Human Rights and Post-War Reconstruction: State-Building in Afghanistan

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State-building—the creation of new governmental institutions and the strengthening of existing ones—is a crucial issue for the world community today. Weak or failed states are close to the root of many of the world's most serious problems, from poverty and AIDS to drug trafficking and terrorism. While we know a lot about state-building, there is a great deal that we do not know, particularly about how to transfer strong institutions to developing countries. We know how to transfer resources, people, and technology across cultural borders. But well-functioning public institutions require certain habits of mind, and operate in complex ways that resist being moved. We need to focus a great deal more thought, attention, and research on this area (Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy*, April 2004).

Since the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan in late 2001, Afghan citizens and members of the global community have been grappling with the question of how to build a state that can fill the void created by decades of conflict and violence. However, the concept of "state-building" is complex. The term describes both an internal process and international assistance; it requires short-term action as well as a long-term vision. While no precise formula for state-building exists, there are historical precedents and "models" of state-building expressed by great powers and multilaterals. In reality, however, these are based on best guesses that fail to be universally applicable. Some models of state-building are transferable to a degree, but ultimately require attention to the uniqueness and historical experience of each country.

The state-building process results in a fundamental re-structuring of many facets of a society and changes the way that state relates to the rest of the world. Several concerns that either shape the state-building process or that arise directly from it can be identified. Past experiences have bearing on the kinds of social arrangements that will be deemed acceptable. Establishing peace and security is also a major state-building concern, particularly in a country like Afghanistan that has experienced decades of violent conflict. Without the rule of law, it becomes next to impossible to deal with other aspects of state-building. Social welfare is another issue that all states must deal with, yet developing and sustaining infrastructure to meet social welfare needs like healthcare and education are considerably more complex in a post-conflict setting. Reconstruction of the economic and political institutions, is perhaps the most important means to ensuring long-term success of a state. Without a well-functioning government apparatus and an efficient and productive economy, no state will be able to maintain basic state functions. Finally, state-building also has an international component that evolved as a result of international interventions in a number of "failed" states during the second half of the mid-twentieth century.

History and Background

The history of a country shapes the worldview of its citizens and their expectations for the future. This section includes articles that look at various aspects Afghanistan's history that brought it to be known as a "failed" state. The articles also contain background information about the various social and regional issues.

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2003. "The Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan". *Background Notes on Countries of the World 2003.* 1.

Abstract: *This article provides information on Afghanistan. Kabul is the capital of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is often called the crossroads of Central Asia and has a turbulent history. With Coalition support Afghan capacity to secure its borders and internal order is increasing. An Afghan National Army is being trained, as police. Ministries especially the Ministry of Defense is being reorganized to reflect Afghanistan's ethnic diversity. Historically, there has been a dearth of information and reliable statistics about Afghanistan's economy. The Soviet invasion and ensuing civil war destroyed much of the underdeveloped country's limited infrastructure and disrupted normal patterns of economic activity. Gross domestic product has fallen substantially over the past 20 years because of loss of labor and capital and disruption of trade and transport. Continuing internal strife hampered both domestic efforts at reconstruction as well as international aid efforts. The Afghan economy continues to be overwhelmingly agricultural, despite the fact that only 12% of its total land area is arable and less than 6% currently is cultivated. Opium has became a source of cash for many Afghans, especially following the breakdown in central authority after the Soviet withdrawal, and opium-derived revenues probably constituted a major source of income for the two main factions.*

Mohammed Haneef Atmar. 2001. "Politicisation of Humanitarian Aid and Its Consequences for Afghans". *Disasters.* 25(4): 321.

Abstract: *This paper outlines the implications of international approaches to humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan, focusing in particular on the period since the Taliban assumed power. It argues that international efforts to use conditionality on humanitarian assistance have proved ineffective in influencing the Taliban's policies, & have been implemented despite the negative impact on the welfare of the whole population. Efforts to adopt a principled approach to aid programming in this environment have also raised many ethical dilemmas that are likely to remain major challenges in that country & elsewhere.*

Sultan Barakat. 2002. "Setting the scene for Afghanistan's reconstruction: the challenges and critical dilemmas". *Third World Quarterly.* 23(5): 801.

Abstract: *The current round of fighting in Afghanistan is only the latest twist in a protracted conflict in which the focus of the international community has tended to fluctuate, depending on prevailing geopolitical agendas. Now in its third decade, the war has resulted in massive population displacement, both internal and external, casualty figures in excess of one million, and a serious deterioration in conditions for the civilian population. This paper takes as its starting point the events of 11 September 2001, which led to the recent dramatic changes in Afghanistan, including the Emergency Loya Jirga and other constitutional developments envisaged in the Bonn Agreement. By way of essential background, the paper then offers a brief introduction to the country; it describes the way in which conflict began and traces the various different phases of the war from the late 1970s to the present day. In so doing, it seeks to outline the global and historical context of the current crisis in Afghanistan. It considers the challenges that need to be addressed in order to achieve effective post-conflict reconstruction and development. Finally, it offers a brief overview of current UN plans for Afghanistan's reconstruction and outlines a number of critical dilemmas facing those involved in their implementation.*

Sultan Barakat and Margaret Chard. 2002. "Theories, rhetoric and practice: recovering the capacities of war-torn societies". *Third World Quarterly.* 23(5): 817.

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Abstract: *As international attention focuses on the rebuilding of Afghanistan, this paper looks critically at the evolution and meaning of the core concepts underpinning aims and strategies for recovery: the key role of institutional development and capacity building in establishing good governance based on collaboration between state, civil society and market; the empirical consensus, over many decades, for best practice in development; the acknowledgement that recovery of war-torn societies is a development challenge. It is shown that, despite this understanding, operational practice continues to contradict the principles and lessons learned from proven experience. The financial and administrative culture of the international institutions, lack of political will, donor conditionality and recipients' contrary agendas are seen to contribute to this failure. The paper concludes by examining the implications of this analysis for the recovery of Afghanistan.*

Nancy Hatch Dupree. 2002. "Cultural heritage and national identity in Afghanistan". *Third World Quarterly*. 23(5): 977.

Abstract: *An innate sense of the essence of their culture sustained Afghans through 24 years of conflict and displacement. Although they continue to cherish the diversity of regional differences, individuals cling tenaciously to their national identity, upholding traditional values and customs that distinguish them from their neighbours. From the beginning of the twentieth century, attempts to foster unity through nation-building activities in mostly urban areas met with mixed success; the latest attempts to cast Afghans in a puritanical Islamic mould met with disaster. Years of discord stretched taut the fabric of the society and national traits once honoured hallmarks of the culture were compromised. Yet the fundamentals of the culture remain strong, changed in some ways but readily recognisable as uniquely Afghan. Current expectations aim to engage various cultural elements as bonding vehicles to hasten reconstruction and strengthen peace.*

Larry Goodson. 2001. Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional politics, and the Rise of the Taliban. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Examines the recent history of Afghanistan and the importance of its strategic geographical position in the center of Asia. The book also delves into the ongoing ethnic, religious, and social divisions that have been occurring amid war and economic upheaval.

Leila Jazayery. 2002. "The Migration-Development Nexus: Afghanistan Case Study". *International Migration*. 40(5): 231.

Abstract: *This paper looks at the relationship between migration and development in the context of Afghanistan. It begins with a brief outline of the historical and political background to the refugee crisis of the past two decades, and looks briefly at the society and economy of Afghanistan. The history and pattern of aid flows are described and analysed in the next section, followed by consideration of migration and refugee flows over the past two decades, and of remittances and diaspora activities. Repatriation and reconstruction are covered in the following two sections. The penultimate section looks at lessons to be learned for policy making in Afghanistan in the future, and is followed by concluding observations. A cautionary note on data on Afghanistan: although the recent months have seen a surge of interest and writing on Afghanistan, there has always been a shortage of data on the country. Much writing on Afghanistan, both by journalists and a few academics during the 1980s and 1990s, relates to politics, given the Cold War context of the conflict at the time. Most other data available on Afghanistan tend to come from aid agencies involved in the country. While this provides the bulk of information and data on aid and refugee issues — as reflected in the sources used in this paper — it has little to offer on other aspects of life in Afghanistan, especially on recent history and economy.*

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Zamir Kabulov. 2003. "Afghanistan: The Difficult Road to Recovery". International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations. 49(4): 80.

