

# Post-US Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Its Impact on Internal Security

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**Abstract:** The attack on WTC on 9/11 resulted in lot of casualties that brought almost the entire world against the perpetrators that is the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Thus following the attacks the USA-led coalition forces invaded on Afghanistan and ousted the Taliban led government and pulled the Al-Qaeda out of the country. Thereby the Taliban disappeared from the scene and the USA installed its puppet regime in Afghanistan. But after passing of sometime the Taliban and other insurgent groups started its operations against USA and its allied powers. After the presence of a long decade the USA didn't bring the socio-economic and political structure on the right track, though efforts have been made, rather uncertainty prevailed throughout the last decade. Now, the main focus of this study will be based on the USA's withdrawal due to a number of reasons. Similarly, the withdrawal impact on socio-economic and politics in Afghanistan will be uncertain because allocation of funds will be reduced and internally various security factions will be at loggerheads with one another for power. Thus in order to patch up all these kinds of different problems there will be a need of such sort of government that will suit the Afghan people.

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## Introduction

Operation Enduring Force was launched after the incident of 9/11 by the US led coalition forces. But after that the USA had to convince different regional states. The foremost was getting the support of a group in Northern Alliance. For this purpose a special team was made namely; Team Jawbreaker mission—Jawbreaker is the codeword of CIA program that sent a number of teams into the region of Afghanistan after 9/11 headed by Gary Schroen officer of CIA intelligence field—that went to the Northern Alliance or the United Front. The team took three million dollars in order to convince them for fight against the Taliban alongside the USA and its coalition partners.<sup>1</sup>

Primarily, the USA used its airstrikes by launching cruise and Tomahaw missiles against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.<sup>2</sup> In that initial operation little number of troops was used. Those operations were lasted from October to December 9, 2001.<sup>3</sup> Thereby on 9<sup>th</sup> December the Taliban government surrendered.

After ousting of the Taliban in 2001, its leaders remained silent for some time and during that time they reorganized its groups and recruited more fighters.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, other groups such as Haqqani Network, Gulbadin Hikmatyar and other insurgents also operated against foreign forces. Time and again they coordinated with each other against US-led coalition forces.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dick Camp, *Boots on the Ground: The Fight to Liberate Afghanistan from Al-Qaeda and the Taliban 2001-2002* (Minneapolis: Zenith Press, 14 January 2012), 100.

<sup>2</sup> Adreas Kuehne, "Scrutinizing and Assesing the Performance of the German and US-led Provincial Reconstruction," *Naval Post Graduate School*, (2008), [www.nps.edu](http://www.nps.edu) (accessed 1 December 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Afghanistan: Development Progress and Prospect, after 2014, (25 October 2012), [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk), (accessed 1 December 2012).

Still the war is going on between the US-led coalition forces but in vain. USA is now appearing unable to tackle the problem of war on terror, because Afghanistan has become very difficult country. Even for the indigenous people it is very difficult country, because from three decades they didn't see peace and stability in the country. If one will try to seek justice and help from government, it will be like that that they are going to the wolves for help who have stolen ones sheep.<sup>6</sup> The main reason is the continuous fighting in Afghanistan because a war exhausted nation faces corruption, discrimination, poverty, bad governance, ethnic problems, etc. so the same case is with the Afghans.

After the withdrawal of USA from Afghanistan multiple security issues can occur. First of all government of Afghanistan will have to face serious threat from Taliban. Because they are not recognizing the puppet regime installed by the USA. Secondly, there are various militant groups such as Taliban, United Front also known as Northern Alliance, that helped USA and its allied forces in undertaking operation against the fall of the Taliban, and other groups. After the withdrawal of USA they will be confronting with each other.

Thirdly, as soon as the withdrawal of USA takes place ANA and ALP will face the wrath of the Taliban. Fourthly, warlords will also suffer at the hands of the Taliban because of their siding with the US forces and the government against Taliban.

Fifthly, intense problems will be occurring owing to the weak economic and political structure plagued with corruption despite in the presence of USA and its allied forces. Then one can imagine that how it will be after the withdrawal of USA. Sixthly, mostly society will also fear of Taliban take over because during the Taliban regime they suffered a lot. Minorities were deprived of their due rights, even the majority group was living in a strict environment and women suffered a lot either.

