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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

1980

355.4 /00386

Die Sowjetische Intervention in Afghanistan : Entstehung und Hintergrunde einer weltpolitischen Krise - Baden-Baden : Nomos.

390 p. : maps ; 23 cm.

(Osteuropa und der internationale Kommunismus ; 8)

ISBN: 3789006041

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Added entry(s):

1. Vogel, Heinrich, 1937- , ed.

Notes:

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70002885

Edition: 1. Aufl.

Year: 1980

327.2 /00049

East-West relations in the aftermath of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan : hearings before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-sixth Congress - Washington : US Government Printing Office.

iii, 125 p. ; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA
2. RUSSIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
4. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Added entry(s):

1. US Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs

ID number: 70001557

Year: 1980

327.2 /00037

The Global significance of the occupation of Afghanistan by the U.S.S.R. - Washington : US International Communication Agency.

27 p. : map ; 27 cm.

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
2. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. International Communication Agency (US)

ID number: 70001549

Year: 1980

* This list contains material received as of June 24th, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 24 juin 2003.

355.4 /00369

Afghanistan's role in Soviet strategy - London : Institute for the Study of Conflict.

18 p. : maps ; 30 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 118)

Author(s):

1. Rees, David, 1928-

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA--MILITARY POLICY

2. AFGHANISTAN--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

Notes:

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70002873

Year: 1980

1981

327.2 /00048

An assessment of the Afghanistan sanctions : implications for trade and diplomacy in the 1980's : report - Washington : US Government Printing Office.

x, 133 p. ; 24 cm.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR

2. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. SANCTIONS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. US Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs

2. Library of Congress (US)

Notes:

At head of title: 97th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

Authors: John P. Hardt and Kate S. Tomlinson.

'April 1981.'

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70001556

Year: 1981

327.2 /00050

Soviet violation of Helsinki final act : invasion of Afghanistan : hearing before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives and the Com - Washington : US Government Printing Office.

iii, 96 p. ; 24 cm.

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Added entry(s):

1. US Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs

2. US Congress. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Notes:

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70001558

Year: 1981

355.2 /00083

Threat from the east? : Soviet policy from Afghanistan and Iran to the
Horn of Africa - Harmondsworth : Penguin.

149 p. ; 18 cm.

ISBN: 0140224483

Author(s):

1. Halliday, Fred, 1946-

Subject(s):

1. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAN
2. IRAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
3. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN
4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
5. YEMEN (PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SOVIET
U
6. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--YEMEN (PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUB
7. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ETHIOPIA
8. ETHIOPIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR

Notes:

First published in 1981 under title: Soviet policy in the arc of
crisis.

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70002822

Edition: Rev. ed.

Year: 1982

327.2 /00044

Soviet policy toward Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan : the dynamics of
influence - New York : Praeger.

xiii, 200 p. ; 24 cm.

(Studies of influence in international relations)

ISBN: 0030525063

Author(s):

1. Rubinstein, Alvin Z.

Subject(s):

1. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY
2. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
3. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAN
4. IRAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
5. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN
6. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 191-196.

Includes index.

ID number: 70001554

Year: 1982

1983

327.5 /00243

In Afghanistan : an American odyssey - New York : Coward, McCann & Geoghegan.

253 p., [16] p. of plates : il

ISBN: 0698112334

Author(s):

1. Dyk, Jere Van

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

2. VAN DYK, JERE

ID number: 70001724

Year: 1983

1984

327.2 /00054

Red flag over Afghanistan : the Communist coup, the Soviet invasion, and the consequences - Boulder, CO : Westview.

xvii, 262 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0865314446

Author(s):

1. Hammond, Thomas Taylor

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 241-252.

Includes index.

Year: 1984

327.2 /00055

Afghan resistance : danger from disunity - London : Institute for the Study of Conflict.

24 p. : map ; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 161)

Author(s):

1. Hyman, Anthony, 1946-

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Notes:

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70001562

Year: 1984

1985

327.2 /00077

Afghanistan : The Soviet War - New York : St. Martin's Press.

259 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0312009232

Author(s):

1. Girardet, Edward

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Notes:

Includes index.

'The Soviet war in Afghanistan has raged for nearly six years. It has ravaged the country and forced nearly five million Afghans to flee their homeland, creating the world's largest refugee problem. This book, based on five clandestine trips into Afghanistan with the resistance, reports on why the war has been so savage and why the resistance so determined. It examines why the Soviets invaded in 1979 and what they seek to defend. Are they simply trying to prop up a tottering Marxist government or is the real Soviet objective the economic pillage of Afghanistan's natural resources ? This is a book in the finest tradition of war reporting from the front line. It paints a vivid portrait of a poor country struggling for independence against Soviet aggression. It is also an indictment of the West's failure to assist the Afghans in their resistance. The description of the heroic work of the French doctors inside Afghanistan and other relief workers involved with the refugees is in sad contrast to the neglect of the Afghan cause shown by Western governments.'

ID number: 80017370

Year: 1985

1986

327 /00564

Ni paix, ni guerre : le nouvel empire sovietique, ou, du bon usage de la detente - Paris : Flammarion.

413 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2080648608

Author(s):

1. Carrere d'Encausse, Helene

Subject(s):

1. USSR--TERRITORIAL EXPANSION
2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
3. RUSSIANS--AFRICA
4. RUSSIANS--ASIA
5. WORLD POLITICS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 381-[412].

ID number: 70001453

Year: 1986

327.2 /00068

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan : a study in the use of force in Soviet foreign policy - Lexington, MA : Lexington Books.
xv, 195 p. ; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0669112593
Author(s):
1. Collins, Joseph J.
Subject(s):
1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
2. USSR--MILITARY POLICY
Notes:
Bibliography: p. [177]-190.
Includes index.
ID number: 70001571
Year: 1986

1987

323 /00405

Afghanistan : The Great Game Revisited - New York : Freedom House.
519 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0932088163
Subject(s):
1. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
2. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN
3. AFGHANISTAN--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
4. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
Added entry(s):
1. Klass, Rosanne, ed.
Notes:
Bibliography: p. 475-499. Includes index.
ID number: 70005853
Year: 1987

327.2 /00071

Afghanistan : l'occupation sovietique - Bruxelles : GRIP.
39 p. : ill. ; 27 cm.
(GRIP Informations, 0771-1786 ; 12)
Subject(s):
1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
Added entry(s):
1. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix (BE)
ID number: 80007355
Year: 1987

325 /00062

Afghans in Exile - London : Centre for Security and Conflict Studies.
33 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.
(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 202)
Author(s):
1. Rogers, Tom
2. Hyman, Anthony, 1946-
Subject(s):
1. REFUGEES--AFGHANISTAN
2. REFUGEES--PAKISTAN
3. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
Added entry(s):
1. Centre for Security and Conflict Studies (GB)
ID number: 70001377
Year: 1987

1988

327.2 /00069

Gorbachev's Afghan gambit - Cambridge, MA : Institute for Foreign Policy.
vii, 25 p. ; 23 cm.

(National security paper ; 9)

ISBN: 0895490870

Author(s):

1. Eliot, Theodore L.

Subject(s):

1. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--AFGHANISTAN

2. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR

3. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (US)

Notes:

Includes bibliographical references.

ID number: 70001572

Year: 1988

327 /00655

The fall of Afghanistan : an insider's account - Washington :
Pergamon-Brassey's.

xi, 219 p. : map ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0080347010

Author(s):

1. Ghaus, Abdul Samad

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes bibliographies and index.

