
UNIT 13 PEACEBUILDING – MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE

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13.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, peacebuilding has emerged as one of the pathways advocated and attempted by both the governments and nongovernment actors for assisting societies in the process of recovering from the effects of violent conflicts so as to avoid return to violence. As a notion, peacebuilding has become a symbol of shared sovereignty between local population and international community. It can also be considered as a successor to the concept of international trusteeship which was invoked to administer dependent peoples and territories after the Second World War. Whereas the trusteeship was in the twentieth century, peacebuilding can be seen as a product of globalisation and global governance aimed to influence and shape domestic governance institutions.

While the term peacebuilding may have been of recent origin, the practice of outside countries assisting war-ravaged societies in reconstruction was evident in the twentieth century history. The United States, for example, took lead in helping the reconstruction of Europe and Japan after the Second World War. Since the end of the Cold War, Afghanistan, Cambodia, El Salvador, Sierra Leone and many other countries attracted attention in the context of post-war peacebuilding strategies at work. Ironically however, there exists a good deal of confusion about what peacebuilding aims at, its nature and scope as also the challenges it is faced with. The questions that are pertinent here are the following: How different is peacebuilding from peacemaking or preventive diplomacy? Would it be true to say that peacebuilding stands by the strategic interests and ideological preferences of the external sponsors of peacebuilding rather than the aspirations of the local communities?

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to

- Trace the variegated meanings attributed to the term “peacebuilding” by scholars, governments, international agencies and the non-governmental organisations;
- Discuss the main features and characteristics associated with peacebuilding;
- Explain the nature of peacebuilding in terms of its normative underpinnings and its evolutionary dynamics;

- Appreciate its complex aspects with reference to both the internal and external stakeholders and the multiple levels of engagement to make peacebuilding effective; and
- Assess the standards applied to evaluate the reasons for the mixed track record of peacebuilding efforts so far.

13.2 TERMINOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS

Although peacebuilding is broadly understood as foreign intervention that aims to prevent return of armed conflict in a war-torn country, there are notable differences about the meaning and scope of peacebuilding and the manner of promoting it. Some analysts would like to qualify the acts of external intervention by emphasizing the non-military nature of the external interventions. Tschirgi (2004, p.2), for instance, sums up peacebuilding as “non-military interventions by external actors to help war-torn societies not only to avoid a relapse into conflict, but more importantly, to establish conditions for sustainable peace.” The short-term need to avoid becomes pressing in view of the finding by researchers that 44 percent risk exists of a country reaching the end of a conflict to return to conflict within five years. At the same time, the long-term objective of creating conditions for making peace durable is not to be de-linked from the immediate objective. The understanding offered by the policy practitioners also touches upon both these nuances. Boutros-Ghali was among the first to delineate on the term soon after assuming the post of the UN Secretary-General. According to him, peacebuilding denotes “action to identify and support structure which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict”.

According to scholars Michelle Maiese (2003), there are two distinct ways to understand peacebuilding: as a particular phase in the long drawn process as contrasted from the expansive and comprehensive concept. The work of the United Nations represents the understanding about peacebuilding as a distinct phase in the long-drawn process of making peace stable. According to the UN, peacebuilding occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Peacebuilding, in this sense, is contrasted from the more traditional strategies of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacemaking is the diplomatic effort to end the violence between the conflicting parties, move them towards nonviolent dialogue, and eventually reach a peace agreement. Peacekeeping, on the other hand, is a third-party intervention (often, but not always done by military forces) to assist parties in transitioning from violent conflict to peace by separating the fighting parties and keeping them apart. Peacekeeping not only provides security but also facilitates other non-military initiatives.

Thus, in the narrow perspective convenient to measurable policy initiatives, peacebuilding facilitates the establishment of durable peace; it also tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical, social, and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs), on the other hand, understand peacebuilding as an umbrella concept that encompasses not only as long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. In this view, peacebuilding includes early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones. The central task of peacebuilding is to create positive peace, a “stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war” (Maiese, 2003).

The narrow conception need not lead us to the conclusion that peacebuilding has no linkage with peacemaking or peacekeeping. Indeed, the UN believes that peacebuilding complements the organisation's peacemaking and peacekeeping functions, as sought to be demonstrated in several post-conflict theatres like Sierra Leone and Haiti. The essential goal of peacebuilding, as per the 1995 Supplement to an Agenda for Peace, is "the creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace". In other words, peacebuilding is conflict prevention by another name and, therefore, "postconflict" often modifies peacebuilding to distinguish it from conflict prevention (Barnett, 2007, p.42).

Other major players in peacebuilding like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) strike remarkably a different note. Unlike the UN, the World Bank tends to avoid the term "peacebuilding" and the alternative terms like post-conflict reconstruction and post-conflict recovery are in use. In many respects, this preference represents adherence to the original mandate of these agencies, as for instance the salience of reconstruction flowed from the very name given to the Bank and the original mandate given to the Fund to jointly contribute post-War recovery of the European allies. These two major financial organisations continue to rely on the term post-conflict recovery in their joint declaration/statements.

In the usage of various donor governments and agencies too, peacebuilding has acquired different names and nuances. Relevant agencies within the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, France and Japan use different terms. The defence departments in the UK and the US, for instance, often use the term stabilisation when they refer to peacebuilding activities, reflecting their preoccupation with launching of security missions (although NATO uses the term peacebuilding). At the same time, interestingly, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) focuses on post-conflict recovery and on prevention. In the UK, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Department for International Development follow the US example, while claiming that peace-related activities like peacebuilding fall within their respective mandates. Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs describes its post-conflict work as conflict prevention, but the Canadian government prefers to use peacebuilding to describe its actions in support of peace operations and economic development. Similarly, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs uses the term conflict prevention, and the Japan International Cooperation Agency, a lead donor to states recovering from conflict, uses the term peacebuilding (Barnett, 2007, p.43).

Surely these are only differences in emphasis. What is beyond any doubt is the realisation that the special needs of societies emerging from conflict were seen to require hybrid approaches drawn from the flexible, rapid and responsive strategies of humanitarian operations, and the long-term vision of development assistance. As Mark Malloch Brown who has held a range of such important offices in the World Bank, the UNDP and the UN (apart from being deputy foreign minister in Britain), says "post-conflict development is something that defies the exact boundaries of traditional forms of assistance: it is neither sustainable development nor is it humanitarian response" (quoted in Tschirgi, 2004, p.6).

13.3 NORMATIVE AND EVOLUTIONARY FRAMEWORK

Now, we should pay some attention to some of the normative aspects of peacebuilding. Viewed from the "liberal internationalism" prism, peacebuilding goes beyond state-centric conceptions of *realpolitik* or the interests of any single country, bloc or entity even though national interests of countries inevitably often influence the nature of the international response. It was argued that fundamental "re-engineering" of conflict prone societies was essential to prevent their relapse into conflict. External actors began to develop a

peacebuilding template and a package of standard remedies to be applied in different contexts. Security needed to be established through disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants as well as through security sector reform. Political consolidation required national dialogues, early elections, expansion of political rights, and the establishment of rule of law. Economic reconstruction involved reforms for speedy recovery and rehabilitation. International strategies for conflict prevention and peacebuilding increasingly converged, becoming part of what has come to be known as “liberal internationalism” (Paris, 2004; Tschirgi, 2004, p.5).

