

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES
POLICY DEPARTMENT



WORKSHOP

**AFGHANISTAN AND
CENTRAL ASIA:
PROSPECTS AND
CHALLENGES AFTER
WITHDRAWAL OF
NATO/ISAF FORCES**

AFET





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DIRECTORATE B

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NATO/ISAF FORCES**

This workshop was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs, and by the Delegation for relations with Afghanistan and Delegation to Central Asia.

AUTHORS:

Steven BLOCKMANS, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS, Belgium

Rebecca DAVIS, CEPS, Belgium

Seed PARTO, Director of Research, AFGHANISTAN PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH ORGANISATION, Afghanistan

Rachel REID, Advocacy Manager, OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

Hekmat Khalil KARZAI, Director, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES, Afghanistan

ADMINISTRATOR RESPONSIBLE:

Laurence WANDEWALLE

Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union

Policy Department

WIB 06 M 049

rue Wiertz 60

B-1047 Brussels

Editorial Assistant: Györgyi MÁCSAI

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ASSESSMENT OF EU SUPPORT TO AFGHANISTAN FOR THE LAST DECADE AND LESSONS LEARNT FOR THE FUTURE (Steven Blockmans)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Years of conflict have damaged Afghanistan's economic, political, physical, social and institutional structures. Afghanistan ranks 175 out of 187 in the 2013 Human Development Index. Gross Domestic Product per capita is estimated at USD 1,343. Despite improvements in recent years health and education-related indicators remain among the lowest in the world. Discrimination against women is endemic. The government continues to struggle to deliver basic public services, provide rule of law and guarantee internal security. Afghanistan has nevertheless made progress thanks to global partnerships in development, from the pledges made in the 2001 Bonn agreement to the mutual commitments and accountability struck at the 2012 Chicago and Tokyo conferences. Official Development Assistance has substantially grown since 2001. In 2008 Afghanistan became the world's leading aid recipient. Even when excluding security sector assistance, the country's aid dependency ratio remains one of the highest in the world with external assistance funding 71% of GDP.

The EU has been a major contributor of humanitarian and development assistance to Afghanistan. Between 2002 and 2012, the EU has committed EUR 2.7 billion through the general budget and disbursed 89 % of that. Taken together with the member states, the European contribution to the development of Afghanistan amounts to more than EUR 1 billion per year. The EU has focused on three areas where its support is complementary to that of others and can add value: policing and the rule of law, which are key to stabilisation; the health sector; and rural development, both of which aim to improve the socio-economic situation of Afghan citizens. Whereas tangible achievements have been made, overall progress has been slow in all three areas, given the complex environment of transition, the enormous challenges faced and ineffective donor alignment. In the area of rural development and health, the overall conclusion is that the EU has made a substantial impact but that future support would necessitate further flexibility and responsiveness from the Commission's side to efficiently respond to the evolving needs of the country. EU efforts in de-mining and counter-narcotics have been less successful over the years. The support has been provided mainly through a project-based approach, yet is – in line with principles of aid effectiveness – being transferred into a more sector-wide approach, and channeled through, for instance, the relatively successful multi-donor trust funds administered by the World Bank and the UN.

The critical years lie ahead. Afghanistan continues to be a conflict-afflicted and fragile state. There is considerable uncertainty as to what the political and security environment will look like past the 2014 transition horizon. Afghanistan will require extensive, predictable, and sustained international aid during the next decade to become a self-reliant country. The working hypothesis of the EU and member states seems to be premised on a continuation of support in previously determined focal sectors. This choice may bode well for the future, provided that the overall political and security situation proves resilient and that lessons learnt will be applied. Because active ownership is key for sustainability, an important aim of the EU will have to be to support state-building and long-term development in Afghanistan, focused on democratisation and economic governance, rule of law, basic service needs, and the creation of sustainable livelihoods, alternative to production of narcotics and illegal precursors. Enshrining those operating principles in the future EU-Afghanistan Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development, for which negotiations are currently underway, should provide the (legal) basis to structure mutual commitments and mutual accountability. The ongoing debates within the Commission and the Council on the future role of the EU in Afghanistan should lead to the development of a new strategy to replace the 2009 Action Plan; one that is aligned with the strategic

thinking of the Afghan government, identifies deliverable objectives and timelines, and sets out a clear division of labour. The way in which conditionality is implemented will be essential if the EU's measures are to have any effect on its addressees. The strategy should be ready for endorsement by mid-2014.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANA	Afghan National Army
ANDS	Afghan National Development Strategy
ANP	Afghan National Police
APRP	Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program Background Progress
ARTF	Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund
AUP	Aid to Uprooted People
BPHS	Basic Package of Health Services
CAPD	Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development
CBM	Confidence Building Measure
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CFSP	Common Foreign Security Policy
CG	Consultative Group
CNTF	Counter Narcotics Trust Fund
CRIS	Common Relex Information System
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
DEVCO	Directorate General Development Co-operation
DFID	Department for International Development
EBA	Everything But Arms
EC	European Commission
ECA	European Court of Auditors
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organisation
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
ERW	Explosive Remnants of War
EEAS	European External Action Service
EFT	Electronic Funds Transfer
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EP	European Parliament
EPHS	Essential Package of Hospital Services
EPS	Electronic Payroll System
EUPOL	European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan
EUSR	EU Special Representative
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIRoA	Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
GNI	Gross National Income

GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HDI	Human Development Index
i-ANDS	interim Afghanistan National Development Strategy
IARCSC	Independent Administrative Reform and Civil Service Commission
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IFS	Instrument for Stability
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
LOTFA	Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
MAPA	Mine Action Programme for Afghanistan
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIP	Multiannual Indicative Program
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoPH	Ministry of Public Health
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDCS	National Drug Control Strategy
NDF	National Development Framework
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIP	National Indicative Program
NPP	National Priority Programme
PAR	Public Administration Reform
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SIGAR	Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
TMAF	Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework
TOR	Terms of Reference
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office for Drug Control
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

1. INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is one of the least advanced economies in the world and appears close to the bottom of human development statistics. For most of the last 35 years the country has been suffering from several episodes of war. While the security situation remains precarious, Afghanistan has been recovering slowly and its new political institutions are taking root. The government is trying to extend its writ to all areas of the country, notably in the south. Threats related to the narcotics economy and organised crime are also hindering the stabilisation and development process.

During the 2012 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit in Chicago the Alliance and its partners agreed to withdraw their combat troops from Afghanistan by the end of 2014. Since the summer of 2012, the United States of America has been withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan. Several EU Member States are planning to withdraw their troops or have already done so. In June 2013, the handover of security from NATO to Afghan forces was completed. The development of the security situation in Afghanistan will be a major future challenge for the reconstruction of the country. It could have a negative effect on the economy since the vast majority of the Afghan budget and Afghanistan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) derives from foreign aid. As economic recovery is crucial to the overall development of Afghanistan, civilian aid to the country will gain in importance as a result of the decrease in military aid.

What the future holds in store for Afghanistan is difficult to predict. In a worst-case scenario, a surge of the Taliban and other war-mongering groups will again plunge Afghanistan into all-out war. Arguably, this would throw the international community's response back to where it was in the early 2000s, i.e. focussed on humanitarian relief efforts and security assistance. In the most optimal scenario, the security situation in Afghanistan will stabilise, allowing international donors to work together with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIROA) on the implementation of a quasi-normal development agenda for the country. A scenario in-between could see a geographical fragmentation of the country into areas where either the worst-case or the optimal scenario prevails.

The momentum generated by the post-2014 horizon thus provides an opportunity for the international community and the GIROA to develop a strategy on how to ensure security for Afghanistan, how to support political stability and democratisation, how to stimulate a self-sustainable economy, and how to allocate resources to those projects which are most likely to make a concrete difference and achieve long-term results. Now is therefore a good time to assess EU support to Afghanistan since 2001 and learn lessons for the 'transformation' decade ahead.

Since the fall of the Taliban at the end of 2001, the country has been pledged more than USD 62 billion worth of assistance from all major donors.¹ The EU has been one of the major donors of development and humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan. At the same time Afghanistan is the second largest beneficiary of civilian aid from the EU general budget.² From 2002 until the end of 2012, the European Union committed over EUR 2.7 billion (including humanitarian aid) and disbursed more than EUR 2.4 billion (i.e. 89 %) in development and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.³

But that is not all. In the areas of development cooperation and humanitarian aid, the Union has the legal competence to carry out activities and conduct a common policy. However, the exercise of that

¹ See Table 1 in Section 2.4.

² See http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un_geneva/press_corner/focus/events/2013/20130628_afghanistan_en.htm.

³ Interview with Commission officials. The 11% still outstanding is either awaiting conclusion of the financing agreement with the GIROA awaiting or the submission of claims from consulting companies assigned to carry out projects. The percentage is lower than the average 1/3 normally still outstanding at the end of the year.

competence does not result in member states being prevented from exercising theirs.⁴ Indeed, member states have been very active in fielding aid to Afghanistan during the past two decades. Taken together, the EU and the member states contributed more than EUR 1 billion a year to the development of Afghanistan. Typically, a considerable amount of such bilateral aid has thereby flowed to provinces where EU member states stationed troops. The (planned) draw-down of military forces has sharpened questions of better intra-EU donor coordination within the post-Lisbon Treaty institutional architecture.

It is important that the right answers to such and other questions are found, not only for the future development of Afghanistan but also for the EU's credibility once it becomes the biggest international donor after the US had retreated. The future EU-Afghanistan Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development (CAPD), currently under negotiation, may provide the legal basis for strengthened mutual commitments on many issues, but it will not act as a panacea to address all of Afghanistan's (future) challenges.

In order to determine the operating principles for EU assistance to Afghanistan during the 'Transformation Decade' ahead (Section 4), this study will assess the impact of EU aid since 2001 and how it has evolved over time (Section 3). This assessment will be preceded by a short overview of the evolving political, security and social contexts in Afghanistan following the fall of the Taliban regime, as well as a quick-scan of other international donors' activities in order to contextualise the EU effort (Section 2).

⁴ Article 4(4) Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

2. A CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW TO AID TO AFGHANISTAN

2.1 The political situation

The political situation has leaped bounds since the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom toppled the Taliban government in the last quarter of 2001. The primary goal of the ensuing Bonn Agreement of 5 December 2001 delineated the establishment of a “broad-based, gender-sensitive, multi-ethnic and fully representative government”.⁵ An Interim Authority chaired by Hamid Karzai was successfully set in place. This Interim Authority was responsible for the implementation of the rule of law until the convening of an Emergency Loya Jirga (Grand Council, a traditional meeting of Afghan tribal, political and religious leaders) in July 2002 led to the establishment of a Transitional Authority. The European Commission established a Delegation in Kabul in February 2002. The Constitutional Loya Jirga created the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in December 2003. Imperative pillars to these achievements were the adoption of the new constitution in January 2004, presidential elections in October 2004 which led to the election of President Karzai, parliamentary and provincial elections in September 2005 and the inauguration of the new National Assembly in December 2005.

The outcomes of these elections, and those held since, have exposed the ethnic fault lines which politically divide Afghanistan, as indeed the wider region. The country's borders cut through the traditional homelands of many ethnic groups, leaving Pashtun divided between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the Tajik and Uzbek Afghans split from those in the Central Asian republics.⁶ As a result of ethnic rivalries and the mountainous terrain, the central Afghan government has found it difficult to effectively exert authority over the entire territory and improve economic prosperity in the peripheral provinces.⁷ The tensions lie specifically between the Kabul government and local powerbrokers in the peripheral regions.⁸

The GIRoA has endeavoured to strike up constructive relationships with neighbouring countries to address security concerns (e.g. drug-trafficking) and examine the potential for closer economic cooperation. Both elements are preconditions for the sustainable development of landlocked Afghanistan. The first signs of success are apparent as discussions on mutual benefits in supporting stability are held. Thus, in March 2013 a memorandum concerning the establishment of railroads linking three countries was signed by the Presidents of Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan.

With respect to the political dialogue between the GIRoA and the European Union, a landmark Joint EU-Afghanistan Political Declaration was signed in November 2005 which structured the ensuing collaborative framework. Thus, the GIRoA committed itself to, inter alia, “consolidating a democratic political system, establishing responsible and accountable government institutions, strengthening the rule of law, (...) safeguarding human rights (including the rights of women) and the development of civil society, (...) [the promotion of] economic growth, combat[ing] poverty across the country,

⁵ UN Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions, available at <http://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/BonnAgreementAfghanistan.pdf>.

⁶ The tensions in Afghanistan run mainly between the two largest ethnic groups, Pashtun (an estimated 28 million or between 40 and 54 % of the total population) and Tajik (+30 %), and are followed by the Hazara (8 to 15 %) and Uzbek. See Ted Paterson, Faiz Paktian, and William Fryer, *Afghanistan Country Mission Report – Evaluation of EC Mine Action: Caucasus-Central Asia Region*, GICHD, Geneva, September 2008, available at http://eeas.europa.eu/anti_landmines/-docs/0908_afghan_mission_report_en.pdf.

⁷ Congressional Research Service: *Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance*, available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21922.pdf>.

⁸ Antonio Giustozzi & Dominique Orsini (2009), *Centre-periphery relations in Afghanistan: Badakhshan between patrimonialism and institution-building*, 28:1 Central Asian Survey, 1-16.

accelerat[ing] progress towards sustainable state finances, fight[ing] corruption, and end[ing] the production and trafficking of drugs”.⁹ The EU affirmed its commitment to further long-term support of Afghanistan’s development in the above-mentioned areas, under Afghan leadership. The newly struck partnership was formed with the agreement to regular political dialogue in the form of annual meetings at ministerial level, the first one of which was held on 31 January 2006. A part of this dialogue is devoted to human rights issues.

The lack of effectiveness and unreliability of the transitional justice system after 23 years of warfare presented a dismal balance of the human rights situation in Afghanistan in 2001. Progress since has been sluggish. The UN Human Rights Council remarked in its 2009 annual report that the “long-standing discrimination against women and minority groups is manifest in [Afghans’] lack of access to justice and other basic services. Important gains made recently by women in the public sphere are in danger of receding. Mounting attacks on the freedom to express views that challenge existing power structures as well as social and religious norms that usually marginalise women cast doubts on the Government’s ability to ensure a free and democratic space where human rights are fully respected”.¹⁰ Small gains won by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) continue to be threatened until a successful “embedding [of] human rights in Afghanistan” is achieved.¹¹

2.2 The security situation

As envisaged by the Bonn Agreement, the UN Security Council in December 2001 established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), a NATO-led security mission. The US provided the bulk of the soldiers. Twenty-one EU member states also contributed troops.¹² EU member states have played a pivotal role in stabilising the fragile situation in Afghanistan. The overwhelming majority of the 5,000 ISAF troops stationed in Kabul have been soldiers from EU member states and applicant countries, particularly Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey and France. European countries have provided the command for ISAF most of the time.¹³ France and the UK have also been involved in the training of the new Afghan National Army, with the US. With respect to the civilian aspect of stabilising the security: Germany, the UK and Italy have all taken a high profile in the reconstruction exercise, especially as lead nations on police reform, drug control and judicial reform, respectively. The Netherlands was also one of the largest donors in 2002 and one of the largest donors to the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF) together with the UK. ISAF was initially charged with securing Kabul and surrounding areas from the Taliban, al-Qaeda and factional warlords, so as to allow for the establishment of the Afghan Transitional Administration. In October 2003, the UN Security Council authorised the expansion of the ISAF mission throughout Afghanistan and ISAF subsequently expanded the mission in four main stages over the whole of the country. From 2006 to 2011, ISAF had been involved in increasingly more intensive combat operations in southern and eastern Afghanistan.¹⁴ In spite of these efforts, the Taliban, al-Qaeda and factional warlords have effectively carved out mini-caliphates for themselves beyond the control of the central government and outside the reach of international troops and donor organisations. Anno 2013 Afghanistan is a fragmented country.

⁹ Joint EU-Afghanistan Political Declaration - Committing to a new EU-Afghan Partnership, Council Doc. Nr. 14519/05 (Presse 299), Strasbourg, 16 November 2005.

¹⁰ Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Reports of the Office of the High Commissioner and Secretary General A/HRC/10/23, 16 January 2009.

¹¹ See <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/AsiaRegion/Pages/AFSummary12-13.aspx>.

¹² For more information, see <http://www.isaf.nato.int/>.

¹³ Information drawn from ISAF’s website: <http://www.isaf.nato.int/history.html>.

¹⁴ Its primary purpose, however, was to train the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) and assist Afghanistan in rebuilding key government institutions.

Shortly after ISAF was launched, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 1401 (2002) to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) at the request of the GfRoA. UNAMA's original mandate was to support the 2001 Bonn Agreement and assist Afghanistan with its transition but this mandate has been altered over time to reflect the needs of the country. UNAMA has a particular focus on supporting the organisation of future elections, including the 2014 presidential and provincial council elections. The mission also supports the government in its efforts to improve security, governance and economic development, regional cooperation, and the implementation of the National Drugs Control Strategy. UNAMA also manages and coordinates all UN-led humanitarian relief, recovery, reconstruction and development activities in Afghanistan.¹⁵

Security sector reform is supported mainly by the United States, with smaller contributions from Japan and some EU member states. The US is also involved in the training of the newly established Afghan National Army (ANA). The EU also contributes the efforts to improve security in Afghanistan, albeit in a limited sense. In 2007, it launched the EU Police Mission (EUPOL). The main objective of this mission is to develop effective and sustainable policing arrangements, which accordingly secures an effective interaction under Afghan leadership with the general criminal justice system (see Section 3.1.3).

Throughout the period under investigation, the security situation in Afghanistan has remained a serious issue. The Taliban-led insurgency and continued fighting by other militia groups in the south and east of Afghanistan led to a sharp increase in casualties in 2005-6.¹⁶ The focus of the attacks was on the burning of schools, assassinations of reform-minded local officials and provincial governors, and roadside bombings of ISAF patrols and convoys. Suicide attacks, which had previously been unknown in Afghanistan, were also on the rise. Local Afghans who cooperated with or worked for international NGOs became targets, thus impairing the work of the organisations providing crucial contributions to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. In this respect, the militant violence spanning the past years has progressively increased to the highest level in 2011.¹⁷

Of ISAF contributing countries, the US sustained the largest numbers of casualties in intensive combat operations. Among EU Member States, the UK and Denmark sustained relatively high rates of casualties.¹⁸ The war of atrophy exhausted the coalition forces. This is reflected in the communiqué of the London Conference on Afghanistan held in January 2010, where the international community renewed its commitment to Afghanistan but at the same time laid the foundations for an international consensus on a strategy entailing a "non-military" solution to the Afghan crisis, as well as establishing that the transfer of security responsibilities to Afghan forces would begin in 2011 and be largely completed by 2014.

The pervasive influence of the drugs industry on the economy, the political system, state institutions and society poses another major obstacle to the stabilisation and sustainable political development of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is the source of 90 % of the world's illicit opium. Yet, when coalition forces entered Kabul in 2001 no opium poppies were being grown in Afghanistan, owing to the UN's success in achieving a ban on their cultivation.¹⁹ Insurgents and similar anti-government fractions are also able

¹⁵ Data collected from UNAMA website, political Affairs section : <http://unama.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=12278-&language=en-US>

¹⁶ Data Collected on Coalition Military Fatalities by Year from website: <http://icasualties.org/oef/index.aspx>

¹⁷ International Crisis Group, 'Security in Afghanistan', 23 August 2011, available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/-publication-type/key-issues/country/security-in-afghanistan.aspx#Background>.

¹⁸ Details available at <http://icasualties.org/oef/index.aspx>.

¹⁹ Despite an earlier dip in prices caused by excessive production, in 2009 trade in narcotics totalled USD 3.4 billion and the potential gross export value of opium was 26 % of Afghanistan' GDP, with around 3.4 million Afghans (12 % of the

to prosper from the drug trafficking business. Moreover, the poppy economy diffuses itself into the structures of the embryonic state structures and encourages corruption. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in its study of January 2010 found that corruption is the biggest concern of the Afghan population and that revenues generated by bribery amount to almost one quarter (23 %) of Afghanistan's GDP.²⁰ In short, the widespread narcotics economy and trade impairs the further development and stabilisation of Afghanistan.

2.3 Social issues, economy and trade²¹

At the start of the EU assistance in Afghanistan, the country was pointed out by the 2004 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report for Afghanistan – 'Security with a Human Face' for the widespread poverty amongst the population. Consequently, the Human Development Index (HDI) ranked Afghanistan in the same year 173rd out of 178 nations with only a few Sub-Saharan nations trailing after it in the ranking. The causes of the severe situation centred on the poor education and nutrition levels in all age groups of the population and on the lack of effective or in some cases even existing health and public services. The average per capita income for Afghanistan was estimated at USD 290, the lowest in the region. A mere 23% of the population had access to clean water, 12% to appropriate sanitation facilities and only 6% of the Afghans had access to electricity. Life expectancy in Afghanistan stood at an average of 44.5 years, i.e. roughly 20 years lower in all of its neighbouring countries and at least 6.1 years lower than the average of the Least Developed Countries. Maternal mortality rate was staggering with an average of 1,600 per 100,000 births per year; infant mortality rates stood at a severe 274 per 1,000 births.²² The Afghan literacy rate was one of the lowest ranking amongst developing countries: only 28.7% of Afghans older than 15 were able to read and write.²³ However, the situation had already progressed positively since 2001, leading to an estimated 3 million children being enrolled in grades 1-12 in 2004, with a third constituting girls. Yet, the gender imbalance in access to education remains a crucial issue that requires continued efforts. Overall gender equality has been an immense challenge in Afghanistan.²⁴ Discrimination against women is endemic. "80% of Afghan women cannot read or write, and only one in three girls goes to school. Four out of five women are victims of domestic violence. The participation of women in society is a key issue for Afghanistan's development".²⁵

The overall socio-economic situation has progressed modestly since 2004, thanks to the international community's development assistance. Thus the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) has risen over time to USD 1,343 in 2013, whilst the average life expectancy rose to 49.1 years.²⁶ Despite improvements in recent years health and education-related indicators remain among the lowest in the world. The estimated national adult literacy rate (focusing on citizens 15 years old and above) is 34%, with 18% for women and 50% for men respectively.²⁷

population) said to be involved in the illicit narcotics industry. See European Parliament, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Rapporteur: Pino Arlacchi, 'Report on a new strategy for Afghanistan', doc. 2009/2217(INI), 19 November 2010.

²⁰ UNODC Report 'Corruption in Afghanistan – Bribery as reported by the victims', January 2010, available at <http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Afghanistan/Afghanistan-corruption-survey2010-Eng.pdf>

²¹ 2013 UNHCR country operations profile – Afghanistan: <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e486eb6>

²² 2004 UNDP Human Development Report for Afghanistan.

²³ Data collected from 2004 UNDP Human Development Report for Afghanistan – 'Security with a Human Face'.

²⁴ NATO website: Women's rights: making progress in Afghanistan http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_85083.htm.

²⁵ GIZ website: Equal rights as the basis for development: <http://www.giz.de/Themen/en/17060.htm>.

²⁶ Data collected from UNDP Afghanistan Country Profile: Human Development Indicators: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/AFG.html>.

²⁷ Afghan National Literacy Action Plan drawn up by the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan.

In 2001, a staggering 1,200,000 Afghans were classified as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).²⁸ Following the fall of the Taliban regime, 2.5 million Afghan refugees returned to their homes in 2004-6 alone and an additional 600,000 IDPs retraced their steps to their regions of origin.²⁹ Over the past decade the repatriation has continuously increased and has resulted into an estimated 5.7 million voluntary returns to Afghanistan.³⁰ At the start of January 2013, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that an extra 98,609 refugees had returned to Afghanistan whereas 2,585,605 remained across the borders, mainly in Iran and Pakistan. 486,298 Afghans remained internally displaced.

The migration has resulted in becoming an integral element of the Afghan economy as roughly \$ 500 million are transferred annually by migrants for the most part from Pakistan, Iran and other Gulf countries back to Afghanistan in remittances.

Today, the population of Afghanistan is estimated to be around 29 million, approximately 20% of whom live in cities. The living conditions of the Afghans in rural areas are in dire need of improvement as little or no access is provided to basic services and social infrastructure due to limited resources and government capacities leading thus to an increasing urbanisation.

