

Konrad
Adenauer Stiftung


Konrad
Adenauer Stiftung

# A SUMMARY OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OF AFGHANISTAN 

Prof. Dr. Sc. Phil. Kabir Ranjbar

## Foreword

The National Center for Policy Research (NCPR) was established on the Campus of the Kabul University in May 2003, to serve as a research and training facility in the fields of Law \& Political Science, Economics, and Social Sciences. Bringing together Afghan expertise and international experience, the NCPR provides a forum for discussion of and research into policy related subjects in these fields.

It is a special pleasure to introduce Dr. Kabir Ranjbar, a regular working partner of the NCPR, and his essay of recommendations. Dr. Ranjbar was born in 1943 in Kabul. In the recent Afghan Parliamentary elections of September 2005, he was elected to the Wolesi Jirga from the province of Kabul. Prior to being elected to the Lower House, Dr. Ranjbar served as the Head of the Lawyers Union and currently he is the Head of the Central Auditing and Monitoring of the Law Commission of the Wolesi Jirga.

Dr. Ranjbar argues that in order to have good security in the country, first of all a weapons law is a must and after that comes the collection of weapons with the help of a special unit, prosecution of violators, and to take preventive measures for the future, the National Directorate of Security and the Police force should be made professional. Dr. Ranjbar also provides his recommendations on how to have a good administration, how to improve the economy, the culture and the society, how to improve the housing dilemma and how best to improve the issue of land ownership. He also has recommendations for finding work for the unemployed, and for the issues of refugees, nomads, narcotics, the retirees and the foreign policy issue of Afghanistan.

I am grateful to him for writing these recommendations, thus allowing all those interested in the further development of Afghanistan to once again tap into his vast expertise.

Dr. Babak Khalatbari<br>Resident Representative to Afghanistan<br>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

# (IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MOST COMPASIONATE the MOST MERCIFUL) 

## FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE PARLIAMENTERIAN, NATIONAL FORCES, AND EDMOCRATIC GROUPS OF AFGHANISTAN

The parliament of Afghanistan resumed its work after a long standstill period of 32 years, with the grace and merci of Allah. As a result of the election conducted on the 27th of the month of Sunbula 1384, a parliament was established with a very heterogeneous structure with respect to political, racial, and other characteristics. Due to this heterogeneous structure, most local and foreign experts have pessimistic conceptions about the parliament of Afghanistan, and they predict the possibility of the parliament transformation in to a centre for racial, lingual, regional, and religious lengthy struggles and tensions. To indicate their awareness and expertise to their constituencies and to the world, the representatives of the oppressed nation of Afghanistan should convert the parliament into savior of the country from the recent three decades of crisis and an effective factor of peace, stability, socio-economic and cultural growth. To achieve this goal, it requires that an active majority consolidated into one parliamentary group formed from the national and democratic forces.

## ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

The parliamentary group of the national and democratic forces composed of independent national characters and members of the political parties, which are registered with the ministry of justice, and are elected by the people as members of the parliament.

## THE STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS ESTABLISHMENT IS SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

1- The national and democratic parliamentary group is created for the purpose of uniting national personalities, tribal personalities, and those members of the parliament, who believe indemocracy.
2- All those members of the parliament who agree with the objectives of this group and whoare free from the tribal, lingual, regional, religious, and gender discrimination can voluntarily become a member of this group.
3- All member of this group shall have equal rights regardless of their previous or cur rent links, and all members shall have equal rights and responsibilities without any kind of discrimination.

4- The executive of this group shall be composed of the president, three vice presidents, and asecretary. In a general-body meeting, at least two-third of them will be democrat ically elected on the basis of their merit, determined standards, equal rights, and unprej udiced regardless of their previous and current connections with political and Jehadi parties.

## OBJECTIVES:

While members of this group maintain their independence and freedom of membership to organizations and political parties outside the parliament, they shall remain united in their parliamentary activities on the basis of following objectives:

1- Decisive support of the popular process followed by the Afghan government with the help of international community to establish peace, stability, and the settlement of a democratic regime for the creation of a civil society in the country.
2- Supporting plans and provisions corresponded to the values of the holy religion of Islam, constitution, demands and interest of the Afghanistan people.
3- To raise the voice of the Afghan people in the parliament and to defend their rightful demands in all aspects of economic, social, and cultural life.
4- To co-operate in making plans for economic, social, and cultural development in Afghanistan, and to achieve that goal the group shall notify government authorities of their deficiencies.

5- To contravene those actions and performances of the government authorities which are in conflict with the national interest and demands of the Afghan people.
6- An earnest struggle towards establishment of peace, stability, and the solidity of national unity of tribes whom are brothers to one another and whom are equal.
7- standing with forces taken arm against government and struggle to include them in the political process by abstaining from war and participating in political-parties' open activities according to the constitution and other pertinent laws of Afghanistan.
8- Struggle to pass bills that can facilitate the achievement of the above-mentioned objectives.

Note: All representatives whom agree with this recall and the summary of plans for the socioeconomic and cultural development of Afghanistan and whom voluntarily want to become a member of the parliamentarian group of national and democratic forces, please sign the relevant introduction form. Suggestions and recommendations of members with respect to the improvement and completion of this recall and the plan design will be assessed in a free and democratic environment in one of the first few formal sessions.

## CONTENTS

TITLE PAGENO
Summary of the economic, social, and cultural development program of Afghanistan ..... -1
Security ..... -4
Administrative reform ..... -5
Economic program ..... -6
In the cultural area ..... 10
The dilemma of the handicapped and disables ..... 12
Survivors of the martyrs and children without guardians ..... 13
The government employees ..... 13
The lack of shelter issue ..... 13
The property issue ..... 14
Unemployment ..... 15
The problem of refugees, returnees and displaced ..... 15
Issue of the kochies (nomads) ..... 18
Narcotic substances ..... 19
Retirees ..... 20
In the area of foreign policy ..... 20

## SUMMARY OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CUTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OF AFGHANISTAN

Any government that plans for socio- economic, and cultural development, considers the national and international special conditions, and specifies its' priorities before anything else.

With respect to the internal situation of Afghanistan, it is very important to specify the position of the country in accordance with the level of development in various economic and socio-cultural sectors.

Based on my evaluation, Afghan society is in the primary stage of developing capitalistic relationships. Remnants of the socio-economic relationships of the pre capitalistic societies, especially institutions and their superficial ideas, have been kept at full strength in Afghanistan. The extensive use of backward tools and equipments in agriculture and the use of livestock for cultivation and transportation of goods and people, in today's Afghanistan, have been kept the same as our ancestors used them thousands of years ago, and also survivors of a huge production of traditional handicraft products in our daily needed materials show horrendous economic backwardness of the country in twenty first century. Not completing the process of the formation of a prominent countrywide structure has been the main factor to keep the institutions and ideology of pre-capitalistic societies; caused the survivors of ethnic and tribal relationships and middle-aged traditions which are the main obstacles of rapid development in capitalistic relationships, formation of the Afghan nation, and consolidation of the national unity of the country.