No doubt, the popularity of peacebuilding is due to the strong interest among the external and also domestic actors to help the war-ravaged states recoup from the multifarious effects. Just as domestic actors look for international assistance in a variety of areas, international actors look at peacebuilding as useful to their humanitarian and international peace and security agenda. To ensure that these diverse actors join in a common effort, peacebuilding needs to skirt divisions and differences over how to handle the post-conflict challenges. In this respect, it becomes a political symbol so that different constituencies can support without shared perceptions about the substance (Barnett, 2007, p. 44). Almost all agree that building peace after war is a good thing but may entertain different explanations as to why it is a good thing (i.e. because it alleviates human suffering, generates regional stability, or creates conditions for long-term development efforts to take root). To illustrate the point, the Bush administration in the US viewed peacebuilding as an opportunity to prop up market-friendly democracies, while for the UNDP it was a step leading to not only economic development but also strong presence of civil societies committed to a culture of nonviolent dispute resolution. Peacebuilding helps these actors mask their divergent expectations and work in a loose partnership (Barnett, 2007, p.44).

Another dynamic of peacebuilding is the piecemeal nature of the evolution of international response without a single institutional home. In the first half of 1990s, the advanced countries viewed peacebuilding as a temporary need; therefore, some among them like the United States, Canada, and Netherlands designated specific units to attend to the institutional and policy void between humanitarian assistance and development aid. The UNDP and the World Bank took the cue and established respectively an Emergency Response Division and Post-Conflict Unit in 1995-97. Afterwards, the OECD compiled “Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation” in 1997. Although this met the short-term goals of these governments and organisations, it was clear by the end of 1990s that peacebuilding was proving to be a complex and continuing task, needing action at the global level to provide institutional coherence and policy coordination. In the opening years of the new century the quest for founding an institutional home in order to fill the institutional void started. The former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and the high level panel on threats to global security piloted the idea of creating a special body within the United Nations. Those efforts culminated in the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) in 2005-06. Howsoever valuable is the institution of the PBC, its work profile is modest confined to relatively minor peacebuilding theatres in Burundi, Central African Republic and other countries in Africa. Major efforts launched in Afghanistan and Iran in the first decade of the twenty-first century have remained effectively outside the domain of the PBC.

A recent study usefully discusses three phases – particularly from the point of view of the American policy engagement – international action towards post-conflict reconstruction. The first phase concerned the US assistance to the allied countries in the immediate aftermath of the World War II during 1946-56. It was entirely single handed show by the United States given its economic and military pre-eminence those days. The second phase surfaced after a

lapse of four decades when the US-USSR Cold War was formally brought to an end in 1990. The unsettling post-conflict situations after civil wars in Africa and Latin America (and Asia) prompted UN-authorised interventions to restore and stabilise peace and state structures. Some of them were part of the UN peace operations as in Angola, El Salvador, former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Mozambique, Namibia, Somalia and so forth, with the support of the United States both in symbolic and substantial terms. The third phase has begun after the September 2001 terror attacks against the United States, the fall out of which was the peacebuilding has come to be seen increasingly from national security interests. The consequences of controversial military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have paved the way for major peacebuilding endeavours under the American watch (Orr cited in Tschirgi, 2004, p.18).

Finally, given the fact that peacebuilding by nature is a long drawn process, it is not easy to evaluate its success. Mozambique, Namibia and El Salvador are cited among the more fruitful exercises in peacebuilding in the early 1990s, whereas Angola, Kosovo and Western Sahara represent relatively exhausting endeavours (Bertram, 1995). Researchers adopt a minimalist standard, i.e. avoidance of a return to violence, whereas equally appealing would be the maximalist method to evaluate peacebuilding based on evidence of structural transformation of the economic, social and political factors that had led to war in the first place (Tschirgi, 2004, p.11). Guided by the minimalist standard of evaluation, Roland Paris (2004) examined eleven episodes of peacebuilding. And he observes: "In most of the eleven cases, the process of political liberalization, or economic liberalization, or both, produced destabilizing side effects that worked against the consolidation of peace. The approach to peacebuilding that prevailed in the 1990s was, it seems, based on overtly optimistic assumptions about the effects of democratization and marketization in the immediate aftermath of civil war." On the whole, the conclusions from these multi-country studies demonstrate that peacebuilding has a mixed track record.

13.4 MULTIPLE ACTORS AND DOMAINS

Michelle Maisie (2003) brings out three levels at which peacebuilding could and should be put at work. At the structural level, it should address the root causes, i.e. social conditions that foster violent conflicts. That is to say, stable peace must be built on social, economic and political foundations that serve the needs of the people. Establishment of democracy and rule of law along with creation of conditions for economic development are integral to this dimension. The next level relates to reducing the effects of war-related hostility through the repair and transformation of damaged relationships. The relational dimension of peacebuilding centres on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building, and future imagining. It seeks to minimise poorly functioning communication and maximise mutual understanding. And finally, the personal dimension of peacebuilding centres on desired changes at the individual level. If individuals are not able to undergo a process of healing, there will be broader social, political, and economic repercussions. The destructive effects of social conflict must be minimised, and its potential for personal growth must be maximised. Corresponding to these three levels, peacebuilding strategies should integrate wide range of agents: national and foreign authorities collaborating at the top, social and economic elite of the society as also voluntary organisations working at the middle level, whereas individuals and their groups or communities are drawn in at the bottom tier.

Significantly, peacebuilding activities are governed by a few operational principles. Foremost to be noted is that peacebuilding is a multi-dimensional enterprise with several pillars that include political, social, economic, security and legal dimensions. Although multi-faceted,

prioritisation or sequencing of steps becomes unavoidable in line with the specific needs and political dynamics of a given country. In that sense, it is possible that peacebuilding prioritises political (defined in terms of creation of legitimate political authority and improvement of security) over economic pillars. Equally imperative is the multiple response levels – at the local, national, regional and international levels. At the local level, for instance, the people of the war-torn society must be actively involved in setting the agenda and leading the process. However, given the frail situation in the native societies wanting to emerge from war, support from external actors becomes undoubtedly helpful. It should be acknowledged at the same time that external assistance is never neutral. External actors come with multiple agendas and motivations which may not be compatible with the ground situation. Hence proper mechanisms need to be established to ensure that external and internal actors work with a coherent strategy, establish priorities and mobilise necessary resources. Moreover, such mechanisms could institutionalise the principle of accountability to ensure that external actors do no harm. And finally, adequate, predictable and flexible funding is essential (Tschirgi, 2004, p.9).

To turn to the sectoral domains of peacebuilding, three tasks are critical according to former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2001). They are furtherance of internal and external security; facilitating revival or inception of political institutions and governance structures; and fostering economic and social rehabilitation and transformation. Consolidating internal and external security involves the deployment of peacekeepers and/or military observers to ensure security or negotiate access to the affected people and then extending to initiating other measures like mine clearance and capacity-building for mine action and also security sector reform stretching from creation of a neutral police force broadly representative of the community to the, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of armed groups. The other functional sectors would have a bearing on strengthening political institutions and promoting good governance. This would require the creation or strengthening of national democratic institutions, political parties and other participatory mechanisms including the media, capacity-building and training programmes for civil society groups as well as for human rights protection; organisation of various forms of electoral assistance, including the development of electoral law, a code of conduct, and electoral councils; and support for the corruption-free administration. Promoting economic and social rehabilitation and transformation is the third core sector in peacebuilding that involves fostering conditions for resumed economic and social development; sustainable return and reintegration of displaced persons and refugees; confidence-building measures conducive to national reconciliation; attention to the needs of youth and women, especially young men; providing social services (health education, water and sanitation); job creation, microcredit schemes and the promotion of income-generating activities; reconstructing roads, bridges and railways to provide access to war-devastated areas for resettlement and agricultural production; and psychosocial trauma counselling for the victims of war.

13.5 PRINCIPAL CHALLENGES

Peacebuilding faces many challenges to overcome. They range from the temptation to provide quick fix solutions, as also the urge to impose economic and political systems without ascertaining the wishes of the target states and peoples, the bureaucratic politics within and among the variety of actors, to the resource short-fall. Failure to address them effectively could mean undoing of the idea of peacebuilding. We shall elaborate some of these challenges below.

