

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

Afghanistan Nation-Building, 2002-2008

Notable Ideas and Terms

People and Organizations

- George W. Bush
- Al Gore
- George C. Marshall

Government policies

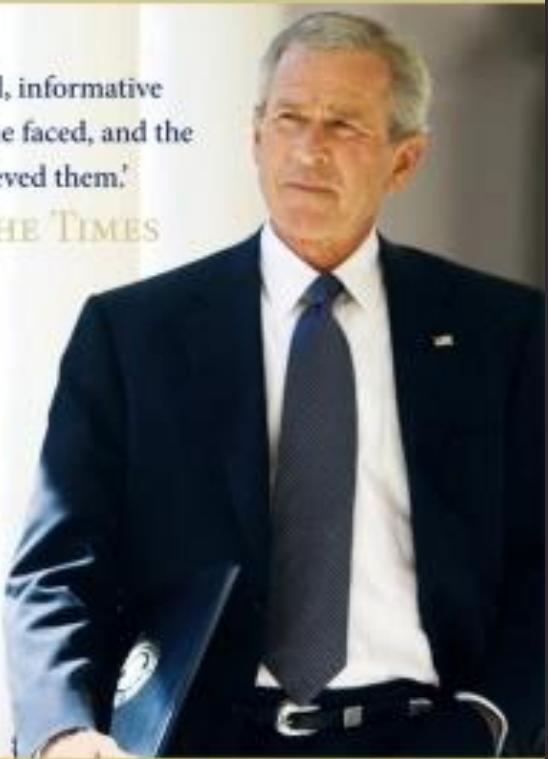
- Bush campaign position on nation-building
- Bush change in thinking on nation-building
- Marshall Plan
- Goals for post-invasion Afghanistan
- Reasons for nation-building in Afghanistan
- Costs of Afghanistan reconstruction compared to Marshall Plan



GEORGE W. BUSH

'Reflective and self-critical, informative about the decisions that he faced, and the process by which he achieved them.'

THE TIMES



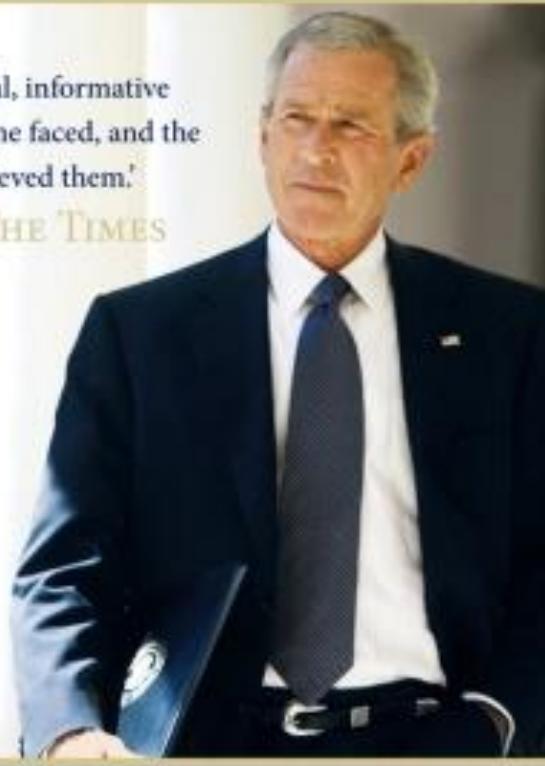
DECISION POINTS

"[In fall 2000] I worried about overextending our military by undertaking peacekeeping missions as we had in Bosnia and Somalia. But after 9/11, I changed my mind."

GEORGE W. BUSH

'Reflective and self-critical, informative about the decisions that he faced, and the process by which he achieved them.'

THE TIMES



DECISION POINTS

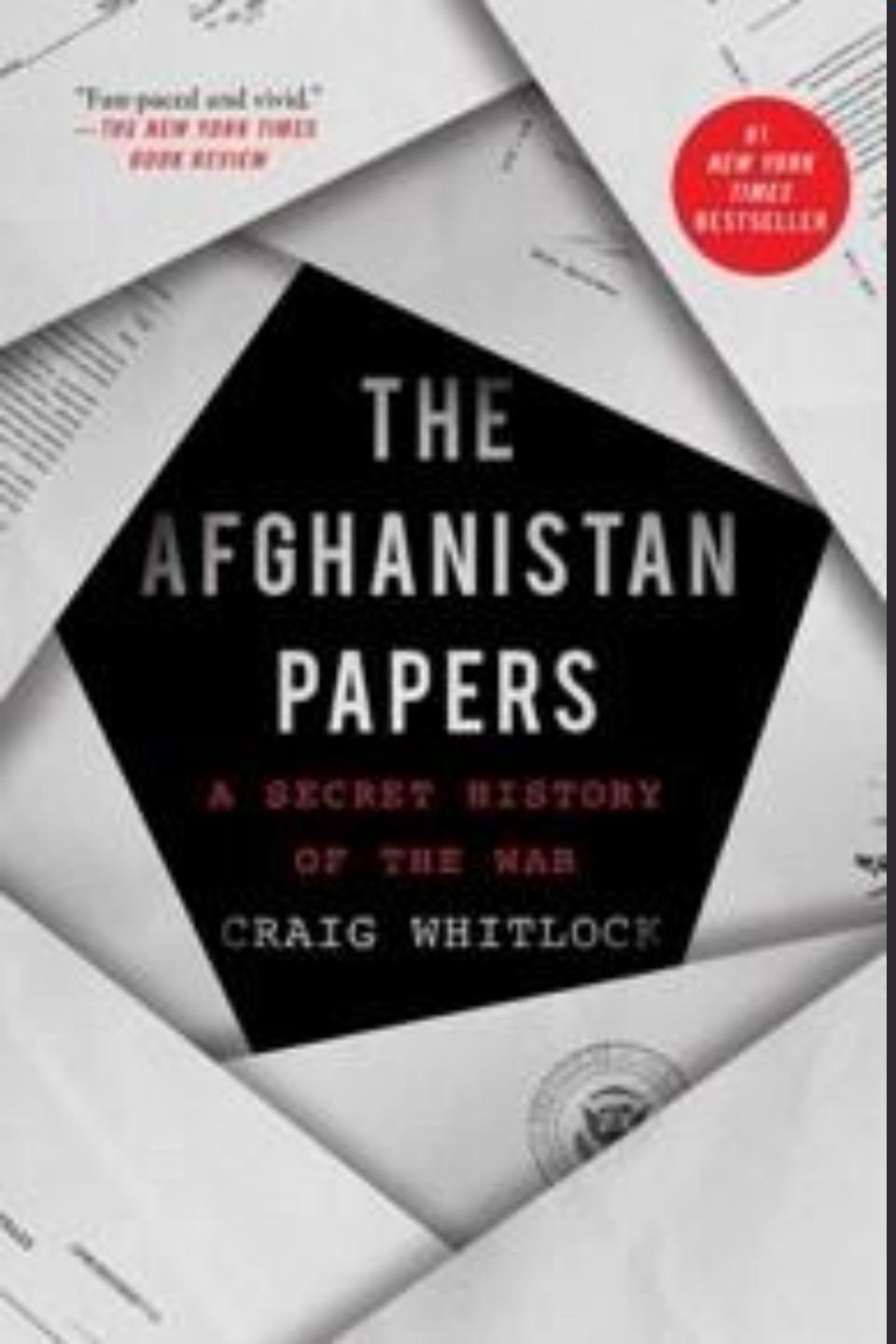
"Afghanistan was the ultimate **nation building** mission. We had liberated the country from a primitive dictatorship, and we had a [1] moral obligation to leave behind something better. We also had a [2] strategic interest in helping the Afghan people build a free society. The terrorists took refuge in places of chaos, despair, and repression. A democratic Afghanistan would be a hopeful alternative to the vision of the extremists."



