



## Degree work title

**THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE PEACE PROCESSES**

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Esumer University Institution  
Faculty of International Studies  
Medellin Colombia

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THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE PEACE PROCESSES

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## **Acknowledgments and dedication**

We want to thank God for allowing us to have life and health and to complete our studies in a good way, to thank our parents for allowing us to study this wonderful career, we want to thank our advisor Dusan Praj, who helped us in this process of building this investigative work, and which was always there advising us in the best way, also give thanks to each one of the teachers of the Esumer University Institution who were part of this training process, who with their teachings helped us become professionals in International Business .

We want to dedicate this investigative work to our parents, for their love, work and sacrifice in all these years, thanks to them we have managed to get here and become what we are.

To our sisters and brothers for being always present, accompanying us and for the moral support they gave us throughout this stage of our lives.

To our partners and all the people who have supported us and made the work successful, and especially to all those who opened the doors for us and shared their knowledge.

## **SUMMARY**

The main objective of this work was to analyze the different peace negotiations that have taken place in Afghanistan in recent years and what have been the most relevant factors that have prevented these negotiations from coming to fruition. This information was obtained through a compilation of documentary information, where we found some reasons that helped us understand why, Afghanistan has been submerged in the middle of a conflict that has been going on for several decades, in addition to giving us an answer to why this region has not managed to find peace. In the first place, there is the terrible governmental incapacity, which impedes the development and good functioning of the State, causing the discontent of the population, due to the lack of guarantees in their living conditions, inducing them to create rebel groups with the sole objective of fighting for their rights. Secondly, there is its geography, which represents certain advantages for the so-called "Power countries" that see in Afghanistan the opportunity to increase their power. Finally, there is the high number of tribes and ethnic groups that coexist in its territory and those that every day face different disputes in which their ideologies and their way of seeing the world are highlighted. In conclusion, Afghanistan has always tried to implement peace processes that help its reconstruction and subsequent stabilization, but despite this, there have been obstacles that have prevented the region from achieving these objectives, such obstacles, such as those mentioned above, that make May the dream of peace be seen more and more distant.

## **KEYWORDS**

International relations, Geopolitics, Insurgent groups, Sovereignty, Peace Negotiations.

## **ABSTRACT**

The main objective of this work was to analyze the different peace negotiations that have taken place in Afghanistan in recent years and what have been the most relevant factors that have prevented these negotiations from coming to fruition. This information was obtained through a compilation of documentary information, where we found some reasons that helped us understand why, Afghanistan has been submerged in the middle of a conflict that has been going on for several decades, in addition to giving us an answer to why this region has not managed to find peace. In the first place, there is the terrible governmental incapacity, which impedes the development and good functioning of the State, causing the discontent of the population, due to the lack of guarantees in their living conditions, inducing them to create rebel groups with the sole objective of fighting for their rights. Secondly, there is its geography, which represents certain advantages for the so-called "Power countries" that see in Afghanistan the opportunity to increase their power. Finally, there is the high number of tribes and ethnic groups that coexist in its territory and those that every day face different disputes in which their ideologies and their way of seeing the world are highlighted. In conclusion, Afghanistan has always tried to implement peace processes that help its reconstruction and subsequent stabilization, but despite this, there have been obstacles that have prevented the region from achieving these objectives, such obstacles, such as those mentioned above, that make May the dream of peace be seen more and more distant.

## **KEYWORDS**

### **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The way in which two or more nations interact with and regard each other, especially in the context of political, economic or cultural relationships.

### **GEOPOLITICS**

The study of the application of the influence of political and economic geography on the politics, national power, foreign policy of a state.

**INSURGENT GROUPS**

People who revolts against civil authority or an established government, they generally act contrary to the polices and decisions of one's own political party.

**SOVEREIGNTY**

Supreme and independent power or authority in government as possessed or claimed by state or community.

**PEACE TREATY**

Is an agreement between two or more hostile parties, usually countries or governments, which formally ends a state of war between the parties.

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# ***1. INTRODUCTION***

## ***1.1 PROJECT FORMULATION***

### ***1.2 STATE OF THE ART***

The state of the art presented below is carried out in order to understand the origin, evolution and current situation of the conflict that occurs in Afghanistan and what are the factors that have been increasing the conflict between the parties, in addition to the peace negotiations that have been carried out for more than two decades and why many of those negotiations have failed and the expected objectives have not been achieved, which is why this research was carried out through the search for articles in the that the main objective is to highlight the main reasons why Afghanistan is in a conflict that cannot find a solution. Among the investigations consulted, the one by Domínguez Ávila, C. “War and peace in Afghanistan: An analysis of the Afghan conflict in perspective (1978-2008) Article that presents a general contextualization of the Afghan conflict. The instability and lack of capacity on the part of the government encouraged the creation of Taliban Islamic militias made up of students of Islamic theology of the Pashtun ethnic group and who had the full support of the Pakistani secret service and the Saudi millionaire Osama Bin Laden and his AL-QAEDA terrorist organization. From that moment on and until the fall of the Taliban regime, the conflict in Afghanistan basically focused on the state of civil war of the Taliban forces and the northern alliance also known as the united front.

It is important to note that on 2001, the Taliban militia had already conquered a large part of the Afghan territory, displacing the forces of the northern alliance to peripheral places in the country.

The terrorist acts that occurred on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent anti-Taliban operations and against the Al-Qaeda organization and finally the subsequent collapse of the Taliban, set a trend in terms of altering the conflict in Afghanistan by altering the course of the relations.

Possibly the most important thing in the military campaign against the Taliban has been the creation of a better government structure that was made up of Afghan ethnic groups, Pashtun, Tayika, Uzbeka and Hazara. The formation of this type of government involved a restructuring of Afghanistan after 20 years of war, destruction and worsening of the living conditions of the population.

Many years, after the fall of the Taliban regime, the conflict situation in Afghanistan remains critical and complex, which is why many people fears about the birth of a new Taliban militia that will exert much more power against foreign forces. Afghanistan has been characterized by being a place where each day are more centers of drug trafficking, common crime, and violation of Human Rights, which makes life conditions more difficult for each of its population, in addition to hindering relations between countries.

Now, remembering that the subject that is intended to be addressed in this investigation is how the peace process in Afghanistan has been carried out, the relationship with this article is based mainly on knowing what is being done and who is part of this peace process, it is necessary to know what was the origin or birth of this type of war, as well as its causes and its future consequences and in this way establish strong bases that help to find better solutions to the conflict.

For a critical analysis, this type of wars does not do a country, the regions that surround it, much less the world, since they affect Socio-economic, Socio-Political relations, and Violence increases, which it leads its inhabitants to flee to other countries, greatly affecting the country's economy and growth.

Finally, this article allows us to know what were the key events that started the Conflicts in Afghanistan and the interference of some countries in the creation of Islamic organizations that led to increased violence and worsened relations between these countries, thus causing destabilization at the level world.

Another outstanding investigation is Elizondo's investigation, "Space to breathe: humanitarianism in Afghanistan (2001-2008)", an article that describes what are the factors that hinder the reconstruction of Afghanistan and which could be emphasized at the time of want to carry out a peace negotiation in this type of countries.

Since 1 August 2006, NATO, under the command of the international security aid force in Afghanistan, has been responsible for maintaining security control in at least the six southern provinces of Afghanistan that are considered the most dangerous. This agreement is in the midst of the greatest crisis in the reconstruction process that began in 2001, the date when there were still clashes between Taliban gangs and international troops that increased terrorist attacks, opium production registered record numbers and was already supplying the world about 92%. The "warlords along with" the drug lords "maintained their power in the regions and were opposed to stabilization, which increased poverty levels, occupying the first places worldwide.

Many of the objectives that the international community set out at the beginning were aimed more at fulfilling their own interests than what the community really needed. For example, the United States spent more than \$ 15 billion on military spending, far more than what is invested in aid and assistance. As the situation in Afghanistan gets worse every day, international actors present more and more difficulties to maintain their presence in the country, if this were to happen what would happen later would be a kind of "Fatigue" of the countries called donors, where the reconstruction could be back to zeros. Years ago the United States made the decision to reduce its troops to release pressure on its army, fact that made alarms go off among the population, because it made them think of again about a possible abandonment like the one occurred in 1989.

Due to this, a change has been proposed in various strategies that will undoubtedly be important factors in the reconstruction of Afghanistan; 1. Security: in this case, NATO has been forced to deploy to the south, diverting its initial objective of maintaining peace to be in the midst of open confrontations against the insurgency, as the Taliban have been increasing their control in remote areas of the country, in addition to having the support of a very good percentage of the population. Either through coercion or simply by the disenchantment of the current government. NATO has always had the idea of appealing to its partners and reinforcing its mission, but it always meets resistance from some countries, such as Spain, France, Germany and Italy, to get involved in fighting. 2 state-building: the government of Afghanistan remains very weak and the consolidation of the state has had many difficulties, the greatest progress has been made in areas where the international

community has more participation, such as elections, or even in the approval of a new constitution. However, notable achievements have been made in forming a new army as it has 30,000 soldiers out of the 70,000 required. This is why, for the reconstruction of a State, it is necessary to strengthen the authority and the presence of the government in the entire territory and the consolidation of a rule of law that at the same time are key for the construction of peace 3. *Narcotrafico* drug trafficking revenues are almost a half of Afghanistan's GDP, which greatly influences terrorism, because drugs in these case are considered the engine of corruption, reaching all levels of afghan administration.

Despite the great efforts made by the international community, the strategies have not been met, while opium cultivation continues to rise, and its production is increasingly carried out within Afghanistan, which increases the income and power of drug traffickers and consolidating the business in the country. International actors have unloaded the entire step of errors in strategies to combat this type of drug trafficking in producers, depriving them of their means of subsistence, which in the short term causes many more conflicts of interest.

In conclusion, it can be said that the solution by military means is not clearly the solution to defeat the insurgency, because for this it is also necessary to know how to counter them and to know how international troops can get involved with local leaders.

It is also important to promote key areas such as the consolidation of the state and institutions, the implementation of the rule of law and the strengthening of the government's authority in the provinces, in addition to full support for reconstruction efforts and the constant fight against poverty. It is also important to put pressure on Pakistan as it is one of the organizations that most supports insurgent gangs.

During the development of this research, it is important to know what type of conflicts occur there, what are the peace processes that have been agreed and why many of them could not be carried out, such as the Bonn process, for example, and what type of Strategies could be implemented to reduce the conflict that is currently experienced.

A critical analysis of this article is to look at how Afghanistan's dependence on other international members increases the bad situation more and more, as this means that the money contributed by donor countries does not meet the needs of the Afghan people, decreasing the quality of life, and increasing poverty and conflict.

The research carried out by Calvillo Cisneros J.M, "Afghanistan: Security and development. A model of state stabilization", Peace seems to be a long-standing wish for Afghanistan, except for some years of stability, the country has lived through a situation of conflict for many years of its history. It all started when the United States together with its allies launched an attack against this country, due to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Condemned to be an unstable country, the intervention of a large number of countries has not meant stabilizing the country much less the creation of a security framework for the population, on the contrary, after several decades of intervention, the objectives that were set out in the BONN process or in the other conferences that were held in order to achieve reconstruction and stabilization have not been achieved. That is, although at that time a democracy was established and the first free elections were held, this did not mean peace for Afghanistan, because despite this, it has not been possible to consolidate a state and the United States after almost 20 years of conflict, has fallen into the need to seek peace with the Taliban.

However, there are still many irregularities regarding aid management, donor contributions, coordination between actors, and ineffectiveness in sectors that should be a priority, such as rural areas, or the creation of civil society itself.

It is clear that the impact on aid in Afghanistan is closely related to the region's political and security environment. without leaving aside the interests obtained by companies subcontracted by donors, since they fall, mostly in companies not owned by Afghanistan, their situation continues to be alarming poverty, which is why this type of situation should be treated more as a humanitarian intervention and not as a development intervention. It is clear that since the beginning of this conflict, instead of a development strategy, what has been implemented is a civil strategy. However, the level of poverty in this country would have required a strategy far from the military with the sole objective of improving the population's humanitarian indicators. For this, it is necessary to create strategies that help improve the quality of each of the aid provided by donors, that is, each one of these aid are

destined to projects that are beneficial for the rural population and to prioritize the achievement of Gender equality when designing and executing development projects. To this end, each donor should carry out an annual review of aid and evaluate its performance and coherence against the National Development Strategy for Afghanistan. as well as the implementation of indicators that measure its effectiveness, the intended objectives, and its impact on society. The high indicators of corruption that affect both institutions and society on a daily basis, they make it impossible to achieve any objective that is related to the promotion of good governance. The most recent reform of the Judicial sector in Afghanistan has been one of the biggest drawbacks regarding the democratization of the country, because despite the preparation and approval of a constitution, the implementation of strategies to strengthen the issues of independence of the political power and of the warlords, they are not yet reflected in the change in society.

If Afghanistan wants a stable State, based on the planned departures of international troops, it would be almost an obligation, to minimize the western role in favor of regional, Islamic, or influential actors in the region with in order to better understand the complex characteristics of the country and thus bet on the creation of a new political system that is compatible with the Afghan culture. In these cases, if a civilian component is achieved, it can positively influence the improvement of security since there will be progress in the living conditions of the local population, which would mean a reduction in the vulnerability of the population. same and at the same time a reduction of poverty, being this one of the bases of the insurgency.

This topic is related to the research to be carried out, since it talks about what are the factors that must be taken into account when conducting peace negotiations with Afghanistan since there are many obstacles that prevent achieving the estimated objectives. It also leaves a He sidesteps the conflicts between the military and focuses on the consequences the country would have if the Humanistic part were analyzed more thoroughly.

From an analytical perspective, this article suggests that it would be good for states to put aside their discussions of territory or of simple power, and focus more on what is happening with the population, because after all they are those who are suffering the consequences and

for them there is an obligation to create a government that offers them the best guarantees and improves their conditions and quality of life.

One of the investigations also carried out by the Geneva Red Cross magazine. "Humanitarian debate: law, politics, action; The conflict in Afghanistan (2010-2011)" Ginevra, 2010, PP. 25-44 It highlights the historical and geographical overview of Afghanistan and the importance of geography in the beginning of the Afghan conflict.

The Soviet invasion transformed Afghanistan into a battlefield of the Cold War, and its end and the collapse of the Soviet Union turned it into a new theater of competition, this time between regional actors determined to prevent any presence of its competitors. In the shadow of the Hindu Kush. It should be remembered that Afghanistan 50 years before the communist coup, was one of the most peaceful countries on the continent, Afghanistan was said to be the "Switzerland" of the Asian continent and this section of the article seeks to understand and analyze why Afghanistan left to be called that.

The development of the state in Afghanistan. There is talk of how it was established and how Afghanistan came to be a state. Afghanistan was born as a classic plug state, trapped and, in part, defined by the rivalry that reigned between the British and Russian empires in the early 19th century. With the British entrenched in India, Russia's expansion into Central Asia through the establishment of various protectorates transformed the Russians and the English into potential competitors in what came to be called the "big game." That said, neither country was interested in turning their rivalry into active warfare, and for that reason, the existence of a buffer state between the two great powers was a convenient solution. As a consequence, on the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the limits of what we now call Afghanistan were already fixed. Although not always in a way that met the needs of both sides.

Political and administrative control. In the political and administrative spheres, the Afghan state developed several distinctive features. First, it was a dynastic state. Initially, during the time of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747-1772) it took the form of a tribal confederation; This monarchical system lasted two centuries. However, for much of the nineteenth century, the Afghan state had a pre-modern form; taxes (or tributes) were received in kind and not in money, and the rulers depended on external protectors. The most notorious of these rulers

was Shah Shuja (1803-1809, 1839-1842), whose name became synonymous with the cowardly submission to pressure exerted by a protector.

