

# **QUARTERLY MONITORING BRIEF**

Report No. 1
January 1—April 30 2013

Saudi Arabia, Russia and China have become more involved in regional efforts in support of stability in Afghanistan post-2014.

# Afghanistan: Monitoring the Key Regional Powers

Afghanistan and Pakistan's relations are at an all-time low. Diplomatic efforts by the US and the UK have failed to ease tensions between the two countries.

## **Malaiz Daud**



India continues providing development funding and political backing to the Afghan government.

With the support of





# CIDOB Sources of Tension in Afghanistan & Pakistan: A Regional Perspective (STAP RP) Quarterly Reports on "Monitoring the Key Regional Powers"

#### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this series of quarterly monitoring reports (2013) is to monitor and track the actions, public statements of five key STAP RP regional actors (India, Iran, Russia, China, Saudi Arabia) on Afghanistan; the development of, and their participation in relevant international and regional discussion meetings, including the Istanbul Process, Heart of Asia, RECCA, SCO; the five key regional actors' economic decisions and agreements, including, but not limited to, the energy and infrastructure sectors, which have implications for the identified sources of tension in Afghanistan with regional implications (see CIDOB STAP RP Mapping Document at www.cidobafpakproject.com).

The Sources of Tension (SoTs) identified in the Mapping Document are used as reference points to determine relevance and are specifically monitored in Section 1.

The content includes short summaries by topic and by country, on actions taken, public statements made, regional meetings held and how these develop as mechanisms for dialogue, and the participation of the key regional powers in relevant regional and international events, as well as in subgroups of international fora, such as the Heart of Asia. Economic activity and investments by the key regional powers in Afghanistan are also monitored, together with progress on, and shifting alliances in planned or actual economic projects. A short subsection on commentary from the media (in English) is included in each section.

Section 2 focuses on the key regional powers. Section 3 looks at regional dynamics and cross-cutting issues; and conclusions on the events of the past quarter are presented in Section 4. Section 5 presents publications by think tanks and research institutions in the region.

Calligraphy by: Masoud Faqirzada

#### 1. THE CONTEXT

#### Governance

- Seven Ministers whose ministries had failed to spend more than 50% of their annual funding survive vote of confidence in the Parliament, heralding allegations of corruption against parliamentarians.
- Lower House of Parliament has started debating the new electoral <u>law</u> while President Karzai discusses appointment of a new Chairman for the Election Commission with political entities and civil society, a session boycotted by main opposition groups.
- Afghanistan is among seven countries, out of a total of 100, whose budget transparency has increased dramatically according to Open Budget Index.
- 19<sup>th</sup> Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board (JCMB) meeting held in Kabul, endorsing Aid Management Policy and four National Priority Programs (NPPs).

#### **Peace and Reconciliation**

- Pakistan frees senior Taliban leaders at the request of High Peace <u>Council</u> a key demand of the Afghan government that is anxious not to become a mere spectator in the peace <u>process</u>.
- "All negotiations with Taliban insurgents should take place through the government-appointed High Peace Council, but unnamed "foreigners" had tried to sidestep the council", says President Karzai.

#### **Transition**

- Bagram Prison handed over to Afghan <u>authorities</u> after much wrangling that went as far as President Karzai was perceived to have implied the US colluded with <u>Taliban</u>. His remarks could also be interpreted as though Taliban's continued attacks would result in US's decision to stay in Afghanistan <u>indefinitely</u>.
- Afghanistan and USA discuss security deal post 2014.

#### Security

- An attack by Taliban in Farah that left more than 50 people dead and close to 100 injured spurs a wave of anger in <u>Afghanistan</u>, prompting President Karzai to term it genocide in a radio <u>address</u>.
- President Karzai orders Afghan forces not to call NATO airstrikes during military operations against insurgents in an effort to curb civilian casualties.
- President Karzai orders US Special Forces and their Afghan counterparts forces that report directly to the US forces to move out of Maidan Wardak <u>Province</u>.
- UN alarmed by the "troubling rise" in civilian casualties. Civilian casualties rise by 30% in the first three months of 2013 compared with the same period of last <u>year</u>.

#### Development

- Afghan spy agency, National Directorate of Security, foils a major attack on Indian-<u>funded</u> Salma Dam in Herat <u>Province</u>. Water distribution is a contentious issue between Afghanistan and its neighbors, Pakistan and Iran in particular.
- Afghanistan ranked 175 out of 187 countries in the Human Development Index according to the UNDP's Human Development Report 2013.