It is true that peacebuilding so far has focused on the immediate underlying causes of conflict – to the relative neglect of deep-seated factors for both political compulsions and financial constraints. There are important differences in how various actors see the complex task of peacebuilding and the many priorities it entails. The quick-fix nature of response by external actors engaged in peacebuilding is possibly a reflection of belief that liberalisation, largely defined as the movement toward democracy, markets, and the rule of law, is the best way to develop a positive peace in poor countries. One should be watchful about the particular version of peacebuilding that is being institutionalised. The question as to how to implement peacebuilding in particular areas must not be settled solely by the external players without paying attention to the concerns of the recipient states themselves. International actors could best advise and cannot impose their priorities and prejudices (Barnett, 2007, p.36).

The peacebuilders' ability to build institutions for peace and democracy in divided societies is inherently limited by several structural and political constraints. Fundamentally, the ability of the UN to achieve its objectives in peace building depends on (i) the political will of member states, (ii) the interests and incentives of the major actors on the ground, and (iii) the structure and capacity of local institutions. Peacebuilding - whether by the UN or outside it - cannot create the conditions for its own success; these conditions must already exist or evolve. Success thus depends in part on peace builders' ability to read the politics of a particular conflict, and to recognize where and when the necessary conditions for peace building obtain or can be fostered –and where and when they do not exist (Bertram, 1995, p.401). Again, the bureaucratic politics could become a challenge for effective peacebuilding. As noted already, notwithstanding broad agreement on what peacebuilding implies in the UN for example, there continues to be considerable variation in the meaning of peacebuilding because bureaucratic organisations in the UN or within governments are likely to adopt a meaning of peacebuilding that is consistent with their already existing mandates, worldviews, and organisational interests. The result is that while everyone might support the idea of building peace, they will operate with considerable differences of interpretation regarding the meaning and practice of peacebuilding (Barnett, 2007, p.53).

Unfortunately, much of the interest we see in peacebuilding is at the level of rhetoric and not at the level of resources. It receives little meaningful financial and political support relative to the costs of renewed conflict. For example, the Post-Conflict Fund of the World Bank disbursed a total of 66.7 million dollars during 1997-2004. The 2004 budget of the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives was 54.6 million; in 2005 it was \$48.6 million, which means that it received only 3.5 percent of a total USAID budget of \$9.1 billion. Similarly the peacebuilding fund at the disposal of the PBC of the UN is approximately \$270 million meant to be utilised in numerous countries that are growing.

13.6 SUMMARY

The concept of peacebuilding in the 1990s became “more expansive”, combining conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction. It is no longer an exact term; it often needs the qualifier “post-conflict” peacebuilding to refer primarily to the non-military or civilian dimensions of international efforts to support countries emerging from conflict – even though it might accompany or succeed military operations. Furthermore, peacebuilding straddles different departments across governments and organisations.

Peacebuilding will continue to require international assistance in the coming years and decades, despite multiple shortcomings and weaknesses. If the UN and other external actors

who were in the forefront of post-conflict peacebuilding of the 1990s decide that peacebuilding is too important an enterprise to give up, they face a dual challenge. They need to learn from and further improve upon the innovative but modest gains made to date in peacebuilding policy and practice. Although never divorced from state interests, peacebuilding represented a collective international project. The international commitment to peacebuilding is under threat from three main sources. Firstly, to the heightened urgency of security threats posed by terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the new arms race among states. When confronted with “hard” threats to their national interests, states inevitably re-order their priorities, diplomatic energies and financial resources. Peacebuilding needs are sidelined as an international concern with lesser priority (Tschirgi, 2004, p.17). Second, post-conflict peacebuilding assumes the essentiality of domestic ownership while external actors need to play a supportive role. However, since 9/11, peacebuilding has been conflated with a new discourse of “nation-building”, “regime change,” and “stabilization and reconstruction” which is predicated on the necessity of forcefully securing the stability of weak or failing states to avoid the negative fall-out from state failure. Such thinking, driven primarily by external actors, is likely to undermine the basic agreement that peace, security and stability cannot be imposed from outside but need to be nurtured internally through patient, flexible, responsive strategies that are in tune with domestic strategies. Third, the post 9/11 “stabilization” agenda is cast in the same terms as the peacebuilding agenda of the early 1990s, with a call for holistic, joined-up approaches to avoid state failure and state collapse. In other words, the drivers of stabilization agenda are the national security interests of dominant external actors – regionally and internationally (Tschirgi, 2004, p.17).

13.6 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Define peacebuilding. How do you differentiate between peacekeeping and peacemaking on the one hand and peacebuilding on the other?
2. Ambiguity may not necessarily be bad for the effectiveness of peacebuilding. Do you agree?
3. Analyse three chief tasks of peacebuilding. Is it possible to suggest a hierarchy among them?
4. Examine the major dimensions such as multiple pillars and multiple levels and multiple actors associated with operationalisation of peacebuilding strategies.
5. Discuss three major impediments to peacebuilding.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Websites:

www.beyondintractability.org

www.securitycouncilreport.org

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UNIT 14 APPROACHES TO PEACEBUILDING

Structure

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14.1 INTRODUCTION

Peacebuilding, today, is one of the well-established sub-fields of international peace operations and has become especially interesting as it has had the distinction of being located in a so far uncharted terrain of post-conflict activities i.e. when guns have stopped firing and there is a tacit or explicit ceasefire agreement between parties to the conflict. This is where conventional UN peacekeeping would normally come to an end and the UN forces would depart leaving parties to conflict to resolve their conflict using political processes. It is in this process of strengthening peace after end of violence that a ceasefire agreement has come to be the watershed point from where peacebuilding emerges as a specialised enterprise.

The foundations of the contemporary concept of ‘Peacebuilding’ were laid formally in 1992 in UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s report, *An Agenda for Peace*. This UN report defined peacebuilding as “actions to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.” Even though the UN peacekeeping forces had been engaged in similar responsibilities since the early 1960s, this new mandate has since made peacebuilding both a specialised field as also an integral part of international peace and conflict resolution thinking and practices around the world.

As of now, peacebuilding does not yet have a precise agreed definition other than that it locates itself in the unique ‘post-conflict’ context where the traditional peacekeeping was expected to come to an end. Nevertheless, even at the end of conflict, peacebuilding seems to comprise of a rather expansive mandate that involves a whole range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation all aimed at building and strengthening norms, behaviours, and institutions for sustaining post-conflict

peace. This makes peacebuilding a rather long-drawn process that begins when violence, in a given conflict, either ends or at least begins to slow down, allowing these efforts to be made for establishing a lasting post-conflict peace.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit aims to help you to

- Appreciate that peacebuilding is a long-time effort that requires diligent designing and painstaking execution from different perspectives;
- Learn the main proponents of different approaches and their chief arguments;
- Recognise that various approaches highlight different dimensions of peacebuilding – political, social, economic, administrative, structural, or transformative; and
- Appreciate the emphasis these approaches place on values like justice, national ownership, and international commitment

14.2 CONCEPTIONS OF PEACEBUILDING

One reason for the ever expanding interest in peacekeeping paradigm to ‘stay on’ even when a violent part of conflict has ended and ceasefire agreement is signed came from the fact that most post-Cold War conflicts of 1990s were not inter- but intra-state conflicts. First, such conflicts often arose from and often dissipated gradually into sporadic and low-intensity violence obscuring a distinct break between war and peace situation. Second, this also made equations between parties to conflict very asymmetric which attracted larger involvement of civil society actors and external agencies like the UN to ensure that state was not allowed to renege from its agreed commitments in their ceasefire agreement. Finally, what made the NGOs as also other civil society actors and agencies active players in academic discourses on and practices of peacebuilding was their conviction in favour of a wider conception of peacebuilding; much wider than what was adopted in *An Agenda for Peace* as also by the other agencies of the UN.

