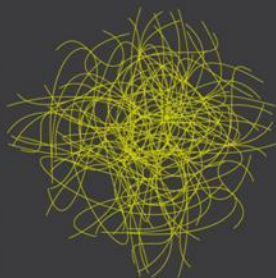


**Sources of
Tension in
Afghanistan
and Pakistan**

A Regional
Perspective



QUARTERLY MONITORING BRIEF

Report No. 1

January 1—March 31, 2014



All five regional powers have an interest in stability in Afghanistan.



The Afghan peace process, despite efforts by the Saudi Arabia, has not moved forward.



The Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) between Afghanistan and the US is yet to be signed.

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

- Afghan President once again reiterates his position of being [neutral](#) in the upcoming presidential election of Afghanistan.
- According to a Thomson Reuters Foundation survey, Afghanistan is the [worst place in the world for women](#).
- Majority of Afghan [lawmakers are supporting](#) the [three presumed](#) presidential frontrunners.
- Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami, a smaller insurgent group, urges its followers [to vote for Qutbuddin Helal](#), a former aide of Hekmatyar.
- Afghanistan [stands last](#) in the Corruption Perceptions Index of the Transparency International for 2013.
- The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) welcomes Afghan [report](#) on Eradication of Violence Against Women law, calls for full implementation.
- "UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Hervé Ladsous says that allegations of [electoral fraud](#) must not be used by presidential candidates as a pretext for disputing results of the April vote".

Peace and Reconciliation

- President Hamid Karzai stresses that a [meaningful peace process](#) should be launched for him to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) with the USA. He also tells US lawmakers Afghanistan respects the decision of the people of Crimea to join the Russian Federation.
- Afghanistan's National Security Council welcomes a Taliban press release, in which they say ["they are committed to lasting peace in Afghanistan"](#).

Security

- Afghanistan Ministry of Interior Affairs designates [first female police chief](#) in the history of the country.
- Afghanistan's Taliban are facing a serious challenge because of the [group's crippling financial crisis](#).
- Afghan National Security Forces are [exceeding expectations](#) by proving very effective.
- 19 Afghan [soldiers are killed](#) in an attack in the remote region of Kunar province, creating a furor in Afghanistan.
- After President Karzai refuses to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) with the US, President Barack Obama calls president Karzai to tell him the [US is planning to pull all its troops out](#) of Afghanistan.

Development

- The World Bank pledges 50 million USD for [poverty reduction](#) in Afghanistan.
- The Afghan government has awarded the [license to develop a large copper deposit](#) in the country's north to the international consortium, Afghan Gold and Minerals Company Ltd.
- Afghan [carpet wins an award](#) in a prestigious exhibition held in Germany.
- The European Council says, "the European Union remains [firmly committed to long-term partnership](#) with Afghanistan".
- UN Secretary General's Special Representative to Afghanistan says the international community is committed to continuing [providing aid to Afghanistan post-2014](#).
- Eutelsat and Afghanistan have signed an [MOU](#) giving Afghanistan satellite resources that will enhance deployment of its national broadcasting and telecommunications infrastructure as well as its international connectivity.
- Communications leads the way in [social transformation](#) of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Tensions

- Pakistan warns the US on a robust role for India in [Afghanistan](#).
- Afghanistan's Council of Ministers welcomes the [launch of peace talks](#) between the Pakistani Government and Pakistani Taliban.
- In a meeting between the Afghan Deputy Interior Minister and Interior Secretary of Pakistan, it is decided to enhance management of the Durand Line through [establishment of a joint commission](#).
- Pakistan protests to Afghanistan over [the killing of 23 of its military personnel](#), who it claims were killed inside Afghanistan.
- "Pakistan begins [issuing new cards](#) to 1.6 million Afghan refugees".
- Afghanistan's National Security Council has decided to convey its concerns over the proposed construction of [Dasu Dam](#) on the Indus river in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa.