Abstract: *Analyzes the state of Afghanistan's recovery after the removal of the Taliban Movement from power in November 2001. Information on the Agreement on Temporal Mechanisms in Afghanistan; Priorities of the interim administration; Description of the country's armed forces; Plans for economic recovery.*

Nojumi Neamatollah. 2002. The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Traces the history of the Taliban's rise to power. The author explains how Afghanistan became a base for radical fundamentalism and discusses the unique challenges to nation building as a result of internal divisions and detrimental effects of previous foreign interventions.

Ahmed Rashid. 2000. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia. New Haven: Yale University Press.

This book examines the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan beginning with its origins. The Taliban government's impact on politics, economics, and Afghan society is considered as well as the regional implications of Taliban rule. Additionally, the author considers inherent challenges to governance in the country.

Barnett R. Rubin. 2002. The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Examines various aspects of Afghan society, including its history, the evolution of government authority, and Islamism. Contains an updated preface analyzing changes in the country since 9-11 and reflecting on the impact of the Taliban as well as considering implications for reconstruction.

Nazif M. Shahrani. 2002. "War, Factionalism, and the State in Afghanistan". *American Anthropologist*. 104(3): 715.

Abstract: *Since September 11, 2001, the explanations offered to account for the rise of a foreign-led terrorist network on Afghan soil have variously focused on the political vacuum opened up by the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in February 1989, interference by foreign powers in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the failure of Afghanistan to produce a "strong state" because of ethnic factionalism, and an internal moral incoherence inherent to Afghan culture. I argue that none of these explanations is entirely satisfactory in itself. To understand the situation in Afghanistan, we must recognize that its political and military chaos is not an isolated or unique phenomenon, and at the same time acknowledge the particular social and political dynamics of Afghanistan's history that have set the parameters for current events. I show that communal conflicts in Afghanistan are part of a much wider affliction common to many postcolonial states and multinational societies, and that Afghanistan's current situation can only be understood by focusing on its failed attempts at nation-state building within the broader geopolitical circumstance of foreign manipulation and proxy wars that have given rise to particular forms of ethnic division.*

Ravi Tomar and Services Australia. Dept. Of the Parliamentary Lib. Info. And Research. 2002. Afghanistan: a year after. Australia Parliament.

Abstract: *Assesses the situation after the fall of the Taliban regime, including problems such as warlords, and efforts by different factions to unite to rebuild the infrastructure and form an interim administration, with aid from the international community; recommendations and prospects.*

Peace and Security

Without peace and security it is extremely challenging for a state to administer basic services, attract economic investment, or develop effective governing institutions. This section includes articles that examine the security issues facing the Afghan state, from warlords, to transitional justice, to DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration). The articles also contain information about peacebuilding and peacekeeping efforts.

Peacebuilding

2003. Disarmament and Reintegration in Afghanistan. International Crisis Group. ICG Asia Report No. 65. Kabul/Brussels. http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/afghan/2003/0930ICG-report.pdf.

Assesses disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration projects, including the Afghanistan New Beginnings Program. Considers regional peculiarities and provides recommendations for domestic and international action to provide alternatives to former combatants through measures like vocational training.

2003. Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. International Crisis Group. ICG Asia Report No. 64. Kabul/Brussels. http://www.crisisweb.org/library/documents/asia/064___peacebuilding_in_afghanistan.pdf.

Examines local-level disputes over land and water, ethnicity, and family matters--particularly involving women--all of which contribute to a climate of insecurity. The author assesses current efforts to mitigate such conflicts and makes immediate and medium-term recommendations for the Afghan government and the international community.

2005. Promotion of Sustainable Livelihoods Programme. United Nations Development Programme. Afghanistan Country Office. http://www.undp.org.af/media_room/archives/key_docs/docs/factsheets/psl_factsheet_01_10_04.pdf.

Contains information about UNDP sustainable livelihoods programs, which aim to seize on critical windows of opportunity through peace-building efforts and by laying the foundations for sustainable recovery. Details efforts in the following areas: "reconstruction, rehabilitation and employment generation," "reduction of threats to human security," and the Ogata Initiative.

Ted Gurr. 2002. "Attaining Peace In Divided Societies: Five Principles Of Emerging Doctrine". *International Journal on World Peace.* 19(2): 27.

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Abstract: *This article presents information on attaining peace in divided societies. Recent social transformations bespeak a new global doctrine for managing conflicts in heterogeneous societies. It includes respect for minority rights, democratic processes and international intervention. Forced assimilation, racial separation and ethnic cleansing have been added to the relics of colonial conquest and imperial rule. While these older strategies still have local defenders and practitioners, the most influential international actors now assert the normative and practical superiority of pluralism, power-sharing and regional autonomy within existing states. The author concludes by observing that the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan can be viewed as consistent with these post-Cold War principles. An extraordinary shift has taken place in the last decade in strategies for the transformation of what the author calls ethno-political conflicts-conflicts in which cultural, racial and religious minorities seek equal rights and political participation and national peoples demand self-determination. These transformations are hardly isolated. Instead they bespeak a new global doctrine for managing conflicts in heterogeneous societies.*

Chris Herlinger. 2003. "Reconciliation crucial to reconstruction". *National Catholic Reporter.* 39(10): 12.

Abstract: *Studies the importance of reconciliation on the rebuilding of Afghanistan after a U.S.-led attack against the Taliban government in 2002. Emphasis on peace-building; Integrating peace-building and conflict resolution into existing Catholic Relief Services' relief and reconstruction programs.*

Mahmood Monshipouri. 2003. "NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan". *International Peacekeeping.* 10(1): 138.

Abstract: *The article focuses on peacebuilding operations of nongovernmental organizations in Afghanistan. Post-conflict societies face a bewildering array of economic, social and political difficulties. In the absence of international support and commitment, successful recovery from civil war, lawlessness and displacement is virtually impossible. Attempts to simultaneously reconstruct the country and build the capacity of people to provide for their basic needs are crucial. Consequently, confronting sources of insecurity affecting people and communities on the one hand and promoting nation building on the other are central to building peace in Afghanistan. In fact, these tasks are not entirely unrelated. It has become increasingly evident that coping with humanitarian crises in post-conflict societies requires a multi-track approach, combining efforts that aim at achieving relief, development and governance. In post-Taliban Afghanistan, tasks of nation building and refugee repatriation must be juxtaposed. The study centres particularly on three key themes: order and security are crucial to nation building in Afghanistan; peacebuilding is inextricably intertwined with the larger context of reconstruction; and conflict resolution must be seen as a main goal of development policy.*

Deepa Ollapally. 2003. Unfinished business in Afghanistan: warlordism, reconstruction, and ethnic harmony. United States Institute of Peace.

Discusses challenges to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, with particular attention to security threats posed by warlords and competition among ethnic groups for political influence. The article also reflects on the importance of continued involvement of the international community for the development of peace and democracy.

Alpaslan Ozerdem. 2002. "Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Afghanistan: Lessons Learned from a Cross-Cultural Perspective". *Third World Quarterly.* 23(5): 961.

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Abstract: *Experience shows that there is a close interrelationship between the successful disarmament, demobilization, & reintegration (DDR) of former combatants and the sustainability of peace-building processes. While drawing on lessons learned from recent DDR experiences elsewhere, this paper takes into account the contextual differences of Afghanistan. It explores the context of a future Afghan DDR process under three main subheadings: the need for reviewing the sequencing of the DDR process, the dilemma of whether former combatants should be given preferential treatment, and planning and co-ordination challenges for linking DDR with the overall peace-building process.*

Astri Suhrke; Kristian Berg Harpviken and Arne Strand. 2002. "After Bonn: Conflictual Peace Building". *Third World Quarterly*. 23(5): 875.