ID number: 70001527

Edition: 1st ed.

Year: 1988

1991

355.4 /00953

The Lessons of the Soviet/Afghan War - London : Brassey's Defence
Publications.

77 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 259)

ISBN: 0080417787

Author(s):

1. Roy, Olivier

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

ID number: 80006613

Year: 1991

958 /00001

La revolution afghane : des communistes aux taleban - Paris : Karthala.
350 p. : ill; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2845860439

Author(s):

1. Dorransoro, Gilles

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY
2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
3. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR
4. TALIBAN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 327-333. Includes index.

'Depuis plus de vingt ans, l'Afghanistan est plonge dans une interminable guerre civile. Au coup d'Etat communiste de 1978 et a la violence des jeunes elites urbaines a repondu la revolte de la societe, mobilisee au nom du jihad contre un gouvernement athee et, bientot, contre l'occupant sovietique. Des centaines de 'commandants' a la tete de groupes de combattants menent alors la lutte contre le pouvoir sovieto-afghan. Le retrait sovietique, acheve en 1989, puis l'effondrement du regime communiste n'ont pas ramene la paix. La guerre a desormais pour enjeu la redefinition et le controle du pouvoir central. Loin des habituels lieux communs sur les 'guerres ethniques', ce livre a pour but de montrer comment une societe essentiellement rurale et non industrielle a connu une mutation acceleree dans et par la guerre. En particulier, l'echec des projets modernistes - communiste et islamiste - a permis l'emergence, en 1994, du mouvement des Taleban, qui ont su capitaliser la lassitude de la population pour instaurer un Etat fondamentaliste domine par les religieux. Le nouveau pouvoir, par un illusoire retour au passe, tente aujourd'hui d'imposer un ordre moral puritain a une societe retive, donnant une forme inedite aux processus de modernisation qui, ineluctablement, s'affirment.'

ID number: 80017592

Year: 2000

323 /00716

The Taliban : Ascent to Power - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.
xiv, 158 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0195795601

Author(s):

1. Gohari, M. J.

Subject(s):

1. TALIBAN
2. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 150-153. Includes index.

'Many hold the view that Islam discourages freedom of thought and action. This seems to be borne out by common perception which sees Muslims as fundamentalist, radical and militant. In this book, M. J. Gohari describes the rise of a controversial movement which has been widely criticised by the West : the Taliban in Afghanistan. Dr. Gohari describes the historical background of the movement in Afghanistan, outlines the context for rapid ascent to power of the Taliban, explains what the movement stands for, and analyses how it affects various groups in Afghan society. He also discusses the impact of the Taliban on Afghanistan's neighbours and what he calls 'the Taliban-UN dilemma'. Gohari concludes with a short chapter on the life and

views of Bin Laden, which serves to demistify that elusive radical.'

ID number: 80017713

Year: 2000

323 /00706

The Taliban Phenomenon : Afghanistan, 1994-1997 : With an Afterword Covering Major Events since 1997 - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

xviii, 298 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0195792742

Author(s):

1. Matinuddin, Kamal

Subject(s):

1. TALIBAN
2. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--AFGHANISTAN
5. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 286-291. Includes index.

'This book gives a comprehensive account of the origin of the Taliban movement and the reasons for its phenomenal success. The impact of the ethnic divide on Afganistan's future, the repercussions of the Taliban's extreme religious views on Pakistan and other neighbouring countries, and Pakistan's Afghan policy after the emergence of the student militia has been critically analysed.'

ID number: 80017646

Year: 2000

323 /00663

Taliban : Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia - London : Tauris.

xi, 274 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1860644171

Author(s):

1. Rashid, Ahmed

Subject(s):

1. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--AFGHANISTAN
2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR
3. PETROLEUM INDUSTRY AND TRADE--AFGHANISTAN
4. AFGHANISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS
5. TALIBAN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 245-247. Includes index.

'The presence of Osaman bin Laden and his terrorist bases in Afghanistan have brought the Taliban into sharp focus as the most radical and extreme Islamist movement in the world today. Little is known about the Taliban because of the deep secrecy that surrounds the organization, its leaders and aims. The geo-strategic implications of Taliban expansion are already creating severe instability in Russia and Central Asia. The Taliban has become a major player in the 'New Great Game'- harking back to the late nineteenth-century British and Russian confrontation in the region - involving competition between Western oil companies, manipulation from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran, and covert operations by the CIA. The prize : access to the new oil fields and transit routes for oil pipelines, not to mention the allure of the narcotic trade.'

ID number: 80016285

Year: 2000

341.2 /00273

Afghanistan : Crisis of Impunity : The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fueling the Civil War - New York : Human Rights Watch.

58 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR
2. ARMS SALES--AFGHANISTAN
3. MILITARY ASSISTANCE--AFGHANISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. Human Rights Watch (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.hwr.org/reports/2001/afghan2/Afghan0701.pdf>> accessed 22/10/01.

'The civil war in Afghanistan, a geopolitical battleground during the cold war, is once again being sponsored by outside parties : Pakistan, Iran, Russia, and other neighboring countries, with the United States and India working in other ways to influence the war's outcome. A country whose main economic activity is as a global arms market and smuggling hub is threatening to become, again, a theater of geopolitical competition. Meanwhile, the humanitarian toll of twenty years of fighting has not figured prominently in international policy on Afghanistan. Instead, several members of the Six Plus Two contact group, the six countries bordering Afghanistan, plus Russia and the US that are nominally committed to negotiating an end to the war, are providing military and material support to Afghan parties that have committed gross violations of the laws of war. The general outlines of the delivery of military support to both sides in Afghanistan are well known to experts monitoring the situation but not to a wider public. In light of the possibility of broadening military sponsorship of the warring factions, Human Rights Watch has investigated the delivery of arms and other forms of military aid to both sides and the impact of this aid on human rights. This report details the nature of military support provided to the warring parties, the major transit routes used to move arms and other equipment, the suppliers, the role of state and nonstate actors, and the response of the international community. The implications of foreign military assistance go beyond Afghanistan, as the war also poses a threat to regional security : armed groups in neighboring Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are obtaining military support from the well-supplied Afghan factions.'

ID number: 80017426

Year: 2001

323 /00703

Usama bin Laden's al-Qaida : Profile of a Terrorist Network - Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

var. pag. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1571052194

Author(s):

1. Alexander, Yonah
2. Swetnam, Michael S.

Subject(s):

1. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)
2. TERRORISM--AFGHANISTAN
3. BIN LADEN, OSAMA, 1957-
4. TERRORISTS

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 53-59.

'The purpose of this publication is not to glorify bin Laden nor his group. Rather, it is designed to provide an easily

accessible reference for academics, policy makers, the press, and other interested individuals. The study exposes much of al-Qaida's mystique and thereby places it in a perspective as one of the many challenges facing the international community in the twenty-first century.'

ID number: 80017624

Year: 2001

323 /00700

Reaping the Whirlwind : The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan - London : Pluto Press.

xxi, 283 p. : ill; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0745312748

Author(s):

1. Griffin, Michael

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR

2. TALIBAN

3. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book provides the first comprehensive profile of the Taliban in the twenty-first century. Drawing on numerous interviews with key protagonists, conducted over a period of several years, the author provides a fascinating eyewitness account of the Afghan conflict. The author explains the origins and beliefs of the Taliban movement, its religious and political ethos, and the character of its particular brand of so-called Islamic fundamentalism. Crucially, the author examines the controversial nature of the Taliban's international links with the US, Saudi Arabia, and other vested interests. The author also explores the Taliban's connections with Osama bin Laden, drug barons and drug dealers, and the CIA's ambiguous relationship with what is often viewed as an international Islamist conspiracy.'

