

In the Name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Kind

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## Russian Troops Withdrawal Lessons

Saturday was corresponded to the 30th anniversary of Afghanistan victory and defeat of Soviet Union which withdrew their troops in Feb. 15, 1989 after a nine-year war that claimed the lives of 14,000 Soviet national troops and nearly one million victims taken from Afghan people. Pertaining to this, there was an official ceremony about this occasion in the Presidential Palace with the presence of the second vice president, chief executive officer and other Afghan officials and jihadi leaders. Many of government officials and political leaders made detailed speeches about the historic events and appreciated the people of Afghanistan for so many sacrifices they made to defend their sacred land. The common important points which were unanimously emphasized was to learn lessons from the united resistance of Afghan people against the Soviet invaders and the bitter events happened after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

After forty years from the start of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and thirty years after ultimate defeat and withdrawal of the last Red Army soldiers, we must learn or must have learnt a lot of lessons. These lessons are important because we seem to be in a similar situation to the thirty years ago. Exactly, we are in the face of a continuing historic crisis and on the eve of US forces withdrawal at least a part of them are to leave Afghanistan. Now, many think there are similarities between withdrawals of former Soviet troops and untimely US troop's withdrawal from Afghanistan; and thus, there is similarity in nature of both attacks. However, there are clear differences between withdrawals of US forces and Soviet Union from Afghanistan and also important differences between now and thirty years ago.

The Soviet Union attacked on Afghanistan aiming to expand communism and reach international waters while in terms of international law, this practice was called full aggression and occupation. But the United States attacked on Afghanistan based on an international agreement and a UN Security Council decision to combat terrorism. In addition, the Soviet Union failed to establish a legitimate and elected system in Afghanistan and it was not essentially aimed to so in Afghanistan. While after the US counterterrorism factions in Afghanistan, a legitimate and elected system was established and a formal agreement was signed between the Government of Afghanistan and its international partners, and the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan was defined in legal frameworks.

Anyway, the common similarity is the risks and dangers which are more likely to be repeated after US withdrawal in Afghanistan. It seems that the nature of the threats and the dangers of the withdrawal of the Soviet soldiers remains the same with the threats and the dangers of the current time. After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, civil wars began, and all political groups including the government of that day, which were regarded as a puppet state, could not agree on a mechanism to be acceptable for majority of Afghan people. Unfortunately, after the collapse of Dr. Najib's government and the presence of the Mujahideen in Kabul, the ethnic and domestic war intensified and the disorder reached enough to provide grounds for the presence of terrorism in Afghanistan and the Taliban regime. On one the hand, war and violence continued, and on the other hand, Afghanistan fell down into retrogression and barbarism.

Now, despite the existence of the basic institutions of the state and an acceptable constitution with global standards, security institutions and close to 300,000 defense and security forces, there are individuals who dream to return to the past. Most of those who enjoyed from power and public resources in recent years but deprived later are eager to repeat such a fate. They feel that if we go back to the starting point and zero again, it's likely to get the opportunity to use from such anarchic state. And thus, this is the only way to return to the realm of power and enjoy unlawful economic and political opportunities again.

Now the most important lesson to be learned is the emphasis and consensus on current continuation, political system and overall protection of the current constitution and the achievements of many years that were obtained through sacrifices of Afghan people. In recent years, a minimum of relative order and stability has been created. This order and stability neither easily have been achieved and nor at a low price. In fact, the current political systems in which the people can breathe have been attained with cost of blood of hundreds of thousands of people who have been victimized within past forty years. These blood donations and sacrifices should not be easily lost. The only way to protect and maintain this system is consensus on common axes and values. Those who easily cross from common values and axes should be punished by the public opinion and current democratic processes.

Therefore, the greatest lesson to be learned from the withdrawal of the Soviet Red Army is to maintain the political system and achievements of recent years, as well as to comply with the constitution and move in line with this law and to respect the rules of the game by all political groups, especially by government. The current constitution is the only rule of the game, and elections are the only possible way to gain power. Any way other than the election mechanism and any attempts to disrupt the rule of the game, will return to zero and start another crisis.

