men and women that are on  
17 the combat outposts, the FOBs, that they have the ability to  
18 provide for their own force protection. We do that mostly  
19 by, with, and through our Afghan partners, but they do have  
20 to have the ability to continue to patrol in what we call a  
21 GDA, or Ground Defense Area, outside of those FOBs. But,  
22 it's for force protection.

23 Senator Cotton: Is it fair to say that you have more  
24 troops providing things like aerial support, intelligence,  
25 surveillance, reconnaissance support, brigade, division,



1 corps-level planning support, things like that?

2 General Campbell: As opposed to --

3 Senator Cotton: As opposed to going out and conducting  
4 dismounted or mounted combat patrols.

5 General Campbell: Yeah, Senator, I don't know the --  
6 percentagewise, but I would tell you that I'm comfortable  
7 that we have the ability to provide force protection on our  
8 COPs and FOBs, and, at the same time, provide the requisite  
9 expertise to do the ISR mission, that kind of thing. That  
10 ties hand in hand with force protection. ISR is a great  
11 force-protection enabler.

12 Senator Cotton: I raise the distinction between those  
13 kind of front-line infantrymen who are doing the kind of  
14 missions that you typically seen in Hollywood movies,  
15 because I think it's important for the American people to  
16 know, whether it's from people like us here or from  
17 yourself, that a lot of the missions that our troops are  
18 doing in Afghanistan right now truly are supporting the  
19 Afghan Security Forces. That helps build public support for  
20 our continued mission in Afghanistan, that this is not the  
21 kind of war that we were fighting in Afghanistan or Iraq, a  
22 decade ago. So, that's something of which we should all be  
23 mindful as we're trying to marshal more public support for  
24 this continued campaign.

25 Related point. If you could speak roughly, when would

1 you say the 2015 fighting season would end in Afghanistan?  
2 When do the conditions in most of the country become too  
3 harsh for our adversaries to keep fighting?

4 General Campbell: Well, again, I think, Senator, it  
5 depends on the season. This past year, the winter season  
6 has been very mild, so we haven't had a lot of snow, the  
7 passes haven't closed down between Afghanistan and Pakistan.  
8 And I think there's many people that would say today, in  
9 fact, it's kind of a continuous season, and we'd -- we  
10 wouldn't look at it as fighting season to fighting season.  
11 But, the Afghans continue to talk in those kind of terms.  
12 Fighting season is really tied around the weather. And so,  
13 from about the April timeframe to the end of September  
14 timeframe are the traditional months that I think we've seen  
15 increase in enemy activity and operations.

16 Senator Cotton: How does that impact the timing of  
17 your decision point for whether you would recommend that we  
18 keep the current troop levels or we are able to reduce troop  
19 levels further? Is there a point on the calendar at which  
20 you can no longer wait to make a decision?

21 General Campbell: Senator, as I talked about earlier,  
22 there is a point in physics when I have to start de-scoping  
23 and retrograding equipment, downsizing facilities, to be  
24 able to get to a number at a certain point in time. As you  
25 know, we would call those "decision points." We've got

1 those laid out. I feel comfortable, where we are right now,  
2 that I have flexibility in that plan as we move forward on  
3 this winter review, but there will come a point in time that  
4 I'll say, "Hey, here's a decision point. We've got to make  
5 a decision by X."

6 Senator Cotton: Okay. Well, I would encourage you, as  
7 I encouraged the Secretary of Defense nominee, to speak out,  
8 using your best professional military judgment. I think  
9 you'll find that there is a lot of members of this  
10 institution, the Senate and the House of Representatives,  
11 who would support you and support the decision of the  
12 President to keep at least 10,000 troops in Afghanistan  
13 until 2017 because it's in our vital national security  
14 interests. And I know you know the risks that we face from  
15 leaving Afghanistan too early. This is not your first rodeo  
16 there or anywhere else. And I would say the risks are  
17 embodied in those pictures that you have over there, of the  
18 electricity in Kabul late at night. Those are great gains.  
19 We should be proud of that. We should be proud of all the  
20 efforts that our troops have put into it.

21 But, what I worry about is an American city that looks  
22 like that going dark because of a terrorist attack that is  
23 once again launched from Afghanistan, which is the land from  
24 which al-Qaeda attacked us on 9/11, and it is the singular  
25 achievement in the war on terror, that we have expelled al-

1    Qaeda from that safe haven and they have not returned.  And  
2    it is critical to make sure they don't.

3           I appreciate all of your efforts to make sure that  
4    doesn't happen.

5           Chairman McCain:  Senator Blumenthal.

6           Senator Blumenthal:  Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

7           And I want to join my colleagues in thanking you,  
8    General Campbell, for your extraordinary service to our  
9    Nation over many years, and your dedicated and diligent work  
10   in Afghanistan over a number of tours and following the very  
11   worthwhile work done by your predecessors there.

12          And I want to cover some of the points that you and I  
13   discussed a little bit yesterday, when you were kind enough  
14   to visit my office.

15          First of all, on the relationship with Afghanistan,  
16   they've been a source of the improvised explosive devices,  
17   IEDs, that so ravaged our troops in such large numbers.  And  
18   yesterday, in the hearing that we had with Ambassador  
19   Cunningham and Ambassador -- former Ambassador Crocker, they  
20   indicated that -- or, I should say, more precisely,  
21   Ambassador Cunningham indicated that IEDs continue to be a  
22   problem in Afghanistan.  In your view, do you agree with his  
23   assessment that they are a continuing military threat to the  
24   Afghanistan forces, as well as our own?