Abstract: *The Bonn Agreement of Dec 2001 lays the foundations for a political transition in Afghanistan after 23 years of war. The agreement excludes the defeated party, the Taliban, while seeking to commit the remaining groups to a long-term and loosely defined peace process. With Afghan regionally based political-military groups defined largely along ethnic lines, and closely linked to external powers, rebuilding national authority will be a slow & conflictual process. Rebuilding the coercive capacity of the state is essential to overcome strong centrifugal tendencies, yet must be timed so as not to get ahead of the restoration of legitimate political authority. International assistance can support the political recovery by being conscious of the need to neutralize the "spoilers" of the peace process. Making haste slowly in aiding economic recovery can prevent armed competition for power at the center. To promote this kind of transition, and promote Afghan influence in the peace-building process, the international aid community must fundamentally reorient the strategies and methods of past involvement in the country.*

Andreas Wimmer and Conrad Schetter. 2003. "Putting State-Formation First: Some Recommendations for Reconstruction and Peace-Making in Afghanistan". *Journal of International Development*. 15(5): 525-539.

Abstract: *The authors suggest a revision of the current strategy of reconstruction & peace-building in Afghanistan with reference to four points. (i) The programme of reconstruction should have a clear strategic focus & be designed as a state-building project. The main problem Afghanistan faces is the absence of a monopoly of power & of other basic state functions, without which no sustainable economic development is to be expected. Fostering 'civil society' - the standard pre-occupation of many current development co-operation programmes - may have a negative impact in the cases of countries suffering from state failure. (ii) A monopoly of power cannot be established only by building up a central army & disarming or integrating local armed forces. Rather, the loyalty of the country's citizens must be won through a long-term process of providing them with equality before the law & protection from arbitrary violence in such a way as to make them independent of the 'protection' of local strong men or regional warlords. (iii) It is too early to achieve democracy in Afghanistan through elections. A democracy can only release the potential for political integration following successful political stabilization & institutional consolidation. And the institutional framework should be designed in such a way as to avoid an escalation of conflicts along ethno-religious lines. An ethno-religious quota system of the sort that many have in mind at the moment would tend rather to increase such conflict than to reduce it. (iv) A programme of reconstruction & peace-making must necessarily take a long-term perspective. Spending the resources that have now been approved over the next four years & hoping for a continuation of aid approvals in the future is too risky, given the dependence of these approvals on the future political climate.*

Transitional Justice

2003. Afghanistan: Judicial Reform and Transitional Justice. International Crisis Group.

Examines challenges related to the judicial system and its importance for peace building. Considers progress in developing the system, limitations of the Bonn-established independent commissions, and the consequences for human rights. Argues that allowing the Afghan people to decide for themselves how the system will operate is the best option.

Mark A. Drumbl. 2002. "The Taliban's 'other' crimes". *Third World Quarterly*. 23(6): 1121.

Abstract: *This paper explores possible legal responses to the Taliban's 'other' crimes, those inflicted against Afghans during Taliban rule. This criminality largely has been rendered invisible by virtue of the international community's focus on punishing the Taliban's support of transnational terrorists, in particular al-Qaeda. This invisibility is problematic given that carefully constructed prosecutions of these 'other' crimes could play an important role in post-conflict reconciliation and national reconstruction in Afghanistan. Such reconciliation and reconstruction can legitimise a representative post-conflict state and curb terrorist recidivism.*

Barnett R. Rubin and Andrea Armstrong. 2003. "Regional Issues in the Reconstruction of Afghanistan". *World Policy Journal*. 20(1): 31.

Abstract: *Discusses several regional issues in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Consequence of the proliferation of armed groups in the region; Resumption of drug trafficking; Views on the need for regional cooperation.*

Rule of Law

2005. Afghanistan: Getting Disarmament Back on Track. International Crisis Group. Asia Briefing No. 35.

Discusses the importance of processes of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration for peace-building and establishing rule of law. Takes stock of the failures of the DDR process thus far, explains how the US and Afghan governments are complicit in sustaining militias, and talks about new approaches to DDR.

Rachel Bronson. 2002. "When Soldiers Become Cops". *Foreign Affairs*. 81(6): 122.

Abstract: *As Afghanistan has shown, keeping the peace in foreign lands requires a variety of tools--some of which Washington just does not have. Rather than avoid peacekeeping entirely, the US government ends up sending in elite military units that get bogged down for years. Developing a constabulary force would be a better answer.*

Ali A. Jalali. 2002. "Rebuilding Afghanistan's national army".

Abstract: *Discusses recreation of the state military following destruction of the Taliban regime; US training assistance and prospects for political stability. Tribal fighters and government soldiers, evolution of Afghan national armed forces, politicization and disintegration of the army, ethnic balance, and structure of the military establishment, and command and control.*

Christian Parenti. 2004. "WHO RULES AFGHANISTAN. " *Nation*. 279(16): 13.

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Abstract: *Considers the current political situation in Afghanistan. Influence and power of the mujahedeen warlords, or jangsalaran; Reference to these men as America's allies, central players in the international effort to rebuild a state in the world's third-poorest country; Concern that these same men who killed between 40,000 and 50,000 civilians during their factional fighting in Kabul between 1992 and 1994 are now being included in the government and given new power and legitimacy; Concerns about the upcoming presidential election; Signs of chaos and corruption in the country; Reference to a broken economy and the exploitation of citizens.*

Gordon Peake. 2003. "From Warlords to Peacelords?" *Journal of International Affairs*. 56(2): 181.

Abstract: *Presents information on leadership and political change in Afghanistan as of 2003. Discussion on warlord politics; History of the political prominence of leaders; Information on the attacks of September 11, 2001 and the ensuing U.S.-led war against the Taliban.*

Omar Saba and Daud S. Zakhilwal. Shahrbanou Tadjakhsh, Ed. 2004. <u>Afghanistan National Human Development Report 2004: Security with a Human Face, Challenges and Responsibilities</u>. http://www.undp.org/dpa/nhdr/af/AfghanHDR2004.htm.

Abstract: *Security is not just the end of war, but the ability to go about one's business safely, to go to work or home, to travel outside knowing that one's family will not suffer harm. It is the assurance that development gains made today will not be taken away tomorrow. For Afghans, human security is not only the ability to survive, but also the chance to live a life of dignity and have adequate livelihoods. Bringing an end to insecurity should not therefore be sought solely through short-term military solutions, but with a long-term, comprehensive strategy that abides by the promises of development and the promotion of human rights. This NHDR ventures beyond the traditional narrative of the "security problem" in Afghanistan. It proposes that the real security challenge is for the reconstruction process to generate the means to provide services and jobs, and protect human rights, especially in rural areas. Insecurity in Afghanistan is not only a problem of physical safety, but also of deprivation and restricted access to health and education facilities, legal and political rights, and social opportunities.*

Mark Sedra. 2002. <u>Challenging the warlord culture: security sector reform in post-Taliban Afghanistan</u>. Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) GmbH/Internationales Konversionszentrum Bonn.

Provides an assessment of the security situation in Afghanistan through September 2002, noting the need for holistic security sector reform, including development of an army and police force, and DDR. Problems related to warlord resurgence are discussed and recommendations for amelioration of the security situation are given.

Social Welfare

One of the most important roles of a functioning state is providing its citizens with a basic level of human welfare. This section includes articles that look at health and education. It also contains information about infrastructure and resource management.

Infrastructure and Resource Management

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Masood Ahmad and Wasiq Mahwash. 2004. <u>Water Resource Development in Northern Afghanistan and Its Implication for Amu Darya Basin</u>. The World Bank Group. Download the report <u>here</u>.

