

# Tenenbaum Tutorials

# US-Afghan Relations

1950



2021

By Jacy Miller

# CONTENT



**Background**

**01**

**Background**

# My Background



# AUGUST 2021





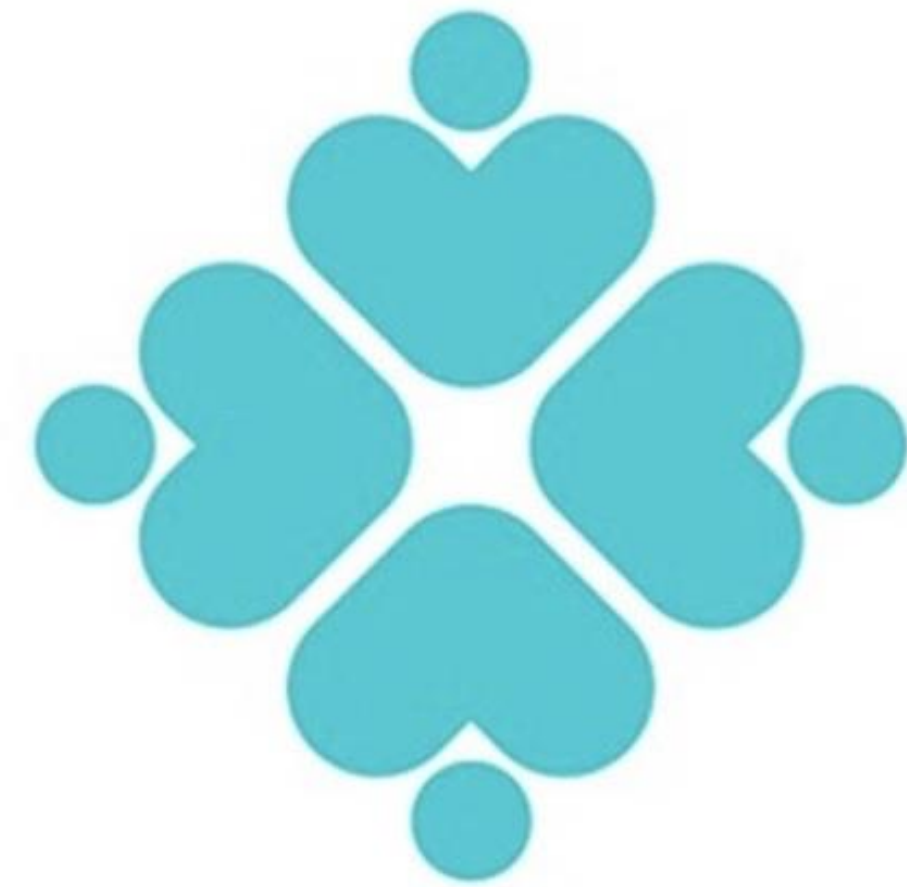
IMMIGRATION

## Middle Tennessee groups prepare for Afghan refugee arrivals

BY: DULCE TORRES GUZMAN - OCTOBER 25, 2021 5:00 AM



📷 Afghan-American residents of Nashville, photographed in 2021 during a rally to support the resettlement of Afghan refugees in the area. (Photo: John Partipilo)