A state dependent on unstable tax revenue. As time went by, the Afghan state became a rentier state, that is, a state that depends on unstable income, like the aid of other countries and the scarce resources they had. In 1964 foreign aid happened to make 49% of public spending. The danger of dependence on these income streams is a direct result of their instability. If the world price of an important export product declines, the income generated by its sale may also decrease. When this happens, it is unlikely that the state can meet the expectations created in the minds of the population during the most prosperous periods, and the consequences can range from the deterioration of the government's reputation to a true crisis of legitimacy. On this last case, to cope with the crisis and survive, the state may need to exhibit considerable force and resort to coercion and other illicit forms of domination. Weak presence outside the capital. The Afghan state was a weak and vulnerable state; It had a presence in various parts of the country, but was still passive and very distant.

The Soviet-Afghan war. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan created a profoundly paradoxical political environment. The presence of the Soviet forces seemed to be sufficient to sustain the Afghan state, but their strong dependence on Soviet support for their survival limited their ability to win widespread normative support. Thus, Soviet support offered not a strategy for a sustainable and lasting regime, but a life support system, and when it ceased to exist in late 1991, the communist regime in Kabul quickly collapsed.

Taliban rise. In this context, the Taliban movement emerged in 1994, which seized the city of Kandahar first, after Herat in 1995, and finally Kabul in September 1996. "Taliban" is simply the plural in Persian from the word "student". Although there were different "Taliban fronts" in Afghanistan since the early 1980s, this movement was different in that it was much closer to a conventional military force. Its emergence mainly reflected Pakistan's desire for a substitute force that could occupy and retain large tracts of territory.

The weakness of the government. First, Afghanistan struggles with the weaknesses of the newly created political institutions. The Bonn Agreement, signed in December 2001, provided for 29 government departments, when perhaps six to eight would have been

sufficient. This overabundance gave rise to rivalries between the organisms controlled by the different political factions. Furthermore, the 2004 Afghanistan constitution, by establishing a strong presidential system, created an overburdened office at the center of the executive branch, so important issues are not addressed unless they have been brought to the attention of the president. Corruption. Secondly, poor governance and corruption have been endemic problems, aggravated by the resurgence of the opium industry and the inability to rebuild a judicial system capable of guaranteeing the rule of law. The rule of law continues to exhibit regrettable weaknesses, as a result of which, for most Afghans, the impressive judicial guarantees established in the constitution and in various regulations exist only on paper.

The relationship of the topic to be investigated with this article is important, since it talks about the importance that it has for Afghanistan, its geopolitical location, and what implications it had at the beginning of the conflict, it is also important to know what are the reasons why the This country's government is considered a weak state where the bad administration and the lack of government policies make the so-called "peace processes" not prosper. Finally, it expresses the main historical events that were the trigger for the conflict that has been going on for several decades.

From a critical analysis, it is important to know what were the historical facts that led Afghanistan to plunge into this type of conflict, because the fact of knowing the history means that this type of acts are not repeated, on the contrary, this encourages the population that wants a total reconstruction of their country to work for peace, but this has not happened, and in Afghanistan the interests of the countries that intervene have prevailed over the desire of the population for many years.

Finally, the investigation made by Faramiñan Gilbert JM and Santayana Gómez JP; "The conflict in Afghanistan" PP. 53-55 talks about the relationship between the Taliban and the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda.

The relationship began when Osama Bin Laden was deprived of Saudi nationality and sought asylum in Sudan where he further strengthened his relations with the radical Islamic world by defining new goals and modes of action for the network he had created upon leaving Afghanistan. From there, he launched terrorist attacks around the world and also maintained

contacts and provided weapons to rebel forces that opposed the international presence in Somalia. The Somali experience convinced Bin Laden that it was possible to break the morale of the United States, reaffirming his conviction that this country should be the main objective to be beaten in the fight of radical panislamism. His relationship with the attack, against the World Trade Center in New York, in 1993, caused international pressure and harassment by the intelligence services in 1996 and force him to leave Sudán and go to Afghanistan.

Once back in this country, the Pakistani intelligence services put him in contact with Mullah Omar. A close alliance was established between the two: The Taliban regime offered hospitality to Bin Laden and his terrorist network and the latter made significant financial contributions to the Taliban army in return. Over time, Al-Qaeda would also provide well-trained and motivated fighters in the fight against the Northern Alliance, and Afghanistan became the sanctuary where to train its terrorists and plan its operations. The Taliban regime, which was not originally hostile to the West and whose struggle lacked objectives beyond the Afghan borders, began to modify its international approaches under the influence of Bin Laden. He began to weigh more and more in circles close to Mullah Omar, preaching both enmity towards the western world and its hegemonic power, the United States, and the need to export Taliban fundamentalism to neighboring countries. The progressive radicalization of the Taliban regime was further favored by its lack of international recognition.

The relationship of this article with the topic to be investigated "Afghanistan peace process" has to do with the fact that illegal groups such as the "Taliban" have been the main obstacle for several decades at the time of want to promote a reconstruction of the country, Although it is said that this group has already been dismantled, this is only a truth in disguise, since it is said that this group through other alliances is taking more and more strength, which means a setback for the country and a possible solution is still a long way off.

From a critical analysis, it can be analyzed that the interests of this type of groups are above those of the population, that is, they only care about getting the United States and other invading countries to leave Afghanistan, regardless of civilian lives. who are in the middle of the conflict.

The interests of those who intervene and who are in the midst of the conflict will always be above the interests of the population and the improvement of their quality of life, this being one of the main reasons why an agreement is not reached. of peace.

1. Afghanistan has focused its efforts on fighting foreign forces, leaving civilian victims on the road aside, as civilian deaths have been shown to outweigh military deaths, leading to a total imbalance in the population.
2. In the midst of a peace process and more in that country, respect for Human Rights should take precedence, and the care of the civilian population, something that has not been done in previous projects, is why the population of Afghanistan is She is totally disappointed with her current rulers and they see a future restoration and reconstruction of their country very far.
3. Despite the fact that the war seems to come to an end, it is becoming more and more widespread, the conflicts that the state is going through are not only social, religious and cultural, but they are also political and there the problem is eradicated, the Afghan government has been a weak and corrupt government and this is one of the main reasons why the conflict in Afghanistan broke out.

### ***1.3 Problem Statement***

The invasion of the Soviet Union sowed the seed of new forms of terrorism in Afghanistan. This is where the feared Al-Qaeda organization was formed, which, under the protection of the Taliban regime, was already beginning to exercise its power and establish itself in Afghanistan. With the attacks that happened. These attacks have prompted international communities to promote the creation of reconstruction and stabilization plans for the country. However, many of them have been affected due to the high level of corruption and the fact that the Afghan population continues to reject international aid as an invasion. Leaving consequences that are based on the lack of good economic development, for example, Afghanistan's economy has become a "Narco-economy" because this is the first country in the world in terms of opium production and heroin components, contributing to the strengthening of the economy of local mafias and clearly affecting farmers, institutions, and the security of the country. The high rate of violence together with the numerous suicide bombings has left a huge aftermath of civilian and military deaths and injuries, without forgetting that poverty and the lack of opportunities for its population are increasing more and more. All this is due to the lack of creation of strategies that are really rigid and direct the country towards reconstruction and stabilization that will lead it to recover. This leads us to ask ourselves a question that it's ¿what are the interests of the countries that are on the middle of the conflict in Afghanistan?

## ***1.4 objectives***

### ***1.4.1 General objective***

Analyze how different strategies aimed at the peace process in Afghanistan have been implemented and why many of these processes have not produced the desired results.

### ***1.4.2 Specific objectives***

- 1.**Contextualize the conflict in Afghanistan and how it has evolved and is current.
- 2.** Define the interests of the participants in the peace negotiation process.
- 3.** Project the political and economic scenarios of Afghanistan in its possible post-conflict process.

### ***1.5 Justification***

The research topic “The conflict in Afghanistan and the peace processes” contributes to a line of research since it belongs to the area of Geopolitics and International Relations when addressing how the conflict that completes several decades in Afghanistan began and how its evolution has been. In addition, it is important to know how this type of conflict affects international relations, and what role a country's geopolitical role plays, when starting a war, a clear example of this, is Afghanistan. This work can also be taken as a support for future research and it can also broaden the state of the art since it covers the subject in a more profound way and subjects in which there is very little research are taken, for example, what type of interests do the countries that are in the middle of the conflict in Afghanistan, and what are the reasons why the peace processes implemented previously have not meant a reconstruction. In addition to this, it contains theoretical concepts, that is, contributions from research that support the research and apply it to a particular reality, since it analyzes how the quality of life of the population in the midst of the conflict has been.

This type of research provides knowledge about a topic of social interest, because in some way this type of conflict affects the tranquility in the environment of the countries that surround them, and even if it is between distant countries, it also has a great impact, since creates instability as this affects different intensity, a clear example of this would be the migration of people fleeing the conflict, looking for new opportunities, but which in the long run create chaos in other countries, as this makes the population it feels relegated by immigrants, in its own territory.

This at the same time contributes to business decision-making, since the conflict that is now being experienced in Afghanistan gives a notion that wanting to start an investment or create a company is not a viable option, due to corruption, political risk and legal that exists. It is a place where there is no equitable division of wealth, and even more seriously, it is considered a narco-economy. The search for this information will deepen knowledge of the race since it would give more clarity as to the reasons why many countries intervene in the conflict that arises in Afghanistan and why many of them oppose the existence of a total reconstruction and recovery of the same, because for many of them their interests are far above, leaving aside the interests of the population.

Finally, it is possible to continue with the research at a postgraduate level, because it would be good to continue investigating the evolution of this type of conflict, and even more so if necessary, a successful peace process is reached, which would undoubtedly be a great step for the improvement and reconstruction of international relations, especially in those types of countries where the fulfillment of military objectives prevails over the rights of the population, and where the name of failed states, increasingly takes more strength.

## **1.6 Framework**

### **1.6.1 Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework that is developed below, allows us to know how the emergence of geopolitics was, in addition to highlighting some authors who, through their theories, tried to explain it much more thoroughly. Finally, an analysis of the importance of geopolitics in the conflict in Afghanistan was carried out.

Dr. Rudolf Kjellen, (1864-1922), a Swedish national, well versed in Political Science and History and professor at the Universities of Upsala and Gothenburg, is the creator of the word Geopolitics. It was Kjellen who tried to find an identity between the State and living organisms, according to which the States are subject to the law of growth. In accordance with its reasoning, the State, as a living organism: is born, develops and dies, or in some cases it is transformed. That supra individual being, he adds, is dominated by two main influences which are the geographical environment and race. In others, of a secondary nature, it includes the economy, society and the government. Geopolitics, that appears with that name in the modern scientific scene as a product of the observations about the permanent interaction between the relations of man with the soil, later elevated to those that correspond to the State with its territory and its internal and external effects in the field about politics. It may well be argued that to the extent that nomadic societies became sedentary and these, in turn, became the embryos of a State, one element was essential for political action; this element was and is the territory. they became the embryos of a State, an element was essential for political action; this element was and is the territory. they became the embryos of a State, an element was essential for political action; this element was and is the territory.

The great cultures of antiquity settled in geographical areas that allowed them to develop properly; if the geographic space was insufficient for their survival, they conquered other territories and annexed them to the original. And of course they defended it or they could also lose it by the action of other cultures motivated by the same causes. Hence, fertile land, the vicinity of rivers, access to the sea, mountainous accidents of interest and the control of trade routes became the object of the politics of the primitive State and of course also of contemporary States.

Throughout history, various theories of geopolitics emerged with the impact on the real politics of the countries. The period between the end of the 19th century and the end of the Second World War could be defined as the golden age of classical geopolitics, both in terms of theory and practice. From the nineteenth century as the age of discovery came to an end and global political rivalry was on the rise, in great powers such as Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States because of this appeared important geopolitical theorists who built theories to improve or at least to preserve the power of the countries.

There are three schools defined by their geographical location

### ***1.6.2 GERMAN GEOPOLITICS***

#### **Friedrich Ratzel**

German geographer regarded as one of the founders of human geography, who formulated the influence of soil on the formation and development of political societies. He was the creator of one of the most important geopolitical theories regarding "life space", where he formulated the laws of spatial growth of states, from which the following concepts can be extracted:

- ✓ It is the great space that maintains the life of the states.
- ✓ Wide space is the indispensable condition for the political action of the state
- ✓ Geographical factors play a decisive role in the life of nations. (Lara Hernández, 2010)

#### **Karl Haushofer**

Central to Haushofer's theories was Ratzel's "Life Space," where he defined it as the nation's right to expand its borders in order to provide the necessary space and resources for its people. To Obtain a "Living Space" the state had the natural right to unleash "Just Wars". According to this author, the world was divided into Pan-regions with their corresponding vital spaces and united by Pan-Ideas. his contribution to the theory of Geopolitics was the concept of dynamic borders. Contrary to the general belief in fixed and static borders, he thought that borders are only temporary since they were destined to change according to the search for

living space, autarky, and pan regionalism. He conceived of limits as organisms subject to change.

### **1.6.3 THE BRITISH GEOPOLITICS**

#### **John Halford Mackinder**

In 1904 Professor Mackinder gave a conference called "the geographical pivot of history" which is considered one of the foundations of geopolitics, in this idea the world was divided into the central area, the heartland of the Rimland land shore that is surrounding and the area out of political influences. In other words, each action that took place in the central area (Heartland or heartland) would have gigantic consequences for the rest of the world. But at the same time what happened outside this territory did not affect Europe or the rest of the world. There was a comparison of any part of the world with the Human heart, since it conditioned the other organs. There was also a premise in which it was said that whoever dominate central Europe controlled the world heart, whoever dominate the continental heart, dominate the world island, and finally who dominate the word island would dominate the world.

### **1.6.4 THE NORTH AMERICAN GEOPOLITICS**

#### **James Monroe**

He formulated a theory which is known by its name as "Monroe Doctrine", with a fundamental condition "America for Americans" and where the following points are established

- 1.** The American continent should not be the object of European colonization in the future
- 2.** Any European attempt to colonize and expand spheres of influence on the continent will be seen by the United States as an attack on the continent's general security.

The Monroe doctrine played a crucial role in the politics of the United States for almost 200 years, since Latin America was considered as its backyard and maintaining security in this area was considered vital for its proper functioning. (Monroe, J., 1823)

## **Alfred Mahan**

This theory is based on the maritime power of a state, which is mainly based on land power. For it is argued that "Whoever dominates the oceans will always win" because the supremacy of naval power is over the power of the land and naval superiority is the principle and basis of fundamental foreign policy. Mahan highlighted an important distinction between land and sea in geopolitical thought, also stated that to achieve naval supremacy it is necessary:

- 1.A prosperous foreign trade
- 2.An efficient merchant marine, able to support trade
- 3.A powerful war army to defend its sea lanes and the merchant fleet.
- 4.A network of maritime bases where ships can source and receive maintenance.
- 5.A set of colonial sets that will serve as the sources of raw materials for the industrial development and economic diversification of the mother country.

It should be noted that the work of this author had a direct influence on the expansionist policy of the United States, the annexes of the islands of Hawaii, the island of Guam, the war with Spain with the territorial acquisitions and the expansion of its influence over Cuba. The Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the "Garrote" policy towards Latin America, depended exclusively to a great extent on the maritime power of the United States, which allowed it to flexibly move troops from one part of the world to the other. Its territorial expansion was concentrated mainly in the areas close to its own territory, that is, in the Caribbean and Pacific basin, allowing it access to the south of the American continent and its projection towards the Asian continent. When the united states replaced Great Britain as the hegemonic power of the Western Hemisphere, sharing this position with the USSR, it exercised its equivalent power in the Eastern Hemisphere and they fought for the dominance of the peripheral areas of their influences.

## **Nicholas Spykman**

Spykman's approaches revolve around the concept of power. For him, the objective of power is control of the territory and to acquire this territory an aggressive and expansionist attitude is required. Furthermore, it affirms that: a state exists either for its own strength or for the protection of a powerful one. Weak states are weights in the balance used by strong ones. Its existence is due, not to its vigor, but rather because no powerful one needs its territory or because it needs it as a shock absorber or counterweight.

Taking into account the approaches of Spykman and Classical geopolitics, it is important to know the importance of this type of theories of geopolitics in the conflict that Afghanistan is currently experiencing.

