THE UNITED NATIONS ROLED IN REBUILDING THE AFGHAN STATE

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Abstract

The present study intended to analyze the role of the UN, through the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan, in the attempt to rebuild the State of Afghanistan. We sought to understand, through a theoretical and historical analysis, if the actions of UNAMA in the country had some positive effect on the State structure. We used indicators of the Fragile States Index, which first corroborated the idea of Afghanistan being a failed State and then were used to evaluate the progress of the operations performed by the Mission, along with several data collected on the progress of operations. The first conclusion was that UNAMA acts, in fact, in areas that need its attention. Later it was concluded that, despite this action, there were no major advances, and therefore, it can be stated that the intervention process performed by UNAMA, with the government and other international bodies, has been inefficient, and are not able to strengthen the Afghan state.


Introduction

At the end of the Cold War, during the 1990s, failed or weak States did not receive much attention from the major actors in the International System, which led to further weakening of these States. (POTTER, 2004). After the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 11, 2001, the international community turned its attention to the weak or failed States around the globe. Afterwards, those States started being

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1 This is a first draft, comments are welcome.
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considered potential risks to the actual structure of the International System, because they would act as shelters to the terrorist groups, which would be possible thanks to their fragile political structure. Besides, such States have governments which would be contrary to the democratic ideals preached by the strong States of the IS. (ROTBERG, 2002)

Those States are considered unstable, and their existence worries many central actors in the international scene, once failed States could weaken the infrastructure of the International System; therefore, some strong States believe that is necessary to intervene in some of those weak States, in order to avoid their collapsing, or to rebuild them, and, thereby, reach an stability in the International System. It was from this point of view that the intervention in Afghanistan, in 2001, happened. (ROTBERG, 2002)

Along with the structural weakening of several States, there was an increase in the number of Peacekeeping operations, in order to reconstruct such States. (BRINKERHOFF, 2005). In March, 2002, the Security Council of the United Nations approved the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), which has as main objective the political reconstruction of the country.

This paper intends to evaluate UNAMA's actions during its first decade in Afghanistan, as well as to verify if the Mission had any role in a possible rebuilding of the State.

First, there is a brief conceptualization of failed States, a study of the possible intervention policies in those countries and the Index which was used is presented. Then we move to object of study: the indicators are applied to Afghanistan, and, after that, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan is exhibited; their actions are showed and then analyzed.

**Failed States and How to Intervene**

After September 11 2001, failed States became important actors in the international agenda. Such nations began to be considered as majors threads to the maintenance of the current structure of the actual international system, and therefore, different policies involving intervention and reconstruction of these States began to be developed. (ROTBERG, 2003)
Robert Rotberg (2002) says that

Nation-state exist to deliver political goods – security, education, health services, economic opportunity, environmental surveillance, a legal framework of order and a judicial system to administer it, and fundamental infrastructural requirements such as roads and communications facilities – to their citizens. (ROTBERG, 2002ª, p.87)

From this definition, the author says that States that are not capable of fulfill its functions are called failed States. Such States have its legitimacy compromised inside its borders, leading to conflicts, civil wars, as well as a weakening of the structure of the State, compromising its sovereign. (ROTBERG, 2002)

Rotberg (2003) states that failed States usually fail to deliver essential goods to its population, such as security, essential freedoms (guaranteeing their civil rights), health, education, a good physical infrastructure, a strong economic system, etc. (ROTBERG, 2003) It is said that, usually, failed States inflicted that condition in its structure, because the factors that cause State failure are internals. (JACKSON, 1998)

Because of the increasing interest in these States in recent years, thanks to the believe that not only failed States can harbor terrorist organizations, but also that its instability is capable of affecting other countries (MAIR; OTTAWAY, 2004), intervention methods have been studied, in order to be applied in those States.