Connecting  
Kindness

# Afghan Migration

**1979**

**Soviet  
Invasion of  
Afghanistan**

**2001**

**US War in  
Afghanistan**

**2009**

**SIV Program  
Created to  
Protect US  
Allies in  
Afghanistan  
and Iraq**

**2017-2020**

**First Trump  
Administration  
Greatly  
Reduced the  
Number of  
Refugees  
Permitted**

**2025-Present**

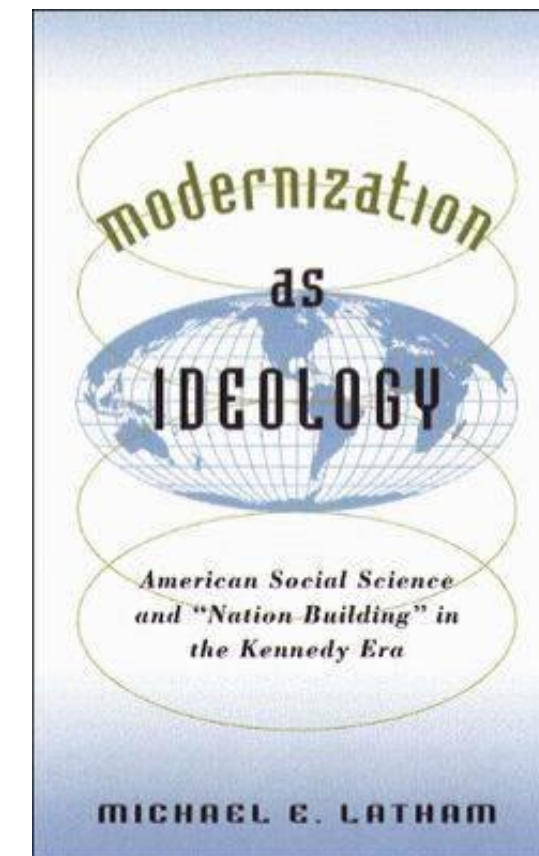
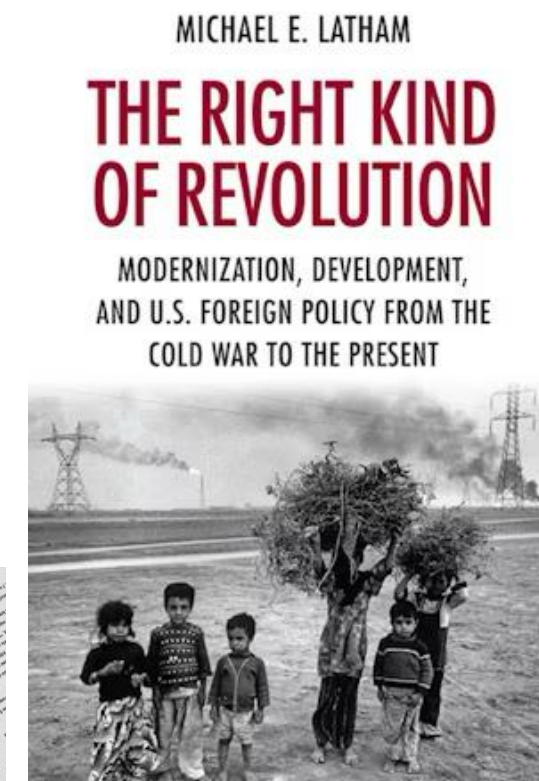
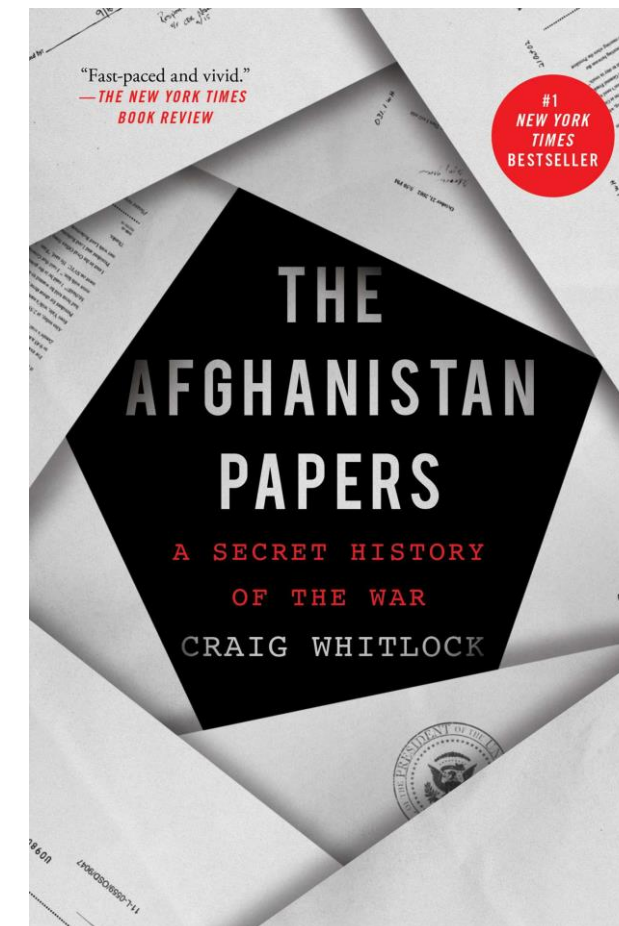
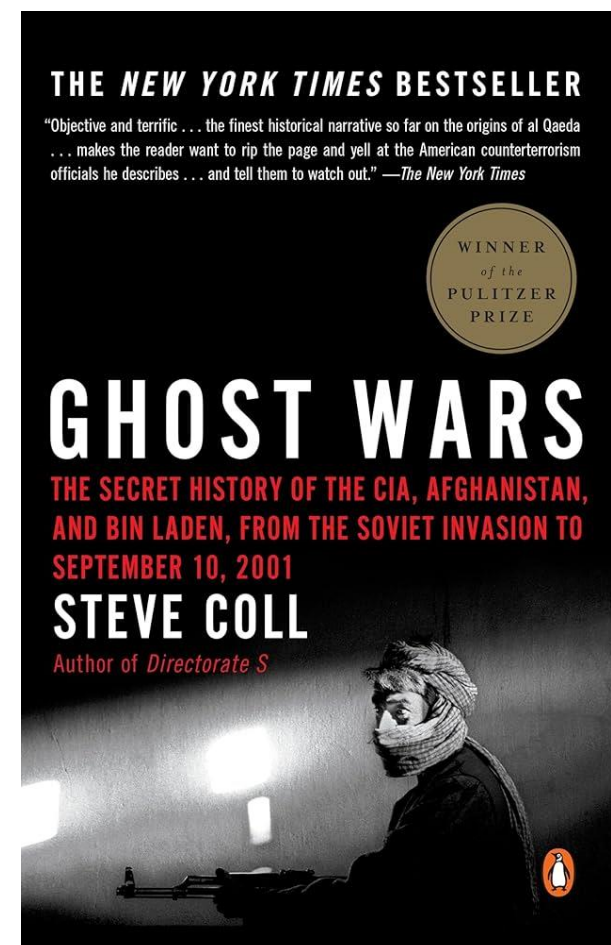
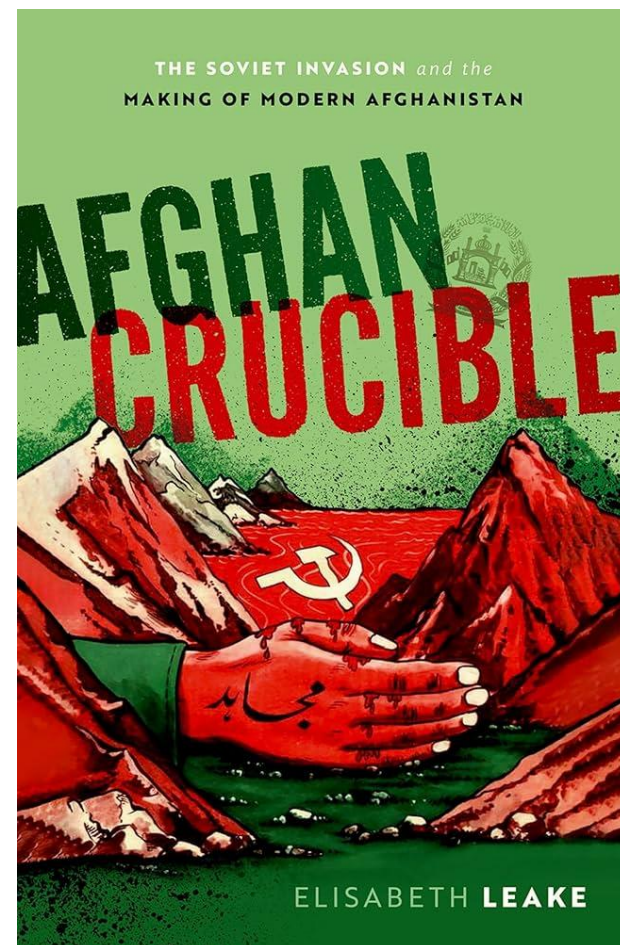
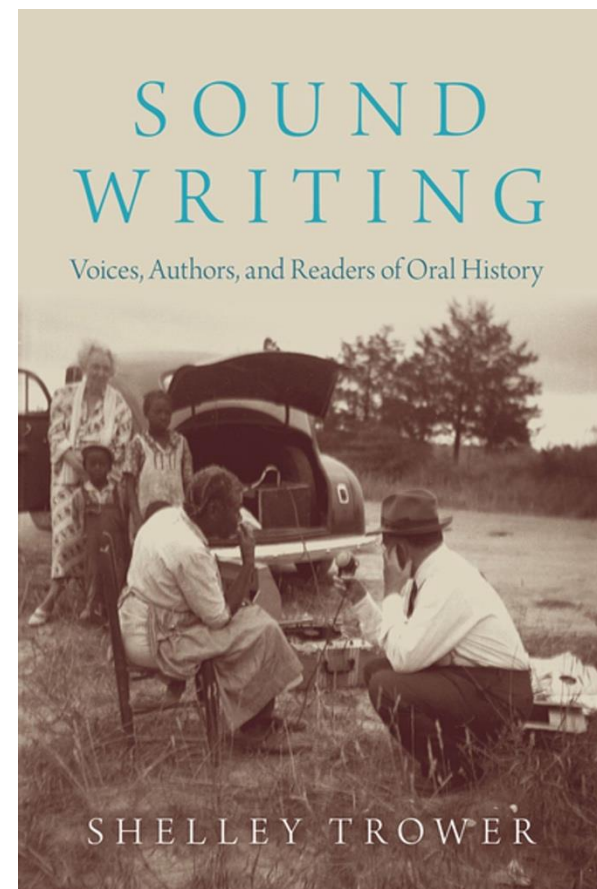
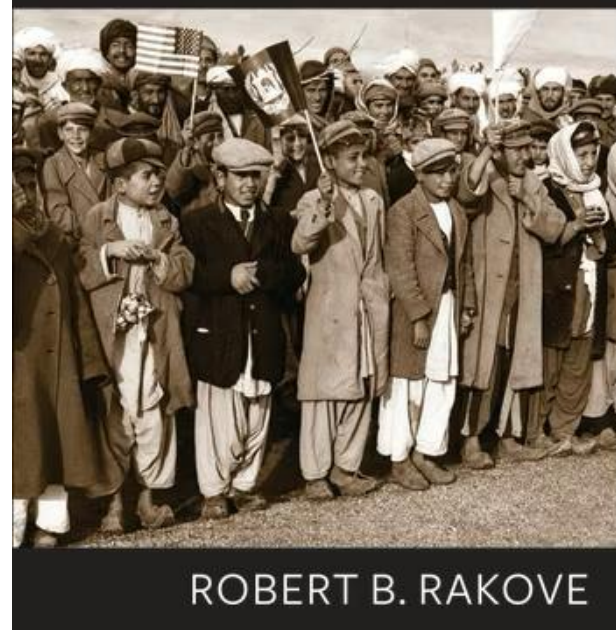
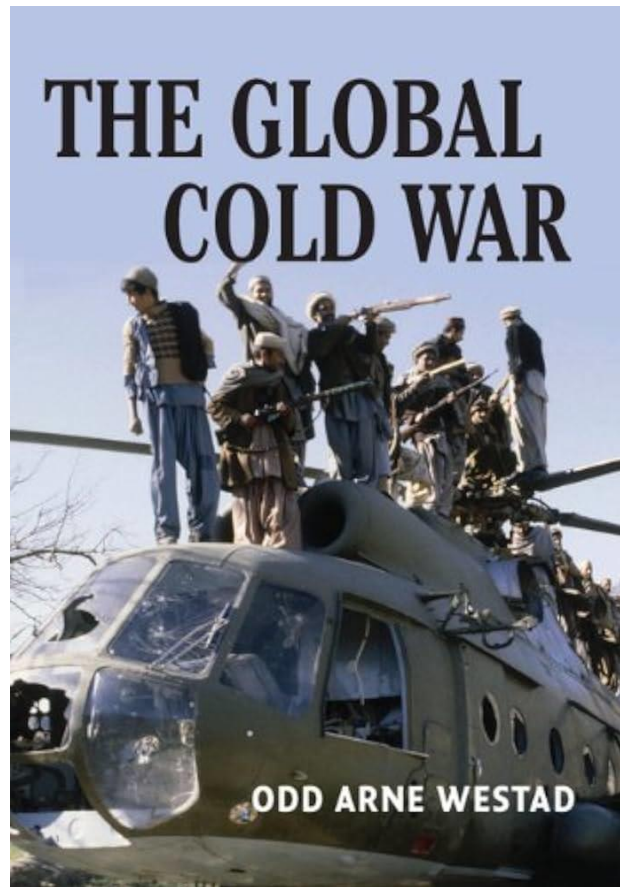
**Second Trump  
Administration  
Stopped all  
Migration from  
Afghanistan**

