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Preface

Almost one year ago, two vanguard candidates in the Presidential Elections divided the government between themselves by 50-50 and the drama which had begun due to 'frauds in elections' were ended.

Afghans were satisfied with the establishment of "National Unity" government which rescued the country from a probable crisis; however, the country is going towards a real crisis after one year. The promises that both candidates have given to the nation were not fulfilled due to its incapability or the serious differences between both teams.

Peace and security was the biggest need of the country and so agreements became signed with America and NATO with the motive that peace and stability would be prevailed in the country; however, the faded peace process fully stopped during the past one year and the security situation reached to a point where districts and provinces are being collapsed. Besides that, the situation in the fields of economy, corruption, foreign policy and etc. is worse and now, Afghans are so disappointed about its future.

In this issue of Weekly Analysis, a year journey of the Afghan government and the situation of different fields in the country are reviewed.

The Situation of Afghanistan after one year of NUG



The National Unity Government (NUG) has passed its first year without having an achievement. The leaders of NUG have given big promises to the nation; however, they have not fulfilled any of them yet.

Hopelessness of the people of Afghanistan can be recognized from the fact that people are fleeing the country. Hundred thousands of Afghans especially the youth, by accepting the risk of death, try to find their way to Europe, and some of them do not find their way to Europe and thus sank in the depth of the Oceans.

The main reason behind this is the disastrous war. However, President Ghani, during his campaign, had promised the people that providing peace would be at the top of his government's priorities.

Peace:

Peace Negotiations with the Taliban

Peace is not one-sided process that a party can impose on an opposite side until it become weakened as a result of war and does not have a solution except surrendering.

The main problem of NUG is that it searches peace in eliminating the opposite side, but, as it does not have the power to do it, therefore, it requests Pakistan to do so. In the case, the experience of Hamid Karzai's government shows that struggle on providing peace is entirely an inter-Afghan process.

If the government of Afghanistan thinks that the Taliban are entirely in control of Pakistan, and Afghanistan can make Taliban to surrender to the Kabul government by providing privileges to Pakistan; either it has countered mistakes in its calculation or it is fooling itself.

If the government of Afghanistan provides every kind of privileges to Pakistan, the Pakistani side would demand for ensuring that it has a long-term access to these privileges. This assurance cannot be achieved by surrendering the Taliban to the Kabul government, but Islamabad can achieve such kind of a long-term assurance through having the power shared with the elements loyal to Pakistan.

The demands of the Taliban were so clear in Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour's Eid message; they were: withdrawal of foreign forces from the country, dismissing the security agreements signed with the governments and organizations and adopt the Sharia Law. Hence, Pakistan or any other country will not be able to dissuade the Taliban from their demands.

If the government of Afghanistan provides the Taliban with such privileges in order to have peace, there is no need to the intercession of Pakistan and this duty is like to be performed through inter-Afghan negotiations, also.

Change in the Leadership of the Taliban

After the disclosure of the death news of Mullah Mohammad Omar, the domestic and international media tried to prove that the Taliban has countered disputes and ramification, however, the incorrectness of this believe is proved gradually.

The government of Afghanistan had two rounds of peace negotiations in Urumqi and Islamabad with those who were not representing the Taliban. This was Pakistan's artifice that makes those who were accessible to Pakistan to enter the negotiations on behalf of the Taliban; however, the Pakistani officials say that the peace talks are

suspended to an uncertain future due to disputes revealed in the ranks of the Taliban after the disclosure of the death news of Mullah Mohammad Omar.

The reality is that Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour has the executive responsibility in the Taliban movement since 2010 and establishing the Qatar Office was from his initiatives. Accepting an address for peace negotiations means that the Taliban wants to have negotiations on peace, however, it believes that the “occupation” of Afghanistan by foreign forces should become to an end. It means that this issue should be resolved with America through negotiations; however, negotiations on peace would be impossible if the military presence of America continues in the country.

On international level, the US and China announced that it welcomes the peace negotiations as a result of Pakistan’s intercession, however, the United States yet to be told anything officially for the main condition of the Taliban which is dismissing the security agreement with America and withdrawal of its entire forces from Afghanistan.

Taliban considers China as a power in the region that its presence can be an assurance for the withdrawal of foreign forces in the region, however, it looks like China has concerns about the situation of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, hence, it does not want to express its opinion in this regard, especially after the presence of Daesh, which is considered as a challenge for the region, proved in Afghanistan and Americans are busy with magnifying this threat every day.

