

2021年10月22日 午後2時—

フォーリンプレスセンター主催

アフガン平和構築に向けた日本の貢献とは

Foreign Press Center Japan host:

**“Japan’s Contributions to Peacebuilding in
Afghanistan” (22 Oct 2021)**

東 大作 教授

上智大学グローバル教育センター

Dr. Daisaku Higashi

Center for Global Education, Sophia University in Tokyo

Road Map

- 1) My engagement with Afghan Peacebuilding
- 2) Collapse of the Afghan Government on Aug 15, 2021, and the consequence of Peace Process
- 3) Current Situation in Afghanistan (sanction, draught, corona) and Engagement with the Taliban by other states.
- 4) What could be the Japan's engagement with the Taliban from now on.

Intro. 1993-2004 Program Director at NHK (Japan Public TV Network)

NHK Special

- “Why Did We Go to War: Dialogue of Former Leaders in the Vietnam War” (1998)
- “How Far Will the Chain of Hatred Continue?: Palestine and Israel” (2002)
- “Struggle of South Korea to Avert Nuclear Conflict” (2003)
- “Rebuilding Iraq: Challenge of the UN” (2004)
Silver Medal from UN Correspondents Association

Academic and UN

2004-09: MA and PhD in Political Science at University of British Columbia in Canada (Field Research in Afghanistan & East Timor in 2008.)

2009-2010 Dec: Team leader for reconciliation and reintegration in UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)

2011-12 Aug: Associate Professor, U of Tokyo

2012 July: Completed Ph.D. from UBC in Canada

Academic and UN 2

2012 Aug-2014 Aug: Minister-Counsellor in Japanese mission to the UN in New York
(Directing the Japan's activities on Peace Building Commission and Mediation)

2014 Aug-2016 March: University of Tokyo

Challenges of Constructing Legitimacy in Peacebuilding: Afghanistan, Iraq, Sierra Leone, and East Timor (Routledge, 2015)



Academic and UN 3

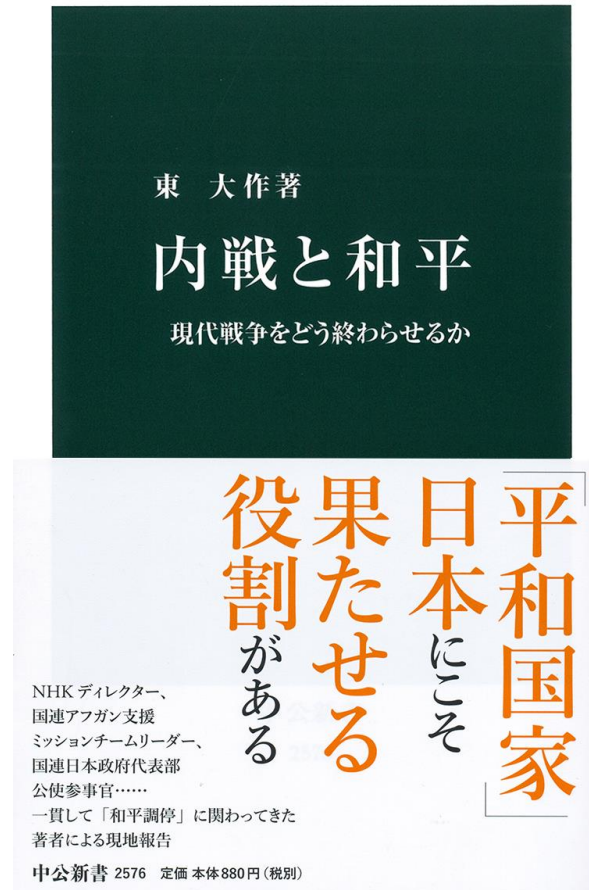
2014 Aug-2016 March: University of Tokyo

2016 April: Professor, Sophia University in Tokyo
(tenure position)

Research and Lectures on South Sudan, Iraq,
Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, and East Timor