Nowadays Afghanistan has a better position in international relationship than any other time. Some countries of the world have rushed to Afghanistan to help Afghans defeating the terrorism and survivors of the totalitarian regimes to stand democratic governance and establish a civil society for the people of this country. These assistances help in securing peace and stability in Afghanistan, region, and the world and are in complete conformity with the national interest of these countries. The role of international factors in the political and economical life of Afghanistan in the past three decades have been very crucial and especially became more prominent after the fall of the Tailbone. Unfortunately, the helping countries came to Afghanistan with the already made version of political and economic plans that do not comply with realities of the Afghan society. They follow the footsteps of their predecessor in the way of bringing peace. With out any short fall and from a different angle, they make the same mistakes made by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. If the Soviet Union, in the political arena, relied on the left-winger forces, segregated in Afghan society, today the allied countries specially the United State of America rely on the right winger fundamentalist forces, which are more rejected, of the Afghan Society. In any case and at both history junctures the vast masses of the

Afghan people have been forgotten and driven to the margins, and this very fact was the main factor of the Soviet Unions defeat in Afghanistan. Under the current circumstances in the country, unless there is a fundamental policy reform, I do not see any better consequences for the Afghan politicians either. The Economic policy of the Soviet Union was based on the planned economy and the government interference in Afghan society's economic life. It was an alreadymade plan imported to Afghanistan that in the primary stages of establishing economic infrastructures (building roads, communication, transport, energy resources, irrigation networks, etc) had a positive and progressive role, but in the later stages it changed to an impediment factor of the economic and social rapid development.

The transition of the economic plans of Afghanistan to the extreme pole of unstrained liberal market economy does not match with the current realities of the semi-natural and semi-goods economical relationships of families and tribes of the Afghan society. The continuity of this economic policy caused the unilateral relative development of the commercial sectors during the past four years; and has been a serious obstacle for the development of agricultural products sectors, livestock, and national industries sectors, and itself going to be changed into one the main factors of major social and political crises. Because this policy extends the difference of living level between a small percentage of rich people and a poor majority, which entails the discontentment of different people from the government.

Considering the above matters, I would like to propose some points, in a concise form of formulated thesis, on the basis of serious contemplation of priorities to the government for political, economic, social, and cultural programs:

In present condition, two of the principles that have been considered in The Bonn Agreement too, are of great importance. These two principles are security and administrative reform. Unfortunately, these two principles that are the main provisions of reality of democratization of political, social, and economic life of the Afghan society, as a result of ill-founded collusions with forces that are the main factors of insecurity and the existence of corrupted and morbid administration, are driven to the margin. As a result of that, the path to the goal of the structuralization of stability, security, and settlement of a democratic regime for the creation of a civil society, turned into a long route full of curvatures and difficulties.

After the collapse of the Taliban regime, the members of Jehadi parties obstinately and rapidly occupied the government offices in the capital and provinces. The big part of these booties became the property of those groups who entered the capital soon after the collapse of the Taliban regime. The militias belonging to those Jehadi parties, who have been disarmed by the Taliban in the second half of the year 1370(1991), were again inconceivably and rapidly armed
by usurpation of the government military depots. Central and local offices all over the country, much like the years 1375-1371(1992-1996), divided between the Jehadi parties - the central government continued its' symbolic existence. This status, unfortunately, was kept the same after the transmission of power to the interim government. So far no serious steps have been taken to create a professional and functional administration in the country.

There are practically hundreds of regional powers in the country that have relations with bigger powers and the central government has not been able to demolish these regional powers in Afghanistan. The world community and the government of Afghanistan ignoring the fact that the entire sovereignty of government is not available even in the capital, how it can be extended to the provinces while the powerful warlords vastly ignore the government laws. This situation is visible in all government departments especially and impudently in judicial bodies of the country. A government employee does whatever he/she wishes to do in the field of his/her work. And even in some cases the presidential decrees are ignored. The reason is that important and key persons of the government machineries somehow related to different powers and are protected by them. The standard for this protection is only ethnic and political relation and no merit is considered at all.

All of the power centres have reservoirs of weapons and illegal militias who are engaged in oppressing Afghan people in many ways and are busy with looting and accumulating movable and immovable properties of the government, public, and defenseless citizens of the country. The powerful warlords use the government machine to their own interest and make the vast masses of people helpless.

The people of Afghanistan were waiting patiently for the chances, in which they could see changes after the reality of Bonn agreement articles in the emergency Loya Jjirga, the constitution Loya Jirga, and at last the presidential election, so that all these changes would apply lawfulness and social justice in the country. But day after day the situation is getting worse and no steps were taken for the amendment and betterment of this situation. The people of Afghanistan, who do not have elsewhere to seek help from, are completely hopeless and disappointed. This hopelessness causes and extends the distance between the government and the vast majority of Afghan people, and the enemies of peace, stability, and democracy in Afghanistan take advantage of this situation. Due to this, relative to the distance people assumed from the government, the destructive operations of anti-government elements further extended. In other words, the strength of the anti-government elements and the extension of their activities are the regular result of the profound discontentment of people that consequently deprive government from their support. If the ruling circles of government consider the interest of the segregated limited groups and forget the fate-determination role of the vast masses of people for the preservation or decadence of the power, they have not taken their lesson from the history of the country, especially the recent
three decades' events, and a painful conclusion is waiting for them. In other words in the present situation, when people do not take part in the political activities that means the government does not have the support of people. Lack of the peoples support for the government means the start of power crises in the ruling circles and the creation of optimum conditions for the growth and spread of anti current regime activities among people.

Continuity of the present policy, as I predicted in my articles in Erada paper, 17th Aqrab 1382, titled; "a short account of the difficulties during the transition period" and Anees paper, 8th Saratan 1383, titled "what should be done?" it will take the situation to a stage that neither the Afghan government nor the world community would be able to control it.

Currently, lack of the possibility of the administrative reform based on the principles of merit, purity, piety, and the priority of social and national interest over personal and group interest, was caused by weakness of the government to insure stability and security in the country. In my opinion, securing lawfulness, peace, stability, and constant security in the country, can only be possible via demolition of numerous power centers and the creation of a healthy administration and a powerful central government. Therefore, I propose that before the situation in Afghanistan moves further towards becoming similar to Iraq, the government must, as soon as possible, take the steps as follows:

## FIRST - SECURITY:

In my opinion, in order to ensure the security the following plans and programs are considered necessary:

A: The government must make provisions to adopt the bill for carrying, keeping or using a gun, through the parliament of Afghanistan, in which the following principles are to be considered:

1- All persons and armed militia groups are bound to surrender their weapons to the dele gations of ministry of defense in all provinces within four months from the approval date of this program.
2- In process of collecting weapons under the above-mentioned program, privileges must not be given to any person or a specific group. The principle of equality should be consieredas per the law for all citizens.
3- Violators, without considering their social, political, or government status, must betaken to the Military Court as war criminals.
4- Cash penalties and punishment should be considered in the law for the violators.In the mentioned law, an independent brigade of aerial and land forces equipped with modern military equipments has to be considered for the pursuing and implementation of this program in the future.

5- In the mentioned law, an independent brigade of aerial and land forces equipped with modern military equipments has to be considered for the pursuing and implementation of this program in the future.

B: The government should again apply the Obligatory Military Services for the qualified youth of the country and should add it in Military Obligatory Law. Obligatory military service within the lines of the military forces of Afghanistan has a traditional history and it was good mental and physical training school for the youth. Using this method, the creation of a national army has the following positive results:

1- Most of the illiterate youth get literacy and change into powerful men, physical and mental wise.

