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## Introduction

In this volume, you will read analyses about the Afghan government's disappointment and criticism of the military operations in North Waziristan and about the recently emerged distrust at Afghan security forces.

- \* Since few weeks widespread military operation has been launched against Taliban in North Waziristan. Hundreds of thousands of the residents has been displaced and vast losses inflicted on the people of this region. Pakistan called upon Afghan government for success of this operation before launching it, and visits have took place between authorities of both countries; but now Afghan government changed their position and the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan said the ongoing operation in North Waziristan is not acceptable for them.
- \* Also, after some recent events, reactions of the people raised against Afghan security forces. Besides the complaints of people to MPs attracts attention. Furthermore, people in remote areas say that media does not have access to that regions where the security forces from other tribes made their lives bitter. The vast civil casualties in operation, like that in Helmand province, are another issue that raised concerns with the people of Afghanistan.

## Waziristan operation and Afghanistan's disappointment



Before the coup of 1978 in Afghanistan, all the governments in Kabul were sensitive towards the events happening in the other side of the Durand line and were considering nearly each interruption of Pakistani government in Tribal region's affairs as interruption in internal affairs of this people who wanted to be independent. At that time, Afghanistan was insisting on the aforementioned area as autonomous, and the Durand line which separates these areas from Afghanistan is not acceptable.

Afghan government considered it its duty to support the independence of Pashtuns and Balochs and some of the tribesmen stayed several years of their exile in Afghanistan.

Even during the war between India and Pakistan in 1971, which resulted in independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan, Afghan government criticized India for their bombardment over these areas. Afghanistan was calling these areas in that time as Pashtunistan.

### Change in Afghanistan position

It seems that Pashtunistan's issue is inverse of its past, now this is the Pakistan who named this region as Khyber Pakhtonkwa based on the request from the local residents, and it seems that Afghanistan forgot the Pashtunistan's pretension for years.

In past few decades, the conditions were changing and became opposite of the past times, Afghan government criticizes Pakistan for interruptions in Tribal Areas affairs which affects the situation in Afghanistan negatively. Even Afghanistan complains from Pakistan over the insecurities rooted "in that side of Durand line". From Pakistan's point of view, this position of

Afghanistan implicitly shows that Afghanistan accepts the Durand as the international border between two countries.

### **Afghanistan criticize of Waziristan military operation**

By the very same token of Afghanistan's position, when Pakistani troops began widespread operation in North Waziristan, Afghan government welcomed it. Afghan government neglected the traditional vision of Afghanistan for independence of Pashtuns and Baluchs of this region. Afghan authorities are , even, criticizing Pakistani government for being calmed against the Taliban activities in Baluchistan.

Now after weeks since beginning of military operation in North Waziristan, Afghan government claims that Pakistani troops targeted only those Taliban who are against Pakistani government, especially naming the Haqqani network, but they did not operate against Taliban who fights against Afghan government.

Waziristan operation caused displacing of around one million people from their homes and according to independent resources large number of civilians also killed and wounded in these military operations.

### **Selective operation**

The main cause behind launching the military operation was to target the Taliban who receive orders from Mullah Fazlullah as the leader of Pakistani Taliban, who is said to be hiding in outskirts of Kunar province.

Pakistan does not want the leadership of their opponent to be outside the borders of this country. The main concern of Pakistan is the fear of India's influence over their opponents, which could happen by mediation of Afghanistan.

When former TTP leader Hakimullah Mehsud was killed, disputes over the leadership of Taliban emerged. There were strong commanders in North Waziristan who had the will of achieving this leadership. On the other hand, Pakistani Taliban are divided into several groups, which hinders gaining a consensus over important issues. Therefore, they called upon Afghan Taliban to mediate, and Mullah Mohammad Omar supported Mullah Fazlullah in Swat and he was appointed as the leader of TTP. The other candidate was Khan Sayed Sajna who was not trusted by Taliban leaders because of his will for starting peace talks with Pakistani government. Even Hafez Gul Bahadur who had once signed a ceasefire with Pakistani government also opposed

Sajna to take the leadership of TTP. Finally, when the conflict between Sajna and Mullah Fazlullah did not bring a result, Pakistani government launched military operation.