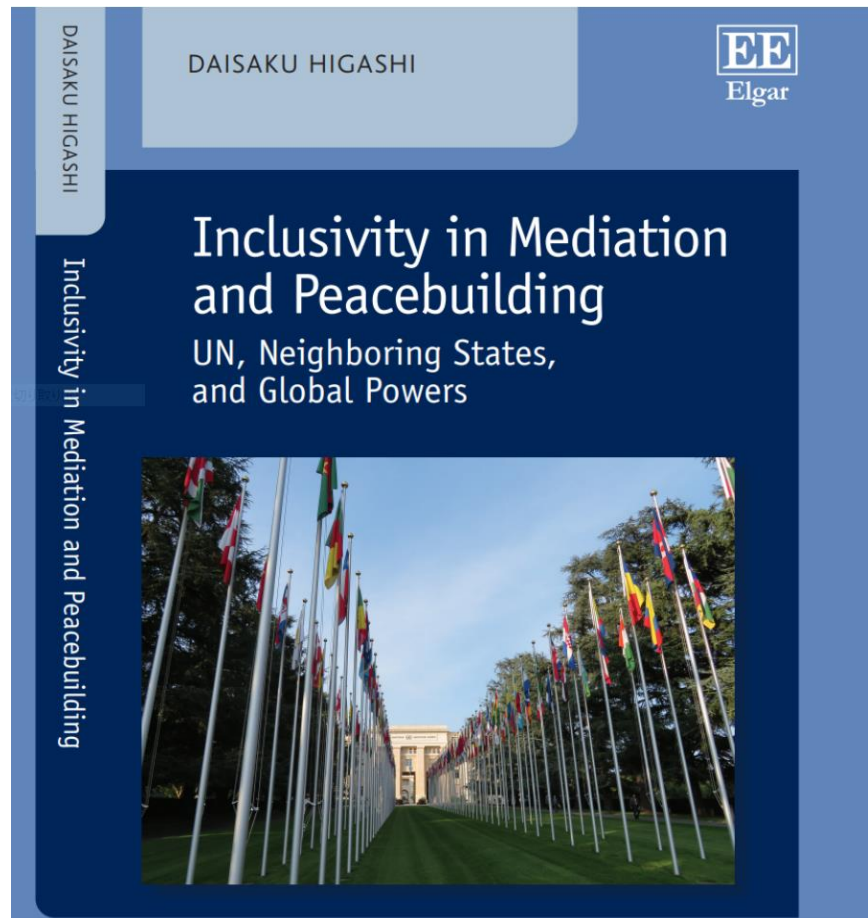
(I was assigned by Japan Foreign Minister to go
to Iraq and South Sudan in 2018 and 2019 to
make intellectual contribution to peacebuilding
by lectures and dialogue with top leadership.)

「内戦と和平—現代戦争をどう終わらせるか」
(中公新書) 2020年1月
Civil Wars and Mediation (Chuko Shinsho, Jan 2020)



Inclusivity in Mediation and Peacebuilding (Edward Elgar of UK, Jan 2022)

Cases Studies of Afghanistan, South Sudan,
Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and East Timor



“Civil Wars and Mediation” (2020, Jan)

