

# **Center for Strategic & Regional Studies**

# Kabul

# Weekly Analysis- Issue Number 93 (November 22-29, 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.

# In this issue:

٠	Introduction	2
The eighteenth SAARC conference and Afghanistan		
•	Background	3
•	Members and Observers:	4
•	The Cooperation of SAARC Countries:	4
•	The Shadow of India-Pakistan over SAARC Conference	5
٠	The Relationship of Afghanistan with the SAARC Countries	6
•	"We don't want proxy war in Afghanistan"	6
The B.S.A. and the Future of Peace in Afghanistan		
•	The Pro Agreement Campaign in the Lower House	8
•	The last decree of President Obama	9
•	Provocation of War and the Future of War:	10
•	President Ghani's Peace Plan	10

# Preface

In this issue of the Weekly Analysis you will read: SAARC, the background of Afghanistan's membership in SAARC, participation of Afghanistan in its eighteen conference; and in other part of the analysis, the expansion of the military operational mission to the end of 2015 by U.S. President Barack Obama, and the approval of the BSA by the Afghan Parliament, analyzed by the analytical board of the CSRS.

President Ashraf Ghani represented Afghanistan in the eighteenth conference of SAARC in the capital of Nepal, Katmandu. He attempted to build relationship with the countries that have the membership of SAARC. Meanwhile, he pointed to Pakistan and India and said that he will not led proxy war of other countries to take place in Afghanistan. Looking to the background of SAARC, to what direction is the SAARC moving? Overall, what were the income and advantages of the eighteenth conference for Afghanistan and other members of SAARC?

In the meantime to SAARC conference, the Afghan Parliament immediately approved BSA with the U.S without discussion; while the U.S media reported the extension of any type of the U.S operations for one more year with a secret decree of President Obama to the end of 2015. So what will be the result of the new secret decree and toward what direction the Afghanistan's peace and security will move? These are the issues that are discussed in this issue.

# The eighteenth SAARC conference and Afghanistan



The eighteenth conference of SAARC, in which the leaders of the member countries participated, took place in Kathmandu the capital of Nepal, which ended on November 28. Afghanistan is the newest member of the SAARC, which has acquired membership since the last seven years.

President Ashraf Ghani represented Afghanistan in the conference, in addition to his participation in the conference; he had separate meetings with the heads of the SAARC member countries.

## Background

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an important economic and geopolitical organization in the region, and it is counted as an important design for the economic cooperation of the Southern Asian Countries. There were three attempts (in 1947, 1950, and 1954) to create this organization; but that time it was impossible to create such an organization; but while Pakistan divided into two countries and Bangladesh got its independence from Pakistan, the Bangladeshi President of the time Ziaulrahman went to India in 1974, he expressed his idea that the Southern Asian countries should be tied trough an economic integration.

That time the attempts of Ziaulrahman faced a warm welcome of the Southern Asian Countries; but Pakistan and India were doubtful about it. India was afraid of the small Southern Asian Countries that may arise against India, while Pakistan was afraid of India's support from the

3

program that India is going to expand its market in Southern Asian Countries. So India might increase its strength in the region.

With all these issues, finally in 1958 the first conference of SAARC was held, and the dream of the economic ties of the Southern Asian Countries was implemented to some extent.

Afghanistan is located in such a geographical location that some count it as Central Asian country while others count it as Southern Asian and even some counted it as the Middle Eastern country. It was told that time that Afghanistan is not member of the Southern Asian countries, instead it is located in the Central Asia, so it cannot be member of the SAARC; but finally it was decided in the thirteenth conference of SAARC in 2005 that Afghanistan is a Southern Asian country and its membership in SAARC in 2007 in New Delhi SAARC Conference.

### Members and Observers:

This organization has eight members namely: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, and Nepal, and there are some countries and organizations like: the U.S, Japan, China, Iran, the European Union, Australia, and South Korea, who are called the observers of this organization. It seems that Myanmar will also get the membership of this organization, and the countries that proposed for the observation of the organization are Turkey, South Africa, and Russia.

# The Cooperation of SAARC Countries:

- Improvement of the life of the people of the South Asian Countries.
- Social, economic, and cultural development and overall improvement in the region.
- The sovereignty and self-dependency of the South Asian Countries.
- Cooperating with each other in the fields of economic, social, cultural, technological, and scientific fields.
- Empowerment of cooperation with the developing countries.
- Cooperation in the international forums that have shared interests.

As most of the SAARC countries face lack of electricity, and in some of the countries it is a serious issue, so at the last day of the conference there was a relevant agreement signed; but other commercial agreements were not signed because of the existing conflicts between India and Pakistan.

