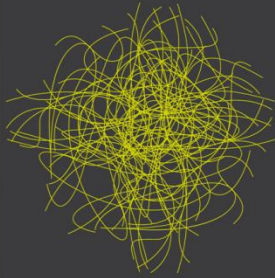


**Sources of
Tension in
Afghanistan
and Pakistan**

A Regional
Perspective



QUARTERLY MONITORING BRIEF

Report No. 2

May 1—July 9, 2013

↑ Spearheaded by Saudi Arabia, a number of Gulf States are pondering direct involvement with the Afghan government.

↓ India's negative response to the request of the Afghan government for provision of lethal arms has caused some unease in Afghanistan.

○ Afghanistan and Pakistan's relations are almost defunct after Taliban Qatar Office fiasco.

Afghanistan: Monitoring the Key Regional Powers

Malaiz Daud



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**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.

1. THE CONTEXT

Governance

- Afghanistan welcomes James Dobbins' appointment as US's Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, citing his knowledge of the region as a [plus](#).
- 50 million USD in US funds stolen from Afghan bank [account](#).
- Integrity Watch ranks Afghanistan 49th out of 58 countries in the "Good Governance [Index](#)".
- Lower House of the Parliament approves the Election Law, paving the way for next year's [elections](#).

Peace and Reconciliation

- Taliban finally open their office in Doha, hanging a plaque outside and hoisting their defunct emirate's flag on a pole. The ceremony is seen by the Afghan government as overstepping the mandate of the office. Infuriated Afghan President suspends negotiations over Bilateral Security Agreement with the US, in [response](#).
- Taliban claim talks and fighting will continue simultaneously and outline the purpose of their office as to establish contacts with the International Community, NGOs and Afghan [groups](#).
- US is quick in asking the Qataris to bring down the plaque that reads "Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan" and the white Taliban [flag](#).
- Details emerge of the secret Pakistani plan in bringing Taliban to Doha with the aim of eventually handing over some southern and eastern provinces of Afghanistan to Taliban to achieve the "strategic [depth](#)".
- The planned talks between the Americans and the Taliban are put off amid the uproar created in [Afghanistan](#).

Transition

- Afghan security forces complete the final round of transition by taking over the security responsibilities of the [country](#) fully, an achievement hailed by President Karzai as an "historic moment".

Security

- 40 Afghans will be sent to Turkey for education in military [universities](#).
- Afghan government allocates 160 million USD for repairing military [hardware](#).
- President Hamid Karzai reveals that the US could have nine military bases in Afghanistan post-[2014](#).
- In a rare attack on Georgian troops in the volatile Helmand province, three soldiers lose their [lives](#).
- Afghan Air Force graduates its first female pilot in 30 [years](#).

Development

- Despite significant progress made in reduction of child and mother mortalities in the past 12 years, Afghanistan is ranked 9th in the Save the Children's "Birth Day Risk [Index](#)".
- The United States of America provides 32 million USD for repairing the gas pipeline from the city of Sheberghan to Mazar-e-Sharif in the northern [Afghanistan](#).
- Afghanistan strikes oil for the first [time](#) for commercial production.
- President Hamid Karzai inaugurates construction of a housing complex of 3333 apartments in Kabul, with 179 million USD in funding from Abu Dhabi Fund, considered as a significant investment by a gulf [country](#).
- Envoys of 21 European countries pledge to provide 1 billion USD in the next decade to [Afghanistan](#).
- A US\$100 million Grant, to finance the Afghanistan System Enhancement for Health Action in Transition (SEHAT) Program, is signed between the Ministry of Finance and the World [Bank](#).
- Afghanistan's sports fairytale on the international stage continues. Following the Afghan football team's big stride in FIFA [ranking](#), its cricket team achieves associate [membership](#) of the International Cricket Council.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Tensions

- Afghan cabinet instructs the Ministry of Interior Affairs to remain vigilant and not allow construction of "alien" posts inside [Afghanistan](#) after a clash between the Pakistani and Afghan forces along the Durand [Line](#).
- "Afghan government lodges strong protest with Pakistan about unprovoked attack against Afghan forces near the Durand Line", Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs [reports](#).
- Tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan seem to be unabating as the Taliban Doha Office fiasco further deepens suspicion of duplicity on the part of Pakistan in [Afghanistan](#).
- Suggestion by the Pakistani National Security Advisor for handing over of power in some provinces of Afghanistan to Taliban spurs a new wave of anger in [Afghanistan](#).