25          General Campbell:  Sir, thank you for the question.

1 I would tell you that I think IEDs have become the  
2 weapon of choice, not only in Afghanistan, but throughout.  
3 You know, any insurgency or terrorist attack will tie to  
4 some sort of IED. So, that's something that started years  
5 ago, has been picked up, continues to move, and it's not  
6 only in Afghanistan, but will continue to be a threat to  
7 both the coalition forces and the Afghan Security Forces.  
8 We do, however, continue to work very hard at the counter-  
9 IED capability of our Afghan forces. And again, I don't  
10 have the -- I can get you the statistics, sir, but the  
11 number of IEDs found, verse the number that went off on our  
12 Afghan forces, continues to get better and better. Again,  
13 the HUMINT and the Afghan that's been trained to be able to  
14 detect those gets better and better. And I think that's  
15 really noteworthy as we've gone through the last couple of  
16 years, here.

17 Senator Blumenthal: Would you agree that the primary  
18 source of those ingredients continues to be Pakistan, and  
19 that they have done less than they could and should to stop  
20 the flow of those bombmaking ingredients across the border?

21 General Campbell: Sir, I would tell you that there's  
22 ample material inside of Afghanistan to build IEDs. There  
23 are reports of portions of what it takes to make an IED that  
24 have come in from Pakistan. I know that -- I've talked to  
25 General Rahil about that, as well. They continue to work

1 that very hard. They have also been impacted by this threat  
2 of IEDs on their own forces, on their own civilians. And  
3 so, they understand they have to go after that, as well.

4 But, Afghanistan members, I think, would tell you that  
5 some of the parts, some of the materials that come up, they  
6 would believe that have come in from Pakistan, yes, sir.

7 Senator Blumenthal: And that perhaps is an area of  
8 focus where the coalition forces can even impose greater  
9 cooperation with Pakistan.

10 General Campbell: Sir, absolutely. And I think one of  
11 the things that Pakistan has done for our Afghan forces -- I  
12 don't think it's scheduled yet, but I know that General  
13 Rahil has reached out to General Karimi, the Chief of the  
14 Army in Afghanistan, and offered up counter-IED training  
15 inside of Pakistan for the Afghan forces.

16 Senator Blumenthal: You and I spoke yesterday about  
17 the possibility of purchasing helicopter parts and  
18 components for the MI-17s that Afghanistan now has,  
19 purchases from the Russians that were financed with American  
20 taxpayer funds from other sources, either in Europe or  
21 elsewhere in the world. Is that an effort that you're going  
22 to pursue; in other words, to stop any further purchases of,  
23 not only helicopters, but also parts and components for  
24 those helicopters for the Afghanistan forces?

25 General Campbell: Sir, as you know, the -- as we

1 talked about, the MI-17 is a critical component for the  
2 Afghan Security Forces, for their air force, for their  
3 special mission wing. And to be able to continue to keep  
4 them flying, to keep them in the fight, it'll be a continued  
5 piece on their maintenance and on their spare-part piece.  
6 We're going to continue to work very hard, as we talked  
7 about yesterday, to make sure that we do that within the  
8 authorities that I have to make sure that we acquire those  
9 parts in the right way, sir. So, absolutely.

10 Senator Blumenthal: And "in the right way" means other  
11 than Russoboronexport, the Russian export agency that has  
12 sold us so many -- not us, but the Afghans -- so many  
13 helicopters with our money.

14 General Campbell: Sir, what we're trying to work,  
15 really, is to have the Afghans work through their process to  
16 make sure they can get those parts to build a sustainable  
17 capability within Afghanistan, so, once we are gone, they  
18 can do that themselves. And we have to start that now, yes,  
19 sir.

20 Senator Blumenthal: And one last question before my  
21 time expires. I know that you have focused on the  
22 healthcare needs, particularly the mental healthcare needs,  
23 of the very brave and dedicated men and women under your  
24 command. And I want to thank you for that effort, thank the  
25 United States Armed Forces for their increased focus and

1 attention to that issue.

2 And thank you, again, for your service.

3 General Campbell: Thank you, sir.

4 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Chairman McCain: Senator Rounds.

6 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 General, thank you for your service to our country. We  
8 appreciate the comments that you've made so far today.

9 I have just a couple of questions, sir. First of all,  
10 last year was the deadliest in the war, with more than 5,000  
11 Afghan soldiers and police being killed. You noted the ANSF  
12 were going out on four times as many operations last year  
13 than previously, so more casualties could be expected. How  
14 does the increase in the operations tempo, up by four times,  
15 affect the complexity involved to train the ANSF in the  
16 capabilities that still need to be developed?

17 General Campbell: Thank you, sir. Are you referring  
18 to the capabilities for the medical piece so that we can  
19 reduce the number of casualties, or --

20 Senator Rounds: Basically, you're losing soldiers  
21 there right now, and yet, at the same time, you're trying to  
22 train them up. When you're losing them at this rate, how do  
23 you bring them in and get them set up and continue the  
24 training regimen that's necessary?

25 General Campbell: Yes, sir, thank you for the



1 question.