**Research**

**OR**

**Research**

# Historical Scholarship & Oral History Methodology



# GOV DOCUMENTS

**Snowflake**

March 28, 2002 7:21 AM

TO: Larry Di Rita  
CC: Col. Bucci  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Weekly Meeting on Afghanistan

Please see me about having a weekly meeting on Afghanistan. I am getting concerned that it is drifting.

Thanks.

DHR:dh  
032802-3

.....

Please respond by 03/29/02

*Annex 2-22*

*Afghanistan*

*Z Em 02*

U12235 /02

11-L-0559/OSD/10412

**snowflake**

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
Authority: EO 13526  
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
Date: SEP 22 2010

9:15 AM  
APRIL 17, 2002

**SECRET**

TO: Doug Feith  
cc: Paul Wolfowitz  
Gen. Dick Myers  
Gen. Pete Pace  
Doug Feith

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: **AFGHANISTAN**

I may be impatient. In fact I know I'm a bit impatient. But the fact that Iran and Russia have plans for Afghanistan and we don't concerns me. I keep getting an answer that "the Deputies are working on it." Well I can't believe that it takes that many months to figure it out.

If this were something DoD could do alone, we could get it done. Apparently it is not something that requires an interagency process. Once it goes into the interagency process, it sinks out of sight.

What do you propose we do? How do we get control of the levers so that we can influence what's going on? How do we decide what ought to happen, and then get all the military, diplomatic, humanitarian threats coming through the needle-head?

What do we do about finding out what [redacted] CIA EO 12958 1.4(c)<25Yrs

[redacted] What do we do about improving our influence in the South [redacted]

[redacted] We are never going to get the U.S. military out of Afghanistan unless we take care to see that there is something going on that will provide the stability that will be necessary for us to leave.

