

Human Rights and Post-War Reconstruction

Introduction by Roberto Belloni

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The expression “post-war reconstruction,” commonly adopted by both practitioners and academics, is somewhat misleading. Reconstruction does not entail rebuilding or return to the pre-war state of affairs as the expression seems to suggest. Rather, reconstruction involves difficult multiple transitions: from war to peace, from a state to a market economy, and from authoritarianism to democracy. Each transition taken by itself would be daunting. Taken together, they can be almost overwhelming.

The task is complicated by the continuing influence of wartime elites, donors' short attention span, and changing global priorities. Notoriously, support for post-war reconstruction is not driven by the needs on the ground, but from the interests of international organizations and bilateral donors engaged in the process. For example, the average Bosnian citizen received much more aid than the average Afghan, despite Afghanistan's much lower pre-war levels of economic and social development.

As the cases included in this Review Digest confirm, the process of reconstruction has a contradictory impact on human rights. Often for the first time citizens of war-torn societies are given the possibility to enjoy political and civil rights. Simultaneously, however, important limitations on individual rights are imposed. International officials working to further democratization and state-building see the rule of law and the respect of human rights as a barrier rather than bedrock for their actions. A form of benevolent autocracy—most evident in the Balkans—is seen as indispensable to prepare the local population for democratic self-governance and the rule of law. Sometimes decisions by international officials unaccountable to the local population undermine the legitimacy of new democratic institutions, and may even retard the emergence of a human rights culture.

The challenges involved in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Bosnia and Iraq testify to the difficulties and dilemmas facing post-war societies worldwide. Here, each case is usefully divided in three sections addressing issues of democratization, state-building and neotrusteeship. The bibliography gathered here is an indispensable resource for students of human rights and transitional politics, and I wholeheartedly welcome the initiative of *Human Rights & Human Welfare* to gather and disseminate this material.

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Democratization in Afghanistan

by Chris Rowe

What determines whether a specific country embarks on the road to democracy, if it completes that voyage successfully, and finally consolidates democratic values, practices, and institutions? Analysts have debated these issues for decades and have identified a number of historical, structural, and cultural variables that help account for the establishment of successful democracies in some countries and its absence in others. Frequently cited prerequisites for democracy include social and economic modernization; a large and vibrant middle class; and cultural norms and values relating to politics.

Yet whatever its determinants, operational democracies normally include contested elections, a free press, and the separation of powers. Although these characteristics have been identified as vital features of a democracy, emerging democracies also need to address serious social and economic injustices that threaten democratic consolidation. Afghanistan is a case in point in this regard. As a burgeoning democracy directly influenced by U.S.-led nation-building efforts, Afghanistan presents a unique and challenging case for democratization.

Afghanistan has been ruled by warlords since the era of Taliban rule, and to an extent still is. Informal rule combined with the heroin trade and severe gender inequalities have created a frail foundation on which to promote democratic reforms. Although international human rights, judicial and national assembly commissions have presented significant mandates for change, all have met with problematic results.

In order for democracy to take hold in Afghanistan, the fruits of warlord economy—opium production, smuggling, and illicit taxation of trade—must be wrested away from regional power brokers and replaced with socially stable economic incentives. Additionally, the centralized government in Kabul must gain the trust and loyalty of the regional tribal commanders. The future of Afghanistan lies in the ability of its people to forge a united political community that resolves disputes in the manner of a democratic nation.

Challenges to Democracy

As a nation struggling to establish a centralized and legitimate democratic government, Afghanistan faces myriad developmental barriers to democratic consolidation. This section highlights the following specific problems: overcoming well-established political and cultural norms; addressing a government infrastructure ill-equipped to accommodate elements of democracy; human rights and gender issues as basic features of democracy; warlordism across the region; and the illicit drug economy.

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

convoy 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.

Samina Ahmed. 2004. "Warlords, Drugs, Democracy." *World Today*. 60(5): 15.

Abstract: Delves into the political situation in Afghanistan. Replacement of the country's existing government; Discussion of the realities behind the reconstruction of a country's government; Problem of warlordism.

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

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

Thomas J. Barfield. 2004. "Problems in establishing legitimacy in Afghanistan." *Iranian Studies*. 37(2): 263.

Abstract: Afghanistan has been called a "highway of conquest," the pivot of Central Asia that led armies to India and Iran, to the rich lands of the Transoxiana and the borders of China. Since the beginning of recorded history, its territory has fallen victim to waves of conquerors and been part of much larger empires. Indeed, while each ethnic group in the country can claim some periods of glorious history, none can make an absolute indigenous claim to the region: their histories all begin with the displacement or incorporation of some preceding group already occupying the land. Yet in more recent times Afghanistan has become famous as the graveyard of imperial ambitions, having rebuffed the British twice in the nineteenth century and forced the Soviet Union to withdraw in defeat in the twentieth. How is it that a territory that was historically overrun by every major power in pre-modern times became so indigestible in the last 150 years? And why has the United States, in at least its initial foray into Afghanistan, not provoked the high level of opposition that is habitually assumed to await the arrival of any foreign troops there? The answer lies in the changing relationship between war and political legitimacy, a change that grew out of reformulation of the conception of society and government itself. It is this change in the conception of legitimacy that has made the restoration of internal national order in Afghanistan so difficult.

Daniel Consolatore. 2002. "What Next for the Women of Afghanistan?" *Humanist*. 62(3): 10.

Abstract: Interviews Tahmeena Faryal, U.S. envoy of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), a political and social service organization in Afghanistan with a mission to work for peace, freedom, democracy and women's rights. Ambivalence toward the arrival of the Northern Alliance; Opinion

on whether the Afghan population is distrustful of U.S. motives in its involvement in the war in Afghanistan; Views on fundamentalism and human rights.

William J. Crotty. 2005. *Democratic development & political terrorism: the global perspective.* Northeastern University Press.

September 11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have raised difficult questions about the challenges and far-reaching consequences of international responses to terrorism. In this timely collection, experts delve into such critical topics as the root causes of terrorist acts; the relationship between authoritarian repression and terrorist movements; the most effective foreign policies for containing worldwide political violence; the role of military force; and problems with democratizing authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and elsewhere.

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.

Christopher P. Freeman. 2002. "Dissonant Discourse: Forging Islamist States through Secular Models: The Case of Afghanistan." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 15(3): 533.

Abstract: Presents an alternative perspective on the U.S. war against terrorism and the intervention in Afghanistan in 2003. Manner by which Western nations regard political Islam or Islamism; Values and processes attached to liberal democracy which is not suited to the developmental stage of Afghanistan; Pervasiveness and power of Islam.

Kathy Gannon. 2004. "Afghanistan Unbound." *Foreign Affairs*. 83(3): 35.

Abstract: The article deals with the decision of the U.S. to reinstate several warlords in Afghanistan in an effort to promote democracy and stability in the country in 2004. Warlords who have returned to power are Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Muhammad Fahim, Abdul Rashid Dostum, and Burhanuddin Rabbani. All these men share responsibility for the ferocious killing of civilians in the mid-1990s. They still maintain private armies and private jails and are reaping vast amounts of money from the illegal opium trade in Afghanistan. Lakhdar Brahimi, the special envoy of the United Nations to Afghanistan, warned that the situation is reminiscent of what was witnessed after the establishment of the mujahideen government in 1992, which eventually led to the rise of the Taliban a few years later. If the U.S. really wants to develop democracy and stability in Afghanistan, it must abandon its policy of working with the warlords and factional leaders of the Northern Alliance. Sayyaf, Fahim, and their men have nothing to offer that would help Afghanistan move forward. Instead, the U.S. should concentrate on training a police force, which, along with the national army the U.S. and France are helping to build, could provide security at a local level.

Jonathan Goodhand. 2005. "Frontiers and Wars: the Opium Economy in Afghanistan." *Journal of Agrarian Change*. 5(2): 191.

Abstract: This paper describes the evolution of the opium economy in Afghanistan and examines the factors behind its resurgence since the fall of the Taliban regime. The historical roots of poppy cultivation are analysed with particular reference to the role of borderlands and processes of state formation and collapse. This is followed by an examination of the contemporary dynamics of the opium economy. It is argued that micro-level opium production lies at the intersection of three economies of production, namely the "combat," "shadow" and "coping" economies.

Anthony Hyman. 2002. "Nationalism in Afghanistan." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 34(2): 299.

Abstract: Argues that the neo-colonial domination of Afghanistan by Great Britain and the USSR went in tandem with a form of internal colonialism by a Pashtun ruling class over the country's many ethnic minorities. Weakness of national or patriotic idea in the modern Afghanistan; Language issues; Origins of the state.

Angelo Rasanayagam. 2003. *Afghanistan: a modern history: monarchy, despotism or democracy? The problems of governance in the Muslim tradition.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Afghanistan has been the focal point of East-West relations since the 19th and early 20th centuries when its mountain ranges provided the arena for the world's greatest powers to contest each other's influence. Squeezed between four empires--Russia, China, India, and Persia--Afghanistan's tortured history provides an extraordinary glimpse into the patterns of world movements. This serious, yet accessible history of modern Afghanistan is of vital importance for understanding the country's current crisis and is essential reading for historians, policy makers, and all those interested in the state of the world today.

Carol J. Riphenburg. 2005. "Ethnicity and Civil Society in Contemporary Afghanistan." *Middle East Journal*. 59(1): 31.

Abstract: This article focuses on the critical question of ethnicity and politics in Afghanistan. It examines current conceptual models of ethnicity and their application to present day political affairs in the country. Research shows that it is not the presence of ethnic groups per se that leads to violence or instability but the absence of civil society and democratic governance and norms. Lessons may be drawn from Afghanistan's neighbors to the north. These Central Asian nations present cases of emerging civil societies, which are fragile, fragmented, and strongly influenced by the international donor community. After 23 years of war in Afghanistan, repression and neglect have had a devastating effect on civil society.

James D. Ross. 2002. "Promoting Human Rights." *Ethics & International Affairs*. 16(2): 27.

Abstract: Discusses the need to promote human rights in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. Actions taken by Human Rights Watch during the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan; Position of the U.S. government on individuals apprehended in connection with the war on terrorism; Important role for the human rights community.

Barnett R. Rubin. 2002. "Putting an End to Warlord Government." *New York Times*. 151(51999):

Abstract: Focuses on the choices facing the U.S. and other donor nations in deciding how to help rebuild Afghanistan. Factors leading the U.S. to arm anti-Taliban warlords before the Bonn accords; Purpose of the accords; Situations to be dealt with by the renewed Afghan government.

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

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

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

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

Conrad Schetter. 2005. "Ethnoscapes, National Territorialisation, and the Afghan War." *Geopolitics*. 10(1): 50.

Abstract: *This article pursues the question of how the territorialisation of power in the establishment of the Afghan nation-state has affected the spatial perceptions of political actors and the population at large. This question is particularly topical as spatial references are at present the driving force behind an ethnicisation of politics in Afghanistan. These perceived ethnic spaces, so-called ethnoscapes, not only compete with one another, but also contradict Afghanistan itself as a national territory. Thus since the outbreak of the Afghan war 1979 various political actors have been attempting to mobilise their constituencies over ethnic issues in order to use references to the spatial origins and expansion of their ethnic category to legitimise political claims. The principal argument of this article is that the population's strong identification with the national territory of Afghanistan has to date prevented an ethnicisation of the masses in the Afghan conflict. Furthermore the article argues that the irreconcilability of the various perceived ethnic territories is an obstacle to the currently much-discussed establishment of ethno-federalism.*

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

Abstract: *Since September 11,2001, the explanations offered to account for the rise of a foreign-led terrorist network on Afghan soil have variously focused on the political vacuum opened up by the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in February 1989, interference by foreign powers in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the failure of Afghanistan to produce a "strong state" because of ethnic factionalism, and an internal moral incoherence inherent to Afghan culture. I argue that none of these explanations is entirely satisfactory in itself. To understand the situation in Afghanistan, we must recognize that its political and military chaos is not an isolated or unique*

phenomenon, and at the same time acknowledge the particular social and political dynamics of Afghanistan's history that have set the parameters for current events. I show that communal conflicts in Afghanistan are part of a much wider affliction common to many postcolonial states and multinational societies, and that Afghanistan's current situation can only be understood by focusing on its failed attempts at nation-state building within the broader geopolitical circumstance of foreign manipulation and proxy wars that have given rise to particular forms of ethnic division.

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

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

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: This article focuses on the effectiveness of the international law on prohibiting discrimination against women in the context of sexual apartheid in Afghanistan. In the case of Afghanistan, the United Nation's (U.N.) institutional practice, consisting of mission reports and policy statements, played a central role in determining the final terms on which the U.N. continued its engagement in Afghanistan. The regulatory failure of the Security Council and of the General Assembly has various causes. First, there is no clear independent monitoring machinery to ensure adherence to principles, as well as decisions and policies laid down by these two organs. Second, even if the General Assembly decided to take a more proactive role and to monitor the operational practice of the organization, it would still find it difficult within the current structure to enforce its findings efficaciously and swiftly. Third, both the General Assembly and the Security Council rely on the Secretary General for information on developments on the ground, even though the Secretariat is at the heart of the bureaucratic structure and is unlikely to report on the U.N. own failures.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. *The Rule of the Gun Human Rights Abuses and Political Repression in the Run-up to Afghanistan's Presidential Election.*

Describes how the general behavior and continuing power of various armed factions have created an environment of fear in which many of Afghanistan's voters, party organizers, journalists, women's activists, and government officials are afraid to speak openly.

Brigitte Weiffen. 2004. "The Cultural-Economic Syndrome: Impediments to Democracy in the Middle East." *Comparative Sociology*. 3(3/4): 353.

Abstract: Compared to other world regions, the Middle East is exceptional in its resistance to democratization. Whereas a cultural explanation for this democracy gap refers to historical legacies, especially to the dominant role

of Islam, an economic explanation emphasizes oil wealth as the main barrier to democracy. According to various quantitative studies, both claims seem to be valid. Nevertheless, none of the explanations is uncontested, as there are always examples that demonstrate the opposite. This paper argues that it is exactly the combination of culture and economic structure that makes democracy in the Middle East unlikely. Both factors mutually reinforce each other on the macro, meso and micro level and thus constitute a cultural-economic syndrome with a strong negative impact on democratic performance. Regression analyses demonstrate the significance of this interaction effect: If the cultural-economic syndrome of Islam and oil wealth is present in a country, its negative impact on democratic performance becomes even stronger than the sum of the additive effects of Islam and oil wealth.

Democratic Consolidation

The push for democracy in Afghanistan, although often problematic, has experienced some degrees of success. Successful elections, one hallmark of democracy, produced a new Afghan president and cabinet. After the meeting of the Loya Jirga, a nation-wide grand council, the new Afghan Constitution was ratified. Following The Bonn Agreement, the drive for a newly elected government, a ratified Constitution, and the establishment of the rule of law has formed the basis for the development of Afghan democracy. These efforts have been the focal point of Afghan rebuilding efforts in the hopes of founding a democratic Afghan state. This section addresses the steps that have been taken in this process and examines the future of Afghan democratic development.

Anthony Borden and John West. 2002. "Stirrings in Kabul." *Nation*. 275(7): 5.

Abstract: Comments on politics and government in Kabul, Afghanistan. Influence of the loya jirga national council on the running of the country; Topic of the political leadership of President Hamid Karzai; Problems of poverty, sickness, and unemployment in the country.

Larry Goodson. 2003. "Afghanistan's Long Road to Reconstruction." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(1): 82.

Abstract: Urges the United States and the world to make a deeper commitment to peacekeeping and decentralized government to forestall a worst-case scenario in Afghanistan. Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S.; Establishment of a workable government; Election of the Loya Jirga, the country's legislative body.

Nigel J. R. Allan. 2003. "Rethinking Governance in Afghanistan." *Journal of International Affairs*. 56(2): 193.

Abstract: Argues that the creation of a central government in Afghanistan can be accomplished by devolving centralized nation-state power out of Kabul. History of political instability; Ethnic identity in Afghanistan; Regionalization of foreign aid.

Paul Jackson. 2003. "Warlords as alternative Forms of Governance." *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. 14(2): 131.

Abstract: Warlord is a label that currently besets us on all fronts. The 2001-2002 military action in Afghanistan is illustrative of the West's ambivalent view of armed factions in the developing world in general. The

demonisation of the Taliban and the elevation of the former 'warlords' of the opposition to the rather more grandiose sounding 'Northern Alliance', at once formalising the hitherto informal nature of the warlord system, implies that the term 'warlord' is synonymous with anarchy, violence and a breakdown in civilised values. 'Warlord' has become an ugly, detrimental expression, evoking brutality, racketeering and terrorism. Analysts referring to violence across developing countries routinely refer to 'new wars' and 'post-modern' conflict, and yet the language used to describe these phenomena is usually pre-modern (medievalism, baronial rule, new feudalism). This article outlines some examples of historical warlords and draws out the common issues. In particular it emphasises the fact that warlords have been present for centuries and have periodically emerged whenever centralised political-military control has broken down. All that has changed through history is the technology available to each generation and the relative economic base. The article concludes with a series of implications for policy-makers currently considering intervention in warlord-based economies.

John Jennings. 2004. "Afghanistan: The Gulf between Report and Reality." *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*. 6(1): 1.

Abstract: This article focuses on the political conditions of Afghanistan. Earlier this month, Afghanistan's 502-delegate loya jirga approved the draft of a new constitution that concentrates power in the hands of a directly-elected president, with no prime minister as an alternate source of executive authority and only limited legislative oversight. Such portrayals merit special scrutiny because they mirror official statements by one of the country's main political factions. Meanwhile, Taliban apologists pilloried the United Front, a coalition of mujahideen who continued to resist the Taliban after the fall of Kabul, and its leader, Ahmad Shah Massoud.

Hamid Karzai. 2004. "The Future of Afghanistan." *Vital speeches of the day*. 71(5): 130.

Abstract: Presents a speech by Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, delivered to the world leaders and televised to the people of Afghanistan in Kabul on December 7, 2004. Information on how the people participated in the elections; Details of the manifesto presented by Karzai for the future to the people of Afghanistan; View on the fight against terrorism.

Steven S. Lapham. 2002. "Forging a New Afghanistan." *Social Education*. 66(1): 26.

Abstract: Reports on the formation of an interim government led by Hamid Karzai in Afghanistan. Meeting of the loya jirga; Objective of the interim government; Representations by ethnic groups in the interim government.

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.

Democratic Intervention

This section addresses the international influences on democratization in Afghanistan. The intervention attitude and approach utilized by the United States and general theory and practice of democratic advocacy in failed/failing nations are discussed in detail.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun. 2002. "The Responsibility to Protect." *Foreign Affairs*. 81(6): 99.

Abstract: Since September 11, 2001, international policy attention has been captured by the response to global terrorism and case for preemption against countries believed to be irresponsibly acquiring weapons of mass destruction. These issues, however, are conceptually and practically distinct. What is involved in the debates about intervention in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere is the scope and limits of countries' rights to act in self-defense. If the international community is to respond to this challenge, the issue must be reframed, not as an argument about the right to intervene but about the responsibility to protect. At the heart of this conceptual approach is a shift in thinking about the essence of sovereignty, from control to responsibility. Of the precautionary principles needed to justify intervention, the first is 'right intention.' The second is 'last resort.' The third is 'proportional means.' Finally, there is the principle of 'reasonable prospects.' The most difficult and controversial principle to apply is that of 'right authority.' It is the responsibility of the whole international community to ensure that the mistakes of the 1990s will not be repeated. A good place to start would be agreement by the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council to systematically apply the principles set out here to any such case.

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

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

Francis Fukuyama. 2004. "U.S. Must Balance Hard Power With Soft Power." *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly*. 21(3): 29.

Abstract: After 9/11 attacks, everyone understands that out of failed states like Afghanistan come terrorists like Al Qaeda. The issue goes beyond terrorism arising from failed states to the broader problem of why the rest of the Third World outside of East Asia, from Latin America to Africa to the Middle East has been unable to develop. People are less willing to tolerate an authoritarian government. Not to have a democracy then becomes destabilizing because democracy is the basis of legitimacy in modern societies. We see this in Hong Kong today, where the per capita income is far beyond the cutoff point at about \$25,000.

Eric J. Hobsbawm. 2004. "SPREADING DEMOCRACY. (Cover story)." *Foreign Policy*. (144): 40.

Abstract: The article discusses the faults of democratization. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are but one part of a supposedly universal effort to create world order by "spreading democracy." The rhetoric surrounding this crusade implies that the system is applicable in a standardized (Western) form, that it can succeed everywhere, that it can remedy today's transnational dilemmas, and that it can bring peace, rather than sow disorder. Besides democracy's popularity, several other factors explain the dangerous and illusory belief that its propagation by foreign armies might actually be feasible. Globalization suggests that human affairs are evolving toward a universal pattern. This view underrates the world's complexity. One should always be suspicious when military powers claim to be doing favors for their victims and the world by defeating and occupying weaker states. "Spreading democracy" aggravated ethnic conflict and produced the disintegration of states in multinational and multicomunal regions after both 1918 and 1989, a bleak prospect. The effort to spread democracy is also dangerous in a more indirect way: It conveys to those who do not enjoy this form of government the illusion that it actually governs those who do. We now know something about how the actual decisions to go to war in Iraq were taken in at least two states of unquestionable democratic bona fides: the United States and the United Kingdom.

Other than creating complex problems of deceit and concealment, electoral democracy and representative assemblies had little to do with that process. Decisions were taken among small groups of people in private, not very different from the way they would have been taken in nondemocratic countries.

Ahmed Rashid. 2001. "Afghanistan: Ending the Policy Quagmire." *Journal of International Affairs*. 54(2): 395.

Abstract: Examines the sanctions, rogue status and foreign policy imposed by the United States on Afghanistan. History of the emergence of Taliban movement, a group of madrassa students, in Afghanistan; Details on the Taliban support for Islamic militancy; Prevalance of criminal activity in the country; Sanctions imposed by the United States and the United Nations Security Council on the Taliban in 1999.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. 2004. Afghanistan: in pursuit of security and democracy: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, October 16, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=108%5Fsenate%5Fhearings&docid=f:91915.pdf>

This hearing discusses the future of the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) and the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) as well as addressing the gambit of Afghan reconstruction issues on a regional and global scale. Democratization is discussed in the wider framework of regional stability and territorial security.

Jennifer L. Windsor. 2003. "Promoting Democratization Can Combat Terrorism." *Washington Quarterly*. 26(3): 43.

Abstract: Focuses on democratization of countries which has gained credence in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. Logic behind the reduction in terrorist activities by democratization of nations; Launch of several initiatives by the U.S. to promote democratization in the Middle East; Political condition in Middle East.

Democracy and Islam

There has been worldwide debate about the prospects for Democracy in Islamic societies. Specifically, in the unique social and cultural structure of Middle Eastern Islamic states, democracy has taken on severely altered forms. Western-style democratic structures have been the model for many democratic Middle Eastern nations. However, states such as Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Jordan do not represent fully democratically consolidated systems. The following section includes references that address this historically problematic issue and examine the relative success of democracy and democratic advocacy in the Islamic context.

Ehteshami Anoushiravan. 2004. "Islam, Muslim Polities and Democracy." *Democratization*. 90.

Abstract: Since 11 September 2001 (9/11) the international spotlight has been more firmly than ever on the Muslim world, and its Middle East heartland in particular. All aspects of life in Muslim societies -- history, educational system, attitudes towards the West, gender relations, cultural underpinnings, political and economic

systems, demography, foreign relations -- have been pored over by policy commentators and analysts in attempts to unearth the root causes of Islamist militancy against the West. Using the tools of political economy and social movement theories this analysis will debate the complex set of issues underlining many aspects of the 'Islam and democracy' debate, which today is very much about the relationship between Islam and governance. Indeed, as the debate itself since '9/11' has been increasingly shaped by priorities of western actors, whose traditional interests in the Muslim Middle East are now being driven by concerns about international stability, Muslims have tended to adopt an even more skeptical posture. Whether forced democratization can be effectively administered adds a new and interesting twist to the debates surrounding Islam and democracy, adding new dimensions to the already tangible impact of geopolitical factors on Muslim polities.

Cheryl Benard. 2004. The Five Pillars of Democracy: how the west can promote an Islamic reformation. RAND.

<http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/spring2004/pillars.html>.

This article discusses some interpretations of Islam (fundamentalism, secularism, traditionalism, and modernism) and how a five-tiered approach may aid in the reception and development of democratic policies in Muslim countries. Each Islamic follower is treated separately and subjected to the treatment put forth by the five-tiered approach. The design is aimed to minimize discontent among the more easily radicalized portions while maximizing communication between all groups especially democratic mediators.

Gary C. Gambill. 2004. "Democratization, the Peace Process, and Islamic Extremism." *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*. 6(6/7): 16.

Abstract: The article presents information that the most common objection among Arab and Western critics alike is the claim that a concerted American campaign to promote democracy in the Middle East will be either ineffective or counterproductive in the absence of significant progress toward a Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement. Although Arab governments do typically justify repressive policies on this basis, outside of Lebanon and Syria (and, to a lesser extent, Jordan), the conflict with Israel does not directly affect, or even have the potential to directly affect, the livelihoods of Arab citizens. In light of deep popular antipathy to Israel in the Arab world, more representative and accountable Arab governments may have less flexibility in making peace, but they will certainly also have less flexibility in waging war.

Robert W. Hefner. 2002. "Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics." *American Anthropologist*. 104(3): 754.

Abstract: The attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States and the U.S.-led campaign in Afghanistan provoked fierce threats of violence in Indonesia, the world's largest majority-Muslim country. Western journalists portrayed these reactions as among the most destabilizing in the Muslim world. Less widely reported, however, was the intensification of a struggle between Muslim proponents of democracy and neofundamentalist conservatives, sparked by the same incidents. This article explores the varied reactions of Muslims to the violence of September 11 and its aftermath in light of this contest between rival Muslim groupings. It examines their competing visions of Islam and nation, as well as their supporting alliances in state and society. The example highlights the pluralism of Muslim politics and the special challenges of democratic transitions. Emphasizing the plurality and permeability of civilizations, the example also suggests that there is no "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West but, rather, a more open process of globalization, localization, and exchange.