2 Sir, as I said, probably a 5- to 7-percent increase,  
3 from 13 to 14, four-times higher operational tempo. Most of  
4 those, and the higher percentage, was actually on the Afghan  
5 local police that are outside, in the far places of  
6 Afghanistan, that are designed to protect their individual  
7 villages. They're not equipped with the same type of heavy  
8 weapons, with the same type of training that the army and  
9 the regular police have. But, the Taliban have recognized  
10 that they are a threat to them because they're inside the  
11 villages and they're against the Taliban, they could attack  
12 them inside, so they've gone after those key targets, those  
13 soft targets.

14 As I said, sir, the ability to recruit and train the  
15 Afghans has not been an issue. They continue to bring in  
16 the numbers they need, both on the army side and on the  
17 police side. The one issue, as we brought up earlier, that  
18 they need to work on is the number of females that they  
19 continue to bring in. But, I think, for the most part, they  
20 don't have issues recruiting them.

21 What we are trying to do, though, sir, to continue to  
22 lower the number of "died of wounds," that kind of thing, is  
23 increase their capability in the medical arena, on their  
24 Casevac on their Medevac. I've seen some great  
25 achievements, here, in the last -- different operations that

1 they've had, where they've been able to provide that service  
2 to their men and women that are out there fighting. All of  
3 them do some of the same things that we do. They carry  
4 tourniquets, they have combat lifesavers. The medics wear,  
5 you know, insignia that recognizes them as medics, they  
6 continue to put as many folks in the medical training that  
7 they can. They understand this is an issue for morale and  
8 also leads toward a readiness issue. So, everybody's  
9 working this very hard, sir.

10 And I've talked personally to the Afghan Army Surgeon  
11 General, on a one-on-one session, to make sure that we can  
12 do everything we can do to help them build that capability.  
13 And I've talked to the Chief of their Army, General Korami.  
14 He's concerned about it, and he's increased the number of  
15 people that he sends to school and to make sure they  
16 continue to get all the medical training they can.

17 Senator Rounds: Is the coordination also there between  
18 Kabul and the local units of government, as well, with  
19 regard to where the casualties are at? Is there a  
20 coordination between the central government and those local  
21 units of government, when it comes to this training?

22 General Campbell: Sir, I'd have to come back to you on  
23 that, take that for the record.

24 [The information referred to follows:]

25 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

1           General Campbell: I would tell you that there's -- I  
2 can talk, as far as the military side. I can't talk to you  
3 as far as the civilian piece.

4           I have looked at Afghan hospitals inside of Kabul on  
5 the civilian side to make sure they can take some of the  
6 military casualties. The military have their own hospitals.

7           We just finished a brand-new one out in the 201st Corps,  
8 out in Nangahar, that's actually quite good. So, I couldn't  
9 tell you that kind of coordination between them work. I  
10 know there are MOUs, or memorandums of understanding,  
11 between the army, the police, the NDS, the intel arm, to  
12 make sure they share those facilities to bring the military  
13 folks in. They do bring in civilian casualties to the  
14 military hospitals, as well, and initially work them there.

15           So, if you're referring to that kind of coordination,  
16 yes, sir, they do do that.

17           Senator Rounds: Thank you, sir.

18           I yield back my time.

19           Chairman McCain: Senator Manchin.

20           Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21           And, General, thank you. And I'm so sorry I had other  
22 -- I was in other meetings, there. But, I appreciate you  
23 being here.

24           We hear an awful lot about what's going on, what caused  
25 -- in Iraq, we fell backwards. We lost Mosul, we lost a lot

1 of our equipment. And you would think all the money that we  
2 invested in training and equipping would have been put to  
3 better use than what it was.

4 Now we have Afghanistan, and we hear we're back down --  
5 going to be down, at the end of the year, to 5500. Just  
6 really briefly, what do you think it will take us to  
7 maintain a presence so that we don't fall backwards in  
8 Afghanistan? And what do you think is going to maintain to  
9 get Iraq back to where it can sustain itself?

10 General Campbell: Sir, I think the key there, really,  
11 for Afghanistan, is to continue to build upon the capacity  
12 of the Afghan forces so that they have the requisite skill  
13 sets to make sure that they don't do what the Iraqi army  
14 did, and that's fall apart. They have leadership, they have  
15 the right equipment, they have the right training. I just  
16 don't see that happening in Afghanistan.

17 Senator Manchin: But, General, it seemed like it takes  
18 our presence for that to happen. When our presence was gone  
19 -- we should have seen Maliki falling apart and not having  
20 anything, as far as a contingency plan, if you will. And  
21 I'm just saying that, back home in West Virginia, they want  
22 to know, "Do we have to go back and re-buy it all over? And  
23 -- like we do in Iraq? And can we prevent that in  
24 Afghanistan?"

25 General Campbell: Sir, again, I believe the Afghan

1 Security Forces are not going to let Afghanistan go in the  
2 way that Iraq did.

3 Senator Manchin: I gotcha.

4 General Campbell: They've told me that. I've seen the  
5 senior leadership in the army and the police tell me that.  
6 They believe that, strongly. They have a government now  
7 that wants to continue to work with the international  
8 forces, wants to continue to provide requisite resources and  
9 authorities for their leadership not to let them go down  
10 that route. As I told you before, they went through the  
11 election last year, people thought they would fracture among  
12 ethnic lines. They did not. They're very proud of that.