Recent official trade figures make the EU the third trading partner of Afghanistan after Pakistan and the United States,³¹ but most cross-border trade remains informal and unaccounted for. This shows a recent decline of the trading volume between Afghanistan and the EU as over the last years as the EU had been Afghanistan's second largest trading partner following Pakistan.³² Afghanistan is entitled to quota- and tariff-free access for all its goods to the European market under the 'Everything But Arms' initiative (EBA).³³ However, in spite of this favourable treatment, trade volumes from Afghanistan to the EU have remained limited. There are no sectoral agreements (trade, fisheries, justice and home affairs, research, etc.) between the EU and Afghanistan. There exists, however, a Framework Agreement on Taxes and Customs Duties.³⁴ Negotiations of the Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development (CAPD) were launched in March 2012.³⁵ The CAPD will cover a broad range of sectors including trade, development and justice/home affairs. It will provide the legal basis for the EU's enhanced cooperation and assistance to Afghanistan. At a policy level, the European Commission is a regular partner of the Afghan Ministry of Commerce in discussions on Afghanistan's joining the World Trade Organization.

In terms of trade potential, a more promising focus for future EU assistance has been on helping to develop the regional trade flows between Afghanistan and its neighbours. In this regard, the eastern corridor with Pakistan is a particularly important trans-border trading route which offers huge potential for further development. The Kabul Declaration on 'Good Neighbourly Relations Declaration' of 2002, which was endorsed by the UN Security Council, provided the political framework for such cooperation

²⁸ Data collected from 2003 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheet – Afghanistan.

²⁹ EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

³⁰ 2013 UNHCR country operations profile – Afghanistan: <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e486eb6>

³¹ Afghanistan EU Bilateral Trade and Trade with the World 2012 from EC DG Trade, July 2013.

³² EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

³³ EC document: Everything But Arms (EBA) – Who Benefits? http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2013/april/tradoc_150983.pdf

³⁴ Framework Agreement on Taxes and Customs Duties: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/afghanistan/documents/-content/framework_agreement_on_taxes_and_customs_duties_en.pdf

³⁵ Data collected from EC State of Play 2012.

with China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. From this initial step, declarations on trade have been made, although little concrete progress has been made since.³⁶

2.4 Activities of other aid donors

The US is by far the main foreign actor and international donor in Afghanistan. As the US military played a pivotal role in toppling and fighting the Taliban, its influence and that of the Department of State has been considerable³⁷:

- Militarily: at its apex, an estimated 101,000 US troops were deployed on the ground. The US has been the driving force behind the training of the new Afghan national army
- Politically: as the main external power backing President Karzai and his government;
- Financially: as the largest international donor (see Table 1 below for details).

Table 1: Aid pledges, commitments and disbursements (2002-2013)

	TOTAL PLEDGED 2002-2013	TOTAL COMMITTED 2002-2009	TOTAL DISBURSED 2002-2009	% OF PLEDGES DISBURSED BY END 2009
	US\$bn	US\$bn	US\$bn	
United States	38.0	28.4	10.9	28.8%
EU Institutions	2.0	2.0	2.1	102.8%
United Kingdom	2.9	1.8	1.8	63.3%
Germany	1.2	1.0	1.3	108.0%
Canada	1.7	1.2	1.2	70.3%
Japan	1.9	1.4	1.0	52.5%
Netherlands	0.8	0.9	0.8	102.4%
Norway	0.9	0.6	0.7	71.0%
India*	1.2	1.2	0.4	36.1%
Sweden	0.3	0.5	0.4	147.3%
Italy	0.5	0.4	0.4	79.6%
Turkey	0.2	0.2	0.4	213.7%
Australia	0.4	0.2	0.4	98.8%
Iran (Islamic Republic of)*	0.9	0.3	0.3	39.5%
Spain	0.5	0.1	0.3	59.8%
Denmark	0.7	0.3	0.3	40.2%
France	0.2	0.2	0.2	105.9%
Finland	0.2	0.2	0.1	97.0%
Russia*	0.1	0.1	0.1	104.1%
Switzerland	0.1	0.1	0.1	102.9%
Multilateral agencies	5.3	4.0	2.7	50.6%
Others	5.9	3.3	0.7	12.3%
Total	62.0	46.1	26.7	43.1%

Source: Briefing Paper: Afghanistan Tracking Major Resource Flows 2002-2010

³⁶ More information can be found in the Progress Report on Afghanistan for the information of the Bundestag – Section 3: Regional Stability published in November 2012. Partners for Stability: Afghanistan's Neighbors and Regional Cooperation published in 2013 by Deutsch Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP).

³⁷ EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

The United Nations plays a prominent role in the reconstruction of the country, through its various development agencies, as well as having the primary role in oversight of the 'Afghanistan Compact' which was signed at the International Donors Conference in London 2006. The Afghanistan Compact provides a joint (Afghan and international) Coordination and Monitoring Board. The Compact ensures that future donor contributions are aligned more closely under Afghan leadership and that political impetus is maintained (see further Section 3.2.2).

The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) are the principal contributors to rural development besides the European Commission. Other players include the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the World Food Programme (WFP), and Canada. Coordination is done via the Consultative Group on rural development. In 2002 it became apparent that the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) would provide the major funding for the telecommunications, civil aviation, water and energy sectors.³⁸

In the area of public administration reform, the World Bank implements the Emergency Public Administration Programme 2. The Korean government provides support and the ADB is providing technical assistance in administration efficiency. The UNDP supports other components of the overall Public Administration Reform (PAR) programme in terms of training and recruitment. To assure coordination with donors there is a Consultative Group (CG) on PAR and Economic Management chaired by the Chairman of the Independent Administrative Reform & Civil Service Commission (IARCSC) which meets quarterly. The chief donors (World Bank, ADB, UNDP and European Commission) organise regular meetings on PAR to exchange views and to coordinate their activities on PAR in order to maximise resources and to avoid any overlap.

Italy is the main donor and lead nation in the justice sector. UNDP is providing technical assistance, as well as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UNODC, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Canada.

The US and the World Bank are the central donors in the education sector. There are many other smaller donors which also contribute to the education sector, including EU member states (Belgium, Slovakia, Sweden, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Romania, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Denmark, Italy, Latvia, Germany, Estonia, France, Greece and Spain),³⁹ whereas the EU itself is not a donor to the educational sector (see Section 3.2.1).

The substantial commitment of other donors in education has enabled the European Commission to concentrate on other sectors which are arguably under-funded, for example primary and secondary health provision. Alongside the EU, the World Bank and USAID are the major contributors to the health sector in Afghanistan. Other donors active in this field include the ADB, UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO).

³⁸ EU Blue Book 2009.

³⁹ EU Blue Book 2009.

3. EU ASSISTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN (2001-2013): IMPACT ANALYSIS AND LESSONS LEARNT

3.1 Introduction

This section concerns itself with making an *ex-post facto* impact assessment of the EU assistance delivered to Afghanistan in the period from 2001 to 2013 (Section 3.2). The analysis is divided in two timeframes (2001-2006 and 2007-2013), as roughly defined by the country strategies papers for the country. Apart from the assistance channelled from the European Union's general budget through different types of EU external instruments (bilateral, regional and thematic) and other international funding avenues (e.g. multi-donor trust funds), the research underpinning this section gives an indication of the aid delivered by the EU in parallel to that provided by individual member states (see Annex A).

Furthermore, the current section studies the evolution of the EU's conceptual assumptions guiding the assistance given to Afghanistan (Section 3.3), and draws on the lessons learnt from a series of self-assessment reports (produced by, inter alia, the Directorate General Development Co-operation of the European Commission (DG DEVCO), the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament (AFET), the European External Action Service (EEAS), and the European Court of Auditors (ECA)), as well as evaluation studies by other international donors (e.g. UN, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), etc.) (Section 3.4). These lessons learnt will provide the basis for Section 4 which analyses the prospects for EU aid to Afghanistan post-2014.

A word of caution is in place here. Efforts at assessing aid effectiveness and project management in conflict-affected areas and fragile states such as Afghanistan cannot be directly compared with those in stable developing countries. Oversight efforts are hampered by an unstable security situation.⁴⁰ At the same time, however, reliable information on weaknesses in aid effectiveness and relevant risk factors need to be identified in order to improve EU assistance as far as possible. This is certainly the case in Afghanistan, which is the second largest recipient of EU aid. It is therefore striking that there seems to exist a public verification deficit of how international and EU aid has impacted on Afghanistan. As observed in the European Parliament's own report of 19 November 2010:

"(...) it has been extraordinarily difficult to obtain reliable data on the modalities and impact of the international civilian and military intervention so far, and this remains a major stumbling block to understanding what is going on in Afghanistan today. Equally, there is a marked absence of co-ordination and communication among donors let alone between donors and the supposed beneficiaries, the Afghans. In a recent meeting in Kabul, the Minister of Finance lamented to your rapporteur that the Government has received no information whatsoever on around one third of the international assistance spent in Afghanistan since 2001. Other interlocutors have

⁴⁰ See M. Gavass et. A., 'EU Development Cooperation in Fragile States: Challenges and Opportunities', Report for the European Parliament's DEVE Committee, April 2013: the EU faces specific challenges related to its organisational and resourcing arrangements, e.g.: (i) a lack of organisational coherence limits the effective development, dissemination and uptake of various tools designed to enhance engagement at the operational level; (ii) insufficient coherence between the various financing instruments at the Commission's disposal leads to gaps in the provision of financing for long-term preventive actions and post-emergency situations; (iii) Commission funding for post-emergency situations that involve a transition from humanitarian and development assistance is often not sufficiently systematic; (iv) the Commission has not made investing in expertise in fragility and conflict-prevention a priority, particularly at the operational level. EU Delegations in conflict-affected states often face staff shortages or lack dedicated expertise in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

voiced similar complaints. The United States has started to collect, if belatedly, relevant data on aid and its impact through its Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), and this is to be welcomed. The EU, for its part, is urged to set up a comprehensive database on and analysis of all EU aid to Afghanistan, with a view to having in place greater transparency and mechanisms for holding donors fully accountable.”⁴¹

Whereas the ‘Common Relex Information System’ (CRIS) of DG DEVCO and the EU Delegation provides a comprehensive database of all EU development projects and programmes and includes information about audits, progress of implementation and evaluation, public access to such documents (e.g. Results-Oriented Monitoring Missions and verification missions carried out on EU funds channelled through UN Agencies) is restricted by formal application and declassification procedures. Because they often include sensitive information about projects and programmes, such documents are generally treated as internal management reports used to discuss findings and negotiate remedial measures directly with the implementing organisations and the beneficiaries, and are thus not available to the general public.

For much of the period under review (2001-2010), CEPS has had to rely on a scattering of publicly available information documents, audits and evaluation reports, produced on a wide variety of international,⁴² EU and national funding instruments and published by several institutions, sometimes incidentally or at irregular intervals, applying different methodologies, as well as the insights gleaned from the limited information shared in confidence by some members of the EU family. The picture provided in the current section can therefore not pretend to be exhaustive in nature and the conclusions drawn from the analysis should be treated with a certain degree of caution.

The picture becomes somewhat clearer around the turn of the previous decade. The Commission’s Blue Book of 2009, which includes all aid coming from the EU general budget and the member states’ national budgets, the annual reports submitted by the Commission to the EP (cf. ‘EU- Afghanistan. State of Play’, since 2010), and the six-monthly reports presented since April 2010 by HR/VP Ashton to the Council on the state of implementation of ‘The Plan for Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan and Pakistan’ (hereinafter: the Action Plan) approved by EU Foreign Ministers at the External Relations Council Meeting on 27 October 2009, are helpful in this respect.⁴³ The November 2011 Geier report of the EP’s Budget Control Committee stands out as a recent comprehensive budgetary assessment of EU aid to Afghanistan, even if the rapporteur acknowledges the limits to what he could achieve: “There is no ‘one size fits all’ approach as all funding channels merit their use for the specific purpose intended”.⁴⁴

On the basis of the information which has been (made) available, it is nevertheless possible to draw some general conclusions from the EU’s conceptual approaches toward and implementation practice in Afghanistan. These findings will allow us to define best practices and the added value, i.e. comparative advantage, of EU assistance over that of other (inter)national donors.

⁴¹ EP AFET Report on a new strategy for Afghanistan, Rapporteur Pino Arlacchi (2009/2217(INI)).

⁴² See, e.g., European Court of Auditors, Special Report No 3/2011 on ‘The Efficiency and Effectiveness of EU Contributions Channelled through United Nations Organisations in Conflict-Affected Countries’.

⁴³ See, e.g., the Second Implementation Report to the Council on the Plan for Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan, October 2010, available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/224359/-evidence-eas-eu-action-plan-afghanistan.pdf.

⁴⁴ European Parliament, Committee on Budgetary Control, Report on budgetary control of EU financial assistance to Afghanistan, Rapporteur Jens Geier (2011/2014(INI)), 18 November 2011, at 16.

3.2 Overview of EU assistance

3.2.1 Reconstruction (2001-2006)

The European Commission has been present in Afghanistan since the mid-1980s, with an office in Peshawar, in western Pakistan, covering the country. Until the end of the 1990s, the programmes of Directorate General Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection's (DG ECHO) were geared towards the continued support to Afghan refugees, support for returnees to peaceful areas of Afghanistan, and humanitarian aid in conflict-affected areas. The EU's humanitarian assistance approach to Afghanistan was integrated more clearly into the assistance programmes of the EU by way of, inter alia, the April 2001 Commission Communication on Conflict Prevention.⁴⁵ In this document, the Commission underlined the importance of addressing cross-cutting issues such as political, ethnic, social or regional exclusion or marginalisation in both EU assistance programmes and international efforts, as these may also spark further conflict. The use of key instruments such as trade and cooperation agreements, social, justice and home affairs policy tools were promoted as integral parts of long-term conflict prevention. This approach was consequently incorporated in the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) outlining the main framework of EU aid to Afghanistan following the December 2001 Bonn Agreement (see Section 3.3).

The first Country Strategy Paper on Afghanistan (CSP 2003-2006⁴⁶) and matching National Indicative Programmes (NIP 2003-2004 and NIP 2005-2006⁴⁷) set out the four focal sectors of EU assistance in the post-Taliban period. These sectors consisted of:

- (i) rural development (EUR 203 million);
- (ii) health and social protection (EUR 42 million);
- (iii) public administration reform (EUR 212 million); and
- (iv) infrastructure (EUR 90 million).

Four non-focal areas were also highlighted: (a) de-mining (EUR 40 million); (b) regional cooperation (EUR 14 million); (c) refugees/returnees (EUR 10 million) ; and (d) counter-narcotics (EUR 10 million). The activities in the non-focal areas were intended to directly or indirectly reinforce specific activities pursued in the prioritised focal sectors.⁴⁸

The EC's first Country Strategy Paper was thus very much focused on the initial reconstruction phase, building up infrastructure and establishing new government institutions and public services. In terms of the health and refugees/returnees programmes, the Commission's assistance built on the earlier interventions of DG ECHO in the late 1990s.

The table below provides a more narrow overview of the EU's commitments and disbursements in the different sectors in the period 2002-5 (Table 2). The table shows that Afghanistan's absorption capacity has been low, with big differences between committed budgets and rates of contracting (on average 84.42%) and disbursement (on average 72.44%, pushed up by the positive scores for disbursement through the multi-donor Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF) and the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA)). Indeed, the difficult operating environment in Afghanistan has led to

⁴⁵ COM(2001) 211 final, 11 April 2001.

⁴⁶ EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2003-2006: http://eeas.europa.eu/afghanistan/csp/03_06_en.pdf

⁴⁷ EC NATIONAL INDICATIVE PROGRAMME OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SUPPORT 2005-2006 AFGHANISTAN: http://eeas.europa.eu/afghanistan/csp/nip_05_06_en.pdf

⁴⁸ Annex A to this report provides a breakdown of the aims, actions and means of implementation of the different EU programmes. In addition, it gives an indication of the parallel activities of individual member states in these sectors, based on the information available in the 2009 Blue Book.

concerns about absorption capacity.⁴⁹ This results from both the security situation and the weakness of government institutions (see further Section 3.4).

Table 2: EU commitments in the period from 2002 to 2005

In million EUR	2002-2005 Commitments Situation as per 31/12/2005				
	Committed	Contracted	%	Disbursed	%
Health and Social Protection	42.66	42.66	100.00	30.09	70.53
Infrastructures	89.87	81.41	90.59	46.43	51.66
Institutional support PAR	30.45	24.13	79.24	16.51	54.22
ARTF	182.14	164.73	90.44	162	88.94
(including UNDP TF in 2002)					
LOTFA	95.00	95.00	100.00	85.00	89.47
Rural Development	203.17	176.63	86.94	125.23	61.64
Demining	40.40	33.88	83.86	25.42	62.92
Civil Society / Media	42.72	42.25	98.90	37.30	87.31
Regional Cooperation	8.19	7.00	85.47	6.50	79.37
Information /studies	8.66	6.69	77.25	5.34	61.66
Various (monitoring, audits)	6.36	5.32	83.65	3.20	50.31
TOTAL	749.62	632.80	84.42	543.02	72.44

Source: CSP 2007-2013

Beyond bilateral assistance, Afghanistan benefitted from several regional and thematic programmes of the EU. Consequently, regional EU programmes directed towards Asia such as the Aid for Uprooted People (AUP) programme since 2002 provide support for the voluntary return and reintegration of Afghan refugees as well as assisting displaced Afghans in Pakistan and Iran. Thematic programmes operating in Afghanistan include the food security programme since 2001, which is providing assistance to improve food safety, especially amongst the poorest people. The country also benefits from the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) since 2005.

3.2.2 Capacity-building (2007-2013)

Spending priorities for the period 2007-13 were detailed in a Country Strategy Paper and two Multiannual Indicative Programmes (MIPs) had been formally agreed with the GfRoA. The response strategy proposed in the CSP-II (2007-2013) aimed to strike a balance between the continuation of

⁴⁹ EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

successful EU programmes under CSP-I and new priorities in response to the changes in the country. CSP-II and the accompanying MIPs primarily aimed at creating the conditions for sustainable development and poverty reduction. The immediate pressing priorities were to stabilise the country and deal with the narcotics trade; to ensure government is able to deliver services at all levels; and to establish a functioning rule of law, safeguarding basic human rights. It was considered that, only from this base would the Afghan government be in a position to address the most basic social and economic needs and pursue the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the decade ahead. In line with this approach, the sectors set out in CSP-II were not all explicitly directed at progress towards the MDGs but rather prioritised actions that would enable sustainable poverty reduction in the medium to long run. It should also be noted that the strategy was designed in such a way as to enable the assistance programmes to evolve over time as and when more pressing priorities were addressed.

Under CSP-II resources were earmarked to six areas of cooperation, three focal:

- (i) governance;
- (ii) rural development; and
- (iii) health;

and three non-focal: (i) social protection, (ii) mine action and (iii) regional cooperation.

Of an EUR 610 million sum for the initial MIP-I for the period 2007-10, EUR 542 million were used in three focal areas namely governance (42%), rural development (28%) and health (20%). The balance (+/- 10% or EUR 68 million) was earmarked for social protection (3.9%), de-mining activities (3.6%) and regional cooperation (3.6%). MIP-II 2011-3 foresaw a EUR 600 million financial allocation (more than 30 % relative increase, compared to the four-year period covered by MIP-I. MIP II prioritised support to rural development (34.3%), governance and rule of law (41%), health and social protection (22.2%) over regional cooperation (2.5%).⁵⁰ The MIPs pack a detailed list of indicators for each of these headings.⁵¹

To date, the European Commission has distributed funds through a number of means. It has directly funded private contractors and NGOs, as well as channelled funds through the framework of the National Development Budget, and through the multilateral trust funds established to support the GfROA's recurrent budget and the National Priority Programmes (NPPs).⁵²

⁵⁰

http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/afghanistan/documents/content/multiannual_indicative_programme_2011_13_en.pdf.

⁵¹ For instance, for the promotion of capacity building the number of legislative acts adopted and the number of trained/re-trained staff in national, regional and local administrations could prove as indicators. Additionally the strengthening of the public administration could include indicators such as include capacity and service delivery outputs as well as the number of trained public sector staff, the establishment of merit-based appointment/promotion systems, the number of women employees, and revised administrative procedures at central, provincial and district level. The indicators for health are aligned to the MDGs and the targets set out in the Afghanistan National Development Strategy (ANDS) and include the percentage of the population with access to Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS), the availability of female health workers at each facility, the proportion of antenatal and postnatal care visits and the proportion of institutional deliveries, and a reduction in infant and maternal mortality.

⁵² In 2010, during the Kabul Conference, the government put forward 22 NPPs, clustering the priorities set out in the Afghan National Development Strategy, asking the donor community for alignment. In 2011, the Bonn Conference took stock of the achievements of the 'Kabul Process' and paved the way for the Tokyo Conference (July 2012) focusing on the government's strategy for sustainable development and economic growth beyond the 'transition' (set for 2014). In Tokyo, the Afghan government presented its long-term strategy post-2014 (post withdrawal of international military forces) and its priorities and commitments to reform. Donors reaffirmed their support to Afghanistan's transition and to a 'transformation decade' based on partnership and mutual accountability, in accordance with the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework (TMAF).

Under the EU's Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), extra funds were earmarked for Afghanistan for the period 2007-13. These resources have been supplemented by projects and programmes financed under the regional programmes and under various thematic programmes. In this respect, Afghanistan has received EUR 584 million in the last decade from DG ECHO under the Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection umbrella.⁵³ Additionally Afghanistan has benefitted from EUR 6.37 million from the Instrument for Stability (IfS) and EUR 55.31 million funding from the CFSP budget for civilian crisis management missions. Moreover, EUR 1.39 million was earmarked for 2012 from the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). Finally, Afghanistan benefitted from the EU Food Facility,⁵⁴ which allows for rapid responses to soaring food prices in developing countries, and received an additional EUR 35 million in 2002 and EUR 0.29 million in 2012 from the Emergency Aid Reserve, which caters for humanitarian and civilian crisis operations in response to unforeseen events.⁵⁵

3.2.3 Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Security and Defence Policy

The European Commission, through its staff in the Delegation in Kabul oversees programmes that focus on economic development, governance and the rule of law. The EEAS staff in the Delegation provides the political support under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the Union. In parallel, EU Special Representatives (EUSRs) have been stationed (now co-located with the EU Delegation) in Kabul to provide the first contact point between Afghanistan and the EU and a channel for political dialogue.⁵⁶ By conveying the EU's view on the political process and establishing and maintaining contact with key Afghan institutions and stakeholders, the EUSRs have fulfilled an important function in coordinating and shaping the EU's political position and increasing the EU's political visibility on the ground.⁵⁷ The respective mandates of the EUSRs developed over time, adapting to the changing needs of the region and to the EU's increasing assistance in the region. Thus, the focus evolved from solely contributing and supporting the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to overseeing the implementation of the 2005 EU-Afghanistan Joint Declaration, the 2006 Afghanistan Compact, the relative UN resolutions, the 2009 EU Action Plan on Afghanistan and Pakistan to the extent that it relates to Afghan interests, and cooperating with EU Member States' representatives in Afghanistan and the UN specifically focusing on coordinating international aid.⁵⁸

For the EU, its engagement in Afghanistan has represented a steep learning curve in light of the magnitude of the peacebuilding task. However, it also signals the external recognition of its increasing role as an international security provider, thanks to the launching in 2007 of the EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL).⁵⁹ The mandate of the mission was recently extended until the end of 2014. The

⁵³ ECHO Factsheet, June 2013.

⁵⁴ Commission Staff Working Document accompanying the Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Annual Report 2013 on the European Union's development and external assistance policies and their implementation in 2012.

⁵⁵ Press release: Euro 70 million proposed for additional aid to Afghanistan, raising EU support to Euro 250 million in 2002. IP/02/1137 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-02-1137_en.htm

⁵⁶ From 2002 onwards the EUSRs to Afghanistan were: Klaus Peter Klaiber [December 2001-June 2002], Francesco Vendrell [June 2002-August 2008], Ettore Francesco Sequi [July 2008-March 2010], Vygaudas Usackas [April 2010-June 2013] and Franz-Michael Skjold Mellbin [September 2013-June 2014].

⁵⁷ See G. Grevi, 'Pioneering Foreign Policy: The EU Special Representatives', Chaillot Paper No. 106, Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, October 2007, 71-78; and E. Fouéré, 'EU Special Representatives: A Dying Breed?', CEPS Commentary, 13 December 2013.