Help!

DHR/azn  
041502 096

**SECRET**

X04942 /03

Doc # 5 09-11-22-10

**SECRET**

October 30, 2001 2:51 PM

TO: Doug Feith  
FROM: Donald Rumsfeld *DR*  
SUBJECT: Strategy

Here are some edits to the "U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan." It is a pretty good paper. Please take a look at the additions and changes. Mark them in bold type, do your own edit, and then I want to send it to some folks.

Here is a draft memo to send it with to the Vice President with copies to Colin Powell, Condi Rice and George Tenet:

Attached is a revision of the paper entitled "U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan." It seems to me that it is useful to update this from time to time.

Thanks.

Attach.  
10/16/01 memo, "U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan"

DHR:dh  
103001-50

.....

Please respond by \_\_\_\_\_

**SECRET**

X02463 /02

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENT(S)  
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

Doc 1 09-11-22-10

# Newspapers & Magazines

TORA BORA BATTLE

## An Anti-Taliban Commander Says bin Laden's Top Aide Is Dead

By JOHN KIFNER and TIM WEINER

TORA BORA, Afghanistan, Dec 5 — A front-line anti-Taliban commander said today that Osama bin Laden's top aide, Ayman al-Zawahiri, had been killed during fierce fighting here.

"This morning I got the news from my commanders in the mountains," said the Afghan commander, Aleem Shah. "Zawahiri is dead." There was no independent means to verify this assertion, and military officials in Washington said they had no confirmation of his death.

Reports that Mr. Zawahiri might have been killed or injured by American bombing have circulated for several days, but the account from the front-line commander appeared one of the more credible. He said he had no information on any other deaths among Al Qaeda leaders.

Today, Afghan fighters began their first assault on Mr. bin Laden's mountain-top redoubt. The Afghans, advised by a small group of United States Special Operations troops operating near Jalalabad, fought a battle against Mr. bin Laden's Al Qaeda forces at Tora Bora, at the edge of snow-capped mountains cresting at Pakistan's border.

Snow has fallen steadily here, apparently making it impossible to use the mountain passes into Pakistan that might have provided Mr. bin Laden with one means of escape, if he was indeed in the area.

Mr. bin Laden and Dr. Zawahiri, who is credited with the organizational skill behind Al Qaeda's attacks on American targets, including the deadly Sept. 11 suicide hijackings, have been inseparable since 1988. That year, Al Qaeda formed an alliance with the group that Dr. Zawahiri had led since the late 1970's, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. From then on, Al Qaeda's attacks escalated in skill, secrecy and savagery.

The Afghan commanders directing today's attacks said Al Qaeda's days in hiding in the caves and canyons of Tora Bora were numbered. "Half of Tora Bora is under our control," said Commander Shah, directing fire from three Soviet P-56 tanks. "Upward in the higher ridges is Al Qaeda."

He directed his troops from a bluff looking south to Tora Bora, a jagged landscape of ridges rising from the Malava Valley and overlooked by the White Mountains. The ridges and the valley have been bombed repeatedly by the United States for five days. The mountain peaks can only be



Afghan fighters kept up a heavy barrage yesterday toward Tora Bora at the edge of the treacherous, snowbound mountains that border Pakistan.

traversed by foot or mules, and their passes into Pakistan, a network of old smugglers' trails, became snowbound Monday night.

It is uncertain whether Mr. bin Laden himself is hiding in the caves carved into the mountains here with the Central Intelligence Agency's help during the Afghans' war against the Soviets in the 1980's. Commander Shah's superior, Hazrat Ali, the security minister of the self-proclaimed government in this area, said Mr. bin Laden was last seen in Tora Bora on Friday, when American bombers began a series of night-and-day attacks on the hide-out.

Assisted by American B-52 bombers, whose payloads sent mushroom clouds of smoke and dust rising hun-

dreds of feet into the mountain air, the Afghans were using artillery and hundreds of foot soldiers to try to flush out some 2,000 fighters loyal to Mr. bin Laden.

The American bombing of Tora Bora has been aimed at forcing the Al Qaeda fighters into smaller groups whom the Afghan forces can engage in battle.

Some one thousand Afghan troops were at the front Tuesday night, said Hazrat Ali, the man military commander of the Eastern Shura, which overthrew local Taliban leaders 20 days ago. He said another 2,000 would be assembled for the fight against Al Qaeda at Tora Bora, which he described as "a wild kind of area."

The Afghans' strategy was appar-

ent at Tora Bora today. "We are trying to surround them," Commander Shah said. "There is no opportunity for them to cross into Pakistan. The passes are snowed in."

Mr. Ali, his superior, said: "We will follow our own strategy of guerrilla warfare. If we have to cut off their food and water, we will do that."

The chief intelligence officer for the region's anti-Taliban forces, Sohrab Qadri, added, "We have blocked all of the roads." "We have blocked the military traffic," he said. "The fighting today was fierce. Their resistance is hard, very tough."

The local Afghan forces took control of the road from Jalalabad, the provincial capital, to Tora Bora on Monday, after the American bombing of villages along the way. The bombing, which the United States aimed at Al Qaeda command and control centers, also hit civilian targets, villagers and independent witnesses said.

Since the fall of the Taliban, the foreigners who supported the former government and form the core of Al Qaeda have become the object of particular hatred for many Afghans, including the forces involved in the offensive here.

About twenty American Special Operations troops have been working in the Jalalabad area for about two weeks. They are not visible, but their number is increasing, as evidenced by two helicopter landings over the weekend, one carrying cargo, the other carrying men who hopped into eight light trucks provided by Mr. Ali, according to airport guards who witnessed the landings.

They are providing targeting information for American bombers and some strategic and tactical assistance to the Afghans, American military officials said.

Plumes of smoke from shells and bombs rose among the dark purple ridges at midday as a B-52 bomber passed over the mountains, its distinctive four contrails white against a flawless blue sky.

Commander Ali himself was seen at the head of a column of pickup

trucks, carrying rocket-propelled grenade launchers, racing up the bumpy dirt road southwest toward the front, past herds of camels and goats, past newly sown opium poppy fields and a sign reading, in English, "Welcome to a drug free (sic) Afghanistan."

In the other direction, headed north, villagers fleeing the bombing plodded toward Jalalabad with bedding, carpets, bags of clothing and bundles of firewood piled atop donkeys, their cattle sometimes blocking the military traffic.

