

War Studies Advanced Program, Winter 2015 THE AFGHAN CAMPAIGN

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Friday, January 2, 2015, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Political, Social, Historical, Regional Dimensions

Readings:

- Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan's Ethnic Puzzle*, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No.5, September-October 2011.
- Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the Fall of the Taliban*, pp. 221-270.
- Victoria Schofield, *The Unending War: Afghanistan 1979 - present*, Military Times, May 2011.
- Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban*, Chapters 1-7; Chapter 10; Chapter 14.
- ** [Recommend change from 3 Jan] Stephen Biddle, *Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare*, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 2, March/April 2003.
- C. Christine Fair, *Why the Pakistan Army is Here to Stay: Prospects for Civilian Governance*, International Affairs 87:3, 2011, pp. 571-588.
- **Recommend book: Qais Akbar Omar, A Fort of Nine Towers: An Afghan Family Story.** Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Reprint edition (April 8, 2014)

Discussion Questions:

1. To what extent does Afghanistan's ethnic puzzle shape internal and external relationships?
2. What are the most significant impacts of the Afghan-Soviet war and Afghan Civil War on the rise of the Taliban?
3. Why were the Taliban so easily toppled in 2001?
4. What are the primary drivers of Pakistan's policy and strategy toward Afghanistan?

Saturday, January 3, 2015, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Early Successes and Failures: Counter-Terrorism and Counterinsurgency

Readings:

- Christopher D. Kolenda, *How to Win in Afghanistan: It's Time to Adjust the Strategy*, Weekly Standard, Oct. 13, 2008.
- Carl Forsberg, *The Taliban's Campaign for Kandahar*, Institute for the Study of War, December 2009.

- Theo Farrell and Antonio Giustozzi, *The Taliban at war: inside the Helmand insurgency, 2004–2012*.
http://static.squarespace.com/static/52908c90e4b023ca755eb442/t/53675c80e4b0e77173cc09af/1399282816124/89_4_03_FarrellGiustozzi.pdf
- ** [Recommend change from 2 Jan] Daniel Markey, *A New Drone Deal For Pakistan: How to Bargain With a Newly Drone Skeptical Islamabad*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, August 2013.
- Jason Lyall, *Afghanistan's Lost Decade*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No.6, December 2011.

Discussion Questions:

1. What were the primary reasons for the Taliban's re-emergence after 2004?
2. What were the major achievements and shortcomings of the U.S. efforts prior to 2009?
3. What role did Pakistan play from 2001-2009?
4. What were the major achievements and shortcomings of the Afghan government from 2001-2009?

Sunday, January 4, 2015, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Developing and Implementing a Strategy

Readings:

- Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, March 27, 2009.
- McChrystal Assessment: http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf?sid=ST2009092003140
- Frederick W. Kagan, *We're Not the Soviets in Afghanistan: And 2009 is not 1979*, *Weekly Standard*, Aug 21, 2009.
- Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan, December 1, 2009.
- Stanley A. McChrystal, *My Share of the Task*, 275-388.
- Robert M. Gates, *Duty*, 335-386.
- Secretary Clinton's Remarks on Afghanistan and Pakistan to Asia Society, February 18, 2011.
- Remarks by President Obama in Address to the Nation from Afghanistan, May 1, 2012.

Discussion Questions:

1. What was the theory of success that underpinned the McChrystal Assessment?
2. To what extent did the "surge" work?
3. Assess the efficacy of the 5 lines of effort as expressed by President Obama in May 2012.
4. What were the major challenges in implementing the post-2009 strategy?
5. What was the Taliban's theory of success?

Monday, January 5, 2015, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Challenges of State-building

Readings:

- James M. Dubik, *Accelerating Combat Power in Afghanistan*, Institute for the Study of War, December 2009.
- James M. Dubik, *Building Security Forces and Ministerial Capacity: Iraq as a Primer*. Institute for the Study of War, December 2009 Institute for the Study of War, August 2009.
- James M. Dubik, *Creating Police and Law Enforcement Systems*, Institute for the Study of War, October 2010.
- James M. Dubik, *Operational Art in Counterinsurgency: A View From The Inside*. Institute for the Study of War, July, 2012.
- Karl W. Eikenberry, *The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan: The Other Side of the COIN*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92 Issue 5 September/October 2013.
- Paul Fishstein and Andrew Wilder, *Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship between Aid and Security in Afghanistan*, Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, January 2012.
- Larry Diamond and Jack Mosbacher, *Petroleum to the People: Africa's Coming Resource Curse—and How to Avoid It*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92 Issue 5, September/October 2013.
- Christopher D. Kolenda, *Dismantling the World's Top Kleptocracy is Key Challenge for New Afghan Government*, *Foreign Policy*, October 20, 2014.
On Central Desktop
- Remarks Delivered by President Karzai at the 10th US-Islamic World Forum, June 9, 2013, Doha, Qatar.
On Central Desktop
- Kate Clark, "Afghanistan, the United States and the BSA: Who blinks first?"
<https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/afghanistan-the-united-states-and-the-bsa-who-blinks-first/>

Discussion Questions:

1. What were the main challenges to building the ANSF?
2. What were the major challenges in building Afghan government capacity? Aid and development?
3. How were the 5 lines of effort prioritized and integrated? How well were they integrated? What were potential alternatives for prioritization and integration?
4. What were the strategic implications of kleptocracy and the nature Obama-Karzai relations?
5. Assess the advantages and disadvantages of the U.S. policy on reconciliation.

Tuesday, January 6, 2015, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Afghanistan's Future, beyond 2014

Readings:

- Thomas R. Nides, *The Silk Road Through Afghanistan: The Country's Economic Future Lies in its Region*, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No. 6, December 5, 2011.
- Zhao Huasheng, *China and Afghanistan: China's Interests, Stances, and Perspectives*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 2012.
- Michael Semple, Theo Farrell, Anatol Lieven and Rudra Chaudhuri, *Taliban Perspectives on Reconciliation*, RUSI Briefing paper, September 2012.
- Yaroslav Trofimov, "Taliban Unveil Political Plan," *Wall Street Journal*, Dec 21, 2012. http://www.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323777204578193690011003694?mod=_newsreel_2
- Jonah Blank, *Victory, Afghan Style: The Good News and Bad About the Recent Election*, Foreign Affairs, Vol 93, June 2014.
- Stephen Biddle, *Ending the War in Afghanistan: How to Avoid Failure on the Installment Plan*, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 92 Issue 5, September / October 2013
- Christopher D. Kolenda, "A Strategic Scorecard for Afghanistan." *Foreign Policy*, October 1, 2014.

Discussion Questions:

1. In what ways have the Taliban adapted since 2009?
2. What are the most significant risks and opportunities for U.S. aims post-2014?
3. What is the best approach toward a favorable and durable outcome in Afghanistan from a U.S. perspective, Afghan government perspective, Taliban perspective?
4. What were the major achievements and shortcomings of the Afghan government from 2001-2009?
5. What are risks and opportunities associated with China's increased interest in Afghanistan?