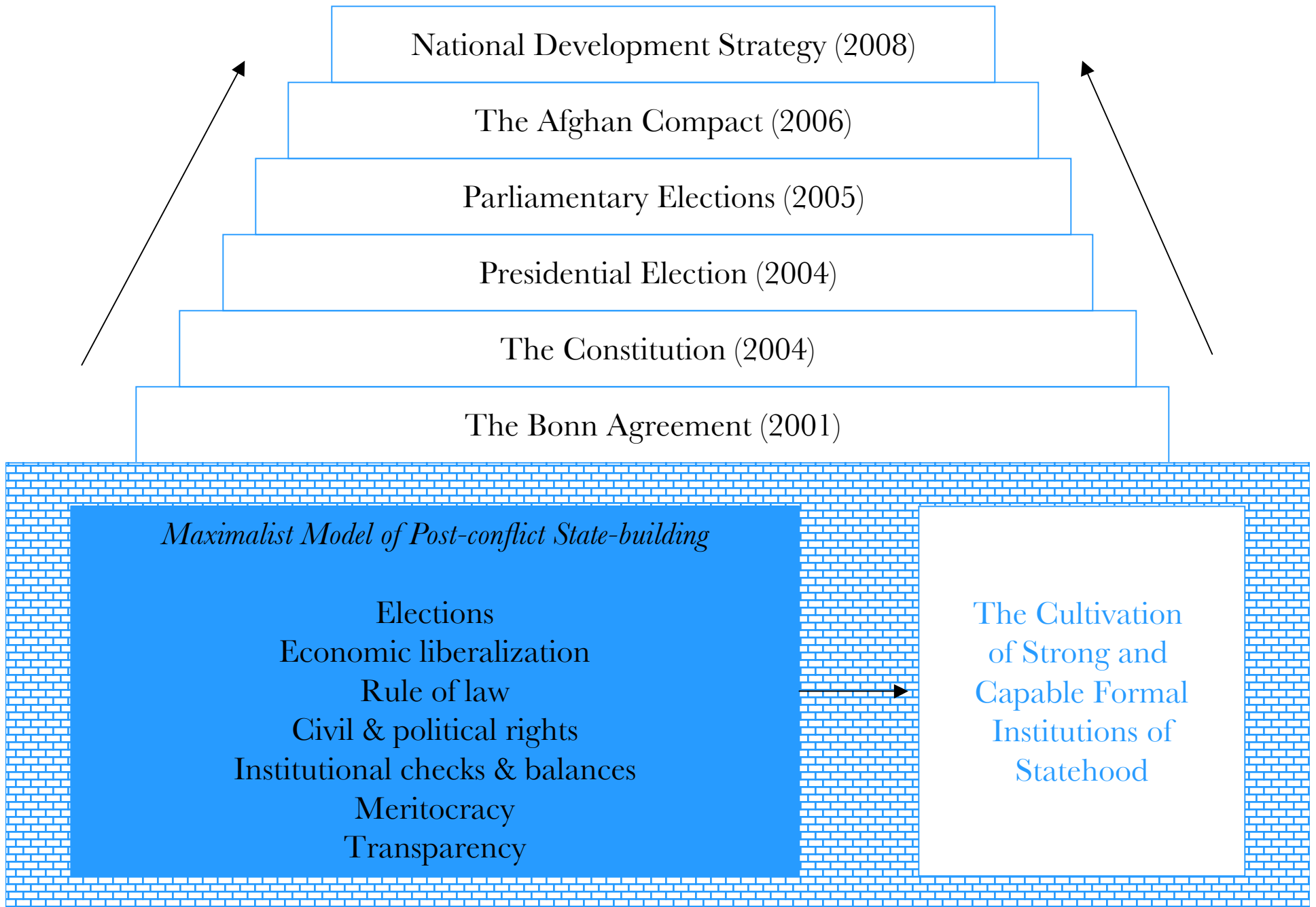


## An Overambitious Reconstruction Model

### *Maximalist Model of Post-conflict State-building*

Elections  
Economic liberalization  
Rule of law  
Civil & political rights  
Institutional checks & balances  
Meritocracy  
Transparency

The Cultivation  
of Strong and  
Capable Formal  
Institutions of  
Statehood



Why is there a gap between governance promised  
and governance delivered?

The nature of state building

The counterterrorism imperative

The history of the Afghan state

The counterterrorism imperative

Counterterrorism

Military campaign to eliminate a safe haven for al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

Partnership forged with warlord commanders to unseat Taliban regime.