13 I just don't see that happening, sir, with continued  
14 training and they continue --

15 Senator Manchin: Sure.

16 General Campbell: -- to build that up on the Afghan  
17 forces, both the army and the police. I don't see that  
18 happening.

19 Senator Manchin: General, here's my other concern, is  
20 the economy. You know, I've always believed -- and I've  
21 been there a few times, myself, talking to different people.  
22 Their economy in 2001, when all this began, was about \$4  
23 billion. That was their economy, as far as in Afghanistan.  
24 And that went from 4 billion to 20 billion, based on  
25 American input of money and the war effort that we put

1 there. So, their economy was based or wrapped around us.  
2 That -- it had continued to grow, and it was spiking up to  
3 14.4-percent growth rate in 2012. Then it fell to 1.5-  
4 percent growth rate, as we started retracting. Opium  
5 cultivation was up by 7 percent, I think, last year. But --  
6 and production increased by 17 percent. It's been reported  
7 that opium traffic business makes up one-fifth of the size  
8 of the Afghanistan legitimate gross domestic product.

9 How will the country ever be able to stand up on its  
10 own? And that's the only thing -- when the drug trade is so  
11 profitable -- how can we divert them from the drug trade?  
12 And if they don't have the war effort and the amount of  
13 money we're pumping into it, and we try to get them off the  
14 drug trade, where can they stabilize that economy, sir?

15 General Campbell: Sir, leadership's going to make a  
16 difference. And I think, with President Ghani there,  
17 understanding the issues he has with the narcotics and the  
18 drug smuggling, going after that, provide the right  
19 leadership and the right resources to go after that, will  
20 continue to help.

21 He is going after this entire piece on the economy. I  
22 said earlier, he spends 40 percent of his time just on the  
23 economy, from a regional perspective. He knows he can't do  
24 it just within Afghanistan, although years and years down  
25 the road, with the minerals they have, the mines they have,

1 with the agricultural base that they have, they're going to  
2 get much, much better. But, he knows it's going to take  
3 years and years. He's going to be dependent upon the donor  
4 nations for the next several years. But, he's reached out  
5 to the entire region to help him on the economic realm. And  
6 when he first visited Pakistan, he talked again about  
7 security, he talked about economics, he talked about sharing  
8 of intelligence, he talked about people-to-people. So, that  
9 is foremost on his mind.

10 As you know, sir, he's got a background from the World  
11 Bank. If there's anybody that can turn Afghanistan around  
12 and their economy around, it's going to be President Ghani.  
13 But, it's going to take considerable time, sir.

14 Senator Manchin: My time's just about up. And I just  
15 would say that I'd like to talk to you more about that, as  
16 far as on the precious metals -- extraction of precious  
17 metals. Who -- what part of the world is getting those  
18 contracts? China has been a big player in copper, as you  
19 know. I don't think we have a United States corporation  
20 that basically has been a player over there, even though  
21 we're giving them the support and protection in order to  
22 harvest that. So, I -- my time is up, sir, but I'd like to  
23 talk to you in more --

24 General Campbell: Okay, sir.

25 Senator Manchin: -- detail about that.

1 Thank you, General.

2 General Campbell: Thank you, sir.

3 Chairman McCain: Senator Tillis.

4 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 And, General Campbell, thank you for your distinguished  
6 service.

7 I wanted to go back. To me, the humanitarian --  
8 positive humanitarian impact that we've seen in Afghanistan  
9 since 2001, I hope that the media and the American people  
10 understand the miraculous turnaround of this country. And,  
11 just to go back and to note, the life expectancy you're  
12 talking about, from 43 years old to 64 years old; schools  
13 where you had fewer than 900,000 students, virtually none of  
14 them women, now we have 8 million, with 36 percent of them  
15 females. The numbers, here, are startling.

16 And, to a certain extent, we all know that what, first  
17 and foremost, have to do is implement a strategy in  
18 Afghanistan that prevents terrorists from preparing  
19 themselves to launch attacks like they did on September the  
20 11th. That's very important. It should be the first  
21 priority. But, I also think that those who seem to want to  
22 have a precipitous withdrawal from Afghanistan forget the  
23 tragic humanitarian crisis that would be created if we did  
24 that. And I hope that we start weaving into the narrative,  
25 this is not only about our national security, but this is



1 about a city that went from a city of ruin to a city of  
2 lights, fastest -- fifth fastest growing city in the world.  
3 There's a lot of hope there. And I think that the Afghani  
4 people are looking to the United States to let them continue  
5 to make the progress that we think they're in a position to  
6 make.

7 My question relates to a -- Chairman McCain mentioned  
8 that some of our members met with President Ghani, and he  
9 talked about flexibility. You talked about some changes  
10 that you've recommended to your leadership. Are the changes  
11 that you've recommended substantially aligned with what  
12 President Ghani is wanting, in terms of the current strategy  
13 for withdraw and reduction -- a reduction of troops?

14 General Campbell: Sir, I've not specifically talked to  
15 President Ghani about the options, but I've been with him  
16 several times a week. We've talked about what it would take  
17 to continue to provide flexibility for me, as the ground  
18 commander, so he knows where I stand on that. But, I think  
19 he would support the options I've presented, yes, sir.

