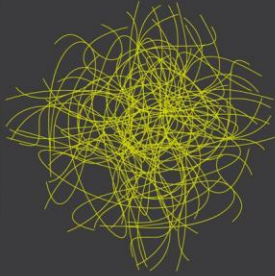


**Sources of
Tension in
Afghanistan
and Pakistan**

A Regional
Perspective



QUARTERLY MONITORING BRIEF

Report No. 4

October 1–December 31, 2014



China has visibly upped its engagement in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan: Monitoring the Key Regional Powers

Malaiz Daud



Deteriorating security in both Afghanistan and Pakistan has increased the trust deficit between the two countries.



Tensions between Russia and the US and its allies over Ukraine have not affected their cooperation in Afghanistan.



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

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this series of quarterly monitoring reports (2014) is to monitor and track the actions, public statements of five key STAP RP regional actors (India, Iran, Russia, China, Saudi Arabia) on Afghanistan; the development of, and their participation in relevant international and regional discussion meetings, including the Istanbul Process, Heart of Asia, RECCA, SCO; the five key regional actors’ economic decisions and agreements, including, but not limited to, the energy and infrastructure sectors, which have implications for the identified sources of tension in Afghanistan with regional implications (see CIDOB STAP RP Mapping Document at www.cidobafpakproject.com).

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

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

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

1. THE CONTEXT

Governance

- A [high-level conference](#) is hosted jointly by the Afghan and British governments in London to renew the partnership of the former with the International Community.
- The Afghan government asks the UN in Afghanistan to present a [comprehensive report](#) on its activities.
- [Results of the Provincial Councils Elections](#) are finally announced by Afghanistan's Independent Elections Commission.
- According to a poll conducted by the Daily 8am, [security and employment are the top demands](#) of the Afghans from the new government.
- The US government launches a development program focused on Afghan women, titled "[Promote](#)", pledging more than USD 200 million in funding.
- Afghanistan's new president, Ashraf Ghani, [reopens the Kabul Bank case](#), allegedly the biggest ponzi scheme in the post-Taliban Afghanistan.
- The new Afghan president sets out his [vision for the mining sector](#) of Afghanistan in a meeting with the Chair of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), premised on institution/capacity-building and "do no harm".
- Despite repeatedly [promising](#), the new President and the CEO failed to introduce the new ministers, prompting the parliament to issue a [one-week ultimatum](#) for the formation of the new cabinet.

Security

- [Coordination is reportedly improved](#) between Afghan and the US-led forces after the inauguration of the new Afghan President.
- Four "low-level" Afghan prisoners are [freed from the Guantanamo Bay Detention Center](#) at the request of the Afghan President.
- President Ashraf Ghani has [threatened the United Nations Development Program \(UNDP\)](#) to turn over control of USD 500-million fund, which bankrolls salaries of Afghan police to the Afghan government.
- The International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) mission comes to an end and the [Resolute Support \(RT\)](#) is officially launched by President Ghani in a [ceremony](#) in Kabul.
- A little-known Taliban commander from the Logar province of Afghanistan [pledges allegiance to the IS](#).
- Afghan military welcomes [expanded U.S. combat role](#) as Taliban [threat intensifies](#). President Ghani also asserts that troops withdrawal timetable should be [open to changes](#).

Development

- [EU to give Euros 1.4 billion to Afghanistan](#) from 2014 until 2020 which would be spent in the areas of agriculture, rural development, health and rule of law.
- According to Afghanistan's Chambers of Commerce and Industries, the southern Kandahar province [exported 40 thousand tons of grapes](#) in the first three quarters of 2014.
- Germany pledges to build a [cricket stadium in the eastern Khost province](#), the fourth facility of this kind. Afghanistan had a single football stadium a decade ago.
- President Ghani announces plans to build a road link, named [Lapis Lazuli Road](#), to Europe through Central Asia in the next three years, which is expected to accommodate 80% of Afghanistan's exports and imports.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Tensions

- Latif Mehsud, [former number two of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan \(TTP\)](#), is handed over by the NATO forces in Afghanistan to Pakistan, allegedly with the consent of the Afghan President.
- The Pakistani Taliban spokesman [pledges allegiance to the "Islamic State"](#). TTP leadership is swift in [firing](#) the spokesman and reassuring the Afghan Taliban leader, Mullah Omar, of their loyalty.
- The Pakistani army complains that the [Afghan government is not cooperating](#) with the Pakistani forces in arresting or eliminating terrorists crossing into Afghanistan.
- [Pakistan's Chief of Army staff rushes to Afghanistan](#) to meet with President Ghani regarding hand over of Mullah Fazlullah who the Pakistani government blames for the attack on an army-run school in Peshawar.
- In the wake of Pakistani military's operations in the tribal areas, an estimated [250 thousand civilians](#) have sought refuge on the other side of the Durand Line, in Afghanistan.

