July 6, 2021  Bagram Airfield, one of the U.S.’s largest military installations, is evacuated. At this point the U.S. withdrawal is nearly complete, making evacuation of the majority of Afghan interpreters and their families who are at risk impossible.

August 2021  The Taliban begins to take over provinces and cities once again.

**FINAL UNITED STATES WITHDRAWAL**

August 15, 2021  Kabul falls to the Taliban. President Ashraf Ghani is forced to leave Afghanistan, and the U.S. evacuates its embassy. The Taliban promises to create an inclusive government based on Shari’a law while maintaining access for embassies and aid agencies. Although promises are also made to protect women’s rights to work and receive education, no concrete efforts are undertaken to carry them out.

August 26, 2021  Two suicide bombings near the Kabul airport, where Americans are evacuating, result in the deaths of 13 U.S. servicemembers and 179 Afghans.


The Future of Afghanistan

**MARCH 25, 2022**

*A symposium hosted by the Center for Comparative Legal Studies and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, the Reves Center for International Studies, and the National Center for State Courts*
Speakers

General David H. Petraeus
Former Commander of U.S. and ISAF Forces in Afghanistan; Former Commander of U.S. Central Command and Former Director, Central Intelligence Agency

General Petraeus is one of the most prominent U.S. military leaders of the post-9/11 era. He has been described as a leading warrior-intellectual and one of the great battle captains in American military history. Following his military service, he served as Director of the CIA. He is now a Partner with the global investment firm KKR and Chairman of the KKR Global Institute, which he established in 2013.

Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker
Six-term U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Kuwait, and Lebanon

Ryan Crocker is a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was a career Foreign Service Officer who served six times as an American Ambassador. He serves on the Board of Advisors of No One Left Behind, an NGO dedicated to ensuring that America keeps its promises to Afghans and Iraqis who risked their lives to support us.

Dr. Sima Simar
Chairperson, AIHRC; former Vice President of Interim Administration of Afghanistan and first Minister of Women’s Affairs

A Nobel Peace Prize nominee, Dr. Samar has dedicated her life to public service, humanitarian work and women’s empowerment. Since 2002 she has been the Chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). Alongside this, she is the Chairperson of the Commission for the Prevention of Torture and was the Chairperson of the Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions (APF).

September 2009  General Stanley H. McChrystal’s report on the urgent need for an additional 30,000-40,000 troops is leaked, making inroads by the Taliban clear and suggesting their ouster in 2001 was a setback instead of a defeat. Obama commits another 30,000 troops and sets July 2011 as the beginning of troop drawdown.

May 1, 2011  Osama bin Laden is killed by U.S. forces in Pakistan, leading to increased demands for a more dramatic drawdown of troops.

June 2011  Obama announces a plan to withdraw 33,000 troops by summer 2012 as American disapproval of the continued war effort increases. Many of the remaining troops are scheduled to remain in Afghanistan through 2014.

January 2012  The Taliban reaches an agreement with the U.S. and Afghanistan to open an office in Qatar where peace talks can be held.

March 2012  The Taliban backs out of peace talks, claiming the U.S. reneged on promises of a prisoner swap.

June 2013  Afghan forces begin to take leadership of security duties across the country. U.S. and NATO forces shift to training Afghan forces.

March 2014  U.S. General Joseph Dunford tells the Senate Armed Services Committee that capacity of Afghan security forces will almost certainly deteriorate as soon as the U.S. withdraws.

March 2015  Obama announces that 9,800 troops will remain in Afghanistan through 2015; they stay through the end of 2016 as the Taliban threat increases.

August 2017  President Donald Trump announces the U.S. will take a new approach to withdrawal.

UNITED STATES BEGINS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE TALIBAN

July 2018  Trump authorizes U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad to negotiate directly with the Taliban. This meets a basic Taliban demand and weakens the Afghan government’s bargaining position.

February 2020  Trump and the Taliban sign the Doha Agreement calling for a full withdrawal from Afghanistan by May 1, 2021.

September 2020  The Afghan government and the Taliban convene to hold peace talks but little comes of them.

April 14, 2021  President Joe Biden announces that all troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan by September 11.
TALIBAN AND AL-QAEDA LEADERS FLEE TO PAKISTAN

November 13, 2001  The U.S.-backed Northern Alliance reaches Kabul, forcing the Taliban to flee the city and effectively ending its rule. Kandahar and five other southern provinces fall on December 9.

December 2001  The Bonn Agreement establishes an interim Afghan government to stabilize the nation until a permanent government can be formed. The Taliban surrenders control of Kandahar and collapses; al-Qaeda continues to operate out of Pakistan. The UN Security Council establishes the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to assist the government transition.

June 2002  The Loya Jirga, an emergency Grand Assembly assembled pursuant to the Bonn Agreement, elects U.S.-backed Hamid Karzai as President of the Afghan Transitional Administration to lead the country until the first presidential election in 2004.

May 1, 2003  U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld states that major combat in Afghanistan has ended, claiming Western forces are moving away from combat activity and towards a period of stabilization and reconstruction.

August 2003  NATO assumes control of ISAF, expanding its presence and role in Afghanistan. Over the next three years, ISAF grows to approximately 65,000 troops.

January 2004  Afghanistan’s Loya Jirga adopts a new national constitution.

October 2004  Karzai wins the first presidential election.

