

## Neotrusteeship in Afghanistan

by Melanie Kawano

*Political violence is a considerable or destroying use of force, a use of force prohibited by law, against persons or things directed to a change in the policies, personnel or system of government, and hence also directed to changes in the existence of individuals in the society and perhaps other societies (Ted Honderich, *Political Violence*, 1976).*

Afghanistan is currently under the tentative rule of an international administration, or neo-trusteeship, thereby restricting its national sovereignty. However, self-determination and non-intervention have never been persistent features of Afghanistan. Foreign interventions, invasions and great power showdowns on its territory have made a truly autonomous Afghan state a short-lived phenomenon. The outcome at each stage of Afghan history has been an unstable state that seems to invite even more external involvement.

Afghanistan is once again the object of international focus. After years of vacillating involvement and neglect, the United States decided to step onto Afghan soil not only to save the women of Afghanistan, but to remove the al-Qaeda-supporting Taliban in Kabul. Presently Afghanistan depends on donors for its national security, financial provisions, internal political restructuring, and even its international legitimacy. The years of political violence seem to stretch unending into the future for the people of Afghanistan. The following texts detail and examine the causes, policies, effects, and legality of an international administration entrusted with the governing neo-trusteeship of the modern Afghan state.

### Conflict History

This section provides context for the present political situation in Afghanistan. Conflict has been, and continues to be, a nearly defining feature of Afghanistan. Since the creation of its borders under British colonialism to its spiral into a rogue state via American and Cold War influence, Afghanistan is a state shaped by its violent past.

2003. "Chronology." *Middle East Journal*. 57(2): 292.

*Abstract: Presents a chronology of events in the Middle East from October 16, 2002 to January 15, 2003, including suicide bombers in Afghanistan.*

Milton Bearden. 2001. "Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires." *Foreign Affairs*. 80(6): 17.

*Abstract: Provides a political history of Afghanistan. Includes descriptions of how the British and Soviets failed to gain control, Afghanistan's spiral into anarchy, and United States involvement in Afghanistan prior to 9/11. Details U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's covert war with the Soviet Union as the U.S. fought alongside Afghan Arabs, the turn against America with the rise of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban regime. Article also forewarns against a U.S.-Northern Alliance coalition in the quest to replace the Taliban regime and locate and neutralize the bin Ladin network. Peter R. United States. Lib. Of Cong. Federal Research Blood, Div. 2001. *Afghanistan: a country study*. United States Library of Congress.*

Hafizullah Emadi. 2001. "Radical Political Movements in Afghanistan and Their Politics of Peoples' Empowerment and Liberation." *Central Asian Survey*. 20(4): 427.

*Abstract: Examines the Progressive Youth Organization (PYO) and its splintered revolutionary groups. Argues in the 1960s and 1970s, the PYO tried to raise social and political awareness among students, civil service personnel, and workers to mobilize a neodemocratic revolution. In the 1980s they fought for national liberation from the Soviet occupation. Their failure is attributed to their inability to provide a link with the peasantry, develop and adopt new approaches, permeate the power structure in the state apparatus, and rally international support. Watch Human Rights. 2001. Massacres of Hazaras in Afghanistan. Human Rights Watch.*

Ali A. Jalali. 2001. "Afghanistan: the anatomy of an ongoing conflict." *Parameters*. 31(1): 85.

*Abstract: Examines dynamics of the civil war, with emphasis on military potential of the major players and their capacity to force peace through military action. Cold War and Soviet invasion, factional militias, operational concepts, unconventional use of conventional weapons, and logistics.*

Ralph H. Magnus and Eden Naby. 2002. Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx, and Mujahid. Cambridge, MA: Westview.

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

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

David Seddon. 2003. "IMPERIAL DESIGNS A Deep History of Afghanistan." *Critical Asian Studies*. 35(2): 175.

*Abstract: Essay outlines how Afghanistan has figured in the imperial designs of regional and international powers for more than two thousand years. Afghanistan's role in the regional empires of Persia, India, and China, "the Great Game" of imperial politics between Russia and British India, and the longer term implications of U.S. support for the mujahiddin are analyzed.*

## The Purposes of Intervention

The purposes for intervention are thought to form the background for more than military operations, but to some extent reconstruction, and subsequent aid and administration. The following citations deal with the various reasons the United States gave for its intervention/invasion, and perspectives on its legality. As Honderich argues in *Political Violence*, feelings toward violence have much to do with its executing agent. If the perpetrating agent is seen as legitimate and just, the violence executed is likewise seen as legitimate and just. If the agent perceived as threatening, the violence is seen as threatening. When preparing for war and the subsequent international administration of Afghanistan, the United States framed the Taliban-lead Kabul government as threatening to both international citizens, and its own female citizens.

Thus, this section focuses principally on the legality of the intervention, how **terrorism** shaped the decision, and the place women occupy in justifications for invasion and reconstruction.

*Legality*

2004. "Limit Sovereignty if the State Abuses It." *International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations*. 50(5): 94.