George C. Marshall

(b. 1880, d. 1959;
Chief of Staff of the US Army,
1939-1945,
US Secretary of State 1947-
1949,
Secretary of Defense 1950-1951

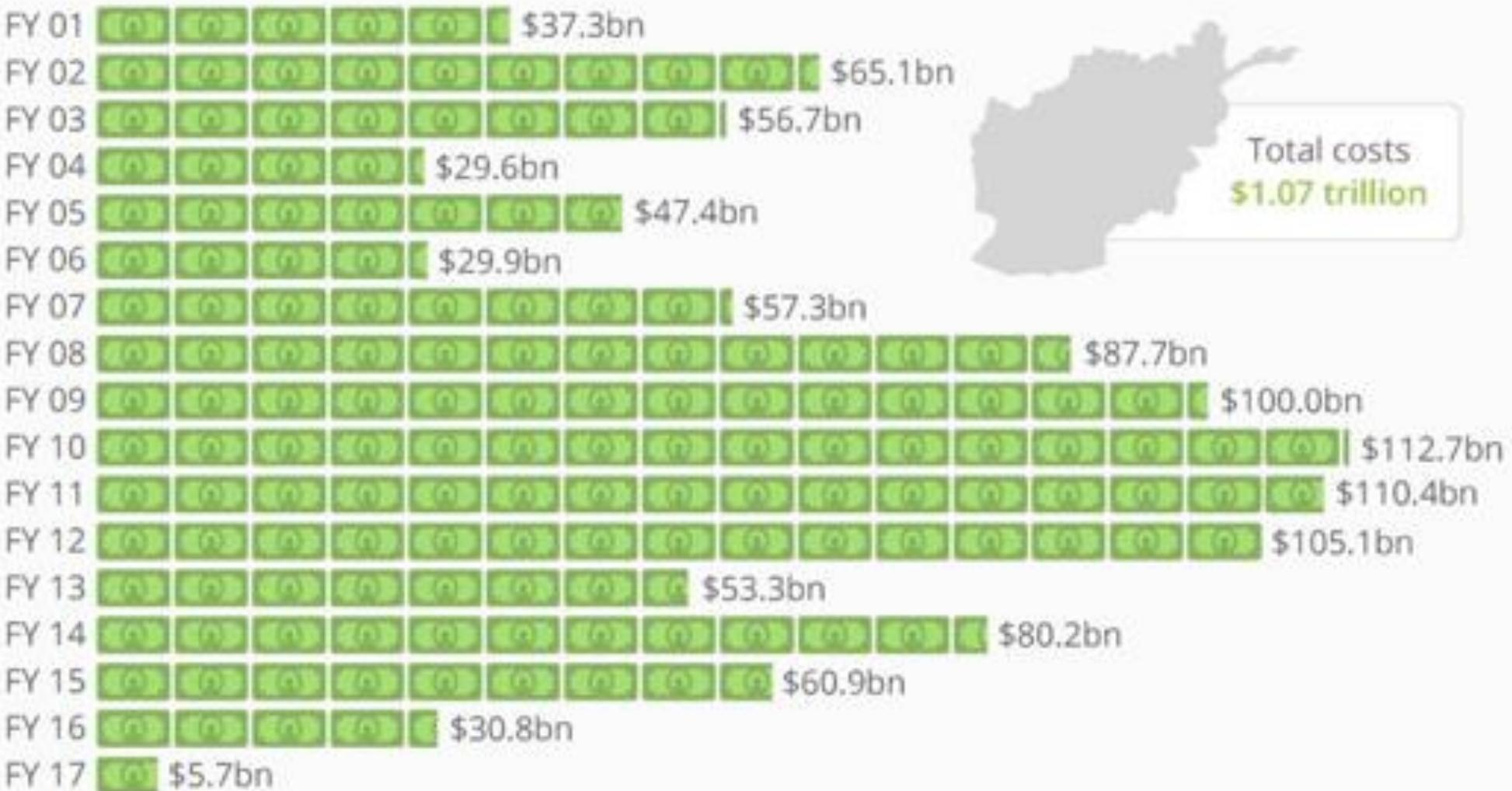




“Between 2001 AND 2020, Washington spent more on nation-building in Afghanistan than in any country ever, allocating \$143 billion for reconstruction, aid programs and Afghan security forces. Adjusted for inflation, that is more than the United States spent in Western Europe with the Marshall Plan after World War II.”

Afghanistan: America's Trillion Dollar War

Cost of the Afghanistan conflict from 2001 to 2017



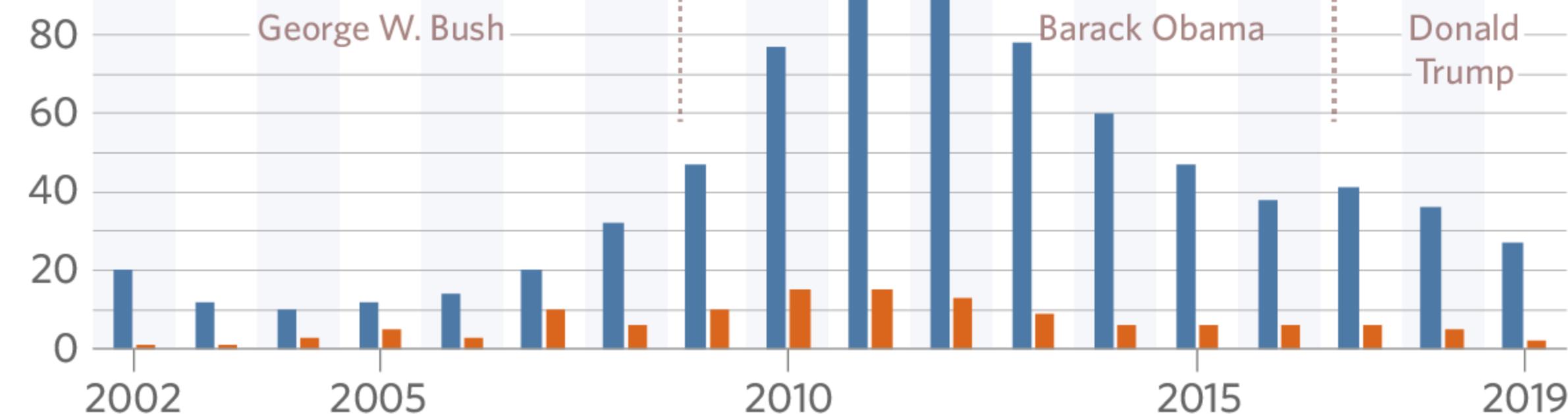
@StatistaCharts

Source: The Balance

U.S. Spending on Security and Reconstruction in Afghanistan

■ Annual cost of war ■ Reconstruction cost*

100 BILLION USD



* A portion of the reconstruction cost is included in the annual cost of war figures.

“I’m worried about overcommitting our military around the world. I want to be judicious in its use.” Bush said to the moderator, “You mentioned Haiti. I wouldn’t have sent troops to Haiti. I didn’t think it was a mission worthwhile. It was a nation building mission, and it was not very successful. It cost us billions, a couple billions of dollars, and I’m not so sure democracy is any better off in Haiti than it was before.”