My proposals

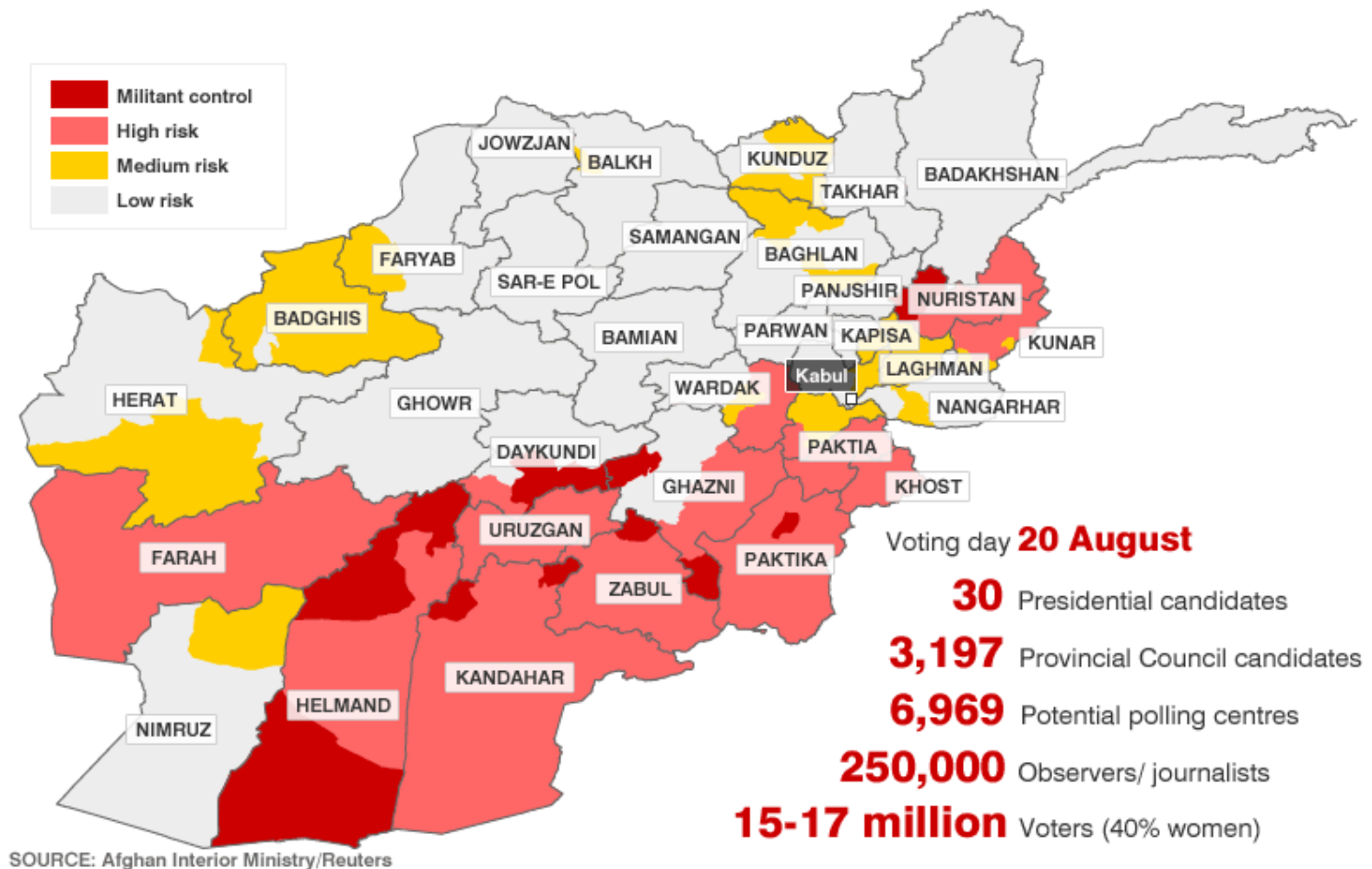
- Japan can make a contribution to facilitate dialogue by different conflicting parties by utilizing its trust as a peaceful nation, which has not invaded other countries for 75 years.
- Japan can also facilitate the global dialogue by member states, UN agencies, NGOs, and experts to address global challenges, such as pandemic and global warming.

(Global Facilitator)

アフガニスタン地図(Afghan Map)



Afghanistan 2008 (Field Research in Kabul, Kandahar, Wardak, and Kapisa)



Afghanistan (Kandahar)2008



Afghanistan (アフガニスタン)2008



Afghanistan (アフガニスタン)2008



Afghanistan (アフガニスタン)2008



アンケート調査(カンダハール州) Opinion Survey in Kandahar Province (2008)



アンケート調査 (Opinion Survey)



個別インタビュー(Individual Interviews)

ジア農村復興開発省
大臣 (Minister in MRRD)



ヨヘムISAF文民代表
ISAF Civilian Representatives



Opinion Survey and Individual Interviews

- 50 in Kandahar (from 6 districts)
- 102 in Wardak (2 dis)
- 108 in Kapisa (2 dis)

About 50 villagers gathered in one spot.

260 Opinion Survey in Total

70 Individual interviews with ministers and others



Majority of Afghan People Supported Reconciliation, as well as Afghan Gov officials, UN, and ISAF

(Results of Opinion Survey in 2008)

98% of respondents in Kandahar (Pashtun)

98% of respondents in Wardak (Pashtun)

70% of respondents in Kapisa (Tajik)

supported the coalition government between President Karzai and the Taliban.

My Proposals (Report to UN DPKO in 2008 and Book “Peacebuilding” in June 2009)

- 1) Create New Reconciliation Program and Committee funded and supported by all key actors: Afghan G, ISAF, US, UNAMA.
- 2) Create New Reconciliation Fund
- 3) Job Creation and Job Training Centers
- 4) Remove the Taliban leadership from Sanction List if entering the Program
- 5) Talk with Afghan Taliban leadership to have political settlement.

Proposal and Policy 2

2009 Nov : The Japanese government announced that it would support the reconciliation and reintegration as one of three key strategies for assisting Afghanistan.

Japan pledged 50 million USD as seed money for reconciliation trust fund in 2009.