### **From the start of the military operation**

A few days before launching the operation, Pakistani troops announced their plan of operation in North Waziristan. Hafez Gul Bahadur also wanted the people to migrate to other regions in Pakistan and Afghanistan. This issue added to the concerns of Pakistan.

The operation announcement took place when the border with Afghanistan was open and, therefore, both the people and militants could cross the Durand line and go to safe areas in eastern Afghan provinces.

Military analysts believe that Pakistan would sieging the area and before launching operation in North Waziristan. Therefore, Afghan government claims that the operation were selective and symbolic.

But the headquarters of Haqqani network and Manbaul Ulom, which was acting under Jalaludden Haqqani in Miransha since Jihad against USSR are now in control of Pakistani military.

On the other hand, Pakistan was to use the weaponry that they received from US troops who used this weaponry in Afghanistan, Pakistani military claims several successes against insurgents in North Waziristan, while the media and independent sources do not have access to this region in order to reflect the events independently.

## **Afghanistan's security in claves of conspiracies and monopolism**



### **Mysterious and destructive attacks**

Lately, as the political situation of Afghanistan precipice, the increasing insecurities and mysterious attacks in some regions of the country increased the distrust over Afghan security forces.

On one hand, international and Afghan security forces as well as armed insurgents kill Afghan civilians since years. Recently an unknown enemy emerged and killed dozens of people as they did in Urgon district of Paktika province, or some regional issues like the operation launched in North Waziristan; all can be considered as challenges to the future of country's security.

After the attack of America over Afghanistan and Iraq, the security situation in both countries is being compered, and the main shared point is destructive attacks.

Now, the role, efficiency and shortcomings of security institutions are important than ever and gained attention of people.

### **The shortcomings of Security forces**

The decrease of trust over security institutions and the gap between people and them is increasing and has its own reasons.

Although international forces claimed to have trained a large number of Afghan security forces, the facts on ground show that they are still not professional and their presence beyond big cities caused sufferings for the people.

In Past few years, the measures of Afghan security forces against the people and causing heavy casualties to them increased the gap between people and the forces.

On the other hand, beside the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan Nation Police another force by the name of Local Police, which was called as militias previously caused vast wrongdoings and increased the gap as well as its tribal structure spread the fear of future possible conflicts.

Soon after the emergence of Local Police, public, civil society and officials had their reactions, which were increased by disclosing the crimes of some Local Police commanders like Qadirak in Kunduz, and Hakim Shujaee in Urozgan, who killed tens of innocent women and children, but the government did not stop them and so the people became hopeless.

The recent attacks on civilians and even some officials and authorities and their torturing and pressurizing people raised disgust of people.

Also, lack of the impetus with Afghan security forces is another challenge, they are confronting their enemy just for money, and therefore in most times, they cannot prevent the preplanned attacks.

### **Effect of political consensus**

Limitation of these forces to the tribal structures is another cause of distrust and the will of the national security forces for protecting a small part's interests instead of national positions, raised many concerns.

As a result of expedients of Mr.Karzai's government, the security sector was monopolized in the hands of a specific portion of the population, which caused serious challenges to the whole government system in critical times. It also caused lack of profession and weak management.

The strong will of revenging because of tribal and linguistic preconceptions also caused casualties to Afghans and seems no measures have been taken so far for its prevention.



However, there were hopes for the new government to reform the current shortcomings, but it seems now that the new government will also be weak and the foreigners will continue their interference.

Till the people of Afghanistan do not cut the foreign hands in their internal affairs and realistic and practical steps towards peace are not being made, Afghan nation will be giving sacrifices for the interests of others.

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