2. REGIONAL POWERS



1. INDIA	Who	The Source
1.1. Actions		
<p>- May 5, 2013 Work will soon begin on building the National Mining Institute of Afghanistan, it was revealed during a meeting between Pres. Hamid Karzai and an Advisor to the Indian Prime Minister.</p>	Afghan President's Office	Official Facebook Page
<p>- May 13, 2013 Indian School of Mines (IMS) receives a high level Afghan delegation to discuss educational opportunities for Afghans in an effort to bolster the Afghan sector.</p>	Pradhuman Choubey	The Telegraph
<p>- May 21, 2013 President Hamid Karzai receives an honorary doctorate degree from the Indian President, granted by the Lovely Professional University.</p>	Afghan President's Office	Official Youtube Channel
<p>- July 5, 2013 India turns down "Afghanistan's request for supply of lethal weapons, saying it was neither in a position nor willing to contribute lethal weapons right now".</p>		The Hindu
1.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- May 6, 2013 Kandahar agriculture university will be established with funding from India. In the meantime, 25 Afghans will receive agricultural training in India.</p>	Zabiullah Jahanmal	Tolonews
<p>- May 27, 2013 Afghan government's cabinet ratifies an MoU between the Sciences Academy of Afghanistan and the National Science Academy of India.</p>	Council of Ministers Secretariat	Official Facebook Page
1.3. Public Statements		
<p>- May 21, 2013 India would stand by Afghanistan in its critical period of transition, professes the Indian President, Pranab Mukherjee.</p>	Staff	The Economic Times
<p>- May 23, 2013 Indian Vice-President Hamid Ansari and Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov oppose outside interference in Afghanistan.</p>	Staff	The Hindu
<p>- July 2, 2013 Amid the Doha fiasco, India declares its support of Afghan government's stance of "Afghan-led and owned process" and warns against crossing the "red lines".</p>	Indian Embassy, Kabul	Official Facebook Page
1.4. Track II Diplomacy		
<p>- May 2, 2013 "Indian Embassy, Kabul organises Medical Camp to raise awareness against Hypertension and other lifestyle related diseases".</p>	Indian Embassy in Kabul	Official Facebook Page
<p>- May 12, 2013</p>	Afghan	Official

The Indian Ambassador to Kabul is hosted by the Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies to deliver a lecture on bilateral relations and regional issues to an audience consisting of Afghan government officials and members of the Afghan civil society .	Institute of Strategic Studies	Website
- May 12, 2013 India's "Father of the Green Revolution" visits Afghanistan to "share his experience with Afghans" and meets, amongst others, Ministers of Agriculture and Higher Education .	Indian Embassy in Kabul	Official Facebook Page
- May 19, 2013 Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies bids farewell to the outgoing Indian Ambassador with the Afghan National Security Advisor in attendance .	Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies	Official Facebook Page
1.5. Media Commentary		
- May 17, 2013 Wanted, an Afghan statesman .	Vivek Katju	The Hindu
- May 22, 2013 Why India is concerned about supplying arms to Afghanistan .	Praveen Swami	Firstpost
- May 24, 2013 From instability to opportunity .	C. Raja Mohan	The Indian Express

2. IRAN

Who

The Source

2.1. Actions

- **May 11, 2013**

Iranian security forces open [fire](#) on Afghan refugees along the border, killing 50 and injuring many who are denied treatment.

Radio
Liberty

- **May 12 2013**

Iranian Ambassador to Kabul is summoned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs amid [protest](#) by the Afghan Senate at the killing of Afghans by the [Iranians](#).

