

Promises, Promises

A briefing paper for the Kabul Conference on Afghanistan



Maina, age 28, mother of six, Badakhshan

Photo credit: Elissa Bogos

The Kabul Conference marks the ninth international conference on Afghanistan in nearly as many years. While much has improved in the lives of Afghans since the fall of the Taliban, progress has fallen far short of what has been promised.

All eyes will be on Afghanistan on July 20, but it is what happens after the conference ends that matters most. Despite the formidable obstacles, the solution is not to take shortcuts or pursue quick fixes. It is to take fundamental steps to directly address the root causes of conflict, improve the effectiveness of aid and ensure that the needs of Afghans are at the heart of donor efforts in Afghanistan.

Introduction

The Kabul Conference marks the ninth international conference on Afghanistan in nearly as many years. The conference aims to present a new set of development programs and shore up international support for civilian efforts. It will also follow up on commitments made on anti-corruption and reconciliation during the London Conference in January 2010. Yet much of the hope and optimism that marked the earlier conferences such as the Bonn Conference in 2001, which set out the parameters for the interim government, and the Paris Conference in 2006, which outlined a strategy for reconstruction and development, is now gone.

Many subsequent conferences have been replete with pledges and promises intended to demonstrate international commitment to Afghanistan but were followed up with little concrete action. Political will is deteriorating, confidence in the Afghan government fading and many troop-contributing countries are looking for the exit.

It is easy to be cynical about yet another donor conference. While strategies and rhetoric paint one picture, the reality on the ground tells a different story. The ruthless pursuit of personal and political goals by those in power is driving Afghans into increasingly dire conditions. The needs of Afghans are being marginalized by actors on all sides, as they move to secure their interests – whether it is officials abusing their authority to protect illicit income streams or factional interests; insurgents using terror and violence to extend their influence; regional actors strengthening their position in the service of geopolitical aims; or donors prioritizing domestic prerogatives – with potentially catastrophic consequences.

Underneath promises of a long-term commitment and greater accountability, aid has become increasingly politicized while a hidden humanitarian crisis is virtually ignored. There has been a shift towards talking about handover of responsibility to the Afghan government yet little action has been taken to address corruption and the government remains almost entirely dependent on international support. Both sides of the conflict endorse codes of conduct or pledge to protect the population, but violence against civilians is at its highest levels since 2001. And as Afghans become increasingly desperate for peace, rhetoric around “reconciliation” is unlikely to provide much more than political cover for troop withdrawal.

Afghans are increasingly distrustful of their government and the international community. An Afghan businessman said: “\$40 billion has come in and little has changed: the streets are bad, electricity is bad, security is bad. What will happen if donors give \$10 billion more? Tell them to keep it. Unless the problems like corruption are fixed and they have a long-term commitment, it will only be like drinking tea from a broken glass.”¹

While many seem to feel that all has been lost in Afghanistan, there is still time to correct many of the mistakes of the past nine years. This paper outlines the international conferences on Afghanistan: the promises made and broken, the rhetoric and reality. It looks at some of the aims of the Kabul Conference and then focuses on three critical issues: growing hu-

manitarian needs, the increasing militarization of aid and reconciliation and reintegration. It concludes with a set of recommendations aimed at correcting some of the most serious failures.

Broken Compact

In 2005, the future in Afghanistan still looked promising. Security was relatively good, a new constitution was adopted and the Bonn process was declared complete with the successful conclusion of the new government's first national election. However, the Bonn process was far from perfect. It laid out broad themes and areas of responsibility for troop-contributing nations and the Afghan government and appointed "lead nations" for such key areas as police reform, but failed to specify their tasks. There was often disorganization and fragmentation among these nations, with some falling short on their responsibilities, such as counter-narcotics and police training.² Cracks were beginning to appear in the international effort, but they were largely ignored.

"We've had nine conferences. We know what Karzai's speech will be. We know what the donors will do. And we know nothing will come of it. Where is the action on the ground? What do these promises amount to?"

