
UNIT 16

CASE STUDIES: AFGHANISTAN

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16.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last three decades, Afghanistan has witnessed diverse projects of nation building and socio-political transformation. The Soviet project of building communism in Afghanistan resulted in over a million dead and five million Afghan refugees, mainly in the neighbourhood. Similarly, when Pakistan pushed conservative Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the world faced disastrous consequences, including the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States (US). The current international project of building democracy and market economy is mandated by the United Nations and is being implemented mainly by the western alliance led by the United States. So far, this endeavour has produced mixed results. Apart from installing a democratic government, the country has made significant achievements in infrastructure, education, women empowerment and the economy. After reaching record levels in 2007, opium cultivation and production have somewhat moderated in the last two years. Despite significant success in many areas, however, the Taliban insurgency is gaining strength in many parts of the country and the security situation has deteriorated. There is also an alarming rise in suicide bombings. Most

analysts believe that there is a need to rethink the present strategy. Within six months of announcing a comprehensive new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan (commonly known as Af-Pak strategy) in which the new US President Barack Obama aimed “to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future,” he had made many changes in his strategy. The new *Afghanistan-Pakistan Regional Stabilization Strategy* outlined by the US State department in January 2010 focuses on reintegration, expanded civilian presence and regional diplomacy. At the London Conference (January 2010) participants “re-affirmed the goals of greater Afghan leadership, increased regional cooperation and more effective international partnership”. To end the stalemate, the option of reconciliation with the Taliban is also being considered seriously.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you would be able to:

- Understand the background of conflict in Afghanistan;
- Describe the nature of the current nation building project and involvement of major powers;
- Comprehend major problems concerning security and narcotics;
- Appreciate India’s role in Afghan reconstruction; and
- Evaluate major challenges facing the country.

16.2 FROM CONFLICT TO RECONSTRUCTION

Ahmad Shah Durrani founded Afghanistan in 1747. The country served as a buffer in “The Great Game” between the British and the Russian empires in the late 19th century. Following the third Anglo-Afghan war, the country regained independence from the notional British control. Beginning from 1933, King Zahir Shah ruled the country till 1973 when he was overthrown in a bloodless coup. The Soviet Union invaded in 1979 to support Afghan communist regime. As part of the Cold War strategy, the United States started funding various factions of anti-communist *Mujahideens*, who all shared conservative Islamic ideology. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia provided further logistic and financial support to these groups.

After the Soviet withdrawal in early 1989, the Nazibullah regime was able to last a few more years till 1992. In 1992, different *Mujahideen* groups established the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan with the introduction of rotating presidency. Between 1992 and 1996 Afghanistan saw one of the worst periods in its history. Different parts of the country were controlled by different warlords. During this period, much of the infrastructure in Afghanistan was destroyed. In this chaotic situation, a new Taliban movement emerged in the south, seizing control, first of Kandahar and surrounded areas and later Kabul in 1996. The Taliban had strong backing from the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's intelligence agency, which assisted in recruitment, provided weapons, training and technical assistance. In the beginning Taliban were well received and quickly they established new political and social order in the country. The world was horrified when it learned the way Taliban were treating the women and minorities. In 2001, they also destroyed sixth century monumental statues of standing Buddha at Bamiyan because they declared that statues were against the tenets of Islam. However, Afghanistan was still a forgotten place for most Western countries as their larger strategic objective of defeating Soviets was achieved. Still, some of the regional countries (India, Iran, Russia, Tajikistan) were helping the Northern Alliance which was fighting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. These regional countries had better understanding of the dangers of Taliban than many western capitals. The US became active only when Taliban's links to Osama Bin Laden became clear. Finally, when September 11 attacks happened President Bush delivered an ultimatum to Taliban to extradite Osama. Later, at a press conference in Pakistan, the Taliban ambassador to Pakistan asked proof and refused to extradite Osama to the US. Consequently, on October 7, 2001, Operation Enduring Freedom was launched with the initial objectives of (a) destruction of terrorist training camps and infrastructure within Afghanistan; (b) capturing of Al Qaeda leaders; and (c) cessation of terrorist activities in Afghanistan. Initially, the U.S. and the U.K. led the aerial bombing campaign, with ground forces supplied primarily by the Northern Alliance. In 2002, the US, British and Canadian infantry were joined by some special forces, from other allied nations.