Meer Agha
Nasrat
Samimi

Pajhwok

- **May 28, 2013**

Iran expels 1500 Afghan refugee children to Afghanistan in the last two months in order to compel their families to leave [Iran](#).

Rafi Sediqi
Sharafuddin
Stanikzai

Tolonews
Pajhwok

- **June 1, 2013**

Iran receives a Taliban delegation, led by Sayed Tayeb Agha, Mullah Omar's former secretary. No details of the talks are [provided](#).

Shah Wali
Sadeq

Khaama
Press

2.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)

- **May 13, 2013**

Afghan government's cabinet ratifies an MoU between the Ministry of Higher of Education of Afghanistan and the Ministry of Science, Education and Technology of Iran for cooperation in the areas of science, education, technology and [research](#).

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

- **May 20, 2013**

Afghan government's cabinet ratifies a science and research MoU between the Baghlan University of Afghanistan and the Academy of Persian Literature of [Iran](#).

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

- **May 20, 2013**

Afghan government's cabinet ratifies an MoU between the Agriculture Faculty of Baghlan and the Agriculture and Natural Resources College of Tehran [University](#).

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

- **May 20, 2013**

Afghanistan and Iran ink an MoU, pledging to promote bilateral cooperation in judicial and legal affairs and exchange of legal [experiences](#).

Ahmad
Quraishi

Pajhwok

- **June 3, 2013**

National Security Advisor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan are assigned to review the planned water and electric power agreement with [Iran](#).

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

2.3. Public Statements

- **May 12, 2013**

Iranian embassy in Kabul blames Tolo TV for being "negative" after [footage](#) of carnage of Afghans by Iranian security forces is broadcast by the aforesaid TV.

Afghanistan
Facebook
Page

- **May 14 2013**

Afghan Foreign Minister meets his Iranian counterpart in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and discusses killing of Afghans. The latter promises investigation and prevention of such acts in [future](#).

Afghanistan
Ministry of
Foreign
Affairs

Official
Website

<p>- May 22 2013 Iran's Foreign Minister tells UNSG's Special Representative to Afghanistan Iran is against American military bases in Afghanistan.</p>	Staff	Padida Website
2.4. Media Commentary		
<p>- June 25, 2013 Opportunity created by Rohani's election should be seized.</p>		Tehran Times
<p>- July 4, 2013 Challenges Facing Education in Afghanistan.</p>		Iran Daily
<p>- July 7, 2013 Iran: Government of Moderation.</p>	Gholamali Khoshroo	Payvand Iran News



3. CHINA	Who	The Source
3.1. Actions		
- June 21, 2013 China has kept a channel of communication open with Taliban over the last year for “mitigation of security threats to its interests ”.	Andrew Small	Foreign Policy
3.2. Public Statements		
- June 19, 2013 China welcomes opening of the Taliban office in Qatar but stresses the process should be Afghan-led and Afghan- owned . - July 7, 2013 China reaffirms its “support for an Afghan-led peace effort in the country following the withdrawal of U.S. troops next year ”.	Arun George	Firstpost The China Post
3.3. Track II Diplomacy		
- May 16, 2013 Afghan experts and Chinese think tanks discuss “Regional Mechanism for Afghanistan post-2014” in Beijing, facilitated by a German political foundation, FES .	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Official Facebook Page
3.4. Media Commentary		
- May 7, 2013 Complexities of Afghanistan Corruption . - June 10, 2013 China ups presence in Afghanistan as U.S. withdraws . - July 1, 2013 China the key to India’s Afghan puzzle . - July 2, 2013 China and India are battling over two strategically important Middle East ports . - July 3, 2013 An Important Mission .	Arthur Cyr Prathapan Bhaskaran Jake Maxwell Watts Malik Muhammad Ashraf	The China Post Public Radio International Asia Times Quartz The Nation