*Abstract: Examines humanitarian interventions as limitation of sovereignty in so-called collapsed states. Background on the limitations of sovereignty; Details of United Nations policies to sovereign states; Assessment on the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq; Discussion of reform measures in the political systems of collapsed states.*

Anthony Burke. 2004. "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence After 9/11." *International Affairs*. 80(2): 329.

*Abstract: This article focuses on the moral discourses of strategic violence after September 11 terrorist attack. For those who assume that the application of morality to foreign policy or war-making implies a radical critique of strategic violence—one that seeks to abolish it or at least to control its use—it may be surprising that moral convictions can be placed in its service. Death can be commuted not only through technological distancing media spin and military jargon, but also in theory! which works to control its ethical disturbance through the creation of abstract moral and political rules that claim to fix truth, enable justice and provide a sure guide for policy.*

Michael Byers. 2003. "Letting the Exception Prove the Rule." *Ethics & International Affairs*. 17(1): 9.

*Abstract: A contribution to the roundtable discussion on the preemptive use of force examines the U.S. response to the terrorist attacks of September 11 (2001) as an example of how international law has been shaped to accommodate U.S. interests. The U.S. attack on Afghanistan was justified on the basis of the right to use force in self-defense against state sponsors of terrorism. Although this argument was rejected by other states when presented by U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz in 1986, the attacks of 9/11 created a more supportive international attitude toward the U.S., & allowed U.S. state department lawyers to secure the Shultz Doctrine as accepted law. International law governing preemptive strikes is explored with special attention given to attempts by the Bush Administration to extend self-defense to include precautionary attacks based on threats posed by the possession of weapons of mass destruction. The question of whether or not states may be justified in violating international law on the basis of belief in a serious threat is discussed. J. Lindroth.*

Michael Byers. 2002. "Terrorism, the Use of Force and International Law after 11 September." *International Relations*. 16(2): 155.

*Abstract: There were at least four possible legal justifications for the use of force against Afghanistan: Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, intervention by invitation, humanitarian intervention and self-defense. In solely pursuing a claim of self-defense, the U.S. adopted a two-pronged legal strategy: expanding the focus to include the Taliban, and securing widespread support in advance of military action. As a result, the right of self-defense now includes military responses against states that actively support or willingly harbor terrorist groups who have already attacked the responding State.*

Anna Caroline Muller. 2004. "Legal issues arising from the armed conflict in Afghanistan." *Non-State Actors & International Law*. 4(3): 239.

*Abstract: The article is an attempt to shed some light on the legal issues arising from the armed conflict that took place in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks as concerns non-state actors. The first two parts consider the right of self-defence as a possible justification of the U.S. bombings. Can attacks by non-state actors qualify as "armed attacks" under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter? Secondly the legal limits of the exercise of the right of self-defence are considered, with focus on the possible adversaries of the actions of the defending state. In the third part, the imprisonment of the captured Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters is considered. The legal status of the detainees, the possible legal bases of the detention and the relationship of the legal bases with the treatment of prisoners are discussed.*

John Yoot. 2004. "Using Force." *University of Chicago Law Review*. 71(3): 729.

*Abstract: This article explores the international law governing self-defense in light of the three wars American waged against other sovereign nations in the last five years. For the most part international lawyers are highly critical of the United States' intervention in Iraq, less so of those in Afghanistan and Kosovo. The new doctrine of preventive self-defense in Iraq is at odds with national law doctrines restricting the use of force. Leading international law professors view the war in Iraq as part of an effort to undermine international law and institutions generally.*

### *Terrorism*

2001. "A Resource War." *Multinational Monitor*. 22(11): 22.

*Abstract: Presents an interview with Michael Klare, author of the book 'Resource Wars.' Remarks from Klare on whether the conflict in Afghanistan a resource war; His views on whether the United States (U.S.) troops in Saudi Arabia a cause of Osama bin Laden's anti-U.S. activities; Evolution of U.S. deployment in the Middle East and in Saudi Arabia.*

2002. "War on terror." *Foreign Policy Bulletin*. 12/13(28).

*Abstract: Selected official statements and documents from U.S. and U.N. sources on counterterrorism, neutralizing threat of catastrophic terrorism, and reconstruction of Afghanistan. Includes text of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1390, Jan. 16, 2002.*

2002. "War without borders." *Middle East Report*. 32(1): 12.

*Abstract: Discusses impact of U.S. military response to Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on civilians in Afghanistan. Pakistan's relations with India and Afghanistan, corruption in the Middle East, and displaced Kurds in Iraq are also covered.*

Irving Brecher. 2001. "Terrorism, Freedom, and Social Justice." *International Journal*. 57(1): 141.