ID number: 80017557

Year: 2001

323 /00705

L'ombre des taliban - Paris : Autrement.

283 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 2746701731

Author(s):

1. Rashid, Ahmed

Subject(s):

1. TALIBAN

2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR

3. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

'L'auteur nous plonge au coeur de ce mouvement islamiste extreme et secret qui fait peser une menace inattendue sur l'Asie centrale, le Moyen-Orient et le monde. Il met en scene la tumultueuse histoire du mouvement des taliban depuis sa soudaine et spectaculaire apparition en 1994, analysant ses racines historiques, ideologiques et geopolitiques. Il en degage le sens et l'impact. Precis et vivant, ce livre se lit comme l'incroyable roman vrai d'une histoire tragique dont la conclusion n'est pas ecrute.'

ID number: 80017630

Year: 2001

327 /01043

Central Eurasia : Prize or Quicksand? : Contending Views of Instability
in Karabakh, Ferghana and Afghanistan - Oxford, UK : Oxford University
Press.

96 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi Papers, 0567-932X ; 338)

ISBN: 0198510705

Author(s):

1. Weisbrode, Kenneth

Subject(s):

1. NAGORNO-KARABAKH (AZERBAIJAN)
2. FERGANA VALLEY--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. ASIA, CENTRAL--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
5. CAUCASUS--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
6. GEOPOLITICS--CAUCASUS
7. GEOPOLITICS--ASIA, CENTRAL

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'A decade after the demise of the Soviet Union, the newly independent states to Russia's south remain poor and remote from the developed world. Living standards have fallen throughout the region, while the energy wealth envisioned in the mid-1990s never materialised. Most governments have grown more corrupt and less stable. Responsibility for this state of affairs rests partly on an exaggerated and misplaced view, particularly popular among influential Western analysts, that the region is a natural, or even desirable, setting for imperial conflict. This view has skewed the policies of local actors away from much needed cooperation with one another and with more powerful neighbours. The major powers with interests in Central Eurasia - particularly the US - need to re-examine their fundamental assumptions about the region and what they want from it. Until they do, neither peace nor development will be possible and conditions will only deteriorate.'

ID number: 80017354

Year: 2001

2002

355.4 /01344

Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War - Camberley, UK : Conflict
Studies Research Centre.

13 p. ; 30 cm.

ISBN: 1903584590

Author(s):

1. Dick, C. J.

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989

Added entry(s):

1. Conflict Studies Research Centre (GB)

ID number: 80018234

Year: 2002

958 /00002

Afghanistan : A New History - London : RoutledgeCurzon.

ix, 272 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0415298261

Author(s):

1. Ewans, Martin

Subject(s):

1. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY

Notes:

Includes index.

'Sir Martin Ewans, former Head of the British Chancery in Kabul, puts into an historical and contemporary context the series of tragic events that have impinged on Afghanistan in the past half century. The book examines the roots of these developments in Afghanistan's earlier history and external relationships, as well as their contemporary relevance, internally, regionally and globally. The book reviews in detail the emergence of the Taliban, its ideology and its place within Islam, and examines Afghanistan's relevance for several issues of global concern, notably the nature of Islamic extremism, the international drugs trade and international terrorism. This new edition also discusses the fall of the Taliban and ends with an analysis of the country post-Taliban.'

ID number: 80018320

Edition: 2nd ed.

Year: 2002

323 /00740

Inside Al Qae'da - London : Hurst.

xiii, 176 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 185065672X

Author(s):

1. Gunaratna, Rohan

Subject(s):

1. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)

2. TERRORISM--AFGHANISTAN

3. BIN LADEN, OSAMA, 1957-

Notes:

Includes index.

'The definitive work on Al Qaeda, this book is based on five years of research, including extensive interviews with its members; field research in Al Qaeda-supported conflict zones around the globe; and monitoring Al Qaeda's infiltration of diaspora and migrant communities in North America and in Europe. This book sheds light on Al Qaeda's financial infrastructure and how the organisation trains combat soldiers and vanguard fighters for multiple guerrilla, terrorist and semiconventional campaigns in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. In addition, the author investigates the clandestine Al Qaeda operational network in the West. Finally, the author shows that for Al Qaeda to be destroyed or seriously weakened there needs to be a multipronged, multiagency, and multidimensional response by the international community.'

ID number: 80018003

Year: 2002

323 /00758

Challenging the Warlord Culture : Security Sector Reform in Post-Taliban
Afghanistan - Bonn : Bonn International Center for Conversion.

54 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(BICC Paper ; 25)

Author(s):

1. Sedra, Mark

Subject(s):

1. INTERNAL SECURITY--AFGHANISTAN
2. AFGHANISTAN--ARMED FORCES
3. AFGHANISTAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Bonn International Center for Conversion (DE)

Notes:

<<http://www.bicc.de/general/paper25/paper25.pdf>> accessed
13/11/02.

Bibliography: p. 49-53.

'The overarching question that this paper addresses is : how can the security sector be reformed to curtail the power and influence of the warlords and challenge the underlying culture of warlordism that is so deeply ingrained in Afghan society ? The study focuses on three specific elements of the security reform agenda that have been prioritized by stakeholders in the Afghan reconstruction process because of their significance to ongoing efforts to restore a basic level of security and stability to the country. These three pillars are : the reconstruction of a broadly representative national armed forces, the creation of a national police force, and the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs on the regional and national level. Comprehensive security sector reform is not limited to these pillars. Quite the contrary, they should serve as a foundation upon which further reform initiatives, such as judicial and prison reform, can be developed. This report aims to identify and assess the plans established to address the three pillars, the progress made thus far in the implementation of these plans, and the challenges that face the reform process at various levels.'

ID number: 80018266

Year: 2002

327 /01114

Military Intervention in Afghanistan : Implications for British Foreign
and Defence Policy - [s.l.] : British American Security Information
Council.

18 p. ; 30 cm.

(BASIC Paper ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Warren, Jenny

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
2. GREAT BRITAIN--MILITARY POLICY
3. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. British American Security Information Council (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Papers/BP40.htm>> accessed 19/11/02.

'The British Government's decision to join the United States in its 'war on terrorism' raises a number of key issues regarding the formulation of its foreign and defence policy which need to be publicly debated, including the decision to wage war, the rationale for military intervention, the role and conduct of troops deployed abroad, the place of coercion and conflict prevention in asserting British national interests, and the nature of the 'special relationship' with the United States.'

ID number: 80018305

Year: 2002

342 /00180

Democracy and Islam in the New Constitution of Afghanistan - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

v, 55 p.; 30 cm.

ISBN: 0833033581

Subject(s):

1. CONSTITUTIONS--AFGHANISTAN
2. CONSTITUTIONAL LAW--AFGHANISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF186/CF186.pdf>> accessed 08/04/03.

Conference Proceedings.

'Reports on a conference held to identify ways in which the new constitution of Afghanistan could help put the country on the path to a strong, stable democracy characterized by good governance and rule of law. The participants identified practical ideas for those involved in drafting the constitution, particularly about the treatment of Islam.'