- Afghan journalist

In January 2006, an international conference was convened in London to outline the parameters of the international community's engagement in Afghanistan. In all, donors pledged \$10.5 billion to the Compact, which shifted the focus of donor efforts from stabilization toward reconstruction. The scope of the Compact was vast, ranging from security to governance to development, though some have since criticized it for a lack of both appropriate sequencing and a realistic cost assessment.³ The benchmarks for the Compact were virtually ignored at the most recent London Conference in January 2010, just a year short of the target for many of them.

After nearly two years of consultations across the country, the Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS) was endorsed in 2008. While it set out a wide range of objectives, it also suffered from a lack of prioritization and genuine backing from donors. Almost half of the money pledged to the ANDS remains out of line with its priorities.⁴ While concrete progress has undoubtedly been made in many areas, the Ministry of Finance still cannot measure much of it against ANDS benchmarks due to a lack of data and the failure of donors to prioritize and report on these objectives.

Since 2002, over \$40 billion in international aid, including security sector assistance, has been committed to Afghanistan. While under a third of these funds was spent on development, not enough of this aid has reached those it is intended for due to corruption, weak governance, duplication of efforts and other wasteful practices that are in contradiction to the very principles agreed upon by major donors.⁵

While it is arguable that the ANDS prematurely focused on reconstruction and development, some progress has been made, particularly in the areas of healthcare and education. But given the high levels of poverty and subsequent deterioration of security, these gains are limited and fragile. Data shows that many development indicators may have actually worsened since 2007 and living conditions, especially for those in insecure or remote areas, remain dire.⁶ Every half hour, an average of one woman dies of pregnancy-related complications and another of tuberculosis. Just

27 percent of Afghans have access to safe drinking water and 5 percent have access to improved sanitation.⁷ An estimated 70 percent of schools in Uruzgan province are closed, due not only to insecurity but also to a lack of qualified teachers.⁸

As security has worsened, confidence in the government has diminished. Many troop-contributing countries have increasingly pursued their own political priorities by channelling aid money to the provinces where they have troops and focusing more on quick fixes than long-term investment and state-building. The cooption of warlords and commanders into the government, in the absence of effective disarmament, accountability or reconciliation, has fuelled impunity and corruption. Together with the failure to expand the rule of law, this has led to criminality both within and outside of the state. In fact, corruption has worsened in recent years: Afghanistan ranked 172 of 179 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Index in 2006 but had fallen to second to last place by 2009.⁹

A New Social Contract?

The Kabul Conference, part of the "Kabul process" which began with the Peace Jirga in June and includes the elections in September 2010, is envisioned as a new contract between the Afghan government and its people.¹⁰ It aims to correct many of the mistakes of the past, particularly in development and governance, and outline a progressive handover of responsibility for development and security to the Afghan government.

A key outcome of the conference will be a "reinvigorated and prioritized" ANDS with a special focus on "economic development, governance, regional cooperation, and reconciliation and reintegration."¹¹ The government, under the guidance of ex-Finance Minister Ashraf Ghani and current Finance Minister Omar Zakhilwal, has formed a series of government clusters to design "bankable" development programs in these areas, accompanied by efforts to improve the management of aid.¹² In addition, the government, according to its pledge at the London conference, is expected to demonstrate that it has taken concrete action on corruption.

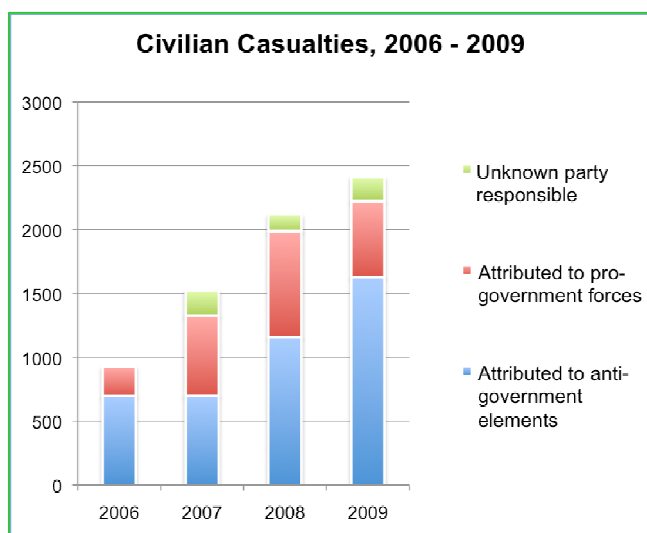
Oxfam has conducted focus group discussions to elicit the views of Afghans on the conference, as well as interviews with individuals working for the UN, ISAF and major donor agencies. Many Afghans welcome it as an opportunity for the government to demonstrate a serious commitment to its people.¹³ As one Afghan aid worker commented: "The idea that people – good people, like Ashraf Ghani – are pulling together national programs that will benefit all Afghans is important. It shows that the government is taking this seriously and wants to have something concrete to show to donors."

