



Center for Strategic & Regional Studies
Kabul

Weekly Analysis- Issue Number 94 (Nov 29-Dec 6, 2014)

Weekly Analysis is one of the CSRS' publications analyzing significant weekly political and economic events of Afghanistan and region to provide strategic insights and policy solutions to help decision-maker institutions and individuals design better policies. Weekly Analysis is published in local languages Pashto and Dari, English and Arabic languages.

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Preface

In this volume of CSRS you will read the following: increase of insecurity around the country, secret peace negotiations between the new government and the armed opposition, and the NATO and London conferences about Afghanistan, which has been brought to you by the CSRS analysis board.

After establishment of new unity government, security condition of the country is getting worse day by day, in which only Kabul city witnessed several bloody attacks in last few days; but there are various opinions about the new strategies and policies of the new government concerning peace and security.

Insecurity increased in Afghanistan in a condition where in a month NATO's mandate will shift to its new phase, according to the results at NATO conference. At the same time, London conference is taking place in a foggy environment where unity government has not been able to come to an agreement for its new cabinet since last 2 months.

Now there are the questions: Which direction will unity government take peace and security to, what are its current efforts about it, and how what will be the impact of new NATO mandate on Afghanistan? These are the topics that would be discussed in the current weekly analysis.

Afghanistan and the war that reached deadlock



Since the fall of communism in 1978, Afghanistan has been witnessing a war up to date which makes 37 years, the end of which still remains dark. The war that the second, and even third generation of the warriors keeps it up, as the bloodshed of the first generation is not enough for the other generations. In this phenomenon every generation wants to have its own experience, and experience their own lost.

Jihad against the Soviet Union and its puppet government in Afghanistan meant 1.5 million lives. Thousands of others were killed in civil war following communism fall. Later then, there were thousands of people killed in the war between Taliban and the United Frontiers, and since the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 till now, thousands of others killed and counting.

Statistics of the Taliban killed since 2001

It would be so tough to declare the exact human casualties of this period. The U.S. invasion of Afghanistan started on August 7th, 2001, and up to December 2014 it reached exactly 13 years and four months. During these 4865 days, every day the Afghan Security Forces reported killing of many armed Taliban during their military operations and the Foreign Forces, which sometimes it would cross the line of hundreds of lives. The statistics of November reports killing of more than six hundred Taliban during the month.

If only we count the death of the Taliban with full attention and care, and count that at least 10 has been killed every day, the multiplication of thirteen years and 3 months would be 48,650.

It is not all the statistics of the Taliban that are killed, but there were thousands of other Taliban also killed during the beginning of US invasion, which its statistics were not revealed till some days ago, but a few days ago General Abdul Rashid Dostum stated that his soldiers arrested more than 45,000 of the Al-Qaida members in 2001.

Exposing the secret is not only meant arresting people, as they were not only members of Al-Qaida, Dostum Has counted Taliban as Al-Qaida too, it's obvious that there were never 45,000 members of Al-Qaida in Afghanistan, we can't even pretend this.

Suppose 2,000 of them were members of Al-Qaida, more than 40,000 of them were Taliban. After 2003, only 3,000 of those Taliban, who were imprisoned by Dostum, were released in the form of small groups, and the rest of them which were approximately 40,000 disappeared in northern Afghanistan. Therefore, we have to add the number of the disappeared ones to the killed Taliban. So, up to date there should be more than 80,000 Taliban killed in Afghanistan, but instead of getting weakened, this group continues the war with even more energy.

Casualties of the Afghan Forces

Present above, are not the only casualties of the war in Afghanistan, we have to include the casualties of the Afghan Security forces including that of ANA, ANP, ALP and NDS to the statistics. According to a report of VOA, which was published on 6th November 2014, there were more than 4,634 Afghan Forces killed in last one month, in various battles and different types of incidents around the country. According to Lt. General Joseph Anderson, who is one of the high-ranking officials of the U.S. military forces in Afghanistan, the mentioned number of loss is not tolerable for the Afghan Security Forces.

If we take an average of 1000 men loss for Afghan security forces each year, it makes up 13000, Taliban casualties included makes up 90,000.

Civilian Casualties

It's difficult to find proper statistics in this. The discussion is not about which party killed more civilians, rather it's more about how many civilians had to give their lives for the war.

According to the reports, civilian casualties statistics provided by all sides, the Taliban, Afghan Security Forces and their foreign allies, it makes it tougher to find out the correct statistics, and most of the time the civilian casualties in rural areas are not reported by media; but both the

Afghan Government and the International Organizations confirm that the civilian casualties in Afghanistan are much more than of the militants.

By being conservative, and suppose the same number of casualties for civilians like Taliban's, we would have a total of 170,000 live loss.

