

Deadly Embrace

War, distance and intimacy

Trevor Paglen, Untitled (Reaper drone) 2010



*Tech. Sgt. Chas Chisholm, MQ-9 Reaper, Kandahar
2010*

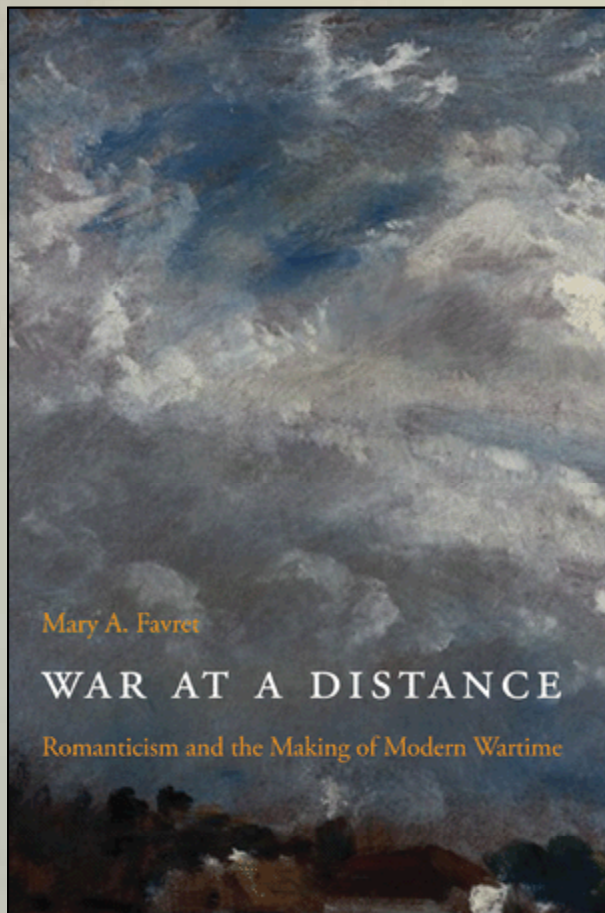




Mary A. Favret

WAR AT A DISTANCE

Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime



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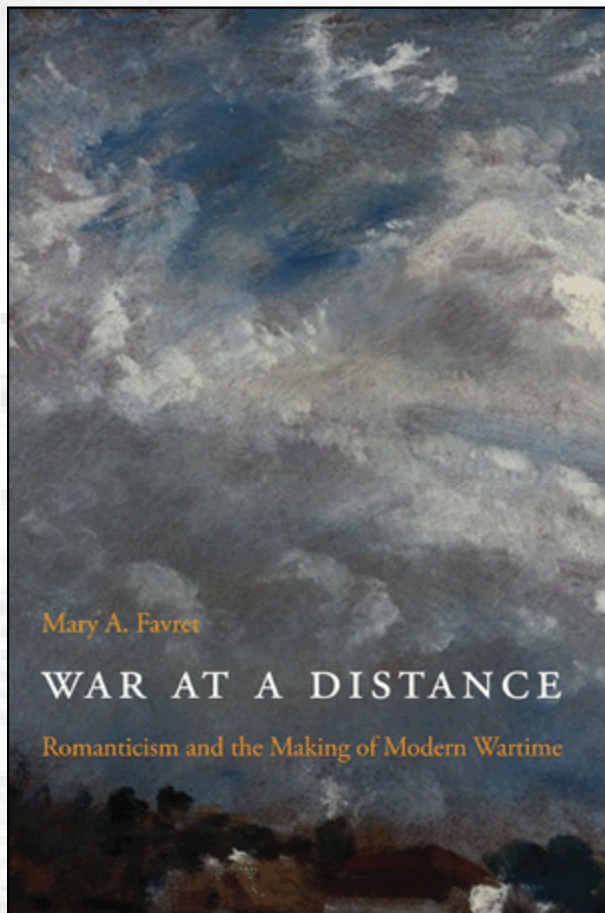
Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime



‘Enumerations of world wars ... do not typically begin with the wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century... Despite the fact that they comprehended armed conflict not only in Europe, but in Africa, Asia and the Americas; despite the fact that they worried waters from the Philippine Islands to the Indian Ocean, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, from the English Channel westward to Chesapeake Bay and Gulf of Mexico: nonetheless these wars are thought not to encompass the world. And yet, unlike the earlier Seven Years’ War, which could boast a comparable geographical reach, **these wars from their revolutionary beginning were unequivocally addressed to the world.’**

‘The very idea of a world war, as it emerged in this period, poses anew ... the question of our modern intimacy with and response to the suffering stranger who, though seen perhaps fleetingly and at a distance, nevertheless comes almost daily into our homes.’

Gudin, Naval battle in Chesapeake Bay



A landscape of affect: ‘How does war become part of the barely registered substance of our everyday?’

The (re) production of modern wartime: ‘Distant war unsettled basic temporal experiences’ through ‘the felt distance from crucial events, the limits of knowledge in a mediated culture, the temporal gaps in the transmission of wartime information, and ... the difficulty of finding sounds or forms to which feeling can attach itself.’ Thus ‘**a mediated relationship to distant violence.**’

The dialectic of ‘eventfulness’ and ‘eventlessness’: the regular arrival of news imparted a structuring rhythm to wartime, an episodic temporality of ‘punctuated eventfulness’, but this ‘created simultaneously a sense of living **in the meantime**’, waiting for news of events that had already happened but of which the public knew nothing.



A contrapuntal reading: Around the arrival of the post-boy ‘pools the meantime of war, a temporality of eventlessness and as-yet-unacknowledgeable feeling.... The meantime is this other, **nearly unreadable** version of war.’



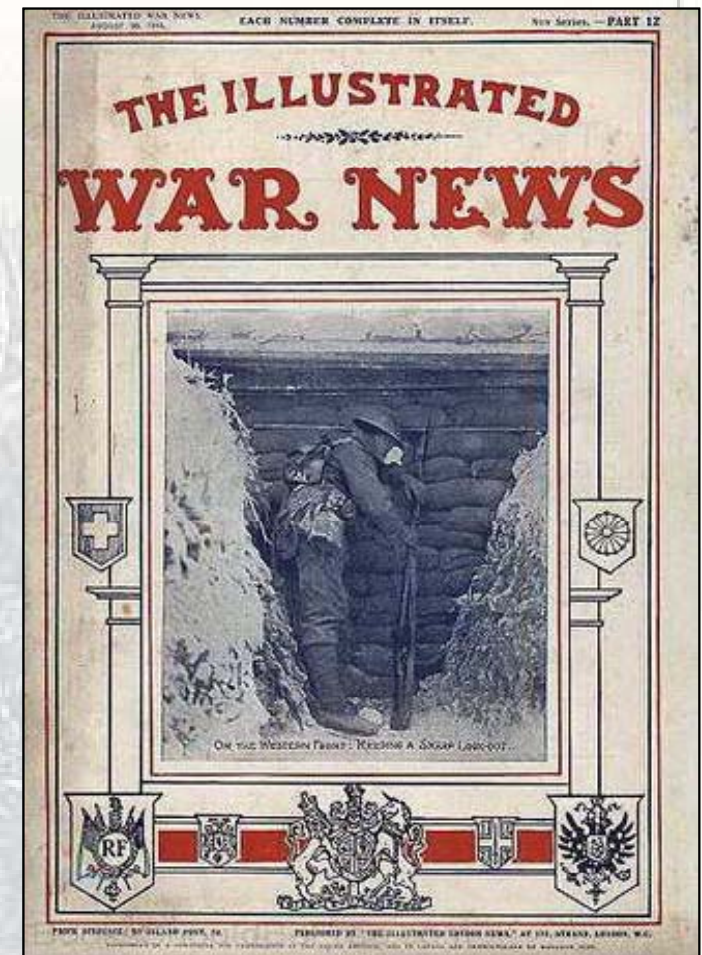
**‘Distant violence becomes at once strange
and familiar, intimate and remote, present
and yet not really here.’**

*‘In the shadows of the cozy parlor, in
unaccounted noises and echoes, in glimpses
and flickers of hardly recognized figures, **the
meantime** abides. It **unsettles the distance**
separating a poet [the reference is to Cowper’s
“Winter Evening”] by the fire **from a world
outside, from unsheltered night and
suffering.**’*

THE ILLUSTRATED WAR NEWS



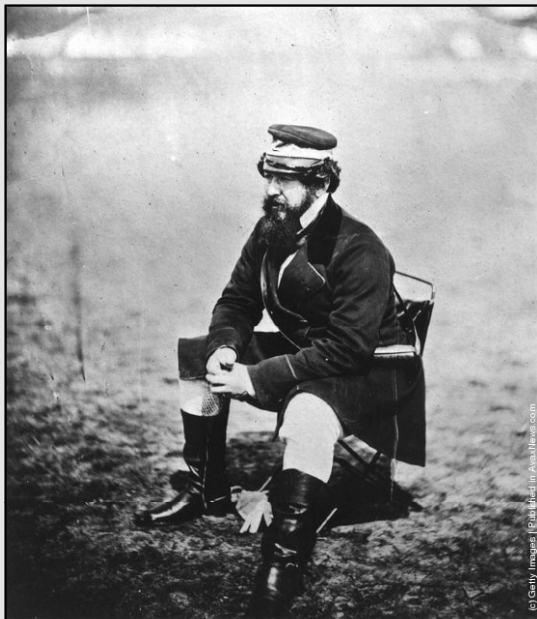
1: Information



War and the public sphere

In contrast to Habermas, Favret reminds us that the emergence of the public sphere in eighteenth-century Britain involved more than spaces of rational articulation – hence the appeal to affect – but the response to distant violence was increasingly also a matter of **report, comment and debate**, which allows more formal calibrations of ‘eventfulness’.

It is important to read not only poetry and other art-works but also the mundane prose of the press.



For modern wartime is also produced in part by the **war correspondent** and his successors.

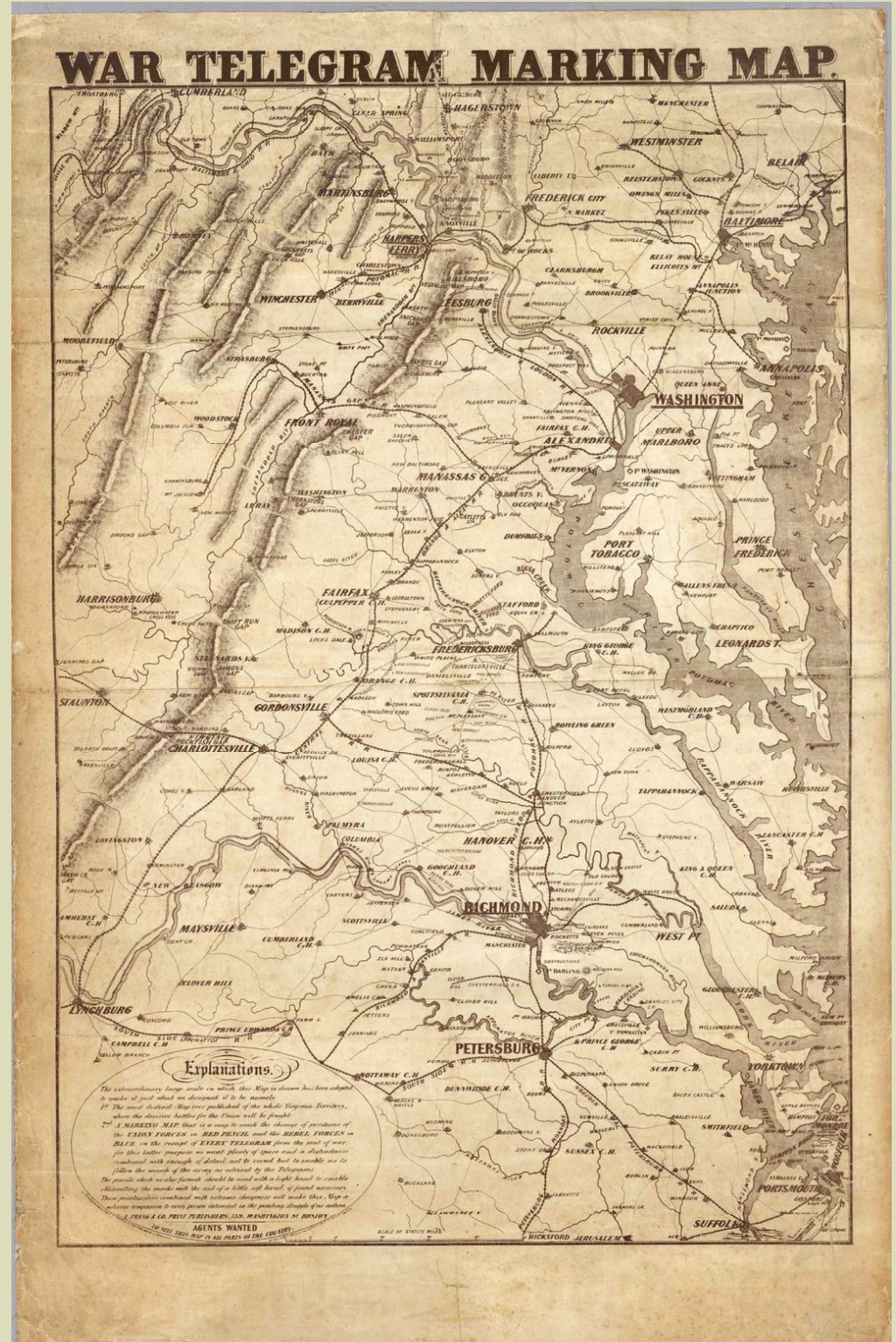


'The first telegraph war'

Designed by Louis Prang in 1862, six editions of this map were sold through news-stands:

'Prang was responding to the public's desire not just for news, but the immediacy of "telegraphed" news. Unlike other battle maps which were issued after the fact, his was designed to follow the march in real time. He issued colored pencils — blue for Confederate forces, red for Union — to mark the advances, retreats and clashes that would be regularly reported by telegraph in any newspaper throughout the Union home front. Rather than waiting for maps to be issued after the battles, Prang enabled the viewer to track the invasion as it unfolded, with both victories but also terrible defeats and missed opportunities.'

