

Symposium: Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support

March 2, 2005

The Japan Institute of International Affairs

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Foreword

This report offers a summary of the symposium on conflict prevention organized in FY2004 by the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

Following the December 2001 Bonn Accord, Afghanistan established a transitional authority and promulgated a constitution in the face of numerous difficulties, and in the spring of 2005 even successfully held a presidential election. Although the greatest share of credit for these achievements must go to Afghanistan itself, the country did receive broad-ranging support from the international community.

Recognizing that conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts are important issues for Japan, JIIA has continued to give attention to peacebuilding in Afghanistan as a case in point. Nevertheless, interest in Afghanistan among the Japanese public tends to diminish with time.

This symposium therefore sought first to explain the present circumstances in Afghanistan with regard to security, domestic governance, and economic recovery. The panelists then joined in discussions on whether post-election Afghanistan will be able to start toward full-scale reconstruction as a peaceful nation and what kind of assistance will be required to that end.

Long-term assistance from the international community is necessary to prevent the recurrence of conflicts in post-conflict states. By addressing the present conditions in Afghanistan once more, this symposium hopes to be of help in sparking interest in the importance of assistance to post-conflict states.

Experts in peacebuilding assistance in Afghanistan were invited from Japan and other countries to serve as panelists for the symposium, which also featured the participation of a large audience. In holding this symposium, JIIA enjoyed the cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Foreign Policy Bureau and other parties, and we would like here to offer them once again our heartfelt thanks.

March 2005

Makio Miyagawa, Director
The Japan Institute of International Affairs

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Program

Symposium: Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support

Organized by JIIA, Supported by Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Wednesday, March 2, 2005 / Orchard Room, Hotel Okura

1:00–1:10pm Opening Remark: Yukio SATOH (President, JIIA)

1:10–1:30pm Keynote Speech: Sadako OGATA (President, Japan International
Cooperation Agency)

1:30–1:40pm Speech: Zalmay KHALILZAD (U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan)

Session 1: Present Circumstances and Challenges in Afghanistan

1:40–3:10pm (90 min.)

Moderator: Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Panelists: Haron AMIN (Ambassador of Afghanistan to Japan)

“Overview of Afghan Rehabilitation”

Koichiro TANAKA (Senior Analyst, Japan Institute of Middle Eastern Economies)

“Political / Governance structure of Afghanistan”

Ishaq NADIRI (Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York Univ.)

“Rehabilitation process of Afghan Economy”

3:10–3:15pm Intermission (5 min.)

Session 2: Reconstruction Assistance in Afghanistan and Challenges

3:15–4:35pm (80 min.)

Moderator: Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Panelists: Masoom STANEKZAI (Former Minister of Communications, Afghanistan
Transitional Authority)

“DDR process and Afghan Rehabilitation”

Kinichi KOMANO (Ambassador in charge of Afghanistan Assistance

Coordination and Human Security)

“Peacebuilding Support by Japan”

Jean ARNAULT (Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan)

“Peacebuilding Support by United Nations”

4:35–4:50pm Intermission (15 min.)

Session 3: Panel Discussion

4:50–5:50pm (60 min.)

Moderator: Ishaq NADIRI (Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York Univ.)

Panelists: Masoom STANEKZAI (Former Minister of Communications, Afghanistan)

Kinichi KOMANO (Ambassador in charge of Afghanistan Assistance

Coordination and Human Security)

Jean ARNAULT (Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan)

5:50–6:00pm Wrap Up and Closing Remarks: Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Overview

Overview of Symposium “Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support”

Noriko SADO

Research Fellow, The Japan Institute of International Affairs

1. Structure of symposium

Hosted by the Japan Institute of International Affairs, the Open Symposium on “Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support” was held on March 2, 2005 with support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. The keynote address that day was delivered by Sadako Ogata, President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, and serving as panelists were Haron Amin, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Japan; Koichiro Tanaka, Senior Research Fellow, Japanese Institute of Middle Eastern Economies; Ishaq Nadiri, Professor, New York University; Mohammad Masoom Stanakzai, former Minister of Communications, Afghanistan Transitional Authority; Kinichi Komano, Ambassador in charge of Afghanistan Assistance Coordination and Human Security; Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan; and Zalmay Khalilzad, US Ambassador to Afghanistan.

The symposium attracted an audience of approximately 200, who showed great interest in the progress made toward the disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation (DDR) of local warlords and former soldiers and in the drug issue. The symposium was covered in the major newspapers and on Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK).

2. Views on the present situation in Afghanistan

The accomplishments of the three years since the Bonn Accord were regarded highly by all the panelists.

In political affairs, emphasis was placed on the success of the October 2004 presidential election. Considerable significance was attached to the fact that the successful presidential election gave President Karzai’s administration legitimacy as a democratically selected government. Karzai took into account ethnicity, religion and gender in forming his new cabinet, but the actual capabilities of his government will not be known for some time. The presidential election and disarmament efforts are also changing the Afghan people’s views toward local warlords.

Despite apparent improvements in security, unresolved security issues continue to hinder development assistance. Large-scale deployment of the International Security Assistance

Force was thought to have contributed to the success of the presidential election. Although local warlords only grudgingly joined in DDR efforts when the project started, considerable progress has been made since attitudes began to change several months prior to the presidential election. Disarmament efforts have weakened the influence of the warlords even as they have bolstered that of the central government. The disarmament of irregular militias, however, remains an issue for the future. The need to make flexible use of the Provisional Rehabilitation Team was also stressed.

Several economic challenges were also emphasized. The time has come to transition from humanitarian assistance to development assistance, and further aid and effort toward establishing a sustainable economy in Afghanistan was deemed necessary. Roadway, water, and electrical power infrastructure remains inadequate, hindering economic recovery. The need to bolster the agricultural sector, which accounts for 60% of the Afghan economy, was emphasized, and assistance was requested from Japan. The drug problems stemming from poverty were raised as important issues. Illicit drugs have become a source of funding for local warlords. Cutting the cultivation of drugs at the root requires that legal measures be strengthened and that an environment be created that allows revenue to be earned through the cultivation of alternative crops. Revitalization of the private sector is absolutely essential for sustained economic development in Afghanistan, and jobs must be created while efforts are made to integrate Afghanistan's economy into the world economy.

3. Future direction

The common consensus at the symposium was that there are many outstanding issues and that the international community needs to be continually engaged with Afghanistan.

One issue for the immediate future is the implementation of parliamentary elections. Assistance is crucial for the success of these parliamentary elections. The completion of parliamentary elections will mark the end of the political process scheduled in the Bonn Accord, which will likely mean reduced influence for donors in Afghanistan. The UN, aid donors, and Afghanistan should promptly begin coordinating a new framework for future engagement.

The following approaches were suggested as areas for future assistance:

- ① Encouraging Afghan calls for reform
- ② Establishing timeframes for the achievement of objectives
- ③ Enhancing the legitimacy of the Afghan government
- ④ Pursuing coordination and cooperation between actors
- ⑤ Integrating Afghanistan into the international economy by revitalizing the private sector
- ⑥ Exercising flexible and tolerant leadership
- ⑦ Supporting solidarity within Afghanistan

4. Achievements of symposium

Interest in Afghanistan has steadily declined in Japan since the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan was held in Tokyo, and little information is available on the current situation in that country. By once again addressing the issue of peacebuilding in Afghanistan, this symposium was able to inform a broad public audience on the present circumstances in Afghanistan. Especially important was the emphasis placed by panelists on the accomplishments of the past three years, offering the audience a clear picture of the achievements of peacebuilding assistance from Japan and the rest of the international community. The audience undoubtedly gained a greater understanding of the need for long-term engagement in peacebuilding assistance by being presented with the results of assistance thus far as well as issues still to be addressed.

Summary

Symposium “Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support”

Opening Remarks

Yukio SATOH (President, Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA))

As we begin the symposium I would like to express my gratitude to guests who have come from Afghanistan as well as those participants coming from various regions of Japan. This symposium is the third symposium on Afghanistan to be hosted by the JIIA. We have held five symposia in relation to conflict prevention. Ms. Ogata has often said that at one time the international community forgot about Afghanistan, which invited various disasters upon the country.

Since the Bonn Agreement however, Afghanistan is moving towards becoming a more secure place. Much still remains to be done in security terms, and we cannot afford to abandon Afghanistan again. On the previous day, a closed meeting took place among practitioners, and today we are pleased to welcome them to this symposium, to tell the Japanese public about what is happening in the field in Afghanistan. We are seeking to enlighten the Japanese public so that they are more willing to offer support to Afghanistan. I am sure it will be very fruitful.

Dr. Miyagawa thanked Amb. Satoh for his opening remarks and invited Ms. Ogata to present her keynote speech.

Keynote Speech

Sadako OGATA (President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA))

I would like to start by congratulating the JIIA for choosing this topic and for following the situation consistently. It is a good way of building trust among nations and people. Afghanistan is a very good example of peacebuilding efforts, and peacebuilding is situation specific.

I had the great pleasure of attending the inauguration in Afghanistan last year. I really felt that the country is moving towards peace and stability and that it has come a long way in three and a half years. Remarkable progress has been made since the Bonn Agreement, which was supported by the Washington Conference. In January 2002, the conference on reconstruction was held in Tokyo.

The success of the presidential election last year was a show of the Afghan people’s determination to move forward. I would say that the international community was prepared to support the resolution of the Afghan people.

On reconstruction too, there has been much progress. After the inauguration I visited

Kandahar, and I was impressed by the changes in the city. It was no longer the dusty and broken down city of a year ago. Of course, security remains fragile, including emerging threats. DDR is taking place on schedule, but there are irregular armies which are more difficult to manage. In addition there is also organized crime. It is important to link each of these threats in a comprehensive context.

In terms of political institution building, the immediate challenge is the parliamentary election in the near future. More progress could have been made last year if it were not for security concerns about the presidential elections and threats made to NGOs and aid workers. Security threats require strong security control and it is difficult to engage in development efforts under such circumstances. This has delayed DDR work. What we will have to do is to explore ways to work with local NGOs and strengthen them so that we can rely on them much more under the fluctuating security situation. UNICEF and other organizations have a network of local NGOs which can monitor the way aid is being distributed and implemented. This is something which the international should consider. We have to Afghan-ize international aid efforts.

DDR is moving swiftly, but the next big task is the reintegration of regular and irregular soldiers. Providing a source of alternative income to poppy farmers is also an issue, which will require rural development. I would say that Afghanistan represents the first large scale peace building attempt to realize a seamless transition from war to peace. This applies not only to the donors but also to the government of Afghanistan. Always in post-conflict situations humanitarian work precedes peacebuilding. Humanitarian relief is effective in the initial stages, but it cannot move beyond that. There must be new impetus for economic growth.

Afghanistan is now at a point to move on from humanitarian work to make Afghanistan an economically viable country. I am not saying that humanitarian needs can be forgotten.

When I went to Kandahar in June 2002, I went there because it is a region full of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees. Something had to be done to help these people and it was suggested to build a regional community linked to Kandahar and establish a village. The aid agencies were keen to implement this suggestion and land owned by the government was provided to create a village for IDPs and returning refugees. What was most interesting is that in the village a peanut factory had been established and the men of the village were working in that factory. The wages were two to three dollars a day and the peanuts were used to create oil. This was the start of a viable economy. There were also women in the community who were eager to establish their own peanut factory.

This is a small example, but from now on Afghanistan has to enhance and build infrastructure to support economic activities. Electricity, water and roads are all necessary. There is a road between Kabul and Kandahar that has already been completed, but more are required. Now is the time to launch serious infrastructure projects, which may have to resort to concessional loans. This kind of peacebuilding will differ from country to country and people to people. While the rule of law is important, it is equally important to build a country from the bottom

up, namely community development.

Zalmay KHALILZAD (U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan)

I would like to thank Mrs. Ogata for the peanut oil story. I want to thank JIIA for their invitation for me to speak here today, I am looking forward to reading the comments of my colleagues.

In my judgment Afghanistan is a spectacular success story. The international community support provided the opportunity and the people of Afghanistan took that opportunity. Afghanistan is now on its way to becoming a normal state, but much remains to be done. On the success side, Afghanistan is no longer the playground of extremists. The government now represents the will of the Afghan people. At the same time a vigorous civil society is emerging that respects the rights of all people. Afghanistan's success is significant not only for the country, but for the international community as a whole. The challenge of our time is terrorism. A stable and flourishing Afghanistan will provide a model. It will also facilitate regional trade and cooperation, creating new opportunities for economic growth. When we think of Afghanistan, we must think in terms of Afghanistan's regional potential.

The promulgation of one of the most enlightened constitutions in the Islamic world, the registration of more than 10 million voters, the holding of the presidential election, a democratically elected government, five million children attending schools, successful immunization programs and schools being rebuilt are just a few of the success stories in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan people still fear international abandonment however and the international community must remain committed to the country. In the immediate future our focus should include parliamentary elections later this year. Donor support helped to make last year's election such a success and I urge donors to similarly contribute to the elections scheduled for this year. A vibrant civil society is required for democracy to flourish. The active participation of women in public life is not an abstract goal, it is at the center of the strategy for rebuilding Afghanistan.

The security situation has improved in Afghanistan and the number of violent attacks has declined since the election last year. The Taliban has been weakened and militias are being reintegrated. Japan has been the lead nation in DDR efforts. The formal DDR process is slated for completion in June and 90% of heavy weapons have been cantoned. I hope that Japan will be willing to take the lead in addressing the informal militia problem.

The United States will continue to press for the development of a professional Afghan army. The Afghan National Army (ANA) numbers now stand at 23,000 and it has become an effective force and can help deal with Afghanistan's many security challenges. Institutional reform and training are also required to boost the capacity of the police force. Other donors in addition to Germany need to focus on this issue. Increased training of police forces, including border police is required and the US has pledged US\$600 million for police training this year.

Reform of the justice sector needs to be accelerated. This includes training judges and prosecutors.

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) play a unique role in this regard. The PRTs are pioneering a new model for reconstruction and development across Afghanistan. Questions remain whether the PRTs will adapt and develop into Afghan-led organizations. I hope that Japan will consider establishing a PRT of its own in some region of Japan.

The parliamentary elections will complete the Bonn process. Post-Bonn the international community must consider the challenges that still exist and seek ways to continue to engage Afghanistan.

There are several priorities for economic reconstruction. We must pursue an integrated approach. We must turn our attention to water management needed for the agricultural sector to flourish. At present only 6% of Afghans have access to electricity. Education and institutional development are also essential. The Afghan people are eager to work and keen to succeed. Afghans recognize the development challenges that exist. Development must be accelerated for the sake of security and democracy. Afghanistan is seeking to regain its traditional role as the transport hub of Central and South Asia. The emergence of a stable democratic Afghanistan will allow the country to take its place as a land bridge in the region. As India-Pakistan tensions also decrease, Afghanistan can effectively play a bridging role between Central and South Asian economies. The regional dimension cannot be forgotten, including infrastructure projects to link the region.

The issue of drugs threatens to turn Afghanistan into a narco-state and undermine the progress that has been made to date. Although subject to verification there is evidence that Afghan farmers are exercising restraint in planting poppies. Britain is the key player in tackling the poppy growing problem. Farmers need to be provided with an alternative to poppy production. Last year the Afghan people surprised the world by organizing the presidential election. This year they may surprise the world again by tackling the scourge of illegal drugs.

Our progress thus far brings with it the risk of complacency. We cannot assume that Afghanistan will continue on its current trajectory. The United States will remain committed to Afghanistan and is contributing substantial resources to the reconstruction of the country. If approved by Congress, the amount of assistance to Afghanistan is scheduled to be doubled. It is now time to adopt goals and plans to tackle remaining challenges. Together with our friends in the international community I am confident we can meet the challenges that lie ahead. Japan has been a true partner in reconstruction efforts and together we have given the Afghan people the opportunity to rebuild their country. We now need to invest in our success and accelerate progress on security sector reforms, narcotics, and regional integration. Now is not the time to reduce our reforms. The United States is committed to doing its part and I am confident that other partners will do the same.

Session 1: Present Circumstances and Challenges in Afghanistan

Moderator: Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Haron AMIN (Ambassador of Afghanistan to Japan)

“Overview of Afghan Rehabilitation”

At the outset, I would like to thank Ambassador Yukio Satoh and the Japan Institute of International Affairs for having organized today’s symposium and rightfully here in Tokyo, the site of the first post-conflict donors’ conference on Afghanistan a little over three years ago. While a lot has been achieved since then, continued support is needed for the thriving of the world’s newest democracy and the prosperity of a strategic, land-linking country with regional potential.