But others are simply sick of conferences that promise the world, but deliver little. As one government worker commented: "Look at the previous conferences and the problems they were supposed to address but did not: weak political structures and low civilian and military capacity. We need

real solutions. The international community needs to be tough. They have to set realistic benchmarks and make sure they are followed.”¹⁴

Many donors appear to be simply seeking to handoff their responsibilities to the Afghan government, rather than undertake serious efforts to address the root causes of instability and poverty. As one UN official commented: “It seems as though the international community has made a to-do list of all of the promises from the London Conference, and are just ticking the boxes to make sure they have something to show for it. But they’re not asking whether these objectives are the right ones, how well these so-called reforms are working or whether it’s actually bringing about any desired outcomes.”¹⁵

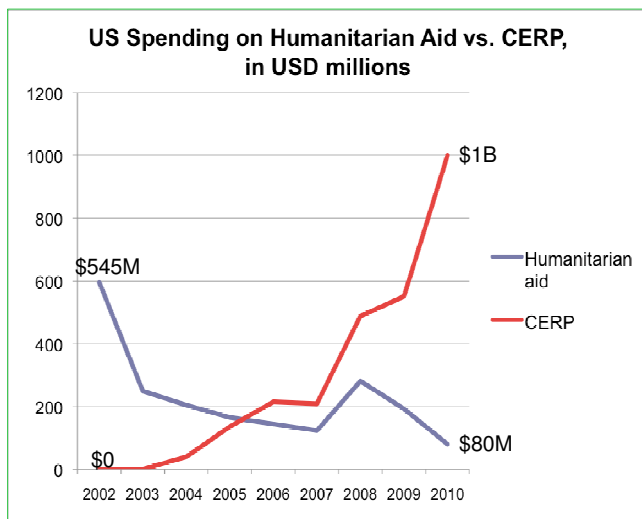
Protecting the population



One of the most formidable obstacles to progress has been security, which has been rapidly eroded over the past four years. In 2006, suicide attacks increased six-fold from the previous year and bombings and arson attacks on schools nearly doubled.¹⁶ Afghans are increasingly caught between a weak, often predatory government and anti-government factions that use coercion, terror and violence to secure control. Since 2006, the annual civilian death toll has risen by 259 percent and assassinations of community leaders, government workers and other civilians are now averaging one a day.¹⁷

Humanitarian needs, particularly in the south and east, have been largely unmet. An estimated nine million Afghans now live in conflict areas, often in desperate conditions with little support. Donors and many aid organizations have failed to adjust their programming or establish access to insecure areas to ensure that these individuals receive assistance. In the largely insecure south of country, an estimated half million Afghans lack access to even basic healthcare services.¹⁸ Unless there is a rapid and radical improvement in security and an immediate, drastic scale up of government capacity and accountability, many of the “bankable” programs being presented at the Kabul Conference will do little for these Afghans, who comprise over a third of the population.

As security deteriorates, the mandate of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) is increasingly contradictory: it is expected to work closely with the government and international military forces while also supporting the delivery of effective, high quality humanitarian aid.¹⁹ The latter has not been sufficiently addressed, and the UN’s impartiality has been undermined by the former. While the reestablishment of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in early 2009 was positive, it has failed to adequately deliver on its obligation to improve humanitarian coordination due to understaffing and other issues.²⁰



Donors have drastically decreased their funding for humanitarian activities, especially those de-linked from military or political objectives. US humanitarian funding is now just over a third of what it was in 2004, while its funding for military-linked Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), through the Commander's Emergency Response Fund (CERP), has increased by 2500 percent.²¹