*Abstract: An obvious relationship exists between the absence of social justice & the intensification of terrorism. This relationship has proven true for Afghanistan. U.S. reaction to the terrorist attacks of 11 Sept 2001 included a strategy that would bring social justice to Afghanistan. As a result, the repressive Taliban regime was defeated, an interim representative government was established, & international efforts were made to rebuild the country. These actions by the U.S. & its allies are likely to have lasting global consequences for foreign policy & international relations. The 11 Sept attacks also illustrate the dangers inherent in globalization & in regimes that are repressive & poverty stricken. Consequently, donor countries must realize that foreign aid is an essential*

*component of any antiterrorism campaign. Donor countries must also recognize that terrorism cannot thrive in an environment that ensures freedom & social justice.*

*Addresses the relationship between the absence of social justice and the intensification of terrorism. Author maintains that America's reaction to the terrorist attacks of 11 Sept included a strategy that would bring social justice to Afghanistan by defeating the repressive Taliban regime, establishing an interim representative government, and rebuilding the country. The 11 Sept attacks illustrate the inherent dangers in globalization, repressive regimes and poverty. Consequently, author advocates donor countries realize foreign aid is an essential component of any anti-terrorism campaign.*

Noam Chomsky. 2003. "Wars of Terror." *New Political Science*. 25(1): 113.

*Abstract: Comments on various issues related to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. America's foreign policy in determining the consequences of these attacks and various steps taken by the U.S. government to abolish Taliban rule over Afghanistan are discussed in terms of moral standards.*

Michael M. Collier. 2003. "The Bush Administration's Reaction to September 11: A Multilateral Voice or a Multilateral Veil." *Berkeley Journal of International Law*. 21(3): 715.

*Abstract: Examines the global and domestic ramifications of the reaction of U.S. President George W. Bush's administration to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Assessment of the Bush administration's disfavor for terrorist-related treaties, forms of foreign support received for its use of force in Afghanistan, and National Security Strategy.*

John K. Cooley. 2002. *Unholy wars: Afghanistan, America, and international terrorism*. London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.

Norman Friedman. 2003. Terrorism, Afghanistan, and America's new way of war. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press.

Simon Glynn. 2005. "Deconstructing Terrorism." *Philosophical Forum*. 36(1): 113.

*Abstract: The article focuses on the causes of the acts and threats of terrorism. Takes the claim that the major causes are economic factors, together with the political relations and military actions shaped largely by economic interests. States Osama bin Laden's explicitly articulated complaint that the U.S. had plundered the riches and dictated to the rulers of the Arab World.*

Donna Henderson-King; Eaaron Henderson-King; Bryan Bolea; Kurt Koches and Amy Kauffman. 2004. "Seeking Understanding or Sending Bombs: Beliefs as Predictors of Responses to Terrorism." *Peace & Conflict*. 10(1): 67.

*Abstract: A major question for many Americans following the terrorist attacks of September 11 was how best to respond to the attacks. This study considers some of the primary responses being discussed at the time, and individual differences in beliefs as predictors of support for those responses. Five hundred four undergraduate students indicated their level of endorsement for sending aid to Afghanistan, seeking understanding, increased surveillance and detention, attacking terrorists, and the use of military force. Right-wing authoritarianism emerged as a significant predictor of support for 4 of the 5 responses. Religious fundamentalism, belief in a just world, powerlessness, and universal-diverse orientation were each also significantly related to support for several of the responses to terrorism.*

Bruce Hoffman. 2002. "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism since 9/11." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 25(5): 303.

Abstract: *Examines the nature of twenty-first-century terrorism, the challenges that it poses, and how it may be countered. The article considers Usama bin Laden and the terrorist entity he created and whether we are more or less secure as a result of the U.S.-led actions in Afghanistan. These issues are placed in the context of major trends in terrorism in recent months and how it will likely affect the future course of political violence.*

James L. Jones. 2002. "Strength In Diversity." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 139(9): 10.

Abstract: *Focuses on the importance of each U.S. military service on the joint warfighting force in Afghanistan. Assessment of military performance on the fight against terrorism, of characteristics of each military sector, and of impact of Afghan terrorism on the relationship of each military service.*

William H. Lewis. 2002. "The War on Terror: A Retrospective." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 13(4): 21.

Abstract: *Reflects on the antiterrorism campaign of the U.S. government after September 11. Details of America's declaration of war and its global impact.*

Rahul Mahajan. 2002. "The new crusade: America's war on terrorism." *Monthly Review*. 53(9): 15.

Abstract: *Examines the myths around the war on terrorism and the ways they are used to benefit a small elite. Demonstrates how accepted accounts of the causes of the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan, the conduct of the war, and its consequences have been systematically distorted. Shows how global power is being redefined in the process and explores the new directions the war is likely to take.*

Peter McClaren and Gregory Martin. 2004. "The Legend of the Bush Gang: Imperialism, War, and Propaganda." *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies*. 4(3): 281.

Abstract: *This article explores the dialectical relationship between the Bush administration's domestic policies and its deranged "war on terrorism," which is being waged on a number of different fronts, for example, Iraq, Afghanistan, Colombia, and the United States. The authors argue that the Bush gang is using the external "international crisis" to override the remnants of U.S. bourgeois democracy in order to reestablish conditions of profitability. Perhaps not surprisingly, at least from a Marxist perspective, the supporting repressive (e.g., the Department of Homeland Security's secret police) and ideological state apparatuses (e.g., schools and the corporate media) have played a profound role in building support for the Bush gang's totalizing ambitions.*

N.P. 2004. "A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After (Book)." *Middle East Journal*. 58(3): 535.