2- The required number of soldiers of the National Army of Afghanistan will be completed this way within six months and no part of the ANT would be lacking people in their structure.

3- In the near future Afghanistan itself using its internal resources will be independently able to pay the expenses of such an army with out seeking help from the world community. However, at the present time we see that Afghanistan is not going to be able for a long time to create and maintain an army of professional soldiers with out outside assistance. Even if such an army were created, keeping such an army would not be within the resource limits of a poor country like Afghanistan when the foreign assistance is stopped.

C: The ministries of defense, interior, and the national security department must invite all educated army officers, police and national security officers, from outside and inside the country (provided they are not over sixty years of age) without any kind of discrimination, to voluntarily return to their jobs. Using this kind of a presumptuous political step would result, within six months, in the formation of the national army and police in conformity with today's difficult conditions in Afghanistan. Over ninety percent of professional and experienced cadres are discriminated against and not employed due to the preservation of the cold war psychology. Appointing such individuals would enable Afghanistan, within a year, to gain complete control of the situation in relation to the terrorism network, the espionage of foreign countries, and the narcotic mafia.

D: For the sake of training youth, the military high school, the military university, the technical academy, and the military aviation university must be reopened, as soon as possible, and the retired instructors of those institutions should be fully utilized. In addition the police academy must be better supported. For the training of experienced national security staff, a special academy must be established. To raise the knowledge level of the current officers, there should be short and long term courses in a systematic fashion every year

## SECOND - ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM:

Administration is counted as the main column of the government body in a country. Without administration the government loses its existence. Also the quality of administration has a determinant role in the weakness, backwardness, or rapid development and power of a government. With relation to this, in my opinion, under the current conditions, the administrative reform of the executive and judicial bodies of the country is a priority that does not accept postponement.

## Content of the Administrative Reform is summarized in three issues below:

A: The structure of the cabinet and its' relevant central and local offices should be sufficient for the requirements of the economic, social, and cultural development level of the Afghan society. In other words, the number of ministries and the bulk of their related sub-departments should be limited to the level of the needs of the present situation of the country to avoid misunderstandings of the different work functions and increase the quality of the work. A small but active and efficient cabinet, with reconstructed central and local departments, would reduce the big expenses of the currently distended government machine, and make the possibility of maximum usage of the limited expert cadre resources of the country. At the same time, the current salary of tens of thousands of the present government employees who lose their jobs by decrease of the structures should be paid for three years. During this period, the government should provide training courses or vocational training for those employees who lost their jobs, and create new job opportunities in accordance with the new requirements of government departments or private enterprises.

B: Construction of buildings and providing work tools using contemporary technology, in harmony with development of the human resources, for maximum utilization is very important. It would not be acceptable, by no means, that the departments with first level of importance does not have suitable buildings and necessary equipments, while departments with second or third level of importance have better buildings and equipped with facilities beyond their utilization limits.

C: The maximum utilization of the available cadres is one of the fundamental responsibilities of the government. At this time, there are enough cadres and experts in economic, social, and cultural areas. Also, there are enough cadres and experts in the army, police, and national security fields available in the country. Unfortunately, due to the discriminatory encounter with them, clearly against the article number fiftieth of the constitution and contrary to the universal declaration of human rights, the vast majority of them are unemployed or peddling on the city streets in order to
provide for their families' and their own livelihood. " The citizens of Afghanistan, are entitled
to be employed for the government services according to the law, on the basis of their merit, and without any discrimination", confirmed at the end of article number fiftieth of The Constitution. The second paragraph of article number 21 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says: "Every one has the equal right, under the same circumstances and provisions, to be employed for the service of the government in his/her own country." The vast majority of the available professional civil and military cadres in our country are those who have been serving the country under the previous different governments. Ninety nine percent of those who were discriminated against have not taken any personal advantage from the government offices and honestly worked for the people during their services. The discrimination against such people had a very negative impact on expedition of the economic, social, cultural, and rapid establishment of the security in the country. By observing this situation, tens of thousands of the expatriated experts are reluctant to return to the country and they are waiting to see the ice is broken and the prevailed psychology of cold war eliminated from Afghanistan.

In my idea, in all affaires especially the utilization of cadres, except for the principle of obeying the law and merit no other consideration should be considered. As an example, with respect to the lack of rational utilization of national cadres, it is really abasing for the parliament or for the country, that a member of parliament from Bangladesh or some other country comes and teaches the parliamentarian affairs to the Afghan MPs as school students. Whereas we have scholars, in and outside the Afghan parliament, much better able to perform the task in the mother language of MPs and in accordance to the highest standards of the world. How much money from the friendly countries' assistance was spent on these foreign teachers? The answer to that question is interesting.

D: Systematic training of the available experts and specialists and their acquaintance with the latest scientific and technical advancements are very important. The government must pay a lot of attention to this matter. Improvement of the professional level of the available cadre and training of new young cadres must be complementary to each other.

## THIRD - ECONOMIC PROGRAM:

Article number ten of the constitution confirms the principle of market economy, but it does not necessarily means its complete existence under the current conditions. Propounding this principal purports to a fundamental goal for the economical plan of the government, and to reach this goal the required necessary ground must be prepared. If we just sit and do nothing, so that the economic market operates automatically based on the principles of demand and supply, and thinking that interference of government is against this principal, we have done a big mistake. As I pointed out earlier, Afghanistan is in the stage of passing from the remain semi tribal natural goods economy to a developed and capitalistic economy. If the government does not extend
serious help to speed up this passage, this process would become very lengthy, full of pain and torments and even social explosion may occur. Whereas, in article number 43 of the Afghan constitution the element of compulsory intermediate education is confirmed, it does not purport its immediate materialization, but it has been propounded as a fundamental goal in the field of education. To reach this goal, there is a long way to go and preparations have to be made. Therefore, under the current conditions of Afghanistan, in my opinion, for the preparation of grounds for the developed market economy, the government's limited interference in the following economical affairs is deemed necessary:

A - Economic infrastructure (communications, water dams, irrigation network, transportation, sources of energy and etc) of Afghanistan has been completely devastated as a result of 25 years war. Building and developing economical infrastructure, strong enough to match today's needs, requires big investments. And return of the invested money in the areas of economical infrastructures needs a longer period of time. On the other hand, local and foreign enterprises will not make big investments in any country unless there is a reliable security and stability in that country. They have a tendency towards investing in the areas of local and foreign trades and light-industries where the investment cycle is quick and in a short period of time high profit is yielded. Whereas, building economical infrastructures provide appropriate climate for the investment of local and external enterprises and guarantees a quick economic growth rate. Therefore, building economic infrastructure is the priority of development plan of any country of the world and without it its' economy vehicle does not move.

