





# In This Volume

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# Leaving? take all of your belongings with you

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# Summary

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- The US's leniency towards Pakistan has failed, and it is now being forced to withdraw.
- The United States, Russia, Iran, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, and some other countries have, however, turned the Taliban into an honorable negotiating party in diplomatic stages.
- The US and the Taliban are on the verge of signing an agreement.
- Privatizing the war in Afghanistan by relying on American Private Security War companies, amid U.S. intelligence and military presence, will not bring peace.

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- The US and the Taliban are on the verge of signing an agreement.
- Privatizing the war in Afghanistan by relying on American Private Security War companies, amid U.S. intelligence and military presence, will not bring peace.
- Some may claim that with the US's withdrawal would also go the achievements of the
  last two decades. National security forces will be weakened, and the government will
  not be able to mobilize the budget for operation. The situation will, no doubt, be even
  worse with the continued presence of US troops. I am confident the conflict will be
  bloodier, and the war will continue to be even more destructive, with the US's
  involvement.
- The presence of US intelligence services and troops will ensure neither the security of this country nor a just and patriotic government based on law and justice. These services will, no doubt, support the Taliban and will continue to take sides with Pakistan, as they did with Saudi Arabia and other conservatives Arab countries.

Donald Trump, The President of the United States of America, stated that "Afghanistan is terrorism's laboratory". The US will, however, keep its intelligence mission active in the country, even after it

1. No invitation was ever sent by the people of Afghanistan for the US to wage a war here; much less a long, grueling war here. The US was attacked by Al-Qaida in 2001, but the forces of Al-Qaida supported during the USSR invasion Afghanistan by the government. A large number of American citizens were, regrettably, killed during the 9/11 attacks. But these were the actions of Arab fundamentalists who, incidentally, were trained by the US, Pakistan,

withdraws its troops, in order to continue combatting terrorist threats. Numerous points about this statement require further consideration:

- Saudi Arabia, and their allies. None of the 9/11 attackers were Afghan.
- 2. After this mass murder of American citizens by Al-Qaida terrorists, a trend of expressing solidarity with the US and unity against terrorism gained traction. Chapter 7 of The United Nations Security Council Charter facilitated a legal intervention by the US and its allies in Afghanistan. The US has since been involved in a bloody, fruitless, and tiresome war in Afghanistan. This war has been the source of

- destruction, injustice, and unrest. It is the result of bad U.S. strategy for "Grand Middle East" and South East Asia and changes in the approach of the US for the region.
- 3. Most of our political elite supported the military presence of the US in Afghanistan. This was based on an illusion. The illusion was "maybe we can create a state based on rule of law; that can have proper infrastructure and an ability to grow financially, and we can do it with the US and its allies' support." Now, after around two decades, this wish has proven to be an illusion. This wish for Afghanistan proved to be unlike previous experiences in Germany, Japan, or South Korea. A reductionist analysis suggests the US's poor policies in Afghanistan, it's leniency towards Pakistan, and the inefficiency of Afghan politicians and an inability of Afghan society to accept liberalism are the reasons for failure of the "Afghan dream." Nominal democracy has failed in Afghanistan, because the reality is that we cannot establish a proper democracy unless it is led by democrats and democratic struggle.
- 4. The US centered its War on Terror in Afghanistan from its inception. It limited its anti-terror operations to Afghanistan's boundaries. The US trained its sights on Afghanistan, but Pakistan, as the country of origin for terrorism, escaped. The United States has provided Pakistan's army and intelligence service - invasion and conspiracy theory machines with billions of dollars of aid. It considers them strategic allies, rather than placing them under sanctions. Terrorism's backbone, far from being reprimanded, received funding instead. Pakistan has, therefore, been able to strengthen and re-equip its military and intelligence service. The US's leniency towards Pakistan has failed, and it is now being forced to withdraw. The US is leaving Afghanistan, however we phrase it, in the same manner they left Vietnam. This might even be generous. The Vietcong was a national movement, and after overthrowing the US puppets, replaced them with redeemers. But in Afghanistan's case, grassroots movements and patriotic forces will not be the ones governing. The US, unlike in Vietnam, will have lost a "Dirty War" to the Taliban.