In the post-2014 scenario as mentioned above internal chaos and turmoil can be started. One, due to power vacuum and second, they will leave such institutions that will not match their cultural and societal values. Different groups will be at loggerheads with each other in order to take the moorings of the government. If one look into other countries when the invading countries leave the power vacuum then struggle starts among various factions for authority. So Afghanistan is no exception it has also to face the same kind of struggle for power.

This study will have the following objectives: First; to highlight the role of USA in Afghanistan internal security. Second; to explain the reasons of USA withdrawal. Third; to explain the internal security dynamics.

For this study secondary i.e. various books, journals and articles. Writers focused on the very intervention of USA and its coalition powers in Afghanistan followed by the attack on twin towers in the USA killing many people. Similarly, the USA's attacks against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and their ousting from power have also been discussed by the writers taken for the study.

Before and since 9/11 Afghanistan has become the center stage of the world community. Before 9/11 she had been isolated from the international arena and since 9/11 major powers of the world have been playing their role in eradicating Taliban and Al-Qaeda.

Its internal security has gained much importance for the regional states. When peace and stability will come in Afghanistan, then Iran, Pakistan and India can reach easily to the Central Asian states. Similarly, China, Russia and Central Asian can reach to the Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, Afghanistan has very significance because it is like a cross-road for regional states to make trade with Central Asia and Middle East.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>The Warlords of Afghanistan, *Time*, (12 February 2009), [www.time.com](http://www.time.com), (accessed 5 December 2012)

eping in view the above discussion, here the study has raised the following research questions; first; why USA is leaving Afghanistan? Second; what kind of government will suit the Afghan people? Third; what are the factors that obstructing peace deal between government and the Taliban?

This study is based on upon analytical and descriptive. In this study secondary source will be used. Secondary source is usually a library work. In which books, journals, articles and encyclopedia are being consulted.

## 1. Theoretical and Hypothetical Framework

As Morgenthau in his book “The Struggle for Power” described the theory of struggle for power. Struggle for power can be between two superpowers and among various groups for gaining specific goals. It can be among various internal groups in country vying for political power either.

So here this theory is best applying on the situation of Afghanistan. Since decades power struggle is going on among internal various militant organizations. Similarly, the intervention of external power also led to the struggle for power between internal and external power. Internally warlords, Taliban and other militant organizations remained at loggerheads with one another for gaining the authority. Even for power they started war which led to the killings innocent civilians.

Now, after the withdrawal of USA rivalry will be started among these internal groups for power. Because, even in the presence of USA and other powerful countries the performance of the government, armed forces, welfare services and international agencies are very weak. Then one can easily say that the consequences of the withdrawal of USA will be very complex for the internal security. Various warlords, militant organizations in the Northern Areas, though they have become weak but still some factions are exist, and Taliban will be vying for power which will create chaos and turmoil.

## 2. Reasons of USA’s Withdrawal

### 2.1. The U.S. War has increased anti-US sentiment:

The attack and occupation of USA and its allied powers have increased anti-US sentiments in the region in particular and even in the entire world either. The military generals of USA have also acknowledged this feeling against the USA.<sup>7</sup>

The occupation of USA has still didn’t produce positive results because with each passing day attacks on the USA and its coalition forces and similarly on the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) have been increased. The occupation of USA has also flared the flames of violence and radicalization even among those who have not been affected.

### 2.2. The problems of Afghanistan require non-military solutions:

The history of Afghanistan clearly shows that war has never been a solution to any problem. Many superpowers had come and went but with bare handed and remained unsuccessful to patch up the situation in Afghanistan.<sup>8</sup> Even if they tried to install their likeminded government or change the socio-economic structure they remained unsuccessful. Though temporarily they achieved their coveted task but at the end of the day what the Afghan culture and tradition prevailed.

<sup>7</sup> [www.texansforpeace.org](http://www.texansforpeace.org), *Texans For Peace*, (accessed 2 December 2012)

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

So the military of any superpower, now included the USA, lacked both will and capability to address the socio-economic and political problem.

### 2.3. The cost of war exceeds the costs of development:

The entire GDP of Afghanistan is just \$ 26 billion per year. But the USA's annual expenditure on war in Afghanistan is \$ 48 billion and is increasing.<sup>9</sup> Even the USA and its allied powers pledged to provide financial aid after the withdrawal. But it is unlikely to do so because of the USA's strained economy and similarly its allied powers in Europe are also facing Euro zone crisis.

If with such economic constraints the USA will continue its war then the already fragile security and infrastructure will deteriorate further in Afghanistan.