4. RUSSIA	Who	The Source
4.1. Actions		
<p>- May 16, 2013 Russia to deliver 12 Mil Mi-17V5 military transport helicopters to the Afghanistan by the end of 2013 as part of a \$367.5 million deal with the Pentagon.</p> <p>- May 20, 2013 Russian Special Forces foil a planned terrorist attack in Moscow, killing two people and detaining one who are said to have received training in the Afghan-Pak border region.</p> <p>- June 6, 2013 Russia's National Antiterrorism Committee (NAK) claims to have shut down a terrorist group outside Moscow that was "active against NATO forces in Afghanistan".</p>	Staff	RIA NOVOSTI The Christian Science Monitor RIA NOVOSTI
4.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- June 17, 2013 Russia and the United States sign a new contract for the purchase of 30 helicopters for the Afghan Air Force for an undisclosed cost.</p> <p>- June 28, 2013 Despite reservations by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, the Pentagon will go ahead with purchasing of helicopters from the state-owned, banned arms trader of Russia, costing up to a billion dollars.</p>	Andrey Greshnov Sarah Rae Fruchtnicht	RIA NOVOSTI Opposing Views
4.3. Public Statements		
<p>- May 7, 2013 In the meeting of Russia's Security Council, Vladimir Putin chides international forces for inaction on drug trafficking but promises continued support to Afghanistan.</p> <p>- May 17, 2013 Predicting instability, Russian Ambassador to Kabul says Russia is considering deploying troops along the Tajik-Afghan border post-2014.</p> <p>- May 17, 2013 Russian Foreign Minister is keen for the UN to develop proposals to define the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan after 2014.</p> <p>- May 27, 2013 Lt. Gen. Igor Sergun, head of Russia's military intelligence agency says, "ISAF withdrawal in 2014 could increase the threat of terrorism and religious extremism".</p> <p>- June 3, 2013 "Russia-US relations could be improved through collaboration in Afghanistan, despite having suffered a difficult phase recently, a senior Russian MP and foreign affairs spokesman says".</p> <p>- June 19, 2013 "Moscow supports Kabul's position that peace efforts in the war-torn country should be led by the government of Afghanistan, instead of the United States".</p>	Amie Ferris- Rotman	RIA NOVOSTI Reuters RIA NOVOSTI RIA NOVOSTI RIA NOVOSTI

<p>- July 2, 2013 Russian Special Representative to Afghanistan tells President Hamid Karzai Russia only supports an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process.</p>	Afghan President's Office	Official Website
4.4. Media Commentary		
<p>- May 27, 2013 USA in Afghanistan: To lose without losing face.</p>	Sergei Vasilenko	Pravda.ru
<p>- June 26, 2013 Prompt Global Hysteria: The Soviets believed the U. S.</p>	Alexander Golts	The St. Petersburg Times
<p>- July 2, 2013 Don't Fear a Eurasian Union.</p>	Edward Lozansky and Martin Sieff	The Moscow Times
<p>- July 4, 2013 Nearly 14 percent of Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan had mental issues.</p>		The Voice of Russia



5. SAUDI ARABIA

Who

The Source

5.1. Actions

- **May 15, 2013**

Defence and Foreign Ministers of Saudi Arabia meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, discuss bilateral cooperation and regional and international [developments](#).

Saudi
Gazette

- **May 29, 2013**

Saudi Arabia donates 85 metric ton of dried dates to WFP for poor families of Afghanistan for the month of [Ramadhan](#).

United
Nations
Assistance
Mission in
Afghanistan

Official
Website

5.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)

- **May 26, 2013**

Afghanistan's fruit and juice traders sign business deals worth millions of dollars with Saudi [companies](#).

USAID
Afghanistan

Official
Website

- **May 27, 2013**

Afghan government's cabinet ratifies an MoU between the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan and the Embassy of Saudi [Arabia](#) in Kabul.

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

- **May 27, 2013**

Afghan government's cabinet ratifies a collaborative program between the Institute of the Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and the Institute of the Diplomatic Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Saudi [Arabia](#).

Council of
Ministers
Secretariat

Official
Facebook
Page

5.3. Public Statements

- **May 27, 2013**

Saudi Foreign Minister, in a meeting with his Indian counterpart, commits to perseverance of Afghan sovereignty so that the country is not exploited by the "terrorist [groups](#)".

