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Weekly Analysis is one of CSRS' publications, which significantly analyses weekly economic and political events in Afghanistan and the region. The prime motive behind this is to provide strategic insights and policy solutions to decision-making institutions and individuals in order to help them to design best policies. Weekly Analysis is published in local languages (Pashto and Dari) and international languages (English and Arabic languages).

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## Preface

With the inauguration of new government, the foreign policy of Afghanistan also faced changes, and President Ashraf Ghani paid more attention to Pakistan and China. President Ghani has given some privileges to Pakistan during his trip, and believed that Pakistan is able to cooperate with Afghan Government in order to bring peace and stability to the country. In this regard, Pakistani officials had many trips to Afghanistan.

In addition, President Ghani had his first official trip to China, which is a clue for improvement of relations with China, the strategic friendship of China with Pakistan and its influence over Pakistan; but overall, there was not balance kept in the foreign policy. Therefore, India is concerned and it has stopped some of its projects that were run in Afghanistan. Now is the question, whether will the construction of relations influence the peace in the country and the relations of Afghanistan and India, or not?

On the other hand, the Afghan refugees based in Pakistan had faced many challenges, therefore thousands of refugees returned back to Afghanistan during the cold weather of winter and they faced even worse conditions in Afghanistan. The question is how many Afghans are still in Pakistan and how many of them had returned to the country during the challenges that are still faced by them? In addition, what are the steps, which are to be taken for the removal of the challenges of the Afghan refugees?

In this weekly analysis of CSRS, you will read the details of the analysis of the analytical board of CSRS.

## Gambling in Foreign Policy!



It seems that the national unity government has chosen a different path of foreign policy from its predecessor's rule. The conversion of the policy is based on the prioritization of security and peace in the country and until peace and security is not provided in the country, nothing else will have positive result in the country.

President Ashraf Ghani believes that Pakistan is leading the Taliban, if Afghanistan is able to get trust of Pakistan, and both the countries agree with each other, so the issue with the Taliban will be ended, and Afghanistan will reach peace and security. For the mentioned reason he went to Pakistan, and then he had a visit to China to influence Pakistan through Chinese officials, because China is one of the closest countries in relationship with Pakistan, so Chinese officials will cooperate in the peace process of Afghanistan.

On the other hand, sensitivity between the relationship of New Delhi and Islamabad, by the request of Pakistan Ashraf Ghani reviewed the close relationship of Afghanistan and Pakistan that was founded during Karzai's regime. The conversion of policies caused India, which cooperated Afghanistan approximately 2 billion dollars in the last thirteen years, to review its economic policies regarding Afghanistan. So most of the projects in Afghanistan that were supported by India stopped their activities.

## **President Ghani and Revision of Foreign Policy:**

In the conference of “Heart of Asia” which was held in Beijing, President Ashraf Ghani stated about the foreign policy of the unity government as follows:

Geography has placed us at the heart of Asia and history has made us a pivotal intersection of contending powers and ideas. Foreign policy, therefore, is intrinsically connected with domestic policy. Recognizing that we are at the intersection of five circles of international relations, our goal is to provide a platform for collaboration of these states, organizations, powers and networks of virtue. Our immediate six neighbors form our first circle. The Islamic world forms our second circle. North America, Europe, Japan, Australia, and members of NATO-ISAF form our third circle. Asia, being transformed into a continental economy, forms our fourth circle. And international development organizations, the UN, multinational firms, and international civil society and non-governmental organizations form our fifth circle.

Although, in prioritizing the circles and contexts of the relations between the governments President Ghani has given special value to the relationship with the historical power and ideological competitors, but he did not pay attention to the balance of the interests of those countries in Afghanistan that the countries define. So it is not wrong that Pakistani politicians appreciate the reaction of the declaration of President Ghani’s foreign policy and Pakistani newspapers has written that Pakistan is in the first and second circles of the foreign policy of the unity government of Afghanistan, because Pakistan is one of the neighboring and also Muslim country, but its competitor India declined to the fourth circle. So India, in spite of its generous cooperation in last thirteen years with Afghanistan, should accept its decline against Pakistan in Afghanistan.

## **Hidden Diplomacy:**

President Ghani had secret agreements with the officials of Pakistan behind closed doors, the details of the agreements are not yet declared, but it seems that behind closed doors agreements against terrorism, he has given some privileges to Pakistan, including the submission of the people that Pakistan call them as its enemies, and they had taken asylum in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, the leadership of the Taliban ordered its commanders not to leave their locations during winter season and do not go to Pakistan. It seems that Pakistan

also agreed to arrest some of the Taliban leaders and submit them to the Afghan Government, and the Taliban are aware of it and did not allow their leaders to go to Pakistan.

