

# ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND THE NETHERLANDS

*Afgan Dutch Conference (ADC) Backgrounder (1 November 2019)*

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## **New beginnings**

This year we celebrate 100 years of Afghan independence. It is a moment to reflect on the past, but also to look ahead – to the conclusion of the presidential elections, and hopefully soon to a formal peace process that can end more than four decades of conflict.

A century ago, the Treaty of Rawalpindi ended what Afghans call the ‘War of Independence’. It was signed on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1919 between the United Kingdom and Afghanistan. This was the end of a war, and the start of something new – a story that became familiar. Since then, the tragic cycle of conflict, hope and new beginnings has repeated many times.

Today, everywhere you go in Afghanistan, there is hope. That is remarkable. It shows Afghans are truly among the most positive and resilient people in the world. Despite all the challenges, there is a widespread belief that this time, new beginnings can endure.

## **Hope prevails**

Though the dark cloud of conflict still casts a shadow, hope is in the hearts of a new generation of young Afghans. There are adults now who were not even born on September 11, 2001. They want no part in conflict. They see that they can have a better future – and they deserve it. Hope is in the hearts of the women who are standing up for their rights – women such as Farahnaz Forotan, who started the recent campaign *#MyRedLine*, which encouraged Afghan women to speak out about the freedoms they are not willing to give up.<sup>2</sup>

Hope can be found in the Afghan national cricket team, who recently set a world record – a 12th consecutive win in the Twenty20 International (T20I) format. It is just ten years since the very first time the Afghan cricket team won an international first-class match – that happened to be against my home country, the Netherlands. Afghanistan beat the Dutch team again in 2012, and 2015, and 2016 – twice. On their last visit to the Netherlands, the match was in Voorburg, close to The Hague. It was supposed to last for four days. The Afghan team only needed two to win. This is the type of contest and rivalry that we like to see, although it would be nice if the Afghan team would let us win from time to time.

Many in the Netherlands have no clue about cricket. But we know about cycling. The Afghan Women’s Cycling Team is inspiring the world. In July this year, Ambassador Ernst Noorman went cycling with them in Bamyan province. You can hear about it in an Embassy video blog, or *vlog*, he recorded live from the bike and posted on Twitter and Facebook.<sup>3</sup> This also shows, by the way, how public diplomacy channels are evolving.<sup>4</sup>

Then there’s football. In 2013 the Afghan men’s team won the South Asian Football Federation Championship. I live in Spain, and my Afghan friends know more about *La Liga* than I do.

These sporting examples are very far from trivial. Sport can be part of the gradual process of social change, especially when linked with education. Look at the *Skateistan* skateboarding

school, supported over the years by the Dutch Embassy. It was tragically attacked in 2012, and four young Afghans died.<sup>5</sup> At moments like those, resilience is needed for hope to prevail. The school is still open, and skateboarding is soon to become an Olympic sport.

Beyond sports and culture, there is hope in the parliamentary and presidential elections of the last two years. There have been challenges. But they show that Afghanistan is slowly but surely continuing its journey on the road of democracy and sustainable development.

## **The meaning of 100 years friendship**

A hundred years of Afghan independence also marks 100 years of the relationship between Afghanistan and the Netherlands – though it took much longer, until 1965, before our countries entered official diplomatic relations.<sup>6</sup>

There are so many sides to this relationship, it is impossible to cover them all. I will touch on four. First, the early years of the bilateral diplomatic relationship. Second, how Afghanistan has been analysed in Dutch foreign affairs; here I'll draw especially on the archives of the *Internationale Spectator* (now the *Clingendael Spectator*). Third, Afghans in the Netherlands. And fourth, what the future holds.

I will write mostly from the Dutch perspective. I hope one of our Afghan colleagues and friends present at the Afghan Dutch Conference is inspired to write an article about the Afghan perspective on the history of friendship and solidarity between our countries.

### **1. The early years of the bilateral diplomatic relationship**

In the National Archive<sup>7</sup> in The Hague, there is a rich trove of material about the bilateral diplomatic relationship – enough for several PhDs. I was able only to scratch the surface. What struck me is that, for a large part of the century, this relationship has been a two-way street. On the international stage, the countries frequently supported each other as equals.