International Institute for Electoral Assistance And Democracy. 2005. The Arab World.
http://www.idea.int/publications/dem_arab_world/index.cfm

Adrian Karatnycky. 2002. "Muslim Countries and the Democracy Gap." *Journal of Democracy*. 13(1): 99.

Abstract: Focuses on the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the democracy in Afghanistan. Tranquility of the advanced democracies; Decline of governments and market systems; Occurrence of gaps in the state of freedom.

Vickie Langohr. 2004. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics." *Comparative Politics*. 36(2): 181.

Abstract: Advocacy nongovernmental organizations have led major antiauthoritarian campaigns in many liberalizing Arab regimes because of the weakness of opposition parties. Their actions bode poorly for democratization because they are structurally incapable of sustaining successful campaigns against determined authoritarian regimes. To explain the weakness of opposition to Arab authoritarianism, it is necessary to examine the conditions that promote the expression of opposition through nongovernmental organizations rather than parties. These conditions include both severe limitations on party mobilization, the financial poverty of most opposition parties, and the dramatic increase in donor funds for advocacy nongovernmental organizations.

Sadiki Larbi. 2000. "Popular Uprisings and Arab Democratization." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 32(102): 71.

Abstract: Proposes that domestic political conflict presents opportunities for positive change with long-term effects despite the inherent plausibility of its harmfulness. Arab bread riots in the context of Arab democratizations; Discussion on Islamists, bread riots and the Arab social compact; Collapse of Dimuqratiyyat al-ḵhubz; Peculiarities of Arab democratic transitions.

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.

Andrew Reynolds. 2005. "Constitutional Medicine." *Journal of Democracy*. 16(101): 54.

Abstract: Discusses the rediscovery of the discipline of constitutional design in nations struggling to move toward democratization. Efforts to bring peace and free self-government to countries such as South Africa, Bosnia, Fiji, Northern Ireland, Afghanistan and Iraq; Experimentation with electoral systems and autonomy deals for outlying regions; Consideration of the involvement of communal minorities in government.

Larbi Sadiki. 2000. "Popular Uprisings and Arab Democratization." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 32(1): 71.

Abstract: Proposes that domestic political conflict presents opportunities for positive change with long-term effects despite the inherent plausibility of its harmfulness. Arab bread riots in the context of Arab democratizations; Discussion on Islamists, bread riots and the Arab social compact; Collapse of Dimuqratiyyat al-kubuz; Peculiarities of Arab democratic transitions.

Amin Saikal. 2003. Islam and the West: conflict or cooperation? Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mustapha Tlili. 2001. "Arab Democracy: A Possible Dream?" *World Policy Journal*. 18(3): 47.

Abstract: Comments on democratic institutions in the Middle East. Functions of democratic institutions in the Arab world; Implications of the democratization of the Middle East for the world.

Elections

This section addresses the Afghan elections held in 2004. While issues of security, tribal discontent, and political maneuvering plagued the run-up to the election, the system proved relatively successful. As an integral feature of a democratic system, the Afghan elections served as the first step in a long road of reconstruction and democratization.

Thomas J. Barfield. 2005. "First Steps: The Afghan Elections." *Current History*. 104(680): 125.

Abstract: Focuses on the efforts of the Afghan government to produce a successful election in a country that still lacked security. Historical background on the rise and fall of the Taliban; Selection of Hamid Karzai to form the interim government of post-Taliban Afghanistan; Concerns on the holding of a parliamentary elections in country with no firm foundation on party politics; Highlights of the election campaign and its outcome; Political initiatives of Karzai as the legitimacy of his government assured by the electoral victory.

Robert H. Foglesong. 2005. "Successful elections in Afghanistan." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 143(6): 41.

Abstract: The article comments on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) and coalition forces deployed to Afghanistan. Since NATO took command of ISAF in August, these forces have been securing and maintaining a safe environment leading to the country's free elections. In the months leading up to the elections, NATO forces conducted patrols throughout Kabul, operated the city's international airport and coordinated civil-military cooperation for reconstruction and infrastructure projects--all to ensure a safe election.

Larry P. Goodson. 2005. "AFGHANISTAN IN 2004: Electoral Progress and an Opium Boom." *Asian Survey*. 45(1): 88.

Abstract: Afghanistan began and ended 2004 on high notes, with a moderate Constitution passed on January 4 and successful presidential elections held in October that created a new cabinet dominated by technocrats in late December. In between, slow progress on reconstruction and state-building was threatened by continuing insecurity and the presence of a booming opium crop.

John Heller. 2003. Afghan Elections Jeopardized by Lack of Security. globalsecurity.org. Report #: 21.

Almost one year before the first free elections in Afghanistan are to be held in June 2004, foreign experts and Afghan political groups have warned for the first time that the failure to disarm the warlords could not only jeopardize the voting process but also the whole peace process.

Jim Ingalls and Sonali Kolhatkar. 2004. Afghan Elections: U.S. Solution to a U.S. Problem. Interhemispheric Resource Center and the Institute for Policy Studies.
http://www.fpif.org/papers/0410afghanelect_body.html

Group International Crisis. 2004. Elections and security in Afghanistan. International Crisis Group.

Addresses the elections in Afghanistan and the security situation surrounding them. Emphasizes the disarmament and reintegration process of militant groups as a way of ensuring successful elections, guaranteeing the independence and impartiality of electoral institutions, and ensuring the representation of nonmilitarized political parties and independent candidates participating in the process.

Missy Ryan. 2004. "Afghanistan's Bumpy Road to Elections." *National journal*. 36(29): 2255.

Abstract: Provides information on Afghanistan's first presidential election scheduled in October 2004. Reason for the postponement of the election in June; Countries that donated funds for the election; Views of some Afghans on the election's outcome.

Mark Sedra. 2004. Afghanistan: democracy before peace. Foreign Policy In Focus.

Covers the issues of election fraud, security, post-election scenarios, and degrees of international support for the Afghan elections.

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 Afganistan-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 Lumpff; 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.

State-Building in Afghanistan

by Melanie Kawano and Amy McGuire

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

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

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

History and Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peace and Security

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

Peacebuilding

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rule of Law

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Welfare

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

Infrastructure and Resource Management

Masood Ahmad and Wasiq Mahwash. 2004. Water Resource Development in Northern Afghanistan and Its Implication for Amu Darya Basin. The World Bank Group. Download the report [here](#).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Education

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

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

UNICEF. 2003. Rebuilding Hope in Afghanistan. UNICEF.

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

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

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

Health

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political and Economic Reconstruction

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

Women's Participation

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

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

2003. [Afghanistan: Women and Reconstruction](#). International Crisis Group.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Economic Development

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Institutions and Capacity-Building

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2004. *Opening Doors to Opportunity: Afghanistan's Millenium Development Goals*. United Nations Development Programme.

http://www.undp.org/mdg/afghanistan/afghanistan_mdg.pdf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

International Issues in State-Building

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

State-Building

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sima Samar; Frederick Starr; Marvin G. Weinbaum; Mohammed Ehsan Zia. 2002. "Afghanistan's Reform Agenda: Four Perspectives". *Asian Updates Series*.

http://www.asiasociety.org/publications/update_afghanreform.html.

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

Mark Sedra. 2004. Security Sector Transformation in Afghanistan. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).

http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/Working_Papers/143.pdf.

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

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

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

Donor Assistance

2005. The World Bank in Afghanistan: Country Update. View the update [here](#).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Josh Martin. 2002. "Rebuilding Afghanistan: A Multibillion Plan". *Middle East*. 32(1): 5.

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

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

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

Regional Cooperation and Conflict

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Democratization in Bosnia

by Melanie Kawano, Amber Goodman, and Chris Saeger

*Most residents of Balkan lands believe that they live in democracies, however imperfect. They weigh the advantages of democracy not on the basis of some ideal type that sprang from the brow of the political-science professoriate, but in light of their own experience. It is naïve to believe that their disappointment with the status quo will have no effect on the level of trust they are willing to place in the democratic system (Ivan Kratsev, 2000. "The Balkans: Democracy without Choices." *Journal of Democracy* 13(3): 40).*

*[T]here are many obstacles to towards the democratization process ... There is a democratic system in the sense that there are democratic elections, but the result of the elections is that they give the advantage to one ethnic group over another. This is only a continuation of the war with other means (David Chandler, 2000. *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton*. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press: 111-112).*

Democratization in post-conflict, post-Dayton Bosnia has been characterized by many scholars as a "noble experiment": the West's guinea pig for internationally initiated post-communist democratization. In a state so wearied by war and dictatorship, democracy would be expected to take root quickly and flourish. However, due to various cultural and political influences, what the Dayton Peace Agreement originally intended to quickly lead to Bosnia's self-governance has instead resulted in the state's crippling dependence on external actors. The articles in this section of this bibliography explore the myriad influences (primarily under the umbrella of ethnicity) on the process.

In the first section, entitled "international factors," the reader will find articles that address the problematic nature of an international administration so deeply enmeshed in Bosnian politics and society. The authors contend that sustainable peace and effective democracy will not be achieved in Bosnia until international administrators loosen their grip and Bosnians themselves are allowed to have stock and say in their state's political processes.

The remaining sections are closely related by a common thread of the role of ethnicity in Bosnian society. Section two covers the following institutional features of democratization: voting, elections, and constitution making. It also provides articles that look at the influence of ethnicity on democratic institutions in post-Dayton Bosnian society.

Authors of articles in the final section, on diversity, analyze the role of nationalism, ethnicity, and diversity in the democratization process. Particularly addressed are methods in which ethnicity may be used to the benefit, and not the detriment, of forming a strong democracy in post-communist, post-conflict Bosnia.

International Factors

1995. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
<http://www.oscebih.org/overview/gfap/eng/>.

The document commonly referred to as the "Dayton Accords." Outlines international and national obligations pursuant to the cessation of fighting.

Human Rights and Democratization Priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. United States Mission to the European Union. <http://www.useu.be/summit/bosni1297.html>.

1997 statement of U.S.-Europe cooperation under the dictates of Dayton.

2001. No Early Exit: NATO's Continuing Challenge in Bosnia. International Crisis Group. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1476&l=5>.

Notes the possibility of troop reductions, and suggests that levels should remain constant until democracy is fully consolidated.

2001. Reshaping International Priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. European Stability Initiative. http://www.esiweb.org/docs/showdocument.php?document_ID=14.

Claims that the international community has influenced Bosnian democracy to favor moderates over nationalists. This report forwards some recommendations for addressing this constitutional dilemma.

Project Leader Anna Jarstad. 2005. An Evaluation of the International Contributions to Democratization and Reconciliation in Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo 1995—2004. University of Upsalla, Conflict and Democracy Program. http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/CoDe/projektsidor/balkan_anna_jarstad.htm.

Abstract: The project is an assessment of international efforts for democratization and reconciliation in Bosnia Hercegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo 1995-2004. Multilateral peace operations (U.N., EU and OSCE) as well as bilateral aid are analyzed. The overarching aim is to identify factors pertinent for the proposed outcome in terms of democracy and reconciliation. In the analysis the specific mandates of the missions as well as the development in the regions is put in a theoretical context. The results of the project will provide a framework which can be used for future, theoretically grounded, international peace operations.

Paddy Ashdown. 2002. What I Learned in Bosnia. *New York Times*. Reprint available at: http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/presso/prensa/default.asp?content_id=28294.

Former High Representative reflects that the rule of law, rather than elections, should have been the first priority for the international community in Bosnia. Argues that the outcome of the October 5, 2002 elections actually indicated an honest displeasure with non-nationalist parties at the same time an overall decline in support for nationalist parties was witnessed.

Mark Baskin. 2004. "Between Exit and Engagement: On the Division of Authority in Transitional Administrations." *Global Governance*. 10(119).

Abstract: Those of us who have worked in international transitional administrations over the past decade have all heard host-country citizens express these frustrations with international efforts to implement a sustainable peace, as of March 10, 2004. The work on Bosnia explores how the choices of international officials have hindered the achievement of central international goals namely restoration of order, return of refugees, economic reconstruction, democratization, and the promotion and safeguard of human rights. The cabinet of the East Timor's transitional government initially assigned the four hard or strategically central posts namely police and

emergency services, political affairs, justice, and finance to international officials and the four soft posts to Timorese officials.

Roberto Belloni. 2004. Bosnia: The Limits of Neocolonial Rule.
http://www.fpif.org/commentary/2004/0408bosnia_body.html.

Victor Bojkov. 2003. "Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-1995 Political System and its Functioning." *Southeast European Politics*. 4(1): 41-67.
<http://www.seep.ceu.hu/archives/issue41/bojkov.pdf>.

Abstract: Because of the way it has been imposed and has been functioning, controlled democracy in Bosnia is undermining its own justification in the sense that sustainable peace and cohesion will hardly ever be achieved if not owned by the Bosnian people themselves.

Sumantra Bose. 2005. "The Bosnian State a decade after Dayton." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(322).

Abstract: A decade on from the Dayton peace settlement, this essay sets out to examine two questions. First, is the consociational and confederal paradigm established by the Dayton agreement, and subsequently institutionalized, the appropriate framework for the Bosnian state? It will be suggested that in the circumstances that prevail, this framework does in fact provide the most feasible and most democratic form of government for Bosnia's precarious existence as a multi-national state. My second question is inextricably linked to the first: since Bosnia is a state of international design that exists by international design, is this international engagement with state-building and democratization an example, indeed exemplar, of liberal internationalism at its best, or of liberal imperialism at its worst? I will suggest that, though this presence and activity has had many aspects deserving of serious criticism, on balance it has done more good than harm. Bosnian society would clearly have been worse-off without the international community in its midst.

Ted Carpenter. Spring 2000. "Jackboot Nation Building: The West Brings 'Democracy' to Bosnia." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 11(2): 1-22.

Carpenter argues that post-Dayton Bosnia is not a new democratic system, but a new style of colonialism, evidenced by occupying powers' heavy-handed influence in the electoral process, fondness for ruling by decree, and strict media controls.

Nick Ceh and Jeff Harder. 1996. The golden apple: war and democracy in Croatia and Bosnia.
Boulder and New York: East European Monographs; Distributed by Columbia Univ. Press.

David Chandler. 2000. Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

Appraises international democratization efforts in Bosnia as disenfranchising and the source of a legitimacy deficit for the emergent Bosnian state.

G. Knaus and F. Martin. 2003. "Travails of the European Raj: Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(60).

Can the extraordinary powers of the international mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina be justified by reference to a state of emergency, and do they facilitate its objectives of state-building and democratization? A review of the history of the international protectorate—and in

particular the Office of the High Representative—finds that the answers to these questions are negative. Its philosophy, as revealed by its actions, is very similar to that of 19th century liberal imperialism; but the theory of emergency powers of the constitutional dictator of Niccolò Machiavelli offers a better roadmap for future post-conflict missions. The specification and independent monitoring of a red line beyond which international power will not be used is vital to their legitimacy and effectiveness.

Terrence Lyons. 2004. "Post-conflict Elections and the Process of Demilitarizing Politics: The Role of Electoral Administration." *Democratization*. 11(36).

Abstract: Post-conflict elections are called upon to advance the distinct processes of both war termination and democratization. This article examines the patterns in seven cases where elections served as the final step to implement a peace agreement following a period of civil war. Such elections are shaped in part by the legacy of fear and insecurity that persists in the immediate aftermath of a protracted internal conflict. Comparative analysis suggests that interim regimes in general, and electoral administration in particular, based on joint problem solving and consultation may 'demilitarize politics' and help transform the institutions of war into institutions capable of sustaining peace and democratization. In Mozambique, El Salvador and, to an extent, Cambodia, processes to demilitarize politics prior to elections created a context that allowed the elections to advance both peace and democratization. In the other cases, politics remained highly militarized at the time of the vote, leading either to renewed conflict (Angola) or the electoral ratification of the militarized institutions of the civil war (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Liberia, Tajikistan). Interim electoral commissions provide an important opportunity to demilitarize politics by building consultative mechanisms and norms that increase confidence in the peace process and the legitimacy of the post-conflict elections.

Ian R. Mitchell. 2000. *The Ambiguities of Elections in Kosovo: Democratisation versus Human Rights?* London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass & Company Ltd.

Abstract: Highlights the challenge facing the international community's effort to establish legitimate democratic institutions with accountability in Kosovo, Serbia. Importance of democratic institutions for the implementation of human rights and the rule of law; Lessons learned by the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Discussion on the status of ethnic relations in Kosovo.

Jack Snyder. 2005. "Empire: a blunt tool for democratization." *Daedalus*. 134(58).

Abstract: Discusses imperial Britain's strategies, successes and failures in attempting to prepare its far-flung possessions for democratic self-government. Attempt of Great Britain to do what the U.S. and the United Nations have been trying to accomplish on a shorter timetable in Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor; Exploration of several examples to illustrate these efforts of Great Britain on these countries; Suggestion that in countries with weak political institutions the transition to democracy carries a higher risk of civil or international war.

Deputy Secretary Talbott. 1996. *Implementing the Dayton accords: Year two*. *Dispatch Magazine*. 7(49). <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dispatch/1996/html/Dispatchv7no49.html>

Abstract: Presents a speech by the Deputy Secretary of the State Strobe Talbott discussing the goal to achieve unified Bosnia at Dayton. Reply of Deputy Secretary Talbott on whether elections were possible in a country still emerging from a barbarous war; Notion of Deputy Secretary that the process of democratization depends on a hospitable economic climate.

Institutions

1997. Bonn Peace Implementation Conference 1997: Bosnia and Herzegovina 1998: Self Sustaining Structures. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.
<http://www.oscebih.org/documents/61-eng.pdf>

Summary review of the meeting of the Peace Implementation Council in December of 1997. Notes both progress on the development of peaceful democracy and continuing problems with unconsolidated institutions.

1996. "For a fair vote in Bosnia." *Economist*. 339(15).

Abstract: *Discusses whether elections in Bosnia, scheduled for September 1996, should be delayed. Unstable political conditions, which argue against an immediate election; The United States' efforts to force through the elections, to make re-election easier for President Bill Clinton; Question of whether delaying the Bosnian vote would help or hinder the country's reconstruction.*

1999. Improving the Electoral Law for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnian Institute.
<http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep/decfeb00/proposals.cfm>

Contends that the Dayton agreement contains structural flaws prohibiting democratization. Presents a range of recommendations intended to equalize political rights, and alter corrupt and discriminatory practices by elected officials.

2003. *Nations in Transit 2003*. Freedom House.
http://freedomhouse.org/pdf_docs/research/nitransit/2003/BALKANSRATINGS2003.pdf

Documents Freedom House scoring for transitional democracies in 2003. Bosnia scores between 4 and 5 on a scale of 1 to 7 on democratization and rule of law measures.

Murat Abus. 2003. "Democratization in the Balkans, 1990-2002." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*. 2(3/4):
<http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume2/number3and4/abush.pdf>

Quantitative study of democratization in the region. The author concludes that progress has been gradual, though in some cases faster than other post-communist states.

Paddy Ashdown. 2002. "What I Learned in Bosnia." *New York Times*. Reprint available at:
http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/preso/presa/default.asp?content_id=28294

Former High Representative reflects that the rule of law, rather than elections, should have been the first priority for the international community in Bosnia. Argues that the outcome of the October 5, 2002 elections actually indicated an honest displeasure with non-nationalist parties at the same time an overall decline in support for nationalist parties was witnessed.

Roberto Belloni. 2001. "Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Peace Research*. 38(163).

Abstract: The concept of civil society has acquired an unprecedented worldwide popularity, especially in development programs. This article investigates the international effort to build civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to foster peace and democratization, this in response to disappointment with traditional economic, military, and political strategies. The results of this major investment of resources, however, have been unsatisfactory. The international community's lack of a coherent long-term strategy and the adoption of a conception of civil society that is often at odds with Bosnian context and history hinder the transition to genuine reconciliation among the three ethnic groups. Examining two major areas of intervention--facilitating the advocacy role of local civic groups and fostering citizens' participation--I show that the international community has failed to comprehend both the political and the social meaning of its involvement. Although the focus on civil society is meant to overcome the limits of external regulation and to emphasize indigenous and community-based contributions to peacebuilding, the international community's approach is to make local development dependent upon the international presence. The result is a failure to address the structural problems that affect the country and to hinder, rather than foster, the formation of an open and democratic civil society.

David Chandler. 2002. "Anti-Corruption Strategies and Democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Democratization*. 9:101.

Abstract: Examines the relationship between anti-corruption initiatives and democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Role of corruption in preventing democratization; Details of the anti-corruption strategies in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Analysis of the effectiveness of the initiatives in meeting democratization goals.

David Chandler. 1998. "Democratization in Bosnia: The Limits of Civil Society Building Strategies." Civil Society in Democratization. Peter J. Burnell and Peter Calvert. London and Portland, OR: Taylor & Francis.

Argues that increased autonomy and self-government are more likely to foster a vibrant civil society than NGO initiatives.

Margaret Cobble and Michael Pugh. 2001. "Non-Nationalist Voting in Bosnian Municipal Elections: Implications for Democracy and Peacebuilding." *Journal of Peace Research*. 38(1): 27-47.

Free elections are especially important for the peacebuilding processes developed for Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1995 Dayton Agreement. The results of the 1997 municipal elections show that voting has not been a peacebuilding panacea, but has legitimized ethnically purged constituencies and led to a flawed protectorate.

Henry Hale. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics*. 56(2): 165-193.

Abstract: Hale argues that ethnofederalism, so long as it is instituted without a core ethnic region, may represent a viable way of avoiding the most deadly forms of conflict while maintaining state unity in ethnically divided countries.

Rory Keane. 2005. "The Partnership-Conditionality Binary in the Western Balkans: Promoting Local Ownership for Sustainable Democratic Transition." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 18(247).

Abstract: This article addresses themes relating to the principles of conditionality and partnership, together with the principle of local ownership in the Western Balkans, notably in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro and

Kosovo. Specifically assessing the emotive territorial questions facing these Western Balkan countries, the article posits that the international community should aim to promote local ownership in the will to sustainable political transition. Given the EU's focus on the Western Balkans as set out in the European Security Strategy and Thessaloniki summit (2003) and developed through the process of Stabilisation and Association, the author advocates a partnership approach that instils local ownership. It is argued that such an approach has a better chance of responding imaginatively and functionally to unresolved territorial questions. In the second section of this article the author applies the concept of partnership to the territorial challenges facing Bosnia, Serbia-Montenegro and Kosovo. Partnership, as based on the concepts of local ownership and needs-based responsiveness, as opposed to strictly codified conditionality set by Dayton, U.N. Resolution 1244 and the EU Stabilisation and Association process, is more likely to resolve the ongoing principal territorial political tensions in the Western Balkans.

Ivan Krastev. 2002. ““The Balkans: Democracy without Choices.” *Journal of Democracy*. 13(3).

Balkan constituents, including Bosnians, are increasingly dissatisfied with democracy. Krastev argues that this growing mistrust of democratic institutions is due to the failure of elites to promote and facilitate constituent representation.

Carrie Manning. 2004. “Elections and Political Change in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Democratization*. 11(60).

Abstract: This article examines attempts to use electoral politics to promote substantive political change in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 1990 elections have been a key part of virtually all negotiated agreements to end civil wars. The utility of democracy for building peace is often asserted but rarely backed with long-term commitment and resources on the ground. Bosnia since 1996 is a rare exception. There, international actors sought not only to establish a democratic political system but to use electoral democracy as a tool with which to transform the nature of politics in Bosnia in short order. This article focuses on efforts to shape the development of political parties and the party system, assesses the degree to which it has succeeded and examines the broader implications of Bosnia's experience for other state-building efforts of its kind.

Miljenko Antic and Carrie Manning. 2003. “The Limits of Electoral Engineering.” *Journal of Democracy*. 14(3): 45-59.

Abstract: Elections are part of the strategy to rebuild Bosnia as a multiethnic state, yet the wartime nationalist parties continue to dominate in electoral contests. This article examines the part elections have played in this state-building strategy and highlights the limitations of that strategy.

Andrew Reynolds. 2005. “CONSTITUTIONAL MEDICINE.” *Journal of Democracy*. (16)54.

Abstract: Discusses the rediscovery of the discipline of constitutional design in nations struggling to move toward democratization. Efforts to bring peace and free self-government to countries such as South Africa, Bosnia, Fiji, Northern Ireland, Afghanistan and Iraq; Experimentation with electoral systems and autonomy deals for outlying regions; Consideration of the involvement of communal minorities in government.

Carol Skalnik Leff. 1999. “Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States: The Breakup of the Communist Federations.” *World Politics*. 51(2): 205-235.

Abstract: Explores the impact of ethnic diversity in the transition from communism to democracy, comparing Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Democratization in multinational states may be

characterized by regime change at different rates at the level of the republic, triggering the erosion of central control over the transition.

Taro Tsukimura. Has Democratization Consolidated Democracies in the Former Yugoslavia? A Political Overview Between 1990 and 2003. Slavic Research Center, University of Hokkaido. http://src-home.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/03september/pdf/T_Tsukimura.pdf.

Assessment of democratization in the region that notes that Bosnia is on a gradual path to democracy.

Gojko Vuckovic. 1999. "Promoting Peace and Democracy in the Aftermath of the Balkan Wars: Comparative Assessment of the Democratization and Institutional Building Processes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Fr Yugoslavia." *World Affairs*. 162(1): 3-11.

Abstract: Argues that democratization of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not depend exclusively on the form of their formal institutions but also on the state of mind of the people and their level of participation in political activities. Democratization in severely divided societies; Democratization and constitution making in these countries; Discussion and conclusion.

Ethnicity and Culture

Paddy Ashdown. 2002. "What I Learned in Bosnia." *New York Times*. Reprint available at: http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/presso/prensa/default.asp?content_id=28294.

Former High Representative reflects that the rule of law, rather than elections, should have been the first priority for the international community in Bosnia. Argues that the outcome of the October 5, 2002 elections actually indicated an honest displeasure with non-nationalist parties at the same time an overall decline in support for nationalist parties was witnessed.

Roberto Belloni. 2004. "Peacebuilding and consociational electoral engineering in bosnia and herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 11(334).