Abstract: *This study examines increased water use by Afghanistan and its implications for other water users in the basin, including the Aral Sea, both in the short and long run through an overview of: a) the amount of Amu Darya flows generated in northern Afghanistan; b) the amount of water presently used in northern Afghanistan, prospective use in the near future, and possible impact of the increased use on the riparian states and the Aral Sea; c) existing agreements between Afghanistan and the neighboring Central Asian states regarding the use of waters in the Amu Darya Basin, their relevance and applicability in the present and in the future; and d) future directions for water resources development and improved water management in the basin.*

2002. "Reseeding Afghanistan". *Environment.* 44(5): 7.

Abstract: *Discusses how drought and war have nearly wiped out agriculture in Afghanistan. Number of farmers who lack the seeds they need to rebuild their traditional crops and prevent famine; How a lack of rain prevented seeds from holding into the soil; Amount of wheat produced in 2001, which was about half of what is needed to feed the entire population.*

United Nations Environment Programme. 2003. <u>Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment, Afghanistan</u>. Switzerland: United Nations Environment Programme. <u>http://postconflict.unep.ch/high1.htm</u>.

Abstract: *This report presents facts on the state of the environment, specific findings concerning the urban environment and the natural resources in Afghanistan and recommendations on how to improve environmental conditions and policies.*

Andrew G. Wright. 2004. "Rebuilding Afghanistan Poses Unconventional Challenges". *ENR: Engineering News-Record.* 252(14): 12.

Abstract: *Security is the overriding issue for reconstruction work in Afghanistan but there are other challenges there as well. "The infrastructure base is not as well developed as in Iraq," says General Robert S. Flowers, chief of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The educational system has really been disrupted by three decades of warfare. Afghanistan's tribal leaders, have long been dependent on the opium and hashish trade. They have mineral wealth in the ground, but they would require some investment to develop it. Progress is slow and funds are tight, with most Americans' attention now directed to Iraq. Corps uniformed and civilian personnel provide technical staff for more than $800 million worth of work for the U.S. Agency for International Development. The 2004 goal for schools and clinics is 407 new and rehabilitation projects, spread across the country.*

Education

UNICEF: Afghanistan. <u>http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/afghanistan_afghanistan_latest.html.</u>

This website contains information about UNICEF's programs in Afghanistan, including press releases, newsletters and other publications, country background information, stories and statistics.

UNICEF. 2003. Rebuilding Hope in Afghanistan. UNICEF.

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This report contains pictures and descriptions demonstrating how UNICEF's efforts in the area of education are affecting the lives of individuals. The beginning of the report contextualizes the problems facing the education system and emphasizes the importance of immediate action.

Rebecca Winthrop. 2003. "Reflections on Working in Post-Conflict Afghanistan". *Women's Studies Quarterly*. 31(3/4): 247.

Abstract: *Discusses the reconstruction of the educational system in Afghanistan after two decades of war. Recognition of realities for whom development is intended; Culture of professional development practitioners; Growth of demand for professional women in the country.*

Health

2002. "WHO seeks major support for reconstruction of Afghan health services". *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*. 80(4): 339.

Abstract: *Reports on the efforts of the World Health Organization to seek supports for the reconstruction of the health services in Afghanistan. Development of a functional health care system; Rate of maternal mortality; Management of childhood illness.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2004. "Health and money in Afghanistan". *Lancet*. 364(9442): 1301.

Abstract: *Reviews reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan on the eve of its first presidential elections. Health programs which are suffering despite the claims of success by U.S. President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister, Tony Blair; Lack of funding for the Afghan ministry of health which prevents even the most basic health care access to the people; Worst hit programme which has been the Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS) which aims to address major public health areas such as maternal and newborn health, child health and immunisation, nutrition, communicable diseases, essential drugs and mental health services; Statistics on maternal mortality rate and the under-5 death numbers which are due in part to the lack of transportation and even roads to medical facilities; Cultural barriers to maternal care; Mental health status of women in Afghanistan; Discouraging figures on child health; Role of the World Health Organisation in reconstruction of the health sector.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2003. "Warlords and bandits slow Afghanistan's efforts to rebuild". *Lancet*. 362(9385): 710.

Abstract: *After decades of war and misrule, Afghanistan's health system is in shambles. The country also has one of the highest tuberculosis rates in the world. Although donors attending the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in Tokyo in January, 2002, pledged US $5.1 billion for road reconstruction and other projects, only $2 billion has been disbursed. Recently President Hamid Karzai, angered by poor revenue collection, summoned 12 provincial governors to Kabul and threatened to resign if they did not deliver about $60 million a year in revenues due to the central government.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2002. "New commission to look at reconstructing Afghanistan". *Lancet*. 359(9300): 55.

Reports that the Afghan interim government has set up a commission charged with drawing up a plan for the reconstruction of Afghanistan, following both a civil war and the American

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intervention. Plans to present the plan to international donors during a discussion of a five-year reconstruction plan; Forecast costs of the plan; Public health risks in Afghanistan, including an inability to transport relief supplies to various regions.

Khabir Ahmad. 2002. "Regional instability further slows Afghanistan's reconstruction". *Lancet*. 360(9335): 736.

Abstract: *Discusses reconstruction in Afghanistan in light of a pledge of aid to the country by rich nations. Concern that recovery in the country is delayed; Challenges of the reconstruction of the health sector in the country; Insecurity in Afghanistan, which may affect neighboring countries.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "WHO and humanitarian aid groups take first steps to rebuild Afghanistan". *Lancet*. 358(9296): 1884.

Abstract: *Reports on the November 27, 2001 World Health Organization (WHO) meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan to promote health care in Afghanistan. Comments of Gro Harlem Brundtland, director general of WHO; Indication that 23 years of war has destroyed the public-health system; Data on the high maternal mortality rate and malnutrition in children.*

Barbara Ayotte. 2002. "Women's Health and Human Rights in Afghanistan: Continuing Challenges". *Journal of Ambulatory Care Management*. 25(2): 75.

Abstract: *Physicians for Human Rights has released a ground-breaking survey of more than 1,000 Afghan women and men on their attitudes and experiences regarding health and human rights for Afghan women. Health care for women in Afghanistan still poses daunting challenges.*

M. Miles. 2002. "Formal and informal disability resources for Afghan reconstruction". *Third World Quarterly*. 23(5): 945.

Abstract: *After 23 years of turbulence the number of disabled Afghans is unknown and formal services are minimal. The great majority live with whatever resources they find in themselves and their families, the normal pattern throughout history. Informal help and some cultural resources of Afghan history and Muslim teaching are noted in this paper, together with some common negative views. UN agencies and NGOs have made efforts to promote an adapted Community Based Rehabilitation in Afghanistan from the 1980s to the present and to transfer rehabilitation knowledge and skills to families with disabled members. Some local resource centres and community disability organisations have developed and can be a useful basis for disability planning in the anticipated national reconstruction. Emphasis should be given to the participation of disabled people as beneficiaries and employees in all reconstruction programmes, which should proceed in consultation with families and disabled individuals.*

Valery Ridde. 2005. "Performance-based partnership Agreements for the reconstruction of the health system in Afghanistan". *Development in Practice*. 15(1): 4. www.developmentinpractice.org.

Abstract: *The reconstruction of the health system in Afghanistan is in its early stages, and donors have proposed Performance-based Partnership Agreements (PPAs) through which to subcontract the delivery of health services to private organisations, both for-profit and not-for-profit. Beyond ideological debates, this article sets out to explain the model underlying the PPA initiative and sheds light on empirical data concerning the assumed benefits of such an approach. The article studies privatisation and the contracting-out of health services, though there is as yet no*

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information that can demonstrate the superiority of private over public service provision. Similarly, the merits of subcontracting have not been fully proven and such arrangements raise several ethical issues. Where PPAs are to be attempted, it is important to remain cautious and to ensure that operations are organised in such a way as to permit proper comparison. The paper concludes with recommendations to organisations involved in or considering the advantages of PPAs.

Political and Economic Reconstruction

Establishing effective institutions and an economy that is productive and efficient is critical for the long-term viability of any developing or post-conflict state. This section includes articles that examine a wide-array of political and economic issues. It also contains information specifically about women's involvement.