Meanwhile, Commander Shah directed the battle by walkie-talkie. "We are trying our best to take them alive," he said. "We are trying to surround them. If we find them alive, well and good."

"But this is war, and we want to finish them," he added. Asked if he thought Mr. bin Laden was holed up in the caves of Tora Bora, Commander Shah replied: "We don't have complete confidence Osama is there. We are sure that Al Qaeda and the Arabs are."

And, he added, he was confident that Dr. Zawahiri had been killed. Dr. Zawahiri, 59, was a young surgeon in Cairo when he devoted his life to radical Islamic causes in the late 1970's. He became one of the world's most wanted terrorists.

American authorities believe he masterminded the Sept. 11 attacks on the United States.

In 1999, he was indicted in New York for the bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, which killed 224 people, including 12 Americans. He is under a death sentence in Egypt for his terrorist actions against the state.

His death, if true, would be a crippling blow to Al Qaeda. He is believed to have furnished much of the organizational skill that built Mr. bin Laden's organization into a kind of holding company for international terrorism. Al Qaeda's third-in-command, Muhammad Atef, was killed in American bombing raids outside Kabul.

## AFGHAN PREMIER SEES EISENHOWER

Begins 3-Day Visit to Capital With White House Lunch —U. S. Loan Expected

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24 — The Premier of Afghanistan, Prince Mohammed Daud, was entertained by President Eisenhower today at the start of a three-day official visit.

The President gave a White House luncheon in honor of the Premier of the neutral kingdom tucked between the Soviet Union, Iran and Pakistan.

An announcement of a United States loan to help develop Afghan railway communications with Pakistan will probably highlight the Premier's visit. This prosaic sounding project is significant in that it will reinforce Afghanistan's tenuous links with the free world.

Nearly all Afghanistan's commerce with the free world flows through Pakistan. But the railway line from the Pakistani port of Karachi now ends at the Afghan border.

From time to time political differences have led Pakistan to restrict Afghan transit, thereby forcing the Afghans to turn to the Soviet Union.

Geography Is a Topic

The railway project and the geographical situation that underlies Afghan neutrality were understood to have been topics of conversation at the White House luncheon and at a meeting between Secretary of State Dulles and the Premier at the State Department.

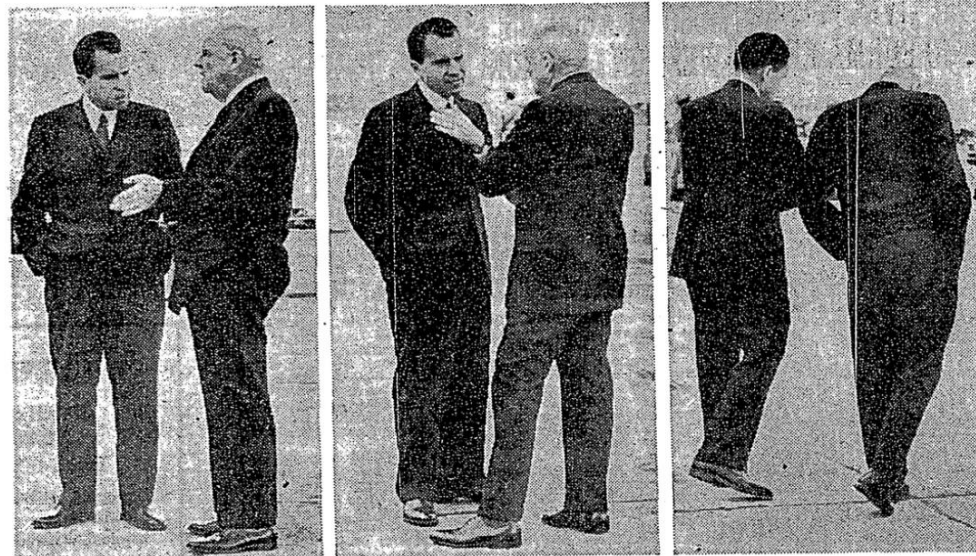
The reasons for Afghan neutrality are thoroughly appreciated here, State Department officials observed later.

Primitive Afghanistan was the first and most massive target of the Soviet efforts toward economic penetration of southern Asia that followed the death of Stalin in 1953. The Soviet Union paved the streets of Kabul, the Afghan capital, set up a municipal bakery and built gasoline storage tanks.

Then in December, 1955, after a visit by Nikita S. Khrushchev and Nikolai A. Bulganin, the Soviet Union extended to Afghanistan a \$100,000,000 line of credit. Of this credit, about \$25,000,000 has been committed for roads, irrigation, hydroelectric and airport projects.

About 500 Soviet technicians, including 100 who operate the Kabul bakery, have moved in with the projects. This is believed to be the largest number of Soviet technicians operating in any country outside the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has also been equipping Afghanistan's army of 35,000 to 40,000 men. Nonetheless, Afghanistan has



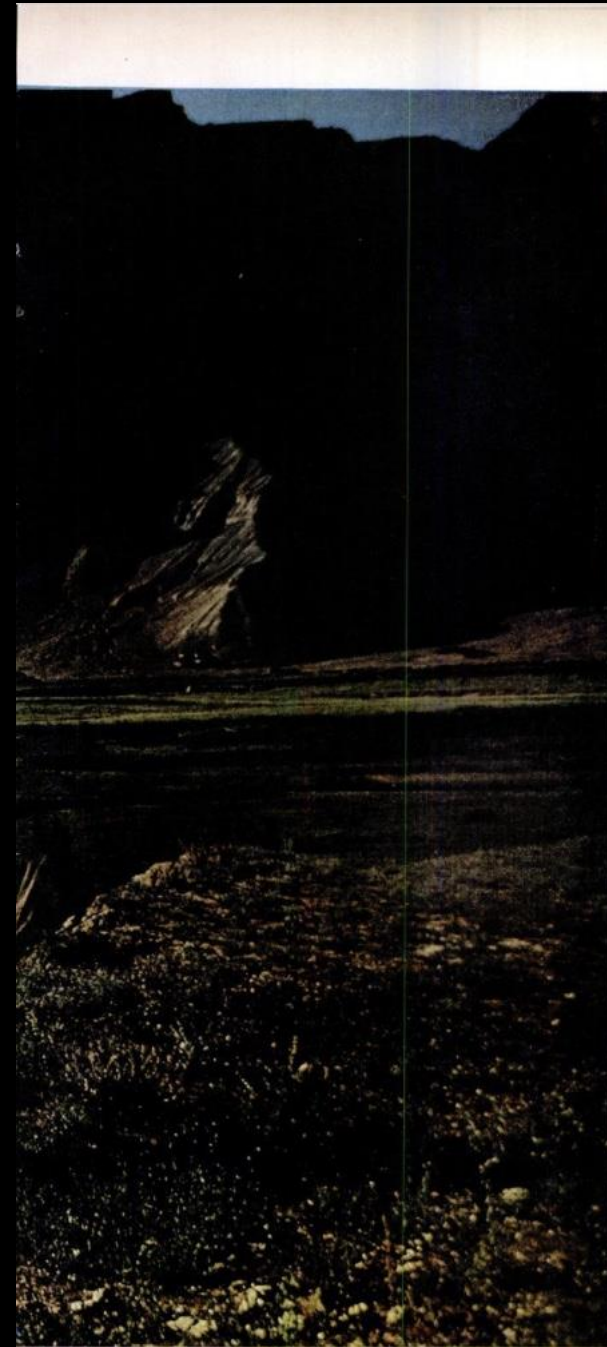
WITH TIME ON THEIR HANDS: Vice President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles confer apart from other officials waiting at Washington airport yesterday for the arrival of Prince Mohammed Daud, Premier of Afghanistan.