### 2.4. Difficult Terrain:

Afghanistan is a mountainous land and is very familiar with the local people and the Taliban. It is a common fact that the foreigners are oblivious of another country's terrain and when it is mountainous then it is very difficult for the outsiders to carry out its operations there.

The terrain of Afghanistan has become parallel to the Vietnam terrain for the USA's troops. It proved a second Vietnam for the USA and now they have been convinced that winning the war in such harsh place is impossible.

### 2.5. The Presence of forces will only prolong the conflict:

The presence of USA and other international forces will only escalate the conflict. By sending more troops to Afghanistan was a mistake of Obama administration because up until now it did not show its positive result.<sup>10</sup>

Even the attacks by the insurgents have increased particularly on sensitive places. When US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta arrived at Camp Bastion airport in Helmand province, Afghanistan, an attack has been occurred on Camp Bastion. So such kind of sensitive areas are not safe from insurgents.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.6. Most Afghans want the U.S. military to leave:

Majority of Afghans, USA's general and even the entire world community wants that USA should withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. Because the occupation of USA neither helped the Afghan people nor fulfilled the desired task of the USA, though they pulled out Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan but its affiliates i.e. the Taliban and other groups are giving difficult time to USA.<sup>12</sup>

### 2.7. The Occupation is Harmful to innocent civilians:

The prolonged occupation of US forces has proved harmful to the innocent Afghans.<sup>13</sup> Because at times they have been caught up between the crossfire of the Taliban and the international security forces or subject to air bombardment and suicide bombings.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Elisabeth Bumillar, "New Detail Show Panetta Was At Risk in Attack," *New York Time*, (16 March 2012), [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com). (accessed 2 December 2012)

<sup>12</sup> [www.taxansforpeace.org](http://www.taxansforpeace.org), *Texans For Peace*, (accessed 2 December 2012)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Seventeen civilians have been killed in a roadside bomb as they travelled to a wedding in western Afghanistan. So, mostly civilians are losing their lives.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.8. Green-on-Blue Attacks:

Most of the times, the ANSF has been involved in the killings of US and its allied partners. Such incidents have created a very ambiguous situation in the international security forces. Because they are no more in a position to feel safe and secure itself, as their own partners are involving in their killings. Such kind of situation compelling them to leave Afghanistan.

### 2.9. Afghanistan Syndrome:

It is very similar to the Vietnam Syndrome, as the soldier got back from Vietnam they showed unhealthy tendencies, such as depression, post-traumatic disorder, etc. Now, the same kind of situation exists again in the USA due to the protracted Afghanistan war.

The international forces have been subjected to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Besides PTSD, there is also a scourge of Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) due to the fear of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) placed alongside roads.<sup>15</sup>

## 3. Key Issues

There are principle issues existed in Afghanistan which are creating instability in the country. These issues are:

### 3.1. Ethnic Problems:

It is one of the main factors creating instability in Afghanistan. Various ethnic groups are being exploited by regional states for their interests which is a big hurdle in the development of Afghanistan. In the province of Faryab, Afghanistan, there are three main ethnic groups, namely, Uzbeks constitutes 56%, Tajiks comes second having 20% of population and Pushtuns constitutes 14% the minor ethnic groups in the province.<sup>16</sup>

Pushtuns and Uzbeks were frequently at loggerheads with each other during 1990s. Then after the fall of the Taliban, Dostum, Uzbek commander, started revenge from Pushtuns due to their ethnic association with the Taliban.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.2. Corruption:

This menace has been pervaded in all fields of Afghanistan. Whether it is education or the construction of infrastructure or Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), public administration, etc. it has put a gridlock in the development process.

Police force is very conspicuous in corruption partly due to their meager salaries and partly they have been deprived of their salaries for a year. This led to the proliferation of corruption in police force. Reports had also been come from Nangarhar border that police had been involved in allowing smugglers and insurgents to cross the border for bribery.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Allissa J. Rubin and Taimoor Shah, "Bomb Kills 17 Civilians in Afghanistan," *New York Times*, (16 November 2012), [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com) (accessed 12 December 2012)

<sup>15</sup> Sunil Ram, Afghanistan, "America and the Vietnam Syndrome," *Global Research*, (18 April 2012), [www.globalresearch.ca](http://www.globalresearch.ca) (accessed 22 December 2012)