### ***1.7 IMPORTANCE OF GEOPOLITICS IN THE AFGHANISTAN CONFLICT***

Afghanistan is located in central Asia and is a transit point between many regions such as India, China, the former Soviet Union and the Middle East. It is a country that many aspire to dominate, but achieving it is very difficult. Herein lies largely the root of the Afghan tragedy. In the past, the Balj region, in the north, was one of the main knots of the "Silk Road", being considered as one of the obligatory steps between the Chinese world and abroad. In the same way, it was for centuries a forced step for all the conquerors who advanced towards India such as the Aryans, the Scythians, the Kushan, the Macedonians, the Umayyads, the Gaznavies, the Mughals and the Afghans themselves. Time later it ended up becoming the center of the disputes between Russia and Great Britain. For the first to seize Afghanistan it meant getting closer to the powerful India, for the second it involved opening up to Central Asia and being able to better defend its prized "Jewel in the crown". Due to this struggle, Afghanistan was transformed into a buffer state between the Russian and British empires, being between the two allowed it to safeguard its independence.

The skillful diplomatic game of its leaders against the two empires, the inhospitable terrain and the strength of its inhabitants when fighting invaders greatly influenced their survival. However, this in the long term would be the basis of the conflict, since the country was reduced to isolation and with very little chance to modernize, this weakness made it

increasingly appealing to foreign countries, that saw it like a territory of enormous interest defended by a very weak state.

Geographical and climatic conditions are not favorable enough when seeking economic development in Afghanistan. The population tends to concentrate in the valleys or in oases that are fed by the mountain waters. The different Afghan ethnic groups and their distribution, both in space and in quantitative relationship with each other, are a fundamental factor in learning about life, struggle, politics and international relations. Afghanistan, with 27 million inhabitants, is a branch of ethnic groups and tribes. It is made up of 25 different ethnic groups, called: Pashtuns, Tajik, Uzbeks and Hazaras.

### ***1.8 GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS***

The interest of the Russian people and later the Soviet people that impelled them to extend towards Afghanistan, was to try to obtain a land corridor towards the Indian Ocean, which would allow them to have at their disposal an open port directly to the ocean. Because of this Great Britain opposed this type of expansionism, because it feared that the Russian presence in the Indian Ocean would harm its privileged position against India. It is here that Afghanistan acts as a buffer state. After the Second World War Great Britain lost its position and the Soviet Union increased its influence over Afghanistan.

Once the Soviet invasion occurred, new actors and new geopolitical interests entered the scene. PAKISTAN with a lasting conflict with India, It sought to gain greater strategic depth, but avoiding at all costs that Afghanistan was under its influence or that of any other ally, since the presence of Soviet troops in an allied country of India was considered as a threat of the first order.

In the context of its containment strategy against the socialist bloc, the United States wanted to wear down its Soviet rival, it was also concerned that the position of the Soviet Union could end up threatening the free flow of crude oil through the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia, as the leading country of the Islamic creed, had interests in this country for a double reason: both to prevent Islam from being swept from that country by the communist creed, and to attract the attention of the internal radicals to Afghanistan that of that country. They did not direct their anger against the power of the Saudi family.

The world's large Muslim community shared with Saudi Arabia the concern that "the holy land of Islam" would recede in that region of Central Asia. Iran, the leading country of the Shiite creed, it also sought to support the Shiite minority in Afghanistan and was closely following everything that could happen in the neighboring country.

Later, when Afghanistan was gaining in geopolitical importance as a crossing point for the energy resources of Central Asia and the Caspian Sea, another reason for dispute was added. The passage of oil and gas pipelines through Afghanistan to Pakistan and the Indian Ocean diversifies the outflows of these natural resources, which favors most of the countries in the region, but harms Russia, which intends to have maximum control over the outflow of hydrocarbons. of that nailed region. Pakistan would benefit doubly because it would facilitate access to these natural resources of such strategic value and why it would obtain economic benefits both from transit and from the port of departure. The stability of Afghanistan is a necessary condition for the construction of such oil and gas pipelines, which led to, for example, the United States will find positive factors in the unification of Afghanistan under Taliban power. This regime gave greater stability to the region than the chaotic situation created by the warlords.

Therefore, there is a direct relationship between the geopolitical conditions of the region and the economic interests linked to the natural resources located in the Central Asia region. In the set of influences that were unleashed after the fall of the Taliban regime, as a consequence of the intervention of the international coalition led by the United States, Pakistan was the great loser, Pakistan had to pay the price of having supported the Taliban and Consequently, both Russia and Iran and India managed to get their protected to seize a significant portion of the Afghan power. This circumstance was of enormous strategic importance, for two reasons: first, because Pakistan could be tempted to destabilize the Afghan government to promote more favorable change, and second, because the failure of his Afghan policy could create enormous tensions in the precarious internal Pakistani political balance. A major crisis in Pakistan could have devastating consequences on the overall strategic situation in the region.

## ***1.9 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK***

Since the present investigation revolves around the “conflict in Afghanistan”, we understand that the Durand line is an important factor in the search for the main findings that generated this conflict, the Durand line is like a border line that crosses tribal areas of the Pashtuns, Afghans considered their territory part, this line was drawn by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1893. This line delimited the area of influence between Afghanistan and India, after the creation of India and Pakistan, Afghanistan had a new neighbor that It was Pakistan, but there was no border agreement, that is, no formal agreement between these two countries was ever ratified, that is why no Afghan government, and the Pashtuns have not recognized the Durand Line and this has become a continuous focus of intense conflicts between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The war between these two countries started in 2007 when Afghanistan attacked Pakistan military bases, on the grounds that Pakistani military forces had killed Afghan civilians, since then there have been countless direct clashes between these countries. (Seville, 2013) For this reason, under a theoretical framework of classical geopolitics, it is necessary to find conceptual axes on which to support research.

Taking into account that the investigation tries to analyze the "Peace processes and the conflict in Afghanistan" We can also understand the meaning of the Loya jirga which is the name given in Afghanistan to an assembly where the Pashtun groups originally attended, we will try to understand this important factor as a concept, under a theoretical framework of classical geopolitics.

Conflict is understood in the same way that it is defined by ( Del Arsenal, 2007) : Refers to the conflict as a "situation in which a human group is in conscious opposition to another or to other human groups, because they have or pursue objectives that are or seem incompatible".

Sovereignty is understood in the same way that it is defined by(Rousseau, 1762): "Sovereignty is indivisible and inalienable and belongs only to the people, so the people are a single body that has delegated powers, to which it can withdraw or add whatever it is according to what the people decide".



### ***1.9.1 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK***

The methodological framework that is developed below is going to be carried out in the following way, first, it is necessary to know what the research focus is going to be, for this you have to determine if it is going to be a Qualitative or quantitative research. Secondly, the depth level of the research must be measured, for this it must be classified into applied or pure studies and analyze why it is considered as explanatory research, all with a single objective that is to identify an appropriate method to the information we are looking for.

### ***1.9.2 Research method***

### ***1.9.3 Research focus***

The focus of the research is qualitative since it collects information on the consequences that the behavior of people both in Afghanistan and in countries in the middle of the conflict has caused, consequences that have caused destabilization and the increase in the violence. In addition, it briefly describes how the conflict began, how it has evolved over the years and how relevant its Geopolitical characteristics have been for many countries called Power to decide to intervene in it. Many of these reasons are the main reason why various peace processes did not come to a successful conclusion, since there are interests that are above wanting the population to improve their living conditions. If we talk about a quantitative approach, this, has some numerical data that could help us to understand the problem in an easier way. However, they are not considered as important information or the basis of the investigation

### ***1.9.4 Type of study***

Research is applied since it aims to solve certain problems focusing on the search and collection of Data that help to consolidate knowledge and strengthen cultural and scientific development. It is also important to take into account the level of depth that will be given to said research, which in this case is explanatory, since it helps to understand and subsequently analyze more clearly, what have been the strategies that have been wanted to implement for several decades in the conflict in Afghanistan, but for reasons in which the interest of third

parties or even the Government itself prevails over the population, they have not been fulfilled in the way they want.

#### ***1.9.5 Investigation methodology***

In this case, the correct selection of research sources and the correct application of methods in data collection will be specified, all in order to obtain information from reliable and trustworthy sources, in addition to highlighting methods that help to the presentation of the research and to help your understanding in a more practical way.

#### ***1.9.6 Information gathering techniques and instruments***

The research comes from secondary sources since these are texts based on real texts, that is, a secondary source is usually a simple comment or analysis that comes from a primary source, these types of sources come from trusted places, public institutions or people Specialists in the topics, in general this type of texts avoid that there is redundancy in the information and to be clear about our approach, in addition to this they provide greater depth in the search for information since they are much more specialized.

#### ***1.9.7 Selection and analysis of information***

According to the specific objectives that we have defined for the research, different methods will be used.

For the first objective, which is to contextualize the conflict in Afghanistan and how it has evolved and current, for this objective we see it as pertinent to implement a timeline to illustrate the different periods of time of this conflict and to analyze the most important years.

For the second specific objective, which is to define the participants in the peace negotiation process, we find it more convenient to use texts with the necessary information that serve as an instrument to be able to correctly develop this objective.

Finally; For the third specific objective that is based on defining the positive economic alternatives of Afghanistan in its post-conflict process, it is also appropriate to use texts and statistical graphics that show us the economic data of Afghanistan.

### ***1.9.8 Bias control***

It consists of guaranteeing an objective and correct use and design of both the information used and the results and methodological instruments. Guarantee truthful and verifiable information. Guarantee the correct and objective use of information. Avoid value judgments. For primary information, ensure adequate sample design and selection.

### ***1.9.9 Scopes***

This project focuses on analyzing how the different strategies focused on the peace process in Afghanistan have been implemented, then each of the processes that have been implemented throughout the course of the conflict will be studied, each period of negotiation towards peace will be analyzed in Afghanistan, the date of the origin of the conflict that dates from 1978 to date will also be studied. Geographically we want to focus on the south of the Asian continent, which is the exact location of Afghanistan and the nearby countries that have been affected by this war. Likewise, emphasize countries such as the United States and Russia that have participated in this conflict. As for the economic sector that is expected to be more convenient to analyze, it would be the agricultural sector and the service sector,

## **2 CHAPTER 1: THE CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT**

In Afghanistan there is a contest where more than 50 ethnic groups and tribal groups face each other. There is a Shii minority that occupies 20% of the population and a Sunni majority. Their language is Pashto and Dari. The 27 million Afghans occupy a territory of 650,000 square kilometers. There are an estimated 3.6 million Afghans living as refugees in nearby countries, especially Pakistan. Next, a brief description will be given of the most representative tribes in the region.

### **2.1 Pastunes**

Currently 35% of the Afghan population belongs to the Pashtun group. Pashtuns have controlled the political power of Afghanistan since the 18th century. Most of this Population was concentrated in the east and south of the country. The Pashtun ethnic group professes the branch of Sunism and are of Indo-European origin, and it is subdivided into tribes such as Durrani and Ghilyahi, Wardak, Jaji, Tani, Jadran, Mangal, Khugiani, Safi, Mohmand, and shinwari and the nomads.

### **2.2 Tajikos**

The Tajiks are the so-called merchants and the population that had a certain educational level. They are found in Kabul, in the northern and western provinces. The high political power that the Tajiks possess has caused several confrontations with the Pashtunes.

### **2.3 Hazara**

They represent 12% of the Afghan population and are settled in central Afghanistan. Where they make up 80% of the population. It is called Hazarajat, and it is an area surrounded by mountains, which has made it somewhat easier for the Hazaras to live hidden from the rest of the ethnic groups and enjoy some independence.

### **2.4 Baloches**

They live in the provinces of Helmand, Kandahar, and Faryab, most of their members are based in Pakistan and Iran.

These groups have been a key factor in case we to know how is the political order of the country and its ways of living. The existence of these small networks is part of the great conflict that occurs today in Afghanistan, even they present similarities in terms of their beliefs, there will always be the possibility of a conflict.

The following is a brief explanation of which are the most representative insurgent groups in Afghanistan.

### ***2.5 Islamic State or Daesh***

The Islamic state or Daesh had its origin in the Jund Al Sham group which was made up from Ahmad Fadl Al Khalayleh- Also known as Abu Musab Al Zaraqai- who was a Jordanian man who had recently served a sentence for being part of diarist groups . (Lister, Strategy Notebooks 173, 2014)

The objective of the Islamic State is to govern the entire UMMA (global Muslim community) - in places that are normally under its control, one of the objectives to be achieved by this organization was to expand to reach the entire Muslim community. This objective was met in 2010, because the Islamic State began its military and territorial expansion.(What it's islamic state ?, 2015)

This organization has been recognized for carrying out extremely violent acts and for its massive killings where its main idea is based on bringing together all the Muslim people under the command of their leader and therefore accepting him as their authority. His propaganda strategy has enabled him to increase the recruitment of potential followers.(Ortiz & Caro, 2017) The struggle of the Islamic State is governed by Sharia rules or "the way of God" that have been modified on several occasions in order to justify violence as a method to achieve these objectives. This is why their fight against the United States is totally justified as it is considered as a dispute between Muslims and their contractors.

Most of its income comes from the sale of oil, natural gas and refined products to local intermediaries and then sold to smugglers from Turkey and Iran or to the Syrian government. The Islamic State also uses other means of financing such as kidnappings, extortion, robbery, and looting locally.(Humud, Pirog, & Rosen, 2015)

One of the main objectives of the Islamic State in Afghan territory was based on the recruitment of Taliban groups and on benefiting from the advantage that it has in being able to act in any area of the border. Nangarhar, for example, has become the basis for the actions of the Islamic State. The Helmand and Farah area has also become a key area, due to its strong interest in controlling drug trafficking and joining Taliban groups. The time that has passed since the first appearance of the Islamic State on Afghan territory has led to the conclusion that the decisive winners of this conflict have been the Taliban groups, since they have known how to withstand what was supposed to be a threat against their interests.(Ruiz, 2016)

## ***2.6 Al Qaeda***

Al-Qaeda, whose name is "The Base" in Arabic, was born in 1989, at the time the Soviet forces were already withdrawing from Afghanistan, from that moment Osama Bin Laden and his allies began to search for new "Holy Wars". Al-Qaeda was born out of a group of Arab volunteers, who on behalf of Islam were fighting against Soviet communism. (BBC Mundo, 2003)

It has been structured as a scattered and stringent organization in certain networks, based on three essential pillars 1. A global union of local cells and individual members, these are responsible for carrying out the tasks of each committee such as propaganda, support, fundraising, preparation and execution of terrorist acts etc. not forgetting that for these acts to take place, it had to be approved by the central nucleus. 2. Terrorist groups with some operational autonomy 3. The use of Jihadist groups that did not belong to its formal structure, but that sought alliances in order to perpetrate terrorist acts and achieve common objectives.(Aguirre, 2011) The intervention of the United States, in 2001, made its leadership stop being only in the center and expanded in favor of its franchises, which obtained greater responsibility in terms of carrying out tactical and strategic operations. (Fuente, 2018)

Currently Al-Qaeda is considered an organization made up of local groups, which carry out their operations within insurgent groups. (Lister, the dawn of mass Jihad: Success in Syria fuels Al-Qaeda's evolution, 2016) The change that meant the way Al-Qaeda acted is due to the constant anti-terrorist pressure exerted by the United States, since this diminished its leadership capacity in each organ that it directed. Because of this, their franchises began to operate with greater autonomy, making their own decisions and moving further and further away from the central leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Sarbahe & Johnston, 2018)

Al-Qaeda faced several challenges at the beginning of the Arab Spring, the first of which concerned the competition that the Islamist movement supposed to it, which was better organized and which was better positioned in places like Tunisia and Egypt, because it knew taking advantage of the protests were taking place amid the political changes. (Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the failure of America's do nothing policy in the Middle East, 2015) Muslim organizations were the ones that ended up monopolizing the social movements in these countries, being the most benefited since they were better positioned. (Hamid & McCants, 2017) Al-Qaeda's strategy was based on designing a mainly local strategy, where it wanted to show itself as the only jihadist force in the region and where it acted in order to satisfy the needs of the Arab communities, which felt disrespected by their government. Al-Qaeda realized the strategy that it had taken from the beginning and where it was characterized by the use of massive violence, had damaged its global image and before the Arab communities, because it thought that if it continued with this type of actions it would mean reducing its attractiveness around the world. (Charles, 2016)

Al-Qaeda realized the strategy that it had taken from the beginning and where it was characterized by the use of massive violence, had damaged its global image and before the Arab communities, because it thought that if it continued with those types of actions it would mean reducing its attractiveness around the world.