The archives document, for example, exchanges between the two countries when each sought a position on the Executive Board of the World Health Organization – the Netherlands in 1963,<sup>8</sup> Afghanistan in 1971.<sup>9</sup> They show that in 1958, Afghanistan asked the Netherlands to lobby for UN technical assistance for job creation programmes in Badakhshan, at that time one of the few areas to cultivate poppies.<sup>10</sup> In the late 1960s, Afghanistan supported the Netherlands' re-election to the UN's Industrial Development Council.<sup>11</sup> The archives document the relationship between Afghanistan and *KLM Royal Dutch Airlines* between 1956 and 1960.<sup>12</sup> They show requests for Afghan students to participate in the Dutch Fellowship programme, to access international courses of universities and technical colleges.<sup>13</sup> I could go on.

### **Slow beginnings**

It may have been a two-way street, but the development of the bilateral diplomatic relationship was a slow process, with varied setbacks. Progress often depended on the personal commitment of diplomats who invested time and energy in strengthening the relationship, often even after they had moved on to new posts.<sup>14</sup>

In the early years, the Dutch knew little about Afghanistan. They saw it as an exotic country. Dr. Philips Christiaan Visser first raised the need for a Dutch Consulate in Afghanistan when he was Consul General of the Netherlands in Calcutta in the 1930s.<sup>15</sup> He tried to find a Dutch person in Afghanistan who could perform this role, but he could not. He lamented the “complete lack of any Dutch experience with Afghanistan”.<sup>16</sup>

That was not completely true: for example, a Dutch engineer called Adrianus van Lutsenburg Maas worked in Afghanistan in the 1920s. His employer, the German company *Allgemeine Baugesellschaft Lenz & Co*, wanted to build a railroad that would have connected Kabul with Balkh in the north, Herat in the west and Kandahar in the south.<sup>17</sup> Visser decided to travel by car himself from Peshawar to Kabul, in 1935. There he met a fellow Dutchman, Martin van Gelderen, a young man representing the Dutch bank Pierson & Co.

Visser's impression of Kabul was that it was not very prosperous. Buildings newly built in the 1920s – when King Amanullah dreamed of modernization – were already starting to decay.<sup>18</sup> Visser thought the young bank representative was energetic but inexperienced, and too optimistic about opportunities for the Dutch private sector.<sup>19</sup> Nearly seven decades later, in 2004, the Dutch bank *ING* established the *Afghanistan International Bank*, a joint initiative of Afghan and American investors.<sup>20</sup> So perhaps van Gelderen was simply ahead of his time.

Trade and diplomacy have gone hand in hand over the years. The *Netherlands-Afghanistan Foundation* was established in 1951; it became the *Netherlands-Afghan Trade Association Hollandia* in 1965. It found a market not only for Dutch products in Afghanistan, but also for Afghan carpets in the Netherlands.<sup>21</sup> In fact, its promotional campaigns had the unexpected effect of promoting Dutch tourism to Afghanistan.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. Afghanistan in Dutch foreign affairs analysis

The *Internationale Spectator* (now *Clingendael Spectator*) is the leading Dutch-language international affairs journal.<sup>23</sup> I wrote an article in the *Spectator* in 2011 about Afghanistan's waves of modernization: under King Amanullah Khan in the 1920s; then over four decades starting in the 1930s under King Zahir Shah; and the post-2001 era of modernization.<sup>24</sup> While the first waves were perhaps not very successful, evidence suggests they caused some increase in interest about Afghanistan in the Netherlands in the 1930s.<sup>25</sup>