<sup>16</sup> Astri Suhrke, *When More is Less* (London: 41 Great Russel Street, 2011), 91.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

The Afghan Air Force has also been involved in smuggling of narcotics and ill-legal weapons within Afghanistan.<sup>19</sup> There is corruption in infrastructure either. The road sector in Afghanistan is more vulnerable to corruption. Through the following ways corruption are being made:

- 1) Public officials usually leak information about projects.
- 2) Time and again contractors submit false claim for project procurement by paying bribe to officials.
- 3) Awarding of projects to those who have relatives in high government position.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3. Lack of Education:

Afghanistan's education is one of the lowest qualities in the world. Education in Afghanistan is nominal i.e. 71.9%.<sup>21</sup> Afghans are illiterate, though after the fall of the Taliban, the enrollment in the educational sectors has been increased.<sup>22</sup> But there is the concept of ghost teachers either i.e. teachers don't go to school and picking up their salaries.<sup>23</sup> But still the situation is unpleasant because schools and other educational institutions are being attacked by the Taliban and threatened for its closure. Those who are educated they are thinking about migration keeping in view the post-2014 scenario.

### 3.4. Lack of Infrastructure:

Infrastructure is also in a very bad condition, though large amount of funds have been allocated for infrastructure but due to corruption the funds have been wasted intended for infrastructure. Rail and roads are very helpful for boosting the economy. 25% of USAID have been spent on roads after the fall of the Taliban but again corruption and terrorism have destroyed the infrastructure in Afghanistan.<sup>24</sup> Northern Areas are well developed as compared to Kabul. The former are well developed with respect to infrastructure, communication networks but the later do not possess proper sewerage facilities being the capital of the country. There infrastructure facilities are not up to the mark.

### 3.5. Immature ANSF:

The USA has established ANSF numbering about 352,000. In this counting police and army both are included. Pushtuns are less as compared to other ethnic groups such as Tajiks, Uzbeks, etc.

They are now fighting alongside with the US and its allied forces against the insurgent groups. Even they have been given separate task to fight on their own but their corruption and bribery had made their professionalism are at stake.<sup>25</sup>

Now, USA is leaving Afghanistan and is thinking that they have trained and well-equipped the ANSF to tackle the post-2014 situation, but corruption, discrimination, ethnic problems, green-on-green attacks have fragile their capability.

<sup>18</sup> Antonio Giustozzi, *Koran, Kalashnikov and Laptop: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan* (New York:University Press, 2008), 185.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Colvin, "Good Governance to Take Decades in Afghanistan," *ABC*, (12 March 2012), [www.abc.net.au](http://www.abc.net.au), (accessed 12 December 2012)

<sup>20</sup> Rainer Gonzalez Palau, "Corruption & Infrastructure in Afghanistan," (November 2011), *Civil Military Fusion Center*, [www.cimicweb.org](http://www.cimicweb.org) (accessed 8 December 2012)

<sup>21</sup> [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov) (accessed 15 December 2012)

<sup>22</sup> "Afghanistan Economic Performance Assessment," [www.Nathan.org](http://www.Nathan.org) (accessed 3 December 2012)

<sup>23</sup> Eray Basar, "Corruption & Anti-Corruption Issues in Afghanistan," (February 2012), *Civil Military Fusion Center*, [www.cimicweb.org](http://www.cimicweb.org) (accessed 5 December 2012)

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Michael E O'Hanlon, "Afghan National Security Forces: A Glass 55% Full," *Brookings*, (29 June 2012), [www.brooking.edu](http://www.brooking.edu) (accessed 9 December 2012)

**3.6. War like Psyche:**

Afghans have xenophobia against any foreign troops.<sup>26</sup> That's why they mobilise against foreign troops. In the past, they did the same against British troops and Soviet troops and now they have been involved against the US and its allied powers. Their psyche has become a warlike because a young Afghan born in 1979 and now he has been thirty years of age. In his whole life he didn't see peace and stability in the country. So this is the main factor that is creating instability and uncertainty in Afghanistan. Similarly, xenophobic element has also been entrenched in their mind which is leading to strife in the country.

**3.7. Unemployment:**

Unemployment is very high in Afghanistan. Approximately 70% Afghans are unemployed<sup>27</sup> and those who have employments they have relatives possessing high government position. Or come on the basis on ethnicity, bribery, nepotism, etc.

Due to increased unemployment people do not find any occupation and mostly are joining the insurgent groups because they have no other way to side with the insurgents.