Abstract: *Reviews the book "A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After," by Paul Rogers.*

Paul Rogers. 2004. *A war on terror: Afghanistan and after*. London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.

Robert I. Rotberg. 2002. "Failed States in a World of Terror." *Foreign Affairs*. 81(4): 127.

Abstract: *The immediacy and importance of addressing the problem of failed nation-states as reservoirs and exporters of terror in the wake of September 11 is addressed. Asserts that world order depends on a state's capacity to govern its own space and that seven failed states exist today: Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, the*

*Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Sudan. Author discusses the road to state failure from economic and political perspectives.*

Shlomo Shpiro. 2002. "Conflict Media Strategies and the Politics of Counter-terrorism." *Politics*. 22(2): 76.

*Abstract: Author argues that 11 September and the subsequent 'war on terror' highlighted the role of the media as an essential tool of warfare that is used by states and terrorist groups alike in the coverage and conduct of modern conflict. Concentrates on the 'conflict media strategies' pursued by belligerents and examines the development and refinement of such strategies over time.*

Rosemarie Skaine. 2002. "Neither Afghan nor Islam." *Ethnicities*. 2(2): 142.

*Abstract: This contribution to a "Symposium on 11 September 2001: Terrorism, Islam and the West" discusses the aftereffects of the terrorist attacks, including the U.S.-led strikes against Osama bin Laden and the Taliban and the failure of all Islamic peoples to respond to the Taliban's exhortations to jihad. The Taliban's repressive and brutal regime, counter to its claims otherwise, was not Islamic, especially in its treatment of women. Nor was bin Laden viewed by Afghans or most Muslims as one acting in their interests. George W. Bush was successful in encouraging American tolerance and understanding of Muslims both in the U.S. and abroad, and most Islamic leaders echoed his invocations of unity and nondiscrimination.*

Sima Wali. 2004. "Violence, terror, and accountability in Afghanistan." *Peace Review*. 16(1): 75.

*Abstract: Delves into the issue of violence, terror and human security and implementation of the interim agreement of an international security force and process building in Afghanistan. Discusses significance of the rights of women in the Afghan society.*

## *Women*

2002. "Shoulder to Shoulder, Hand in Hand: Resistance under the Iron Fist in Afghanistan." *Radical History Review*. 82): 131.

*Abstract: Focuses on the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) and its role and mission. The article also covers the impact of religious fundamentalists and the RAWA's resistance against forces of obscurantism and intolerance.*

Sally Armstrong. 2002. Veiled threat: the hidden power of the women of Afghanistan. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows.

Sultan Barakat and Gareth Wardell. 2002. "Exploited by Whom? An Alternative Perspective on Humanitarian Assistance to Afghan Women." *Third World Quarterly*. 23(5): 909.

*Abstract: Over the past six years, Afghan women have been the subject of unprecedented levels of interest & international attention; most of it well intentioned, much of it ill-informed. This paper considers the recent debate surrounding their plight and asks whether Western-originated approaches that seek to target or "single out" women, in isolation from their wider social, cultural, & family context, have more to do with international politics and the agendas of external agencies than they do with meeting the felt and expressed needs of the majority of Afghan women. It identifies five important points to emerge from research conducted into the ways in which*

*Afghan women describe themselves. Following a brief historical overview tracing the impact on women of tensions between traditionalists & modernizers within Afghan society, it considers each of these points in turn, including: distinctions between urban/rural & educated/uneducated women; the different spheres of influence inhabited by women & men within Afghan culture; the impact on women of war, displacement, & refugee life; vulnerability, & coping strategies; & the divergent perspectives of “insiders” & “outsiders” on Afghan life & culture. Finally, it offers a number of suggestions for ways in which agency interventions may work with Afghan women, by harnessing their capacities in ways that are consonant with their social, cultural, & family context. 2 Figures, 17 References. Adapted from the source document.*

*Asks whether the Western-originated approach that seeks to target Afghan women, in isolation from wider social, cultural, and family contexts, has more to do with international politics and the agendas of external agencies than with meeting the felt and expressed needs of most Afghan women. Identifies five important points which Afghan women describe themselves: distinctions between urban/rural and educated/uneducated women; different spheres of influence inhabited by women and men; impact on women of war, displacement, and refugee life; vulnerability and coping strategies; and the divergent perspectives of “insiders” and “outsiders” on Afghan life and culture. A brief historical overview considers each of these points and concludes with a number of suggestions for ways agencies may harness women's capacities within social, cultural, and family contexts.*

2003. “The Symbolic Use of Afghan Women in the War on Terror.” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*. 27(2): 137.