Japan Economic Assistance to Afghanistan

For many years, Japan was the second highest in contributing to Afghan economic cooperation.
(By OECD)

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Forth</u>
2008:	US	UK	Germany	Japan
2009:	US	Germany	Japan	UK
2010:	US	Japan	Germany	Canada
2011:	US	Japan	Germany	UK
2012:	US	Japan	Germany	UK

Japan Economic Assistance to Afghanistan

Top donors to Afghan economic assistance

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Forth</u>
2013:	US	Japan	Germany	UK
2014:	US	Germany	Japan	UK
2015:	US	UK	Germany	Japan
2016:	US	Germany	UK	Japan
2017:	US	Germany	UK	Japan

Japan hosted Afghan donor conferences for reconstruction in Tokyo twice

2002

Chaired by Ms. Sadako
Ogata, for nation-
building



2012

Strategy for long-term
reconstruction



Establishing Mechanism in the end of 2010

(I worked for UNAMA from Dec 2009 to Dec 2010 as a Team Leader for Reconciliation)

- Afghan High Peace Council (negotiating with top leadership of the Taliban)
- Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program
- APRP Trust Fund funded by USA, Japan, UK, Australia, Germany, Estonia, Italy, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Spain, and South Korea (About 200 Million USD).

Afghan Peace Process (2010-)

2010-2018: US, Afghan G, Taliban, and Pakistan attempted to have sustainable negotiation, but failed quickly many times after they started.

2018 Oct: US started the bilateral negotiation with the Taliban

Sustainable Negotiation between US and Taliban in Qatar (Picture: March 2019)



Chief Negotiators

Zalmay Khalilzad (US)



Mullar Baradar (Taliban)



Afghan peace process 2

2020 Feb: [US and Taliban agreement](#) (US force would withdraw in 14 months, and the Taliban will do its best not to allow Afghanistan to be a harbor for international terrorist groups)

2020 Sep: [The Afghan Government and the Taliban started the peace negotiation](#) to discuss “ceasefire,” “transitional government,” and “future governance”.

I Hosted Series of Online Seminar on Afghan Peace Processes

14 Jan 2021 (1st session)

Challenges of Current
Peace Talk in Doha

Nadir Naim: Former Vice
Chair of High Peace
Council

P. Due (Director, UNHQ)

Tsuji, (Director, MoFA)


Prof Higashi

[Seminar] Sophia Institute of International Relations

A Series of Seminars on Afghan Peace Process: 1st Session


Sophia Institute of International Relations is planning to host a series of seminars on Afghan peace process, together with Sophia Institute of Human Security. The thesis of the first session is "[Challenges of Current Peace Talk in Doha.](#)"

Keynote Speech: Mr. Nadir Naim
Chairman, Kabul Institute for Peace
Former Vice Chair of High Peace Council in Afghanistan




Nadir Naim

Commentator: Mr. Peter Due
Director, Asia and Pacific Division, UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and Department of Peace Operations (DPO)




Peter Due

Commentator : Mr. Akihiro Tsuji
Director, Second Middle East Division, Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan



Akihiro Tsuji

Facilitator: Dr. Daisaku Higashi
Professor, Sophia University in Tokyo
Former Minister-Counsellor to Japan mission to UN
Former Team Leader for Reconciliation in UNAMA



Daisaku Higashi

Date & time: **14 January 2021: 21:30-22:50 (Japan)**

2nd seminar (US action and Peace in Afghanistan)

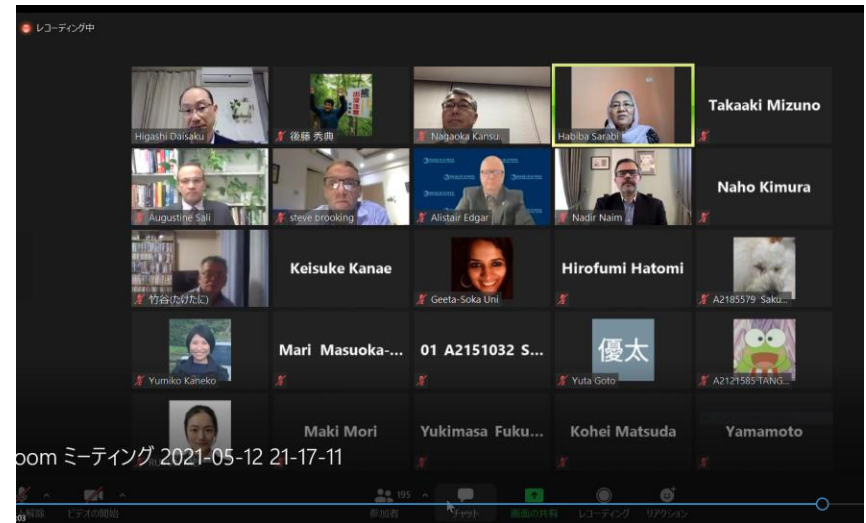
12 May 2021

Speaker: Habiba Sarabi,
Female Member in Afghan
Government Negotiation
Team with the Taliban