**3.8. Lack of Good Governance:**

Without good governance a nation cannot dream for progress and development. It is necessary for all states and non-state actors to abide by the principles of good governance. When states pursue such policies then subjects will automatically get the benefits of socio-economic development of a state.

But unfortunately Afghanistan is confronting myriad of problems such as corruption, weak governance, discrimination, poverty, the dominancy of warlords, political patronage, etc. have reduced the performance of government.<sup>28</sup>

In Afghanistan, local strong men got benefit due to the presence of international forces. Those local strongmen through political patronage got various construction projects that significantly increased their wealth. Thus, leaving the common people on their own right.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, ethnic discrimination in all spheres of life is also very notable such as in Parliament schools universities, government and non-government organizations. Two people working in the same place and position but possessing different salaries mainly due to ethnic discrimination. These problems are due to lack of good governance.<sup>30</sup>

**4. Internal Security Dynamics– Major Shareholders****4.1. Taliban:**

The US helped to create many groups including the Taliban during the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan, and funded them generously. Now it is the main opposition group fighting the foreign forces and other various internal groups that are

<sup>26</sup> Antonio Giutozzi and Niamatullah Ibrahim, *30 Years of Conflict: Drivers of Anti-Government Mobilisation in Afghanistan, 1978-2011* (Kabul: Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit, January 2012), 59.

<sup>27</sup> Mathew Hall, "Afghanistan: Development in Economics Stabilization and Infrastructure, March 2010," *Civil Military Fusion Center*, (April 2010), [www.cimicweb.org](http://www.cimicweb.org) (accessed 11 December 2012)

<sup>28</sup> Antonio Giutozzi, Niamatullah Ibrahim, *30 years of Conflict: Drivers of Anti-government Mobilization in Afghanistan, 1978-2011* (Kabul: Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit, 4 January 2012), 19-27-31.

<sup>29</sup> Astri Suhrke, *When More is Less* (London: 41 Great Russel Street, 2011), 135.

<sup>30</sup> Rainer Gonzalez Palau, "Corruption & Infrastructure in Afghanistan, November 2011," *Civil Military Fusion Center*, (February 2012), [www.cimicweb.org](http://www.cimicweb.org) (accessed 8 December 2012)

supporting the foreign forces. They took power in 1996 after civil war and ruled till 2001. But after the invasion of US and its coalition forces the Taliban had disappeared from the scene. The USA had claimed that the Taliban had been defeated. Now they are no more in position to come to the stage again.<sup>31</sup>

But in fact the Taliban did band together and established its first stronghold in the Dai Chopan. From there attacks were being conducted by the Taliban and eventually they took over the district of Zabul.<sup>32</sup> Thus slowly and gradually their operations increased and now they have become main opponent group against the international forces.

#### 4.2. Haqqani Network:

The Haqqani Network has its presence in the Northern part of Afghanistan.<sup>33</sup> The New York Times called the Haqqani Network as:

The Sopranos of Afghanistan war, a ruthless crime family that built an empire out of kidnapping, extortion, and smuggling.<sup>34</sup>

It has ties with the Taliban and working with the Taliban and is being regarded as the deadliest insurgent group fighting the foreign forces. It possesses safe-heavens in Afghanistan. From those areas it has been involved in the attacking on American Embassy and NATO headquarters in Kabul. Thus the Network has been proved a very devastating for the US and its coalition forces.<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.3. Al-Qaeda:

The Taliban and Al-Qaeda have close ties with each other and the former gave them safe heavens in Afghanistan. Now, its numbers have fewer than hundreds in Afghanistan. The USA has to some extent remained successful in pulling them out of Afghanistan. Now they have been dispersed and taking shelters in various areas in Africa, Middle East, tribal areas of Pakistan.

#### 4.4. Muhammad Qaseem Fahim:

He remained Minister of Defense under Rabbani governemtn. He was a right hand of Masaod. He is also the commander of the armed forces of the Northern alliance. He claims that he has 18000 fighters comprised of Tajiks, Uzbeks and other minorities. Now, he is fighting the Taliban in Kandoz.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.5. Abul Rashid Dostum:

He is very famous for backstabbing. From 1991-1996 civil war, he betrayed Najibullah in 1992 and sided with the Taliban, but he didn't remain for long with the Taliban. In 1994, he turned against Rabbani and Masaod. When in 1996, the Taliban

<sup>31</sup> Antonio Giustozzi, *Koran, Kalashnikov and Laptop: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan* (New York: University Press, 2008), 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 3

<sup>33</sup> Jeffrey Dressler, "The Haqqani Network: A Strategic Threat, March 2012," *Institute for the Study of War*, [www.understandwar.org](http://www.understandwar.org) (accessed 3 December 2012).