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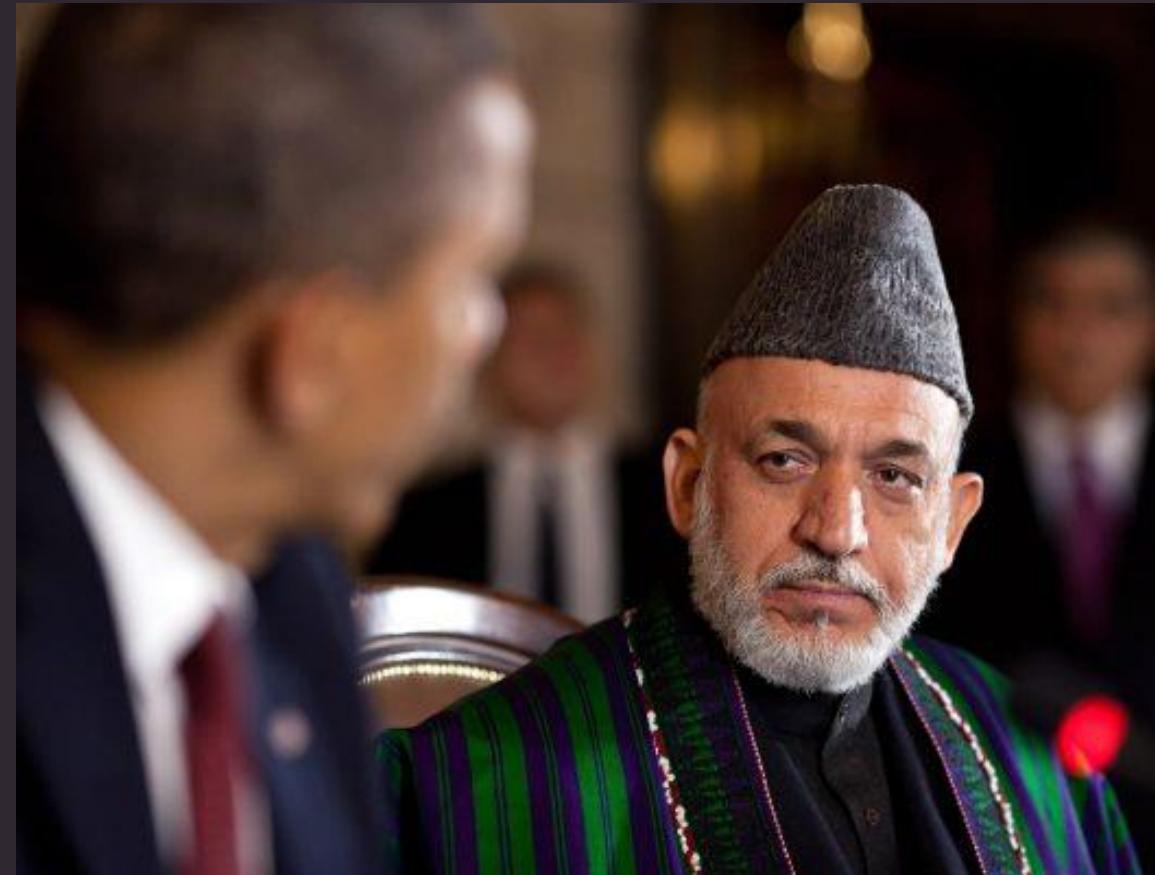
Dr. Jason Brownlee

Security in Afghanistan, 2002-2008

Notable Ideas and Terms

Concepts and Events

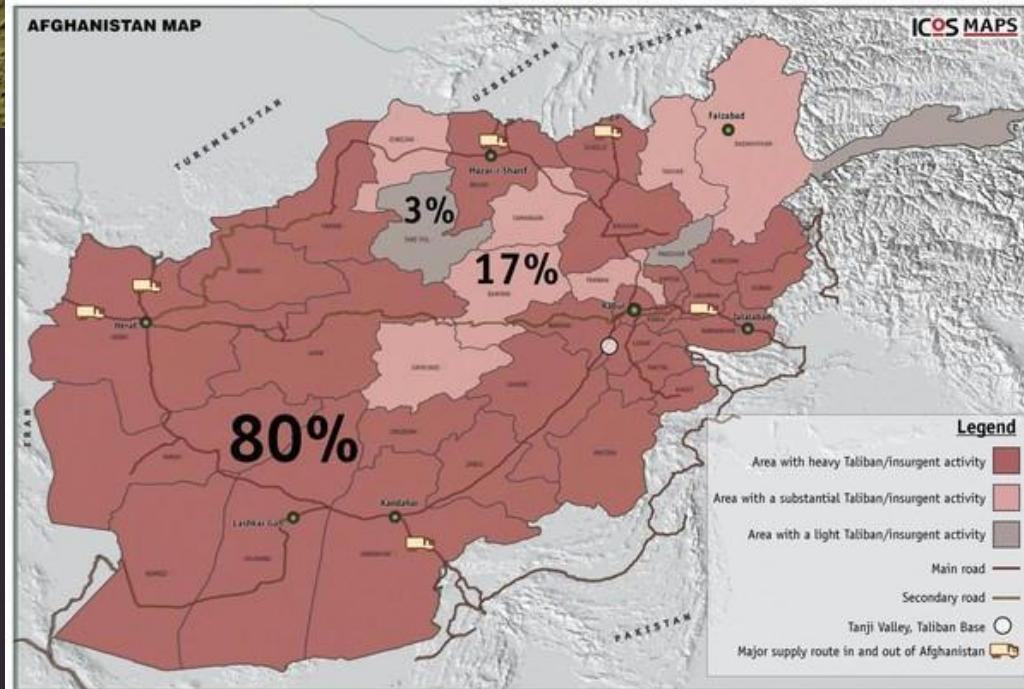
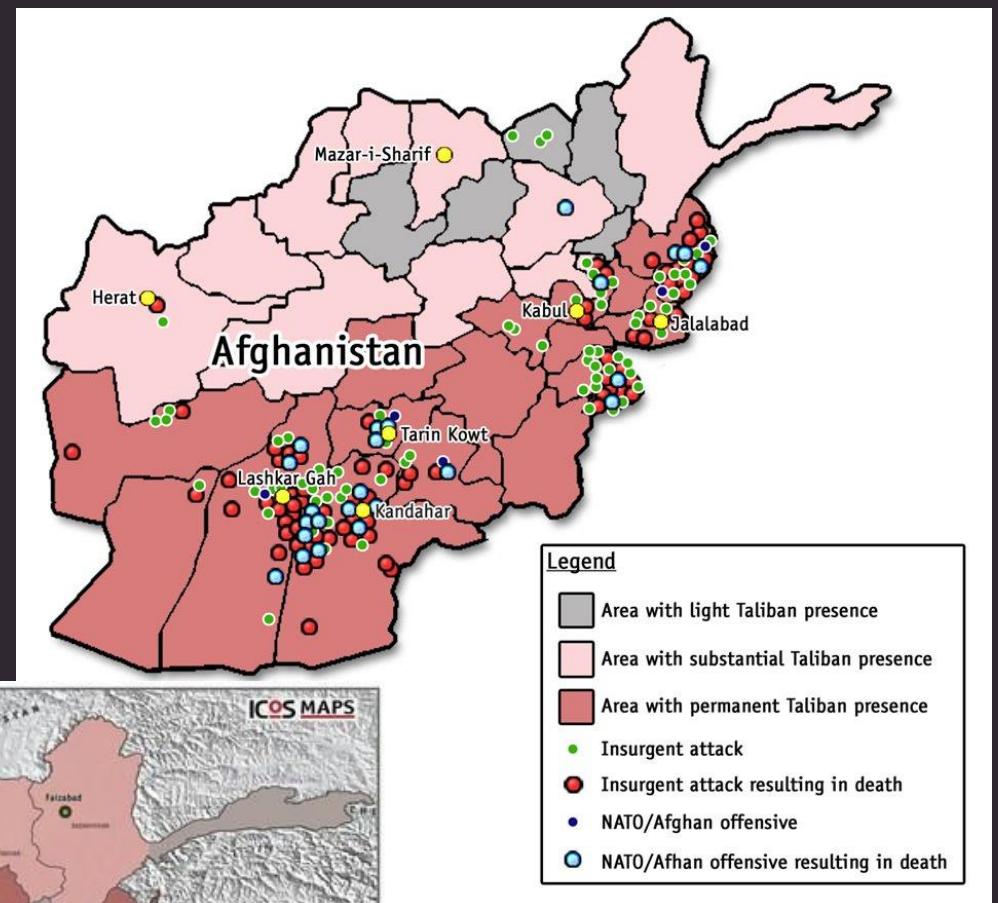
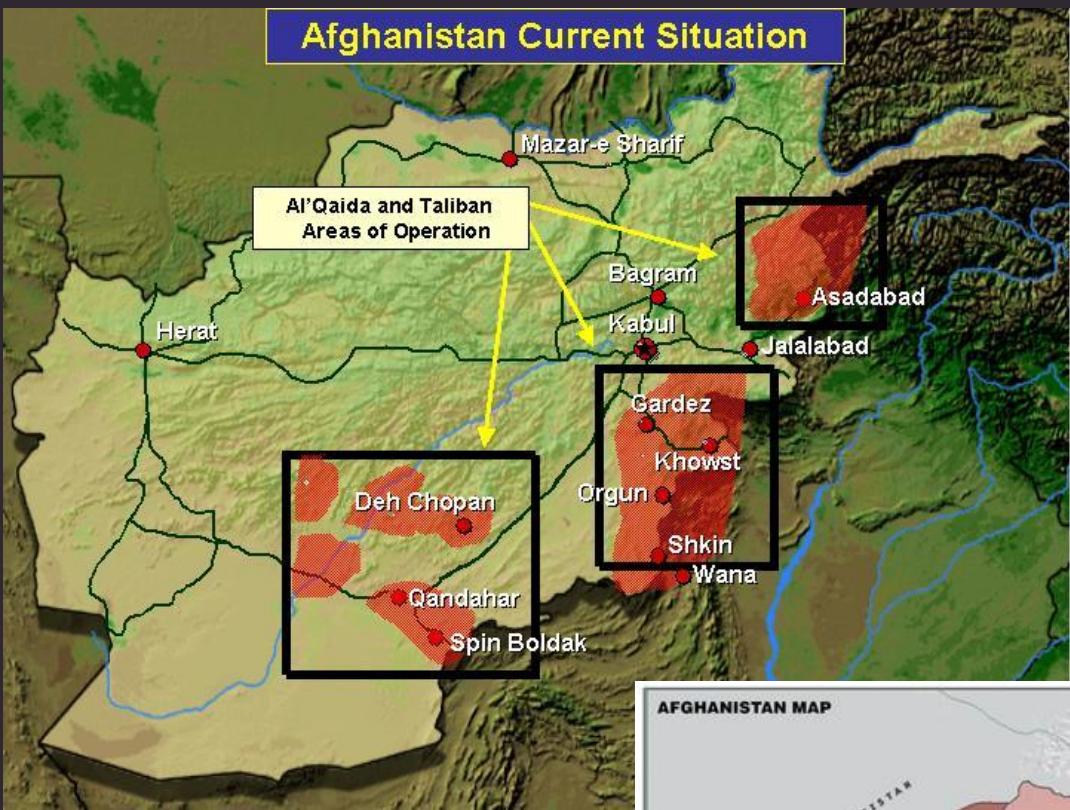
- Extent of IEA presence
- Significance of Taliban heartland
- Turn of events in Helmand province
- Opium production in Afghanistan over time
- Dilemmas of Afghan civilians in Helmand
- Distinctions among al-Qaeda, IEA, and Afghan general population
- Sources of IEA (“Taliban”) return