Timeline of diplomatic relations	
1928	King Amanullah offers the Netherlands a Treaty of Friendship, which in the end is not signed.
1935/1936	First diplomatic visits of the Netherlands to Kabul (from British India).
1939	Treaty of Friendship signed in Istanbul, Turkey, but not ratified.
1948	Treaty of Friendship ratified by both countries after approval of the Dutch Council of Ministers in 1947 and Parliament in 1948.
1951	<i>Netherlands-Afghanistan Foundation</i> and Honorary Consulate established in Kabul, falling under the Embassy in Karachi. Otto Richter becomes the first Consul.
1956	The Dutch Ambassador in New Delhi presents his credentials in Kabul; the Afghan Ambassador in London becomes accredited to the Netherlands as envoy.
1965	Afghan Ambassador in London presents his credentials to her Majesty the Queen in The Hague, becoming officially the first Ambassador to the Netherlands.
1966	Dutch diplomatic representation is moved from New Delhi to Tehran and formally becomes an Embassy (before it was a legation).
1980	The Dutch Consulate in Kabul is technically-administratively moved to Tehran; diplomatic relations are on hold until late 2001.
2002	Dutch Embassy opened in Kabul.
2003	Afghan Consulate General opened in the Netherlands, reporting to the Embassy in Brussels.
2011	Afghan Embassy opened in The Hague.

That evidence does not come from the *Spectator* itself, because its first issue came in 1947. But from that point on, the archives of the *Spectator* become an interesting indicator of how interest in Afghanistan evolved in Dutch foreign policy circles.

In the early years (1947-1959), there is hardly any mention of Afghanistan. It appears from time to time in a brief chronological overview of recent events, at the back of the journal – but mostly in relation to neighbouring countries, subsumed under ‘South East Asia’ or ‘the Far East’. The lack of focus is notable, compared to much greater attention paid to Burma, China, India, Pakistan, Vietnam and of course Indonesia. Only occasionally is there an interesting mention, such as in 1958 when both the Netherlands and Afghanistan became members of the new United Nations Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources.

### Between two worlds

In the next couple of decades, Afghanistan is mainly mentioned in the context of the Cold War. This starts in December 1960 with the *Spectator*’s first detailed article on the country, headlined *Afghanistan: between two worlds*.<sup>26</sup>

The title had a double meaning. It referred to the two blocs of the Cold War. But it also described how Afghanistan found itself torn between its conservative traditions and a “new spirit that was blowing through Asia, a western-inspired dynamic spirit of economic renewal and social evolution”.<sup>27</sup> A similar theme comes up in a 1962 book review: *Afghanistan, Its People, Its Society And Its Culture*. The author, Donald Wilber, describes a traditional society that “cannot restrain itself from modern influences.”<sup>28</sup>

These observations still resonate, over half a century later. Afghanistan has now firmly entered the realm of globalization. But there remains a stark contrast between what Thomas Friedman once called the ‘Lexus’ and the ‘olive tree’ – in other words, the pull towards prosperity and modernity on the one hand, and cultural identity on the other.<sup>29</sup> Afghan society is modernizing, but remains firmly rooted in traditional norms and values.

I discussed this in my article in 2011, describing how Afghan youth listened with equal enthusiasm to the traditional songs of the Kandahari singer Naghma and the latest hits of the Colombian singer Shakira. I also explained how, in Afghanistan, you often see what I call ‘delayed globalization’. I remember in 2011 seeing then-US Ambassador Ryan Crocker posing slightly awkwardly with the Sesame Street character Grover, known as Kajkoal in the Afghan version.<sup>30</sup> Sesame Street was decades-old in the US, but fairly new in Afghanistan. My favourite example came when I interviewed a young man in Kabul for a documentary. He told he liked modern western music. I asked which bands, and he mentioned Modern Talking. They did indeed bring a fresh new sound, but in 1983.