We Afghans pin much hope in the future as our past still haunts us—a past filled with misery, war and fatigue. Together with our people’s backing and support from our partners such as Japan, the United States, European Union member-States, the United Nations, regional and neighboring countries, we have celebrated the demise of terror and tyranny, achieved inter-civilizational cooperation and embraced humankind’s goodwill. While challenges ahead only constitute opportunities, we must still proceed with caution, balance modernization with tradition and seek to globalize with our national interest in mind.

Our achievements so far include the return of more than 3 million refugees to rebuild their lives, the enrollment of more than 5 million girls and boys to schools and the shift from humanitarian attention to the development phase. The passing of the new Constitution has paved the way for democratic reforms in Afghanistan. The successful direct presidential elections last October with a nearly 80 percent turnout—42 percent of them women—resulted in the victory of H.E. Hamid Karzai who received 55.4% of the vote. The President took his time to name a new, energetic and technocratic cabinet, which includes two women.

Details of parliamentary elections will be decided by the independent Joint Electoral Management Body (JEMB), which we hope will occur in the next few months with the government’s full cooperation. The latest debates center on district boundaries, complete census, local councils and participation by the nomads and refugees. Since women constitute 55 percent of our population, our constitution demands for at least 27 percent of the Parliament’s members in the future to be women.

In terms of security, NATO recently announced expanding the scope of its operation beyond the 8,000 troops to cover western provinces which will then provide security assistance in a total of 50% of Afghanistan’s territory. In addition, the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) carry out presence, patrol, humanitarian and reconstruction activities in nine northern provinces of the country.

The national disarmament program and decommissioning of military forces through the

Afghanistan's New Beginnings Program (ANBP) in an attempt to restore security and to bring additional reform within the sector has so far achieved the disarmament and demobilization of 42,000 ex-combatants with 35,500 of them having entered reintegration. Under the program some 8,433 heavy weapons and 24,218 light weapons have been collected. As a requirement to tilt the balance away from local militia, we have pushed for DDR's completion before the parliamentary elections this summer.

The training program and formation of the new Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP) constitute one of the cornerstones of success for our government. So far, a 20,000-strong government force has been designed—in many instances operating alongside 17,000 of their American comrades—to tackle renegade faction leaders and remnants of the ousted Taliban. With recent announcement of accelerated training, the ANA plans to reach 70,000 by the end of next year. So far, also some 32,000 newly-trained police have entered the force, bringing the total number to 53,000. Our goal is to have 62,000 officers by 2006.

On the economic front, a successful currency reform in late 2002 stabilized inflation and maintained the exchange rate rather well. GDP growth was recorded at 29% in 2002 and 23% in 2003. Afghanistan encouraged business by adopting the lowest import tariffs in the region, reduced customs paperwork by 90% and allowed 100% foreign ownership of businesses. It also facilitated investment by simplifying the process from 28 to 5 steps and established a one-stop shop for investors. As a result, exports increased by 76% in 2003 and 46% in 2004. With Pakistan alone, our trade increased from \$ 50 million to over \$1 billion over a few years. New industrial parks have been established to create a thriving private sector and a new road network connecting Afghanistan to neighboring countries is underway. By its completion, Central Asian countries will only be 32 hours from the sea.

President Karzai signed a new Law on Mass Media in March 2003. As a result, 47 radio stations are broadcasting out of which 28 are independent. Nearly 300 publications are registered with Ministry of Information and Culture with many Afghan cities and towns having their own publications. In addition to state-owned TV, about half a dozen private stations are operating in Kabul and else where. Moreover, since the fall of the Taliban, nearly 30 Afghan films have been produced by private sector film production companies in cooperation with state-run Afghan Film.

We have achieved the unimaginable within three years, but our difficulties are far from over. Afghanistan still remains one of the poorest countries without adequate institutions and enormous capacity shortage while faced with a destabilizing narco-economy. In this context, we are fully committed to crop diversification and alternative livelihood which must accompany suppression through appropriate legislation and adequate enforcement. We hope that our new initiative will reduce narcotics by 30 percent this year alone. The launching of an independent ministry with the establishment of an independent Counter Narcotics Trust Fund (CNTF) is indicative of our commitment to this crippling plague.

Although revenue collection has reached nearly \$350 million, improved revenue-collection measures are needed to meet the needs of a properly functioning administration. The return of an additional one million refugees by the end of this year—while good news—will sadly further exacerbate human security concerns. Our country’s de-mining will require 8,000 de-miners an additional eight years, costing \$400 million. In sum, strengthening the judiciary, addressing human rights issues, developing capacity, reducing poverty by revitalizing the agricultural sector, overcoming several disturbing human development indicators such as infant and maternal mortality rates and meeting the basic standard of millennium development goals will require sustained international assistance for many years to come.

Afghanistan’s comparative advantage is its potential land-linking asset, which can move goods and services and revitalize the ancient Silk Route. Afghanistan’s infrastructure, power and telecommunications need to be built within the regional development framework in order to facilitate maximum gain from regional public goods. In this context, we will hold the 3rd annual Afghanistan Development Forum (2005 ADF) entitled “Accelerating Economic Development” from April 4–6, 2005 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kabul. One major theme will be our development priorities and we hope that the donor community can start a uniform development policy dialogue in light of successful regional modalities to address Afghanistan’s potential contribution to the already thriving regional economy. It is however important for Afghans to continue to own the development process.

The Cold War’s final battle was physically fought in Afghanistan with the Communist world and the Free world pouring billions into liberating humankind but sadly at the cost of Afghanistan’s destruction. Unfortunately, an abandoned Afghanistan provided an extremist agenda with a recruitment pool, culminating with 9/11. Since the fall of the Taliban, much has been achieved. As a result, the progress so far shall compel all of us to make sure Afghanistan remains on the international community’s list of priorities. It is evermore pertinent that the community of nations sustains its resources and assistance to Afghanistan to confront future obstacles.

Koichiro TANAKA (Senior Analyst, Japan Institute of Middle Eastern Economies)

“Political / Governance structure of Afghanistan”

Being on this panel, I consider my role to relate the achievements in the political progress in Afghanistan. I would like to look into some of the events that have taken place in Afghanistan over the last six months.

I have witnessed and felt a positive wind of change during and after the election in Afghanistan. The election has brought dynamism to the stagnating political climate. Under the transitional presidency of Mr. Karzai the lack of legitimacy was a problem, with the reliance on warlords coming at high cost, some of whom ignored presidential decrees. On October 9, 2004, the people of Afghanistan turned out in high numbers to democratically elect Mr. Karzai. This gave his government legitimacy and silenced critics, demonstrating the wishes of the people of Afghanistan. The message coming from the people was clear: “No more warlords.”

For the forthcoming elections a new set of rules should be set in place. The international community's assistance last year allowed the election to be held successfully. There is now a full-fledged government in Kabul, which is now free of warlords, with the exception of several cases. Ministers' biographies indicate that they are qualified to take on their responsibilities, but in some cases their managerial skills are somewhat not equal to their university degrees.

The government was supposed to bring in technocrats, and it was not surprising that it took Mr. Karzai two months to announce his cabinet. The issue of governance raises some issues, including that of nepotism. Now is the right moment to deal with this issue since the vanguards of this practice have now disappeared. The recent appointment of the first female provisional government is also worthy of mention.

The voices of the people were heard through the election and the election result gave a boost to DDR. The cantonment of heavy weapons has been most successful. It is now unlikely that without foreign intervention any warlord would have the power to interrupt the democratic process in Afghanistan. There are still those capable of taking advantage of the situation however. The government should not lose the opportunity to curtail the power of extremists in the judiciary sector of government. Bearing in mind that interaction with the Afghanistan government is no longer the same as it would be during the transition period, donors and aid agencies no longer have the clout they once enjoyed.

The nucleus of the Taliban movement is still at battle against the government. One bright prospect for the future is that the Afghanistan government could take the initiative to consolidate regional linkage. The idea of using its soil as a bridge for the region is a good one. We should promote such an approach.

Ishaq NADIRI (Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York Univ.)

“Rehabilitation process of Afghan Economy”

I would like to talk about some aspects of the economic challenge Afghanistan faces. The issues that were discussed on political development and security are essential for a society to focus its attention. This path of focusing attention is by no means finished, but considerable effort has been spent and Afghanistan is now on its way. This process will be costly and time-consuming but it is getting there. Most of us must not forget that Afghanistan was a broken country. This experiment in Afghanistan is somewhat unique. We are trying to develop economically and politically with a democratic set of institutions. Historically, economic development has preceded democratic development. The challenge is therefore extraordinary—to engage in economic and democratic political development simultaneously. The process in Afghanistan needs to be holistic.

The most important thing that Afghanistan suffered was that it lost its social capital—how to react with each other and act at the local level. After the Second World War, Germany had the fabric of its culture and the base of it human capital, as did Japan, but Afghanistan has lost its human capital. Afghanistan also starts with a very low level of economic development.

Structural issues have to be faced and the world community must see Afghanistan as an opportunity. If we succeed in getting Afghanistan on its feet, it will provide useful ideas and lessons for other countries.

Afghanistan is basically an agricultural economy. 65% of production and employment is in agriculture. We must therefore increase productivity and development to even begin to take advantage of the “land bridge” everyone is seeking to develop. The Afghan culture must be a priority and it has three elements of politics, economics and social elements. Community development could encourage development and growth in the agricultural economy, and focus must be placed on community development in rural and agricultural issues. Japan has had some success in this regard.

Another issue is the lack of housing in urban areas. This provides an opportunity. We can simply develop a boom by focusing on the housing situation. This would require help and money and would present a great opportunity. We also need an extension of the public services in such a way that they would be supportive of economic activities. The economy will not pick up unless there is an active infrastructure in place. Water, electricity, education and others, are, therefore, essential. What Afghanistan also needs is simplification of activities. Many procedures are very complicated in Afghanistan and this results in delays and postponements. Simplicity in governmental procedures would greatly help to encourage new businesses. Support rather than control should be the key factor for government.

To attract investment, Afghanistan requires an enabling environment. Another issue is that Afghans can do a great deal for themselves, provided that international support does not decline. We must enable our potentially productive and eager people to rise to the challenge. The challenge is to educate and provide skills to our labor force. Training people in schools will take a long time. The best way would be to find ways of providing on-the-job training. Higher education and other efforts represent an investment in the future. The issue of Afghan agriculture has relevance for the drug business. Because of the war and troubles, Afghan agriculture has suffered from low yield and lack of profit. We could take advantage of the help being provided by the United States to change a bad issue into a good issue, without going about eradication in a heavy handed manner. For us to consolidate democracy and to connect democracy with economics, and to continue to exploit the energies of Afghans, is a formidable challenge. Afghanistan is an experiment in progress. We need an integrated program to which we invite our supporters and donors to come with a set of strategies to which we all subscribe. The miracle that has happened in Afghanistan will continue and it will provide wonderful rewards to Afghans themselves and to the international community.

Discussion

Dr. Miyagawa thanked the presenters for their input and invited questions and comments from the floor.

Mr. Watanabe from the Japan Center for International Exchange noted that he was very encouraged about development in Afghanistan and the positive track which the country is taking. He asked the panelists to give a true picture of the situation in Afghanistan at the moment.

Amb. Amin responded that twenty years of war had produced an environment that created the conditions for local warlords and militias. Over the course of three years great progress has been made and the system of government is spreading out from Kabul. Areas of the country still remain out of the direct control of government and more time will be required. The narcotics issue is also still very serious and will require the support of the international community for some time to come. With regard to the Taliban, it is hoped that through development and economic growth, the disenfranchised people in the Taliban and other groups can be brought back into society.

Mr. Tanaka responded to the question by noting that the power of the warlords is decreasing and it could be envisaged that militias will be entirely dismantled in the future. The Taliban remain in pockets of the country, but through the election process people have gradually started to believe that the government is now on track and move away from any residual sympathy for the Taliban.

With regard to narcotics, **Prof. Nadiri** stated that the issue was a tremendous challenge. Everything depends on whether the alternative livelihood approach will work. If this does not work effectively, it is likely that narcotics will not be eliminated and any eradication would only be temporary in nature. We must turn this sizable problem into something positive.

From the floor, **Mr. Arnault** stated that the symbol of the warlord's isolation has been the success of the elections. Few observers one year ago could have guessed how isolated the warlords could have become. This is a reflection of the determination among the people in Afghanistan to turn away from war and progress with development and disarmament. With regard to narcotics, the good news on this issue is that farmers and rural communities can demonstrate economic flexibility. The challenge is now to provide farmers with exciting opportunities and encourage them to use their entrepreneurship in areas other than narcotics.

Prof. Hirono asked a question to Prof. Nadiri about dependence on foreign aid to develop the economy, pointing to cases in Cambodia and Mongolia. He asked for how long Afghanistan would be dependent on foreign aid.

Prof. Nadiri responded that the form of foreign aid would be different and over time the proportion of aid would decline. This will depend on the economic opportunities that Afghans themselves can create. For a great deal of the 20th century Afghanistan has been isolated and people have therefore not been able to learn. It is vital for Afghans to maximize the opportunities that have been provided to them and Afghanistan is seeking to participate in an integrated world. If aid were to continue for the foreseeable future, it is likely that the Afghanistan economy will grow.

Amb. Akashi asked a question concerning the interrelationship between elections, democracy and development. He noted that elections are not synonymous with democracy and while the presidential elections were a success, other elections are coming and there is a need to build democratic institutions, including civil society, in order to bolster the results of elections. As President Bush has pointed out it takes a lot of time for democracy to take root. In the case of Afghanistan, everyone should be aware that more needs to be done in the future. The situation in the country is unique, but similarities could be drawn with Sri Lanka, where democracy was developed before economic development, leading to disaffection and civil war between minorities and the majority. We should be aware of the close interaction between economic activity, democracy and development and not be too optimistic too soon.

Prof. Nadiri responded that democracy tends to increase the number of claimants on government, given that people are provided the right to make demands of their government. In a country with limited resources, it may be difficult to meet the expectations of all people and if expectations are not met, the people could turn against the democratic government. Hence, the efforts underway in Afghanistan are most important and if they work effectively they will provide a lesson for other countries around the world.

Amb. Amin noted that Afghans are seeking to learn from the region and the international community about economic efforts.

Ms. Ogata asked a question concerning traffic vs. trafficking and the position of Afghanistan as a land bridge. This also raises the question of trafficking of narcotics if infrastructure is to be improved. What kind of traffic should be encouraged if Afghanistan is to extract itself from the narco-economy?

Prof. Nadiri responded that being integrated in a regional order would have both positive and negative aspects. Afghanistan must put its house in order, as well as being part of an integrated environment. A key factor is trafficking, which is perpetuated because it is the warlords who provide credit to farmers. For the international community to merely move to tackle the soft target of cultivation is not going to solve the problem. To address narcotics more comprehensively requires greater support from the international community. Unless economic activities of the desirable kind are insulated in some way it is unlikely they could succeed in the face of narcotics and trafficking.

Amb. Amin stated that as the government strengthens and the development of Afghanistan progresses, it is hoped that the impact of narcotics will decrease by legal restrictions and alternative crops.

Mr. Togo of Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute referred to the issue of narcotics, noting that narcotics represent 60% of Afghanistan's GDP. He asked whether it would be possible to set up a project to buy up all poppies and stockpile it for other uses, as one means of solving the issue.

Ms. Ogata noted that the Taliban managed to control the narcotics business very well and that it is a difficult issue to resolve. Then she added the approach to buy up all poppies is not acceptable for narcotics control.

Mr. Tanaka stated that during negotiations with the Taliban at the UN, the Taliban had suggested that the international community buy the poppies. Cultivation, trafficking and dealing is all interlinked and there needs to be a comprehensive program for Afghanistan, for the region and for the world. He cautioned about the possibility that the buy up all approach would accelerate narcotics produce.

Prof. Nadiri stated that scientists are developing poppies through genetic modification to not produce heroin, but to produce anti-malarial antigens, and other such effects. While such developments are interesting, it is unlikely to have an impact on the poppy industry in Afghanistan, which is enormous. He added the challenge of trafficking network remained.

A question from the floor asked about training of the ANA. In response to the question **Mr. Stanekzai** stated that the training attempts to imbue a new mentality in the armed forces and it is a precise exercise to counter the principles that were promoted in former years and regimes.

Intermission

Session 2: Reconstruction Assistance in Afghanistan and Challenges

Moderator: Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Panelists: Masoom STANEKZAI (Former Minister of Communications, Afghanistan Transitional Authority)

“DDR process and Afghan Rehabilitation”

When the Taliban came into existence, Afghanistan was isolated from the world, but prior to that, after the Soviet withdrawal Afghanistan was forgotten by the international community, leading to the tragedy of 9/11. When the war on the Taliban was over in Afghanistan, it was hoped that the country would move towards a new chapter. Afghanistan has an estimated 100,000 tons of weapons, explosives and ammunitions. During the Soviet Union occupation and later during the civil war every village in Afghanistan was changed to a frontline area. A generation has been born and raised during the war and hundreds of thousands of armed groups and military formations emerged in every part of the country. In addition, Afghanistan has the largest refugee group in the world. Abuses of human rights have taken place for many years in Afghanistan and it is necessary to move now to social reconstruction.