Women's Participation

2004. "Afghan Women's Bill of Rights". *Journal of Democracy*. 15(1): 188.

> Abstract: *Reports on the third annual conference of Women for Afghan Women in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Number of women leaders signed the Afghan Women's Bill of Rights; Creation of the Bill of Rights by the participants; Distribution of the Bill of Rights throughout the country to educate communities.*

2003. Afghanistan: Women and Reconstruction. International Crisis Group.

> Considers the role and capacity of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Expresses concern about the sustainability of initial gains in women's rights and discusses the role of donors in integrating gender equality into the new government. Proposes recommendations to make women's involvement more effective and meaningful.

Hayat Alvi. 2003. "Reconstruction in Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Women and Education". *Resources for Feminist Research/Documentation sur la Recherche Feministe*. 30(3-4): 13.

> Abstract: *This paper examines the postwar needs & priorities of women & the reconstruction of the ruined education system in post-Taliban Afghanistan. The country's reconstruction & short- & long-term development profoundly depend on the ability to establish & secure secular educational institutions. Should Afghanistan's reconstruction fail to address women's empowerment through the education system, there could be a serious risk of repeating the tragically destructive modern history of the region.*

Sara Austin. 2001. "WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? Debating Afghanistan's Future". *Nation*. 273(22): 11.

> Abstract: *It is informed that Sima Wali, president and chief executive officer of Refugee Women in Development and driving Force behind the Afghan Women's Summit, originally envisioned the event as a way to promote women's involvement in the peace process in Afghanistan. But with the Taliban crumbling faster than anyone had imagined, by the time the Summit opened on December 4, the peace process was already wrapping up in Bonn. It is further informed that the Afghan government headed by Hamid Karzai, only three of the thirty cabinet*

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positions went to women. Suhaila Seddiqi, a Tajik surgeon from Kabul, was named health minister in the new interim government.

Zama Coursen-Neff and Human Rights Watch. 2002. <u>"We want to live as humans": repression of women and girls in western Afghanistan</u>. Human Rights Watch. <u>http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/afghnwmn1202/</u>.

Abstract: *Describes their political, economic, and social marginalization in Herat province and city under the local governor, Ismail Khan, their limited freedom of movement, discrimination in their right to work and education, Khan's human rights violations, and continued presence of many Taliban-era restrictions in Herat; recommendations. Based on more than 120 interviews in Herat city and Kabul, Sept.-Nov. 2002.*

Jackie Kirk. 2004. "Promoting a gender-just peace: the roles of women teachers in peacebuilding and reconstruction". *Gender & Development.* 12(3): 50.

Abstract: *Schools--however temporary and improvised they may be--are often among the first community organisations to start functioning after a crisis. It is important that they set a high standard in encouraging the active participation of women in reconstruction and peacebuilding after conflict. This article examines the potential of women teachers for significant participation in building a gender-just peace, and the challenges that exist for women to fulfil this potential. Drawing on examples from a number of different contexts, especially Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and south Sudan, it discusses women teachers' personal and professional development. It identifies some of the challenges faced by women in becoming teachers, and strategies to support women teachers to become agents of change in their societies.*

Mariam Rawi. 2004. "Betrayal". *Reproductive health matters.* 12(23): 116.

Abstract: *Equality for women was non-existent in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. Today, although girls & women in Kabul & some other cities are free to go to school & have jobs, this is not the case in most parts of the country. Armed local warlords have their own rules & governments which brutalize people - especially women. In some areas where girls' education does exist, parents are too afraid to allow their daughters to take advantage of it, following the burning down of several girls' schools. Girls have been abducted on the way to school, & sexual assaults on children of both sexes are now commonplace. The "war on terrorism" has toppled the Taliban, but with the warlords back in power, one misogynist fundamentalist regime has been replaced with another. Yet there is resistance. Last year, strong voices of opposition against fundamentalists were heard from the women in the traditional Loya Jirga assembly. And the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) is continuing its efforts towards freedom, democracy, secularism & women's rights. Afghan women cannot fight for their rights without education. For this reason, we have concentrated on raising awareness, organizing women in the legal & social sectors, & increasing education & literacy among them. Armed with education, Afghan women cannot continue to be ignored.*

Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). <u>http://www.rawa.org/.</u>

Website of the oldest political-social organization of Afghan women (founded in 1977). The anti-fundamentalist group is interested in peace, freedom, democracy and women's rights. The site contains links to RAWA publications, important news stories, and stories and pictures that detail the efforts of the organization, including seminars and demonstrations as well as health, education and other social programs.

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Carol J. Riphenburg. 2004. "Post-Taliban Afghanistan: Changed Outlook for Women?" *Asian Survey*. 44(3): 401.

Abstract: *In examining the control women have over family, health & fertility, & cultural expression--three indicators of women's status--it is clear that since the fall of the Taliban, women in Afghanistan lack support for the fundamental functions of a human life & find their choices & decision making frustrated.*

Carol J. Riphenburg. 2003. "Gender relations and development in a weak state: the rebuilding of Afghanistan". *Central Asian Survey*. 22(2/3): 187.

Abstract: *In examining the control women have over family, health & fertility, & cultural expression - three indicators of women's status - it is clear that since the fall of the Taliban, women in Afghanistan lack support for the fundamental functions of a human life & find their choices & decision making frustrated. Adapted from the source document.*

Nawal El Saddawi; Arundhati Roy; Saher Saba; Irene Khan; Z. Institute for Social and Cultural Video Productions and Communications 2004. "Women against wars, wars against women".

Abstract: *Four women talk about wars on the Muslim countries and how they affect women. These women's talks encourage other women to fight for liberation of the oppression they are subject to.*

Sima Wali. 2002. "Afghan Women: Recovering, Rebuilding". *Ethics & International Affairs*. 16(2): 15.

Abstract: *Discusses the life of women in Afghanistan. Actions taken by the Taliban movement; Background on the status of women in the country; Effect of the war on terrorism and its aftermath; Aspect of the effect of the September 11 terrorist attacks.*

Rasna Warah. 2002. "Women Involved in Reconstruction". *UN Chronicle*. 39(2): 64.

Abstract: *Discusses the challenges in the United Nations Human Settlements Program's Community development project in Afghanistan. Establishment of sustainable multi-functional neighborhood centers that provide economic, educational and social benefits to men, boys, women and girls in various communities; Difficulties in integrating women in community development; Role of women in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan.*

Economic Development

2004. Securing Afghanistan's Future: Accomplishments and the Strategic Path Forward. The Government of Afghanistan, Asian Development Bank, United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan, United Nations Development Programme, The World Bank Group.

Outlines a program of investments to lay the foundations for the sustained economic growth needed to support a financially sustainable state that is capable of undertaking social development and poverty reduction. Recommendations focus on creating stability in government and basic infrastructure in order to encourage private investment.

Jason Ben-Meir. 2004. "Create A New Era Of Islamic-Western Relations By Supporting Community Development". *International Journal on World Peace*. 21(1): 43.

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Participatory community development supported by the international community fosters self-reliance and is the key to quelling extremism and to successful economic and political reconstruction in Afghanistan. The article examines several cases, making the argument that even modest investments can have profound implications for peace and development.

A. Bennett (Ed.); B. De Schaetzen; R. van Rooden; L. Dicks-Mireaux; Fischer, F.; T. Kalfon. 2003. Rebuilding a Macroeconomic Framework for Reconstruction and Growth. International Monetary Fund. http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2003/cr03299.pdf.

Describes how the IMF is helping Afghan authorities build sound foundations for economic management and macroeconomic stability as quickly as possible in order to allow for reconstruction and sustained economic recovery. The article explains in length measures being taken, tracing the strengths and weaknesses of various policies and intsitutions.

Adam (Ed.); De Schaetzen Bennett, Bruno; Dicks-Mireaux, Louis; Fisher, Felix; Kalfon, Thierry; Van Rooden, Ron. 2005. Reconstructing Afghanistan. International Monetary Fund.