## General Welfare – Primary State Responsibility

By: Dilawar Sherzai

Among the developed nations of the world, within the contemporary political scenario, there is a greater emphasis on the positive role of the state, because it is now clearly realized that the influence of the state permeates all our relations, even those of the personal kind. Every state must ensure that all the citizens are provided their basic rights and requirements of life.

First of all, the state should create conditions for the growth of free individuality and personality of its citizens. The function of the state is not merely the business of the policeman, of arresting the criminals or of ruthlessly enforcing contracts but of providing for men equal chance, as far as possible, of realizing what is best in their intellectual and moral natures.

State must protect and promote the welfare and well-being of the individual by preserving law and order. But this is not enough. Mere protection of the rights of an individual and enforcement of his duties do not exhaust the list of its functions. Every state now espouses the cause of the economically and socially weak, so that the mere requisites of health and decency shall not be denied by accident or misfortune or incapacity to any member of the community.

Furthermore, modern state now assumes the duty of promoting general welfare. It is now clearly realized that the state is a collective body and not a joint-stock company of the privileged class. It should promote social conditions for the welfare of all. It is now universally recognized that society cannot be happy, prosperous and progressive if some people suffer from the pangs of hunger or are illiterate and ignorant or are unhealthy and miserably. Modern society is becoming collectivistic. Hence modern state can no longer be individualistic, as it was in the nineteenth century. It is now recognized that state should interfere and regulate social and economic lives, if such interference and regulation promotes general welfare. Hence the sphere of state activity should extend to new fields of social and national life for there are many things of general well-being which are not provided by the efforts of individuals and associations either because their private efforts are insufficient or they are incapable of doing so.

The state should be the custodian of the future of the nation. It must conserve what the nation has now, and develop its resources for the future generations. The state with its command on the resources and its universal reach can build for

the future in ways that no partial organization can exert. It should take different constructive plans and projects whose benefits will be shared by the future generations. Individual or private enterprise does not undertake it because it is selfish, its resources are limited and its methods haphazard and it aims at immediate gain. The state does not suffer from such limitations or short comings. While private enterprise cannot risk its limited resources in long-term projects, the state can undertake ambitious plans and schemes of conservation and development, as it possesses abundant resources. It can develop national economy by planning and building industry and agriculture by undertaking industrial and scientific research and discovery and encouraging such higher activities of life as science literature and art. In short, it can promote culture and civilization.

It is important to understand from another point of view that human personality in general cannot develop freely without the external conditions of social living which are of universal concern in view of the acknowledged objects of human desire. These conditions are peace and order, protection, safety and prosperity. The state must maintain peace and order not because it is a sort of universal policeman but because in peaceful and orderly atmosphere alone each individual can rise to the full stature of his personality. In other words, man develops his individuality and personality only when the state regulates the dealings of the citizens with one another, prevents confusion and chaos, maintains the rights of its citizens and enforces their duties. The state should maintain order not for the sake of order but for the higher ends of protection, conservation and development. Modern state cannot become merely police-state as the laissez faire wanted it to be. It is a positive state, for it actively creates conditions of human development and welfare. Analyzing our own country with this perspective we find that there are many shortcomings that we need to amend in order to make it a better society. The responsible authorities in this regard should take positive steps and let the people of Afghanistan achieve their basic requirements so that they are able to strive for the realization of their personalities in an atmosphere of peace, tranquility and justice. It is their right and no one should neglect them their due right.

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## Why a US-China Trade Deal Is Not Enough

By: Minxin Pei

As Chinese and American trade negotiators meet in Washington to try to forge an accord on trade, observers are largely focused on the countries' economic disagreements, such as over China's subsidies to its state-owned enterprises. But to think that an agreement on trade will protect the world from a Sino-American cold war would be as premature as it would be naïve.

Of course, a trade deal is highly desirable. The collapse of trade talks would trigger a new round of tariff hikes (from 10% to 25%, on \$200 billion of Chinese goods exported to the United States), driving down global equity prices and spurring businesses to move more of their activities out of China. Amid tit-for-tat tariffs, bilateral trade would plummet, and the unraveling of the US-China economic relationship would accelerate, creating widespread uncertainty and higher costs.