2. REGIONAL POWERS



1. INDIA	Who	The Source
1.1. Actions		
- January 16, 2014 Delhi hosts the 20th International Contact Group (ICG) on Afghanistan and Pakistan Meeting .	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
- February 3, 2014 "India is actively seeking Iran's cooperation in dealing with the situation in Afghanistan".	Sachan Parashar	The Times of India
- February 15, 2014 India's Foreign Minister travels to Kandahar to inaugurate Afghanistan's first National Agriculture Sciences and Technology University , funded by India.	Official Facebook Page	Indian Embassy in Kabul
- March 5, 2014 Indian representatives attend an Anti-Cannabis seminar in Moscow, as part of the Counter Narcotics Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process.	Official Facebook Page	Heart of Aisa – Istanbul Process
- March 11, 2014 Vice President of India travels to Kabul to attend the funeral procession of the First Vice President of Afghanistan.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
1.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
- March 25, 2014 Afghanistan and India are close to finalizing a transit route agreement to connect Afghanistan with Mumbai through the Chabahar Port of Iran.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
1.3. Public Statements		
- January 16, 2014 Indian External Affairs Minister says Afghanistan today is not the Afghanistan of 1990s because of the progress it has made after the fall of the Taliban government.	Official Website	Minister of External Affairs of India
- January 17, 2014 Indian External Affairs Secretary praises Karzai's commitment to hold elections and urges to change the narrative about Afghanistan from negative to positive.	Official Website	Minister of External Affairs of India
- February 1, 2014 Indian National Security Advisor describes "cooperation with Iran on regional security and peace, especially in Afghanistan , as fruitful".		Tasnim New Agency
- February 15, 2014 Indian External Affairs Minister says, "a strong, prosperous and economically independent Afghanistan is a strategic priority " for India.	Official Facebook Page	Indian Embassy in Kabul
- March 4, 2014 The Indian Embassy in Kabul condemns Taliban-perpetrated violence in the run up to April's election.	Official Facebook Page	Indian Embassy in Kabul

<p>- March 9, 2014 Prime Minister of India conveys a condolence message at the death of Afghanistan's First Vice President.</p>	Official Website	Minister of External Affairs of India
<p>- March 9, 2014 India's Vice President calls the deceased Afghan First Vice President "a fearless commander, one of the bravest sons of Afghanistan, a friend".</p>	Official Facebook Page	Minister of External Affairs of India
<p>- March 11, 2014 Vice President of India says friendship between Indian and Afghan governments was preceded by friendship between the people of the two countries.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
<p>1.4. Media Commentary</p>		
<p>- January 26, 2014 A DIFFICULT VICTORY - China's support for Hasina Wajed may have a message for India</p>	Subir Bhaumik	The Telegraph



2. IRAN	Who	The Source
2.1. Actions		
<p>- January 10, 2014 Iranian security forces are sending Afghan refugees to Syria to fight against the Syrian rebels, based on concrete evidence.</p>	Zafar Shah Royee	8Sobh
<p>- January 12, 2014 Stay of 600 thousand Afghan refugees is extended by the Iranian government by issuing these refugees new visas.</p>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- March 5, 2014 Iranian representatives attend an Anti-Cannabis seminar in Moscow, as part of the Counter Narcotics Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Heart of Aisa – Istanbul Process
<p>- March 27, 2014 A high-level Iranian delegation, led by President Hassan Rouhani, attends the Afghan new year festivities in Kabul.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
2.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- January 12, 2014 Afghanistan is negotiating an agreement with Iran whereby Afghan laborers in Iran will get a legal status.</p>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- January 12, 2014 Iran has agreed to increase the number of visas issued to Afghan visitors by many folds.</p>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- March 25, 2014 Afghanistan and Iran will soon sign a memorandum of understanding to connect Afghanistan to Mumbai through Chabahar port of Iran.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- March 30, 2014 Afghanistan's National Security Council assigns an inter-ministerial working group, headed by the Afghan Foreign Affairs Minister, to finalize a "Comprehensive Security Cooperation Agreement" with Iran.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
2.3. Public Statements		
<p>- March 27, 2014 Iranian President calls the presence of the international military forces in Afghanistan "occupation".</p>	Emma Graham – Harrison	The Guardian
<p>- March 27, 2014 "Blossoming of #NowruzDiplomacy in Kabul, overshadowed by anguish shared with victims of extremism & terrorism", tweets the Iranian Foreign Minister.</p>	Official Twitter Account	Javad Zarif