Afghanistan and Pakistan promised to create the opportunities for division of the Taliban groups. The Pakistan Government decided to encourage the former Taliban commanders, who left war, to create independent groups and start their own independent activities. One of those commanders is Mullah Mansur Dadullah. Three times the officials of Pakistan went to his house, which is located in Zhob of Peshawar within his tribe “Kakar”. Mullah Mansour, who has spent years in Pakistani prisons, rejected their request, but because of many pressures on him, he left Pakistan and came to Afghanistan.

Pakistan and Afghanistan mutually agreed that the office of Taliban in Qatar is not a proper place for negotiation and it should be moved somewhere else.

### **Geographical Location and Foreign Policy:**

In his new foreign policy Ashraf Ghani emphasize that “the complexity is result of history, so we do not have any other way except accepting it. And we have to lead and manage it with principles but pragmatically...”

Ashraf Ghani is right that historical evolutions have forced forces over us, and those forces brought us to the conditions to be in need of the neighboring countries. The transit ways of the country are tied to the neighboring countries to the extent that if those ways are blocked for short terms, Afghanistan will face extreme economic crisis. However, the attempts of Karzai’s government for finding substitution for the transit, which was attracting the Indian and Iranian cooperation for activation of ChahBahar Port of Iran as a subsistence, transit port, it that way should be passed. But in the newly declared foreign policy of President Ghani this port is abandoned. Because, due to the newly declared foreign policy of Afghanistan, India informed Iran that it has stopped investing on the port.

## **Pakistan and Cooperation in the Peace Process of Afghanistan:**

Ashraf Ghani requests Pakistan to cooperate with Afghanistan in the Afghan Peace Process. It means that Pakistan is able to bring the Taliban to negotiation with the Afghan Government.

The balance of influence of Pakistan over the Taliban is hidden, and with the attention to the fact that the Pakistan Taliban, who were controlled by ISI are now not under the control of Pakistan, so we cannot be sure that Pakistan will have control over Afghan Taliban. Moreover, the question rise that if Pakistan had control over the Afghan Taliban, why did it not prevents the establishment of the office in Qatar.

But Pakistanis have the skill of advertising through media, which is mostly pessimistic about Pakistan, and show it to Afghan politicians that they are the guardians of the Taliban, and move the foreign policy of Afghanistan toward their own interests.

## **The new officials of Afghanistan are fresh about Pakistan!**

President Ashraf Ghani and his national security advisor Mohammad Hanif Atmar did not have any relationship with Pakistan, especially during the Jihad. Ashraf Ghani was living in the U.S. and Atmar was working with international NGOs in Peshawar of Pakistan. They do not know Pakistan truly, so it caused them that their foreign policy may take the form of a dangerous gambling game with Pakistan.

Paying attention to the fact that the demand of Pakistan from Afghanistan is not only tied to the relation of Afghanistan with India, there is no hope that the changes in the foreign policy will have positive impacts. Most of analysts believe that the policy of Pakistan toward Afghanistan is not changed; it has changed only the method of the game.

## Bad Condition of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan



Afghan refugees face many challenges in Pakistan, but Afghan Government did not take any action. However, repatriation of refugees is in the priorities of the new Afghan Government; but according to new afghan minister of refugees Alami Balkhi, Afghan government is not ready for the emergency return of refugees to the homeland.

Recently the issue of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan is warm because of two reasons:

1. Expiry date of the legal Afghan refugees (who are registered with the Pakistani government) up to the end of 2015.
2. The bloody incident of Peshawar, which killed more than 150 Students in one of the Army Public School

The issue of repatriation of Afghan refugees by Pakistani government got warm once again after the attack on a military school in Peshawar. Pakistan changed its policy towards the religious fundamentalists, and the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif summarized its policy, which one of those was the repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan.

## The Stages of Afghan Refugees to Pakistan:

Because of civil wars in the country, Afghans started migrating to other countries during last few decades, which its process to Pakistan started in 1973, which will be briefly discussed as below:

**First stage:** the first stage of migration of Afghans to Pakistan started before the operations of Islami Nahzat in 1354 solar year, approximately 300 Afghans migrated to Pakistan at that time.

**Second Stage:** With the Saur revolution, the process of migration to Pakistan increased, and the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan in 1978 reached up to 80,000, and then in 1979, it reached 400,000<sup>1</sup>.