Susan Schulten



War and the public sphere

Like Habermas, Favret focuses on the (trans)formation of a public sphere that is **national** - and war at a distance certainly had a particular and peculiar significance for British public culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The nation had been involved in multiple military adventures around the world but had not faced military violence within its shores since 1745.

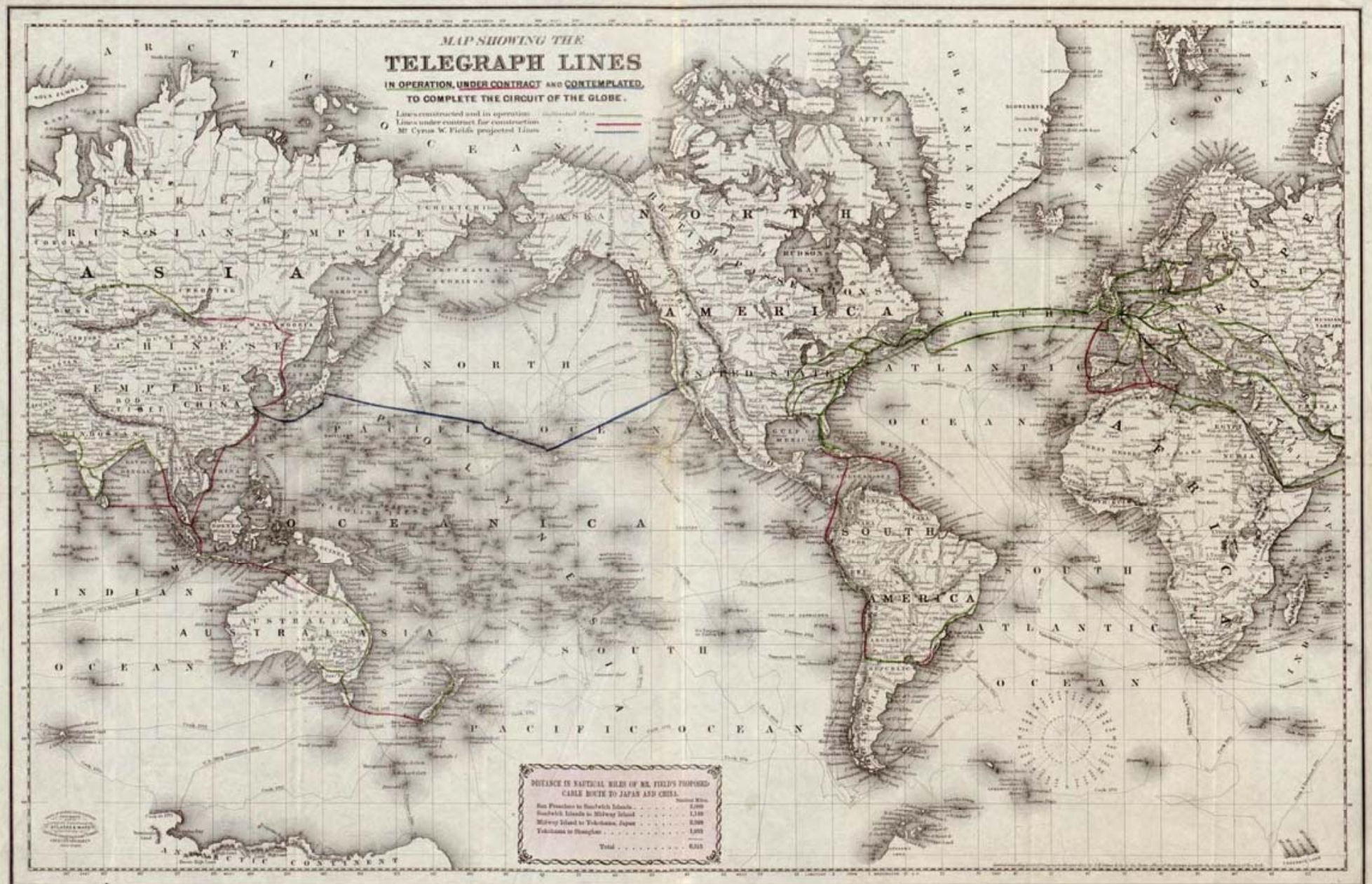
'It has been our peculiar privilege through the whole of this unprecedented war to triumph over our enemies without ever seeing them without any exposure of our personal security, without any interruption of our domestic quiet, while a great part of Europe has experienced all the horrors of War, while its cities have been sacked and its field drenched with blood...'

An appeal to the head and heart of every man and woman in Great Britain, respecting the threatened French invasion.... (London, 1798)

But public culture, and with it the awareness of 'war at a distance', was increasingly (trans)formed through the emergence of a **transnational** public sphere that, from Morse's successful demonstration of the telegraph in 1844, was in part an electric sphere.

Time-space compression

Wartime and news time



The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871

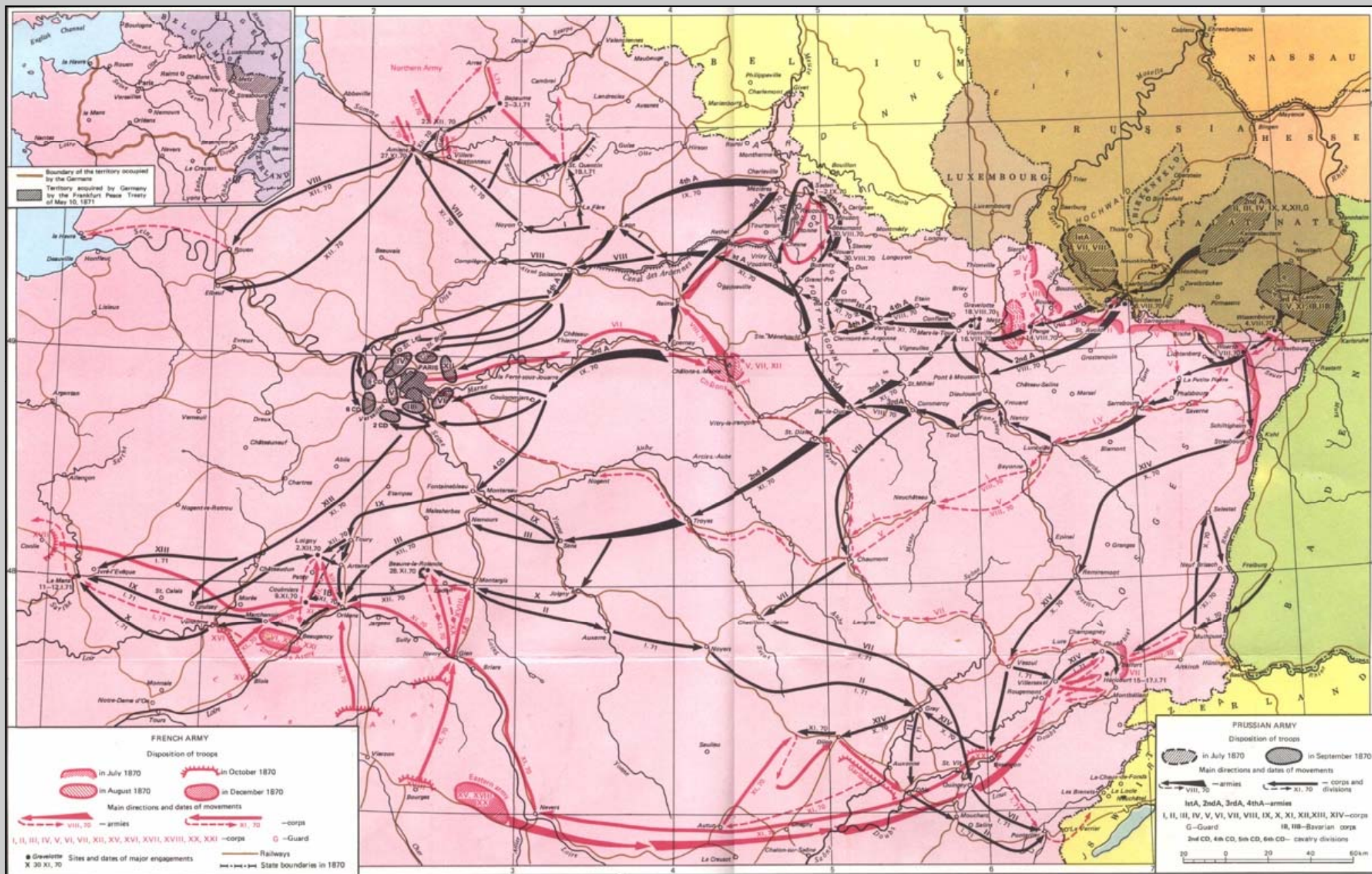
‘The rapid progress of events ... is one of the most striking phases of modern warfare. The long delays of former times do not now task the patience of the world. The change of scene still reveals the rapid action of the stage. Towards the 8th of July the world becomes aware of a quarrel. By the 16th war is declared. In sixteen days more an immense slaughter on both sides reveals the dreadful nature of the conflict. By the 5th of September Napoleon surrenders himself as a prisoner of war, a Republic is proclaimed and every power of the state is centred in a provisional Government.’

Sydney Morning Herald, 26 September 1870

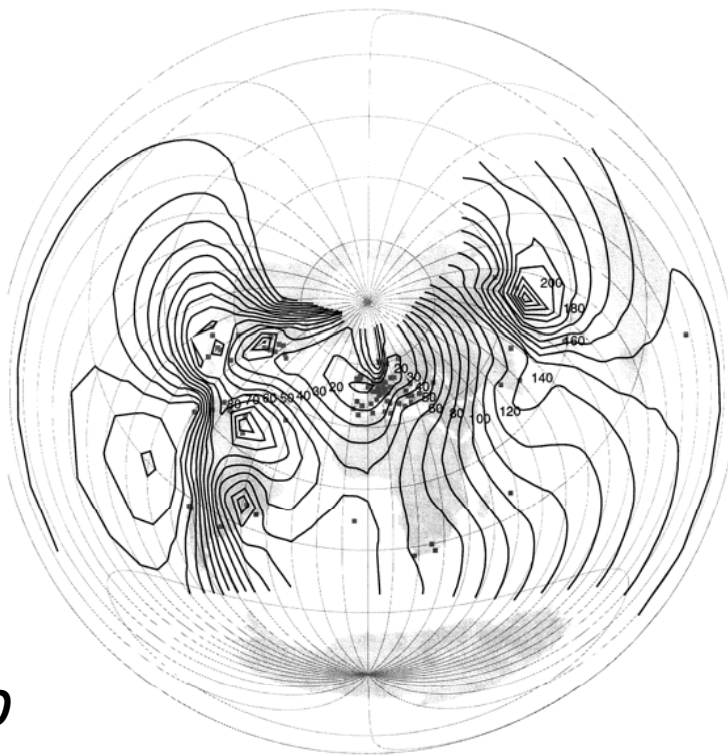
‘We had never realised more completely the value of the telegraph than since the opening of this disastrous war.’

Sydney Morning Herald, 3 October 1870

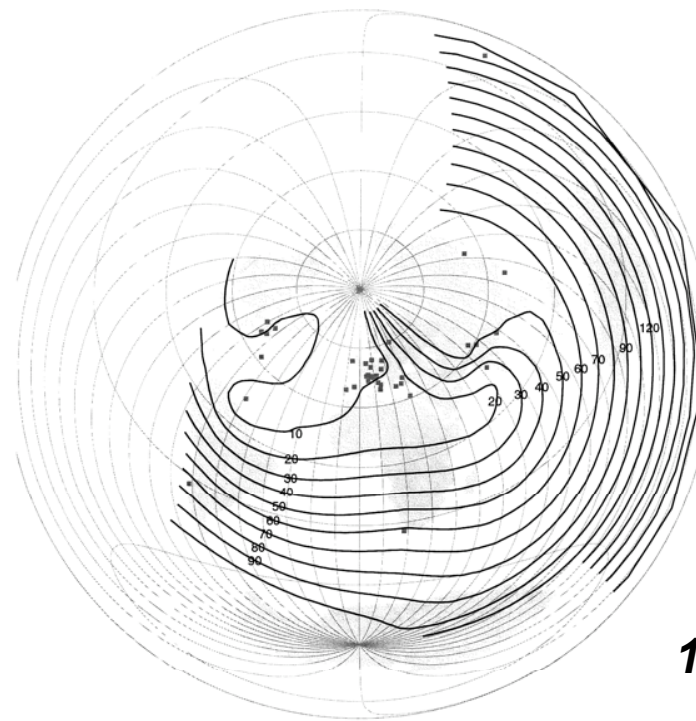
Prussian victory parade in Paris



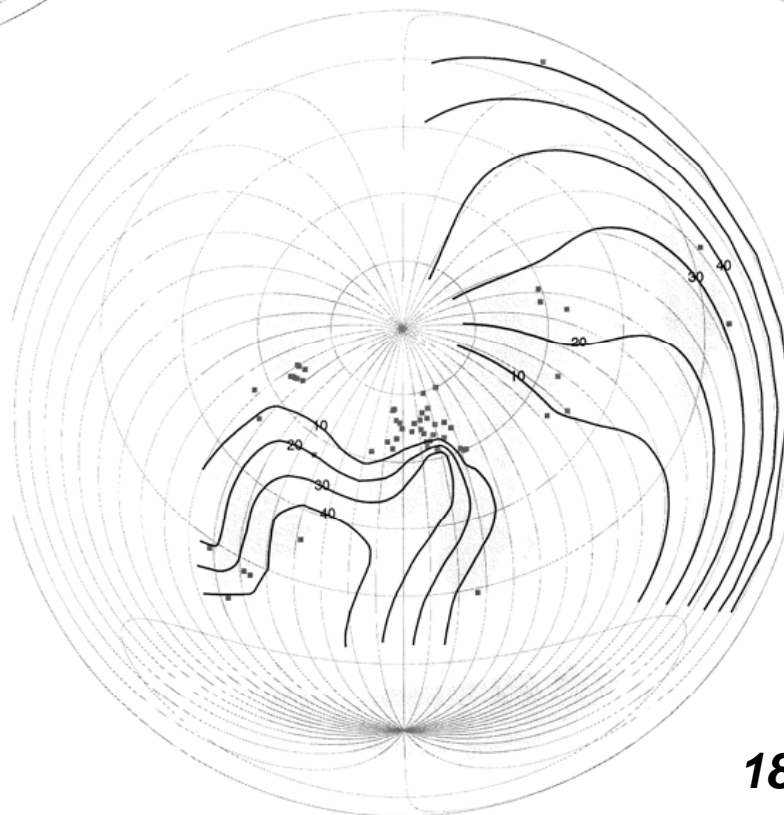
1830



1850



1870



LONDON

‘... the news just received – which breaks off like the end of a chapter in one of Charles Reade’s novels – has only served to intensify the eagerness with which everybody will look forward to the arrival of the next mail via Suez...’