maintained her independence, including what State Department officials call a "wholesomely leery attitude toward the Soviet Union."

The United States, while not matching the Soviet line of credit, has maintained a steady flow of \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 a year in technical and other economic assistance.

This is in addition to two Export-Import Bank loans for development of the Helmand Valley—one for \$21,000,000 in 1947 and another for \$18,500,000 in 1954. The Helmand Valley project is being carried out by the Morrison-Knudson Construction Company, which has built roads and storage dams.

Afghan officials accompanying the Premier made the point today that their country was more interested in completing existing projects than in starting new ones.



running over them. They possibly got their name, which means "Hindu killer," because in the past many Indian slaves apparently died in transport across them.

## ASIA'S RUGGED BUFFER

U.S. tries to keep Afghanistan from sliding into Soviet orbit

Photographed for LIFE by DAVID DOUGLAS DUNCAN

It was these precipitous mountains (left) and the ancestors of this Afghan horseman which first had to be overcome when the great Asian conquerors, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, centuries ago drove toward the rich prize of India. Today it is still the wild and rugged barrier land of Afghanistan that the Russians must coerce in order to gain for their influence a natural passage into India. The British, who for over a century kept the country a buffer between their empire and Russia's, are no longer in India to stop them. Now the job of seeing that Afghanistan remains a buffer state between the Soviet Union and southern Asia has largely fallen to the U.S.