Unfortunately, in Afghanistan, during the past four years, the smallest attention has not been paid to this basic principle of economic policy, and the ruling circles looked forward to the application of the market economy principals and waited to see local and foreign capitals to be poured in to the economic infrastructures of the country. But, in the absence of a national countrywide developed market, the application of rule of law without its' oscillations will be an unrealistic and imaginary expectation. Under the current conditions in Afghanistan a favourable ground must be prepared for the quick development of the capitalistic relationships by breaking the remaining chains of natural and tribal-ethnic semi-goods economic relationships as soon as possible. Achieving this goal, in today's Afghanistan, is only possible via attracting the world community's assistance for the construction of the economic infrastructure within the framework of the government sector of Afghanistan. The government by building roads, railways, bridges, ports, dams, irrigation networks, and advanced communications, in fact, helps the private sector in different arenas of investment and expedites its' development in different arenas. The government share of the economic infrastructure is still perceptible in developed countries, while in the countries which are in the primary levels of developing capitalistic relationship, it is a must. In the Great Britain, the government relinquished its' ownership of the railways and it
became the property of a private sector only in the last decade during the government of Margaret Thatcher. The French government still has a share in the air transportation, and there are many examples of this kind in other countries of the world. In summary, today Afghanistan is at the centre of the world- community's attention and the government is obliged to utilize this great chance and should use the aids of the friendly countries courageously in the field of economy to quickly build the economic infrastructure before anything else.

B: The central bank's control over private banks and the monetary policy of the country must be strengthened. Today, a majority of private banks increase their profit to the maximum level and pay less attention to the national interest of the country. Some of these banks changed into formal and legal means of escaping money from the country. If the central bank ignores money laundry and different other illegal activities conducted in private banks, at least by the law it should stop the unfounded escape of foreign currencies from the country. The government should seriously take actions regarding any illegal economic activities that affect the economy of the country negatively. Until the government solves these problems completely, it at least can stop fleeing of the money that goes out of the country through these channels.

As I believe the investors should be encouraged to invest their money inside the country as oppose to investing their money abroad and if it happens they shouldn't be asked for the source of their money until the year 2010 .

Inflation and the hike in prices is something usual in any condition especially in the countries that step towards development, and harnessing it within a reasonable limit and changing it to one of the acceleration factors of the economy growth rate depends on the expertise and skillfulness of the central bank. During the past four years, prices of the basic and primarily needed goods such as wheat, sugar, meat, wood, kerosene, diesel, petroleum, liquid gas etc have gone up by 200-400 \%, and this is not acceptable by any means. This situation caused the people hate the government and affected many poor citizens especially those who are unemployed or have a stable income like teachers and government employees.

The central bank should stop, as soon as possible, the printing of excess bank notes, currency inflation and the unbridled credit of government and this action should be adjusted and limited in accordance to accurate standards and particular situation of the country. Today, $90 \%$ of Afghan people live in a level below the poverty line and are not able to pay for the primary needs of their lives. In other words, they are in different levels of poverty. This situation caused a deep dissatisfaction of people from the government.

In the primary levels of developing market-economy, some of the big merchants monopolize the business of primarily needed goods that bring them huge profits, and they determine prices based on their own opinion and approbation. Due to the weakness of central government and
the existence of numerous power centres, big merchants cruelly loot consumers and drive huge masses of people to poverty and misery. For fighting against monopoly of buying, selling, producing goods and services, a bill should be passed as soon as possible. By legal enquiries of these merchants and investors who are acting against our national interest, and by charging heavy fines and ruling different prison terms for violators the chaotic and obstinacy in the market will be controlled. Moreover, one of the important and legitimate tools in the transition stage from the remains of the tribal-natural and semi-goods backward economy to the advanced capitalistic relationship is the government intervention in market transactions. Besides controlling currency inflation, the government should also control the unfounded and unnatural hike of market prices via competition with private sectors for providing primarily needed goods like wheat, sugar, edible oil, salt, matches, soap, petroleum, diesel, kerosene, and liquid gas.

The government intervention in the market by supplying goods does not comply with the rules and regulation of market economy, albeit its' interference via supplying money to the market is more harmful. Every month the central bank sells 40 million USD to the money exchange market of Kabul so it can artificially stabilize the currency exchange rate commensurate with other goods' price hike. But, if this intervention of the central bank in the money market stops, it will lead to an economy explosion crisis in the future. This policy of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which is implemented on Afghanistan has been tested in other countries, including Russia too, had economic crises in consequences, because artificial control of the foreign currency rates, will lead the country to become a market of foreign products. The cost of all materials which are mostly imported in Afghanistan are dictated and raised by only a few traders, because of non existence of a country wide developed market, limitations on bulk of offer and demand, and non existence of a competition in the market and it will keep hiking as time elapses. In other words, the Afghan currency loses its' value against goods as time passes, but the central bank artificially stabilizes its' value against foreign currencies. Based on my assessment, in the beginning of year 2007, considering the amount of increase in cost of basic necessities of households during the last four years, the actual value of 1 USD was 250Afs. However, during this entire time the value of dollar by supplying big amount of it by the central bank was artificially kept in the area of 48 to 50 Afs . In other words, the government has given a subsidy of 200 Afs for every dollar merchants purchased. With the government subsidized cheap dollar acquired from the market, Afghan merchants buy ready made goods from foreign countries and import them to the country with a lot of profit gain. To the contrary, local production cost, due to the increase of raw material prices and experts wages, has risen to such a degree that it is not able to compete with the similar product of other countries in the national and international market. In this way, the balance of foreign trade deficit becomes more profound. The best example is Afghanistan's trade with the neighboring countries, Pakistan and Iran.

These countries take advantage of the situation in Afghanistan and increase the price of their goods, among them the highly demanded construction materials, in a systematic, tyrant, and
plunderer fashion. The huge deficit of trade balance of Afghanistan with Iran and Pakistan is mainly due to unilateral trading with these countries.

As I believe, the failed monetary and fiscal policy of Afghanistan should be terminated as soon as possible because it unilaterally increases trading and prevents production in the country's economy and changes Afghanistan to a market for selling foreign products especially neighbouring countries goods. It is necessary that, as soon as possible, by introducing a reasonable mechanism for taxation of imported goods, the government should protect the national industrial and agricultural products. The taxation policy protects local production and is considered one of the main factors of rapid development of investment in Afghanistan. On the other hand, there is a need for creation of an investment fund through the Afghanistan chamber of commerce, which could attract grants or interest-free loans from the friendly countries. Local producers, especially small and medium producers, should be able to easily acquire interest free loans, or at the rate of two to three percent interest at the most, from that fund.

In this way, in the very near future, an optimum condition will appear for the advent of a strong middle class in Afghanistan, and consequently creates a positive effect towards producing an affinity to be moderate in the political arena. As a result in the current transitional period, I would like to summarize my suggestions about the design of a market economy strategy for Afghanistan as follows:

1 - Eliminate imbalance in growth of private sector between commerce and products via gov ernment investment in building production infrastructure, create a tax protection policyi norder to protect national investors in the areas of production, and enactment of reasonable taxes on imported goods where similar goods of the same quality are already produced within the country.

2- Elimination of the monopoly way of buying and selling goods, especially buying of agricultural products for export and selling of imported basic materials and social services via government competition in the market.

3- Protection of the poor class of society by the righteous distribution of national revenue.

4 - Elimination of unemployment and poverty via government investments in creation of a wide network of technological institutions, as well as short and long term courses for the training of skilled workers to build economical infrastructures and produce goods that private enter prises do not have interest in, or do not have
financial resources to invest in. Lack of immediate attention to the fate of 2.5 million employable persons that makes a huge army of unemployed, around $30 \%$ of employable manpower, causes people's severe dissatisfaction with government and provides the ground for expansion
of war and instability of Afghanistan. At the end, it must be told that under the current condition of transient Afghanistan, the liberals' economic strategy is far from the realistic needs of the Afghan society. Introduction of such a strategy will widen the gap between the living standard of a wealthy minority and dissolute majority of the Afghan society, and the result will lead to a social crises and even a social blast.