Melbourne Argus, 21 September 1870

‘The flag announcing the arrival of the mail steamer off Glenelg [Adelaide] was hoisted over the *Argus* office at 1 p.m. – twelve minutes before the Post office flag was set flying – and the intelligence went through the city like a flash, so intense was the interest felt... The public excitement was soon shown by the collection of a crowd outside the Argus office, composed not only of news-boys eager for Extraordinaries to sell, but a throng of persons representing nearly all ranks. **The leading expectation seemed to be news of French successes...** Shortly after 4 p.m. our second edition was published and the effect seemed magical. In an instant, the street was white with paper, so rapidly were the copies distributed. The boys were soon all over the city selling papers and double and quadruple the legitimate price, so impulsive were the buyers.’

Melbourne Argus, 26 September 1870



‘The reception of **the telegraphic news brought by the Suez mail** yesterday showed the unabated interest taken in European affairs.... The now customary spectacle of streets full of eager newspaper readers was once more presented and ... **there seemed to be but one topic of conversation, and that was the war with France.**’

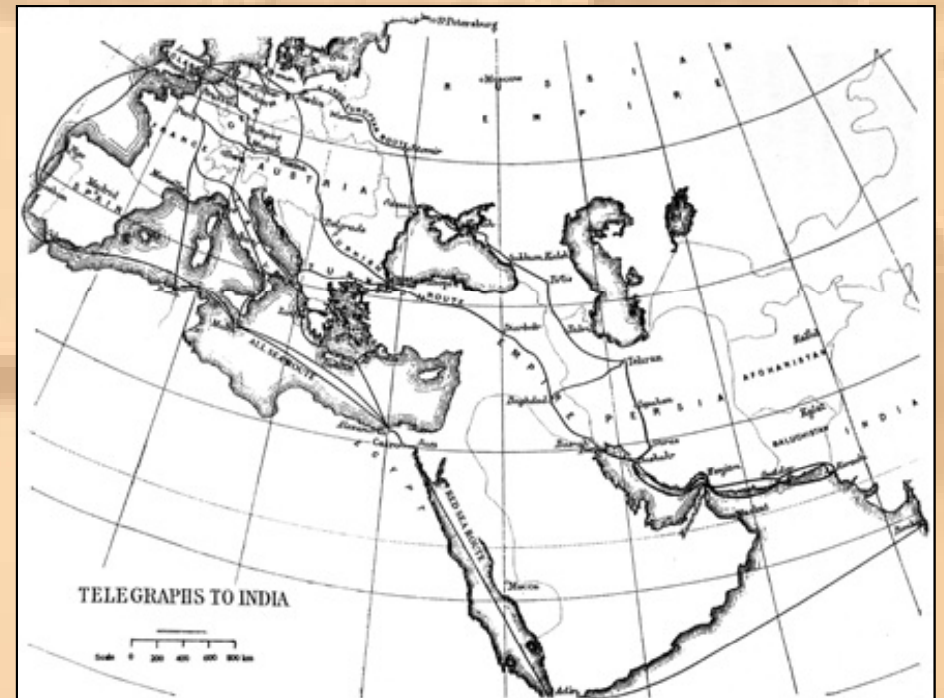
Melbourne Argus, 22 November 1870

Multiple and compound temporalities

‘The Continental news in the batch of journals received by this mail has been **wholly superseded by the telegrams of the last fortnight**, yet seldom if ever have the European papers been received with more interest... Let us again glance at the dates of recent events, so that our readers may more readily **take up the threads** supplied by Mr Reuter, and **follow them back** to the congeries of extracts, Continental as well as English, that they will find on another page...’

The mass of detailed news of the war brought us by the mail ... presents almost illimitable scope for reflection or retrospect, and for comparison with our previous impressions gathered from telegrams. But as the Indo-European [telegraph] line has come to the rescue with two or three days’ tolerably full news, we are recalled to the topics of the day and must, perforce, dwell on the considerations which are keeping all India, like the rest of the world, in suspense from hour to hour. The overland papers, in addition to the thrilling stories of the field, supply the more **prosaic facts and permanent data** by which each of our readers for himself will endeavour to support or modify the terse statements comprised in the telegraphic despatches.’

Times of India, 30 July 1870



Bombay Harbour, 1870

Geographies of truth



‘Out of disjointed and often contradictory telegrams, it is not easy to construct a perfectly intelligible account of the movements of the contending armies... The whole comes to us through **an American medium which is liable to give a pro-Prussian bias**, so that the news prepared for transmission by the Atlantic cable is adapted to the large German population now settled in North America.’

Sydney Morning Herald, 21 September 1870

‘**The telegram via Suez, now hourly expected, will clear up much that has been left doubtful in the intelligence received by the other route...** The American papers received via California are filled with daily telegraphic statements, purporting to give European public opinion and the condition of facts, day by day. Many of them are obviously unreliable and some are contradictory.’

Sydney Morning Herald, 24 September 1870

‘It is difficult to estimate the news of the war brought by the Panama mail. **Coming from all points of the compass, with items of various complexion, it will be dangerous to infer the final result.**’

Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1870

First World War

‘I spoke with the men who had endured this the day after writing of the battle as it was unveiled to me, and felt that I had committed high treason. **So easy is it to make the foul appear fair, to be tricked by the enchantment of distance...**

‘**All who have written about war ... see it as the airman sees it in a large spaciousness where details are hid and only issues count.** But let us remember the real war behind.’

William Beach Thomas, *With the British on the Somme* (1917)
[correspondent for the *Daily Mail*]

Background image: Aerial view of the Somme

Second World War



Richard Dimbleby, Prague, 1946



Vaughan Thomas with navigator and bomb aimer before take-off



Alan Wood, reporting Operation Market Garden, Holland, 18 September 1944

*BBC correspondent **Wynford Vaughan Thomas** and sound engineer **Reg Pidsley** in front of Lancaster bomber, 3 September 1943*

LET'S GO TO
THE PICTURES

*and see the
World's News*

*Universal
International*
NEWS

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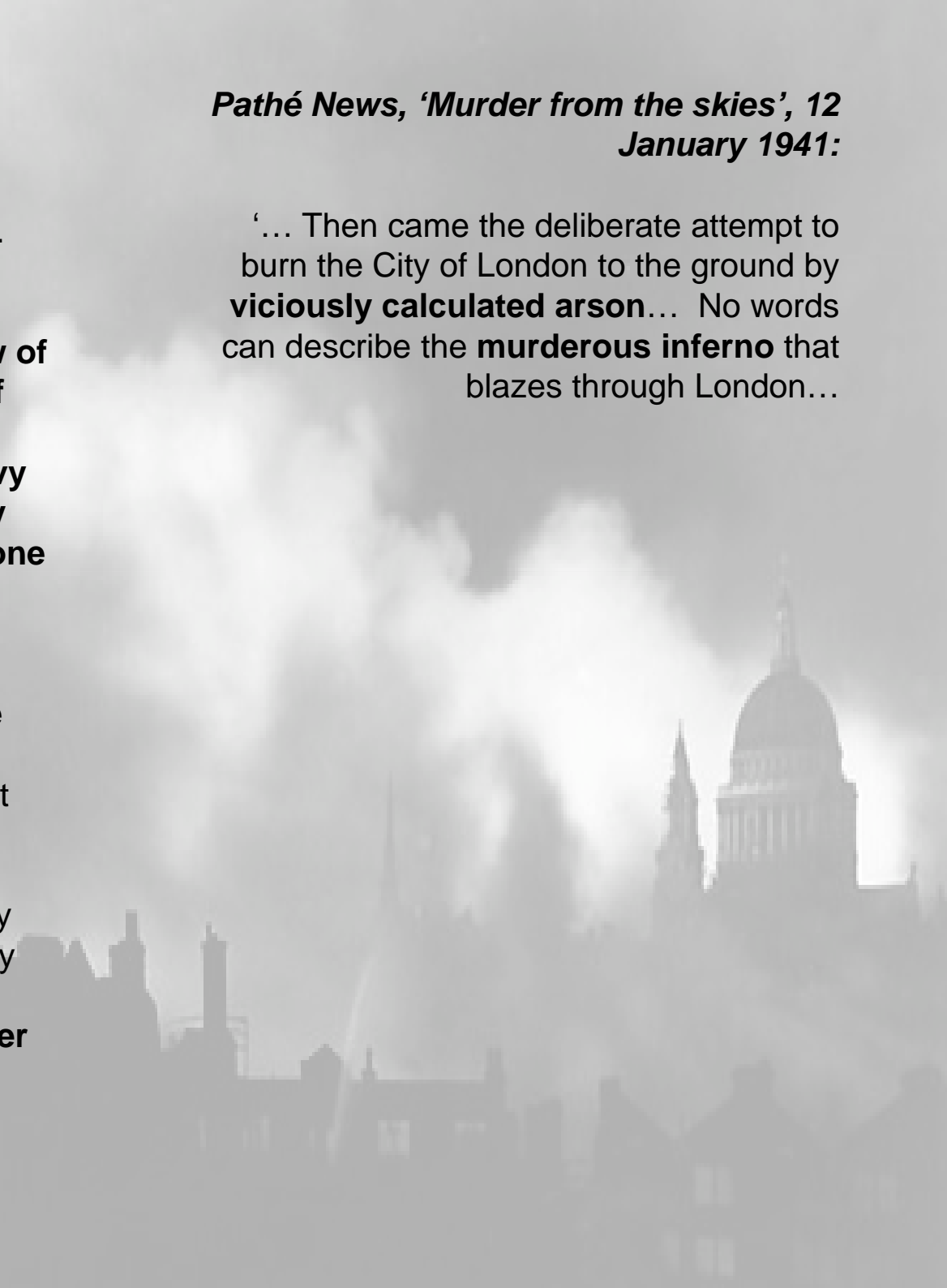
**AND
OF COURSE
PATHE NEWS**

*Pathé News, 'Murder from the skies', 12
September 1940:*

'... bombs were dropped on the Docklands area. These **caused a big fire which, as night fell, illuminated a wide section of London. In consequence, Nazi airmen, without a shadow of doubt, could have picked out other targets of military importance. But the Royal Air Force and our ground defences were inflicting heavy losses on the attacking air armadas, as many as 99 enemy raiders being brought down in one day. In their rage at these blows at their air might, the Nazis threw off all pretence of confining themselves to military targets, and the following pictures show that bombs have been scattered over London without any distinction of military objectives...** In the East End much damage has been done to business premises and homes, and the morning after this occurred the German communiqué said that they attacked 'targets of military importance'. "Military importance"?! Look at it! ... "Targets of military importance" my foot! **Any war the Hun has ever fought has been aimed chiefly at the civilian.**

*Pathé News, 'Murder from the skies', 12
January 1941:*

'... Then came the deliberate attempt to burn the City of London to the ground by **viciously calculated arson...** No words can describe the **murderous inferno** that blazes through London...