4

Those agreements are necessity, because the organization is created for the same goals, to link the region with the economic ties, but when there are unpleasant relationship between India and Pakistan, and they are in extreme competition, which might cause the failure of the organization.

## The Shadow of India-Pakistan over SAARC Conference:

Though to the last few years SAARC was counted as an inactive organization, while Narendra Modi became Indian Prime Minister, he invited all the leaders of the SAARC countries to his inaugural ceremony, and he also invited the Pakistani Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, so that it will be a message for the reactivation of the inactive organization. Narendra Modi's attempt faced failure by the Pakistani Prime Minister, when he met with the leaders of Kashmir. The rebuilding relations of the two countries distanced once again, because of the armed conflict in the Indian-Pakistani border, as the result of what the relations of Pakistan and India spread its shadow over the conference.

SAARC is created for economic integration, which most of the times some proposals are rejected because of the competition of India and Pakistan. Since the inauguration of the SAARC the competition of the two neighboring countries was clear, therefore Pakistan did not participate in the SAARC conference of 2012 in India.

As yet the SAARC is not able to shine as the Asian or European Union, the main reason is the complex relations of India and Pakistan. The improvement of SAARC needs friendly relations of India and Pakistan, and with the existence of the rivalry between two countries, SAARC will not be able to achieve its goals.

There were some expectations about signing contracts within the conference, but due to the existing complex relations of India and Pakistan, those contracts were not signed.

#### The Relationship of Afghanistan with the SAARC Countries:

In the eighteenth SAARC conference President Ashraf Ghani was busy with building relationships with the SAARC member countries. He met with the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of Bhutan, the President of Sri Lanka, and the President of Maldives, and he tried to build relationships with them.

The most important one of those meetings was the one with the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, which is reported in Indian media that Modi was listening to President Ghani's speech carefully, and he was listening the peace and security plan of President Ghani with full attention.

Modi also insured President Ashraf Ghani that India will not let Afghanistan and will cooperate with it, he also invited President Ashraf Ghani to India, and according to some reliable resources the trip will be held at the beginning of the upcoming year.

### "We don't want proxy war in Afghanistan"

Since the 1970s, especially 1990s, Afghanistan became the zone of proxy war between India and Pakistan. In 1990s Pakistan was supporting the Taliban and India was supporting the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Those proxy wars inflamed the civil war of the country, but since 9/11 of 2001 India has a great plan in Afghanistan, and it donated approximately 2 billion dollars to the Afghan government in reconstruction efforts and implemented many projects in the country. Today India has a special respect in Afghanistan.

But in this period of time, Pakistan was in a wiggling mode, it raised the sound of participation of the Taliban in Bon Conference, and it was afraid of the entrance of the Northern Alliances to Kabul, in addition to that it was claiming that it support the President Hamid Karzai's government.

During Karzai's regime Afghanistan had complex relationship with Pakistan, and most of the time Kabul was blaming Islamabad for two-face policies; on one hand it promises the Afghan government and on the other hands, it supported the Taliban to overthrow the government of Kabul. Pakistan also had similar doubts about Kabul, that it gave hand to India and intervene in Pakistan, and the doubt reached its peak while Afghanistan signed strategic agreement with India, and Karzai asked India to sell them heavy weaponry. Pakistan was looking toward

everything that India is going to increase its power in Afghanistan, and it was afraid of that the India will spread poisons against Pakistan in Afghanistan.

With the victory of Ashraf Ghani, both the countries predicted that it is the time to rebuild their relationships; but with the return of Ashraf Ghani to Kabul, the foreign affair advisor of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz has expressed issues that caused doubt about a new two-face policy of Pakistan toward Afghanistan; though he clarified his expressions later on.

After the expressions of Sartaj Aziz, the ex-Pakistani President Parwez Musharraf said that with the exit of the foreign forces from Afghanistan, a proxy war will start there. In reaction to his speech, firstly former president of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai said that Kabul will not allow that the Afghan land to become the spot of the proxy war between India and Pakistan.

But, though President Ashraf Ghani reacted lately, but it was a proper place for his reaction to Parwez Musharraf's speech, because the Prime Ministers of both the countries (India and Pakistan) were there. In the SAARC, he directly pointed to Pakistan and India and said that Afghanistan will not only does not allow the neighboring countries to use Afghan land against each other, but will not allow any country to use the Afghan land for starting a proxy war.

# The B.S.A. and the Future of Peace in Afghanistan



As expected, the B.S.A. and the pact for existence of the NATO forces in Afghanistan have approved by the majority votes of the lower house of the Afghan Parliament. As President Ashraf Ghani was in hurry for signing the B.S.A. and immediately, the day after his inauguration ceremony, he signed the B.S.A., the parliament also signed it in hurry, without any discussion. The parliament took the meeting in an unusual day, Sunday, while all other general meetings are held only on Saturdays and Wednesdays. In the Sunday-election about the B.S.A. there were only 5 votes against it, and 3 abstentions, and all the remaining votes were pro signing the agreement.