### Dutch connection

There are other parallels between the recent and more distant past. In the early 2010s, international newspaper headlines reported the extent of Afghanistan’s potential mineral wealth, as discovered by the U.S. Geological Survey.<sup>31</sup> The 1960 *Spectator* article also mentions efforts to map the country’s mineral resources – helped by Dutch geologists.<sup>32</sup>

The same article provides a fascinating insight into bilateral trade in 1959. Dutch imports from Afghanistan totalled 350,000 Dutch guilders (about 1.1 million euros in today’s prices), while exports amounted to around 1.5 million guilders (4.8 million euro).<sup>33</sup> The Netherlands imported meat and meat products. Afghanistan imported dairy products, organic chemicals, medical and pharmaceutical products, and electronic machines and appliances.<sup>34</sup>

The composition of trade has not changed much: today, the Netherlands mostly exports dairy and other food products to Afghanistan, and some industrial goods. It imports mostly textiles. But the imbalance in trade has grown: according to Statistics Netherlands (CBS), last year Afghan exports to the Netherlands totalled around 3 million euros, against 33 million euros in the other direction.<sup>35</sup>

## Keeping Afghanistan on the map

From 1979 to 1992, the *Spectator* published several articles about Afghanistan.<sup>36</sup> These were written almost exclusively by two men, Jan van Heugten and Olivier Immig, who were largely responsible for keeping Afghanistan on the map of Dutch foreign policy analysis. I sympathize very much with these gentlemen, as I feel I have had a similar mission in the last decade.<sup>37</sup>

Oddly, though, their articles hardly mentioned the Netherlands or what possible role the Dutch could play. And after 1993, mentions of Afghanistan in the *Spectator* again dried up – just when the Dutch government became increasingly interested in Afghanistan. The Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation visited Afghanistan several times in the 1990s.<sup>38</sup> The Netherlands become one of the main donors to Afghanistan, spending approximately 100 million euros on development aid between 1989 and 1997.<sup>39</sup> There was particular interest in the Netherlands in the link between development aid and the causes and effects of conflict.<sup>40</sup>

After 2001, we see more *Spectator* articles and book reviews on Afghanistan and the Dutch role – not surprisingly, given the Dutch contribution to several international military missions.<sup>41</sup>

## 3. Afghans in the Netherlands

Storay Ahmadi has recently finished a fascinating manuscript, talking about the various generations of Afghans that have come to the Netherlands.<sup>42</sup> The working title is ‘Compassion with Afghan blood’. Storay herself came to the Netherlands in 1996 and experienced first-hand the challenges and opportunities of what she calls “living in two cultures”. She now runs a foundation, the Goshamadeed Foundation in the town of Nijmegen, that supports Afghan families and refugees in the Netherlands.<sup>43</sup>

I hope that her manuscript will be published soon, as it offers a much-needed window on the lives and contributions of Afghans in the Netherlands. She writes about challenges like trying to teach her children the Dari language while they “came home every day from school with new Dutch words and sentences.” But her book is particularly refreshing because it highlights positive stories, even in the challenging context of integration and adaptation to a new culture. Storay describes how her own family was welcomed and supported when they arrived in a small municipality in the province of Limburg, by the local community and the Dutch NGO *VluchtelingenWerk Nederland*.

They were not alone. Storay writes: “Afghans in the Netherlands are generally well integrated because of their high level of education and adaptability. They are spread over the entire country and everywhere there are Afghan foundations and associations that help each other, offer advice and support, and organize activities.”

## Afghan stories

There are around 48,000 Afghans in the Netherlands,<sup>44</sup> and often their stories go unnoticed. When the Dutch media write about Afghanistan, it is usually news about conflict, or elections. But sometimes the experiences of Afghans in the Netherlands are brought to a wider Dutch audience: in 2015, the newspaper *De Correspondent* put together a nice profile of four Afghans, discussing their lives in the Netherlands over Afghan dinner.<sup>45</sup>

The media have also covered success stories of Afghan entrepreneurs. Nilab Yonousi started a consultancy to connect companies and talent across borders.<sup>46</sup> The Mido Dairy milk processing factory got some attention when it was set up in Afghanistan by Mirwais Momand,



a young Afghan who had studied at the University of Tilburg.<sup>47</sup> The Dutch entrepreneur Lou Cuypers, who supported farmers growing saffron in Uruzgan, has also made the news.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4. A future perspective

The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks led to much more information from and about Afghanistan in the Dutch media. For example, even BNN – a relatively new public broadcaster, targeting teenagers and young adults – sent a reporter to Uruzgan when the Dutch were present there.<sup>49</sup>

Since 2001 thousands more Dutch people have visited and worked in Afghanistan: soldiers, police officers, development aid workers, technical advisors, and specialists in areas from food security to gender equality, education and justice. Over the years, I have spoken to many Dutch people who have served Afghanistan in one way or another. The common denominator is very clear: they have all grown fond of the Afghan people and culture.