Sachin
Prashar

The Times
of India

5.4. Media Commentary

- **May 1, 2013**

Pakistan's failing relationship with [Afghanistan](#).

Mansoor
Jafar

Saudi
Gazette

- **May 20, 2013**

Riyadh strives to avoid Afghan-style blowback from [conflict](#).

Assad
Abboud

The Daily
Star
Lebanon

3. REGIONAL DYNAMICS AND CROSSCUTTING ISSUES

May 6, 2013: The recently appointed non-resident ambassadors of Qatar, Vietnam, Nepal, Nigeria, Argentina and Azerbaijan meet President Hamid Karzai ([Link](#)).

May 8, 2013: Participants from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan meet their Afghan counterparts in Kabul to discuss security, common threats and opportunities ([Link](#)).

May 14, 2013: Turkmenistan speeds up work on Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Tajikistan railway. Heads of states of the three countries formally inaugurate the project ([Link](#) and [Link](#)).

May 15, 2013: The meeting of the International Contact Group on Afghanistan and Pakistan (ICG) – comprising of 50 countries – is held in Berlin, Germany ([Link](#)).

May 19, 2013: Afghanistan and Oman to establish a joint commission to identify potential areas of cooperation ([Link](#)).

May 24, 2013: India slashes import of Iranian crude oil by 27% in the financial year, gets praised by the US, paving the way for another waiver from sanctions on Tehran ([Link](#)).

May 28, 2013: The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) plans to step up control at the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border ahead of the withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan next year ([Link](#)).

June 2, 2013: Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs convenes a meeting of the ambassadors of the countries participating in the Istanbul Process to discuss implementation of decisions of Almaty meeting ([Link](#)).

June 4, 2013: Kabul-Doha Investment Summit held at the Kabul Serena Hotel attended by senior Afghan officials and a Qatari business delegation ([Link](#)).

June 26, 2013: President of Kyrgyzstan signs a bill after overwhelming approval by the country's parliament to close a US airbase in Manas ([Link](#)).

July 3, 2013: The First Senior Officials' International Meeting on Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework is held in Kabul ([Link](#)).

4. SUMMARY OF TRENDS FOR THE QUARTER

The Dynamism Continues

As the date of withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan draws closer, the urgency among the regional powers to achieve their interests swells. The second quarter of 2013 saw more action in comparison with the first one. It is also notable that there is a renewed forcefulness in the public statements of the countries assessed in this report. America's efforts to bring Taliban to the negotiating table and Pakistan's covert and overt attempts to gain more leverage in Afghanistan have generated responses from all the countries in question.

China – the Pakistan Factor

China's alleged [dealings](#) with Taliban will not be looked at favorably in Kabul but it does prove that China wants to have a stake in Afghanistan post-2014 so that it can not only manage its Uighur conundrum by denying the dissenting elements an external breeding ground but also ensure the viability of its extractive projects beyond the withdrawal of the NATO troops. Publically, it is sending reassuring messages to the Afghan government. For instance, it claims to support an "Afghan-led and owned peace" process in Afghanistan. In case China confirms reports of its talks with Taliban, this may lead many to believe that the Pakistanis have not only managed to [persuade](#) the Americans to buy into their peace plan but also outwitted Afghanistan and India into making China believe that Pakistan has the right plan for keeping China's interests in Afghanistan as well as in wider region intact.

India – still too soft to take on Pakistan

India's response to the opening of the Taliban Political Office and the manner in which it was done was clear and [emphatic](#). But the reality is that it is still too dovish to take Pakistan to task over the violence it perpetuates inside India and against Indian interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan's attacks against Indian [citizens](#) and interests in Afghanistan have largely gone unreciprocated. The final straw in this policy was rejection of President Karzai's request for lethal weapons which may have partly stemmed from India's calculation not to [provoke](#) Pakistan.