Academic protagonists of peacebuilding propagate a wider definition and treat it as an umbrella concept that includes traditional as well as expanded peacekeeping responsibilities. At the least, this implies long-term engagements of peacebuilding operations. Several of them seek to include various specific tasks like setting up mechanisms for early warning, violence prevention, advocacy, intervention, humanitarian relief, ceasefire and establishment of peace as part of peacebuilding efforts. Even the so-called narrower definitions of peacebuilding involves addressing the root causes of conflict which make repatriation, rehabilitation, reintegration, reconciliation, as also institution-building and socio-economic (if not political) transformation of the conflict zone a central task to it. In the wider kinds of definitions, peacebuilding is seen as aiming at creating ‘positive’ peace which does not limit itself to simple ‘absence of physical violence’ but extends to attending to sources of invisible or ‘structural’ violence.

The definitions lying in the middle ground of these two extremes emphasize how peace to become sustainable requires a stable social equilibrium. This is to ensure that new

disputes are not allowed to sprout and escalate into another violent conflict. This means that these peacebuilding efforts must go beyond conflict prevention or conflict management and try and 'fix' the underlying root causes that lie in the patterns of socio-political behaviours reflected through institutional if not norm-building efforts for conflict-resolution. This line of thinking underlines the need for conflict transformation which requires parties to conflict to move away from confrontation and work towards participation in joint peaceful transactions that are aimed at evolving a relationship of harmony and interdependence. This however remains an extremely ambitious, almost idealistic, proposition.

The only point on which broad consensus has emerged amongst scholars is that peacebuilding is considered clearly a post-conflict activity. Further area of agreement is the inevitable need to address 'underlying causes' and not just the visible effects of a violent conflict. Beyond this premise, peacebuilding remains still a highly contested paradigm. But evolving from these broad contours of its core responsibility area it has been gradually evolving through its actual operations. This is also because, in actual practice, peacebuilding has become fairly regular and acceptable activity in international relations. From that perspective, it continues to be often used as a catch-all term to describe all the actors and elements of post-conflict stabilising and rebuilding efforts that may include preventive diplomacy, institution building, engaging and empowering local populations, ensuring local ownership, capacity building which makes it almost akin to nation-building. No doubt Roland Paris says that 'scholars have devoted relatively little attention to analyzing the concept of peace-building itself, including its underlying assumptions' which places peacebuilding at best etymologically at its adolescence.

Given these aforesaid limitations, one comprehensive definition of peacebuilding is provided by Rebecca Spence in her chapter on "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent edited volume on *Transformative peacebuilding in post-conflict reconstruction: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2001). To quote her, peacebuilding includes –

...those activities and processes that focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of war-torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post-conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.

In recent years there has been a trend in favour of adopting multi-faceted, multi-agency, system-wide approaches to peacebuilding. These approaches have common aspects and are convergent in nature, while it is true that experts seek to privilege one or the other specific element in presenting their favoured approach as more viable than others. While there have been multiple ways to categorising approaches to peacebuilding some of the well-known approaches to peacebuilding include the following.

14.3 INTEGRATED OR WoG APPROACH

A few governments have begun to realise that post-conflict security sector reforms, as the foremost sector of peacebuilding, needs an integrated or Whole of Government (WoG) approach in order to align development agencies with military, intelligence agencies, police, prisons and civil society. This approach has lately become popular and has come to be defined as one where a government actively uses formal and informal networks across different agencies for effective coordination of both the design and implementation of the peacebuilding agreements. The focus clearly remains on greater 'coordination' amongst various governmental agencies, both in the theatre of post-conflict operations as also amongst donor governments and other international agencies.

Establishment of inter-departmental organisations in major states like United Kingdom and United States in 2004 characterises this approach. The UK had set up the Post-Conflict and Reconstruction Unit (PCRU) which is now known as Stabilization Unit. Similarly in the US, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) was created within the State Department. Similarly, Australia too adopted this approach in 2006 through a White Paper on its Aid Programme and inception of Office of Development Effectiveness. However encouraging these initiatives are, the promise of the WoG approach might be severely tested in fragile and unstable states where no formal structures and clear division of labour exist.

14.4 POLITICAL DEMOCRACY APPROACH

One lesson learnt from the experience of peacekeeping operations in the past two decades concerns the value of local-level governance and related institutions in sustaining peace after ceasefire has been signed. Democratic validation of peace agreements between authorities and rebels and later by masses has come to be seen as essential for peacebuilding. But, at the same time, both democracy and peacebuilding remain intrinsically political in nature and do have possibilities of leading to a zero-sum relationship. This means that not all gains for one imply gains for the opposite side. It is this complex relationship of democracy and peacebuilding through mechanisms like political participation and governance that forms the core of political democracy approach.

Charles Call and Susan Cook in their book *Reconstructing Justice and Security after War* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007) examine this 'political democracy' approach. After studying experiences of post-conflict democracy and peacebuilding in places like Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, they conclude that 'patience' must be the hallmark of both peacebuilding and good governance processes. This approach is also called war-to-democracy approach to peacebuilding.

14.5 PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE APPROACH

There are some who conceive peacebuilding in terms exclusively of either 'peace' or 'justice' driven approaches. The 'peace' driven approach puts emphasis on 'saving lives' and allows accommodation, even appeasement, of aggressor to swiftly achieve cessation

of hostilities and violence in a conflict. Elizabeth Cousens calls it 'political peacebuilding' which seeks to create authoritative and eventually legitimate mechanisms which may empower the polity to handle conflict without violence and to apply established procedures for resolving rival claims and grievances. Though this approach is normally effective in ensuring negative peace, they lack the appreciation of 'victim's perspective' since the protagonists of the peace approach tend to treat victim and aggressor as equals. Furthermore, this approach could threaten to fuel the aggressor's appetite for more conflict.

On the other hand, the 'justice' driven approach to peacebuilding sees building 'negative peace' as job only half done which may not go far in building a sustainable peace. This approach seeks to go beyond cessation of violence and explore issues of reconciliation, truth and justice. So, in addition to hard-nosed bargain for mutual benefits it seeks to evolve provisions that appeal to the sense of fairness in the eye of parties as well as their respective support bases and therefore worth honouring. In the context of peacebuilding, justice for them embodies four components: truth, fairness, rectitude and retribution/requital. While truth involves an accurate understanding and recording of the causes of conflict, fairness implies impartiality without any undue pressure on either of the parties to conflict. Similarly, rectitude relates to a sense of integrity and righteousness, whereas and retribution/requital means compassion for victims and punishment for aggressors.

14.6 RECONSTRUCTIVE VERSUS TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES

Prof. Bronwyn Evans-Kent in his book *Transformative peacebuilding in post-conflict reconstruction: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina* dwells on peacebuilding strategies – which he identifies as 'reconstructive' in approach – as applied in multilateral initiatives under international institutions like the UN. As opposed to this is the 'transformative' approach often adopted by the civil society actors and NGOs as part of their bottom-up initiatives. According to Kent, both these sets of approaches are two sides of the same coin and complement each other if balanced appropriately. Hence, too much focus on one is not going to be effective, as for instance excessive focus by the UN on reconstruction activities has undermined its transformative capacities.