2. REGIONAL POWERS

1. INDIA	Who	The Source
1.1. Actions		
- October 22, 2014 India's National Security Advisor travels to Kabul to meet President Ghani, amongst a host of Afghan officials.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
- October 27, 2014 India's new government announces allocation of USD 85 million for the construction of two berths and development of a container terminal at Chabahar port of Iran.	Raja Mohan	Observer Research Foundation
- November 17, 2014 President of India meets the former President of Afghanistan , Hamid Karzai, in his office in New Delhi.	Official Facebook Page	Indian President's Office
- November 22, 2014 Mid-level Afghan civil servants will receive training in the Jandal University of India, as part of India's capacity-building support to Afghanistan.		The Times of India
- December 1, 2014 India's Ambassador to Kabul meets Afghanistan's First Vice President at the latter's office .	Official Facebook Page	Indian Embassy in Kabul
1.2. Public Statements		
- October 15, 2014 Indian Prime Minister tells President Ghani his government will "stand with him as a friend and a partner" .		Business Standard
- October 15, 2014 Prime Minister Modi invites President Ghani to visit India . Ghani accepts the invitation.		Khaama Press
- December 11, 2014 Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, says advancing peace and stability in Afghanistan is a priority of his country.	Official Website	Kremlin
1.3. Track II Events		
- October 8, 2014 Cricket legend, Sachin Tendulkar, accepts the invitation of the Afghan Ambassador to Delhi to visit Afghanistan .	Official Twitter Account	Afghan Ambassador to Delhi
- November 18, 2014 The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies and the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses sign an agreement of cooperation.	Official Website	The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
1.4. Media Commentary		
- December 30, 2014 Looking back on Afghanistan: US soldier remembers		The Times of India

2. IRAN

Who

The Source

2.1. Actions

<p>- October 16, 2014 Iran's Ambassador to Kabul meets President Ghani, says his government will provide 50 thousand jobs for Afghan refugees residing in Iran.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- December 2, 2014 According to the Iranian authorities, the work of the Khawaf-Herat railway on the Iranian side has been completed.</p>	Official Facebook Page	8am Daily
<p>- December 9, 2014 Afghanistan's Deputy CEO participates in a Conference on World Against Violence and Extremism in Tehran, delivers a keynote speech.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Afghanistan's Deputy CEO meets Iran's President and Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Science, Labor and Assistance and Social Affairs in Tehran during a three-day official visit.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran's speaker of the Parliament meets a delegation of Afghan officials in Tehran, headed by the Afghan Deputy CEO.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran will provide five hundred scholarships on undergraduate and postgraduate levels to Afghan students.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 28, 2014 Iran's authorities remain tightlipped over the fatal stabbing of three Afghans in the Isfahan province.</p>		8am Daily

2.2. Public Statements

<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran's speaker of the Parliament promises to cooperate in solving the problems of Afghan refugees in Iran.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran's President welcomes the formation of the National Unity Government in Afghanistan, promises to consider solving the problems of Afghan refugees in his country.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran's President says his government is prepared to support Afghanistan in its fight against production and trafficking of opium.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO
<p>- December 15, 2014 Iran's Vice President says peace and stability in Afghanistan have an impact on peace and stability in Iran.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Deputy CEO

<p>- December 16, 2014 Iran's Ambassador to Kabul asks the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan to lend political support to Iran's right for access to a peaceful nuclear program and in removing international sanctions against Iran.</p> <p>- December 31, 2014 Iran's Ambassador to Kabul refutes claims his country has provided military support to the Afghan Taliban.</p>	Official Website	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry Tolonews
2.3. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- December 17, 2014 Iran becomes a signatory to a planned rail road from China to Iran through Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs



3. CHINA	Who	The Source
3.1. Actions		
<p>- October 6, 2014 China's Ambassador to Kabul meets the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, discusses President Ghani's upcoming trip to China.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- October 14, 2014 China's Ambassador to Kabul meets the Afghan President at the latter's office to discuss issues of mutual interest.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 14, 2014 China's Ambassador to Kabul co-hosts a preparatory meeting of the officials of member states of the "Heart of Asia" process and representatives of international organizations in Kabul.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan Foreign Affairs Ministry
<p>- October 28, 2014 President Ghani visits China at the invitation of his counterpart, meets the president, the Premier and the Lead Legislator. The leaders discuss issues of mutual interest.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 28, 2014 China pledges to provide 500 million Yuan to Afghanistan during 2014 and increase it three folds in the coming years.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 28, 2014 China will provide 500 scholarships for Afghan students in the next five years to study in Chinese educational institutions.</p>	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 29, 2014 China and Afghanistan resolve to combat the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM).</p>	Lixiaokun & Wangqingyun	China Daily
<p>- October 31, 2014 The 4th Ministerial "Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process" Conference is hosted by China in Beijing.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- November 21, 2014 China's Ministry of Defense invites the former National Security Advisor of Afghanistan for a keynote speech at the Fifth Xiangshan Forum, held in Beijing.</p>	Official Website	The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
<p>- November 30, 2014 China's Minister of Public Security leads a high-level delegation of Chinese officials to Kabul, meets the Afghan President and other officials.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
3.2. Public Statements		
<p>- October 14, 2014 China's Ambassador to Kabul says Afghanistan and China are both victims of terrorism and that his country is prepared for cooperation in confronting this common threat.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 28, 2014</p>	Official	Afghan

China's President says he will ask the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to pay more attention to Afghanistan.	Facebook Page	President's Office
- December 19, 2014 Chinese Ambassador to Islamabad says that cooperation among Pakistan, Afghanistan and his country would benefit the region.	Muhammad Arif	Pakistan-China Institute
3.3. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
- October 28, 2014 Chinese and Afghan Ministers of Foreign Affairs sign an agreement for visa waiver for Afghan diplomatic passport holders.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
- October 28, 2014 China and Afghanistan sign an agreement for regulating the Chinese humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
- October 28, 2014 China and Afghanistan sign an agreement for cooperation in economic and technical spheres.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
- October 28, 2014 Afghanistan's Chambers of Commerce and Industries sign an agreement of cooperation with the Chinese Federation of Commerce and Industries.	Official Facebook Page	Afghan President's Office
3.4. Track II Events		
- November 10, 2014 A conference on " Future Development of Afghanistan-China Relations " is held in Kabul, in which officials of the Chinese Embassy in Kabul participate.	Official Website	The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
3.5. Media Commentary		
- October 31, 2014 China signals interest in playing bigger role in Afghanistan	Teddy Ng	South China Morning Post



4. RUSSIA	Who	The Source
4.1. Actions		
<p>- October 10, 2014 In response to increase in opium production in Afghanistan, Russia devises a new strategy, “Preserving and Strengthening the International Drug Control System”.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- December 8, 2014 Presidents of Russia and Uzbekistan discuss the situation in Afghanistan in the context of regional security.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- December 29, 2014 The new Ambassador of Russia to Afghanistan presents his credentials to President Ghani in a ceremony attended by the Afghan Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President’s Office
4.2. Public Statements		
<p>- October 24, 2014 President Vladimir Putin mocks the Americans for calling Afghanistan a model democracy in the wake of the latter’s highly contentious presidential election.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- November 6, 2014 President Vladimir Putin shows readiness in extending a helping hand for the stability in Afghanistan in the face of challenges arising from the withdrawal of ISAF.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- December 11, 2014 President Putin says his government supports joint efforts to “stabilize the situation in Afghanistan”.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- December 18, 2014 President Putin says Russia’s military bases in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are aimed at stemming the terrorist threat emanating from Afghanistan.</p>	Official Website	Kremlin
<p>- December 29, 2014 The incoming Russian Ambassador to Kabul says he will strive to get the unfinished construction projects of his country in Afghanistan completed during his tenure.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President’s Office
<p>- December 30, 2014 Russia will not send soldiers to Afghanistan despite concerns about Islamic radicalism and terrorism, Russia’s Special Envoy to Afghanistan tells reporters.</p>	Akmal Dawi	VOA Pashto
4.3. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- December 30, 2014 Russia’s Special Envoy to Afghanistan tells reporters in Moscow that Russia is working on an agreement to sell military arsenal to Afghanistan.</p>	Akmal Dawi	VOA Pashto
4.4. Media Commentary		
<p>- December 29, 2014 US mission in Afghanistan: Any sort of happily ever after?</p>	Lyuba Lulko	Pravda
<p>- December 22, 2014 Ignoring ‘Cold War II’ Won’t Make It Go Away</p>	Pyotr Romanov	Moscow times