As I believe, during the transition from a primary level of capitalistic relationships to an advanced relationship of goods and capitalism, the economic strategy of social free enterprise system, while giving special consideration to conditions and essential reforms of the Afghan society, is the only reasonable and effective alternative.

The social-free-market is an economic strategy that has proven its rightfulness in the lives of a number of countries including federal Germany and Austria. However, under the circumstances of backward countries, especially like Afghanistan where war and insecurity is expanding in it, the social elements of it should be stronger coinciding the government investments in trading and production.In case of lack of attention to the abovementioned suggestions, the government current crises (political, economic, social, and security crises), signs of which is more visible since the beginning of the year 2006, will change into a serious discontentment of more than 90 percent of Afghan society. This very fact deprives the government of support from the vast masses of people, moreover, will extend military operations of the government oppositions and increase the effect of fundamentalistic ideology all over the country.

## FOURTH - IN THE CULTURAL AREA:

In the cultural plan, the literacy network extension has a very important role. Today, approximately 30 percent of Afghans enjoy the blessing of literacy. Providing literacy program for the remaining 70 percent of Afghanistan population should be taken care of based on an accurate and scientific program at least within next ten years. Implementation of article number 43 of the constitution about ensuring the compulsory secondary education depends on the provision of the facilities. However, it will be necessary to design a serious and practical plan to achieve this goal. With respect to this matter, it should be stressed that more attention has to be paid to the education of females, and for the improvement of public awareness there is need of a widespread program on equality of education for boys and girls implemented by the government, civil societies and mass media of the country.

In present situation, there is a great need for the creation of a countrywide network of technical institutions and training courses for skilled workers in different fields such as building construction, road construction, telecommunication, dams construction, irrigation canals construction, transportation, mines, power, gas, industries and etc, prior to any other actions, for the reconstruction
of our ruined country. The creation of such an educational network would provide jobs for over 2.5 million unemployed people in Afghanistan, and it would encourage Afghan refugees to return home and consequently would confine the import of foreign skilled workers by time passing. Solving the unemployment problem has a tremendous positive effect in terms of the support government would receive from the people, moreover, it may increase the economic, social, and cultural growth rate of Afghanistan and it also help drastically strengthen peace and stability in the country.

Under the current conditions, it would not be in the interest of the country to have one university in every province. Because shortage of instructors would lower the specialty knowledge of students, and could be considered a waste of time for the youth of the country. Limiting the number of universities to three or four and on the other hand improving capacities and the level of education and professionalism in them by applying the new contemporary curriculum will all ascend the professional level of education and as well as provides quick employment for them. In the training scheme for the national cadres special attention must be paid to the training of female doctors, especially in the field of gynecology in order to minimize mother and child mortality rates at birth, as a first priority in the cultural plan of the government.

Creating vocational schools in; music, theatre, cinematography, drawing, painting, statue carving, miniature, calligraphy, and handicraft would help to preserve the artistic tradition and develop young talents in acquiring the world's contemporary arts. If the government pays attention to fine arts in which the Afghans have talent of their ancestors, it will glitters the Afghans culture like the civilizations of the Koshani and Temuri era and flourish humanity culture more and more as time passes.

Paying attention to the research centers especially the science academy of Afghanistan, and return of archeological researchers back to Kabul museum, will help and ensure monitoring the government in scientific arenas of different programs developments of Afghanistan by Afghan professionals in accordance with the situation of Afghanistan in the future.

In the area of ancient traces preservation, the government should as soon as possible ban unofficial excavations, removal and smuggling of ancient traces of Afghanistan by the enemies of our national ancient culture. In this matter, provincial governors should be tasked more seriously to maintain ancient traces, and there should be heavier penalties, within the law of preservation of ancient traces, for the violators of the law of preservation of ancient traces.
Conservation of environment is one of the first duties of the government and people of Afghanistan. By elimination of numerous power centers through confiscation of weapons, a strong central government, establishment of lawfulness within the country, and consequently the prevention of illegal cutting of jungles, non-professional usage of mines, water sheds, pas-
tures and agricultural lands would all be achieved. In the near future, the wild and natural beauty of Afghanistan would cause a flood of tourists pouring into the country, and the tourism industry would be developed into a rich source of the national revenue in Afghanistan. Related to this, the conservation of environment must be developed into a national idea and a universal slogan for the people of Afghanistan. The government, the civil society, and the mass media should include some organized programs within their work frame to enhance the awareness of people of the country.

## FIFTH - IN THE SOCIAL AREA:

In the social area, first of all the government should determine the exact number of the population of the country with all main specifics. The information about main specifics of the country citizens should include; permanent and present residences, gender, age, literacy, level and field of education, and health clearance. The ethnic
relations should not be included in the characteristics stipulated in the citizenship documents so that only having an Afghan identification would create national pride
and unity among all the people of Afghanistan. Perceiving these matters, makes the whole government plans extremely precise and goal oriented in the economic, social, and cultural areas and the local and foreign traders know their market limits and amount and type their investment. Determining the number and residents of citizens, makes clarity for accurate participation of each contingency and the Kochies (nomads) in the districts council, provincial councils, so that a part of the difficulties of the next coming elections would be solved in this way. The registration of the citizens and distribution of ID cards for every citizen is one of the priorities of the country that has to occur coincide with the collecting process of the weapons as soon as possible.

Among the abundant social problems, I am going to briefly point out some of them that require immediate attention:

## A - THE HANDICAPS AND DISABLED ISSUE:

Due to the lack of exact statistics, the estimated number of handicaps and disabled affected by the 25 years of war is around one million people. Paying serious attention to their problems is a religious and moral duty of the government. Prior to everything else, via registration and enumeration process of the country's population based on Tazkara (identity cards), the exact number of handicaps and disabled should be specified. Moreover, with respect to intensity of their disability all of them should be categorized and divided into three grades:

1- First-degree handicaps and disabled are those who have completely lost the ability to work and have no source of income for living. The government is obliged to facilitate different kinds of assistances and services including building a network of specialized hostels in all provinces of the country so that it can solve this social problem in a justly manner.

2- Second-degree handicaps and disabled are those who have partially lost the ability to work. The government should make provisions to provide them with job opportunity in different economic, social, and cultural sectors in such a way that their partial ability is utilizedtothe maximum potential and enable them to earn some money for their livelihood. The government should facilitate monthly assistance to them in order to solve the deduc tions of their first needs.

3- Third-degree handicaps and disabled are those persons who have the complete ability to work in some areas of production or non-physical jobs. Government should provide them with employment opportunity in the areas that this category of citizens is capable of work so that they can meet their complete needs themselves.

## B - SURVIVORS OF MARTYRS AND CHILDREN WITHOUT GUARDIANS:

The survivors of people who were martyred in the 25 years war regardless of what government department they belonged to should be paid attention to by the government. The government should at least prioritize them for acquiring employment and accommodations. But, with respect to the children without guardians, government is required to build a network of nurseries, kindergartens, and schools with boys and girl's hostels in all provinces and it should watch their physical and mental trainings until they graduate from the school. Attention to this matter would solemnly help the enhancement of the moral and security of the society as whole. Otherwise, Afghanistan's unguarded children with a number exceeding tens of thousand, sixty thousands in the city of Kabul alone, are loitering on the streets begging and doing odd jobs for living. Eventually, this would be changed in to a serious source of crimes and different social illnesses.