ID number: 80018539

Year: 2003

355.4 /01360

Russia in Afghanistan and Chechnya : Military Strategic Culture and the Paradoxes of Asymmetric Conflict - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 75 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871105

Author(s):

1. Cassidy, Robert M.

Subject(s):

1. ASYMMETRIC WARFARE
2. AFGHANISTAN--HISTORY--SOVIET OCCUPATION, 1979-1989
3. CHECHNYA (RUSSIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1994-1996
4. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'Asymmetric warfare poses some of the most pressing and complex challenges faced by the United States today. As American defense leaders and strategic thinkers adapt to this era of asymmetry, it is important that we learn both from our own experience and from that of other nations which have faced asymmetric enemies. In this monograph, Major Cassidy uses a detailed assessment of the Russian experience in Afghanistan and Chechnya to draw important conclusions about asymmetric warfare. He then uses this to provide recommendations for the US military, particularly the Army. Major Cassidy points out that small wars are difficult for every great power, yet are the most common kind. Even in this era of asymmetry, the US Army exhibits a cultural preference for the 'big war' paradigm. He suggests that the US military in general, including the Army, needs a cultural transformation to master the challenge of asymmetry fully. From this will grow doctrine and organizational change.'

ID number: 80018505

Year: 2003

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ARMY QUARTERLY AND DEFENCE JOURNAL, vol. 113, no. 3, July 1983, p. 262-265.
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Afghanistan : The Next Round.
ORBIS, vol. 33, no. 1, Winter 1989, p. 57-72.
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The Fragmentation of Afghanistan.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 68, no. 5, Winter 1989 - 1990, p. 150-168.
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WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 6, no. 4, Fall 1989, p. 759-785.

1990

- Blank, Stephen
After Afghanistan : Reassessing Soviet Capabilities and Policies for Power Projection.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 9, no. 2, 1990, p. 117-136.
This article examines some of the lessons learned by the USSR in both the military and political domains of strategy as a result of the Afghanistan war and Soviet experience there. These lessons apply both to the ongoing processes of reorganization of Soviet force structure and operational art in Europe and the Third World as well as to the political dimension involved in crises in the latter. Moreover, these lessons demonstrate the implementation by Moscow of a new, more nuanced and diversified military-political strategy to deal with Third World crises.
- Blank, Stephen
Imagining Afghanistan : Lessons of A 'Small' War.
JOURNAL OF SOVIET MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 3, September 1990, p. 468-490.
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The Geopolitics of the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan.
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Given the clear assumption that perpetual military occupation was never part of the Soviet gameplan in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of forces from that battered country cannot be adjudged a strategic setback for Moscow. In fact, Moscow has advanced its objectives not only in Southwest Asia - with Pakistan as the key target - but on a broad international front, including prominently the Asia-Pacific region. Only a patient U.S. policy aimed particularly at Pakistan and Iran can deny those objectives and make the Soviet withdrawal into a true historic defeat.
- Krakowski, Elie D.
Red Star over Afghanistan.
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, vol. 5, no. 2, Spring 1990, p. 109-132.
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Soviet Tactical Performance and Adaptation in Afghanistan.
JOURNAL OF SOVIET MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 1, March 1990, p. 73-105.
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La sovietisation de l' Afghanistan.
STRATEGIQUE, no. 46, 2e trimestre 1990, p. 5-23.

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Afghanistan : les nouvelles cartes du 'grand jeu'.
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SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 24, no. 4, December 1993, p. 383-396.
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Internal Battles and External Wars : Politics, Learning, and the
Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan.
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Kaboul : la mise à mort.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 64, été 1994, p. 65-96.

1995

- Barry, Michael
Kaboul 1995 : les lions aveugles.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 68, été 1995, p. 315-353.
Continual fighting in Afghanistan since the collapse of its Communist regime in the Spring of 1992 has reflected not so much domestic ethnic strife and the clash of rival warlords - real as these may be - as meddling by the new regional powers, who have explosively chosen to manipulate such dangerous ethnic tensions to their own ends : Iran, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (backed by a resurgent Russia) and especially Pakistan. None, however, of the successive Afghan proxies militarily backed by Pakistan have been able to wrest control of Kabul from Commander Massoud, a hero of the former anti-Soviet resistance who moreover enjoys bedrock support from his entire ethnic group.

1996

- Barry, Michael
Afghanistan : les seminaristes de la guerre.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 74, hiver 1996 - 1997, p. 69-96.
The (provisional) victory of the Afghan Taleban raises a number of questions as to the nature of a bloody conflict which has cast a shadow over the country for the last four years. Do the Taleban represent some kind of return to the Middle Ages, or is their victory one of the 'pure' provinces against a 'corrupt' city ? Or is it a planned offensive by Islamic extremists ? But the very complexity of the Afghan situation resists such simplistic explanations. Economic concerns implicating both regional powers and the United States add to the problems of a country already riven by ethnic divisions. Particularly relevant to an understanding of recent events in Kabul is the mutually hostile relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan that has reigned for the past fifty years, on account of the Pashto question. The civil war in Afghanistan can be seen as a determined attempt on the part of the Pakistanis to prevent the rebirth of a sovereign Afghan state. In spite of Islamabad's unstable political environment, Pakistan's objectives are unchanged, while US support holds firm for the moment, despite the Taleban's brutal score-settling. The outlook is grim, and it seems likely that the conflict can only continue.

1997

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A Victory to Fear or a Source of Hope ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 7, July 1997, p. 182-184.
With Taliban control over the bulk of Afghanistan looking more possible, should neighbouring Central Asian states respond with fear or hope ? Are the Taliban likely to try to export their Islamic views or could a more peaceful Afghanistan help provide new wealth for the region ?

- Immig, Olivier
Heugten, Jan van
Mullahs aan de macht in Kaboel.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 1, januari 1997, p. 23-25.
The authors survey here recent developments in Afghanistan. Although the Sunnite fundamentalist Taliban movement took over power in Kabul from the Tajik Rabbani-Massud forces at the end of September 1996, fighting in Afghanistan did not end. Being true to their Pashtun roots the Taliban aim at gaining control over the entire country. Fierce resistance and counterattacks by their united enemies have resulted in the present military stalemate. In the territory occupied by the Taliban human rights, in particular those of women, are being trampled under foot. International pressure and protests have failed to make Taliban leaders change their rigid minds. Recognition of the Taliban regime by the international community should be withheld as long as they persist in their refusal to share power.

- Rubin, Barnett R.
Women and Pipelines : Afghanistan's Proxy Wars.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 73, no. 2, April 1997, p. 283-296.
Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, was captured by the forces of the Islamic Taliban movement in September 1996 after a period of hostilities which marked the downfall of the old Afghanistan. This article sets the military and political manoeuvres that preceded and followed this event in the regional political and economic context, and examines the involvement of external actors, including Russia, the United States, Iran and Pakistan. It explores the repercussions for the Kabul population of the Taliban's draconian measures restricting the activities of women as well as the salience in foreign attitudes towards the Taliban of interests in the transportation of oil supplies within and across Central Asia.

1998

- Maley, William
The Perils of Pipelines.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 54, no. 8-9, August - September 1998, p. 231-232.
Oil pipeline companies are keen to ship Central Asian oil and gas across Afghanistan. But their activities raise several moral problems : should they be trying to 'bag' security; what about the human rights issue and would Afghans generally benefit from the revenues ?

- Saikal, Amin
Afghanistan's Ethnic Conflict.
SURVIVAL, vol. 40, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 114-126.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Since the end of the Cold War, the war in Afghanistan has been transformed from an ideological struggle into a brutal ethno-nationalist conflict. This transformation has largely been fuelled by Afghanistan's neighbours, most importantly Pakistan, which have pursued competing policies of cross-border ethnic clientelism. In the search for a solution to the crisis, the US must take the lead, enlisting international support to pressure Pakistan and the Taleban, as well as their opponents, into a compromise solution based on a loose federal system. A failure to do so

could not only inflict more devastating consequences on the Afghan people, but also seriously imperil international security and stability.

