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Preface

Since a few months, several Afghan senior officials resigned one after another and the reasons behind their resignation are yet to be known. In this regard the members of the Afghan Parliament have also responded strongly. The question is what are the reasons behind these resignations and what will be the impacts of these resignations on the Afghan government and the current situation in Afghanistan?

In the second part of the weekly analysis you would read about the past and future of the Afghan migrants in Europe.

In the past fifteen months, more than one million refugees have arrived to Europe and among them Afghans are the second largest group of migrants after Syrians. Due to various reasons the issue of the migrants in Europe had turned into a crisis and in this regard the European countries are frequently changing their policies. Recently, an agreement was made between the EU and Turkey and based on this agreement the migrants will be moved from Greece to Turkey and from there to their countries of origin. Although vast majority of these migrants are the citizens of Pakistan but since Afghans have lesser chance of being granted asylums in European countries, Afghans are more likely to be deported.

The Afghan government does not have a specific policy about the Afghan migrants in Europe and the contradictory stances of the Afghan government are the subject of criticisms.

In this issue of the Weekly Analysis, you would read analysis of the editorial board of the Center for Strategic and Regional Studies on above two subjects.

Senior Officials Resignations: Is NUG heading towards political breakdown?



The successive resignation and dismissal of the National Unity Government senior officials has raised some questions. It has made the government even more fragile and it seems that this series of resignation will continue on.

The resignation of the NUG official comes at a time where its cabinet is yet to be completed and every day the concerns raises about the new challenges which the NUG have to deal with. In response to the successive resignation of officials, some members of the Afghan Parliament were concerned and said that this would lead the country toward mismanagement¹.

Here you would read about how much people trust the NUG, the reasons behind consecutive resignation of the NUG officials and its impacts in the future.

¹ See it online here: <http://pa.azadiradio.com/a/27642009.html>

Series of successive resignation of senior officials

In the past few months some significant senior officials of the NUG have resigned; some of them are listed below:

Directors of Independent Directorate of Local Governance and National Directorate of security, Jelani Popal and Rahmatullah Nabil resigned in Qaws 1394; the Afghan Interior Minister Noorul Haq Olomi resigned in Dalve 1394 and now all of these administrations are being controlled by acting directors and ministers.

The head of Independent Election Commission (IEC) resigned on 6 Hamal 1395 and his resignation was considered as the beginning of Commission's dismantling.

Minister of Mines and Petroleum, Dawood Shah Saba resigned on 9 Hamal 1395 and still no one is assigned in his place.

The governor of Helmand, Mirza Khan Rahimi resigned on 10 Hamal 1395 and now the governor of Wardak is sent there but he is yet to start his work officially.

Reasons behind successive resignations

Although the governments face oppositions from outside and it is something natural but when these oppositions are within the government then on one hand it decreases the confidence level of people on the government and on the other hand it paves the way for political collapse of the government.

In this case, some senior officials whether resign willingly or under pressures; but yet they declare the reasons behind their resignations, but in the case of recent resignation in Afghanistan, resigned officials have not clearly stated the reasons behind their resignations.

The following points can be probable reasons behind the resignation of the Afghan senior officials:

- 1. The philosophy of the National Unity Government:** in most of the countries the National Unity Governments are formed after a long war; but yet in the

countries where the National Unity Governments were experienced (Zimbabwe, Kenya and Cambodia) they had failed and had only lasted for few years.

In Afghanistan the NUG was formed after disputes about the results of the elections and thus had brought various groups with different ideologies under one umbrella. These groups had long opposed each other; therefore these oppositions were appeared in different stances of the government and now these oppositions have led some officials to resign.

- 2. Internal disputes:** the reason behind resignation of some officials is the internal differences in the government. According to the political agreement of the NUG, electoral system was supposed to be reformed before Parliamentary elections; thus the president formed a selection committee to select new commissioners, but IEC declared it as illegal and announced the date of Parliamentary elections. Although Yousef Nuristani declared that he resigned to ensure national interests, but this resignation has happened under pressures. And these pressures are a result of the government's internal conflict.