3. CHINA	Who	The Source
3.1. Actions		
<p>- January 12, 2014 Chinese government has pledged to host the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process Ministerial meeting in China in late August or early September of 2014.</p>	Janan Mosazai	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- January 17, 2014 China co-chairs the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process Senior Officials Meeting held in New Delhi.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- January 22, 2014 Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Cheng Guoping, attends SCO Vice Foreign Ministerial Level Consultation on Regional Security, discussing Afghanistan security and drugs.</p>	Official Website	Chinese Embassy in Sweden
<p>- January 22, 2014 Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Cheng Guoping, holds a bilateral meeting with his Afghan counterpart in Moscow.</p>	Official Website	Chinese Embassy in Sweden
<p>- February 8, 2014 Afghan and Chinese presidents hold a bilateral meeting on the sidelines of the Winter Olympics opening ceremony in Sochi, Russia.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- February 15, 2014 Chinese President meets the US Secretary of State to discuss, amongst others, the "big-ticket items" that include Afghanistan.</p>		Tolnews
<p>- February 22, 2014 In a landmark visit, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, travels to Kabul, talks to President Karzai about the role of Pakistan in the fight against terrorism.</p>	Official Website	Afghan Embassy in Washington
<p>- March 5, 2014 Chinese representatives attend an Anti-Cannabis seminar in Moscow, as part of the Counter Narcotics Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Heart of Aisa – Istanbul Process
<p>- March 20, 2014 China's largest oil company to begin commercial production of crude oil in Afghanistan.</p>	Simon Hall	The Wall Street Journal
3.2. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- March 25, 2014 Afghanistan and China have held talks on opening a transit route between the two countries through Tajikistan.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
3.3. Public Statements		
<p>- January 22, 2014 Chinese Vice Foreign Minister reaffirms his country's commitment to safeguarding Afghanistan's security and stability and promoting its economic development.</p>	Official Website	Chinese Embassy in Sweden
<p>- February 8, 2014 Chinese President says his country is ready to cooperate with Afghanistan to</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's

combat terrorism, extremism and transnational crime.		Office
<p>- February 22, 2014 Chinese Foreign Minister says an increase in contacts between China and Afghanistan will be fruitful for strengthening of relations between the two countries.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- February 22, 2014 Chinese Foreign Minister says his country is planning to increase aid to Afghanistan to enhance infrastructure in education and agriculture sectors.</p>	Official Website	Afghan Embassy in Washington
<p>- March 10, 2014 Chinese Ambassador to Kabul writes to the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs to condole the death of the Afghan First Vice President.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry



4. RUSSIA	Who	The Source
4.1. Actions		
<p>- January 22, 2014 Russia hosts the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Deputy Ministers Consultation Meeting on Regional security, with Afghanistan as one of the themes.</p>	Official Website	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- February 6, 2014 Russian Ambassador to Kabul calls on the Afghan Minister of Interior Affairs.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Ministry of Interior Affairs
<p>- February 7, 2014 President Hamid Karzai is invited to attend the inaugural ceremony of the Winter Olympics in Sochi.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Tolonews
<p>- February 8, 2014 Presidents of Russia and Afghanistan hold a bilateral meeting at the sidelines of the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- March 5, 2014 As part of the Counter Narcotics Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process, Russia organizes an Anti-Cannabis seminar in Moscow.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Heart of Aisa – Istanbul Process
4.2. Public Statements		
<p>- March 19, 2014 President Vladimir Putin believes friendship between Russian and Afghanistan is in the interest of the people of the two countries.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- March 19, 2014 President Vladimir Putin wishes President Hamid Karzai the Afghan new year in a message.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
4.3. Media Commentary		
<p>- March 1, 2014 From Delhi to Kabul, Via Moscow: India may enlist Russia to provide Afghan government forces with needed weapons.</p>	Kabir Taneja	The Diplomat

5. SAUDI ARABIA

Who

The Source

5.1. Actions

<p>- January 6, 2014 Upon being urged by the US, Saudi Arabia has accelerated its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Afghan conflict.</p>	Saleha Sodat	Tolonews
<p>- January 6, 2014 The Saudi Foreign Minister, Saud Al-Faisal, travels to Islamabad to meet with Pakistani officials to discuss the modality of Afghan peace talks.</p>	Saleha Sodat	Tolonews
<p>- January 11, 2014 President Hamed Karzai phones Saudi Arabia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, to discuss issues of mutual interest.</p>		Bakhtar News
<p>- February 23, 2014 India hosts Saudi Crown Prince to discuss oil and the end game in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the international military forces.</p>	Elizabeth Roche	Livemint & The Wall Street Journal Premium Times
<p>- March 20, 2014 "A Saudi court has sentenced 13 men to 14 years in prison for backing militants, aiding terrorism and helping young men go to Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan to fight".</p>		