There is no doubt that in such a war, it's not only those have lost lives have lost something it rather affects others too. Injured and disables in Afghanistan are not only themselves facing the wall but their families also have to suffer a death countdown.

While the War Reach Deadlock

The history of Afghanistan shows that the presence of foreign forces has always been a motive for war. Therefore, the extension foreign forces presence could only mean a continuous war, especially in rural areas of the country, which has been ignited after signing BSA.

On the other hand, it is crystal clear that the most powerful forces of their time like: British, Russian, and finally the Americans and NATO were not able to bring peace to the country through war; so reaching the goal by the Afghan Security Forces is also difficult, because no side in this war, has the chance of winning it, and no side will face complete loss of the war, which itself mean deadlock of the war between both the parties, which will remain so and will be obstacle for sustainable development of the country.

Therefore it must be a priority for unity government to reach a peace deal with armed forces opposing it, otherwise the ongoing war could be a dilemma for tens of more year and by its continuation (as experienced in other countries) will bring even more fundamentalist and cruel groups to the ground.

Negotiations with the Taliban under the Supervision of the UN



Though economic diplomacy is President Ashraf Ghani's first element in foreign policy, the peace negotiations and the security of the country is also in the priority of his foreign policy. After Ghani's leadership the negotiations process, which was completely stopped, resumed. Many experts believe that President Ghani's visits to Saudi Arabia, China, and Pakistan resumed the negotiations process, and it is believed that Ashraf Ghani has a new policy for peace.

But there seems to be indications that President Ashraf Ghani is following Karzai's footsteps, and he has started secret negotiation with Taliban. A Pakistani news agency Express Tribune mentioned in a report that the negotiations is under the supervision of the UN, and it's aiming to give share to Taliban in political power.

It is in such a condition that in last two weeks there were 9 deathly attacks only in Kabul City, because of which General Zahir Azimi felt obliged to resign. The analysts believe that if the secret negotiations with the Taliban are true, it is visible in the attempts of President Ashraf Ghani, and he has boosted his efforts for peace.

Secret Peace Negotiations

Pakistani news agency "Express Tribune" exposed the negotiations of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani with the Taliban under the supervision of the UN; yet UN has not showed its stance about it. Neither is there enough details provided either the negotiations is directly between the Afghan Officials and the Taliban, or there is a mediation between them? And where is the negotiations taking place?

Before this, while Taliban hanged the flag of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in their office in Qatar, and former President Hamid Karzai reacted against it, the negotiations process stopped. Once again, currently, some sources that are close to Taliban, stated that President Ashraf Ghani will not only officially accept the Taliban's office in Qatar, but will also let them hang their flag on their office; but they will not hang the board of "the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" on their office.

According to Pakistani news agency, Pakistani officials promised President Ashraf Ghani in Islamabad, that they will cooperate for the peace talk between Afghan government and Taliban. According to the source, President Ashraf Ghani is more interested to negotiations with the Taliban compared to ex-president Karzai, and he has prepared Taliban to negotiate with the Afghan Government under the supervision of the UN.

In addition, some mediators like Qayoom Kochai, Ashraf Ghani's uncle, are known for mediation between the Taliban and the Afghan Government in Kabul. According to some mediators, Qayoom Kochai has relations with the Taliban since a long time, he had many visits to Qatar's office, and he has shared his share of views with Taliban.

It is said that Ashraf Ghani asked his uncle to proceed with peace talks, therefore Qayoom Kochai has met with a Taliban leader in the U.A.E. before President Ghani's entrance to the Presidential Palace and after the declaration of the result of the presidential election, and two weeks ago the same Taliban leader reached Kabul too. But the mediators believe that the mentioned Taliban leader met Qayoom Kochai by his own decision, then he spoke to the Taliban and rejected his visit to Kabul. If his visit to Kabul has taken place without the decision of the Taliban leaders, it does not seem to be hope arising. These attempts would be successful while the reliable officials of both the parties participated in the negotiations, and establish a trust between themselves.

It is not yet confirmed either Express Tribune pointed to the mentioned meeting of Qayoom Kochai with the Taliban leader, or to any other negotiations between the Afghan Governmental Officials and the Taliban leaders? Earlier there were rumours that the U.S. negotiated with some fake Taliban, and currently there are once again doubt that the new Afghan Government may also be in contact with the fake Taliban, either those Taliban may not be influential in the leadership of the Taliban, or they may be former Taliban.

New Afghan government and its international donors



President Ashraf Ghani and the Executive Chief of the govt. Dr. Abdullah participated in the conference of the foreign ministers of NATO in Brussels. Though some analysts believe that President Ashraf Ghani's participation in the conference of the foreign ministers of NATO was unreasonable due to the protocol; but due to their idea, Dr. Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Participated in the conference for attracting foreign aids.