⁵⁸ Retrieved from EEAS website, section Former Special Representatives: http://eeas.europa.eu/policies/eu-special-representatives/former-special-representatives/index_en.htm

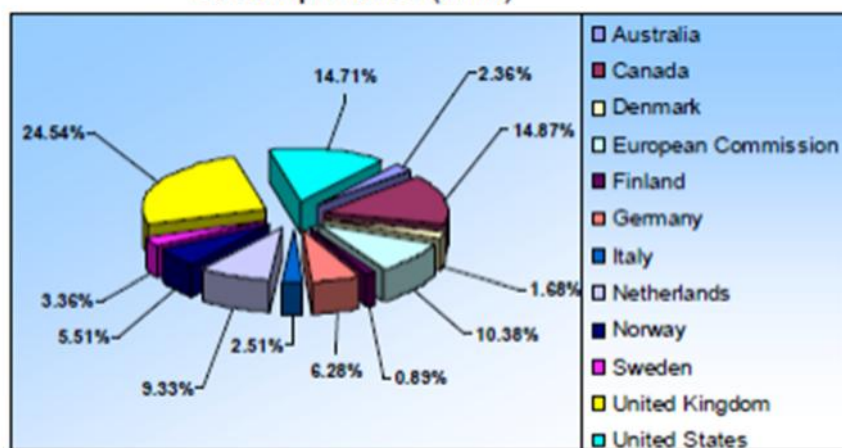
⁵⁹ Council Joint Action 2007/369/CFSP of 30 May 2007 on establishment of the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL AFGHANISTAN), OJEU 2007 L 139/33.

overarching aim of the mission is to support the establishment of sustainable and effective civil policing arrangements which enable appropriate interaction with the wider criminal justice system under Afghan ownership. EUPOL's specific objectives outline the support to the establishment of a pro-active, intelligence-led police force, and the development of anti-corruption capacities and police command, control and communications for the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). In addition, the EUPOL mission aims to strengthen the cooperation and coordination between the police and judiciary, and to mainstream gender and human rights aspects within the MoI and the ANP. In a way, Afghanistan has represented a coming of age of the CSDP and the EU's ability to deliver a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding. Sadly though, EU engagement has been negatively affected by both the broader fragmentation of international efforts and the insufficient political and financial commitments on the part of member states, particularly as far as EUPOL is concerned.⁶⁰

3.2.4 Evaluation

In the period under review, the total European assistance – i.e. from the EU general budget and the respective member states – amounted to an estimated EUR 2.7 billion. This amount constitutes roughly one third of the overall aid provided by international donors to Afghanistan. Of this budget around a quarter was provided by the Commission, leaving the bulk of the funding to member states individually. The financial backing of Italy and France for EU rural development sector programmes, for instance, has been considerable.⁶¹ The complimentary function of EU aid is clearly visible in the ARTF, one of the most important multi-donor funds for the reconstruction of Afghanistan (see Figure 2). The pie chart below illustrates the substantial financial contributions by individual EU member states such as the UK (24.54%), Finland (14.87%) and the Netherlands (9.33%), whereas the European Commission has provided the comparatively modest share of 10.38%.

Figure 2 Major Donors' share in funding ARTF 2002-April 2009 (in %)



The 12 major donors represent 96.43% of the contributions paid in between 2002 and 2009. The EC and the EU Member States account for 64.49%.

Source: State of Play 2010

⁶⁰ See Eva Gross, 'The EU in Afghanistan: Peacebuilding in a Conflict Setting', in Steven Blockmans, Jan Wouters and Tom Ruys (eds.), *The European Union and Peacebuilding: Policy and Legal Aspects*, The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2010, 295-309.

⁶¹ EC Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

Comparing the first and second CSPs, some shifts in fund allocation are apparent, in line with those of other international donors such as the UN and the US.⁶² For instance, the health sector experienced a substantial increase in funding, from EUR 25 million to EUR 105 million. At first sight the programmes under the governance heading also received an increase in funding of EUR 28 million. However, the re-labelled sector under CSP-II encompasses the previously separate focal objectives of infrastructure and public administration. In this respect, the total amount of EUR 240 million was to be distributed over three sectors which previously benefitted from a total amount of EUR 302 million in funding. The perceived increase in funding for this mega-sector is thus an actual reduction of the sum of funding to the specific sectors. Similarly, the non-focal goals promoted through the refugee and counter-narcotic programmes of the EU (each for EUR 10 million under CSP-I) were lumped together in CSP-II under the heading social protection (for a total of EUR 25 million), thereby diluting the envelopes destined for the empowerment of women and other vulnerable groups of society.

Overall, the EU has been rather constant in its approach during the entire period under consideration, putting the emphasis on support of three areas, i.e. rural development, health and social protection, and governance and rule of law. As such, it can be remarked that the EU has played a complimentary role. As other international donors engaged themselves in sectors such as security and education (and the member states and channelled their support through other avenues like NATO and ISAF), the EU deployed in areas in which it had already built up considerable expertise. Taken together, the EU and member states' assistance programmes areas reinforce the 'clusters' which were outlined by the Afghan Government in its NPPs at the 2010 Kabul Conference.⁶³ In terms of aid delivery, the EU is progressively moving from project-based approach to more sector-wide approaches through trust funds, which is in line with the aid effectiveness agenda while providing a high degree of control over spending.

3.3 An assessment of the EU's conceptual assumptions and how they have evolved over the years

3.3.1 Introduction

The EU's development programmes in Afghanistan have always been grounded in the objectives set out in the EU treaties. Although amended slightly in revisions at Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon, the treaties have constantly set out the following broad objectives for development cooperation: (i) the sustainable economic and social development of the developing countries, and more particularly the most disadvantaged among them; (ii) the smooth and gradual integration of the developing countries into the world economy; and (iii) the campaign against poverty in the developing countries.⁶⁴ These aims have always gone hand in hand within the general objectives of EU external action like promoting democracy and the rule of law, encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in third countries.

In policy terms, EU action towards Afghanistan has been framed by a number of general documents such as the 2001 communications on 'Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for enhanced partnerships'⁶⁵ and 'Conflict Prevention'⁶⁶ in which the Commission stressed the importance of

⁶² UN Press release SC/8641, 'Security Council unanimously endorses five-year 'Afghanistan Compact' aimed at bolstering security, development, counter-narcotics efforts' 15/02/2006.

⁶³ Disbursement of funds committed has not always been forthcoming. In the area of justice reform, for instance, the GfR's tardiness in preparing a NPP has led the Commission to deny support until a reform agenda was adopted.

⁶⁴ See Articles 3(5), 21(2) TEU and, in particular, Articles 208-211 TFEU. Article 210 calls for coordination and consultation between the EU and the member states on their bilateral aid programmes, which are substantial.

⁶⁵ COM(2001) 469 final.

⁶⁶ COM(2001) 211 final.

addressing cross-cutting issues such as political, ethnic, social or regional exclusion or marginalisation in EU (and international) assistance programmes. Furthermore, the use of key instruments such as trade and cooperation agreements and social, justice and home affairs policy tools were promoted as integral parts of long-term conflict prevention. These approaches were consequently incorporated in the Country Strategy Programmes outlining the framework of EU aid to Afghanistan (see Section 3.2).

Before delving more deeply into the policy documents and programmatic frameworks it is good to recall that the treaty prescribes that the EU and its member states “comply with the commitments and take account of the objectives they have approved in the context of the United Nations and other competent international organisations”.⁶⁷ In order to make an assessment of the EU’s conceptual assumptions concerning aid to Afghanistan and how these have evolved over time, it is therefore necessary to first analyse the language used at several key international donor conferences which have outlined the international community’s multi-annual frameworks for aid provision. The analysis in this section is limited to evaluating those conferences which proved crucial in the (re-)definition of such conceptual assumptions to cater to the specific needs of the Afghan people. As we will see, the EU’s conceptions have indeed been, by and large, a derivative of those developed at the international level. This is logical if one considers that both EU member states and the European Commission helped shape the rationale of and language used at those conferences, and because EU aid to Afghanistan has been complimentary to that offered by other multilateral and bilateral donors.

3.3.2 Period 2001-2006

The initial multi-donor agreement was signed in Bonn in 2001 shortly after the fall of the Taliban regime. Speedy decisions were deemed necessary to handle the emergency situation that arose shortly after a crisis: “Aware that the unstable situation in Afghanistan requires the implementation of emergency interim arrangements”.⁶⁸ The Bonn Agreement set the ambitious benchmark of aiming towards a stable and democratically elected government in 2004.⁶⁹ Thus, by concluding the Bonn Agreement, the parties present at the UN-led conference committed themselves to a short timeframe to meet the primary aim of creating the institutions (and new constitution) needed to govern Afghanistan. A further aim was set out to decide about possible support to the Afghan security forces.

The ensuing Country Strategy Paper 2003-06 published by the Commission reflected the aims of the Bonn Agreement by focusing on areas which required urgent support in a period of crisis: capacity-building, rural development and food security, health and infrastructure. Further cross-cutting aims were identified: de-mining, civil society, regional cooperation, reintegration of refugees and IDPs, combating the poppy cultivation. As such, the EU widened the scope of assistance beyond that DG ECHO’s humanitarian assistance approach of the 1990s.

Following the adoption of CSP-I, a further conference was held in Berlin in 2004 and chaired by Germany, Japan, the UN and Afghanistan. To ensure the safety of the Afghan people following the fall of the Taliban regime the conference focused on the establishment of ISAF, which (upon the request by the G1RoA, mandated by the UN Security Council and carried out under the leadership of NATO) was responsible for the security and the enforcement of the rule of law “until such time as the new Afghan security and armed forces are sufficiently constituted and operational”.⁷⁰ Military contributions to reconstruction and development were delivered through Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs),

⁶⁷ Article 208(2) TFEU.

⁶⁸ Bonn Agreement 2001.

⁶⁹ Ibid. See Section 2.1 of this study.

⁷⁰ Berlin Agreement 2004.

headed by individual lead nations as part of ISAF.⁷¹ Also, the focus was set on the further establishment of the enforcement of the rule of law and a functioning judicial system embedded in a new Constitution. Moreover, the Agreement stressed the importance that further poppy cultivation, trafficking not only prove a threat to the rule of law in Afghanistan but also to the security of the international community and that all parties involved had to strive to provide alternative livelihoods. Additional emphasis was placed on the report “Securing Afghanistan’s Future” which provided a framework outlining the long-term needs to establish the “sustained economic growth needed to support a financially sustainable State that is capable of undertaking social development and poverty reduction”.⁷² The conceptual perspective of the international community thus shifted towards long-term involvement. The donors, together with the GIRoA, agreed that the successful implementation of the Berlin agenda depended symbiotically on the continued commitment of the donors and on the Afghan government’s success in reaching the goals it had outlined for itself. As such, the co-responsibility of the international community and the GIRoA for the future of Afghanistan was therefore ‘codified’ for the first time. Consequently, the EU incorporated these conclusions and continued its substantial financial support to the multi-donor trust funds.

The rise in international presence in Afghanistan in the first five years led to a Taliban-led insurgency, thus stressing the need for further reform and funding for the security sector. The international community agreed at the London Conference in 2006 that ISAF would continue to expand its presence throughout Afghanistan, including through PRTs and that it would continue to promote stability and support security sector reforms in its areas of operation. The London Conference, co-chaired by the UN and Afghanistan, enabled the ‘Afghanistan Compact’.⁷³ The Compact would go on to play an influential role for the further planning of the international aid provided for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The essential difference of this conference rested with the fact that the GIRoA independently articulated the overarching aims for its citizens in the ‘Afghanistan MDGs country Report 2005-Vision 2020’. This report provided the framework for the international donors’ aid allocation, allowing the GIRoA a stronger voice in the strategy and planning of the reconstruction. The Afghanistan Compact centred its goals on three crucial and interdependent pillars for the following 5 years: security; governance, rule of law and human rights; economic and social development (incl. the cross-cutting issue of fighting poppy cultivation).

Whereas in CSP-I the Commission centred the main focus on the initial reconstruction phase, specifically the establishment of new government institutions and public services and the development of infrastructure, these foci evolved in tune with the economic and political scene in Afghanistan, which was characterised by a decline of urgency and an emergence of longer-term peacebuilding tasks geared at sustainable economic development and the creation of functioning government institutions.

⁷¹ The PRTs aim to establish a secure and stable environment which enables the international and Afghan civilian agencies to provide development support. The mandate of the PRTs is broad and includes engaging with key government, military, tribal, village, and religious leaders in the provinces, monitoring of and reporting on imperative political, military and reconstruction developments. For more information, see the USAID website: http://afghanistan.usaid.gov/en/partnerships/-partners_provincial_reconstruction_teams

⁷² Securing Afghanistan’s Future: Accomplishments and the Strategic Path Forward Report: report presented by Afghan Government for the International Conference March 31-April 1 2004: <http://www.effectivestates.org/Papers/Securing%20Afghanistan%27s%20Future.pdf>.

⁷³ UK Government Web Archive: <http://collections.europarchive.org/tna/20080205132101/www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/-Front%3fpagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1132599285324>

Box 1: Conceptual assumptions EU as defined by international donor conferences (2001-2006)

Initial Short-Term Conceptual Assumptions	Long-Term Assumptions
Establishment of a “broad-based, gender-sensitive, multi-ethnic and fully representative government”	Budgetary planning outlined long-term commitments Emphasis made on further developing and strengthening the capacities of the Afghan institutions and public services to promote self-reliance/ self-sustainability
Provincial Reconstruction Teams responsible for the initial reconstruction and development efforts NATO is responsible for the security Enforcement of the rule of law and order until the Afghan security and armed forces are capable of taking over	Afghanistan Compact: identified three crucial and interdependent pillars of interest for the following 5 years: Security; Governance Rule of Law and Human Rights; Economic and Social Development and including a cross-cutting issue of continuing the combat against the poppy cultivation

The London Conference and the Afghanistan Compact played a big role in the formulation of CSP-II; so did several evaluations on the effectiveness of EU aid under CSP-I, specifically on health and refugees.

3.3.3 Period 2007-2013

The second CSP reflected the evolving needs of Afghanistan and continued the processes initiated in CSP-I. It put an emphasis on the further development and strengthening of the capacities of the Afghan institutions and public services in order to become more self-reliant in the long-term. As noted, the response strategy of CSP-II concentrated on three focal areas (rural development, governance and health) and three non-focal areas (social protection, mine action and regional cooperation).

The agreements forged under the 2008 Paris Conference hosted by the Presidents of France and Afghanistan and the UN Secretary-General reiterated the international donors’ commitment to align their work and collaborate more closely under Afghan leadership in order to fulfil the aims set out in the ANDS. These aims were jointly formulated with the input of various shareholders such as NGOs, tribal and religious leaders, and the private sector.⁷⁴ Further priority was given to supporting the establishment and functioning of institutions and economic growth, specifically in the agricultural and energy sectors where progress had already been apparent. The Afghan government “committed itself to pursuing political and economic reform”.⁷⁵ The international community “agreed to provide increased resources and to use them in a more effective [and coordinated] way”. A new commitment was pronounced to support the elections in 2009 and 2010 and strengthen the burgeoning democracy. Attention was also to fighting corruption and drug-trafficking, the latter especially through regional cooperation.

In the CSP-II, the goal was defined that “[i]n terms of harmonisation with other donors, the Commission will endeavour to incorporate the principles of the Paris Declaration into its programmes, ensuring it

⁷⁴ Embassy of Afghanistan in Washington D.C.-About Afghanistan Section: <http://www.embassyofafghanistan.org/-page/afghanistan-national-development-strategy>

⁷⁵ Declaration of the International Conference in Support of Afghanistan.

supports those sectors where the EC has *a clear value-added* and where there is a lack of other major donors".⁷⁶ In terms of the interface between this CSP and the wider EU policy environment, the Commission admitted that there seemed not to have been a significant impact of EU trade and agricultural policies on Afghanistan. In the sector of justice and home affairs, drugs policies in Afghanistan seem to have had a clear read across to the 2004 EU Drugs Strategy (2005-2012)⁷⁷, with an emphasis on demand reduction. For migration, there was an EU Afghanistan Returns Plan,⁷⁸ in line with the goals defined at the Paris Declaration in 2008 aimed at facilitating the return of Afghan returnees from EU countries.

An influential document providing the conceptual framework of EU aid towards Afghanistan is the plan 'Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan Pakistan' formulated in October 2009.⁷⁹ This Action Plan summarises the Council's conclusions concerning the future involvement of the EU in both countries. It emphasises the EU's aim to strengthen the state institutions and to "promote good governance, human rights and efficient public administration, especially at the sub-national level". Further focal interests in the area of rule of law underpin the creation of EUPOL, aimed at capacity-building of a civilian police force and the implementation of the National Justice Programme. The Action Plan also promotes economic growth, specifically through rural development and social progress. Furthermore, the importance of strengthening regional cooperation, supporting re-integration and further aligning and coordinating EU aid at the European (i.e. with the member states) and at the international level are mentioned. In this respect, the aims outlined in the EU Action Plan are in accordance with the goals presented by the GfRoA in the ANDS. The Action Plan emphasises the importance that international support must be a "transition strategy, focusing on enabling the Afghan government to assume full responsibility, while the international community gradually takes a more supportive role".

In sum, the overarching principles that guided EU assistance evolved in tune with the political and economic realities and the needs of Afghanistan. The MIP 2011-2013 aimed at enhancing the strategic focus and allocations in all focal sectors of the CSP-II, plus regional cooperation (non-focal). In this respect, the MIP-II envisioned a better deployment of resources under the MIP 2011-13 and enabled greater EU coordination and joint action, in line with the EU Action Plan.⁸⁰

The priorities set out in the CSP took the government's own development agenda into account, as well as the Afghanistan Compact and the interim Afghanistan National Development Strategy (i-ANDS). After the initial reconstruction needs addressed by the CSP-I, the Commission focused on the new priorities of promoting self-reliance amongst the Afghan institutions. The European Commission aimed to utilise government structures wherever this was feasible in implementing programmes and to provide continued support to existing national programmes, for example in the rural sector.

⁷⁶ EC Country Strategy Paper Islamic Republic of Afghanistan 2007-2013. Emphasis added.

⁷⁷ The EU Drugs Strategy is available at <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/04/st15/st15074.en04.pdf>.

⁷⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/funding/2004_2007/docs/return_action_programme.pdf

⁷⁹ Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan Pakistan, Doc. Nr. 14064/09, 27/10/2009.

⁸⁰ Multiannual Indicative Programme 2011-2013 http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/afghanistan/documents/content/-multiannual_indicative_programme_2011_13_en.pdf

Box 2: Conceptual assumptions EU as defined by international donor conferences (2007-2013)Previous conceptual assumption of long-term engagement:

- International donors' agreed to align their work and collaborate more closely under Afghan leadership to fulfil aims outlined in the ANDS
- Long-term financial commitment was promised by international community

Current conceptual assumption of long-term engagement:

- Conceptual shift including co-responsibility included: support is committed on the condition that Afghan Government effectively and transparently implements strategies for further growth and development aiming towards self-reliance specifically in five areas:

- (1) Representational Democracy and Equitable Elections,
- (2) Governance, Rule of Law and Human Rights
- (3) Integrity of Public Finance and Commercial Banking,
- (4) Government Revenues, Budget Execution and Sub-National Governance
- (5) inclusive and Sustainable Growth and Development

At the Tokyo Conference in July 2012, the international community and the Afghan Government committed themselves to support the development of Afghanistan towards its self-reliance during the Transformation Decade (2015-2024). This pledge was underlined by the definition of mutual commitments and accountability for the sustainable development of the country. The Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework was established as a mechanism under which this co-responsibility can be checked and reviewed on a regular basis (see further Section 4).

3.3.4 Overall evaluation

From the foregoing, a multi-layered approach can be detected in the evolution of the conceptual assumptions about the development of Afghanistan. Those developed at the international donor conferences were influenced by the previously outlined assumptions held by individual (EU member) states already present in the country. France had been in active in the development of Afghanistan since 1922 and other member states like Sweden, the Netherlands, and Austria had been providing aid throughout much of the 1980s-90s.⁸¹ These member states played a formative role in the formulation of goals by the international community. The underlying assumptions were subsequently absorbed in EU policy documents and translated in financial aid envelopes. As such, the member states and the European Commission simply took over the rationale and language which they helped shape through their participation in the international conferences for Afghanistan. That allowed them to define EU aid in a complimentary way to that offered by other multilateral and bilateral donors. Consequently, the EU's initial conceptual frame was a reflection of the Bonn Conference focus on emergency relief, institution- and capacity-building. A shift is noticeable in the Berlin agreement as the projected

⁸¹ EU Blue Book 2009.

timeframe changed to address longer-term needs. The novel aspect of co-responsibility between the international community and the GIRoA for the successful development of Afghanistan notes a further conceptual shift. The importance of the Afghan government's efforts increased subsequently and this led to the independent articulation of the Afghanistan MDGs Country Report 2005-Vision 2020, which lay the foundation for future donor coordination. The multi-layered approach to priority-setting thus shifted towards the Afghans themselves. The successful implementation of this shift is apparent in the 2009 EU Action Plan which aligns future European goals with the aims set forth by the Afghan government. A further essential conceptual development is apparent at the 2012 Tokyo Conference (see Section 4), which was the first to address the aspect of mutual accountability towards the sustainable development of Afghanistan. The timeframe expanded gradually, leading the international community to pledge its support to Afghanistan for a further decade whereas previously commitments had been made for periods of three or four years.

In looking at ways to become more effective in Afghanistan, the EU has tried to pursue three basic objectives. Firstly, ensuring that its development actions were aligned with the Afghan government's development strategies and priorities. This was driven by the assumption that EU assistance can only succeed if it supports the development and reform processes driven by the beneficiary government. Secondly, improving the division of labour with other donors (including member states) in an effort to avoid duplication, maximise its own comparative advantages ("clear value-added"), and obtain more and better results on the ground. Thirdly, increasingly focusing on sustainable capacity development of partner institutions and on avoiding a substitution approach.

3.4 Lessons-learnt

3.4.1 Introduction

The evaluation of past and current EU projects is an on-going process. The instruments of EU development cooperation enshrine regular review, monitoring and evaluation into the programming and project management cycles. Lessons learnt from at the project and programmatic levels feed constantly into the ongoing and planned interventions. The same applies to the EU's humanitarian and security assistance programmes. However, as already noted (see Section 3.1), the majority of these evaluation and audit reports, such as those internal to DG DEVCO are not available to external observers. As a result, this section cannot pretend to present a comprehensive, let alone exhaustive, analysis. Because of this verification deficit, a certain amount of caution should be observed in drawing general conclusions.

Most of the observations gathered on the interview track corroborated the findings laid down in the evaluation and audit reports which are available to the general public.⁸² Over the last years, assessments have been undertaken both by the EU itself (e.g. European Commission, HR/VP, Court of Auditors) and for partners of the EU (e.g. UNDP, World Bank, DFID). These and other reports have been analysed so as to tease out the essential lessons learnt about the (effectiveness of the) provision of EU aid to Afghanistan. Below, the EU's own reports will be discussed (Section 3.4.2) before the evaluations by others (Section 3.4.3). Bearing in mind the above-mentioned caveat, a few overall observations are penned down (Section 3.4.4). This will form the basis for the analysis in Section 4 of this study, as indeed for the formulation of policy recommendations at the end.

⁸² CEPS talked to and/or received written feedback from staff working at the EEAS and DG DEVCO at headquarters; two EUSRs to Afghanistan; staff working at the cooperation section of the EU Delegation; researchers visiting the EU Delegation, the EUPOL mission, and projects in the country; a former legal advisor to President Karzai; GIRoA representatives visiting Brussels; diplomatic staff of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Belgium; staff at NATO headquarters; think tanks, NGOs and advocacy groups active in Afghanistan.