Under the unique leadership of Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan is an example of a process of consensus building. When he made the move to being a legitimately elected president it was one of the most significant events for the political process in Afghanistan. Critics of the Karzai government have now been silenced, due to the resounding mandate the election has given to the government.

With regard to DDR, one of the largest problems in Afghanistan was weapons and ammunition and the finances related to these weapons. Initially everyone was pessimistic about the DDR process, but as time has passed, the people of Afghanistan have supported the initiative, which, together with international support has achieved real results. The UN also played a constructive role by putting in place a structure in the form of the Afghanistan's New Beginning Program. In order to bring the key stakeholders together, a DDR Forum took place to encourage joint participation.

Initial DDR targets were 100,000 defense force members to be demobilized. There were groups throughout the country with military capabilities, including possession of heavy weapons. Afghanistan has made good progress in DDR activities, with more than 40,000 ex-combatants now having been disarmed and more than 34,000 successfully reintegrated. Over 500,000 rounds of ammunition have been destroyed and ammunition is now being placed under the control of the Afghan National Army (ANA).

The impact of the DDR process has minimized the threat of factional fighting among warlords using heavy weapons. This has led to a situation in which ANA has started to play a greater role, where the authority of the central government has expanded to the provinces. This facilitated an environment conducive for the first presidential elections and increased confidence for investment and reconstruction of Afghanistan. There are now plans to sequence DDR efforts to be followed with a stabilizing package in areas where DDR has been completed so that communities feel and see immediate benefits. Reintegration is the most difficult part of DDR and needs to be reviewed and modified. DDR is not separate from the general political, social and economical environment in the country as well as in the region.

Security Sector Reform (SSR) is essential for Afghanistan and needs to be accelerated. One of the challenges for the future is to tackle the issue of illegal armed groups (IAG), which have not been covered by the DDR process. The disbandment of IAG is an urgent issue in the run-up to the parliamentary elections.

One of the key points made by Ms. Ogata was the importance of a bottom-up approach. A stable Afghanistan is a precondition for regional and global security. Cooperation and synchronization are needed. Maintaining progress in economic, political and social areas is vital. What is important for reconstruction from now is a long-term framework and commitment for the international community to continue support to Afghanistan, as well as a robust government policy framework to be used as a central tool for coordination of funding programs. It is also important to develop the private sector according to the unique needs of Afghanistan.

Afghans highly appreciate the support of all donors for DDR, in particular Japan's efforts as the leading nation and key donor for this program. The international community as a whole has done a great job to support Afghans in securing a safer environment for reconstruction to be carried out in all parts of the country, but this is just the beginning of a long journey. The role of the UN and the international community is vital to support the new road map that gets

Afghanistan to durable peace and stability after the elections. This is more critical than any other time and we should go together to make Afghanistan's case a success story of the 21st century for the well-being of humanity, self-determination, freedom and model of economic prosperity.

Support and preparation for a safe, fair and free parliamentary election is crucial. In addition, effective and integrated program planning and support is needed to address the alternative livelihood issue of demobilized ex-combatants (including IAG) and poppy growers as inter-linked issues impacting each other. Expansion of international security forces to other parts of the country and accelerating DDR is also needed. Further infrastructure construction should be conducted and the support from Japan is very much welcomed.

Kinichi KOMANO (Ambassador in charge of Afghanistan Assistance Coordination and Human Security)

“Peacebuilding Support by Japan”

Peacebuilding and nation-building are the same thing in Afghanistan and both of them should go in tandem. After 23 years of jihad, civil war and extremism, every kind of infrastructure, soft and hard both, has been destroyed or become half-functional all over the country.

9.11 incidents have brought the Afghan issue to the fore again in the international arena. Japan co-hosted the Tokyo Conference on Afghan Reconstruction Assistance early 2002. Just after that, I was assigned to the Japanese Embassy in Kabul and had worked together with the friends and colleagues of Afghan and the International community for the peace and reconstruction of Afghanistan for two and a half years.

During this period, my Government has promulgated the work for peacebuilding and conflict-prevention as a primary goal of Japanese foreign policies. And the revised ODA charter of Japan which dictates the overall foreign aid policies of Japan has identified the support for peacebuilding and conflict-prevention as one of the four priority areas and “Human Security” perspective as a guiding principle of all aid programs and activities.

It goes without saying that these policy evolutions in Japan have been occurred with the development taken place and experiences accumulated in, among others, Afghanistan. The role and contribution of Japan in the joint efforts for Afghan's peace and reconstruction is, therefore, a test for us in terms of attaining the government's new foreign policy goals and enriching the contents of the policy measures.

As the Ambassador of Japan in Afghanistan, assignment there was a big challenge and after the termination of my tenure, it was really rewarding.

Of the most rewarding for me and my colleagues, I hope, was that, the people of Afghanistan finally acted and voted in the first-ever presidential election last October. This was an enormous achievement and showed the sea-change in attitude of the people, if we took into consideration

the tremendous obstacles lying before the people.

Such obstacles as threats by the Taliban not to vote, no precedence in electing a political leader directly, high illiteracy rate, a mountainous landscape and lack of infrastructure such as roads and telecommunication system, however, couldn't prevent the people from voting. In spite of all these difficulties, people dared to go to the polling centers and thus defied the threats of terrorists.

The unexpectedly vigorous movement of the people led the presidential election to a smooth and successful implementation. Whatever the motivation of the people in acting might be, it shows several things: (1) efforts made so far towards peace and reconstruction of Afghanistan are in the right direction, (2) achievements made so far, even though far from being enough, are starting to give some hope for the future to the Afghan people, and (3) expectation of the people from the new government will be by far bigger than to the previous governments.

Keeping these points in mind, I would explain, first, on the Japan's approach to Afghan reconstruction assistance and, second, on what we should do henceforward in order to consolidate what has been achieved so far.

In the very initial stage, Japan selected six sectors as priority areas of Japanese aid such as education, health, support to returnees, demining, etc. Under the "nothing exists" condition, we tried to do whatever possible, relying upon UN agencies and NGOs which have accumulated knowledge and experiences during the days of destruction.

As time goes by, support for the resettlement of returnees has evolved into the "Ogata Initiative" which stresses two factors for sustainable resettlement of returnees, (1) seamless transition from emergency and humanitarian aid to the development aid, and (2) extension of support not only to the returnees but to the people of the recipient local community. The community-based regional development approach can accommodate these two factors. Japan has selected the regions including Kandahar for the implementation of the "Ogata Initiative".

After two years of program implementation in Kandahar, the city area has changed its face considerably and people enjoy comparatively robust economic and business activities there.

As the "Ogata Initiative" has emerged as the first cluster of the Japanese aid program, the second cluster has been made up of road construction projects, such as the Kabul- Kandahar-Heart Highway and Kandahar-Spin Boldalk Road. This has been proposed by President Karzai himself. He argued strongly that as the leader of a country which requires national reconciliation more than anything else, reconstruction of the nation-wide highway network should be given the highest priority and the most urgency, in order to facilitate not only the smooth transportation of goods and services, but the free traffic of people and information among them, otherwise, separated from one another.

The U.S. and Japan's leaders responded to this appeal quickly and Kabul-Kandahar part of highway had been constructed by the end of 2003 with a record speed for this kind of big infrastructure projects.

The third cluster of Japanese aid is directed to supporting ex-combatants for their reintegration into civilian society, through vocational training, job placement, farming, small business, demining, etc. The ANBP (Afghanistan New Beginnings Program) has been established as a focal agency of the DDR program. Japan has not only financially supported the ANBP, but also mobilized different kinds of its own projects and programs to support reintegration of the ex-combatants which is the key to the success of the DDR program.

In the process of our peacebuilding efforts, it has soon become obvious that without safety and security, progress in political process and development could not be upheld, and easily be reversed.

Therefore, it was of extreme importance that, against the traditional thinking in the Japan's ODA policies, Japan should also bear responsibility to enhance security and contribute to security reform.

In addition to the ongoing campaign against terrorists, for the security sector reform, five areas have been identified. DDR was the choice that Japan made with the UN in order to lead the international support to the Afghan government.

Long tough days without visible movement on the ground passed by, leaving me annoyed at slow, if any, progress in the work. Momentum of the work had been created just a few months before the Presidential Election. President Karzai decided to put aside the Minister of Defence as his running-mate for the presidential election. Ismail Khan, powerful governor of Herat was dismissed and General Datum changed his mind towards actively cooperating with the DDR program. These political changes breathed new life in to our work.

The accelerated implementation of the DDR program made a partial contribution to the smooth and successful implementation of the presidential election which has in turn caused further acceleration of the DDR program.

I sense that most warlords have started feeling the possibility of irreversible change in the minds of the people and mood in the society, from the rule of guns to the rule of law.

Leading the DDR program in Afghanistan has given us a certain amount of experience and some self-confidence in making a contribution to the security sector as a main part of the peacebuilding efforts, even though our role is constrained in terms of military and military-related activities.

In spite of the fundamental changes ongoing beneath the surface of the Afghan society, much

more work still remains to be done. The political process agreed in Bonn is well in advance. The last step of this process is the parliamentary election. Every effort should not be spared in order to pass smoothly and successfully through this process. While acknowledging the obstacles and problems ahead for the coming election, ranging from the definition of boundaries, voting system, vetting the candidates, to security and funding, it is urgently necessary to set the election date soon. If not, momentum created through the presidential election might be lost and the patience of the people might run out.

Security will continue to be the major obstacle to the success of the election. Therefore, security sector reform should be pursued with more vigor than used to be. More should be counted on the growing Afghan National Army and the National Police. This does not mean that the strengthened presence of the international forces might not be needed. On the contrary, they are still a decisive factor in this key domain. Therefore, the recent decision taken by the NATO is most welcome.

Other areas in the security sector reform have gained increasing importance such as counter narcotics. I hope that the newly established Ministry and the new Minister as the focal point will do its utmost to materialize the implementation plan in which alongside with the eradication campaign, more emphasis has been rightly put on the strengthened capability for interdiction, focusing on its quality and also community-based development approach as a viable way for the alternative livelihood. Degradation of Afghanistan into a narco-mafia country is a real danger and nightmare to all of us.

Judicial reform is part and parcel of the counter-narcotics strategy. Of course, it has a far wider scope. In this juncture of time, transitional justice has become the keen interest of the people. What is urgently needed, in my view, is to set out the system for vetting the candidate persons for the public post holding, such as members of the parliament, high-ranking officials of the central government, governors and chiefs of police in the provinces, high-ranking officials of the security institutions, etc.

In the DDR sector, new issues are emerging with the progress of the incumbent DDR program. The illegal militias which are not under the command and control of the Ministry of Defence and, therefore, are considered as illegal have turned out to be abundant all over the country. They are different in size and kind of activities they are engaged in. However, they are all with weapons. If they are allowed to continue existing as used to be, they might take the opportunity to monopolize the weapons in their regions of activity after the decommissioning of the MOD units until when the ANA will be deployed fully. These illegal militias are most often involved in drug-trafficking and committed to human rights abuses. Since these militias are illegal in nature, benefiting them individually for their reintegration into the civilian life is not adequate. Instead, it should take the form of benefiting the community which is expected to absorb these militias after their disarmament. (In case of the ex-combatants under the incumbent DDR program, they are benefited individually in their reintegration process.)

Disbandment of these illegal militias should be led by the Afghan government. Japan on behalf of the international community, will continue playing a role as a focal point in this new task, too.

All these political and security challenges will not be guaranteed success without concomitant progress in the development side and trickling down the benefits of these efforts to the individual people, particularly rural poor of the country.

Here, I find the convergence of focus on the rural-community based development approach through different perspectives, in terms of viable alternative livelihood measures in the counter-narcotics strategy and disbandment of illegal militias as I mentioned now on the one hand and the on-going “Ogata Initiative” which aims at supporting the resettlement of the returnees on the other.

Security and development efforts meet here in rural community-based development.

Based upon this approach, the key to the success in the joint efforts for peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan depends on how the will and aspiration of the people demonstrated in the presidential election will be institutionalized into the nation-building efforts.

The community based development approach has been already well designed and is gaining capacity step by step. There are already different kinds of national programs, initiated by the Afghan Government such as National Solidarity Program, National Emergency Employment Program, National Stabilization Program, etc. Out of 30,000 villages in the country, 6,000 have been already covered by the NSP (Solidarity) and supported by the Program in terms of rehabilitating the consultative mechanism of the community and provision of U.S. \$30–60,000 block grant for implementing the community development projects prioritized by the consultative body. The program is now well underway and expected to spread over the country soon.

The communities thus reinvigorated have already demonstrated their potential not only in promoting small scale development projects such as rehabilitation of schools, clinics, feeder roads, bridges, wells, etc., but, in electoral process such as registration, awareness raising, security for voting and counting, etc., and in the DDR process such as verifying the combatants and supporting their reintegration into the civil society.

By strengthening the role and capacity of the rural community, drawing upon the experiences and results gained so far, and expanding the existing national programs in terms of size, scope and quality, I hope Afghanistan will be able to attain the goals of democracy, security and welfare of the people, by mobilizing the people themselves.

Based upon the re-born Afghan community, basic infrastructures such as electricity, water, roads, etc., are constructed by fully involving the people, benefiting them and therefore could

be better utilized and maintained for the sustainable development of the country and welfare of the people.

Needless to say that the tasks ahead of the Government and people of Afghanistan are tremendous and complex, and will take a considerable time for them to be able to tackle these challenges by themselves. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the international community to continue standing by them until they are confident to manage these issues by themselves. We should not leave Afghanistan alone at the corner of the world and allow history to repeat itself.

Jean ARNAULT (Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan)

“Peacebuilding Support by United Nations”

As has been said by everyone, there have been a number of good developments in Afghanistan, resulting in the country not being in the news as much as it has been in the past. This is a timely symposium because there is a new government in Afghanistan, which has a level of legitimacy that is unprecedented. It is also timely because some of the threats have receded into the background. Insurgency and other factors are clearly waning, which has created new opportunities. In addition, the Bonn process is coming to an end with the upcoming parliamentary elections, and this will mark the end of the political agenda. All of us are now called upon to consider how the partnership between Afghanistan and the international community can be continued in the future.

The UN role is mainly to support the political process and it has been a privilege to be involved with the Afghanistan government as they establish a fully representative government in the country. The government also succeeded in adopting a constitution unanimously in the Loya Jirga. Apart from involvement in the political process, the UN has been able to participate in many key aspects of peacebuilding in Afghanistan, including return of refugees, DDR and the restoration of basic services such as utilities and education. The UN has brought its expertise to bear on these processes that are a precondition to bringing a failed state to successfully make the transition to becoming a normal state.

With regard to conclusions, while the political process is nearing its conclusion, it is important to remember that the process of moving from war to peace is very far from being completed. There are still 1.5 million refugees living in neighboring countries and thousands of Internally Displaced Person (IDPs,) who are settled in various parts of the country. The process of demobilization has moved forward rapidly with regard to formal militias, but little progress has been made in the demobilization of informal militias. The depth of the process of militarization that Afghanistan has gone through over the years is truly astonishing.

The government of Afghanistan has rightly taken the decision not to implement district elections this year, given non-delineation of districts and the incapability of government and international organizations to provide an environment for an election to take place.

The partnership and support of the international community will remain vital for a number of

years to come. This is one of the strong resolutions that must come out of any thinking on Afghanistan from now. One year ago, in order to illustrate how fragile the situation in Afghanistan was, Afghan people said that if the international community were to desert Afghanistan, civil war would resume almost immediately. While it is no longer the case that Afghanistan would immediately plunge into civil war, it is still in need of support.

Another conclusion is the structuring of a post-Bonn framework. The international community needs to remain in Afghanistan as a military presence. This is to provide a platform for state institutions to gain effectiveness and loyalty and to become the pillars for law enforcement. There is also a need to move the process of state-building much more quickly, particularly with regard to security. There will be a crisis of confidence if the issue of security is not addressed urgently. Furthermore, the quality of the education must be improved. Considering the form of a future road map, it is reasonable to expect that together with the international community, over the next three years it will be possible to build a viable government in all aspects that governs all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. Infrastructure construction and economic development are also urgent tasks.

Looking at the developments of the last three years, it is undoubtedly the fact that the Afghan people have a tremendous resolve not to let the opportunities they are presented with bypass them again. The international community should also be bold and ambitious and I am convinced that the lessons learned by the Afghans over thirty years of conflict will provide useful as they grasp the opportunities provided to them.