#### **Afghanistan-Pakistan Tensions**

- Earlier optimism fades as tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan peak after senior Pakistani Foreign Office officials label the Afghan President as the biggest "impediment" to the peace process.
- Afghanistan <u>rebukes</u>, saying it is ready to work for peace without Pakistan and blaming Pakistan for "deep complacency in the nascent Afghanistan Peace Process and changing goal post several times".
- Chief of Afghan army laments Pakistan for sticking to its old <u>policies</u> after Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan summons Pakistani Ambassador to Afghanistan to lodge a protest over unilateral construction activities along the Durand Line, also the subject of a letter from President Karzai to President Obama.
- US Secretary of State hosts President Hamid Karzai and Gen. Ahfaq Parvez Kayani, Pakistan's army chief, in an effort to ease the recent tensions between the two countries but cautions against high <u>expectations</u>.
- Despite US efforts to ease tensions, Afghan and Pakistani forces clash, resulting in multiple casualties.

### 2. REGIONAL POWERS

1.4. Track II Diplomacy

- March 19, 2013

<u>ئ</u>	1. India	Who	The Source
	1.1. Actions		
	- <b>February 18, 2013</b> Jawed Ludin, Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister, attends trilateral meeting with Indian and American officials in Delhi, irking Pakistani government that is weary of Indian influence.		Tolonews
	- <b>April 11, 2013</b> India and China hold sixth round of counter-terrorism dialogue in the wake of planned NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan, both fearing extremism in post-2014 <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Manish Chand	India Writes
	<ul> <li>April 21, 2013</li> <li>India takes lead in the Confidence Building Measures on Trade Opportunities and Investment within the Istanbul <u>Process</u>.</li> </ul>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Ministry
	- <b>April 22, 2013</b> Senior Indian Officials attend a preparatory meeting in Moscow to draw up a "suitable calendar" for trilateral talks between Russia, China and India as the region sees a surge in diplomatic activities regarding post-2014 <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Rajeev Sharma	Russian Radio
	- <b>April 25, 2013</b> Indian External Affairs Minister, Salman Khurshid, attends the "Heart of Asia" Ministerial Conference in <u>Almaty</u> .		News Track India
	1.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
	- <b>April 6, 2013</b> India removes tariff on 460 Afghan goods to boost bilateral trade while Pakistan remains reluctant to allow Afghan goods transit via her territory to <u>India</u> .	Zabiullah Jahanmal	Tolonews
	- <b>April 29, 2013</b> India is in negotiations with Afghanistan over building a rail line from Bandar Abbas, Western Iran, to Afghanistan to provide linkage to Afghanistan's first steel plant in <a href="Hajigak"><u>Hajigak</u></a> .	Homa Siddiqui	The Financial Express
	1.3. Public Statements		
	- <b>February 6, 2013</b> Indian Defence Minister, AK Antony says: "India is taking steps to face any eventuality that may arise after the US begins to pull out its troops from Afghanistan next <u>year</u> ".		The Times of India
	- <b>February 26, 2013</b> India slams Chuck Hagel's remarks that India over the years "financed problems" for Pakistan in <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Elizabeth Roche	Livemint
	- <b>April 26, 2013</b> Indian External Affairs Minister, Salman Khurshid, says "New Delhi views Kabul [its strategic ally] as a possible driver of Asia's economic growth in the <u>future</u> ".		India Vision

Afghanistan

Indian and Afghan investors meet in Kabul with aim of strengthening economic and trade ties between the two <u>nations</u> .		Express
1.5. Media Commentary		
- <b>February 2, 2013</b> Left out in the cold, India needs its own plan in <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Seema Sirohi	First Post
- <b>April 8, 2013</b> With the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, New Delhi must prepare for contingencies, urges Times of <u>India</u> .	Editorial	Times of India