As a consequence of the response of the United States after the attacks of 2011, many of the organizations related to the idea of Al-Qaeda were deprived of the infrastructures that they held for the Taliban networks, this, due to the anti-terrorist strategies that had begun to take many countries in the world. In other words, the countries chose to create and incentivize the use of measures that would prevent a recurrence of this type of attack, which led to that part

of Al-Qaeda's infrastructure in general was highly affected. It is clear that neither the dejection of its leader Osama Bin Laden, nor the spread of the Arab Spring - where protests and demonstrations began by Arab citizens demanding social rights and of course a better democracy - meant the total destruction of the organization, much less the end of Jihadism, despite being immersed in a strong crisis due to the weakening of its image vis-à-vis the Muslim population, Al-Qaeda has been taking advantage of the conflicts that have arisen in the East and North of Africa to develop its activity and seek to strengthen itself. However, the organization is currently unable to carry out attacks like those of September 11, since most of their troops are in Pakistan and his only targets were only based on maintaining their survival and supporting other insurgent groups in the region. (Reinares, 2015)

### ***2.7 The Taliban "Students"***

Its birth occurred in 1994 and was made up of orphans who had been recruited by schools, the majority being victims and non-combatant civilians of the war, they did not have military training, but despite this it was an organization that managed to control about 90 % from the country. (Alba, 2013) The great capacity for mobilization by the Taliban was mainly due to the internal conditions in Afghanistan, the lack of government and the wear and tear of the Afghan community in the face of so many conflicts that arose. Since its inception, this organization only had the objective of establishing a social order, since it was a territory where the warlords carried out constant murders, looting of houses, farms, markets, and even kidnappings, all this due to lack of work and efficiency by the central government. (Davis, 2001; Rashid, 2010).

After the capture of Kabul, other countries emphasized their support for anti-Taliban forces, Russia, Iran and India, in addition to 4 former Soviet republics, were pressing to avoid recognition by the international community of the Taliban regime, while Pakistan, which provided strong support for these groups, only obtained the support of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

Pakistan showed its support through the provision of weapons, this aid was undoubtedly a key factor in the expansion of the Taliban groups, whether at the national or regional level, the financial support provided by Saudi Arabia was also of great importance, however This

did not last long and ended when the leaders of the Taliban group kept to the idea of continuing to protect Osama Bin Laden, since most of their financial resources came from said terrorist group.

The loss of battles and after the intervention of Kabul by the Northern Alliance (made up mostly of representatives of religious and ethnic groups in the region) made many fighters choose to stop their support for the Taliban group. which would cause many of its members to move to Pakistan. A large number of Taliban went to small cities where they dispersed in the middle of the population, from that moment the fall of the Taliban began, a fall that was caused due to several reasons 1. the lack of support from Pakistan 2. the decrease in its military capacity and finally 3. the lack of recognition by the international community.

## ***2.8 United States interests in Afghanistan***

The United States apparently has a single objective in Afghanistan, this objective is based on preventing Al-Qaeda or any other terrorist group from settling in Afghanistan and using the country as the base of its operations to carry out attacks that threaten US interests. In order to achieve this, it has implemented different measures; On the one hand, a military deployment commanded by the NATO (ISAF, International Security Assistance Force) Organization that was looking for seek the reconstruction of the country mainly of its security forces and thus enhance its development. The United States also intended to maintain an operation of a military nature in order to fight terrorist groups. The operation was known as "Enduring Freedom".(Dubra, 2007)

The NATO mission was renamed "Resolute Support" with just 10,000 of the 13,000 fighters who were deployed to Afghanistan. The Americans remain in command of the operation, however, their functions are no longer based on combat, but rather on the advice and assistance of the high command, "Enduring Freedom" was renamed "Freedom Sentinel" where it continues with actions anti-terrorists, but providing military training and assistance. The United States has devoted the majority of its funds to the maintenance of military operations. 743.7 billion dollars since 2001, 92% of the money went to the defense department, 6% went to the rest of government agencies such as USAID and its development

and governance projects, the remaining 1% was dedicated to medical expenses and the support of veterans in conflict. (Belasco, 2014)

The interest of the North American government is based on maintaining their investment in the field of security, it is important for them to maintain such links with the Afghan institute, as well as the ability to deploy their troops when they required. Economic efforts in other areas other than security and defense are very few, and are almost relegated to other donor countries.(Apellaniz, 2015)

## ***2.9 Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the role of the United States***

The main interest of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was; Getting to the open sea through the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, because given its proximity to the Arab countries, it was a way to establish their military bases, which in the future would serve to defend themselves against US imperialism.(Cordobes & Harrison, 2010)

This invasion led to increased tensions between East and West as well as unleashing a guerrilla war that would later be responsible for their fall. (Heneghan, 2002) The Soviet invasion caused a massive exodus of refugees, it is estimated that at least 600,000 went to Pakistan and Iran. In 1990 there were already more than 6.3 million Afghans of which around 3.3 million were in Pakistan and 3 million in Iran.(UNHCR, 2000)

The US government provided aid to insurgent groups through money, weapons, and the creation of international brigades from different Muslim countries that would help defeat the Soviet Union. The Soviets dedicated a large part of their stay in Afghanistan in controlling the border with Iran since from there the insurgent groups received these weapons and supplies. To this aid was also added China that, although it was a communist, considered the USSR as a rival in the domain of East Asia. (Garcia, 2013)

During 1985 the Soviets continued their task of continuing to destroy the Mujahideen bases and of closing the borders with Iran and Pakistan. In that year the rebels decided to change their strategy, advised by the United States, and formed a resistance movement with the objective of coordinating attacks against the Soviet Union. These attacks were carried out with the war material granted by their American, British and Chinese allies. In 1986 the

USSR already showed signs of exhaustion and the weight of the conflict already fell on the Afghan government where they had the USSR artillery and aviation, even so and with a smaller number of fighters in their ranks they continued defending the cities and carrying out minor operations. Finally, the disintegration of the Soviet regime occurred in 1989.(Hakami, 2010)

Once the last soldier of the USSR crossed the border out of Afghanistan, the aid destined to the reconstruction of the country on the part of the United States stopped, this highly unworthy of its previous allies, and from that moment they dedicated themselves to support international terrorism, which is against the American government.

## ***2.10 ANALYSIS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN AFGHANISTAN***

### ***2.11 MILITARY OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES***

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a series of military actions began, with the only purpose of stopping Afghanistan from being taken as a refuge option for terrorist groups. The violations of human rights by these insurgent groups was also a kind of incentive for them to strengthen this western area. Most of these insurgent groups either moved to Pakistan or dispersed among the population. Their actions were based on airstrikes and on the support of anti-Taliban groups. In reality, there were very few confrontations between the Taliban and US troops, on the contrary, most of the confrontations took place between the Taliban and members of the Northern Alliance - made up mainly of ethnic groups and religions who aimed to end the Taliban. These groups in order of importance are: 1. The Tajik group Jamiat-i-Islami, led by Massoud's successor, General Mohammed Fahid Kham. 2. The Uzbek, led by General Abdul Rashid Dostum, a former rival to Massoud who joined the northern alliance earlier that year. And finally 3. The Shiite Hazara ethnic group called Hiz-i-Wahdat. a former rival to Massoud who joined the northern alliance earlier that year. And finally 3. The Shiite Hazara ethnic group called Hiz-i-Wahdat. a former rival to Massoud who joined the northern alliance earlier that year. And finally 3. The Shiite Hazara ethnic group called Hiz-i-Wahdat.

As for the Bonn agreement, which was a set of agreements, aimed at remaking the state of Afghanistan, since a transition period was necessary before a permanent government was established, this could also have been one of the reasons why the Military actions were not carried out, that because the agreement did not force the insurgent groups to leave their weapons, much less to implement a full system of justice, on the contrary, this meant the legitimacy of the warlords and therefore increased its power. (THE COST OF WAR, 2009)

## ***2.12 POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES***

Objectives such as the complete dismantling of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan have been met, Taliban groups, which were the ones that gave refuge to this group, were demolished and a government was established according to their interests. However, the pressure on this objective must never be lessened so that there are no short or long-term terrorist attacks. The terrorist group Al-Qaeda was also defeated. On May 2, 2011, in Abbottabad-Pakistan, Bin Laden was captured and killed, however, and although there are still traces of this rebel group, it can be said that they are weakened and are now only dedicated to surviving in the means, medium. On the opposite side are the objectives that were not met and it should be noted that the United States always tried to establish a government on Afghan soil that was capable enough to fight against these insurgent groups, in addition to saving their interests. The institutions that exist in it are supremely weak and generally characterized by their corruption, this it is impossible for the strategies taken by the United States to be followed. (Sabugo, 2011)

## ***2.13 INVASION USA ... LEGAL OR ILLEGAL?***

The invasion of the United States began on October 7, 2001, this was thanks to an international coalition between the United States, the commanding country and England, this operation was called "LASTING FREEDOM" by the American army and "OPERATION HERRICK" by the British Army (Vila, 2016). The invasion was caused by the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, precisely in New York City in the Twin Towers leaving more than 2,000 fatalities in its wake. Their main objective was to capture Osama Bin Laden and other members of Al Qaeda. But it must be said that this invasion was done illegally since the United States did not comply with the specifications of the UN letter. The

UN Charter is a treaty ratified by the United States and, therefore, part of American law. According to the letter, a country can use armed force against another country only in self-defense or when the Security Council approves it. Neither of these conditions was met before the United States invaded Afghanistan.

The Taliban groups were not actually responsible for the attack on the United States. Nineteen men, 15 from Saudi Arabia, did so, and there was no imminent threat that Afghanistan would attack the United States or another UN member country. The security council did not authorize the United States or any other country to use military force against Afghanistan. The United States' invasion of Afghanistan is illegal. (Cohn, 2002). Marjorie Cohn also claims that the bombing in Afghanistan was not legitimately in self-defense for two reasons: 1) The acts of 9/11 were terrorist acts produced by the Jihadist Al Qaeda network, but not armed attacks by a State, 2) There was no imminent threat of another armed attack against the United States.(Cohn, 2002)

#### ***2.14 NATION BUILDING AND STATE BUILDING***

The intervention of the United States in Afghanistan in 2001 led to an incentive to use formal democratization. Other types of legislation and new ways of electing parliaments were proclaimed, as well as a new president. Afghanistan had already 6 constitutions between the year of 1923 and 1990 (Suhrke, 2007, p. 1). At this stage of democratization, there was a very high degree of foreign participation in much of the United States and there was great dependence on the economic and military side. As we already know, the main objective of this intervention by the United States was to eliminate terrorists, groups like Al Qaeda. After many years of war and destruction in Afghanistan, international aid began to increase.(Andrew C. Kuchins, 2010)

In the year 1920 until the end of the year 1977, in 1978 a democratic party called “the Democratic People’s Party of Afghanistan” (PDPA) was started in April of that year, but they did not have much boom since they were interrupted by the civil wars that had a duration of almost 20 years. (Suhrke, 2007, p. 2)

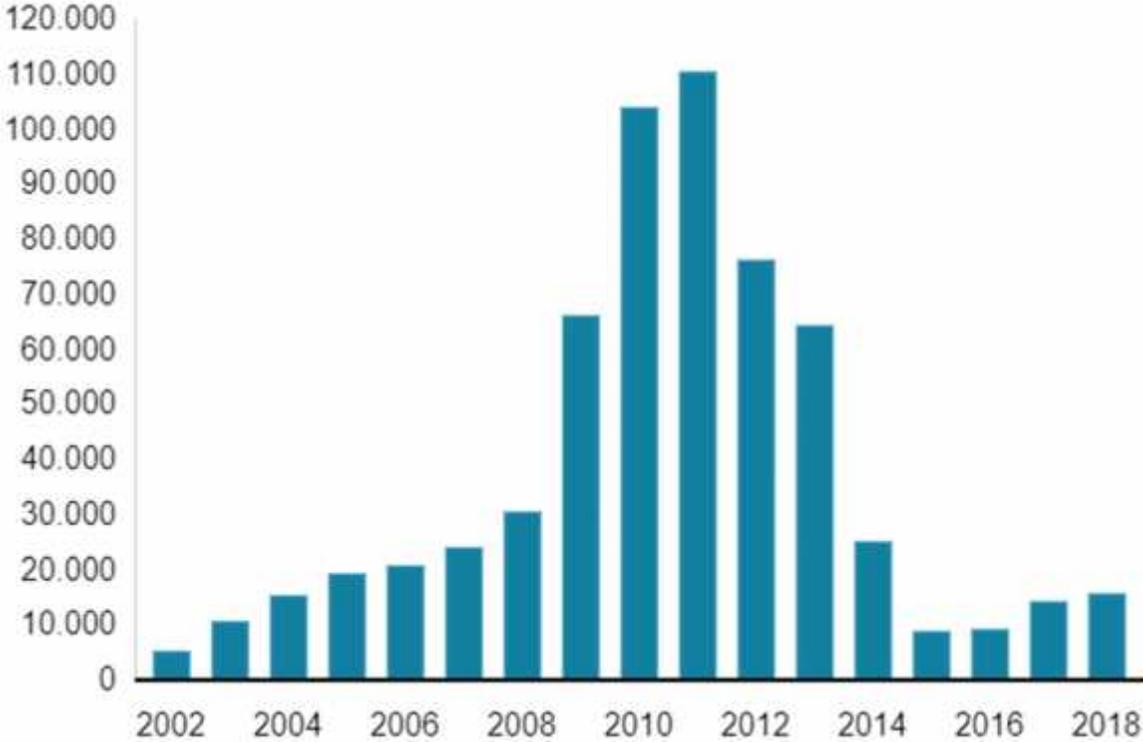
The first liberal democratic reform was very weak, in the years of 1949-1953 reigned by the last king Zahir Shah. During this term of office, growth was evident in various sectors of

society. There was also a social class that was interested in the knowledge of politics and these groups started an appearance of political movements that in one morning formed 3 main bases which were the Islamists, the leftists and the anti-nationalists. The second Democratic period lasted almost a decade between the years of 1964 and 1973 and was tied to the 1964 constitution. The origins of the 1964 constitution were not primarily liberal, and parliamentarians worked with certain limitations, and members of the lower house had essential legislative powers. (Suhrke, 2007, p. 3) This mandate, despite its limitations, helped validate the democratic reforms carried out after the Taliban era, but with a lot of foreign help.

