



## Center for Strategic & Regional Studies

### **Weekly analysis:**

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#### **What you will read in this publication:**

##### **1. Afghan-U.S relation; from tumultuous period to deterioration**

- The relation subsequently started deteriorating between Karzai and the White house, however president Karzai claimed that it is just a light and soft wrestle between him and US for the benefits of Afghanistan but in most of the times this light wrestle became serious after some incidents like killing of innocent Afghans by U.S and NATO troops.

##### **2. U.S – Pakistan Strategic dialogue**

- Currently the discussions over Bilateral Security Agreement pact between Afghanistan and U.S is another important issue. The supporters of this pact are arguing that giving military bases to America is important because of the

security threats from Pakistan which means that “zero-sum game” has been emerged in this relation. This situation in international relations means that there are clashes of interests in bilateral relations. According to this perspective each interaction between America and Pakistan is against Afghanistan and each interaction between Afghanistan and America is against Pakistan. So the strategic dialogue between U.S and Pakistan will threaten the need of strategic and security agreement with Afghanistan.

### **3. A decade of failure in the fight against corruption**

- Therefore removing the complication from bureaucratic systems, positive and effective motivation of human resources, integration with civil society, private sector and public and also interactions among various governmental bodies for effective fight against corruption seems important points in the strategy for this purpose.

## **Afghan-U.S relation; from tumultuous period to deterioration**

**Waheed Muzhda, Journalist and political analyst**



The shift of political power in U.S from republicans to Democrats in 2009 election was not a good news for Hamid Karzai. The Republicans who supported Hamid Karzai failed to won the election and the Democrats inherited war and economic problems from republicans while the war of Afghanistan and president Karzai was also part of this inheritance. And it seemed very natural that Democrats would try to bring some changes in Afghan government.

At the meantime elections was held in Afghanistan and while not had a winner in the first round it went to the second round. However the second round was not held, Hamid Karzai was announced as the winner by the Independent Election Commission which caused chill in relation between Afghanistan and U.S. As recently Robert Gates also admitted in his book that at that time US wanted to remove Hamid Karzai from power during that election.

The relation subsequently started deteriorating between Karzai and the White house, however president Karzai claimed that it is just a light and soft wrestle between him and US for the benefits of Afghanistan but in most of the times this light wrestle became serious after some incidents like killing of innocent Afghans by U.S and NATO troops.

The story of Hamid Karzai relation with US officials is not interesting as himself says, especially when for example senator Lindsey Graham responded to Karzai in his insist for releasing the Bagram detainees that “you are an individual and you cannot do anything” it clear that Americans have never taken president Karzai much serious. They consider Karzai as a person who don’t have the support of a

strong political party and even have not the support of his own Pashtuns while the country is already likely divided on the bases of ethnicity and currently Pashtuns are his government's armed opposition.

This manner of interaction was used not only by the members of congress but officials like the John Kerry US secretary of state also had not good relations with Karzai and occasionally disagreements between Karzai and American ambassador in Kabul and military commanders also leaked to media.

While Karzai was experiencing tough days in relations with America he ignored to let the nation be in picture of the issue, therefore he is facing such problems now. He called Loya Jirga (grand assembly) for consulting over strategic partnership agreement with U.S where the members under the pressure of not to reject the agreement, brought more than 80 conditions to be fulfilled before signing the Agreement. However on the last day of the Loya Jirga Karzai promised to fulfill the 80 preconditions, but the preconditions were forgotten and American institutions and their media strongly wanted the signing of the Agreement without any precondition and Karzai by signing that Agreement(strategic partnership agreement) with president Obama agreed with the same position.

This decision caused another opportunity for the same insist through American puppets during The Loya Jirga which was called for consulting over Bilateral Security Agreement, and like the previous experience he became under pressure to sign the BSA without any precondition.

This Jirga which was called by Karzai for justifying the illegal presence of America in Afghanistan had a result opposite of his expectation. If Karzai was aiming to support his own position it became clear that he failed in achieving it. Jirga and its decisions with the speech of its 90 years old chairman defeated his position.

No doubt that Karzai with bringing together such individuals with verity of visions wanted to make the situation tough for America, but the organizers were most committed to America than coordination with Karzai's aims which eventually caused a good opportunity for America to claim that the people of Afghanistan are more supporting America's position than Karzai's.