Discussion

Mr. Iguchi posed a question about what are the biggest hindrances to proceeding with DDR in Afghanistan and what is the possibility of taking in Mullah Omar into the government?

Mr. Stanekzai responded that it is now important to move beyond the formal DDR process, for which financial support from donors will be required. To accelerate reconstruction we need a more integrated local based approach. As for Mullah Omar, no-one knows where he is and once his whereabouts are known negotiations could be instituted.

Mr. Arnault noted that what has done much more to reduce the influence of factions and militias is the momentum itself that has built up over the last three years, which is something that has surprised everybody. The system now should be sure to work for everybody, which will require economic processes being incorporated into the political process.

Amb. Komano pointed to the political, security and development processes, which are closely interlinked. What is important is to implement that relate to these three processes.

Mr. Terasaki asked what steps and measures are available to Japan to conduct DDR with specific regard to illegal militias.

Mr. Komano acknowledged that this was a difficult issue, noting that the informal militias are not organized in the way in which the formal militias were organized, and that it would be difficult to identify them in the first place. Informal militias are based in the community and it is difficult therefore to collect their weapons and reintegrate them into civil society when they are already community-based.

Prof. Nadiri referred to the issue of Mullah Omar, noting that there are many Afghans who have decided to advance towards the future, but neither have they forgotten the importance of justice and Human rights. The U.S. and the Afghanistan government will have to coordinate on this issue.

A question from the floor addressed the issue of aid and employment of Afghan employees, with particular reference to the Kabul-Kandahar Highway construction. Mr. Stanekzai responded that in the case of the Kabul-Kandahar Highway, there was a need to build the highway quickly and therefore local people were not sourced. Training is ongoing however, such as computer training in government ministries, and once training is provided Afghan people will be capable of doing jobs, but time and more training will be required. To nurture local industry, we need to provide better conditions for Afghan people to enter the industry, for instance by simplifying public bidding procedures. What is now a high priority is to build the local capacity of the private sector.

Intermission

Session 3: Panel Discussion

Moderator: Ishaq NADIRI (Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York Univ.)

Prof. Nadiri explained that the final session of the day was to wrap up discussions and asked panelists to make address for the future on the three issues of peacebuilding, security and economic growth, indicating that they should address the three processes in an integrated manner.

Masoom STANEKZAI (Former Minister of Communications, Afghanistan Transitional Authority)

One of the important issues for security is for the Afghan people to be able to feel that the country can progress to the development phase. It is therefore important to focus on state-building. Training of security forces and measures to deal with illegal militia should also be dealt with as a package. SSR should focus on the police and the judiciary. It is crucial to build police and judicial functions at the district level.

The international community needs to remain committed to security, but the PRTs need to be used effectively and their activities streamlined. With the issue of security it is essential to remember districts and communities. Community-based approaches should therefore be given serious consideration and revitalized in a democratic way.

Jean ARNAULT (Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan)

What is important with regard to peacebuilding is to do anything, but to do it on time. What is crucial is to maintain the belief that the Afghan people possess that they can grasp opportunities and work to develop their country themselves. What is striking about the peace process in Afghanistan is that it has stuck to its schedule. The Afghan process has been able to stick to deadlines which has been important for both domestic and international confidence.

Refugee return and IDPs resettlement must be achieved swiftly. Demilitarization is also a process that must be completed on time, and it is likely that the process of DDR will be finished on schedule in June 2005. Measures to tackle illegal militias should also be given specific deadlines. It is important to make efforts on health and education time bound. In the area of security, police reform and reform of the Ministry of Interior are pressing issues that require a time-bound program. In addition, justice needs to be part of the roadmap. What seems to be an ambitious but feasible goal is the expansion of governmental authority at the provincial level. Last year there were efforts to restore government buildings at the district level, which may not be realistic in the next three to five years, but restoration of authority at the provincial level is realistic.

Kinichi KOMANO (Ambassador in charge of Afghanistan Assistance Coordination and Human Security)

I agree with Mr. Arnault on the importance of timeliness for peace, stability and development in Afghanistan. It is extremely important for Afghanistan and the international community to share a clear vision with a time frame. With regard to development, the success or non-success of our efforts in Afghanistan is dependent on how the fruits of development efforts can be extended to people in rural areas. How quickly that happens is crucial to the success of efforts.

I emphasized the importance of focusing on community-based development. In Afghanistan a community is a unit in which people act and in which they live, therefore, the community should be the main target for achieving human security. The question is how quickly national programs can be implemented for reconstruction of communities. For the sustainable development of the country, nationwide economic growth needs to be driven by the private sector, and such activities should be well-designed. There are many ideas for promoting economic growth, but we require a unified idea for economic growth and development of the national economy. With a well-designed national development program Afghanistan could be self-reliant and the formulation of such a program is a priority for the Afghanistan government and the international community.

Security reform and also reconstruction and development will require resources. Support from the international community will continue for years to come. This represents an investment in Afghanistan, which, while not insignificant, fades in comparison to the alternative of having Afghanistan as a failed state. It is therefore important for the international community to maintain its commitment to Afghanistan.

Discussion

A question was raised concerning the mandate of UNAMA, which is coming to a close, and what role the UN would play in a post-Bonn framework. **Mr. Arnault** responded that each agency would find its place in the continuation of the process in Afghanistan. The inauguration of the parliament this year will put an end of the political involvement of the United Nations, but there are a large number of areas in which specific agencies will continue to be involved. There are also other areas in which the UN could be involved that it has not been involved in to date. There may be a number of areas in which a symbiotic relationship between the UN and donor nations could be useful and areas in which the UN could step in to support the efforts of donor governments. There is room to emulate some of the best practices that have emerged over the course of three years.

A question was posed concerning DDR and illegal militias, asking how the influence of illegal militias could be reduced, even if they were unarmed. **Mr. Stanekzai** responded that time would be the deciding factor. Communities are starting to realize that there are other options and other people who can take the lead in the community, and therefore the influence of militias is gradually reducing. The flow of resources to militias would be cut off if they were disarmed, because currently weapons are the means they use to collect resources. By targeting villages and districts through a community-based approach, the power in the community would be spread among a number of people rather than a warlord. While the process of dealing with illegal militias will take time, with efforts to disarm them and engage in community-based program, their influence will dissipate.

A question was posed concerning the end of involvement in the political process upon the parliamentary election, and in the post-election period how the government and parliament should act and how it should serve the people. **Mr. Arnault** responded that ultimately, what was a narrow political process as laid out in the Bonn process, has grown to be a much more substantial process, including the issue of disarmament. There has been a constant restatement of the desire for strong government, and this desire remains strong. Popular demands are for health, education, better security and it is clear what the people expect and this will shape the agenda for the next few years.

A question from the floor asked about relations between the Karzai government and neighboring governments and also asked about the personal strength of Hamid Karzai as the Head of Government. **Mr. Stanekzai** responded that President Karzai is a person between two stones, in a very difficult position, surrounded by different warlords. President Karzai has a unique capability to work toward consensus building and lead the people in building consensus. This was what was necessary at the critical juncture in the political process in Afghanistan. President Karzai has been careful to bring all parties and stakeholders with him, without leaving anyone behind.

Amb. Komano stated that President Karzai is faced with a tremendous amount of difficulties, but always appears cheerful. This character is vital for a national leader and one of the president's

strengths is that he is widely supported by the international community, which is another one of his assets. The Tokyo conference in 2002 was President Karzai's debut on the international stage, and since then Afghanistan has gone through various stages and experience, under the leadership of the President, who has built consensus among his colleagues. It remains to be seen how effective the new government will be.

Mr. Arnault noted that Afghanistan is the home to astonishing diversity and it is remarkable that President Karzai has been able to maintain a connection with all the different political, cultural and social groupings.

A question was asked about the strengths of Afghanistan, building on its history. **Mr. Stanekzai** responded that Afghanistan is located in a region that has made it a barrier country between imperial powers (Russia and Britain) in the past. Prior to the Soviet invasion there was a politics of balance that was peaceful and Afghanistan maintained good relations with its neighbors. Still, border issues, water issues and other issues remain outstanding and now that Afghanistan is back on the international stage, Afghans are seeking to develop their own country, after having seen the fruits of development enjoyed by other countries. After the Cold War, the new environment in the region will give Afghanistan the opportunity to take its place as a regional hub. Afghanistan could become a bridge between the Middle East and Central and South Asia.

Amb. Amin highlighted the international perception that Afghanistan was born after 9/11, and stressed the importance of highlighting the long history of Afghanistan. Recently Afghanistan has been pulled between the forces of traditionalism and modernism, it has also been a ground for many ideologies and forms of government. And democracy represents another test for the people of Afghanistan.

Prof. Nadiri noted that a number of themes had been highlighted, notably that Afghanistan is seeking to change and that such a desire should be nurtured. A second theme is the importance of being bound by time frames, and the importance of integrating efforts between Afghanistan and the international community. The issue of timeliness should be carefully considered. Another issue is the legitimacy of the state and it will be important to engage in a bottom-up approach to further bolster legitimacy. It will be important to share a common agenda and integrate activities. One of the complaints from the Afghanistan side is the lack of coordination on the side of the international community.

It is important to emphasize the role of the private sector in growth and development. If the goal of becoming a land bridge comes to fruition, the potential of the region would be enormous, as would the market. The engine of development in the world today is trade and investment and the benefits to be had in investing in Afghanistan are likely to be significant.

Finally, with regard to the leadership of Afghanistan, President Karzai is a generous and good-humored person, who is, most crucially, flexible and tolerance. Flexibility is a quality that is

paramount in the Afghanistan of today.

Crucial for the future is for the international community to join together with Afghanistan and treat development as a joint project. It is vital to follow a consistent, integrated design and Afghanistan will need all the help the international community is prepared to provide. It is not only money that is important, rather knowledge, friendship and support are of the essence.

Wrap Up and Closing Remarks

Makio MIYAGAWA (Director, JIIA)

Dr. Miyagawa thanked all the panelists and Prof. Nadiri for their valuable input to discussions and closed the symposium proceedings.

Keynote Speech

Sadako OGATA

President, Japan International Cooperation Agency

Thank you very much Mr. Satoh and Mr. Miyagawa for introducing me. I would really like to start by congratulating the Japan Institute of International Affairs for choosing this topic today, and also for following a situation consistently, because people tend to focus on what is most topical, and forget. This is no way to build trust among nations and among people. I am particularly happy that you are focusing on peacebuilding. This is rather topical these days, but I think Afghanistan is a very good example of peacebuilding efforts. Also, if you understand Afghanistan, you would also understand that peacebuilding is very situation-specific. The same model does not apply to all peacebuilding, and I would like to emphasize that part too.

I had the very great pleasure of attending the inauguration ceremony at the end of last year. This was my fourth visit to Afghanistan after 9/11 and the great concentration on Afghanistan started. I must say that I was very excited and deeply moved by witnessing the inauguration, and felt that the country is now really steadily moving towards peace and stability. I came back with the very clear impression that the country has really come a long way in three years. We have to recall the remarkable progress made since the Bonn Agreement. While the Bonn Agreement was being negotiated, we should remember that there was the Washington conference that clearly decided to link peace and develop reconstruction of Afghanistan. Then Tokyo was able to host the first reconstruction meeting in January 2002, and that really solidified the commitment of donor countries in reconstructing the war-torn country.

On the political front, the success of the presidential election last fall, with an overwhelming number of voters including a lot of women and amidst security concerns, was a show, I would say, of the Afghan peoples' determination to move forward. If the people had not been convinced, that election would not have taken place. I would say that the international community was determined to support the resolution of the Afghan people.

On reconstruction too there is a lot of progress. I decided to visit the major southern city of Kandahar after the inauguration, after an interval of a year and a half. I must say I was also very much surprised by the remarkable change, especially within the city, with new roads, new buildings, new schools full of students, and other constructions. Kandahar was no longer the dusty and broken down empty city of a year and a half ago. So these developments have taken place.

Of course, security remains fragile. The Taliban and terrorist threats seem to have subsided, but there are new threats emerging which I would just like to mention. Drugs: Afghanistan is

producing 87% of the world's poppy production. This is very worrying. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of armies is taking place on schedule, considerably; but there are irregular armies which are also more difficult to manage. There is also organized crime, not just terrorism, transcending borders. I think that each one of these problems has to be dealt with individually, but I think it is important to link each of these threats in a comprehensive context; to put them into a developmental context and also to make sure that the rule of law is going to be established much, much more firmly.

Let us look at some of the challenges ahead. Firstly, political institution building: I would say that by far the most immediate challenge is the coming local and parliamentary elections. The success of the elections is the next test to President Karzai, the people of Afghanistan, and how much the international community will be able to support it.

Secondly, security matters. There could have been more progress made last year, if it were not for security concerns related to the presidential elections and sporadic threats to Afghan people, international forces and aid workers. There is a serious need to look into alternative ways to deliver development assistance. Given the security threats, the United Nations (UN) had to have very strong security controls. The Japanese government put in place very strong security controls. Many of the staff could not move freely; how can you do development work under these circumstances? My office, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), also had to bring the staff under very, very close security control. This delayed, for example, DDR work because experts could not be brought from Japan to train the demobilized soldiers.

I think what we had to do, and we will have to do more, is to explore ways to strengthen the local NGOs and local Afghan personnel so that we can rely on them much, much more under fluctuating security situations. Some UN agencies, for example the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), do have the network of local people and NGOs who can not only deliver, but can also monitor the way aid is moving on. I think this kind of thing is something that the international community will have to learn much, much more, including Japan. To be able to train and have a lot of local partners as both workers, but also monitoring. Expertise, too; there are Afghan experts and third-country experts who are much more available. I think that to Afghanize our own international aid work is also something that we will have to follow.

DDR is moving somewhat swiftly, depending on where you put your standard, but I think the next big job is reintegration of former soldiers and particularly irregular soldiers. This is an urgent priority. Also, providing alternative income to poppy-growing farmers may also benefit from similar integration training schemes. There are two schools of thought regarding the poppy-growing farmers: control the poppy-growing itself or try to bring other forms of development so that there are alternative crops, an alternative way of life. You do have to develop the rural communities.

On the whole, reconstruction and development will be the key towards the future of Afghanistan. I would say that Afghanistan represents the first large-scale peacebuilding

attempt; with conscious efforts to realize a seamless transition. This word seamless transition was used rather widely in Afghanistan; a seamless transition from war to peace. This applied not only to the donors but also to the government of Afghanistan. I think there was conscious effort to bring this seamless transition into reality.

Always in post-conflict situations humanitarian work precedes humanitarian relief, especially in Afghanistan, because during the Taliban days the only internationals that were allowed to function within the country were humanitarians. So they did have a lead. But then, the humanitarian can do quite a bit in the beginning, especially at the social level—health, education, food and so on—and can attend to the needs of the poor and the vulnerable. But it cannot move beyond that, so there has to be a new impetus for development and economic growth.

So now I think that Afghanistan is at the point where from social community development, the basic humanitarian work, we must move on to make Afghanistan an economically viable country. That is where the challenge is now coming, just as the political situation is becoming much more stabilized. I am not saying that you can forget the humanitarian needs, but there now has to be economic growth policy introduced with some programs.

I would just like to give you a story. I went to Kandahar in June 2002, because further south of Kandahar there was a place called Spin Boldak, and beyond even further south, full of displaced Afghans from the north, from the war and from the drought. Then there were also refugees coming back.

The government was very worried; something had to be done for these people. One of the very able engineers, Pashtun, who many of you know, suggested building a local community linked to Kandahar. Bring people there if they wanted to, and then try to set up a little community, a village. UNHCR and the UN agencies were very keen because you cannot just leave a whole group of refugees and internally displaced people in the border area. So, this land was owned by the government, and the idea was to persuade them, to take them there, and set up something of a village. This had happened, and I was very surprised; fifteen thousand people had now moved to what was an empty place. They had built their little houses; I think there was international support. But what interested me most was that there was a peanut factory set up there for the men to work shelling peanuts. In Afghanistan peanuts are not the most valued nut, I am told. Nobody serves peanuts; they serve much more elaborate things, beautiful cashew nuts and all those things. They were peeling nuts, crushing the shells to make them into animal feed, and then crushing the peanuts to produce oil. The men were given two or three dollars a day to do that, which was a little good labor for people who were displaced. So there was this peanut oil factory with a very simple machine, but they were making peanut oil. UNHCR and an American NGO bought a bottle, and they were beautiful bottles of peanut oil. This was a little bit of a viable economy starting.