According to the agreement, the official duty of the foreign forces in Afghanistan would be completed at the end of the current year, and at the beginning of 2015 their training and advisory role to the Afghan Military Forces would start; but one day prior to the entrance of the agreement to the Afghan Parliament, the U.S. media reported that in a secret decree President Obama extended the military operations of the U.S. forces in Afghanistan without involving the other party-Afghanistan- in the process of this extension.

#### The Pro Agreement Campaign in the Lower House:

It was obvious at the beginning that the U.S. does not have any obligation for the provision of the agreement, but the U.S. appointed ones tried to dictate people that the agreement is the solution for all the problems of Afghanistan, and even tried to prevent the discussion of its advantages in the lower house of the parliament. The Americans were afraid of the discussion, because the people will know that the agreement will not only doesn't solve the problems, but

will also expand the intervention of the U.S. in Afghanistan, which will cause no result except the continuation of war in Afghanistan. Therefore, the duty was given to some members of parliament, especially women, to campaign for the agreement that will prevent the discussion of its articles in the parliament.

Since signing of the B.S.A. those MPs have their regular visits from the U.S. embassy in Kabul, and according to some MPs it was mentioned in some media sources. The list of the pro American MPs was given to the U.S. embassy, therefore the way for signing the agreement with blind eyes was paved.

The U.S. embassy appointed MPs did not deny it, and said that the MPs have the right to campaign for the agreement that will be for interest of Afghanistan, and claims that it is not illegal.

# The last decree of President Obama:

It is mentioned in the second article of the B.S.A.:

The U.S. forces will not have any type of military operations in Afghanistan, but when both the parties agree through some other ways.

But without any discussion with the Afghan side, Obama violated the mentioned article of the B.S.A. It is said that Obama's violation from the B.S.A. is based on the lobby of the U.S. Generals that told Obama that without the cooperation of the U.S. forces, the Afghan Forces are unable to defend or improve their duties influentially. This is what an Afghan General also said; he said that the Afghan Forces are not able to fight against the operations of the Taliban without the cooperation of the U.S. air force.

To some extent the U.S. was sure due to the necessity and acceptance of the security agreement by the lower house, and they even did not imagine that if they, even, violate the agreement before the approval of the lower house, it will be questionable by the MPs.

There was no discussion at all about the legal integrity (lack of conflict with the laws of the country) of the agreement, and no discussion about the legality of the clear principles of the agreement. Therefore, though the provisions of the agreement are obligatory for Afghanistan, from the U.S. side it is a moral obligation.

9

### Provocation of War and the Future of War:

At the first stage, war and violence requires provocation, if there is no provocation, only weapons in the hands of people cannot be caused to war. For example, as holding weapons is legal in the U.S. and hundreds of thousand guns are held by people but there is no motivation of war against the government, it did not cause war against the government.

The security officials of the country claims that there is 60 percent increase in attacks of the government opposition since the inauguration of the new government. Isn't the motivation of the war and violence, motivation in the opposition, related to the signing of the B.S.A.?

Meanwhile, President Ashraf Ghani said that bringing peace to the country is in the priorities of his duties, and it will be not possible to implement any type of program without peace in the country.

President Ashraf Ghani, in his meeting with some of the Afghan senators, said that bringing peace to the country needs a detailed policy, not replacing the security officials from one position to another position.

## **President Ghani's Peace Plan:**

After signing the B.S.A. with the U.S., the Taliban rejected any type of negotiation with the Afghan Government and the U.S. and expanded war. After Obama's decree for extension of the military operations of the U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, it seems that negotiation with the Taliban is even worse compared to the earlier time.

Therefore President Ghani can have only one plan for peace, and it is reaching peace through war, which signing the B.S.A. itself means so. The U.S. forces will stay with the Afghan forces in the military operations after 2014, and they will try to win from the Taliban. President Ashraf Ghani, in his meeting with some senators of the country, said that the operation against the Taliban should take place in various provinces of the country like: Kunduz, Faryab, Badghis, Ningarhar, Helmand and other provinces.

President Ashraf Ghani's aim about this plan may be to weaken the Taliban through military operations, so they will accept to negotiate with the Afghan Government. As with the existence

of 120 thousands foreign troops in the country, in last 13 years, this goal was not achieved, how it could be possible to achieve this goal with 12 thousands foreign forces in the upcoming one year?

The End

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