Reconstructive approaches concern themselves with more tangible aspects of peacebuilding such as addressing infrastructure needs like roads, communications, healthcare and public institutions where benefits and outcomes are immediate and easily measurable. Usually the UN post-conflict reconstruction involves (a) monitoring ceasefire, (b) disarming and demobilising rebels and ensuring their reintegration through security sector reforms, and (c) supervising or conducting elections. But given this 'tool-kit' of peacebuilding, it often begins to become too rigid and therefore vulnerable to donor agencies' expansive reporting processes and preferences. Instead, these need to be locally rooted, intensive and contextualised. Moreover, these efforts of the UN peacebuilding have often been accused of being driven by major powers' desire to implant democracy and free-market economy.

Transformative approach, on the other hand, seeks to address exactly these lacunae i.e. less focus on physical reconstruction and more focus on transforming social relationship within

and amongst the given conflict-prone communities. As the very first thing, their outcomes remain less measurable and its processes normally time-taking. But then transformative approach seeks to address not only manifest but also latent triggers of conflict that impel the conflict protagonists to see violence as only means of redress. It also believes that parties to conflict are not necessarily homogenous social entities. Therefore, the focus would be on addressing both the manifest and the felt needs for recognition of respective collective identities - and doing so in such a manner that this recognition does not appear to threaten other parties.

Lisa Schirch in her book *Rituals and Symbols in Peacebuilding* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2005) believes that rituals and symbols may be useful for reducing direct violence. Rituals and symbols, she says, are widely used either to symbolically communicate commitment to nonviolence or to heal trauma or to transform relationships. However, it may be noted that symbols and rituals are not the mainstay of peacebuilding but only complement real tools and processes of peacebuilding like dialogue or mediation. On their own, rituals and symbols cannot adequately address conflict and peacebuilding.

14.7 TOP, MIDDLE AND GRASSROOT APPROACHES

Taking cue from the three-level model identified with one of the most respected scholars in the field, John Paul Lederach, Luc Reyhler and Thania Paffenholz in their book *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide* have classified approaches to peacebuilding as top, middle and grassroots level approaches.

At the top level, peacebuilding normally involves a top-down approach which has the following salient features. First, it normally involves very eminent and influential yet singular personalities. These are people with a visible public profile, working as peace-builders or norm-entrepreneurs, and who operate as intermediaries or mediators. They often have strong backing from governments of major powers, important international agencies as also from the parties to the conflict. Second, it usually involves very high-level leaders from amongst parties to the conflict and these peace-builders generally act on their own to facilitate a dialogue between these high profile protagonists of the given conflict. Such negotiations are normally arranged by these high-profile peace-builders at some neutral venue and they also help facilitate setting up the tone (sometimes even agenda) for a successful mutual bargaining amongst major protagonists in the given conflict.

At the middle level, there remains a whole range of middle ranking leaders (including identifiable policy- and opinion-makers). If integrated properly, these mid-ranking leaders can provide key to creating 'infrastructure' or atmospherics for achieving an effective peacebuilding by the top level. There are several practical and professional approaches that are applied in this category of interactions amongst mid-ranking protagonists of conflict. These include (a) problem-solving workshops, (b) conflict resolution training programmes, and (c) setting up of peace commissions and/or truth and reconciliation commissions. These approaches have been particularly emphasized in conflict-resolution discourses as an addition; these mid-ranking protagonists may also become useful contact point to reach out to the wider masses that form the core of grass-root approaches to peacebuilding.

The grassroot approaches remain distinct as they focus not on protagonists but on victims of a given conflict and these normally involve massive numbers. Grassroot approaches deal with only those protagonists who may be working with local (victim) communities and can facilitate peacebuilders' access to the masses. At this level, issues in survival-mode, such as providing them with food, shelter and safety, assume the top priority. From this perspective, although their miseries flow from an unresolved larger conflict, conflict resolution efforts might appear to be a diversionary luxury. Guided by the immediate needs and priorities, the grass roots approaches could often remain focused on *ad hoc* fire-fighting rather than evolving long-term planning which is the essence of peacebuilding.

14.8 CIVIL SOCIETY OR TRANSFORMATIONAL APPROACH

The civil-society or transformational approach to peacebuilding and conflict resolution involves the development of an interactive, interdependent web of activities and relationships amongst elite and grass roots to build, what Louis Kriesberg calls 'culture of peace'. It is widely accepted that non-governmental organisations are a prominent component of the civil society.

As Jonathan Goodhand notes, non-governmental organisations further the goals of peacebuilding in both indirect and direct ways like supporting local leadership, human rights monitoring and protection, facilitating good governance, constitutional reforms, local capacity building, and development of alternative livelihoods. While activities that could have direct bearing on peacebuilding include conflict monitoring, mediation, security sector reforms, advocacy, education and building peace constituencies, those of indirect category tend to mainstream peacebuilding into ongoing activities.

Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk, in their monograph *Civil Society, Civil Engagement, and Peacebuilding* (Social Development Paper No. 36, October 2006), suggest the need for a holistic and comprehensive approach to relate civil society to post-conflict peacebuilding. At the same time they caution us against expecting miracles from the civil society's role. Among the points made in this regard are the following: (1) Civil society comprises of not just non-governmental organisations but other bodies which together have important roles to play in peacebuilding. (2) The acknowledgement of the importance of civil society does not mean that state is any less important. (3) Enthusiasm over support to the civil society role has to be based on a full understanding of its imprecise character and composition. (4) It may not be accurate to assume that all civil society functions are equally effective in all post-conflict phases. (5) For a critical assessment of the civil society's impact on peacebuilding, the timing and sequencing of various civil society functions need to be borne in mind.

14.9 FEMINIST APPROACH

Feminists regret that feminist approaches have been underutilised in peacebuilding at community, national and international level. Women are often seen as aping the mainstream (read malestream) as an easy way to be accepted and to make contributions to peacebuilding. Feminists believe that in spite of women's continued marginalisation in international peace and security discourses, their work in actual peacebuilding has been

substantial in almost all societies, and that its importance is being increasingly recognised across the world. They call for gendering of peacebuilding approaches and strategies and urge for inclusion of women's skills and capabilities into peacebuilding, especially in projects like healing, reconciliation, reintegration and demilitarisation.

McKey and Mazurana, for example, bring out in their book *Women & Peacebuilding* (Montreal: Rights & Democracy, 2001) as to how women pursue different and largely nonviolent approaches to social change. Women are relevant in peacebuilding process involving relationship building, cooperation, networking, psychological and spiritual processes and above all reconciliation and human relationships.

14.10 SUMMARY

It is clear from the discussion so far in this Unit that there is no single approach that is either universally accepted or uniformly applicable across a wide spectrum of conflict situations. Each conflict is unique in its own way; therefore a right mix of approaches would be naturally necessary. We have learned that scholars and thinkers have come up with a variety of approaches to highlight different aspects in peacebuilding. For example, the top, middle and grassroot approaches identify the interlinkages among the three levels at which peacebuilding needs to be pursued for the best possible results. On a different note, another approach emphasizes the need to adopt an integrated, coordinated approach for peacebuilding. The clear choice to be made between peace and justice is the essence of another approach. Similarly, the role and relevance of civil society and/or non-governmental organisations have become the prime concerns of some other approaches. It is remarkable that the feminist theory too has important perspectives to offer on the promise women hold in transforming attitudes so that peace becomes sustainable. Notably, however, these approaches have much in common amongst them. Hence, it may not be advisable to stress only one approach and reject other approaches.

In the end, two things distinguish peacebuilding from other similar activities. Firstly, it is an activity located in post-conflict context. Secondly, it seeks to address deep-rooted, underlying causes of conflict rather than deal only with the visible violence. An effective peacebuilding approach, therefore, has to be grounded on deeper understanding about the parties to conflict. This requires peacebuilding effort to be sensitive to, and show an understanding towards, the feuding parties' history and society as also their political and strategic culture. At the same time, successful peacebuilding requires national ownership on the one hand, and a clear division of labour between national and international actors and agencies. Given its evolutionary nature, it also needs to be innovative to keep evolving in the face of real time challenges. This requires huge staying power in terms of commitment and resources as also patience; peacebuilding processes will continue to be really long-drawn and piecemeal as they seek to ensure building a sustainable peace.