There were women in this community, and being a woman I had the pleasure of being able to talk with them. I asked them first whether they had voted, and they had. Then I asked them

what they wanted to do. They said give us a peanut oil factory. They wanted to make some money. That is a very important development to me. When women start wanting to be resourceful, wanting to earn money, that is the start of an economy. So I took back this peanut oil bottle to President Karzai and he was very pleased. He reminded me that we should put a “made in Afghanistan” seal on the bottle. But peanut oil was imported into the country.

So these are very small things. But from now on, what I think, and what many people in Afghanistan and some of the international community leaders were saying, is that Afghanistan now has to start building a larger infrastructure. You must have water. Not just digging wells, but you have to have dams; maybe not the largest dam, but a sizeable dam to bring water to the places like Zari Dasht where these people were living. You need supply water to get the agriculture really moving. You must have electricity. Even Kabul does not have an electricity supply; these are all generators now. You must have electricity, water, roads; some of them are started. Between Kabul and Kandahar there is a really big highway. The United States and Japan cooperated to do that. I am told that there are around ten to fifteen thousand cars a day moving on this highway. This is good for the economy.

But I just wanted to give my impression to you. More infrastructure building is now necessary if the country is going to develop further. Now may be the time to launch some serious infrastructure development projects which may have to resort to concessional loans. This is something new, or maybe this is the time to think about it. So we have to boost the economy whilst still supporting the creation of small jobs, education for women and rural development at the small scale. But this kind of peacebuilding will, I think, differ from country to country, government to government and people to people.

There is still one ingredient. You have to build a country from the top down—in other words, a capable government and rule of law have to be developed—but you also have to build a country from the bottom up—community development. Thank you very much.

Speech

Zalmai KHALILZAD
U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan

Ambassador Satoh, Mrs. Ogata, ladies and gentlemen: Thank you for your invitation to speak today. I am grateful to the JIA for gathering such a distinguished group to examine our shared challenges and goals in rebuilding Afghanistan.

Today, Afghanistan is a spectacular success story. This success is due to two factors: 1) the international community's support provided the opportunity; and 2) the people of Afghanistan took advantage of that opportunity. From the status of "failed state", Afghanistan is now on its way to becoming a normal state. Much remains to be done, however.

Afghanistan is becoming a moderate democracy, and its government represents the will of the Afghan people. The security situation is improving, and the country is experiencing significant economic growth. At the same time, a vigorous civil society is emerging that respects the rights of all citizens, including women and minorities.

Afghanistan's success is significant not only for the Afghan people, but also to the broader region of Central, South, and Southwest Asia. A stable, democratic, and flourishing Afghanistan will serve as a model, and as a setback for extremists. It will also help encourage new opportunities for increased economic prosperity for the people of this area of the world.

When we think of Afghanistan, we must therefore think not only of the country in and of itself, but also in terms of Afghanistan's broader regional potential, a topic to which I will return later.

I will list only a few of Afghanistan's many recent achievements:

- The promulgation of one of the most enlightened constitutions in the Muslim world.
- The registration of over 10 million voters for last year's presidential election.
- The election itself, in which over 8 million Afghans—more than 40 percent of them women—chose the first democratically-elected president in the country's history. Afghanistan now has a legitimate government. It has the mandate to move forward on key issues on the national agenda.
- Five million boys and girls are now attending school.
- Millions of children have been vaccinated against disease.
- Millions of books have been distributed around the country.
- Infrastructure is being rebuilt. I would like to make particular note of Japan's contribution

to the Kabul-Kandahar Highway. Japan has been one of Afghanistan's most generous and reliable donors.

Great challenges remain before us. It is too soon to declare victory. The Afghan people fear abandonment, and to ensure success, the international community must remain committed to Afghanistan for the long term. The U. S. has that commitment: We have learned from our past mistakes, and will not repeat them.

In the immediate future, our focus includes:

1) Parliamentary election

Preparations are on track for holding parliamentary elections later this year. Donor support helped to make a last year's election such a success, and I urge all donors to continue this momentum with generous contributions to the parliamentary election. Together, we must help the Afghan people fulfill their democratic destiny and complete the political transition envisaged by the Bonn agreement three years ago.

We are mindful that elections are not synonymous with democracy. A vibrant civil society is required for democracy to take root and flourish. In addition to elections, building civil society entails developing a free press, moderate and democratic political parties, and NGOs and think tanks. The active participation of women in public life is not an abstract goal imported from the West. It is an imperative in any democracy, and is at the center of our strategy for building Afghan civil society. Continuing support for democratizing Afghanistan will be important in the coming year.

2) DDR

The security situation has improved, and the number of violent attacks has declined over the past year. The Taliban has been weakened, and the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of militia forces is progressing well. The militias were the infrastructure of a future civil war. I would like to compliment Japan, which has played a very constructive and productive role as lead nation on DDR. 40,000 militia members have been civilianized, and the formal DDR process is slated for completion in June. In addition, percent of Afghanistan's heavy weapons have been cantoned.

Disarming informal militia forces is our next great challenge, and I hope Japan will be willing to play the leadership role in this critical area, as well. Japan can count on our full support as we evaluate the scope of the informal militia problem and the appropriate strategies needed for its resolution.

As lead nation for ANA reform, the U.S. will continue to press for the development of a professional Afghan National Army. The ANA has grown from 5,000 troops in late 2003 to over 23,000 today. We are accelerating the creation of six kandaks, up from the current five. We are

reforming the Ministry of Defense. The ANA is an effective force—and can help deal Afghanistan’s many challenges. That capability will grow.

3) Police

Based in part on experience with the ANA, there must be the same kind of institutional reform and training assistance to make the police more effective. Germany has done a good job on the responsibilities it has accepted, but other donors also need to focus on this issue. Much remains to be done, including continued institutional reform of the Defense Ministry, expansion of logistics, training, and embedded experts programs, and increased training of police forces, including border police. The U. S. Administration is proposing to spend \$600 million on police training this year, and we will continue to engage in a close dialogue with our partners in setting priorities on police training and reform.

4) Justice sector

Reform of the justice sector needs to be accelerated. This includes increased effort in the areas of training judges, prosecutors, and marshals, as well as new laws, building courts and prisons, etc.

5) PRTs

I would like to focus on the unique development role played by the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), many of which are led successfully by our international partners, including the UK, Germany, New Zealand, and, soon, Italy and Lithuania. The nineteen PRTs are pioneering a new model in facilitating security, development, and reconstruction across Afghanistan. The changing Afghan security and development environment will, however, prompt a re-evaluation of how the PRTs can best do their work. Will they become more civilian and less military, or perhaps transform themselves into Afghan-led regional development commissions? The PRTs should be adaptable, and we need to be creative in exploring options for their evolution.

6) Post-Bonn

The parliamentary elections will culminate the Bonn process. For the post-Bonn political agenda, the international community must determine how best to recognize Afghanistan’s achievements and sovereign status, while at the same time acknowledging the great tasks that remain in order to attain complete success. The post-Bonn agenda must create a framework through which the international community can continue to engage in Afghanistan. This framework, of course, will be informed by the successes that have been achieved, and by the problems that remain to be addressed.

7) Economic reconstruction

There are several priorities for economic reconstruction. We need to pursue an integrated approach. We have already concentrated on roads and other basic infrastructure; we must now also turn our attention to the water management needed for the agricultural sector to flourish,

and to increasing the level of power generation. Only 6 percent of Afghans have access to electricity.

These processes must go hand-in-hand with efforts to increase domestic capacity through education and institutional development. Anyone who visits Afghanistan is impressed by the innate drive and strong work ethic of the Afghan people. They are ready to work and eager to succeed. Our job is to foster the conditions for their success, and then step aside as an entrepreneurial economy begins to flourish.

8) Regional development

Afghanistan recognizes the reconstruction challenges I have outlined, and are examining ways to address this challenge in a regional context. Before the Soviet invasion, Afghanistan was among the world's least developed countries. Even with a substantial head start in infrastructure and development, it took Europe over a decade to recover from World War II. In Afghanistan, development must be accelerated in support of our overall goals for security and democracy.

To succeed in this ambitious development task, Afghanistan should regain its traditional role as the transport and economic hub of Central Asia. This is an opportunity for Afghanistan. Before much of Central Asia was incorporated into the Soviet Union, the region had numerous economic ties to the south. Since the dissolution of the Soviet empire, instability in Afghanistan has retarded the natural resumption of these historic commercial links. The emergence of a stable, democratic Afghanistan will allow the country to take its rightful place as a land bridge linking Central and South Asia and the Middle East.

In the past, regional economic integration has been affected by Indo-Pakistani tensions. As those tensions appear to ease, Afghanistan may gain increasing access to a Central and South Asian economy of over \$4 trillion, paced by the rapid growth of India. Our approach to Afghanistan's reconstruction must keep this regional dimension in mind by encouraging harmonization, infrastructure projects linking the region, and other technical reforms.

9) Counter-narcotics

In addition to these many positive trends, there is the issue of drugs. The flourishing illegal drug trade threatens to turn Afghanistan into a narco-state and undermine all of the progress we have worked so hard to achieve. Last December, President Karzai made an impassioned plea for Afghans to reject the illegal drug trade. Although reports are subject to verification, there is encouraging anecdotal evidence that Afghan farmers are engaging in voluntary eradication.

Working closely with lead nation Britain, the U.S. counter-narcotics strategy has five main elements: 1) public information; 2) interdiction; 3) law enforcement and judicial reform; 4) crop eradication; and 5) alternative livelihoods. This last element is especially important, as we have a relatively short window in which to give Afghan farmers a viable alternative to

poppy production. In 2005, the U.S. plans to provide over \$700 million for counter-narcotics programs, including over \$300 million for alternative livelihoods support. Last year, the Afghan people surprised the world by organizing a historic presidential election. This year, they may just surprise us again with their commitment to end the scourge of illegal drugs. No issue is more important in attaining our vision of the new Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has achieved a tremendous amount. But much remains to be done to consolidate the transformation of Afghanistan into a successful country. Our progress thus far, however, brings with it the risk of complacency. We cannot assume that Afghanistan will continue on its current positive trajectory. Our current success is based on the hard work and sacrifice of the international community and, above all, the Afghan government and people.

The United States will remain committed for as long as it takes to succeed in establishing a secure, prosperous, and democratic Afghanistan. The U.S. is contributing substantial resources to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. If approved by Congress, our \$1.2 billion existing budgetary allocation for Afghanistan will receive a \$3.6 billion supplement, doubling our total level of assistance from last year.

Now is not the time for self-congratulation on successes to date. It is time to tackle the remaining challenges with a fresh sense of purpose and vigor. Together with the Afghan people and our friends in the international community, I am confident that we can meet these challenges. It is in our interest. And it is the right thing to do.

Japan has played an important role in our successes thus far, and has engaged in a true partnership with the U.S., the Afghans, and the rest of the international community. Together, we have given the Afghan people the opportunity to rebuild their country, and they have risen to the occasion. We now need to invest in our success, and accelerate our progress on the key challenges that remain, including security sector reform, counter-narcotics, and political and economic development. Now is not the time to reduce to divert our efforts—the U.S. remains willing to do its part. Japan and the other international donors must do theirs, and I am confident that they will.

Thank you very much.

Session 1

Overview of Afghan Rehabilitation

Haron AMIN

Afghan Ambassador to Japan

President SATOH

Honorable Madame OGATA

Excellencies

Distinguished Colleagues and Friends

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset, I would like to thank Ambassador Yukio Satoh and the Japan Institute of International Affairs for having organized today's symposium and rightfully here in Tokyo, the site of the first post-conflict donors' conference on Afghanistan a little over three years ago. While a lot has been achieved since then, continued support is needed for the thriving of the world's newest democracy and the prosperity of a strategic, land-linking country with regional potential.

We Afghans pin much hope in the future as our past still haunts us—a past filled with misery, war and fatigue. Together with our people's backing and support from our partners such as Japan, the United States, European Union member-States, the United Nations, regional and neighboring countries, we have celebrated the demise of terror and tyranny, achieved inter-civilizational cooperation and embraced humankind's goodwill. While challenges ahead only constitute opportunities, we must still proceed with caution, balance modernization with tradition and seek to globalize with our national interest in mind.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our achievements so far include the return of more than 3 million refugees to rebuild their lives, the enrollment of more than 5 million girls and boys to schools and the shift from humanitarian attention to the development phase. The passing of the new Constitution has paved the way for democratic reforms in Afghanistan. The successful direct presidential elections last October with a nearly 80 percent turnout—42 percent of them women—resulted in the victory of H.E. Hamid Karzai who received 55.4% of the vote. The President took his time to name a new, energetic and technocratic cabinet which includes two women.

Details of parliamentary elections will be decided by the independent Joint Electoral Management Body (JEMB), which we hope will occur in the next few months with the government's full cooperation. The latest debates center on district boundaries, complete census, local councils and participation by the nomads and refugees. Since women constitute 55 percent of

our population, our constitution demands for at least 27 percent of the Parliament's members in the future to be women.

In terms of security, NATO recently announced expanding the scope of its operation beyond the 8,000 troops to cover western provinces which will then provide security assistance in a total of 50% of Afghanistan's territory. In addition, the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) carry out presence, patrol, humanitarian and reconstruction activities in nine northern provinces of the country.

The national disarmament program and decommissioning of military forces through the Afghanistan's New Beginnings Program (ANBP) in an attempt to restore security and to bring additional reform within the sector has so far achieved the disarmament and demobilization of 42,000 ex-combatants with 35,500 of them having entered reintegration. Under the program some 8,433 heavy weapons and 24,218 light weapons have been collected. As a requirement to tilt the balance away from local militia, we have pushed for DDR's completion before the parliamentary elections this summer.

The training program and formation of the new Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP) constitute one of the cornerstones of success for our government. So far, a 20,000-strong government force has been designed—in many instances operating alongside 17,000 of their American comrades—to tackle renegade faction leaders and remnants of the ousted Taliban. With recent announcement of accelerated training, the ANA plans to reach 70,000 by the end of next year. So far, also some 32,000 newly-trained police have entered the force, bringing the total number to 53,000. Our goal is to have 62,000 officers by 2006.

On the economic front, a successful currency reform in late 2002 stabilized inflation and maintained the exchange rate rather well. GDP growth was recorded at 29% in 2002 and 23% in 2003. Afghanistan encouraged business by adopting the lowest import tariffs in the region, reduced customs paperwork by 90% and allowed 100% foreign ownership of businesses. It also facilitated investment by simplifying the process from 28 to 5 steps and established a one-stop shop for investors. As a result, exports increased by 76% in 2003 and 46% in 2004. With Pakistan alone, our trade increased from \$ 50 million to over \$1 billion over a few years. New industrial parks have been established to create a thriving private sector and a new road network connecting Afghanistan to neighboring countries is underway. By its completion, Central Asian countries will only be 32 hours from the sea.

President Karzai signed a new Law on Mass Media in March 2003. As a result, 47 radio stations are broadcasting out of which 28 are independent. Nearly 300 publications are registered with Ministry of Information and Culture with many Afghan cities and towns having their own publications. In addition to state-owned TV, about half a dozen private stations are operating in Kabul and else where. Moreover, since the fall of the Taliban, nearly 30 Afghan films have been produced by private sector film production companies in cooperation with state-run Afghan Film.

Distinguished Guests,

We have achieved the unimaginable within three years, but our difficulties are far from over. Afghanistan still remains one of the poorest countries without adequate institutions and enormous capacity shortage while faced with a destabilizing narco-economy. In this context, we are fully committed to crop diversification and alternative livelihood which must accompany suppression through appropriate legislation and adequate enforcement. We hope that our new initiative will reduce narcotics by 30 percent this year alone. The launching of an independent ministry with the establishment of an independent Counter Narcotics Trust Fund (CNTF) is indicative of our commitment to this crippling plague.

Although revenue collection has reached nearly \$350 million, improved revenue-collection measures are needed to meet the needs of a properly functioning administration. The return of an additional one million refugees by the end of this year—while good news—will sadly further exacerbate human security concerns. Our country's de-mining will require 8,000 de-miners an additional eight years, costing \$400 million. In sum, strengthening the judiciary, addressing human rights issues, developing capacity, reducing poverty by revitalizing the agricultural sector, overcoming several disturbing human development indicators such as infant and maternal mortality rates and meeting the basic standard of millennium development goals will require sustained international assistance for many years to come.