In addition to overlooking many of the basic needs of Afghans living in conflict areas, donor and military strategies may be putting Afghans further at risk. Attacks on schools

increased 200 percent in 2010 on the previous year.²² While the Back to School campaign succeeded in enrolling five million Afghan children in school in 2005, much of this progress is being reversed in insecure areas. Ex-teachers and community members in Kandahar have now restarted underground schooling for girls – much like they did during Taliban times – to ensure that they still have access to education.²³

Yet many donors and PRTs continue to focus on building schools in insecure or remote areas while perhaps safer and more feasible approaches to improving access to education, such as teacher training and community-based schooling, are under-resourced and largely overlooked.²⁴ Of more immediate concern is the proposed use of schools as polling stations in the upcoming elections; when educational facilities were used in the August 2009 elections, attacks on schools increased by a factor of five.²⁵

A Failure of Will

Perhaps an even greater challenge than security has been the lack of political will. Donors have often been their own worst enemy in Afghanistan and it is not clear that this will change with the “Kabul process.” Conference after conference, statement after statement has articulated a long-term commitment to Afghanistan and to the Afghan people. Yet donor actions on the ground have often created doubt.

Donors’ expectations of what can be achieved in Afghanistan are only a shadow of what they were just a few years ago. As UK Defense Minister Liam Fox recently remarked: “We are not in Afghanistan for the sake of the education policy in a broken 13th-century country. We are there so the people of Britain and our global interests are not threatened.”²⁶ Another foreign official commented: “Afghanistan will never be Switzerland, but perhaps ten or twenty years from now it can be like Bangladesh.”²⁷

Such vague and patronizing definitions of “success,” together with the increasing unpopularity of the war in troop-contributing countries and pressure to “show results,” have contributed to an overemphasis on military objectives and militarized solutions. Projects implemented with mili-

tary money or through military-dominated structures, such as PRTs or District Support Teams, aim to “win hearts and minds.” Yet they are all too often poorly executed, inappropriate and do not have sufficient community involvement to make them sustainable. There is little evidence that this approach is generating stability. In some cases, military involvement in development activities is putting Afghan lives further at risk as these projects are often targeted by anti-government elements. There is also doubt that such a self-interested approach succeeds in winning hearts and minds. As one Afghan civil servant said: “I hate all of these temporary solutions. Donors only think about their next election.”²⁸

“There is no doubt that the government will present a beautiful plan at the conference but we already have many nice plans – how will this be any different? These conferences make good headlines, but they don’t mean much to us.”

- Afghan doctor

Many of the most pressing priorities for Afghans, such as improving rule of law and alleviating poverty, have been sidelined in favor of increasingly militarized uses of aid meant to support counterinsurgency rather than meet Afghan needs. With aid overwhelmingly aligned with military goals, many Afghans wonder what will happen when the military leaves.

Unsurprisingly, most Afghans have higher – and clearer – expectations for the future of their country than many donors. As ISAF Colonel Chris Kolenda points out: “Afghans expect a responsible and accountable government that meets their basic expectations.”²⁹ But even these fairly modest expectations have not been met. Current efforts at improving governance have largely failed to deliver and weak or corrupt governance has fuelled public distrust and anger. Yet not a single high level official has been successfully tried for corruption. The Cabinet recently approved a law that would enable the prosecution of government ministers. But it must be revised if it is to create functional structures and a significant surge of donor and Afghan support will be required to move this legislation forward.

At a minimum, Afghans expect justice at the local level. Yet the formal justice system remains weak and inaccessible, and many traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, upon which the majority of Afghans rely, have been overlooked. While the government, in wide consultation with human rights groups, the international community and civil society, successfully agreed upon an informal justice policy in late 2009, it was never implemented and efforts were abandoned soon after the arrival of a new Minister of Justice.

Few Afghans expect more aid money, but they do expect that the international community will ensure that aid is more effective and their government is accountable. As an Afghan health worker commented: “I feel embarrassed that my president went to DC and was told to respect his own country’s constitution and the rights of women, but at least we can hope that the US will stand up for our rights.” An Afghan civil servant echoed this, saying: “Donors should monitor each penny so the government can’t get away with corruption.”³⁰

While many of the Afghans Oxfam spoke with pushed for stronger conditions on some types of aid, many donors were less supportive of this. Some feared that such a move would contradict or undermine promises made by donors at the London Conference to progressively re-route half of non-military aid through the government over the next two years –

even though it is largely understood that this pledge is dependent upon the institution of stronger accountability mechanisms.