1999

- Dombrowsky, Patrick
L' Afghanistan des Taleban.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 1, janvier 1999, p. 106-118.
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Afganistan : el regreso del 'gran juego'.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 67, enero - febrero 1999, p. 131-143.
Afganistan esta llamado a convertirse de nuevo en centro de atencion de las grandes potencias. Intereses economicos - gas y petroleo - y problemas etnicos explican su actual relevancia diplomatica. Por su parte, el gobierno de los taliban plantea un desafio a la normativa internacional de derechos humanos, en especial en lo relativo a la condicion de la mujer.
- Garfinkle, Adam
Afghanistanding.
ORBIS, vol. 43, no. 3, Summer 1999, p. 405-418.
- Hilali, A. Z.
Afghanistan : The Decline of Soviet Military Strategy and Political Status.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1999, p. 94-123.
Afghanistan is a tribal, religious and traditional country and has always resisted foreign domination. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan provoked the Afghans to liberate the country from Soviet occupation. They have proved themselves a hard nut to crack. The 'Evil Empire' proved unable to snuff out the flame of freedom and stifle the indomitable courage of the Afghan warriors. Thus, Afghanistan was an unachievable political and military target for the Soviets. Strategically, the Soviet tactics failed and their performance was incompetent and ineffective. The war also proved the competency and credibility of Western weapons over Soviet military technology. Consequently, the Soviets learned a hard lesson. The war was surely an unwanted drain on the Soviet budget. It became a 'bleeding wound' which eventually contributed to the collapse of the empire and its ideology.
- Niedermayer, Hermann
Vingt ans de guerre en Afghanistan : un couvercle difficile a sceller.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 34, ete 1999, p. 196-207.
L'Afghanistan est en conflit depuis vingt ans. La lutte contre l'occupant sovietique dans les annees 80 s'est aujourd'hui muee en guerre civile entre factions afghanes. Le depart des Sovietiques et une alliance entre les Moudjahidin permirent d'esperer une stabilisation du pays. Cependant, les interets economiques - transit du petrole et du gaz d'Asie centrale - attiserent les convoitises et contribuerent a la reprise des combats. Un mouvement emergent, les Taliban, soutenu par des puissances etrangeres, parvint rapidement a controler la majeure partie du territoire afghan. Ces derniers, par leur proselytisme religieux, constituent une menace pour la stabilite regionale : en cette fin de siecle, le radicalisme sunnite semble prendre l'ascendant sur l'integrisme chiite iranien.
- Rashid, Ahmed
The Taliban : Exporting Extremism.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 6, November - December 1999, p. 22-35.
Across one of the world's most sensitive regions, radical Islam and repressive politics are gaining ground. As they consolidate their power over Afghanistan, the Taliban are starting to destabilize the entire surrounding area - and beyond. Muslim fundamentalists from around the globe study revolution under their tutelage, rebel armies find sanctuary on their turf, and the drugs and other goods that are smuggled out of the

country are undermining the economies of Afghanistan's Central Asia neighbors. The Great Game has changed, and the West must learn the new rules.

- Rubin, Barnett R.

Afghanistan under the Taliban.

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 625, February 1999, p. 79-91.

<http://www.currenthistory.com>

A wide-ranging look at the origins of Afghanistan's new rulers, and the regional - and American - response to their rise in power.

2000

- Afghanistan.

PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 4, December 2000 - February 2001, Special Issue.

<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/sam/>

- Khalilzad, Zalmay

Byman, Daniel

Afghanistan : The Consolidation of a Rogue State.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 65-78.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

It is imperative that the US initiate a proactive offensive on the Taliban, whose agenda presents a significant threat to its national security and moral leadership. By aiding the Taliban's victims, supporting moderate Afghans, and elevating the importance of Afghanistan at home, the US can implement a policy that will prevent this group from further consolidating its power and asserting itself as an uncontrollable rogue state.

- Kozyrev, Nikolai

Some Thoughts on Afghan Developments.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 26-32.

2001

- Barry, Michael

Le detonateur afghan.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 83-112.

The certitudes of two decades of U.S. strategy in the Middle East were destroyed by the terrible attacks of September 11. Strangely enough, at the origin of this global disaster was a purely local conflict - a border dispute half a century old between Pakistan and Afghanistan - which spread like a cancer. Determined to reduce its neighbor to the status of a protectorate following the retreat of the Soviets from Afghanistan, the Pakistanis and their Saudi financial backers, with the blessing of the United States, armed the most radical islamist factions against the Russians. The objective was to take power in Kabul and replace age-old Afghan nationalism with a religious ideology capable of keeping the country in a state of dual political submission to Islamabad and Riyadh. The inherent logic of this ideology inevitably led to the explosion of international terrorism.

- Bearden, Milton

Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 6, November - December 2001, p. 17-30.

The first engagement in the new war on terrorism - with Osama bin Ladin in Afghanistan - poses severe challenges for the United States. Rooting out bin Ladin's network will require military success in a country that the Soviet Union could not conquer in ten years of trying, as well as support from unstable surrounding nations. Washington may be tempted to try to oust the Taliban regime, but doing so could rekindle Afghanistan's brutal civil war. The United States must proceed with caution - or end up on the ash heap of Afghan history.

- Delcorde, Raoul
Geopolitique de l' Afghanistan.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 86-92.
L'Afghanistan est un espace enclave qui a, pourtant, ete un verrou strategique convoite par ses voisins. La variete des ethnies, que l'on regroupe entre Pachtouns (environ 40% de la population) et non-Pachtouns a rendu toujours delicat l'exercice du pouvoir a Kaboul. Les luttes fratricides entre Moudjahidin apres le depart des troupes sovietiques faciliterent l'arrivee des Taliban, soutenus par le Pakistan. Ceux-ci aggraverent la division et la fragmentation du pays sur des bases religieuses et tribales et enfoncerent le pays dans une economie de contrebande. Avec l'installation de bases du groupe Al-Quaida, le regime des Taliban a pu beneficier du soutien arme de Ben Laden : isole, ce regime s'est radicalise puis s'est trouve en confrontation directe avec les Etats-Unis et une large partie de la communaute internationale. L'Onu et l'Union europeenne reflechissent deja a l'avenir de ce pays, apres le depart des Taliban. Il faudra recomposer la delicate texture ethnique, trouver des formules acceptables pour les Afghans et reconstruire ce pays abime par vingt annees de guerre et de troubles.

- Dorronsoro, Gilles
Le statut de l' Afghanistan sur la scene internationale et ses implications pour l' Asie centrale.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 8-9, aout - septembre 2001, p. 89-92.

- Godement, Francois
Apres le 11 septembre : la riposte et sa cible.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 4, octobre - decembre 2001, p. 801-809.
En decidant une action militaire en Afghanistan en replique aux attentats du 11 septembre, les Etats-Unis ont place l'Asie centrale au coeur du conflit ouvert par les attaques terroristes sur New York et Washington. Cette action minimale comporte evidemment des risques: risque d'enfermement dans le piege afghan; risque de destabilisation du Pakistan, qui sert a la fois de point d'appui discret a l'intervention americaine et de base arriere taliban; risque d'echec, enfin, a neutraliser Ben Laden, son organisation et ses affides. Or les Etats-Unis ne peuvent se permettre d'echouer, car c'est leur propre capacite de dissuader une agression qui est aujourd'hui mise a l'epreuve. Washington va donc se trouver devant des choix importants, auxquels les Europeens devront s'associer, et dont dependra dans une large mesure les equilibres regionaux au Moyen-Orient, en Asie centrale et en Asie du Sud.