*Abstract: Article analyzes the critical omissions and misrepresentations of the Bush administration's claims that the war on terror in Afghanistan was “also a fight for the rights & dignity of women.” Incorporating insights of Afghan and U.S. analysts, activists, journalists, and feminist theorists of Islam to discuss the politics of representation. The author argues using Afghan women as symbols and pawns in a geopolitical conflict mutes women's diverse needs and interests, thereby closing the possibility of contribution to the realization of self-defined priorities and aspirations.*

Juan R. I. Cole. 2003. “The Taliban, Women, and the Hegelian Private Sphere.” *Social Research*. 70(3): 771.

*Abstract: Examines the Islamic “countermodernity” of the Taliban and their reshaping of the public and private. Particular focus is on the situation of Afghan women, consigned (and confined) to the realm of the subjective and private, and strategies through which the Taliban strove to publicize power and the male body while all but wholly privatizing women.*

Mary Anne Franks. 2003. “Obscene Undersides: Women and Evil between the Taliban and the United States.” *Hypatia*. 18(1): 135.

*Abstract: Proposes the affinities between the respective ideologies of the U.S. and the Taliban in regards to the objectification of women. The preponderance of the sexual exploitation of and violence toward women common to the two ideologies. U.S. perceptions of the Taliban's policies on women radically changed after September 11.*

Krista Hunt. 2002. “The Strategic Co-Optation of Women's Rights: Discourse in the ‘War on Terrorism!’” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 4(1): 116.

*Abstract: Asserts reports of human rights abuses against women in Afghanistan following the terrorist attacks of 11 Sept show little regard for the condition of women in Afghanistan. Instead reports appear to be calculated to*



*reinforce and justify George W. Bush's "war on terrorism." The media images of Afghan women wearing the burka as silent victims of terrorism are inaccurate. These selected images of female silence is seen as female consent for the violent U.S. response to the terrorist attacks and masks the effects of the war such as displacement, starvation and rape.*

Ayesha Khan. 2003. "Gendering War Talk: 'We Are Scattered Like Seeds and the World Is Full of Us' (N. A. from Afghanistan)." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 5(3): 448.

*Abstract: Findings on the qualitative data of Afghan and Karachi women's attitudes toward war and perceptions of women's role in attaining peace. These oral histories from women survivors of Afghan civil war and conflict in Karachi, Pakistan reveal both Afghan and Karachi women view political leaders as responsible for war and lacking in certain moral and ethical values. To achieve peace, Karachi women emphasized respect for ethnic and linguistic diversity and public education, while Afghan women stressed a return to homelands and educational programs. Both groups expressed confidence that women could contribute to peace-building processes.*

Surina Khan. 2002. "Who Pays the Price of War?" *Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*. 8(6): 14.

Comments on the impact of the September 11 United States terrorist attacks on Islamic countries. Addresses roots of anti-U.S. sentiment, growing human rights violations arising in the "war on terror," and counter-productivity of using violence in Afghanistan to protect human rights.

Saba Gul Khattak. 2002. "Floating Upwards from History: Afghan women's experience of displacement." *Development*. 45(1): 105.

*Abstract: Discusses the constant disruptions in the uniform meanings of home for Afghan women refugees due to the direct impact of war upon their lives. Based on a series of in depth interviews, the different ideas that are contained within and underlie the concept of home for Afghan women refugees are examined.*

Sally L. Kitch and Margaret A. Mills. 2004. "Appropriating Women's Agendas." *Peace Review*. 16(1): 65.

*Abstract: Discusses how states appropriate women's issues for strategic and political purposes. Examples of U.S. appropriation include Laura Bush's crypto-feminist plea for Afghan women as a justification for the 2001 U.S. invasion targeting al-Qaeda and the Taliban.*

Nancy Lindisfarne. 2002. "Starting from Below: Fieldwork, Gender and Imperialism Now." *Critique of Anthropology*. 22(4): 403.

*Abstract: Discusses the importance of incorporating American imperialism and gender into anthropological fieldwork and theory, particularly when focused on the Middle East. An examination of the gendering of the Afghan War incorporates recent history of war, development programs, the Taliban, and U.S. objectives in the region.*

Joni Seager. 2003. "The short curious half-life of 'official concern' about women's rights." *Environment & Planning A*. 35(1): 1.

*Abstract: Argues the concern shown by the U.S. Bush Administration for women's rights in Afghanistan is half-hearted. Covers reason to be cautious when women suddenly become a high-level policy concern by governments,*

*Afghan women's reluctance to support American ground troops, and the new ways lawlessness threatens women's safety and well-being.*

J. Ann Tickner. 2002. "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11." *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(4): 333.

*Abstract: A feminist analysis of September 11 and its aftermath includes how gendered discourses were used to reinforce mutual hostilities. Suggest men's association with war-fighting and national security serves to reinforce their legitimacy in world politics while creating barriers for women. Offer alternative models of masculinity and cultural representations less dependent on the subordination of women. To counter the view of women as victims, the author outlines the ways Afghan women fought/fight against gender oppression.*

### **The United States and International Administration**

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "Aid organisations rebuke U.N. for Afghanistan sanctions." *Lancet*. 357(9249): 45.