20 Senator Tillis: And how do you feel about how those  
21 options have been received by your leadership or the  
22 administration? In other words, to what extent do you think  
23 that they'll be acted on and then you'll be given the  
24 authority to act on the options that you've recommended?

25 General Campbell: Sir, we're in discussions right now.

1 There is a process we go through, just like we did back in  
2 October, November, December, when I worked the enablers and  
3 the authorities and the bridging strategy that the President  
4 allowed, the 1,000 bridging strategy that he gave me to  
5 continue with the Resolute Support Mission. So, we're  
6 talking those now, and I feel very good about where we're  
7 at, sir.

8 Senator Tillis: Would you characterize those changes  
9 or those additional options as minor course corrections or  
10 some fundamental shifts in certain areas, based on the  
11 current strategy?

12 General Campbell: Sir, I'd characterize it as -- as I  
13 said to this committee 7 months ago, that, when I got on the  
14 ground, I would make continual assessments. And I've had 6  
15 months on the ground now to make those assessments of both  
16 where our forces are, where the Afghan Security Forces are,  
17 where the threat is, what has changed in Afghanistan, as I  
18 outlined in my oral statement, and, based on that, provided  
19 this flexibility that I think both President Ghani has asked  
20 for and that will stay within where we need to be to reach  
21 our strategic objectives inside of Afghanistan.

22 Senator Tillis: General, the trajectories that you  
23 would create by looking at the Taliban in 2001 in  
24 Afghanistan, and the current situation, do you believe, if  
25 we stay on the current course, that we could expect these

1 very positive trends to continue at their same pace, or will  
2 their progress, going forward, be impeded?

3 General Campbell: Sir, I think, in some areas, we'll  
4 continue to have the -- you know, the same pace, or maybe  
5 increased pace, based on the capability the Afghans have  
6 been built up over the last 13 years in some of those areas.  
7 In some areas, it may stay the same. And in some areas, it  
8 may go lower.

9 Senator Tillis: Any particular areas where you think  
10 are at risk? Of those areas, are there any that you're in a  
11 position to say are at clear risk, current strategy?

12 General Campbell: Sir, are you talking about the ones  
13 --

14 Senator Tillis: Yeah, I'm talking more on the  
15 humanitarian side.

16 General Campbell: Sir, I think -- really, I feel very  
17 comfortable that the Afghans have worked with many of the  
18 nations, to include the U.S. Embassy there, on many of those  
19 areas on the humanitarian side, to build their own  
20 capability and capacity. And so, I'd really leave that to  
21 Ambassador McKinley and his folks to answer in great detail.

22 But, sir, I think they've built the capacity of many of  
23 those areas, and I would feel very comfortable that, in most  
24 of the sectors that we showed up here, would continue to at  
25 least stay where they're at or continue to grow.

1           Senator Tillis: Well, thank you. I just want to thank  
2 you and the men and women who have served over there. And I  
3 hope that they realize that's why those pictures are looking  
4 the way that we're looking. We thank you and them for their  
5 service.

6           General Campbell: Thank you, sir.

7           Senator Tillis: Thank you.

8           Chairman McCain: Senator Graham.

9           Senator Graham: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10          The charts that you provided are really, just, stunning  
11 returns on investment. And the question for Americans, What  
12 does it matter that young girls are going to school in  
13 Afghanistan? It matters a lot, because you just can't kill  
14 all the terrorists, but if you can allow young women and  
15 young people to see a better future, they're going to be  
16 more resistant to the Taliban. What does it matter that you  
17 have access to clean water? It means that you've got  
18 something to live for, not die for. So, we're trying to  
19 build an Afghanistan where people will reject the call to  
20 death, as the President said, and accept the way forward.

21          Do you agree with me that most Afghans -- 90 percent,  
22 probably -- have no desire to go back to the Taliban days?

23          General Campbell: Sir, absolutely.

24          Senator Graham: And the only way they would go back to  
25 the Taliban days, if they lost the capacity to contain and

1 defeat the Taliban?

2 General Campbell: Sir, I think if they -- if the  
3 Afghan Security Forces were not able to do that, that that  
4 would be the only way, yes, sir.

5 Senator Graham: Do you support 352- Afghan Security  
6 Forces for the foreseeable future?

7 General Campbell: Sir, I think the number 352,000,  
8 plus the 30,000 Afghan local police, for their army and the  
9 police, continues to be the right number, the right  
10 distribution throughout the country that we have, yes, sir.

11 Senator Graham: And the cost to us would be what?

12 General Campbell: Sir, we're working very hard on the  
13 cost. It's around 4.1 billion. This year came in a little  
14 bit less. We continue to work very hard to save, where we  
15 can. And I think about 3.8 billion is what I came in with  
16 for '16.

17 Senator Graham: So, you think it's in our national  
18 security interest to spend 3.8 billion maintaining this  
19 force.

20 General Campbell: Sir, I think the small investment  
21 for the Afghan Security Forces continues to provide them the  
22 ability to protect their country, to provide for a more  
23 stable Afghanistan. And, as I talked about in the oral  
24 statement, a safer Afghanistan is a safer United States.

25 Senator Graham: Yeah, I don't know what 3.8 billion is

1 of the total Federal budget. It's probably not a whole lot.  
2 It's still a lot of money to me. But, a return on  
3 investment for that amount, I think, is enormous. It's just  
4 simple as this. We can keep their army intact, they'll do  
5 the fighting, and we won't have to. We'll do the  
6 supporting.