**Third Stage:** During the Russian invasion of Afghanistan (1979 to 1989), there were more than three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

**Fourth Stage:** Though with the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, many Afghan families returned to the country, but with the beginning of civil war in the country, many more migrated to Pakistan.

**Fifth Stage:** After the incident of 9/11 of 2001 and the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, some Afghans migrated to Pakistan in order to be safe. However, when the Bonn Conference established interim administration in Afghanistan, approximately 3.2 million Afghan refugees from Iran and Pakistan returned to the country.<sup>2</sup>

With the cooperation of UNHCR the registration of Afghan refugees in Pakistan started in 2007, through which 1.7 Afghan refugees were registered, and Pakistan has given those Identity Cards of (Afghan citizens). Those ID cards were renewed in 2010, 2012, and 2014, which the current cards will expire at the end of the current (2015) year. This issue had increased the discussions in Pakistan that the current cards should not be renewed, but they have to be sent back to their country.

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<sup>1</sup> UNHCRA, A/AC.96/577-14 August 1980, 31<sup>st</sup> Session Executive Committee, Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities in 1979-1980 and Proposed Voluntary Funds Programmes and Budget for 1981, par. 602, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> UNHCR, Afghan Refugee Statistics, February 2005



## **The Reasons of Migration to Pakistan:**

There are mainly two reasons for migration and taking asylum in other places:

1. Because of conflicts and war.
2. Because of natural disasters.

If we pay attention to the modern political history, those places that face conflicts, especially Muslim World, the number of migration in those places increase day by day.

Meanwhile there are push factors or pull factors for the process of migration, which most of the factors in Afghanistan are push factors. The reasons that forced Afghans inside Afghanistan to leave their country and migrate to other countries are namely:

- Saur Revolution;
- The ten years invasion of Soviet Union of the country;
- Political instability and civil wars.

However, there are yet some reasons that Afghan refugees do not want to return to their country, which are namely:

1. Instability and insecurity in Afghanistan;
2. The educational opportunities in other countries;
3. The facilities of life in other countries;
4. Their ongoing businesses in those countries;
5. Lack of residential halls for most of the refugees;
6. High prices and unemployment in Afghanistan;
7. Challenges to their life with the existence of foreign forces, and so on.

## The Number of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan:

Most of Afghan refugees are located in Khyber Pashtoonkhwa state, which are more than one million. After that, Afghan refugees are located in Baluchistan, Punjab, Sind, Islamabad, and Kashmir. (For more information, see the table):

State	Families	People	Within Comps	Out of Comps
<b>Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa</b>	180,516 families	1,086,185 ones	546,827 ones	539,357 ones
<b>Baluchistan</b>	52,716 families	362,225 ones	89,384 ones	267,841 ones
<b>Sind</b>	13,369 families	74,424 ones	...	74,424 ones
<b>Punjab</b>	31,496 families	192,020 ones	15,215 ones	176,805 ones
<b>Islamabad</b>	6,756 families	35,565 ones	...	35,565 ones
<b>Azad Kashmir</b>	1,224 families	7,116 ones	...	7,116 ones
<b>Total</b>	286,075 families	1,752,533 ones	651,426 ones	1,101,107 ones

See the statistics of Afghan Refugees in the states of Pakistan in the Pakistan UNGCR website<sup>3</sup>

Most of the refugees in Pakistan are from those provinces, which can be called war-suffered provinces: like Ningarhar, Kunar, Logar, Paktia, Laghman, Kandahar, and Helmand. (See the table for more information)

Ningarhar	Kundoz	Kabul	Logar	Baghlan	Paktia	Laghman	Kunar	Kandahar	Helmand
311,606	199,842	193,433	141,921	123,298	122,763	101,402	97,809	85,187	49,766
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,427,021</b>								

See the website of UNHCR<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> <http://unhcrpk.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Registered-Afghan-Population-in-Pakistan.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> <http://unhcrpk.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Afghan-Population-by-Province-of-Origin-in-Afghanistan.pdf>

## **The returned refugees in 2015 and their conditions here:**

However, the Pakistani officials had said that Afghan refugees, who are registered and have “Afghan Citizen” Identity Cards, would not be forced to return to their country<sup>5</sup>: but, Pakistani Police abuse the registered Afghan refugees and they are indirectly forced to leave Pakistan, and with all the existing challenges return to the country in the cold winter. <sup>6</sup> Therefore, many of registered Afghan refugees returned to the country since the beginning of the year.

There are not reliable statistics to show the exact number of Afghan returned refugees from the beginning of 2015, and no organization has done survey about it; but there are researches done about the return of undocumented refugees.