Karzai was expecting his team's support, but now it become clear that he is alone in ARG(presidential palace). He also expects that he serve his influence on the next government, but Americans showed him their influence during the last Loya Jirga that they have even influenced in the team nearest to him. Most of the scholars who were near to Karzai in past years well know that Karzai will not be in the scene anymore, therefore for staying further in the power they will not chose Karzai comparing with U.S.

In the result of this Loya Jirga, people asked president Karzai to sign the BSA before the end of 2014 and John Kerry the US secretary of state also insisting on this said that people of Afghanistan are agreed with presence of U.S in Afghanistan and there is no need of any delay in signing this agreement.

Insisting on the importance of this Loya jirga before its gathering, caused that currently U.S and its afghan allies are claiming that Karzai is ignoring the desire of the nation.

If Karzai was really for the benefit of national interests he would not calling such a Loya Jirga where he gave a golden opportunity to America for propogandas in this regard.

Anyway, Karzai in his latest press conference criticized the policies of U.S and re-insist on his preconditions for signing BSA. He insisted on the importance of U.S's and Pakistan's roles in peace process, but in the meantime he mentioned the Bagram jail's problem as well. He described Bagram prison as a "Taliban-making factory" where according to him innocent people are imprisoned and after being tortured and insulted they learn hatred against the country.

However, Afghan government does not say that all the detainees are innocent and therefore investigations turned up solid evidence against 16 of them and they will be tried, but according to constitution of Afghanistan and world convention of human rights, Innocence is the original state and no one can be blamed criminal just in case a legal court where a lawyer could defend the accused has declared him.

Three conditions are required for trial, Plaintiff, the defendant, and the price point of citing the reason that the accused is tried. When the Plaintiff brings a lawsuit he

must turn up solid justifiable evidence against the defendant. In the case of Bagram the Plaintiff is U.S, and defendants are the prisoners who are detained by them and the charge on them is their suspicious relation with the killing of Afghan and foreign military forces. Neglecting of how America is justifying the detaining of Afghans but Afghan government in accordance with law asked U.S to provide evidence against these prisoners. The evidence of America which is also published through so called Afghan media is just a list of defendants with charges without any evidence.

In response to that, Afghan officials also have provided a list of terrorist attacks which are according to them presumably linked to America for continuation of tensions. It seems that Hamid Karzai is entering to a deteriorating relation with U.S in the last years of his authority, while Afghanistan will be experiencing presidential election. In that kind of relations between Afghanistan and U.S, whether to expect successful election through which the political power shifts peacefully or not, is not clear.

## **U.S. – Pakistan Strategic dialogue**

**By: Zakir Jalaly**



Last Monday The United States of America and Pakistan restarted the halted “Strategic Dialogue”. This process was resumed after the Ministerial meeting of U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Pakistan Advisor to the Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz.

John Kerry at the first day of the discussions hoped that Pakistan will have the capability to rebound from its economic stagnation and become one of "tiger economies in Asia". This expression is used for the Asian countries with remarkable economic development like Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea. Three years ago the bilateral relations was deteriorated after some incidents in 2011. In January 2011 killing of three Pakistani nationals in Lahore by an American spy (Raymond Davis) and in the same year US attacked Osama bin Laden’s compound in Abbottabad and also in the October of the same year a US airstrike killed 24 Pakistani soldiers which caused a plunge in bilateral relation and halted the process.

Sartaj Aziz is an experienced diplomat and in this round of dialogues he has more requests comparing with previous ones. And he well realizes the importance of his country for U.S. Aziz Said: “Pakistan hopes Washington will start looking at Pakistan as a more significant partner, and not just through the lenses of terrorism and Afghanistan”. He barely talked about concerns of his country saying: I am sure you agree with me that when in 1991 America left the region and came back in 2001, the national security of Pakistan was not taken important. Sartaj Aziz Also complained that in comparison with India the concerns of Pakistan has been neglected and asked America to improve the trust building in different levels. He added "the Afghan war must end in a responsible manner and that past mistakes should not repeat,"

Now when the situation is similar to what it was in 1991, Pakistan has gained its importance in Foreign Policy of the U.S. America will withdraw most of its military troops from Afghanistan till end of this year and for transporting the equipments, Pakistan is the closest and cheapest way for transit. For Pakistan it is also important, as Sartaj Aziz said that we remain committed to facilitate a smooth and responsible US withdraw from Afghanistan and to gain the trust of U.S.