14.11 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the main characteristics of top, middle and grassroot levels approach and contrast this approach from other approaches.

2. Which are the approaches, in your understanding, that question the conventional wisdom that peacebuilding is the responsibility of political and national leaders alone?
3. Highlight the salient points of reconstructive versus transformative approach and peace versus justice approach.
4. What advantages and disadvantages do the civil society actors have in the context of peacebuilding and conflict resolution?
5. Do you agree that there can be no single and universally reliable approach to peacebuilding? Give reasons.

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UNIT 15 **POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION**

Structure

- 15.1 Introduction**
 - Aims and Objectives**
- 15.2 Defining Post-conflict Re-construction and Rehabilitation**
- 15.3 Actors and Stakeholders**
- 15.4 Post-conflict Fund and the Role of World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and Africa Development Bank (AfDB)**
- 15.5 Case Study: Re-construction and Rehabilitation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka**
- 15.6 Summary**
- 15.7 Terminal Questions**
 - Suggested Readings**

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Conflict has been a feature of human history and has shaped civilisations. It emerges from political differences and ideological divides between religions and ethnicities. Conflicts among societies and people also arise from failed political institutions resulting in poor governance, lack of political and social justice, accountability and transparency of the government, corruption, abuse of political power and high levels of poverty. These deficiencies in governance have resulted in civil war that threatened the stability of states.

At another level, conflicts arise due to clash of interests over national values among states, groups of states, organisations, organised groups who are ever so aggressive to uphold their views and interests and win their cases.

In contemporary times, conflicts have become transnational in nature and its actors have challenged state authority. At another level, nature-based causes such as climate change has further contributed to conflicts among humans. These varying forms of conflicts leave societies destroyed with long and lasting adversarial impacts on the lives of people.

According to “Global Conflict Barometer”, a report published by the Institute for International Conflict Research at the University of Heidelberg, there were 365 political conflicts recorded in 2009 and these included seven wars and 24 severe crises that witnessed massive violence. Further, the number of conflicts increased from 353 in 2008 to 365 in 2009. The report also notes that the total number of non-violent conflicts rose by ten, as did the number of crises. However, the number of highly violent conflicts decreased from nine wars and 30 severe crises, i.e. a total of 39 highly violent conflicts, in 2008 to 31 highly violent conflicts in 2009.

The report clearly reflects that the contemporary world continues to be less peaceful and violent force is repeatedly used in an organised way. Therefore there is a need for greater engagement by the international community to prevent conflicts, wars, and crisis among the

people. In the above context, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation is a critical step for longer-term peace and stability and requires the responsiveness of a variety of actors, state and non-state, either unilaterally or multilaterally.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The dynamics of post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation in order to achieving the overarching goals of sustainable peace and prosperity.
- The definition of the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation
- The identification of the actors and stakeholders.
- The process of re-construction and rehabilitation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka in the post-LTTE period (case study).

15.2 UNDERSTANDING POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

Although the Cold War ended the great power rivalry, it witnessed large number of intrastate conflicts particularly among the developing countries. During the 1990s, nearly one third of the world's countries were afflicted with armed conflict and nearly two-thirds of these experienced conflict particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These entailed international attention and global collective action in post-conflict reconstruction.

The World Bank defines post-conflict reconstruction as “the rebuilding of the socioeconomic framework of society” and the “reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a functioning peacetime society [to include] the framework of governance and rule of law.” It is noted that post-conflict reconstruction is a process of rebuilding war-affected communities and ‘includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of a society emerging from conflict. It also includes addressing the root causes of the conflict and promoting social and economic justice as well as putting in place political structures of governance and the rule of law in order to consolidate peace building, reconciliation and development.’ This entails delivering social and economic development, providing governance and the rule of law including justice and reconciliation and longer-term development assistance.

It has also been argued that there is ‘no definition for post-conflict rehabilitation and peace-building that has been agreed to by the consensus needed in order for them to be used by the different actors that participate in the process.’

For the purpose of this chapter, Post- conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation can be defined as the process of developing long-term programmes that are designed for improving the economic well being of the affected societies and people and also developing institutions that can deliver governance, and political and social justice.

In the aftermath of any violent conflict and military interventions, the need for post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation becomes central. A variety of agencies including international organisations and coalitions of countries are in the forefront to bring in their respective capacities for restoration or transformation of the fragile social capital. There is also a need for a greater commitment to postconflict reconstruction and rehabilitation in areas and societies to develop strategies that close the gap between humanitarian assistance and development, and help to organise cooperation and partnership.

At another level, the economic penalty of conflict includes capital flight, economic decline, high defence spending, and structural changes to the economy. Post-conflict economic recovery is also dependent on the responses by the private sector.

In its broad sense, reconstruction entails rebuilding of governance structures, institutions, and conditions that had existed prior to war. It also includes the rehabilitation and restoration of basic services like health and education. However, the biggest challenge facing countries is to define the priority areas in the post-conflict reconstruction programme and how to reconstruct. This issues gains salience due to the fact that all peacetime conditions, though desirable, cannot be reconstructed in short time and would need to be prioritised.

15.3 ACTORS AND STAKEHOLDERS

It is an acknowledged fact that no single actor can manage the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation and requires the assistance and support of a variety of actors both at the government and non-government level. Among these, the governments are the most important players and without their support, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts will yield little in improving the well-being of the affected people. Multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and financial institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank emerged as significant stakeholders in the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation by providing fiscal support outside the national budget process. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other development agencies too are critical for the purposes of relief and emergency assistance.

At the societal level, women have a major role to play in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation process. Though the military is a coercive tool of the state, it has an important role in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of war torn societies. It has an important role in ensuring a viable and an effective domestic security system through the civil police agencies and ensure that democratic civilians are able to ensure law and order.

Role of the State

The state is the primary actor in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts. It should formulate and lead the development strategy and be in the driver's seat. The government must undertake economic recovery and structural adjustment programmes to

restore macroeconomic stability and bring down inflation. It must be noted that the private sector has an important role to play and be an effective instrument that can support the government deliver sustained growth. Also, economic growth requires the active participation of the population.

The task of rebuilding the nation and reconstructing social and physical infrastructure is critical for post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation. The post-conflict period requires major health sector reforms and investments in education, investment with smooth flow of funds reaching to the grass root level. It should also define the objective of post-conflict reconstruction process, identify institutional and human resource development needs, and clearly spell the capacity building strategy.

At another level, there must be close collaboration between the government and the international community including international financial institutions for availability of fiscal resources, grants and loans. The externally funded investments must be controlled by the Government and these must fit well into the national development programme to achieve fruition over the longer term. Further, aid cannot be effective unless the state has a robust institutional framework that allows the rule of law to prevail.