Others feared that it would be seen as an admission of mission failure with regard to the current counterinsurgency strategy, which views aid as a “weapons system.”³¹ At best, the assumption that aid can be administered in highly insecure areas and always contribute to security is unproven. In practice, it is fraught with risk. Aid can help shore up stability under certain circumstances, but it can also fuel conflict and corruption – particularly in the absence of appropriate oversight and accountability.

“Upset Brothers”

Reintegration plans, which are due to be endorsed at the Kabul Conference, threaten to be the latest in a long line of quick fixes. Schemes that use cash incentives and aid to buy the allegiance of “upset brothers” have been tried several times before in Afghanistan, and they have largely failed because they misunderstood the reasons why many may have joined anti-government groups.

Many lower level fighters are motivated, at least in part, by genuine grievances, such as corruption, lack of justice and civilian casualties. Current reintegration plans make little mention of how these issues will be addressed. Previous schemes have also failed because they were not part of a broader political process to engage the leadership of anti-government factions and regional actors. No such political process currently exists.

At the London Conference, over a hundred million dollars that could – and should – be used to alleviate poverty and meet humanitarian needs was instead pledged to a reintegration fund targeting lower level fighters in an attempt to peel them away from the insurgency. Such an approach forces Afghans to make an impossible choice between aid and security, which can have deadly consequences.³²

Current “reconciliation” initiatives are far from the genuine peace process many Afghans long for. Several of the diplomats and donors Oxfam spoke to insisted that these processes will be “Afghan led,” ignoring the critical question of which particular Afghans will be leading it. Many are concerned that those who have committed war crimes or perpetuated instability will be the ones leading these efforts, or will be granted amnesty without even an acknowledgment of past abuses.

While many of the Afghans that Oxfam interviewed felt dialogue was positive, the recent peace jirga was often greeted with skepticism. As one businesswoman remarked: “The jirga and the [Kabul] Conference are not about peace, and not about Afghans. They are about appearances.”³³ If ordinary Afghans are not involved in the process and do not have confidence in it, it is unlikely to be sustainable because they are the ones who must ultimately live with the outcome. If it does not have their backing or reflect their aspirations for the future of their country, the process will not only be illegitimate but could lead to greater conflict.

Conclusion

Many of the recommendations set out in this paper are not new. They have been made repeatedly by Oxfam and others, yet have largely fallen on deaf ears. 2010 is a decisive year for Afghanistan, as perhaps every year has been since 2002. But as time passes, the window of opportunity to correct the course of action becomes smaller and smaller. This may be the last chance to do things right by the Afghan people. Given the fragile security situation, failure to do so risks pushing the country towards even greater levels of conflict and devastation.

"If donors are serious about the future of Afghanistan, they must speak with one voice and hold the government accountable."

- Afghan civil servant

It is important to remember that there have been concrete improvements in the lives of many Afghans, but they have fallen short of expectations and are being reversed by insecurity in some areas. Many are increasingly pessimistic about the prospects in Afghanistan – except, seemingly, many Afghans. As a teacher commented: "This is my country, my future and my children's future: I have no hope but to hope. There will be peace here one day but when this happens, I cannot control. I can only put my faith in Allah and hope for those with the power to gain a conscience."³⁴

While the government's efforts to improve sub-national governance and create "bankable" programs are necessary to address the underlying causes of crises and help Afghans lift themselves out of poverty, they are far from sufficient. A fundamental change in donor thinking and a new-found political will is urgently required. As a priority, there must be greater effort to crack down on corruption and improve accountability.

But it is not only donors and the Afghan government who should suffer the blame for these broken promises. All actors, particularly the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), must take a hard look at their track record and re-evaluate their approach if they are to regain the trust of Afghans and come through on their promises.