Fukuyama (2004) says that when those interventions occur the sovereign discussion is brought up, but the international community justifies these actions because of humanitarian and democratic issues. (FUKUYAMA, 2004)

Through those interventions the reconstructions actions are applied. Usually, the international community only intervenes when a State has already failed, which makes the process for its reconstruction more expensive and longer than it would have been if actions were taken before it collapsed. (ROTBERG, 2002)

The process of rebuilding a State is called Peacebuilding, and it can be described as

Understand efforts to identify and support structures which will consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people. Through agreements that put an end to civil strife, which may include the disarmament of the warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, accessory and training for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to
protect human rights, reform and strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal political participation. (BOUTROS-GHALI apud MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005)

There is a different idea of peacebuilding, which is based on the fact that the process of rebuilding a state must also come from below. It should not be performed only by an elite, but should encompass the nation as a whole, using all communities in the country. (MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005).

Such an approach would facilitate the work of groups that were intervening in the state, especially in post-conflict phase, once it would allow for greater interaction with the population, significantly contributing to the support of the peacebuilding process. (MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005).

A process of peacebuilding from below would be based on local community levels, in other words, it would be effectively constructed in all sectors of society in order to make the reconstruction possible in the State as a whole. (MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005).

When implementing that kind of peacebuilding, the solutions to the conflict are derived and constructed using local resources, which would not prevent external actors to play important roles in the reconstruction process of the State, but rather change the way they would play this paper. (MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005).

A peacebuilding policy based at the local level could facilitate interaction with the community, and respect the singularities of the State in which the intervention is being performed. However, such a policy would also have its challenges, since it could defragment the national policy as well as facilitating the emergence of local rebel groups. (MIALL; RAMSBOTHAN; WOODHOUSE, 2005).

Currently, there are several policies to strengthen failed states, and ensure security in the International System. After the interventions, international policies are adopted to strengthen the State structure and its institutions. Fukuyama presents three phases on different levels, adopted in the attempt to build a state. The first phase takes place in a post-conflict scenario, in which the State needs to rebuild from scratch. It is a short-term intervention, whose main target is increasing security, humanitarian assistance and the restoration of basic services to the population. (FUKUYAMA, 2004)
In the second phase, State institutions that are able to maintain themselves without foreign aid are created, and it happens when the country achieves a certain level of stability after the first phase is implemented. The third phase, like the second, aims to strengthen some basic State functions such as education and strengthening the economy. (FUKUYAMA, 2004)

The first phase is more complicated to achieve, but, however, is that the international community had more rights nowadays. This does not mean that success in this phase is large. What happens is that success in other phases is even smaller. This happens because the international community has an irregular record with regard to reconstruction of States, to the point of repeating the same mistakes in different countries. (FUKUYAMA, 2004)

The Fragile State Index

With the growing concern of the international community with failed States, the need to know them has grown as well, to know how to act. In recent years, several indices which aim to identify these States have emerged, and measure their degree of failure, besides highlighting which are the most fragile areas of their structure. Among the existing indexes, this study will use the Fragile States Index, produced by The Fund for Peace and published annually by Foreign Policy magazine, since 2005. The choice of this index is due to the fact that it is constantly updated, and because of its methodology, which, unlike other existing indices, it is clear and objective. While some indices only mention its indicators, the Failed States Index shows, explicitly, what are the points that should be studied to measure the degree of failure of a State.

Information used by The Fund for Peace is collected daily, and include social, economic and political issues of each of the 177 countries surveyed. In total, the index has twelve indicators, and some use quantitative data, while others are based on qualitative data. Data collected undergo a software that evaluates each indicator on a scale of one to ten: one being more stable; and ten being higher risk of State collapse. (FFP, 2014)

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3 The Fund for Peace is an independent, non-governmental, non-partisan educational research organization; its goal is to promote research to promote sustainable security and to prevent violent conflict. More information on http://www.fundforpeace.org.
The twelve indicators of the Failed States Index are divided into three categories: social, economic and political / military. They are: Demographic Pressures; Refugees and IDPs; Group Grievance; Human Flight and Brain Drain; Uneven Economic Development; Poverty and Economic Decline; State Legitimacy; Public Services; Human Rights and Rule of Law; Security Apparatus; Factionalized Elites; and External Intervention. (FFP, 2014)

Afghanistan: a failed State

Through the indicators of the Fragile State Index it is possible to do an analysis of the situation in Afghanistan, apart from using the results published by the index to have an idea of what areas need more attention. In the eight publications that were studied for this paper, Afghanistan is classified in the risk level, always being on top of the list, in other words, among those with a more weakened structure.