7 President Ghani, in Munich, suggested that, when he  
8 visited the United States, he would like the opportunity to  
9 thank the American people, and suggested whether or not a  
10 joint session of Congress appearance would be possible. Do  
11 you think that would help the overall relationship?

12 General Campbell: Sir, again, President Ghani thanks  
13 the American people everywhere I've been with him. If he  
14 had the opportunity to do that with a joint session of  
15 Congress, I think that would be very good.

16 Senator Graham: A lot of us who were on the trip in  
17 Munich, I think, will send a letter. I have enormous  
18 respect for the Speaker. This would be one appearance I  
19 think we would all support. I cannot tell you how hopeful I  
20 am, under President Ghani's leadership. If we're just smart  
21 enough to see this through, I think we'll get a good  
22 outcome, here. And I will be sending that letter, along  
23 with my colleagues.

24 If we go to -- down to 5500, as planned this year,  
25 without some adjustment, are we out of Kandahar completely?

1           General Campbell:  Sir, if we go to 5500, as I said  
2 before, we go to Kabul-centric.  Yes, sir.

3           Senator Graham:  Okay.  So, I just want the committee  
4 to understand that Kandahar is just not a spot on the map.  
5 That's the spiritual home of the Taliban.  Is that correct?

6           General Campbell:  Sir, that's correct.

7           Senator Graham:  If we hold Kandahar, there's no way  
8 they come back.  Does that make sense to you?

9           General Campbell:  Sir, if the Afghan Security Forces  
10 hold them --

11          Senator Graham:  Yes.

12          General Campbell:  -- there, yes, sir.

13          Senator Graham:  When I say "we," I mean them, too.

14          General Campbell:  Yes, sir.

15          Senator Graham:  So, if we begin to lose in the south,  
16 will it have a splintering effect throughout the country?

17          General Campbell:  Sir, it would provide the Taliban  
18 some momentum.  Yes, sir.

19          Senator Graham:  And you believe, with a presence in  
20 Kandahar, relatively small, we can secure the gains that  
21 we've had, we've achieved, and it would be smart to probably  
22 keep that presence at least for a while longer.

23          General Campbell:  Sir, I think we need to continue to  
24 provide the Afghan Security Forces some TAA, especially on  
25 their air force and special operating --

1 Senator Graham: Yeah.

2 General Campbell: -- capability that they have in  
3 Kandahar.

4 Senator Graham: Now, about us. Do you agree with me  
5 that this part of the world is a dangerous part of the  
6 world, and the counterterrorism platform that we enjoy today  
7 in Afghanistan is tremendously beneficial to protecting the  
8 homeland?

9 General Campbell: Sir, I concur with that.

10 Senator Graham: Okay. Do you agree with me that the  
11 Afghans want us to stay?

12 General Campbell: Sir, I'd concur with that, as well.

13 Senator Graham: There's a debate about what happened  
14 in Iraq. There is no debate about Afghanistan. The only  
15 question is, Will we accept the invitation in the right  
16 format? So, let's end this discussion with the idea that  
17 the Afghan people, through their government, want us to  
18 stay.

19 General Campbell: Sir, the Afghan senior leadership on  
20 the military side have told me repeatedly that they  
21 appreciate our sacrifice and they would want us to stay.  
22 Yes, sir.

23 Senator Graham: That's true of their political  
24 leadership, also.

25 General Campbell: Absolutely. Yes, sir.



1           Senator Graham: And it is in our national security  
2 interest to stay, wisely.

3           General Campbell: Sir, as I talked about in the  
4 opening statement, a safer, secure Afghanistan provides for  
5 safety for our homeland. And we have not had another 9/11  
6 since we've been forward-deployed. And the pressure that  
7 the brave men and women continue to apply to the terrorist  
8 networks inside of Afghanistan have prevented them from  
9 being able to come to the United States. I do believe that.

10          Chairman McCain: Senator Lee.

11          Senator Lee: Thank you very much, General Campbell,  
12 for being here. Thanks for all you do to protect our  
13 country and keep us safe.

14          The mission in Afghanistan that we have, as stated in  
15 the 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force there,  
16 was, of course, to use force against all nations,  
17 organizations, and individuals deemed to have been involved  
18 in the planning, authorization, and commission of the  
19 attacks of September 11th, or to have perpetrated them, or  
20 to have harbored those who did. So, our goal was basically  
21 to punish those who perpetrated the attacks and to prevent  
22 future attacks against U.S. citizens.

23          Today, what can you tell us about what the capacity is  
24 of terrorist groups that may be operating in Afghanistan and  
25 in Pakistan to launch attacks against the United States?

1 And how have the capabilities and the ambitions of those  
2 groups trended over the last 5 years? How does it look  
3 today, as compared to 5 years ago?

4 General Campbell: Sir, I can give you a very general  
5 answer on that, and then would prefer to go in a classified  
6 session if you want to go into more detail on that. But, my  
7 read would be that, based on, again, our presence inside of  
8 Afghanistan, with a great counterterrorism capability, we've  
9 been able to continue to keep pressure on insurgents that  
10 would want to do harm to both Afghanistan and to other  
11 nations, to include Europe and the United States. And, I  
12 think, over the last several years, we've been able to keep  
13 that pressure down -- or, keep that pressure on them, and  
14 that has limited their ability to plan attacks against our  
15 homeland.