USA The US has assisted in a "nation rebuilding" of the Afghan people, the United States has given Afghanistan economic and military support at the time of George Bush's tenure. Washington was said to have been the architect of Afghanistan at that time as the United States contributed approximately \$ 133 billion to reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. The United States injected funds into the Afghan militia, there is talk of \$ 83 billion that has been earmarked for the Afghan security forces, including the national army and the police, earmarked for the continued fight against terrorist groups. (BBC WORLD, 2019)

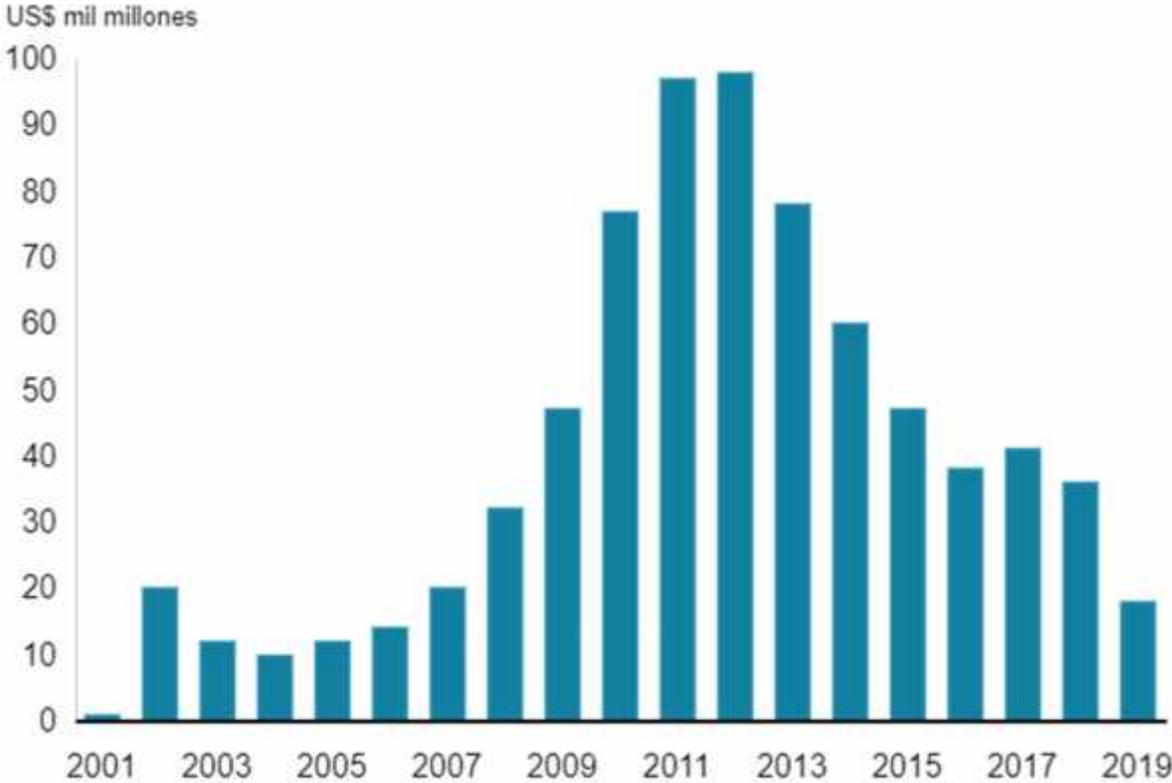
In March of this year 2020, the United States government decided to cut aid by 1 billion dollars less, to Kabul and that they are willing to cut an additional 1 billion in 2021, thanks to the fact that the Afghan government has not managed to make concessions. to form a government of national union with the Taliban.

Graph 1 Number of troops in Afghanistan 2002-2018



Source: BBC WORLD 2019

Graph 2 Cost to the United States of the war in Afghanistan 2011-2019



Source: BBC WORLD 2019

### ***3 CHAPTER 2: THE AFGHANISTAN CONFLICT AND ITS IMPACT ON GLOBAL AND REGIONAL GEOPOLITICS***

#### ***3.1 PEACE PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN***

After intervention initiated by the United States and after the promotion of an international alliance in 2001, Afghanistan urgently needed international support, In order to improve their indicators of well-being and development. For this, the commission carried out the restructuring of democracy, the improvement of infrastructure and the social and economic development of the region. With regard to this reconstruction, one of the conferences that took place at that time and that allowed changes in the political structure of Afghanistan, was "The Bonn International Conference" in which it wanted to establish a kind of interim government, where it had the objective of transforming the methods generally used by the international community in order to coordinate them in some way or other with the actions of the government of Afghanistan. The process began, and on January 4, 2004, and after authorization by the Loya jirga, the first presidential elections were held (Calvillo, 2010)

The tasks to be carried out by NATO were aimed at: 1. Being the stability base of the Euro-Atlantic area 2. Serving as a forum for consultations on security issues 3. Avoiding attacks against any of its members 4. Preventing conflicts and getting involved in managing any crisis. 5. Promote dialogue with the countries of the Euro-Atlantic area.(Caracuel, 2004)

In this way that the International Security Assistance Force was born. (ISAF). In August 2003, NATO assumed the leadership of ISAF with the objective of contributing to the stabilization of Afghanistan, being able to take part in security missions, being the first time that NATO acted outside the geographical area where it was formed.

The United States affirmed that it was ready to conclude the operation of lasting freedom, as long as ISAF promised to include in its objectives to defeat Al-Qaeda, as well as to provide full support to the Afghan people, to fight against planting and commercialization of opium. (Pear Tree, Afghanistan: Stability Challenges and Chaos Opportunities, 2006)

In Afghanistan there is the intervention of several regional actors that are of great importance in the context of the conflict, these are, Iran, Pakistan, Russia and China, then their influence on Afghan lands will be explained.

### ***3.2 IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON AFGHANISTAN***

One of the most relevant commitments of Iran to the Afghan people is the great interest in the stabilization and development of its economy, this is done through investments for commercial purposes and reconstruction projects. In this case, the US intervention contributed to the Iranian entry into Afghan territory that became millionaire investments dedicated solely and exclusively to its stabilization, and also sought to increase border trade, as well as the supply of crude oil. (RAND Corporation, 2014, pp. 11) The Iranian government has participated in various international conferences, with the aim of coordinating efforts for the construction and stabilization of Afghanistan. Their contributions are based in the field of transportation infrastructure, in the western and southern provinces of the country. (Milani, 2006)

The conflict that occurs in Afghanistan has great consequences for its neighbors, for example Iran has long been the primary route for opium trafficking from Afghanistan. The Iranian government has considered the issue of opioids as a challenge, it is the country that has seized the most opium and the one that has managed to fight the most laboratories and trafficking networks in recent years. (Northwestern University Model United Nations, 2014). However, for Iran it has not been easy to fight against the negative consequences of having 42% of the opium and 5% of the heroin consumed in the world among its population. (UNODOC, 2010). The commercialization of these types of narcotics greatly increases Iran's regional instability, leading to an increase in organized crime.

Iran, with the support of the United Nations, reached an agreement with Afghanistan and Pakistan based on the fight against drug trafficking. This agreement called "Rainbow Strategy" contemplated meetings, where training was given to police officers and the deployment of officers among the three countries to help coordinate the activities of the security forces, that is, the main task to be carried out was get everyone to act under the same goal and a common approach. (UNODOC, 2009).

Another factor that may affect Iranian lands if the Afghan conflict persists is Water, since this has been a factor in major confrontations between the two countries. Iran is highly dependent on Afghan water resources. In lands that tend to be very dry, having access to other water sources is very necessary, both governments have agreed on the idea of sharing water resources, but so far no agreement has been reached, the lack of control over water could cause long-term could lead to conflicts, affecting issues such as refugees, trade agreements and even hindering bilateral relations. (Aman, 2013)

### ***3.3 PAKISTANI INFLUENCE ON AFGHANISTAN AND INFLUENCE ON THE PEACE PROCESS***

It is important for Afghanistan to have help and support from its neighbor, otherwise it would be much more difficult to achieve a solution to the conflict it is in. It is also important to bear in mind that the Pakistani territory constitutes a refuge, logistics base for recruiting, and training of combatants. Pakistan's role is essential in solving the conflict in Afghanistan, not only because of the relationship between the Afghan Taliban and the Pakistanis, but because of the danger that the confluence of two failed states, the first of them with insurgent groups with the ability to confront western military forces and the second with a nuclear arsenal capable of destabilizing Central Asia. (Lemus & Monge, 2012)

Years after the 2001 military intervention, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces have been persecuted throughout the Afghan territory and have also sought refuge in the interior of Pakistan, mainly in the Tribal Border Areas also called FATA. Federally Administered Tribal Areas), which are territories that rebel groups have made their strength because they have the

support of the country's intelligence service. The Pakistani military openly supports Taliban groups for two reasons, the first because they share a certain ideological affinity and the second because it aims to counter India's influence on Afghanistan in addition to controlling ambitions in Kashmir. (Matthews, 2009)

Pakistan is a key player for the United States, but at the same time its intelligence service provides support and support to the Taliban forces. Pakistanis consider that while Westerners the common enemy are the Taliban and Al-Qaeda groups, for them the threat comes from India. (Robles, 2009) specifically, three important negotiations or agreements between the government of Pakistan and the Taliban groups were highlighted, which became territorial agreements, which had to be enforced in certain areas of their tribal areas. (Reinares, 2009)

Agreements were also made such as: The verbal Shakai Agreement, made in April 2004, the Sararogha agreements in February 2005 and finally the North Waziristan agreement in September 2006. Despite the implementation of these types of agreements, The Pakistani Taliban did not stop executing violent actions and expanding their dominions. The circumstances in which these negotiations were carried out provided an opportunity to expand its influence to other areas of the northwest border province and expand into new territories. The Taliban continued to infiltrate Afghanistan, where they were fighting US and foreign troops that were part of the international commission.

### ***3.3.1 Pashtun influence in Pakistan***

In 1947 the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were characterized by being very tense, from that year onwards confrontations on the borders increased, between the Pakistani military forces and the Pashtun tribes, these began in 1949, after the authorization from the Afghan government, they formed an organization in order to create an independent state called "Pashtunistan" or "Patanistan" which was made up of the southern provinces of Afghanistan and the northwest of Pakistan, where they obtained access to the sea. Non-Pashtuns accounted for less than 35% of the Afghan population, especially after the times

following the Soviet intervention, and have gained some strength after the large number of Pashtun refugees who have moved to Pakistan. (Harrison, 2008)

Pakistan's fight with the Pashtun tribes was based on preventing these organizations from gaining some independence before and after the Soviet invasion, as it has gained some strength after many of the Pashtun refugees moved to Pakistan. The troops of Al-Qaeda and Taliban groups in both Pakistan and Afghanistan are due to the popularity that Islam has had and to the support from the Pakistan-based secret services. (Calvillo, 2010)

### **3.3.2 Osama Bin Laden refuge in Pakistan**

Pakistan was a much safer haven than Afghanistan, because there was no presence of international troops, although the United States carried out more punctual operations there and the surveillance of manned aircraft was not constant. Al-Qaeda was considered much more powerful in Pakistan than in Afghanistan, and the most radical Islamist sectors also had the support of the Pakistani secret services. (El País, 2011)

### **3.4 *RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN THE AFGHAN CONFLICT***

The United States and the Soviet Union have long been considered as great powers, this hegemony was led by the United States, however, its image before the world was becoming weaker and weaker, motivating other powers to want to take their place, especially after the economic crisis that had Wall Street as its central axis. (Bernal, Strobel, & Praj, 2018)

However, Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov referred to and said that Russia was willing to collaborate with other countries to support Afghanistan in order to get a fresh start in its history, trying to launch direct dialogue between the Afghan authorities and the Taliban movement. "This format is focused on the joint search for ways to establish an inclusive dialogue in Afghanistan in order to promote the process of national reconciliation and the prompt restoration to the suffering Afghan land," said Lavrov. "Your participation in the event is an important contribution to creating favorable conditions for the start of direct negotiations between the Government, the Taliban movement and representatives of broad political and social circles", (La Vanguardia, 2018)

Having a participation as succulent as the one that gives the opportunity of establishing the "New Silk Road" is not without problems, regional observers suggest that the United States would have underestimated the complexity, political and logistical, in order to establish the NDN: This network involves a border crossing of several states and the countries that transit this route are claiming their own material interests. (Arevalo, s, f, p. 73)

There are many logistical difficulties involving NATO's military presence in Afghanistan, there is believed to be a strong power potential for Russia. For the main leaders of the military organization in the alliance, there has always been a very relevant concern in the availability and ability to give support to the forces of Afghanistan, operations are orchestrated at a long distance, without landlines and logistically very difficult to execute. NATO has a very reduced air transport capacity and Logistics is very deficient and the resources that are destined by air to Afghanistan are restricted as the volumes of the most important, for example, weapons are very limited; The Pakistani route is increasingly congested and very insecure; since it is very difficult to go to other routes such as Iran, NATO intended to use the NDN more and more, given this can present many drawbacks. Although the military approach forces to always consider the most dangerous hypothesis. In this case it would be a combination of hypotheses: possible damage to the supply routes that transit through its territory, adding to this the traffic restrictions through Russia or the Central Asian republics. This mixture or even none of the hypotheses separately, would create a logistical challenge for NATO that is very difficult to face, given that it is necessary to search for and find new viable alternatives. In this case it would be a combination of hypotheses: possible damage to the supply routes that transit through its territory, adding to this the traffic restrictions through Russia or the Central Asian republics. This mixture or even none of the hypotheses separately, would create a logistical challenge for NATO that is very difficult to face, given that it is necessary to search for and find new viable alternatives. In this case it would be a combination of hypotheses: possible damage to the supply routes that transit through its territory, adding to this the traffic restrictions through Russia or the Central Asian republics. This mixture or even none of the hypotheses separately, would create a logistical challenge for NATO that is very difficult to face, given that it is necessary to search for and find new viable alternatives. (Arevalo, s, f, p. 74)

Russia took a role in entering Afghanistan justifying military intervention only as humanitarian aid. It is also given as an aid to the international party to the communist party in Afghanistan.(BBC News, 2019)

Intervention in Afghanistan with special forces of the KGB and the GRU, on December 27, 1979 Moscow stopped the feet of the Afghan President Hafizullah Amin, theoretically an ally, but who was no longer trusted after he physically eliminated his internal adversaries and the suspicions that he could become on the United States side. Moscow took advantage of Taraki's request for help to fight the Islamist opposition, which Amin had not yet resigned from. So, little by little, he was placing his pawns in the Afghan capital. The first task was to strengthen the security of the embassy, in addition to studying the city, "one of the veterans of the operation, Alexánder Karelin, who was part of the KGB's Zenit group, told the Tass agency. (Aragonese, 2020)

In December 1979, around 500 troops from the GRU detachment 154, known as the "Muslim battalion", arrived at Bagram airport because it was composed mainly of Uzbeks, Turkmen and Tajik, who could very well pass by Afghans. So they dressed in local army uniforms to avoid detection. Furthermore, they had their base next to the palace and, in theory, were there to protect it. The operation was ready on December 25, when 4,000 troops from the 105th airborne unit landed, where the special groups of the KGB, in charge of storming the Amin palace on the 27th, were stationed. Since the Saur Communist Revolution (or April Revolution), which triumphed in 1978 and defeated Mohammed Daoud Khan, the Soviet Union had a hand in Afghanistan. Moscow could take advantage of the country's geographical situation to look for an exit to the Indian Ocean from it. But it was also geography, from the orographic point of view, that played a trick on the Communists. (Aragonese, 2020)

After the coup strike that occurred in the years 1973-1978The Afghan government was trying to hide its communist thoughts and its union with the USSR. The Afghan government was trying to show the people and the world that they adopted an idea in nationalist unity, socio-economic justice, respect for their religion, Islam and adopting a more neutral foreign policy. After the coup d'état and changes in the thoughts of some of the rulers and the evidence that the communists did not want to share power among themselves as a supreme organ of

government, a revolutionary government was established, chaired by Nur Mohammad Taraki, leader of the faction. Khalq and secretary general of the PDPA, which is the acronym equivalent to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Nur Mahamaad went on to occupy the post of Prime Minister. The Khalaq who had greater influence in the army, had a fundamental weight in the coup strike and took advantage on that force to remove the members of the Parcham group from the key villages.

(Rodríguez, 2003)

These rulers were implementing more and more Soviet ideas since in their economy they became very similar to that of the Soviet Union, for example, in international trade they were nationalized and 50% of the capital obtained from industry was transferred to the State. In turn, changes in the agricultural sector. It was thought to bring aid from the peasants, where only 5% of the population had 50% of the land, these measures did not have the success that was expected and only served to take for granted the vocation of State heritage.(Rodríguez, 2003, p. 43)

Russia has interests in between, one of them is to encourage the development of the RDN, which means certain economic for Russian companies and that are based in Afghanistan and whose profits are around \$ 1 billion annually. (Andrew C. Kuchins, 2010)

As for the economic role, it can be said that Russia will seek to take advantage of the legacy, part of which is in the northern part of the Afghan country, where it is in charge of exploiting natural gas and oil deposits near Mazar-i. Sharif. The intention of starting new investments has a clear message of wanting to revalue its role as a modernizing agent in the face of the few developments in the infrastructure and Afghan economic fabric after a decade of Western presence in the country.(de Pedro & Reyes., 2009, p. 16)

In terms of politics, he thinks that the conflict in Afghanistan today is consistent with political solutions. However, this is a problem for them since they have their own interests and promote them through their means. Moscow was in charge of organizing several peace conferences, conferences that lasted around 4 months between the government of Afghanistan and the Taliban groups, dedicated to national reconciliation in the war-torn country. (Teslova, 2019) Zamir Kubalov suggested in 2019 that the United States should take

its cue from the Soviet country's withdrawal experience from the Afghan country. Moscow also supported the peace negotiations between Washington and the Taliban, since without such an agreement it was much more difficult to find a solution to the Afghan conflict. He also expressed that one of many obstacles is the non-recognition of the Taliban to their government, and affirmed that this could be resolved if someone respected by the group took power, however, it must be taken into account that the Taliban groups reject the Most of the articles raised by the Afghan constitution.