State-building

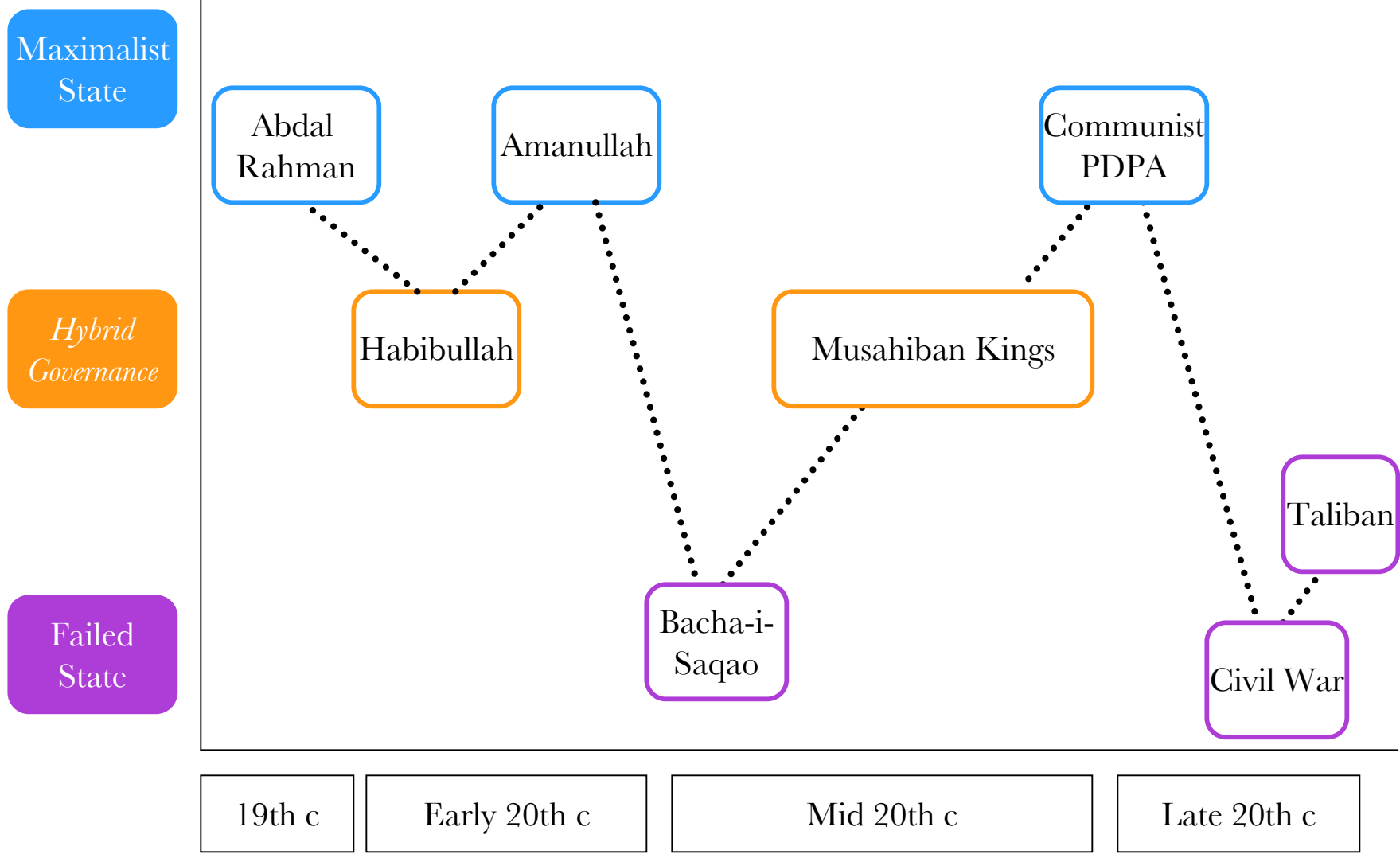
Warlord commanders had new-found access to coercion, capital & politics