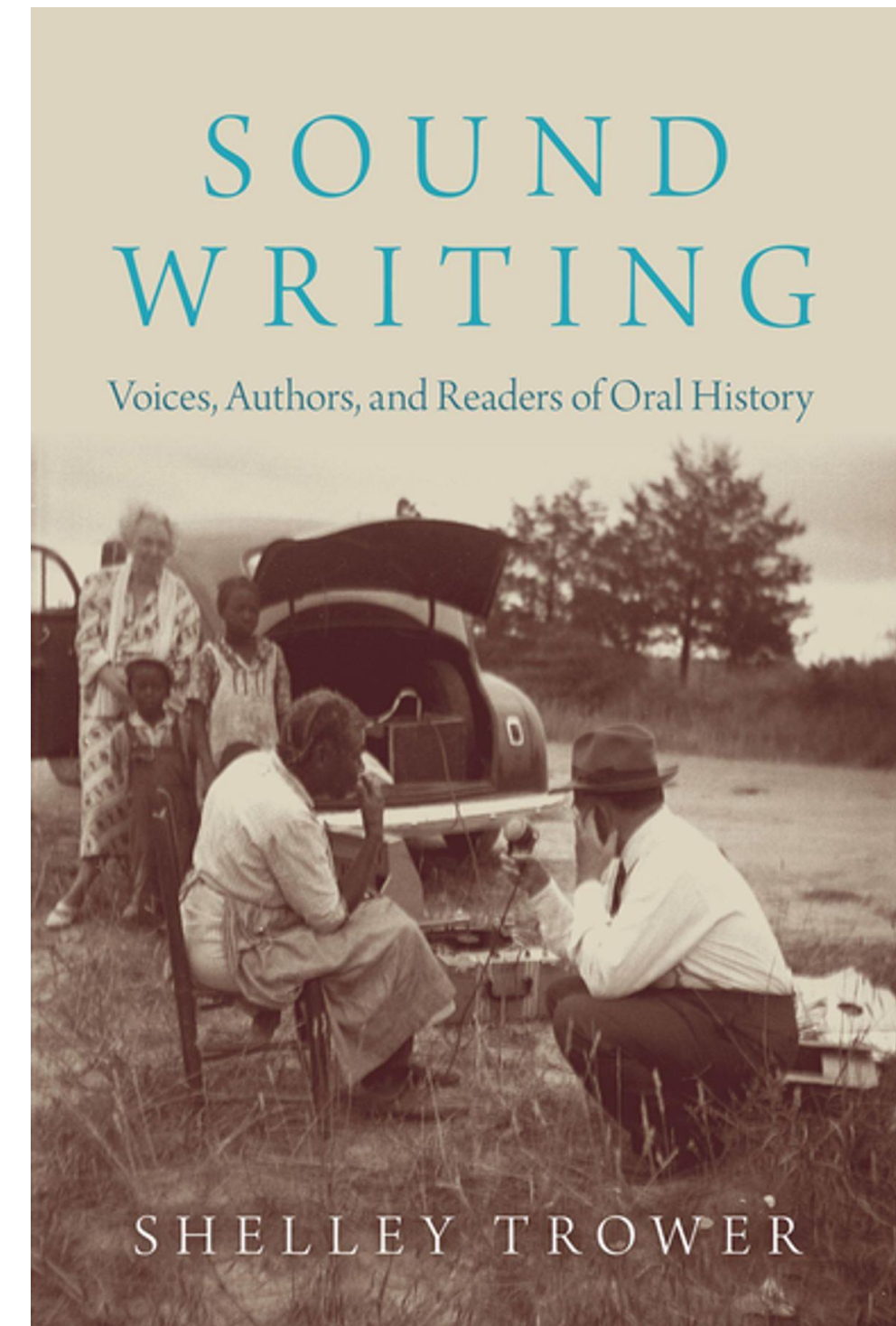
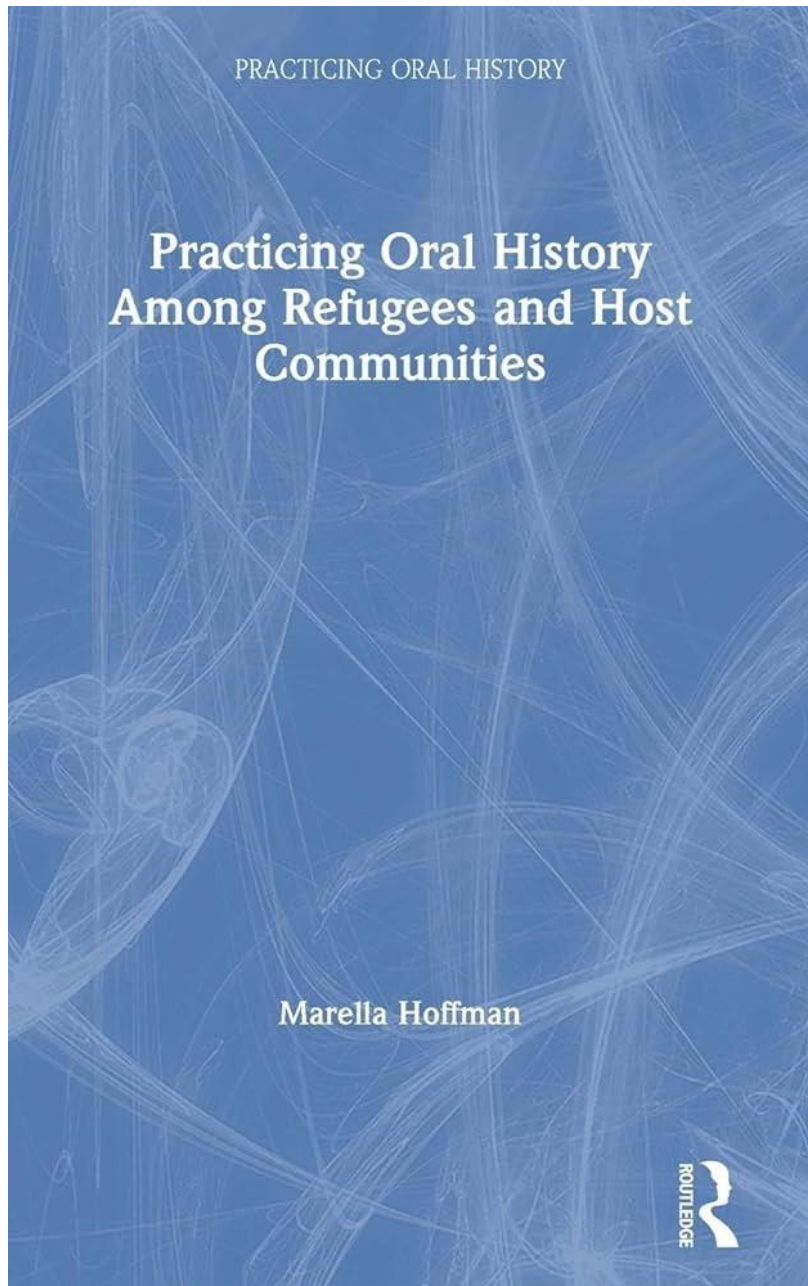
The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Afghanistan during World War II and since then has invested some \$50 million in its development. But from 1953 on, when a neutralist faction took over the Afghan government, Soviet influence has risen. Bulganin and Khrushchev went there in 1955, granted a \$100 million loan and lured the Afghans in their border feud with Pakistan, an issue on which the U.S. has tried to be impartial but now tends to support Pakistan through SEATO.

How the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. woo Afghanistan and how the Afghans themselves live amidst the double courtship is shown on the following pages. The 12 million Afghans, who are Moslems, range over an almost undeveloped country about the size of Texas. They have no railroads, few good roads, some scattered airfields. Their government is feudal and despotic. And many of the tribesmen, nomadic herders or farmers when at peace, have a mountaineer passion for robbery and rebellion that makes Afghanistan's orderly progress as unpredictable as its critical part in the East-West contest for Asia.

CONTINUED

Eastern Shura Afghan troops, which defeated the Taliban last month, watched yesterday as United States planes continued their day-and-night bombing of Tora Bora, where Osama bin Laden's forces are holding out. Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# Oral Histories



“Families are broken. You know, the deal was, which a lot of times happened, the daddies came first. “Let me get the apartment, let's get all settled in, and then send for you in a month or two.” And that just didn't happen.” –

”Sarah”

“I can go to school. I can improve my education. I have the right to go to like work... And living in here is hard, but the good thing is you have the right to talk, you have the right to go to school, and you have the right to like work, which right now, my country

doesn't have.” – “Lima”

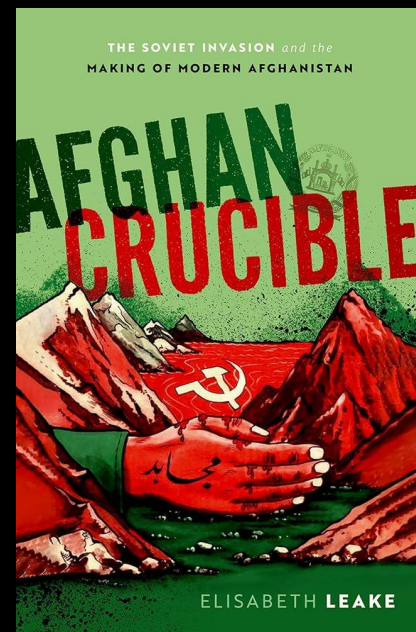
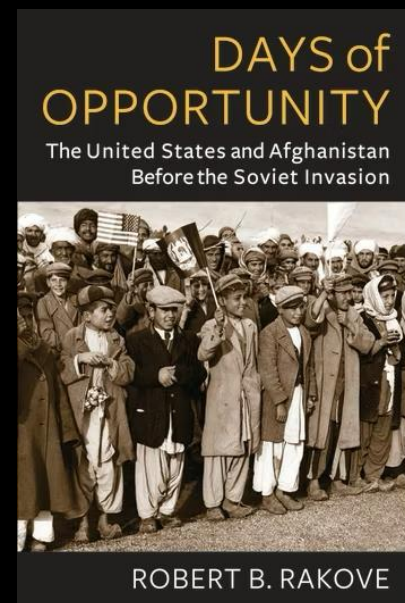
**Findings**