Security:

The Emergence of Daesh in the East of Afghanistan

Some people believes that the Taliban was the only group that was fighting against foreign forces in the past 13 years; now, they are faced a newcomer opponent named Daesh in the Eastern part of Afghanistan who wants to spread its control to other areas in the country, gradually. Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour also mentioned this issue in his Eid message that “Invaders try to bring new groups to the ground”.

On the other hand, the emergence of Daesh is a headache to the Taliban, has an unpleasant message for the regional countries and even makes those security officials of regionale countries to think about whether Taliban are more dangerous or Daesh. Whereas, the Taliban has always emphasized on national interests and goals inside Afghanistan, in the case, Daesh aims establishing a great Khorasan in the region; the

regional countries, according to their own principles, would prefer the Bad “Taliban” when they have to make a choice between a bad “Taliban” and Worse “Daesh”.

Each kind of magnification for presence of Daesh in Afghanistan could be in interest of the Taliban and it can have the attention of neighboring and regional countries to be focused on the Taliban as an influential force against Daesh.

War in the North and Collapse of Kunduz

Taliban has made efforts for spreading the war in to the Northern part of Afghanistan from the beginning of 2015 and it looks like they are successful in their program. In the case, the emerging point of the Taliban is South of the country and until the last two years, the analysts believe that the Taliban has not a chance in the North of the country; now, it is known that its most achievements are in the North.

Probably, the weakness of NUG has its impact on the Taliban and this weakness better revealed after the collapse of Kunduz by the Taliban; however, the base of the mistakes that made people in the North to take distance from the government is established in Hamid Karzai’s era. These mistakes were never tried to become fixed.

Establishment of local police (Arbaki) which was an unsuccessful experience of Communists and their brutality in the area caused the Taliban to have significant presence in Kunduz province and eventually take control of its provincial center.

Collapse of Kunduz by the hand of Taliban in the first year of NUG is clear message to foreign forces supporting NUG and NUG itself that the Taliban are powerful than ever and no power can dismiss them, now.

As RECCA and SOM conferences for attracting aids were held in Afghanistan and the regional countries were hopeful in order to carve railway lines and oil and gas pipelines through Afghanistan; At least, Taliban, by having powerful presence in the North, want to tell the regional countries to invite them to this party, also.

Kunduz has a strategic importance for the Taliban. The Taliban, during their regime, were able to control the North after they took control of Kunduz. The difference is that there was the North Coalition in Badakhshan and Takhar at that time, however, the Taliban has wide presence in Badakhshan and some areas of Baghlan right now. Therefore, Takhar and Baghlan provinces are under the direct threat of the Taliban.

Disputes:

From Power Sharing to Internal Disputes

In a country where individualism is praised, dividing of power between two opponents could not have a better result than it is. The cabinet is not established after one year, the disputes over election commissions are going on and the E-IDs are yet to be distributed due to dispute over using the terms of Islam and Nationality.

The President and CEO and their deputies have hired a large number of advisors to no avail. And, the government has put 10% tax on telecommunication networks in order to provide the extravagant salaries to these advisors.

President Ghani had promised eliminating corruption, he did not fulfill his promise; moreover, corruption has increased and promoted several time more compared to Karzai's era and even it spread in the armed forces, also. The parliamentarians even claim that the check posts are surrendered to the Taliban in exchange for money.

The government hired former brutal Communists in order to get use of their experience and eliminate the armed opposition, but they became failed, either. They were talking about tactical retreating and preventing civilian lives while the districts were collapsing and they repeat the same song after Kunduz collapsed; in the case, the reality is that they are incapable.

What should be done?

The NUG has got achievements neither in war and nor in peace. We are now witnessing a failed state. If the government wants to take the country out of this unpleasant situation, it should take care of the following points:

- Change in peace policy with the opposition and taking step toward a real negotiations;
- Creating a third party as acceptable to entire sides in order to lay the ground for bilateral trust and direct talks;
- If the government could not get use of these two solutions, it has to resign and consign the power to an interim government.

If the international community really wants to help Afghanistan, it should support the above-mentioned options; otherwise, the situation of the country would get worse more than ever.

A Year Journey of NUG: Economy, Corruption and Foreign Policy



Increasing obstacles against peace and stability, promoting war and internal disputes in the government are not the only problems of the national unity government (NUG) that have disappointed Afghans, but, overall, the government is failed in every field. According to surveys of some media groups¹, absolute majority of Afghans are dissatisfied with one year performance of NUG.

The government has faced a lot of challenges in the past one year, and perhaps this situation would continue for the next year, also. The next year would clear the fate of the government because the survival of this government in these conditions seems impossible.