These conflicts are started since the formation of NUG and whenever one leader of the NUG appoints someone in an administration the other opposes him. Thus most of the administrations are under the control of the acting directors.

- 3. Massive criticism:** long disputes over the results of elections had disappointed the Afghan people but when the NUG was formed, once again people hoped that situation will get better but now after one and a half year of formation of the NUG the situation in the country has not improve and people vastly criticize it and thus, this criticism may have led some officials to resign.
- 4. Destructive circles:** some prominent political figures and circles that were excluded from the NUG, since the beginning are trying to damage NUG and are carrying out propaganda against it. It is said that they want emergency Presidential elections.

5. **Political pressures:** some of the officials resigned because they were under pressures from the leaders of the government. These pressures are often the result of internal conflicts of the government. For example the Interior Minister has published a press release and has said that he has resigned under pressures from various sides. Besides that, he has stated that he has been summoned 58 times since he began to work as a minister².
6. **The Policies of the government:** the other reason behind the resignation of the officials is the wrong policies of the government. Officials do not want to be blamed for the wrong policies of the government and therefore they resign.

Public confidence in NUG

Generally, the Afghan government is headed in the wrong direction. Economic conditions is getting worst, investment is decreasing (in 1394, investment has decreased 26% compare to the last year), Afghans are leaving the country (last year more than 250 thousand Afghans left the country) and unemployment has reached its critical levels.

According to the various surveys, people lose confidence in NUG; for example according to a survey by Asia Foundation in 2015 only 36.7% of people thought that government is headed in the right direction and this percentage is the least compared to the past ten years³. The Gallop Research Center of US also had a survey which shows that 81% of people are dissatisfied from the NUG and only 17% of them are satisfied of the government activities.

² For more information see the link below:

<http://pa.azadiradio.com/a/27573570.html>

³ See the report of Asia Foundation here:

<http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/Afghanistanin2015PrefaceExecSummary.pdf>

Elements of a 'political breakdown'

In February 2016, James Klipper the American National Security Chief said in the US Congress that in 2016 Afghanistan will face political breakdown. Because he believed that the country is facing security and economic challenges and on the other hand the Taliban and local warlords have also gotten strength in the country.

Whether these statements of James Klipper are due to the reasons that he has mentioned or he was using this statement as a political pressure is yet to be cleared. But if we look deep to the situation in the country we would find that all the necessary elements for a political breakdown is present in the country. For example:

- Economic situation is deteriorated; investment has decreased, unemployment has increased and the government still needs foreign support in order to function.
- The country is being challenged by its armed oppositions now more than ever.
- The peace policies of the Afghan government seem to be failed.
- Internal conflicts in the NUG (these conflicts are now getting critical and even the side are engaged in armed conflict. For example some in Balkh province the followers of the Balkh governor Ata Mohammad Noor were engaged in armed conflicts with some followers of Abdul Rashid Dostum.)
- The followers of the Two NUG leaders are also opposed to each other.
- The Opposition fronts against the NUG outside the government.
- People are increasingly losing confidence in NUG.
- The statements of the foreigners about the country's political breakdown. And etc.

The future of the NUG

Sometimes, resignation and dismissal of the senior officials is an opportunity to the government that on one hand, it gains the confidence of people by firing a government official and on the other hand, through appointing a new person directs the works in an appropriate way. It should be noted that this will prove successful only if the government could prove the minister's wrong deeds.

But if we look deeper, the successive resignations of the Afghan officials, then, however, it is not a great challenge to the government, but it will multiply governmental problems and also it will decrease people's confidence in the government. Since the resignation of officials, the people would be concerned because they would believe that there is a problem in the government and not in the officials. If the resigned officials merged in the opposition fronts of the government, then, it will be a serious challenge to the NUG.

The situation of Afghan refugees in Europe: the stances and outcomes



According to the western media, 80000 Afghans will be deported under a secret European Union plan⁴. Afghan refugees are dealing with various problems in Europe, therefore; members of the Afghan Parliament summoned the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Refugees and Repatriations on April 6, 2016.