3.4.2 EU self-assessment reports

In November 2011, the Committee on Budgetary Control of the European Parliament published a comprehensive and influential report concerning EU aid towards Afghanistan.⁸³ This 'Geier Report', named after its rapporteur, draws on several EU audit reports, such as the Court of Auditors' Special Report of earlier that year (see below), and other evaluations provided by international audit entities, such as the United States Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR). The Geier Report addresses specific areas of budgetary control and efficiency of EU aid to Afghanistan which are in dire need of reform. The report focuses on the lack of donor alignment and observes that a large portion of the aid provided through various funding channels does not serve the needs of the Afghan people.⁸⁴ Another observation is that member states (as indeed donor organisations from non-EU countries) tend to fund projects in provinces where their troops are stationed, even if these are not sustainable and do not cater to the direct needs of the Afghan community. Indeed, the report points towards the "tendency to aim for short-term results without sufficient alignment with the needs of the [GIROA] and the people of Afghanistan".⁸⁵ The high level of wasted funding is heavily criticised, for instance in the reference to the final report of the Commission on Wartime Contracting, which estimated that roughly 10 to 20% of the total US aid spent in Afghanistan was wasted.⁸⁶ The Geier Report laments the endemic and high-level nature of corruption in the country,⁸⁷ and stresses on multiple occasions that more direct budget support to the Afghan government would be the better channel to support capacity-building and attainment of long-term goals, albeit under provision of well-defined conditions "as soon as the necessary macroeconomic stability and sufficiently reliable financial management have been shown to exist". An interest is expressed in establishing a European multi-donor trust fund to allow the EU a stronger control over the aid provided. The report criticises the lack of accountability and transparency of the UN agencies as their projects do not comply with many EU auditing standards and are thus hard to assess and follow-up on.

The assessment of the European Commission 'Aid in the Fields of Social and Rural Development'⁸⁸ focused on the Aid to Uprooted People and the effectiveness, efficiency and impact of the programme. The evaluation report notes that the approach to refugees and IDPs depends on the context of the situation and the stage of displacement. Concerning Afghanistan, the projects have provided road rehabilitation, irrigation schemes, the construction of schools and health posts, water-and-sanitation, the delivery of medical attention, basic education and vocational training, the reactivation of agricultural production, mine clearance and the promotion of mine awareness. However, the report points out that the main focus rather lies on material needs than on human rights and the development of democratic processes. The efficiency and overall execution of the AUP was said to have been impaired by administrative difficulties at the level of the European Commission. The main restraints were related to the time dimension of responsiveness, the lack of flexibility and participatory approaches. The report mentions that due to the centralised structure of the Commission, necessary

⁸³ European Parliament, Committee on Budgetary Control, Report on budgetary control of EU financial Assistance to Afghanistan, 18 November 2011.

⁸⁴ Page 9, point 27 mentions that channelling funds through direct management via profit-oriented contractors and NGOs risk of funding projects which do not suit the needs of the GIROA.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Page 6, point 9.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Corruption led to roughly \$ 1 billion being used as bribes in Afghanistan in 2009 according to Integrity Watch, whereas 1/3 of that amount was channelled to pay for public services (documentation, education, health). The police is regarded as being the most corrupt institution. High-level Afghan officials were found to have hampered the investigations into corruption allegations against officials such as governors.

⁸⁸ European Commission, Evaluation of Aid in the Fields of Social and Rural Development, September 2000, http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/evaluation/evaluation_reports/reports/ala/951541_en.pdf.

decision-making was often impossible at the local level. Especially with respect to the aid provided in refugee and open conflict situations more flexibility was deemed necessary.

A special report of the European Court of Auditors published in November 2011, focuses on the effectiveness and efficiency of EU contributions to the United Nations organisations in conflict-affected countries. In this evaluation, the ECA takes aim at mine clearance projects and points out that the projects such as did not achieve the intended results. The ECA criticises, inter alia: (i) the effectiveness of channelling EU funds through UN organisations in vulnerable conflict-affected countries and deplores several weaknesses in project design and management which has led to unsustainable and ineffective projects; (ii) inefficient reporting by the UN agencies to the Commission which do not meet the monitoring requirements of the EU and do not allow the Commission to check adequately the efficiency of the project; and (iii) several delays in projects resulting from unrealistic timeframes.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the evaluation pointed out a weakness towards future sustainability of the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan. The principal aim of the trust fund is to cover the salaries of the police officers in Afghanistan, yet due to minimal development in domestic revenue mobilisation, the funding of these salaries will remain dependent on further donor funding for the medium to long-term.⁹⁰

3.4.3 Evaluation reports by the EU's partners

The assessment of the Law and Order Trust fund for Afghanistan commissioned by UNDP Afghanistan remarks that, by and large, LOTFA has presented substantial achievements measured against the benchmarks set out for providing an efficient and effective instrument for reliably covering the salaries of civil servants and the police. Specifically, the successes of widening the responsibility of the established Electronic Payroll System (EPS) and Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT) to include the employees of the Central Prisons Department. The evaluation pointed out that LOTFA has surpassed its primary targets in the area of remunerating the police staff to being able to provide benefits which have raised the morale, assisted the inclusion of women by strengthening recruitment processes and encouraging gender awareness in policies and consequently of the impression that is formed of the ANP's credibility. Yet, the evaluation highlights several drawbacks to LOTFA's development, notably the limited progress made to establish a multi-annual planning framework due to the short term funding prospects of the contributing donors and "the dissonance between the relatively narrow scope for UNDP's role as fund administrator outlined in the Fund's Terms of Reference (TOR), as compared to that suggested by other management documents".⁹¹ The aim to maximise the potential utilities of LOTFA in the complete range of government capacities beyond the pay-roll responsibilities in MOI are still unaddressed and might become a more important point after the troops are drawn out.

The evaluation of the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF) commissioned by the World Bank aimed to assess the strategic positioning of the ARTF in the context of the changing needs of the Afghan transition. The review considered how ARTF operations, management, and resourcing had to evolve so as to ensure that it had the capacity to be a main conduit for international on-budget assistance to the Afghan government. In this respect, the World Bank's assessment remarked that the transaction costs through the ARTF remain low as it directs its contributions through the government institutions; thus the security costs are low compared to bilateral assistance in the same areas. Furthermore, it remarked that the ARTF was the best fund manager as the provided technical assistance and the fiduciary standard were rated as good, although it needed improvement concerning the

⁸⁹ Court of Auditors: Special Report No. 3 2011: The Efficiency and Effectiveness of EU contributions channelled through United Nations Organisations in conflict-affected countries.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Evaluation of the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan.

reporting and tracking. Whereas the ARTF presents full transparency, accountability varies. The ARTF has been able to avoid the unrestrained expenditure issue of the PRTs as it is an on-budget mechanism mainly controlled by the Ministry of Finance, whereas the PRT is off-budget and – although applauded for its speedy, targeted response to local needs – has amassed asset creation and unsustainable local recurrent cost for the financing of the projects leading to an unsustainable future for the funding of the PRT projects.⁹²

The evaluation of the health services funded by the UK Department for International Development focused on the development and implementation of Afghanistan's new health service policy aimed at the delivery of a Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS) to the rural poor, a project mainly funded by USAID, World Bank and the European Commission.⁹³ In this respect the evaluation pointed out a significant positive result of the strategy to use non-state providers for providing the basic health services package. The strategy of contracting enabled the donor community to engage in post-war Afghanistan thus circumventing the fragile governments which lack legitimacy and capacity. The Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) was and remains actively engaged in the contracting of providers, thus having a substantial impact of their capacity to act as "steward of the health sector".⁹⁴ In this respect the formation of an efficient framework with effective donor coordination has allowed contracts and grants to be awarded in 34 provinces thus resulting in 77% of the population being serviced. Despite some coordination obstacles, the transformation of the Afghan health system has been an efficient one. However, the evaluation points out possible long-term risks in policy coordination, alignment with national and local level processes. Additional potential disadvantages concern high management costs and the potential of weakening any government capacities in delivering the health services. A unique feature of the framework of the BPHS is the alignment of the donors on engagement strategies in assisting the delivery of BPHS. In this respect the World Bank and USAID held similar positions favouring a performance-based approach compared to the European Commission's. This had a positive effect. Although the MoPH engaged with different donor approaches, the primary strategic direction and object remained the same to extend the reach of the health services to the rural poor. This has led to a more cooperative structure with positive relationships shaping between the donors and MoPH. Subsequently, concerns from MoPH have been taken into account, leading for example to the World Bank allowing the MoPH to negotiate budgets. Regarding the European Commission's more traditional approach the NGOs have comparatively had lower output results than the NGOs under USAID and World Bank supervision which employ the performance based approach. Consequently, the Commission has made efforts to gradually introduce performance-based aspects as previously the reporting requirements were at a more casual level and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms generally did not exist.

⁹² ARTF External Review 2012: ARTF at a Crossroads: History and the Future Scanteam contracted by World Bank on behalf of ARTF.

⁹³ EC-Prep Final Report, 'Contracting Health Services in Afghanistan: Can the Twin Objectives of Efficiency and Equity Really be Achieved?'. The report is available at <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ECPREP/ContractHealthServices-AfghanFinalReport.pdf>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

3.4.4 Overall evaluation

In the early stages of its reconstruction activities in Afghanistan, the European Commission was involved in a wide range of sectors such as rural development, infrastructure, health, public administration, de-mining, counter-narcotics, regional cooperation, refugees/returnees. This was justified in the immediate post-crisis environment. However, due to the presence of a host of different international actors, conditions are now more conducive to greater division of responsibilities among donors. A similar consideration applies to the geographic focus. The EU had been funding projects in 33 out of 34 provinces.⁹⁵ In the interests of efficiency, the European Commission has been seeking more geographic focus to its programmes, especially in the rural development sector. Currently, the EU is thus involved in 21 provinces concerning rural development, 34 provinces in respect towards police reform and ten provinces benefit from the EU's involvement in the health sector. In relation to the Afghan refugee situation, the emphasis has changed from responding to an immediate humanitarian crisis to one of tackling the more long-term development and migratory challenges of displaced populations. In this vein, the focus has shifted to addressing in situ the development needs of refugees, helping them, where possible, to integrate in the border regions where they have settled. Similarly, agriculture and rural development have been identified as key for economic stabilisation, given that 80% of employment (incl. youth employment, which is part of DEVCO's 'Agenda for Change') relies on this sector. Support can provide alternatives to poppy cultivation and for improving food security in the short- to mid-term.

Through its interventions, the EU has strongly contributed to improvements in the dire socio-economic situation of Afghanistan. While the situation in the health sector is still deplorable, it has significantly improved after ten years of EU assistance: today, at least 60% of the population has access to basic health care (and lives within a one-hour walk to health facility), from a mere 9% in 2002 with a goal to extend this to 90% of the population by 2015. As health status improves, the range of services will still have to increase as well. The support has to date been provided through a project approach, yet is being transferred by end 2013 into a more sector-wide approach through the World Bank administered Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund, in line with principles of aid effectiveness.

The EU has thus made substantial impact in the rural development and health sector even if further flexibility and responsiveness from the Commission's side is needed in order to efficiently respond to the evolving needs in the country.

The EU's contribution to promote public administration reform has had more limited success and substantial capacity building difficulties remain, including the existence of a parallel internationally funded "second" civil service.⁹⁶ The overall administrative difficulties of the EU regarding the time dimension of responsiveness, and especially the lack of flexibility and participatory approaches have limited the effectiveness of the EU's programmes. Conflict-afflicted countries do not benefit from one-size-fits-all aid approaches and require flexibility to accurately respond to specific needs. Concerning the reconciliation process, the EU provided support for an Afghan-led inclusive peace process provided that the peace settlement does not cross the "red lines" agreed at Bonn, including preventing the establishment of havens for terrorist groups, and recognising the Afghan constitution, including not undermining human rights gains, particularly women's rights.⁹⁷

The Union's impact has been repeatedly impaired by ineffective donor alignment. Member states' national obligations to provide for their troops in Afghanistan has led to favouring short-term

⁹⁵ Country Strategy Paper Afghanistan 2007-2013.

⁹⁶ EU Implementation Report VI: March 2012-March 2013 published June 2013.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

approaches with insufficient GIRoA involvement instead of establishing and maintaining sustainable long-term projects. The EU has been encouraging information sharing and policy coordination among member states on political and development issues in order to maximise EU impact and visibility.⁹⁸ In this respect, the lack of accountability and transparency of UN agencies and their projects do not comply with many EU auditing standards and are thus hard to assess and follow-up on. Concerning the two multi-donor trust funds in which the EU is an important contributor, the emphasis lies on improving the reporting and tracking processes. Specifically, ARTF suffers from varying accountability. However, the impact of the trust funds has been substantial in providing adequate funding encompassing salaries for civil servants to the funding reconstruction projects.

Other sectors, such as education and security sector reform, have been covered by other donors, notably the US. The EU itself has thus not been closely involved in evaluating lessons learnt in these areas.

In policing and rule of law progress has been slow, but EU support has been instrumental in allowing the Afghan government to sustain and professionalise its security sector ahead of the transition period. Yet, the critical years lie ahead. In order to leverage reforms both in the security and wider rule of law sector, the EU has begun to introduce and enforce sectoral conditionalities in its policing and rule of law portfolios.⁹⁹

The European Union has summarized the needed improvements to its aid effectiveness and visibility in an Implementation Report which was published June 2013. The recommendations centre on supporting an inclusive and Afghan-led peace process, regional cooperation, the implementation of the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework and monitoring the compliance of the Afghan government to its benchmarks, supporting the elections preparations, the economic transition to a more sustainable and self-reliant economy, the development of human and women's rights as a cross cutting issue, supporting Afghan efforts to strengthen the rule of law including in civilian policing and the justice sector, supporting more effective and efficient budgeting, administration and service delivery by the state, and continuing to promote coordination between member states and to increase the EU's profile in Afghanistan.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ In 2011, in its fourth Implementation Report 'Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan' the EEAS stated that the NPP on Efficient and Effective Government, the NPP on Local Governance, and the NPP on Efficient and Effective Government were delayed. This led the EU to defer the funding of 20 million euros. As reported in <http://www.toloneews.com/en/-afghanistan/8314-eu-defers-funds-on-justice-programme-citing-poor-reform>.

¹⁰⁰ EEAS, sixth Implementation Report 'Strengthening EU Action in Afghanistan'.

4. EU ASSISTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN DURING THE 'TRANSFORMATION DECADE' (2015-2024)

4.1 Introduction

2014 will be a landmark year for Afghanistan, a “make or break year”.¹⁰¹ As the withdrawal of most of the 130,000 NATO-led ISAF forces from the country by the end of 2014 approaches and pending President Karzai’s decision on whether or not to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement with the US, questions are abound about the triple transition that the country is facing in 2014: (i) Will the national security forces be able to maintain law and order? (ii) Will the country be able to independently conduct free and fair presidential and provincial elections and secure a smooth and safe democratic transition? (iii) Can the economy attract enough foreign direct investment to help put the country on the path to prosperity? While the answers to these questions remain elusive, the strategies which are currently being forged will have long-term implications for the engagement of the international community. However, 2014 is not only a year of change for external assistance to Afghanistan; the stabilisation of the country will, first and foremost, depend on national factors (security, elections, governance, building state structures), rather than on foreign support.

Because active ownership is key for sustainability, an important aim of the EU will be to support state-building and long-term development in Afghanistan. Mutual commitments and mutual accountability should be the operating principles of the future EU-Afghanistan Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development, for which negotiations are currently underway. In parallel, the ongoing debates within the Commission and the Council on the role of the EU in Afghanistan in the coming years should lead to the development of a new strategy to replace the 2009 Action Plan; one that is aligned with the strategic thinking of the Afghan government, identifies deliverable objectives and timelines, and sets out a clear division of labour. The way in which conditionality is implemented is essential if the Union’s measures are to have any effect on their addressees. The EU strategy should be ready for endorsement by mid-2014.

This part of the study provides an analysis of the prospects and challenges which Afghanistan and the EU might face past the 2014 horizon. It looks at issues of security and regional cooperation (Section 4.2) and political and socio-economic transition (Section 4.3) before examining the possible scenarios for future EU development cooperation in Afghanistan (section 4.4). As key strategic documents for the upcoming ‘Transformation Decade’ are scarce and offer insufficient detail for the case of Afghanistan (e.g. Multi-Annual Financial Framework 2014-2020), a more contextual approach has been chosen, inspired by the semi-structured interviews which have been conducted for the preparation of this study (see Annex B).

¹⁰¹ See E. Mangiarotti, ‘After ISAF: Afghanistan’s make or break year’, Report of Friends of Europe/SDA event organised in Brussels on 16 September 2013, available at http://www.securitydefenceagenda.org/Portals/14/report_afterISAF_final.pdf.

4.2 Security transition¹⁰²

Hamid Karzai has been the only head of state of post-Taliban Afghanistan. His second five-year term ends around the same time NATO troops are scheduled to withdraw. As Afghanistan elects a new president on April 5th 2014, the country's security forces will be left to defend the state against a Taliban-led jihadist insurgency that an approximately 130,000-strong NATO force has not been able to control.

The scenario is similar to the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989 after they tried to support a Marxist regime facing an Islamist insurgency backed by the United States, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. If the Marxist regime, reviled by millions of Afghan citizens and facing a large insurgent coalition, was not easily toppled after the departure of Soviet forces, then it is reasonable to assume that post-2014 Afghanistan, which will continue to have substantial international backing, will not be easily toppled by Taliban insurgents either. It should also be kept in mind that when the Taliban last came to power, Afghanistan was experiencing anarchy after nearly two decades of civil war. In contrast, today there is a functioning state with institutions and a large number of security forces. True, the ANSF need financial and technical support to develop medical evacuation, logistic and air force capabilities as well as to move from a basic counter-insurgency to a conventional security force.¹⁰³ Fortunately, post-2014 a new and different NATO mission will advise, train and assist the Afghan security forces including the Afghan Special Operations Forces (Operation 'Resolute Support'). Also, the international community committed to provide about USD 3.7 billion for the Afghan security sector at the Chicago NATO Summit in 2012. For their part, the Taliban have not demonstrated any serious capability of holding territory beyond their core in the eastern and southern parts of the country. They have been able to stage attacks, but do not seem able to amass a large force to dismantle the incumbent state. Therefore, what will most likely happen in the aftermath of NATO's military pull-out is a long period of civil war between Taliban fighters and Afghan government forces. Because the cost of fighting their way into power will be very high for the Taliban, they try to emerge as a major stakeholder in any post-NATO power-sharing arrangement through negotiations. The dilemma of ensuring an inclusive and legitimate peace process without compromising fundamental rights and democratic principles will be key to these talks (and future EU engagement). While everyone seems to agree on the need for a peaceful and inclusive political settlement, the matter is delicate and the road to peace still long.

The EU will adopt a supportive role in the peace process, as it needs to be "Afghan-owned and Afghan-led". However, the peace process presents considerable weaknesses and its success is inextricably linked to the political legitimacy it will have in the eyes of the Afghan people. Sincere talks with Pakistan are a key component in any attempt to reach reconciliation, while fundamental issues such as demobilisation, giving up arms, respect for the Constitution need to be tackled. The EU would like to see all political forces in Afghanistan and the region support the peace process. Here, a refined role could be envisaged for the EU Special Representative and the EEAS.

The Foreign Affairs Council of June 2013 agreed that the EU will start planning for a police mission in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of most foreign troops by the end of 2014. The current CSDP mission, which includes 350 international police and 200 local officials, has been in the country since 2007 training and advising Afghan police officials and Interior ministry staff. Their mandate expires in December 2014. Cooperation with NATO will be sought, as indeed with neighbouring countries. A weak and fractured Afghanistan will pose a security risk to Pakistan, India, Iran, Central Asia and even Russia and China. A stable Afghanistan with secure borders and sound infrastructure could be nexus of a 'New

¹⁰² This section draws on Stratfor, 'The Taliban and the Post-NATO Afghan State', August 2012.

¹⁰³ Hekmat Khalil Karzai, Founder and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

Silk Road'. The first follow-up ministerial meeting in the 'Istanbul Process', which aims to develop a new agenda for regional cooperation in the 'Heart of Asia', gathered numerous countries in the region and supporting countries in Kabul in June 2012 to discuss regional cooperation as an important element for shifting the political focus away from conflict, towards encouraging trade and transit. A number of confidence building measures (CBMs) were agreed to follow up. These CBMs could make an important contribution towards building a common platform of shared regional interests and in strengthening practical cooperation between Afghanistan and its neighbours. However, firm political and financial buy-in from 'Heart of Asia' countries is essential to contribute effectively to the 'Istanbul Process', which aims to work on CBMs with neighbouring countries. Of the CBMs, the EU expressed its intention to support the implementation of disaster management, counter narcotics, and commercial opportunities.

4.3 Political and socio-economic transition

Electoral reforms, financial transparency, revenue generation, progress on human rights, in particular the rights of women, and the rule of law remain paramount for achieving long-term transformation in Afghanistan. Wider judicial reform is necessary to better implement the statutory measures concerning the rights of women and to improve their access to justice. The question of corruption encumbers the transition process. Next year's elections could become a benchmark of the country's democratic future, with participation of youth and women at centre stage. There are some hopeful signals: whereas in the past political players were ready to seize power through violence, today one can observe a process of coalition-building between political parties. Yet, NATO and the EU will have to provide technical and financial support to ensure a free and fair elections. The May 2012 NATO-Chicago conference acknowledged the importance of security to development.

On the economic front, transition means that Afghanistan must work on its economic assets and no longer rely on international aid. Afghanistan is rich in minerals and the country's geography connects various regions, particularly South Asia and the Middle East. These are crucial elements for a future prosperous Afghanistan. To that end, the country needs investment in education to tap the entrepreneurial spirit of Afghan people and offer economic opportunities to one of the youngest populations in the world. At the July 2012 Tokyo Conference, the international community committed itself to supporting development efforts of Afghanistan to attain sustainable economic growth and development and fiscal self-reliance during the 'Transformation Decade'.¹⁰⁴ Under the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework the Afghan Government committed itself to effectively and transparently implement strategies towards self-reliance in five areas: (1) representational democracy and equitable elections, (2) governance, rule of law and human rights, (3) integrity of public finance and commercial banking, (4) government revenues, budget execution and sub-national governance, and (5) inclusive and sustainable growth and development.

These areas of reform may pave the way for the further development of Afghanistan towards the status of a normal transition country. Yet, the continued insurgency, the level of corruption and the Afghan's fledgling efforts towards democracy pose considerable challenges. Indeed, experience shows that countries having gone through prolonged conflict require decades to recover and stabilise. Afghanistan has been and remains a tremendously challenging environment for development and no quick fixes can be expected. The transformation period, with its many unknowns, is the background against which success or failure of the overall international and EU engagement will have to be measured. The principles enshrined in the TMAF underline that the responsibility is shared with the Afghan counterparts. The TMAF has already delivered good results, for example on the elections file, if not yet

¹⁰⁴ Tokyo Conference on Afghanistan (Summary and Evaluation), Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Japan: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/afghanistan/tokyo_conference_2012/summary.html

as ambitiously on all areas as hoped for. This process is, however, an ongoing learning exercise, both for the international community and the Afghan government.

4.4 Scenarios for EU support

As noted before, the EU (i.e. institutions plus member states) may become the largest provider of development aid to post-ISAF Afghanistan when the US scales down. However, much of the EU's engagement towards Afghanistan will be dependent on the political and security situation in the country, as indeed on its own and other international donors' willingness and flexibility to adapt to changes on the ground. In light of the unpredictable security situation, the EU has been preparing for three scenarios:

1. Security improves and Afghanistan moves progressively to a normal, though fragile, development context, especially during the first years after troop withdrawal (2014-16).
2. Security remains uneven across the country with some areas remaining accessible. Security conditions in other areas (mainly outside main cities) render international access difficult.
3. Security deteriorates after 2014 troop withdrawal, with reduced central control and violent conflict even in the small pockets of control.

For scenario 1, the EU foresees an increase and consolidation of its support in line with the NPPs and the GIRoA's budget framework to:

- (i) Agriculture and rural development, resulting in improved food security as well as increasingly sustainable rural livelihoods and employment (from cash crops such as dried fruits and nuts), and reduced dependence of farmer households on income from poppy. Envisaged activities would include capacity building at central and local level as well as support for the delivery of services.
- (ii) The health sector: further improvements and modernisation of basic health service delivery in rural areas as well (referral) hospital services. EU support would contribute particularly to improving quality, access, equity as well as affordability of service delivery.
- (iii) Policing and rule of law: EU support would contribute particularly to modernising and increasing the capacity of the Afghan National Police to serve the citizen and the local community and to progressively restore rule of law. Over time, the EU would plan to put the running cost elements on the ANP on a more sustainable footing, enhancing capacity building and the effective integration with the justice sector. To these ends, the EU would probably beef up its stake in LOTFA.
- (iv) Governance: EU support would focus on meeting the electoral and public financial management commitments under the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework. The EU would promote formal and informal scrutiny and oversight by parliament, the media and civil society, as well as increased systemic checks and balances.