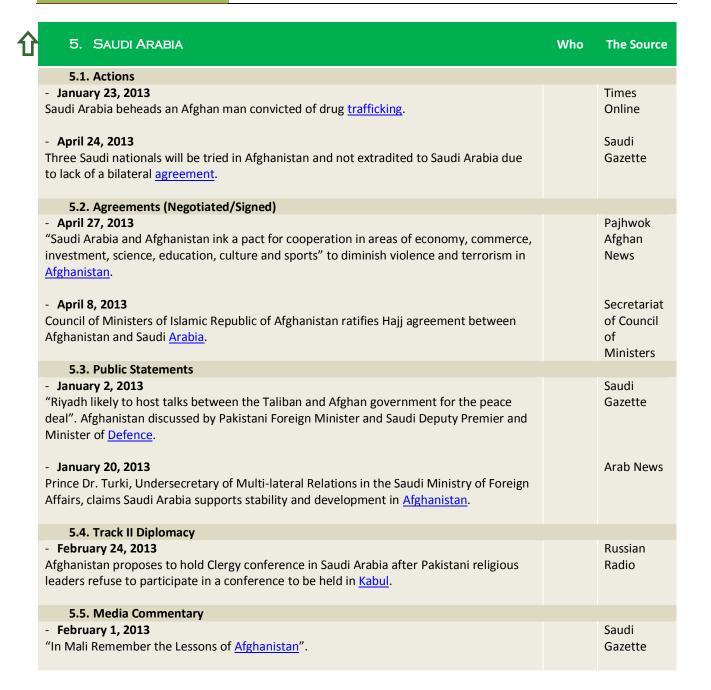
2. IRAN	Who	The Source
<ul> <li>2.1. Actions</li> <li>January 5, 2013</li> <li>Secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, Saeed Jalili visited Kabul on Jan</li> <li>5, 2013 to discuss bilateral ties amid concerns over US bases in Afghanistan post-2014.</li> </ul>	Sayed Jawad	Khaama Press
- <b>January 27, 2013</b> Minister of Energy of Iran meets the Afghan Minister of Agriculture and Livestock and discusses improving agricultural and livestock situation in <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Afghan Agriculture Ministry	Facebook
<ul> <li>April 16, 2013</li> <li>Iran executes around 45 Afghan citizens convicted of drug trafficking and other crimes and hands over their bodies to their families in the border town of Islam Qala.</li> </ul>		8 Sobh
<ul> <li>April 16, 2013</li> <li>Iranian Ambassador to Kabul <u>criticizes</u> former Chief of Afghan Spy Agency for writing an article about Iran's <u>interference</u> in Afghanistan.</li> </ul>	Amrullah Saleh	BBC Pashto and Facebook
<ul> <li>April 21, 2013</li> <li>Iran takes lead in the Confidence Building Measures on Education within the Istanbul Process.</li> </ul>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Ministry
- <b>April 25, 2013</b> Ali-Akbar Salehi, Foreign Minister of Iran attends the "Heart of Asia" Ministerial Conference in Almaty.		Iranian Foreign Ministry
2.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
- <b>February 20, 2013</b> With trade reaching \$2bn a year, Iran and Afghanistan ink an agreement on transit of goods. "Iran accounts for 35-40 per cent of exports to <u>Afghanistan</u> ".		Azarnews
2.3. Public Statements		
<ul> <li>January 7, 2013</li> <li>Saeed Jalili urges Afghanistan not to allow West to negatively influence relations between two neighboring <u>nations</u>.</li> </ul>		Press TV
<ul> <li>February 25, 2013</li> <li>The upper and lower houses of Afghan parliament issue a joint statement, condemning Iran's decision to hang <u>Afghans</u>.</li> </ul>		Bakhtar News
- March 3, 2013 Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs promises the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs to request the head of his country's judiciary to halt executions of <a href="Afghans">Afghans</a> .	Rafi Sediqi	Tolonews
- April 25, 2013  Foreign Minister of Iran voices "opposition to the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan.  2.4. Track II Diplomant		Iranian Foreign Ministry
2.4. Track II Diplomacy - April 27, 2013	Jawed	Facebook
Iran <u>founds</u> a high school in Kabul named after the leader of Iranian Revolution, Imam Khomeini.	Nader	. accoon