The government must evolve long term plans for development that are fully integrated in national development policies, plans and strategies. For that it must have in place an efficient institutional and administrative machinery to formulate, coordinate, and implement policies, strategies, programmes, and projects. The focus should be on good governance and sound economic management. In essence, the government must promote security and human development, rebuild infrastructure for economic growth, and create conditions for private sector participation for a sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

Role of the UN

During the Cold War period, the UN mandate for international governance entailed supporting states to monitor borders and ceasefires, and in the conduct and monitoring of elections. However, in the post Cold War period, the UN has been increasingly engaged in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation missions. In 1992, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Former UN Secretary-General, in the landmark *An Agenda for Peace* set out an international strategy for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. Since then post-conflict reconstruction has been an agenda for the UN in its efforts to rebuild war-affected communities. In 2005, Kofi Annan's, then Secretary-General, report, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All* recommended that UN member states 'establish a Peace building Commission to fill the institutional gap that exists with regards to assisting countries to make the transition from war to lasting peace.' In September 2005, during the UN world summit and the 60th session of the General Assembly, the recommendations of the report were reviewed. Kofi Annan noted "Our record of success in mediating and implementing peace agreements is sadly blemished by some devastating failures. Indeed, several of the most violent and tragic episodes of the 1990s occurred after the negotiation of peace agreements ... if we are going to prevent

conflict we must ensure that peace agreements are implemented in a sustained and sustainable manner.”

Role of Military

The role of military in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation has been an acknowledged factor. In that context, it has been noted that the ‘use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin rapid and fundamental societal transformation ... [including] comprehensive efforts ... aimed to engineer major social, political, and economic reconstruction’.

The military is an important tool for post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation in at least three areas: (a) Establishing a secure and safe environment for the people at large and for the development agencies to commence their activities, (b) restoring essential services to an acceptable standard, and (c) creating stable conditions for development and economic growth.

The militaries are also critical for security sector reforms in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation environment. Their role can be envisaged in both defensive and offensive domains. The military is trained and equipped to address contingencies arising from chaos, lawlessness, reappearance of violence, human rights violations, untrustworthiness and mutiny.

The military is also crucial for disarming violent groups and their demobilisation, recovery of arms from the public, quelling violence and emergency stabilisation, and preventing relapses into anarchy. At another level, the military should prepare and train the police forces to take on the responsibility of post-conflict situations and develop capacities for establishing rule of law. Its primary aim is to demilitarise the society and ensure civil control.

Several militaries have developed comprehensive strategies and developed capacities to respond to post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation and have constituted specialised units for such purposes. Some militaries are engaged in addressing human security issues in the post-conflict environment. The UN too is engaged in transforming its capability to address issues of security, development and democratisation, notably in fragile and post-conflict states in a comprehensive manner.

Role of Civil Society Organisations and Non-governmental Organisations

The Civil Society Organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are important stakeholders and have assumed a crucial role in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation dynamics. These entities play a pivotal role by setting up and maintaining essential services, assisting the refugee and internally displaced populations in remote areas. They help to strengthen societies through their deep understanding of local needs and culture which acts as a catalyst for fast and effective aid. Further, they fill the gap when political circumstances prevented multilateral and bilateral activities inside the country.

It is true that any violent conflict results in the polarisation of social relationships that can have long term devastating effects on societies. The circumstances of uncertainty contribute to the creation of a long-lasting social mistrust. It is this reason that the communication bridges must be restored among the social groups and encourages participation in political life for social reconciliation. The civil society must contribute to resolving differences of interests of the different groups over the long-term. However it is important that the actors of the civil society drive the mechanisms that are critical for strengthening peace and reconciliation within the communities and avoid supporting the forces that were responsible for the war.

Civil societies can also help manage the tensions in the community by influencing the political leaders and creating unofficial mechanisms for the resolution of disputes. Traditional institutions and mechanisms for peace-building such as advice from elders or religious leaders can play a significant role in peace-building and reconciliation processes thereby creating a connection of trust with local partners.

In general, the NGO's and civil society must explain the idea of their work and the processes they chose to the people who should develop trust in their activities. Also they must have a network with the society, public authorities and other social sector actors. Their efforts can be instrumental for improving the quality of people's lives.

Role of Media

The media has a major role to play in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation process. Experiences show that media can play a positive role in promoting peace and reconciliation. However, the flip side is that media can also act as tool that can generate hatred leading to disintegration. Be that as it may, if democratic social actors have access to the media it can establish connectivity among all the stakeholders i.e. governments, financial institutions, civil society and NGOs and provide information about the society, economic and political structures, and generate social cohesion and enhance social human capital. Therefore a well-functioning media can help promote democratisation.

As a result, international organisations, bilateral donors and NGOs have begun to explore opportunities for media as a tool for enhancing their activities. For instance, the UN has developed a sophisticated strategy to harness the tool of media in almost every UN intervention and the media's role in sustaining peace and democratic transitions continues to increase.

The media can also have a role in terms of social education, addressing many issues of concern to the target audience, and in the process helping to reduce tensions and build trust within the society. Important information can be relayed to the populations regarding health, literacy, the environment; in areas of conflict or post-conflict, this can include information on landmine awareness, war trauma, the Geneva Conventions or the peace accords and demobilisation processes, and it may also ensure that each side to a dispute is allowed to hear the other's position, thereby opening lines of communication between them. On their part, the

media should train the local staff in reporting on conflicts, to help develop high quality and accurate coverage, establish autonomous national and local media institutions and create a gene pool of professionals with high ethical standards.

Some of the successful media ventures in the post-conflict and rehabilitation process are (a) The Center for Conflict Resolution in Uganda conducts workshops for media outlets and members to examine their roles in peace-building and to develop conflict resolution skills, including sensitising reporters to traditional African mechanisms of dealing with peace and reconciliation; (b) Studio Ijambo created by Search for Common Ground to specifically counter a recurrence in Burundi of genocidal hate radio in Rwanda. (c) Radio Blue Sky established for the UN in Kosovo as an emergency source of information programmes to specifically open dialogue and democratic debate in Albanian, Serbian and Turkish communities and (d) UNTAC Radio to inform the people of Cambodia about the United Nations Transitional Authority and promoting reconciliation.

Role of Women

The discourse and debate on the role of women in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation has gathered momentum. It has been noted that 'women make a contribution to the rebuilding of countries emerging from armed conflicts. Special attention is given to women's priority concerns, to their resources and capacities, and to structural and situational factors that may reduce their participation in reconstruction processes'. Further, 'the post-war reconstruction processes influence the reconfiguration of gender roles and positions in the wake of war, and how women's actions shape the construction of post-war social structures.'

It is an acknowledged fact that women are the primary civilian victims of war; yet they are generally excluded from the decision-making process. Significantly, they are powerless to prevent wars and are excluded from the discussions and negotiations when it comes to their resolution. They are restricted to a secondary and unimportant role in the post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. This is notwithstanding the fact that the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of October 2000 on women, peace and security calls upon the member states 'to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.'

Women have a major role to play in all aspects of conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building for the establishment of a lasting peace. Women are critical for post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation at the grass-roots and community levels and their practical steps and initiatives should be taken seriously. Further, their role as peace ambassadors has come to be acknowledged and are a common sight in national, regional and international meetings concerned with peace and security. Further, they can offer practical suggestions for women's socioeconomic rights including employment, property ownership and inheritance during post-conflict reconstruction.

In Afghanistan, women are being empowered through their engagement in rebuilding the country. For instance, 2 of the 29 ministries in the government are headed by women; there are four women deputy ministers, five female generals, and two commissioners on the nine-member panel drafting the constitution. The Afghanistan government's National Development Framework (NDF) acknowledges that national development cannot be realised without the participation by women in policies and resource allocation and also without specific programmes for women. Even international financial institutions such as the Asian Development Bank encourage the role of women in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. It is agreed that special attention must be paid to gender, and not include it as an afterthought.