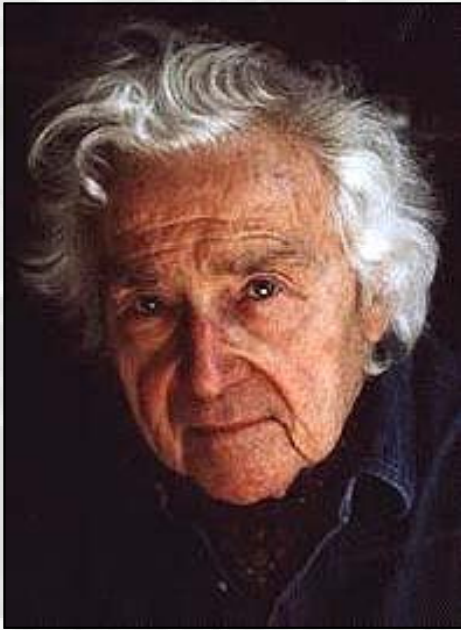


Pathé News, 'Hamburg hammered', 12 August 1943:

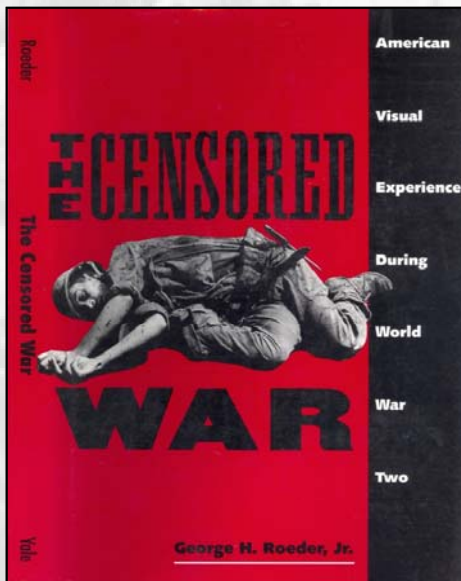
'In almost less time than it takes to tell, the cargoes of our bombers **shattered military objectives** in the city and started thousands of fires... **much damage of military importance was done ... no less than seven square miles of Hamburg were laid in ruins...**

'Defences made desperate attempts to ward off the terror raining down from the skies. Down there is a pyrotechnic display the like of which has never before been seen... In one week the total tonnage of bombs dropped on Germany, particularly Hamburg, by aircraft operating from Britain exceeded 12,000 tons....

'**Neutral sources report that in eight heavy Allied raids on Hamburg more than 58,000 people lost their lives and 180,000 lost their jobs. That's nearly a quarter of a million German war workers less than a week ago: a brilliant tribute to Allied knights of the air.'**



*John G. Morris, Picture editor,
Life's London Bureau*



'I soon discovered what would happen if we attempted to take a closer look. A set of photographs arrived one day in the diplomatic pouch from Stockholm. **They showed, in gruesome detail, the human devastation that Allied bombs were causing in Berlin: stacks of bodies awaiting burial, hospital wards jammed with wounded children.** I made up a packet for New York and headed over to the Ministry of Information ... When it was my turn, I fixed a perfectly neutral expression on my face and **set the packet before the British censor on duty.** He smiled thinly, opened the packet, and carefully examined each photo, taking his time and occasionally backtracking. After he'd gone through the entire packet he looked up at me, smiled again, and said, in the clipped, nasal voice preferred by censors, **"These photographs are very interesting. You may have them back after the war."** It was the last I ever saw of them.'

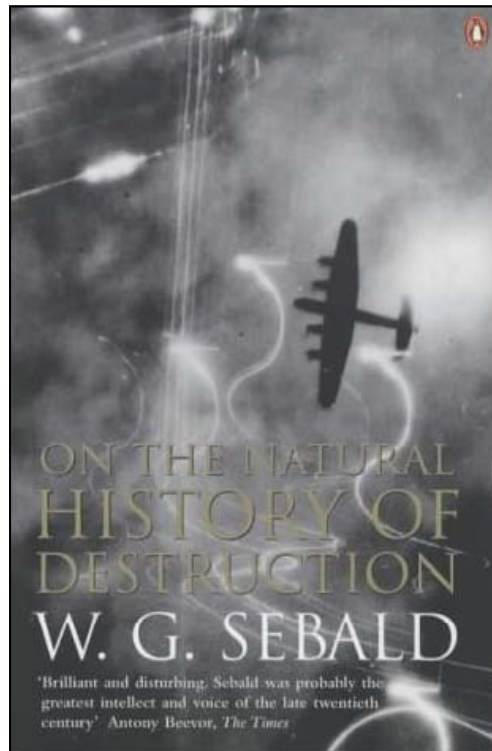
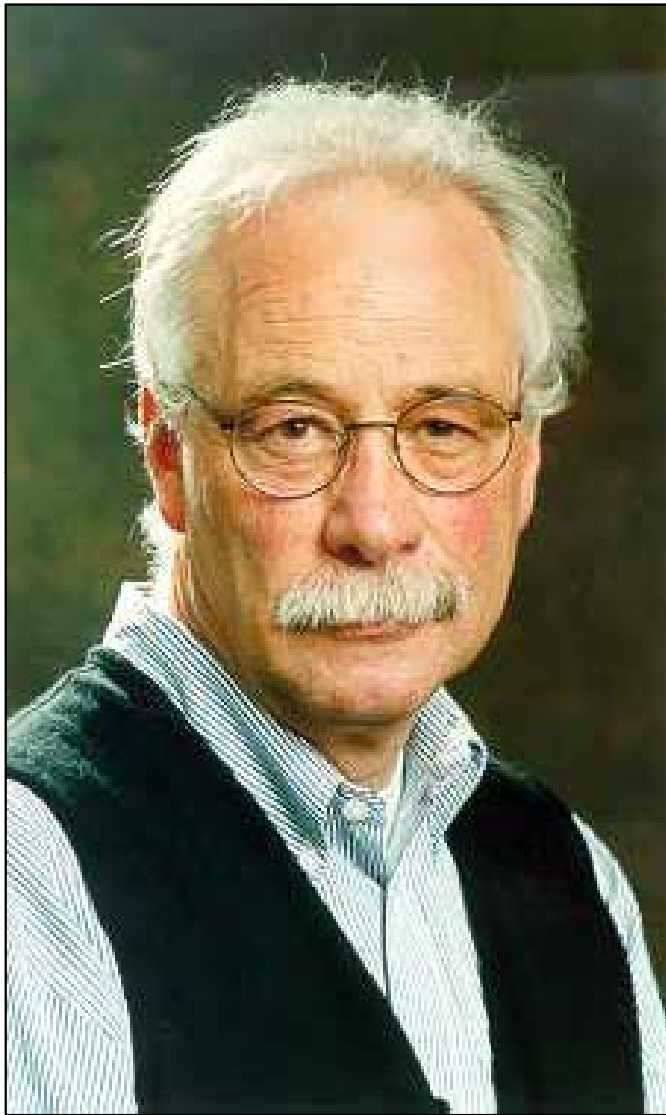
‘The first impression was that of **silence and emptiness**. When we stopped the jeep you heard nothing, you saw no movement down the great deserted avenues lined with empty stone boxes. We looked vainly for people. In a city of 700,000 no one now seemed alive. But there were people, perhaps some 120,000 of them. **They had gone underground. They live and work in a long series of cellars, “mouseholes”, cut from one house to the next.**’

Sidney Olson, TIME, 19 March 1945



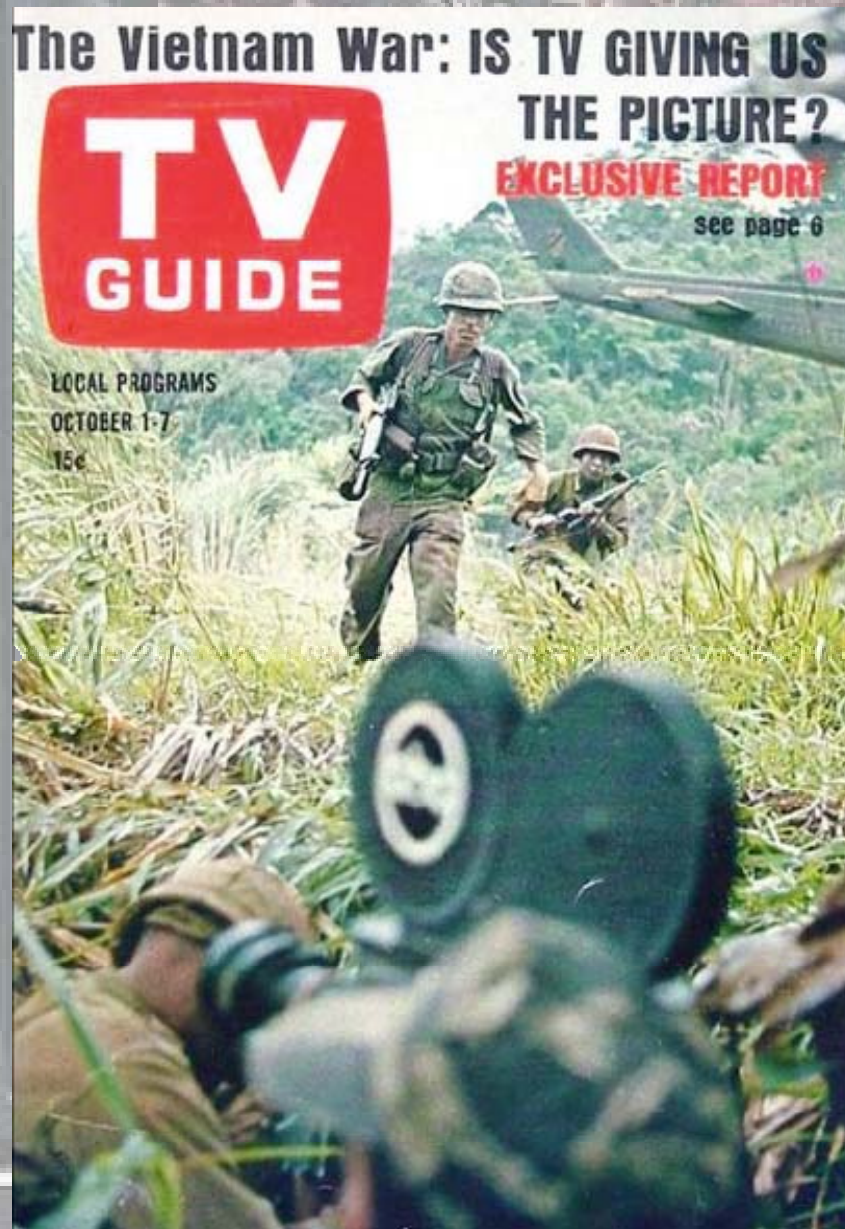
As you approached the centre of Cologne, you saw only ‘a white sea of rubble, faceless and featureless in the bright sunlight’ like ‘**the sprawling skeleton of a giant animal.**’

New Statesman, 14 July 1945



QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

'The living room war'



Michael
J. Arlen

LIVING- ROOM WAR

Walter Cronkite



Dan Rather



Immediacy and intimacy

The international media typically authorise news reporting through an appeal to **immediacy**: ‘the live coverage of events by reporters acting as first-hand witnesses’.

Yet ‘when it comes to the worst realities of war’ – ‘the most immediate issue of life and death’ – ‘the international media, instead of wanting to show graphic images produced by the logic of immediacy, operates largely in terms of metaphorical strategies designed to **mediate the immediate**’ [‘taste and discretion’]

Those immediacies and intimacies that are permitted typically work to domesticate the violence: “shrinking the size of the event and delimiting the viewing experience ..., making [the event] more intimate and contained.”



David Campbell, ‘Constructed visibility: photographing the catastrophe of Gaza’



WAR AND MEDIA

The Emergence of Diffused War

Andrew Hoskins & Ben O'Loughlin

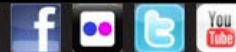






AFGHANISTAN

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE FORCE



د رسنیو د پاره
برای رسانه ها

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Keeping the roads of Afghanistan safe, one IED at a time [read more](#)

COMMANDER'S CORNER

UPDATES FROM GEN JOHN R. ALLEN



COMISAF Letter to the Troops



SHOHN BA SHOHN
UPDATES FROM CSM THOMAS R. CAPEL

CLICK TO ENTER >>

ISAF NEWS

ANA in Shinkai district 'clean the way' for local residents

Medical conference brings Afghan doctors together to learn new medical techniques

ISAF Joint Command morning operational update - March 3, 2012

Afghan Local Police discover and assist in destruction of IEDs

Afghan National Police apprehend IED cell leader

ISAF RELEASES

ISAF ARTICLES

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772 Views

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FLICKR PHOTOS



CSM - Camp Pannonia 28-29 FEB 2012 (94)

16 Views

MORE PHOTOS

FACEBOOK

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96,575 Fans

FAN US

TWITTER

â€œWe are now charged with taking this ...

23,081 Followers

FOLLOW US

You Tube

Collateral Murder - Wikileaks - Iraq



WikiLeaks obtained and decrypted the video you are about to see.

WikiLeaks exists to help you safely reveal important material to the world.

We have an unbroken record in protecting confidential sources.

Contact us.

www.wikileaks.org

02:30 / 17:47

12,443,463

31,272 likes, 5,472 dislikes

As Seen On: [Mashable!](#)

Uploaded by [sunshinepress](#) on Apr 3, 2010

Wikileaks has obtained and decrypted this previously unreleased video footage from a US Apache helicopter in 2007. It shows Reuters journalist Namir Noor-Eldeen, driver Saeed Chmagh, and several others as the Apache shoots and kills them in a public square in Eastern Baghdad. They are

09:56 Roger this is Crazyhorse.
 09:58 Your lead Bradley just turned south down the road where all the engagements [shooting] happened.
 10:03 Should have a van in the middle of the road with about twelve to fifteen bodies.
 10:11 Oh yeah, look at that. Right through the windshield!
 10:14 Ha ha!
 10:16 All right. There were uh approximately four to five individuals in that truck, so I'm counting about twelve to fifteen.
 10:24 I would say that's a fairly accurate assessment so far.
 10:27 Roger that.
 10:29 I want to just be advised Six, Bushmaster Six are getting mounted up right now.
 10:35 Okay, roger. Hey, we can't flex down that road towards that, uh, where Crazyhorse engaged.
 10:43 So, uh, I don't know if you want us to do so or stay put. Over.
 10:46 Why can't they go down there?
 10:56 I think we whacked [killed] 'em all.
 10:58 That's right, good.