*Abstract: Focuses on concerns for the health of the citizens of Afghanistan, as of January, 2001. Deadline for Afghanistan's ruling Taliban to surrender alleged terrorist Osama bin Laden; Opinion of Medecins Sans Frontieres that United Nations sanctions against the country, which has no healthcare system, would be devastating.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "U.N. agencies size up the task of rebuilding Afghanistan." *Lancet*. 358(9298): 2060.

*Abstract: Focuses on the need to rebuild Afghanistan's infrastructure. Challenges, according to Knut Ostby spokesman for the United Nations Development Programme, include mine-clearing operations, restoration of health, education and agriculture, and political and security issues associated with the humanitarian relief effort.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "U.N. pleads for break in bombing in Afghanistan." *Lancet*. 358(9290): 1352.

*Abstract: The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights warned that the crisis in Afghanistan could become a large-scale humanitarian disaster if United States and Great Britain continue bombing. Bombs have actually hit aid agency property and related anti-U.S. protests in Pakistan are interrupting the transport of food aid.*

Khabir Ahmad. 2001. "U.N. pleads for support for aid workers in Afghanistan after Taliban collapse." *Lancet*. 358(9295): 1792.

*Abstract: States that the United Nations (U.N.) High Commission for Refugees is concerned about the lawlessness in northern Afghanistan, which is hampering aid efforts and endangering aid workers. Suspension of convoys after two drivers were killed; Request from the U.N. to the Northern Alliance and the Taliban for aid agencies to have safe access to displaced persons and other vulnerable Afghans; Efforts of Amnesty International to prevent human rights abuse.*

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

Abstract: Reports on the November 27, 2001 World Health Organization (WHO) meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan to promote health care in Afghanistan. Twenty-three years of war has destroyed the public-health system, causing high maternal mortality rate and malnutrition in children.

Dipankar Banerjee. 2005. "Current trends in U.N. peacekeeping: a perspective from Asia." *International Peacekeeping* (Frank Cass). 12(1): 18.

Abstract: Traditional peacekeeping, where opposing sides accepted the U.N. 's role, and second-generation peacekeeping operations, more complex operations for which the international community was not entirely prepared lead to the third era of peacekeeping, regionalized operations. The resurgence of peacekeeping after 1999 represents another generation, where humanitarian aspects often dominate. Now developments in Afghanistan and particularly Iraq challenge this trend as the international community has yet to respond effectively to these two situations.

Antonio Donini. 2004. "An Elusive Quest: Integration in the Response to the Afghan Crisis." *Ethics & International Affairs*. 18(2): 21.

Abstract: Looks at the humanitarian and assistance activities of the United Nations during the periods of crisis concerning peace in Afghanistan. Highlights of the use of humanitarian assistance during the 1980s; Information on the Strategic Framework for Afghanistan in 1998; Changes that occurred regarding the overall humanitarian and human rights efforts in Afghanistan after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York.

John W. Betlyon. 2004. "Special Report: Afghan Archaeology on the Road to Recovery." *Near Eastern Archaeology*. 67(1): 59.

Abstract: The National Geographic Society and the French Government will assist the Afghan Ministry of Culture and Information to inventory museum objects. Fortunately many of the museum's treasures are still in the country. However, current prospects for reopening excavations in and around Bagram are complicated by one of the largest minefields in the world. More areas are being cleared of mines and explosives, but renewed excavation is only a future hope. Site security and safety of excavation personnel remain serious issues.

Simon Chesterman. 2002. "Walking Softly in Afghanistan: the Future of U.N. State-Building." *Survival*. 44(3): 37.

Abstract: Examines the U.N. 's stance on Afghanistan. Guiding principle adopted by the U.N. to bolster Afghan capacity. Differences between the U.N. approach to Afghanistan to its positions in Kosovo, Serbia and East Timor are discussed. Limits in U.N. involvement under the Bonn agreement negotiated in December 2001.

Louise Haxthausen and Jim Williams. 2003. "International Cooperation in Afghanistan: Strategies, funding and Modalities of Action." *Museum International*. 55(3/4): 84.

Abstract: Focuses on the strategies, funding and modalities of action of the international cooperation for the rehabilitation of the cultural heritage of Afghanistan. Covers insufficient funding and pledges, creation of a comprehensive national cultural heritage strategy, and steps taken by Afghan authorities to ratify international instruments protecting cultural property against illicit traffic.

Junichiro Koizumi. 2001. "Afghanistan Reconstruction." *Presidents & Prime Ministers*. 10(6): 8.

*Abstract: Presents the text of a speech given by Japan Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi on January 21, 2002, which deals with the reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan.*

S. Neil MacFarlane; J. Thieking Carolin and Thomas G. Weiss. 2004. "The responsibility to protect: is anyone interested in humanitarian intervention?" *Third World Quarterly*. 25(5): 977.