Steve (UNAMA, Director in
Peace and Reconciliation)

Nagaoka, Deputy-Director
in Middle East(MoFA)

Prof Higashi



Planned

- I and Nadir Naim negotiated Abdul Abdul (No 2 in the Afghan Gov.) to have the third seminar and he accepted the offer.
- In the process of arranging the date, the Afghan government was collapsed on 15 Aug 2021.

Failure of Peace Negotiation

- The Taliban started military campaigns against the provincial capitals of 34 provinces. After a few days' fighting in Herat, Kunduz, and Kandahar, almost all provinces did not fight, just surrendered to the Taliban.
- The Taliban moved to Kabul on 16 Aug.
(The civil war with a huge bloodshed after US withdrawal were at least avoided.)
- The dialogue between Abdul Abdul and the Taliban in Doha had some significance to avoid the bloodshed in Kabul.

Current Situation (Security)

The security situation has been drastically improved in reducing normal crimes and military crashes, according to Nadir Naim, UN, and other reports (NYT article on Sep 15). People can go freely to Wardak and Kandahar with normal cars: shops can open in the night.

(The harsh fighting had been killing a few thousands civilians and more than 10,000 fighters every year since 2010 until this Aug.)

Exception: Attacks by ISIS-K

26 August: Suicide Bombing at Kabul Airport
(killed more than 180 civilians, including 13 US staff)

8 October: Bombing against Mosque in Kunduz
(killing more than 60 civilians)

15 October: Bombing against Mosque in Kandahar, (killing more than 65 civilians)

The Taliban and ISIS-K has been fighting very harshly recently for a few years.

Current Situation (Economic Suffering)

- US frozen the financial asset of the Afghan central bank for 9 billion USD. (One citizen can withdraw the Afghan money for 200 USD value from the bank per week. The public servants cannot obtain salaries. Shops cannot obtain the finance for business.)
- IMF and World Bank suspended assistance
- Severe draught and Corona pandemic

UN warns that 14 million Afghan are in the brink of starvation and hunger.

I assert the need to save lives of Afghan people in Afghanistan

5 Sep: Sunday Debate in NHK (with Mr. Motegi,
Foreign Minister)

7 Sep: Close Up Now in NHK

8 Sep: Journal “World” (Paper)

17 Sep: Asahi Newspaper (interview)

24 Sep: Journal “Foreign Affairs” (Debate)

10 Oct: Kyodo (Colom)

16 Oct: Yomiuri Newspaper (article)

The approach by the International Community on Humanitarian Need

13 Sep: UN Secretary-General hosted the international conference on Afghan humanitarian crisis. (Total pledges by many states for 1,1 billion USD; Japan pledged 220 million USD)

12 Oct: G20 Summit which emphasized the importance of the humanitarian assistance.

As long as this financial blanket sanction continues, economic suffering will be continued.

Three dilemmas of Financial Sanctions

- 1) The blanket financial sanction will threaten the lives of the most vulnerable Afghan people, especially women and children, exact people that the sanction is aimed to protect.
- 2) If the Taliban is collapsed by the sanction, Afghanistan enters the other civil war, and ISIS-K will gain more territories and power.
- 3) It might be China which will give financial assistance to the Taliban in exchange of rights for mineral resources.

Relations with UN Sanction

There are about 10 ministers who are now in UN targeted sanction for the Taliban.

UN Sanction is “individual sanction”, such as travel ban, financial freezing, and arm embargo.

(There is a lesson that the blanket sanction against the Hussein Regime in Iraq from 1991 to 2002 costed million of lives; UN uses individual sanctions.)

It is technically possible to unfreeze the financial asset of the Afghan central bank.