Russia – the concerned party

Russia is visibly concerned at the prospect of another chaos in Afghanistan that may affect [adversely](#) the security of Tajikistan and the rest of central Asian states bordering Afghanistan. Russians know from their experience of the Tajikistan and Uzbekistan insurgencies and the Chechen war of 1990s that its Islamist foes in the Caucasus will find renewed [impetus](#) in Afghanistan should instability ensue after 2014. Poppy cultivation is another of Russia's primary concerns. Drug addiction among Russians aside, the presence of criminal networks involved in drug trafficking threatens safety of its citizens.

Saudi Arabia – not another backlash

Saudi Arabia is increasingly siding with the Afghan government in the hope curbing Saudi extremists with ambitions to strike Saudi interests. Therefore, the thought of another Taliban style government with safe heavens for Arab extremists is unbearable for the Saudi state. They are also weary of the Iranian influence and consider Afghanistan another front – in addition to Iraq and Syria – in their fight against Iranian encroachments in the region.

Iran – the paradox

Iran continues to oppose western military bases in Afghanistan, engages in talks with Taliban, invites them for [conferences](#) and even, allegedly, supplies [arms](#) to them. At the same time, it provides Afghanistan with technical and financial support. Then, it kills and expels Afghans.

5. PUBLICATIONS FROM THE REGION

May 1, 2013: Jeganaathan, J. *Afghanistan: When Indian and China Touch Base*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. Available [here](#).

May 1, 2013: Fishstein, Paul. *A Little Bit Poppy-free and a Little Bit Eradicated: opium poppy cultivation in Balkh and Badakhshan Provinces in 2011-2012*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Available [here](#).

May 2, 2013: Omidsalar, Mahmoud. *Pre-emptive War with Iran and the Proverbial 800 Pound Gorilla*, Iran Review. Available [here](#).

May 6, 2013: Sharma, Prakhar. *What Ails India? Not What the Economist Says*, Fair Observer. Available [here](#).

May 19, 2013: Chayes, Sarah. *Prospects for Afghanistan's 2014 Elections*, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available [here](#).

May 21, 2013: AAN. *The Evolving Taliban: Changes in the insurgency's DNA*, Afghanistan Analyst Network. Available [here](#).

June 3, 2013: Chengde, Yin. *Achievements and Challenges of China's Diplomacy in 2012*, China Institute of International Studies. Available [here](#).

June 24, 2013: Standish, Reid. *How do Post-2014 Spillover Fears and Russian Foreign Policy Goals Align?*, registan. Available [here](#).

June 26, 2013: Moradian, Davood. *Taliban Guns Send a Message About Obama's Peace Process*, Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies. Available [here](#).

June 28, 2013: Temori, Jamal. *How Are Afghanistan's Newly Established Political Parties Funded*, Bamdad. Available [here](#).

June 30, 2013: Orlov, Vladimir and Cheban, Alexander. *Life After Death: Will the Nunn-Lugar Program Give Way to New Partnership?*, Russia in Global Affairs. Available [here](#).

June 30, 2013: Kouvo, Sari. *Tell Us How This Ends: Transitional Justice and Prospects For Peace in Afghanistan*, Afghanistan Analysts Network. Available [here](#).

July 1, 2013: Various. *Weekly Assessments and Briefings, Volume 11, No. 52*, South Asia Terrorism Portal. Available [here](#).

July 1, 2013: Samad, Omar. *Ethnic Politics: A Dangerous Fault Line*, Afghan Analytica. Available [here](#).

July 2, 2013: Khwazoon, Faridoon. *Battle for Presidency: Hobnobbing gains momentum*, Pajhwok. Available [here](#).

July 3, 2013: Lt Gen Katoch, Prakash. *Fabrication of a Deadly Triangle: India, Pakistan and Afghanistan*, Indian Defence Review. Available [here](#).

July 4, 2013: al-Dakhil, Khaled. *Saudi Arabia Struggles to Find Role Amid Regional Changes*, Iran Military Forum. Available [here](#).

2013: Rumi, Raza. *Afghanistan: no cooperation, no stability*, Jinnah Institute. Available [here](#).