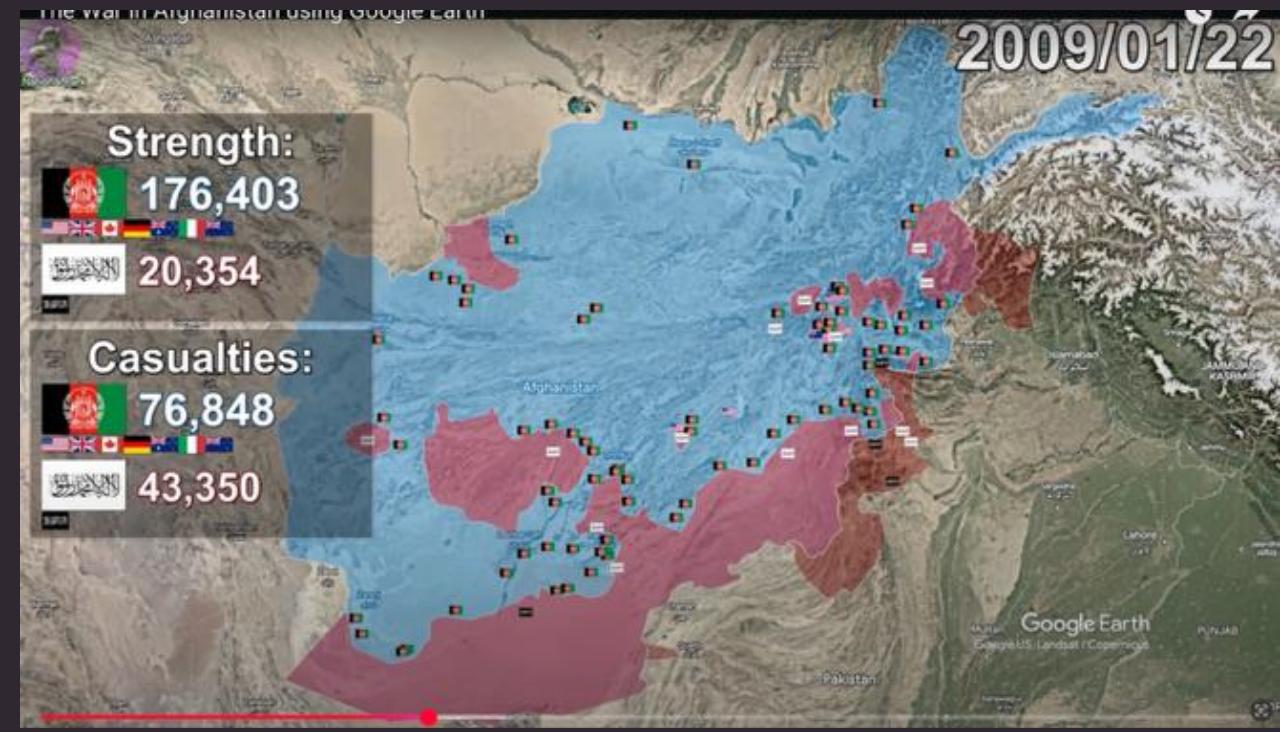


Hamid Karzai,
President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2002-2014,
and his US counterparts

AFP Kabul: Just 10 weeks after the Taliban fled Kabul city, Afghans are already starting to say they felt safer under the now-defeated hardline militia than under the power-sharing interim administration that has replaced it. Murders, robberies and hijackings in the capital, factional clashes in the north and south of the country, instability in [the southern provincial capital city of] Kandahar and banditry on roads linking main centers are beginning to erode the optimism that greeted the inauguration of the interim administration on December 22.

Source: <https://perma.cc/M5RJ-37MG>







Area:
22,600 miles²
(59,000 km²)

Population:
1.47 million
(2021)





The town of Musa Qala,
Kandahar. Site of a major
British retreat.