Scenario 2 would require different and varied responses across the country. Implementation of the Tokyo commitments would probably be uneven and patchy. Efforts to promote civilian policing would be difficult as police would continue to be used for counter-insurgency activities. Commitments made on justice and democratisation made at the Kabul level would be difficult to implement elsewhere. Progress in core development sectors would be achievable only in some areas of the country. Others would be likely to stagnate.

For scenario 3 the Union's strategy would be largely humanitarian and service-delivery oriented, implementing EU assistance mainly through international organisations (UN, World Bank, Asian Development Bank) and civil society organisations. The EU's principle results would be (i) to safeguard food security for the poorest; (ii) to continue delivery of the basic package of health and hospital services; (iii) continued functioning of the ANP towards maintaining rule of law; and (iv) maintain vestiges of integrity in the political and public financial management systems.

The working hypothesis among the EU and member states seems to be premised on scenario 1, i.e. a continuation of support in previously determined focal areas: governance; policing and rule of law; agriculture and rural development; health and social protection. The EEAS and DG DEVCO (through the EU Delegation) are prioritising these four sectors of intervention for the next programming period (the MIPs for 2014-2020)¹⁰⁵ to provide a balanced portfolio that fits well with the 'New Deal' approach,¹⁰⁶ with a perspective of moving to joint programming by 2016. The latter falls in line with the Commission's 'Agenda for Change' and could be spurred by the expressed desire of member states that their assistance to the provinces from which they are withdrawing (previously channeled through the PRTs) will somehow be replaced by EU assistance. The result may well be a more comprehensive EU assistance strategy for Afghanistan, one that goes above and beyond the planned MIPs.

The choice for the four designated sectors signals the high profile commitment made by Commission President Barroso at the 2012 Chicago Conference to support civilian policing and the rule of law (no development without security) and an adherence to the continuation of EU assistance aimed at deepening the democratic culture in Afghanistan through support to elections and civil society. Such an aid package fits well with the Council's ambitions to increase the culture of accountability in Afghanistan through increased parliamentary, media and civil society scrutiny and the desire to support action to improve economic governance and tackle corruption.¹⁰⁷ If, indeed, the overall political and security situation proves resilient, then the choice of EU focal sectors and the limited progress to date bode well for the future.

¹⁰⁵ Drafts are under discussion. In parallel, negotiations are ongoing on the legal basis for the next DCI Regulation.

¹⁰⁶ At the global aid effectiveness forum in Busan at the end of 2011, the 'G7+', a group of nations which includes 19 fragile and conflict-affected states, agreed a 'New Deal' on fragile states, which sets out concrete and, they hope, more relevant ways to improve peace- and state-building goals. The New Deal identifies five peace- and state-building goals as prerequisites for development without which no MDGs will be met: legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations, and revenues and services. The New Deal will be piloted in Afghanistan and a handful of other fragile countries, with help from Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA. See <http://www.g7plus.org/new-deal-document/>.

¹⁰⁷ Foreign Affairs Council of June 2013.

5. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the impact analysis of EU support to Afghanistan since 2001 (Section 3) and an evaluation of the prospects of EU relations with Afghanistan for the upcoming decade (Section 4), a series of policy recommendations can be drawn up for EU assistance to Afghanistan with an emphasis on areas and processes where the EU has a comparative advantage to offer added value. In looking at ways to become more effective in Afghanistan, the EU should take great care to pursue three basic objectives:

1. Mutual commitments and mutual accountability

The EU has aimed at ensuring that its development actions are aligned with the GIRoA's development strategies and priorities. Only then can cooperation be relevant to the country and allow for national ownership. This is also a basic principle of the Paris Declaration, under which developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions' capacities and tackle corruption. Development assistance can only succeed if it supports the development and reform processes driven by the beneficiary government. Under the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework the Afghan Government has committed itself to effectively and transparently implement strategies towards self-reliance in five areas. Together, the GIRoA and the international community bear mutual accountability for the proper return on commitments for investment.

These should be the operating principles of the future EU-Afghanistan Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development, for which negotiations are currently underway. In parallel, the ongoing debates within the Commission and the Council on the role of the EU in Afghanistan in the coming years should lead to the development of a new strategy to replace the 2009 Action Plan; one that is aligned with the strategic thinking of the Afghan government, identifies deliverable objectives and timelines, and sets out a clear division of labour. The way in which conditionality is implemented is essential if the Union's measures are to have any effect on its Afghan addressees: more for more, less for less. The strategy should be ready for endorsement by mid-2014.

2. Improve intra-EU coordination

As Afghanistan's future largest collective donor and an organisation with a unique type of integration, the EU and its member states have the potential to be the most credible aid provider in the country post-2014. The EU has a range of tools and resources across the security, diplomatic, development, humanitarian, legal, trade and investment and migration spheres to allow it to implement a comprehensive approach to its assistance to Afghanistan. The EU's new external action architecture provides opportunities to draw on the comparative advantages of the member states' and the Commission's best practices and vast expertise in the field, achieving a greater long-term impact for the EU's development aid. The potential of the comprehensive approach to security and development is not yet fully utilised due to losses resulting from less than optimal coordination. Mechanisms for better cooperation have been established (notably in the fields of division of labour, joint programming), but are not easily implemented, as the follow-up process on the 2009 EU Action Plan shows.¹⁰⁸ This leads to limited results: fragmentation and duplication of aid; competition among EU development agencies and NGOs; the impact of the EU's development action is not acknowledged or cannot be identified

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Commission officials. For instance, cooperation between the EU Delegation and EU member states in Kabul remains generally at the level of information sharing, with very few examples of joint objective-setting, joint programming or clear division of roles to enhance synergies and avoid gaps and duplications.

among the populations in Afghanistan;¹⁰⁹ EU procedures are considered cumbersome and bureaucratic by recipients.

The European Commission and the member states should, with the help of the European External Action Service, actively explore all possible mechanisms to further enhance intra-EU coordination in the area of humanitarian aid and development cooperation, so as to make full use of current best practices for coordination¹¹⁰; fully exploit the coordination possibilities of budget support and blending mechanisms¹¹¹; and promote better sectoral division of labour and joint programming.¹¹² Such improved intra-EU coordination should be extrapolated by the EEAS and the EU Special Representative to enhance the division of labour with other donors, avoid duplication and maximise the EU's comparative advantages in order to obtain more and better results on the ground. The EU's support should be geared towards a Central Asian approach to tackling common problems (e.g. cross-border trafficking in people, goods and drugs) and seizing regional opportunities (e.g. transport and trade).

3. Add more value

The EU should remain focussed on the areas which it has targeted before and where it could bring about real changes in the future: governance, policing and rule of law, agriculture and rural development, and health and social protection (see Section 4.3). At the same time, improvements can be made. The Commission should consider different funding channels when spending EU funds in Afghanistan, in particular introducing direct (sectoral) budget support to the GIRoA from the EU general budget, albeit under rigorous and well-defined conditions, as soon as the necessary macroeconomic stability and sufficiently reliable financial management have been shown to exist.¹¹³ It is arguably the best instrument for building capacity in the Afghan administration, able to achieve sustainable, long-term-oriented results. The key focus of any budget support operation has to be an intensive and equitable policy dialogue between donors and the government in which the conditionality is mutually agreed on and independently assessed. Conditionality should not only be linked to the provision of budget support but to any other aid instrument in a given or potential partner country.

Overall, the European Commission should apply a mix of instruments in Afghanistan. Decisions whether to provide general budget support, sector budget support or other programme-based approaches has to be done on a case-by-case basis and based on experiences made in Afghanistan. At the same time, the Commission should make sure that the GIRoA is willing to tackle corruption and raise the issue in the policy dialogue. The EU should increasingly use its conditionality approach and policy dialogue as leverage to support reforms in the focal areas in which it provides support.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Interview with former legal advisor to Hamid Karzai.

¹¹⁰ Strengthening Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) in the EU's Financing Instruments.

¹¹¹ See 'Blending Grants and Loans in Light of the New DCI'. Blending facilities have a positive effect in increasing the leverage of EU funds for development finance considerably, but the threat exists that those instruments do not fit well the needs of the poorest.

¹¹² See more generally the Cost of Non-Europe Report, 'The Cost of Non-Europe in Development Policy: Increasing coordination between EU donors', September 2013.

¹¹³ As advocated most vocally in the EP's Geier report, page 5, points 4-7.

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., the Future of EU Budget Support in Developing Countries (2011), texts adopted, P7_TA-PROV(2011)0317.

Annex A – Overview of EU and member states' assistance to Afghanistan

Beyond EU bilateral assistance, Afghanistan benefits from:	
Regional EU programmes for Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Aid for Uprooted People (AUP) (1997-2004= EUR 184.5 million¹¹⁵)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Provides support for improving rural economy and health services for the voluntary return and reintegration of Afghan refugees as well as assisting displaced Afghans in Pakistan and Iran.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The <u>Erasmus Mundus</u> programme is promoting university cooperation.
Thematic programmes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - include the <u>Food security programme</u> (2001-2008, over EUR 92 million; 2009-24 million, 2010- 7.5million, 2011 -6 million planned) which is providing assistance to improve food safety, threatened by drought, conflict or other crises especially amongst the poorest people.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (EUR 5.7 billion)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ECHO: in last decade 584 million euro¹¹⁶
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instrument for Stability: aims at giving financial and technical assistance to help stabilise developing countries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 25 million for 2012¹¹⁷
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding from the CFSP budget for civilian crisis management missions under CSDP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o EUR 55.31 million for 2012
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (1.1 billion euros), contributing development of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 0.9 million for 2011
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU Food Facility (1 billion EUR for 2009-11), providing rapid response to soaring food prices in developing countries - 0.29 million in 2012¹¹⁸
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emergency Aid Reserve (1.7 billion euros for 2007-13), providing for humanitarian and civilian crisis operations in rapid response to unforeseen events. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 35 million from the emergency aid reserve for 2002¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Data collected EEAS website: http://eeas.europa.eu/uprooted_people/

¹¹⁶ ECHO Factsheet June, 2013

¹¹⁷ Delegation of the EU for Afghanistan website; Development Cooperation: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations-afghanistan/eu_afghanistan/development_cooperation/

¹¹⁸ COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT-Accompanying the document-REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL-Annual Report 2013 on the European Union's Development and external assistance policies and their implementation in 2012

National Development Framework (NDF) outlined in CSP 2003-2006:	
Public administration reform (EUR 212million)	<p>Aims: The reform of the public administration is crucial to the government's ability to provide basic services and develop policies. The EC has had long tradition in supporting this sector and provided support in 3 ways:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provide essential budget expenditures until the government revenue system is capable of the provision <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o support of the recurrent budget is crucial for the Afghan Transitional Authority(ATA) to be able to finance the provision of basic services (example: health and education) - However it is essential that the ATA develop towards a self-financing recurrent budget and thus the support provided by the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund is linked to the improvement of the ATA's revenue base and take on public administration reform - Focus is to facilitate the transition towards a modern and sustainable public administration which promotes gender equality.
	<p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provide essential budget expenditures - The EC set up and supported capacity building groups in target ministries, especially health, ministry of public works and rural development in order to help the Government tackle public administration reform (PAR). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o These groups not only support performing policy and management tasks but will be essential to training further ministry staff o The combination entails that essential functions of ministries continue while capacities of a wider group of civil servants is strengthened
	<p>Means:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EC financed through contributions to the relevant Trust Funds, including the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF), Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA), programmes that enhance security and justice.
	<p>Budget: EUR 212 million</p> <p>Disbursed: EUR 188 million</p>
	<p>MS Involvement¹²⁰:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belgium has supported a capacity-building program in the Afghan Ministry of Interior - Bulgaria has provided training courses for junior Afghan diplomats at the Diplomatic Institute affiliated to the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign

¹¹⁹ Press release: Euro 70 million proposed for additional aid to Afghanistan, raising EU support to Euro 250 million in 2002. [IP/02/1137 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-02-1137_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-02-1137_en.htm)

¹²⁰ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<p>Affairs since 2006.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ireland has provided support to the World Bank administered ARTF to assist the Afghan Government in delivering on investment priorities and in covering recurrent expenditures. - Spain supported good governance - France: Support to the organisation of Afghan elections Support to the Afghan Parliament and training of legal professionals and students - Italy: support to national budget (through the ARTF) - Hungary: Additionally, assistance is also channelled to capacity building in sectors related to governance like public administration, police and law enforcement. Key projects are the training of experts, public servants and police. Most of the projects have been implemented by three NGOs namely the Hungarian Interchurch Aid, the Hungarian Baptist Aid and the International Centre for Democratic Transition - Netherlands: Strengthening of transparent local administration and effective service delivery remains the main aim of the Netherlands effort. - Finland: Governance, rule of law and human rights, with an emphasis on sub-national governance and police - Sweden: democratic governance and human rights, - UK: At least half of its annual budget will be spent through Afghan Government systems in order to maximise impact and build Afghanistan's capacity to manage its own affairs. At a national level, the UK aims to make the Afghan Government more effective by helping it to raise revenue, tackle corruption and create and implement budgets. It also helps improve the efficiency of state institutions and makes them more accountable and responsive to Afghan citizens.
<p>Rural development (EUR 203million):</p>	<p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing household incomes and improving public assets through labour intensive work programmes - Promoting, diversifying, enhancing alternative livelihoods through investing in irrigation (micro-watershed) development and in micro-financing the shift away from agriculture of families in unsustainable regions - To enhance the access to markets, productive assets and services by communities and households– especially women - A key element of this aid is the promotion of environmental sustainability. <p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support to improving/ developing sustainable irrigation schemes and water management practices in the North and North East. Assessing the environmental impact of projects will continue to be key, as will

	<p>assessing the impact of irrigation on potential future opium poppy production;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support activities aimed at promoting the recovery and growth of the livestock and horticulture sectors as part of integrated package of rural support targeted on specific geographic locations. In horticulture particular attention will be given to revitalising traditional systems which potentially have an important role to play in effective water management and reversing environmental degradation. - continue to work with relevant Government departments to develop institutional capacity to implement a sound agricultural policy, including the establishment of a regulatory framework for improved agricultural productivity and forest and rangeland management (for example to underpin animal health, and the horticultural sector)¹²¹
	<p>Means:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and community block grants - In this respect the EC collaborates closely with the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) and the Ministries of Public Works, Ministry of Irrigation and Environment and Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, with NGOs and the private sector. Additionally various Capacity Building Groups which are established as part of the public administration reform programme further support the strategy development in rural recovery.
	<p>Budget: EUR 203million</p> <p>Disbursed: EUR 176 million</p>
	<p>MS Involvement¹²²:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Additionally, France and Italy have been major donors in the rural development sector - Belgium has made a substantial contribution to the rural development programme of the Aga Khan Foundation in the Takhar and Badakshan Provinces. - Spain supported irrigation and farming initiatives, provision of drinking water, improving of livestock - France: channeled through the Agence Française de Développement, AFD support to agriculture and rural development - Hungary: Key projects are agricultural development programmes (milk production program)

¹²¹ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹²² Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Finland: Rural development and agriculture, placing special focus on alternative livelihoods to poppy farming
Infrastructure (EUR 90million)	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC focused on economic infrastructure where the need for reconstruction and strengthening is apparent and specifically the road sector. - The focus of both rural recovery and economic infrastructure lies on labour intensive works in order to not only rehabilitate infrastructure but to ensure a cash injection into the economy and provide alternative jobs for laborers otherwise employed in poppy cultivation.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EC financed the Kabul-Jalalabad-Torkham road in cooperation with the Swedish government - Support was provided (alongside the Swedish government) for strategy and institutional capacity development in the transport sector, building on transport strategy work - EC also continued urban infrastructure programmes however the bulk of the work will be taken up by other donors which have decided to focus on that sector - Additionally, support in rural feeder road network- as well as support to potable and irrigation water infrastructure- is provided through the EC's rural recovery support.
	Means: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support is provided through funding of ARTF - The Kabul-Torkham road is being reconstructing by private contractors, after competitive international tenders. The Kabul-Torkham road is being reconstructing by private contractors, after competitive international tenders¹²³.
	Budget: EUR 90million Disbursed: EUR 82 million
	MS Involvement¹²⁴: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Germany has led urban infrastructure programmes in certain areas (for example, building in 2002) - Swedish government collaborated with the EC for the reconstruction of the Kabul-Jalalabad-Torkham road. - The development initiatives of Czech Republic include assistance in the

¹²³ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹²⁴ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<p>renewal of the irrigation systems and of the transport infrastructure with specific emphasis on Logar Province.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spain supported creation of communication infrastructures - Italy: Italy supported the construction of national roads - Lithuania continues the successful cooperation with the Japanese Government in implementing education and infrastructure projects. - Sweden: private sector development including infrastructure.
Health (EUR 42million):	<p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC has worked alongside the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) to alleviate the pressure of the most urgent health issues. The focus on providing a basic health care package outlines: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o mother and child healthcare including reproductive health, family planning, health education and vaccination in order to reduce high infant and maternal mortality rates o EC supported the improvement of the capacities of the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) focusing on strengthening policy making and enhancing the cooperation between MoPH and NGOs and the private sector providers to ensure the implementation of national policies o emphasis will be on rural areas whereby the EC continued its financial support of the rural clinics previously supported by ECHO—thus reflecting needs of country and the ECs need to focus limited resources for an effective impact o The Afghan Government's overall objective is to reduce the high levels of mortality and morbidity, especially among women and children by ensuring broad access to the Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS). Specifically, by 2015 they aim to reduce by two-thirds the under-5 mortality rate, and to reduce by three-fourths the maternal mortality rate. The Afghan Government expect it will take at least three years (to early 2007) to ensure nationwide delivery of the BPHS¹²⁵
	<p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support BPHS services in 9 provinces – Zabul, Uruzgan, Kunduz, Logar, Kunar, Laghman, Nangahar, Nuristan and Ghor. - Malaria and Leishmaniasis control. It is expected that by the end of 2006 both will be fully managed by the Ministry of Public Health within the context of the BPHS¹²⁶
	<p>Means:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC provided technical support to help build capacity within the

¹²⁵ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹²⁶ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

	Ministry of Public Health and at the provincial level ¹²⁷ . - The EC funds non-state actors for the delivery of BPHS and Essential Package of Hospital Services (EPHS) ¹²⁸
	Budget: EUR 42million Disbursed: EUR 42 million
	MS Involvement¹²⁹: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the context of humanitarian aid, Belgium has contributed to assistance programs of WFP, WHO, FAO and UNHCR. These contributions include funding for food assistance, medical assistance, and shelter building and reintegration programs for returnees. - Spain has supported health and continues to deliver assistance to Afghanistan through bilateral and multilateral instruments. - France: channelled the support for health through the <i>Agence Française de Développement</i> (AFD) - Italy: support to Afghanistan National Development Strategy: health--providing both essential hospital packages, and prevention of communicable diseases in 15 health structures in Kabul, Herat and Baghlan Provinces - Poland provided support through construction and modernisation of health centres

¹²⁷ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹²⁸ Data collected in ECC State of Play 2012

¹²⁹ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

Four non-focal sectors were also highlighted (EUR 80million) in order to tackle cross-cutting issues which are key to recovery and the alleviation of poverty:

De-mining (EUR 40million):	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To help promote sustainable refugee and IDP return and to bring valuable economic land back into use. - To build capacity within the Afghan government to manage the process of de-mining¹³⁰.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC financed the clearance of estimated 8 million square metres of land mines, allowing for reconstruction of homes, farmland and return of families
	Means: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC will continue to direct its funds through the UNMAS while this remains the most efficient for payment, monitoring and control of implementing NGOs. Over time, as Government management capacity grows, the Commission will consider directing its support via the relevant Government institution.
	Budget: EUR 40million Disbursed: EUR 33.8 million
	MS Involvement¹³¹: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belgium: Significant contribution has also been made to the national mine action program of Afghanistan over the past few years. - Czech Republic: has provided bilateral assistance through multinational trust funds and activities such as de-mining. - Sweden: support to mine clearance will continue. - Ireland has also provided significant support to Halo Trust, an NGO engaged in mine clearance in Afghanistan for over twenty years
Regional cooperation:	Aims: The EC provides support for promoting wider regional cooperation, including through considering how best to foster regional trade and enabling Afghanistan to maximise its trading opportunities.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotion of cooperation between state institutions dealing with cross-border issues, such as border policing, customs, environment and nature resource management; - Support for the establishment of regional and bilateral legal arrangements to manage migration flows; - Promotion of trade distribution channels through international and

¹³⁰ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹³¹ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<p>regional fairs, ad hoc seminars and workshops;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting regional chambers of commerce and public/private institutions development; - Support for Afghan participation in regional initiatives, in particular the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
	<p>Means: setting up border control and establishing support for customs revenue collection</p>
	<p>Budget: EUR 14million</p>
Refugees/returnees:	<p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To promote the sustainable return and reintegration of refugees and Internally Displaced People. - To help facilitate finding durable regional solutions for those remaining outside Afghanistan.
	<p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC is financing support to facilitate the return of qualified Afghans from the diaspora under a programme financed by a horizontal budget line of the Directorate general Justice and Home Affairs - The Afghanistan Returns Plan was adopted by the Council in November 2002 has served as the framework for a number of EC returns projects implemented by such agencies as International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
	<p>Means:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support is provided through different partners / routes depending on the sector of support. For those refugees remaining in Iran and Pakistan, NGOs with experience of working in these locations are likely to remain the Commission's key implementing partners¹³²
	<p>Budget: EUR 10million</p>
	<p>MS Involvement¹³³:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belgium has contributed to assistance programs of WFP, WHO, FAO and UNHCR including reintegration programs for returnees. - Italy has provided emergency aid for refugees and returnees through the UNHCR and humanitarian assistance (distribution of food and basic supplies, small scale irrigation, basic health, education and water supply intervention) through WFP and Afghan NGOs. - Portuguese government provided support to Afghan refugees by

¹³² Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹³³ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	financing 3 humanitarian assistance projects implemented through NGOs. It also provided financial support to the International Red Cross in the framework of its Humanitarian Assistance Programme in Afghanistan
Counter-narcotics¹³⁴:	Aims: combating the thriving poppy cultivation
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting the Afghan Government's anti-narcotics strategy and easing the integration of refugees - Promoting security and helping to tackle drugs by supporting police salaries and training through the Law and Order Trust Fund¹³⁵
	Means: Support is provided through financing multilateral trust funds such as LOTFA
	Budget: EUR 10million
	MS Involvement¹³⁶: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The UK is the lead donor on drug control and has supported the building of the Afghan anti-narcotic capacity – including police and border control training – and to promote sustainable, alternative livelihoods. The UK has helped the Afghan Government to set up a National Counter Narcotics Police as well as a mobile detection unit in Kabul. - Belgium has also been a donor to UNODC in Afghanistan (counter-narcotics and justice sector).