Afghanistan's comparative advantage is its potential land-linking asset, which can move goods and services and revitalize the ancient Silk Route. Afghanistan's infrastructure, power and telecommunications need to be built within the regional development framework in order to facilitate maximum gain from regional public goods. In this context, we will hold the 3rd annual Afghanistan Development Forum (2005 ADF) entitled "Accelerating Economic Development" from April 4–6, 2005 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kabul. One major theme will be our development priorities and we hope that the donor community can start a uniform development policy dialogue in light of successful regional modalities to address Afghanistan's potential contribution to the already thriving regional economy. It is however important for Afghans to continue to own the development process.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Cold War's final battle was physically fought in Afghanistan with the Communist world and the Free world pouring billions into liberating humankind but sadly at the cost of Afghanistan's destruction. Unfortunately, an abandoned Afghanistan provided an extremist agenda with a recruitment pool, culminating with 9/11. Since the fall of the Taliban, much has been achieved. As a result, the progress so far shall compel all of us to make sure Afghanistan remains on the international community's list of priorities. It is evermore pertinent that the community of nations sustains its resources and assistance to Afghanistan to confront future obstacles.

Thank you.

Session 1

Political and Governance Structure of Afghanistan After the October Election

Koichiro TANAKA

Senior Analyst, Japan Institute of Middle Eastern Economies

Being on this panel, I consider that my role is to present the developments related to the ongoing political process by highlighting its achievements, shortcomings and failures, if any. In order to describe the delicate existing balance and various problems that need to be adjusted and rectified, I would look into some of the events that took place during the past 6 months in Afghanistan. That would mean that I will be focusing on the last election, the formation of the Kabul Government and the events that followed.

I would like to start my presentation today by touching on how I see the situation as opposed to one year ago. To be short, although I still hold a large degree of concern about the prospects of the nation-building process, I have both witnessed and felt a positive wind of change during and after the election.

Looking Back upon the Presidential Election

The election, in many ways positively, brought in dynamism that was necessary in changing the stagnating political climate. This is the most visible and sensible difference with regard to the situation prior to and following the presidential election.

Under the transitional presidency of Mr. Karzai, the obvious absence of a sense of internal legitimacy to rule had caused him trouble here and there. The transitional government's reliance on warlords for support had carried a high cost. In many occasions, the president's decrees and orders have been challenged or ignored by powerful warlords, some of them who were sitting in the cabinet. The hostage to this situation was the DDR program, which Japan had been taking the lead. Facing enormous resistance, little progress had been achieved during its initial year of operation counting from the launch of its pilot projects.

On October 9th, over 8 million people in and out of Afghanistan cast their votes for their first ever democratically elected president. The high level of turnouts had an effect not only to provide Mr. Karzai legitimacy, but also to silence oppositions who were against the political process administered under the Bonn Agreement. And even those, who voiced suspicion and dissatisfaction over the management of this election because of some irregularities that happened on the polling day, had to admit that the people of Afghanistan wanted to bring about

changes to the situation by exercising their right to participate. Their wishes were obvious to all; no more warlords.

So, the election was a success. It was not perfect, but still was much better than people expected to be. I would like to point out here that the role to arbitrate was no longer in the hands of the UN. This happened because by assigning expatriate election experts to the electoral body, it was no longer seen as impartial to those who were running against Mr. Karzai. It was commendable that countries which hold large interest in stabilizing Afghanistan played their part of role in defusing the tension. But for the forthcoming parliamentary and local elections, a new set of rules should be placed in order to control another event or series of events.

One other thing to take note of, apart from the overwhelming participation of Afghan voters, is the international community's assistance towards Afghanistan to conduct the election in a safer environment. The Coalition Forces deployed for Operation Enduring Freedom and the ISAF under NATO command have expanded both their forces and mandate in order to hold a successful election. Combined together, the two external military forces had some 30,000 troops on the ground at the time of the election. This was, in comparison with the earlier days of the political transition when the two forces had together only 10,000 soldiers, a significant difference. There is no doubt that their existence act as a deterrent to large-scaled deterioration of the situation.

The Composition of the Cabinet

Today, there is a full-fledged government in Kabul with a president whose authorities were legitimized through the election. I would now look into the structure of this democratically-elected sovereign Afghan government.

Roughly speaking, the Tajik element which geared the politics of Afghanistan during the post-Taliban transition period has now been taken over by individuals who belong to other ethnic groups, mainly the Pashtuns. As opposed to the pre-election situation where the element of warlords was visible within the cabinet, the current cabinet is free of warlords, with the exception of several cases, such as the Minister of Energy and Water, Mohammad Ismael Khan. Most of the ministers' biographies display that they are rightly qualified to take on the responsibilities, but managerial skills to run institutions are something different from holding academic degrees. Therefore I would have to be cautious and need to see how they perform in their offices before I start judging them.

Yet, there are things that could and should be discussed here today.

During the campaign, I heard stories from political figures that were in support of Mr. Karzai that they have been promised, if the election were successful, certain seats in the next cabinet. Forming a ruling coalition by promoting alliances with various political entities is one thing. But the problem here was on how to keep earlier commitments given to political figures with

the limited number of ministerial portfolios when the size of the government was supposed to contract. And this had to be satisfied while taking various, but also delicate, issues, such as retaining ethnic and regional balances, allocating seats for women and such, into account. And not to forget, the government was supposed to become free of warlords or those who hold records of human rights violations and to bring in technocrats. So, it did not surprise some of us when it took Mr. Karzai almost two full months to announce his cabinet after it became quite certain that he had won the election.

At the end of the day, some have gotten what they wanted, and some didn't. I am hoping that this event would not lead to formations of another set of political dissidents who feel deprived of their "rights".

Don't Waste This Window of Opportunities: Improving Governance

There are other things to worry about. When we look into the issue of good governance, there are so many things to be done. Nepotism, inefficiency and corruption have to be curtailed and the situation improved. For years, public offices were distributed along the lines of certain ethnic, regional and factional affiliation of the heads of offices. Such conducts became sources of inefficiency and corruption. It applied not only to local administrative offices, but all up to the ministries and the cabinet. Now is the right moment to deal with this issue, since the vanguards of these practices have been removed. In certain cases, the president's decision to replace provincial governors whose performance did not meet the expectation of the society was welcomed by the locals. One development to add here might be the recent appointment of the first female provincial governor in Afghanistan.

Going back to the issue of public offices and civil servants, there are those who had been working for these institutions for years that have the skill and knowledge to perform their duties. It needs to be seen that such personnel retain his job and would not lose it just because of his or her ethnical, regional and factional affiliation coincide with the outgoing minister's. The long absence of a functioning civil servants commission and lack of will to honor the code of conduct, which both of them had been stipulated in the Bonn Agreement, is regretted as well.

The voices of the people were heard at last. The momentum generated by the election and its result gave a boost to DDR. The program finally managed to show tangible achievements. The most notable of all, is the heavy weapons cantonment. With this development, it seems unlikely that, without foreign intervention or assistance, any warlord would have the firepower to disrupt and destruct the peace process.

But of course, even when the major warlords' days of power and glory are running short, there are those who are capable of taking advantage of the situation. It might seem as though that the threats posed by local militias are localized. But the nature of these militias' scope of activities is alarming. They themselves either constitute an integral part of or are largely

interdependent on drug economy that is spoiling the region and as far as Europe today. To my regret this might have been aggravated by appeasements adopted by the donor and aid community who prioritized short-term achievements at the cost of mid to long-term political stability and efforts to strengthen governance.

The capacity shortage of civil police and the absence of a sound judiciary system are both making life difficult for ordinary Afghans while outlaws are capitalizing on it. The Government should not lose the current opportunity to curtail influences of religious extremists who have deeply penetrated the judiciary system during the transition. Both of them would mean that the Security Sector Reform should be emphasized, especially in areas where its progress is lagging behind.

Bearing in mind that the interaction with the Afghan government is, or would be, no longer the same as it used be during the transition, the donor community would not have its weight and clout as it did before the election, and obviously not after the completion of the Bonn Agreement. Therefore, the UN and the member states need to sit and talk with the Afghan state regarding the basis and framework for the Post Bonn period.

National Reconciliation; is it coming or not?

The one final point that I want to make before I close my presentation is the issue of national reconciliation. The effort to bring in the dissidents, namely the Taliban, has not actually materialized. Some days ago, there was an announcement that some political figures of the former Taliban have been granted amnesty and will be joining the “camp”. Personally, I was relieved to see some familiar names on this list. But this was not exactly the case. As far as I know, from the very early days after the fall of the Taliban government and following the emergence of transitional government that succeeded the initial 6 months’ interim period, these individuals had been expressing, and possibly contacting through various channels, that they would want to join in with the other Afghans to take part in the political process. Such request never got positive answers, until the latest announcement. This could have been done a long time ago. On the other hand, the nucleuses of those who constitute, even today, the Taliban movement, are still at battle station against the Government and the Coalition Forces. These diehard elements of the Taliban need to be dealt with separately.

I would like to conclude my presentation by emphasizing that one bright prospect for the future for Afghanistan is that the Afghan government could, by strengthening its legitimacy, take the initiative to consolidate the regional interconnection. In the past, Afghanistan was considered as a burden to the regional and international community. The idea of using its soil as a ‘corridor’ or a ‘bridge’ has been constantly floated. But more could be achieved when Afghanistan’s role to geographically interlink three or more nations, which is rather a passive one, would display proactive mediatory dimensions by bringing together states that are in contention with each other.

Given where Afghanistan stands today, this would sound quite ambitious. Yet I consider it indispensable for Afghanistan if it were to be in good terms with its neighbors. And we, as donors and friends of Afghanistan, should be in a position to promote this approach in the regional context.

Session 1

Rehabilitation process of Afghan Economy

Ishaq NADIRI

Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York University

Thank you very much Mr. Miyagawa. I am very pleased to be here. I thank Ambassador Satoh, a friend of mine, who keeps inviting me here. I enjoy seeing all of you. I have been here many times in Japan. Also it is a great honor and always a great pleasure to see Mrs. Ogata who I admire a great deal and have been friendly with for some time.

I think I will be very short in my discussions because a great deal has already been said. Mrs. Ogata, Dr. Khalilzad, Ambassador Amin and Mr. Tanaka all spoke well on many issues that I would have liked to comment on. But since I am the last speaker in this system, as the Americans say, my lunch has already been eaten. So I will talk about some aspects of the economic challenge that Afghanistan faces.

The issues which were discussed on political development and security are essential for a society just to focus its attention. This path, as said, is not finished. It will go through changes and bumps and so forth, but a considerable effort has been spent and Afghanistan is on its way. It is not what all of us would like to have immediately but it will develop. It will be costly and it will be time-consuming, but nonetheless there.

The second point that I want to make is that most of us must not forget that Afghanistan was a broken country, just like a broken china plate that God only knows how to put back together. So, many efforts have been made to bring this whole thing to a situation whereby we can talk about democracy.

Also, a third point which I want to mention to you is that this experiment in Afghanistan is somewhat unique. We are trying to develop economically, but also politically, with a democratic set of institutions. Historically, this has not happened. Historically, economic development has preceded democratic institutions. You can start by looking at the case of the mother of all democracies, England, to Korea, Japan and the like. It is always economic development which has led to voices which the political system must accommodate. So the challenge is extraordinary, to do these two things simultaneously, and they have to be reinforcing. If one is not met with the other, the consolidation and sustainability of this process is not possible; it will be a temporary exercise whichever way you go.

Also the process of change in Afghanistan must be holistic. It is not just political and economic

development. The most important thing that Afghanistan suffered was the loss of its social capital; how to behave towards each other and how to perform at the local level. To my knowledge this has never happened in economics. For example, after the war Germany lost everything else, but it had the fabric of its culture as well as a high level of human capital. Japan and many other countries were similar in this regard. But in Afghanistan this was a major issue, and at the present time the major challenge is how to build the social capital, aside from the political and economical capital. So these three intertwining phenomena make the case of Afghanistan unique.

Also, one more thing I should say about Afghanistan is that it starts with a very low level of economic development. It has structural issues and many other issues that have to be faced. Again, this will mean a great deal of care in promoting economic development and how it interacts with the political, social and many other aspects, because of this heavy hand of poverty that exists. So the world community must consider Afghanistan an opportunity. If, I hope very soon, we succeed in getting Afghanistan on its own feet and progressing, this will be quite some knowledge accumulated for many other countries and many other situations that may come.

Now, coming back to the challenges, at least in economics, I will point out a few for you. Afghanistan is basically an agricultural economy. Yes, we have some big cities with large populations situated in them, but 60% or 65% of the production as well as employment in Afghanistan is in agriculture. There, we must increase its productivity, its development and its activities to take advantage of this land bridge that we would all like to develop. The bridge must be strong enough to allow the cars to go by. You cannot only develop roads. Agriculture must be a priority, and it has all these three elements of politics, economics and social. And that can be done.

With sustained help and focus, community development can increase the activities. Afghanistan does historically have certain products that could very well be distributed in the emerging markets of India, Pakistan, China, and perhaps the Middle East, and so forth. So one focus has to be there. I know that the Japanese have had a very successful way of handling some of the agricultural issues and we would certainly need some help in that direction.

Secondly, the central issue in the urban centers of Afghanistan is lack of housing. The standard of housing is not very high. This is an opportunity. We can simply develop, with the help and knowledge of other countries as well as people, a boom, by focusing on the housing situation. It requires a lot of knowledge, planning, help and money, but it is doable. That creates a great opportunity for the rest of the world.

Thirdly, we need some extension of the public services in such a way that it would be supportive of economic activity. Mrs. Ogata kindly mentioned the public services, and I totally agree that the economy will not pick up unless there is an adequate infrastructure in that economy, because the cost of doing business will be very high without it. So the acceleration of the

major infrastructure projects, be they in power, water, roads, telecommunication, those sorts of things which one can enumerate. Even education; after all, education is the prime example of infrastructure. But it has to be connected to economic development. You do not want to have the same experience as many countries that have developed far too much of an educational class without the economy picking up and they remain idle. So there has to be a coordination of activity of that kind.

In this picture, other than accelerating this infrastructure, what Afghanistan needs is simplification of activities. Yes, there may be issues of control and that sort of thing, but what is the cost of doing things in a complicated way? It is usually postponement. I can calculate on the back of an envelope that if Afghanistan was using its labor force that is currently unemployed or under-employed, at US\$1.50 per day, Afghanistan would be gaining US\$3 billion per year, just doing nothing. But that is the burden of poverty, the burden of inaction and inactivity. Simplicity in governmental rules, activities and so forth will greatly help to generate new businesses and many activities. Control should not be the key factor; support should be the important factor.

The other item which is very important for the development of the country, and I hope that the Japanese firms will be interested, is the presence of both the expatriate Afghan as well as international firms to make the investment in Afghanistan. Not only working on government contracts and the like, but also to invest themselves. There is a big market both internally and externally in Afghanistan. For that, we need to develop in Afghanistan, and in the international community as well, an enabling environment to have them come. Without that, Afghanistan could not attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in the large sums that it should.

Another issue is that the Afghans can do a lot for themselves. Provided that the level of international help does not decline, we could generate substantial revenue internally if we do it right. We must look to ourselves first and foremost: what can we do for ourselves? Based on that question we can ask others to help us as we go along. The fundamental problem in Afghanistan right now is how do we enable our potentially very productive and eager people to really rise to the challenge? The challenge is to educate or perhaps to provide skills to our labor force. Unfortunately training them in schools will take a long time. The best way would be to find ways of teaching these people on the job. Learning by doing is a lot more important and relevant for Afghanistan than many other things. We should not forget that this skill is important for the rebuilding of Afghanistan now, whilst higher education is an investment in the future, ten years from now. This aspect has to be clearly defined and followed.

The issue of Afghan agriculture has relevance for the drug business. Because of the war and troubles, Afghan agriculture has suffered basically from two or three problems. One problem is that its yield has been very low; it is not a profitable business as yet. Secondly, Afghanistan has been producing many things that are not as profitable as the things that it should be producing, in other words the mix of the output is not the proper one. The third one is this issue of the drugs, which other speakers spoke about. We could take advantage of this situation and

the help that the United States and other international communities are giving to really turn this bad thing into something very good. We could substitute with different kinds of crops, certain medical uses, and so forth. If we are imaginative enough we can turn this thing into something good, rather than doing this heavy eradication and so forth which will have its own consequences which we might not want to handle.

So the key phenomena that I want to conclude with, because I think time is running out, is that for us to consolidate democracy, for us to connect democracy with economics, and for us to continue to exploit the energies of the Afghans is a fairly formidable challenge. Afghanistan cannot do it by itself. Afghanistan is after all an experiment, has been an experiment, in the good times as well as the bad times, of the international community.

If we do the following: to come with an integrated program in all these aspects, invite our supporters, donors and people who wish the Afghan people well, to come with a set of strategies to which we all subscribe, efficiently use the resources which are made available, and train the Afghan population at various stages with different levels of skills, then I think the miracle that has happened in the realm of Afghanistan so far will continue. I think it will be a fabulous investment for the international community to see its rewards come together. I could not say what that would mean to the Afghans, and they will be a member of the international community, holding their heads up, and once and for all we will see these people take their place among the nations. Thank you very much.