3. CHINA	Who	The Source
3.1. Actions		
- April 8, 2013		The Nation
Senior Officials from Russia, Pakistan and China meet for trilateral talks on Afghanistan		
in Beijing, agreeing to safeguard peace, security and stability in <u>Afghanistan</u> .		
- April 11, 2013	Manish	India
India and China hold sixth round of counter-terrorism dialogue in the wake of planned	Chand	Writes
NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan, both fearing extremism in post-2014 Afghanistan.		
- April 22, 2013	Rajeev	Russian
Senior Chinese Officials attend a preparatory meeting in Moscow to draw up a	Sharma	Radio
"suitable calendar" for trilateral talks between Russia, China and India as the region	•	
sees a surge in diplomatic activities regarding post-2014 Afghanistan.		
- April 26, 2013	D.	Trend
4 <sup>th</sup> "Heart of Asia" Conference to be held in China in 2014.	Mukhtarov	
Theate of your conference to be field in clinia in 2021.	Water Car Car	
3.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
- March 20, 2013	Simon Hall	The Wall
China's largest oil company will soon begin commercial production of crude oil,		Street
heralding a new era in Afghanistan's quest for self-sustaining.		Journal
3.3. Public Statements		
- March 19, 2013	Amb. Li	Permanent
Chinese Ambassador to the UNSC considers elections, peace and reconciliation	Baodong	Mission of
process and enhancing capacity of Afghan National Security Forces to reduce civilian		the
casualties important.		People's
		Republic of
		China to
		the UN
3.4. Track II Diplomacy		
- April 7, 2013		CCTV
Confucius Institute reopens in Kabul. Ambassador Xu Feihong of China says opening of		
the Institute will help promote bilateral <u>ties</u> .		
3.5. Media Commentary		
- March 22, 2013	Feng Yujun	China Daily
China and Russia should "focus on uniting the International Community to jointly cope	reng rujun	Cillia Dally
with the security risks that might result from the security situation in Afghanistan in		
2014".		
2027		



4. Russia	Who	The Source
4.1. Actions		
- <b>January 2, 2013</b> First major Russian investment after 1989 comes in the form of a housing project that plans building 100,000 apartments, costing \$ 500 million over the next three <u>years</u> .		Bakhtar News Agency
- March 12, 2013 Russian officers take part in seizure of 21 tons of heroin and destroying of several drug producing <u>labs</u> in an operation in eastern Afghan province of Nengarhar.		RIA NOVOSTI
- <b>April 8, 2013</b> Senior Officials from Russia, Pakistan and China meet for trilateral talks on Afghanistan in Beijing, agreeing to safeguard peace, security and stability in <u>Afghanistan</u> .		The Nation
<ul> <li>April 21, 2013</li> <li>Russia, along with Azerbaijan, takes lead in the Confidence Building Measures on Anti Drug Trafficking Campaign within the Istanbul Process.</li> </ul>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Ministry
- <b>April 22, 2013</b> Moscow hosts a preparatory meeting in Moscow to draw up a "suitable calendar" for trilateral talks between Russia, China and India as the region sees a surge in diplomatic activities regarding post-2014 <u>Afghanistan</u> .	Rajeev Sharma	Russian Radio
4.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<ul> <li>April 4, 2013</li> <li>Agreement for purchase of Russian helicopters for Afghan National Security Forces remains intact.</li> </ul>	Kenneth Rapoza	Forbes
<ul> <li>April 3, 2013</li> <li>Russia and NATO agree to expand support to the Afghan air force within the framework of NATO-Russia Trust <u>Fund</u>.</li> </ul>	Ghanizada	Khaama Press
4.3. Public Statements		
- <b>January 2, 2013</b> Russian Ambassador to Afghanistan rues missed chances in security and economic sectors in Afghanistan, labeling planned NATO withdrawal in 2014 as <a href="premature">premature</a> .	Bernard Smith	Aljazeera
<ul> <li>March 1, 2013</li> <li>Russia announces Afghanistan is a priority during its presidency of the UN Security Council.</li> </ul>		Russia Today
<ul> <li>April 1, 2013</li> <li>Kremlin confirms it is considering setting up bases in Afghanistan after withdrawal of NATO forces. The reports are denied by some officials though.</li> </ul>		The Inquisitr
4.4. Media Commentary		
- <b>February 14, 2013</b> Afghanistan may be a threat to Russia after 2014.		Russia Beyond the Headlines



#### 3. REGIONAL DYNAMICS AND CROSSCUTTING ISSUES

**January 2, 2013:** Pakistan-Afghanistan Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry established as a result of "Conference on Economic Cooperation" in Islamabad (Link).

**January 24, 2013:** Regional Infrastructure CBM Working Group Meeting held in Ashgabat as part of the Istanbul Process to come up with Implementation Plans for the Confidence Building Measures (CBMS) (Link).

March 24, 2013: India to transport goods to Afghanistan via Iran (Link).

March 7, 2013: Participants from eight countries, including India, Iran, Russia and Turkey, attend a conference in New Delhi on Afghanistan post-2014, hosted by Delhi Policy Group and Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies (Link).