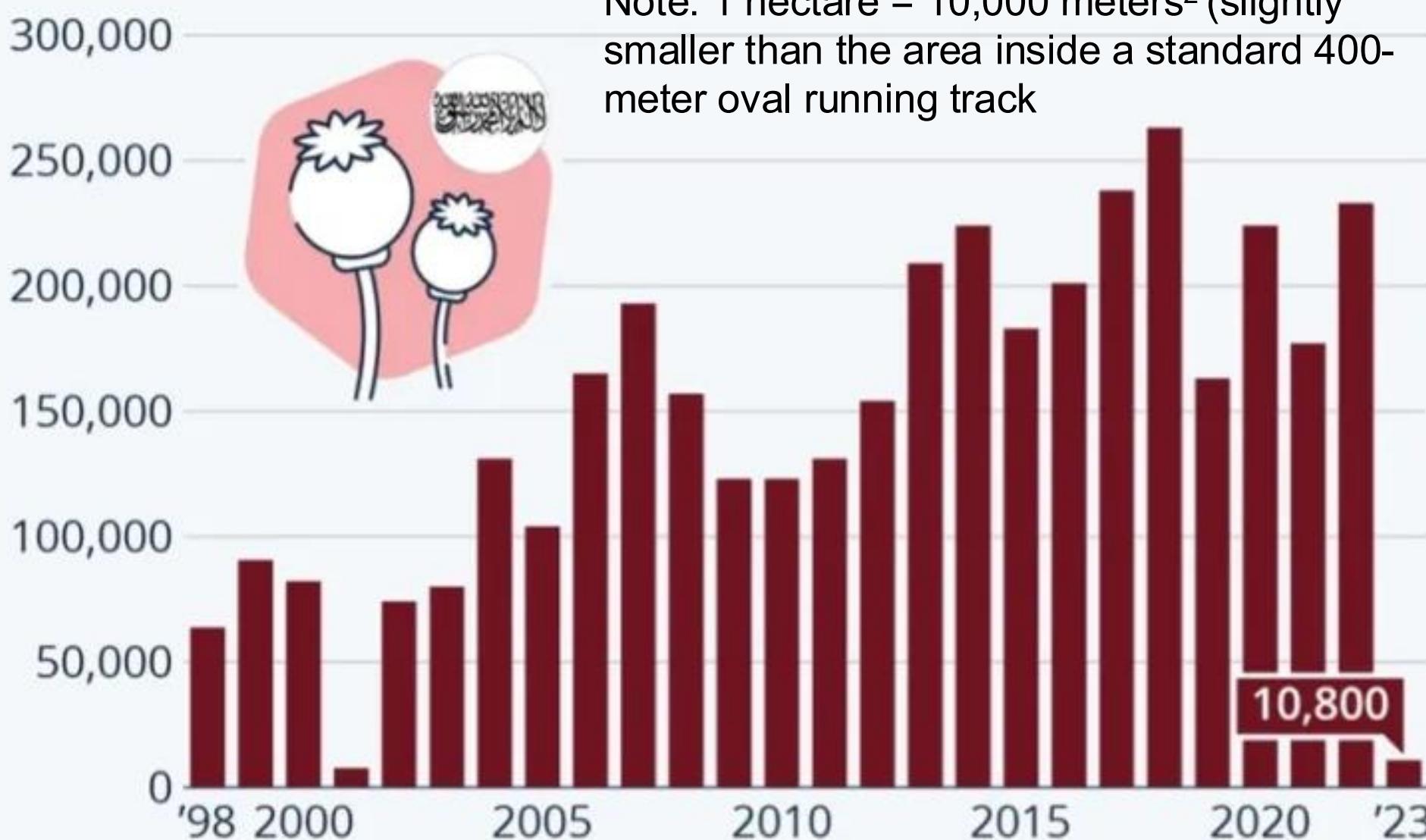


Photo by Jason Brownlee. September 2003.



Photo by Jason Brownlee. September 2003.

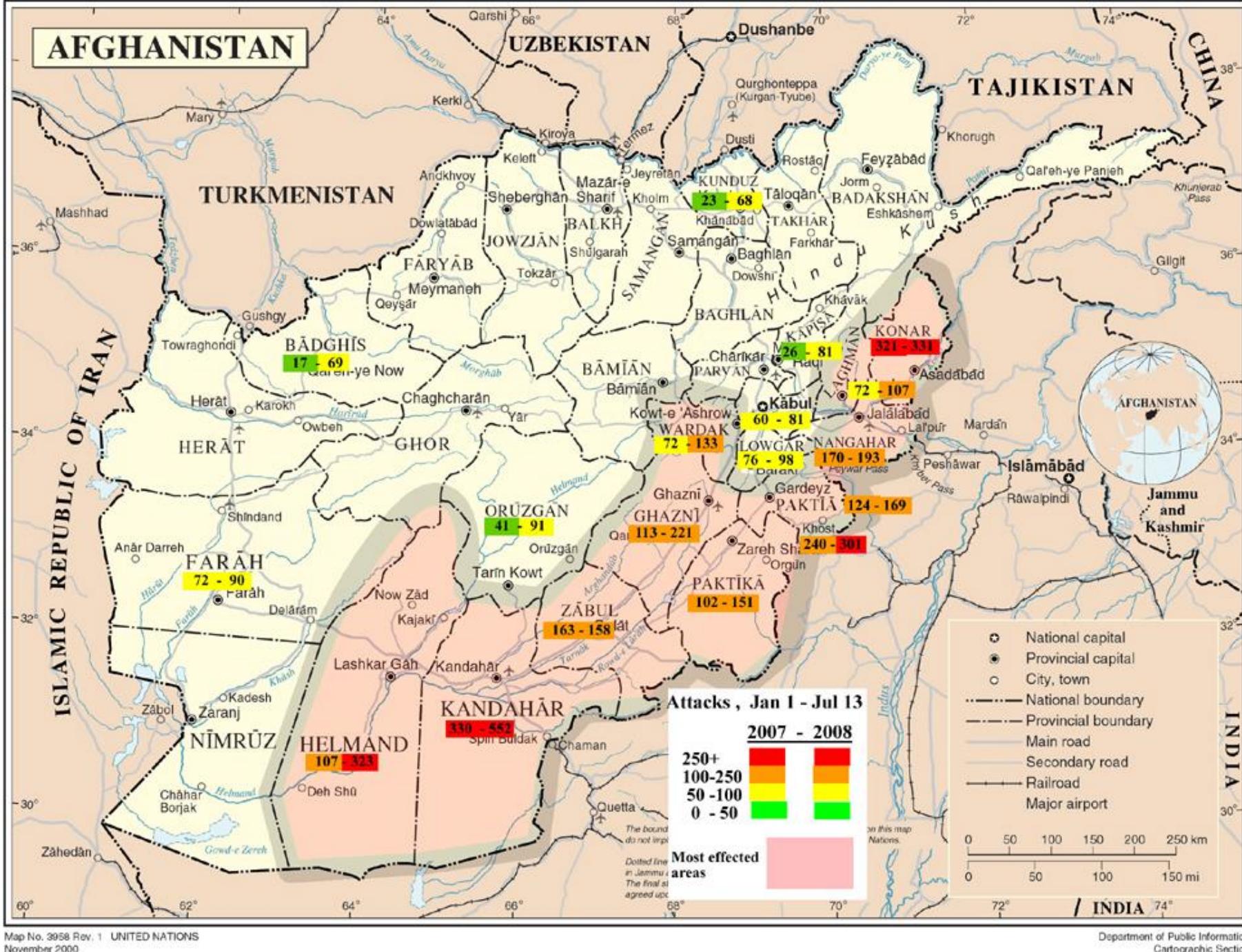
Cropland used for opium poppy in Afghanistan (in hectares)