16 Senator Lee: You feel good about the improvement  
17 that's been made over the last 5 years on that front.

18 General Campbell: Sir, I do.

19 Senator Lee: Where --

20 General Campbell: Sir, if I could rephrase --

21 Senator Lee: Yeah. Yeah, sure.

22 General Campbell: -- that, I feel very good about the  
23 last 6 months, in what I've seen on the ground in  
24 Afghanistan on that.

25 Senator Lee: Okay. So, more -- you've seen more

1 progress in the last 6 months than you perhaps saw --

2 General Campbell: Well, I've been over there the last  
3 6 months --

4 Senator Lee: Right.

5 General Campbell: -- so I can talk from a perspective  
6 of seeing that, myself. I can't talk about before that.

7 Senator Lee: Understood. Understood. Thank you.

8 Where are the insurgent groups fighting against the  
9 Afghan government and coalition forces -- where and how are  
10 they generating their funding, their weapons, and their  
11 recruits? And what are we, as the United States -- what are  
12 the U.S. Armed Forces doing to disrupt those networks of  
13 funding and the supply chains for their arms and so forth?

14 General Campbell: Sir, again, I'd rather give you a  
15 broad general answer and discuss a little more in detail in  
16 a classified hearing.

17 But, as we mentioned before, some of the funding comes  
18 from the drug trade, some of the funding comes from  
19 minerals, some of the funding is just from other Gulf  
20 nations, some of it is from weapons smuggling. So, there's  
21 a long list of things that provide insurgency funding with  
22 -- inside of Afghanistan. And I think that both President  
23 Ghani understands that, Dr. Abdullah, the Security Forces  
24 understand that, and they're continuing to work very hard on  
25 attacking the sources of that funding to limit what the

1 insurgents can -- could actually do.

2 Senator Lee: What's your assessment of the new Afghan  
3 government's attempts to form an inclusive government and  
4 the relationship between the civilian leadership in Kabul,  
5 on the one hand, and the Afghan National Security Forces, on  
6 the other hand?

7 General Campbell: Sir, I think both President Ghani  
8 and Dr. Abdullah have worked very, very hard to maintain a  
9 National Unity Government, to form this National Unity  
10 Government. I've been with both of them several times.  
11 They both have given up a little bit to move Afghanistan  
12 forward as they went through this election. I think they  
13 complement each other.

14 I think President Ghani has taken on the role of  
15 Commander in Chief. We haven't seen that before. He's told  
16 all of the Afghan police and the army that their welfare is  
17 his welfare. He's personally involved in every facet of  
18 their leadership, of how they get resources. He continually  
19 goes out to different sites to show the Afghan army and the  
20 police that he is their Commander in Chief. So, sir, he is  
21 -- he's gainfully employed to show them that he cares for  
22 them, and everything about them, which I had never seen  
23 before underneath President Karzai.

24 Senator Lee: Is the Afghan government, in your  
25 opinion, on track to increase their level of burden-sharing

1 in supporting the ANSF and becoming self-sustaining and  
2 self-governing?

3 General Campbell: Sir, they're working it this year.  
4 I think they showed us that they could provide the requisite  
5 amount that we asked them to do. But, it's going to take  
6 continued time on their entire holistic economic approach.  
7 And again, President Ghani knows he can't do that just by  
8 himself, but he has to engage with the region to be able to  
9 do that. He's very dependent upon, not only the United  
10 States, but the other donor nations. But, he's taken a hard  
11 look at how he can attack this problem by visiting, himself,  
12 several key leaders in the region. He talks about different  
13 agreements that he's making with other countries around to  
14 provide railroads, provide ways to transport agriculture  
15 outside of Afghanistan, to take a look at the mining  
16 industry, on and on. So, sir, he's engaged in this every  
17 single day.

18 Senator Lee: Thank you very much, General.

19 General Campbell: Thank you, sir.

20 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan.

21 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 And, General, thanks again for your service, all your  
23 staff for your service.

24 And your opening comments, I think your themes about  
25 service and sacrifice and, importantly, success are very

1 powerful, and I think they're important for the American  
2 people to know. And I also appreciate your emphasis on  
3 military families and their sacrifice. Many ways, the  
4 unsung heroes of the last several years.

5 But, you know, I think one of the general themes here  
6 that you're seeing is that people are applauding the  
7 success. But, we had General Mattis in here last week,  
8 talking about how it's clear that the successes that we've  
9 seen in a whole host of areas that you've listed could be  
10 reversed, that they're fragile in many ways. And the  
11 broader issue that I think most of us are concerned about is  
12 a replay of what's happened -- or what happened in Iraq.

13 As a military leader -- you know, Senator Kaine spoke  
14 eloquently about this a couple of minutes ago -- do you  
15 think it's important to have condition-based withdrawal  
16 dates or transition dates based on success that you've been  
17 talking about, versus a calendar-based withdrawal?

18 General Campbell: Sir, thanks for the question.

19 I think it's important that the military commander on  
20 the ground be able to provide his best military advice to  
21 his senior leadership as he takes a look at a whole bunch of  
22 different variables on the ground -- the enemy, the  
23 situation of the Afghan Security Forces, those type of  
24 things. And I've continued to do that for the last 6  
25 months. And again, I've provided options, in this winter

1 review process, to my leadership, that I believe allows us  
2 the flexibility to both President Ghani, the Afghan people,  
3 that will continue to keep us on a road to be successful  
4 like this.

