

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 4350**  
**OFFERED BY MS. CHENEY OF WYOMING**

At the appropriate place in title X, insert the following:

1 **SEC. 10 \_\_ . COMMISSION ON AFGHANISTAN.**

2 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is hereby established a  
3 commission to be known as the “Commission on Afghani-  
4 stan” (in this section referred to as the “Commission”).  
5 The purpose of the Commission is to examine the war in  
6 Afghanistan and make recommendations regarding lessons  
7 learned.

8 (b) COMPOSITION.—

9 (1) MEMBERSHIP.—The Commission shall be  
10 composed of 12 members appointed as follows:

11 (A) Three members appointed by the chair  
12 of the Committee on Armed Services of the  
13 House of Representatives.

14 (B) Three members appointed by the rank-  
15 ing minority member of the Committee on  
16 Armed Services of the House of Representa-  
17 tives.

1 (C) Three members appointed by the chair  
2 of the Committee on Armed Services of the  
3 Senate.

4 (D) Three members appointed by the rank-  
5 ing minority member of the Committee on  
6 Armed Services of the Senate.

7 (2) CHAIR; VICE CHAIR.—

8 (A) CHAIR.—The chair of the Committee  
9 on Armed Services of the House of Representa-  
10 tive and the chair of the Committee on Armed  
11 Services of the Senate shall jointly designate  
12 one member of the Commission to serve as  
13 chair of the Commission.

14 (B) VICE CHAIR.—The ranking minority  
15 member of the Committee on Armed Services of  
16 the House of Representative and the ranking  
17 minority member of the Committee on Armed  
18 Services of the Senate shall jointly designate  
19 one member of the Commission to serve as vice  
20 chair of the Commission.

21 (3) PERIOD OF APPOINTMENT; VACANCIES.—  
22 Members shall be appointed for the life of the Com-  
23 mission. Any vacancy in the Commission shall be  
24 filled in the same manner as the original appoint-  
25 ment.

1 (c) DUTIES.—

2 (1) REVIEW.—The Commission shall examine  
3 the following periods of the war in Afghanistan;

4 (A) Generally, the entirety of the war be-  
5 ginning with Operation Enduring Freedom in  
6 2001 under the Bush administration.

7 (B) The period beginning in 2009 under  
8 the Obama administration, when the United  
9 States deployed an increased number of mem-  
10 bers of the Armed Forces to Afghanistan, and  
11 ending when such members of the Armed  
12 Forces were reduced in 2011.

13 (C) The period beginning in August 2019  
14 and ending in February 2020, covering the ne-  
15 gotiation and execution of the U.S. Govern-  
16 ment-Taliban agreement during the Trump Ad-  
17 ministration.

18 (D) The period beginning in February  
19 2020 and ending in August 2021, with the com-  
20 pletion of the withdrawal of the Armed Forces  
21 from Afghanistan under the Biden Administra-  
22 tion.

23 (E) The period from 1996 to 2001, during  
24 which the Taliban controlled the country, high-  
25 lighting events or the absence of certain key

1 events that enabled conditions on the ground in  
2 Afghanistan in 2001, including efforts to sup-  
3 port the Northern Alliance and related resist-  
4 ance groups, opportunities to eliminate terrorist  
5 leaders like Osama Bin Laden and others, and  
6 opportunities to address terror threats ema-  
7 nating from Afghanistan prior to 2001.

8 (2) ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS.—

9 The Commission shall conduct a comprehensive as-  
10 sessment of the war in Afghanistan and make rec-  
11 ommendations to inform future operations with tac-  
12 tical and strategic lessons learned, including the im-  
13 pact of troop increases and decreases and date-cer-  
14 tain deadlines.

15 (d) COOPERATION FROM GOVERNMENT.—

16 (1) COOPERATION.—In carrying out its duties,  
17 the Commission shall receive the full and timely co-  
18 operation of the Secretary of Defense in providing  
19 the Commission with analysis, briefings, and other  
20 information necessary for the fulfillment of its re-  
21 sponsibilities.

22 (2) LIAISON.—The Secretary shall designate at  
23 least one officer or employee of the Department of  
24 Defense to serve as a liaison officer between the De-  
25 partment and the Commission.

1 (e) REPORT.—

2 (1) FINAL REPORT.—Not later than August 31,  
3 2022, and consistent with the protection of intel-  
4 ligence sources and methods, the Commission shall  
5 submit to the President, the Secretary of Defense,  
6 and the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
7 port on the Commission’s findings, conclusions, and  
8 recommendations. The report shall address each of  
9 the following:

10 (A) The findings of the Commission with  
11 respect to each of the periods referred to in  
12 subsection (c)(1).

13 (B) Intelligence and information upon  
14 which the Bush, Obama, Trump, and Biden ad-  
15 ministrations made planning decisions.

16 (C) The impact of the reduction in the  
17 number of members of the Armed Forces de-  
18 ployed to Afghanistan in 2011.

19 (D) The assessments made for the security  
20 conditions to create a viable peace agreement in  
21 2019.

22 (E) The security conditions necessary to  
23 make such agreement a reality.

1 (F) A detailed analysis of the security con-  
2 ditions on the ground in Afghanistan during the  
3 entirety of the war in Afghanistan.

4 (G) The circumstances under which the  
5 Biden Administration withdrew the Armed  
6 Forces from Afghanistan in 2021.

7 (H) The lessons learned from 20 years in  
8 Afghanistan.

9 (I) The lessons learned from 20 years of  
10 equipping and supporting the Afghan National  
11 Security Force.

12 (2) INTERIM BRIEFING.—Not later than March  
13 3, 2022, the Commission shall provide to the appro-  
14 priate congressional committees a briefing on the  
15 status of its review and assessment, and include a  
16 discussion of any interim recommendations.

17 (3) FORM.—The report submitted to Congress  
18 under paragraph (1) shall be submitted in unclassi-  
19 fied form, but may include a classified annex.

20 (4) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
21 TEES.—In this subsection, the term “appropriate  
22 congressional committees” means—

23 (A) the Committee on Armed Services of  
24 the House of Representatives, and the Com-  
25 mittee on Armed Services of the Senate; and

1 (B) the Permanent Select Committee on  
2 Intelligence of the House of Representatives  
3 and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the  
4 Senate.

5 (f) FUNDING.—Of the amounts authorized to be ap-  
6 propriated by to this Act for the Department of Defense,  
7 \$5,000,000 is available to fund the activities of the Com-  
8 mission.

9 (g) TERMINATION.—The Commission shall terminate  
10 6 months after the date on which it submits the report  
11 required by subsection (e).

In section 4301 of division D, relating to Operation  
and Maintenance, Navy, reduce the amount for Adminis-  
tration, Line 440, by \$5,000,000.