Economic Situation

With the establishment of present government, the rate of unemployment increased² and Afghani incomparably depreciated for the first time in 14 years³. Meanwhile,

¹ See Online:

<http://www.dw.com/en/dashed-hopes-a-year-into-afghanistans-unity-government/a-18748050>

http://www.tolonews.com/TOLONews_photo/pdf/TOLONews_4th_NUG_approval_rating_August_2015.pdf

² Head of the National Workers Union said that now; almost 13 million people are unemployed or underemployed. (For more information: see 131st issue of Weekly Analysis)

investment and other major economic projects are impacted by insecurity and yet to be started.

However, NUG was able to increase the revenue of the government by 10% in the last one year, but, the increasing revenue would cover only 28% of the operating budget and 54% of the core development budget and the remaining of the budget would be provided by the international community.⁴

Besides that, the government deducts 10% as a tax from mobile networks in order to increase government's revenue. The international donors were requesting the Afghan government to increase its domestic revenue and the Afghan government has also recognized that international donors has more focus now on Syria, Iraq, Ukraine and refugees in Europe and therefore mostly their funds would be transferred to those areas.

A few months ago, the government increased tax on shops in Kabul; however, the shop keeper protested against this decision and closed their shops. After this experience, the government, by deducting 10% as a tax from mobile networks, followed a policy which was not provoking the people and meanwhile increasing the revenue of the government.

The exports of Afghanistan have increased by 61% in the first quarter of 1394; the main reason is increase in the prices of licorices in the international market. The other reason behind increase in Afghan exports is that the amount of rain in Afghanistan became higher in the past few years and so the agricultural product is increased. The main reason behind the lack of imports in the current year is deflation. If the rate of unemployment decreases and economic growth increases, the rate of imports would be increased, also. The achievement in the trade is not because of the policies of the government, but, it is because of the international market and internal situation in Afghanistan.

Briefly, the government of Afghanistan has not brought any change in the life of its people, but, according to a survey, unlike its promises during elections, it impacted the life of the people negatively.⁵

³ One US Dollar was equivalent to 48 Afghani in January 2005. The value of Afghani got better (56.33) in the beginning of 2014; on January 2015, the value of Afghani against USD was 60.1 and now (on August 27th) it values 65.16. (For more information: see 131st issue of Weekly Analysis)

⁴ Above sources.

⁵ : See Online

http://www.tolonews.com/TOLONews_photo/pdf/TOLONews_4th_NUG_approval_rating_August_2015.pdf

Corruption

The London Conference on Afghanistan took place on 4 December 2014 and President Ghani presented his article on Economic Reform in it. Struggles against corruption were mentioned in it, also. The government claimed that in order for tackling corruption, it would take the following steps:

- Formation of an “independent anti-corruption mission with time-bound prosecution powers;
- The “reform of the Supreme Audit Agency”;
- The formation of a “national procurement board” that will manage all large-value contracts;
- Providing the Supreme Court with the resources needed to implement its comprehensive reform program that will ensure that judges are appropriately compensated, protected, and held to high standard of professional behavior;
- instituting a requirement for all government officials to provide public declarations of their assets;
- We will introduce mobile banking services, which have been proven to reduce opportunities for leakages;
- Reviewing the present laws and procedures that cause corruption;
- Reforming the electoral system;
- Reforming the Judiciary;
- And others.⁶

However, neither an independent anti-corruption mission is established nor the reforms are brought in any field yet. The only achievement the government has in tackling corruption is reopening the Kabul Bank case. The Finance Minister in SOM Confere told that 228 million dollars are received from debtors yet.

Besides that, the government put travel ban on officials involved in Kabul Bank corruption case including former Kabul Mayors, 22 senior officials of the Housing and Urban Development Ministry, 150 debtors of Kabul Bank and some other officials.

⁶ Realizing Self-Reliance: Commitments to Reforms and Renewed Partnership (Draft Paper of Ashraf Ghani to be presented in London Conference)

Meanwhile, the files of alleged officials of the Housing and Urban Development Ministry involved in corruption reviewed and transferred to the Supreme Court, also. No step other than mentioned taken in tackling corruption yet and the rate of corruption is remaining as high as it was in the past.

Migration and Fleeing out of Country

A large number of Afghans are refugees in Pakistan and Iran. Some of the events in both countries⁷ impacted Afghan refugees and caused thousands of Afghans to return to their countries in 2015. According to the IMO, between June 1 and June 30 of 2015, 137803 unregistered Afghan refugees repatriated to Afghanistan through Islam Qala and Milak ports, 89561 through Torkham and 9949 through Speen Boldak.