¹³⁴ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

¹³⁵ Data collected in National Indicative Programme 2005-2006

¹³⁶ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

Country Strategy Paper (2007-13), and two Multiannual Indicative Programmes (MIP)	
Governance: (240million in State of play 2011)	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reforming the public administration and strengthening the government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Afghanistan's economic and political development depends on the progressive strengthening of a functioning state, governed through accountable, democratic institutions, and able to ensure security and the rule of law <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Building on the substantial investments already undertaken during the 2003-2006 CSP, the EC focused on two priorities: the rule of law, in particular the justice sector, and public administration reform.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - through capacity building within key government institutions and continued financial support for the government's recurrent budget - The Commission support the Government's policy document "Justice for All" and additionally built on its earlier programmes, especially the Afghan National Police and to the Government's counter-narcotics strategies, significantly the new National Drug Control Strategy (NDCS). - The EC continued its contribution to the Law and Order Trust Fund (LOTFA) which has been crucial for supporting the law enforcement efforts, in particular the running of the new Afghan National Police.
	Means: The EC continued its contribution to the Law and Order Trust Fund (LOTFA)
	Budget: 240million
	MS Involvement¹³⁷: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Denmark: In support of state building, assistance is geared with priority towards democratic processes, the fulfilment of human rights, the promotion of good governance and stabilisation. - Latvia: Latvia's development assistance to Afghanistan focuses on rule of law, its multilateral assistance to Afghanistan is channelled through LOTFA and the <i>Counter Narcotics Trust Fund</i> (CNTF). - Romania: There will also be continued focus on building Afghan capacity and effective Afghan institutions, so that Afghanistan can take control of its own security, governance and development (i.e. training the Afghan police officers, civil servants, judges, border personnel)

¹³⁷ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Slovenia's projects will focus good governance, rule of law and human rights
Public administration reform	<p>Aims: <u>The EC strategy for good governance followed a two-pronged approach:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To support democratisation and local governance - To assist the Government of Afghanistan in its efforts to bring about sound financial management and accountability with the aim of reaching financial sustainability by the end of the CSP period. <p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assisting democratic processes, such as elections, and empowerment of local communities, with a focus on the provincial and district levels of administration. - The EC also provided support for training facilities for young civil servants - The EC continued its support for programmes in the customs field and in domestic taxation, in order to stimulate revenue collection, as well as enhancing the accountability and transparency of public money flows, through technical assistance and capacity-building to relevant institutions, such as the newly established Parliament and the Anti-Corruption Commission. - The EC provided assistance in strengthening the government's ability to develop and implement a trade policy which is essential for Afghanistan's World Trade Organisation (WTO) accession. <p>MS Involvement¹³⁸:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Netherlands was one of the largest donors in 2002 and remains one of the largest donors to the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF) together with the UK. - Regarding the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Germany, the UK and Italy have been taking the lead, especially concerning the police reform, drug control and judicial reform. - Italy is the focal point in Afghanistan for Justice and Rule of Law with a total commitment of EUR 370 million and a disbursement of EUR 342 million over 7 years, considering both the multilateral (EUR 244 million) and the bilateral (EUR 146 million) channels.
Rural development EUR 215million	<p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To promote food security and to underpin the growth which is crucial to provide alternative livelihoods for rural communities which make up three-fourths of the Afghan population which would otherwise resort to illicit poppy cultivation. - The east and north-eastern provinces were targeted, not least because of their importance in the overall counter-narcotics effort.

¹³⁸ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The aim of the sub-national and national initiatives is not only to develop the rural economic base, but to provide a wider range of economic alternatives for farmers in the context of integrated rural development. This approach should address a whole range of social and employment factors and not simply focus on the issue of crop alternatives to poppy.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC devoted significant level of resources to sub-national programmes in rural development in specific provinces. - In order to compliment/assist the sub-national rural development programmes, the Commission invested in specific national programmes focused on shaping policy in sectors that are key to the country's future development, for example irrigation, livestock and horticulture.
	Means: financing sub-national programmes and national programmes
	Budget: 215million
	MS Involvement¹³⁹: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Germany: provides support for drinking water and energy supply (focus on renewable energy); - Latvia's support includes renewal of the irrigation systems and access to potable water. Its multilateral assistance to Afghanistan is channelled through LOTFA and CNTF. - Luxembourg: Luxembourg works in support of the Afghan government together with the UNDP, UNFPA, WFP, FAO and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as well as NGOs. Additionally, it provides support to the development of local agriculture, focusing on the production as well as the transformation and commercialisation of agricultural products. - Poland helped in the construction of water pumps - Slovenia: projects focusing on rural development and agriculture (veterinary projects); and natural resources (use of renewable energy resources).
Health: EUR 105million	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC supports the MoPH aim in reaching four of the Millennium Development Goals related to health, specifically concerning the reduction of maternal and child mortality. - The goal was to support the government in reaching 90 % coverage of primary health services by the end of 2010, as set out in the i-ANDS. - There is also increased emphasis in the health programme on preventing and fighting the major communicable diseases such as

¹³⁹ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

	<p>HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Additionally, there is an increased focus on human resource development, especially in terms of the recruitment, training and participation of women in the health sector.
	<p>Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In cooperation with the MoPH a Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS) was established and delivered to ten provinces, delivering of basic primary health services. - Concerning secondary health, an Essential Package of Hospital Services (EPHS) has been defined in support of improved referral of patients between different levels of the health system in district, provincial and regional level hospitals.
	<p>Means:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC support through the funding of the Basic Package of Health Services (BPHS) and the Essential Package of Hospital Services (EPHS). - Also support will be provided to non-governmental initiatives contributing to improved health care and health seeking behaviour
	<p>Budget: EUR 105million</p>
	<p>MS Involvement¹⁴⁰:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Estonia: Estonia provided hospitals with essential medical equipment. The Province will get continued assistance from Estonia particularly in the context of health related vocational training, especially for women and medical workers - Greece provides health care services, supplies, medicines and personnel for supporting a surgery hospital in Kabul. - Luxembourg: Luxembourg also finances food aid and nutritional assistance programs, supports water and sanitation programs and contributes to programs that specifically address the needs of women and infant children in the healthcare sector. - Slovakia: provided funding for polio vaccination for 250 000 children

¹⁴⁰ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

Non-focal areas	
Social protection EUR 25 million	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EC assistance addresses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o the immediate needs of the vulnerable groups already identified o Support the Government in acquiring the institutional capacity to better identify and mainstream the needs of vulnerable groups across all relevant national programmes and policies.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In terms of immediate needs, assistance will include targeting the educational needs of certain vulnerable groups, be this support for the provision of non-formal or technical and vocational education, or other life-skills training.
	Means: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The support is provided through projects which are implemented through calls for proposals or direct agreements where applicable with civil society and international organisations and NGOs.
	Budget: EUR 25 million
	MS Involvement¹⁴¹: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Involvement with programmes supporting drug addicts (UK, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), UNODC). - Regarding the National Vulnerability Plan, Norway, UK, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and SIDA (Netherlands)_have shown interest in supporting it¹⁴² - A significant portion of Irish funding to Afghanistan is provided in support of NGOs, in particular Concern, Trocaire and Christian Aid - engaged in a range of activities, including water management, peace-building, women's empowerment, environmental health and microenterprises - In co-operation with the Greek Ministries and NGOs, HELLENIC AID implements numerous development co-operation activities that focus mainly on rehabilitation of damaged infrastructure, culture, health care, education, social protection and humanitarian aid, - Spain supports gender equality and continues to deliver assistance to Afghanistan through bilateral and multilateral instruments - France: Additionally, social protection is catered for through allocations to international Agencies and NGOs. - Italy: gender equity and women empowerment, through the promotion of women entrepreneurship and the funding to the UNIFEM initiatives.

¹⁴¹ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

¹⁴² Data collected in Multiannual Indicative Programme 2007-2010

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Latvia supports gender equality - Furthermore, Luxembourg provides assistance to those who are most at risk and vulnerable i.e. members of a minority group, elderly, disabled persons, abandoned children and orphans or incarcerated people. In terms of budget support, - Netherlands: The position of women is given special consideration and a programme for access of women to justice is supported - During the period 2006-2008, most funds were earmarked for aid to Afghan refugees (EUR 231 394).
Regional cooperation (EUR 15 million)	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The EC aimed at boosting economic and social cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan, targeting the eastern corridor from Kabul through Jalalabad and onto Torkham and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) Pakistan.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotion of cooperation between state institutions dealing with cross-border issues, such as border policing, customs, environment and nature resource management; - Support for the establishment of regional and bilateral legal arrangements to manage migration flows; - Promotion of trade distribution channels through international and regional fairs, ad hoc seminars and workshops; - Supporting regional chambers of commerce and public/private institutions development; - Support for Afghan participation in regional initiatives, in particular the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
	Budget: EUR 15 million
Mine Action	Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To reduce the impact of mines and explosive remnants of war on communities and returnees; and to support national development through targeted clearance of mines/ Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) adversely affecting infrastructure projects.
	Actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support to de-mining activities; - Risk education: a comprehensive and sustainable system exists to educate the population of Afghanistan regarding the residual mines/ERW threat; - Support to stockpile destruction; - Support for the reintegration of mine/ERW Survivor Assistance - Support to advocacy activities for landmine/ERW survivors.
	Means:

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The implementation will be through the Mine Action Programme for Afghanistan (MAPA)
	<p>MS Involvement¹⁴³:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Austria: Finally, mine action will continue to be a priority area. EUR 250 000 has been provided to the UN mine action programme for 2009 and plans for future support are being considered.
Security	
<p>EU Police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL)</p>	<p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Established in 2007, the aim of the Mission is to contribute to the establishment of sustainable and effective civil policing arrangements that will ensure appropriate interaction with the wider criminal justice system under Afghan ownership. Consequently, EUPOL objectives are outlined as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Develop police command, control and communications for the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). o Contribute to the establishment of a pro-active, intelligence-led police force. o Build the capabilities of the Criminal Investigations Department. o Develop anti-corruption capacities. o Improve cooperation and coordination between Police and Judiciary, with a particular emphasis on prosecutors. o Mainstream gender and human rights aspects within the MoI and the ANP. <p>Actions¹⁴⁴:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Police Staff College: At both EUPOL's Police staff and Crime Management College the senior leaders of the Afghan National Police (ANP) and detectives are trained. - EUPOL helps to introduce principles of community-based policing in Police Districts in Kabul and other parts of the country, for instance in Mazar-e Sharif, Kunduz, Herat and Helmand - EUPOL experts advise the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior and how to build-up and command an effective Afghan Police. EUPOL developed over 260 different police plans/policies which constitute a firm strategic and operational framework to the overall police reform process. - EUPOL places great emphasis on enhancing cooperation and coordination procedures between police and prosecutors in investigations. The ultimate goal is to improve public trust in the Afghan justice system. - EUPOL works towards enhancing relationships between anti-corruption police investigators and prosecutors. - Eliminating of violence against women is a major focus of EUPOL, who

¹⁴³ Data collected in EU Blue Book 2009

¹⁴⁴ Data collected from EEAS EUPOL factsheet

	assist Family Response Units of the Afghan Police. They are assisted in the establishment of the Office of the Police Ombudsman and a Department of Human Right and Gender
	Means: The support is provided through funding of the various previously mentioned initiatives
	Budget: (EUR 43.6 million = 2007; EUR 54.6 million = May 2010-May 2011; EUR 108 million=June 2013-end 2014)
	MS Involvement: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Separately the EU Member States have played an integral role in stabilising the security situation in Afghanistan. Consequently, a substantial part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) stationed in Kabul – namely 5 000 troops – was provided by the Member States and applicant countries, especially Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Turkey and France. - Additionally, the command of ISAF has been frequently held by European countries (in chronological order UK, Turkey, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy). - The UK and France also collaborated with the United States in the training of the newly established Afghan National Army (ANA).

Annex B – Questionnaire for semi-structured interviews

Assessment of EU support to Afghanistan for the last decade and lessons learnt for the future

Questionnaire for Study commissioned by EP AFET on EU aid effectiveness in Afghanistan (2001-2025)

Reference: EXPO/B/AFET/2013/19

Where would you specifically say mistakes have been made concerning the impact that the EU has made in Afghanistan?

Have lessons been learnt by the EU? And implemented in practice?

Would you say that the aid given has been overall effective compared to the aid given by Member States and other int. donors?

How do you consider the balance of aid being provided by the EU-Member States? Do both provide equally and maybe even collaboratively or is one actor more proactive and the other more complimentary?

As a follow up--How do you think this influence balance of EU-MS involvement will shift after the return of the ISAF troops? As MS have been more involved in security etc. Do you think the EU will now take the lead, or better do you think they should?

What threats/challenges do you envision on the horizon of Afghanistan post-2014?

The assumptions and goals of the EU have evolved over the past 12 years to adapt to the evolving needs and situation in Afghanistan. How do you envision that the perspective of the EU will change/adapt post-2014 or should change?

How do you think the EU specifically can help or change its aid focus in post-2014 (specifically in security, or aid allocation)?

What do you think should be the role of the neighboring countries post 2014?

DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES IN AFGHANISTAN: IS THE GLASS HALF FULL OR HALF EMPTY? (Seed Parto)

AFGHANISTAN AND RECONSTRUCTION

Afghanistan has always been poor and in need of all forms of assistance including development aid. However, Afghanistan has not always been as broken as we now know it. Up until the fall of Dr. Najib's government in 1991, there was a functioning state in Afghanistan, complete with a Constitution, laws, and policies and a public administration that functioned, at least in the cities.

In many ways Afghanistan has been a victim of its geography and a history very much tied to that geography. Afghanistan has never been a unitary nation state in a modern sense in comparison to some of its regional neighbours. There have been strong-willed individuals – such as Ataturk in Turkey, Reza Shah in Iran, and Jinnah in Pakistan – and/or religion – such as in Iran in 1979 and Pakistan in 1948 – to lead the national unification process, albeit based on much brute force and even genocide committed against ethnic and religious minorities to suppress dissenting or diverging voices and parties. In contrast, Afghanistan has never gone through a unification process similar to its neighbours and has remained, by and large, a fractured nation even during peacetime.

A second key fact about Afghanistan is that despite being poor and never truly unified or independent, numerous attempts had been made prior to 2001 by a wide range of rulers including King Amanullah Khan, Zaher Shah, Daoud Khan, and the Soviet backed governments, to modernize the state, reform land ownership, and mainstream women while attempting to reach a higher level of unity among the different factions separated by ethnicity, language and/or religion. Most of these attempts had, at best, superficial impact and what impact there was had been destroyed during the civil war preceding the Taliban and during the Taliban's rule.

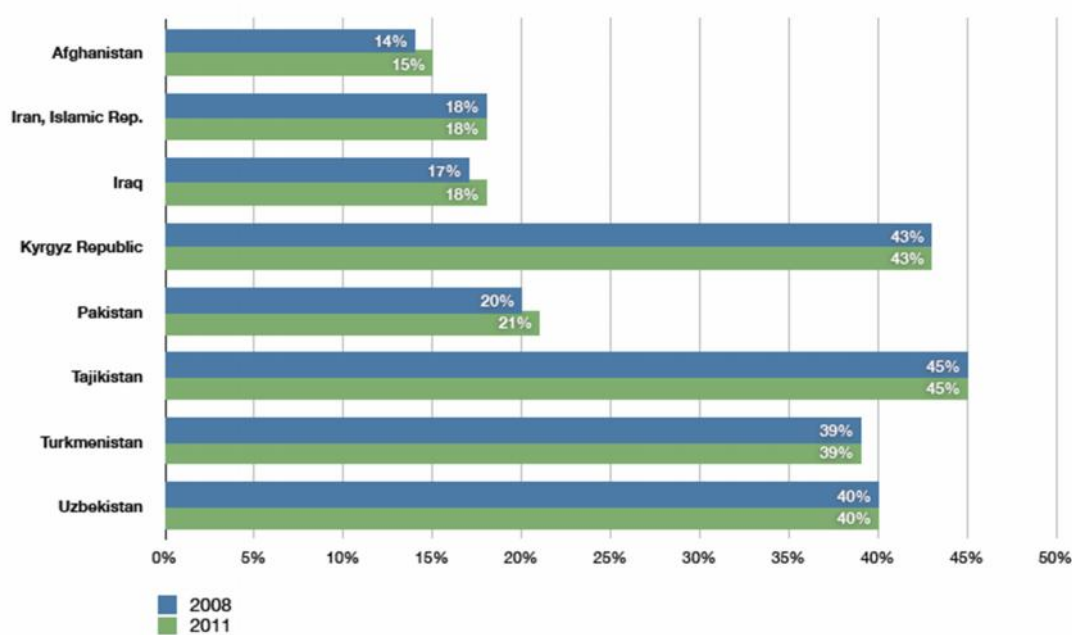
When the international community and its armies came to Afghanistan to topple the Taliban and rebuild the country, the dominant assumption was that there were no institutional structures through which to govern the country in a manner approximating a functioning state and as something westerners could comprehend or relate to. The main priorities for the international reconstruction effort were the development of formal state structures consisting of various ministries, a wide range formal sub-national governance structures linking the national state to the lowest levels of government administration throughout the country, and the writing of a Constitution adhered to through newly devised laws, policies, and regulations. Reconstruction's main focus areas were infrastructure development (including the health and education sectors), agriculture, and women's rights.

Since 2001 there have been a number of significant developments in Afghanistan, the most significant of which has been the highest level of democracy in the country's history for an estimated population of 30 million, of which 68 percent are under the age of 25. Many among the youth, particularly in urban areas, have come of age in the period between 2001 and 2013. In the same period numerous civil society organizations have emerged, organically or at the urging of the international donor community, to play important roles in advocating for the rights of youth, women, and children and pursuit of democratic participation. The youth and civil society organizations have been the main beneficiaries of the unprecedented openness that characterizes this period.

Similarly, there has been an explosion in the emergence of political parties, many of which have been assisted, coached, and trained in modern methods of democratic political engagement and partisanship. There have been two rounds of elections with very high turnout rates though not without

serious charges of fraud and vote rigging. The number of women in national and sub-national government bodies is one of the highest in the Islamic world (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Women in Labour Force: Afghanistan and its Neighbours



Source: APPRO (2013a), based on World Bank Data

Among the ministries created in the post-2001 period are the Ministry of Women's Affairs and a number of national and ministerial policies to create and protect spaces that encourage and protect participation by women. Most ministries have policies on gender and gender units charged with implementing these policies.

That Afghanistan has benefited from the intervention of the international community is beyond debate. However, many of the achievements in addressing Afghanistan's most basic needs have identified or resulted in seemingly insurmountable new problems. The most serious among these are endemic corruption and the impasse many women's organizations, including the Ministry of Women's Affairs, face in moving beyond 2014 while protecting the few gains made in improving Afghan women's conditions. A related issue is the fate of the numerous civil society organizations which remain, by and large, outside Afghanistan's system of governance and uncertain of their fate in the post-2014 period without support and protection from the international community.

International donors and governments have often complained or expressed disappointment that many of Afghanistan's major challenges persist because of a lack of "political will" by the Government of Afghanistan. And, because there is no political will, many international actors reason, there is nothing more the international actors can do to help their Afghan counterpart, i.e., government.

Lately this line of reasoning has been gaining momentum among many actors involved in reconstruction in Afghanistan as the rationale for reducing or stopping assistance to Afghanistan. The flaw in this line of reasoning is the view of Afghanistan as a unitary, harmonious nation state, something it has never truly been. Political will needs to be re-translated for the complicated context of Afghanistan while the absence of political will, as understood by international actors focused on working only with the government, needs to be compensated for by identifying governance actors in addition to the government. That would include the role of civil society organizations.

MAJOR CHALLENGES FOR GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY IN POST-2014

Democratic government: There has not been a strong tradition of civil society organization in Afghanistan, with the exception of the 2001 – 2013 period. Although many of these organizations are nascent and remain untested for their potential contributions, strengths, and weaknesses, they must be viewed as one of fundamental gains made by Afghanistan since 2001 and as direct outcome of international assistance to Afghanistan. Ways and means must be found to nurture CSOs and assist them in filling their rightful space in Afghanistan's system of governance. (See Appendix 1 for recommendations).

Corruption: In November 2013, Afghanistan once again assumed the top ranking as the most corrupt country in the world. Research shows that overprovision or lack adequate management of aid funds has a corruptive impact on the recipient countries and organizations. Considering the Tokyo conference pledge of another 16 billion USD being given in aid to Afghanistan by the international community, fighting corruption must remain a focus for the international community and the government. However, methods other than setting up disempowered formal anti-corruption bodies need to be employed and the focus of reform to fight corruption must go beyond the government. (See Appendix 2 for recommendations)

Women's rights: Already there are signs of some of the gains made by and for women being threatened or even reversed. There are also concerns by women that their hard won gains and places in society might be negotiated away as concessions to the armed opposition groups in the drive by the international governments and the Government of Afghanistan to bring peace to Afghanistan. Efforts, in addition to maintaining funds, must be made to support women's rights organizations. (See Appendix 3 for recommendations).

CONCLUSION

Afghanistan reconstruction has focused almost exclusively on infrastructure development, establishing governmental bodies, and regulatory reform at the formal level. Little or no attention has been paid to how formal reform interacts with pre-existing and largely traditional structures. Also, there have been no systematic efforts to nurture and guide the nascent civil society organizations that have emerged in the last 12 years, beyond providing funds.

Promotion of democracy in Afghanistan has focused mostly on rights awareness and activism, particularly in the case of women's rights. A plethora of women's rights organization now exists in Afghanistan doing much valued work with commitment and courage. Almost all of these organizations came into existence because of the encouragement and funds from the international community. Afghan civil society organizations, particularly women's rights organizations, will be most vulnerable in the post-2014 period they will have to operate in an environment less receptive of rights activism and criticism. Rights activism, the most common approach adopted by many rights organizations in Afghanistan, needs to be transformed into pragmatic advocacy which emphasizes engagement.

APPENDIX 1: RECOMMENDATIONS ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Continued Commitment and Support from International Community – General: The general sentiment among many Afghans and humanitarian aid organizations is that Afghanistan is no longer a priority for the international donor community with 2014 approaching, and with new programme opportunities opening up in North Africa and the Middle East. After so much investment in Afghanistan, donors should resolve to complete the mission setting Afghanistan on a path to stability.

Continued Commitment – Specific: The many women's rights organizations that have emerged since 2001 with encouragement and support from the international donor community feel particularly vulnerable and threatened. International aid assistance to Afghanistan must continue well beyond 2014 and innovative ways must be identified to protect and maintain the gains made by civil society organizations, particularly women's rights organizations.

Invest in the Economy: A prospering economy is vital for building stability. The donors should continue to support productive economic activity in Afghanistan by identifying new forms of support for gainful employment of disadvantaged men and women in Afghanistan. Sustenance of civil rights and maintaining civic spaces in the long run is a function of active involvement of the most vulnerable in productive economic activity.

Support and Create Spaces for Nurturing National Capacity: In 12 years since 2001, Afghanistan has amassed a sizable pool of educated young men and women in its urban centers who have benefited directly from the relative democracy in the country and become accustomed with ideals of good governance. Programming should create opportunities for the educated youth to become more involved in civic engagement and political leadership.

APPENDIX 2: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FIGHTING CORRUPTION

Regulatory Reform: Reliance on regulatory reform or creation of formal anti-corruption bodies has proven insufficient and ineffective in fighting corruption. Find ways for more effective use of the media to promote pride and ownership in fighting corruption.

Integrated Aid Programming: View reconstruction and development in Afghanistan, or elsewhere, as an integrated, long-term package of measures including longer term programs to:

- Put corruption on political and civic agenda.
- Encourage citizenry to exercise legitimate right to services.
- Support and work with anti-corruption Parliamentarians and religious and community leaders.
- Develop anti-corruption codes of conduct for businesses in Afghanistan in collaboration with Afghanistan Chamber of Commerce and Industries (ACCI).
- Encourage businesses to exercise legitimate right to services and act responsibly by paying their taxes.
- Increase inclusion, empowerment, and protection of spaces for civil society organizations to continue to play their role in governance.
- Institutionalize longitudinal research as necessary to understand contexts of intervention and changes resulting from intervention over time.
- Make more extensive use of monitoring data, the collection of which is now mandatory for almost all adequately designed development programs.
- Build institutional capacity and agility by relying less on short term international experts and use more qualified and committed nationals and internationals for long term programming).
- Change awareness by making use of honorable and time-tested cultural and religious values to fight corruption.
- Effect reform to minimize the adverse impact of “burn rate” programming and reliance on preferred first tier contractors. Use national organizations for research, evaluations and, increasingly, training and mentoring

APPENDIX 3: RECOMMENDATIONS ON PROTECTING AND EXPANDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Continued Commitment and Support from International Community: Future programming by the international aid community in Afghanistan should have focus on the following areas:

- Provision of gender sensitivity training and mentoring for not only ANP and ANA, but also for the international experts brought into Afghanistan.
- Identification and implementation of structural measures, such as safe transport, guarded working spaces, and similar other initiatives in direct consultation with working women to protect women at work.
- Mentoring programs for women and men in all ministries, ensuring that there are functioning gender units at every ministry and adequate resources to support them.
- Increase in the number of qualified women in senior governmental positions.
- Provision of designated places for women in governmental offices and training men in gender-sensitive behavior in the workplace.
- Initiation of ongoing dialogues with women's organizations, community leaders, and key public figures to promote women's participation in public life, particularly in rural areas.
- Intensified development programs in areas where international security forces are no longer present, working closely with local civil society organizations and in coordination with the relevant governmental departments.
- Coordinated efforts to advance women's rights and their participation in the development and peace processes and the 2014 Presidential Elections. This should include devising ways in which the objectives of the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework on women's rights could be implemented.
- Collaborative agreements with the Government of Afghanistan to devise mechanisms through which the government can account to the public, in close collaboration and coordination with civil society organizations, on multilaterally funded development programs targeting women as the beneficiaries.
- Technical support and mentoring to include skills transfer initiatives such as proposal writing, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation, financial management, and activity reporting so that national civil society organizations can have direct access to funding from international donors and keep governmental authorities informed of their activities on a regular and reliable basis.
- Support initiatives for community-based development monitoring systems, organized and run by local community members with guidance from national and international civil society organizations.
- Creation of sustainable work opportunities and economic empowerment of women by supporting programs that can take into account local constraints and sensitivities regarding women working outside the home.