Start of Engagements

5 Oct: UK special envoy met Baradar, Deputy PM

10-11 Oct: US delegation met the Taliban FM in Doha. The Taliban demanded unfreezing the financial asset of the central bank. US demanded the rights of women and ISIS-K. **Both sides evaluated as “very professional.”**

19 Oct: Russia hosted a meeting with 9 regional states (China, Pakistan, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) and the Taliban to call for UN donor conference to prevent humanitarian catastrophe and to rebuild a state.

Possible Different Approaches when the Taliban is not seeking for democracy, at least now.

Some of democratic states will judge the Taliban by the standard of the democracy (including freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of press, etc.)

Non-democratic states are not democratic; thus as long as the Taliban can stabilize the country, provide security, and contain international terrorist groups, they might support the Taliban, including the development of mineral resources (estimated to be 1trillion USD) .

Japan approach (my idea)

- Japan should engage and have dialogues with the Taliban to persuade the Taliban to keep its words on **women's access to education and work**, as well as **to prevent the international terrorist groups**.
- As an humanitarian assistance, Japan should keep providing assistance on **food, medicine, agriculture, and education**. Japan can also expand its assistance if the Taliban keep its words. It should motivate the Taliban to be tolerant and internationally accepted.
- Japan can tell our past failure as a military regime before WWII and our own reconstruction with democratic system after the debacle.

日本のNGOsも活動を次々と再開

Japan NGOs began its activities in Afghanistan (Seminar on 6 Oct 2021)

オンライン公開セミナー 「アフガン人道危機：日本のNGOsの 現地活動と今後の支援」

発表： 村上 優 (ペシャワール会 会長)
藤田 千代子 (ペシャワール会 理事)
永井 仁乃 (カレーズの会 本部事務局)
東 大作 (上智大学教授)

司会：長谷部 貴俊 (元日本国際ボランティアセンター事務局長
現JIM-NETプロジェクト・マネージャー)

日時：2021年10月6日(水) 午後1時30分～午後3時30分
ズームによるオンラインセミナーです(登録された方に事前にズームリンクをお伝えします)

共催：ペシャワール会
：認定特定非営利活動法人カレーズの会
上智大学国際関係研究所
上智大学人間の安全保障研究所
Japan Global Dialogue (NPO)

お問合せ：上智大学国際関係研究所 iir-ofc@sophia.ac.jp

趣旨：8月15日の旧アフガン政権崩壊を受けて、アフガニスタンにおける平和作りは新たな状況に入っています。経済制裁によって人々の生活の苦しさが増す中、日本のいくつかのNGOsが、現地での活動を再開しています。セミナーでは、日本のNGOsのアフガン現地での活動状況や課題を共有しつつ、今後の支援について議論を進めていきます。

ペシャワール会(中村哲さんが元現地代表)

Peace Medical Service=PMS (Dr. Tetsu Nakamura used to be the top of PMS for 35 years in Afghanistan)