Abstract: What role do elections play in societies emerging from communal war and what type of institutions can serve as catalysts in deepening peace and compromise? While some analysts argue that ethnicity should be recognized through "consociational" institutions, others maintain that "integrative devices" in particular, carefully crafted electoral rules, can limit or even break down the salience of ethnicity and increase the possibility for inter-ethnic accommodation. This article examines the post-war electoral experience of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), arguing that elections had a problematic, unintended impact on peacebuilding. First, timid integrative electoral devices were adopted in a consociational system that reifies ethnic division and complicates compromise; second, peacebuilding agencies needlessly manufactured electoral rules that backfired; third, group-based features of the BiH political system run counter to individual human rights. The article ends with suggestions for improving the electoral framework.

Sumantra Bose. 2005. "The Bosnian State a decade after Dayton." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(322).

Abstract: A decade on from the Dayton peace settlement, this essay sets out to examine two questions. First, is the consociational and confederal paradigm established by the Dayton agreement, and subsequently

institutionalized, the appropriate framework for the Bosnian state? It will be suggested that in the circumstances that prevail, this framework does in fact provide the most feasible and most democratic form of government for Bosnia's precarious existence as a multi-national state. My second question is inextricably linked to the first: since Bosnia is a state of international design that exists by international design, is this international engagement with state-building and democratization an example, indeed exemplar, of liberal internationalism at its best, or of liberal imperialism at its worst? I will suggest that, though this presence and activity has had many aspects deserving of serious criticism, on balance it has done more good than harm. Bosnian society would clearly have been worse-off without the international community in its midst.

Robin Brooks and Steven Fish. January 2004. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy*. 15(1): 154-166.

Abstract: A cross-national analysis of democracy in multiethnic societies challenges – and, according to Fish, defeats – the notion that heterogeneity promotes conflict and harms democratization.

Kimberley Coles. November 2004. "Election Day: The Construction of Democracy through Technique." *Cultural Anthropology*. 19(4): 551-580.

Abstract: Coles' ethnographic analysis of the international community's efforts to democratize postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina argues for greater acknowledgement of social and cultural influences within the technical aspects of politics.

Rory Conces. 2005. "A Sisyphean Tale: The Pathology Of Ethnic Nationalism And The Pedagogy Of Forging Humane Democracies In The Balkans." *Studies in East European Thought*. (57):139.

Abstract: Deals with the democratization efforts in Bosnia as of 2005. Impact of diverse ethnic and religious populations on the country's goal to achieve democracy; Significance of the emphasis on humanness and Bosnian citizenship; Influence of higher education in the process of democratization and modernization.

Henry Hale. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics*. 56(2): 165-193.

Abstract: Hale argues that ethnofederalism, so long as it is instituted without a core ethnic region, may represent a viable way of avoiding the most deadly forms of conflict while maintaining state unity in ethnically divided countries.

Robert Hislope. 1998. "Ethnic Conflict and the 'Generosity Moment' ." *Journal of Democracy*. 9(1): 140-153.

In ethnically divided, democratizing societies--Bosnia being one of several examples--dominant elites must politically incorporate minority ethnic elites or risk the chance that democracy will suffer. Inclusion, voice, and routinized patterns of interaction give minority groups a sense of having a stake in the system.

Miljenko Antic and Carrie Manning. 2003. "The Limits of Electoral Engineering." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(3): 45-59.

Abstract: Elections are part of the strategy to rebuild Bosnia as a multiethnic state, yet the wartime nationalist parties continue to dominate in electoral contests. This article examines the part elections have played in this state-building strategy and highlights the limitations of that strategy.

Anna Morawiec Mansfield. 2003. "ETHNIC BUT EQUAL: THE QUEST FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC ORDER IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA." *Columbia Law Review*. 103(2052).

Abstract: While ethnic separatist claims have impelled some legal scholars to question the viability of self-determination, modern approaches to democratization seek to encourage inter-ethnic cooperation and participation rather than division. The fragile peace among the three formerly-warring ethnic groups of Bosnia and Herzegovina--Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs--has provided a recent example of the potential for post-conflict democratic order based on the territorial integrity of the country as a whole, but maintained through an absolute devolution of power along ethnic lines. In a bold 2000 decision, the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed a central postconflict dilemma: how to maintain group rights while preserving the individual rights that form the core of liberal democracy. This Note reviews that decision and concludes that the Court wisely chose a middle road between group-based consociational democracy and the protection of individual rights against majoritarian will. Such an approach, this Note argues, provides a promising model for building post-conflict democratic order in other divided societies.

Gojko Vuckovic. 1999. "Promoting Peace and Democracy in the Aftermath of the Balkan Wars: Comparative Assessment of the Democratization and Institutional Building Processes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Fr Yugoslavia." *World Affairs*. 162(1): 3-11.

Abstract: Argues that democratization of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not depend exclusively on the form of their formal institutions but also on the state of mind of the people and their level of participation in political activities. Democratization in severely divided societies; Democratization and constitution making in these countries; Discussion and conclusion.

Neotrusteeship in Bosnia

by Lauren Ingram

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea--something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to... (Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness).

The conflict in Bosnia resulted in 4.3 million displaced people, 250,000 estimated casualties, and more than 200,000 wounded including 50,000 children. (Cousens and Carter 25). In 1995, these facts became known to the world when the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), NATO, and the United States were able to reach a peace agreement with warring factions. As in World War II, Bosnian-Serbians, Bosnian-Croatians, Croatians, Muslim were active combatants. However, unlike World War II, no single governing authority emerged. Instead, the U.N., with key U.S. involvement, had to institute not only peace but also an administration that could uphold that peace. The Dayton Peace Accords insisted that all parties in Bosnia respect the two separate regions Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska created by the accords, the full support of human rights for all citizens, and the reinstatement of all refugees to their pre-war residence.

A large number of international bodies exerted their authority to help Bosnians reach these accords. NATO's multinational Implementation Force (IFOR) took over policing and security, while the World Bank took over economic reconstruction. There was no single body to protect civil and cultural rights. Instead, a large number of U.N. bodies and NGOs undertook the areas of human rights, assisting refugees, and preserving national monuments.

Challenges

2000. "Crime and corruption threaten successful implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement." United States Embassy in Italy. http://www.usembassy.it/file2000_07/alia/a0071906.htm.

Report given to U.S. officials explaining that continued support for Bosnia-Herzegovina will be needed. Local parties have not successfully rid the area of corruption especially concerning law enforcement and administering justice.

Mark Baskin. "Between Exit and Engagement: On the Division of Authority in Transitional Administrations." 10(1): 119.

Baskin reviews the dilemma the U.N. transitional government in Bosnia when attempting to establish stability and local actors' abilities to assume authority.

David Chandler. "Anti-Corruption Strategies and Democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 9(2): 101.

Abstract: Examines the relationship between anti-corruption initiatives and democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Role of corruption in preventing democratization; Details of the anti-corruption strategies in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Analysis of the effectiveness of the initiatives in meeting democratization goals.

United States of America General Accounting Office. 1999. Bosnia Peace Operation: Pace Of Implementing Dayton Accelerated As International Involvement Increased. 160771. U.S. GAO. January 8, 1998.

An updated report given to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by request. It provides an update on the progress made in achieving the four key Dayton objectives: providing adequate security, creating a unified democratic state that adheres to human rights, rebuilding the economy, and supporting the return to refugees.

Harold J. Johnson. 2000. Bosnia: crime and corruption threaten successful implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement: statement of Harold J. Johnson, Associate Director, International Relations and Trade Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives. [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Explores the impact corruption has had on the success of the Dayton Accords. Although international actors has put forth efforts to curb corruption and the financial support of private armies, there has been limited support by local leaders and favorable outcomes.

Harold J. Johnson. 1997. Bosnia peace operation: progress toward the Dayton Agreement's goals -- an update: statement of Harold J. Johnson, Associate Director, International Relations and Trade Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, before the Subcommittee on European Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office of the United States.

Johnson reports that while political and economic institutions have stabilized, grave matters of refugee human rights, the trial of war criminals, and democratization have yet to be addressed in Bosnia.

Julie Kim. 1998. Bosnia civil implementation of the peace agreement. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress. <http://countingcalifornia.cdlib.org/crs/ascii/96-177>.

This report is a summary of the advancements and challenges multilateral actors have and need to accomplish after the Dayton Accords were signed only two years earlier.

Lois McHugh. 1996. Bosnia-Former Yugoslavia refugee repatriation and humanitarian assistance under the peace agreement. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress.

This article argues that a disconnect that has occurred between implementing the military forces to bring about adequate security and civil rest especially when addressing the issue of refugees.

Steven M. Riskin. 1999. Three dimensions of peacebuilding in Bosnia: findings from U.S. IP-sponsored research and field projects. Washington D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS5405>.

Excellent and extended report on the difficulty Bosnia-Herzegovina has had in peaceful stabilization. Explores foreign aid, human rights, and reconciliation.

Daniel Paul Serwer. 1996. Bosnia, peace by piece. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies.
http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SF_81/forum81.html.

Serwer predicts what difficulties outside powers will confront in bring about stability before the Dayton Accords are even about to take hold.

Military Aspects

1996. "Bosnia civil implementation of the peace agreement." CRS report for Congress. [Washington, D.C.]: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress.
<http://countingcalifornia.cdlib.org/crs/ascii/96-177>.

This report extrapolates on the objectives of the U.N. Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) after the Dayton Accords and their various roles: building functioning governmental institutions, furthering democratization and the protection of human rights, reforming the police, encouraging economic growth, and fostering the return of refugees.

1999. Bosnia Peace Operation: Mission, Structure, And Transition Strategy Of NATO's Stabilization Force. 161245. U.S. GAO. October 8, 1998. <http://www.fas.org/man/gao/nsiad-99-019.htm>.

Andrew Bair. 1995. "Which end game in Bosnia." Institute for National Strategic Studies. Washington D.C. http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SF_16/forum16.html.

1995 report that details the conflict of opinions surround airstrikes and embargoes between the various nations that have troops involved in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Steven Bowman, Julie Kim, and Steven Woehrel. 1998. "Bosnia Stabilization Force (SFOR) and U.S. Policy." Central and Eastern Europe in Transition. Frank H. Columbus, ed. Commack, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers.

Bill Clinton. 1994. Efforts to achieve peace and security in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Washington, D.C. United States General Publishing Office.

Letter from President Clinton explaining actions taking to retrieve weapons stolen by rebel forces. Interesting insight into the workings of U.S. pre sense and UNPROFOR.

Bill Clinton. 1994. No-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina: communication from the President of the United States transmitting further information on the deployment of United States combat-equipped aircraft to support NATO's enforcement of the no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.

Douglas V. Johnson; Peter G. Dausen; Curtis M. Scaparrotti; Michael J. Jones; Jeffery W. Hammond; James D. Sharpe; Thomas M. Dockens; William T. Bester; Sherrie L. Balko and Army War College (U.S.). Strategic Studies Institute. 1999. Warriors in peace operations. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute U.S. Army War College: May be obtained from the Publications and Production Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS12144>.

Abstract: Students in the U.S. AWC War College Class of 1998 wrote a unique group of monographs focused on operations in Bosnia. This compendium is comprised of a set of those monographs covering experiences by branch, thus presenting a fairly comprehensive overview of the deployments of U.S. forces in support of the Dayton Accords.

Kari Osland. "The EU police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 11(3): 544.

Abstract: The main problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is its legacy from the war. The European Security Strategy (ESS) builds on the assumption that different instruments are needed in order to contribute to the state-building process where the aim is a democratic and accountable state with legitimate control over its executive power. This article argues that if the EU is to be judged successful in Bosnia, it must put a halt to such activities as organized crime and corruption, as these are counterproductive to democracy. If these challenges are not properly addressed, it will have serious consequences not only for BiH and Europe but also for the further development of the European Security and Defence Policy, and hence also for the premises of the ESS.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on Rules. 1995. Providing for debate and consideration of three measures relating to U.S. troop deployments in Bosnia: report (to accompany H. Res. 304). Washington, D.C.: United States General Publishing Office.

United States. General Accounting Office. 1998. Bosnia peace operation mission, structure, and transition strategy of NATO's Stabilization Force: report to the chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, D.C.: The Office.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS16705>.

This report explores the advancements of the Dayton Accords since mid-1997: the Security Forces were established (SFOR), Multinational Specialized Unit forming inside SFOR, refugees have greater support returning to pre-war communities, and improved ability to tackle violence and arms trade. While improvements have been made, forces are still necessary.

United States. President (1993-2001: Clinton). 1997. Follow-up report on the deployment of United States Armed Forces to Bosnia and other states in the region communication from the President of the United States. support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-led Implementation Force (IFOR)--recieved in the United States House of Representatives, December 20, 1996.
Washington: U.S. G.P.O. Y 1.1/7:105-2.1

Robert A. Wisher, Mark A. Sabol, and Hal R. Ozkaptan. 1996. "Retention of "peace support operations," tasks during Bosnia deployment a basis for refresher training." [Alexandria, VA]: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. Shipping list no.: 98-0259-M. D 101.60/6:b 65.

Role of the World Bank

2000. Bosnia and Herzegovina: post-conflict reconstruction. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. Bosnia and Herzegovina - Urban Infrastructure and Services Delivery Project, Vol. 1 of 1. Click [here](#) for more information and to access the document.

Abstract: The objectives of the Urban Infrastructure and Services Delivery Project are threefold: a) improve the availability, quality, and reliability of basic municipal services, in particular, water supply and sanitation; b) strengthen the ability of cantonal, and municipal governments to improve management, and institutional capacity for infrastructure development through Urban Management Development Plans, and, c) as possible, foster deeper social cohesion, through improvements in living conditions. Project components aim at: 1) supporting financial management, and training to strengthen, and build institutional capacity; drafting annual business plans for each utility; training for the preparation of Urban Management Development Plans. A study on the institutional capacity and Government's role will focus on appropriate capacity building; 2) financing the preparation of Urban Management Development Plans in selected areas, to identify priorities, improving operations and maintenance, and maximizing investment benefits.

World Bank. 1997. Bosnia and Herzegovina: from recovery to sustainable growth. Click [here](#) for more information and to access the document.

Abstract: This report looked at the near-term reform issues that were essential to generating employment and providing a firm institutional and policy foundation for reconstruction and sustained economic growth. Key areas of focus included policies and expenditure reforms, including institutions for macroeconomic management, bank and enterprise privatization, and pensions and the social safety net.

World Bank. 2000. MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS ON A COUNTRY ASSISTANCE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD BANK GROUP FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. Click [here](#) for more information, and to access the document.

Recent report on the World Bank's objective to foster greater private sector growth, social stability, governance and private sector management, as well as completion of reconstruction.

Alcira Kreimer. 1998. The World Bank's experience with post-conflict reconstruction. <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2002/wb-postconflict-jun98.pdf>.

Examines the role of the World Bank in post-conflict areas. Particular focus is given to improve partnerships with other international actors, roles in rebuilding governments and economies, and assessments of past actions in various case studies, including Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Role of NGOs

Amnesty International. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: 'Who's Living in My House?' Obstacles to a Safe Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced People." <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGEUR630011997?open&of=ENG-SVN>.

Analyzes the ability of refugees and internally displaced people--especially Muslims--to return to their pre-war homes. Attention is given to the prevention of refugee return and what international actors, such as U.N. police force, are doing to address this issue.

Amnesty International. 1998. Bosnia-Herzegovina, all the way home: safe "minority returns" as a just remedy and for a secure future. New York, N.Y.: Amnesty International U.S.A. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGEUR630021998?open&of=ENG-390>.

This article reports on the return of refugees in the Dayton Accords and how this policy is not being fully realized. Makes recommendations for the governing bodies to bring about further implementation of the return of refugees and international displaced people.

Branka Peuraca. 2003. Can faith-based NGOs advance interfaith reconciliation? The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS34340>.

This article explores the success faith-based NGOs have had in bringing about peaceful reconciliation between community members in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Laura Pitter. 2001. Bosnia and Herzegovina: Human Rights developments. <http://www.hrw.org/wr2k1/europe/bosnia.html>.

An update on the advancements made in human rights up to 2000. One significant report is focused on the increasing return of refugees in the year 2000.

International Helsinki Federation on Human Rights. 1999. ANNUAL REPORT 1999 Bosnia - Herzegovina. http://www.ihf-hr.org/viewbinary/viewhtml.php?doc_id=3516.

Three years after the signing of the Dayton Accord this report explores the lack of commitment that local actors have had in bringing about greater civil human rights.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. Bosnia and Herzegovina: hopes betrayed: trafficking of women and girls to post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for forced prostitution. <https://www.humanrightswatch.org/reports/2002/bosnia/>.

From 1992 through 1995, thousands of women and girls suffered rape and other forms of sexual violence during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including abuse in rape camps and detention centers scattered throughout the country. With the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995, violence against women and girls in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not cease. In an investigation from 1999 through 2001, Human Rights Watch uncovered conclusive evidence of widespread trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry throughout both Bosnian entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska.

State-Building in Bosnia

by Chris Saeger

Although the idea of state-building is at least as contentious as the idea of the state itself, international technocrats and foreign policymakers remain resigned to this project. International state-building has been conceived of as maintaining intermestic social order, protecting individual rights, and consolidating transnational linkages of power. Yet whatever the motive, effect or standard form of state-building, some political organization called “the state” is a necessary condition for membership in international society, if not for protecting individual human rights.

The formation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a critical moment for the relationship political theory and international law suppose between the state and human rights. For all the discussion of the “Responsibility to Protect”, state-building in Bosnia has also meant the visible reintroduction of international trusteeship. The implications of state-building for human rights are profound under conditions of full sovereignty. Under amended or shared sovereignty human rights outcomes are mixed at best, atrocious at worst and rather unpredictable in any event.

The development of the Bosnian state holds lessons for Iraq and Afghanistan, as specifically demonstrated in the report by Marcus Cox (<http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>) and article by Mladen Ivanic. The materials in this section are therefore useful on their own and in contrast to the efforts described in the sections on Iraq and Afghanistan.

Political Economy

2001. *Bosnia: Reshaping the International Machinery*. International Crisis Group.
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1495&l=1>.

Sets forth observations on and recommendations for the formation of a European-integrated states after Dayton. Specific focus on the importance of key state functions, such as those that facilitate economic growth.

1997. “The disunited state of Bosnia.” *Economist*. 343(49).

Abstract: Surveys the efforts to unite Bosnia following the Dayton peace conference. The projected pull-out dates for North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops; Relations between Bosnia's Muslims, Serbs, and Croats; The passing of laws by parliament that will create a central bank, common currency, customs union, and common external tariffs; The efforts to fund reconstruction; The status of the war-crimes tribunal; The role of Carlos Westendorp.

Peter Andreas. 2004. “The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 48(29).

Abstract: Most contemporary intrastate military conflicts have a criminalized dimension: In various ways and to varying degrees they use smuggling networks and criminal actors to create and sustain the material basis for warfare. Despite its importance, the criminalized side of intrastate war and its legacy for postwar reconstruction is not a central focus of analysis in most scholarly accounts of armed conflict. A detailed examination of the Bosnian conflict illustrates the explanatory usefulness of a “bottom up” clandestine political economy approach to the study

of war and post-war reconstruction. Drawing on interviews with former military leaders, local and international officials, and in-country observers, I argue that the outbreak, persistence, termination, and aftermath of the 1992-1995 war cannot be explained without taking into account the critical role of smuggling practices and quasi-private criminal combatants. The article suggests the need for greater bridging and broadening of the study of security, political economy, and crime.

Klas Bergman. 1996. "Rebuilding Bosnia--a race against time." *Christian Science Monitor*. 88(19).

Abstract: *Opinion. Comments on international efforts to rebuild Bosnia & Herzegovina. Urgency of the situation; Fragile state of peace; Need to keep the people content through job creation and immediate normalcy of daily activities; Provision of funding by the European Union and the World Bank; Direction of future funding and reconstruction efforts.*

Michael Bhatia. 2005. "Postconflict Profit: The Political Economy of Intervention." *Global Governance*. 11(205).

Abstract: *Whereas the various forms of international political involvement are generally predictable after a decade of U.N. peace operations. In comparison, the various elements involved in economic reconstruction are rarely examined. The economic dimension of these interventions is more characterized by its totality-by the interaction between a variety of actors and policies-than by the dominance of a single issue. This article examines the interaction between the actors and issues involved in the economic dimension of interventions in the Balkans (Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo), East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Each case is assessed in terms of five thematic areas: the war economy and the previous power competitors; international financial institutions and donors; the international and national administration; international, regional, and national business; and long-term development.*

Timothy Donais. 2005. "A tale of two towns: human security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Journal of Southern Europe & the Balkans*. 7(19).

Abstract: *Focuses on the security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Details on the elements of the functional Bosnian state; Accounts on the issue of post-conflict human security in the region; Dissonance between relative progress at the state level and socio-economic and political stability; Commitment of the international community to the region.*

Amra Festic and Adrian Rausche. 2004. "War by Other Means How Bosnia's Clandestine Political Economies Obstruct Peace and State Building." *Problems of Post-Communism*. 51(27).

Abstract: *Focuses on how Bosnia's clandestine political economies obstruct peace and state building. Wartime political figures' occupation of key economic posts.*

International Monetary Fund. Bosnia and Herzegovina—2005 Article IV Consultation, Concluding Statement of the IMF Mission. <http://www.imf.org/external/np/ms/2005/041705.htm>.

Abstract: *Preliminary statement of the IMF Mission to Bosnia. Recounts the state of banking, monetary and fiscal sectors in Bosnia to date in view of IMF orthodoxy on these matters. Vladimir Gligorov. 2000. "The Role of the State in the Balkans." UNDP and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. Sinaia, Romania: UNDP for Europe and CIS.*

Tom Ichiniowski and Judy Schriener. 1996. "Bosnia reconstruction going quickly but some gaps exist." *ENR: Engineering News-Record*. 237(9).

Abstract: Reports on the civilian reconstruction projects in Bosnia and Hercegovina. International aid for the projects; Gaps in the funding of the projects; Estimated cost of the rebuilding program.

Mark M. Nelson and Carla Anne Robbins. 1995. "Companies jockey for share of effort to rebuild Bosnia." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 226(A3).

Abstract: Focuses on companies' land share reconstruction of Bosnia as soon as the peace accord is signed. United States' troops in Bosnia.

A. Ohanyan. 2002. "Post-Conflict Global Governance: The Case of Microfinance Enterprise Networks in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(396).

Abstract: The article examines the institutional infrastructure that supports the foreign aid flows in the microcredit sector in postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. It documents the mobilization of transnational networks between different international agencies in the course of the policy formulation and implementation, and elicits the effects that certain network attributes exert on the policy choices made by individual organizations. How and why do international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, with at times conflicting goals, join forces in such networks? More important, whose goals are eventually implemented, and under what conditions? Whose goals are diluted in the process of network mobilization? The article seeks some answers to these questions, demonstrating how transnational networks intermediate between the organizational goals and the final policy outcomes that result from such a network-based mode of global governance in postconflict regions.

Vanessa Pupavac. 2005. "Empowering women? an assessment of international gender policies in Bosnia." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(391).

Abstract: International policy-making promises to empower women in Bosnia through encouraging their participation in the political process, giving them a voice in civil society and providing enhanced opportunities for economic independence. This essay challenges these claims, suggesting that while a narrow echelon of young middle-class urban professionals have benefited from international gender approaches, the prospects for ordinary Bosnian women have not improved. First, the essay considers international attempts to promote the political empowerment of women through quota mechanisms and support for women's organizations operating in civil society. Secondly, it considers international policies intended to further the economic empowerment of women and how these relate to broader neo-liberal prescriptions for the post-war state. It concludes that international policies, in both the political and economic realms, contain fundamental limitations which look likely to frustrate the long-term advancement of women in Bosnia.

Transition to Autonomy

Florian Bieber. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments towards a More Integrated State?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 22(205).

Abstract: Explores the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina towards the development of a more integrated state. Structure of Bosnian power-sharing; Peace accords seeking to strike a balance between competing demands; Bosnia as a multinational federation; Functioning of power-sharing to the elected officials holding positions in this system.

Elizabeth M. Cousens. 2001. "Building Peace in Bosnia." Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies. with Karin Wermester and Chetan Kumar. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

Argues that Dayton has not been helpful to Bosnian peacebuilding, but has actually presented obstacles to the process. Asserts that international state-building has not provided concrete guidance for local and international actors, and that it has been effectively abandoned in any event. Calls for a redirection of focus away from elites and toward more popular participation in the democratization process.

Marcus Cox. 2001. State Building in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons from Bosnia. Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations. <http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>.

Identifies a dispersed constitutional structure, violent vested interests within the state, and weak institutional capacity as principal obstacles to state-building. Further identifies three stages in post-fighting reconstruction: military stabilization, the rise of the High Representative, and the inception of state building. Lists numerous recommendations for this final period.

Ivo H. Daalder. 1997. "Bosnia after SFOR: Options for continued U.S. engagement." *Survival*. 39(5).

Abstract: Presents information on Bosnia and Hercegovina and the options for United States armed forces continued presence within the countries. Detailed information of the situation within Bosnia; Reference to Dayton Agreement problems, political constraints, Stabilization force (SFOR); Effects of the Bosnian situation on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Marianne Ducasse-Rogier. 2004. "Recovering from Dayton: From 'peace-keeping' to 'state building' in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Helsinki Monitor*. 15(76).

Abstract: Focuses on the international involvement of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Expansion of the Office of the High Representative; Division of the country in two entities; Steps taken to alleviate the ethno-territorial partition of the territory; Analysis of the difficulties in the state-building effort of the country.

Phil Gunby. 1996. "Military medicine's role continues in Bosnia." *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association*. 276(1370).

Abstract: Reports that United States military medical personnel will probably work in Bosnia-Herzegovina beyond the one-year stay, originally expected to end December 20, 1996. Brief details on troops participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peace-enforcement effort; Problems caused by ticks in the area.

European Stability Initiative. 2005. List of Dismissed Politicians. <http://www.esiweb.org/statebuilding/dismissals.php>.

List and some brief explanations of politicians dismissed by the Office of the High Representative.

Sally Morphet. 2002. "Current International Civil Administration: The Need for Political Legitimacy." *International Peacekeeping*. 9(140).