## C - THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES:

The situation of the teachers and government employees in civil and military fields need urgent attention, which is the main responsibility of the government. In addition to finding resolutions to solve the shelter problems of this important class of the society, the government should, as soon as possible, act to raise the salaries of the employees as teachers, and other civil employees at
least to the level of sufficiency for a family. Since the competition principles, due to the lack of required growth of capitalistic relationship in Afghanistan, does not operate the same as it does act in advanced countries, the market of basic needs materials for the citizens as; liquid gas, petroleum, diesel, oil, flour, rice, soap etc are mainly monopolized by a small number of merchants. They increase prices as they wish to the maximum level without considering an equitable profit and that forces teachers and government employees to extra work, side work, bribery and embezzlement to meet their basic needs. Therefore, in order to retain the prices of the primarily needed materials at a reasonable and justly level, the government must intervene in the market as one of the main parties of the transactions and compete with the private sector by supplying these materials. The best way of intervention is the distribution of the first needs materials to the teachers and government employees via issuing coupons. Distribution of free basic materials along with reasonable and appropriate increase of wages would control the market price of those materials and also positively affect the market price of the other commodities to the benefit of consumers. As the living conditions of teachers and government employees get better, the work quality would go higher and one of the main causes of corruption would be eliminated.

## D - LACK OF SHELTER PROBLEM:

Lack of shelter is considered as one of the main problems of today's Afghanistan. Destruction of the villages and cities in the civil war and meanwhile repatriation of millions of Afghan refugees, while every single refugee household has increased to several independent households in the last three decades, have made the lack of shelter a main social problem and requires immediate attention of the government. The government should as soon as possible determine the master plan for Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan to prevent the illegal occupation of the government properties and it should distribute buildings lots and sell apartments on low interest rate installments to the needy ones, to solve the lack of shelter problem.

## E - THE PROPERTY ISSUE:

Along the history, the economy of Afghanistan was based mainly on agriculture and animal husbandry, and therefore the issues related to the lands properties have had a special importance. The government should draft and pass an appropriate and comprehensive bill on the land property ownership affaires and resolution of the existing problems about lands for the stability of the society as a priority.

As I believe, a serious attention to the strength of the legal pillars of the ownership related matters and land relations should be considered as the foundation of the abovementioned program. In other words, approval of laws, regulations and bills that covers all sides of the issue within a
legal principle has a special methodological importance in the programs of government. Due to the shortage of arable lands, the ownership and land's relations in Afghanistan has always been a source of social tensions and chronic litigations. The past twenty five years war have created new problems on this ground that are summarized as follows:

- $\quad$ The weakness and even non-presence of the central government resulted the lack of lawfulness in the country that caused chaos and prevented of the traditional disciplines in all aspects of social life specially the lands property dealings.
- $\quad$ As a result of the destruction of the economic infrastructures in cities and villages, the poverty prevailed and the number of farmers with little land or no land in the villages increased. This situation inflicted a lot of damage to the social justice.
- $\quad$ Migrations and displacement of more than one third of the country's population and the return of several families for every family migrated (due to the population increase), while their land ownership unchanged, increased the problem of land shortage by manifolds.
- Private, public, government, and endowment lands were aggressed and usurped by warlords and gun holders via abusing the government machine, exercising force, and preparing fake documents. In many cases the properties were illegally bought and sold several times and that make the solution of lands litigations extremely complicated.
- The pastures problem, in the past, was a source of convulsion and fights among the tribes. In this last quarter of the century, the pastures problem became such complicated that requires intelligence and endeavor to solve it in a justly manner. The areas traditionally used by the local inhabitants and nomads undergone illegal and willful changes. Lack of serious attention to this problem translates in to keeping the main factors of permanent convulsion and discomfort of the society.
- Landlessness and little land ownership together with water shortage and drought was one of the main factors of poverty, social convulsion, lack of traditional utilization of land, and propagation of the poppy cultivation.
- $\quad$ The administrative corruption in the last decade, especially after the fall of Taliban, spread to the extent that no much has been seen for it in the history of Afghanistan. This fatal phenomenon has taken away people's trust in courts and legal system of Afghanistan for the solution of lands litigations and caused a wide discontentment of people from the government.
- Offices and property documents became an object of embezzlement, forgery, and in
some areas completely destroyed by some bully people.
- $\quad$ Government revenue from properties extremely declined and in some cases property taxes turned to zero. While this area has to be one of the important revenue resources for the government. In my opinion, the sale of government properties especially government lands in conjunction with agricultural and industrial developmental plan, would be one of the biggest sources of government revenue. The gun holders illegally perform this job, which must be prevented seriously, and the perpetrators of this crime should be prosecuted in the court. I will independently present a concise plan of land property issues resolutions, the related issues and their legal basis.


## F - UNEMPLOYMENT:

To day in Afghanistan there are 2.5 million unemployed individuals that makes over 30 percent of employable persons of the Afghan society. Destruction of economic infrastructures and work skills during the past 25 years of civil war along with a low rate of economy growth, and also masses of expatriate returnees makes up the main factors of presence of a huge army of unemployed in Afghanistan.

The government intervention in the process of building economic infrastructures would produce an extended investment ground for the local and foreign enterprises and consequently increases the rate of economic growth by several times. Also, the training of skilled workers via creating an extended network of technical institutes and offering short-term and long-term courses would be considered the main tools to eradicate unemployment in Afghanistan.

## G - THE PROBLEM OF EXPATRIATES, RETURNEES, AND DISPLACED:

The chronic political crises in Afghanistan and the government changes during the last three decades caused a continuous fleeing of different classes of people, particularly intellectuals, out of the country. The wave of these expatriates some times were extensive and massy and other times limited and calm. A few stages could be specified with respect to these migrations.
Mohammad Daud's coup-detat, 26th Saratan 1352 (7th July 1973), motivated a limited number of the royal family intellectuals to immigrate mainly to the United State of America and Europe. Among them were some executive administrators and civil and military experts of the government system who could not compromise with the coup-detat or had previous cold relationship with Mohammad Daud.

After the coup-detat of 7th of SR 1357 (27th April 1978), during Noor Mohammad Taraky and Hafizullah Amin time, a big mass of people including independent intellectuals, teachers, university professors, other cultural educators, different experts, and experienced administrators left the country. They mainly escaped to Pakistan, Iran, European countries, the United States of America, India, and Canada. With respect to the implementation of decrees and reforms, far from the realities of Afghan society, extreme encounters including imprisonments, tortures and executions with out court order, suppression of oppositions by using military forces even air forces, created an extensive discontentment of different classes of Afghanistan people. Tens of thousands people including non-dependant intellectuals, those who related to Parcham side, some people with different way of thought from the Khalq side of the People Democratic party of Afghanistan, were killed without trial or cruelly tortured and imprisoned. These actions prolonged and intensified the wave of immigration of Afghanistan people.