After the fall of the Taliban, all the Afghan factions who were opposed to Taliban met in Bonn in December 2001. The meeting was sponsored by the United Nations. Decades of war, followed by the Taliban regime, had already destroyed the core institutions of Afghan state. The heavily war torn economy faced high levels of absolute poverty, ill health, large scale illiteracy and complete marginalisation of the female population. In addition, millions of Afghans had left the country and became refugees mainly in the neighbouring countries. The *Bonn Agreement* charted the roadmap for the political transformation of the country into a democratic state. The UN Security Council endorsed the agreement through its resolution 1383. Under the leadership of Hamid Karzai, a Transitional Administration was established to guide the process of transformation. The interim administration derived its authority through the *Loya Jirgha* (Grand Council) convened by former Afghan king Zahir Shah. In early 2002, international donors gathered in Tokyo and pledged about \$4.5 billion for the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. In March 2002, the UN also established the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). The constitutional *Loya Jirgha* adopted a new constitution in January 2004, with the presidential form of government. In April 2004 in Berlin, 23 donor nations pledged a total of \$8.2 bn. aid to Afghanistan over three years. Under the new constitution, presidential elections were held in October 2004 and parliamentary elections in September 2005. More than 75 per cent voters participated in the presidential election and a significant number of women to the National Assembly were elected. The constitution also established legal protection for the private property and it was presumed that economic development in the country will be based mainly on the market economy. These were remarkable achievements for a country destroyed by decades of war. Once these landmarks were achieved, the international community and the Afghanistan government agreed on the *Afghanistan Compact* at the London Conference in 2005. The compact set ambitious targets for security, governance, development, regional cooperation and counter narcotics. While reviewing the *Afghanistan Compact*, at another international conference on Afghanistan in Paris in June 2008, the international community made further commitments for the next five years. Despite serious difficulties, the process of second presidential elections was completed in 2009.

16.3 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND RECONSTRUCTION

More than 70 nations have committed over US\$ 57 billion for Afghan reconstruction. As of February 2009, the United States had pledged US\$ 38.6 billion, out of which \$ 22 billion had already been disbursed. More than 50 per cent of this aid has gone into building Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police. Other commitments are in the areas of economic and social development, governance, counter narcotics and support to many civil society activities. Apart from this, the number of US troops serving in Afghanistan could touch 100,000 in 2010.

The next major commitment to Afghanistan is from Europe. Individual Member States of the European Union (EU) and the European Commission are making significant contribution to security and justice reforms, development and reconstruction, counter narcotics and regional cooperation activities in Afghanistan. The EU has also deployed a police mission. Together they have committed around EUR 8 billion (around \$11.5 bn) for reconstruction activities. Besides, 25 out of 27 EU nations are participating in NATO-led ISAF mission with around 30,000 troops. Their military involvement in Afghanistan has been controversial at times because of limits of their deployment and “national caveats” on many of their troops. Many EU nations committed themselves thinking that it would mainly be a peacekeeping and reconstruction effort rather than a project of “war on terror” in which they have to engage with the resurgent Taliban. There have also been problems of coordination with other international partners as well as within the EU nations themselves. On reconstruction, the UK has spent over 740 million pounds (around \$1175 million) in the last eight years and have committed to more than 510 million (\$810 mn) over the next four years. Germany has also increased its funding in 2008-09 and by 2010, it is likely to have made available resources worth some EUR 1.2 billion (\$1.72 bn). From Asia, Japan has pledged around \$1.8 bn. to Afghanistan including reconstruction (\$ 919 mn.), security involvement (\$212 mn.) and governance (\$ 247 mn.). Together with the UN, Japan is a lead nation in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) and also involved in construction of Kabul-Kandahar highway and Kabul international airport terminal. After the collapse of the

Taliban, Chinese authorities showed relatively little interest in Afghanistan's reconstruction. According to the Chinese government sources, China has provided more than 900 million yuan (\$US 132 million) grants to Afghanistan. It remained disengaged in the country until Afghan administration opened its energy, mineral and raw material to foreign investors. With large investment commitment of about \$ 3 billion in copper mines, it is becoming clear that China will be more involved in Afghanistan than hitherto.