Abstract: The article examines the three current international transitional civil administrations in Bosnia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and East Timor, as well as the former United Nations (U.N.) transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium in Croatia. It is argued that transitional civil administrations are more likely to achieve political legitimacy, nationally and internationally, as well as in the long terms, if the states involved base their peacebuilding work on international legal standards and norms. These standards also need to be mirrored in the establishment of acceptable and accepted frameworks of law at the national level. It is argued that U.N. member states were able to set up East Timor's transitional civil administration with only certain procedural difficulties because U.N. member states conformed to international legal standards and norms in this respect. Peacebuilding was defined by U.N. Secretary-General in 1997 as 'the various concurrent and integrated actions undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of armed confrontation', or, putting it differently, the achievement of peace with sufficient justice, reconciliation and development in the state concerned.

Christophe Solioz and Wolfgang Petritsch. 2003. "THE INTERVIEW: The fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina: an exclusive interview of Christophe Solioz with Wolfgang Petritsch." *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*. 5(3): 355-373.

Abstract: Interviews Wolfgang Petritsch, special envoy of the European Union for Kosovo from 1998 to 1999 and European Union chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in 1999. Regional approach and conflict management; Local elites and political culture; Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1999.

Dominik Zaum. 2003. "The Paradox of Sovereignty: International Involvement in Civil Service Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(102).

Abstract: This article explores the normative framework within which international administrations engage in post-conflict statebuilding. By looking at the aims and justifications for the involvement of the international community in the reform of the civil service in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), it shows how this intervention is shaped by a liberal conception of state sovereignty that emphasizes legitimate state authority. The international administration tries to establish legitimate state authority by pushing for certain reforms. The article concludes that international involvement can be characterized as a 'paradox of sovereignty': the international administration compromises aspects of Bosnia's sovereignty to enable Bill to fulfil its obligations as a sovereign. The tensions this creates have important implications for liberal thinking about the subject of international relations, and for the policymaking of international administrations.

NGOs and Civil Society Organizations

Bronwyn Evans-Kent and Roland Beilker. 2003. "Peace Beyond the State? NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Mitigating Conflict*. Henry F. Carey and Oliver P. Richmond. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Scrutinizes the impact of donors, international organizations, and coordination between reconstruction actors on NGO peacebuilding efforts. Stresses the importance of local knowledge and inter-organizational cooperation for effective NGO programming.

Bronwyn Evans-Kent and Roland Bleiker. 2003. "Peace beyond the State? NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(103).

Abstract: The article focuses on nongovernmental organizations (NGO) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. NGO played an important role during the Cold War. But the significance of the contribution has often been limited by a political climate dominated by states and international security organizations. Once the bipolar structures of Cold War politics had collapsed, the international community became increasingly aware of benefits of non-state organizations. In recent years, NGO have become a popular vehicle for the delivery and implementation of services that states are unable or reluctant to provide. The article scrutinizes the potential and limits of NGO contributions to peacebuilding and long-term stability. Works of several organizations in the context of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina are examined in the article. NGO have been active in Bosnia for a decade and hundreds of organizations have developed and implemented various projects, from victim advocacy to income generation and agricultural drainage. Some lessons can, indeed, be drawn from the Bosnian case, and they are of relevance to the general debate about advantages and disadvantages of NGO. Those who stress benefits of the nongovernmental sector focus primarily on the ability of NGO to act outside the formal structures of national and international politics.

Adam Fagan. 2005. "Civil society in Bosnia ten years after Dayton." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(3): 406-419.

Abstract: A core element of the international community's state-building efforts in Bosnia has been the development and strengthening of civil society. Since Dayton, the imperative to rebuild and refashion civil society has been identified as critical for the emergence of a democratic state. It has also been viewed as being instrumental in weakening the grip of nationalist political parties. In addition to the perceived political dividend, the development of civil society is seen as fundamental for stimulating the development of the economy and for entrenching the rule of law. Yet to place such enormous and onerous responsibilities on NGOs and civic organizations stretches the conceptual boundaries of an already contested and elastic concept. This essay assesses what has emerged under the banner of "civil society," considers the roles and functions of the various local and international NGOs, and assesses their relationship and contribution to the overall project of state-building.

David W. Hendon and Mark Long. 1998. "Notes on church-state affairs: Bosnia." *Journal of Church & State*. 40(507).

Abstract: Presents information relating to the affairs of church and state within Bosnia, with reference to reports made by the Western and Bosnian officials regarding Iranian intelligence agents infiltrating the United States program to train the Bosnian army. Estimated number of Iranian agents who have reportedly infiltrated Bosnian Muslim groups.

Oliver P. Richmond and Henry F. Carey. 2003. *Mitigating conflict: the role of NGOs*. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Ivan Krastev. 2002. *The Inflexibility Trap: Frustrated Societies, Weak States and Democracy*. UNDP for Europe and the CIS. http://www.cls-sofia.org/publications/papers/inflexibility_trap.pdf

Presents a citizen-centered approach to democratization in the Balkans. Focuses on the problem of corruption in the context of both post-war and post-communist reconstruction. Recommends reform of the media in addition to the judiciary in order to regenerate public trust in the nascent Bosnian state.

Monica Llamazares and David Crosier. 1999. "The Myth of Civil Society: Approaches to Societal Reconstruction in Southeastern Europe." *Higher Education in Europe*. 24(553).

Abstract: As a concept, "civil society" in the minds of some people has become a panacea for the problems besetting eastern and central Europe in transition, particularly former Yugoslavia. Citing the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authors argue that the situation is not being helped by the fact that Western donors of aid are imposing their own conceptions of civil society that are not necessarily what the country needs. Citing the case of Kosovo, the authors further argue that the long period of Kosovar resistance preceding the outbreak of hostilities in March 1999 had already enabled Kosovar society to develop a vibrant democratic movement, hence the elements of a civil society, that may not be well served by the international aid effort that began in June 1999. The wellspring of a true democratic and civil society is indigenous. If its development can, in some cases, be aided from outside, it can never be successfully imposed.

Maureen Taylor. 2000. "Media Relations in Bosnia: A Role for Public Relations in Building Civil Society." *Public Relations Review*. 26(1).

Abstract: Examines the status of media relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Role of public relations in the development of civil society; Importance of media relations to the success of nongovernmental organizations; Similarities and differences between the media relations in Bosnia and Western countries; Different perspectives offered by the alternative media.

Martha Walsh. 2000. Aftermath: The Role of Women's Organizations in Postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. <http://www.microfinancegateway.org/content/article/detail/2783>.

Abstract: This paper examines women's organisations in postconflict Bosnia-Herzegovina; Describes their emergence, activities, and programs and the changes in their activities over time; Assesses the impact of these organisations in addressing gender issues associated with the conflict; Discusses the nature of assistance provided to them by the international community and the areas of tension between them. The paper is based on interviews with the leaders and staff of women's organisations, staff of international organizations, representatives of the donor agencies and a cross section of Bosnian women. It gives good coverage of microcredit programs.

Dominik Zaum. 2003. "The Paradox of Sovereignty: International Involvement in Civil Service Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(102).

Abstract: This article explores the normative framework within which international administrations engage in post-conflict statebuilding. By looking at the aims and justifications for the involvement of the international community in the reform of the civil service in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), it shows how this intervention is shaped by a liberal conception of state sovereignty that emphasizes legitimate state authority. The international administration tries to establish legitimate state authority by pushing for certain reforms. The article concludes that international involvement can be characterized as a 'paradox of sovereignty': the international administration compromises aspects of Bosnia's sovereignty to enable BiH to fulfil its obligations as a sovereign. The tensions this creates have important implications for liberal thinking about the subject of international relations, and for the policymaking of international administrations.

Institutions

2000. "Justice, Accountability and Social Reconstruction: An Interview Study of Bosnian Judges and Prosecutors." *Berkeley Journal of International Law*. 18(102).

Abstract: Investigates the relationship between justice, accountability and reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia, according to judges and prosecutors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Acceptability of international justice; Factors that may contribute to non-acceptance of international criminal trials; Relationship between criminal trials and social reconstruction.

Florian Bieber. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments towards a More Integrated State?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 22(205).

Abstract: Explores the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina towards the development of a more integrated state. Structure of Bosnian power-sharing; Peace accords seeking to strike a balance between competing demands; Bosnia as a multinational federation; Functioning of power-sharing to the elected officials holding positions in this system.

Sumantra Bose. 2002. *Bosnia after Dayton: nationalist partition and international intervention*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Rigorous and far-reaching assessment of post-Dayton Bosnia. In the chapter most relevant to state-building, the author considers forms of federalism most compatible with the liberal international system. Isolates the importance of "good neighborly" relations for internal peace and security.

Marcus Cox. 2001. State Building in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons from Bosnia. Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations. <http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>.

Identifies a dispersed constitutional structure, violent vested interests within the state, and weak institutional capacity as principal obstacles to state-building. Further identifies three stages in post-fighting reconstruction: military stabilization, the rise of the High Representative, and the inception of state building. Lists numerous recommendations for this final period.

1993. "Saving Sarajevo, from below." *New Yorker*. 69(39): 45-7.

Abstract: Discussion of Sarajevo's problems by the head and founder of Intertect Relief & Reconstruction. Problem on water supply; Lack of heating; Importation of thousand tons of basic seeds.

Timothy Donais. 2005. "A tale of two towns: human security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Journal of Southern Europe & the Balkans*. 7(19).

Abstract: Focuses on the security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Details on the elements of the functional Bosnian state; Accounts on the issue of post-conflict human security in the region; Dissonance between relative progress at the state level and socio-economic and political stability; Commitment of the international community to the region.

Vladimir Gligorov. 2000. "The Role of the State in the Balkans" in Balkan Reconstruction: Economic Aspects. UNDP and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. Sinaia, Romania: UNDP for Europe and CIS.

Regional analysis of the role of the state in democratic transitions from conflict and communism. Discusses both common indicators and means for successful transitions. Pays special attention to the desirable size and quality of the state vis-a-vis corruption and economic growth.

Kathleen Hill Hawk. 2002. *Constructing the stable state: goals for intervention and peacebuilding*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Examines Bosnia among other cases of post-conflict state-building. Begins with a discussion of both state theory and a broad assessment of recent state-building efforts. The chapter on Bosnia gives a good overview of the development of the state there.

Timothy Donais and Andreas Pickel. 2003. *The International Engineering of a Multiethnic State in Bosnia: Bound to Fail, Yet Likely to Persist*. <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/paper-2003/pickel.pdf>.

Argues that ethnic identities should be seen as resources rather than obstacles to state-building in Bosnia.

Christophe Solioz. 2004. "The Constitution at Stake." *Transitions Online*. <http://www.tol.cz/>.

Abstract: Reports on the importance of constitutional issues on the reconstruction of political authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Significance of constitutional reforms to the diplomatic initiatives of the international community; Information on the European Stability Initiative; Details of the constitutional amendments proposed by the Serbian Civic Council in 1998 postulating the equality of the three constituent peoples and all citizens.

Also available at <http://www.christophesolioz.ch/papers/2004/doc/tol29012004.pdf>.

Heike Alefsen; Wolfgang Benedek; Michael O'Flaherty; Ermin Sarajlija (eds.). 1999. *Human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina after Dayton: from theory to practice*. The Hague; Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Democratization in Iraq

by Kate Lotz and Tim Melvin

Prospects for political and economic success in Iraq are uncertain. The U.S.-led effort can fail in many ways, notably by a loss of political will in the face of terrorism and weak allies. On the other hand, success could change the shape of political institutions throughout the Middle East (Robert J. Barro in *Business Week*, April 5, 2004).

In great numbers and under great risk, Iraqis have shown their commitment to democracy. By participating in free elections, the Iraqi people have firmly rejected the anti-democratic ideology of the terrorists. They have refused to be intimidated by thugs and assassins. And they have demonstrated the kind of courage that is always the foundation of self-government (George W. Bush, from *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, February 7, 2005).

Restructuring Iraq's political system will be laden with difficulties, but it will certainly be feasible. At the same time, the blueprint for Iraq's democracy must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. Once the system is in place, its benefits will quickly become evident to Iraq's various communities; if it brings economic prosperity (hardly unlikely given the country's wealth), the postwar structure will gradually, yet surely, acquire legitimacy (Adeed and Karen Dawisha in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003).

With the war in Iraq over, Coalition forces are still present as the cultivation of Iraqi democracy is underway. Coalition-led democratization in Iraq will prove to be a lengthy and complex objective, but one which will be pursued until successfully accomplished.

A highly controversial war, the conflict in Iraq has monopolized news in every form in recent years. Media (rather than academic examination) has controlled the scrutiny of this conflict, which impacts the public's view of the war significantly. The controversy of the war in Iraq is heavily tied up in this media representation; and the lack of rigorous study both trivializes and dramatizes the conflict, players, and outcomes with the frivolous and exaggerated media interpretations. Not many scholarly books have been published on democratizing Iraq, but the articles, handful of books, and wide range of media constructs cited in this bibliography together provide an extensive collection of resources. An examination of these resources offers diverse viewpoints and opinions, as well as scholarly analysis, on the topics presented here.

Democratizing Iraq

The articles cited in this section deal directly with the introduction and implementation of democracy in the post-conflict Iraq. These include magazine, newspaper and journal articles, as well as government documents.

2003. "Mission Incomplete." *New Republic*. 228(20): 7.

Abstract: "The New Republic" magazine believed, and believes, in the war against Saddam Hussein. The destruction of Iraqi tyranny and the creation of Iraqi democracy are potentially revolutionary events, audacious responses to a moral horror that degraded and threatened the Middle East. The fighting is now done, and it was

stunning. But, even as it glories in the military attainment of Operation Iraqi Freedom, the Bush administration is scanting the political attainment it promised would go along with it. In the coming months, the Bush team plans a swift and drastic reduction of our forces, to diminish our presence in Iraq from the 130,000 troops we have there now to 30,000 troops by the fall of 2003. The bad joke is that 130,000 troops are themselves insufficient for what we must still accomplish. The administration's plan is nothing less than a retreat from historical responsibility, a scandal. Three reasons, after all, were offered for this war: weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and democracy. As for Iraq's links to terrorism, the evidence was always weak, and a month of American occupation has not made them stronger. That leaves democracy, the genuinely stirring attempt to establish a liberal order in an Arab country. This involves more than a restoration of order on the streets.

2005. "Progress." *National Review*. 57(5): 12.

Abstract: Considers progress toward democracy in the Middle East. Suggestion that all of the recent positive news does not ensure victory; Claim that the Bush administration can take considerable satisfaction in progress since the January 30 Iraqi elections; Inspiration for the protestors in Lebanon against the Syrian presence there; Demand for the exit of Arafat cronies from the Palestinian Authority by the Palestinian public; Importance of the weeks ahead and the success of the Iraqi project; Speculation as to whether recent developments will bloom into something enduring.

2004. "Safe for Democracy." *Foreign Policy*. 145): 1.

Abstract: Presents a letter from the editor concerning the viability of democracy in the Middle East. Can democracy take root in the Middle East? Just about every crucial issue confronting our era--terrorism, stability in Iraq, the spread of nuclear weapons, and the Arab-Israeli conflict--comes back to that question. Foreign Policy asked two of the world's foremost experts on democratization, Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers, to assess the chances for an Arab perestroika. Although they dispute the idea that Muslim countries are culturally hardwired to reject democracy, their prognosis for the Middle East is not promising. If democracy does finally arrive in the Middle East, Ottaway and Carothers say, it will be due to the efforts of the very Islamist parties that many now see as an obstacle to change.

Robert J. Barro. 2004. "A Step in the Right Direction for Iraq." *Business week*. 3877): 30.

Abstract: Focuses on the democratization of Iraq and the prospects for peace and economic development in the Middle East. Details of the transitional law for Iraq, depicting the federal system that will govern the country; Provisions of the law that deviate from the U.S. Constitution, including membership quotas in the elected National Assembly, rights to privacy and commitments to services for all Iraqis; Discussion of the provision stipulating Islam as the official religion of the Iraqi state; Percentage of Muslim countries that have a state religion; Discussion of economic issues to be resolved in Iraq, including oil pricing and monetary policy; Currency issues.

Ian Buruma. 2004. "An Islamic Democracy for Iraq?" *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53054): 42.

Abstract: Discusses the potential for democracy in Middle Eastern Islamic nations. Support of an Iraqi democracy by Shiite Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, and his efforts to ensure voter turnout; Belief that religion and government are inseparable in Islamic nations because no separation has ever been defined; Claim that this belief is incorrect, but that religion is the base of resistance when governments become oppressive; Focus on Turkey as a good example of an Islamic democracy; Desire of U.S. President George W. Bush for a secular government in Iraq.

George W. Bush. 2005. "Address to the Nation on the Iraqi Elections." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. 41(5): 122.

Abstract: *Presents a speech by U.S. President George W. Bush, delivered at the White House, Washington D.C., January 30, 2005. Commitment of the Iraqis to democracy; Success of the election in Iraq; Efforts of the U.S. government in establishing the Iraqi government.*

Adeed Dawisha. 2005. "Democratic Attitudes and Practices in Iraq, 1921-1958." *Middle East Journal*. 59(1): 11.

Abstract: *The prevalent perception is that democracy is untenable in Iraq because, it is argued, the country has an authoritarian political culture and no history of democratic institutions. This article presents a counter-narrative that shows that Iraq and its people do not necessarily suffer from an immutable democratic deficit. Focusing on the 1921-1958 era, periods of democratic attitudes and practices are chronicled and traditions of political pluralism and experience with representative political institutions are demonstrated.*

Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha. 2003. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(3): 36.

Abstract: *This article explores postwar Iraq and suggests that the job of building a democratic system in Iraq, although difficult, may not be quite as hard as many critics of the war have warned. The authors suggest that Iraq today possesses several features that will facilitate the reconstruction effort. Despite Saddam's long repression, the authors point out that democratic institutions are not entirely alien to the country. Under the Hashemite monarchy, which ruled from 1921 until 1958, Iraq adopted a parliamentary system modeled after the United Kingdom. The authors make clear that Iraq's history--both under the Hashemite monarchy and especially after the 1958 coup--has been filled with authoritarianism, tribalism, and ethnic and sectarian violence. However, they suggest that the postwar reconstruction of Germany and Japan, and the more recent transitions from communism in eastern and central Europe, all testify to the way in which democratic political institutions can change such attitudes in a country. The authors present ideas of what a blueprint for a future democratic Iraq should look like, emphasizing that it must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. They suggest that democratic Iraq must have a federal system of government. Furthermore, the authors explore both advantages and disadvantages of executive branches of government for Iraq, the type of elections that Iraq's should use, and the importance of a fully developed middle class for an effective and sustainable democracy.*

Daniel Henninger. 2004. "Kiev to Baghdad: Diverse People Chase Same Goal." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(114): A14.

Abstract: *Assesses the likelihood of a real democratic event happening in Iraq in line with the January 2005 elections in the country.*

Daniel Henninger. 2004. "Let Us Hope That Iraq Has A Fourth of July." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(2): A10.

Abstract: *Presents views on the process of democratization in Iraq.*

Eric J. Hobsbawm. 2004. "SPREADING DEMOCRACY. (Cover story)." *Foreign Policy*. (144):40.

Abstract: *The article discusses the faults of democratization. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are but one part of a supposedly universal effort to create world order by "spreading democracy." The rhetoric surrounding this*

crusade implies that the system is applicable in a standardized (Western) form, that it can succeed everywhere, that it can remedy today's transnational dilemmas, and that it can bring peace, rather than sow disorder. Besides democracy's popularity, several other factors explain the dangerous and illusory belief that its propagation by foreign armies might actually be feasible. Globalization suggests that human affairs are evolving toward a universal pattern. This view underrates the world's complexity. One should always be suspicious when military powers claim to be doing favors for their victims and the world by defeating and occupying weaker states. "Spreading democracy" aggravated ethnic conflict and produced the disintegration of states in multinational and multicomunal regions after both 1918 and 1989, a bleak prospect. The effort to spread democracy is also dangerous in a more indirect way: It conveys to those who do not enjoy this form of government the illusion that it actually governs those who do. We now know something about how the actual decisions to go to war in Iraq were taken in at least two states of unquestionable democratic bona fides: the United States and the United Kingdom. Other than creating complex problems of deceit and concealment, electoral democracy and representative assemblies had little to do with that process. Decisions were taken among small groups of people in private, not very different from the way they would have been taken in nondemocratic countries.

Llewellyn D. Howell. 2002. "Democracy and Its Dilemmas." *U.S.A Today Magazine*. 131(2690): 19.

Abstract: Discusses the failure of the U.S. to spread and expand democracy. Shift away from democratization in favor of immediate security; Failure to expand democracy in Islamic countries, particularly in Saudi Arabia; Campaign to oust Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to enable the democratization of Iraq.

Efraim Karsh. 2003. "Making Iraq Safe for Democracy." *Commentary*. 115(4): 22.

Abstract: Analyzes the readiness of Iraq's society for democratization. Effect of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on Western foreign policy; Violence among ethnic groups; Views on the role of President Saddam Hussein in protecting the territorial integrity of Iraq; Role of the U.S. and Great Britain in post-war Iraq.

Rachelle Marshall. 2005. "Iraqi and Palestinian Voters May Have Little Say About Their New Governments." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(3): 7.

Abstract: The article author presents his views on the status of democracy in Iraq and Palestine. Palestinians and Iraqis are a long way from enjoying either freedom or democracy, and the results of their recent elections will ultimately depend on decisions made behind closed doors in Washington, Baghdad, and Jerusalem. The 275 newly elected members of the Iraqi national assembly charged with choosing a prime minister and writing a constitution will do so in the shadow of the giant U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and in the presence of 150,000 foreign troops. Another obstacle to a functioning democracy is that, despite the large turnout, the election results did not necessarily express the wishes of most Iraqis.

David Masci. 2003. "The Issues." *CQ Researcher*. 13(26): 627.

Abstract: Examines the effects of the war in Iraq in 2003 on the living conditions for Iraqis. Development of programs for rebuilding and reconstructing Iraq; Demand by demonstrators in Baghdad for a government run by Muslim clergy rather than American-backed political appointees; Efforts from the U.S. and British governments to democratize Iraq after toppling the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein.

David Masci. 2003. "Postwar Iraq: A Hard Path To Stability." *CQ Weekly*. 61(35): 2241.

Abstract: Discusses the challenges in the reconstruction of Iraq after the U.S.-led war in the country in 2003. Establishment of a Council of Governance in Iraq to help in its democratic transition; Warning of the Center for Strategic and International Studies against the rise of anti-American principles in the country; Questions raised with regard to the outlook of Iraq reconstruction. INSET: From 'Cradle of Civilization' To Dictatorship.

Yelena Melkumyan. 2003. "Iraq War Will Spawn Reforms in Arab World." *Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press*. 55(26): 19.

Abstract: Comments on the impact of the military operation in Iraq on politicians and the intellectual elite in the Middle East. Condemnation of the military action; Continuation of the democratization of political systems.

Judith Miller. 2002. "Iraqi Opposition Circulates Plan for Post-Hussein Era." *New York Times*. 152(52314): A16.

Abstract: Discusses the content of the document 'The Transition to Democracy' which is being circulated by Iraqi oppositionists to plan the transition of Iraq from dictatorship to democracy if President Saddam Hussein is removed from office.

Edward Newman and Roland Rich. 2004. "Building Democracy with U.N. Assistance: From Namibia to Iraq." *U.N. Chronicle*. 41(1): 25.

Abstract: The article focuses on the efforts of the United Nations in promoting democratic governance. The range of democracy assistance activities is wide, covering organizing, conducting and validating elections; developing civil society and political parties; bolstering the rule of law, judicial institutions and security architecture; strengthening accountability, oversight and transparency; enhancing legislative training and effectiveness and civic education and protecting human rights. The United Nations approach to democracy assistance is sensitive to cultural peculiarities and generally politically impartial.

David Pryce-Jones. 2005. "A Crack in the Wall." *National Review*. 57(3): 17.

Abstract: Focuses on the democratization of the Middle East. Success of the elections in Iraq; History of rulers in Iraq; Report that Sunni Arabs have historically held the power over Shia Arabs and Kurds and other minorities; Importance of replacing despotism with due process in Iraq; Report that the Shia Arabs were the winners in the 2005 election; Role of Shia cleric Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani in controlling the Shia Arabs and in bringing the Sunnis into the political process; Claim that it is important for the Iraqis to develop their own national identity and political system; Impact of the political changes in Iraq on other Middle Eastern countries, such as Syria, Libya and Egypt.

Bruce Russett. 2004. "Installing democracy." *Commonweal*. 131(21): 14.

Abstract: Focuses on the use of war in transforming societies into democracy. Core principle of formulating the theory of democracy; Reasons of the U.S. and Great Britain in committing war against Germany and Japan; Conditions which hinder the democratization of Iraq.

Amartya Sen. 2003. "Democracy and Its Global Roots. (Cover story)." *New Republic*. 229(14): 28.

Abstract: Considers the differences between democratization and Westernization. Ambiguity in the goals of United States occupation of Iraq; Limitations of the application of democracy to developing nations; Cultural considerations of democratization; Advantages of democracy, such as voting and pluralism; Consideration of

democracy as a Western concept; Toleration in non-Western countries; Centrality of public reasoning in democracy; Consideration of life expectancy rates in China and India since the mid-20th century, an example that bears out the advantages of democracy in non-Western nations; Roots of this confusion.

Adam M. Smith. 2003. "In My Opinion." *Middle East*. (335): 28.

Abstract: The article focuses on the impact of implementing democracy in Iraq. Critics contend that establishing democracy in Iraq will prove the most arduous part of building a post-Saddam state. According to some, Iraqis either won't embrace such a system, or, if they do, democracy will languish due to social divisiveness, and the absence of both civic "training" and a history of "western" civil liberties. Comparing Iraq's democratic potential to the 1990s democratic surge in Africa suggests that Iraq is even more promising than newly consolidating democracies such as Mali, Ghana and Senegal. Given that democracy requires a degree of citizen participation, any preliminary success of Iraqi democracy will be based on whether citizens choose to follow the democratic path, a system that is institutionally foreign to the country after 25 years of Saddam. The presence of tribalism and Saddam's erasure of all liberal aspects of Iraq's history, have led some to suggest that Iraq's culture is not conducive to democratization. As ethnic and religious groups realize that such a system presents the best option to protect their rights, Iraq's feared ethnic polarization may ultimately provide support for democratization. The psychological meaning of democracy is a final advantage that will likely lead to Iraqis requesting democracy and thus ease the country's transition.