May 2005  Bush and Karzai issue a joint declaration establishing a strategic partnership between the U.S. and Afghanistan. The U.S. is granted access to Afghan military facilities in exchange for arming and training Afghan security forces.

September 2005  Afghanistan holds first parliamentary elections.

THE TALIBAN RETURNS TO AFGHANISTAN

2006  The Taliban and al-Qaeda begin to reemerge. The Taliban begins reclaiming territory in southern Afghanistan. ISAF takes over for U.S. troops in the south.

February 2009  President Barack Obama pledges approximately 17,000 additional troops to Afghanistan with the expectation that U.S. forces will leave the country by 2011. He also pledges more training for the country and assistance for Pakistan in the hope of extinguishing al-Qaeda.

August 2009  Presidential election is held; results are disputed amid allegations of fraud. Karzai wins reelection.

Alissa Johannsen Rubin

Pulitzer Prize-winning New York Times Senior Foreign Correspondent

Alissa Johannsen Rubin has spent more than 20 years reporting overseas in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, Pakistan and in Europe. She started covering Afghanistan in 2001 for the Los Angeles Times, making her first visit to the country with the Taliban before they were ousted by the United States and its allies. In 2016, she won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting for her project about the treatment of women in Afghanistan.

Mohammad Masoom Stanekzai

Former Chief Peace Negotiator of the Islamic Republic and former Chief of National Directorate of Security, Afghanistan

Mr. Stanekzai is the former Chief Peace Negotiator of the Islamic Republic. Prior to that he served as Chief of (NDS), Acting Minister of Defense, Head of the Joint Secretariat of High Peace Council, deputy to the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (DDR). In addition, he was responsible for the disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups (DIAG). Mr. Stanekzai has also served as Minister of Telecommunication and as one of the first members of the Human Rights Commission.

Symposium Chair

Christie S. Warren

Professor of the Practice of International and Comparative Law at William & Mary Law School and Director, Center for Comparative Legal Studies and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding
### Afghanistan: A Timeline

#### AFGHANISTAN BECOMES A COUNTRY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Afghans defeat the British in the third British – Afghan War. Afghanistan becomes an independent nation under the leadership of Amir Amanullah Khan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Amanullah declares Afghanistan a monarchy – as opposed to an emirate – and declares himself King. He starts a broad modernization program, limiting the power of the centuries old Loya Jirga, (Council of Elders), which had decided major issues for the country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Amanullah is deposed and replaced by King Zahir Shah, who remains on the throne for 40 years, giving Afghanistan a period of relative peace and openness to the rest of the world.</td>
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#### SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND INSURGENT OPPOSITION

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>General Mohammed Daoud Khan, a pro-Soviet cousin of King Zahir Shah, becomes Prime Minister and looks to the Soviet Union for economic and military aid. He also introduces reforms that begin to allow women to participate in life outside their homes.</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>Prime Minister Khan overthrows the King in a coup and creates the role of President. The country looks increasingly towards the Soviet Union.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Prime Minister Khan is killed in a coup, initiating a period of instability. Three important policy changes become clear: (1) Afghan Communist party leaders continue reforms bringing women into the public sphere, educating them and allowing them to enter professional life; (2) A guerilla movement resistant to those reforms begins in the countryside, bringing together tribal leaders and pro-Islamic actors; and (3) An armed Mujahideen movement forms in opposition to Soviet influences.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The Soviet Army enters Afghanistan, fueling additional opposition by religious and tribal leaders and attracting the support of Islamic Mujahideen fighters as well as anti-Soviet actors, including Americans.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Osama bin Laden makes his first documented trip to Afghanistan to aid anti-Soviet Mujahideen fighters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 1986</td>
<td>Mohammad Najibullah, a pro-Soviet politician long active in the Communist party, becomes President.</td>
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#### BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA BEGIN TO ARM THE MUJAHIDEEN VIA PAKISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 1988</td>
<td>Soviet troops begin withdrawing from Afghanistan after Geneva Accords are signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan with the U.S. and Soviet Union signing as guarantors. The last Soviet troops leave in early 1989, although the Soviets continue to fund the Communist government of Najibullah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 16, 1992</td>
<td>Najibullah is ousted from power by the Mujahideen. (Four years later, when the Taliban enter Kabul, he is tortured and murdered, his body hung from a lamppost.) The Afghan Mujahideen appoints Burhanuddin Rabbani as President, but internal divisions lay the groundwork for civil war.</td>
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#### CIVIL WAR

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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Mujahideen groups begin fighting each other, taking over parts of Kabul, each using different neighborhoods as a base and each holding strong influence in different parts of the country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>The Taliban emerges and begins to take over Afghan territories with the promise of restoring order and security.</td>
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<td>May 1996</td>
<td>Osama bin Laden, who had previously fought with the Mujahideen against the Soviets and led al-Qaeda for over a decade, enters Afghanistan and establishes friendly relations with the Taliban.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1996</td>
<td>The Taliban take over Kabul, executing Najibullah the following day. By 1998, the Taliban has achieved effective control of Afghanistan. Only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE officially recognize the Taliban.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 15, 1999</td>
<td>The UN Security Council creates the al-Qaeda and Taliban Sanctions Committee, identifying both as terrorist organizations and imposing sanctions on both.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 7, 2001</td>
<td>United States-led Operation Enduring Freedom begins with a bombing campaign by U.S. and British forces against al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Ground forces invade shortly thereafter. The operation has full NATO support and approval from the United Nations.</td>
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