Source: UNODC

	al-Qaeda	Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (IEA) leaders and agents	Afghan civilians
Academic definition	Transnational Sunni militant organization led by Osama bin Laden until his death in 2011. Seeks to conduct mass-casualty attacks on the United States, its personnel, and its allies anywhere in the world.	Indigenous government that came to power in Afghanistan in 1996 and applies an ultra-traditional interpretation of Sunni Islam inside its country, but does not express ambitions or conduct operations outside. Estimated core strength in 2001 was 50,000 people.	Remainder of Afghanistan's population (approximately 20 million people in 2001). Often forced to choose between supporting the US-backed Islamic Republic of Afghanistan or go along with the IEA's operatives.
US and ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) policy	Designated by the State Department as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). The primary target of the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF).	Never recognized as a normal, sovereign government. Called the Taliban and treated as enemy combatant subject to the use of force under the 2001 AUMF.	Officially, under the protection of the US-led occupation. In practice, they, especially males, are chronically suspected of being "Taliban" and are treated as enemy combatants.

AFGHANISTAN



Map of attacks in Afghanistan by province, 2007 vs 2008

Source:
<https://perma.cc/26S9-G3PD>

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The British in Helmand

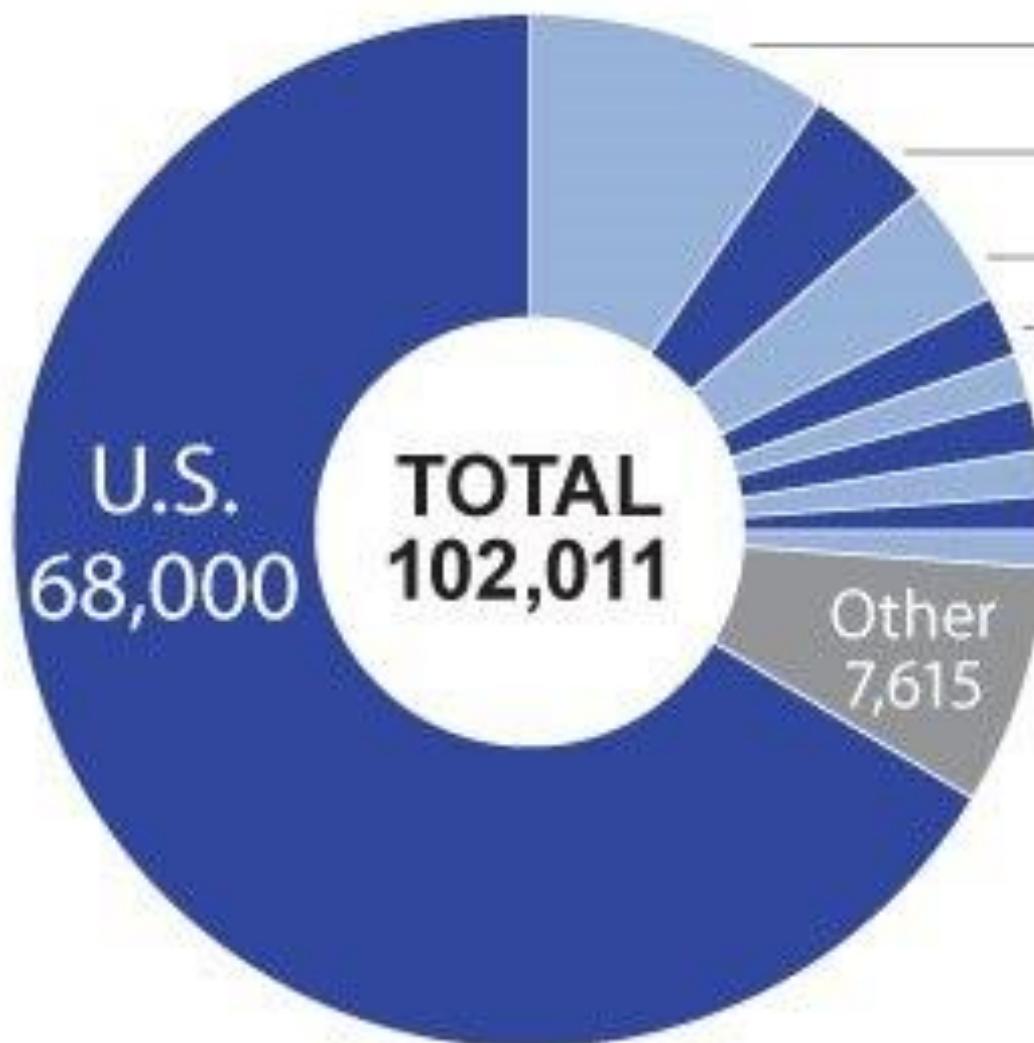
Notable Ideas and Terms

Government policies

- NATO and UNSC positions on America's war in Afghanistan
- ISAF (International Security Assistance Force)
- British experience in Helmand
- “Ten dollar Taliban”
- Musa Kala withdrawal deal
- Results of “population-centric” tactics
- Threat of IEDs (improvised explosive devices)
- Reasons for increase of US troops in Helmand

TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN

Top 10 countries



Britain	9,500
Germany	4,318
Italy	4,000
Poland	1,770
Spain	1,606
Georgia	1,561
Romania	1,549
Australia	1,094
Turkey	998

Source: Most recent ISAF figures

Source: <https://perma.cc/DP66-83W4>

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Obama's Af-Pak Strategy of Early 2009

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government policies

- Obama 2002-2008 positions on Iraq and Afghanistan wars
- Obama argument for why Afghanistan war not going well in 2008
- Reasons for thinking of Afghanistan as the “good war”
- Obama strategy for addressing “Af-Pak” in March 2009
- Reasons for increasing US intervention in the area
- Logical weaknesses of Obama strategy on Afghanistan
- Biden concerns
- Domestic political climate on Obama policy toward Afghanistan