Nangahar Province in Eastern Afghanistan

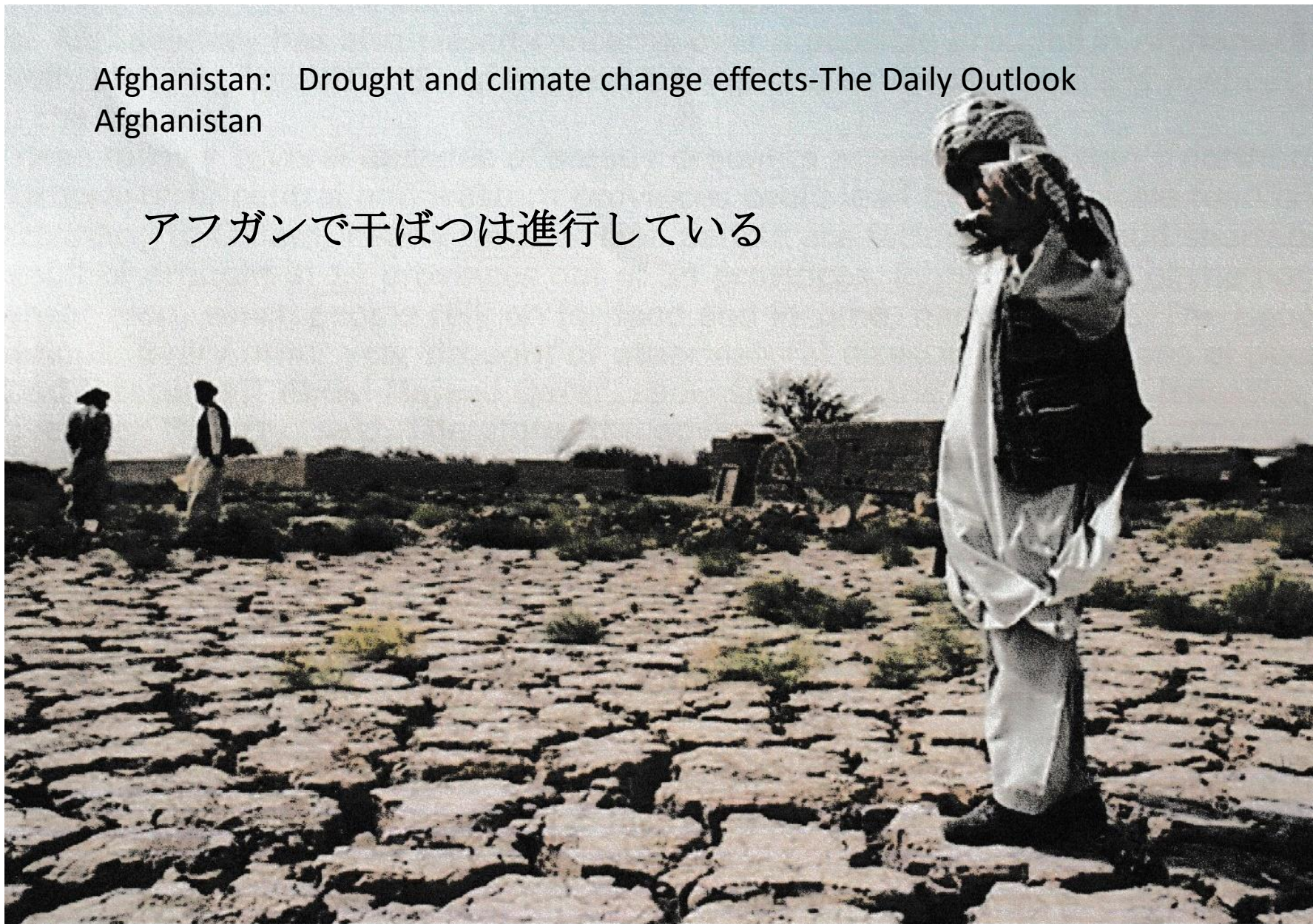
The slides below were shown by two Japanese NGOs on the seminar on 6 October 2021 and I got the permission to use them for this lecture.

PMS (which used to be headed by Dr. Tetsu Nakamura who assisted Afghanistan for 35 years.)



Afghanistan: Drought and climate change effects-The Daily Outlook
Afghanistan

アフガンで干ばつは進行している





用水路建設 (Canals Construction)

人海戦術と適正技術

Local Technique and Labor intensive work



アフガン農民と共に

Together with many Afghan Farmers



石出し水制（クナル河）用水路
Canal from Kunar River



復活の村々 Revivals of Villages (2005～2009)



2003年6月2日 (2 June 2003)



2012年8月14日 (14 Aug 2012)



貯水池 (Reservoir)

2009年6月 (June 2009)



植樹5年 (Planting 5 years)

2014年5月 (May 2014)



Stably Irrigated Area by 2020

● Inlet by PMS

- ① Marwarid
- ② Sheiwa
- ③ Kama I
- ④ Kama II
- ⑤ Behsood I
- ⑥ Tapoo
- ⑦ Kashkot
- ⑧ Meeran
- ⑨ Shigi



1. 東部穀倉地帯の復活
Revival of Agricultural areas
16,500 ha & 650,000 farmers

2. 地域から全国展開へ
(Plan to expand it to entire Afghanistan)

ペシャワール会診療所 8月21日再開

PMS Medical Clinic was resumed on 21 Aug
2021



再開と同時に連日押し寄せた子ども連れの女性待合室。
ブルカの装いは1991年開設時から変わらない。2021年8月29日
Many Afghan women came to medical clinic. (29 Aug 2021)
Burka has been used since 1991 when it was opened.

ガンベリ農場 9月2日一部再開

- Agricultural Projects in Ganberi farm was resumed on 2 Sep 2021.