### ***3.5 CHINA'S INTERVENTION IN THE AFGAN CONFLICT***

China is a key member in Central and South Asia. Its interests are based on having a close relationship with the new republics and it is necessary to reinforce the role of Beijing every time. Its focus on the region's economic power may complicate its relationship with Russia, which continues to play a greater role in geopolitical and security issues in the region. Beijing has an uneasiness in its economic, demographic and military presence potential in countries like; Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, who, like Russia, are suspicious of China's medium and long-term agenda and intentions. Despite this, China maintains its relationship with Pakistan, which was formed over several years and continues to strengthen, with Afghanistan, China maintains a low profile in what has been stabilization and pacification and in addition to this it is one of the main foreign investors. In this way, China is an actor with a presence and influence on the Central Asian and Af-Pak agenda, which is explained and understood as a neologism within the US foreign policy circles to designate Afghanistan and Pakistan as a single scenario of war.(de Pedro & Reyes., 2009, p. 18).

In geopolitical terms, Beijing feared becoming part of a strategy of enclosure by China that would include the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins, hence its rejection of the deployment of the United States and NATO on its western border, which it has similarly consolidated the rapprochement of Russia and China in recent years. (Small, 2010)

China from a more open perspective manages a low profile regarding the conflict that occurs in Afghanistan. Unlike other countries, China remains on the sidelines and does not cross the line in political military terms, but in turn you can see that China has injected a good capital injection into Afghanistan, helping in a certain way to rebuild the nation. China is investing

large sums of money throughout this Asian region, both to have a good economic benefit and also to have certain important alliances. China in 2015 made a donation of USD 79 million to Afghanistan, whose government asked for support in its peace negotiations with the Taliban.

A Chinese analyst named Kristin Huang indicates that “China is ‘driving’ the peace process in Afghanistan to protect the interests of “Belt and Road”, an initiative (BRI) aimed at infrastructure development in 152 countries and international organizations located in Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Americas. Afghanistan considers China as the country that can serve as a mediator in the peace process, and that is why it sent part of its team to Beijing to start dialogues with the Taliban. (Anadolu Agency, 2019)

## **4 CHAPTER 3: POST-CONFLICT SCENARIOS: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS**

### **4.1 *Is it possible for the Taliban group to demobilize?***

After nine rounds of negotiations, the United States and the Taliban group appeared to be close to an agreement. This agreement was signed in Doha, (Qatar has become a key mediator, key to guaranteeing peace between the West and the East, since it played an important role in achieving the historic agreement between the United States and the Taliban, Qatar has always It has been a country that has promoted actions dedicated to maintaining peace in the region. In the midst of the international presence of countries such as Turkey and Pakistan, in addition to a small representation by rebel groups, the pact was signed by the special representative for the Peace, Zalmay Khalilzad and Taliban leader Myla Abdul Ghani Baradar. The United States will begin the withdrawal of 8,600 soldiers in Afghanistan, and where it currently has around 14,000, It has a term of 135 days after the signing of the peace agreement with the Taliban and in 14 months the US troops will leave the country if that agreement is fulfilled. In signing this agreement, the following conditions were presented; 1. Guarantees to avoid the use of Afghan soil by terrorist groups or individuals. 2. Date of withdrawal of foreign forces 3. Scope of an Intra-Afghan agreement 4. A permanent ceasefire.

### **4.2 *Threats to the peace process***

There are several obstacles that could prevent Afghanistan from becoming a stable and safe place. First, the United States considers the idea of cutting its contributions, both financial and military. Regardless of what may happen in the peace negotiations. The United States has been decreasing the volume of its aid in Afghanistan. According to official data, the cost to the United States from military intervention between 2001 and 2009 has been USD 780,000 million. (Estimate of cost of war, 2019)

This interruption is due to the fact that it is increasingly difficult to justify the high costs generated by continuing to support a government that has been characterized by its constant failures. Secondly, the government of Afghanistan has shown to the world that the internal

divisions that it has been presenting prevent a correct operation. A clear example of this is that Kabul currently faces such negotiations with two self-proclaimed presidents, with this condition in the middle it is much more difficult for an effective negotiation with the Taliban to take place and to apply a possible peace process. Finally, it is important to note that the Afghan Security Forces are not strong enough to adequately withstand an attack by the Taliban, much less without the support of the United States. (SIGAR, 2020)

It is clear that the United States is not only looking for economic savings, what it really needs is to reallocate its military forces, because it is reducing its military personnel in the United States as well as outside its borders, since it needs to prioritize its international presence. This is another reason why there may not be any progress in the negotiations. (Global Estrategy, 2020)

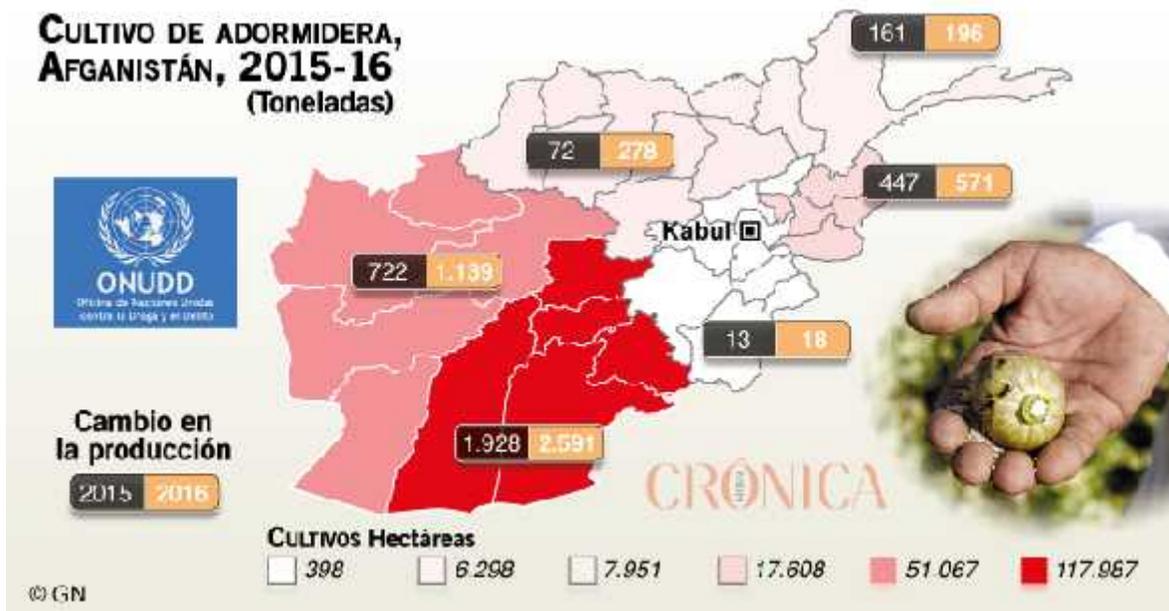
#### ***4.3 ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF AFGHANISTAN***

Afghanistan's soil is very rich in minerals and has great potential for oil and natural gas exploitation. Some studies by the United States Department of Defense southwest of the Afghan capital Kabul indicate that Afghanistan could treasure lithium deposits, even larger than those of Bolivia, and which is the country with the largest deposits of lithium in the world. The most important mineral deposits found in Afghanistan are Iron, Copper and Niobium, other minerals of equal importance are Cobalt and Molybdenum, Uranium, Graphite, Lapis Lazuli, Fluorite, Phosphorus, Lead, Zinc, Tin, Mercury, Strontium, talc, magnesite and kaolin, being these minerals of special strategic importance for the USA. (Hernández Martínez L., 2017, P.7)

#### ***4.4 ROLE OF OPIUM IN THE AFGHANIAN ECONOMY***

The conflict in Afghanistan has been very long-lasting because there are many factors that help it, for example, the high cultivation and processing of opium poppy is one of the main causes of destabilization and that it directly incurs the problem. security and a continuation of the country's development. Afghanistan since 1992 has been the largest illegal producer of opium in the world.(Calvillo Cisneros & Gonzales del Miño, 2018).

Figure 1 Poppy cultivation, Afghanistan 2015-16



Source: UNODC 2016

Figure 2 Opioid trafficking



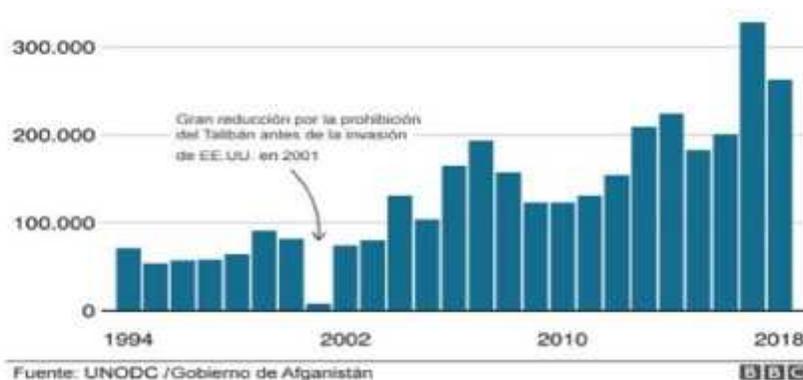
Source: *Global Drug Report 2014. UNODC (2015)*

In 2007, opium poppy production reached 8,200 tons. The oversaturation of the illicit opium market, production decreased to 3,600 tons in 2010, but in 2015 it rose again by an estimated 5,800 tons in 2011 and has remained at that level since then, of course having some fluctuations. Due to the mix of saturation and market correction, opium production decreased to 3,300 tons and likewise this quantity is sufficient to supply most of the world opium market. For 20 years, opium has been the economic activity that has given the most income in Afghanistan, according to a report on drugs. Opium represents between 10% and 15% of GDP according to the World Bank report in 2014. (Felbab-Brown, 2016)

Opium production in Afghanistan represents a single-digit percentage: 4% of GDP in 2013. UNODC reported that poppy cultivation in Afghanistan had increased by 120,000 hectares in one year, when the United Kingdom and the United States they decided to invade Afghanistan in the month of October in 2001, poppies did not grow to more than 74,000 hectares, the new figures reveal that opium production has increased in the last 15 years, today there are more than 328,000 hectares to cultivation poppy. (Rowlatt, 2019).

The Special Inspector for the Reconstruction of Afghanistan says that opium production in 2007 was between \$ 4.1 billion and \$ 6.6 billion. With this quantity, 900 tons of good quality heroin can be withdrawn.

*Graph 3 Poppy crop growth in Afghanistan.*



Source: *UNODC 2018*

The Taliban came close to ending this. But now using it as a source of funding for their law enforcement groups, the Taliban have been the only ones who have come close to defeating opiates. Before the war that lasted approximately two decades began, in 2000 the Taliban successfully instituted a ban on poppy cultivation. As a result, the world ran out of heroin and supply fell by 75%. The Taliban volunteered to be protectors of the poppy farmers, obtaining with this act great political capital and great material resources by opposing the eradication and taxation of the poppy. It is estimated that between 20% and 40% of the Taliban's income comes from drugs, this group is not the only one that benefits from this, also criminal gangs connected to the government, the Afghan police and high-ranking officials range they get slice of this. (Felbab-Brown, 2016)

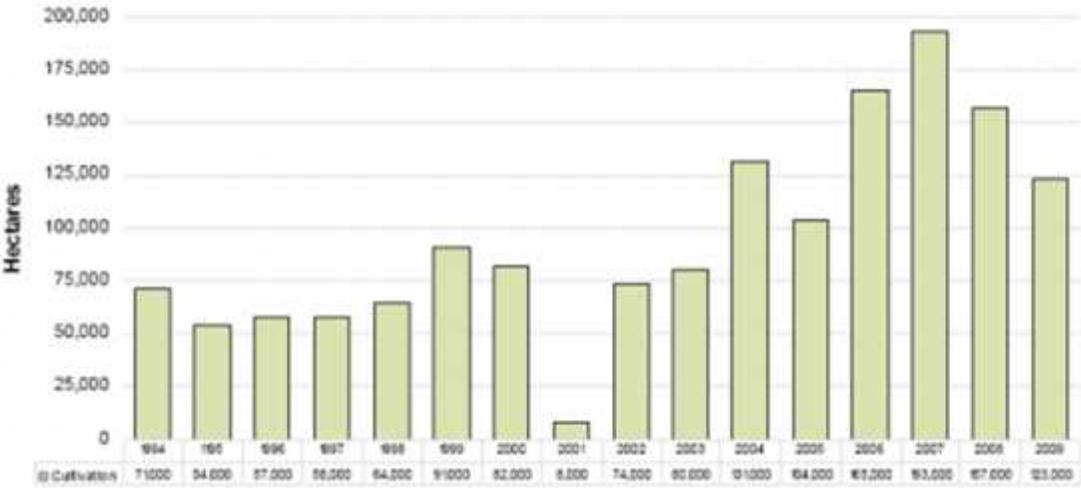
After the United States intervened in the conflict in Afghanistan, they put in place a policy of eradication of poppy crops, but this policy did not give the desired results. Between the years 2002 and 2017, it can be seen that the USA spent 8.6 billion dollars to end drug trafficking, but this fight has been very difficult and stopping this is becoming increasingly complicated. In 2017, the United States carried out several bombings on Heroin production labs that were allegedly under the command of the Taliban in Helmand province, the Americans launched an operation called "Steel Tempest" in order to eradicate the heroin business in Afghanistan, but the results were not the that the Americans expected, the only thing that the U.S get was "mud houses". The U.S military reported that the "drug production in Afghanistan remained at high levels". A recent UN study shows that opium was grown on 263.000 hectares in 2018, getting 20% less than in 2017, but this decline is not given by military action, according to the UN data opium production fell due to a drought in the north of the country. (Rowlatt, 2019)

This policy did not work and a change of strategy is required, developing new strategies and alternatives a model based on the legalization of poppy cultivation and production is established. The Obama Administration made the decision in 2009 to decrease poppy eradication, but decided to fight to implement a new strategy that would be effective. The United States decided to stop supporting centralized eradication, since according to them it is very difficult to execute these policies. the legal framework and the weakness of the Afghan State make the practice of these policies weak.

The United States was unable to eradicate opium in Afghanistan because it was in a fight to control its own fight with opioids since they had heroin growth in their country. A number of Americans have been labeled heroin addicts, also obtaining a fairly high rate of heroin overdose and causing death in many people.