- Hashim, Ahmed S.
The World According to Usama Bin Laden.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 54, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 11-35.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
Usama Bin Laden is a dangerous opponent, and so are those who might succeed him should he be killed. Bin Laden's ideas and goals, however, remain little explored or understood. To grasp them, it is necessary to examine the regional and historical context, his experiences, and the sources of fundamentalist thought upon which he draws.

- Hilali, A.Z.
China's Response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan.
CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, vol. 20, no. 3, September 2001, p. 323-351.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The main theme of this article is to focus on China's efforts to foster 'an Asian and international environment antagonistic to Soviet expansion'. China opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by providing moral and military assistance to the Afghan mujahideen and Pakistan to counter the Soviet encirclement around China and avoid direct military confrontation with the vastly superior Soviet forces along the contested Sino-Soviet border. For this purpose, China carried on a vigorous campaign against the Soviet Union and never missed any opportunity to expose Soviet expansionist or hegemonic designs. China also stepped up its diplomatic and political offensives against the hegemony of the

Soviet social imperialism by cultivating better relations with the USA.

- Jalali, Ali A.
Afghanistan : The Anatomy of an Ongoing Conflict.
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 85-98.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
The author draws on his vast experience to explore the history of the war in Afghanistan and its legacy. His foreboding analysis leaves the reader with the realization that at a minimum it will take an end of foreign intervention, the disbanding of local militias, the reestablishment of state government, and a major effort to rebuild the Afghan economy before any semblance of normalcy can be realized in the country.
- Mackinlay, John
NATO and Bin Laden.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 6, December 2001, p. 36-40.
Bin Laden represents a more powerful phenomenon than terrorism, his reach is almost global and his supporting constituency is numbered in millions. In the longer term the West will have to recognize that his growing army of outraged supporters pose a much greater danger than bin Laden himself. An effective campaign to contain and disarm the hostility of bin Laden's growing constituency of Muslim supporters will require a multi-faceted counter strategy which involves political, humanitarian, developmental and human rights initiatives working alongside an international military security force. Can NATO, the slow moving military giant, influence a campaign which continues to widen beyond its European reach and proliferate into areas of governance and development that lie beyond its provenance?
- Pakzad, Karim
Quelques dix ans apres le retrait des troupes sovietiques : ou en est l' Afghanistan ?
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 43, automne 2001, p. 143-151.
Apparemment absurde, la guerre civile qui ravage l'Afghanistan depuis le retrait des troupes sovietiques est en fait un noeud essentiel des conflits ethniques, religieux et geopolitiques de la region. L'arrivee au pouvoir a Kaboul des talibans, etudiants sunnites pachtouns, rend compte de la reussite d'un projet pakistanais ancien, qui consistait a faire implorer le nationalisme afghan en appuyant les extremismes religieux afin de ruiner son programme d'unification des territoires pachtouns, qui menacait depuis 1947 les frontieres du Pakistan. LA rencontre au milieu des annees 90 des interets pakistanais avec ceux des Etats-Unis et de l'Arabie Saoudite s'est faite par convoitise des richesses naturelles de l'Asie centrale, et contre les influences croisees de l'Iran chiite et de la Russie postsovietique. Mais face a la menace du terrorisme international, les Etats-Unis commencent a reviser leur politique dans la region.
- Roy, Olivier
Ben Laden et ses freres.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 67-81.
A hasty analysis of the terrorist attacks of September 11 might lead one to link them to the radical Islamic movement. And yet this is not really the case. Unlike the terrorists who since the 1980s have fought for the Palestinian or Islamic cause, Osama bin Laden has no political strategy. Nor is he pursuing any achievable goal. The destruction of the World Trade Center is simply the execution of his apocalyptic vision. The larger, traditional Islamic movements have all condemned the attacks. Those who support bin Laden come from outside the wider Islamic tradition. This distinction is key to understanding the bin Laden phenomenon. The bin Laden networks are a product of globalization and know no borders. They have no country, no social base and no program, except perhaps the application of the Sharia. Essentially, the bin Laden system is more of a sect than a political movement.

- Simon, Steven
Benjamin, Daniel
The Terror.
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 5-15.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The likelihood that al-Qaeda will lose its Afghan base raises the question of whether practical sovereignty within contiguous territory is necessary for the terror-group's success, or whether advances in communications and encryption - coupled with increasingly good tradecraft - will over time obviate the need for a territorial base. This is a crucial question for the US and others who are fighting the network, because even complete success in Afghanistan will not destroy this terrorist threat. Nor will the terrorists be appeased by any conceivable change in US policies toward the Muslim world. Moreover, preemptive or preventive strikes against terrorist operations will not be feasible. In this kind of world, a strategy dependent upon identification and elimination of specific threats will have to be combined with one focussed on remedying vulnerabilities to ill-defined, all-azimuth threats of potentially catastrophic scope.

2002

- Afghanistan.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 7, no. 1, March - May 2002, Whole Issue.
- Ayoob, Mohammed
South-West Asia after the Taliban.
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 51-68.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf deserves American support if he can demonstrate continued determination to divert his country from an extremist trajectory. Yet, in the long run, it is India and (perhaps less obviously) Iran - preeminent states in South Asia and the Gulf and natural status quo powers - that stand out as logical American partners. Iran may look like an unlikely partner, especially after US President George W. Bush's hard-line classification of the country, in his 30 January 2002 State of the Union address, as part of an 'axis of evil'. Yet, the American decision to renounce hopes for rapprochement with Iran - if that is indeed what has been decided - is misguided. The US should not neglect the strategic logic of increasingly converging interests between Washington, New Delhi and Tehran.
- Balaj, Barbara
Rebuilding Afghanistan.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 90-94.
Afghanistan desperately needs help. After two decades of civil war it has one of the most appalling records of any country in the world. Some 70 % of the population are malnourished; 64 % are illiterate. Infant mortality is one of the highest on the globe. What are the IMF, World Bank, and the EU doing about this ?
- Ceulemans, Carl
Operatie Allied Force versus Operatie Enduring Freedom : een vergelijkende bellum justum-analyse.
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 1, 2002, p. 9-32.
Dit artikel beoogt het ethisch gehalte van operatie 'Allied Force' (Kosovo) en operatie 'Enduring Freedom' (Afghanistan) te vergelijken aan de hand van de 'rechtvaardige oorlog' - of 'bellum justum' - theorie. Deze laatste vormt een ethisch-normatieve traditie die stelt wanneer en op welke wijze militair geweld mag worden aangewend. De principes die aangeven wanneer geweld is toegestaan, vormen het zogenoemde 'jus ad bellum' (rechtvaardige zaak, juiste intenties, redelijke kans op succes, proportionaliteit, laatste redmiddel, en legitiem gezag). De criteria die bepalen op welke wijze dit dient te gebeuren, is het 'jus in bello' (discriminatie en proportionaliteit). Uit de vergelijkende analyse blijkt dat beide operaties zowel enkele overeenkomsten als verschillpunten

vertonen. Zo ging het bij beide operaties in essentie om de bescherming van onschuldige burgers (rechtvaardige zaak). Ook hadden beide operaties te kampen met een duidelijk 'legitiem gezag'-probleem. Verschillen waren er bijvoorbeeld op het vlak van de redelijke kans op succes. Hoewel er bij beide operaties sprake was van een duidelijk militair overwicht, moesten de slaagkansen van 'Allied Force' iets lager worden ingeschat dan die van 'Enduring Freedom'. Vanuit het proportionaliteitsperspectief ('in bello') was er eveneens een licht voordeel voor 'Enduring Freedom'. Dit laatste had vooral te maken met het relatief groter aantal duale doelwitten waarop tijdens de NAVO-interventie werd gericht.