But even if a comprehensive agreement is reached – either before March 1 or a few months from now – that unraveling will continue, albeit in a more gradual and less costly way. The reason – which many investors and corporate executives have failed to recognize – is that the trade war is not fundamentally about trade at all; rather, it is a manifestation of the escalating strategic competition between the two powers.

True, the US has legitimate complaints about China's trade practices, including its violations of intellectual-property rights, which, after more than a decade of failed diplomatic engagement, warrant a tougher stance. But if the US and China were not strategic adversaries, it is unlikely that the US would initiate a full-blown trade war that jeopardizes trade worth over a half-trillion dollars and billions in corporate profits. While China may lose more from such a conflict, American losses will hardly be trivial.

The US is prepared to sacrifice its economic relationship with China, because the risks posed by the two powers' conflicting national interests and ideologies now overwhelm the benefits of cooperation. At a time when China, which has been rapidly gaining on the US in terms of international influence, is pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, America's emphasis on engagement is no longer tenable.

A growing number of other stakeholders, including China's nearest neighbors, seem to agree with US President Donald

Trump's move toward confrontation. This shift is epitomized by America's attacks on the Chinese telecom giant Huawei. Beyond having Canada arrest the company's CFO, Meng Wanzhou, who now awaits an extradition proceeding, the US has been warning allies not to use Huawei technology for their 5G wireless networks, for security reasons.

A US-China trade deal cannot resolve these issues. Indeed, even if the current trade conflict's most acute manifestations are resolved, both countries will internalize one of its key lessons: trading with a geopolitical foe is dangerous business.

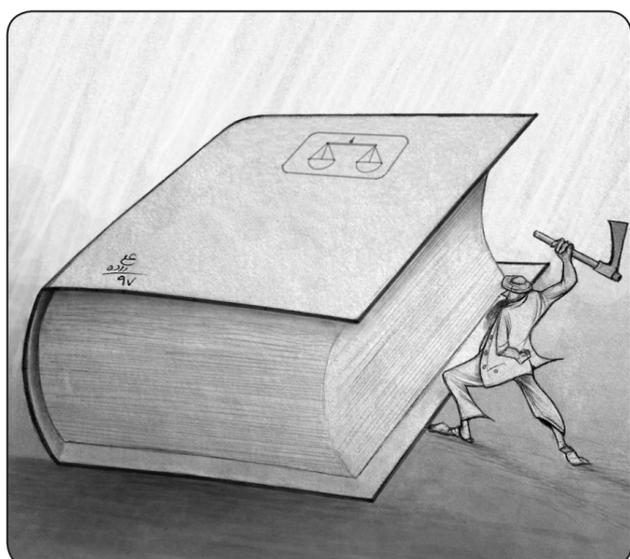
In the US, there is a growing consensus that China constitutes the most serious long-term security threat the country faces. Trade agreement or not, this is likely to lead to more policies focused on achieving a comprehensive economic decoupling. Severing an economic relationship built over four decades may be costly, the logic goes, but continuing to strengthen your primary geopolitical adversary through trade and technology transfers is suicidal.

Likewise, for China, the trade war has exposed the strategic vulnerability created by overdependence on US markets and technologies. Chinese President Xi Jinping will not make the same mistake again, nor will any other Chinese leader. In the coming years, China, taking advantage of any lull in the trade war, will also work to reduce drastically its economic dependence on the US.

But, however compelling the strategic rationale may be for China and the US, the economic decoupling of the world's two largest economies – which together account for 40% of global GDP – would be disastrous. It will not only fracture the global trading system, but also eliminate any constraints on the Sino-American geopolitical rivalry, raising the risk of potentially devastating escalation.

The only way this outcome can be avoided is if China steps up credibly to assuage America's security concerns. This means that rather than focusing on, say, purchasing more American soybeans, China should be dismantling the military facilities it has built on its artificial islands in the South China Sea. Only such a bold move can arrest – if not reverse – the rapid descent into a Sino-American cold war.

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