ガンベリー農場 9月2日一部再開、
10月5日、活動全開一稲刈り、玉蜀黍の収穫開始





↑
ガンベリ農場
牛の飼料用
2021年9月2日



↑
ガンベリ農場B区、
レモン園の接ぎ木作
業
2021年9月7日

←ガンベリ農場牛舎
毎日の搾乳は一仕事
2021年9月2日

用水路・灌漑事業

(Canal and Irrigation Projects)

用水路・灌漑事業 (Canal and Irrigation under construction) 建設途中のバルカシコート堰・用水路 2021年9月6日 (6 Sep 2021)



2021年9月6日 (6 Sep 2021)

取水門



Preparation for resuming the project: 6 Sep 2021



2021年8月24日ペシャワール会現地事務所をタリバンの局長と旧政府の幹部が訪問

(Taliban Director-General in Nangahar and official in the previous government came to the office of PMS on 24 Aug 2021)



ナンガラハル州の河川流域局の局長らが、PMSの作業地を
訪問バルカシコート取水門(Taliban Director-General for River in
Nangahar came to PMS projects) 2021年9月21日 (21 Sep 2021)



10月7日灌漑事業も再開 (Resumption of Irrigation: 7 Oct)

ペシャワール会 用水路建設再開 「アフガン大きな一歩」

アフガニスタンで人道支援を行う福岡市の非政府組織（NGO）「ペシャワール会」は7日、休止していた用水路建設を再開したことを明らかにした。農業が生活の糧である住民は完成を待ち望んでおり、村上優会長は「大きな一歩だ」と語った。

同会の支援を受けて活動する現地NGO「PMS」（平和医療団）は、イスラム主義組織タリバンが暫定政権を発足させたことに伴う政情不安の影響で、8月15日から用水路建設や農業事業を中断。周辺の安全が確認されたことから、農業は9月2日に再開した。

用水路建設を巡っては、東部ナンガルハル州政府のタリバン幹部が同21日に作業現場を視察し、再開の要請を受けた。川から水を引き込む取水堰の工事は水位が下がる来年2月ごろまでの間に終える必要がある。

ただ、経済的混乱から預金の引き出しが制限され、資金の確保できない状況が続いていた。

同会によると、PMSが運営する農場の収益が一定程度確保でき、作業に必要な重機の燃料代に充てた。



④用水路建設が再開した作業現場。左は取水門⑤用水路建設で使用する石を重機で集める「PMS」（平和医療団）のスタッフ⑥いずれも7日、アフガニスタン（PMS提供）

カレーズの会 (NGO “Karez”)

静岡が本部

南部のカンダハールで医療や教育支援

8月15日以降も、変わらず支援

HQ is located in Shizuoka in Japan

Medical and Educational Assistance in Kandahar
in Southern Afghanistan

It continues the activities after 15 Aug 2021.

タリバン制圧後のカンダハール市民 *Kandahar under the Taliban*



撮影日2021年8月22日 (Photo, 22 Aug 2021)

タリバン制圧後のカンダハール市民

Kandahar under the Taliban



タリバン制圧後のカンダハール市民

Kandahar under the Taliban



8月15日以降のカレーズの会診療所

“Karez” Medical Clinic in Kandahar after 15 Aug



Photo (23 Aug 2021)

8月15日以降のカレーズの会診療所

“Karez” Medical Clinic in Kandahar after 15 Aug



撮影日 2021年8月21日

女医や助産師、女性看護師、カウンセラーの活動は継続

(Women's doctors, medical staff, counselors keep working at Clinic)

8月15日以降のカレーズの会診療所

“Karez” Medical Clinic in Kandahar after 15 Aug



9月上旬にはタリバン調査団により医療系女性職員の就労が許可
Taliban officials came to the clinic and assured the female staff in Sep
2021.

8月15日以降のカレーズの会診療所

“Karez” Medical Clinic in Kandahar after 15 Aug



女性職員に対しては、通勤時のブルカ着用を求められている。勤務の際はヒジャブや感染対策のマスクで代用する。

Women staff are required to have burka in commuting; they can wear the hijab or mask during work.

Challenges of Japanese NGOs

It has been very difficult to send the fund to Afghan banks for salaries of staff and materials of projects, including medicines, since the economic sanctions began on 16 Aug 2021.

It is very difficult for staff of NGO to get the cash for salaries and project money from the Afghan local banks, due to the financial sanction.

Conclusion

- 99.9 % of Afghan people need to survive inside Afghanistan. How to maintain their lives is a crucial task for the IC.
- UN officials told that the security is improved and the Taliban is cooperating for the humanitarian assistance. (1200 UN local staff and 100 international staff are working inside)
- I would like to keep working with Nadir Naim, head of Kabul Institute for Peace in Kabul to facilitate dialogue within Afghan stakeholders.