On the other hand, the conference of the foreign ministers was also valuable because of the end of the military mission of NATO in Afghanistan, and the topic of the conference which was preparation of the new mission in Afghanistan.

Some other Afghan Officials also joined Dr. Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah in their visit to Brussels, who later on participated in the conference of London.

New NATO mandate

Since 2001, NATO, with its greatest alliances in its history that was made of 50 countries, joined the U.S. and attacked Afghanistan. Since that time up to 2010 the overall forces of NATO that were in Afghanistan were 130 thousands, which will decline to 12,500 up to the beginning of 2015 based on the signed security agreement.

The Secretary General of NATO Jens Stoltenberg declared the new mission of NATO in Afghanistan by the name of Serious Support, in the conference of foreign ministers of NATO, which will start by the end of 2014 and start of 2015.

Though it is planned that after one month the operational mission of NATO will end in Afghanistan and their new mission which is advisory and Afghan Security Forces training will start; but as the security all around the country is getting worse, and only in Kabul city there were nine attacks in last two weeks, raise the question that will be the Afghan Security Forces able to secure the country, and will be they able to prevent such attacks? It is clear from the ideas of the Afghan Security Officials that even after the end of the operational mission of NATO, they will ask the foreign forces for cooperation in their operations to support the Afghan Security Forces in battles; because the Afghan Security Forces are not trained and equipped in last thirteen years as it was expected.

On the other hand, the Secretary General of NATO also said that after the completion of the operational mission of NATO, the Afghan Security Forces will face with serious attacks of the Taliban, and in some ways, NATO predict insecurity in Afghanistan. In the pessimistic and optimistic environment between Afghanistan and NATO, related to the upcoming security condition of the country, it seems that the training mission of NATO in Afghanistan would be impossible, which means the continuation of war in the country.

Meanwhile, the UN Special Representative for Afghanistan Nicholas Haysom state in the NATO conference that the resolution for the Afghanistan's issues is not war, but diplomatic ways of resolution; but before finding diplomatic resolution for the issue, the military existence of the U.S. and NATO in Afghanistan only and only means continuation of war, not the diplomatic resolution and peace.

President Ashraf Ghani, in his speech, blamed NATO that it has been fighting in Afghanistan only for its own goals in Afghanistan since 2001, and the same challenges in the Afghanistan still remain the same. He also expressed his concern about the future of the NATO war in Afghanistan during his presidency.

In the conference, in addition to the issue of Afghanistan, the issue of Ukraine was also seriously discussed, and it seems that NATO is more concerned about the creation of new alliances in Europe against Russia, and tries just to keep up its existence in Afghanistan. The Secretary General of NATO also stated in the conference, "We defence our alliances, and cooperate our friends".

London Conference

Since 2001 up to now there are many conferences held related to Afghanistan, among which the conferences of first and second Bonn, Rome, Paris, Germany, Kabul, the Heart of Asia, Chicago, Tokyo, and now London were the important ones of them, and in the mentioned conferences Afghanistan was granted more than 80 billion dollar aids.

In the conference of London representatives of more than 70 countries and international organizations spoke about the future of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of NATO from this country. But this conference was a part of the Tokyo conference that was waiting for correspondence about a better governance and administration, and giving end to corruption in Afghanistan; because, not only internationals but also Afghans are concerned about the misuse of the international aids, and massive corruption in Afghanistan.

Though, President Ghani declared his policy toward good governance and struggle against corruption in the conference of London; but the dispute between him and Dr. Abdullah caused suspension in the declaration of cabinet before the conference of London. As they were not able to declare the cabinet before the conference of London, it seems that it will have negative impacts over gaining international aids. It was also the condition in the conference of Tokyo, which was held in 2012, that the condition of international aids for Afghanistan is good governance and struggle against corruption, and the secretary general once again clarified the condition in the conference of London that they promises aids with the Afghan Forces; but the Afghan Government should also stand on its promises.

Tens of Afghan Civil Society Activists also participated in the conference of London, who are optimist for the influence of the conference, and the U.S. foreign minister also promised that Afghanistan will become a regional power. But, overall Afghans are concerned about the future of a corporation-like government, and the promised aids of the conference to Afghanistan seems to be useless. Participation of two equal leaders of one country in the conference of London, strengthen their concerns.

President Ghani, in his speech, said that the poor economic condition of the country is the main challenge for Afghanistan; but currently Afghanistan needs peace and security, because the insecurity reached its peak compared to last approximately one decade; but from the

inauguration and the attempts of the new government it seems that the doors of security and peace are being closed toward Afghans.

The End

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