The issue of unregistered Afghan refugees was solved as a result of several visits of the Minister of Refugees and Repatriation to neighboring countries. Senior officials of both countries promised that they are going to register the unregistered Afghan refugees soon. Besides that, the Stay of registered Afghan refugees in Pakistan is also extended for two more years.

The best performance of NUG in the past year was in the field of refugees; however, the policy and strategy of Afghan refugees are yet to be specified in the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation. The government was supposed to have a clear policy on Afghan refugees in neighboring countries. The problem of Afghan refugees cannot be solved with extending their stay. The government should have a decisive, clear and specific policy on this regard that when it is ready to repatriate Afghan refugees.

The migration of Afghans to Europe increased in the last three years. According to a survey, 26215 Afghans have requested for asylum in 2013, this number increased by

⁷ For example, Pakistan entered the issue of Afghan refugees in the anti-terrorism policy and took a hard position against them after an attack on a military school in Peshawar that caused sons of military officers to be killed.

Meanwhile, hard step took against unregistered Afghan refugees in Iran. It sent some of them to Syria, imprisoned a number and deported another to Afghanistan. The reason behind Iran's hard position would be establishing a declaration by the Afghan government that was supporting Saudi Arabia in the case of Yemen.

41370 in 2014.⁸ According to UNHCR, almost 80 thousands Afghans have migrated to Europe in the first 8 months of 2015. According to the Afghan Ministry of Refugees Affairs, 60 thousands Afghans are leaving the country every month⁹ and according to a research report by German newspaper, nearly one hundred thousand Afghans are fleeing Afghanistan every month.¹⁰

The reasons behind fleeing from the country in the first year of NUG are as follows:

- Insecurity and War
- Unemployment
- Easy Acceptance Conditions in some European Countries¹¹

Fleeing of educated and young class of Afghanistan in such a large number will negatively impact the country in the upcoming years.

Foreign Policy

Important decisions made on NUG's foreign policy and profound change is being seen in this policy compare to Hamid Karzai's second term's foreign policy.

NUG made the following decisions in foreign policy in its first year:

- Security agreements was signed with America and NATO within the 24 hours of the establishment of NUG;
- Relations with Pakistan reached to its peak level in the past 14 years;
- Ashraf Ghani had his first official visit to China and increased the focus of his foreign policy towards China;
- China and Pakistan became involved in peace process;
- The Afghan government, for the first time, tried to become closer to Saudi Arabia. Ashraf Ghani went there for performing an Umrah and met Saudi Officials and then issued a statement on supporting Saudi in the issue of Yemen;
- Relations with India became colder and even India has not responded to the request of Afghanistan on signing a strategic treaty in order to continue their cooperation under its banner.

⁸ See online:< [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_\(nonEU\)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2013_and_2014_YB15_III.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_(nonEU)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2013_and_2014_YB15_III.png)>

⁹ Weesa Daily, 10th Year Issue 98th, Monday 2015, September 28th.

¹⁰ See online:<<http://www.dw.com/ps/%D9%87%D8%B1%D9%87-%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%AA-%D9%84%D9%87-%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%BA%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%DA%85%D8%AE%D9%87-%D8%B3%D9%84-%D8%B2%D8%B1%D9%87-%DA%A9%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88%DA%81%D9%8A/a-18744037>>

¹¹ 130th issue of Weekly Analysis, CSRS

The Mis-Calculated Foreign Policy

The government had made incorrect calculation about its foreign policy on its first year. It signed the security agreement with America and NATO in order to bring security and stability in the country, however, neither security and nor the stability is established in the country. Meanwhile, the fighting is intensified, the war is taken to the North of the country, the districts are collapsing gradually and eventually the Kunduz province will also collapse.

The government provided Pakistan with a lot of privileges as like as it had done in the past years and even slackened its relations with India in order to decrease the concerns of Pakistan. Kabul did all these with the motive that Pakistan will make Taliban to have peaceful talks with the Afghan government, for peace to become provided in Afghanistan and for war to become to an end; unfortunately, the estimation of the government was incorrect; because neither the peace and nor the security is established, moreover, the country is going day by day towards instability and insecurity, the faded peace process is fully stopped and the relations with Pakistan went worse once again.

The Afghan government supported Saudi Arabia as a result of incorrect political calculations in order to have Saudi to cooperate in the peace process and the economic field and provided about a hundred thousand Afghan workers with visas; however, Saudi Arabia has not provided Afghanistan with a touchable aid in the last six months.

The End

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