And their affection lasts. In 2015, for example, I met Dutch policewomen who had previously served in the Dutch training mission in Kunduz, or in EUPOL.<sup>50</sup> They were eager to remain connected and find new ways to support the country.

#### Taking the time for each other

But when Dutch people who worked in Afghanistan move on, their priorities naturally change. How can we maintain the strong foundation of solidarity?

Storay Ahmadi writes in her book: “In Afghan culture, people say: ‘*Zare adam ra adam mee wardarad*’, which means that people have a need for each other. To talk to each other and to listen to each other, you need to make time.(...) Living together means doing things together.” In this light, interaction between Afghan and Dutch people cannot be taken for granted. It requires effort and an open mind on both sides.

Luckily, we have various champions in the Netherlands who incessantly support the cause of more mutual understanding and interaction. A prime example is Ehsan Turabaz, the Honorary Consul General in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. He is always looking for opportunities to strengthen the links between our countries.<sup>51</sup> Dr. Willem Vogelsang is another example, after his 40-year dedication to Afghanistan in various roles.<sup>52</sup> Then there is Joke Florax, currently mission manager with the Dutch police, who previously worked in Kabul and still champions Afghan women’s inclusion in the police force.<sup>53</sup> Last but not least, there is Dr. Edris Mahtab, member of the Keihan Foundation<sup>54</sup> and involved in a unique exchange programme for Afghan students of the Medical University of Kabul to study at the Leiden University Medical Center.<sup>55</sup>

To build on our history of friendship and solidarity, we need to make more visible where Afghans contribute to Dutch society, and vice versa. This means an important role for media, who need to widen their focus. But the future of the bilateral relationship will particularly depend on youth, so it is very promising that the Keihan Foundation is co-organising this Afghan Dutch Conference. Its members represent youth – and hope. Young people are the ones who will build new bridges between our two societies.

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standpoints of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oxfam Novib or Clingendael. To contact the author: [Jorrit.Kamminga@oxfamnovib.nl](mailto:Jorrit.Kamminga@oxfamnovib.nl).

<sup>2</sup> UN Women, '#MyRedLine – A social movement cataloguing where Afghan's stand on women's rights and peace', *press release* (15 March 2019). Online at: <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2019/03/myredline>.

<sup>3</sup> For the Twitter video on the Ambassador's account, see: <https://twitter.com/enoorman/status/1146454508576395264>.

<sup>4</sup> In a 2013 Clingendael Discussion Paper in Diplomacy, I analysed the Dutch approach to public diplomacy in Afghanistan and compared it to the American approach. See: Jorrit Kamminga, 'Public Diplomacy in Afghanistan beyond the 2014 Transition: Lessons from the United States and the Netherlands', *Clingendael Discussion Paper in Diplomacy* (June 2013). Online at: <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/public-diplomacy-afghanistan-beyond-2014-transition>.

<sup>5</sup> Preethi Ramamoorthy, 'Skateistan mourns its bright sparks after Kabul attack', *BBC World* (12 September 2012). Online at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19580747>.