*Abstract: Discusses the responsibility to protect in the light of increasing demands on resources due to the threat of terrorism. Humanitarian efforts not immediately connected with national interests are becoming regarded as diversions and attacks on humanitarian personnel in Afghanistan and especially in Iraq have raised the stakes for the civilian aid-workers.*

Andrew Lawler. 2003. "Afghan Gold Resurfaces." *Science*. 301(5639): 1453.

*Abstract: 20,000 gold ornaments that vanished during Afghan unrest is safe in a vault in Kabul, Afghanistan. Researchers feared the important collection, a melding of Western and Eastern styles from the first century B.C. was melted down in the 1990s. Afghan officials say the collection was protected by palace staff members who refused to give the Taliban codes to open the vault despite physical threats and beatings. However, since the National Museum remains without a roof or security systems, the gold is likely to stay hidden for the foreseeable future.*

Andrew Lawler. 2003. "Afghani Restoration Lags; Looting Proceeds Apace." *Science*. 301(5629): 25.

*Abstract: More than 18 months after the overthrow of the Taliban regime, Afghanistan's ancient sites are being looted at an alarming rate, and its premier museum remains roofless. At a May 2002 meeting in Kabul, nations pledged to help rebuild the National Museum. However these few scattered rescue efforts can't stem the widespread looting of ancient sites.*

Andrew Lawler. 2002. "Afghanistan's Challenge." *Science*. 298(5596): 1195.

*Abstract: Discusses challenges facing Afghanistan in reclaiming its scientific past and condition of museums after the fall of the Taliban. Covers the help offered by archaeologists to bring the country back to the scientific mainstream and the status of the scientific research in the country.*

Andrew Lawler. 2002. "Global Support Grows for Afghan Restoration." *Science*. 295(5554): 419.

*Abstract: Focuses on the growth of global support on the restoration of destroyed cultural artifacts and museums. Presents plans and contributors, including aid from the United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other donor nations.*

Andrew Lawler. 2002. "Millions Pledged for Afghan Restoration." *Science*. 296(5575): 1950.

*Abstract: Highlights the restoration of cultural and archaeological heritage in Afghanistan, the creation of a Kabul Museum, stabilization of fractured Bamiyan cliffs, and plans for rebuilding a research community.*

Dave Mather. 2003. "Afghanistan: Foreign Intervention and Social Transformation." *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*. 34(91).

*Abstract: Discusses the history of foreign interventions in Afghanistan. Includes the role of Great Britain to the consolidation of the Afghan state during the 19th century, the role of communists and islamists in the political development of the country, and Soviet and American forces.*

Sadako Ogata. 2003. "Building peace: the lessons of Afghanistan." *Global Agenda*. 1): 58.

*Abstract: Examines the record of peace-building in Afghanistan. Details reason for the military action against Afghanistan, the Afghan reconstruction agenda and the significance of the road reconstruction initiative supported by international donors.*

Alex Vass and Tessa Richards. 2002. "Focus on Afghanistan." *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 324(7333): 371.

*Abstract: Reviews a number of Web sites concerning Afghanistan, including questions about war and humanitarian aid. Web sites include the Department for International Development of Great Britain, a section of the United Nations site on Afghanistan, which contains links to emergency aid programs, the site Assistance Afghanistan, and sites featuring human rights issues in Afghanistan.*

Guglielmo Verdirame. 2001. "Testing the effectiveness of international norms: U.N. humanitarian assistance and sexual apartheid in Afghanistan." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 23(3): 733.

*Abstract: Investigates failure of the United Nations organs, and other NGOs to respond effectively to discrimination against women under Taliban regime since Sept. 1996. Focuses on contrasting political responses condemning human rights abuses and institutional response of increasing U.N. involvement and on-going humanitarian aid.*

Naomi Weinberger. 2002. "Civil-Military Coordination in Peacebuilding: The Challenge in Afghanistan." *Journal of International Affairs*. 55(2): 245.

*Abstract: Focuses on the evolution of multinational peace operations after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and subsequent international intervention. Differences between security and humanitarian dimensions of post-conflict peacebuilding; Evolution of multidimensional peace operations after the Cold War; Conflict prevention and reconstruction at the societal level in societies experiencing civil strife.*

## **Human Rights**

2003. "Afghan project identifies 150,000 refugees, cuts abuse of system." *Biometric Technology Today*. 11(11): 12.

*Abstract: More than 150,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan registered their iris patterns as identification during their return to Afghanistan over the last year. This is a short news story only.*

George H. Aldrich. 2002. "The Taliban, Al Qaeda, and the Determination of Illegal Combatants." *American Journal of International Law*. 96(4): 891.

*Abstract: Analyzes the law applicable to the Afghanistan-based Taliban and Al Qaeda military personnel who were captured during the international armed conflict between the U.S. and Afghanistan. Determination of illegal combatants; Consideration on the legal status and the protection to which the Qaeda and Taliban combatants may be entitled pursuant to international humanitarian law; U.S.'s position on the subject.*

Aldo A. Benini and Lawrence H. Moulton. 2004. "Civilian Victims in an Asymmetrical Conflict: Operation Enduring Freedom, Afghanistan." *Journal of Peace Research*. 41(4): 403.