16.4 WORK IN PROGRESS

16.4.1 Signs of Economic Revival

According to the *Afghanistan National Development Strategy* (ANDS) more than 5 million Afghan refugees have returned home since 2002. The number of school going children has grown from under one million in 2001 to about 6 million in 2008 (one third of them are girls). The number of teachers has increased seven fold to 142,500, which include 40,000 female teachers. In the health and nutrition sector, more than US\$1 billion has been invested in the last five years. As a result, the percentage of people living in areas where basic health care facilities are made available has increased from 9 per cent in 2002 to 85 percent in 2008. The infant mortality rate has been reduced by 26 per cent in five years. 76 per cent of children under the age of five have been immunised against childhood diseases. Between 2002 and 2008, there has been 38 per cent reduction in child mortality and 40 per cent in maternal mortality. As a result, the lives of approximately 500,000 children have been saved since 2003.

It is remarkable that despite a difficult legacy, the macroeconomic stability in Afghanistan has been maintained with high growth rates. Till 2007, inflation remained reasonably low and exchange rate has been stable. More than a dozen private commercial banks, four private airlines and 13 microfinance institutions are operating successfully. About 150 cities across Afghanistan now have access to mobile phone networks and internet provider services. Many multinationals which include Coca Cola, Siemens, Nestle and Etisalat are already in Afghanistan. Today over 12 million Afghans have access to telecommunication services, compared to 20,000 in 2001. The process of constructing a 3,200-kilometer optical-fiber network connecting major provincial capitals

with one another and also with neighbouring countries is almost complete. Broadly free and privately owned media sector has developed. Presently Afghanistan has seven national TV stations (out of which six are private), numerous radio networks, plus a diverse and increasingly professional print media. According to government sources about 12,000 kilometres of roads have been rehabilitated, improved, or built. This includes the 2200 km long ring road which connects all major town of Afghanistan, national highways, provincial roads and rural roads. A sum of more than US\$ 2 billion has been spent on roads. All these projects are implemented in difficult security situations.

16.4.2 Difficult Security Situation

The Bonn Conference in 2001 also created International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to help the interim administration of Hamid Karzai. In August 2003, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assumed leadership of the ISAF operations. Its initial mandate was limited to providing security in and around Kabul. Later, the United Nations extended ISAF's mandate to cover the whole of Afghanistan. Its main role is to assist the Afghan government in the establishment of a secure and stable environment. Through its Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), the ISAF is also supporting reconstruction and development. By March 2010, 44 nations had contributed about 90,000 troops to the ISAF and 26 PRTs were working throughout Afghanistan. The notable troop contributing nations to the ISAF are US (50,590), UK (9,500), Germany (4,335), France (3,750), Canada (2,830), Italy (3,160) and Poland (2,140). Under 'Operation Enduring Freedom' 25,000 more US troops also operate independently. It has also been agreed to raise the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP) personnel from their March 2010 levels of about 104,000 and 97,000 respectively to 171,600 and 134,000 by October 2011.

After initial successes till 2004-05, the security situation in Afghanistan has become more difficult, complex and challenging. One of the main reasons has been deteriorating security situation, particularly in the south and east of the country. A major change which has happened in the last three years is the rise in the number of suicide bombings which reached almost 150 in 2007 and continued in 2008 and 2009. The coalition

casualties in Afghanistan are growing with every passing year making 2009 (with 520 casualties) the bloodiest year since 2001. By March 2010, the coalition force had suffered a total of 1733 casualties. Since 2001, the US has suffered the maximum casualties (1047), followed by UK (281), Canada (142), Germany (42), and France (41). In addition, thousands of Afghan National Army, Afghan Police, ordinary civilians and anti-government insurgents have also lost their lives.