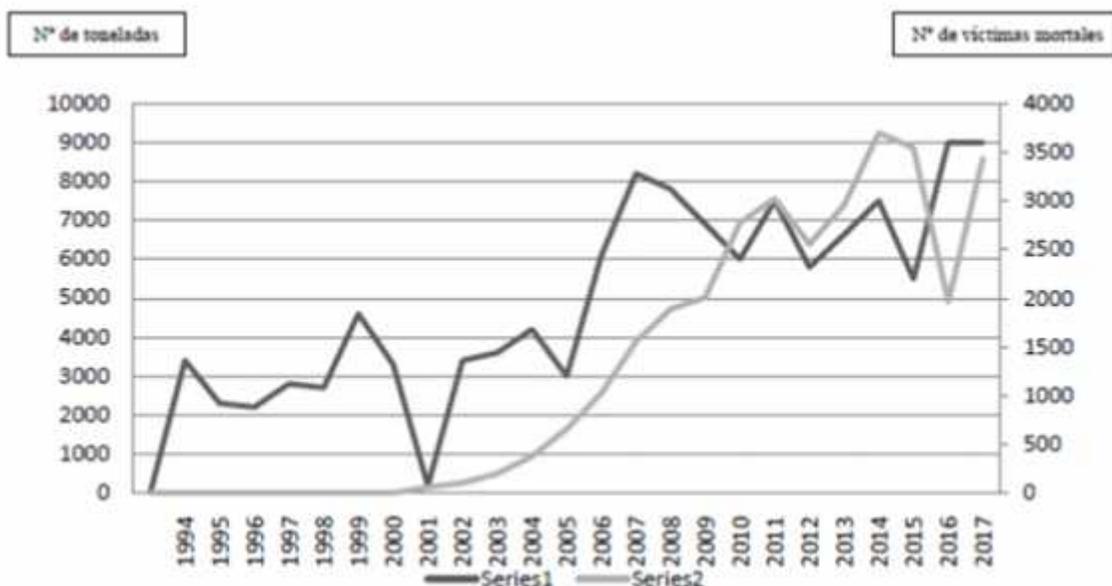
The increase in the Afghan drug economy has several explanations: first of all, the extreme poverty experienced in that country is very large, second, the increase in the demand for opiates is increasing every time, and finally the climatic factor. According to a United Nations study, it is estimated that "80% of the income derived from drugs did not go to growers, but to heroin traffickers and processors."(Requena, 2012, p. 212).

*Graph 4 Evolution of opium cultivation in Afghanistan (ha), 1994-2009*



*Source: UNDOC “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2009; Summary Findings ”.*

Graph 5 Trends in production in tons of opium and number of fatalities in the conflict.



Source: United Nations. Produced by:(Calvillo Cisneros & Gonzales del Miño, 2018)

According to data from the United Nations, they show us that there is an “opium monopoly” and according to the United Nations, 90% of the heroin consumed in Europe comes from Afghanistan, what it does is unleash substantial revenues, which are not going to the Afghan institutions if not the traffickers and processors of the opium poppy, these people are associated with the insurgent movements and with corrupt politicians. (Calvillo Cisneros & Gonzales del Miño, 2018)

In the figure it can be seen that there is a parallelism in the trend between the increase in tons of opium and the number of fatalities left by the war. (Calvillo Cisneros & Gonzales del Miño, 2018)

The benefits obtained from drug trafficking are not part of the Afghan economy, and only a third of what is obtained from this illegal act remains in the country, likewise 15% of the domestic economy increases thanks to this.

Senlis' board, which specializes in security and policy issues, proposed a development to make opium exports licit, aiming to make opium production focus on pharmaceutical pain relievers, such as morphine and codeine. According to the Senlis Council, "opium poppy is

necessary and, if properly regulated, can provide a legal source of income for impoverished Afghan peasants while, at the same time, depriving drug lords and the Taliban of much of their income"(Polanyi, 2006)

In the last 20 years the increase in opium has been produced especially by the areas dedicated to the collection of poppy and to a growth of poppy per hectare. (UN, 2017)

According to the FAO, attempts to reduce poppy cultivation and production in Afghanistan have been unsuccessful, this is due to the high rate of corruption in politicians, and because it has lacked alternatives to poppy. The FAO stipulated that for a financing of agricultural development for 5 years a sum of 25.5 million dollars, from which one and a half million people benefited in the four main provinces that produce poppy, which are: Badakhshan, Helmand , Kandahar and Nangarhar. Angelica Schuckler said rural poverty and lack of income are the main reasons for opium to be produced and that it takes a long-term commitment and perhaps more than 10 years of time for income opportunities to be created. The project also consists on the re-establishing agricultural infrastructure on areas where poppy is produced, and also to take advantage of horticulture, animal husbandry, this with the sense of offering income alternatives for farmers. (FAO, 2008)

FAO proposed many initiatives and income alternatives to reduce poppy crops, the main proposal was based on developing a National strategy for drug control, the construction of dams to reduce risk in areas where farmers they encounter restrictions in the water. Another alternative that seemed viable was to improve animal health services and production of young animals so that women could have a source of income. (FAO, 2008)

Public institutions have been affected by corruption, since they had income from drug trafficking, hinting at those who wield great power in Afghanistan. (UNODC, 2009)

In international conferences that were held, that was where some of the main strategies for the eradication of poppy crops were created, these strategies were based on fumigation and burning of the fields. The United States, NATO, the United Nations and the Kabul Government led these initiatives through the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. But with these alternatives nothing was achieved, on the contrary, the increase in insecurity was much bigger (Council, 2007) .

#### **4.5 DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BY THE US**

Former President Barack Obama said that Afghanistan needed a new strategy to "finish the job", different meetings that were held with members of ISAF, dealing with issues of political costs in order to generate stability in the country in terms of development and security. Arguing that an important factor in the new strategy was the civilian population, arguing that it was no longer enough just to invade the territory but to focus on the people, the aspirations and needs that people might have, that's why the priority in This strategy was based on protecting the population and increasing confidence in its government and in the international alliance. (Bataller, 2010, p. 235)

##### **4.5.1 SECURITY**

The United States and NATO attended the aerial bombardments, in order to defeat the armed groups. As a consequence of these acts, many fatalities were caused and with this the rejection of the Afghan population towards the international alliance and also towards its own government.

##### **4.5.2 DEVELOPING**

Afghanistan remains one of the poorest countries in the world, and the main problem is that there is no progress to be able to eradicate poverty and to promote development. Former President Obama proposed a strategy that consisted and focused more on the civilian population, basically it consisted of promoting a more capable and transparent Afghan government, which puts an end to corruption, the second objective was aimed at improving the conditions of lives of Afghans, through the financing of assistance programs for basic services, such as the improvement of agriculture and the development of justice institutions. They wanted to have a more equitable economic development, taking care of the balance between the regions to combat extreme poverty.(Bataller, 2010, p. 243).

#### **4.6 DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BY CHINA**

Wang Yi, Chinese foreign minister, said that Beijing and Islamabad studied an initiative to include Afghanistan in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the initiative consisted of executing infrastructure and transport projects that were valued at \$ 57 billion, also obtaining a joint economic development of the Asian region. China wants there to be a reconciliation and to favor its economic presence. (EFE Agency, 2017)

The main objective of China with this initiative was to be able to serve as a mediator so that relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan were improved and to create trust between both sides and to plan cooperation between the two countries. This initiative was successful since Afghanistan and Pakistan decided to improve their bilateral relations and commit that their territories could not be used as an instrument of other countries to attack them. (EFE Agency, 2017)

#### **4.7 DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BY THE WORLD BANK**

##### **4.7.1 Afghanistan: Rural Business Development Program**

The development objective of the Afghanistan Rural Business Development Project was to stimulate inclusive economic growth by harnessing the potential of the microenterprise sector and its strategic link with high-growth engines, particularly small, medium and large agricultural enterprises, for development sustainable. employment and income generation in rural areas. The approval date of this project was given on March 9, 2010 with a final date of June 30, 2018, the team leader was Abimbola Adubi with a total cost of US \$ 87.20 million and the amount of the commitment of US \$ 30 million. The project was borrowed by THE ISLAI and the executing agency IIST. The project identification number is P110407.(World Bank, 2020)

The goal of the Sehatmandi Project for Afghanistan is to increase the use and quality of health, nutrition and family planning service delivery. The project consists of three components. The first component, improving service delivery, will finance performance-based contracts to deliver the basic package of health services (BPHS) and the essential package of hospital services (EPHS) in 31 provinces. The second component, strengthening

the health system and its performance, will support a systematic organized approach aimed at establishing a culture of performance management within the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) and among stakeholders. The third component, strengthening community accountability for key health services will fund a range of communication campaign activities aimed at raising general awareness of health rights, as well as specific health behaviors to support MOPH and service providers to make them more responsive to community health. The approval date of this project was given on March 28, 2018, with a stipulated closing date of June 30, 2021, with a total cost of US \$ 600.00 million and a commitment amount of US \$ 140 million. The project identification number is P160615. as well as specific health behaviors to support MOPH and service providers to make them more responsive to community health. The approval date of this project was given on March 28, 2018, with a stipulated closing date of June 30, 2021, with a total cost of US \$ 600.00 million and a commitment amount of US \$ 140 million. The project identification number is P160615. as well as specific health behaviors to support MOPH and service providers to make them more responsive to community health. The approval date of this project was given on March 28, 2018, with a stipulated closing date of June 30, 2021, with a total cost of US \$ 600.00 million and a commitment amount of US \$ 140 million. The project identification number is P160615. as well as specific health behaviors to support MOPH and service providers to make them more responsive to community health. The approval date of this project was given on March 28, 2018, with a stipulated closing date of June 30, 2021, with a total cost of US \$ 600.00 million and a commitment amount of US \$ 140 million. The project identification number is P160615.(World Bank, 2020).

#### ***4.7.2 Saffron, an important source of income and an alternative to poppy cultivation***

Saffron is a product that generally comes from the City of Herat, Herat Province. The cultivation and elaboration of saffron developed a quantity of employment in Afghanistan, generally in women who carried out 80% of the processing of the product.

According to the National Saffron Producers Union in Herat, more than 90% of the saffron was being produced in Afghanistan, but there were also other regions of Afghanistan that cultivated saffron. An approximate of 6,000 farmers cultivated saffron, and there are 18 companies that are in charge of selling and exporting it, today there are many more people who work and market this material. Herat produces 3 tons a year and between 60% and 80% of this quantity is exported.(World Bank, 2015)

Saffron is used in people as medicines, in food, for cooking and serves as a medicine for many diseases. 1 kilo of saffron in Afghanistan costs about \$ 2000 in world markets. NUSG President Bashir Ahmad Rashidi says that “Saffron can be grown in many areas. Economically speaking, if each family had half a jerib or 1 jerib of land to grow saffron, we would not have poverty.”(World Bank, 2015)

The saffron managed to attract the attention of the government and came to the idea that this product could be a source of income for the Afghan population, so the decision was made to import 18 tons of saffron from the neighboring country, Iran, and He started an initial cultivation plan, a few years later the positive results began to be seen.(World Bank, 2015)

The Afghan government and the entire international community have been trying to increase saffron production, with the aim of stopping poppy cultivation in some way to eradicate poppy cultivation in the country. There is a program that invites farmers to have a contact related to the cultivation, sale and production of Saffron so that they know in detail the planting process of the plant and also that allows farmers to travel so that they can learn from the experiences of other countries. These programs are carried out by the Afghanistan Rural Enterprise Development Program (AREDP). Saffron is sold individually to countries such as India, Dubai and Turkey since there are not yet enough contracts to be able to officially export. (World Bank, 2015)

The saffron cultivation initiative in Afghanistan begins in 2005 but plans by the Afghan authorities and the international community for the saffron initiative to eradicate opium have not worked as more than 6,100 tonnes have been reached in opium poppy cultivation according to studies carried out by the United Nations. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that the problems caused by opium have not found a solution because the government has shown no interest in solving it. Opium is produced in Afghanistan, but it is reiterated that the majority of mafias are not Afghan, they are from abroad, and especially from Pakistan. The international community blame drugs and weapons on the power as the main impediment to stabilize and point out that the campaigns used to combat this type of problems advanced very slowly, because as stated above, opium is a business. (ABC International, 2006)

#### **4.8 DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BY THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK**

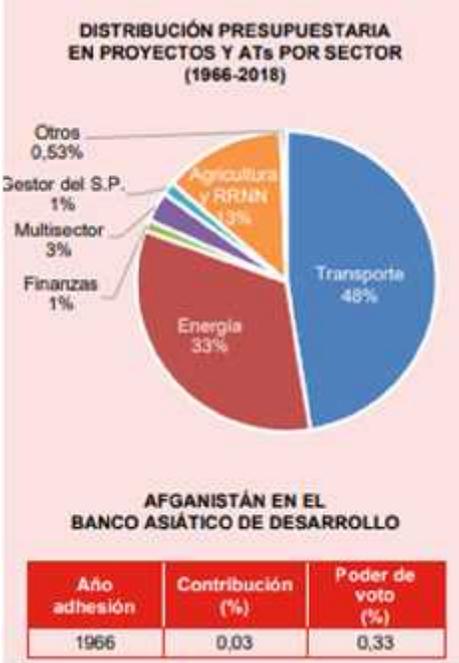
The Asian Development Bank (ADB) strategy in Afghanistan aims to support the Government's goals of rapid, sustainable and inclusive growth in order to avoid further poverty. This strategy is reflected in the country partnership strategy 2017–2021 and the business plans for operations in the country 2020-2022. The assistance of the ADB in achieving these objectives is articulated through three strategic pillars:

- ) Facilitate access to economic opportunities, markets and services for both men and women.
- ) More developed institutions and greater human skills.
- ) Address climate change, environmental sustainability and increase resilience to natural disasters.
- ) Offer more opportunities and increase the inclusiveness of energy and transport infrastructures.
- ) Improve natural and agricultural resources.
- ) Institutional strengthening in the energy sector and developing new capacities in solar energy.
- ) Develop the transport sector.
- ) Train institutions, associations and communities in the agriculture and natural resources sectors.
- ) Facilitate public-private agreements.
- ) Infrastructure for climate change and resilience to natural disasters.
- ) Protect, restore and manage natural resources.

From the start of its operations in the country, until December 31, 2018, the ADB has allocated its own funds to sovereign and non-sovereign operations for a total of 5,629 M. USD for 169 projects and technical assistance (TAs). Historically, the main sectors receiving financing have been: (1) transportation, with 2,671 M. USD and (2) energy, with 1,859 M.

USD. Regarding the 2020-2022 portfolio, a total investment (including co-financing) of 2,582 M. USD is foreseen, allocated as a donation to 19 projects and 13.5 M. USD in 10 ATs. The transport and energy sectors continue to be the main investment areas, both in terms of the number of projects developed and their average value. (Varea Ortega, 2020)

Graph 6 Budget distribution in projects and TAs by sector (1966-2018)



Source: ICEX Spain Export and Investments.

When observing this portfolio, it is observed (1) a consolidation of investment in transport infrastructure that accounts for more than half of the financing, and (2) a decrease in energy investment for the benefit of the (3) agriculture sector and RRNN, which is placed as the second priority. On the other hand, it highlights the importance that 2020 will have, since 15 of the 29 projects planned in the portfolio are scheduled this year. Likewise, it is worth noting the increase in the average value of the projects (112 M. USD in 2020 and 350 M. USD in 2022), while a decrease is expected over the years in the average value of TAs (1, 5 M. USD in 2020 and 2021, but 1.1 M. USD in 2022). (Varea Ortega, 2020)

Graph 7 Annual budget distribution in projects (2020-2022)



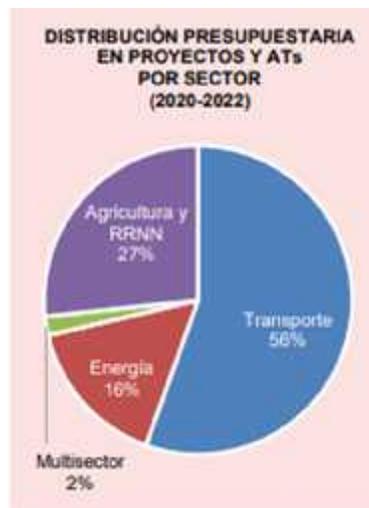
Source: ICEX Spain Export and Investments.

Graph 8 Annual budget distribution in TAs (2020-2022)



Source: ICEX Spain Export and Investments.

Graph 9 Budget distribution in TA projects by sector (2020-2022)



Source: ICEX Spain Export and Investments.