Tony Smith. 2004. "Was Iraq a Fool's Errand?" *Foreign Affairs*. 83(6): 130.

Abstract: The article presents a response to the article "What Went Wrong in Iraq," by Larry Diamond in the September/October 2004 issue of "Foreign Affairs," and a counter response by Diamond. Iraq lacks any of the preconditions academics generally accept as being necessary for democratization to succeed. It has no middle class to speak of independent from the state; oil revenues, the life-line of any Iraqi regime, are notorious for their ability to centralize rather than democratize power; the country has no tradition of limited or responsible government; national identity is weak in the face of rival religious or ethnic loyalties; regional neighbors will do what they can to undermine whatever democratizing movements exist; and the democrats themselves lack a figure such as Nelson Mandela or Kim Dae Jung who could give them leadership. How could someone of Diamond's theoretical sophistication not have seen such shortcomings? The answer, I suspect, lies in the Faustian bargain many liberals made: they would support U.S. imperialism for the sake of fulfilling their self-appointed democratizing mission. Diamond Replies. It may surprise Tony Smith to know that I opposed going to war in Iraq last year. Indeed, I publicly warned (in the January 2003 Hoover Digest) that the greatest danger facing the United States was not Saddam Hussein's weapons programs but "imperial overreach and the global wave of anti-Americanism that it is already provoking." I worried that the United States would be perceived throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds as invading Iraq only because it wanted to control its oil and dominate the region. Still, I reject the characterization of the war as "imperialist aggression." The Bush administration was convinced that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and that if it did not take military action soon, Saddam would break out of the international sanctions box and once again threaten the region and the United States.

Elections in Iraq

These resources introduce, examine and comment on the elections in January of 2005. The elections are analyzed for content of democratic elements, and the possible instigation and

implementation of a democratic regime in post-conflict Iraq. Included in this section are magazine, newspaper and journal articles, as well as presidential documents.

2004. "3 Insurgent Groups Warn Iraqis Against Voting." *New York Times*. 154(53080): A3.

Abstract: Reports on militant groups' warning for Iraqis against voting in the election scheduled for January 30, 2005. Militant group Ansar al-Sunna's issuance of a statement warning against democracy; Statements by insurgent groups as response to Shiite leaders' declarations that voting in the election was every Muslim's duty; Resignation of worker for the electoral commission in Mosul due to threats.

2005. "Can Liberals Learn?" *National Review*. 57(5): 14.

Abstract: Discusses the liberal reaction to the success of George W. Bush in foreign policy. Movement toward democracy in Iraq as a result of the January 30 elections; Concern of the liberals that men and measures they deplore appear to be bringing changes that they approve of; Reference to President Bush's lack of appeal for liberals due to his rich background, evangelical faith, arrogance, and conservatism; Suggestion that liberals have had low expectations of the Arab world.

2005. "Democracy 101." *Current Events*. 104(20): 4.

Abstract: The article presents a debate on a cartoon based on the political situation in Iraq. "If you vote, we will kill you!" was the dire warning terrorists delivered to Iraqis on January 30, when Iraq's first democratic elections in 50 years took place. Yet almost 60 percent of Iraqis voted. That's the same percentage of people who voted in the 2004 U.S. presidential elections, where there was no threat of death to voters. The article asks readers to present their opinion about the message conveyed by the cartoonist.

2005. "Democracy at gunpoint. (Cover story)." *Economist*. 374(8411): 9.

Abstract: The article comments that, while Iraqis voting in their government is a positive step toward democracy, the government must bring security as well. Look at it in one way and the general election due in Iraq next Sunday, January 30th, is an inspiring event. After decades of dictatorship Iraqis are being given an opportunity most Arabs can only dream about: the chance to choose their leaders in a free election. Look at it another way, however, and the election is in danger of seeming a parody of democracy. Almost two years after U.S. President George W. Bush toppled Saddam Hussein, fear and murder stalk Iraq. How free is an election in which the citizen who dares to vote stands a fair chance of being shot, blown up or beheaded for his pains? So which is it? An inspiring experiment in liberty, or a sham that risks giving the whole idea of democracy--especially when it is imported by regime-changing Americans bearing arms--a bad name? Only part of the answer will come on Sunday.

2005. "Democracy in Baghdad." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(20): A8.

Abstract: Discusses the democracy condition and the 2005 election in Baghdad, Iraq.

2005. "Democracy Wins." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(32): A18.

Abstract: Discusses the results of the parliamentary election in Iraq on January 30, 2005.

2005. "Hopeful turning point, or descent into chaos?" *Economist*. 374(8411): 21.

Abstract: This article speculates on the impact of the January 30, 2005 election in Iraq. It will probably be one of the messiest and most dangerous elections in living memory. Yet there is a surge of hope amidst the terror. While the fifth of Iraqis who are Sunni Arabs are largely but by no means entirely opposed to the election, nearly all Kurds and a very large majority of Shia Arabs, who make up another fifth and around three-fifths of Iraqis respectively, are fiercely in favour. Even if most of the Sunni Arabs voluntarily boycott the polls or are frightened away, the chances are that two-thirds of Iraq's 14m-odd eligible voters, in a population of some 25m, may vote in a genuine multi-party election--a dazzling rarity in the Arab world--for the first time in half a century. The likely outcome of the election is that a coalition will emerge, involving the Shia house, the Kurds, Mr Allawi's lot and several Sunni Arab-led parties. The likeliest sort of constitution, provided that the three main components of Iraq (Sunni and Shia Arabs and Kurds) accommodate each other, is a strongly federal one in which Islam is a main--but not the sole--source of law. There must also be a guarantee that the country's natural resources, meaning mainly oil, are equitably shared between all provinces. All this, however, seems immaterial while the insurgency rages.

2005. "Iraq's Election Success Must Also." *ENR: Engineering News-Record*. 254(5): 48.

Abstract: This article focuses on the reconstruction of Iraq. It is not like the dramatic moment that ended World War I, when the world held its collective breath as the Western Front fell silent on November 11, 1918, but the world certainly worried about and watched the election in Iraq. Defying death threats, actual violence, a Sunni Arab boycott and widespread international doubts about Iraqis' belief in democratic action, as many as 72% of Iraq's eligible voters are estimated to have gone to the polls on January 30. It is better than the turnout in the hotly contested U.S. presidential election last November, when less than 60% of the eligible voters cast ballots while enduring far less rigor and risk. Iraq's first baby steps toward democracy are only a start. What happened there scarcely qualifies as an election in the U.S. For one thing, the names of many candidates were not published for security reasons. Many voters undoubtedly turned out in the belief that it was the only way to get coalition troops out of their country.

2005. "Iraq: Bravery and The Ballot." *Business week*. 3918): 100.

Abstract: Observes that in Iraq the overthrow of Saddam Hussein is opening the way to a genuine election, and the majority of Iraqis appear willing to participate. How candidates continue to campaign despite insurgent attacks; Significance of this election; Why Iraq's society does not have a solid foundation for democracy; Reference to the election in Afghanistan; Outlook for Iraq's free election.

2005. "Iraqi Women Risk Lives for Change." *Herizons*. 18(4): 11.

Abstract: The article focuses on the condition of women in Iraq. The fate of Iraqi women's rights rests significantly on the results of January's election, say two female leaders. Building democracy in Iraq will prove impossible without immediate leadership from the country's forsaken majority: its women. The participation of women both as candidates, imposed by the U.S.-backed electoral law, and as voters is significant. But key demands of Iraqi women, particularly those involving the economic and social rights disproportionately denied to women, are unlikely to be met through this electoral process, according to Phyllis Bennis of the U.S. Institute for Policy Studies.

2005. "Only one muted cheer for Iraqi democracy." *New Statesman*. 134(4724/4725): 6.

Abstract: Reflects on the significance of democratic elections in Iraq. View that U.S.-led military operations in Iraq have worsened social conditions; Dissent from the support offered to the Iraq War by Great Britain's Prime

Minister Tony Blair; Potential positive social and political impact of elections; Issues related to the reconstruction of Iraq's economy; Desire for successful elections in Iraq to improve perceived damage caused by the U.S.-led military campaign.

2005. "Statement on the Announcement of Provisional Results of the Iraqi Election." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. 41(7): 235.

Abstract: Presents a statement from U.S. President George W. Bush concerning the provisional results of the elections in Iraq on February 13, 2005. Role of the U.S. in preventing terrorist attacks during the election day; Estimate on the number of Iraqis who participated in the political event; Implications of the election for the democracy and freedom in the nation.

Fouad Ajami. 2005. "The validation of the vote." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(4): 31.

Abstract: Discusses the upcoming elections in Iraq. Reference to the enthusiasm of a vast majority of Iraqis for the process of voting; Importance of participating in democracy for Iraqis who have never done so; Likelihood that the Sunnis will be underrepresented in the National Assembly due to the lawlessness and terrorism in the predominantly Sunni provinces; Hope for Sunni participation in the future; Price paid for the elections on behalf of Iraqis and foreign liberators; Likelihood of a demand for a timetable for American withdrawal from the country.

Laura Barnett. 2005. "A brief guide to Iraqi democracy. (Cover story)." *New Statesman*. 134(4724/4725): 17.

Abstract: Offers a look at the plans for democratic election in Iraq. Details of voting eligibility and voting rights of expatriate Iraqis; Description of the 275-member National Assembly to be elected; Details of election management and security measures; Projection that Shia Muslim representatives will hold a majority in the Assembly.

William F. Buckley Jr. 2005. "Look Who's Voting." *National Review*. 57(3): 58.

Abstract: Discusses the elections in Iraq. Argument made by former director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Vernon Walters that no democratic government has ever initiated national aggression; Discussion of why self-governing countries decline to engage in national aggression; Possibility that Muslim countries surrounding Iraq will become democratic.

John F. Burns. 2005. "For a Battered Populace, a Day of Civic Passion." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the first free elections in Iraq in 50 years on January 30, 2005. Focus on a sense of civic spirit and signs that Iraqis are yearning to take control of their country; No evidence of a disabling passivity caused by years of tyranny that some feared would affect the willingness of the people to become committed partners in fashioning their own freedom; Reference to surprise regarding the elections' heavy turnout; Comparison with the 2002 election in which Saddam Hussein was the only candidate; Possibility that as many as eight million Iraqis voted across Iraq; Challenges still to be faced.

John F. Burns. 2005. "Tape in Name of Leading Insurgent Declares 'All-Out War' on Iraq Elections and Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53104): A10.

Abstract: Reports on the warning by an Internet audiotape posted in the name of Abu Musab Zarqawi, the most wanted man in Iraq by the U.S. that insurgents would try to wreck the elections. Alliance of Sunni rebels and Islamic militants; Achievement of a respectable turnout among the registered voters; Assessment of the viability of transplanting American democratic ideals to Iraq.

John F. Burns; Dexter Filkins and Edward Wong. 2005. "The Vote, and Democracy Itself, Leave Anxious Iraqis Divided. (Cover story)." *New York Times*. 154(53110): 1.

Abstract: Examines divisions among Iraqis over the country's multiparty elections. Why moderate Ghassan al-Atiyah, who founded a party of Shiites, Sunnis, Christians and Kurds, has turned against the elections; Enthusiasm of other politicians, including Salama al-Khafaji, a Shiite who survived three assassination attempts; Issues, including questions about democracy; Fears over the insurgency and harsh measures U.S. troops have taken in response; Assassinations of candidates; Complaints of Iraqis; Outlook for voter turnout; Anti-Americanism; Concerns over the power of Shiite clerics.

Tom Chaffin. 2005. "The Truth About Elections." *Time*. 165(5): 78.

Abstract: This essay offers insight into elections. Talking with reporters recently about Iraq's elections, President Bush bore witness to a quintessential American faith. "If people," he said, "are given a right to express themselves in a ballot in the ballot box, in the public square, and through a free and open press, it'll lead to peace." It would be pretty to think so. In fact, history teems with elections that have led to neither peace nor more democracy, from 1930s Germany to today's Haiti, Russia and Pakistan. Elections, if free and open, are a good thing. But, as our Founding Fathers understood, they're only part of the alchemy by which societies conjure up stability, security and happiness for their citizens. Most Americans would be astounded to learn that during the drafting of that Constitution in 1787, its framers, searching for guidance, called on the ideas of no thinker more than those of a foreign (French, no less) nobleman who died three decades before they gathered--and, measured from our own day, 250 years ago next month. By now, few Americans know of Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Montesquieu. And that's too bad. Because Montesquieu still offers powerful guidance for our age. However vexing, voting alone cannot guarantee liberty's blessings. As Montesquieu knew, wise, enduring government involves more than setting up a ballot box and waiting for voters to fall in line.

Adel Darwish. 2005. "A blow for democracy." *Middle East*. 35(4): 12.

Abstract: This article presents information related to democracy in the Middle East. The results of Iraq's first free and democratic vote delivered a clear three-pronged message from the electorate. Despite enduring one of the bloodiest insurgencies since the invasion and repeated assassination threats by terrorists against would-be voters, Iraqis showed their defiance and determination by registering an almost 59% turnout at the polls. As predicted, Grand Ayatollah Ali Al Sistani's United Iraqi Alliance, made up of 16 mainly Shi'a parties--also known as the 'Shi'a House'--won the biggest slice of the votes, a total of nearly 48%.

Larry Diamond. 2005. "How a Vote Could Derail Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53089): 13.

Abstract: Argues the case for postponing elections in Iraq. Prospect of increasing political polarization and violence by entrenching the perceptions of Sunni Arab marginalization; Problem that opposition to holding elections include many moderate and democratic people who believe that the elections cannot possibly be fair and so won't participate in the process; Openness of Sunni religious, tribal, civic and political leaders to negotiation.

David Edwards. 2005. "The press unites in ignorance." *New Statesman*. 134(4723): 12.

Abstract: Comments on the 30 January elections in Iraq. Author's perception of the elections; Argument of Edward Herman, co-author of "Demonstration Elections"; Issue of an occupying power sponsoring an election; Political participation; Suggestion that Washington, DC-funded organisations with records of manipulating foreign democracies in favor of U.S. interests are deeply involved; Role of Iraq's interim government in forcing the al-Jazeera television station and critical newspapers to shut down; Topic of propaganda in Great Britain.

Farnaz Fassihi. 2005. "For Iraqi Engineer, A Harrowing Choice: Whether to Vote." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(19): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the upcoming democratic elections in Iraq and focuses on an Iraqi who is undecided over whether he will participate or not. Dilemma faced by Ayoub, a civil engineer, concerning the desire to vote and the fear of reprisals from the insurgency; View that the elections represent a test of the goal of U.S. President George W. Bush to spread democracy in the Middle East.

Farnaz Fassihi; Yochi J. Dreazen; Neil King Jr; Haqqi Ismaeel; Jabbar Yaseen; Munaf Ammar and Greg Jaffe. 2005. "Despite Violence, Iraqis Went to Polls In Large Numbers." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(21): A1.

Abstract: Reports that, despite lethal insurgent attacks, Iraqi voters turned out in large numbers for an historic election that pushed the country into the next phase of its transition from occupation to full sovereignty. Claim by President George W. Bush that the election was a "resounding success," not only for Iraq but for the entire region; Impact of insurgent attacks on election day, resulting in 44 deaths; Closure of the era of Saddam Hussein; Challenges that lie ahead for Iraq; Description of the elation of some of the voters; Suggestion by President Bush and top aids that the turnout was a direct repudiation of insurgents and terror groups that have sought for months to thwart the vote. INSET: Voices Heard.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "44 Die in Attacks." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: Reports that, defying death threats, mortars and suicide bombers, Iraqis turned out in great numbers January 30, 2005 to vote in their country's first free election in 50 years. Endorsement of democratic rule 22 months after Saddam Hussein was overthrown; Reference to the fact that voters in Shi'ite and Kurdish areas turned out in especially large numbers; Estimation that the nationwide turnout could exceed 60 percent; Appearance of a substantially lower turnout in Sunni-dominated areas like Falluja and Mosul, where the guerrilla insurgency rages, and where Sunni leaders had called for a boycott; Possibility that voting in Sunni-dominated areas may reach 40 percent, exceeding expectations; Signs of celebration in the streets; Impact of continuing attacks by insurgents, who killed 44 people on election day.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "Rising Violence and Fear Drive Iraq Campaigners Underground." *New York Times*. 154(53096): 1.

Abstract: Reports on the threat of death during the election rally in Iraq. Danger associated with the political campaigns according to Hussein Ali who solicited votes for the United Iraqi Alliance; American-backed political experiment under a guerrilla insurgency; Rudimentary stage of democracy in the Arab nation.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "Suddenly, It's 'America Who?'" *New York Times*. 154(53117): 1.

Abstract: Observes that Iraqis finally stopped talking about the Americans as the euphoria of nationwide elections washed over Iraq. Iraqi candidates discussing political deals, leaving the Americans, for the first time,

standing outside; Focus of the talks on the possible composition of the new government, their schemes and stratagems, Iraqi problems, and Iraqi solutions.

Thomas L. Friedman. 2005. "A Day to Remember." *New York Times*. 154(53114): A27.

Abstract: Comments on the elections in Iraq. Rebuilding of Iraq; Demonstration of Islamic democracy; Foreign relations.

Thomas L. Friedman. 2004. "Iraq, Ballots and Pistachios." *New York Times*. 154(53061): 13.

Abstract: Asserts that there will be enough security for elections in Iraq's January 2005 elections if countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization contributed 100 soldiers each. Penchant for talking about and planning for the European Defense Initiative; Arab League's position regarding the United States' plan to turn Iraq into a democracy; Complaint of Ghazi al-Yawar, Iraq's interim president, about suicide bombers being considered freedom fighters in other countries.

John Geddes. 2005. "Dying to Vote." *Maclean's*. 118(3): 26.

Abstract: Examines how, despite the dangers, Iraqis are struggling for democracy, with Canadian help. Role of Canadian politician Patrick Boyer, who met members of Iraq's newly formed parties; Political violence against Iraqi election officials; Account of Boyer's first-hand experience of Baghdad's emerging democratic political culture; Activities of Canadians working privately for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, an organization that is training election monitors in Iraq; Comments of Boyer and of Leslie Campbell, a New Democratic Party strategist; Views of Canadians involved in Iraq regarding the future.

Aparisim Ghosh; Matthew Cooper and Elaine Shannon. 2005. "A Vote for Hope." *Time*. 165(7): 32.

Abstract: This article reports on voting day in Iraq. On Jan. 30, widely predicted to be the most dangerous day since the end of the war--so dangerous that the government banned vehicular traffic--the streets seemed to be overrun by children: playing soccer in the shadow of U.S. Abrams tanks, chasing other kids in impromptu games of catch, accompanying their parents to polling booths, decked out in their newest clothes. "It's a big day, and I wanted my girls to experience it," said Amina Hussein, a Baghdad housewife, as she and her husband tried to subdue three giggling preteen daughters at a voting booth in the downtown Karrada district. Given the chaos of Iraq's recent past and the uncertainty of what lies ahead, it was understandable that so many wanted to make this one hopeful moment last. Days after the vote, Iraqis were still waving index fingers stained with the dark ink that proved they had taken part. The vote jump-started a first chapter in democracy: before the ballots were even counted, politicians in Baghdad were already engaging in the ancient art of dealmaking. Early trends suggest that the so-called Sistani List--a slate of religious Shi'ites and secular parties that has the backing of Grand Ayatullah Ali Husaini Sistani--has won a majority in the 275-member Transitional National Assembly. Vying for second place are a unified Kurdish list and the secular list of interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, Washington's preferred candidate.

Abby Goodnough. 2005. "Optimism After Iraq Election, But Views on War Remain." *New York Times*. 154(53112): a10.

Abstract: Reports on reactions to the relatively peaceful elections in Iraq across the United States. Mix of optimism and skepticism; View of some that the election reaffirmed the agenda of president George W. Bush; Views on the prospect of spreading democracy in the Middle East; Generally unchanged views of citizenry on the country's involvement in Iraq.

Christine Hauser. 2005. "Under Fire, Election Workers In Iraq Are Scared but Resolute." *New York Times*. 154(53093): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the threat to the lives of election workers in Baghdad, Iraq. Survival at the frontlines of the insurgency; Belief in democracy; Comparison of the election workers to a clandestine political movement.

Christine Hauser and Thom Shanker. 2005. "Two Views of Democracy for Iraqi Voters: Bullets and Ballots." *New York Times*. 154(53108): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the political conditions in Mosul, Iraq as of January 28, 2005. Need to shield voters from snipers during the election; Distribution of ballots and ballot boxes to the polling centers by armored American military convoys; Deployment of American troops into the region, anchoring security, arresting suspects, uncovering caches of weapons and carrying out raids in some of the most extensive military operations in the country; Strategy to recruit more election workers; Reason for the need of an election.

Hendrik Hertzberg. 2005. "Landmarks." *New Yorker*. 81(1): 95.

Abstract: Focuses on the success of the presidential elections in Iraq in 2005. Comparison of the Iraqi election to the one held in South Vietnam in 1967; Similarity of U.S. President George W. Bush's reaction to the election's success to the reaction of former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to the fall of the Berlin Wall; Attainability of democracy for Iraq.

Michael Ignatieff. 2005. "The Uncommitted." *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53110): 15.

Abstract: Comments on the elections in Iraq. Unprecedented violence towards candidates and voters involved in the elections; Apparent apathy among world observers of the Iraqi elections, despite the courage of Iraqi voters; Speculation that the pursuit of democracy in Iraq has ceased to be a respectable cause due to the world's bitterness at the United States' role in Iraq.

Charles Krauthammer. 2005. "Why It Deserves the Hype." *Time*. 165(7): 80.

Abstract: The article discusses the success of the elections in Iraq. The elections are over. And critics of the Iraq war will have to acknowledge that something new and good has happened in Iraq, although, like Senator John Kerry, they will couch it in sage warnings not to "overhype this election." The problem is that U.S. allies in Europe and the Arab world will underhype this election. When millions of Iraqis risk their lives and then dance with joy at having been initiated into the rituals of democracy, a fact has been created. A democratic Iraq would inevitably become the Arab world's first Shi'ite-dominated state--a prospect from which the Arab leaders recoil for reasons of bias or fear.

Karby Leggett and Farnaz Fassihi. 2005. "U.S. Wrestles With Extremists' Role in Mideast Votes." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(2): A1.

Abstract: Focuses on upcoming elections in Iraq and among Palestinians and discusses the role of extremists in the process. Deal made between the U.S. and Iraqi cleric Muqtada al Sadr; View of U.S. President George W. Bush that spreading democracy in the Middle East will reduce threats to Americans and politically influence Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria; Difficulties experienced by authorities in making the elections an inclusive event without assisting extremist groups.

Ihana Ozernoy and Kevin Whitelaw. 2005. "Democracy Under the Gun." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(4): 18.

Abstract: Reports on the upcoming elections in Iraq, scheduled for January 30, 2005. Concern among Iraqis about whether the elections will lead to peace or more chaos; Reference to the fact that more than eight electoral officials have been killed and hundreds threatened with death; Challenges to holding political rallies because of political assassinations and the threat of car bombs at public gatherings; Potential for the violence in four largely Sunni Arab provinces to keep a significant number of Iraqis from voting; Growth in the Iraqi economy; Increasing numbers of people who have telephones; Description of plans for election day, with more than 5,000 polling centers throughout Iraq open until 5 p.m. to the estimated 14 million eligible voters.

Bill Powell; Christopher Allbritton; Charles Crain; Aparisim Ghosh; Helen Gibson; Elaine Shannon and Douglas Waller. 2005. "Can Iraq's Election be Saved?" *Time*. 165(4): 32.

Abstract: Discusses the efforts of the United States to prevent Iraqi insurgents from destroying Iraq's national election, scheduled for January 30, 2005. Concern over the fact that Sunni participation could be low; Description of provinces which are currently too dangerous to allow everyone to vote; Significance of a democratic election to the country; Efforts of Iraqis to distribute campaign literature.

Stanley Reed; Rose Brady and Stan Crock. 2005. "Iraq: After the Election, It Won't Get Easier." *Business week*. 3918): 49.

Abstract: Discusses how Iraq's planned January 30, 2005 election is unlikely to be either the decisive turning point hoped for by many, or the disaster predicted by critics, but will at best represent a step towards creating a viable, self-governing country. How voters will elect a National Assembly, which will choose a new government and write a constitution; Consideration of the dozens of parties vying for seats on the assembly; Details of how a prime minister will be chosen; Challenges facing the new government, once in place.

Dan Senior. 2005. "A Necessary Election." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(18): A16.

Abstract: Discusses the four main arguments framed for the impact of Iraq elections in 2005, on the country's democracy.

Steven R. Weisman. 2005. "Many Iraqis Plan to Cast Votes in U.S." *New York Times*. 154(53093): A16.

Abstract: Reports on the eligibility of Iraqis living in the U.S. to cast ballots in the coming election in Iraq by voting in five American cities. Peculiarity in every country's citizenship laws; Government reports about the status of Iraqi elections; Progress in the move of Iraq towards democracy.

Michael Wines. 2005. "Democracy Has to Start Somewhere." *New York Times*. 154(53117): 1.

Abstract: Comments on the first free election in Iraq which resulted in a large turnout despite threats against voters. Comparison with other inspiring examples of democracy in the past; Presidential elections in South Vietnam in September 1967; Democracy in South Africa and El Salvador.

Edward Wong. 2005. "Balking at Vote, Sunnis Seek Role on Constitution." *New York Times*. 154(53105): A1.

Abstract: Reports that Sunni Arab leaders who have been the most vocal in calling for a boycott or postponement of the coming elections say they intend to get involved in politics after the vote, including taking part in writing a permanent constitution. Claim by the leaders that there is too much at stake, with the constitution to be drafted by August 2005 and full-term elections held by year's end, for Sunni groups to reject the political process; Potential to bolster the American effort to plant democracy in the Middle East; Reference to the fact that those saying they want to become involved in the process are not leaders of the Sunni-dominated insurgency, but do have considerable influence with the guerrillas and could act as a bridge between the new government and the insurgency.

Fareed Zakaria. 2005. "Elections Are Not Democracy." *Newsweek*. 145(6): 30.

Abstract: Critiques the political significance of elections in Iraq held on January 30, 2005. View that the prospect for a stable democratic society in Iraq is poor; Potential impact of ethnic and religious divisions on the formation of a democratic society in Iraq; Issues impacting the management of Iraq's oil revenues; Importance of the rule of law in Iraq's political development.