March 19, 2013: The United Nations Mission in Afghanistan extended by another year through resolution 2096 (2013) until March 2014 (Link).

March 20, 2013: Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan sign railroad agreement. "The 400-kilometer railroad is to connect the Afghan town of Akina-Andkhoy to Atamurat-Ymamnazar in Turkmenistan and Pyandzh in Tajikistan (Link).

**April 15, 2013:** "For the third year in a row, opium cultivation has increased across Afghanistan, erasing earlier drops stemming from a decade-long international and Afghan government effort to combat the drug trade" (Link).

**April 15, 2013:** Despite "tangible progress" in reducing corruption in public sector, the cost of corruption has increased by 40% in the last three years in Afghanistan (<u>Link</u>).

**April 25, 2013:** Senior Officials of participant countries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Heart of Asia Ministerial Conference meet for the fifth time to finalize the draft declaration of the conference held the day after (<u>Link</u>).

**April 26, 2013:** "Heart of Asia" participants recognize completion of the first step of the "Istanbul Process", adopting Implementation Plans of the Confidence Building Measures (CBMS) and stipulate implementation of the Plans as the next step (<u>Link</u>).

**April 26, 2013:** As a supporting state, the United States of American has taken steps to support the Confidence Building Measures of Istanbul Process (<u>Link</u>).

April 28, 2013: Afghanistan signs "Strategic Partnership Agreements" with Finland and Denmark (Link).

#### 4. SUMMARY OF TRENDS FOR THE QUARTER

#### **Increased Dynamism**

The region is starting to become more and more dynamic as regional powers and Afghanistan's neighbors are beginning to jockey for influence in Afghanistan after the NATO— mainly US— troops have withdrawn. However, their plans may be hindered by the presence of CIA and US Special Forces' contractors who are expected to replace combat units of ISAF even if there is "zero" presence of American and other western troops in a "zero+" scenario.

#### **Continued US & European Influence**

In case the "security agreement" with Americans does go through with a limited number of US troops stationed beyond 2014 in Afghanistan, the US will continue to hold significant sway in the country. There are signs the latter scenario will prevail, as Germany – third contributing country by troop levels – has already pledged to leave behind 800 security personnel in an advisory and training capacity beyond 2014.

#### **Importance of the Regional Powers**

China, Russia and Saudi Arabia are beginning to warm up to the idea of having a meaningful say in Afghanistan today and after 2014 – slightly moving away from their status as "cautious allies".

#### Saudi Arabia's Direct Engagement

The most interesting turn of events is Saudi Arabia's renewed keenness to be engaged in Afghanistan. Historically, Saudi Arabia has provided high levels of financial support to Afghans but mostly through Pakistan where they are revered. Taking in former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1999 and facilitating General Pervez Musharraf's return to Pakistan in the first quarter of this year are prime examples of their influence in Pakistan. The Kingdom's recent overtures to the Afghan government are a sign of a break with the past. Its new agreement with Afghanistan covers a broad range of issues, from commerce to youth and sports. Whilst credit may go to Afghan President for repeatedly reaching out to the Saudi Royal Family for facilitating peace talks with the Taliban, with an underlying strategy to circumvent Pakistan in relations with the Saudis, it is more likely that Saudi motivation for direct engagement is in response to the abundant Iranian investment in Afghanistan.

#### **China's Reluctant Involvement**

China has hitherto firmly sought a safe distance from the "graveyard of the empires". This may be changing in part due to their fear of relapse of Afghanistan into the hands of Islamic extremist groups that will encourage "growth of (Uighur) Muslim extremism on Chinese territory, supported from across the border with Pakistan", using Afghanistan for their training and other support activities. This perception must have been strengthened by the latest incident in Xinjiang region where 21 people died in clashes, including 15 police officers. The China-India counter-terrorism summit on Afghanistan and its first public warning last year to Pakistan on activities of extremists in Pakistan point to a slight shift in China's views on the security in the region in favor of India and Afghanistan.

China's economic engagement in the newly-opened mineral resource corridor seems to be a matter of an integrated mineral zonal approach more than the size of opportunity available.

#### **Russia's Hands-Off Stance**

Russia claims to maintain a hands-off approach because of its recent history with Afghanistan and also remains weary of a sustained US military presence in Afghanistan. Ironically, it has actively taken part in

counter-narcotics operations because of its toll on the Russian society, posing "an internal security <u>challenge</u>". Russian officers were part of a counter-narcotics operation in eastern Afghanistan in March of this year.