Recommendations

- ISAF and donors should demilitarize aid, as quickly and as completely as possible. The increase in PRT presence and funding whilst talking about transition and handover is contradictory and disingenuous. ISAF and troop-contributing countries must devise and implement a transition strategy for PRTs.
- The UN should increase the presence of its agencies in the field and ensure a more equitable balance between humanitarian and political issues. The UN must fulfill its commitments to Afghans by improving humanitarian response and coordination, and ensuring that these efforts are undertaken based on needs and in accordance with the principles of independence and impartiality.
- NGOs must also renew their commitment to impartiality and independence – and put Afghans first. Close alignment with pro-government actors may not be in the best interests of Afghans and

constrain access to those who need their assistance. More must be done to build humanitarian response capacity and, with the support of OCHA, to establish relationships that will enable Afghan and international NGOs to access areas where Afghans need aid the most urgently.

- Donors must urgently increase funding and support for independent humanitarian action. The establishment of the Emergency Response Fund has been a success in that it has enabled organizations, particularly Afghan NGOs, to quickly access funding to respond to crises. But funds are being rapidly drawn down and it is not clear when – or whether – they will be replenished.
- Donors must set and stick to stronger accountability mechanisms on development aid to all actors, help the Afghan government improve systems of accountability and strengthen the ability of civil society, particularly the media, to help hold donors and the government responsible. Aid in a corrupt system will fuel corruption. So more must be done to ensure that aid reaches those that need it most, makes a positive difference in their lives and that those responsible for aid and development are accountable for its impact.
- Reintegration must be rooted in a political process that includes transitional justice mechanisms as well as a program of reform that addresses the drivers of conflict. Unresolved grievances, foreign support for the insurgency and local tensions are contributing to instability. Without tackling these issues, reconciliation efforts will be superficial and unsustainable. A national program for community peacebuilding should accompany reintegration to enable Afghans to come to terms with the past. At a minimum, this includes capacity building work in communities to improve dispute resolution mechanisms and rule of law.
- Ensure that Afghans have a voice in peace processes and don't trade away the rights of Afghans in the political process of "reconciliation." Mechanisms must be established to create a genuinely participatory process, at all levels, and guarantee that the voices of ordinary Afghans are heard. The "red lines" on what will be traded in negotiations are still unclear but any peace process must ensure that the constitutional rights of Afghans, both men and women, are respected.
- The situation is increasingly difficult. But the way forward is not to take shortcuts, pursue quick fixes or bypass obstacles. It is to take fundamental steps to directly address the root causes of conflict. Despite the formidable challenges, doing what is right for Afghans – which is ultimately also in the best interests of those in donor countries – requires a long-term commitment and the political will to address the mistakes of the past.