Provides an overview of the institutional and economic acheivements in Afghanistan from late 2001 to early 2004 and describes the IMF's advisory role in the country. Argues that Afghanistan's economic development along with international involvement will be keys to the prevention of violence and corruption.

William Byrd. 2005. Afghanistan -- State Building, Sustaining Growth, and Reducing Poverty. The World Bank Group. Download the report here.

Abstract: Afghanistan - State Building, Sustaining Growth, and Reducing Poverty provides a greater understanding of the core challenges that lie ahead for Afghanistan and key priorities for national reconstruction. The Afghan economy has been shaped by more than two decades of debilitating conflict and has some very unusual features which this study analyzes. The authors argue that the country must break out of the vicious cycle that would keep it insecure, fragmented politically, weakly governed, poor, dominated by the illicit economy, and a hostage to the drug industry. The study presents key elements for a breakthrough in the next two years but the daunting agenda will require strong commitment, actions, and persistence on the part of the Government and robust support from the international community.

Stephane Guimbert; Richard Bontjer; Carnahan Michael; Nick Manning. (Eds.). 2004. Reforming Fiscal and Economic Management in Afghanistan. The World Bank Group. Download the report here.

Abstract: Reforming Fiscal and Economic Management in Afghanistan sets out the impressive policy and institutional reforms made by the interim and transitional administrations of Afghanistan since the Bonn conference in November 2001. It explores the complexities of managing the significant amount of development assistance and donor interest while balancing the need to respond to donor priorities and to build strong public-sector institutions. The book demonstrates that the budget must be the primary vehicle for developing and then implementing policy, and shows how this strategy has shaped the renewal of Afghanistan's finance ministry. The volume closes with a specific agenda for finance ministry reform and restructuring.

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Graciana Del Castillo. 2003. "Afghanistan: The Way Forward". *Global Governance*. 9(2): 153.

Internationally assisted economic reconstruction in which Afghans feel they have ownership is critical in terms of Afghanistan's prospects for sustainable development. Peace and prosperity in the long term will be contingent on good governance and macroeconomic stability.

Christopher Cramer and Jonathan Goodhand. 2002. "Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better? War, the State, and the 'Post-Conflict' Challenge in Afghanistan". *Development & Change*. 33(5): 885.

State-building in Afghanistan must take into account the historical context of nonlinear development, including repeated failures in dealing with violence, wealth and welfare, and representation and legitimacy. International efforts should focus on economic development, building on established internal interdependencies, in order to strengthen the state's capacity and ensure peace.

Mian Ahad Hayaud-Din. 2003. "The Hawallah network: culture and economic development in Afghanistan". 78(1/2): 21-31.

Abstract: *This study aims to investigate the dangers that Hawallah networks pose for American efforts to reconstruct Afghanistan. In so doing, it will examine whether it is feasible, or even possible, to replace this culturally entrenched system with a modern economic system. Although Afghanistan played a central role in the development of many ancient civilizations, in recent years it has become marginalized in world affairs because of the Afghan government's inability, or, perhaps, lack of desire to participate in the global economy. Since globalization poses many threats to Afghanistan's traditional society, its people and culture have remained resistant to change, a condition often referred to as "counter- globalization." An unfortunate outcome of the use of the term "counter-global" is that it has become synonymous with "anti-global." An examination of Afghan cultural and economic institutions and practices reveals that Afghans have been operating outside rather than against globalization. This is best illustrated by studying the use of the ancient system of Hawallah, which can be translated to English as "bill of exchange" or "promissory note," that combines cultural and economic activities in Afghanistan. An understanding of the ideological underpinnings and operation of the Hawallah system in Afghanistan is crucial in determining the chances for success of current and long-term economic development programs in that country.*

Fiscal Affairs Department International Monetary Fund. 2004. <u>Background Paper for 'Rebuilding Fiscal Institutions in Post-Conflict Countries"</u>. International Monetary Fund. http://www.imf.org/external/np/fad/2005/022505a.htm.

Afghanistan is one of six case studies of countries that have requested technical assistance from the Fiscal Affairs Department of the IMF. Key recommendations on revenue policy and administration and public expenditure management are included, along with a description of lessons learned.

Michael Pugh; Neil Cooper and Jonathan Goodhand. 2004. <u>War Economies in a Regional Context: Challenges of Transformation</u>. Boudler: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

This book emphasizes the role of economic factors in creating conditions that lead to state collapse, give rise to and sustain conflict, and complicate peacebuilding. The chapter on Afghanistan focuses on the history of the Afghan war economy and its implications for

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peacebuilding. The author argues that a strong legitimate state is essential for a successful transition to peace and a legitimate and functioning economy.

Missy Ryan. 2004. "Is Foreign Aid Enough In Afghanistan?" *National Journal.* 36(38): 2821.

Abstract: *Focuses on the inadequacy of the foreign economic assistance extended to Afghanistan for its reconstruction projects as of 2004. Economic condition of the country; Foreign aid donated by the U.S. government to the country; Threat posed to the country's reconstruction process.*

Steven Symansky; Abdelrahmi Bessaha; Edouard Martin; Todd Schneider; Theo Thomas. 2005. International Monetary Fund, Islamic State of Afghanistan: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix. International Monetary Fund, Middle East and Central Asia Department. http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/cat/longres.cfm?sk=18027.0.

Includes a debt sustainability analysis and the medium-term agenda for fiscal structural reforms in Afghanistan. Various scenarios and key themes are examined and in relation to these topics.

Hua Xin. 2003. "Afghan Reconstruction Makes Strides". *Beijing Review.* 46(3): 18.

Abstract: *Reports on the progress of the economic rehabilitation in Afghanistan following the signing of the Bon Agreement in December 2002. Inception of the Afghan Provisional Government; Establishment of the non-factional national army and national police; Launch of the back-to-school campaign.*

Institutions and Capacity-Building

2002. The Afghan Transitional Administration: Prospects and Perils. International Crisis Group. http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1820&l=1.

Highlights successes and failures of the Loya Jigra and implications for security and the role of the Transitional Administration. Explores key aspects of transition, including overhauling the political structure, establishing a national military, and re-building basic infrastructure, as well as the challenge of overcoming sectarian divisions.

Afghanistan Information Management Service (AIMS). http://www.aims.org.af/.

The AIMS project builds information management capacity in government, and also delivers information management services to organizations across Afghanistan. It is expected to be phased out once the Afghan government is able to manage information systems. The website contains comprehensive information about the AIMS project including the wide-array of AIMS-provided services, annual reports and project reports, maps, and district-specific data.

Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). http://www.areu.org.af/.

The AREU is an independent research organization that conducts and facilitates action-oriented research for use in public policy. The organization also promotes a culture of research by

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strengthening the analytical capacity of Afghans. The website contains publications on a variety of issues relevant to public policy in Afghanistan.

2004. Opening Doors to Opportunity: Afghanistan's Millenium Development Goals. United Nations Development Programme. http://www.undp.org/mdg/afghanistan/afghanistan_mdg.pdf.

Provides a summary of Afghanistan's progress towards each of the Millennium Development Goals giving an optimistic prognosis for the future. The report notes considerable progress in health and education, but also continued challenges related to poverty and Afghanistan's position near the bottom of the Human Development Index.

2005. State-Building and Government Support Programme. United Nations Development Programme. http://www.undp.org.af/about_us/overview_undp_afg/sbgs/sbgs.htm.

Factsheet on UNDP involvement in government capacity-building in Afghanistan. Focuses on assistance efforts in the areas of public administration, public sector management, information management, aid coordination and resource management.

Sven Gunnar Simonsen. 2004. "Ethnicising Afghanistan? inclusion and exclusion in post-Bonn institution building". *Third World Quarterly*. 25(4): 707.