5 Senator Sullivan: So, your approach is definitely  
6 conditions-based versus a date on a calendar that says we're  
7 leaving.

8 General Campbell: Sir, I think there's a lot of  
9 different conditions that go into the recommendations that I  
10 provide. Time is one of those. Yes, sir.

11 Senator Sullivan: So, I think -- the other thing that  
12 I think is a big responsibility for all of us -- for you,  
13 for us in the Congress, for the executive branch -- is, when  
14 we're looking at our challenges -- and there are many  
15 national security challenges -- that we level with the  
16 American people. They want to know what those challenges  
17 are, they want to know we have a strategy. I appreciate  
18 your candor today. I think you're epitomizing that kind of  
19 straightforward leveling with the people that I think is so  
20 important as we address these challenges.

21 The President has already declared that the U.S. combat  
22 mission in Afghanistan has ended. And yet, a lot of the  
23 discussion today, we've been talking about a U.S.  
24 counterterrorism mission. So, he says "combat" -- "the  
25 combat mission is over," but we've been talking about a

1 counterterrorism mission. I think the counterterrorism  
2 mission is very important for, obviously, its broader  
3 strategic implications, in terms of protecting the homeland,  
4 but isn't a -- isn't the U.S. combat -- isn't the U.S. CT  
5 mission a combat mission right now?

6 General Campbell: Sir, there's no doubt that I have,  
7 with the U.S. Forces-Afghanistan and then with a NATO hat, a  
8 couple of different missions. One is train, advise, and  
9 assist, and one is the counterterrorist mission. And  
10 there's no issue about -- from the President on down -- that  
11 we have that mission.

12 Senator Sullivan: Yeah, it just seems to be a  
13 disconnect. And again, I know this isn't where you're  
14 focused, but it does seem to be a disconnect between what  
15 the President's telling the American people, "We're done  
16 with combat operations in Afghanistan," and yet we have a  
17 robust, it sounds like -- an important CT mission that we're  
18 still undertaking. And again, I think this goes to the  
19 leveling with the American people on what we're actually  
20 doing.

21 Do you have -- in terms of a robust CT mission, can  
22 that be supported by the current troop levels contemplated  
23 by the President?

24 General Campbell: Sir, I don't think I used the word  
25 "robust," but I do have enough of the resources for the CT



1 mission that I currently have right now. We have downsized  
2 our CT capability over the last several years. This, as  
3 we've downsized the other forces out there. But, I do  
4 believe I have the requisite resources to continue with the  
5 current CT mission that I have.

6 Senator Sullivan: Would you, in 2016, if we are on  
7 this trajectory that the President's talked about?

8 General Campbell: Sir, I would have to go make sure  
9 that I had that flexibility within those numbers on the  
10 different missions that I would have. And I think right now  
11 -- I'd have to go back and make sure that was within those  
12 options that we provided to the senior leadership.

13 Senator Sullivan: Okay, thank you.

14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 Chairman McCain: General, we thank you for being here.  
16 I enjoyed our conversations and visit, Christmastime, when I  
17 was with you in Kabul.

18 Every witness before this committee, and every retired  
19 or military man or woman, believes that we cannot have a  
20 calendar-based withdrawal from Afghanistan. We certainly  
21 don't want to see what the President described in 2014, "a  
22 normal embassy presence with a security assistance  
23 component, just as we've done in Iraq." We don't want to do  
24 "just as we we've done in Iraq," obviously.

25 I'm keenly appreciative of your role in the decision-

1 making process as a uniformed military leader, but it's very  
2 clear that, unless we change what is now the course we're  
3 on, then we are going to have enormous difficulties in  
4 Afghanistan.

5         And, by the way, I appreciate those pictures. It's  
6 also a fact that you can't go downtown Kabul, any American  
7 can't, without armed escort. You can't drive around Kabul  
8 unless you're in an armored vehicle. The Ring Road that we  
9 thought was going to connect all of Afghanistan is not safe  
10 in many parts. The Taliban control it. So, yes, there has  
11 been a lot of progress, but there is a number of areas,  
12 including the fact that we still haven't gotten a handle on  
13 this terrible thing, where Afghans in uniform shoot American  
14 military members.

15         So, we've got a long way to go. And you've got to  
16 speak truth to power, not just because of the fact that the  
17 situation on the ground argues for conditions-based  
18 withdrawal, but I think you owe it to the men and women who  
19 are still serving over there. Because if you believe, from  
20 your assessment, that, if we go to a Kabul-based situation  
21 by the end of 19- -- excuse me -- embassy-based situation by  
22 the end of 2016, a normal embassy presence, then you've got  
23 to speak up, because too many young Americans have already  
24 lost their lives and their limbs in Afghanistan. And I and  
25 others have been there since the beginning. And we can't

1 allow their deaths to be in vain.

2 So, I strongly urge you, when you counsel the  
3 President, to do the right thing. And we all know what the  
4 right thing is.

5 And I thank you for being here today.

6 Senator Reed, did you have anything?

7 Senator Reed: No, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Chairman McCain: This hearing is adjourned. Thank  
9 you, General.

10 [Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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