5.2. Public Statements

<p>- January 8, 2014 Saud Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister, warns against instability in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of NATO-led troops without a peace deal involving all Afghans.</p>		Daily Times-NG
<p>- January 11, 2014 Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia tells President Karzai his trip to Pakistan and that of Pakistani premier to Afghanistan are important for development of cooperation between the two countries.</p>		Bakhtar News

5.3. Media Commentary

<p>- February 27, 2014 Saudi Arabia, India sign military cooperation pact</p>	Faheem Al-Ahmad	Saudi Gazette
<p>- March 3, 2014 Indo-Saudi ties on an even keel</p>	Editorial	Saudi Gazette
<p>- March 3, 2014 Iraq Blames Qatar and Saudi Arabia for Terrorism: Re-run of Afghanistan and Pakistan.</p>	Salma Sribi and Michiyo Tanabe	Modern Tokyo Times
<p>- March 31, 2014 Saudi caravan and the American geologists</p>	Abdulateef Al-Mulhim	Arab News

3. REGIONAL DYNAMICS AND CROSSCUTTING ISSUES

January 8, 2014: An ambassadorial level preparatory meeting is held in Kabul in the run up to the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process Senior Officials Meeting held on January 17, 2014 in Delhi ([Link](#)).

January 16, 2014: The 57-member International Contact Group (ICG) for Afghanistan and Pakistan meet in New Delhi – the 20th meeting of the Group since its inception in 2009 ([Link](#)).

January 29, 2014: Representatives from Afghanistan, Central Asia, India and Pakistan officially launch the Joint Declaration on Regional Peace and Stability in Berlin ([Link](#)).

January 29, 2014: Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework Special Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board Meeting is held in Kabul, attended by the presidential candidates ([Link](#)).

February 10, 2014: South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) civil society leaders meet in Nepal to discuss common issues ([Link](#)).

February 12-13, 2014: The Eighth Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Meeting is hosted by Turkey in Ankara ([Link](#)).

February 18, 2014: Afghanistan chairs Coordination and Planning meeting of the UN Special Programme for the Economies of Central Asia (SPECA), held on 17 February in Bangkok ([Link](#)).

February 19, 2014: Representatives of Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan attend the Inter-Governmental Council (IGC) meeting of the CASA 1000 in Washington ([Link](#)).

February 26-27, 2014: “Islamic Republic of Afghanistan hosts a workshop on Terrorism Financing under the Counter Terrorism Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the 'Heart of Asia'- Istanbul Process at the Serena Hotel in Kabul ([Link](#)).

March 8-9, 2014: Kabul hosts a follow up workshop on Counter Improvised Explosives Devices under the Counter Terrorism Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) of the Heart of Asia- Istanbul Process ([Link](#)).

March 27, 2014: Presidents of Iran, Tajikistan, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet in Kabul and “express concern over the threat posed by terrorism and extremism” ([Link](#)).

4. SUMMARY OF TRENDS FOR THE QUARTER

There is clearly a sense of urgency in the region as the end of 2014 nears. While regional powers may have differences with the US in a number of international issues, Afghanistan has thus far – with the exception of Iran – united the regional powers and the international community. Regional powers are well aware of the fact that an unstable Afghanistan will pose a threat to the entire region – more than to the US and its allies. Therefore, continued support to the Afghan state will be needed to fend off terrorist networks. While it is in their interest to have an Afghan state capable of neutralizing terrorist threats, the regional powers lack the financial resources to fund the Afghan security forces. In that, they are looking to the western countries for staying engaged in Afghanistan for some time to come.

Recent attacks deep inside China are an indication any country could be a victim of terrorist attacks. China's interest in Afghanistan is not great and there are no signs of any changes in its policy in the light of the said recent attacks. In China's foreign relations calculus, Afghanistan neither provides major economic returns nor is an important geostrategic country. Therefore, the trip of the Chinese Foreign Minister to Kabul this quarter comes as a surprise. China has done well in keeping a consistent stance pertaining to Afghanistan. It does not want Afghanistan to relapse into a full-blown civil war. Nor is it prepared to see a country completely in the realm of American influence. Thus, it always lends support to the development of Afghanistan and urges respect for its national sovereignty, at the same time.