Abstract: *This article argues that ethnicity has become increasingly salient in Afghan politics and society during the years of war, and discusses how the country's new institutions can be designed in a way that will contribute towards a reversal of this trend. The article examines a series of policy issues with a bearing on inclusion vs exclusion in inter-ethnic relations: political institution building (institutions of government, electoral system, and centre-region relations), land rights, state religion, the census and the new identity document. For each of these the article discusses what outcome would best contribute to longer-term stability and integration by stimulating inclusive, integrative identities--and what the problems and prospects are for these outcomes to be realised. The article specifically discusses warlords' role as spoilers, and the potential and limitations to the leverage on Afghan politics that is held by international actors, above all the USA.*

Alexander Thier and Jarat Chopra. 2002. "The road ahead: political and institutional reconstruction in Afghanistan". *Third World Quarterly*. 23(5): 893.

Abstract: *After 23 years of war, Afghanistan's political reconstruction faces a daunting number of hurdles. Institutions must be developed at the national, regional and local levels, and a means for interface among these institutions, and between them and an array of international actors, must be created. As each institution defines and develops its role, it will rely on and/or conflict with other institutions at different levels. Establishing a healthy political and societal environment, critical to the success of Afghanistan's new institutions, will require development of organisational infrastructure and power sharing at all levels. Long-term integration needs to be taken into account along with short-term needs. Instability also allows fluidity, and institutions supported by resources now will become embedded in a new political culture. This article seeks to answer the question of what shape these institutions should take, what key considerations will determine their success, and how they can best be supported.*

Ryan J. Watson. 2003. Post Conflict Governance: From Rubble to Reconstruction. National Academy of Public Administration. Washington D.C. and New York.

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Considers the elements of "good governance" in post-conflict settings, arguing that international best practices and disciplined, dynamic reconstruction plans should be established in order to facilitate consolidation and sustainability of democratic regimes. The article also explains the role of national governments in ensuring security, accountability, and maximization of resources.

International Issues in State-Building

State-building is an international affair. Since the end of World War II, state-building in some form or another has been occurring almost continuously. The articles in this section deal with the ideas and best practices that have begun to emerge about the international state-building process. Also included are articles dealing specifically with donor assistance and regional issues.

State-Building

2001. Afghanistan and Central Asia: Priorities for Reconstruction and Development. International Crisis Group. Osh/Brussels. ICG Asia Report No. 26. http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1431&l=1.

Analyzes challenges to reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and suggests critical immediate and medium-term tasks that will facilitate the long-term state-building. Includes recommendations for Afghanistan, its neighbors and the international community.

Nassrine Azimi; Matt Fuller; Hiroko Nakayama. Eds. 2003. Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Japan, Republic of Korea, Cambodia, East Timor and Afghanistan. International Conference on Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Hiroshima, Japan: UNITAR.

Five speeches on reconstruction challenges and a transcript of the discussion are included in the Afghanistan session of the conference. Speakers include: the Afghan Minister for Reconstruction, an official from the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, the Chancellor of Kabul University, and the World Bank Country Director for Afghanistan.

Stuart E. Eizenstat; John Edward Porter and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2005. "Rebuilding Weak States". *Foreign Affairs*. 84(1): 134.

Abstract: *Focuses on the importance of increasing of international security by strengthening weak and failing states. "Postconflict reconstruction" has become the foreign policy issue du jour in Washington. Multiple think-tank studies, a new State Department office, and no fewer than ten proposed congressional bills all tackle the subject. This flurry of activity to rectify a long-ignored deficiency is a welcome development: recent U.S.-led endeavors in Afghanistan and Iraq have demonstrated that the planning, financing, coordination, and execution of U.S. programs for rebuilding war-torn states are woefully inadequate. But the narrow focus on postconflict misses a larger point: there is a crisis of governance in a large number of weak, impoverished states, and this crisis poses a serious threat to U.S. national security. The United States needs a new, comprehensive strategy to reverse this trend and turn back the tide of violence, humanitarian crises, and social upheaval that is sweeping across developing countries from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe--and that could engulf the rest of the world. An effective strategy will embrace a four-pronged approach focused on crisis prevention, rapid response, centralized U.S.*

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decisionmaking, and international cooperation. Securing 50 weak or failing states may seem like a daunting, even overwhelming, task, but it is necessary. In today's globalized world, weak states threaten the United States, regional stability, and international safety in a wide variety of ways. The United States must not acquiesce at a time when its own security is threatened by the weakness of other states. Washington must confront the development problems of faltering states now, before they fail and become unmanageable threats.

Neil A. Englehart. 2003. "In Defense of State Building: States, Rights, and Justice". *Dissent.* 4(213): 18-22.

Abstract: *Argues that relative to nonstate alternatives, state building remains important for the potential human rights, human security, and international peace protection that states can provide. The state monopoly on violence and state bureaucratic organization are briefly discussed, finding that the monopoly on violence coupled with the rule of law creates the potential for rights. State failure is then examined, taking Somalia and Afghanistan as examples. Attention turns to distinguishing nation building from state building, and it is suggested that intervening in the name of democracy is inadequate if the crisis lies with the state's institutions; a minimally functioning state is required for the promotion of democracy to bear fruit. In this light, the example of Burma is considered. Three lessons that the US has learned in the post-Cold War period are cited: (1) Preventing state collapse is preferable to post-collapse intervention. (2) Civilian programs are likely to have more effect than military intervention. (3) Multilateralism will likely be viewed as more legitimate than unilateralism. J. Zendejas.*

Sydney J. Freedberg Jr. 2002. "Rebuilding Afghanistan, And Maybe, Iraq". *National Journal.* 34(47/48): 3488.

Abstract: *Interviews Joseph J. Collins, deputy assistant secretary of the U.S. Defense Department for stability operations, regarding security and reconstruction in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Role of private relief groups and non-governmental organizations; Views on criticisms against the U.S. government and other donor countries; Opinion on the decision of U.S. President George W. Bush to reduce the number of U.S. military peacekeepers.*

Tang Anders Friborg. 2004. "Afghanistan: Lessons Learned from a Post-War Situation". Working Paper no 2004/5(46).

This paper explores lessons learned in the areas of security, governance, and the economic situation post-Bonn. Extrapolating from the Afghan experience, the author draws generalizations about state-building processes and advocates creating stability by employing means that further establishment of the rule of law and that empower citizens.

Francis Fukuyama. 2004. "The Imperative Of State-Building". *Journal of Democracy.* 15(2): 17.

Abstract: *Argues that state-building must become a priority for the world community. Weak or failed states as root of serious global problems, including AIDS, drug trafficking and terrorism; Failure of democratic government; Major responsibility for nation- and state-building assumed by the U.S. in Afghanistan and Iraq.*

Traci Hukill. 2003. "Fresh Worries, New Promises For Afghanistan". *National Journal.* 35(30): 2432.

Abstract: *Discusses the efforts of the administration of Afghan President Hamid Karzai to seek help from U.S. President George W. Bush for peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts in their country as of July 2003. Problems faced by the Afghan government; Possible option of deploying peace troops in the country by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Consequences if Karzai would fail to seek help.*

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Marina Ottaway and Anatol Lieven. 2002. "Rebuilding Afghanistan". *Current History*. 101(653): 133.

> Abstract: *Discusses prospects for democracy, and role of the international community, in light of defeat of the Taliban as a result of US military response to Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attack; some focus on the country's history since the end of the 19th century.*

Sima Samar; Frederick Starr; Marvin G. Weinbaum; Mohammed Ehsan Zia. 2002. "Afghanistan's Reform Agenda: Four Perspectives". *Asian Updates Series*. http://www.asiasociety.org/publications/update_afghanreform.html.

> Abstract: *Addresses vision behind rebuilding process that would engage the international community as well as local actors and stakeholders, following Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the US war on terrorism. Published jointly with the Asian Social Issues Program (ASIP). Contents: Women, children, and the future of education in Afghanistan, by Sima Samar; Afghanistan: free trade and regional information, by Frederick Starr; International assistance for Afghan reconstruction gets a second chance, by Marvin G. Weinbaum; Peace-building in Afghanistan: a role of civil society, by Mohammed Ehsan Zia.*

Mark Sedra. 2004. Security Sector Transformation in Afghanistan. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/Working_Papers/143.pdf.