16.4.3 Control of Opium Cultivation

The opium production continues to be a serious problem in Afghanistan although 2008 and 2009 opium surveys by the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) have shown that there has been some moderate decline. In 2008 it was shown that 98 per cent of the total cultivation was confined to seven provinces with serious security problems. Five out of these provinces were in the south and two in the west of Afghanistan. The seven provinces that contributed to 98 per cent of Afghan opium cultivation and production in 2008 were Hilmand, Kandahar, Uruzgan, Daykundi, Zabul, Farah and Nimroz, clearly showing strong linkages between opium production and security situation. Opium cultivation in Afghanistan has decreased by 22%, from 157,000 hectares (ha) in 2008 to 123,000 ha in 2009. In 2008, Hilmand remained the single largest opium cultivating province where 66 per cent of total Afghan cultivation was done. In 2009 the cultivation declined by a third, to less than 70,000 ha. in Hilmand. The 2009 survey also shows that compared to 13 in 2007 and 18 in 2008, 20 provinces (out of 34) were poppy free. All the seven provinces in the Northern region are poppy free in almost a decade. The UNODC survey rightly asserts that “controlling drugs in Afghanistan will not solve all of the country’s problems, but the country’s problems cannot be solved without controlling drugs”. It has been clearly shown by many studies that drug money has significantly contributed to corruption and poppy money is used by the Taliban to fund insurgency.

16.5 INDIA’S ROLE IN RECONSTRUCTION

With broad understanding that peaceful and stable Afghanistan is crucial for regional stability, India has been playing an active role in the reconstruction since 2002. So far it

has pledged assistance worth about \$1.3 billion, with projects covering the whole of country mainly in the areas of road construction, power transmission lines, hydro electricity, agriculture, telecommunication, education, health and capacity building.

Details of these projects can be classified under four major heads:

16.5.1 Infrastructure Projects

One of the major infrastructural projects completed by India is construction of 218 km Zaranj-Delaram road project in the southwestern Afghanistan. This road has a strategic significance for India as it is going to facilitate movement of goods and services from Afghanistan to the Iranian border and, onward, to the Chahbahar Port. This road, together with 60 km of inner-city roads in Zaranj and Gurguri, was completed in January 2009 at a cost of US \$150 million. During construction 6 Indians and 179 Afghans lost their lives due to insurgent attacks. Another major project, which was completed in 2009 was construction of 220kV DC transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and a 220/110/20 kV sub-station at Chimtala. Built at the cost of \$120 million, this line has facilitated almost 24 hour power supply from the northern grid to Kabul city. Further, Indian engineers will also be setting up of additional 220/20 kV sub stations at Charikar and Doshi along the Pule-e-khumri Kabul transmission line. With the Indian help, construction and commissioning of \$ 184 million, 42 MW Salma Dam power project on Hari Rud river in Herat province is also going to be completed by the end of 2010. At the cost of \$180 million, the Indian government is also going to construct Afghan Parliament building by 2011. It has also restored telecommunication infrastructure in 11 provinces and expanded national TV network by providing an uplink from Kabul and downlinks in all 34 provincial capitals. Earlier, it also supplied vehicles (400 buses and 200 mini-buses for mass urban transportation, 105 utility vehicles for municipalities) and 3 airbus aircrafts and spares to Ariana Afghan Airlines. The Indian government also supplied equipment for three sub stations in Faryab province and for 125 km transmission line from Andkhohi to Maimana plus rehabilitated Amir Ghazi and Quargah Reservoir Dam. It further helped in restoration/revamping of information set up, including setting up of Azadi (Freedom) printing press. Other infrastructure projects include solar electrification of 100 villages; construction of 5000MT cold storage in Kandahar; establishment of

modern TV studio and 1000W TV transmitter in Jalalabad; setting up of a mobile TV satellite uplink and five TV relay centers in Nangarhar; digging 26 tube wells in 6 north-west provinces; drilling of 24 deep wells in Herat; planned construction of Radio television Afghanistan (RTA) building in Jalalabad and leasing of slot on Indian satellite INSAT3A for RTA telecast since 2004.