5. SAUDI ARABIA	Who	The Source
5.1. Actions		
<p>- October 26, 2014 Afghanistan's President meets the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, who also happens to be the Minister of Defense of the Gulf Kingdom.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- October 26, 2014 In the second leg of his trip to Saudi Arabia, President Ghani visits the holy city of Medina, whose Emir receives the Afghan President.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- November, 2014 The Saudi government decides to provide Afghans with work visas after a 36-year gap. At present, an estimated 300 thousand Afghans work in the Kingdom using mainly Pakistani passports.</p>		BBC Pashto
5.2. Public Statements		
<p>- October 26, 2014 The Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia says that peace and stability are necessary in the region. Therefore, his government will do everything in its power to ensure peace and stability in Afghanistan.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
5.3. Agreements (Negotiated/Signed)		
<p>- October 26, 2014 Afghanistan's President and the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia discuss establishing an agreement of strategic cooperation between Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
<p>- November 21, 2014 Afghan and Saudi authorities sign an agreement for establishing a grand mosque, an Islamic studies center and a university in Kabul.</p>	Meena Baktash	BBC Persian
5.4. Track II Events		
<p>- October 7, 2014 Afghanistan's Acting Minister for Hajj accompanies Afghan pilgrims to the Saudi Arabia to facilitate their travel and stay.</p>	Official Website	Afghan President's Office
5.5. Media Commentary		
<p>- October 3, 2014 US must back Afghans to avoid chaos</p>	Nicholas Revise and Daniel De Luce	Arabnews
<p>- October 19, 2014 Compromise in Kabul</p>	Thomas Barfield	The Cairo Review of Global Affairs

3. REGIONAL DYNAMICS AND CROSSCUTTING ISSUES

October 11, 2014: Pakistan and Afghanistan sign an agreement on electricity transit fees as part of the CASA-1000 project, taking an important step in energy trade between Central and South Asia ([Link](#)).

October 14, 2014: Oil and Gas engineering group, Penspen, has been awarded a contract of the technical feasibility of the TAPI pipeline from Turkmenistan's giant Galkynysh Gas Field, to serve energy markets in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India ([Link](#)).

October 14, 2014: Reports of Afghans fighting against the insurgents in Syria gain traction as evidence surfaces. Iran's government is alleged to have arranged for Afghan refugees to go in Syria ([Link](#) and [Link](#)).

October 18, 2014: Turkey's President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, becomes the senior most Turkish official to visit Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime ([Link](#)).

October 19-20, 2014: 1.5-Track "Islamabad Trilateral Dialogue: China-Afghanistan-Pakistan" is held in Islamabad, Pakistan ([Link](#)).

October 25, 2014: Iranian and Pakistani forces clash with each other in the Maashkil region of Baluchistan ([Link](#)).

October 29, 2014: The First Forum of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) for Investment Action Plan for the Central Asia is held in, Dushanbe, Tajikistan ([Link](#)).

November 19-20, 2014: Ministers of Petroleum of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India meet in Ashgabat in the 19th TAPI Ministerial Meeting and approve creation of TAPI Limited ([Link](#)).

November 25, 2014: Pakistan and Russia sign a Defense Cooperation Agreement, paving the way for Pakistan to purchase twenty Mi-35 heavy attack helicopters from the latter ([Link](#)).

November 26, 2014: The 18th SAARC Summit is held in Kathmandu, Nepal. Afghanistan is represented by President Ashraf Ghani ([Link](#)).

December 13-14, 2014: The Second Conference of "Afghanistan-Central Asia Dialogue" takes place in Kabul, Afghanistan ([Link](#)).

December 18, 2014: The Eurasian Economic Union, consisting of Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan will become fully operational on January 1, 2015 ([Link](#)).