> Assesses the progress of security sector reform, blaming the "minimalist approach" of the international community for sub-optimal results. Included are descriptions of the transformation process and continuing insecurities, efforts to instill principles of good governance, lessons learned, and recommendations for correcting the current trajectory.

S. Frederick Starr. 2004. "Silk Road to Success". *The National Interest*. (78): 8.

> Despite dismal predictions about the October 2004 Afghan elections, the outcome was largely successful, a fact the author attributes to the redoubled efforts of the U.S. through the "Accelerating Success" program. The article discusses participation in the election, disarmament and demobilization, economic development prospects, and possibilities for stability.

Donor Assistance

2005. The World Bank in Afghanistan: Country Update. View the update here.

> Gives an overview of World Bank involvement in Afghanistan, which includes providing grants and technical assistance, administering the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund, and cooperatively developing the Afghan Human Development Report. Describes individual reconstruction projects, providing information about grant sources and amounts.

Chris Herlinger. 2003. "Rebuilding Afghanistan". *National Catholic Reporter*. 39(10): 12.

> Abstract: *Focuses on the rebuilding of Afghanistan after a U.S.-led attack against the Taliban government in 2002. Depletion of the country's infrastructure; Fragility of the country's civil society and central government; Importance of the international community's long-term commitment to rebuilding the country.*

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International Monetary Fund Middle Eastern Department and the Policy Development and Review Department. 2002. <u>Report on Recent Economic Development and Prospects, and the Role of the Fund in the Reconstruction Process</u>. International Monetary Fund. http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2002/cr02219.pdf.

> Discusses prospects for economic reconstruction in Afghanistan, noting that support of the international community will be required, both in terms of reconstruction strategy and donor assistance. Explains that security concerns limit involvement of the Fund, despite development of the Bonn Agreement and Afghan efforts to achieve macroeconomic stability.

Shrayas A. Jatkar. 2002. "Debating Reconstruction in Afghanistan: The World Bank and Pakistani NGOs". *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 21(3): 88.

> Abstract: *Reports the meeting of World Bank and other development agencies in Islamabad, Pakistan. Focus on the rebuilding of Afghanistan; Classification of committees and work groups; Discussion on education and private sector development.*

Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren. Eds. 2005. <u>Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges</u>. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

> Identifies and discusses problems related to postconflict development. Contains a chapter on donor lessons from Palestine for Afghanistan. Comparison is based on the fact that both projects represented financial commitments greater than typical development assistance programs, and were undertaken amid uncertainty and violence.

P. Marsden. 2003. "Afghanistan: the reconstruction process". *International Affairs*. 79(1): 91.

> Abstract: *In this article the author focuses initially on the degree of support provided by the international community to the interim administration of Afghanistan and notes that the pledges made at the Tokyo Conference do not equate to the per capita levels of funding made available for other recent emergencies. He draws attention to the inter–relationship between security and funding for reconstruction and comments that the recent decision of the US government to join with others in agreeing to finance work to upgrade the major highway system is very timely in shoring up the regime in the wake of the recent assassination attempt on Hamid Karzai. He stresses that the international community needs to provide sustained support to the new government if it is to survive. He also analyses the complex relationship between the administration and the aid community and reports on the calls by the government to be given the major part of the resources allocated by international donors and to be supported to take the lead in determining policy and strategy. The author notes the nature of the Afghan economy and the potential for reconstruction, taking account of the economic impact of the conflict, the progress made by the aid community since 1992, the humanitarian crisis arising from the drought of 1999–2001 and the large scale, mainly involuntary, return of refugees from Pakistan and Iran since March 2002. He comments on the fact that the agricultural economy cannot support its population, on the need for economic safety valves in the form of migration to Pakistan and Iran, on the availability of camps for internally displaced people, and on urbanization. In concluding the author is both optimistic and cautious, noting the fragility of the situation, but also acknowledging that the international community is taking timely action to address it through reconstruction assistance although it remains reluctant to give sufficient priority to security provision.*

Josh Martin. 2002. "Rebuilding Afghanistan: A Multibillion Plan". *Middle East*. 321): 5.

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Abstract: *Focuses on the reconstruction of war-torn Afghanistan. Foreign aid to the country; Provision of political stability to its interim government; Threat of the warlords in the country.*

World Bank ARTF Administrator. 2004. Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund Report to Donors: Third Quarter of the Afghan Fiscal Year 1383 (September 22, 2004 to December 20, 2004). ARTF Management Committee: Asian Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, United Nations Development Program, World Bank. Download the report here.

Updates progress on projects funded by the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund, looking at the two major components of the Fund: the Recurrent and Capital Costs Window and the Investment Window. Includes detailed description of current and proposed reconstruction projects and tables of expenditures, donor contributions and donor preferences.

Regional Cooperation and Conflict

Afghanistan: Peacebuilding in a Regional Perspective. http://www.cmi.no/afghanistan/index.cfm.

This website was created following a CMI and PRIO organized conference on the regional perspective on the peacebuilding process in Afghanistan. The site contains information in the form of academic contributions dealing with the situation in Afghanistan and on the region as a whole. Specific themes around which the information is organized include: human rights, organizations and civil society, rehabilitation and development, regional security issues, and elections.

Asian Development Bank (ADB): Afghanistan. http://www.adb.org/Afghanistan/default.asp.

This website contains information about the ADB's relationship with Afghanistan, both as a source of international reconstruction assistance and as a multilateral development finance institution of which Afghanistan is a member. The site contains information about loans, technical and capacity building assistance, and procurement contracts provided to Afghanistan through the Bank. Annual reports and news releases, as well as information about key development indicators for Afghanistan are also available on the site.

Ejaz Haider. 2003. "Afghanistan, Pakistan and the 'War' on Terror: Arc of Instability". *The World Today*. 59(8-9.

Abstract: *Afghanistan could either be one end of a growing arc of instability through the Middle East or an early example of gradual, democratic post-conflict nation building. Cross-border tribal loyalties and control of remote areas in Pakistan may well be decisive.*

John J. Hamre and Gordon R. Sullivan. 2002. "Toward Postconflict Reconstruction". *Washington Quarterly*. 25(4): 85.

Abstract: *Examines the need for--and challenges of--reconstruction of failed states for the US and international community. The US-led ouster of the Taliban in Afghanistan should be followed by a commitment to rebuilding that nation's infrastructure; creating an economically, politically, and socially secure Afghanistan will lessen the chances of terrorists' return and foster regional goodwill. However, a host of other potential reconstruction*

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challenges exist in failed states in the Middle East and Africa. While no single model of reconstruction is appropriate for all failed states, a four-pillar approach is outlined based on reestablishing: (1) collective and individual security; (2) formal and informal institutions in the areas of justice, law enforcement, corrections, and accountability; (3) social and economic services and assistance; and (4) governance legitimacy and civil society participation.

Barnett R. Rubin. 2003. "Transitional justice and human rights in Afghanistan". *International Affairs.* 79(3): 567.

Abstract: *Like other societies emerging from protracted conflict, Afghanistan confronts a legacy of past crimes and violence. Communist rulers, Soviet occupiers, rural resistance fighters, Islamist parties, the Taleban movement, Pakistani volunteers, al-Qaeda members, power-seeking warlords, and the anti-Taliban coalition all contributed more or less to the litany of abuses since 1978. Almost no one in the society has been untouched, and almost no one with any power has clean hands. For these very reasons, caution and care are necessary. Demobilizing and reintegrating tens of thousands of irregular militia, as well as creating new security forces are the necessary conditions for the rest of the peace-building agenda, and, as shown by the author's first-hand experience in the Bonn negotiations over the post-Taleban succession, raising the issue of past crimes prematurely may lead fighters to revert to previous modes of behaviour. He argues for a careful start that emphasizes documenting the scale of the abuses with an emphasis on the suffering of the victims rather than the guilt of the perpetrators, in order gradually to support an Afghan debate on how to reconcile the society with its history.*

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