AFGHANISTAN: 'WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS'

(Rachel Reid)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past 12 years, Afghan women activists have become sophisticated, media savvy advocates, who've made enormous strides in claiming a more equal place in society. Europe has long championed the rights of Afghan women and girls, and supported a range of essential assistance, including social protection and access to justice. That support is needed now more than ever, on the eve of a fraught security, political, and economic transition.

After 12 years of progress, the focus may shift to defending rather than advancing women's rights. The political environment could become more conservative as hardliners are accommodated and international leverage and support wanes. We've already seen some troubling signs of backsliding, from challenges to women's reserved seats on provincial councils to attempts to unravel the Elimination of Violence against Women law. Attention is needed to protecting women's political participation and representation, as well as bolstering mechanisms for tackling widespread violence against women.

The international community, including several European nations, have expended huge political capital in efforts to start talks with the Taliban. This looks unpromising given the apparent dominance of hardliners in the Taliban leadership. While outreach in search of a peaceful solution should continue, it is a mistake to cast the Taliban as the key to peace. National reconciliation efforts between ethnic and political factions, with a focus on the underlying causes of conflict within Afghan society should be prioritized in the coming years. This should be combined with renewed efforts at regional diplomacy. If a hasty deal is pushed through it will sacrifice some of the gains of the last 12 years, in particular women's rights. European leadership could be invaluable in reshaping the vision for peace.

This briefing draws on the work of our foundation in Afghanistan, which engages extensively on women's rights, as well as my own research, international advocacy, and past experience as a Human Rights Watch researcher in Afghanistan.¹⁴⁵

PRESSING CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

There are a myriad of challenges faced by women: in this short briefing I will focus on two priority areas where leadership by the European parliament can help; political participation and combatting violence against women.

Political participation and representation

Women's progress in Afghanistan is contingent upon their participation in political life. Currently, women have varying success in the political realm. Women are reasonably represented in the parliament largely because of a system of reserved seats: 68 out of 249 members of the lower house are women; 28 out of 102 senators are women. But the lack of representation in other parts of the government belies a more systemic problem. Out of 34 provinces, there's one female governor, in the

¹⁴⁵ "Letters in the Night – Closing Space for Women and Girls in Afghanistan" in *The Unfinished Revolution - Voices from the Global Fight for Women's Rights*, Seven Stories Press, 2012. <http://www.amazon.com/The-Unfinished-Revolution-Voces-Global/dp/1609803876>. "The "Ten-Dollar Talib" and Women's Rights - Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation," *Human Rights Watch*, July 2010. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/07/13/ten-dollar-talib-and-women-s-rights-0>. "We Have the Promises of the World - Women's Rights in Afghanistan," *Human Rights Watch*, December 2009. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2009/12/03/we-have-promises-world-0>

cabinet there are three women, out of almost 30 members, and the High Peace Council has nine women out of 70 members (and getting that many took a long campaign).

We've already seen signals that the gains made are coming under attack. For example, in the summer of this year, Afghanistan's parliament amended the electoral law to reduce women's reserved seats in provincial councils from 25 to 20 percent.¹⁴⁶

The **elections** in 2014 and 2015 will present enormous challenges for women's political rights. The Women's Political Rights Advocacy Group, a coalition of interested Afghan women's organizations, stresses the need for female candidates to have special protection measures during the campaign period. There are once again serious concerns about the ability to recruit and train the necessary female poll workers and security checkers, particularly during the winter months. International monitoring efforts have had a questionable record of success in the past in Afghanistan; a reduced international military presence will further undermine the effectiveness of such efforts. Instead, Afghan civil society monitoring efforts should inform diplomatic efforts by the international community (as well as receive assistance). These concerns are pressing, though the overriding priority for all Afghans is that the election timetable is respected.

Combatting Violence against women

One of the great victories for the women's rights movement over the last 12 years in Afghanistan was the adoption of the **Elimination of Violence Against Women (EVAW)** law. However, the law continues to be in jeopardy. Earlier this year a revised version was introduced in parliament where conservatives threatened to remove "un-Islamic" protections, including criminalizing child marriages, forced marriages and provisions on access to women's shelters. Women's rights activists successfully rallied and thwarted the attempt, but many expect this threat to return.

In the midst of the EVAW crisis a group of leading women activists met with President Hamid Karzai to try to secure his support. The activists were appalled when President Karzai responded that 'he can't do any more to support them'. Similarly, Karzai ignored protests from multiple quarters, including women activists, when he appointed a former member of the Taliban government to the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. In his new role as a human rights commissioner, Abdul Rahman Hotak is already on record decrying the Elimination of Violence Against Women law as 'violating Islam'.¹⁴⁷

A recent report by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) revealed how slow and uneven implementation of EVAW has been. Criminal indictments for violence against women have fallen, despite reports rising. The UN also documented widespread practice of police pressure to withdraw legal claims, in favor of traditional dispute resolution that is often discriminatory.¹⁴⁸

Part of the problem is the lack of female police officers – only 1% of the Afghan National Police is female. Women are more likely to approach female police officers to report crimes, particularly of gender-based violence. This will not be a priority for the Ministry of Interior without clear incentives

¹⁴⁶ "Afghanistan – Escalating Setbacks for Women - Proposed Criminal Law Revision Latest Rollback in Protection," *Human Rights Watch*, July 16, 2013. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/07/16/afghanistan-escalating-setbacks-women>.

¹⁴⁷ Miriam Aghandiwal; "Ex-Taliban official vows to protect Afghan women, but alarm bells ring," *Reuters*, July 3, 2013. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/03/us-afghanistan-rights-hotak-idUSBRE9620BG20130703>

¹⁴⁸ "A Way to Go: An Update on Implementation of the Law on Elimination of Violence against Women in Afghanistan," *United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)*. December 8, 2013. http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/Documents/UNAMA%20REPORT%20on%20EVAW%20LAW_8%20December%202013.pdf

from major donors, including EUPOL and the European Union, to recruit, train, retain and protect Afghan female police officers. Efforts by EUPOL to help establish the Office of the Police Ombudsman and the Department of Human Rights and Gender at the Police Academy are helpful, provided vigilance against marginalization of these offices.

For Afghan women, the justice system can be more threat than sanctuary. The number of women and girls imprisoned for “**moral crimes**” has been increasing.¹⁴⁹ These so called crimes usually involve young women and girls running away from underage and forced marriages, domestic violence, and rape. The case of Sahar Gul, a 14 year-old child bride who was starved and tortured by her husband’s family, has received significant public attention and reflects the ability of perpetrators to evade meaningful justice for crimes against women. In July of this year an appeals court released three family members who had been convicted of torturing and starving Sahar after serving only one year of a ten-year sentence.¹⁵⁰

One acute need is for more shelters for women, which are present in fewer than half Afghanistan’s 34 provinces. Their existence is frequently challenged by conservative elements. I interviewed a women activist from a conservative southeastern province (Paktia) last year who told me of the response from provincial elders when she asked for a shelter for her province: ‘But why?’ they said, ‘In 2014 the Taliban will come and you’ll be back in your homes.’

PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS

Afghan women have found robust and vocal support from all over the world as they sought to assert their rights after the fall of the Taliban government in 2001. Many women felt like this support was belied by the sudden enthusiasm of the U.S. and some European nations for Taliban deals, at a time when it wasn’t clear that there was a negotiating partner.

It was a serious error on the part of the international community to elevate the Taliban as the key to peace. This rested on many false assumptions, including claims that there had been a “glasnost” within the Taliban movement. While there clearly are reformers within the Taliban, it still appears that the hardliners are in control. This was obvious in the Doha debacle – when the Taliban office opened with a sign and flag declaring themselves the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan – like a government in waiting.

Instead, the search for peace should be refocused on encouraging a national dialogue that is inclusive of all Afghans, and addresses the underlying causes of conflict, including perceptions of unequal access to power and resources, elite power capture, corruption, abuses by the state security forces. This would help bolster those in the tolerant middle who want to find an enduring peace, and give time for the constitutional order to stabilize through the political transition. It would also help address one of the real fears for the security transition, which is not so much the operational capacity of the Afghan Army as the political and ethnic tensions within.

There are already emerging Afghan discussions of what civil society can do to stimulate such a dialogue.¹⁵¹ There are multiple local and regional initiatives, including those by Afghan peace-building

¹⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch reports that in May 2013 there were 600 women and girls imprisoned for “moral crimes,” up from 400 in October 2011. “Afghanistan – Surge in Women Jailed for Moral Crimes,” *Human Rights Watch*, May 21, 2013. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/05/21/afghanistan-surge-women-jailed-moral-crimes>

¹⁵⁰ Emma Graham Harrison: “Afghan judges free three jailed for torture of child bride Sahar Gul,” *The Guardian*, July 11, 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/11/afghan-judges-free-sahar-guls-torturers>

¹⁵¹ Authors’ consultations with multiple civil society actors, 2012-13, including The Liaison Office, Equality for Peace and Democracy, Open Society Afghanistan, Killid, Afghanistan Watch and various media entities. See also Dr Ashraf Ghani; “An Agenda for a National Compact for Stable Change,” July 2013. <http://ashrafghani.com/an-agenda-for-a-national-compact-for-stable-change/>

organizations, which are already facilitating an important layer of dialogue. The European Union could help support such initiatives. Outreach to the Taliban is appropriate and should continue, but over a realistic time period, and secondary to reconciliation between non-violent factions.

This approach should be accompanied by renewed efforts at **regional diplomacy**, with a different approach to Pakistan, which could be decisive in the search for peace. This should include more robust non-interference agreements, but should also address legitimate grievances of Pakistan including border disputes and consulates.

OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS

Taliban Attacks on Civilians

The drawdown of international forces has been accompanied by an increase in Taliban threats, attacks and targeted killings of civilians.¹⁵² There's been a measurable increase in assassinations of civilians, including civil servants, elders, and religious leaders: those whom the Taliban regards as being 'with' the government. The UN recorded an increase of 76% in attacks on civilian government employees in the first six months of 2013.¹⁵³ In the same time period there was a marked increase in conflict related violence killing and injuring women and girls.¹⁵⁴

The climate of fear and intimidation is harder to track, though we do see an increase in conflict related displacement.¹⁵⁵ Field based qualitative investigations suggest a dismal picture.¹⁵⁶ Monitoring the pressure on civilian populations is becoming harder with reduced NATO and United Nations presence and visibility, while Afghan government and civil society monitoring is still patchy. It's important that the impact of the security transition in these areas is fully understood.

Impunity in the Security Forces

The Afghan security forces have so far fared better than many feared through transition. The real challenge with the security forces will be political: the ANSF reflect all the divisions of Afghan society, those tensions, and the history of impunity within the force, could be just as destabilizing long term as the insurgency. Consequently ensuring there is adequate civilian oversight and accountability should be a priority, particularly for NATO and EUPOL, and those who fund the security forces, including the EU.

I've been involved in research for several years now into various patterns of human rights abuses within the security sector, including militias, the Afghan Local Police, the intelligence agency.¹⁵⁷ The Afghan

¹⁵² The UN recorded an increase in civilian casualties in the first six months of 2013 of 23%. "UNAMA Mid-Year report 2013 - Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict", *United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA)*, July 2013, page 3. <http://unama.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=EZoxNuqDtps%3d&tabid=12254&language=en-US>

¹⁵³ The United Nations recorded a 108% increase in civilian casualties from targeted killings in 2012 compared to 2011. "UNAMA Annual Report 2012 - Protection of Civilians in Conflict", *United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA)*, February 2013, p22. <http://unama.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=K0B5RL2XYcU%3D>. Op Cit "UNAMA Mid-Year report 2013".

¹⁵⁴ Conflict-related violence killed 106 women and injured another 241 in the first six months of 2013, an increase of 61 per cent over 2012. Op Cit. UNAMA Mid-Year 2013, p2.

¹⁵⁵ UNHCR Afghanistan, "Conflict- Induced Internal Displacement—Monthly Update June 2013." <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/51fa9a6a4.pdf>

¹⁵⁶ Interviews with residents of Helmand, Kunar and Paktia who prefer to remain anonymous, carried out by the author in Kabul and Jalalabad, September 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Rachel Reid and Sahr Muhammedally; "Just Don't Call it a Militia – Impunity, Militias, and the Afghan Local Police." *Human Rights Watch*, September 2011. <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/afghanistan0911webwcover.pdf>. "Torture, Transfers, and Denial of Due Process: The Treatment of Conflict-Related Detainees in Afghanistan," *Open Society Foundations*, March 2012. <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/torture-transfers-and-denial-due-process-treatment-conflict->

government has shown almost no progress on matters of oversight and accountability of the security forces, in particular the intelligence agency, the National Directorate of Security (NDS), where the use of torture is widespread. Notoriously abusive commanders in the police and NDS have been promoted, or tolerated, or at best moved sideways.

ALLIANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE (ASAP)

Earlier in the year a new Afghan and international coalition and campaign was launched called the [Alliance in Support of the Afghan People](#) (ASAP). Initiated by Afghan civil society activists and their international supporters, ASAP's primary goal is to preserve and protect the gains made by the Afghan people over the past 12 years, particularly for women and girls. The coalition is a response to fears that in the current political and economic environment, the interest, patience, and investment of the international community could plummet post 2014. We provide a platform for Afghan civil society voices to be heard a more sustained waves of Afghan advocates, including women and youth. In addition we have a media campaign to re-balance the pessimistic narrative on Afghanistan. So far funding has come from the Open Society Foundations, with support expected from other private foundations and donors.

ASAP launched in October, and has so far mostly focused on the U.S., but our Afghan advisory board is keen to explore the scope to expand the coalition to Europe. Advocacy priorities include: maintain international focus on a credible political transition throughout the electoral cycle; a responsible security transition, and a responsible decrease in foreign assistance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Supporting Women and Girls

- Prioritize and clarify benchmarks for women's advancement, and ensure that backsliding triggers a meaningful response, including the possibility of suspending aid.
- Provide long-term core support to Afghan institutions and organizations working in the field of women's rights.

Women's Political participation

- Encourage the Afghan government to improve women's representation at all levels of government.
- Work with the Afghan government to ensure female candidates have adequate protection measures during the campaign period.
- Ensure that the Afghan government prioritizes recruiting and training female poll workers and security checkers.

Violence against women

- Support the extension of shelters for women and EVAW prosecution offices throughout the country.
- Ensure sufficient attention and resources go towards recruiting, training, retaining and protecting Afghan female police officers.

[related-detainees-afghanistan](#). "Remaking Bagram: The Creation of an Afghan Internment Regime and the Divide over U.S. Detention Power," *Open Society Foundations*, September 2013. <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/remaking-bagram-creation-afghan-internment-regime-and-divide-over-us-detention-power>

Peace, Reconciliation and Women's Rights

- Support Afghan efforts for a national dialogue that is fully inclusive, addresses the causes of conflict, and does not undermine the constitutional order. Ensure women are well represented throughout.
- Support renewed efforts at regional diplomacy, with strong women's representation.

Taliban Intimidation and Attacks on Civilians

- Assist the Afghan government to improve monitoring of intimidation and attacks on civilians, including conflict related displacement and relocation.

Impunity in the Security Sector

- Ensure that EU contributions are conditioned on real improvements in oversight and accountability in the army, police, and intelligence agency.

AFGHANISTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES AFTER WITHDRAWAL OF NATO/ISAF FORCES (Hekmat Khalil Karzai)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

Afghanistan is currently at the precipice of a long period of transition that is already underway, but which is slated to increase in intensity beginning in 2014. In reality, however, this period is not a single transition but will witness three inter-dependent transitions in the security, political, and economic sectors. Most military strategists have continuously argued that the security transition from NATO-ISAF to Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) led military operations should be the cornerstone of the transitional period. However, such an outlook misses the mark. Without a political transition that features genuine reconciliation efforts with violent opposition led by the Taliban, the security transition is unlikely to succeed and the gains made since 2001 could be lost. Ultimately, ending the conflict through an inclusive, future-focused political settlement among all key stakeholders in the conflict should be the first priority for Afghanistan and the international community.

In support of a political transition that recognizes the value in and takes meaningful steps towards reconciliation, this paper will examine the historical shortcomings of past reconciliation efforts, outline the key challenges facing current political solutions to the conflict, and offer some practical recommendations to help remove barriers to the peace process and find the pathway forward. Finally, I will also briefly highlight the importance bolstering youth empowerment and education to create a generation of Afghans truly invested in a peaceful and prosperous future.

INTRODUCTION

As we move swiftly toward 2014, Afghanistan is faced with not one but three pivotal transitions, all of which will conjointly determine the nation's future. Full responsibility for Afghan security is shifting from our NATO ISAF partners to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) who will take full command and control of operations in all 34 Afghan provinces by the end of 2014. Politically, 2014 will witness a change in Afghan presidential leadership and create a meaningful opportunity for Afghanistan's leaders to reach across the aisle and invite members of the opposition to take a place in the domestic political landscape and play an active role in shaping Afghanistan's future. Finally, Afghanistan will embark on a key economic transition in 2014, as the nation looks inward to a rising generation of entrepreneurs, innovators, and business leaders to generate capital outside of the current aid-based paradigms with which everyone is familiar.

Most military experts argue the security transition should take primary focus among domestic and international stakeholders in Afghanistan; however, without a political transition that features genuine reconciliation efforts with Taliban leaders, the security transition is unlikely to succeed and the gains made since 2001 could be lost. Ultimately, ending the conflict through an inclusive, future-focused political settlement among all key stakeholders in the conflict should be the first priority for Afghanistan and the international community.

In support of a political transition that recognizes the value in and takes meaningful steps towards reconciliation, this paper will examine the historical shortcomings of past reconciliation efforts, outline the key challenges facing current political solutions to the conflict, and offer some practical recommendations to help remove barriers to the peace process and find the pathway forward. Finally, I will also briefly highlight the importance of bolstering youth empowerment and education to create a generation of Afghans truly invested in a peaceful and prosperous future.

MISSED OPPORTUNITIES FOR A GRAND DEAL:

After the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, there were several golden opportunities to bring peace to Afghanistan. First, December 2001 saw the commencement of the first Bonn Agreement. Four key Afghan political parties – The Peshawar Group, The Cypress Group, The Rome Group and The Northern Alliance – were invited to participate in the talks and set the course for a new Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Taliban were not invited to these talks, signaling an intention on behalf of the international community to exclude the group from the Afghan political landscape. Lakhdar Brahimi, the former Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) of the United Nations has called this decision the ‘greatest mistake’ of his Afghan tenure⁽¹⁵⁸⁾.

In 2002 and again in 2003, many senior Taliban commanders approached the Afghan Government by reaching out to leaders such as Ali Ahmad Jalali, then Minister of Interior. During these early years, Taliban attempts to reach a political compromise to the conflict were rebuffed by the Afghan Government and the international community. They simply were not interested in a peace process. The key reason was, ‘the United States had adamantly opposed talks and continued to equate the Taliban with Al Qaeda, making no distinction between the two⁽¹⁵⁹⁾.’

Unfortunately, the refusal of the US to distinguish between Al Qaeda and the Taliban was both a factual misrepresentation and a political misstep. Loyal members of Al Qaeda carried out the attack against the United States on September 11th, 2001. The Taliban were definitely guilty of providing a sanctuary to Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, but there is no factual evidence that the Taliban played any part in the planning or operationalization of the attack. The Taliban irrefutably displayed poor judgment when it provided sanctuary to the group, but historical evidence now confirms that the two groups were separate entities. Still, the Taliban paid a serious price for these missteps as it was pushed out of power and forced to retreat over the Durrand Line to Pakistan in order to recuperate, regroup, and rearm for the conflict while the US shifted focus and efforts towards Iraq.

By 2006, Afghanistan faced a powerful insurgency in many parts of the country and the violence increased steadily. Having been designated a political pariah on par with Al Qaeda and continuously excluded from conventions such as Bonn and domestic discussions on the political direction of the country meant that the Taliban had no incentive to explore non-militant means of political activism.

NO MILITARY SOLUTION:

By early 2009, the insurgency had reached all 34 Afghan provinces, prompting the international community to finally start discussing the idea of a *political settlement*. Then-Commander of ISAF, General Stanley McChrystal, in his *60 Days Review* mentioned that ‘political solutions must be explored⁽¹⁶⁰⁾’. The Afghan government and the international community had fully realized that military solution was not the answer to the conflict in Afghanistan, especially considering the role Pakistan had come to play in the conflict.

Knowing its nuclear capabilities rendered it safe from direct military intervention from the international community, the Afghan insurgency took refuge in the tribal areas of Pakistan, territory that also falls largely outside the control of the regime. It is also widely understood that Pakistan and its security agencies began to use militancy and extremism as a tactic and instrument of their foreign policy in

¹⁵⁸ Author’s discussion with Mr. Brahimi in Bonn, Germany on September 19, 2008.

¹⁵⁹ Rashid, Ahmad, *Pakistan on the Brink*, Clays Ltd., Great Britain, 2012, p. 116.

¹⁶⁰ Author’s discussion with General McChrystal in Kabul, Afghanistan on August 28, 2009.

Afghanistan, a policy that continues to the present day⁽¹⁶¹⁾. Not surprisingly, violence in Pakistan steadily increased turning into a ruthless insurgency led by the Tahreek I Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Today, Pakistan continues to undermine peace efforts in Afghanistan while also falling victim to the operations of its own home grown armed opposition groups (AOGs).

Further highlighting the need to refocus efforts toward political reconciliation was the immense cost of the military campaign. By 2009, the war was costing the United States US \$10 billion a month and many in the U.S. Congress knew they did not have the funds to sustain such a level of engagement.

TRUST BUILDING:

On November 28th, 2010 US officials for the first time sat with the representative of the Taliban to discuss an end to the longest war in the history of the United States. The track was facilitated by the German and subsequently several additional meetings took place in different venues including Doha, Qatar.

Three decisions were made. First, the United States agreed to help remove many senior Taliban from the United Nations 1267 sanctions committee. Second, there would be an exchange of prisoners. The Taliban would release Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl, who was captured in Paktika province in June 2009. In return, the United would release five⁽¹⁶²⁾ senior Taliban officials from the detention facility in Guantanamo. Lastly, it was agreed the Taliban would open an office to officially engage the international community on a final settlement.

On the recommendation of a Consultative Peace Jirga (Assembly of Tribal Elders) held on June 2nd 2010, the Afghan government created the 70 members High Peace Council (HPC), which consisted of tribal elders, religious personalities, women and other respected members of the Afghan society. In addition, the Afghanistan Peace and Reconciliation Program (APRP) was established to offer Taliban foot soldiers an opportunity to return to their communities and resume their normal lives. The program was funded by the international community and has thus far 'reintegrated 8,200 individuals' ⁽¹⁶³⁾.

KEY CHALLENGES:

The nascent peace process in Afghanistan currently faces four major challenges. First, the Afghan government and its international partners have failed to develop a strategic vision for the final political settlement. Yes, APRP was developed as a tactical initiative to deal with the foot soldiers, but a shared, grand perspective is lacking in the current discourse. As a consequence, different actors continue to pursue different strategies of engagement according to its own particular vision of an adequate political outcome. This is often done without the consultation of other actors involved in the process, and on many occasions, disagreements over the ultimate political goals of such an agreement have created obstacles to the peace process itself.