Analyzing the indicator of Demographic Pressures, it is possible to know why Afghanistan can be considered a failed State. The country is the number one in the list of child mortality; of 1,000 children, around 121 die before their first birthday. Besides, only 48% of its population has access to treated water. That contributes to the high level of risk of infectious diseases in the country. Still in the same indicator: in 2004, 32.9% of the children under the age of five were under-weight. (CIA, 2012)

One huge problem in the country is related to Refugees and IDPs. In 2010 there were 6,398 refugees coming from Pakistan; and in 2012 the numbers of Afghans that are IDPs is 447,000; (CIA, 2012)

The economy of Afghanistan is fragile and faces many difficulties because, despite the improvement that had since 2001, the country is still highly dependent on international financial assistance; between 2003 and 2010 the country received over $ 67 billion from foreign donors, especially at conferences during this period. But even with all this help, the unemployment rate in the country reached 35% in 2008; and 36% of its population is below the poverty line. The country's GDP per capita was U.S. $ 1,000 in 2011, putting the country in 214th position worldwide. Inflation reached 13.8% in the same year. The country's external debt is already in $ 1.28 billion. (CIA, 2012)

4 To better know and understand those indicator go to: http://ffp.statesindex.org/indicators
The state's capacity to provide basic goods has proved weak. Only 7.4% of the country's GDP is allocated to health, and, for every 1,000 inhabitants, there is only 0.21 physicians and 0.41 hospital beds. Furthermore, access to sanitation is limited to 37% of the population; the discrepancy between rural and urban being visible: 60% of the urban population has sanitation, while in rural areas only 30%. Concerning education, only 28.1% of the population is literate; whereas the percentage is 43.1% among men and 12.6% among women. The average expectation of time that people spend in school is 9 years, 11 years for men and 7 for women. (CIA, 2012)

The Infrastructure of the country is also weak. There are only 52 airports, 29 of them being unpaved. The highways are another major infrastructural problem, since over 70% of the country's roads are not paved, making may areas hard to reach. (CIA, 2012)

Another major problem is the growing delegitimization of the government. Since being first elected in 2004, Karzai has faced many problems while trying to establish a strong, centralized government. The fact that, from the beginning, his government was composed of warlords, militia leaders and supporters of the Taliban, made the Afghans saw his leadership as weak, and his government as corrupt. (BARFIELD, 2010)

Besides, another indicator of the steady weakening of the State structure is the fact that the government has barely no control over the army. “Funded and trained by the United States for the purposes of taking on the insurgency, the military was receiving the majority of U.S. assistance after 2006.” (BARFIELD, 2010, p. 304)

After analyzing all this data, according to the indicators of the Fragile States Index, it is possible to notice that Afghanistan’s current structure is weak, and one can consider it a failed State.

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

On March 28th, 2002, the Security Council approved the resolution 1401 (2002) that created United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), as request by the Afghan government, to help in the implementation of the Bonn Treaty⁵, as well as

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⁵ The treaty, also known as "Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-Establishment of Permanent Government Institutions" was written by several Afghan leaders in 2001, and it had as main objective the creation of an interim administration until the presidential elections. It is available at: [http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/afghan/afghan-agree.htm](http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/afghan/afghan-agree.htm)
aiding in the process of strengthening the country, working alongside the government itself, besides coordinating other UN bodies that are in Afghanistan. Since then, the actions of UNAMA are discussed in meetings of the Security Council, every year, in March, when it is decided if the Mission will be renewed for another year. (UN, 2002)

UNAMA is a political mission directed by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and has as its foundation the work in two fronts: political issues; and humanitarian and development issues. It is interesting to notice that UNAMA is not considered a traditional peacekeeping operation, thanks to its great political characteristics. In 2012, UNAMA’s activities were divided in four areas: Political Issues; Relief, Reconstruction and Recovery; Government and rule of law; and Human Rights. (UNAMA, 2012)