People

- John McCain
- Joe Biden
- Hillary Clinton
- Robert Gates
- David Petraeus









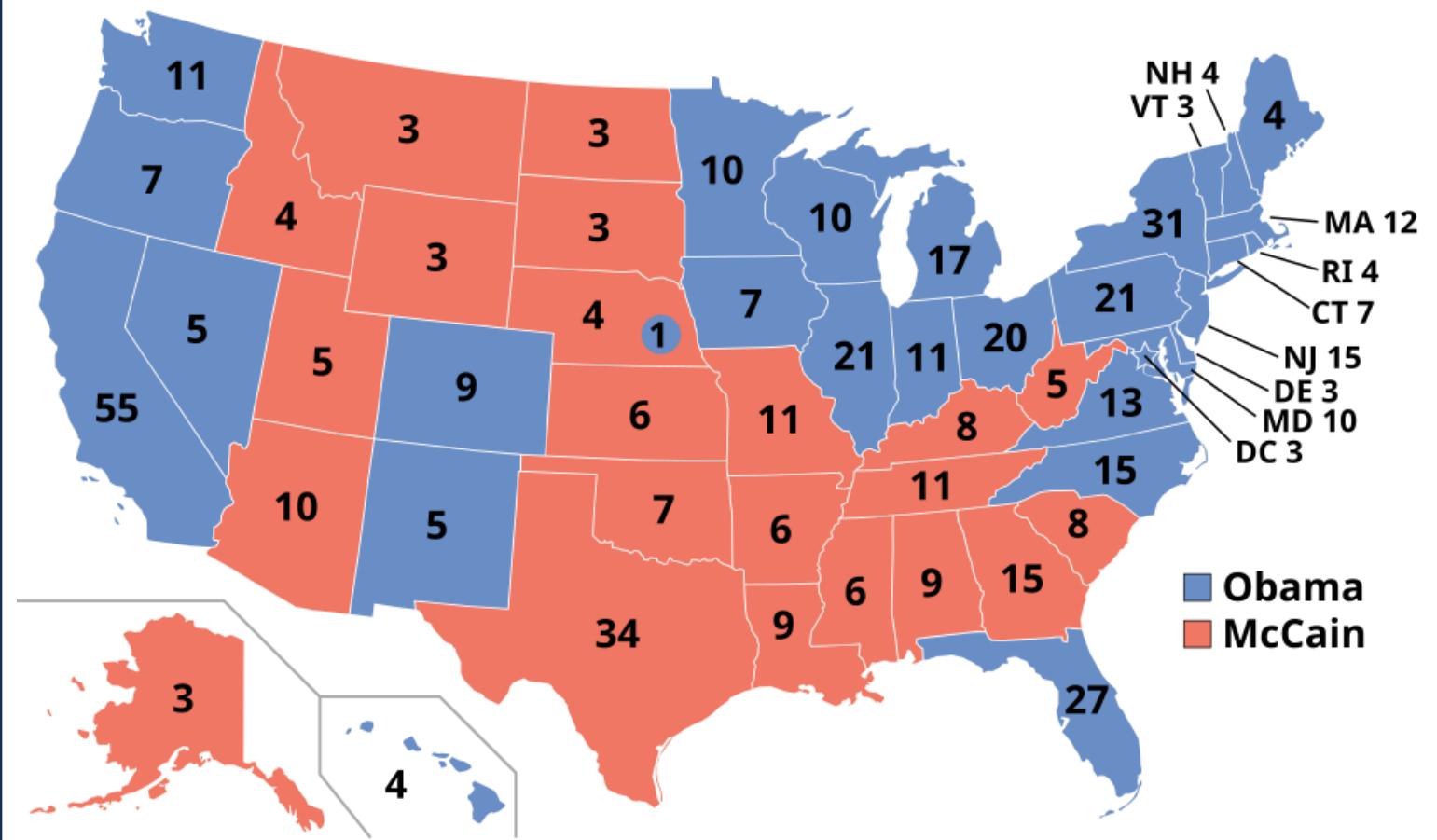




Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) on the Today Show, March 15, 2007.

(Image is from a campaign appearance two days later.)

“[I]f you look at what's happening in Afghanistan now, you are seeing the Taliban resurgent, you are seeing al-Qaida strengthen itself,” Obama said in March [15] 2007, “We have not followed through on the good starts we made in Afghanistan, partly because we took so many resources out and put them in Iraq. I think it is very important for us to begin a planned redeployment [shift of troops and resources] from Iraq, including... [to] Afghanistan.”



Nominee	Barack Obama	John McCain
Party	Democratic	Republican
Home state	Illinois	Arizona
Running mate	Joe Biden	Sarah Palin
Electoral vote	365	173
States carried	28 + DC + NE-02	22
Popular vote	69,498,516 ^{[2]:6}	59,948,323 ^{[2]:6}
Percentage	52.9%	45.7%

Source: <https://perma.cc/RL8N-FW8Y>

Joe Biden
(b. 1942,
Vice
President
2009-2017)



Hillary
Clinton
(b. 1947,
Secretary
of State
2009-2013)

Robert Gates

(b. 1943, CIA Director 1991-1993,
President of Texas A&M 2002-2006,
Secretary of Defense 2006-2011



General David Petraeus
Commander US CENTCOM, October
2008 – June 2010, Commander US
Forces in Afghanistan, June 2010 –
July 2011

“al Qaeda and its extremist allies have moved across the [Afghan] border to the remote areas of the Pakistani frontier . . . [and] used this mountainous terrain as a safe haven to hide, to train terrorists, to communicate with followers, to plot attacks, and to send fighters to support the insurgency in Afghanistan. **For the American people, this border region [the FATA of northwestern Pakistan] has become the most dangerous place in the world.**”



“But this is not simply an American problem – far from it. It is, instead, an international security challenge of the highest order. Terrorist attacks in London and Bali were tied to al Qaeda and its allies in Pakistan, as were attacks in North Africa and the Middle East, in Islamabad and in Kabul. If there is a major attack on an Asian, European, or African city, it, too, is likely to have ties to al Qaeda’s leadership in Pakistan. **The safety of people around the world is at stake.**”



“We have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future.”





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Summer of Decision in Afghanistan

Notable Ideas and Terms

People

- General Stanley McChrystal
- General David Petraeus
- Corporal Seth Sharp
- Celeste Ward

Other Concepts and Events

- Troops' efforts to appear more human (humanizing)
- Substance of Marines' interactions with people of Helmand
- Mullah Omar's instruction booklet



**General Stanley
McChrystal**
(years of military
service 1976-2010)
Commander US
Forces in
Afghanistan, June
2009-June 2010

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Obama's Afghanistan Surge, 2009-2011

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government Policies and Actions

- Obama's Afghanistan "surge" of troops
- Timeline of troop increase and reduction

Other Concepts and Events

- US casualties in Afghanistan
- Distribution of casualties over time and geographic areas