International Reactions

Some of the most fascinating issues in the Iraq War and democratization are international reactions to the modifications in Iraq. As other areas of the Middle East and the rest of the world watch the ongoing democratic regime changes in Iraq unfold, these articles present a diverse array of views and reactions.

2005. "The Fear of Contagion." *Economist*. 374(8412): 45.

Abstract: The article discusses reactions of Iraq's Arab neighbours to its elections. In undemocratic Syria and Egypt, the dominant, government-owned press played down Iraq's poll. But some in the region have always seen things differently. Minority groups such as secular liberals, Kurds, Algeria's Berbers, and Shias, tend to sympathise with the historic victims of Arab nationalism, such as the non-Sunni Arab majority of Iraqis who turned out to vote. In recent months, the more thoughtful of Arab press commentators have increasingly embraced the idea of elections. One theme that has continued to resonate, in some quarters, is the supposed danger of empowering Iraq's Kurds and Shias. Turkey, Syria and Iran, worried about their own restive Kurds. Shia leaders in the Gulf are keenly aware of the suspicion with which many regard them, and argue that they do not want to see an Iranian-style Islamist state emerge in Iraq or elsewhere. Yet the rise of Shia power in Iraq may start to encourage demands for greater enfranchisement. This underlines a deeper fear in Arab ruling circles, which is that people power may prove infectious.

2005. "In Search of Repairs." *Economist*. 374(8412): 51.

Abstract: The article examines relations between France and America. Next week, as America's secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice visits Paris to prepare the ground for President George W. Bush's European tour later this month. Even before the Iraqi election, the French recognised that they had to bury past differences and deal with Bush for four more years. Michel Barnier, the foreign minister, urged "a new start" in Franco-American relations. President Jacques Chirac said he hoped that Bush's second mandate would create an opportunity to improve transatlantic relations. Yet the deep distrust over Iraq and general mutual suspicion remain. The Americans might hope for more robust French public support for the new Iraqi government to resonate in the Arab world. This could help to undermine the legitimacy of the insurgents. The French want Bush to be seen to

make a peace effort in the Middle East. This, they have long argued, not democracy in Iraq, is the key to bringing stability to the region. It now looks a more plausible hope. But with so much distrust, it would not take much in the coming weeks to upset the relationship again.

2004. "Other Comments." *Forbes*. 174(12): 40.

Abstract: This article presents several quotations on politics and government in the U.S. as of December 13, 2004. "Day of Reckoning." The trade deficit has absolutely no impact on the value of the dollar. The value of the dollar is determined by monetary policy. If the Fed supplies more dollars than the world demands, the value of the dollar falls. "A Growing Impotence." U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the war with Iraq as an "illegal" violation of the U.N. Charter in a Sept. 16, 2004 interview with the BBC, adding that "I hope we do not see another Iraq-type operation for a long time." Annan's ill-considered jibe undercuts efforts to stabilize postwar Iraq that have been endorsed by the U.N. Security Council. It stigmatizes the embryonic Iraqi government, while strengthening the hand of Iraqi insurgents and foreign terrorists determined to strangle democracy in Iraq and inflict a defeat on the U.S.-led, U.N. -backed security force in the country.

2005. "Something Stirs." *Economist*. 374(8416): 24.

Abstract: The article looks at political and social changes towards democracy in the Middle East. Much of the change seems to be pushing in a welcome direction, towards a new peace chance in Palestine and the spread of democratic ideas around the Arab world. Arabs everywhere were affected by the spectacle of Iraqis defying terrorists to cast their vote and elect a new government, and of Palestinians managing to hold a free election even while under Israeli occupation. Lebanese thronged the streets of Beirut with their flags in an unprecedented show of "people's power," forcing the country's pro-Syrian government to resign. At the same time, Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's president, has astonished his countrymen by calling for constitutional changes to allow rival candidates to vie for his position for the first time. In a widely noticed interview, Walid Jumblatt, the leader of Lebanon's Druze, told the "Washington Post" that Iraq's election was the Arab equivalent of the fall of the Berlin wall. "People power" is increasingly being expressed in organized and peaceful movements by civil-society groups.

Alex Danchev and John Macmillan. 2005. The Iraq War and democratic politics. London; New York: Routledge.

Alan Cowell. 2005. "Europe Welcomes Vote, but With Usual Split." *New York Times*. 154(53112): a9.

Abstract: Reports that European leaders opposed to the war in Iraq welcomed the relatively peaceful elections there, but expressed no new support for the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush or for the notion portraying the ballot as a vindication of the American-led invasion. View of U.S. allies like Great Britain, Poland and Italy that the election could offer the beginnings of an exit strategy; Potential effect of the election on European debate on democracy in the Middle East.

Larry Jay Diamond. 2005. Squandered Victory: the American Occupation and Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq. New York: Times Books.

Yash P. Ghai. 2003. Building Democracy in Iraq / by Yash Ghai, Mark Lattimer and Yahia Said; [with interviews with Max van der Stoep. [et al.]]. London: MRG International.

Karen F. Balkin (ed.). 2005. The War on Terrorism: Opposing Viewpoints. Detroit: Greenhaven Press, c2005.

Douglas Artz, Lee Kamalipour and Yahya Kellner. 2005. Bring 'em on: Media and Politics in the Iraq War. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Neil Macfarquhar and Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "Leaders at Talks in Egypt Urge Support for Political Resolution to the Turmoil in Iraq." *New York Times*. 154(53043): A14.

Abstract: Reports on the call for international support for political resolution to the turmoil in Iraq by leaders in a conference in Red Sea, Egypt. Transition of Iraq to democracy; Concern on attacks by insurgents; Description of American-led military assaults.

Relations States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign. 2004. Iraq--post transition: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, July 22, 2004.

Sabrina Tavernise. 2004. "Russians Look at Iraq, and See Their Reflection." *New York Times*. 153(52899): B1.

Abstract: Reports on how new immigrants to the United States regard the efforts of their new country to transplant democracy in Iraq. Experience with the similar attempt in the former Soviet Union which has not yet succeeded; Behavior of the Russians after the collapse of the system of government; Comments from many immigrants on their respect for the American system of law and opportunity and their support for the war in Iraq; Belief that each country must go through its own historical process to reach democracy.

Patrick E. Tyler. 2003. "Chaos, or Democracy, in Iraq Could Be Unsettling to Saudis. (Cover story)." *New York Times*. 152(52372): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the fear among the ruling Saudi Arabian family and Crown Prince Abdullah of resulting chaos from the breakdown of the existing order in Iraq from an imminent war with the United States. Efforts of the prince to persuade U.S. President George W. Bush to cooperate with a strategy in which a decision to go to war would be followed by a pause for intensive diplomacy to remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein; Fear of Saudis that an Iraqi alliance with the West could result in democratic changes throughout the region; Outlook.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. 2004. The imminent transfer of sovereignty in Iraq: hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, May 13, 2004. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. ISN/STD # 0160735459.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how can democratic institutions succeed in Iraq and the Middle East? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. ISN/STD # 0160712432.

Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "International Conference Expected to Add to Support of Democracy for Iraqis." *New York Times*. 154(53040): 22.

Abstract: Reports on the expectation for a resolution supporting Iraq's political democratization from an international conference at Sharm el Sheik, a popular Egyptian resort. Desire of Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad

Allawi to hold an international meeting to gain legitimacy for his government; Attendees of the conference; Description of security in Iraq.

Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "U.N. Aide Says U.S. Voiced Concern on Paper on Arabs." *New York Times*. 154(53066): A3.

Abstract: Focuses on the disclosure by a United Nations (U.N.) official that the administration of United States President George W. Bush had expressed concerns about a U.N. draft report on trends in democracy that criticized the Iraqi war and other administration policies. Claim of Richard A. Boucher of the State Department that no criticisms or expression of concern had been conveyed to anyone connected with the report; Preparation of the report by leading Arab intellectuals and specialists for publication by the United Nations Development Program; Claim of the official that Egypt has also made similar moves.

Book Editor William Dudley. 2004. Iraq: opposing viewpoints. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

Armstrong Williams. 2004. "A New Window for Change." *New York Amsterdam News*. 95(49): 8.

Abstract: This article presents information related to political issues discussed between the U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Israeli and Palestinian leaders. Democracy in the Middle East will not come through Iraq or Afghanistan. Political analysts have seen in the past how supplying military and economic concessions to Egypt and, before them, Iraq, threatened over the long haul to pull apart the entire Middle East balance of power. The Palestinians are weary from their own Intifada. But a democratic Palestinian state living peaceably next to Israel will only occur after the PA infrastructure is reconfigured to discourage acts of terrorism.

Michael Williams. 2004. "Who Counts the Dead?" *New Statesman*. 133(4717): 17.

Abstract: Criticizes the BBC for not accurately reporting on the joint U.S.-British assault on Fallujah. Question of democracy in the face of the destruction in Fallujah; Conflicting reports on the battle for Fallujah; Duplicitous report on the human rights crisis in Darfur by the BBC in the absence of any true reporting on Fallujah.

James Q. Wilson. 2004. "Islam and Freedom." *Commentary*. 118(5): 23.

Abstract: Focuses on the implications of liberalism and democracy for Islamic political systems in Muslim and Muslim-dominated countries. Background on the establishment of democracy and liberalism in Turkey, Indonesia and Morocco; Factors that led to the emergence of liberal regimes in Muslim countries; Status of freedom and democracy in Iraq.

Slavoj Zizek. 2004. Iraq: the Borrowed Kettle. London; New York: Verso, 2004.

Politics and Culture in Democratic Iraq

The ousting of one regime, and the subsequent implementation of democracy, cannot fail to cause significant other political and cultural changes. The resources in this section offer a window into the social adjustments caused by democratization in Iraq, including the changes in leadership and pending sociological and cultural differences.

2005. "Choosing Iraq's Prime Minister." *New York Times*. 154(53134): A18.

Abstract: Comments on the selection of Shiite Islamic leader Ibrahim al-Jaafari as candidate for prime minister in Iraq by a coalition of Shiite parties. Narrowness of his support base; Implication of the low electoral turnout in Sunni Arab regions for containing the current insurgency and permitting lasting democracy; Position of the leader in the reinstatement of lower-level Baathists in government jobs.

2005. "DEMOCRACY'S NEW FACE. (Cover story)." *Current Events*. 104(20): 1.

Abstract: The article presents developments related to the political situation in Iraq. The National Assembly will elect a president and two deputies, who in turn will select a prime minister. The United Iraqi Alliance, Shiite religious parties backed by Iraq's most revered Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, was expected to win about 140 seats. Many insurgents are Sunni Muslims who fear that democracy in Iraq will result in a country ruled by the majority Shiite population that was suppressed under Saddam, The Association of Muslim Scholars, an influential Sunni clerical body, had called for Sunnis to boycott the election.

2005. "Iraq vision is key to aid." *Times Higher Education Supplement*. 1681): 14.

Abstract: Comments on the standards of the university system in Iraq. Appeal to the international community for help in the improvement of academic life; Establishment of well-intentional bilateral agreements between universities; Impact of the progress towards democracy on the higher education sector.

2004. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." *Economist*. 372(8392): 42.

Abstract: The article looks at education in Iraq as of September 2004. It is uncertain whether students at Iraq's 22 universities, once among the Middle East's best, will actually enjoy the freedoms of speech and academic inquiry. Earlier this year, radical Islamist groups shut down campuses and student elections were cancelled for fear of violence. One academic group says that in the past school year some 250 university teachers, including the head of Baghdad University, have been assassinated. Before they handed over formal power in June, the Americans laid a framework for promoting democracy in education. Iraq's minister of higher education, Taber al-Bakaa, has plans to usher Iraqi academics into the 21st century. But money is short. Some Iraqi students are struggling to hoist the banner of democracy.

2004. "Politics and War Crimes in Iraq." *New York Times*. 154(53065): A42.

Abstract: Reports that Iraqi interim prime minister Ayad Allawi paraded top officials of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship through an Iraqi courtroom a few weeks before the election of a legitimate Iraqi democratic government. War crimes trial; Politically-timed spectacle demeans justice; Risk of inflaming explosive divisions between Sunnis and Shiites.

Spencer Ackerman. 2004. "IRAQ'd." *New Republic*. 231(22/23): 11.

Abstract: The article discusses politics and government in Iraq as of November 29, 2004. With the absence of civil authority comes widespread speculation in the Iraqi press--courtesy of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting--that last week's declaration of martial law is no temporary measure. Being temporary, it does not aim to suspend democratic life. The Iraqi National Accord believes that there is no alternative to democracy in Iraq. Besides, the said emergency law was issued by agreement with all the political parties in the government, not by any one individual or party. So, essentially, the INA is arguing that martial law isn't a power grab--but, if it is, remember that it isn't just Allawi who is grabbing power. Given the escalation of the insurgency even in the wake of the Falluja invasion, expect to see more of these arguments in the weeks ahead.

Ed Blanche. 2005. "LOSING CONTROL. (Cover story)." *Middle East*. (352): 9.

Abstract: This article focuses on the political conditions in Iraq. That ethos seems to have been resurrected by U.S. commanders in Iraq, many of whom won their spurs in Vietnam, as the country that is frequently referred to as being the cradle of civilisation lurches towards the 30 January parliamentary elections, the first exercise in democracy in which Iraqis have ever participated. The parliamentary elections look like being a very bloody affair despite the deployment of some 12,000 more U.S. troops to enforce security. The deployment itself is an admission that the counter-insurgency campaign is not going well at all and is thus a serious setback for the Americans, drawing as it does yet another parallel with Vietnam which became a black hole into which more and more American troops kept disappearing until Richard Nixon decided to cut U.S. losses and withdraw.

David Brooks. 2005. "Can We Save Iraq? No, but the Iraqis Can." *New York Times*. 154(53091): A19.

Abstract: Focuses on the capability of the Iraqis to transform Iraq into a functioning society. Support of the majority to military action against the terrorists; Consideration of traditional Muslim leaders as effective advocates for democracy; Transformation of the military to establish an authentic Iraqi government to defend.

David Brooks. 2005. "Why Not Here?" *New York Times*. 154(53137): A15.

Abstract: Focuses on the process of change following the American-led invasion of Iraq according to Walid Jumblatt. Start of a new Arab world with the election in Iraq; Witness to the real democracy of the Palestinian people; Effectiveness of the American diplomacy when it pursues a maximalist agenda.

S. Budiansky and B. Auster. 1991. "A new test of wills." *U.S. News & World Report*. 111(14): 44.

Abstract: Reports that last week President George Bush signaled that America had drawn the line on Saddam Hussein's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations-ordered elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Hussein, in the seven months following his defeat in the Persian Gulf War, has reneged on pledges of democratization, blocked U.N. relief activities in southern Iraq and stonewalled in autonomy talks with the Kurds. Punitive raids; Defining victory.

Ahmad Chalabi. 2004. "The Future Iraq Deserves." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(122): A14.

Abstract: Contends that Iraq deserves a democratic and pluralistic state in the future.

Richard A. Clarke. 2005. "No Returns." *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53117): 20.

Abstract: Comments on why Iraqis oppose democracy, and the aims of Al Qaeda in the world. Claim that Iraqis, like the self-appointed head of Al Qaeda in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and his followers, resist democracy because it is imposed by the United States; Goals of Al-Qaeda, which does not include opposing democracy, but instead the installation of a theocracy inspired by Allah and the removal of United States influence.

Stan Crock; Pete Engardio; Paul Starobin; Kerry Capell and Jack Ewing. 2003. "Iraq After Saddam." *Business week*. 3822): 32.

Abstract: *Discusses projected social and economic conditions of Iraq after a United States military attack. Civil construction which will be a large task; Political infrastructure which will need to be replaced and democratized; Question of whether to allow the post-war Iraqi oil industry to privatize.*

Yochi J. Dreazen. 2005. "In Iraq, Divided They Stand." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(35): A9.

Abstract: *Deals with the internal and external conflicts among religious and ethnic groups in Iraq and their implications for the democratization of the country as of February 2005.*

Erik Eckholm. 2005. "Is Shiite Good Will a Good Bet?" *New York Times*. 154(53096): 7.

Abstract: *Focuses on the goodwill demonstrated by Shiites in Iraq in the face of provocations. Demand by Shiite parties for democracy; Evidence of moderation and magnanimity by Shiite leaders; Challenge of overcoming the alienation of mainstream Sunnis.*

David Frum. 2005. "The Face of Gallantry." *National Review*. 57(4): 38.

Abstract: *Focuses on one brave Iraqi and his relationship to the struggle for the Middle East and for freedom. Response of readers to the case of Mithal-al-Alusi, an Iraqi politician and democrat whose two sons and a bodyguard were gunned down in Baghdad on February 8, 2005; Excerpts from his comments on Radio Free Iraq; His commitment to fighting terrorism and to advocate peace in Iraq; Excerpts from letters of condolence from the conservative readers of the "National Review"; Reference to the opinion of many democrats and liberals in the United States that if the populations of the Arab and Islamic Middle East are ever allowed to govern themselves they will opt for ideological extremism, religious fanaticism, and external aggression; Mithal's sacrifice to uphold the values of civilization.*

Aparisim Ghosh; Christopher Allbritton; Darrin Mortenson; Sally B. Donnelly; Elaine Shannon and Douglas Waller. 2005. "Can Iraq Rule Itself?" *Time*. 165(5): 24.

Abstract: *This article asks if Iraq will be able to rule itself following the elections in January. There is a divide in Iraq on the eve of its ready-or-not plunge into democracy: heady optimism on one street, jittery paranoia down another. In a country roiled by insurgency and sectarian tensions, occupied by a foreign army and populated by citizens largely unfamiliar with the democratic process, this is a time of profound uncertainty. The U.S. and the interim Iraqi government are hopeful that at least half the country's 15 million eligible voters will take part in the election, but no one can predict with any certainty what the turnout will be, especially among the disaffected Sunni population. It's highly likely that the vote will be compromised by violence and plagued by Sunni underparticipation, meaning the legitimacy of the new government will be suspect from the start. Given the vows by the insurgents to step up their onslaught, will next week's elections matter? For Iraqis and Americans alike, much depends on whether the new government can prove that it has real authority, bring disenfranchised Sunnis into the political process and quickly establish itself as a credible body willing to work for national reconciliation. Considering the performance of the current government, headed by interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, chances that the new leadership can impose order aren't great. If it fails, the country could slide into civil war.*

Stephen Grey. 2005. "Shias wait for elections, or war." *New Statesman*. 134(4720): 12.

Abstract: *Reports on politics and government in Iraq as of January 1, 2005. Details of political involvement and history of Shia Muslims, who make up the majority of the Iraqi population; Wide support among Shias for*

the Iraqi election, scheduled for January 30, 2005; Support among Shias for interim prime minister Iyad Allawi, who many see as a capable of providing security; Potential for civil war between Shia and Sunni Muslims if elections fail to establish a secure democracy.

Dilip Hiro. 2005. "Allah and Democracy Can Get Along Fine." *New York Times*. 154(53140): A19.

Abstract: Comments on the potential drafting of a permanent constitution in Iraq that will specify the Shariah as the main source of Iraqi legislation.

John F. Kavanaugh. 2003. "A Pro-Choice War." *America*. 188(13): 20.

Abstract: By the time this column appears, the war in Iraq may be, for the time being, over. It started with bad omens: early prisoners of war, deaths by friendly fire, colliding helicopters, an American seemingly killing his fellow soldiers by hand grenades. To be against a war in Iraq is not to be against our troops or to be for Saddam Hussein, as difficult as it is for some hawks to understand that. True, there are a few protesters, very few, who are against this war because they are against America or just cannot stand U.S. President George Bush. But most who opposed going to war because it was reckless and unjustified now hope that it ends fast, that Hussein is ousted, his people freed of his brutal tyranny, and that it is won by the United States and England with moral restraint. Is democratic capitalism the model that we are to impose on the world? If that is true, have we become the very thing we hated about Communism? After all, what we were taught to be most reprehensible about Communism was that it was an ideology willing to invade and control countries to impose its will.

Adnan R. Khan. 2005. "The Morning After." *Maclean's*. 118(7): 24.

Abstract: This article focuses on the challenge that exists in creating a democracy in the Sunni regions of Iraq. Somewhere south of Baghdad, the road to democracy seems to lose its way. Confronting the anarchy in the Sunni regions of Iraq is one of the biggest challenges facing any incoming government. Will the outcome of the Jan. 30 elections unite or divide? The initial indications seem to point to the latter, with Shia parties supported by Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani poised for a landslide victory, at the expense of the Sunni minority who largely stayed away from the polls at the behest of their leaders. In Sunni-dominated Latifiye, the message is clear: elections are only a sidebar to the larger narrative of a struggle for survival. The consensus is that the vote was nothing more than a reflection of the will of the Shia leadership -- a victory for religious faith instead of democratic principles. Among those Sunnis who did cast a ballot, fear was the overwhelming impetus. The Sunni clerics' association now says it is willing to work with the new government, on the condition that it be considered only transitional and its powers limited, especially in the drafting of a new constitution.

Adnan R. Khan. 2005. "Shadow Party." *Maclean's*. 118(6): 18.

Abstract: This article discusses the political atmosphere in Iraq and speculates on the future of the Baathist political party. Is Baathism dead in Iraq? As the smoke clears from one of the most unlikely elections in the history of democracy, this is a key question facing a new government taking over the reins of power in a nation already deeply divided along sectarian lines. In the aftermath, the question is not whether Baathists, members of the party of Saddam Hussein, survived the war that toppled their regime (they did, at least in terms of the insurgency, which is primarily led by former Baathist leaders), but whether the political remnants have the will to re-form and fight for a legitimate place in the new Iraq. Baathists dedicated to a Sunni-dominated nationalistic party ideology, it is rumoured, meet in private homes and caf  s to discuss their future. With Saddam gone, many members of the banned party are talking transformation and resurrection. The public is divided, as with so

many other issues facing Iraqis today, along sectarian lines. In the months and years to come, whatever government rules from Baghdad, dealing with the Baath issue will be a complex problem.

Ilana Ozerney; Kevin Whitelaw and Amer Saleh. 2005. "On the Road to a New Democracy?" *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(5): 28.

Abstract: This article reports on Radio Dijla, the Iraqi capital's popular all-talk station, that was one of the few safe havens where Iraqis could hear and join a vigorous, public debate. For one day at least, many Iraqis caught a glimpse of a more hopeful future for their beleaguered nation, which took a small, but crucial, step toward an elected government by holding a nationwide election for a 275-person transitional national assembly. Shiite party leaders insist that they have a strong and unified vision of how they want the constitution to be written, and it follows two basic principles: to be consistent with Islamic law, known as sharia, and to escape the constraints of Iraq's transitional law, largely drafted by U.S. officials.

George Packer. 2003. "Dreaming of Democracy." *New York Times Magazine*. 152(52410): 44.

Abstract: Discusses what will be done with Iraq politically after a war. United States State Department which has organized the Future of Iraq Project; Iraqi exiles who are advising the United States on problems that will arise after the fall of Saddam Hussein; Democracy which will be difficult to bring to Iraq; Kana Makiya who is an Iraqi opposition leader; Baath Party which has ruled Iraq for more than thirty years.

Mark Phythian. 2005. "Hutton and Scott: A Tale of Two Inquiries." *Parliamentary Affairs*. 58(1): 124.

Abstract: This article traces the shifting foreign policy priorities that provided the context for the Scott and Hutton reports. Taken together, these reports bookend a 25-year period in which Saddam Hussein was transformed from de facto ally and valued trading partner to the most immediate threat to world peace. In neither phase of the relationship was the British public trusted with the objective truth about the Iraqi regime. Intelligence on Iraq was first 'spun down' and then later 'spun up' to fit wider priorities. In particular, the September 2002 Downing Street dossier at the heart of the Hutton inquiry needs to be seen in the context of the propaganda requirements involved in preparing democracies for war. While the Hutton inquiry absolved Downing Street of the charge that it 'sexed up' this dossier, the damage inflicted on the Blair government by the inquiry process is reflected in the low levels of trust now registered by the public in ministers.

Christian Richmond. 2005. "U.S. Institute of Peace Panel Considers Post-Election Iraq." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(3): 64.

Abstract: The article reports that on February 3 the Washington D.C.-based United States Institute of Peace (USIP) hosted Ambassador Samir Sumaidaie, permanent representative of Iraq to the U.N., Ghassan al-Atiyah, executive director of Iraq Foundation for Development of Democracy, USIP's Jonathan Morrow, and Nijyar Shemdin, representative of the Kurdish Regional Government. Much of the discussion centered on who should take part in drafting a constitution, when Iraqis and the other involved parties would be ready, and the basis of a new constitution. Praising the success of the "remarkable" elections, Ambassador Sumaidaie also cautioned that, because whole areas of the country had been unable to vote due to violence, true election results would not be in until all had been able to vote.

Javier Solana. 2004. "Rules with Teeth." *Foreign Policy*. 144): 74.

Abstract: The article discusses international relations and the promotion of political and economic freedom around the world as of September 2004. A moment of important choice is at hand. It is not a choice about ends, but about means: How best to defend and promote political and economic freedom in very dissimilar parts of the world? In both the United States and Europe, some have characterized this choice as one between traditional, feel-good multilateralism and militant unilateralism. The case of Iraq appeared to embody these two stark alternative strategies: The power of rules-based attraction versus the power of raw military compulsion. The enduring lesson of the war in Iraq is the importance of linking force and legitimacy. And in the international sphere, legitimacy comes through multilateral action. The best way to advance the cause of political and economic freedom in the next century is multilateralism with muscle. How can free nations encourage political and economic freedom in very different parts of the world? Such change will require success on three related fronts: economic development, political democratization, and conflict prevention and management. The starting point is to create stable frameworks of law and physical security. The world needs more, not less, multilateralism. The United States today has a chance to set a pattern of fair, universal, and enforceable rules that could last for years to come and make the entire world more secure and prosperous.

Lisa Stein. 2005. "Messy Democracy." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(11): 14.

Abstract: Reports that Iraq's newly elected National Assembly gathered for the first time last week for a swearing-in ceremony. Challenges facing the diverse, 275-member parliament; Competition for top political positions.

Amir Taheri. 2003. "Iraq As It Stands." *National Review*. 55(19): 29.