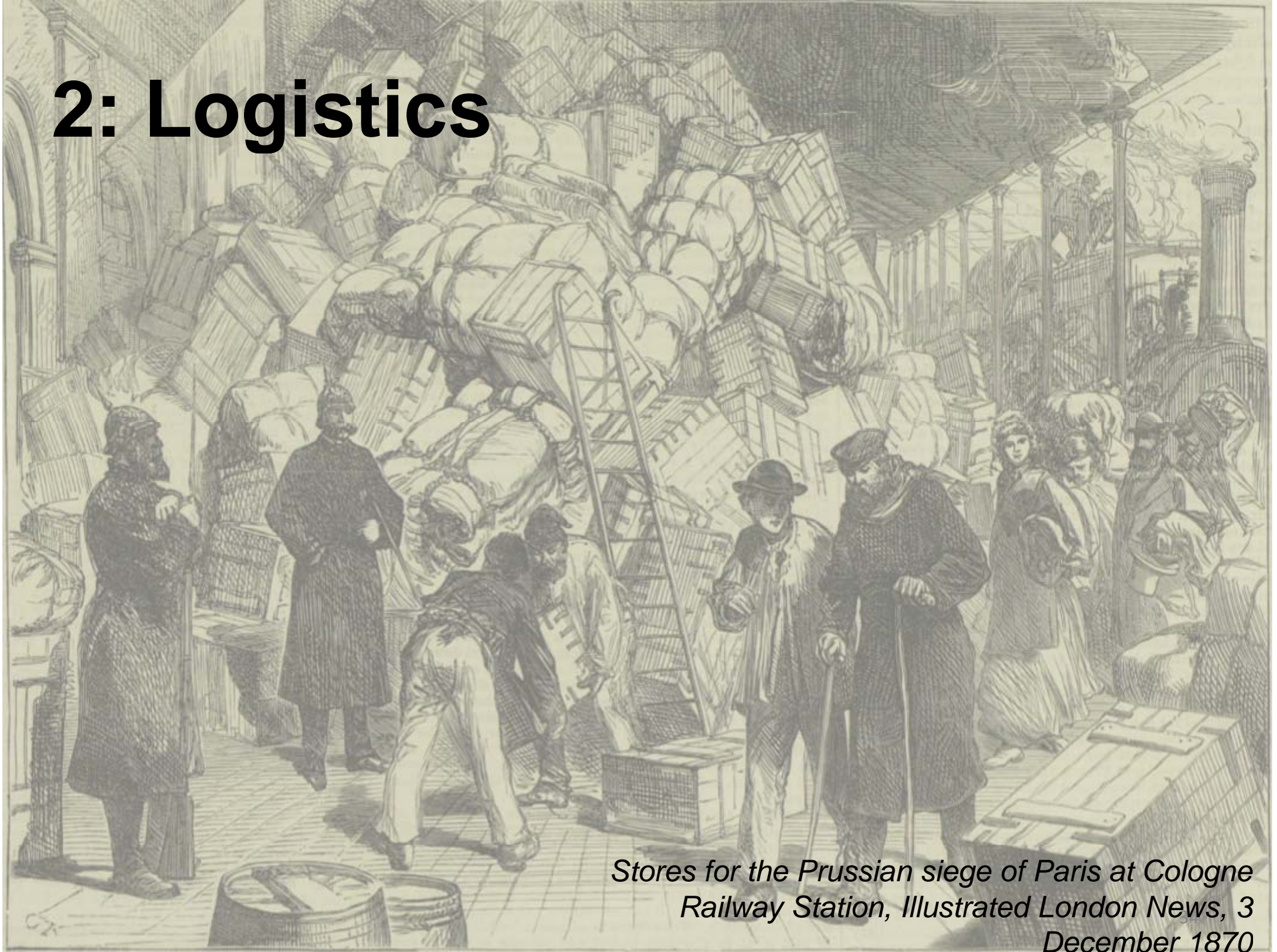
Baghdad 12 July 2007



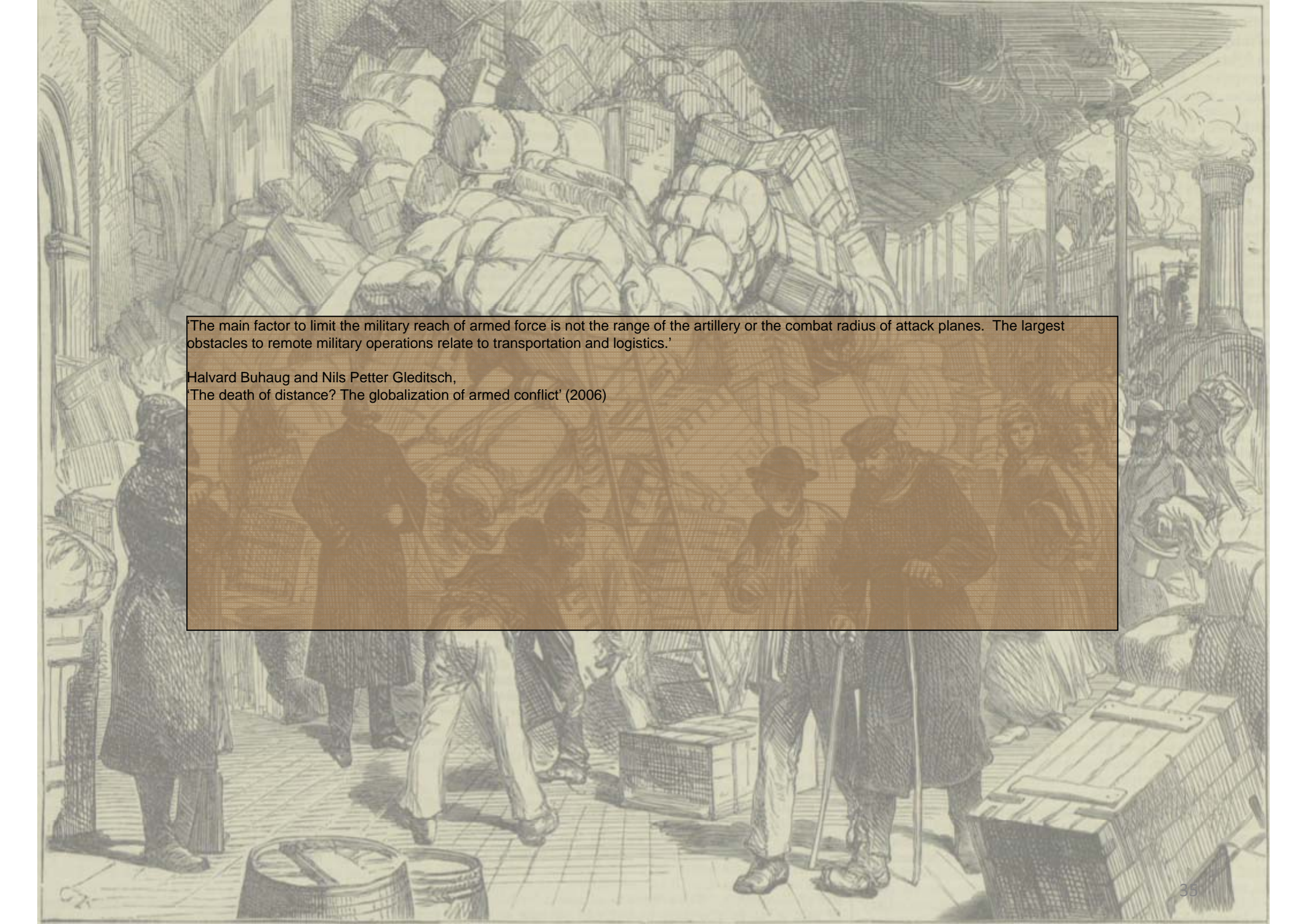
Wega Theatre Atmosphere **SONY.**

Through an extraordinary convergence between the **visual technologies** used by the military and the media, war has become the **background of our lives..**

2: Logistics

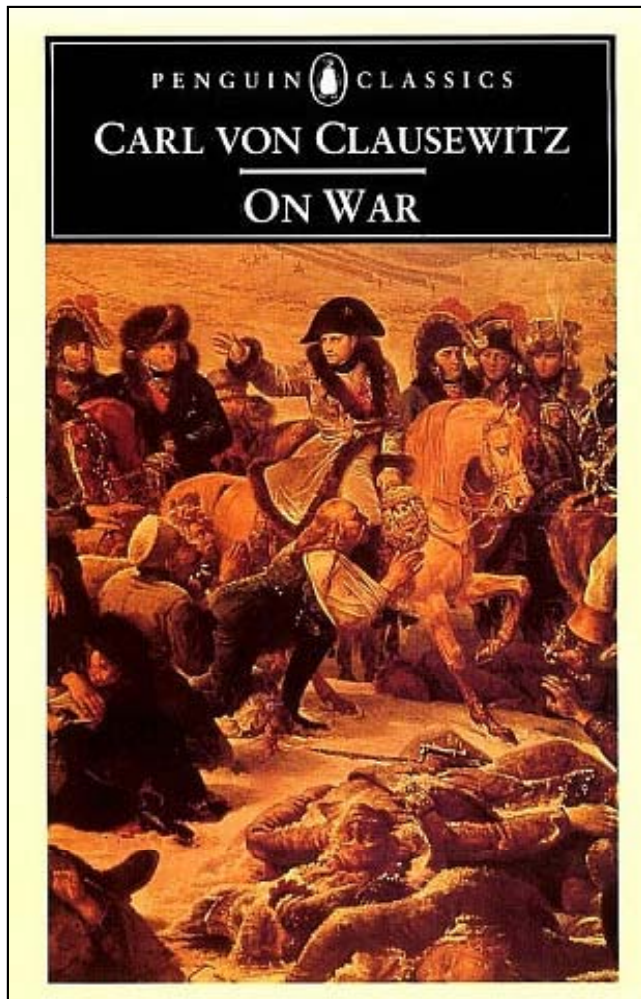


*Stores for the Prussian siege of Paris at Cologne
Railway Station, Illustrated London News, 3
December 1870*



'The main factor to limit the military reach of armed force is not the range of the artillery or the combat radius of attack planes. The largest obstacles to remote military operations relate to transportation and logistics.'

Halvard Buhaug and Nils Petter Gleditsch,
'The death of distance? The globalization of armed conflict' (2006)



'Everything is very simple in War, but the simplest thing is difficult. These difficulties accumulate and produce a friction which no man can imagine exactly who has not seen War. Suppose now a traveller, who towards evening expects to accomplish the two stages at the end of his day's journey, four or five leagues, with post-horses, on the high road -- it is nothing. He arrives now at the last station but one, finds no horses, or very bad ones; then a hilly country, bad roads; it is a dark night, and he is glad when, after a great deal of trouble, he reaches the next station, and finds there some miserable accommodation. So in War, through the influence of an infinity of petty circumstances, which cannot properly be described on paper, things disappoint us, and we fall short of the mark....'

'Friction is the only conception which in a general way corresponds to that which distinguishes real War from War on paper.'

Clausewitz, On War (1832)

'The Battle of Waterloo of 1815 in which the British and Prussians defeated Napoleon, the last significant conflict before the invention of the railways, was over in just a single day. That was the case with most battles in the pre-railway age. The reason was simple: Big armies could only come together in one place for a very short period of time because the horses, on which they were entirely dependent both in combat and to bring supplies. '

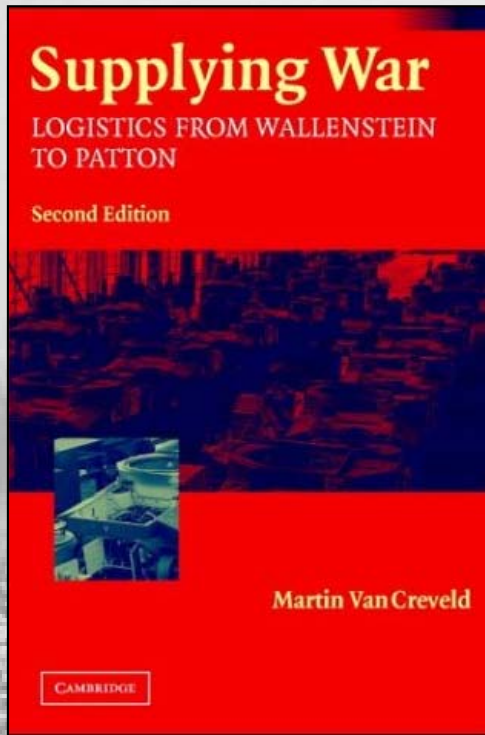
Christian Wolmar



Within an area less than three miles from east to west, and less than a mile and a half from north to south, over 40,000 men were killed in just eight hours

'Almost exactly one century later, the Battle of Verdun lasted most of 1916 and resulted in 700,000 dead and wounded soldiers, approximately 30 times the casualty rate at Waterloo. This is because the railways were able to keep the lines supplied and to refresh the troops every couple of weeks.'





‘Logistics make up as much as nine tenths of the business of war, and ... the mathematical problems involved in calculating the movements and supply of armies are, to quote Napoleon, not unworthy of a Leibnitz or a Newton.... From time immemorial questions of supply have gone far to govern the geography of military operations.’

Before 1914 ‘armies could only be fed as long as they kept moving’ – living off the countryside they traversed...

‘Whereas, even as late as 1870, ammunition had formed less than 1 per cent of all supplies (6,000 tons were expended as against 792,000 tons of food and fodder consumed), in the first months of World War I the proportion of ammunition to other supplies was reversed, and by the end of World War II subsistence accounted for only eight to twelve per cent of all supplies. These new demands could only be met by continuous replenishment from base. Thus it now became relatively easy to support an army while it was standing still, almost impossible to do so when it was moving forward fast.’