15.4 POST-CONFLICT FUND AND THE ROLE OF WORLD BANK, ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (ADB) AND AFRICA DEVELOPMENT BANK (AfDB)

States engaged in war divert substantial resources from productive activities to acquiring destructive tools. This diversion of resources to the war effort often results in decrease in other public expenditures for infrastructure, health and education. During the war, the opposing forces often target physical infrastructure such as telecommunications, airports, ports, roads and bridges. They also destroy housing, schools and health facilities. Post-conflict reconstruction therefore involves the repair and reconstruction of physical and economic infrastructure and rebuilding weakened institutions. Funds for the post-conflict reconstruction activities can be broadly divided as one requiring funds for relief and the other for the long-term development. The immediate post-conflict situation requires large amounts of aid to a conflict-ridden country on an urgent basis and the long term development funds can be made available over a period of time.

At the end of World War II, The World Bank was established for reconstruction and development activities in its member countries and since then it has been in the forefront of post-conflict reconstruction. In the initial stages, it concentrated on providing financial capital and rebuilding physical infrastructure through country assistance programmes. The increase in intrastate and regional conflicts in the 1980s and early 1990s highlighted the need for the Bank to rethink its role and shift away from providing physical capital to rehabilitating social capital and institutions of conflict-affected countries.

With its successful track record in the post-conflict reconstruction and development activities, in July 1997, the Executive Board of the World Bank decided to constitute and establish the Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) 'to increase knowledge and improve available instruments within the Bank to enable early engagement and ensure an appropriate role for the Bank in the crucial transition from relief to rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities.' The programme envisages 'constructive engagement in conflict-affected countries where normal instruments and budget provisions cannot apply.'

In 2009, the Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) was superseded by the State and Peace-Building Fund (SPF) and the Low Income Countries under Stress (LICUS) Implementation Trust Fund. The SPF also serves as an entry point to countries that have had limited or no involvement with the World Bank, or piloting an approach that is later scaled up with IDA funding. The SPF allows the Bank to evaluate the programme performance in the concerned country, region, or theme and offers strategic direction for effective implementation of the programme. It is planned to make available about \$100 million for the SPF over the three-years of FY09 to FY11 with three equal installments of \$33.3 million. Since 2009, 28 grants, of which 22 have been signed with the recipients and 11 are effective and commenced disbursing.

Like the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been actively engaged in the post-conflict reconstruction activities in the Asian countries. For instance, the ADB began post-conflict reengagement in Afghanistan with a disaster and emergency relief programme in Afghanistan. The 2004 Performance-Based Allocation (PBA) Policy provided a framework for ADF allocations to post-conflict countries. In the case of Afghanistan, ADB set aside \$400 million during two biennial periods, 2005–2006 and 2007–2008.

The African Development Bank (AfDB) programme of assistance to fragile countries aims to support socio-economic development and fighting poverty in its Regional Member Countries (RMCs). The bank has recognised the huge challenges faced by post-conflict countries and fragile states and the criticality of providing basic services and restart economic activity. The Bank's point of entry into a country's post-conflict reconstruction and development effort begins after the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a transitional government authority supported by stakeholders within the country and the international community.

15.5 CASE STUDY: RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF THE TAMILS IN SRI LANKA

The twenty five year old civil war in Sri Lanka that has claimed nearly 70,000 civilian lives came to end in 2009. The United Nations estimated that over 7,000 people were killed and about 300,000 people displaced in the final phase of the war. By early 2010, about two thirds of the displaced population had returned to their homelands and communities and were confronted with total destruction of the infrastructure including their homes.

The genesis of the civil war lies in the discrimination meted out to the minority Tamil community who, during the course of the civil war, wanted complete autonomy for Tamil-dominated areas under their control in the north and the east of the country as part of the devolution of powers at the Provincial level. Over the years, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had developed extensive military capability and had challenged the Sri Lankan government forces with great success.

However, with the civil war over, the Sri Lankan government is faced with major challenges to ensure that the conditions are conducive for more than 2,50,000 internally displaced people (IDP) who now wish to return to their homes. The northern and eastern part of Sri Lanka

require reconstruction of infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, houses, churches, temples, schools, etc.

The Sri Lankan President Rajapaksha has made several assurances and commitments and noted that “there are still some aspects of security of the IDPs that had to be taken care of in view of the likely presence of LTTE infiltrators among the IDPs, who had come to the Government controlled areas. When conditions improve, especially with regard to security, there would be no objection to such assistance from organisations that are genuinely interested in the well being of the IDPs and the needs of rehabilitation and reconstruction. He said that there is a plan to resettle most of the IDPs within 180 days, under internationally accepted norms.”

Further, the UN Secretary General appealed to the international community to assist Sri Lanka in its Common Humanitarian Action Plan (CHAP) jointly launched by the Sri Lankan Government and the UN, to support the relief, shelter and humanitarian needs of those in the IDP sites. The Sri Lankan President has also undertaken demilitarisation, rehabilitation and re-integration of ex-combatants into civilian life with the assistance of the UN and other international organisations. It has also been acknowledged that reconciliation is critical for promoting peace though it is a long drawn process. Further, having won the war, it is important for the government to win the hearts and minds of the Sri Lankan Tamils that would pave the way for reconciliation and peace.

Several NGOs are engaged in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the IDP. For instance, the North-East Rehabilitation and Development Organisation (NERDO) is playing a key role in the rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement processes and is engaged in various activities in support of the Tamil speaking people. Similarly, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, the largest community based organisation in Sri Lanka has been actively engaged in supporting people displaced by the war. In 2008, it began coordinating relief programmes in the north and east of the country and provided services in 23 IDP camps. It provided Sarvodaya's water, sanitation and medical services and over 200,000 people benefitted from their services. It provided a mobile library for children and also offered legal services to help families obtain birth certificates and other legal documents. The Community Health Unit took care of malnourished children with a high-energy diet and brought them to normal health. Overall, people benefited from the Sarvodaya's assistance.

Likewise there has been a call on the media to play a positive role in reconstruction and rehabilitation of the IDP and also strengthen the ongoing reconciliation efforts. Negative reporting should be avoided and the focus should be on development and peace building efforts such as rebuilding, swift resettlement of the IDP and rehabilitation of the former combatants.

The Tamil community women living in the conflict ridden areas had witnessed violence and brutality and there have been reports of them being killed, injured, raped, tortured, trafficked, harassed and physically and sexually assaulted. They are now taking on the responsibility for

their families' economic and emotional survival, taking on new roles to enhance family income in the face of economic hardship.

15.6 SUMMARY

Post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation is a critical step in the longer-term development process. Its success is based on a number of factors such as the political will, the legitimacy of the state, support from international organisations, financial institutions, and other non-state actors such as the civil society, NGOs and the media. These institutions should identify the gaps and constraints of capacity in their strategies for post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. They also need to undertake sound political analysis and international responses should be adapted to country and regional contexts.

15.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Define post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. Who, in your view, are the important stakeholders for post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn societies?
2. What is the role of the State in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation?
3. Is the UN most suitable stakeholder to undertake post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn societies? If so, why?
4. Are international financial institutions equipped to support post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation of states? If so, how?
5. It has been argued that 'women make a contribution to the rebuilding of countries emerging from armed conflicts'. Examine the statement at length.
6. Highlight the role of media in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation of states.
7. Explain the role of NGOs in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts of Sri Lanka.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Structure**16.1 Introduction****Aims and Objectives****16.2 From Conflict to Reconstruction****16.3 International Community and Reconstruction****16.4 Work in Progress****16.4.1 Signs of Economic Revival****16.4.2 Difficult Security Situation****16.4.3 Control of Opium Cultivation****16.5 India's Role in Reconstruction****16.5.1 Infrastructure Projects****16.5.2 Humanitarian Assistance****16.5.3 Education and Capacity Building****16.5.4 Positive Impact****16.6 Importance of Afghanistan for India and the Region****16.7 Summary****16.8 Terminal Questions****Suggested Readings**

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>

Websites :

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

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

<http://www.unodc.org/afghanistan/>