4. SUMMARY OF TRENDS FOR THE QUARTER

Afghanistan's government has not made much progress domestically. The new government is yet to appoint the new cabinet and the review of the Kabul Bank case did not yield a dramatically different result than previously. On the international and regional fronts, the new government has done better than the previous one in its later years. President Ashraf Ghani is perhaps lucky to see the world – and the region in particular – converge on the crucial issue of peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Regionally, interactions between the new Afghan government and the Indian authorities were not on the level of the previous quarters when President Hamid Karzai was still in power. President Ghani's first trips abroad were to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China, which probably explains limited interactions with India. The new Indian government did however approve USD 85 million for upgrading the Chabahar port of Iran, which is aimed at enhancing accessibility to Afghanistan.

There were no notable changes in relations between Iran and Afghanistan. Regular meetings took place between the officials of the two countries. The Iranian leaders welcomed the formation of the National Unity Government in Afghanistan and kept conveying messages of support to the new government. Both governments refrained from talking about the alleged role of Iran in sending Afghans to the Syrian war.

Interactions between China and Afghanistan were even at a higher level than the previous quarter. President Ghani chose China over India as part of his initial round of official visits abroad. China in return pledged – by the Chinese standards – a considerable amount of financial support to Afghanistan. China's high-level visits to Kabul continued this quarter, with the visit of its Minister of Public Security as the latest by a senior Chinese leader.

Despite chilling of relations elsewhere in the world, the Western countries and Russia remained on the same page on Afghanistan. Russian leaders are supportive of the new Afghan government and President Vladimir Putin's criticism of America's performance in Afghanistan continued. However, he fell short of calling for full withdrawal of the US-led forces from Afghanistan.

The Afghan and Saudi governments finally signed an agreement for establishing a huge educational complex in Kabul, apparently in an effort to preach "moderate" teachings of Islam. Indeed, President Ghani's first foreign trip was to Saudi Arabia in line with his campaign pledge. It is noteworthy that the Saudi government's change of policy to issue work visas to Afghans on Afghan passports is a momentous step for lessening the hardships faced by Afghan laborers in Saudi Arabia.

5. PUBLICATIONS FROM THE REGION

October 1, 2014: Bose, Srinjoy. *India and China: An Agenda for Cooperation on Afghanistan*, Institute of Chinese Studies. Available [here](#).

October 3, 2014: Kamali, Hamid. *Iran and Saudi Arabia: Past and Future*, Iran Review. Available [here](#).

October 7, 2014: Boric, Anastasia. *NATO and Russia: Hitting the wrong button for a “reset”*, Russia Direct. Available [here](#).

October 8, 2014: Zalmay, Kahar. *The murky world of terrorism: How Baloch insurgents were trained by Taliban*, Project Pakistan. Available [here](#).

October 24, 2014: Abbas, Syed Ansar. *The Pakistani tribal areas strive to restore jirga system*, Central Asia Online. Available [here](#).

October 29, 2014: Zaman, Robert, Mohammadi, Abdul Ahad. *Trends in Student Radicalization across University Campuses in Afghanistan*, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS). Available [here](#).

November 1, 2014: Nijat, Aarya. *The Dilemma of Women and Leadership in Afghanistan: Lessons and Recommendations*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). Available [here](#).

November 11, 2014: Ilin, Alexey. *The Islamic State and Chechnya: Disturbing Similarities*, Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC). Available [here](#).

November 17, 2014: Osman, Borhan. *New Messages in Chalk: ‘Islamic State’ haunting Afghanistan?*, Afghanistan Analyst Network (AAN). Available [here](#).

November 27, 2014: Shah, Zulfiqar. *Cautiousness in Afghanistan-Pakistan Partnership*, International Affairs Council (RIAC). Available [here](#).

December 6, 2014: Mollazehi, Pir-Mohammad. *New Afghan Government and Prospects for Future Iran-Afghanistan Cooperation*, Iran Review. Available [here](#).

December 8, 2014: Siddiqi, Kamal. *Talking to Afghanistan*, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS). Available [here](#).

December 23, 2014: Javed, Amna. *Zarb-e-Azb: Implications for China Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Pakistan-China Institute. Available [here](#).

December 25, 2014: Humayun, Fahd. *Not Out of the Woods, Yet*, Jinnah Institute. Available [here](#).

December 28, 2014: Khan, Talimand. *Pakistan’s options in Afghanistan*, The News on Sunday (TNS). Available [here](#).

December 30, 2014: Echavez, Chona, Bagaporo, Jennifer L., Re Pilongo, Leah W., Azadmanesh, Shukria. *Why do children take the unaccompanied journey?*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). Available [here](#).