‘To a far greater extent than in the eighteenth century, strategy became an appendix of logistics. The products of the machine – shells, bullets, fuel, sophisticated engineering materials – had finally superseded those of the field as the main items consumed by armies, with the result that warfare, this time shackled by immense networks of tangled umbilical cords, froze and turned into a process of mutual slaughter on a scale so vast as to stagger the imagination.’



Empty shell casings and ammunition boxes representing a small sample of the ammunition used by the British Army in the bombardment of Fricourt, France, on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, 1 July 1916.

[Photo courtesy of the Australian War Memorial, AWM H08331]

In **August 1914**, British field guns had a **total of 1,000 shells** available at or approaching the front lines.

In **June 1916**, each **18 pound (shell weight) gun** had **1,000 shells** ready for firing at its gun position.

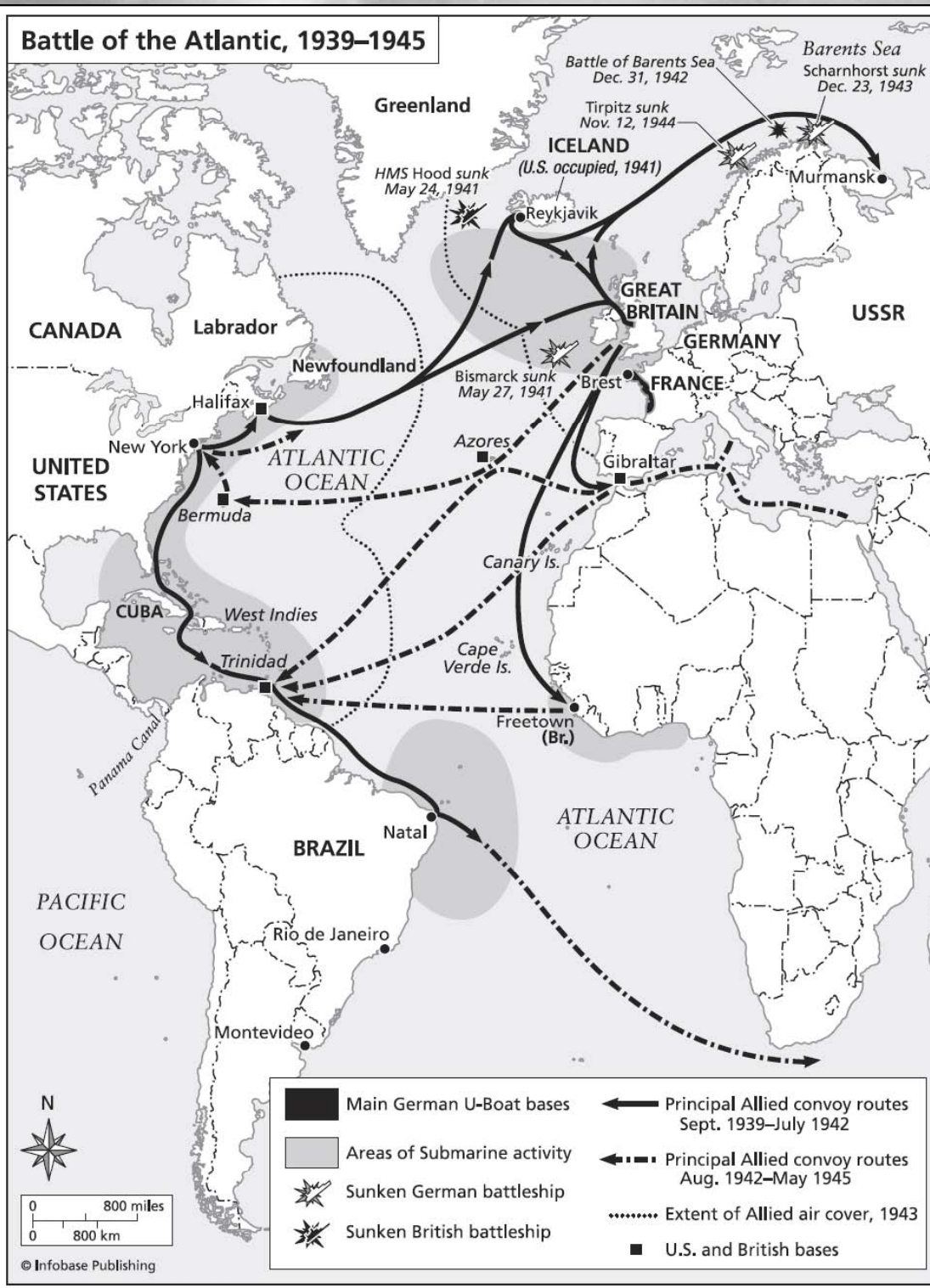
In 1917 during the summer, 18 pound shell use reached 1,000,000 shells fired each week

In **1918 Britain** had **over 10,000 guns, howitzers and trench mortars** in the field.



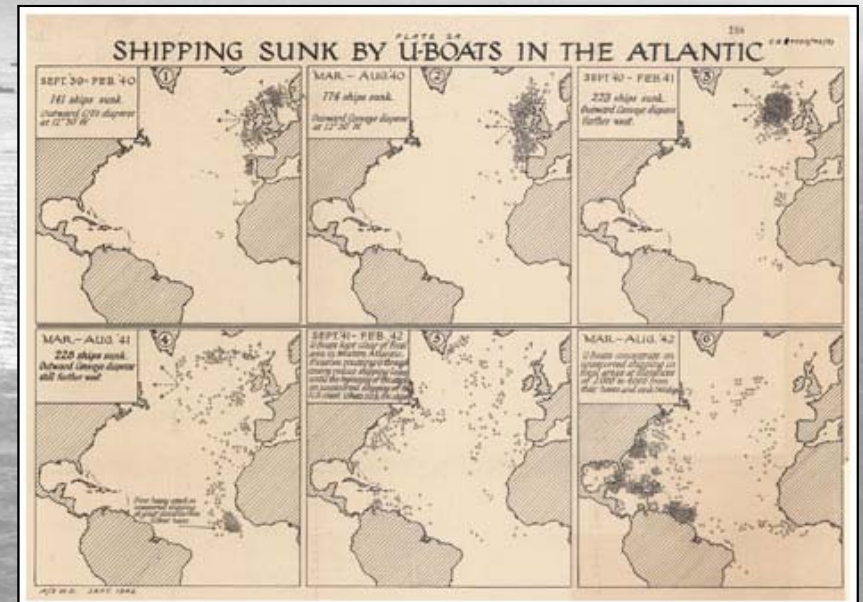


Battle of the Atlantic, 1939–1945



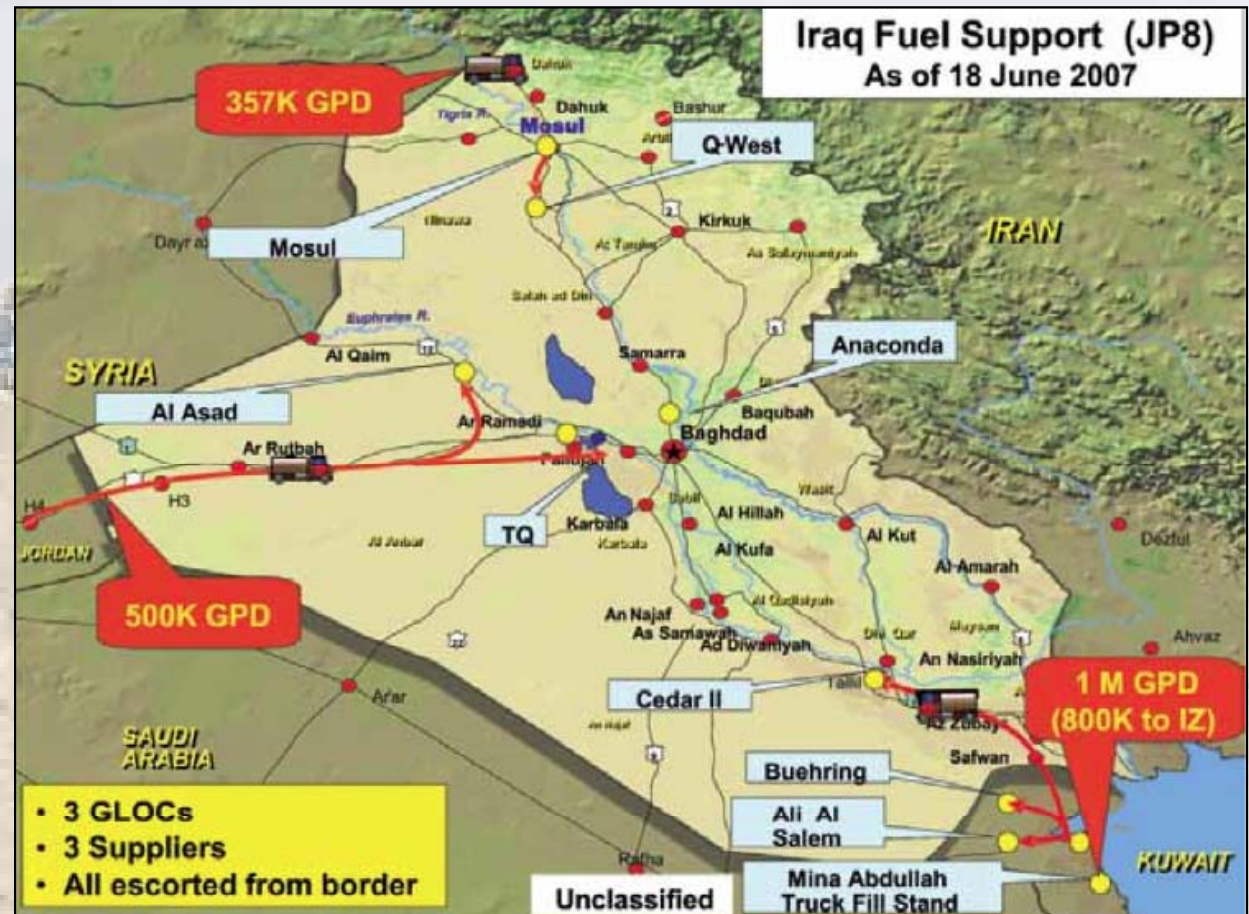
'The Battle of the Atlantic was the dominating factor all through the war. Never for one moment could we forget that everything happening elsewhere, on land, at sea or in the air depended ultimately on its outcome.'

Winston Churchill



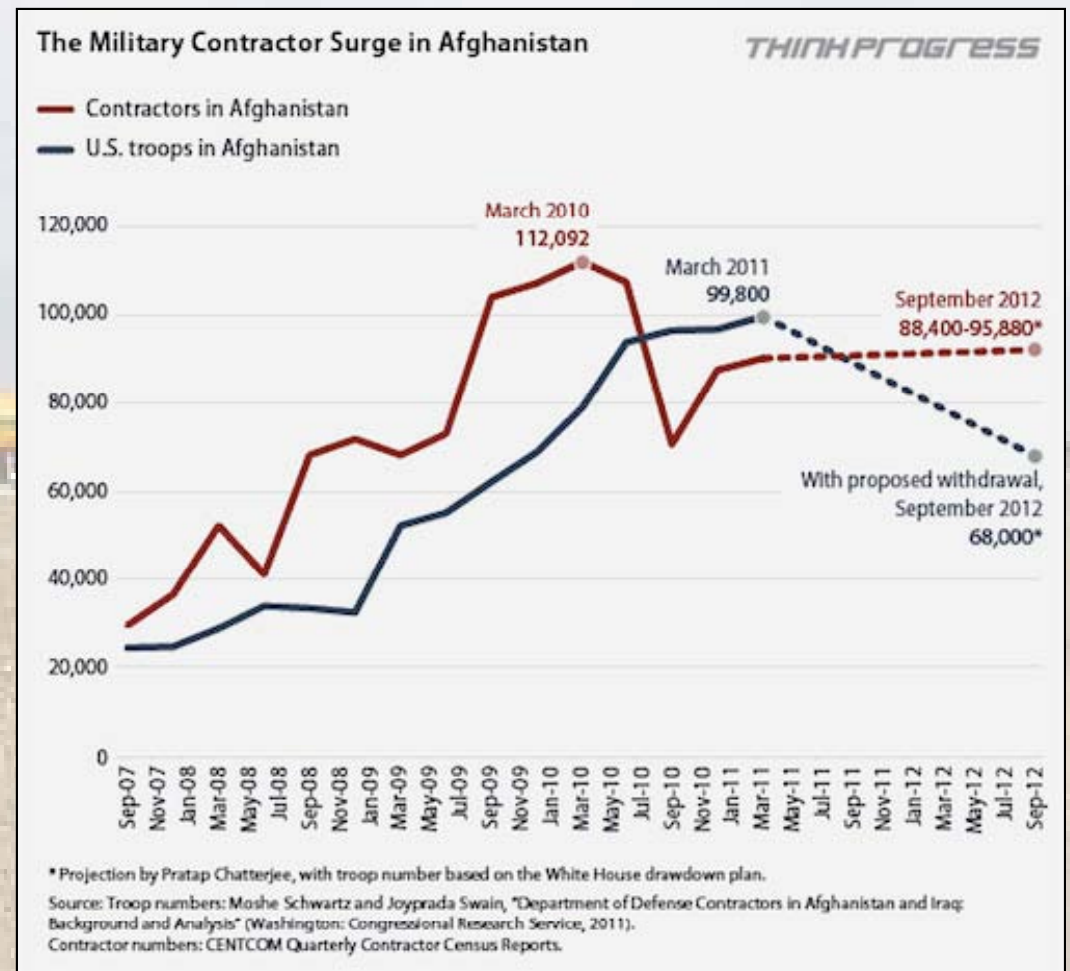
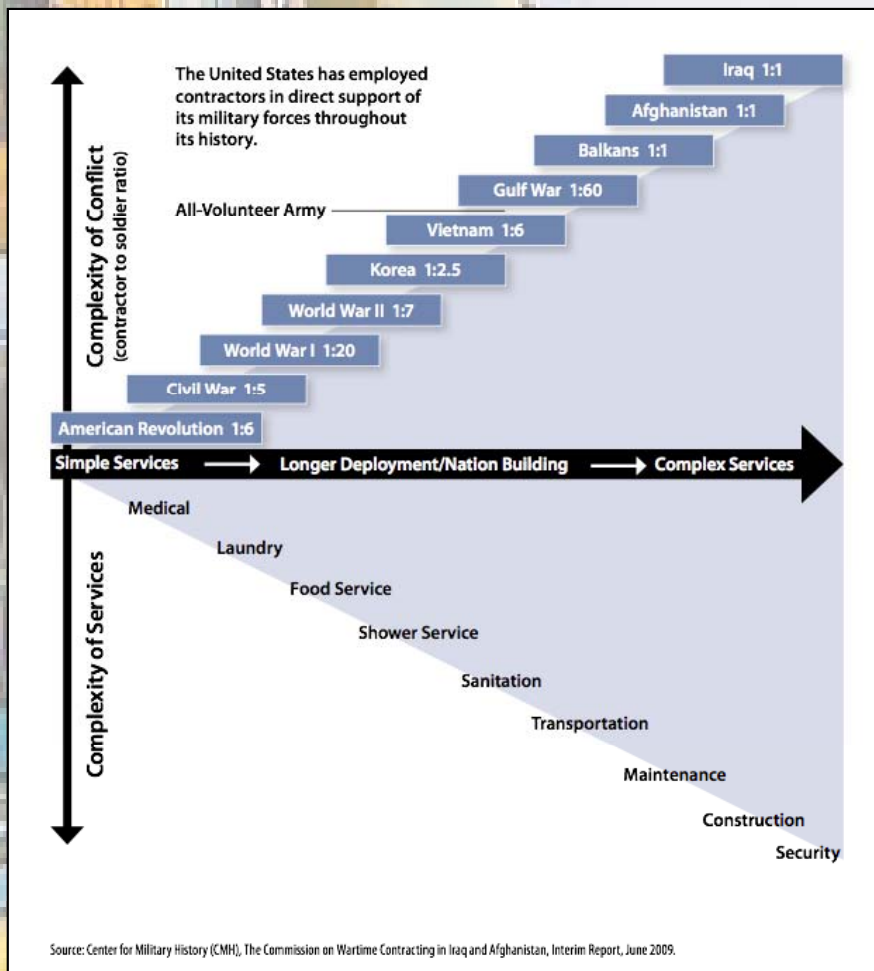
Creveld argued (2004) that since 1945 'it does not appear that either the logistic burden has been eased or armed forces have increased their operational freedom'