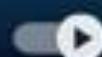


**I
INCREASE
AFGHANISTAN'S CAPACITY**

**Begin to transfer out
troops in July 2011**

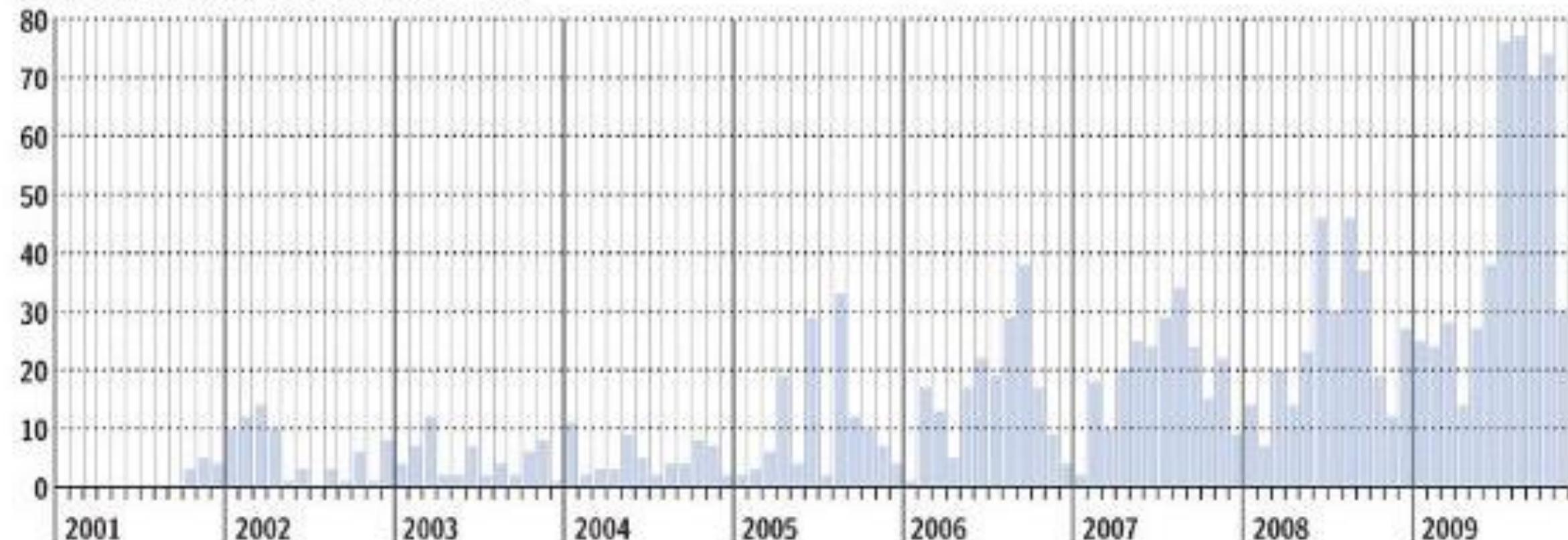


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WH.GOV

COALITION FATALITIES

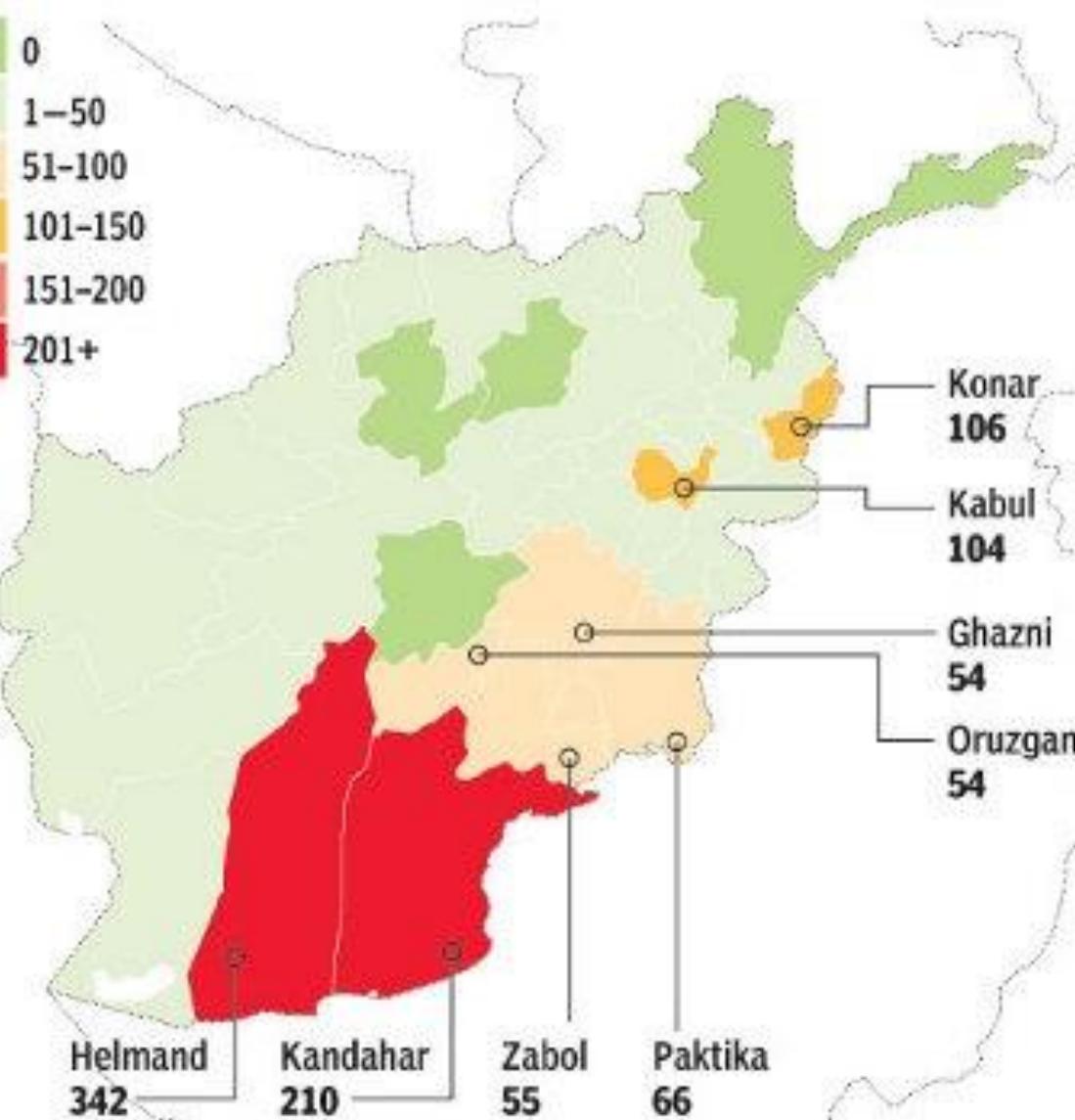
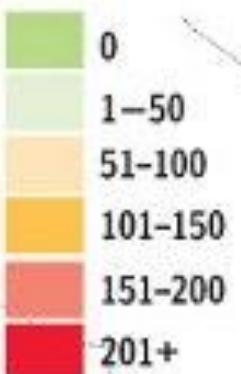


SOURCE: ICASUALTIES.ORG

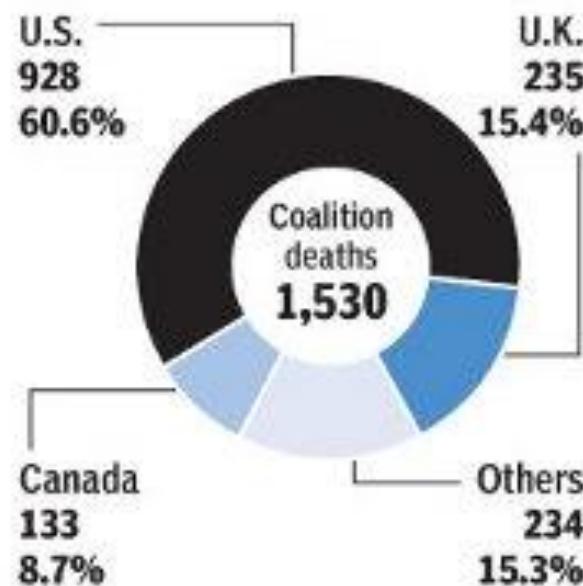
ANDREW BARR / NATIONAL POST

AFGHANISTAN WAR CASUALTIES

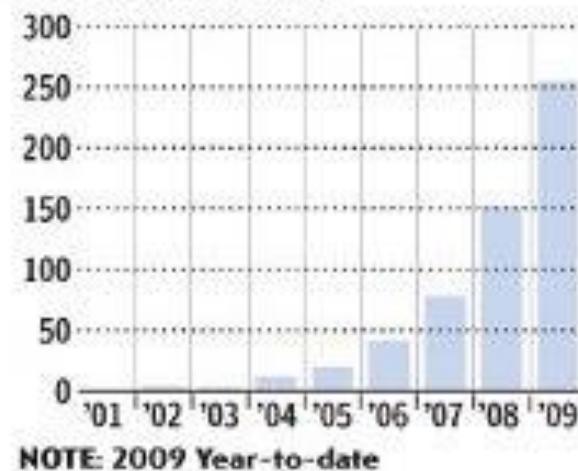
FATALITIES BY PROVINCE



FATALITIES BY NATIONALITY



IED DEATHS



Source: <https://perma.cc/7T59-RK9L>

PROVINCE	REGION	CASUALTIES	Cumulative PORTION
Helmand	south west	961	29.8%
Kandahar	south west	562	47.2%
Kabul	central	208	53.7%
Kunar	east	186	59.5%
Paktika	south east	148	64.1%
Wardak	central	131	68.1%
Ghazni	south east	129	72.1%
Zabul	south west	125	76.0%
Parwan	central	103	79.2%

Year	U.S. troop fatalities	Cumulative portion
2010	499	0.202
2011	418	0.380
2012	310	0.503
2009	312	0.620
2008	155	0.686
2013	128	0.750
2007	117	0.796