UNAMA’S Division of Political Affairs was aimed, at its initial stage, at the implementation of the Treaty of Bonn, and to perform peacebuilding policies. This division supports the resolution of conflicts, disarmament, greater political openness and regional cooperation. There are, within the Division of Political Affairs, one Election Support Unit, a Unit of the Military Council, a Unit of Governance, a Unit of the Consultancy to the Police and a Unit of the Rule of Law. (UNAMA, 2012)

The key points of the political mandate include: prevention and resolution of conflicts; building trust and promoting national reconciliation; monitoring and advising political situations and human rights; research and recommendation concerning human rights violations; maintaining a dialogue with Afghan leaders, political parties, civil society groups, institutions and representatives of central, regional and provincial authorities; recommendation of corrective actions; and carrying out the actions necessary for the smooth progress of the peace process. (UNAMA, 2012, np.)

The area of Relief, Recovery and Reconstruction (RRR) is represented by the Unit Help Cohesion. This unit is responsible for coordinating all activities related to UN humanitarian development, and to promote effective help. Moreover, this is the area of UNAMA responsible for managing and supervising all activities of the UN in Afghanistan. (UNAMA, 2012)
Another major concern of UNAMA is government-related issues: corruption; economic governance; justice; and budgeting, as well as the manner and the ability of setting things in motion. The judiciary of the country needs most attention, mainly to cope with the growing corruption. (UNAMA, 2012)

The Human Rights Unit of UNAMA acts in order to monitor, analyze and report on the human rights situation in the country, and promote advocacy activities and protection of these rights. In order to implement human rights throughout Afghanistan, the unit, in partnership with government and other international actors present in the country, prioritizes four areas: protection of civilians; violence against women; peace and reconciliation; and detention. (UNAMA, 2012)

To minimize the impact of constant armed conflicts to civilians, the Human Rights Unit performs important activities as an impartial organ, monitoring the conflicts, documenting and reporting incidents that have caused injury or death to civilians. In addition, the Unit promotes respect for human rights and the Afghan constitution. (UNAMA, 2012)

Another important point raised by the Human Rights Unit of UNAMA is the respect for women's rights, and their inclusion in all spheres of Afghan society. Another question is the promotion and ensuring women's representation within the government in elections and in the process of peace, reconciliation and reintegration of the country. (UNAMA, 2012)

It is also the Human Rights Unit that mobilizes all sectors of Afghan civil society, and government and international community to engage in processes that aim to end impunity. Another objective of the Unit is to integrate human rights in the middle of this process, through the inclusion of civil society, women and groups of victims in the proceedings; and ensure that issues related to justice, problem solving, and amnesty are resolved within the international human rights and humanitarian law. (UNAMA, 2012)

UNAMA monitors detention facilities across the country in order to defend the human rights of those who were arrested, focusing on the treatment received, and the detention process. In addition, the unit also documents issues of arbitrary arrests, and works so as to end this practice. (UNAMA, 2012)

The Human Rights Unit works with various national bodies in order to guarantee the human rights of the Afghan people. In partnership with the Afghan Independent
Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), UNAMA seeks to ensure the protection of civilians, ending violence against women, monitoring detentions and impunity. (UNAMA, 2012)

Furthermore, UNAMA provides technical support to the Ministry of Justice, to ensure the implementation of human rights throughout the country, and among government ministries. Even within the government, UNAMA works with judicial actors and performers of the law, as the Minister of Justice and the Supreme Court himself, to end arbitrary arrests, monitor the treatment of detainees, ending violence against women, and checking other concerns related to justice. (UNAMA, 2012)

To implement international human rights within Afghanistan, UNAMA assists the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to report to the international community and the government’s progress. Furthermore, UNAMA, steadily, promotes activities with civil society, in order to assist in ensuring human rights throughout the country. (UNAMA, 2012)

Another issue widely discussed by the Mission is the one of internally displaced persons, in other words, those people who left their community of origin because of conflict but remained in Afghanistan. Legally, these people are under the responsibility of the government, but UNAMA, along with UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Nations), support the IDPs in the country. (UNAMA, 2012)