Abstract: The author reports on the challenges facing post-war Iraq. Anyone who knew Iraq before liberation and who visits the country now is immediately struck by the impact that the feeling of freedom has had on almost everyone. And yet, Iraq still faces a number of major challenges. Iraq is now passing through the phase of pacification. That phase, too, is nearing completion in many parts of the country. In some areas, pacification efforts are threatened by criminal elements linked to the fallen regime. Another threat to pacification comes from diverse elements opposed to liberation. Several hundred Islamist militants who have infiltrated Iraq from Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia also contribute to the current level of violence in Iraq. That said, Iraq -- judged by Middle Eastern standards -- is still way down the Richter scale of terrorism. More important, the various groups that threaten pacification are not growing in number or resources. If all goes relatively well, pacification will be completed by the end of the year. The coalition then will face two other crucial tasks: reconstruction and democratization. The greater hope is that Iraq will become a model for democratization for Arabs, and Muslims in general. Under a new regime, Iraq could quickly regain its position as a major regional player. A democratic Iraq could find itself the natural leader of a small but growing group of Arab states that have taken timid steps toward democratization. And Iraq's importance will go beyond politics. Its vast untapped oil resources could redefine the basic rules of the global energy market by mobilizing production capacities beyond the dreams of many oil strategists.

Peter C. Valenti. 2005. "Democracy Under Occupation: A Self-Defeating Concept." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(2): 30.

Abstract: The article reports that in January 2005, as Iraqis readied themselves for the January 30 elections for their new government, many turned their thoughts back to the 1920s. While the vast majority of Arab pundits and press commentators evince their support of democracy, and specifically the Jan. 30 Iraqi elections, they also temper their enthusiasm by noting the major drawback. Many of the violent attacks on interim Iraqi government

officials, police and institutions are premised on their illegitimacy. The former Ba'athist ruling elite is still quite unhappy about losing power and as evidenced by jailed Iraqi President Saddam Hussain's statements while meeting with his defense team in December 2004, they see the elections as a U.S. plot.

Kevin Whitelaw and Amer Saleh. 2004. "Iraq's Odd Man Out?" *U.S. News & World Report*. 137(22): 28.

Abstract: Focuses on the lack of popularity held by U.S.-backed Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi. Possibility that Allawi might lose his position as prime minister in the January 2005 election; Report that many Iraqis believe Allawi has failed to deliver on promises to improve security or deliver basic services; Statement that Shiite religious figures will emerge as the most powerful force in the parliament; Suggestion that the removal of Allawi could help convince Iraqis that the U.S. really is trying to build a democracy in Iraq.

Leon Wieseltier. 2003. "Against Innocence." *New Republic*. 228(8): 26.

Abstract: The debate about the war in Iraq has dissolved into another debate about debates, another collision of perspectives, as if there were no real threats that must be met, no conclusive answers that can be given to some of the urgent questions, and all that is needed now is a tolerance for other people's opinions. This author's view is that it is quite easy to defend the necessity of separating Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from his lethal devices, which is the same thing as aiding in the formation of a democratic government in Iraq. So never mind the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all the other conference-building measures; there are many thousands of lives at stake in the outcome of this debate, in the disposition of Iraq's arsenal. The theory of just war demands that a threat be imminent before it is preempted; but its notion of imminence is based on the old clarities of armies confronting each other on battlefields in the light of morning. Four motives have been given, by various sources with varying emphases, for the U.S. decision to depose Saddam: proliferation, terrorism, democratization, oil. The war against Saddam is just, and it is truly a last resort.

Andreas Wimmer. 2003. "Democracy and Ethno-religious Conflict in Iraq." *Survival*. 45(4): 111.

Abstract: Reports on democracy and ethno-religious conflict in Iraq. Discussion on how democratization may stir up rather than alleviate ethnic conflicts; Independence of Iraq in 1932; Institutional designs that may help in a democratic Iraq to prevent escalation of conflicts; Argument that the United Nations is better suited than a U.S. administration to provide outside support for the process of institutional transformation.

Andrei Zlobin and Yelena Suponina. 2005. "Iraq Gets a Parliament and Freedom Without Democracy." *Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press*. 57(5): 7.

Abstract: Reports that strangest parliamentary elections in modern history were held in Iraq on January 30, 2005. Reports of terrorist attacks; Claim by Abu Musab Zarqawi's group that 13 of its suicide bombers have detonated explosive devices at polling stations; Claim of high turnout by officials of the Iraqi election commission even though this could not be verified; Absence of international observers because of security concerns.

U.S. Involvement in Democratization

2003. "First Give Them Power of a Kind, Then Let's Discuss Democracy." *Economist*. 369(8351): 43.

Abstract: The article looks at the problems faced by the United States in bringing democratic institutions to Iraq. One big reason the Americans gave for the war in Iraq was to bring democracy to the Iraqis. Now Paul Bremer, the Americans' viceroy there, has agreed to hand power to Iraqis before holding an election. Does this mean it will be as hard, nay impossible, for the Americans to bring democracy to Iraq as it has been, so far, to find those weapons of mass destruction? Many suspect that the Americans, faced with an intensifying guerrilla war, are simply preparing a strategy for a speedier exit. Under Mr Bremer's original seven-stage plan, he was to run Iraq until it had first a constitution and then an elected government of Iraqis, who were not expected to take over until 2005 at the earliest. But Mr Bremer's blueprint became ensnared in arguments over the shape of the constitution and the timing of its birth, with Iraq's Shia majority clamouring to elect delegates to draft a document which the country's Kurdish and Sunni Arab minorities feared would hurt their rights. Now, according to an agreement on November 15th with the 25-strong Iraqi Governing Council (an American-appointed body of Iraqis which has hitherto lacked real power), the political and constitutional processes would be decoupled.

2003. "U.S. Plan for Iraq's Future." *International Debates*. 1(8): 233.

Abstract: Presents information on a testimony given by U.S. Ambassador Paul Bremer, on September 22, 2003, in the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee Supplemental Hearing regarding the 2003 U.S.-led war against Iraq. Concern on terrorism in Iraq; Discussion on the war victory of the U.S.; Details of Iraq's need for economic assistance; Information on the democratization of Iraq.

Andrew Arato. 2004. "Constitution-making in Iraq." *Dissent*. 51(2): 21.

Abstract: Focuses on the impact of U.S. politics on the democratization process in Iraq. Illegality of the war in Iraq; Promotion of democracy and the return of sovereignty to the Iraqi people; Role of an American military dictatorship in the country.

Paul Feiner. 2005. "Commitment to Iraq." *Economist*. 374(8413): 16.

Abstract: Presents a letter to the editor of "The Economist" regarding the United States' military occupation of Iraq. Response to the article "Democracy at gunpoint," found in the January 29, 2005 issue.

Victor Davis Hanson. 2005. "Has Iraq Weakened Us?" *Commentary*. 119(2): 43.

Abstract: Discusses the impact of the efforts of the U.S. to democratize Iraq on the stability of the U.S. Proposition of British military historian Alistair Horne regarding the denouement of the U.S. situation in Iraq; Status of the relationship of the U.S. with several countries other than Iraq; Implications of the persistence of the U.S. in Iraq for its economy.

Lawrence F. Kaplan. 2003. "Regime Change." *New Republic*. 228(8): 21.

Abstract: U.S. President George W. Bush routinely casts the impending war in Iraq as an effort to bring democracy to the Iraqi people. The strategic imperative of democracy has become particularly acute in the Arab world, where repression has fueled Islamist terror and where today there is not a single democracy. According to members of the Bush team, efforts to democratize the Islamic world now constitute another track of U.S. policy in the Middle East, alongside the war on terror, the conflict with Iraq, and the Arab-Israeli peace process. This track has yielded major addresses on the subject by the Bush team's key players, the creation of a U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative, which will channel tens of millions of dollars to the region's indigenous democracy advocates, and a plan to use much of the \$1 billion in annual aid the United States provides Arab nations for

political development. The administration has also unveiled a \$5 billion program, the Millennium Challenge Account, which explicitly ties U.S. aid to political reform; rejected Egypt's bid to attend last year's meeting of the Community of Democracies; censured Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for his treatment of democracy activists; created a radio network to bring accurate news coverage to the Middle East; and loudly insisted on democratic reform as a precondition for an independent Palestine.

Robert D. Kaplan. 2004. "Barren Ground for Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53033): 11.

Abstract: Focuses on the challenges facing the U.S. in helping Iraq with its transition into a Western-style democracy. Factors that contributed to the successful transition of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary into Western democracies; Suggestion that democracy cannot be imposed overnight anywhere; Need for liberal and conservative interventionists to consider history and geography in any occupation.

Charles Krauthammer. 2005. "Three Cheers for the Bush Doctrine." *Time*. 165(11): 28.

Abstract: This article comments on the influence of U.S. President George W. Bush and his doctrine on encouraging democratic developments in the Middle East. History has begun to speak. Elections in Afghanistan, a historic first. Elections in Iraq, a historic first. Free Palestinian elections producing a moderate leadership, two historic firsts. The Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, in which unarmed civilians, Christian and Muslim alike, brought down the puppet government installed by Syria. To what do we attribute this Arab spring? While American (and European) liberal and "realist" critics are seeking some explanation, those a bit closer to the scene don't flinch from the obvious. "It is strange for me to say it, but this process of change has started because of the American invasion of Iraq," Lebanese Druze leader Walid Jumblatt explained. It was America's overthrow of Saddam's republic of fear that gave to the Iraqi people space and air and the very possibility of expressing courage.

Stanley Kurtz. 2003. "Democratic Imperialism: A Blueprint." *Policy Review*. 118): 3.

Abstract: Addresses the democratic imperialism issue surrounding the U.S. occupation of postwar Iraq. Overview on Great Britain's imperial rule of India; Lessons brought by Britain's democratic development of India; Arguments between democratizers and realists over the governance of postwar Iraq; Potential benefits of democratic imperialism.

John Leo. 2005. "Time for a Dose of Dr. No." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(9): 70.

Abstract: Presents a mock interview with "Dr. No," the source of pessimism towards the Iraq war and progress in the Middle East. Comparison of reports on an election in Vietnam to the elections in Iraq; How the positive outcome of the Iraqi elections negatively effected pessimism about Iraq; Daily count of U.S. casualties; Claims that U.S. soldiers are killing innocent journalists.

Bernard Lewis. 2005. "Iraq at the Forefront." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(30): A10.

Abstract: Emphasizes the importance of the role of the U.S. and allied countries in planting democracy in Iraq after the successful January 2005 elections.

Edward N. Luttwak. 2005. "Iraq: The Logic of Disengagement." *Foreign Affairs*. 84(1): 26.

Abstract: This article discusses disengagement as the right strategy for the United States. The United States has now abridged its vastly ambitious project of creating a veritable Iraqi democracy to pursue the much more realistic aim of conducting some sort of general election. If Iraq could indeed be transformed into a successful democracy by a

more prolonged occupation, as Germany and Japan were after 1945, then of course any disengagement would be a great mistake. In both of those countries, however, by the time U.S. occupation forces arrived the local populations were already thoroughly disenthralled from violent ideologies, and so they eagerly collaborated with their occupiers to construct democratic institutions. Unfortunately, because of the hostile sentiments of the Iraqi population, the relevant precedents for Iraq are far different. At present, because the Iranians think the United States is determined to remain in Iraq no matter what, the hard-liners in Iran's government feel free to pursue their anti-American vendetta by political subversion, by arming and training al-Sadr's militia, and by encouraging the Syrians to favor the infiltration of Islamist terrorists into Iraq. For all its anti-American bluster, the Syrian regime is unlikely to risk confrontation, especially when so little is asked of it: a closure of the Syria-Iraq border to extremists and the end of Hezbollah activities in Iraq (funded by Iran but authorized by Syria).

Augustus Richard Norton and Farhad Kazemi. 2005. "The Limits of Shock and Awe: America in the Middle East." *Current History*. 104(678): 3.

Abstract: Analyzes the limit and scope of the shock and awe policy of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Ideals and notions of spreading freedom and democracy as rooted in Kantian philosophies; Facts and information of the U.S. democracy project in post-Saddam Iraq; Contention of the authors that the results of the elections will be the interim verdict of the U.S. nation-building efforts in the nation; Threat of the rise of the Shiites, terrorism, continued insurgency, and the Iranian intervention as hindrances to the stability of the country.

Marina S. Ottaway. 2003. "One Country, Two Plans." *Foreign Policy*. 137): 55.

Abstract: Deals with the challenges faced by the U.S. with regard to the reconstruction of postwar Iraq as of July 2003. Models of political reconstruction considered; Characteristics of Iraq that impede democratic transition; Disadvantages of the reliance in a relatively small military occupation forces; Recommendations for reconstruction from the U.S. Agency for International Development. INSET: A Moving Target: The Cost of Iraq's Reconstruction.

Weshah Razzak. 2005. "Commitment to Iraq." *Economist*. 374(8413): 16.

Abstract: Presents a letter to the editor of "The Economist" regarding the U.S. military occupation of Iraq. Response to the article "Democracy at gunpoint," found in the January 29, 2005 issue.

Elizabeth Rubine. 2002. "Fast Friends." *New Republic*. 227(27/28): 15.

Abstract: Contends that the long-standing divisions and different agendas within the U.S. government have further divided the Iraqi opposition on Iraq's nation-building and regional geopolitics in the Middle East. Key players in the U.S. government contributing to a vision of creating a free Iraq that becomes a magnet for Arab democrats; Suggestion that the promotion of democracy would serve the strategic interest of the U.S.; Statement from Iraqi oppositionist Kanan Makiya about Iraq's transition to democracy.

William Safire. 2004. "Wave Of The Future." *New York Times*. 154(53071): A31.

Abstract: Comments on the involvement of the United States in the war in Iraq. Difference of opinion about military strategy; Increase of military troops to finish the job in Iraq; Progress toward democracy in Muslim countries.

Barak A. Salmoni. 2004. "America's Iraq Strategy: Democratic Chimeras, Regional Realities." *Current History*. 103(669): 17.

Abstract: Reports that the Bush administration has increasingly justified the war in Iraq. Interest of America to spread freedom in the Middle East; Democratization throughout Middle East; Mechanisms of Saddam Hussein's Baathist party.

David E. Sanger. 2005. "Bush Hails Vote." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: Focuses on U.S. President George W. Bush's comments regarding the elections in Iraq on January 30, 2005. Effort to spur democratic movements throughout the middle east; Warning that terrorists and insurgents will continue to wage their war against democracy; Acknowledgement that a successful election in Iraq is just the first step in a broad strategy of spreading freedom in the world.

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels. 2003. "After victory." *Commonweal*. 130(8): 5.

Abstract: Discusses the victory of the U.S. and Great Britain during the war in Iraq. Impact of the defeat of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the destruction of the Baath Party on Iraq; Criticisms regarding the decision of U.S. President George W. Bush to wage war against Iraq; Information on the reconstruction and democratization of Iraq after the war.

Shibley Telhami. 2002. "A Hidden Cost of War on Iraq." *New York Times*. 152(52264): A19.

Abstract: Examines the consequences of the possible use of military force by the U.S. to oust Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in the context of spreading democracy in Iraq and the rest of the Middle East.

Steven R. Weisman. 2005. "The Great Middle East Shake-Up." *New York Times*. 154(53110): 1.

Abstract: Looks into the implications of the war in Iraq for the Middle East and its relations with the U.S. Development of a relatively stable democracy; Possibility for the Iraqi insurgency to encourage violent anti-government dissidents; Concern on the result of empowerment of Iraq's Shi'ite majority.

Fareed Zakaria. 2003. "Bush's Really Good Idea." *Newsweek*. 142(20): 41.

Abstract: Comments on a speech made last week by George W. Bush on democracy in the Middle East. Bush's argument that a deficit of freedom and openness are at the heart of the Middle East's dysfunctions, and that American foreign policy had for too long supported a corrupt status quo that has been bad for Arabs and the West; Bush's "forward strategy for freedom;" Comment by the author on Bush's apparent belief that killing a tyrant and holding elections is enough to establish democracy; Alternative theory that building a democracy in the Middle East is a long and difficult process, potentially involving many international agencies and large amounts of foreign aid; Comment on the failure of the Bush administration to embrace the second, more realistic, democratization strategy.

Neotrusteeship in Iraq

by Tim Melvin

The CPA shall exercise powers of government temporarily in order to provide for the effective administration of Iraq during the period of transitional administration, to restore conditions of security and stability, to create conditions in which the Iraqi people can freely determine their own political future, including by advancing efforts to restore and establish national and local institutions for representative governance and facilitating economic recovery and sustainable reconstruction and development (Coalition Provisional Authority).

This section deals with literature that examines the role and effectiveness of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in administering Iraq from 2003 till 2004. Foreign rule plays an important role in developing failed state's infrastructure and institutions. By examining critical elements of the CPA's administration, this section focuses on the overall success and failures of the CPA administrative capacity, and what this means for the future of Iraq's new government. Since the cessation of the CPA, the Iraqi government has had its ups and downs and is still heavily reliant on the American presence. But some positive elements have been emerging. Broad coalitions have been forming, Iraq has its first Kurdish president, and proper elections took place safely and almost problem free. Security remains to be the major source of contention, including developing an Iraqi security force with the capacity to protect its citizens and its people.

The literature in each of these sections asks some important questions about the legacy of the CPA and what impact, if any, it had on consolidating and constructing the necessary institutions for building a stable, secure, and democratic Iraq. The section has been separated into the key responsibilities laid forth by the CPA in their "Regulations," as shown above. All of the articles in the following sections focus on events that developed during the CPA's administration, and are crucial to designing an Iraq that promotes and protects human rights. This section is separated into four sections:

Constitution Making and Design

Andrew Arato. 2004. "Sistani v. Bush: Constitutional Politics in Iraq." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*. 11(2): 174.

Abstract: This article sees the innovation of contemporary constitution-making in two-stage processes reconciling the claims of democratic electoral legitimacy with consensual agreements grounding both interim rules and fundamental rights. In the debate between U.S. authorities in Iraq seeking to impose a liberal constitution and the followers of Ayatollah al-Sistani, who insist on a purely democratic beginning of democracy, he proposes the Central European and South African Round Table formula as a way of providing a legitimate transitional compromise. It is also possible, if unlikely, that Sistani could accept a moderate expansion of the Governing Council (GC) plus the rest of the original scenario if the United Nations strongly recommends it. At the same time, the GC could be radically expanded as to include all major social actors and stakeholders, a formula very close to the Round Table structure advocated here, with the present GC in effect becoming one player among many. While to gain new legitimacy it would be better to break with the GC appellation in any version, it is possible

that the survival of the name would allow the Coalition Provisional Authority to accept what would be a new formula in substance.

Jamal Benomar. 2004. "Constitution-Making After Conflict: Lessons for Iraq." *Journal of Democracy*. 15(2): 81.

Abstract: Argues that a thorough, deliberate and consultative constitution-making process, which takes account of key lessons learned in other countries, will be essential to the legitimacy of an Iraqi constitution and to the future of democracy. Keeping peace talks and constitutional deliberations separate; Addressing security issues that inhibit consensus-making and transparency; Involving as many key stakeholders as possible in drafting the constitution.

Dawn Brancati. 2004. "Can Federalism Stabilize Iraq?" *Washington Quarterly*. 27(2): 7.

Abstract: Reports on the establishment of federalism in Iraq to prevent ethnic conflict and secessionism. Demand for independence in the country; Utilization of institutionalized measures to prevent identity-based and regional parties from dominating the Iraqi government; Role of the U.S. in advising Iraqi leaders to adopt a federal system of government.

David Chandler. 2004. "The Problems of 'Nation-Building': Imposing Bureaucratic 'Rule from Above!'" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 17(3): 577.

Abstract: With the problems of stabilising Iraq continuing under the 'fully sovereign' Iraqi interim government, which formally replaced the United-States-led transitional administrative authority on 28 June 2004, many critics have argued that the United Nations (U.N.) should play a much larger role in the transition process. This article suggests that while imposing an alternative set of external administrative 'advisers' might be popular with European powers, it is unlikely that greater U.N. involvement would make much difference to the people of Iraq. Using the example of the international protectorate of Bosnia, which is also a 'fully sovereign' state, where the U.N. plays a fully engaged role, it is clear that external enforcement can provide little legitimacy for Iraqi institutions. This article challenges the idea that the 'rule of law' can be imposed from outside by focusing on two areas of legal activism in Bosnia: constitutional change and property return. It suggests that the 'rule of law' approach sees legal or administrative solutions as a short cut to addressing political problems, fetishising the legal framework at the same time as marginalising the political sphere. Rather than more coercive external involvement in the form of pressures for more legislation and better law enforcement, the experience of Bosnia highlights the need for greater levels of political legitimacy, a need that runs counter to the logic of the 'rule of law' approach.

Contracts in Iraq

2004. "AMEC restores Iraqi water works." *Pump Industry Analyst*. 2004(5): 4.

International project management and services company AMEC has won two further major contracts in Iraq worth up to U.S. \$1.1 billion.

2003. "Efforts made to boost Iraqi water capacity." *Pump Industry Analyst*. 2003(8): 4.

USAID, with Bechtel as the lead contractor, is working with the Iraqi water authority to increase water capacity in eastern Baghdad from 153 million gallons per day to 206 million gallons per

day. This is a short news story only. Visit www.worldpumps.com for the latest pump industry news.

2004. "Fluor awarded U.S. \$154 MN in Iraqi power projects." *Pump Industry Analyst*. 2004(3): 3.

Fluor Corp has secured three separate task orders worth U.S. \$154 million from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for electrical power restoration work in Iraq.

2004. "FluorAMEC JV to help restore Iraqi water sector." *Pump Industry Analyst*. 2004(4): 4.

The FluorAMEC LLC joint venture has been awarded two contracts by the U.S. Department of Defense to reconstruct Iraq's public works and water sector infrastructure, with ceilings of U.S. \$600 million and U.S. \$500 million, respectively.

2004. "Salem Chalabi: Judging Saddam." *Middle East Quarterly*. 11(4): 1.

Interviews Salem Chalabi, appointed head of the Iraq Special Tribunal which will try former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein and his top aides. Reliability of the Iraqi judiciary in handling the trial of Hussein; Approach of the tribunal on issues of neutrality in Hussein's case; Role of the United Nations and the U.S. in the tribunal.

2003. "U.S. opens Iraqi oil contracts to tender." *Pump Industry Analyst*. 2003(7): 4.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is soliciting bids for two indefinite delivery indefinite quantity (IDIQ) contracts for possible future work on Iraq's oil infrastructure. This is a short news story only. Visit www.worldpumps.com for the latest pump industry news.

Democratic Consolidation

Andrew Arato. 2004. "Sistani v. Bush: Constitutional Politics in Iraq." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*. 11(2): 174.

Abstract: This article sees the innovation of contemporary constitution-making in two-stage processes reconciling the claims of democratic electoral legitimacy with consensual agreements grounding both interim rules and fundamental rights. In the debate between U.S. authorities in Iraq seeking to impose a liberal constitution and the followers of Ayatollah al-Sistani, who insist on a purely democratic beginning of democracy, he proposes the Central European and South African Round Table formula as a way of providing a legitimate transitional compromise. It is also possible, if unlikely, that Sistani could accept a moderate expansion of the Governing Council (GC) plus the rest of the original scenario if the United Nations strongly recommends it. At the same time, the GC could be radically expanded as to include all major social actors and stakeholders, a formula very close to the Round Table structure advocated here, with the present GC in effect becoming one player among many. While to gain new legitimacy it would be better to break with the GC appellation in any version, it is possible that the survival of the name would allow the Coalition Provisional Authority to accept what would be a new formula in substance.

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Human Rights and Related Issues

2004. "Dealing with Saddam." *Multinational Monitor*. 25(10): 4.

Abstract: Focuses on the United Nations-operated oil-for-food program in Iraq. Corporations that purchased oil from the country under the program; Legality of the oil-purchasing activities of companies that are participating in the program; Identification of the companies that did business within the regime of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

2003. "Mass Graves in Iraq: Uncovering Atrocities." *Human Rights Review*. 4(4): 42.

Abstract: Discusses the discovery of mass graves in Iraq, as of July 2003. Implications of the graves for the extent of atrocities perpetrated by the regime of former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein; Phases of a program implemented by the Coalition Provisional Authority to identify the remains in the graves and collect evidence of past atrocities for future prosecutions; Training provided to mitigate damage to sites overrun by an emotional population.

Haroon Ashraf. 2003. "Iraq's refugees and internally displaced people will face hardship wherever they go." *Lancet*. 361(9358): 630.

Abstract: Discusses several problems aid agencies working in Iraq and its neighboring countries are facing when considering the issue of Iraq's refugees in the event of a U.S.-led war in Iraq. Problem of how to manage the migration of hundreds of thousands of people during the war; Problem of how to manage the hundreds of thousands of already displaced and repressed Iraqi people and their reaction to a regime change; How the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has called on the international community to fund preparations for the relief effort; Statement made by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that most of the 1.45 million refugees created by a war will not be able to get asylum in neighboring countries; How the Jordanian government is dealing with a water shortage in the country and will limit what refugees its country will accept; How the Iraqi people are split into the Sunni, the Shi'ite and the Kurds; Statement that any attack on Iraq may unleash violent reprisals between rival political, ethnic, religious or tribal lines.

Haroon Ashraf. 2003. "The people of Iraq face a grim future with or without a war." *Lancet*. 361(9358): 626.

Abstract: Speculates on the amount of humanitarian assistance required following a U.S.-led war against Iraq. How a United Nations taskforce has estimated that if war breaks out in Iraq at least 7.4 million people will need immediate humanitarian assistance; How this number only represents the people aid workers could reach; Statement that the Iraqi population will need a long-term, comprehensive aid strategy; Military strategy for an attack on Iraq; Claim that the Iraqi government may use chemical and biological weapons if it is threatened; How the destruction of command and control systems of the Iraqi military could destroy power supplies in most parts of the country; Report that about 16 million Iraqi people are wholly dependent on government distributed food from the United Nations' oil-for-food program; How war would affect the distribution of food; Problems the country will face including malnutrition, loss of electricity and fuel, and the destruction of water treatment and sanitation systems.

Haroon Ashraf. 2003. "World Food Programme gears up to help entire Iraq population." *Lancet*. 361(9364): 1189.