- Cryer, Robert

The Fine Art of Friendship : Jus in Bello in Afghanistan.

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 37-83.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The armed conflicts in Afghanistan have been surrounded by an almost unprecedented level of public debate relating to the law of armed conflict. This article seeks to provide an assessment of both the ground and air campaigns by the Coalition and their Afghan allies, primarily the Northern Alliance. Taking as its point of departure the idea that how someone (the Coalition) treats their friends (Afghan civilians) and how that person's friends (currently the Northern Alliance) treat others reflects back upon them, this article evaluates the Coalition and Northern Alliance campaigns in Afghanistan. The nature of the various conflicts is investigated, as is, for the air campaign, the targeting process and weapon choice of the Coalition. In relation to the ground war, the actions of the Northern Alliance/United Front and the Coalition are subjected to scrutiny, in particular from the point of the rules relating to surrender and the treatment of detainees. The article identifies some areas of concern, although nothing attributable to the Coalition rising remotely close to the level of the shocking attacks on the United States on September 11.

- Day, John

After Afghanistan : The Role of Air Power.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 6, December 2002, p. 38-43.

- Encel, Frederic

Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (1ere partie).

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 3, mars 2002, p. 39-48.

Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappees par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre impitoyablement combattu.

- Encel, Frederic
 Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (2eme partie).
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 102-113.
 Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappes par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre impitoyablement combattu.

- Fenenko, Alexei
 Washington's 'Annihilation Strategy' in the Afghan Operation.
 CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2002, p. 7-19.
 The 'annihilation strategy' that the United States used in Afghanistan came as a result of a dramatic technological breakthrough in the arms sphere. Success in Afghanistan, achieved as a result of a breakthrough in space-based weapons guidance technology, marked a transition from the previous 'revolution' into a new quality, when the weakening of the enemy's military capacity is replaced by the complete destruction of its armed forces. These trends suggest that the first quarter of the new century will be marked by the evolution of a new local conflict strategy wherein priority will be given to space based guidance and adjustment of air strikes while the nuclear deterrence threshold will be progressively lowered through the use of tactical charges and possibly even anti-missile technology. At the same time, this trend changes the political conflict management system per se. Sure, expanding weapons capabilities and transition to unilateral 'annihilation' action elevates the existing superpower to the rank of an incontestable political leader. These trends could eventually lead to a search for a more adequate response to its breakthrough in the military sphere. So the events in Afghanistan can be seen to be raising the key question of the modern security system : will the 'annihilation' model remain but a means of fighting international terrorism or is it going to become standard practice of state interaction in regional conflicts ?

- Helton, Arthur C.
 Rescuing the Refugees.
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 71-82.
 The world's focus in Afghanistan is shifting from waging war to picking up the pieces and helping the long-suffering Afghan people. But can action follow words ? Modern refugee crises require solutions that pair crisis response with nation building, and private agencies with national and international actors. But the organizations devoted to such tasks remain outdated, uncoordinated, and shackled by politicians and bureaucrats. The system is broken, and it cannot be fixed from within.

- Jalali, Ali A.
 Rebuilding Afghanistan's National Army.
 PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 72-86.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
 The author looks at the prospects for the creation of a new national army in Afghanistan. His historical review of the three previous attempts at organizing a national army reveals an unhealthy competition from tribal and local entities, that doomed earlier attempts. The author concludes that the rebuilding of Afghanistan's army is an essential element in the stabilization of the country and critical to the war on terrorism in South and Central Asia. He cautions Americans to be prepared for a demanding and long-term engagement if there is to be any hope for a successful national military in Afghanistan.

- Judah, Tim
 The Taliban Papers.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 69-80.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 Pakistan played a key role in creating the Taliban, which then became its very own Frankenstein's monster. In the run-up to 11 September, debates raged at the heart of its foreign-policy establishment as it became increasingly clear to Pakistani officials that the Taliban were out of control and that Pakistan's attempts to influence the fundamentalist regime were failing. These anxieties are revealed in a set of Pakistani Foreign Ministry documents, providing a picture of Pakistani-Taliban relations for much of the year 2000 and up to June 2001. The documents, which were obtained in Kabul following the collapse of the Taliban, also reveal splits within the Pakistani administration, with the Foreign Ministry complaining that the Ministry of the Interior was undermining its policy of trying to curb the Taliban by letting what it openly described as 'terrorists' transit across and find safe haven in Pakistan.

- Korgun, Viktor
 Afghanistan on the Threshold of Peace.
 CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2002, p. 7-13.

- Lansford, Tom
 Whither Lafayette ? French Military Policy and the American Campaign in Afghanistan.
 EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 126-145.
 During the American-led military campaign against international terrorism, France has sought to preserve its special status and role as a global power. This effort continues longstanding French policies designed to maintain autonomy in security and foreign policy areas. Such policies create differences and discord with the United States over coalition warfare. This article examines the underpinnings of American and French preferences for coalition military missions in the context of national policy and past military operations. A case study of French participation in the operations in Afghanistan provides the framework for analysis.

- Malvesti, Michele L.
 Bombing bin Laden : Assessing the Effectiveness of Air Strikes as a Counter-Terrorism Strategy.
 FLETCHER FORUM OF WORLD AFFAIRS, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 17-29.
<http://www.uspolicy.be/aa/aaapr102.htm>
 In the wake of the September 11, 2001, aerial suicide attacks on US soil, the United States has responded to the deadliest terrorist operation in history with a multifaceted counter-terrorism (CT) strategy aimed at defeating the perpetrators of the attacks and, more broadly, undermining terrorism in general. More prominently, the US response has included military air strikes against targets in Afghanistan that directly and indirectly support Al-Qaeda. An evaluation of the United States' three previous CT military air strikes reveals that this option is a blunt, ineffective instrument that creates a cycle of vengeance with minimal gains at best. Moreover, these previous strikes have failed to achieve US CT policy objectives of prevention and accountability.

- Manuel, Anja
Singer, P. W.
A New Model Afghan Army.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 4, July - August 2002, p. 44-59.
Afghanistan's peace remains tenuous. Rival warlords still control separate militias, and distrust of government abounds. Only a national army can secure the peace. Yet the Afghans have been slow to create one, and the international community has not helped much. The United States must jump-start the process before war breaks out again.

- Marten, Kimberly Zisk
Defending Against Anarchy : From War to Peacekeeping in Afghanistan.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 35-52.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
If Washington does not reevaluate its current approach, Afghanistan's postwar stability might prove short-lived. Here's a look at what kind of peacekeeping force is needed in Afghanistan, how it would operate, and why the United States should lead it.

- Nugent, Nicholas.
Afghanistan : Waiting for War Again.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 14-16.
'The assassination attempt last month of Afghan President Hameed Karzai and the car bomb in the capital Kabul have drawn renewed attention to the country's divisions. A year after the start of the campaign to end taliban control, armed groups are just waiting for international forces to leave so that factional conflict can resume.'