1: Increased importance of petrol/gasoline: 'By 1991 POL [Petroleum, Oil & Lubricants], much of it consisting of high-quality products such as aviation fuel that could not be locally procured, had become the single bulkiest product by far; only then came ammunition, especially artillery rounds, followed by everything else.'



Creveld argued (2004) that since 1945 'it does not appear that either the logistic burden has been eased or armed forces have increased their operational freedom'

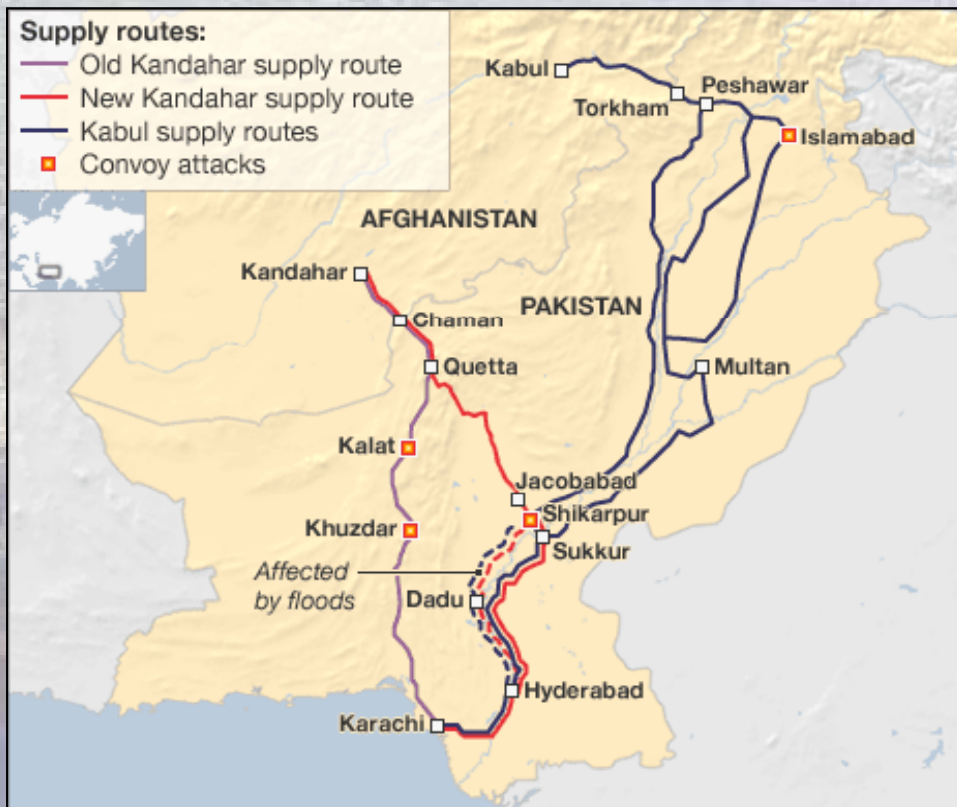
2: Increased reliance on private contractors and the use of 'Host Country' and 'Third Country Nationals'



Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication

Troops are airlifted to Afghanistan, but at the start of the war their equipment was shipped to Karachi (Port Qasim) using **international shipping lines**, principally APL, Maersk and Hapag-Lloyd.

Completion of the supply chain is subcontracted to **local agencies**: 'a loose association of truck drivers and owners', principally Pashtun from Peshawar and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the borderlands, who haul supplies through Pakistan and into Afghanistan.

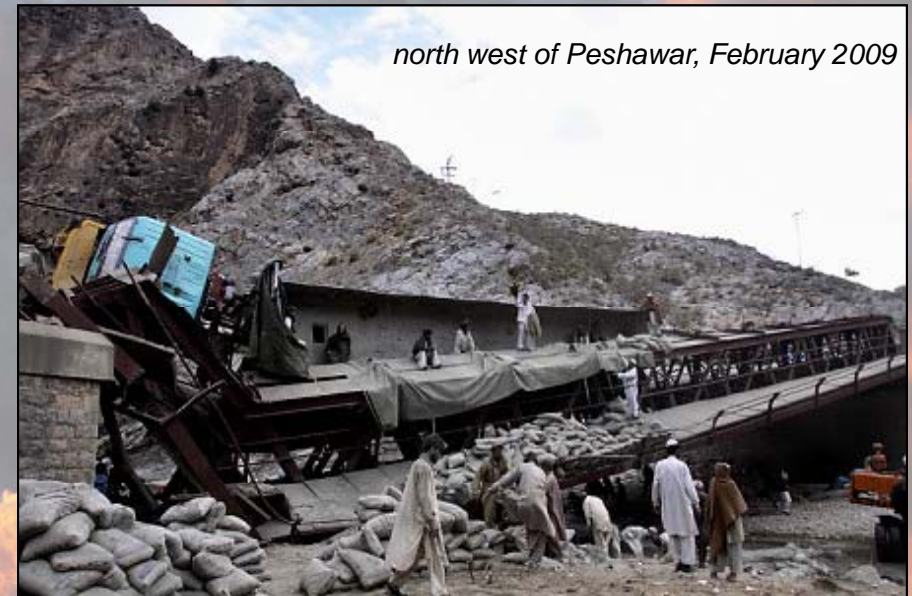


The most important crossing points are the **Chaman gate** in Baluchistan (leading west to Kandahar) and the **Torkham gate** at the Khyber Pass (the shortest route to Bagram and Kabul)



By 2008 the vulnerability of the 2,000km supply chain had dramatically increased:

Increasing and escalating insurgent attacks on convoys



Border closures as part of Pakistan military operations in FATA

In December 2008 and January 2009 the Pakistan Army closed the border at Torkham as part of a renewed offensive against the Taliban and other groups.

'We are glad that they're helping clean out what they call miscreants in that area that have been attacking the supply line. Temporary closure is not a problem. It's best that they conduct this operation and clear out these trouble spots.'

Col. Greg Julian, US Army



Border closures in response to US border incursions and air strikes

Pakistan first closed the border in September 2008 to protest; the Torkham gate was closed to NATO convoys for eleven days in October 2010, following a US helicopter strike that killed Pakistani soldiers, and 150 trucks were torched.

The most recent closure of all crossings was imposed in November 2011 after NATO airstrikes on a Pakistan border post at Salala in Mohmand near Peshawar killed 28 soldiers. *By mid-January 2012 there were reports of 2,000 containers trapped at Port Qasim, 1,700 at Karachi's Kemari harbour, and around 1,800 trucks at the border crossings with yet more on the roads in between.*



Torkham closure, October 2010



December 2011, tankers parked at Karachi

Elaborate scams and black markets



*'American Market'/Kharkhano Market,
Peshawar*

An investigation by Pakistan's Federal Board of Revenue released in December 2011 found that nearly **30,000 containers** that left Port Qasim for Afghanistan were **unaccounted for**, including at least **3,300 containers of US military equipment**.

'Alongside old British rifles and Soviet AK-47s, American military gear like Kevlar vests, boots, camouflage suits, night-vision goggles, and knives hang from hooks. Tall stacks of large boxes carrying ammunition and weapons parts will not be opened without a good reference. In the bargain bins, thrown in with used fleece socks and shrink-wrapped copies of The Book of Mormon, are U.S. military operation manuals that restrict distribution to "DoD and DoD contractors only," and carry instructions to destroy "by any method that must prevent disclosure of contents or reconstruction of documents." A large sign for a shop on the second floor reads, "Haji M. Ikhlas USA traders," with crude paintings of a U.S. military helmet and army boots.'



The increasing vulnerability coincided with the Obama ‘surge’ of troops from 2009 - ground cargo was expected to increase by 50 per cent – and by 2009 90 per cent of surface cargo was being shipped through the Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication.

The need to reduce dependence on Pakistan and to increase the capacity of the supply chain led to a switch to a new **Northern Distribution Network** that started operation in **February 2009**.

Limited to ‘non-lethal’ supplies (weapons and ammunition brought in by air)

One-way only (no return cargo) until 29 February 2012 (vital for drawdown)

April-September 2011, average transit cost per 20-foot container:

Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication

truck \$06,700

Northern Distribution Network

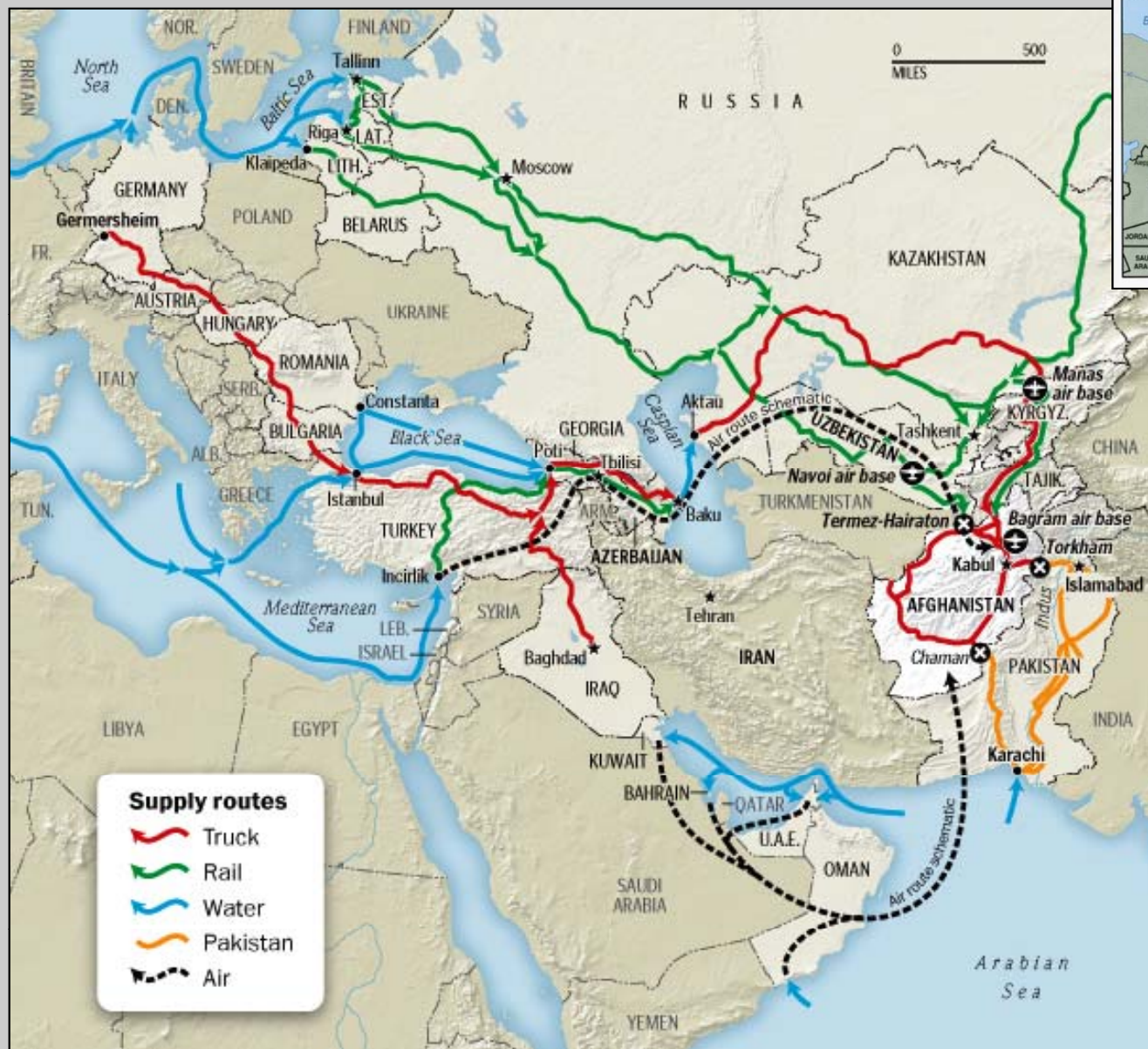
truck and rail \$12,367

ocean, truck and rail \$14,410

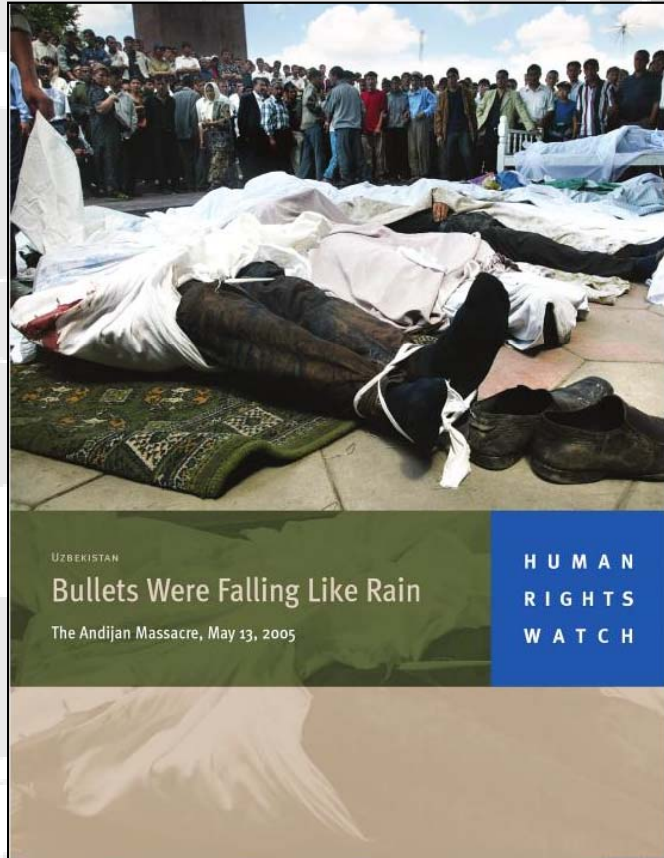
During 2009 ISAF’s **fuel** consumption increased from 2 to **4 million litres a day**; 60 per cent (acquired from Central Asia) was being shipped via the NDN.

By July 2010 40 per cent of all surface cargo was being shipped via NDN, **60 per cent via PGLOC** (roughly 100 tanker trucks and 200 other trucks crossing each day).





Air transport is limited to personnel and high-priority cargo: only 20 per cent of cargo reaches Afghanistan by air (2011 increase to 35 per cent through multi-modal ground/air operations)



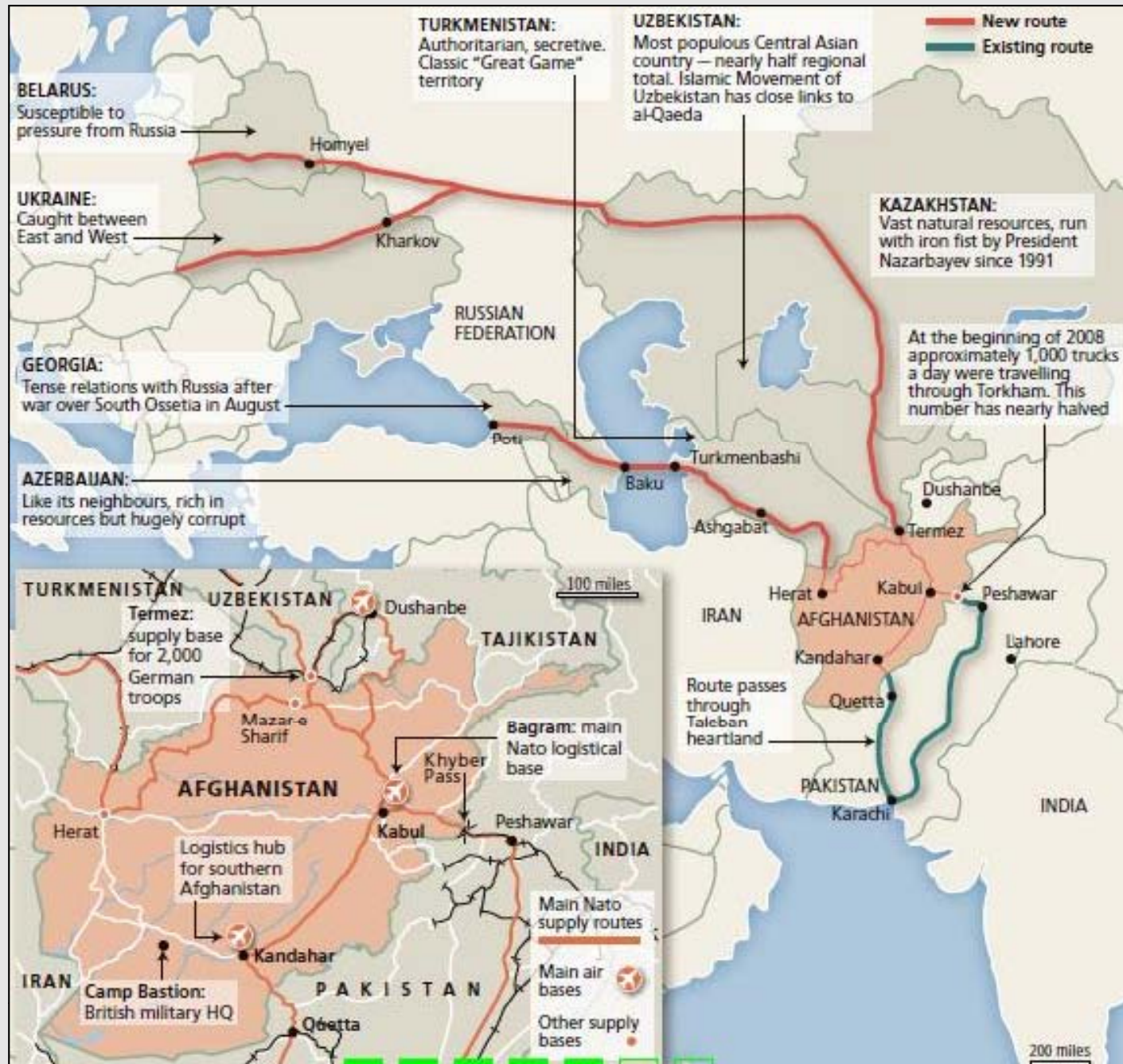
‘The biggest potential choke point ... lies in **Uzbekistan**, a former Soviet republic that borders northern Afghanistan. It previously had kicked the U.S. military out of the country after **Washington complained about the killing of hundreds of protesters [in Andijan] in 2005**. But as the United States has deepened its involvement in Afghanistan, relations with Uzbekistan have warmed up again. Today, more than 80 percent of supplies shipped along the Northern Distribution Network pass through the country.’

‘Uzbekistan has been assailed by human rights groups for repression under President Islam Karimov, who has ruled the country since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Freedom House, a Washington-based advocacy group, ranks it as one of the nine worst countries in the world for civil liberties and political rights.

‘From 2001 to 2005, the U.S. military relied on an Uzbek air base as a hub for combat and supply missions to Afghanistan. **U.S. forces were evicted from the base after Washington pressured Karimov** to allow an international probe into the deaths of hundreds of anti-government protesters in the province of Andijan. **Since 2008, however, Washington has steadily worked to repair relations.** A stream of U.S. military leaders and diplomats has visited Tashkent, including Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton in December and Denis McDonough, the deputy national security adviser, in late May. Uzbekistan, in turn, has reopened its railroads, highways and airspace for U.S. cargo. Thomas M. Sanderson, an analyst with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said that the Obama administration has continued to raise human rights concerns with Uzbekistan but that the Afghan supply routes usually take precedence.’

*Craig Whitlock, ‘US turns to other routes to supply Afghan War’,
Washington Post, 3 July 2011*

Inside Afghanistan





Inside Afghanistan: Air Supply

By the end of 2009 roughly 30-40 per cent of FOBs supplied by air from Karachi or Bagram because the Taliban controlled the 'ring road'

3.5 million lbs supplies airdropped in 2006
60 million lbs supplies airdropped in 2010
80 million lbs supplies airdropped in 2011



**"We're going to burn a lot of
gas to drop a lot of gas. "**

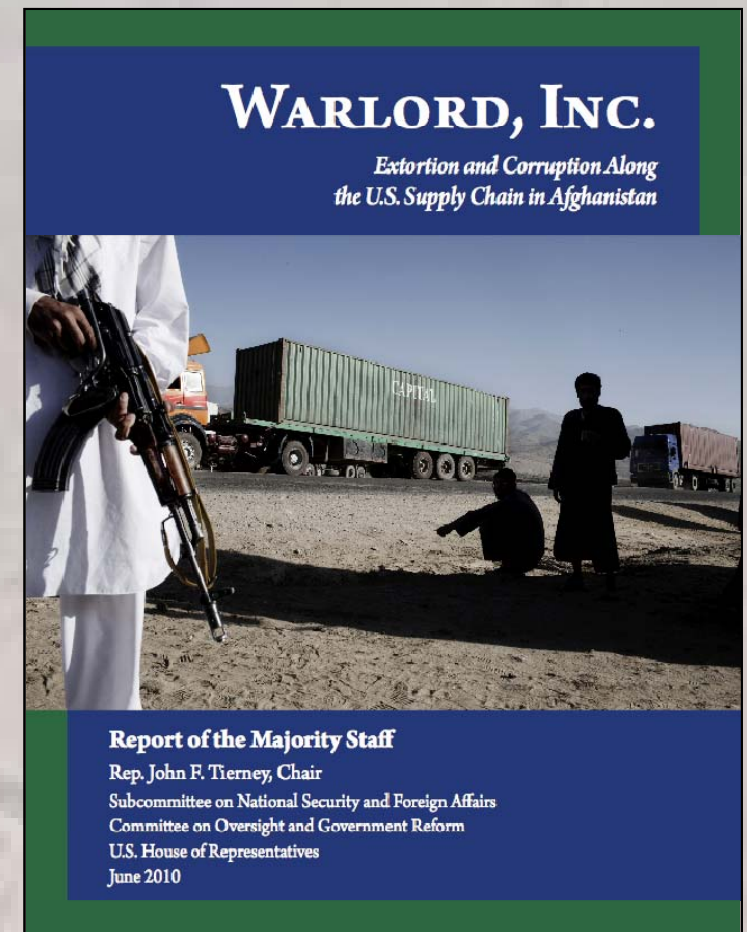
***Captain Zack Albaugh,
774th Expeditionary Airlift Squadron***



Inside Afghanistan: Host Nation Trucking

'In Afghanistan, the U.S. military faces one of the most complicated and difficult supply chains in the history of warfare. **The task of feeding, fueling, and arming American troops at over 200 forward operating bases and combat outposts sprinkled across a difficult and hostile terrain with only minimal road infrastructure is nothing short of herculean.** In order to accomplish this mission, the Department of Defense employs a hitherto unprecedented logistics model: **responsibility for the supply chain is almost entirely outsourced to local truckers and Afghan private security providers.**

'[Since May 2009] the principal contract supporting the U.S. supply chain in Afghanistan is ... **Host Nation Trucking, a \$2.16 billion contract split among eight Afghan, American, and Middle Eastern companies....** The HNT contract provides trucking for **over 70 per cent** of the total goods and material distributed to US troops in the field, roughly **6,000 to 8,000 truck missions per month.** The trucks carry food, supplies, fuel, ammunition and even Mine Resistant Ambush Protected vehicles (MRAPs).'



'The crucial component of the HNT contract is that the **prime contractors are responsible for the security of the cargo that they carry....**

'A typical convoy of 300 supply trucks going from Kabul to Kandahar will travel with 400 to 500 guards in dozens of trucks armed with heavy machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades.'

'Nearly all of the risk on the supply chain is borne by contractors, their local Afghan truck drivers, and the private security companies that defend them ... [and this] allows the United States to dedicate a greater proportion of its troops to other counterinsurgency priorities instead of logistics.'



‘Security for the U.S. Supply Chain is principally provided by warlords. The principal private security subcontractors on the HNT contract are warlords, strongmen, commanders, and militia leaders who compete with the Afghan central government for power and authority. Providing “protection” services for the U.S. supply chain empowers these warlords with money, legitimacy, and a *raison d’être* for their private armies.’

Commander Ruhullah, and his Commando Security company, in association with Watan Risk Management, ‘is the single largest security provider for the US supply chain in Afghanistan... [and] guards roughly **3,500 US supply trucks every month**... For [the three-day journey] between Maydan Shahr and Kandahar, Commander Ruhullah charges **up to \$1,500 per truck.**’