Recently the Afghan President has also taken a tough stance on the Afghan migrants who flee to Europe and on the other hand, EU and Turkey have also made an agreement to repatriate the migrants who reached Europe from Turkey.

Based on the statistics of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), of the 1.187 million migrants and refugees who reached Europe since the start of

⁴ Secret EU plan to deport 8000 Afghans, Telegraph.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/12200582/Secret-EU-plan-to-deport-80000-Afghans.html>

2015, more than 240000 are Afghans⁵. According to a report of the Washington Post close to 180000 Afghans applied for asylum in Europe in 2015⁶, earlier, the Afghan minister of Refugees and Repatriations had said that about 250000 Afghans have applied for asylum in European countries. Meanwhile, within the past one year, Turkish Police have detained 3600 Afghans who were trying to go to Europe through illegal ways and hundreds of others were drowned in the Mediterranean Sea.

The background and the reasons behind the Afghan migration to Europe, the various stages of EU policies about migrants and the stance of the Afghan government on the Afghan refugees are the issues that are analyzed in this part of the weekly analysis.

The background of the Afghan migration to Europe

From 1991 to 2001 the number of the Afghan Asylum seekers increased by each year; there were 8542 Afghan asylum seekers in Europe in 1991, 12943 in 1997 and 23678 in 2000. In 2001 after the US-led attack on Afghanistan the numbers of the Afghan asylum seekers in Europe increased up to 50946. (See Chart-1)

Chart-1: Afghan asylum seekers in Europe (1991-2001)

Year	Asylum seekers
1991	8542
1997	12943
2000	23678
2001	50946

⁵ Thousands of Afghan migrants have hit a dead end in Turkey, Economist, 2016-April-5.

<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21696242-town-van-boasts-mountains-lake-and-stranded-asylum-seekers-thousands-afghan-migrants-have>

⁶ Europe wants to deport Afghan migrants but Kabul is reluctant to accept them, Washington Post, 2016-March-17.

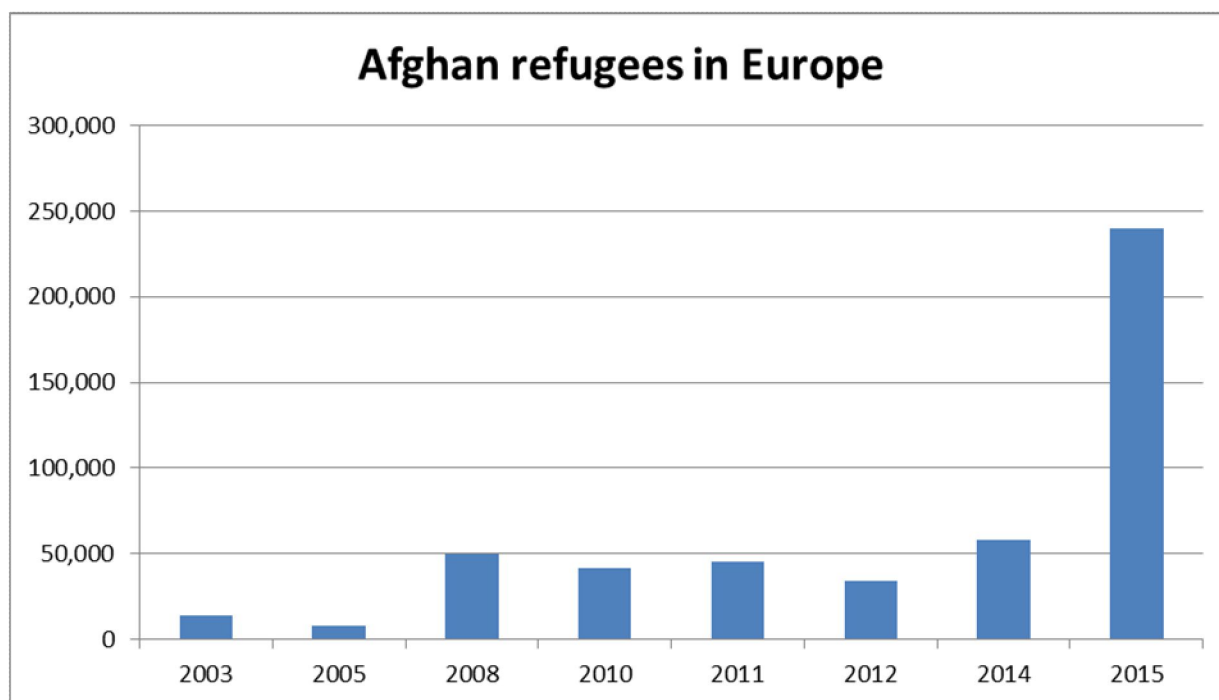
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/europe-wants-to-deport-afghan-migrants-but-kabul-is-reluctant-to-accept-them/2016/03/17/8b2d9e6a-e54e-11e5-a9ce-681055c7a05f_story.html