Notes

- ¹ Group discussion, Kabul, May 20, 2010.
- ² *Endangered Compact*, International Crisis Group, January 29, 2007, available at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/B059-afghanistans-endangered-compact.aspx>.
- ³ *Afghanistan: the Need for International Resolve*, International Crisis Group, February 6, 2008, available at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/145-afghanistan-the-need-for-international-resolve.aspx>.
- ⁴ Government of Afghanistan Ministry of Finance, *Donor Financial Review*, November 2009.
- ⁵ For the principles agreed upon by donors, see *The Afghanistan Compact, London 31 January – 1 February 2010*, available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.af/documents.asp>.
- ⁶ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2009*, available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr/2009>; United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Human Rights Dimension of Poverty in Afghanistan*, March 2010, available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/AsiaRegion/Pages/HRRReports.aspx>.
- ⁷ Government of Afghanistan Central Statistics Office, *Summary of the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment, 2007/8*, October 2009, available at: <http://nrva.cso.gov.af/>.
- ⁸ Interview with a Ministry of Education official, Kabul, May 17, 2010.
- ⁹ *Corruption Perceptions Index 2009*, Transparency International, November 2009, available at: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2009.
- ¹⁰ *Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Paragraph 40 of Resolution 1917 (2010)*, United Nations Security Council, June 16, 2010, available at: <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep10.htm>.
- ¹¹ Government of Afghanistan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.af/kabul-conference.asp>.
- ¹² “Bankable” programs are defined as “strong national programs that not only achieve results, but also enable the Afghan government, private sector and communities to be independent, self-reliant and ultimately prosperous.” They aim to enable communities to “build up their productive assets, reduce insecurity, and improve household incomes across the countryside...create jobs, stabilize the countryside, and to broker people’s recovery from conflict.” They will also be “particularly useful in the newly stabilized areas, where immediate priorities are to provide employment and to restore farmer’s production.” *Afghanistan National Development Strategy: A New Roadmap for Prioritization and Implementation*, A Preliminary Draft in Advance of the JCMB and Kabul Conference for the Socio-Economic Development Standing Committee (Draft), June 2010.
- ¹³ A series of ten group discussions were conducted with Afghan men and women in and around Kabul during May and June 2010.
- ¹⁴ Group discussion, Kabul, June 1, 2010.
- ¹⁵ Interview, UN official, Kabul, June 30.
- ¹⁶ *The Human Cost: The Consequences of Insurgent Attacks in Afghanistan*, Human Rights Watch, April 15, 2007, available at: <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2007/04/15/human-cost>.
- ¹⁷ There are no reliable civilian casualty figures prior to 2006. Figures in the graph and text are from the following sources: Figures for 2006 are from *Troops in Contact: Airstrikes and Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan*, Human Rights Watch, September 2008. Figures from 2008 and 2009 are from *Annual Report on Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict 2008*, UNAMA, January 2009 and *Annual Report on Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict 2008*, UNAMA, January 2010. Assassination figures are from *Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Paragraph 40 of Resolution 1917 (2010)*, United Nations Security Council, June 16, 2010, available at: <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep10.htm>.
- ¹⁸ “UNAMA Transcript: UNAMA Press Conference,” April 26, 2010, available at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/MDCS-84VHPX?OpenDocument>.
- ¹⁹ Antonio Donini, *Afghanistan: Humanitarianism Unravelled?* Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, May 2010, available at: <https://wikis.uit.tufts.edu/confluence/pages/viewpage.action?pageId=36675386>.
- ²⁰ *Call for Strengthened Humanitarian Coordination in Afghanistan*, NGOs and Humanitarian Reform Project, June 2010, available at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/MYAI-86XA2R?OpenDocument&query=humanitarian%20reform%20OCHA%20afghanistan>.
- ²¹ Figures in the graph and text are taken from Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*, April 30, 2010, available at: <http://www.sigar.mil/April2010Report.asp>.
- ²² *Country Task Force Monitoring and Reporting – Update Grave Violations – March-April 2010*, internal document, May 2010.
- ²³ Matt Green and Kate Holt, “Secret Girls Schools Emerge in Afghanistan,” *Financial Times*, June 26, 2010, available at: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/bdb1da36-4df1-11df-b437-00144feab49a.html>.

- ²⁴ While they have shown promise in many remote or unstable areas, this is not to suggest that community-based education or similar approaches are a panacea. They still require sufficient access to communities, which may mean that they are less appropriate for areas of intensive conflict with high levels of violence.
- ²⁵ In August 2009, there were 249 reported incidents against schools, compared to 48 reported the previous month. *The Use of Schools and Health Facilities as Polling Stations*, Country Task Force on Children and Armed Conflict Internal Document, May 2010.
- ²⁶ "Ministers 'United' on Afghanistan," BBC News, May 23, 2010, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/8698452.stm>.
- ²⁷ Interview with donor agency official, Kabul, June 19, 2010.
- ²⁸ Group discussion, Kabul, May 20, 2010.
- ²⁹ Christopher P. Kolenda, "Winning Afghanistan at the Community Level: A Rejoinder to Voney F. Warner and C", *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Issue 56, January 2010, available at: <http://www.ndu.edu/Press/lib/images/jfq-56/3.pdf>.
- ³⁰ Group discussion, Kabul, May 27, 2010.
- ³¹ US Army Combined Arms Center, *Commanders' Guide to Money as a Weapons System: Tactics, Techniques and Procedures*, April 2009.
- ³² Alissa J. Rubin, "Afghan Tribal Rivalries Bedevil a US Plan," *New York Times*, March 11, 2010, available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/12/world/asia/12afghan.html?_r=1&scp=3&sq=shinwari&st=cse; Alissa J. Rubin, "Taliban Slay 6 Villagers over Aid Money," *New York Times*, May 25, 2010, available at: www.nytimes.com/2010/05/26/world/asia/26afghan.html.
- ³³ Group discussion, Kabul, May 6, 2010.
- ³⁴ Group discussion, Kabul, June 5, 2010.

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