Annexation of Crimea by Russia has put it at loggerheads with the West. President Hamid Karzai was quick to reveal he supported the result of the Crimean referendum – official recognition is pending. The consequences of this action on the question of Afghanistan are yet to come to the forth. In so far as cooperation on Afghanistan is concerned, Russia has been a reliable partner to the countries with military presence in Afghanistan. It is in Russia's interest to see the international community provide Afghanistan with the resources and training to combat terrorism and international drug trade. Russia's actions this quarter were consistent with this policy.

Despite the relative thaw in relations between Iran and the West, Iran is still adamant that Afghanistan is under the US occupation. The Iranian government, nonetheless, takes an exception to the Afghan government which it considers a partner in trade and fight against the Sunni extremists with links or, at least, presumably funded by the Saudis. In the larger Iran-Saudi regional conflict, Afghanistan has not featured very prominently yet. However, Saudi Arabia's recent funneling of 1.5 billion USD to Pakistan is widely believed to be linked to Pakistan's willingness to support Saudi's designs in places like Syria. The Pakistani *jihadi* machinery, with renewed funding, risks engulfing the whole region in more violence, especially now that there appears to be more compelling evidence that Pakistani military's involvement with Al Qaeda may run much deeper than previously thought.

India's commitment to a politically stable, economically independent and militarily strong Afghanistan is well evident from its projects in Afghanistan and the level of importance it attaches to its relations with the Afghan state. Continued funding, frequency of visits and meetings and support to the Afghan government on different fora all point to the fact that India was firmly behind the Afghan state in this quarter.

2014 is a crucial year not only for Afghanistan but also for the region. It seems Afghanistan's transition in a way is a transition for the whole region, with the regional powers eagerly following the developments in Afghanistan.

5. PUBLICATIONS FROM THE REGION

January 2014: Nejat, Arya. *Governance in Afghanistan: An Introduction*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Available [here](#).

January 22, 2014: Kumar, Taruni. *Pakistan: Challenges before the new Army Chief*, Observer Research Foundation. Available [here](#).

February 5, 2014: Mehta, Ashok K. *Pieces from the Afghan puzzle are still missing*, The Pioneer. Available [here](#).

February 14, 2014: Rehman, Asha'ar. *The Baloch are here*, The Dawn. Available [here](#).

February 14, 2014: Agarwal, Rajeev. *Could Iran and India be Afghanistan's 'Plan B'? Amidst disagreement with the U.S., Karzai seems to be looking at other post-2014 options*, The Diplomat. Available [here](#).

February 16, 2014: Valeh, Hussein. *Will Saudi Arabia Be Finally Swept with Wave of Change?*, Iran Review. Available [here](#).

February 19, 2014: Mohan, C. Raja. *Will India join China's maritime Silk Road?* Observer Research Foundation. Available [here](#).

February 20, 2014: Bhadrakumar, M K. *Don't ask what Saudi Arabia can do*, Russia and India Report. Available [here](#).

March 11, 2014: Yi, Wang. *Peaceful Development and the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation*, China Institute of International Studies. Available [here](#).

March 25, 2014: FEFA. *Afghan Perceptions on Democracy and Elections: 2013-2014*, Free and Fair Election Forum of Afghanistan (FEFA). Available [here](#).

March 25, 2014: Osman, Borhan. *Can the Taliban outwrestle the government? An assessment of the insurgency's military capability*, Afghanistan Analyst Network (AAN). Available [here](#).

March 25, 2014: Krishnamurthy, Rajeshwari. *Afghanistan 2014: Near-Term Political Projections*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. Available [here](#).

March 28, 2014: Schmeidl, Susanne. *Enough with the Killing of Civilians! The Serena attack and the civil society response*, Afghanistan Analyst Network (AAN). Available [here](#).

March 31, 2014: Haress, Ghizaal. *Adjudicating Election Complaints: Afghanistan and the Perils of Unconstitutionality*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Available [here](#).

March 31, 2014: Aikins, Matthieu. *What the Polls Tell Us About the Afghan Presidential Election*, Afghanistan Analyst Network (AAN). Available [here](#).