<sup>1</sup> The idiom "dirty war" has been used in different contexts. It is mostly used to illustrate the wars between drug cartels in Mexico and Latin America. So this idiom is different from unjust war, the idiom has been used by redeemers and liberation warriors to condemn the invaders. I use this idiom "dirty war" to describe the very specific war that is going on in Afghanistan, the war that is beyond

redemption. This war by the Taliban is not against foreign occupation and it is not a liberation war of any sort. Neither is it a war by the United States for securing peace, or supporting a legal government. There is war, there is blood, and Afghans don't know why.

- 5. Widespread corruption, dependent economy, opium, and bribery formed a new aristocratic puppet class in Afghanistan, and added them to pre-existing corruption. Everybody knows the puppets of western countries, their contractors, technocrats, corrupted politicians and racist forces, in coordination with their international supporters, formed a new construct for our society. This new construct separated people from the state and turned politics into a game of dealing with day to day issues. This fact, and the frequent fraud in elections, engendered widespread banality in social discourse and the media, to the detriment of Afghanistan's people.
- 6. This situation, and a continuation of Pakistan's interventions, reinforced the Taliban and their crime and criminal network. They have been able to seize control of more of the country, or at least dysfunctional government units, as a result.
- 7. Afghans are tired of this dirty war. However, the United States, Russia, Iran, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, and some other countries have, however, turned the Taliban into an honorable negotiating party in diplomatic stages. This situation was further buttressed by the fact that the Taliban have, in recent times, captured more villages and occupied more districts amid a deterioration of government control.
- Peace talks with the Taliban have been ongoing since September 2018.
   It is an irrefutable fact that these talks are a Taliban-US only matter,

- despite the United States Special envoy, Dr. Khalilzad, trying to include Afghan politicians in the process. Two points are top priority the negotiating agenda: a commitment to not let Afghanistan become a terror center again, and a timeline for the withdrawal foreign military forces from Afghanistan. Reports are that both parties are now agreed upon over these points and, we are on the eve of formally seeing the agreement.
- 9. The United States' position as the world's sole superpower is ending amid a failure of its unilateralist policies towards this country and others policies that were exhibited by the invasion of other countries around the world a failure in the "Great Middle East", and the rising of powers of Russia and China. The US cannot play the role of world policeman anymore. Trump has acknowledged this in many of his speeches. Even if the US invades Iran, this slide cannot be reversed.
- 10. It is an obvious fact that regional competitors like Iran and international contenders like, China, Russia, and even the European Union do not collaborate with the US anymore. Iran, Russia, and China are competing openly with the US in Afghanistan and other countries. The Asia-Pacific will be the center of international competitions in the Twenty First Century, as even American experts acknowledge. Countries in this region will not be safe from wars and proxy wars initiated by the US, and Afghanistan,

- for its geo-political importance, surely will not be safe.
- 11. Some aspects of this competition are clearly visible in dealings between Iran, Russia, and the Taliban. We can also apply the same analysis to the competition between the presidential election candidates favored by Russia in Afghanistan's upcoming election against the US supported nominee even though these nominees can change their supporters at any instance, because they are not attached to any moral, political or ethical high grounds.
- 12. There are other games going on, in addition to the aforementioned competitors In Afghanistan. Pakistan considers all of India's actions in Afghanistan as threat to itself, even India's educational scholarships to Afghans. It uses India's presence to justify its covertly aggressive Afghan strategy. India, similarly, worries about Pakistan's actions in Afghanistan. Pakistan has, at the end of the day, initiated proxy war in Afghanistan. Iran also considers the US presence in Afghanistan to be a threat to its own national security. The US and its allies, for their part, are not reluctant to use their presence in Afghanistan against Iran, should their relationship with it worsen. Saudi Arabian "Wahhabism" is in a huge war with Iranian "Shi'ism" in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia wants to destabilize the eastern borders of Iran. Russia sees the presence of ISIS as national security threat, and a threat against central Asia. Russia
- also insists the US is responsible for bringing ISIS here in order to threaten the Russian Federation and the Commonwealth of Independent States. Leaders of the Russia claim this without hesitation. The author of this paper has, after all, heard these concerns in high level meetings. China is deeply concerned about Turkistan, where believe terrorists receive support from the US and its allies as a proxy against China. All the facts suggest that instead of collaboration, there is a big multilateral Proxy war going on in Afghanistan, and the primary victims of this war are Afghan citizens.
- 13. Considering these enormous geopolitical considerations, should the US wish to maintain a military intelligence presence Afghanistan, Washington would broker an open or closed agreement with the Taliban and Pakistan. Abandoning Afghanistan to a war Afghans between will only exacerbate these international rivalries. Peace and prosperity will evade Afghanistan and the flames of war will rise higher and higher if the US chooses not to do the right thing.
- 14. Although the war of the past eighteen years has always been painted as a religious or ideological war, I cannot over-emphasize its other causes. The war-dependent economy, opium, and interventions, for example. These causes can easily turn into the beginnings of a proxy war. So we should not fool ourselves into thinking that we can have a