UNAMA has eight regional offices, and twelve provincial offices, and coordinates the activities of the eighteen UN agencies in Afghanistan. Interestingly, 80% of its workforce is made up of Afghans. The Head of the Mission is the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, there are two Special Representatives of the Secretary-General: one covering the area of Political Affairs, and the other area of Relief, Reconstruction and Recovery. (Margesson 2010)

The role of UNAMA in Afghanistan

Since the beginning of its mandate, in 2002, UNAMA has been working to help in the reconstruction process of the Afghan State, thought its main areas. Great part of its actions directly affects the indicators studied by the Fund for Peace.
The activities of the Division of Political Affairs of UNAMA focus on solving problems treated in social, political and military spheres that are present in the indicators of the Fragile State Index. In 2005, with the AIHRC, UNAMA prepared the Peace, Reconciliation and Justice in Afghanistan Action Plan\(^6\), with its main objective of achieving peace in the country through the end of disputes groups, trying to solve the problems that affect the indicator that measures group grievances. Furthermore, even in the early years of the Mission, some residents of smaller communities sought UNAMA’s help to resolve theirs conflicts. (LARSEN, 2010)

Besides, the Mission tries to act so as to encompass all areas of the country, having twelve provincial offices, and it seeks to assist the government in expanding its authority throughout the territory, through the establishment of institutions at the local level. In 2004, UNAMA was responsible for organizing the country’s first presidential election, but in 2009 its actions were more guarded, aiding only the Independent Electoral Commission, while the whole process was guided by Afghans. (MARGESSON, 2010)

However, in the parliamentary elections of 2010, the United Nations had a more active participation, and UNAMA coordinated all the international aid in the electoral process; mainly, the help was technical and logistics; the UNDP coordinated the electoral actions taken in conjunction with the Independent Electoral Commission, such as staff training and operational planning. UNDP also acted in order to coordinate the media, political parties and election observers. On the security issue, the responsible was the Afghanistan National Security Force, but it received aid from ISAF. (UNAMA, 2014)

The UNDP program responsible for coordinating the elections is the ELECT (Enhancing legal and Electoral Capacity for Tomorrow), whereby the international community acts in the electoral process in Afghanistan. In addition to this program, there are others who seek to secure democracy in the country, such as the Strategic Support for the Afghan Parliament and the Sub-National Governance in Afghanistan Program; both aiming to strengthen government institutions. (UNDP, 2012)

Besides assisting in the electoral process, UNDP operates in other areas, with UNAMA in Afghanistan. With the goal of reducing poverty in the country and ensuring

economic development, projects are developed in urban and rural areas of the country, with the objective of ensuring the well-being of the population through initiatives at national and regional levels. Some of the projects coordinated by UNDP are: the National Institutional Development Project (NIDP), which aims to train government officials in order to ensure greater effectiveness in all spheres of government; and the National Programme for Territorial Development (NPTC), which seeks to promote the recovery of the country, by building adequate infrastructure. (UNDP, 2012)

With regard to human rights, UNAMA has accompanied many cases, such as the implementation of the Law on Elimination of Violence against Women in Afghanistan, and making various recommendations to the government. Another priority issue is the protection of civilians from armed conflict, which is also studied in conjunction with the UNHCHR (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights). (UNAMA, 2014)

In this partnership UNAMA and OHCHR maintains a database that tracks incidents involving civilians, and the main goal is to find out if they are caused by forces in favor or against the government. Over the past two years several campaigns were made to reduce the number of casualties caused by pro-government forces, in partnership mainly with ISAF. In addition, meetings with tribal and religious leaders who may have closer proximity to anti-government forces, to ensure the protection of civilians during conflict. (OHCHR, 2012)

On the issue of the prison system in Afghanistan, UNAMA and OHCHR make several searches in prisons, verifying the conditions of the infrastructure as well as the treatment that prisoners receive, and even if torture occurs. A report is written and published, so press the government to act in that scope. (OHCHR, 2012)