**30**

**Findings**

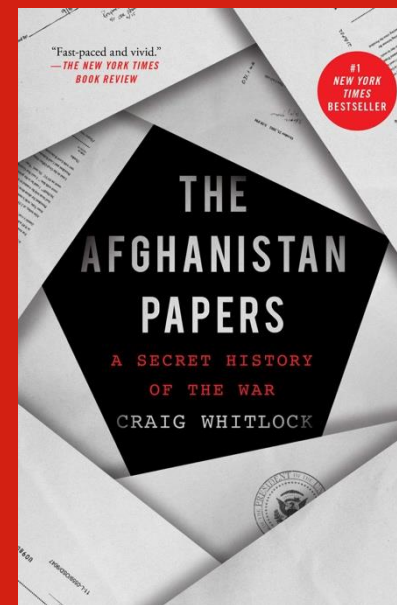
# Research Papers

## Pursuing Modernity



A comparison of modern scholarship on US and Soviet development projects in Afghanistan from 1950 to 1989. What does it mean to be modern?

## The Battle of Tora Bora



An analysis of the disconnect between the US government and press in their coverage of the Battle of Tora Bora (2001).

## US Development in Afghanistan



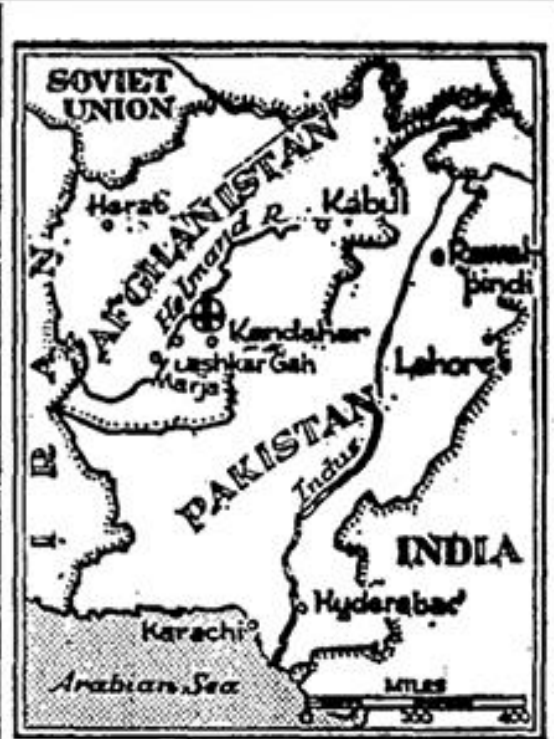
A comparison of the Helmand Valley Authority and the Kabul-Kandahar highway to illustrate how US development in Afghanistan changed (or didn't change) overtime.

# Helmand Valley Authority

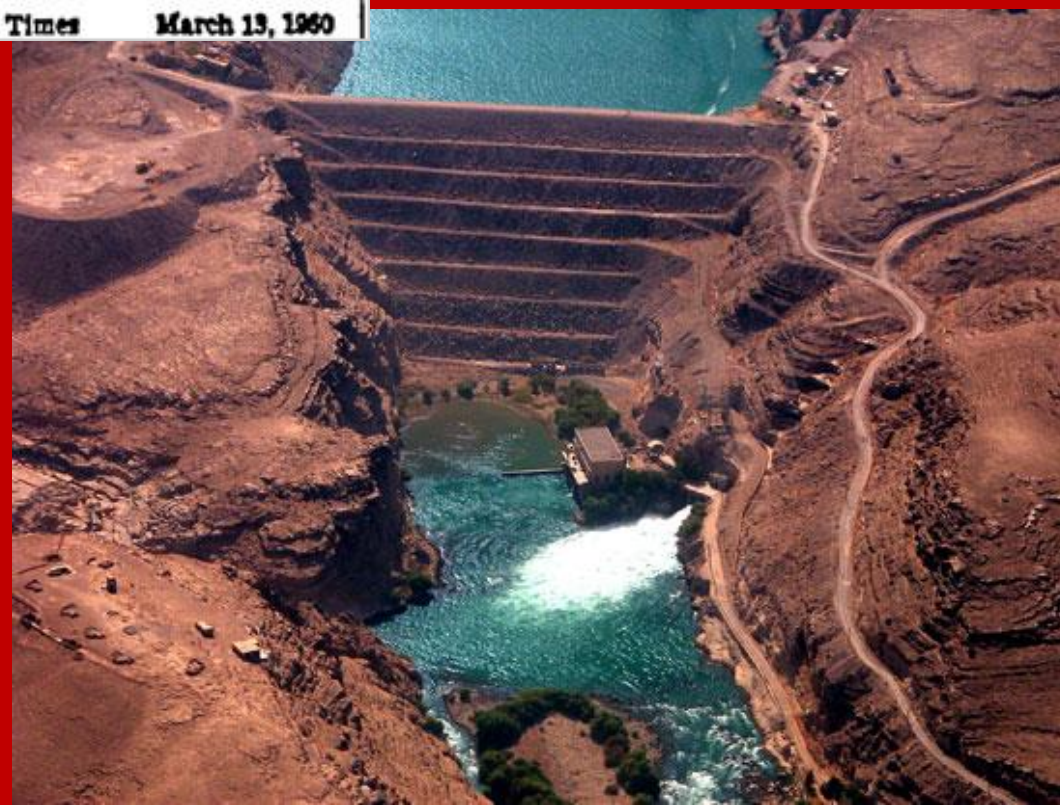
## MISTAKES BESET AFGHAN PROJECT

Helmand Valley Work, Which  
U. S. Is Aiding, Lags Badly  
—Fund Lack a Factor

Special to The New York Times.  
LASHKAR GAH, Afghanistan,  
Feb. 29—There is hope in  
the upper Helmand Valley, but  
also frustration and a tinge of  
despair.



The New York Times March 13, 1960



# Kabul-Kandahar Highway



**THANK YOU**