- O'Connell, Mary Ellen
Evidence of Terror.
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 19-36.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In the hours after the 11 September attacks on the United States, some called for counter-attacks on America's enemies, regardless of any evidence of wrong-doing. Those calls were rejected and some evidence was produced linking Osama bin Laden, his organization, al-Qaeda, and the Taliban regime of Afghanistan to the attacks. The United States and United Kingdom began a bombing campaign of Afghanistan on the strength of that evidence on 7 October 2001. This article explores the law of evidence in international law. It seeks to identify what evidence is sufficient for supporting a case of self-defence to clandestine terror attacks.

- O'Hanlon, Michael E.
A Flawed Masterpiece.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 3, May - June 2002, p. 47-63.
The military campaign in Afghanistan has been, for the most part, a masterpiece of creativity and finesse. It may wind up being one of the most notable U.S. military successes since World War II. But the American strategy has also had flaws. Most important, by contracting out much of the work to undependable local proxies, it may have allowed Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders to escape - and menace the world down the road.

- Ottaway, Marina
Lieven, Anatol
Rebuilding Afghanistan.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 653, March 2002, p. 133-138.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
In the past several decades, the international community has relied on three approaches to deal with countries that descend into chaos. It has supported strongmen capable of reimposing order by force; it has given up in despair, leaving the country to sort out its problems as best it can; and, most recently, it has embarked on ambitious projects to reconstruct the country in the image of a modern secular, multiethnic, and democratic state. None of these approaches should be used in Afghanistan.

- Rabkin, Jeremy
After Guantanamo.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 68, Summer 2002, p. 15-26.
Those who would recast the laws of war as international human rights norms are distorting sound precedent, and making big trouble.

- Roberts, Adam
Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War.
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 7-32.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In military operations involving action against terrorists, the relevance of the laws of war, often now called international humanitarian law, is problematic. The US-led 'war on terror', especially the use of armed force in Afghanistan, raises three questions. Is the law applicable to such operations ? Should it be applied in situations different from what was envisaged in treaties ? And are detainees 'prisoners of war' ? A difficulty in applying law is that governments usually view terrorists, like rebels in civil wars, as simply criminal. In the bombing in Afghanistan, the US has sought to observe the legal requirement of discrimination, but difficult issues are raised by the use of cluster bombs and the continued bombing after the Taliban regime's fall. As regards prisoners, US policy was ill-thought-out; and the perfectly justifiable classification of certain prisoners as 'unlawful combatants' should not mean that they are in a legal limbo. Treating the law cavalierly causes problems, especially for coalitions. The law, however imperfect, is irreplaceable.

- Roy, Olivier
Early American Support for the Taliban.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 1, 2002, p. 76-80.
Back when Soviet troops occupied Afghanistan, it may have seemed like a good idea for the US to sow the wind of the Islamic Mujahidin opposition in the country. The result, however, was the whirlwind of the fundamentalist Taliban and terrorist network Al Qaeda - especially after the US lost interest and left on-the-ground engagement to the Pakistani secret service.

- Taheri, Amir
Afghanistan : gagner la guerre, perdre la paix ?
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 97, automne 2002, p. 189-196.
The United States won the war in Afghanistan, but are they now losing the peace ? The US military intervention was initially supposed to be short. But troops are still in the field, and their continued presence is raising concerns among other powers. Washington is suspected of seeking to make Afghanistan into a cornerstone of its diplomacy in Central Asia. The Americans are also thought to be intending to use the country to deliver oil from Kazakhstan and other neighboring states. This strategy is risky since it would require the emergence of conditions that will prove very difficult - and perhaps impossible - to achieve. It supposes a strong central power in Kabul, whereas this power is traditionally weak in a bitterly divided country. Only a federal solution combined with the withdrawal of US troops will avoid yet another bloody civil war.

- Withington, Thomas
The Other Allies : Russia, India, and Afghanistan's United Front.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 651, January 2002, p. 40-44.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
Russia and India can argue that without their support, the United Front would have not defeated the Taliban. Because of this instrumental support, India and Russia will undoubtedly expect to have a voice in Afghanistan's future.

- Biddle, Stephen
Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 31-46.
The stunning success of the combination of special operations forces, precision weapons, and indigenous allies in Afghanistan has led some to laud the 'Afghan model' as the future of warfare. Others dismiss it as an anomalous product of local circumstances. But neither position is wholly correct. On closer inspection, the conduct of the war was not as revolutionary as people think.

- Feichtinger, Walter
Ein Jahr 'Krieg gegen Terror' in Afghanistan : 'alter' Krieg mit neuen Waffen ?
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 2, Marz - April 2003, S. 163-172.

- Gunaratna, Rohan
Still Threatening.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 1, January 2003, p. 19-21.
Has the West got the measure of Al Qaeda ? The list of attacks attributed to it continues to grow, Mombasa and Bail having just been added. But what about the battle for Muslim hearts and minds, has that war even begun ?

- Marsden, Peter
Afghanistan : The Reconstruction Process.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January 2003, p. 91-105.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In this article the author focuses initially on the degree of support provided by the international community to the interim administration of Afghanistan and notes that the pledges made at the Tokyo Conference do not equate to the per capita levels of funding made available for other recent emergencies. He draws attention to the inter-relationship between security and funding for reconstruction and comments that the recent decision of the US government to join with others in agreeing to finance work to upgrade the major highway system is very timely in shoring up the regime in the wake of the recent assassination attempt on Hamid Karzai. He stresses that the international community needs to provide sustained support to the new government if it is to survive. He also analyses the complex relationship between the administration and the aid community and reports on the calls by the government to be given the major part of the resources allocated by international donors and to be supported to take the lead in determining policy and strategy. The author notes the nature of the Afghan economy and the potential for reconstruction, taking into account the economic impact of the conflict, the progress made by the aid community since 1992, the humanitarian crisis arising from the drought of 1999-2001 and the large scale, mainly involuntary, return of refugees from Pakistan and Iran since March 2002. He comments on the fact that the agricultural economy cannot support its population, on the need for economic safety valves in the form of migration to Pakistan and Iran, on the availability of camps for internally displaced people, and on urbanization. In concluding the author is both optimistic and cautious, noting the fragility of the situation, but also acknowledging that the international community is taking timely action to address it through reconstruction assistance although it remains reluctant to give sufficient priority to security provision.

- Rubin, Barnett R.
Armstrong, Andrea
Regional Issues in the Reconstruction of Afghanistan.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 31-40.

- Schetter, Conrad

Der zerbrechliche Frieden in Afghanistan.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2003, S. 31-34.

A little more than a year after the breakdown of the Taliban regime and the establishment of a transitional government, disillusionment and hopes for Afghanistan's future keep a balance. On the one side, the Afghan government succeeded in establishing itself in Kabul within the past year and the presence of more than 1,100 Afghan and international NGOs manifests the good will of the international community to press on Afghanistan's reconstruction. On the other side, armed conflicts and violent clashes are still occurring in Afghanistan. This extremely tense situation is being additionally aggravated by the bad socio-economic conditions. The permanent state of war caused the total devastation of the entire country. Hereditary burdens of the wars are approximately 1.5 million civilian and military casualties, more than ten million antipersonnel mines, an illiteracy rate of over 60 percent, and the flight of up to 6.5 million people to Pakistan and Iran.

- Schlenker, Manfred

Erfahrungen aus dem 2. ISAF-Kontingent in Afghanistan.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2003, S. 14-20.

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