Its support to the counter-terrorism campaign is slim but post-2014 Afghanistan is of a great concern for the Russian authorities as they, like the Chinese and Saudis, fear the rise of extremism and Afghanistan's becoming a hotbed for international terrorism. This has translated into Russian's becoming increasingly involved with the countries of the region to ensure stability in Afghanistan, making Afghanistan top priority during its presidency of the UN Security Council and convening and participating in numerous multilateral and trilateral talks on Afghanistan in the first quarter of 2013.

#### Iran – The Spoiler and The Builder

The India-Iran-Afghanistan agreements mentioned in Section 2 are an effort by Iran to replace Pakistan as the main linkage for transportation of goods as Iran strives to broaden its economic interests in Afghanistan. It has also funded numerous cultural ventures to spur support for its interests. Iran's recent activities of entering multiple agreements with the Afghan government but at the same time interfering in Afghanistan's internal politics are a mix of both support to and derailment of state institutions of Afghanistan.

#### **India's Consistency**

India's actions this quarter remained consistent with its policies of supporting stability, economic development and broader trade in Afghanistan, entering a number of diplomatic and economic arrangements to forward its interests in the region.

Overall, joining India, moves by Russia and Saudi Arabia in the first quarter of 2013 mark a shift in their policies from supporting different proxy groups towards supporting the Afghan state. Iran's policy resembles that of Pakistan of supporting non-state actors but not severing ties with the Afghan government, even supporting it financially.

#### 5. Publications from the Region

January 15, 2013: Mollazehi, Pir-Mohammad. Karzai's Official Visit to US: An Analysis, Iran Review. Available here.

**February 8, 2013:** Rubin, Daniel. *A New Silk Road Strategy for Afghanistan*, Observer Research Foundation. Available here.

**February 8, 2013:** Mohan, C.Raja. *Forget Gawadar, China has Karachi*, Observer Research Foundation. Available here.

**February 25, 2013:** Jiechi, Yang. *Conducting Chinese Diplomacy Under New Circumstances,* China Institute of International Studies. Available here.

**March 1, 2013:** Thomas, Vincent. "Good" water governance models in Afghanistan: Gaps and Opportunities, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Available here.

**March 4, 2013:** Hewad, Gran. *An Afghan-Pakistani Strategic Agreement: Side-Steps, Back Steps and New Steps,* Afghanistan Analyst Network. Available <a href="here">here</a>.

March 6, 2013: Topychkanov, Petr. Russian Policy on India and South Asia, Moscow Defense Brief. Available here.

March 15, 2013: Shaikh, Hina. Pak-India Trade: A Regional Perspective, Jinnah Institute. Available here.

**March 19, 2013:** Bhattacharya, Pinaki. *Need a Muscular Indian Strategy in Afghanistan,* Indian Defence Review. Available here.

**March 19, 2013:** Buch, Dr. M N. *India, Afghanistan and Development in Pakistan,* Vivekananda International Foundation. Available <a href="here">here</a>.

**March 22, 2013:** Das, R N. *India-China Relations: A New Paradigm,* Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Available <a href="https://example.com/here/beach-state-new-march-new-march-state-new-march-new-march-state-new-march

**April 2, 2013:** Pantucci, Raffaello. *China's Leadership Opportunity in Afghanistan*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available <a href="https://example.com/html/>here">here</a>.

**April 9, 2013:** Gulati, Monish. *Mining Concessions in Afghanistan Take Center-Stage*, Vivekananda International Foundation. Available here.

April 11, 2013: Katoch, Prakash. India Military in Afghanistan, Center for Land Warfare Studies. Available here.

April 27, 2013: Javed, Rana Athar. Afghanistan and Politics of Errors, Pakistan China Institute. Available here.

**April 30, 2013:** Kazemi, Said Reza. *Over-promising, Under-delivering: The Outcome of the Afghanistan Conference in Kazakhstan,* Afghanistan Analyst Network. Available <a href="here">here</a>.

**April 30, 2013:** Chandran, D Suba. *Iran, Islam and Nuclear Weapons: Engage Teheran instead of isolating it,* Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. Available <a href="https://example.com/here">here</a>.

**April 30, 2013:** Peavey, Seth. *Strategic Conflict Analysis: Kunduz Province,* Cooperation for Peace and Unity. Available <a href="https://example.com/html/>here">here</a>.