Session 2

DDR Process and Afghanistan's Rehabilitation/Stabilization

Masoom STANEKZAI

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DDR Process and Afghanistan's Rehabilitation/Stabilization



Post-Election Afghanistan and Peace-Building Support Symposium

By: Masoom Stanekzai

Sponsored by: JIIA

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Structure of Presentation

- General Overview
- DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges
- Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations
- Conclusion
- Recommendations

2

General Overview

Historical Overview

- Soviet invasion of 1979 began 25 years of warfare with various players.
- Taliban era further isolated Afghanistan from the world.
- After U.S.-led forces toppled the Taliban, Afghanistan's most pressing needs began to be addressed.



3

General Overview

Results of 25 Years of Warfare

- An estimated 100,000 tons of unguarded weapons, explosives and ammunition nationwide
- A generation exposed only to warfare
- Largest refugee group in the world
- A predominantly illegal economy
- Lack of governance
- Abuse of basic human rights
- Severe poverty, major destruction of infrastructure and drought

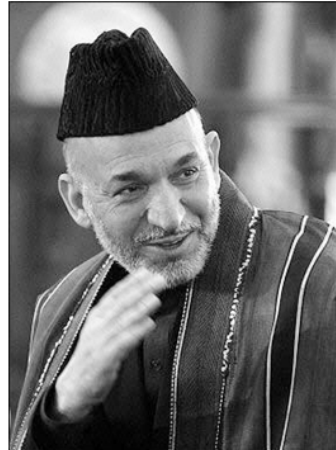


4

DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

Bonn Accord

- Emergency Loya Jirga
- Constitutional Loya Jirga
- Constitution
- Elections
- Civil Service Reform
- Security Sector Reform (SSR) – Police and Army Reform
- As a result of the above, DDR was seen as essential



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DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

DDR Process

- Government-led DDR process supported by UN and International Community (DDR Forum)
 - DDR Commissions as oversight
 - Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme as implementer
- Japan as lead nation supporting DDR
- International Community support for DDR program in Afghanistan (DDR Joint Steering Committee)
- DDR Targeted Plan (100,000 AMF by June 2005)

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DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

DDR Achievements

- Over 40,000 ex-combatants disarmed and more than 34,000 in the reintegration process
- Officers provided with job opportunities in civil administration and reconstruction projects
- 141 units decommissioned
- 64% out of the 100,000 are cut off from the payroll
- Total 24,279 small arms collected
- 8,484 Heavy Weapons cantoned
- Over 500,000 rounds of ammunition destroyed and ammunition now being placed under the control of the ANA



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DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

General Impact of the DDR process

- Threat of factional fighting among warlords, using heavy weapons, minimized
- Led to a situation where ANA and ANP started to play a greater role, where the authority of Central Government expanded to provinces
- Reformed Ministry of Defense
- Improved rule of law
- Facilitated conducive environment for the First Presidential elections
- Increased confidence for investment and reconstruction
- Created the sense of freedom amongst the public
- Improved human rights
- Exposing/limiting corruption in military

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DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

Key Challenges

- Potential security vacuum
- Sustainable reintegration needs to be reviewed and adapted
- Sequencing of DDR efforts to be followed with stabilizing package in areas where the program is already completed so that communities feel and see the immediate benefits
- Accelerating other SSR (ANA and ANP) to match DDR progress
- Reintegration of commanders

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DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges

Key Challenges (cont)

- Illegal Armed Groups (IAG) on the rise
- Accelerating disbandment of IAG and completing the current target (DDR of AMF) before parliamentary elections
- Large and unknown number of weapons still in the hands of commanders



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Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations

Reconstruction Efforts

- SSR (DDR, ANA, ANP, Judicial Reform, CN)
- Constitution
- Presidential Election
- Reconstruction of infrastructure
- Return of 2.8 million refugees
- Return of 5.2 million children to schools
- National Solidarity Programme
- Improved human rights and rights of women

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Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations

Reconstruction Achievements

- Enabled Afghans for successful transition from humanitarian crisis to development path
- Helped Afghans on the path of democracy as part of social reconstruction
- Significantly contributed to peace, security and good governance

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Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations

Key Challenges of Reconstruction

- A stable Afghanistan is a precondition for regional and global security. Cooperation and synchronization are needed.
- Maintaining progress in economic, political, security, and counter narcotics domains.



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Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations

Recommendations for Reconstruction

- International Community invest long-term in Afghanistan and re-assure Afghan people of their commitment in reconstruction of Afghanistan.
- Robust government policy framework & budget (NDF,SAF) and to be used as central tool for coordination of funding programs.
- Strong Afghan leadership receive greater support
- Increase management and capacity on the ground
- Develop private sector according to unique needs of Afghanistan
- Improve security through comprehensive package
- Use alternative livelihoods to fight effectively against narcotics
- Reform and restructure using the current situation and adjusting to the future

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Conclusion

- Afghans highly appreciate support of all donors for DDR (Canada, UK, US, Netherlands and others) in particular Japan's efforts as lead nation and key donor for this program.
- Japan contributed \$63m; where the Afghan new beginning program needs up to \$55m to complete the mandate.
- The International Community, particularly the UN, ISAF, Coalition, has supported Afghans in securing a safer environment for reconstruction to be carried out nationwide.
- The role of the UN and International Community in supporting the new road map to durable peace and stability in post-election Afghanistan is more critical than ever.

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Recommendations for Peace-Building in Post Election Afghanistan

- Support for Safe, free and fair parliamentary election
- Alternative livelihood for demobilized ex-combatants and poppy growers.
- Expansion of international security forces and strengthen security sector institution
- Accelerated reconstruction efforts and increase in funding of large scale programs.



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Talking Points for Mr Stanekzai's DDR/Rehabilitation Presentation

General Overview (slide 4)

- Afghanistan has an estimated 100.000 tons of weapons, explosives and ammunitions
- During the Soviet Union occupation and later during the civil war every village in Afghanistan was changed to a frontline area
- A generation has been born and raised during the war, Hundreds of thousands armed groups and military formations emerged in every part of the country
- Largest Refugee Group in the World, actively armed by the western and Arab world from 1978–1991 and then by the regional players
- Taliban era and full Isolation of Afghanistan
- A predominantly Illegal economy, Regional powers, lack of functional Government structures and lawlessness
- Narcotics and security constraints
- Abuse of basic human rights
- Sever poverty and major destruction of infrastructure
- Drought

DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges – Bonn Accord (slide 5)

- Bonn Accord road map to Peace
 - ✓ DDR
 - ✓ Human Right
 - ✓ Civil service Reform
 - ✓ Elections
 - ✓ SSR (Formation of National army and National police reform of justice)
 - ✓ Reconstruction: Humanitarian—Human and social Capital, physical reconstruction and natural resources, Private sector Development (National Development Frame work and securing Afghanistan future)

DDR Process, Achievements and Challenges – DDR Process (slide 6)

- Government lead DDR process supported by UN and International Community (DDR Forum)
 - ✓ DDR commission
 - ✓ Afghanistan New Beginning Program (ANBP) operational Secretariat and Program Management Unite for DDR. United Nation
 - ✓ Disarmament and Demobilization
 - ✓ Heavy Weapons cantonment
 - ✓ Reintegration (Partnership Government, UN –agencies, NGOs, Private Sector, National Programs and local communities)

DDR process, Achievements and Challenges – Impact (slide 8)

- Threat of factional fighting among warlords, using heavy weapons, minimized
- Facilitated conducive environment for the First Presidential elections

- Paved the way for reform and provided opportunities for improved human rights situation in Afghanistan
- Led to a situation where ANA and ANP started to play a greater role, where the authority of Central Government expanded to provinces
- The rule of law improved
- Increased confidence for investment and reconstruction
- Control of Government over the National revenue
- Created the sense of freedom amongst the public

DDR process, Achievements and Challenges – Key Challenges (slide 9)

- Disarmament and Demobilization part was very successful whereas sustainable reintegration is still a big challenge and needs to be reviewed and modified
- DDR is not separate from the general political, social and economical environment in the country as well as in the region. Consistent efforts are needed to keep the momentum and current trends of cooperation
- Legislation and enforcement of GUN LAW
- Rapid growth and deployment of ANA and ANP and creation of confidence for security among the public
- Reintegration of commanders
- Sequencing of DDR efforts to be followed with stabilizing package in areas where the program is already completed so the communities feel and see the immediate

DDR process, Achievements and Challenges – Challenges continued (slide 10)

- Informal Militia Groups, not covered under this program is still a big challenge and obstacle
- Accelerating DDR of informal militia and completing the current target (DDR of AMF) before Parliamentary elections is a big challenge
- The number of armed men are much less than the actual number of weapons and military stocks with commanders and there is no exact information about the size of these stocks. This needs additional and continuous attention

Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations – Achievements (slide 11)

- Reconstruction Assistance played a significant important rule towards peace, security and good governance
 - ✓ Reconstruction of high ways, communication infrastructure, schools, irrigation canals, clinics and government infrastructure
 - ✓ Reaching to more then 6000 villages through out the country through community development program (National Solidarity Program)
 - ✓ Improved employment opportunities for Afghans
 - ✓ Human Rights and rights of women to participate in social , political and economical life of Afghanistan

Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations – Challenges (slide 13)

- A stable Afghanistan is a pre condition for regional stability and Global security therefore it need cooperation and synchronization in all three levels to continue
- Key to success in Afghanistan depends on
 - ✓ Continues progress in the economic, political, security and counter narcotics domains (Improved security—reinforced by functioning representative and inclusive political system—Economic growth will only occur if security is improving and political situation become more stable—but it is only robust economical growth and reconstruction that will generate employment needed to draw people out of the military formations and drug economy)

Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan: Efforts, Achievements, Challenges, Recommendations – Recommendations for Reconstruction (slide 14)

- Stability in Afghanistan is still at the far end of the tonal but can be reached in case:
 - ✓ Long term commitment and partnership of international community continue to Support Afghans in their endeavors for a prosperous and stable Afghanistan
 - ✓ Government Policy framework (NDF and SAF) and budget to be used as central tools for coordination and funding of programs in partnership with all key players
 - ✓ Regional issues (Public investment in Afghanistan is an investment in the region)
 - ✓ Afghan leadership is critical and Afghan ownership in reconstruction efforts to be highlighted, respected and supported
 - ✓ Poverty psychology that is shadowing the reconstruction environment (Trust building through management, program development and accountability enhancement support)
 - ✓ Management and Implementation capacity on the ground
 - ✓ Reform and restructuring at all level suited with the current situation and adjustable for future development. Not copying
 - ✓ Private sector development and privatization (Afghan Experience recommend—Not traditional approach nor using the fashion of privatization, uncalculated approach)
 - ✓ Improving security through supporting the comprehensive package of enhancing security sector institutions, building confidence on the ground and jump start the economy with good governance
 - ✓ Innovative approach to effectively fight against Narcotics, through alternative livelihood support keeping in mind the millennium goal on poverty eradication

Conclusion (slide 15)

- Afghans highly appreciate support of all donors for DDR (Canada, USA ,UK, Netherlands and others) in particular Japans efforts as leading nation and key donor for this program (*Figures for contribution and requirements for this year to be mentioned*)
- The international community as a whole but UN, ISAF, Collation in particular has done a great job to support Afghans in securing a safer environment for reconstruction to be carried out in all parts of the country, but this is just the beginning of a long journey
- The role of UN , and International community to support the new road map that get

Afghanistan to durable peace and stability in Post Election Afghanistan is more critical than any other time and we should go together to make Afghanistan's case a success story of the 21st century for the wellbeing of humanity, self determination, freedom and model of economic prosperity

Recommendations for Peace building in Post Election Afghanistan (slide 16)

- Support and prepare for a safe, fair and free parliamentary election that should change to an instrument for accountability, national unity and confidence building, but not as an obstacle against peace, stability and reconstruction
- Effective and integrated program planning and support is needed to address the alternative livelihood issue of demobilized ex-combatants (including Illegal Armed Groups) and poppy growers as interlinked issue impacting each other; mostly community based approaches are recommended
- Expansion of international security forces to other parts of the country and accelerating DDR, mobilizing additional support to strengthen national security sector institutions to enable them to deliver the services Afghan people deserve
- Reconstruction efforts need to be accelerated in order to enable the newly democratically elected president and his team to deliver the promises and address the expectations of Afghan people, and save the country from the trap of illegal economy

Session 2

Peacebuilding Support by Japan

Kinichi KOMANO

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan in Charge of NGO,
Afghanistan Assistance Coordination & Human Security, MOFA

Peacebuilding and nation-building are the same thing in Afghanistan and both of them should go in tandem. After 23 years of jihad, civil war and extremism, every kind of infrastructure, soft and hard both, has been destroyed or become half-functional all over the country.

9.11 incidents have brought the Afghan issue to the fore again in the international arena. Japan co-hosted the Tokyo Conference on Afghan Reconstruction Assistance early 2002. Just after that, I was assigned to the Japanese Embassy in Kabul and had worked together with the friends and colleagues of Afghan and the International community for the peace and reconstruction of Afghanistan for 2 and half years.

During this period, my Government has promulgated the work for peacebuilding and conflict-prevention as a primary goal of Japanese foreign policies. And the revised ODA charter of Japan which dictates the overall foreign aid policies of Japan has identified the support for peacebuilding and conflict-prevention as one of the four priority areas and “Human Security” perspective as a guiding principle of all aid programmes and activities.

It goes without saying that these policy evolutions in Japan have been occurred with the development taken place and experiences accumulated in, among others, Afghanistan. Role and contribution of Japan in the joint efforts for Afghan’s peace and reconstruction is, therefore, a test for us in terms of attaining the government’s new foreign policy goals and enriching the contents of the policy measures.

As the Ambassador of Japan in Afghanistan, assignment there was a big challenge and after the termination of my tenure, it was really rewarding.

The biggest achievement

Of the most rewarding for me and my colleagues, I hope, was that, the people of Afghanistan finally acted and voted in the first-ever presidential election last October. This was an enormous achievement and showed sea-change attitude of the people, if we took into consideration tremendous obstacles lying before the people.

Such obstacles as threat by the Taleban not to vote, no precedence in electing their political leader directly, high illiteracy rate, mountainous landscape and lack of infrastructure such as roads and telecommunication system, however, couldn't prevent them from voting. In spite of all these difficulties, people dared to go to the polling centres and thus defied the threats of terrorists.

The unexpectedly vigorous movement of the people led the presidential election to a smooth and successful implementation. Whatever the motivation of the people in acting might be, it shows several things, (1) efforts made so far towards peace and reconstruction of Afghanistan are in the right direction, (2) achievements made so far, even though far from being enough, are starting to give some hope for the future to the Afghan people, and (3) expectation of the people from the new government will be by far bigger than to the previous governments (interim and transitional).

Keeping these points in mind, I would explain, first, on the Japan's approach to Afghan reconstruction assistance and, second, on what we should do henceforward in order to consolidate what has been achieved so far.

Three clusters of Japan's Aid

In the very initial stage, Japan selected 6 sectors as priority areas of Japanese aid such as education, health, support to returnees, demining, etc. Under the "nothing exists" condition, we tried to do whatever possible, replying upon UN agencies and NGOs which have accumulated knowledge and experiences during the days of destruction.

As time goes by, support for the resettlement of returnees has evolved into "Ogata Initiative" which stresses on two factors for the sustainable resettlement, (1) seamless transition from emergency and humanitarian aid to the development aid and (2) extension of support not only to the returnees but to the people of the recipient local community. The community-based regional development approach can accommodate these two factors. Japan has selected 3 regions including Kandahar for the implementation of "Ogata Initiative".

After two years of programme implementation in Kandahar, city area has changed its face considerably and people enjoy comparatively robust economic and business activities there.

As "Ogata Initiative" has emerged as the first cluster of Japanese aid programme, second cluster has been made up of road construction projects, such as Kabul • Kandahar • Heart Highway and Kandahar • Spin Boldak Road. This has been proposed by President Karzai himself. He argued strongly that as the leader of a country which requires national reconsolidation more than anything else, reconstruction of the nation-wide highway network should be given the highest priority and the most urgency, in order to facilitate not only the smooth transportation of goods and services, but the free traffic of people and information among them, otherwise, separated from one another.

The U.S. and Japan's leaders responded to this appeal quickly and Kabul • Kandahar part of highway had been constructed by the end of 2003 with a record speed for this kind of big infrastructure projects.

Third cluster of Japanese aid is directed to supporting the ex-combatants for their reintegration into the civilian society, through vocational training, job placement, farming, small business, demining, etc. The ANBP (Afghanistan New Beginnings Programme) has been established as a focal agency of DDR programme. Japan has not only financially supported the ANBP, but also mobilized different kind of own projects and programmes to support reintegration of the ex-combatants which is the key to the success of the DDR programme.