Empowered warlords = potential competitors to fledgling state

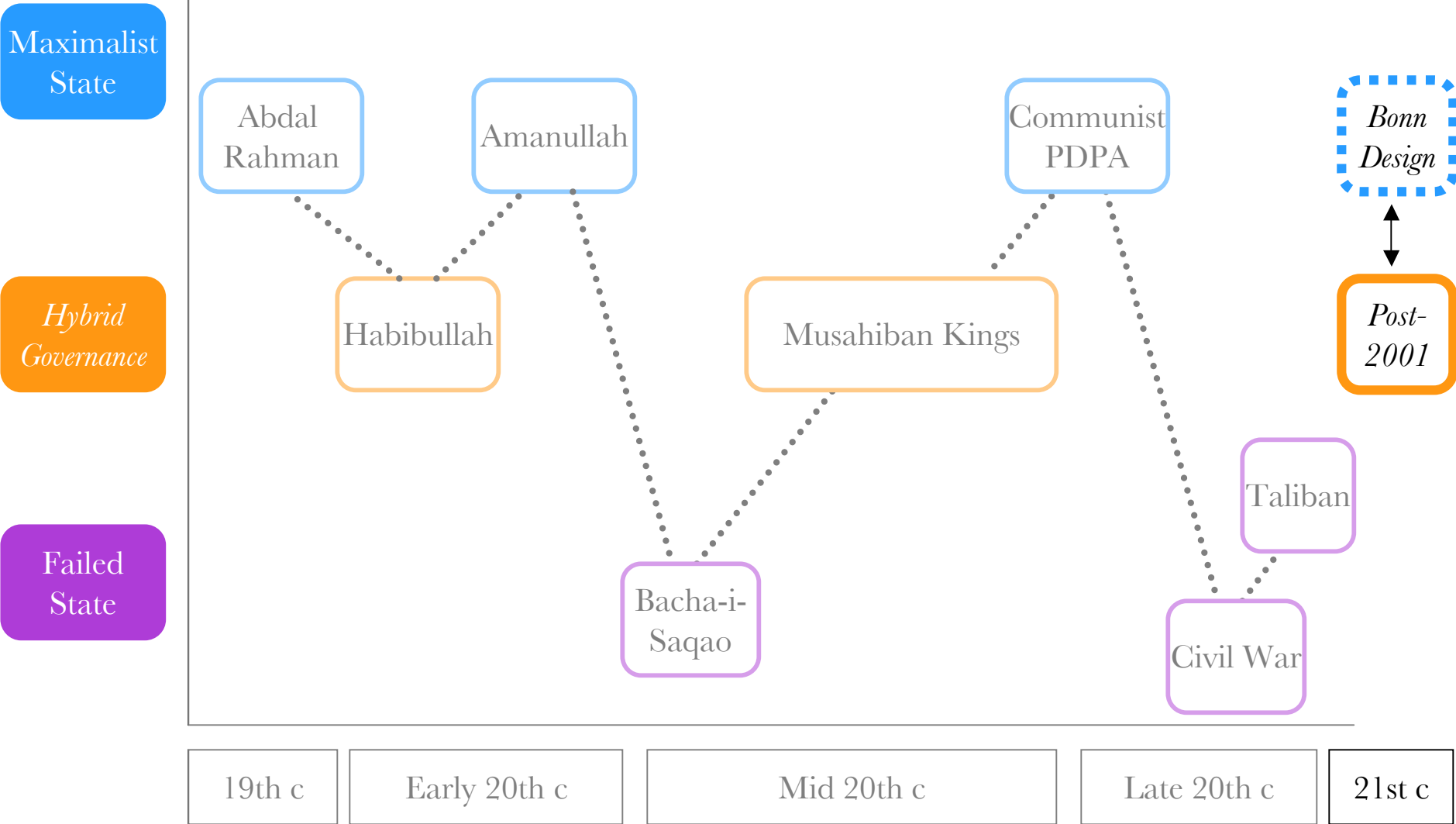
Karzai's accommodationist approach: Potential competitors become tenuous partners