UNHCR actively operates in Afghanistan, in partnership with UNAMA, and has a national office four sub-offices and several offices and field units. As of 2012, there were 1.3 million people under the care of UNHCR in Afghanistan, of which approximately 450,000 are internally displaced. Among the main actions in relation to this figure is the population: ensuring security; ensuring essential services and basic goods; and, related to Afghan refugees in other countries, assistance in returning to Afghanistan. (UNHCR, 2014)

The reconstruction of Afghanistan
The role of UNAMA, through its own programs, coordination of UN agencies present in the country or in joint action with the government and other international agencies in Afghanistan, such as ISAF, is wide, and affects different areas of the structure of the country, and may be related to indicators of state failure used by the Fragile States Index. In other words, through the index data, showing the advances of the situation in Afghanistan in recent years, it is possible to analyze the role of UNAMA. One can see, therefore, that many of the actions of the Mission have been ineffective, since the index worsened in the last years, and shows that the state structure of Afghanistan is weak.

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In the index of Refugees and IDPs, there were great changes; but even so the year 2012 has improved compared to previous years, the measure is higher than when the index was first measured. One of the major challenges encountered by UNAMA and UNHCR is ensuring security for internally displaced refugees, and an inability to ensure that these people have access to basic goods. Since 2002, 7.5 million refugees returned to Afghanistan, increasing the population by about 25% but more than 40% of these refugees were not reintegrated in their communities, under the care of UNHCR, and may be considered IDPs. (UNHCR, 2014)
But that was not the only area that UNAMA failed. On the index of Group Grievance, that the Mission had more success initially, when acting as a mediator for local conflicts, the rate is exceptionally high. The Action Plan that was drawn up was abandoned, and with the emergence of insurgent groups around the country, the population stopped seeking UNAMA as an intermediary in conflicts. (Larsen, 2010)

The issue of human rights, widely supported by the UN, also finds several problems in the country; especially with regard to women's rights, which are constantly ignored and violated. In a case, a 16 year old girl, from one province to the south of the country, was accused of maintaining an illicit relationship with a young man; judged by a Mullah, the girl was sentenced to receive 100 flogged.\(^7\) Those responsible for the violence committed against her were not on trial, a recurring problem in the country.

In a joint report by UNAMA and OHCHR, published in November 2011, it is reported that out of 2,299 cases of violence against women registered by the AIHRC, only 26% had cases of open trial, and, in most of them, it was not used the law on Elimination of Violence against Women. (OHCHR; UNAMA, 2011)

Another problem is the continuing violence in the country. Since 2007, the number of civilians killed is increasing every year, and in 2011 this number reached 3,021, totaling 11,864 killed since the conflict started.\(^8\)

In its annual report, Amnesty International makes a number of complaints of human rights violations in Afghanistan, including the country's military forces and ISAF. Issues widely debated and defended by UNAMA, such as arbitrary arrests, are frequent in the country and, most often, there is no punitive measure against these cases.\(^9\)

The increasing lack of security hampers many services provided to the population. Attacks on health staff are frequent;\(^10\) and in the regions occupied by the Taliban, schools are constant targets of threats and attacks, especially those in which girls are attending.\(^11\)

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On the issue of delegitimization of the state, Afghanistan faces serious problems. The country is the largest opium producer in the world and its generating illegal trade reached $65 billion of income for terrorist organizations, particularly the Taliban. The trafficking of drugs is done by the border with Pakistan, which the central government has no control. In a report released by UNODC in 2009, it is revealed that only 2% of the opium produced in Afghanistan is apprehended, and that this may mean a lack of competence of the State to control its own borders.\textsuperscript{12}

It was the opium traffic the main sponsor to the Taliban return to Afghanistan, and that contributes to increase the government deslegitimization, in addition to hardening the work of the international agencies acting in the country. This traffic also demonstrates the incapacity of the government in controlling all the areas of the country, what may suggest an error on how the intervention was made and on the politics to rebuilding the State.

In relation to the elections, UNAMA noted the need to change its actions and worked, with UNDP, in the development of projects linked to the presidential election of 2014, creating the ELECT II. (UNAMA, 2014)

Afghanistan’s peculiarities were not considered in several moments of the intervention. Since the aiding on the redaction of a new constitution for the country, to the way the intervention was made: trying to force the international rules to the country.