<sup>34</sup> The Haqqani Network, *New York Times*, (7 September 2012), [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com) (accessed 7 December 2012)

<sup>35</sup> Jeffrey Dressler, "The Haqqani Network: A Strategic Threat," *Institute for the Study of War*, (March 2012), [www.understandwar.org](http://www.understandwar.org) (accessed 3 December 2012).

<sup>36</sup> Kirill Gertman, "Northern Alliance and Pushtun Commanders Opposed to the Taliban," *Orders of Battle*, (16 June 2004), [www.orbat.com](http://www.orbat.com) (accessed 15 December 2012)



captured Kabul; he again sided with Masaod and Rabbani and formed Northern Alliance. Even within the Northern Alliance, he made separate agreement with the Taliban and attacked several times on Northern alliance.<sup>37</sup>

Eventually, he was betrayed by his own commander and he fled to Uzbekistan. Now he has returned to Afghanistan and joined hands with the Northern Alliance. He claims that he has 15000 fighters.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4.6. Ismael Khan:

He is a Pushtun ethnic leader and a warlord of Herat province. Herat is very prosperous in Afghanistan. Women can walk in the beautiful parks without any hindrance. Similarly the annual growth in Herat was also high but now it has slipped from 20 to 10 per cent in 2011-12.<sup>39</sup>

Even the educational level of women is also very high in Herat as compared to the rest of cities in Afghanistan. But pessimism is palling over the entire development because people know that war will likely start after the withdrawal of USA. Now he is Minister for water and power in Karzai government.<sup>40</sup> Keeping in view the withdrawal situation of foreign forces, he is now active and trying to band together his former fighters against the Taliban. He has distributed guns among his people in order to fight with the Taliban in the post-2014 scenario.

#### 4.7. Haji Abdul Kadyr:

He is an ethnic Pushtun head of the Gilzai tribe. He didn't accept the Taliban regime. He possesses 8000 fighters and they are involved in sporadic fighting against the Taliban.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.8. Abdul Karim Halily:

He is commander of Hazara militia. He has 5000 fighters in the central Bamian province. Though, he doesn't involve in serious fighting against the Taliban. But the Taliban supply route undergoes through Bamian which he interrupts through his fighters.<sup>42</sup>

## 5. The Future System of Government

It has become a difficult problem in Afghanistan that what kind of government to be imposed, so that all ethnic groups have some share and there is no tussle on power and the system run on an even keel. But unfortunately ethnic problem has taken its deep root and become a complex problem to be solved.

For many years there have been attempts to bring all ethnic groups together for a smooth functioning of government, but there is no possibility of this to be taking place. There might be loose agreements between Tajiks and Uzbeks, and from time to time between other ethnic groups, as has happened over the years but it is very difficult to imagine that Pushtuns will sit down with Hazaras.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Graham Bowley, "Freewheeling Afghan City Fearful of US Pullout," *New York Times*, (18 November 2012), [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com) (accessed 1 December 2012)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Kirill Gertman, "Northern Alliance and Pushtun Commanders Opposed to the Taliban," *Orders of Battle*, (16 June 2004), [www.orbat.com](http://www.orbat.com) (accessed 15 December 2012)

<sup>42</sup> -Ibid.

The trouble is that so many different groups in Afghanistan do not want peace and stability they want dominance which is a big hurdle in the formation of stable future government. And that is achievable, in their eyes, only by being stronger and more ruthless than other groups. There has never been total peace and stability in Afghanistan, although King Zahir Shah (a Pushtun, of course), he really tried to draw people together, from the early 1960s, and would have been the best ruler for Afghanistan in post-2001, but unfortunately he was dethroned in a coup by Muhammad Daoud Khan and now ethnic problem has been entrenched in Afghanistan.