16.5.2 Humanitarian Assistance

The Indian government is providing a daily supply of 100 grams of fortified, high-protein biscuits to nearly 1.2 million children under a School Feeding Program. This Programme is administered through the World Food Program and will cost \$ 460 million when completed in 2012. It has also reconstructed Indira Gandhi Institute of Child Health in Kabul and is providing free medical consultation and medicines through 5 Indian Medical Missions in Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad, Herat and Mazar-e-Shrif to over 300,000 patients annually. Apart from supplying blankets, tents, medicines, vegetable seeds etc during 2002-2004, the Indian government also announced gift of 250,000 metric tonnes of wheat in 2009.

16.5.3 Education and Capacity Development

India is playing an important role in this field through provision of 675 long-term university scholarships annually. These fellowships are sponsored by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for under-graduate and postgraduate studies in India. In addition, 675 annual slots for short term technical training courses are provided every year since 2006. At the January 2010 London Conference, the Indian External Affairs Minister announced further 200 graduate and 100 post graduate/Ph.D fellowships for 5 years in the field of agriculture and related fields. In 2005, the Habibia school in Kabul was reconstructed by India and about 9000 educational kits to students of this school were provided. Further, it provided 20,000 school desks to the Ministry of Education and laboratory equipments and sports goods to schools in Nimroz as well as teacher training and books to Kandahar and Khost Universities. In cooperation with the UNDP, the Indian government is also deputing 30 Indian civil servants as coaches and mentors annually under the Capacity for Afghan Public Administration program since 2007. It has also

provided services of Indian banking experts to Da Afghan Bank and Millie Bank; Indian English teachers in 5 cities; vocational training to 1000 Afghans (through the Confederation of Indian Industries); Women's Vocational Training Centre in Baghe-Zanana for training of 1000 Afghan women; computer training centres, and established Hindi and English departments at Nangarhar university. Special training courses have also been provided to more than Afghan diplomats, dozens of civilian officials, police officers, teachers, and doctors and paramedics. In addition, the Indian institutions are also providing training to Afghans in various fields through training programmes organised by many international agencies independently.

With the help of the Indian government, nearly 100 small development projects in the areas of agriculture, public health, rural development, education are also under different stages of implementation in 19 provinces of Afghanistan since 2007. In 2002, India also contributed \$10 million to Afghan government budget and has also been contributing to the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund regularly since 2002. In 2005-06, it also provided 150 trucks, 15 ambulances, 120 jeeps, bullet proof jackets, bullet proof helmets, laser aim points, mine detectors, winter clothing, medicines etc., to the Afghan National Army. It also helped setting up of Common Facilities Service Centre and Tool Room at Pule-e-Charkhi Industrial Park and trained 5000 self help groups in Balakh.

16.5.4 Positive Impact

It seems that the population of Afghanistan has very positive perception of Indian activities in the country. This fact has been brought out by many opinion polls. In the latest nationwide survey conducted by the BBC, ABC News and German news agency ARD in December 2009, 71 per cent of Afghan population had favourable opinion about India. Corresponding figure for the US, UK and Iran and Germany was 51 per cent, 39 per cent, 40 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. Similarly, 44 per cent Afghans think that India is playing a neutral role and 36 per cent think it is playing a positive role. India is also very popular among ordinary Afghans because of Indian films and serials, which are shown on different TV channels every day.

16.6 IMPORTANCE OF AFGHANISTAN FOR INDIA AND THE REGION

The strategic location of Afghanistan will always be important for India, particularly in the context of difficult India-Pakistan relations. However, the importance of Afghanistan for India is much bigger than normally perceived in this narrow context. Once Afghanistan becomes stable, trade through Pakistan and Afghanistan could also alter India's continental trade. By 2015, India's trade with Europe, CIS plus Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan would be in the range of US\$ 500 to 600 billion annually (Gulshan Sachdeva, 2010). Even if 20 % of this trade is conducted through road, US\$ 100-120 billion of Indian trade would be passing through Afghanistan and Central Asia. With improvement in India-Pakistan relations, an important portion of Indian trade (particularly from the landlocked northern states including Jammu & Kashmir) will be moving through Pakistan and Afghanistan. With the possibility of this trade passing through Afghanistan and Central Asia, most of the infrastructural projects in the region will become economically viable. These linkages will also transform small and medium industries and agriculture in Central Asia and Afghanistan. For this to happen, first of all a massive effort is needed to rebuild Afghanistan's transport network and economy. From the commitments of international community and multilateral institutions, it seems that this would happen immediately once Afghanistan becomes relatively stable. The second major impediment in realising this potential is existing difficult relations between India and Pakistan. While looking at the regional economic dynamics, it is clear that both India and Pakistan would be paying huge economic costs for not cooperating in the Afghanistan. If trade stops in Pakistan, many road and other infrastructural projects will never become viable because of low volumes. Direct linkages between Central Asia and India will also give huge boost to all economies in the region, particularly to Afghanistan.