### **Undocumented Refugees:**

Based on a new survey done by International Organizations for Migration, since January 1 of 2015 up to the 14<sup>th</sup> February of the same year approximately 35,889 undocumented refugees had returned to the county because of the changing conditions of Pakistan. Many of them (36 %) are in Ningarhar Province, especially in Jalalabad City, and the rest of them are residing in Kunar, Laghman, and Kabul. This number is more than the overall return of the refugees in the entire 2014 year. In 2014, there were approximately 21,692 refugees returned, and 3,754 were forcefully returned by Pakistan; but only in these two months, there were 2,204 refugees forced by Pakistan to return to Afghanistan, and more than 32 thousand refugees returned by their own interest.

Half of these returned refugees are living in the houses that they rented, and most of them are concerned about the education of their children. They are also concerned

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<sup>5</sup> Daily Times, Afghan refugees can legally stay in Pakistan Until end of 2015, see it online:  
<<http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/national/24-Dec-2014/afghan-refugees-can-legally-stay-in-pakistan-until-end-of-2015>>

<sup>6</sup> . With all the registration forms and documents, yet Afghan refugees are abused by the police of Pakistan and their houses are searched and they are terrified by them, for more information read the article of Azadi radio.

<http://pa.azadiradio.org/content/article/26817250.html>

Read the second report about it:

<http://pa.azadiradio.org/content/article/26802988.html>

about resuming works and businesses<sup>7</sup>; it is in such a condition that even before their return there was 30 % unemployment in Afghanistan.

### Number of Undocumented Returnees in 2015 (Torkham)

Date	Spontaneous returnees	Deportees	Total
January 2015	22,309	1,472	23781
1-7 <sup>th</sup> February	6,473	345	6,818
8-14 <sup>th</sup> February	4,903	387	5,290
<b>Total</b>	<b>33,685</b>	<b>2,204</b>	<b>35,889 ones</b>

Return of undocumented Afghans from Pakistan (Update as of 16 February 2015) by International Organisations of Migration, Kabul.

### Average Trends per Day (Unregistered Refugees): 2014 VS 2015

Type of Caseloads	2014	2015	Comparing two years
Spontaneous undocumented individuals	59 per day	749 per day	13 times increase
Deported undocumented individuals	10 per day	49 per day	5 times increase

Return of undocumented Afghans from Pakistan (Update as of 16 February 2015) by International Organisations of Migration, Kabul.

<sup>7</sup> International Organisations of Migration, Return of undocumented Afghans from Pakistan (Update as of 16 February 2015) See it online: <http://afghanistan.iom.int/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Return-of-Undocumented-Afghans-from-Pakistan-16-Feb-2015.pdf>

## **The Policy of Afghan Government for the return of Refugees:**

Afghan refugees create a huge number of Afghan Nation, without the existence of the Afghan refugees Afghan nation will be incomplete, but there are also skilled, educated and well trained people within these refugees and they can play an important role in the development of the country; but currently Afghanistan is not economically ready to accept a huge number of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, Iran, and other countries. Therefore, Afghan President in his speech to the Upper House said that Afghan Refugees create a massive number of the nation and without their existence, Afghan nation is not complete.<sup>8</sup>

The CEO of the national unity government Abdullah Abdullah told media that very soon, the government will take decision about the Afghan refugees, and a delegation will be sent to Pakistan about this issue.<sup>9</sup>

The new Minister Alami Balkhi had also said in a speech that return of Afghan refugees is in the priorities of the new government, and he further added; “the desire of Afghan government is that the Pakistani Government should stop forcing the refugees to return back to Afghanistan and their return should be gradual, so the Afghan government will be able to welcome them with honor and provide opportunities for them.”

To summarize, Afghan government want to return Afghan refugees as below:

1. Pakistan should stop forcing Afghan refugees to return;
2. The return of Afghan refugees should take place gradually;
3. The refugees should be returned in such a condition that the Afghan government would be ready to welcome them with honor.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://morr.gov.af/fa/news/41816>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.khaama.com/persian/archives/22956> and Muhammad Hasan Khetab, Abdullah Concerned about refugees in Pakistan, pajhwok news, Feb 16, 2015. See it online: <http://www.pajhwok.com/en/2015/02/16/abdullah-concerned-about-refugees-pakistan>

Afghan side also hope that the ID cards should be renewed, because Afghan government need time for it and immediately it is not ready to accept such a huge number of refugees and provide facilities for them<sup>10</sup>.

The End

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with the secretor of the Ministry of migration and refugee affairs of Afghanistan.