#### ***4.9 LAPISLÁZULI***

Thanks to several studies it can be confirmed that for several years they have been found in the mountains of Afghanistan, mainly beryllium, copper, gold, silver and lapis lazuli, using them as artisan materials, it is also believed that there are many precious and semi-precious stones, such as rubies, emeralds, sapphires, topaz, among other precious stones. (Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011)

Today lapis lazuli is only produced by Afghanistan and Chile, these two countries produce almost all the lapis lazuli that is consumed in the world. Speaking of Afghanistan, the main mine is called Sary - Sang and is located in Badakhshan province. (Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011)

The NGO's investigation denounced that the extraction of Lapis Lazuli in Afghanistan, which is nicknamed "blue treasure" and which is extracted from approximately 6,000 to 9,000 tons per year, is being managed in a dark way by high-level politicians in Afghanistan and by insurgent groups. These two parties take advantage of the legal insufficiencies to control at will the country's mines, their exports and the routes that go to the mining areas. There are armed groups that take advantage of this too, since they charge so-called "Islamic tax" to those who are dedicated to commercializing Lapis Lazuli, this rate valued at 50% which they use to finance their activities.(Palacios, 2016)

Figure 3 Lapis Lazuli, the precious stone of corruption.



Source: *The Vanguard* 2016

The Taliban benefit from this, in the first months of 2016 they had direct profits of more than 50% from the export of this stone, as revealed by Global Witness. The Taliban made a profit of \$ 20 million, a similar figure, the Afghan government obtained \$ 18 million for the export of this precious stone.

Figure 4 Lapis Lazuli benefits



Source: La Vanguardia 2016. Taken from:

According to Stephen Carter of Global Witness, lapis lazuli mines have become one of the assets that leave the most benefits to the population, but it has become a mineral conflict, instead of signifying prosperity and development in the region. (Palacios, 2016)

The surveillance that was destined for the mines had a loss because the mines were watched by armed groups in recent years, most of this stone is exported to China and there is no regulatory control for this, and with some prices of 1,200 euros per kilo, the other part is exported to Pakistan and India and there is also no control to guarantee the origin of the material, (Palacios, 2016)

#### ***4.10 TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE***

The Afghan government in 2006 approved an Action Plan for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation and in 2007 at the beginning of the year the Wolesi Jirga approved an amnesty bill for the fighters who participated in the conflict. The Taliban group reportedly accepted an offer for negotiation with the Afghan government after President Hamid Karzai made a proposal for it. As for Transitional Justice, Luena's memorandum of understanding was to grant amnesty for all crimes that had been committed during the armed conflict in Afghanistan. An organization of the authorities close to civil society was also very important.(Caramés Boada & Sanz Pascual, 2009, p. 22)

There was an agreement called the Arusha agreement of the year 2000 which had as its first measure a Protocol I, on the naturalness of the conflict, the solutions and the genocide, it was necessary to fight impunity for crimes such as genocide, war crimes and abuse of human rights, and the development of national legislation to penalize this type of serious crime was considered. (Caramés Boada & Sanz Pascual, 2009, p. 29)

#### ***4.11 CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN ARRIVES AT THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT***

The International Criminal Court (ICC) at the time authorized an investigation into crimes against humanity in Afghanistan by US troops, the Taliban and authorities in the country during the armed conflict, but an appeal chamber annulled the resolution that gave the go-ahead to the investigation.

Judge Piotr Hofmanski had stated in the media that the prosecutor was authorized to initiate an investigation for alleged crimes committed on the territory of Afghanistan after May 1, 2003.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) endorsed the investigation for war crimes and crimes against humanity in Afghan territory that were allegedly committed by the United States Army.(The Spectator, 2020)

The ICC judges refused to authorize the opening of an investigation into the aforementioned crimes as they considered that this would not serve the interests of justice. Because of this, Washington revoked the visa for prosecutor Fatou Bensouda. Bensouda assures that he will examine the crimes that were committed since 2003 by the Taliban soldiers, and those of the international forces, especially those of the United States Army, also mention torture by the CIA. (The Spectator, 2020)

#### ***4.12 Extra-judicial executions***

During the beginning of the Kinetic campaign in 2004 and 2005, the United States carried out its operations through the authorization of the Pakistani intelligence service (ISI). The United States, for its part, gave its support through helicopters and night vision equipment to the Pakistani army, time later, and after confirming the location of the shelters where the Al-Qaeda organization was located, the drones became a The main weapon with which they intended not only to defeat said regime, but also members of the Taliban regime, of the Haqqani network, Hesb-Islami Gulbuddin and any other group related to Al-Qaeda in Pakistani territory. In January 2008, several of the US intelligence members traveled to Islamabad with the objective of obtaining special permits from Pakistan in order to increase the number of drone attacks from its borders. These agreements have remained almost secret, however, the existence of agreements between Pakistanis and Americans about drone attacks within the South Asian country has been demonstrated. (Bruno & Bajoria, 2008; Coll, 2014; Miller & Woodward, 2013)

Despite the fact that the government of Pakistan was totally opposed to the use of unmanned combat vehicles by the United States and that they were dedicated to attacking militant groups in Pakistan, alleging that “Violation of Pakistani airspace and sovereignty” was being committed on its territory, the Pakistani authorities granted permits to the US Drones program. According to The Washington Post newspaper, the frequency of this type of attack has been increasing and has become part of the diplomatic routine. (Miller & Woodward, 2013).

Since 2004 and after the Obama presidency, the US anti-terrorist strategy in Pakistan is based on technology, especially on the use of unmanned aerial combat vehicles, this has led to the normalization of the tactics of Selective killings, as these are considered the most effective way to deal with suspects who practice terrorism. (McCrisken, 2013)

The use of this technology by the United States is not something of today, in fact, it arises from the beginning of the cold war, when its authorities began to develop defense policies based on technological superiority over their adversaries. The technology back then should outweigh the quantitative advantage of the conventional forces of the Soviet Union. This revolution linked new technologies with operating systems and organization systems with the objective of achieving a considerable improvement in military effectiveness and combat power. (O. Work E Brimley, 2014) After the end of the cold war, there was a process of social change, which gave rise to "post-modern societies" and a new conception of war, If this change of mentalities is spoken in military terms, I restructured the idea of forming a war, now post-materialist, in this way, Great Britain and the United States, at the time of wanting to get involved in any conflict, would have to think in terms such as "Zero tolerance of Human casualties, non-lethal weaponry and the need to avoid open commitments ", that is, fear regarding the casualties that may occur in these post-modern societies has made these states decide to use their military forces, only in the case of defending his vital interests, or in confrontations in which he can determine that the number of casualties is going to be minimal. (Coker, 2001) Some authors have asserted that the United States' experiences of the Vietnam War, led the American community wants to avoid risks, that can happen on the middle of their combats. (Sapolsky& Shapiro, 1996)

The use of this type of weapon generates several impacts, the first of which is that generated in the population due to the civilian casualties that occur and the lack of security, which in some way facilitates the recruitment by insurgent groups. (Walsh, 2013) In response to these attacks, victims are more likely to take revenge against those who are committing these types of acts and somehow share feelings of condolence with insurgent groups. The support of the population, what it does is increase the power of said organization, in addition to giving it much more space to carry out its actions. What could mean a failure to the American policies since for them it was necessary to count on the support of the population. (Abbas, 2013)

In that sense, drones would be creating in the long term, many more enemies than it was planned to eliminate, which could be a double-edged sword, since it would be contributing to the perpetuation of insurgent phenomena. In the words of David Kilcullen “for every militant killed, 50 civilians lose their lives, each of these non-combatant civilians represents an alienated family, a new desire for revenge and therefore a greater number of people recruited for an organization that has grown exponentially at the same time that the number of drones is spreading” (Kilcullen, 2009). Finally, drone strikes could increase cases of radicalization, both in Pakistan and in the West, as insurgent groups would have the opportunity to strengthen their jihadist discourse, claiming that combat drones pose a threat to the Muslim world. (Sageman, 2004) In this case, the most radical individuals would be responsible for spreading fear in society, among those citizens who were dissatisfied with the situation and the means of propaganda leading them to radicalization.

#### ***4.13 Legality***

NATO provides significant support to the United States, and the UN formed a special mission, called the "International Security Assistance Force" (ISAF). The formations of these agreements deduce that there is a certain permissiveness on the part of the government of Afghanistan that other states move their troops in their territory. also including the use of drones. In Pakistan, the situation is completely opposite. In this case, there are no indications of armed conflict, which would lead to the regulations of international humanitarian law not being applicable. The United States began its attacks in Pakistan in 2002, during which time the Pakistani government did not file any complaint with the United Nations about the US intervention and which was already exceeding the limits of its sovereignty, which means that they would be giving tacitus consent to drone strikes.

The situation of legitimate defense is subject to various requirements, the perpetration of armed attacks against other states or even the possibility of imminent armed attacks are proportionate (in which they cannot have a greater effect than that caused by the attack received) and provisional (in which its duration would correspond to the time it takes for the Security Council to take the necessary measures) and, finally, to the communication of these self-defense measures. (Art.51, United Nations Charter)

In Pakistan, for example, despite the fact that there was a kind of “Permissiveness” as of 2012, the government of Pakistan has made statements affirming that the attacks carried out by the United States are illegal, against products and that they violate rights of national sovereignty. In the case of Afghanistan, these types of attacks are legitimate, since the government has given its consent to the United States to carry out these military operations, in response to the non-international armed conflict that is developing between the government and the Taliban groups. In other words, the United States acts as an ally of Afghanistan.

As stated above, In Afghanistan, thanks to the existence of a non-international armed conflict, the provisions of International Humanitarian Law apply, while in Pakistan only the provisions of Human Rights apply. United States-Pakistan relations seriously affected, especially after drone attacks increased, due to this it is increasingly difficult for countries to show a minimum of collaboration, avoiding development and even their democratic system. (Pastor, 2017)

#### ***4.14 Prisoners of Afghanistan at Guantanamo Bay***

After the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2011, the United States government began, with the support of Great Britain, military actions against Afghanistan, because in addition to having been guided by Taliban Islamic groups, it was considered suspected of having provided logistical and financial support for the Al-Qaeda group, whose leader claimed responsibility for carrying out the terrorist attack. On January 11, 2002, these prisoners were taken to a US military base located in Guantánamo Bay in Cuba. Although the majority of those captured came from Afghanistan, there were also individuals independent of the Afghan conflict, such as Pakistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina and even Zambia and Gambia. (Ratner, 2005) in the fall of 2003, the number already amounted to 680 units, of 42 nationalities, and 19 different languages. (Bonini, 2004) The prison capacity allowed nearly 2,000 detainees. (Schafer, 2003) The number of prisoners in Guantánamo has undergone many variations, for example, as of October 21, 2005, the prison held 520 prisoners, while from January 2002 until September 25, 2005 About 264 had been transferred, 68 of them had been entrusted to national governments such as Pakistan, Russia, Morocco, the United Kingdom, and Saudi Arabia.

Since the beginning of those arrests, the inmates have not been formally accused of any type of crime, by the United States government, no judicial procedures have been brought before them aimed at verifying their guilt, much less have they been given access to an attorney who can represent your rights. In addition to this, rights such as due process of law, the right to be free from arbitrary detention, the right to physical integrity, and which correspond to them, under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the convention on torture, Ginevra conventions, etc. (Torres, 2006)

As for the affectation of relations, the most affected in this case would be Afghanistan. This is because, although the United States is targeting the capture of members of rebel groups, this produces some outrage on Afghan soil as the rights of its inhabitants are being violated, because in the majority of captures that are carried out, they are being including civilians who have had no relationship with rebel groups, and many of those prisoners, even if they are considered guilty, are not given any guarantees.

## **5 Conclusions**

### **5.1 Conclusions**

Afghanistan has long been engulfed in conflict for which there appears to be no solution. The origin of the conflict can be determined through several reasons, the first of which is the number of tribes and clans that are settled in the region because, although most of them share similarities in terms of the religion they profess, characterized by having differences in terms of their ideologies. The lack of a stable government and the impossibility of enforcing the needs of the population also had a great influence since this motivated the formation of rebel groups that generally fought against governments. These include the Al-Qaeda group, the Taliban, and the Islamic State. Added to this were the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union. United States, began its invasion of Afghanistan, - which was also considered illegal since the bombings that occurred on Afghan were not considered as legitimate defense, since the attacks of September 11 were carried out by Al-Qaeda and not by the Afghan State and by that there was no possibility of any other type of armed attack against the United States - with the only objective of preventing that rebel groups such as Al-Qaeda or any other terrorist group settling in Afghanistan and using this area as a base of operations in where attacks could be carried out that violate their interests. In fact, this intervention led to an incentive to use a formal democracy, where other types of legislation and new ways of electing parliaments and new rulers were implemented. On the other hand, was the Soviet Union, who considered the geographical situation of Afghanistan “attractive”, due to its proximity to the Arab countries, because it could be a possibility to establish its military bases, which in the future would serve as a defense against US imperialism.

Afghanistan is also under the influence of countries such as Iran, Pakistan, Russia and China, who fully agree with a possible reconstruction of the Afghan people, contributing through financial aid and even training to their armed forces, however, these Aid is given with a second intention, since it is done in order to safeguard their interests, and an increase in the Afghan conflict could cause them great problems. Both Afghanistan and the international community have joined forces to achieve the reconstruction of the country and as a result of this effort conferences such as the one in Bonn emerged, whose objectives were based on

contributing to the achievement of peace and thus being able to be part of the missions of security.

The peace negotiations that have taken place in recent years have encountered various obstacles, which have prevented Afghan soil from becoming a stable and safe place. The first of them is based on the idea that the United States has been presenting about reducing its economic and military contributions, and the second has to do with the internal divisions that they present in Afghanistan and that prevent the proper functioning of the State. Another obstacle is the role that opium plays in the economy of Afghanistan, since for many years it has been the largest illegal producer of this type of illicit drugs. The Taliban, for example, had the chance to end drug trafficking, however, it is now used by themselves as a source of financing for insurgent groups. The Taliban call themselves the "Protectors" of the poppy farmers, thus achieving great political capital and great material resources. 90% of the heroin consumed in Europe comes from Afghanistan, which increases the income in the country, however, this income does not go directly to the institutions, but to heroin traffickers and processors. The economic benefits that are acquired through drug trafficking are not part of the Afghan economy, as only a small percentage of the proceeds from the sale of these crops remain in the country.

The United States has promoted the creation of policies aimed at the eradication of poppy crops, however, these policies have not achieved positive results, and on the contrary, there has been an increase in their production. These failures are possibly due to the high level of corruption in the country and the lack of alternatives that can replace the production of opiates. All this leads to a conclusion and that is that despite the fact that a number of strategies and programs dedicated to the total eradication of opium cultivation in Afghanistan have been created and that the cultivation of products that can be very positive has been proposed. For the country's economy, the cultivation of opium continues to be well above them and the government seems not to care much about this situation.

There are several projects designed to assist with the development of Afghanistan. First, there are those implemented by the United States whose objectives are security and development. China also has infrastructure and transportation programs; The World Bank is based on promoting companies in rural areas and encouraging saffron cultivation. Finally, there are the development projects by the Asian bank based on the eradication of poverty and also on the incentive of crops such as lapis lazuli.

As for the actions that have been taken against the United States after its invasion of Afghan lands, there is the intervention of the International Criminal Court, which authorized investigations for war crimes and crimes against humanity that had been committed by the American army. In addition, the actions of the United States were characterized by the use of drones that, although for them it was a more effective way of committing selective killings, for the community it was already presenting itself as a problem to their safety, as the death of civilians. To the bad relations of the United States with Afghanistan, the captures of members of Taliban groups are added, since it has been causing a certain level of outrage, they have not been formally accused, presenting violations of their rights.

All this leads us to conclude that it is very difficult for peace to reach Afghanistan, since there are many interests involved that prevent it from being successful. In other words, in many cases the countries that intervene in the negotiations do so with dual intent. The clearest example of this is Russia, who supports the United States peace agreements with the Taliban, but at the same time helps the Taliban in their fight against the Islamic State through weapons and money, since for them the EI represents a threat to its borders. As long as these countries put their interests above the population and their needs, there will be no concrete solution. Well, these seek benefits in both contexts. On the one hand, showing themselves as a support for the peace negotiations and on the other, unnoticed, encouraging the insurgency to continue in the conflict. In fact, and although negotiations are currently taking place between the United States and the Taliban groups, where one of the agreements is the gradual withdrawal of US troops from Afghan territory, this does not ensure that certain indices of tranquility begin to occur, Taliban's would continue their fight, in the interior of the region, it is impossible for them to hand over the power that they have managed to obtain in recent years.

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