After 2001, the number of the Afghan asylum seekers decreased, in 2003 there were 14017 asylum seekers in Europe and in 2005 it decreased to 7482.

After 2005 and with deterioration of security situation in Afghanistan once again the Afghan migration to Europe speeded up⁷. In 2008 there were 49780 illegal Afghan migrants in Europe. In 2009 and 2010 this number relatively decreased and in 2010, 41410 illegal Afghan migrants were present in Europe. After the deterioration of security situation in 2010, the number of Afghan migrants in Europe increased to 45480, in 2012 an amount of 33805 illegal Afghan migrants were present in Europe.

In 2014 and 2015, a vast number of Afghans headed to Europe through illegal ways. In 2014 58000 Afghans reached Europe and in 2015 where the numbers of the asylum seekers from the war torn countries were unprecedentedly increased in Europe, 240000 Afghans also had also arrived Europe. (For further information see the Chart-2)

Chart-2: Afghan Asylum seekers in Europe (2001-2015)



⁷ Afghanistan_Migration_Country_Report, See it Online:
<https://www.budapestprocess.org/component/attachments/download/166>

Why do Afghans go to Europe?

Insecurity and Political instability: more than 30002 Afghans including military and civilians were killed and injured in 2015 in Afghanistan. In a country with a population of around 30 million this amount of casualty is catastrophic. Besides that, internal differences in the government and 50-50 division of power between the leaders of the National Unity Government (NUG) has made the political situation of the country very fragile. Thus Afghans disappointed of the stability and peace in Afghanistan and with the hope of having a secure and peaceful life in Europe, headed towards Europe.

The worsening economic situation: After the end of 2014 on one hand, financial support of the International community to Afghanistan decreased and Foreign NGOs ended their work in Afghanistan and on the other hand due to the concerns about the condition of the country after 2014 a large amount of capital fled the country. Thus, unemployment increased in Afghanistan and the economic situation worsened. The value of Afghani decreased from 50 Afghanis against one US dollar to more than 68 Afghanis against one dollar. Thus economic condition was also a reason behind the migration of Afghans to Europe.

Migrant reception in Europe: although, unfortunate war circumstances, political instability, unemployment, and poverty are the main reasons behind the Afghan migration to Europe, but when Germany and some other European countries showed a favorable attitude toward migrants, a vast numbers of Afghan migrants headed toward Europe.

The policies of European countries

In the past few years due to war, insecurity, poverty and some other reasons people from Middle East, Afghanistan, Northern and South Africa migrated to Europe. The vast amount of migrants, their fatalities and difficulties on the way to Europe led the migration issue to become a crisis in Europe.

European countries have pursued different policies in different times. The positions of the European countries about the migrants can be divided into three stages:

First stage: in this stage each European country had separate stances on migrants. Germany opened its border and announced that it will accept 800000 refugees; England on the other hand was pursuing a tough policy about the migrants. But when the photograph of the Syrian boy was published vastly in the Media, European leaders softened their positions about the migrants and showed green light to the migrants.