<sup>6</sup> 1965 was the year that diplomatic relations were established at the highest level of Ambassadors. For a detailed overview of the history of the diplomatic relationships, see the fascinating report of Bert van der Zwan: A.C. van der Zwan, *Historisch overzicht van de bilaterale betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Afghanistan* (The Hague: Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Documentary Systems Service, Research Unit, December 1994). This report was later also used for a broader Clingendael study: Luc van de Goor and Mathijs van Leeuwen, 'The Netherlands and Afghanistan: Dutch Policies and Interventions with regard to the Civil War in Afghanistan', *Conflict Policy Research Project (CPRP) paper*, Conflict Research Unit (November 2000). Online at: [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20001100\\_cru\\_paper\\_vandegoor.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20001100_cru_paper_vandegoor.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Several of the available archives contain historical documents related to Afghanistan, but the most interesting ones include: National Archive, The Hague, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: a) 'Gezantschap/Ambassade en Consulaat-generaal te New-Delhi (Simla) (India)' (1886-1954), access number 2.05.290; b) 'Nederlandse Ambassade in India (New Delhi)' (1931-1974) and 'Consulaat(-Generaal) te Bombay' (1931-1974), access number 2.05.187 c) 'Nederlands Gezantschap, later Ambassade in Afghanistan' (1955-1974), access number 2.05.144; d) 'Netherlands Embassy in Iran (Teheran)' (1955-1980), access number 2.05.191; and: e) National Archive, The Hague, Collection 336, 'A. van Lutsenburg Maas' (1900-1970), access number 2.21.281.08.

<sup>8</sup> 'Nederlands Gezantschap, later Ambassade in Afghanistan', access number 2.05.144, *op. cit.*, inventory number 121.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, inventory number 128.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, inventory number 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, inventory number 127.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, inventory number 31.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, inventory number 94.

<sup>14</sup> The historical overview provided by Bert van der Zwan is excellent: *Historisch overzicht van de bilaterale betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Afghanistan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-36.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Hans Rooseboom, 'Onze man in Afghanistan: De Unieke erfenis van amateurfotograaf en ingenieur Adrianus van Lutsenburg Maas', *Nationaal Archief Magazine*, Nr 1 (2007), pp. 20-23. The documents of Van Lutsenburg Maas in the National Archive include letters, photos he took in Kabul and Kandahar, and newspaper clippings. See: Collection 336, 'A. van Lutsenburg Maas' (1900-1970), access number 2.21.281.08, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> 'ING helpt Afghanen bankieren', *Trouw* (29 March 2004). Online at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/ing-helpt-afghanen-bankieren~b2bee748/>.

<sup>21</sup> *Historisch overzicht van de bilaterale betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Afghanistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> The website of the Clingendael Spectator can be found at: <https://spectator.clingendael.org/en>.

<sup>24</sup> Jorrit Kamminga, 'Een eeuw lang zigzagbewegingen rond moderniteit in Afghanistan', *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 65, No. 11 (November 2011), pp. 588-592. Online at: [http://www.jorritkamminga.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/A84\\_JK\\_IS.pdf](http://www.jorritkamminga.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/A84_JK_IS.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> *Historisch overzicht van de bilaterale betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Afghanistan*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> P. Krug, 'Afghanistan tussen twee werelden', *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 14, No. 21 (8 December 1960), pp. 495-510.