In Pakistan the general public opinion and the government of Tahreek Insaf party of Imran Khan in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa who are recently perusing policies against America, are the reasons why U.S has resumed the strategic dialogue with Pakistan. In this round of discussions America is trying to give privileges to Pakistan and transit its equipment out of this region through this country. Sartaj Aziz also understands the important role of his country and therefore he is more encouraged to talk about his country's demands in this field.

In comparison with Imran Khan party, the Party of Nawaz Sharif has softer perspective about America and seriously supports the fight against Taliban which might damage its image among the people of Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif is trying to gain more attention of America with restoration of strategic dialogue between two countries in the areas of Energy, Security, Defense, Rule of law and economy and change the general public opinion in favor of his party.

Currently the discussions over Bilateral Security Agreement pact between Afghanistan and U.S is another important issue. The supporters of this pact are arguing that giving military bases to America is important because of the security threats from Pakistan which means that "zero-sum game" has been emerged in this relation. This situation in international relations means that there are clashes of interests in bilateral relations. According to this perspective each interaction between America and Pakistan is against Afghanistan and each interaction between Afghanistan and America is against Pakistan. So the strategic dialogue between U.S and Pakistan will threat the need of strategic and security agreement with Afghanistan.

The bilateral security agreement which is under debate between Afghanistan and U.S is just a promise and does not have any legal guarantee, and when Pakistan is the reliable partner of America in the region then what is the need of such agreement with Afghanistan?!



## **A decade of failure in the fight against corruption**

**Abdullah Elham – journalist, writer and political analyst**



A high-level joint anti-corruption body said that it found “significant vulnerabilities to corruption” in the activities of three of Afghan government’s ministries and its Civil Service Commission, while also highlighting “questionable practices” that affect peoples’ ability to receive services. Their latest assessment found corrupt practices in the Ministry of Labor’s pension administration, the Ministry of Higher Education’s issuance of certificates and exams administration, the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation’s administration of land for repatriates, and the Civil Service Commission’s employments process.

These are not the only governmental administrations and nor the first time we are hearing about corruption in its institutions. According to surveys of the United Nations from 2001 onwards the corruption is increasingly spreading to most parts of the governmental institutions in spite of spending millions of dollars in the fight against corruption. And now it became clear that unlike the perspective that lack of political will to effectively fight against corruption is the only reason of the failure in this regard, but there are other factors of corruption which shows that the roots or so deep and it is complicated for Afghan government to carry this fight out successfully by their own, war, economic instability, foreign interventions, bureaucratic deficiencies and the lack of hopes for a good future amongst people have all caused the failures in this field.

The wide spreading negative culture of finding wealth with any possible way and the poor administrable role of the ruling governmental bodies, the lack of job security, warlord’s influence, the foreign presence, mafia presence, lack of powerful and transparent monitoring institutions, the weak role of government and

judiciary are all negatively affecting the mechanism for effective fight against corruption.

The lack of an academic research on the roots of corruption and lack of an effective mechanism to fight the corruption are also negatively affecting this process; but in a glance, politicization of the public administrations, limitations on access to information and lack of its role in feedbacks, lack of transparency in budget management and lack of an effective accountable monitoring and evaluation system, lack of effective service providing mechanisms and its monitoring and evaluation systems and the weak judicial system draw attention in this field.

Therefore removing the complication from bureaucratic systems, positive and effective motivation of human resources, integration with civil society, private sector and public and also interactions among various governmental bodies for effective fight against corruption seems important points in the strategy for this purpose.

In all over the world, bureaucratic systems exist for ruling and fulfilling the need of governing and authority, and regularly in accordance with the needs of the society have been updated, and naturally such a system also exists in Afghanistan, but is not fulfilling the needs of today's Afghanistan, which is causing to more depth and complicity of corruption.

In the result of academic and comprehensive research the recognition of priorities and practical steps towards implementation of a comprehensive and effective strategy can help this struggle get close to the goal, otherwise we will just witness the reports and surveys showing the increasing level of corruption in our governmental bodies.