During Babrak Karmal time and first year of Dr. Najibullah rule, the immigration of different classes of people including intellectuals continued without a pause. But this time the process was limited, calm, and not as fast as it was in the past.
At the threshold of complete withdrawal of Soviet Union armed forces from Afghanistan, 26 Dalwa 1367 (15th Feb 1989), a new wave of refugees, specifically intellectuals attached to the government, created and increased in a sensible rate due to the fear of Dr. Najibullah's government fall. After the government forces succeeded to defend Jalalabad, month of Hamal 1368(March 1989), and maintained the government rule over the majority of cities and provincial centers, this process became limited and calm.

At the threshold of Najibullah's government fall, the total number of Afghan refugees in different countries of the world was estimated three millions.

During the years 1358-1371 (1979-1992) the wars were mainly fought in the villages and small towns of Afghanistan. Those wars resulted in destruction of villages, small towns, and villager's casualties and loss of their movable and immovable assets. At last, a huge part of the rural areas of Afghanistan were divided between different Jehadi parties.

After the fall of Dr. Najibullah government, the Jehadi parties in rivalry and animosity with each other shifted the war from villages to cities, until then the cities were intact, and soon they demolished most cities. Among them the city of Kabul and its historical buildings ruined. As a result of these wars, a considerable number of citizens from Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan were wounded, disabled, killed, or lost their houses. This phenomenon, in the year 1370 (1991), was a factor for appearing a massive wave of refugees including intellectuals, and particularly members and sympathizers of the Watan party. The vast majority of these refugees fled to Pakistan, Iran, and Ex-Soviet Union republics. Some of the refugees, either from their asylum countries or directly from Afghanistan, made their way to outlying countries.

The internal displacement and the massive immigration of different classes of society, from coup-detat of 7th Saur 1357 (27th April 1978) to the collapse of the Taliban regime, occurred in such a wide scale that there was no much for it during the past six thousands years long history of Afghanistan and the number of immigrants until the fall of Taliban regime exceeded six million people.

After the formation of the interim government in Jadi of 1380 (September 2001) and the extensive flow of aids from the world society to Afghanistan, the process of massive return of expatriates started. Until the end of year 1384 (beginning of 2006) the total number returnees, mainly from Iran and Pakistan, exceeded three million people.

The return of expatriates propounded the previous problems and created tens of new ones which are shortly listed below:

1- In the absence of expatriates, their movable and immovable assets usurped by the commanders and militias belonged to Jehadi parties.

2- The purchase and sales of expatriates' properties transacted on the basis of forged documents prepared by fraudulent use of government offices.

3- The lack and shortage of land for villagers intensified due to the increase in their number during the past two decades. On average, for every expatriate family three to four fam ilies returned.

4- Destruction of economic infrastructures during the 25 years of war, lack of complete security and consequently unfavorable investment environment, and decrease in capac ities due to the absence of skilled workers resulted in high unemployment rate among returnees.

5- Lack of accommodations due to the increase in population and the destruction of expa triates' houses during the civil wars in their original areas, caused concentration of returnees in cities specifically the capital of the country.

6- Weakness of the central government and the presence of numerous power centers caused the usurpation of the minority tribes' properties in some area, among them in northern part of the country, by commanders and militias attached to different Jehadi parties. Consequently, it forced thousands of families to leave their homes and birthplaces, took shelter in other areas in the country, and composed a big army of displaced citizens.

Resolution of the abovementioned problems need a separate strategic plan, so that according to a time work schedule while specifying the priorities, the refugees and repatriated and internally displaced people would be supported by the assistance of the government. The basic points of this strategy are summarized as:

- $\quad$ According to article (4) clause (5) and article (39) clause (2) of the Afghanistan constitution, the Afghans immigrated to different countries during the past three decades are not deprived from citizenship and the government is obliged to protect their rights out side the country.
- $\quad$ The return of expatriates to the country must be voluntary and without exercising force on them. Since there is no complete security under the current conditions in the country, according to article (14) clause (1) of the world's human right manifesto, no country in the world has the right to force Afghans to return to their country.

Using every legitimate tool, the ministry of foreign affaires and other government authorities, via their foreign agencies, are obliged to prevent such wrongful encounters with Afghans outside the country. The complete return of expatriates have a mutual and unbreakable relationship with the solution of problems experienced by those expatriates retuned to the country during the past four and half years after the collapse of the Taliban regime. More than one million expatriates voluntarily returned to the country, and they faced tons of problems mainly the aforementioned ones. For the solution of these problems, as propounded in this plan in a very compact and thesis fashion, before everything else and as soon as possible, a security program and administrative reform program should be implemented. Without the collection of weapons, a profound administrative reform program that can facilitate a fair solution to the properties problem, the government would never be able to accomplish the security of returnees, and stop the usurpation of their assets and properties by the riflemen and bullies.

The strength of central government and the elimination of numerous power centers can facilitate the uniform and non-discriminated implementation of law over all citizens. A profound reform of the judicial system gains the trust of people on the government and prevails justice.

Implementation of land reclamation via construction of irrigation canals and cultivation of the government lands and distributing them to Kochies (nomads), and the farmers who do not have land and especially the repatriated farmers, will solve most of unemployment problems of the villager families. Also the problems pertaining properties, lack of accommodations and unemployment of returnees and other citizens could be solved by considering the implementation of the abovementioned suggestions.

The problem of displacement is also caused by the weakness of the government and the rule of gun in Afghanistan. If the government postponed implementation of this program, it would not only be able to solve the returnees' problem, but the government crises (political- economiccultural and security crises) will grow more and more.

## H - ISSUE OF THE KOCHIES (nomads):

Based on the statistics of the year (1979) provided by the Central Statistics Office, the total number of nomads in Afghanistan exceeds 2 millions and 472 thousands. Among all provinces, the largest number of nomads was concentrated in the provinces of Ghoor, Kabul, Herat, Badghis, Jauzjan, Baghlan, and Faryab. The fundamental reason for them to be centralized in these provinces was told the appropriate weather for keeping livestock and availability of adequate pastures and grazing lands in those provinces. According to the Central Statistics Office data, 1358 (1979), the Pashtoon nomads exceeded one million and 470 thousands that was 58.8 percent of the total nomad population. The rest of the nomad's population belonged to Char Aymaq, Uzbek, Hazara, Rukhshani, Brahawy, Arab, Moghul, Gojar, Jut, Turkman, Pashayee, and Abash tribes.

The question of nomadic life and the settlement of nomads was one of the main social and economical problems of the Afghan society. For the first time, Amir Abdurahman Khan, end of the 19th century, paid attention to the solution of this problem and settled 63 thousands nomad families in Andkhoy, Sheberghan, and Sar-e-Pul. During the second half of 40ies, 20th century, a considerable number of nomads settled in Hazara Jat and other areas of the country. During the years 1318-1340 (1939-1951), Mohammad Zahir's government settled over six thousands nomad families in Qataghan and Mazar-e-Sharif. In the second half of 40ies, the government of Afghanistan signed an agreement with the United States of America. Based on that agreement, help was sought from the Morison Knudsen Company to build an irrigation canal for the western areas of the country. Prior to this agreement, the government of Mohammad Zahir designed a plan to settle 700 thousands nomads on the lands to became arable. This plan should have been implemented in Helmand valley and Arghandab project, but remained on the papers. Although lands were distributed to a number of nomad families, but due to the lack of government help they were compelled to leave those areas. During the ten years of Mohammad Daud, 1332-1342 (1953-1963), once again the government attention turned to the nomad's issue again. Some of the projects in Paktia, Katawaz, Kunar and etc were considered in the third five years socio-economic development plans in order to settle some other Kochies (nomads) in these areas. These plans also did not bear the necessary results. In the 60ies the nomads problem became further acute, because on one hand the process of classifying nomad tribes got more sounding and on the other hand the cultivated lands were extended by passing every year, and consequently the
pasture areas were getting more limited. After the fall of royal regime, in the year 1352 (1973), the distribution of land to nomads beside other landless and little landowner farmers was confirmed in the land reform law. But, Mohammad Daud's government did not succeed to implement it.