Similarly, the Taliban is talking about full-fledged Sharia law in Afghanistan as an Islamic system of government. Though Article 3 of the Constitution lays down that “In Afghanistan, no law can be contrary to the beliefs and provisions of the sacred religion of Islam.”<sup>43</sup>

But there is no mention of Sharia, as such, but to all intents and purposes the law of Afghanistan is that of Islam. And although Article 2 lays down that “Followers of other religions are free to exercise their faith and perform their religious rites within the limits of the provisions of law,”<sup>44</sup> but one cannot see tolerance throughout the country. Shias are already being targeted by Sunni extremists (just as they are in Pakistan) which hampers a stable system of government in the future.

The Taliban, and other fanatics, do not care about democratic constitutions. They want rule by their own interpretation of the Koran, which is extremely selective and based on dubious interpretations of Hadith. But so far as one can see, their present resistance to the government is not based on religion. They just want power. They will continue to resist the Kabul government after the withdrawal of US and other foreign troops.

So the system imposed in Afghanistan is not compensating the Afghan people. It requires a federal government where autonomy is given to the provinces because there is tribal system and various ethnic groups and people will find opportunity to elect their own representatives.

Though, in the near future the coming of democracy in Afghanistan seems impossible.

I endeavor that the Afghans will eventually accept a democratic system but this will have to be in accordance with their traditions and Islamic values. It will never be a complete democracy as in the west.

## 6. Impact on Internal Security

After the withdrawal of USA in 2014, the Afghans will have to face the following situations:

- ▶ Economic crisis will occur due to cut down in aid, because foreign powers cannot continue the flow of aid into Afghanistan for so long.
- ▶ Limited number of troops will face the wrath of the Taliban and other insurgent groups.
- ▶ Due to corruption the faith of the people, which is already little, will be faded away in the government. Thus it will trigger more uncertainty and instability in the country.
- ▶ Two million youth are unemployed and after the withdrawal of USA and allied powers they will migrate to other countries and the other illiterate may sided with the Taliban if the government couldn't provide for their physical privation.
- ▶ Two systems of government, the Taliban in some areas and the government installed by the USA will create instability in the country.

<sup>43</sup>Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: The Constitution of Afghanistan, (January 26, 2004), 5.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

- ▶ Despite full engagement on the part of foreign forces, insecurity is prevailed in most of the country. The killings of innocent civilians, roadside bombs, etc. are still in momentum in Afghanistan. So this situation is clearly witnessing the inability and ineptness of the government and the security forces to tackle the situation in the post-2014 scenario.
- ▶ Investment will also reduce to the bottom due to security and instability, which will create economic instability, inflation, corruption and other economic menace, will take deep root in Afghanistan.
- ▶ Green-on-blue raid between ANSF and the foreign forces have fragile the capability of security forces.

## 7. Conclusion

In the post-2014 scenario Kabul will confront three crises, which are:

- 1) Economic crisis.
- 2) Institutional crisis.
- 3) Security crisis.

Investment will also reduce to the bottom due to insecurity and instability which will create economic instability. Inflation, corruption and other economic menace which is already exists will take deep roots in Afghanistan.

The already corrupt government, judiciary, ANSF, non-governmental organizations, educational, etc. organizations will become more fragile. Because of the reduced aid from the USA and its other allied powers.

Despite full engagement on the part of USA and its coalition partner, insecurity is prevailed in most of the country. The killings of innocent civilians is further deteriorating the security situation in Afghanistan

People are selling their lands, closing their businesses and those who are migrating to other countries are due to fear that is going to generate after the withdrawal of USA. Similarly, the USA is now transferring power to the ANSF. The capacity of Afghan forces to protect the life property of the citizen seems bleak and grim because green-on-green attacks are also occurring within the Afghan army. So it seems very difficult to control the situation of Afghanistan in the post-2014 scenario.

The Taliban have not shown any complete commitment to the peace process. The factions existing within the Taliban are also differing in their views regarding peace deal. In the recent Paris Conference the Taliban said that they will participate in the conference only for removing their leaders name from terrorists list not for reconciliation with the government. So the political reconciliation with the Taliban seems very difficult.

There are still factions in the north, which dislike and do not trust the southern Pushtuns -- and the Pushtuns distrust everyone. Ismail Khan is anxious to gain and keep power in Herat, and Uzbek, Tajik and other warlords want to do the same in their territory. But it is likely that ethnic groups will tend to band together in the north, and probably the west where Ismail Khan is flexing his muscles against the Taliban in the post 2014 scenario.

Similarly, ethnic compositions of the ANA are suspected, but it seems that there are large numbers of non-Pushtuns who naturally want to keep their dominance. All this will lead to more troubled situation.

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