It would have been more interesting if the intervention made by UNAMA had followed the example mentioned earlier in this paper: from below, with a greater support of the population; in a way that would not only legitimize its actions, but also guarantee a greater participation of those that are more interested in the structural strengthening of the State: its own people.

\textbf{Conclusion}

After more than ten years of foreign intervention the impression one gets is that little has changed in the structure of the State of Afghanistan. Despite the success in creating a new constitution for the country, as well as in the elections held in 2004 and

\textsuperscript{12} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8319249.stm
2005, the government of Hamid Karzai failed to strengthen the power of Kabul over other regions of the country, which turned out to delegitimize the government in the eyes of the population. The return of the Taliban has also generated great tension, and precluded more effective actions for the reconstruction of the country. (BARFIELD, 2010)

You may notice that some areas of the State have undergone significant changes in recent years, but that does not mean that they were necessarily positive. These changes become clear when observing the Fragile States Index since 2005. In the first published Index, Afghanistan had just witnessed the first presidential election in its history, with no major problems and no signs of future threat. But in 2006, the index of the country begins to rise, reaching its peak in 2010, and having a little downfall in the next two years, however, the measure of 2012 is seven points higher than 2005.

It was in 2006 that the Taliban began its strategy of insurgency, basing itself in areas of the country where the government and international forces were weaker. (BARFIELD, 2010)

However, it can be stated that the main obstacle to the reconstruction of the State is that the government lies delegitimized by its population. The government's situation worsened in 2009, when the second presidential election in the country occurred. Unlike what happened in 2004, the process was not smooth. During the entire electoral process, from the campaign until polling day, there were several allegations of fraud and that the elections would be rigged. Another problem faced during the election process was the lack of impartiality of government agencies. The Independent Electoral Commission has its members chosen by the president, and some of them were not ashamed to show their support for Karzai’s reelection, even being part of an organ that was supposed to be neutral. During the elections, UNAMA was only involved with the Commission, so it can be said that the Mission's participation in the process was not a success.

Other complaints concerned the eligibility of most candidates. While there are articles in the law that prohibits the candidacy of persons linked to armed groups, many militia leaders and warlords ran lawfully. Another concern was related to human rights

13 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8207315.stm
violations: women candidates were threatened; also, voters were threatened and physically attacked by government officials liked to some candidates. The fraudulent election process turned to be so damaging to the government that, in the 2010 index, the indicator that measures State delegitimization reached its peak, putting Afghanistan on the brink of collapse.

While making these observations, it is clear that the way the new Afghan structure was designed does not reflect the situation in the country. In an attempt to better control the State, the model of government adopted has the president as central figure, holding great power. But, perhaps, it was not considered that it would take an extremely capable and strong leader for this model to work. Karzai, during his administration, proved that he wasn't such a leader. (BARFIELD, 2010)

Moreover, the presidential system, that the international community thought was best, did not suit the particularities of Afghanistan. It was believed that the interior regions of the country needed a stronger central government to control them, when the implementation of a federative system could be possible, without great trouble to its structure.

The lack of a government that is legitimized by the people makes it difficult to the intervention to be accepted. It would have been better to have a government that started implementing social and political policies in the urban areas, where it can be more accepted; and, after gaining the trust of the population, it would start also implementing its policies in the interior of the country. (BARFIELD, 2010)

Therefore, one can say that the main obstacle to the process of reconstruction of the Afghan State was the way it was directed; by UNAMA and by other international agencies that are in the country. Programs designed to strengthen government institutions proved to be flawed, since the model that was implemented in the country is similar to the West one, and many particularities of Afghanistan were ignored.

When trying to strengthen the State through a central government, the country's elites were privileged, and good part of the population, especially the communities further away from the capital, had no voice in the process; having their will manipulated through fraudulent elections.

Thus, the great challenge UNAMA has is to improve their actions in the political context, and seek greater public support, not only for the government, but also for the Mission itself.

References


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