Second stage: since migrants were increased in the coastal states (Greece, Italy and other neighboring countries) the members of EU agreed on quota system to deal with the migration issue. According to this system the migrants were being distributed among EU countries. Thus the migrants would be moved from Italy, Greece and Hungary to the other EU member countries⁸.

Third stage: after the attacks in Paris and Brussels once again the EU countries changed their policies and EU signed an agreement with Turkey, according to this agreement for each migrant that returns from Europe one Syrian refugee from the Turkish migrant camps will be moved to Europe. The deal was applicable after March 21-2016.

It should be noted that, European countries have always counted Afghan refugees as economic refugees and reasoning that situation is relatively better in Afghanistan they have not accepted most of the asylum application of the Afghan asylum seekers.

⁸ Migrant crisis: opponents furious over new EU quotas, BBC, 2015-Sep-22.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34331126>

The reasons for intensification of the expelling process of migrants from Europe

- 1. Recent explosions in Europe:** on November 13, several attacks were carried out in Paris and 130 people were killed. After that European countries ordered a tighter border check.⁹ But now after the attack in Brussels the EU countries are determined to expel migrants. After Syrians, Afghans are the second large group of migrants and on the other hand EU countries rarely expel Syrians, therefore Afghans form the largest group of the migrants who are being expelled from Europe. However, Afghans were not involved in any of the attack carried out in Europe.
- 2. Public opinion in Europe:** although the reports of the bad situation of migrants in their own countries and difficulties that they face on their way to Europe had provide a favorable public opinion about migrants in Europe; but after the recent events in Europe this favorable public opinion changed and thus people put pressure on their governments to close borders and to expel refugees.
- 3. Cultural differences:** migrant who go to Europe from various countries have far different cultures than the people in Europe, and differences from a cultural point of view creates issues for both the migrants and host countries.
Recently, Germany with the assistance of a health organization have created a website (in twelve languages including Persian and Arabic) to inform migrants about the western liberal culture. Due to the unawareness of the migrants about the European values, sometimes they have even committed sexual misbehavior. This step comes after the reports about sexual harassment of women by migrants.

⁹ EU ministers order tighter border checks in response to Paris attacks, The Guardian, 2015- Nov-20.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/20/eu-ministers-order-tighter-border-checks-in-response-to-paris-attacks>

The position of the Afghan government

Afghan Officials do not have a unified stance about the Afghan migration to Europe and they declare various positions in various times. The Afghan president during his six day trip to Europe had agreed with European countries to return Afghan migrants and recently during an interview with BBC he has said that he has “no sympathy for Afghan migrants”¹⁰ . Meanwhile the Afghan Foreign Minister speaking in the Afghan Parliament on Wednesday said that they (officials in foreign ministry) have signed agreements with seven European countries and in all of these agreements they have emphasized on the voluntarily repatriation of the Afghan migrants.

On the other hand the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriations has declared that repatriation of the minors, disabled migrants, households headed by a woman and Afghans living in regions in war¹¹.

In the summon meeting of the Afghan ministers where the Minister of Refugees and Repatriation was also present the Afghan Parliament members criticized the Afghan government and said that the policies of the Afghan government had led the European countries to discriminate against Afghan migrants.

¹⁰ President Ghani: “No sympathy for Afghan migrants”, BBC, 2016-March-31

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35932120>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35928538>

¹¹ Forced deportation of refugees unacceptable: officials, Tolonews, 2016-April-6

<http://www.tolonews.com/en/afghanistan/24623-forced-deportation-of-refugees-unacceptable-officials>

The future of the Afghan migrants in Europe

Due to the discriminatory behavior of the Europeans against Afghan migrants, contradictory stance of the Afghan official about the Afghan migrant in Europe and lack of a clear policy, the future of the Afghan migrants seems critical.

Those portion of the Afghan migrants who are granted asylum in Europe may live in better conditions but that portion of the Afghan migrants who have passed difficult paths to Europe and in this way they have spent a large sum of money and those who have even sold their properties in order to go to Europe; if they are to be deported in Afghanistan they would face lots of difficulties and will put the Afghan government under a tremendous pressure.

The End

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