Despite difficult security situation and limited capacities, Afghanistan could emerge as an important player in regional economic cooperation. All international and regional players have appreciated its approach towards regional cooperation. This has major implications for regional peace and stability as well as India's linkages with the Eurasian region. High economic growth in both Central and South Asian regions is also pushing policy makers to work for integration strategies. Policymakers in Afghanistan believe that after decades

of war, now the country has a unique opportunity to realise its potential as a 'land bridge' between Central Asia, South Asia and the West Asian region. Increasingly it is pointed out that with enhanced cooperation, land-locked energy-rich Central Asia could be connected to energy deficient South Asia. Similarly, Afghanistan could also realise significant revenue as transit fee and improve its economic activities in the process. So far Afghanistan has been able to market itself as an important player in regional cooperation. The country is already playing an important role in various regional organisations like Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) etc. It has also initiated an institutional mechanism called Regional Economic Cooperation Conference (RECC) on Afghanistan. The first RECC was held in Kabul in 2005, second in New Delhi in 2006 and third in Islamabad in 2009. Through various declarations, countries in the region have accepted the centrality of Afghanistan for economic cooperation.

16.7 SUMMARY

Afghanistan has made significant gains in infrastructure, education, health, economic development and women empowerment, which need to be consolidated. The current security situation in the country is serious but not hopeless. The only possible way is to increase the numbers and capabilities of Afghan security forces, put pressure on anti-government forces and also continuously work for political solutions. So far, the Indian involvement is limited to reconstruction work as it regards stable and peaceful Afghanistan is crucial for regional peace and stability. Despite major challenges, Afghanistan has the potential to play an important role in facilitating regional integration for different economies of South, Central and the West Asia. If proposals concerning regional economic cooperation originating from Afghanistan are implemented by other countries in the region, this could ultimately improve chances of peace not only between India and Pakistan but also in the entire Eurasian region. In a typical neo-functionalist way, success in regional economic cooperation could ultimately lead to cooperation in the security matters. This would also be useful to create any new institutional economic and security structure that may be needed for any post-NATO scenario in Afghanistan.

16.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What factors do you think are responsible for the continuing conflict in Afghanistan?
2. Why does peace and stability in Afghanistan is important for India? Also describe reconstruction activities by India in Afghanistan since 2002.
3. What are the major challenges faced by Afghanistan in the areas of security and poppy cultivation?
4. Write an essay on reconstruction activities and achievements in Afghanistan since 2002.
5. Do you think Afghanistan can serve as a transit hub for trade, culture and ideas between different neighbouring regions?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions (Bonn Agreement), available at
<http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/Documents/Bonn-agreement.pdf>

Afghanistan Compact, available at
<http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/Documents/AfghanistanCompact-English.pdf>

Afghanistan National Development Strategy: A Strategy for Security, Governance, Economic Growth, & Poverty Reduction (Kabul: Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2008), available at
http://www.embassyofafghanistan.org/documents/Afghanistan_National_Development_Strategy_eng.pdf

Remarks by the President (of the United States) on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, March 27, 2009, available at
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/ (

Gulshan Sachdeva., Regional Economic Linkages”, in Nirmala Joshi., (Ed), *Reconnecting India and central Asia: Security & Economic Dimensions*” (Washington DC: Central Asia Caucasus Institute, Johns Hopkins University, 2010). Available at
<http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/inside/publications/Joshi.html>

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<http://www.isaf.nato.int/>

<http://unama.unmissions.org/default.aspx?/>

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