*Hybrid Governance*

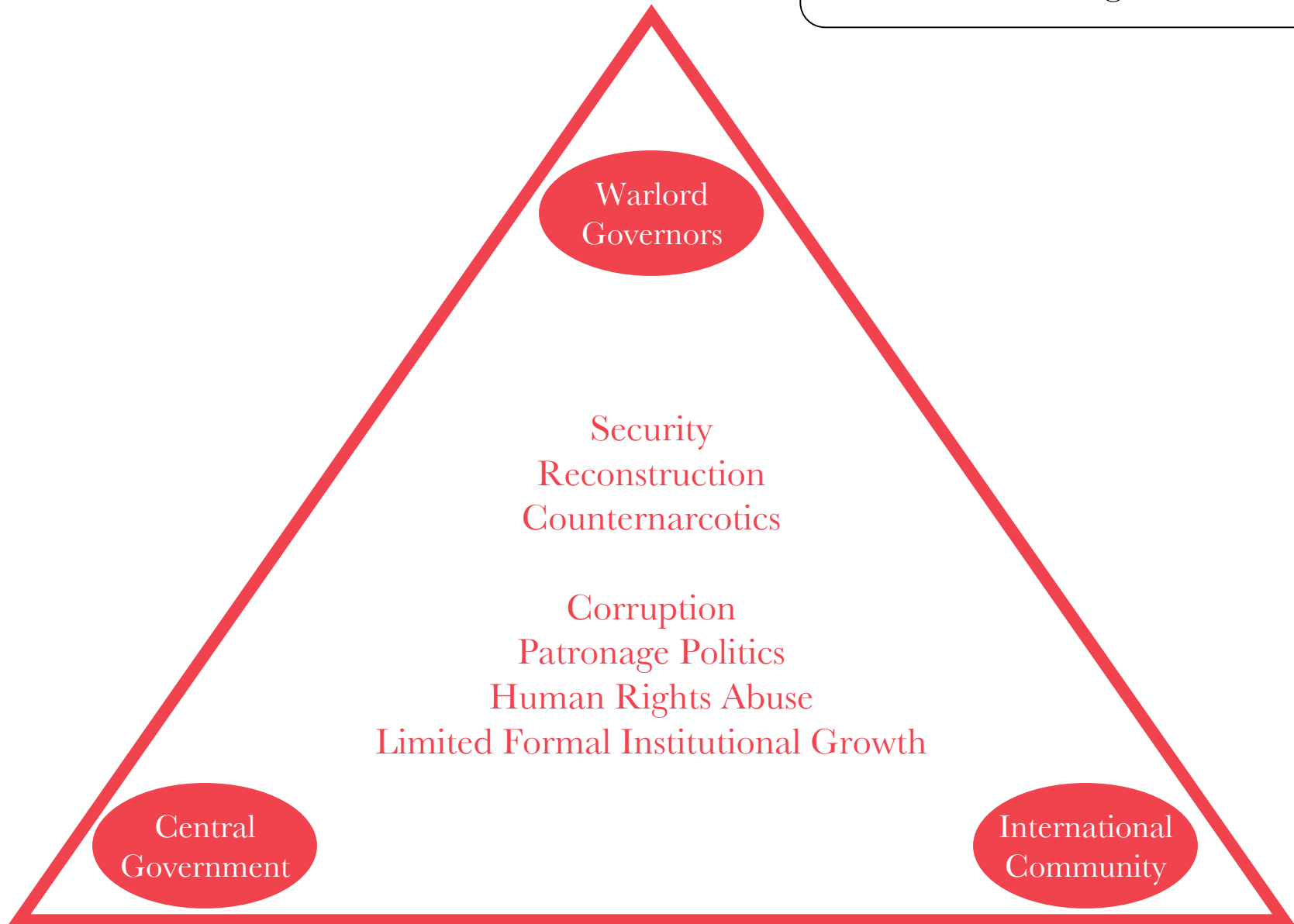
# The history of the Afghan state



# Post-2001 Afghanistan: the gap



# The Hybrid Governance Triangle



*Governor Atta Mohammed Noor  
The Son of Balkh*



Atta Mohammad Noor  
Provincial Governor & Strongman

Established a *near monopoly on violence*

- Resisted disarmament until political bargain struck
- Transplanted militia network into administration
- Network management through patronage politics

Surveillance &  
Penetration

Reconstruction  
& investment

Counternarcotics

Formal Institution-building:  
Limited but Real

Atta has demonstrated a serious inclination to  
cultivate technical capacity within his administration

Provincial public administration reform  
piloted in Balkh province

First 5 Year Provincial Development Plan

*Governor Gul Agha Sherzai  
The Bulldozer*



Gul Agha Sherzai  
Provincial Governor & Tribal Khan

- Adopted a newcomer's strategy of *tribal leadership cooptation*
- Focus on the provision of patronage to key “rentable” elders
  - Utilization of US military and aid presence in patronage politics

Counternarcotics

Relative Stability

Formal Institution-building:  
Beside the Point

Sherzai has demonstrated no real inclination to cultivate the formal capacity of his administration.

Sherzai governs almost exclusively in the domain of informal politics.

Institutional development at the provincial level takes place without Sherzai's leadership (or involvement).

## Hybrid Governance and the Way Ahead?

The maximalist model is inadequate.

More troops does not the maximalist model make.

Hybrid governance cannot be taken for granted.