Abstract: The U.N. 's World Food Programme (WFP) called on donors to provide U.S. \$1.3 billion to fund food aid programmes for the Iraqi people, at the launch of an appeal in London, UK, on March 31. WFP's request is part of a \$2.2 billion appeal launched on March 28 by the U.N. in New York, which it said was needed to cover all humanitarian assistance for Iraq in the next 6 months. Current estimates suggest that Iraq will run out of food reserves by May. WFP's executive director James Morris expressed confidence at being able to respond to the immense task ahead. For this purpose, Iraq's neighbours have been helpful, and Morris cited WFP's good relations with Syria, which was making its food stocks available.

Jamal Benomar. 2004. "Constitution-Making After Conflict: Lessons for Iraq." *Journal of Democracy*. 15(2): 81.

Abstract: Argues that a thorough, deliberate and consultative constitution-making process, which takes account of key lessons learned in other countries, will be essential to the legitimacy of an Iraqi constitution and to the future of democracy. Keeping peace talks and constitutional deliberations separate; Addressing security issues that inhibit consensus-making and transparency; Involving as many key stakeholders as possible in drafting the constitution.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali. 2004. "U.S. Torture Sets Back Cause of Human Rights in Arab World." *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly*. 21(3): 9.

Abstract: There are three results from the revelations of abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American forces in Iraq. First, the image of the U.S. has become very negative, especially in the Arab world. Second, they damage the role of organizations all around the world that deal with the protection of human rights and humanitarian law in the time of war. Third, these photos are a gift to Al Qaeda and to other terrorist groups that will be formed in the future, all over the world. While the revelations have certainly complicated the efforts of those who seek democratization in the Arab world, as the U.S. has been pushing, the author personally believes that one must not exaggerate the negative impact. Historically, the U.S. has done many good things, from its role in World War I and II and the Marshall Plan to giving birth to both the League of Nations and the United Nations.

John R. Crook. 2003. "The U.N. Compensation Commission: What Now?" *International Law FORUM du Droit International*. 5(4): 276.

Abstract: Examines the role of the United Nations Compensation Commission in light of claims for damages directly caused by Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait and ensuing events. Filing of claims by 96 countries and 13 offices of three international organizations acting for Palestinians and other races; Resolution of some claims; Use of a percentage of Iraqi oil revenues to pay claims.

Clare Kapp. 2003. "Plight of Iraqi civilians worsens, according to U.N." *Lancet*. 361(9364): 1190.

Abstract: Fears are growing about the plight of the Iraqi population as it faces increasing water, food, and medicine shortages and the terror of an unpredictable war that blurs the distinction between civilian and combatant. Despite U.S. and UK promises that their advance through Iraq would be followed by a massive relief operation, much-needed humanitarian aid is proving slow to materialise because of security concerns. With most aid workers waiting in frustration along the borders, the U.N. launched its biggest ever relief appeal, for \$2.2 billion over the next 6 months. WHO reported a massive increase in acute respiratory infection and diarrhoea, especially in the displaced population, in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq. UNICEF's Iraq representative Carel de Rooy said that aside from the physical suffering, an estimated half a million traumatised children in Baghdad and other besieged cities will need psychosocial rehabilitation after the war.

Clare Kapp. 2003. "Relief crisis unfolds as Iraq war progresses." *Lancet*. 361(9363): 1103.

Abstract: Reports that the war in Iraq has forced humanitarian aid agencies to begin a large relief operation in the country. Way that the operation is fraught with political controversy and physical risk; Concerns about the humanitarian crisis in Basra, which is without water and electricity; Lack of a large outflow of refugees and massive internal displacement in the country; Preparations of the World Food Program to assist Iraqis, although it has warned that most of the population would run out of food in less than six weeks; Statement of the World Health Organization that the most urgent priorities inside Iraq include providing treatment and supplies for trauma and injury, preventing the outbreak of communicable diseases, providing fresh drinking water and sanitation, and trying to minimize the discontinuation of treatment for chronic disease.

Clare Kapp. 2003. "WHO fears for health of the Iraqi people." *Lancet*. 361(9363): 1104.

Abstract: Reports on the World Health Organization's (WHO) assessment of health conditions in Iraq, based on the Iraqi Health Ministry and United Nations sources. Life expectancy in the country, as well as the infant mortality rate and mortality rate for young children; High burden of communicable disease among children,

especially lower respiratory infections, diarrheal diseases and measles; Incidence of tuberculosis in Iraq; Increase in the incidence of pertussis and immunization rates in Iraq; Children's health; Cardiovascular diseases and cancer; Nutrition, in light of the 18 million people who lack secure access to food in the country.

Wayne Kondro. 2003. "Humanitarian groups unprepared for Iraq war." *Lancet*. 361(9356): 493.

Abstract: While the world stands poised at the precipice of war on Iraq, roughly 13 million already-vulnerable Iraqi children face grave risk of starvation, disease, death, and psychological trauma a blue-ribbon panel of humanitarian non-governmental organizations says. In the event of war, the likely outcome will be a humanitarian disaster in which casualties among children could reach the hundreds of thousands, a ten-member team of health researchers, psychologists, and children's rights activists warned on Jan 30, 2003. The team published their conclusions in a report entitled 'Our Common Responsibility: The impact of a new war on Iraqi children' after a fact-finding mission to Iraq in January 2003. The report argues that young Iraqis are imperiled because of a weakened health system ensuing from the ongoing deterioration of the nation's social infrastructure, including its health care, water, sanitation, and food supply systems. The team concludes that the fallout from the 1991 Gulf War, along with 12 years of economic sanctions imposed on Iraq for failing to comply with the United Nations Security Council resolution mandating the elimination of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programmes, have combined to leave most Iraqi children living in conditions of destitute poverty.

Julie Mertus and Maia Carter Hallward. 2005. "The Human Rights Dimensions of War in Iraq: Framework for Peace Studies." *Peace & Change*. 30(1): 85.

Abstract: This article considers the advantage of the adoption of a human rights framework in analysis of issues of pressing concern to peace studies, such as the use of force, the imposition of sanctions, and general neglect of nonviolent alternative responses to state violence. Although the invocation of a human rights framework may not provide definitive answers on the appropriate responses, the framework can provide a vocabulary and space within which possible solutions may be considered. Using a case study of Iraq, this article demonstrates how the human rights framework may be applied to identify abuses and to inform policy options. Had a human rights framework been employed prior to the U.S. bombing of Iraq in 2000, the authors urge, alternatives to violence would have been exposed and the legality and legitimacy of the attacks called into question. Furthermore, the authors conclude, a human rights framework exposes the illegality of the treatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. military and intelligence officers.

State-Building in Iraq

by Hafsteinn Hafsteinsson

Whether the 2003 invasion of Iraq was principally strategic or humanitarian, the United States' involvement in Iraq has become a complex state-building mission. While there is agreement within the international community on the importance of rebuilding a democratic Iraq, there are many conflicting viewpoints on how this operation should proceed.

State-building involves more than just the creation of new governmental institutions. The success of Iraq's post-war reconstruction will be measured not only by the immediate process of Iraqi democratization, but also by the ability of the Iraqi people to preserve democracy once coalition forces have left. For some scholars, the perpetuation of democratic freedom depends on the creation of a separate Iraqi police keeping force, public electoral participation, and the emergence of civil society. These and other developments would instill in Iraqis a shared sense of ownership for their newly reconstructed nation.

The immediate challenge facing American forces after the invasion was establishing legitimate order in Iraq. While it undoubtedly drew upon past nation-building operations undertaken throughout history, the United States also recognized that Iraq was a unique case deserving new tactics. To fill the void created by Hussein's expulsion, the U.S. established the Coalition Provisional Authority which attempted to stabilize Iraq so that democracy could take root. Central to the survival of a democratic Iraq is the transfer of power to and the recognition of sovereignty among different Iraqi social groups forming the new body of Iraqi politics.

U.S. Congress

Joseph A. Christoff; Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security and Office United States. Government Accountability. 2005. Rebuilding Iraq. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Accountability Office.

Joseph A. Christoff and General Accounting Office. 2004. Iraq's transitional law. Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Gives overview of transitional law in Iraq. Argues that while the Iraqi transitional law provides a road map for the creation of a permanent, unified and democratic Iraqi government, there are several key issues which remain unresolved concerning the transfer of power from an interim government to a permanent Iraqi government.

Committee on Government Reform United States. United States Congress. House. 2004. Unprecedented challenges: the complex task of coordinating contracts amid the chaos and the rebuilding of Iraq: hearings before the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, March 11, June 15, and July 22, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57040>.

Hearing before the Committee on Government Reform concerning the difficulties involved in coordinating defense contracts in an unstable Iraq.

Committee on Government Reform. United States Congress. House. 2004. *Winning the peace: coalition efforts to restore Iraq: hearing before the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, October 8, 2003*. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS48166>.

Hearing before the Committee on Government Reform on the American-led coalition efforts to restore peace, freedom, security and dignity to the Iraqi people.

Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security. 2005. *Building Iraqi security forces: hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, first session, March 14, 2005*. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS62736>.

Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform concerning the rebuilding/retraining of Iraqi security forces. Discusses the strategy of employing Iraqi security forces as quickly as possible in insurgency conflicts while redefining the role of the Coalition forces as strictly advisory. Highlights the challenges inherent in the transfer of security responsibilities from multinational coalition forces to local Iraqi military and police forces.

Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security. 2004. *Iraq: winning hearts and minds: hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, June 15, 2004*. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS58370>.

Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform addressing the importance of winning hearts and minds in Iraq.

Committee on International Relations United States. Congress. House. 2004. *The imminent transfer of sovereignty in Iraq: hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, May 13, 2004*. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57107>.

Hearing before the Committee on International Relations concerning the transfer of sovereignty in Iraq and the role of the United States in bringing about a successful democratic Iraqi state.

Committee on Banking Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance United States. Congress. Senate. 2005. *Financial reconstruction in Iraq: hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing,*

and Urban Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first and second session, on economic stability, job creation, and transition to independence leading to self-government in Iraq, September 16, November 4, 2003, and February 11, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS60406>.

Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs addressing the significant effects that the development of the Iraqi economy will have upon the formation of a democratic Iraq. Analyzes efforts undertaken by Coalition forces to stabilize the Iraqi economy.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq's transition: the way ahead: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS59004>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57721>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57722>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS60735>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations stressing that the success of reconstruction efforts in Iraq is of vital American national interest. Claims that the United States must take every measure available to ensure success in Iraq in order to restore and maintain a positive reputation in the international community.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how can democratic institutions succeed in Iraq and the Middle East? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44789>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44790>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations concerning the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi people and the efficacy of democratic institutions in Iraq.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how to internationalize Iraq and organize the U.S. government to administer reconstruction efforts: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 23, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS45702>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS45703>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations addressing the need for greater international participation in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: what will an Iraq 5-year plan look like? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44808>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44813>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations addressing the possibility of a five-year reconstruction plan in Iraq.

William Matthews. 2003. "Funding the transformation." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 141(5): 8.

Abstract: Reports on the Congress' budget for military defense in the U.S. for fiscal year 2004. Defense Department's procurement spending; Congress' approval of emergency spending bill to pay for military operations and reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan; Issues concerning the long-term affordability of the government's defense plans.

William Matthews. 2003. "The high cost of peace Postwar Iraq will drain federal coffers, Army ranks." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 140(10): 11.

Abstract: Reports on the cost of post-war reconstruction in Iraq to the U.S. Federal spending on the post-combat phase of the Iraqi operation; Estimates on the cost of combat to the U.S. for fiscal 2003; Tasks of U.S. troops in the post-conflict phase; Spending for economic restoration efforts.

Government Accountability Office United States. 2004. Foreign regimes' assets: the United States faces challenges in recovering assets, but has mechanisms that could guide future efforts: report to congressional requesters. Washington, D.C.: The Office.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS55574>.

David M. Walker; Committee on Government Reform United States. Congress. House. 2004. Contract management. Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Testimony before the Committee on Government Reform evaluating the management and allocation of defense contracts in Iraqi reconstruction efforts.

Iraqi Politics

Coalition Provisional Authority. 2004. Coalition Provisional Authority memorandum [sic] number 10. Baghdad, Iraq: Coalition Provisional Authority.

Brief memo detailing the implementation of a rewards program in Iraq for any information relevant to the recovery of Iraqi state and former regime assets.

Coalition Provisional Authority. 2004. Coalition Provisional Authority order number 76. Baghdad, Iraq: Coalition Provisional Authority.

Order given by the Coalition Provisional Authority providing for both the consolidation and the reorganization of specified Iraqi state-owned enterprises into newly formed governmental ministries and departments.

Coalition Provisional Authority and Iraq Council. Governing. 2004. Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period. Baghdad: Coalition Provisional Authority.
<http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/iraq/30804interimconst.html>.

Approved by the Iraqi Governing Council as an interim constitution to be in effect until a permanent constitution is adopted in 2005. Specifies laws established to aid in governance of a transitional Iraqi state until an elected government takes over. Includes separate chapters on fundamental principles, fundamental rights, the Iraqi transitional government, the transitional legislative, executive and judicial authorities, the Special Tribunal and national commissions; regions, governorates and municipalities; and the transitional period.

Celeste J. Ward and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. The Coalition Provisional Authority's experience with governance in Iraq: lessons identified. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Stephen Blackwell. 2005. "Between Tradition and Transition: State Building, Society and Security in the Old and New Iraq." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 41(3): 445.

Abstract: Compares the post-war reconstruction of Iraq under the American-led coalition forces and the formation of modern Iraq under British mandate. Interpretation of Iraqi history as either preordained by inherent contradictions exacerbated by the evolution from Ottoman district to British mandate to independent state, or a case of a viable polity hijacked by a ruthless and tyrannical regime; Legacy of the British colonial rule and mandate system; Analogy of the divide-and-rule tactics of the British and the Balkan ethnic animosities with that of former President Saddam Hussein in controlling the conflicting aspirations of the Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish populations; Perspectives on the position of American policies in Iraq.

James F. Dobbins. 2003. "America's Role in Nation-building: From Germany to Iraq." *Survival (Oxford University Press / UK)*. 45(4): 87.

Abstract: Examines the role of the United States in nation-building operations from the end of the Second World War to the U.S.-Iraq war. Attempt to determine why the U.S. government's learning curve appears so flat in spite of its substantial and recent experience in nation-building; Six major nation-building operations led by the U.S. since the end of the Cold War; Use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin a transition to democracy.

Toby Dodge. 2004. "A Sovereign Iraq?" *Survival (Oxford University Press / UK)*. 46(3): 39.

Abstract: The passing of U.N. Resolution 1546 and the granting of sovereignty to the Interim Iraqi Government were heralded in June 2004 as marking a watershed in both international and national attitudes to Iraq. In spite of the protracted negotiations in New York, the delivery of international legal sovereignty back to Baghdad was the most straightforward aspect of the whole Iraqi problem. Domestic sovereignty, the ability of the new Iraqi government to rule its population, is a long way off. The United States and the international community, through choice or necessity, will continue to be intimately involved in the day-to-day domestic politics of Iraq for many years to come.

Phebe Marr. 2003. "Where Is Iraq Headed?" *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 25(5): 365.

Abstract: Discusses the political developments in Iraq since the United States' invasion of the country in March 2003. Groups likely to compete for political control; Factions of the Shi'ah Muslims; Iraqi clerics; Shi'ite Islamic parties; Arab sunnis; Remnants of the former ruling party Ba'th Party; Kurdish minority in Iraq; Turkman groups; Former Iraqi exiles; Common goals for various competing political groups in Iraq; Role of the U.S. in reconstruction of Iraq.

United States Institute of Peace. 2004. Postconflict Iraq: a race for stability, reconstruction, and legitimacy. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr120.pdf>.

Studies the institutional and social aspects which are shaping the politics of reconstruction in Iraq. Traces the evolution of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council. Addresses the obstacles of dismantling old power structures. Discusses the promising development of an Iraqi civil society and the conflicts involved in this new political order. Argues that the full comprehension of historical Iraqi authoritarianism and new social forces is essential for the creation of democracy in Iraq.

Program Rule of Law and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. Iraq's constitutional process: shaping a vision for the country's future. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr132.pdf>.

A report drafted by the Rule of Law Program addressing lessons learned from past constitution-building processes and how these lessons affect the formation of an Iraqi constitution. Discusses how the incorporation of civil society groups in the constitutional process can lead to a more inclusive, stable Iraq. Recommends that the Iraqi National Assembly use a model of strong public participation in the drafting of the constitution in order to develop a sense of ownership and commitment among the Iraqi people.

Alan Schwartz and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. Iraq election scenarios: anticipating alternative futures. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr142.html>.

Rolf Schwarz and Oliver Jütersonke. 2005. "Divisible Sovereignty and the Reconstruction of Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 649.

Abstract: Seeking to make sense of conflicting views regarding the continued relevance of the notion of sovereignty, this article argues that there is a discrepancy between international norms and practices. This discrepancy is rooted in conflicting understandings of the term sovereignty. By building on the link between sovereignty, the state of emergency, and the dialectic of auctoritas and potestas, this article proposes a new reading of sovereignty based on an understanding taken from Hugo Grotius. The argument formulated posits that the current political impasse in Iraq can only be adequately analysed through the lens of divisible sovereignty, and that such a perspective will aid in judging future developments in Iraq and in forecasting the political success or failure of post-war reconstruction there.

Recommendations

Andrew Arato. 2003. "The Occupation of Iraq and the Difficult Transition from Dictatorship." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*. 10(3): 408.

Abstract: It is argued in this paper that the current U.S. strategy threatens to close the small window of opportunity that might have existed for democratic regime change. Unless the Shi'ite movement is successful against

the occupation and turns in a democratic and national direction, a pseudo-democratic puppet government and/or the dismemberment of Iraq are more likely than any representative government linked to the rule of law.

Sultan Barakat. 2005. "Post-Saddam Iraq: deconstructing a regime, reconstructing a nation." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 571.

Abstract: The reconstruction of Iraq, following its invasion and occupation by the USA and its allies in 2003, presents a challenge to the consensus view of post-war reconstruction that has emerged in the wake of the Cold War, in that in Iraq reconstruction is being seen as integral to a military strategy and external strategic interest. Iraq itself also presents a very different context in terms of its human and economic development, resources and recent history compared with other nations that have been the subject of reconstruction interventions. This paper draws on four key tenets of post-war reconstruction: understanding the context (historical, cultural, regional); developing a shared national vision of the future; developing collaborative governance; and inducing development as a framework for analysing the nature of the reconstruction attempted in Iraq. It traces the difficulties of effecting a peaceful transition to the failure to understand the implications of attempting to impose a pre-determined plan in the fragile conditions of Iraq, post-Saddam. Nevertheless, despite these many mistakes, the paper concludes by suggesting that a way forward can still be found.

Sultan Barakat; Margaret Chard and Richard Jones. 2005. "Attributing Value: evaluating success and failure in post-war reconstruction." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 831.

Abstract: External analysts are already trying to evaluate the impact of the reconstruction strategies of the occupying powers in Iraq. However, those with long experience in this field caution against a rush to judgment and emphasises that it will be the Iraqis themselves who will eventually make a value judgment on how the occupation has affected their nation. The paper seeks to define a possible approach to facilitating such an evaluation at the appropriate time. Study of current evaluation theory and practice leads to the conclusion that aid evaluation, particularly in post-war contexts, tends to be almost exclusively geared to the purposes of project accountability and performance. Thus it largely fails to question the culturally and ideologically determined assumptions of value which underpin post-war reconstruction interventions. As a result a satisfactory methodology for the evaluation of the long-term impact has not been developed. Concluding that a participatory approach is the key to developing such a methodology, the methodological challenges to participatory evaluation are defined, paying particular attention to approaches, attitudes and indicators.

Kjell Bjork and Richard Jones. 2005. "Overcoming Dilemmas Created by the 21st Century Mercenaries: conceptualising the use of private security companies in Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 777.

Abstract: In the past private security companies have taken responsibility for protecting reconstruction and aid activities during and after conflict. However, the extensive private sector involvement in the reconstruction of Iraq, in addition to expanding aid activities, means that the use of private security companies is at an unprecedented level. Consequently the boundaries between civilian and military activities are becoming blurred, which creates new dangers for humanitarian assistance. Despite the increased number of private security companies in operation, their role is poorly conceptualised, discussed only as part of the overall security response rather than as a vital component of the delivery of aid and of the extensive private sector-led reconstruction programme. To conceptualise the protection of private sector reconstruction and NGO activity, the article examines three interrelated perspectives "the confusion between military intervention and humanitarian aid, the advent of the armed humanitarian and the need to understand the perceptions of the local population. The article confirms the link between the use of private

security companies for reconstruction and NGO activities and the exacerbation of conflict. Therefore NGOs and organisations working in the private sector need to differentiate their efforts from the military campaigns which by doing so limits the violent consequences of negative perceptions.

Adeed Dawisha. 2004. "Iraq: Setbacks, Advances, Prospects." *Journal of Democracy*. 15(1): 5.

Abstract: Examines the setbacks affecting the U.S.-led efforts to reconstruct Iraq into a functional law-governed and democratic society. Difficulties encountered by coalition forces; Accounts of the deterioration in security; Factors affecting political pluralism upon which democracy can be built.

Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha. 2003. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(3): 36.

Abstract: This article explores postwar Iraq and suggests that the job of building a democratic system in Iraq, although difficult, may not be quite as hard as many critics of the war have warned. The authors suggest that Iraq today possesses several features that will facilitate the reconstruction effort. The authors present ideas of what a blueprint for a future democratic Iraq should look like, emphasizing that it must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. They suggest that democratic Iraq must have a federal system of government. Furthermore, the authors explore both advantages and disadvantages of executive branches of government for Iraq, the type of elections that Iraqi's should use, and the importance of a fully developed middle class for an effective and sustainable democracy.

Graham Day and Christopher Freeman. 2003. "Policekeeping is the Key: Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq." *International Affairs*. 79(2): 299.

Abstract: The main problem following a U.S.-led international intervention in Iraq will be re-establishing widespread and sustainable governance. It is probable that with the removal of repressive political authority, state control will falter and crime rates boom. This can be countered through an international civil administration with law and order as a guiding mandating principle. Order could be ensured by "policekeeping," via a large "blue force" of primarily Muslim gendarmerie from surrounding nations. Reliance on military peacekeeping is precarious because of the political sensitivities in the case of Iraq. The blue force would form the foundation of the new internal security architecture in Iraq, and would act to prevent fragmentation and civil war. A further vital task would be the development of domestic judicial and policing capacity, which provide an exit strategy for the international mission and the beginnings of a representative and regionally devolved governance structure. These tasks could be financed through a modification of the current oil for food programme, finally transferring this wealth back into Iraqi society. The goal would be to construct a self-sustaining democratic and economically functional state governed by the rule of law, one that can serve as a political beacon for the region.

William Dudley. 2004. Iraq: opposing viewpoints. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. 2004. Iraq: reconstruction and future role. Abu Dhabi.

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

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

Roger MacGinty. 2003. "The pre-war reconstruction of post-war Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 24(4): 601.

Abstract: The period before the March-April 2003 war on Iraq witnessed unprecedented preparation for post-war reconstruction. This 'pre-war reconstruction' or 'pre-emptive reconstruction' confronts those involved in humanitarian activity with urgent practical and ethical questions. This article begins with an outline of the development of post-war reconstruction as a specific area of focus for humanitarian organisations and academia, before examining the pre-war plans for the reconstruction of post-war Iraq. It argues that it is not enough to be cynical about possible U.S. motivations for planning for the post-war reconstruction of Iraq. Instead, pre-war reconstruction offers a number of opportunities for a critique of developments in humanitarianism and U.S. foreign policy. But pre-war reconstruction also carries with it a number of pitfalls, not least the reframing of warfare as a non-destructive activity.

Tareq Ismael and Jacqueline Ismael. 2005. "Whither Iraq? Beyond Saddam, sanctions and occupation." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 609.

Abstract: The question of Iraq's future in the wake of 35 years of dictatorship and 13 years of sanctions is a major problem on the global agenda. This question is complicated by numerous factors, not the least of which are military occupation by the world's sole superpower, growing resistance and hostility to the presence of foreign troops and contractors, and the post-occupation influx of international terrorist groups into Iraq. To address the question of "whither Iraq," this paper represents an effort to identify guideposts to Iraq's future that are manifest in its present. These guideposts are identified as a function of the interplay between national, regional and international political dynamics. Iraq's future is situated in an interaction between history and contemporary political dynamics. The USA's policy of nation-building and state-building in Iraq are examined against two earlier models of political reconstruction there: British and Baathist. Using the guideposts revealed, four scenarios are posited based on different sets of assumptions about the state of state- and nation building.

Chappell Lawson. 2003. "How Best to Build Democracy: Laying a Foundation for the New Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(4): 206.

Abstract: This section presents a response to the article "How to Build a Democratic Iraq," by Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, published in the May/June 2003 issue of "Foreign Affairs." The article contains a series of recommendations and admonitions for the democratic reconstruction of Iraq after the war. The following recommendations draw on the experiences of other democratizing countries. One of the biggest dangers facing post-war Iraq is the prospect of its becoming a classic petro-state, in which vast revenues from the sale of oil leads to a shaky national government. Such states are characterized by massive corruption, fiscal profligacy and vicious zero-sum competition for control of oil revenues. Another key component to the transition process will be to create an effective electoral system. Once an electoral system is established, politicians respond with remarkable predictability to the incentives it produces. Dawisha and Dawisha advocate a parliamentary system for Iraq, but one potential pitfall of such a system is the power it grants to the bureaucracy. A democratic Iraq will require a competent, well-trained and well-equipped police force that is distinct and separate from the military. The military's official mission should be confined to external defense rather than internal security. Finally, rebuilders of Iraq should encourage the training of civilians in military matters so that they can oversee budgets, procurement, and the like.

Kanan Makiya. 2003. "A Model for Post Saddam Iraq." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(3): 5.

Abstract: Focuses on the rebuilding of Iraq after the removal of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the commitment of the United States in securing a transition to and consolidation of democracy in the country. Federalism in Iraq; Ethnicity and statehood; Demilitarization after the depose of President Hussein's regime.

Debra A. Miller. 2004. Rebuilding Iraq. Farmington Hills, MI: Lucent Books.