Second, Pakistan has yet to play a constructive role in the process. On February 8, 2010, the Pakistani security agency captured Mullah Abdul Ghani Berader, the Taliban second in command with whom the Afghan government had established a channel of communications. In addition, Pakistani security apparatuses have arrested any senior Taliban who has reached out to government or the international community. Perhaps the most notable example of this occurred in January 2010 when mid-level Taliban members met with Kai Eid, former SRSG of the United Nations in Dubai. The delegation was

¹⁶¹ Levine, Adam, *Pakistan supports Haqqani network, Adm. Mullen tells Congress*, CNN, September 23, 2011. Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/09/22/us/mullen-security/>

¹⁶² The senior Taliban detainees expected to be released from Guantanamo Bay included Mullah Fazel, Mullah Khairkhaw, Mullah Noori, Vasiq Sahib and Akbari Sahib.

¹⁶³ Author's interview with Aziz Ahmadzai, Chief of Operation for APRP, Kabul, Afghanistan.

immediately arrested upon return to Pakistan. Some are optimistic that the new government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif may bring certain changes, but nothing is certain so far. Pakistan's objective is to play the role of a facilitator in the Afghan peace process, and more crucially, it wants to ensure India's influence is reduced in Afghanistan.

Third, the United States continues to struggle to speak with a unified voice on the Afghan peace process. From the outset, the Department of Defense (DOD) has always had reservations and wanted additional time and resources to crush the Taliban through military operations. On the other hand, the State Department saw an opportunity and a possible breakthrough in the talks with the Taliban. This exact disagreement rendered the United States unable to deliver on the second confidence building measure, the exchange of prisoners. Internal US politics and a congressional legislation made the transfer of Taliban detainees from Guantanamo complicated. Consequently, the Taliban announced its suspension of talks with Americans in March 2012. In their statement, they mentioned that the American 'turned their backs on their promises' (¹⁶⁴).

Lastly, the Taliban have also unfortunately failed to see the big picture. There are some within the Taliban who feel that they do not need to negotiate with the Afghan government or the international community. They feel the international community will depart in 2014, leaving the Afghan state to collapse, which will allow them to return to power without any political concessions. What they have failed to take into account is the fact that the Afghan population and the region will not accept a repeat of their regime as it was in the late 1990s. The Taliban must become part of system that is inclusive and will accommodate all Afghans.

SO CLOSE YET SO FAR:

Afghans were extremely hopeful on June 18, 2013 when the Taliban were scheduled to open their office in Doha, Qatar. A back channel deal was reached between the United States and the Taliban, facilitated by Qatar, to move to the third element of their engagement: the opening of the office. It was also mentioned that once the Taliban office is established, negotiation on detainees would resume.

The office closed so fast that Afghans hardly knew it was open. The Afghan government vehemently objected to the flag that was raised and the plaque that was posted on the wall during the Taliban opening ceremony. The traditional white flag that the Taliban used during their rule and the plaque, which stated, 'The Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan', brought back different emotions. Some of the outrage stemmed from the suggestion that the international community had given the Taliban the opportunity to establish an embassy for a government-in-exile. The Taliban were forced to bring down both the flag and the sign, thus, halting the peace process once again.

Most parties hold the others responsible for the lack of respect that has led to the current state of paralysis. Regardless of who is responsible, interaction between the official parties to the conflict has halted, and Taliban leadership has blocked all requests for meetings from the various countries seeking access to them.

MOVING FORWARD:

At this stage, the most important thing to do is to resume talks between the different parties. However, given the multitude of bruised egos and lack of clarity regarding a definition of successful political reconciliation, it might be difficult – but not impossible. The following are recommendations that could move things in the right directions:

¹⁶⁴ Graham-Harrison, Emma, Taliban suspend talks with US as Karzai calls for troops to leave villages, The Guardian, March 15 2013. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/15/taliban-suspend-talks-with-us>

- Return to the earlier sequence of the three confidence building measures: 1) Continue to de-list individuals 2) Detainee exchange and 3) Taliban Address.
- The transfer of the detainees will provide much needed confidence in the process and will also prove to the Taliban that the Afghans and the international community is serious about the peace efforts.
- The Taliban must not insist on a sign that says: the *Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan* but will have to be satisfied with *The Political Office of the Taliban*. They must agree to the opening of the office and hold talks with the official parties.
- The Afghan government must accept that the Taliban are entitled to an address. They must take the lead and rally the international community behind them in their effort.
- The United States must work out its bureaucratic hurdles and provide the assistance needed to move the process forward.
- A sincere effort is needed from Pakistan to make sure the process is not stalled. A successful process can also benefit Pakistan with the insurgency at home. The United States and Afghanistan has a major role to play in this regard. Pakistan must be convinced that an Afghan led peace process is indeed in its best interest.
- The final objective should be to turn discussion into dialogue and dialogue into negotiations.

YOUTH EMPOWERMENT:

Afghanistan is a country with one of the world's youngest populations. Sixty-eight per cent of Afghanistan's population consists of people under the age of 25⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. The youth in Afghanistan, however, have largely been neglected throughout the decades of war making this generation victim to not only conflict, but also to its attributed consequences of illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, migration, drug addiction and involvement in criminal and anti-government networks.

According to the Ministry of Education (MOE), youth literacy rates stand at 50% for boys and 18% for girls; secondary school enrolments are respectively 23% and 7%. Moreover, less than 1% of the population reaches higher education in Afghanistan.

Other imminent threats and challenges faced by youth also include youth involvement in illegal armed groups, narcotics industry, drug addiction and migration. Illiterate and unemployed young people provide an extremely viable breeding ground for illegal armed groups, insurgents, and terrorist organizations that easily entice these youth in joining in their activities. Moreover, with Afghanistan becoming the world's largest producer of illicit drugs, many youth have also been inducted into the narcotics industry either as cultivators, traffickers, or addicts. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, cultivation amounted to some 209,000 hectares in 2013; this number has increased by 36% as compared to 2012⁽¹⁶⁶⁾.

All these factors combine to push talented Afghan youth to neighboring countries such as Pakistan and Iran where they go in search of education or employment. In this process of migration, Afghanistan loses its most important demographic and the foundation for future of Afghanistan.

As Afghanistan moves forward into 2014 and the security, political, and economic transitions that will define the future of Afghanistan over the coming decades, it is our responsibility to ensure that the next generation is adequately prepared and engaged to continue on the paths of peace and development. They must be brought into the fold to understand the long-term value of a peaceful settlement and a political infrastructure that serves the interests of all Afghans. We must instill a vision in them a vision of

¹⁶⁵ United Nations Development Programme, "National Joint Youth Programme", UNDP, April, 2009.

¹⁶⁶ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Afghanistan Opium Survey 2013: Summary Findings, November 2013. Available at http://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Afghan_report_Summary_Findings_2013.pdf

the future where they can create opportunities for themselves and their families to live a civic-minded life inside their country rather than seeking refuge and prosperity in other nations in Asia and the west. The single most important thing that can be done to ensure that Afghan youth are adequately prepared and empowered to help drive the country on a steady path of peace and reconciliation is to improve educational and employment opportunities specifically tailored to the needs and frustrations of the youth. Specifically, the following recommendations should be implemented:

- Strengthen the basic education system, so, the youth could receive a better education.
- Provide educational opportunities to the Youth abroad, especially in the following areas: mining, agriculture, trade, business and engineering.
- Not everyone can go to a university so vocational training should be offered, which should be tailored specifically to the demand of an area.
- Employment opportunities in the government and private sector must be increased specifically for the youth.

POWERPOINT PRESENTATIONS



Assessment of EU support to Afghanistan for the last decade and lessons learnt for the future

Steven Blockmans

18 December 2013
Reference: EXPO/B/AFET/2013/19



Assessment of EU support to Afghanistan for the last decade and lessons learnt for the future

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Assessment of EU support to Afghanistan for the last decade and lessons learnt for the future

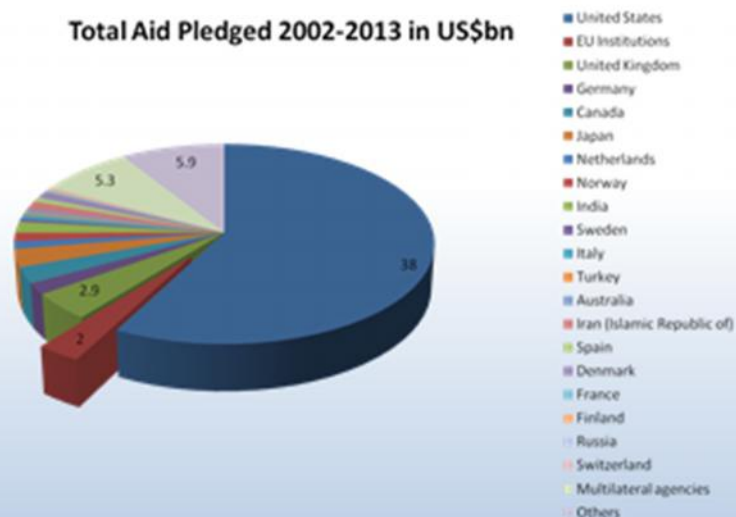
Steven Blockmans

18 December 2013
Reference: EXPO/B/AFET/2013/19



International Aid:

Total Aid Pledged 2002-2013 in US\$bn





EU Assistance (1)

- EU has been a major contributor of humanitarian and development assistance
→ EU aid constitutes 1/3 of overall international aid to Afghanistan
- 2002-2012: EU committed EUR 2.7 billion (89% disbursed)
- European (EU & member states combined) contribution is EUR 1 billion per year
- ¼ of EU aid has been contributed by the European Commission



EU Assistance (2)

• Country Strategy Paper on Afghanistan (2003-2006)

Focal sectors:

- (a) rural development (EUR 203 million)
- (b) health and social protection (EUR 42 million)
- (c) public administration reform (EUR 212 million)
- (d) infrastructure (EUR 90 million)

Non-focal areas:

- (a) de-mining (EUR 40 million)
- (b) regional cooperation (EUR 14 million)
- (c) refugees/returnees (EUR 10 million)
- (d) counter-narcotics (EUR 10 million)



EU Assistance (3)

• Country Strategy Paper II (2007-2013):

Focal sectors:

- governance
- rural development
- health

Non-focal areas:

- (i) social protection
- (ii) mine action and
- (iii) regional cooperation

• **EU Police Mission** launched in 2007 → developing effective and sustainable policing

• **Overall progress has been slow** given complex environment of transition and enormous challenges faced

• Support has been provided mainly through a **project-based approach**, transferred by end of 2013 into a more sector-wide approach (i.e. through multi-donor trust funds)



Evolution of Conceptual Assumptions

Initial Short-Term Assumptions:

- Focus on implementation of emergency → interim arrangements and initial reconstruction and development
- NATO only responsible until the Afghan security and armed forces are capable of taking over

Long Term Assumptions:

- Long-term budgetary commitments
- Emphasis on developing/strengthening the capacities of Afghan institutions → promote self-reliance/self-sustainability

Previous conceptual assumption of long-term engagement:

- International donors agreed to align their work and collaborate more closely under Afghan leadership
- Long-term financial commitment promised by international community

Current conceptual assumption of long-term engagement:

- Conceptual shift towards co-responsibility → support is committed on condition that Afghan Government effectively and transparently implements strategies aiming towards self-reliance



EU Impact/Evaluation (1)

- EU has made substantial impact in the rural development and health sector → necessitates further flexibility and responsiveness from EC
- Through contributions to multi-donor trust funds (i.e. LOTFA) progress has been made → opportunity for potential future utilities past scope of payroll
- ARTF achieved aim as a competent fund manager
→ requires development concerning the reporting and tracking



EU Impact (2)

• EU Implementation Report Recommendations (June 2013):

- | | |
|---|---|
| • supporting an inclusive and Afghan-led peace process, | • supporting the elections preparations, |
| • regional cooperation, | • the economic transition to a more sustainable and self-reliant economy, |
| • the implementation of the Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework and monitoring the compliance of the Afghan government to its benchmarks, | • the development of human and women's rights as a cross cutting issue, |



EU Impact (3)

- supporting Afghan efforts to strengthen the rule of law including in civilian policing and the justice sector,
- supporting more effective and efficient budgeting, administration and service delivery by the state, and
- continuing to promote coordination between member states and to increase the EU's profile in Afghanistan.



Policy Recommendations (1)

Mutual commitments and mutual accountability

- a) Active ownership is key for sustainability
- b) EU-Afghanistan Cooperation Agreement for Partnership and Development

Improve intra-EU coordination

- a) Range of tools and resources available
- b) Currently there are limited results to creating coherence
- c) Actively explore all possible mechanisms
- d) Strengthening Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development



Policy Recommendations (2)

Add more value

- a) governance, policing and rule of law, agriculture and rural development, and health and social protection
- b) introducing direct (sectoral) budget support to the GIRoA from the EU general budget

Democracy, Governance and Institutional Capacities in Afghanistan: Is the Glass Half Full or Half Empty?

Saeed Parto
Director of Research
Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization (APPRO)

www.appro.org.af

Brussels, December 18, 2013

Outline

- **Background**
- **Key Issues**
- **Recommendations**

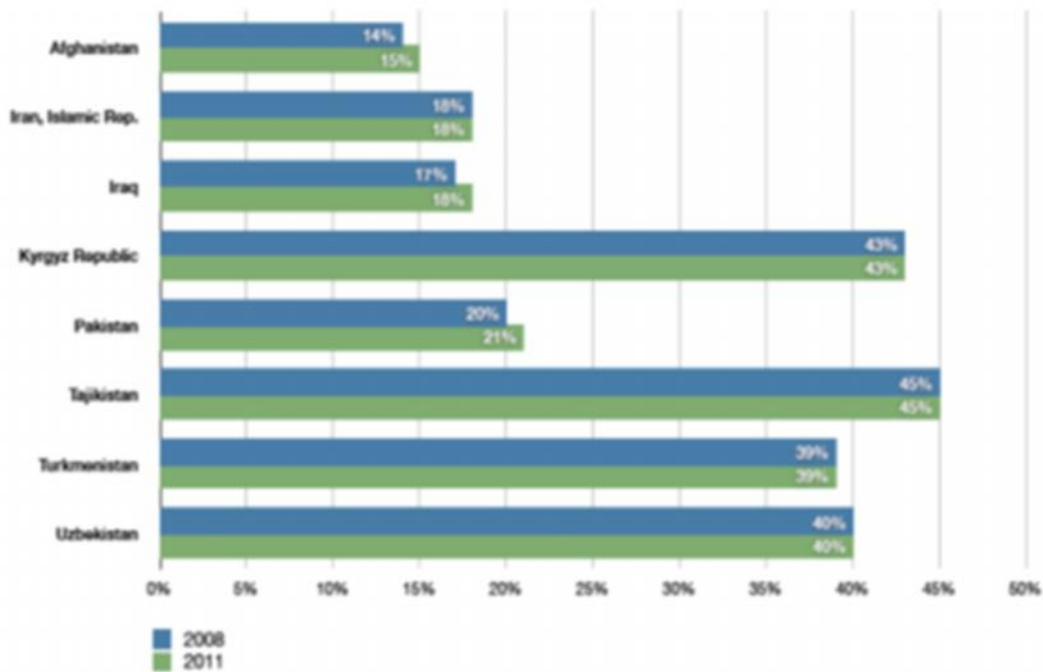
Governing Afghanistan

- State modernization reforms
- Soviet Occupation
- 1991 – 2001
- 2001 – 2013
- 2014 - beyond

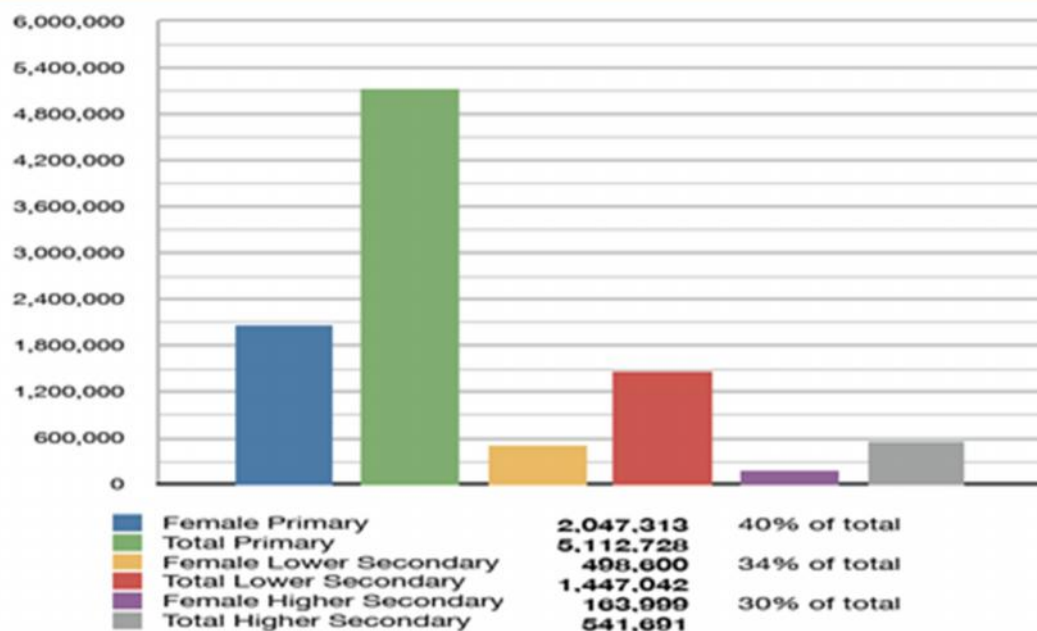
Key Issues

- **Accomplishments**
 - Sub-national governance structures
 - Women in Work
 - Health
 - Education
- **Remaining Challenges**
 - Utilization of formal structures
 - Quantity vs. Quality
 - Women's rights
 - Corruption

Women in Workforce: Afghanistan and Neighbors

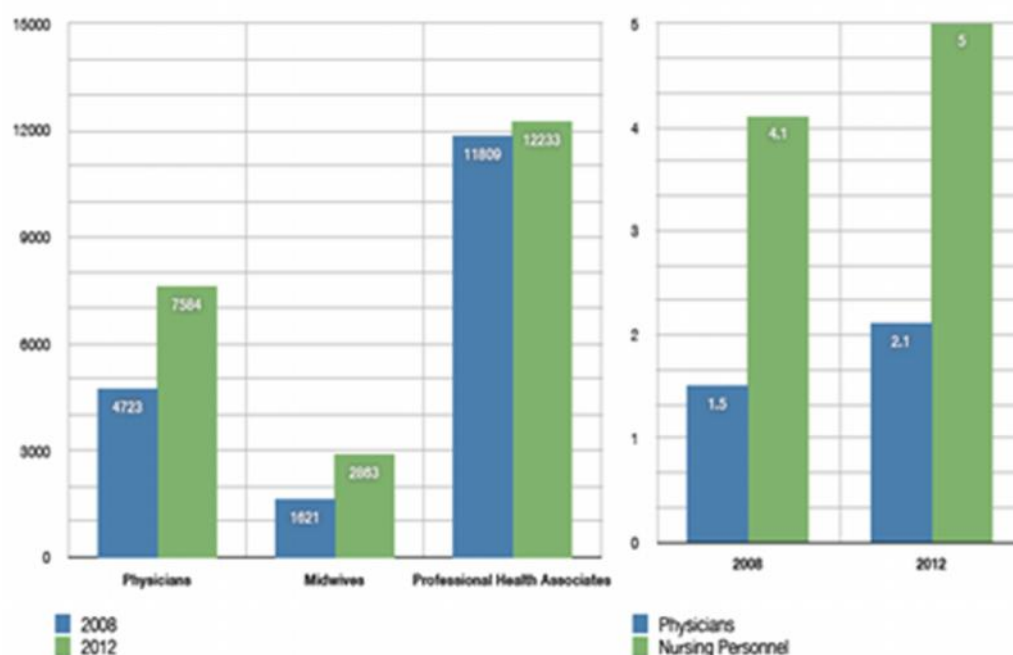


Women in Education in Afghanistan



Source: MoE

Numbers of Health Personnel / Density per 10,000 Patients



Recommendations

- **Democracy and Governance:**
 - Continued commitment and support from international community
 - Investment in economy
 - Spaces to nurture national capacity
- **Women's rights:**
 - Continued commitment and support from international community
- **Fighting corruption:**
 - Regulatory Reform
 - Integrated aid programming

AFGHANISTAN: WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN TRANSITION

Rachel Reid

Advocacy Manager, MENA, Afghanistan, Pakistan

Open Society Foundations

SUMMARY

- **Pressing Challenges for Women and Girls**

Women have made great gains but post transition environment will be more conservative

Most under threat: Women's Political participation and representation

Violence against women – protection needs are acute, but activists in defensive mode

- **Peace, Reconciliation and Women's Rights**

Need to reframe vision of peace and stability, or women's gains will be lost

National dialogue to build stability from the centre out, combined with regional diplomacy needed

- **Other pressing human rights concerns**

Civilian Protection, the Taliban, and impunity of Afghan security forces

- **Alliance in Support of the Afghan People (ASAP)**

- **Recommendations**

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & REPRESENTATION

- Political Representation:

Afghan parliament reduced women's reserved seats in PCs from 25 to 20%

Reserved seats will continue to be contested. Watch parliament in coming years.

- Elections; areas of concern for women

Protection of female candidates in the campaign period

Recruiting and training female poll workers and security checkers (particularly in winter)

Of concern for all: that the elections are held on time, without manufactured delays.

COMBATting VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

- Elimination of Violence Against Women law in jeopardy

Parliament tried to remove core protections, thwarted this time, but threat remains

UN reports slow and uneven implementation of EVAW

- More Women and Girls imprisoned for "moral crimes"

- More Shelters Needed; though politically under threat.

PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

- Casting Taliban as Key to Peace was a mistake by the International Community

Focus instead should be:

- National Dialogue

Reconciliation between non-violent majority to address the causes of conflict, including perceptions of unequal access to power and resources, corruption, abuses by ANSF.

Build stability from centre out, allow the constitutional order time to cement through transition

Afghan CSOs already planning dialogues, coordination and scale required

Outreach to Taliban should continue, with a more realistic timetable, secondary to dialogue.

- Regional Diplomacy

Enforce non-interference agreements, mediation to address legitimate concerns of both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS

- Taliban Attacks on Civilians

As international forces withdraw, Taliban attacks on civilians increasing

Monitoring impact of security should also track threats, women's freedom of movement, conflict related displacement

- Impunity in the Security Forces

Serious Rights abuses by Police, militias, Afghan Local Police, intelligence agency

Little progress on accountability and oversight

EU efforts helpful – including Police Ombudsman

ASAP ALLIANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

- International coalition to Protect the Gains of last 12 years, particularly Women & Youth
- Launched October, so far US focused, will expand to Europe and Asia
- Initiated by leading Afghan civil society figures, with high profile international signatories
- Advocacy goals:
 - Maintain international focus on a Credible Political Transition
 - Responsible security transition
 - Responsible decrease in foreign assistance with more effective prioritization
- Media component to re-balance the negative narrative on Afghanistan's progress

RECOMMENDATIONS: SUPPORTING WOMEN AND GIRLS

- Prioritize and clarify benchmarks for women's advancement, and ensure that backsliding triggers a meaningful response, including the possibility of suspending aid.
- Provide long-term core support to Afghan institutions and organizations working in the field of women's rights

RECOMMENDATIONS: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- Encourage the Afghan government to improve women's representation at all levels of government.
- Work with the Afghan government to ensure female candidates have adequate protection measures during the campaign period.
- Ensure that the Afghan government prioritizes recruiting and training female poll workers and security checkers.

RECOMMENDATIONS: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

- Support the extension of shelters for women and EVAW prosecution offices throughout the country.
- Ensure sufficient attention and resources go towards recruiting, training, retaining and protecting Afghan female police officers.

RECOMMENDATIONS: PEACE, RECONCILIATION, RIGHTS

- Support Afghan efforts for a national dialogue that is fully inclusive, addresses the causes of conflict, and does not undermine the constitutional order. Ensure women are well represented throughout.
- Support renewed efforts at regional diplomacy, with strong women's representation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: CIVILIAN PROTECTION AND IMPUNITY

- **Taliban Intimidation and Attacks on Civilians**

Assist the Afghan government to improve monitoring of intimidation and attacks on civilians, including conflict related displacement and relocation.

- **Impunity in the Security Sector**

Ensure that EU contributions are conditioned on real improvements in oversight and accountability in the army, police, and intelligence agency.

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