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- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 509, 510.
- <sup>28</sup> P. Krug, 'D.N. Wilber, Afghanistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture', book review, *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (22 February 1964), pp. 126-128.
- <sup>29</sup> Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Anchor Books, 2000, pp. 29-34.
- <sup>30</sup> One of the photos can be found on Flickr at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kabulpublicdiplomacy/6435890243>.
- <sup>31</sup> James Risen, 'U.S. Identifies Vast Mineral Riches in Afghanistan', *The New York Times* (13 June 2010). Online at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/14/world/asia/14minerals.html>.
- <sup>32</sup> The Dutch geologists Solco Walle Tromp and J. Sibinga Mulder.
- <sup>33</sup> 'Afghanistan tussen twee werelden', *op cit.*, p. 502.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> See CBS Statline data at: <https://www.rvo.nl/onderwerpen/internationaal-ondernemen/landenoverzicht/afghanistan/handel-nederland-afghanistan> (last accessed on 16 October 2019).
- <sup>36</sup> I already used some of these 1980s articles for one of my own articles in the *Internationale Spectator*: Jorrit Kamminga, 'Afghanistan als brug tussen NAVO en Rusland: gemeenschappelijke veiligheidsagenda', *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 63, No. 7/8 (July-August 2009), pp. 373-376. Online at: [http://www.jorritkamminga.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/A0\\_JK\\_Internationale\\_Spectator-1.pdf](http://www.jorritkamminga.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/A0_JK_Internationale_Spectator-1.pdf).
- <sup>37</sup> For example, between 2006 and 2019 I have written 24 opinion articles on Afghanistan in the Dutch dailies *NRC Handelsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, and *Trouw*.
- <sup>38</sup> 'The Netherlands and Afghanistan: Dutch Policies and Interventions with regard to the Civil War in Afghanistan', *op cit.*, p. 59.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 64.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 60.
- <sup>41</sup> See, for example: Jorrit Kamminga, 'Afghanistan na 2014: een sprankje hoop en optimisme in onzekere tijden', *Internationale Spectator*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (March 2014), pp. 21-25.
- <sup>42</sup> Stora Ahmadi, *Compassie met Afghaans bloed*. Unpublished manuscript, Nijmegen: Stichting Goshamadeed, 2019).
- <sup>43</sup> The website of the Goshamadeed foundation can be found at: <http://goshamadeed.blogspot.com/>.
- <sup>44</sup> VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, *Vluchtelingen in getallen 2019* (22 July 2019), p. 6. Online at: [https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/sites/default/files/Vluchtelingenwerk/Cijfers/20190722\\_vwn\\_vluchtelingen-in-getallen.pdf](https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/sites/default/files/Vluchtelingenwerk/Cijfers/20190722_vwn_vluchtelingen-in-getallen.pdf).
- <sup>45</sup> Jurgen Tiekstra, 'Dit is het Nederland van 44.000 Afghanen', *De Correspondent* (15 May 2015). Online at: <https://decorrespondent.nl/2826/dit-is-het-nederland-van-44-000-afghanen/475317125712-6199981d>.
- <sup>46</sup> Suzanne Blotenburg, 'Van vluchteling tot ondernemer: 'Je moet het zelf doen, hard werken'', *RTL Z* (24 June 2019). Online at: <https://www.rtlz.nl/business/ondernemen/artikel/4756936/nilab-yonousi-vluchteling-ondernemen-women-empowerment>.
- <sup>47</sup> Gerard Reijn, 'Melkpoeder als tussenstap naar echte Afghaanse melk', *de Volkskrant* (17 December 2013). Online at: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/melkpoeder-als-tussenstap-naar-echte-afghaanse-melk~b7e6a4ac/>.
- <sup>48</sup> Jaap Meijers, 'Schaars saffraan moet Uruzgan er bovenop helpen', *Trouw* (5 December 2007). Online at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/schaars-saffraan-moet-uruzgan-er-bovenop-helpen~ba8f4b43/>.
- <sup>49</sup> 'BNN-presentator Patrick Lodiers weken in Uruzgan', *ANP* (26 September 2008). Online at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/bnn-presentator-patrick-lodiers-weken-in-uruzgan~b706aee/>.
- <sup>50</sup> This was during a tour of Afghan partner organisations under the Bayan II project, in which we visited the Dutch police training centre in Apeldoorn, the Netherlands (2 October 2015).
- <sup>51</sup> Mark Kranenburg, 'Ehsan Turabaz, opbouwwerker en koppelaar voor Afghanistan', *NRC Handelsblad* (12 October 2009). Online at: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2009/10/12/ehsan-turabaz-opbouwwerker-en-koppelaar-voor-afghanistan-11795807-a107347>.
- <sup>52</sup> The profile of Dr. Willem Vogelsang can be found at the website of the International Institute for Asia Studies (IIAS): <https://www.iias.asia/profile/willem-vogelsang>.
- <sup>53</sup> Theo Koelé, 'De cursisten zijn pittige tantes', *de Volkskrant* (2 January 2012). Online at: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/de-cursisten-zijn-pittige-tantes~b1fbdeb4/>.
- <sup>54</sup> The website of the Keihan Foundation can be found at: <https://www.keihan.org/>.
- <sup>55</sup> The biography of Dr. Edris Mahtab can be found at the website of the Keihan Foundation: <https://www.keihan.org/bestuur/edris-mahtab/>.