In the process of our peacebuilding efforts, it has soon become obvious that without safety and security, progress in political process and development could not be upheld, but easily be reversed.

Therefore, it was of extreme importance that, against the traditional thinking in the Japan's ODA policies, Japan should also bear responsibility to enhance security and contribute to the security reform.

Security Reform

In addition to the ongoing campaign against terrorists, for the security sector reform, 5 areas have been identified as priority issues, such as construction of the National Army, reconstruction of the National Police, counter narcotics, judicial reform and DDR. On behalf of the international community, one of the G7 countries has undertaken each of these areas as a lead nation. DDR was the choice that Japan made with U.N. in order to lead the international support to the Afghan government.

Leading DDR programme together with U.N. on behalf of the international community has opened a new chapter in the Japan's ODA history. The Japanese Constitution does not allow Japan to extend aid to the military and military-related programme. Therefore, Japan had tended to be cautious not to extending her aid to the military-related areas. Against such history, we started our work on DDR without having enough knowledge, experiences and experts. It was a challenging, daunting and tough task, especially for me to lead the programme as the chair of the steering committee on DDR. It was due to the good team work with Afghan leaders and people, and members of the International Community, some of whom are here today, and to some good luck that we have produced remarkable concrete results in proceeding the DDR.

I will briefly explain on the present status of the DDR programme. So far over 40,000 combatants have been disarmed and demobilized and most of them have been put in the reintegration process. This figure amounts to 80 or so percent of the total strengths under the command of the Ministry of Defence whose decommissioning is the goal of the incumbent DDR programme.

We foresee that total decommissioning of the MOD forces, will be achieved by June this year as has been planned. Reintegration process will take longer time and will continue to June next year.

In tandem with DDR programme, heavy weapons cantonment programme has progressed greatly and more than 95% of heavy weapons have been cantoned and put under the control of the MOD. This means that conflicting factions will not be able to resort to heavy weapons any longer in order to solve the disputes.

The progress of the DDR programme, has not been achieved easily. The programme started October 2003 as a pilot phase in Kunduz. In the pilot phase of 5 months, 6,000 mainly soldiers had been DDED, but no military unit had been decommissioned.

Based upon the experiences and lessons learnt in the pilot phase, the main phase started with the clear target of focusing on decommissioning military units and disarming commanders, but we have compelled to have a long staggering period at the initial stage of the main phase. Commanders were not ready to decommission their units and did not act on earnest.

During the stagnated period, I worked with the people here today (Jean, U.S. Ambassador, ex Minister) almost every week, even every day in order to make the ball rolling, and we met with the President Karzai, Minister of Defense, local and religious leaders (some of whom are called as warlords) for encouraging their leadership and enlisting their collaboration towards pushing ahead the programme.

Long tough days without visible movement on the ground had passed by, leaving me annoyed at slow, if not none, progress of the work. Momentum of the work had been created just a few months before the Presidential Election. President Karzai decided to put aside the Minister of Defence as his running-mate to the presidential election. Ismail Khan, powerful governor of Herat has been dismissed and General Datum has changed his mind towards actively cooperating with the DDR programme. These political changes have breezed a new breath to our work.

The accelerated implementation of the DDR programme made a partial contribution to the smooth and successful implementation of the Presidential Election which has in turn caused further acceleration of the DDR programme.

I sense that most warlords have started feeling the possibility of irreversible change in the minds of the people and mood in the society, from the rule of guns to the rule of law.

Leading the DDR programme in Afghanistan has given us a certain amount of experiences and some self-confidence in making contribution to the security sector as a main part of the peacebuilding efforts, even though our role is constrained in terms of military and military-related activities.

Challenges ahead

In spite of the fundamental changes undergoing beneath the surface of the Afghan society, much more work still remains to be done. Political process agreed in Bonn is well in advance. Last step of this process is the parliamentary election. Every effort should not be spared in order to pass smoothly and successfully through this process. While acknowledging the obstacles and problems ahead for the coming election, ranging from the definition of boundaries, voting system, vetting the candidates, to security and funding, it is urgently necessary to set the election date soon. If not, momentum created through the presidential election might be lost and the patience of the people might run out. And preparation for the election should go with the all kind of reform programmes now underway.

Security will continue to be the major obstacle to the successful election. Therefore, security sector reform should be pursued with more vigor than used to be. More should be counted on the growing Afghan National Army and the National Police. This does not mean that strengthened presence of the international forces might not be needed. On the contrary, they are still decisive factor in this key domain. Therefore, recent decision taken by the NATO is most welcome.

Other areas in the security sector reform have gained increasing importance such as counter narcotics. I hope that the newly established Ministry and the new Minister as the focal point will do its utmost to materialize the implementation plan in which alongside with the eradication campaign, more emphasis has been rightly put on the strengthened capability for interdiction, focusing on its quality and also community-based development approach as a viable way for the alternative livelihood. Degradation of Afghanistan into a narco-mafia country is a real danger and nightmare to all of us.

Judicial reform is part and parcel of the counter-narcotics strategy. Of course, it has by far wider scope. In this juncture of time, transitional justice has become the keen interest of the people. What is urgently needed, in my view, is to set out the system for vetting the candidate persons for the public post holding, such as members of the parliament, high-ranking officials of the central government, governors and chiefs of the police in the provinces, high-ranking officials of the security institutions, etc.

In the DDR sector, new issues are emerging with the progress of the incumbent DDR programme. The illegal militias which are not under the command and control of the Ministry of Defence and, therefore, are considered as illegal have turned out to be abundant all over the country. They are different in size and kind of activities they are engaged in. However, they are all with weapons. If they are allowed to continue existing as used to be, they might take the opportunity to monopolize the weapons in their regions of activity after the decommissioning of the MOD units until when the ANA will be deployed fully. These illegal militias are most often involved in drug-trafficking and committed to human rights abuses. Since these militias are illegal in nature, benefiting them individually for their reintegration into the civilian life is not adequate. Instead, it should take the form of benefiting the community which is expected to

absorb these militias after their disarmament. (In case of the ex-combatants under the incumbent DDR programme, they are benefited individually in their reintegration process.)

Disbandment of these illegal militias should be led by the Afghan government. Japan on behalf of the international community, will continue playing a role as a focal point in this new task, too.

All these political and security challenges will not be guaranteed a success without concomitant progress in the development side and trickling down the benefits of these efforts to the individual people, particularly rural poor of the country.

Community based Development

Here, I find the convergence of focus on the rural-community based development approach through different perspectives, in terms of viable alternative livelihood measures in the counter-narcotics strategy and disbandment of illegal militias as I mentioned now on the one hand and on-going “Ogata Initiative” which aims at supporting the resettlement of the returnees on the other.

Security and development efforts meet here in rural community-based development.

Based upon this approach, the key to the success in the joint efforts for peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan depends on how the will and aspiration of the people demonstrated in the Presidential Election to be institutionalized into the nation-building efforts.

The community based development approach has been already well designed and is gaining capacity step by step. There are already different kinds of national programmes, initiated by the Afghan Government such as National Solidarity Programme, National Emergency Employment Programme, National Stabilization Programme, etc. Out of 30 thousand villages in the country, 6,000 have been already covered by the NSP (Solidarity) and supported by the Programme in terms of rehabilitating the consultative mechanism of the community and provision of U.S. \$30–60 thousand block grant for implementing the community development projects prioritized by the consultative body. The programme is now well underway and expected to spread over the country soon.

The communities thus reinvigorated have already demonstrated their potential not only in promoting small scale development projects such as rehabilitation of schools, clinics, feeder roads, bridges, well etc, but, in electoral process such as registration, awareness raising, security for voting and counting, etc and in DDR process such as verifying the combatants and supporting their reintegration into the civil society.

By strengthening the role and capacity of the rural community, drawing upon the experiences

and results gained so far, and expanding the existing national programmes in terms of size, scope and quality, I hope Afghanistan will be able to attain the goals of democracy, security and welfare of the people, by mobilizing the people themselves.

Based upon the re-born Afghan community, basic infrastructures such as electricity, water, roads, etc., are constructed by fully involving the people, benefiting them and therefore could be better utilized and maintained for the sustainable development of the country and welfare of the people.

Mission not completed yet

Needless to say that the tasks ahead of the Government and people of Afghanistan are tremendous and complex, and will take a considerable time for them to be able to tackle these challenges by themselves. It is, therefore, the responsibilities of the international community that we should continue standing by them until when they are confident on managing these issues by themselves. We should not leave Afghanistan alone at the corner of the world and allow the history repeat itself.

Session 2

Peacebuilding Support by United Nations

Jean ARNAULT

Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Afghanistan

Excellencies Ms. Ogata, Mr. Satoh, Mr. Miyagawa,
Fellow panelists,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Let me first of all add my voice to those who preceded me to express the United Nations' very warm congratulations to the Japan Institute of International Affairs on the organization of this symposium on the future of peacebuilding in Afghanistan and our gratitude for making available such ideal conditions for some productive thinking on today's challenges. The pace of events in Afghanistan rarely affords us the time to take stock of accomplishments and shortcomings, and to plan ahead with the necessary deliberation. In this very propitious setting, you are making it possible and we are most grateful for it.

This symposium is particularly timely:

- Because, following last year's elections, a new government is now in place that has the authority and the legitimacy to bring fresh momentum and a renewed vision to the Afghan peace process;
- Because new political and security conditions emerge now in Afghanistan, which make it possible to think differently and more boldly about the future;
- And because, as parliamentary elections near, so does the formal completion of the Bonn process, and the necessity becomes more pressing to take careful stock of the past three years, learn lessons from them and try and formulate the broad parameters of the kind of international support that is the most appropriate to the next stage of the peace process.

This effort is needed and has an element of urgency attached to it. Indeed, while some of the threats that hung over the peace process since 2001 are receding—in particular that of extremist violence and factionalism—others, such as the growth of the narcotics industry, have increased. And, perhaps more importantly, the new government—undoubtedly more balanced, more legitimate and more national than the one that emerged from the Bonn agreement—is confronted with a dramatic disparity between popular expectations on the one hand, and the administrative and economic tools at the disposal of the state on the other hand, which will quickly erode its legitimacy if the Afghan leadership and the international community do not work very hard at overcoming this gap.

The United Nations is prepared to bear its share of this effort, with the benefit of the experience gained in the intense period from the signing of the Bonn agreement to the first democratic presidential election.

The role of the United Nations in Afghanistan is perhaps best known for its assistance to the political transition laid out in the Bonn agreement: the organization of the Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) that elected the transitional government in June 2002; the organization of the Loya Jirga that led to the unanimous adoption of the new Constitution in January of 2004; the registration of over 10 million voters from December 2003 to August; the conduct of the presidential election; and now the preparation for the parliamentary election to be held this summer.

But it has also been prominently involved in most if not all the processes that are key to the success of any post-conflict transition effort, namely:

- Refugee return and the resettlement of internally displaced people, which is being conducted very successfully by UNHCR in one of its largest operations;
- With the government of Japan in the lead, the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, as described earlier by Minister Stanakzai and Ambassador Komano, and the removal of mines and unexploded ordnance carried out under the auspices of UN Mine Action;
- The restoration of basic social services, in particular with UNICEF support to the Back-to-School operation led by the Ministry of Education and WHO-supported vaccination campaigns by the Ministry of Health;
- The strengthening of existing state institutions, in which all UN agencies have participated through the secondment of international staff to their counterpart ministries; and the creation of new institutions provided in the Bonn Agreement such as the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission;
- The rebuilding of destroyed social and economic infrastructure, in particular with UNOPS's largest portfolio in road building and other public work;
- And finally, emergency assistance, which remains a necessary tool, as was demonstrated during the recent cold spell that affected the country.

What conclusions do we draw from this multi-faceted effort in the various fields where post-conflict peacebuilding is ongoing?

The first conclusion is, clearly, that while the political transition will soon near completion with the establishment of representative national institutions, the process of post-war reconstruction is very far from over: indeed, while progress has been made on all fronts, NONE of the fundamental tasks of a transition period are over: From refugee return and IDP resettlement to demobilization and reintegration of combatants—formal and informal, legal and illegal; from the delivery of basic social services to the rebuilding of economic infrastructure, helping Afghanistan address the impact of three decades of war on its society and its economy remains unfinished business and a huge agenda for the Afghan leadership and its partners in

the international community. In this sense, the completion of the Bonn agenda marks a new stage rather than the end of the reconstruction effort, a stage in which the legitimacy and authority of fully representative political institutions can be brought to bear in order to help quicken the pace of rebuilding Afghanistan, in particular by tackling some of the most difficult outstanding tasks of the transition: in-depth reform of institutions at central level; vigorous expansion of state authority to the provinces; widespread reconstruction in rural areas; and a more focused effort at national reconciliation.

The second conclusion is that the strong partnership that has characterized the Bonn process must remain and, if anything, strengthen further. This applies, in particular, to the provision of security, a critical component of peacebuilding. While a good deal of progress has been made with regard to demobilization of factions, and the creation of a national army and a national police, we must emphasize that the security umbrella provided by the coalition and ISAF continues to be a pre-requisite for the establishment of what the Bonn agreement describes as “fully functioning security agencies”. Some time ago, Afghans used to illustrate the fragility of the newly acquired peace by pointing out that if the coalition and ISAF left today, civil war would likely re-start the next day. Following last year’s election, more confidence probably exists nowadays with regard to the solidity of political institutions; but a sense that peace is not irreversible still prevails; and so does the conviction that the presence of international forces remains a fundamental guarantee for the consolidation of peace.

But international investment will remain necessary in areas other than security: We should all expect that Afghanistan will become self-reliant, and sooner rather than later, but that end state will be achieved only when the major distortion inherited from the past three decades have been corrected and the country is equipped with the basic institutional and economic tools of self-reliance.

The third conclusion relates to specific challenge ahead. Based on the experience of the past three years, a consensus is shaping among Afghan actors and the international community with regard to some of the key priorities on which attention will have to focus in the post-election phase:

- With regard to the reform of security institutions, the national police and the justice system are emerging as two pillars where more progress must be achieved rapidly. Together with international forces, the national army is already providing a measure of security for the State against violent challengers—whether extremists or factions. But insecurity for ordinary citizens is still pervasive and requires the rapid establishment in the provinces of the institutions of law enforcement.
- With regard to social development, the quality and quantity of health and education are priorities deeply felt by the population, which will no doubt judge the value of their new experience with democratic institutions on the latter’s ability to deliver in those two areas;
- The emphasis on basic security, health and education calls upon the restoration of an effective administration, if not at district level—which is probably too ambitious an objective at

this level—at least at the level of the 34 provinces, which is, in our view, both necessary and possible within the next three to five years;

- The reconstruction of the economic infrastructure has made progress with regard to roads; it is still lagging behind with regard to water management and power, which are key to the realization of the country's economic potential in agriculture and trade;
- Last but not least, a comprehensive counter-narcotics strategy will have to bring together all existing tools—law enforcement, justice, economic opportunities—in order to stem and roll back the illegal economy and accompanying threats to the consolidation of state institutions and democratic governance.

As a fourth point, I will mention that while the previous challenges refer essentially to the building of state institutions—and a functional state remains indeed a pre-condition for the creation in Afghanistan of an environment conducive to social and economic development—the sustainability of such institutions rests, in turn, on vigorous economic growth. Improved revenue collection and continued international aid will feature as part of the resource base of the peacebuilding process, but it is critical to formulate and implement a consistent economic policy that will take full advantage of the new opportunities that present themselves both in the country and in the region.

The foregoing is a broad agenda, certainly no less complex than the agenda contained in the Bonn agreement. But if the dramatic political transition that we are witnessing in Afghanistan is anything to go by, the momentum is there to drive the peacebuilding process forward. The willingness of Afghans to embrace new political opportunities has been demonstrated last year, and has surprised foreign observers and the Afghans themselves. At the root of this enthusiasm is perhaps a widespread sense within the population that, over the past three decades, it has too often been deprived of the political and economic opportunities that have been offered to the rest of the world. Given a chance, Afghans are determined that they will not be bypassed once again. It is time for the Afghans to be confident and ambitious, and for the international community to be ambitious and confident with them.

List of the Participants to the Symposium on “Post-election Afghanistan and Peacebuilding Support”

<i>Panelists</i>	Amb. Haron AMIN	Afghan Ambassador to Japan
	Mr. Jean ARNAULT	Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan / Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)
	Dr. Zalmay KHALILZAD	U. S. Ambassador to Afghanistan / Former Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan
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	Prof. M. Ishaq NADIRI	Jay Gould Professor of Economics, New York University
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	Mr. Masoom STANEKZAI	Former Minister for Communications, Afghanistan Transitional Authority
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