sustainable peace if we agree to have both the Taliban in power, and a continued US military presence here.

- 15. Afghanistan is home to rare earth mines that have strategic importance in the modern technological era. If private shadow the economy acknowledge government weaknesses, then it will be up to the private mining companies that will exploit these mines. Even privatizing the war in Afghanistan by relying on American Private Security War companies, amid U.S. intelligence and military presence, will not bring peace, and also the competition for these resources capturing accelerate the collapse of the state.
- 16. I know some may claim that with the US's withdrawal would also go the achievements of the last 2 decades. National security forces will be weakened, and the government will not be able to

Finally, as the United States decide to leave, it would be better to leave here responsibly; leave here and take all your belongings and your consultants, who think this country is their horse's pasture, with you. Go, and let our children get rid of the ones who think they have signed the concession of human knowledge, the ones who speak a mixture of English, Farsi, and Pashtu. Go, and take with you your puppets who are addicted to bribery; take your burglars; the racists; the liars; the forgers, and your spies. Move, and let us be here, we do not ask for your favor, do not harm us.

There is a story of Alexander the Great. Once, when he went to visit Diogenes, he found him sun-bathing, Alexander asked if mobilize the budget for operation. The story of the 1990s will be repeated again. I admit this could happen. But the situation will, no doubt, be even worse with the continued presence of US troops. I am confident the conflict will be bloodier, and the war will continue to be even more destructive, with the US's involvement. We will not achieve proper independence, so long as the US remains, and even the degree of independence we currently enjoy will be called into question.

17. The presence of US intelligence services and troops will ensure neither the security of this country nor a just and patriotic government based on law and justice. These services will, no doubt, support the Taliban and will continue to take sides with Pakistan, as they did with Saudi Arabia and other conservatives Arab countries.

he could do him a favor, Diogenes told him go away and let the sun fold on my skin.

Or as Khalil Rayadi once said:

Shame on me!

Curse on me!

If I ask you something

My only request is give birth control pills to political prostitutes as well

And let not idiots to propagate

Mobilizing for a legitimate resistance against this situation and a democratic campaign to achieve independence seems the only way to overcome these challenges and start anew.



#### About the Author

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta is Chairman of the Board of Directors of Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies. He is former Afghanistan's National Security Adviser, former Foreign Minister and the Senior Advisor on International Affairs to President Hamid Karzai. Dr. Spanta was assistant professor of political science at RWTH Aachen University. He also served as spokesperson for the Alliance for Democracy in Afghanistan, and was active in the German Green Party. He also briefly taught at Kabul University after the fall of Taliban.





Mehr Brief series aims at bringing you scholarly articles and journals from prominent Afghan and International authors about the Afghan Peace process. Under Mehr Brief series, authors provide opinions, critiques, and expert views, from scholarly perspectives on the conflict in Afghanistan, and the conduct of the peace negotiations and peace settlement by the Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the U.S. Government, and other stakeholders.

The roots of the term 'Mehr' is the Indu-Iranian. The term 'Mehr' was taken from the root of "Mithra", which is one of the oldest gods in the ancient Persia. Mehr or Mithra means "light, lightening, friendship, unity, connectivity and affection" in Persian language. Mehr is against falsehood, mendacity, perjury and unkindness. 'Mehr' is a word that links to God and is the best divine gift. 'Mehr', is the beacon for a brighter tomorrow and brighter horizon. In Persian cultures, 'Mehr' is translated as angels of kindness, friendship and wisdom that bring goodness, joy and peace.

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