Argues against claims that civilian losses in military interventions are much smaller than the loss of life as a result of previous misrule and oppression and that civilians casualties are only accidental 'small massacres'. Using victim figures from 600 local communities exposed to hostilities during Operation Enduring Freedom, authors model community victim counts as a function of potential explanatory factors via zero-inflated Poisson regression. Totals work out considerably higher than those offered by previous researchers as underreporting of civilian losses is a systemic feature. Several historic as well as concurrent factors are significant.

Nathan Ford and Austen Davis. 2001. "Chaos in Afghanistan: famine, aid, and bombs." *Lancet*. 358(9292): 1543.

Abstract: *Discusses public health problems in Afghanistan, including famine and drought. Refugees have mainly left the country due to drought, conflict, and a food crisis. The war has caused further difficulties in meeting the medical and nutritional needs of Afghanistan and getting humanitarian aid in the country.*

International Crisis Group. 2003. [Afghanistan: women and reconstruction](#).

2003. "Protecting War Profiteers." *Multinational Monitor*. 24(11): 4.

Abstract: *Reports on the move of the U.S. Congress to strip out of the final version of the spending bill for Iraq and Afghanistan, a provision that would penalize war profiteers who defraud U.S. taxpayers.*

2002. Women's health and human rights in Afghanistan: a population-based assessment. Physicians for Human Rights.

Sonali Kolhatkar. 2002. "The Impact of U.S. Intervention on Afghan Women's Rights." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal*. 17(12).

Abstract: *Comments on the impact of the U.S. intervention on the rights of women in Afghanistan. Refers to the history of women's rights in the country, information on the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA).*

Martin Kramer. 2002. "The Camera and the Burqa." *Middle East Quarterly*. 9(2): 69.

Abstract: *Two recent films - Beneath the Veil & Kandahar - served as war propaganda and perpetuated the belief that women in Afghanistan needed to be freed from the Taliban and from wearing the burqa or chadari. Author asserts gender relations are more complex than portrayed in these films. The fall of the Taliban did not change the structure of society as not all women have shed their chadaris and the chadari can be used to conceal terrorists.*

Katharina Lumpp; Shoko Shimozawa and Paul Stromberg. 2004. "Voluntary Repatriation to Afghanistan-Key Features." *Refugee Survey Quarterly*. 23(3): 149.

Abstract: *This overview describes UNHCR's attempts to address the many challenges posed by one of the organization's largest voluntary repatriation operations: Afghanistan. Afghans were and continue to constitute the largest single group of persons under UNHCR's mandate, as refugees, asylum-seekers, and returnees for over two decades.*

Elaheh Rostami Povey. 2003. "Women in Afghanistan: Passive Victims of the borga or Active Social Participants?" *Development in Practice*. 13(2-3): 266.

*Abstract: Based on field research in Kabul in Feb 2002, discusses how women experience war and violent conflict differently from men. Analyzes different coping strategies and the ways in which networking and different forms of group solidarity became mechanisms for women's empowerment. As social actors, women created cohesion and solidarity, already laying the foundation for social capital, crucial for reconstruction.*

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

*Abstract: Today in most parts of the country warlords brutalize people, especially women. Where girls' education does exist, some parents are too afraid to allow their daughters to attend following the burning down of several girls' schools, abductions on the way to school, and sexual assaults on children of both sexes. Yet resistance remains as opposition voices were heard from women in the Loya Jirga assembly, and RAWA continues its efforts towards freedom, democracy, secularism, and women's rights, particularly for education.*

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

*Abstract: Analyzes gender dynamics and social change in post-Taliban Afghanistan. Role of women in countering Islamic radicalism and the impact of gender, the state and economic development on the status of women in Afghanistan are discussed. Also contains a description of women's civil and political rights in post-Taliban Afghanistan.*

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

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

Elaheh Rostami Povey. 2003. "Women in Afghanistan: passive victims of the borga or active social participants?" *Development in Practice*. 13(2/3): 266.

*Abstract: Based on field research in Kabul in February 2002, discusses how women experience war and violent conflict differently from men. Analyzes different coping strategies and the ways in which networking and different forms of group solidarity became mechanisms for women's empowerment. Author argues as social actors, women created cohesion and solidarity in their communities and laid the foundation for building of social capital, crucial for the process of reconstruction.*

Barbara Sibbald. 2003. "Move or die': a strained people face the prospect of yet more war." *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal*. 168(12): 1082.

*Abstract: Presents information on evacuation of refugees and other foreign workers in Afghanistan for fear of war after September 11. Details the closure of international aid organizations in Afghanistan and problems facing refugees and foreign workers.*

John Sifton and Human Rights Watch. 2004. “Enduring Freedom:” abuses by U.S. forces in Afghanistan. Human Rights Watch.

Carol Tell. 2002. “The Women of Afghanistan.” *Social Education*. 66(1): 8.

*Abstract: Features the women of Afghanistan via the history of the Taliban and the Taliban's policies in regards to women. Compares the status of women before and during the Taliban regime.*