After the 7th Saur 1357 (27th April1978) coup-detat, the destructive civil wars ruined every constructive possibility. In this way, the nomads' problem remained unsolved, and the government of Hamid Karzai inherited it from the previous governments.
The settlement of nomads is the only possible solution to their problem. The government should, as soon as possible, design and execute a special plan with respect to this problem. In this plan, before everything else, an exact statistics of nomads and semi-nomads along with the areas they are moving to must be specified by issuing them Tazkara (identity card) during the population census. Then, some plans should be undertaken to establish an irrigation system for making the government's virgin lands arable in the areas close to the nomads moving path, to distribute the lands to nomads, and to make their settlement possible. On top of that, the Kochies (nomads) who settled in the new lands must be exempted from paying
any kind of taxes on the land and livestock for at least five years. Also, during this time period, government should help them with their needs for seeds, fertilizer, medication for animals and plants diseases. This way, in the 21st. century, finally Afghanistan would be saved from the misery of nomadic desert live of a considerable number of its citizens, and it would succeed to solve its most obstinate and complicated social problems. Solution to the Cochins (nomads) problem would help to speed up the economic and social eye-catching development of the entire country.

## I - NARCOTIC SUBSTANCES:

Cultivation, production, and trafficking of narcotics are one of the main problems of the Afghan society. The grass root solution to this problem is possible by collection of weapons, elimination of numerous power centers, strengthening of the central government, rule of law in the country and resolution of unemployment problem in villages via development of industrial agriculture and land reforms. Meanwhile the government should help provide farmers with their needs for sowing seeds, fertilizer, medication for the animal and plant diseases, and alternative cultivation. These helps should be organized by creation of a special agricultural development fund with extended agencies in the provinces to provide farmers with interest-free credits.

## J - RETIREES:

Retirees are the most deprived people of the Afghan society. The people who have spent most of their life time serving the government, while in elderly age they are being forgotten and are deprived of basic necessities of life. The government should pay a serious attention to solve this issue as soon as possible.

Under the circumstances prevailed after three decades of war where there is no archive and any other documentation left, it is very difficult to determine and categorize the pension of retirees according to the salary they received and the number of years they have served. Therefore, there should be works done with respect to this issue in three arenas:

1- Presently, all retirees must get paid a salary enough to provide them with their minimum needs for goods.

2- A plan should be designed to categorize retirees on the basis of their pre- retirement salary amounts and the number of years they served. This plan should be implemented in three years time, so based on that retirees get the pension pays they are entitled to and social justice being established. In this case too, the pension amount should not be less than the required amount to pay for their minimum needs of goods.

3- For those individuals who are not retired yet and are still working in the government and non-government organizations, using the experience of other countries, retirement plan should be renovated according to the conditions in Afghanistan and the required provisions should be considered and confirmed in the law.

## SIXTH - IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY:

After the incident of 21 Sunbula 1380 (11 September 2001), Afghanistan was placed in the center of the world community attention. Most countries of the world specially the NATO member countries under the leadership of the United State of America, Japan, Australia, and neighboring countries are very seriously interested in friendly relationship with Afghanistan. As a historical and un-matched chance for Afghanistan, they offered their helps for the re-construction of the country. Since the internal resources and capacities in war torn Afghanistan are not suitable for the maximum utilization of the international aids, the majority of the country's achievements in the world's scene after the fall of Taliban indebted to the foreign countries specifically the antiterrorism international coalition. Majority of the foreign affaires personal, and among them the foreign agency workers are non- professional persons. A lot of educated and experienced diplo-
mats of Afghanistan are expatriated, unemployed, or work in marginal positions. The ministry of foreign affaires, same as the whole government machine, requires a re-construction and profound administrative reform. Professional diplomats, experienced experts, and Afghan scholars could adapt the friendly countries' experience with other countries and tailor it in accordance with the particular conditions in Afghanistan. Also, they can attract aids from the world community to fight terrorism and make Afghanistan's economic, social, and cultural development more fruitful on the basis of priorities. Afghan diplomats residing inside and outside of the country must be invited as soon as possible to take active part in reconstruction of the ministry of foreign affairs and its delegation offices outside Afghanistan and fulfill their national responsibility towards their homeland. Afghanistan should expand its relationship with all countries especially those countries helping Afghanistan people to fight against terrorism and against anti democracy groups.

All of the above measures will ensure the social justice and will facilitate the quick socio-economic and cultural development of the country. Consequently, Afghanistan will be changed into a country that will be able to produce most of its first needed commodities and a self-dependant country within the next one and a half decades.

# فشردهيى از برنامه انكشاف <br> اقتصادى، اجتماعىىو فرهنگى افغانستان 

پروفيسور دكتور عبدالكبير رنجبر

## فشرده يى از برنامه انكشاف اقتصادى - اجتماعى و فرهنگیى افغانستان

هرحكومت در برنامه ريزى خو يش به خاطر رشد اقتصادى، اجتماعى و فرهنگى، شرايط و يزه ملى و بين المللى كشور را در نظر گرفته، قبل ازهمه اولو يت هارا مشخص ميسازد.

در ارتباط به شرايط داخلى افغانستان، مشخص ساختن موقعيت كشور از نگاه سطح انكشاف درسكتورهاى مختلف اقتصادى و ساحات اجتماعى - فرهنگى از اهميت زيادى برخودار است

برمبناى ارزيابى من، جامعه افغانى در مرحله ابتدائى رشد مناسبات سرمايه دارى قرار دارد. بقاياى مناسبات اقتصادى - اجتماعى جوامع ماقبل سرمايه دارى وبه ويثه انستيتوت ها و انديشه هاى روبنايى آنها با قوت آن در افغانستان حفظ گرديده اند. استفاده گسترده از ابزار و وسايل توليد بدوى و مواشى در كشاورزى و ترانسپورت كالاها و انسانها درافغانستان امروزى، كه هزارسال قبل نيز اجداد ما از آنها استفاده ميكردند وهمحنیين حغظ سهم قابل مالحظه صنايع دستى عنعنوى درتوليد كالاهاى مورد ضرورت - بيانگر عقب مانى وحشتناك اقتصادى كشور در جهان صده بيست و يكم بوده است. عدم تكميل پروسه تشكل بازار سراسرى ملى، عامل عمده حفظ انستتيوت ها وانديشه هاى جوامع ماقبل سرمايه دارى و باعث حفظ روابط قومى، قبيلوى و رسم و رواج ها وعنعنات مردود قرون وسطايى وضد بشرى در افغانستان و مانع عمده رشد سريع مناسبات سرمايه دارى وتكميل پروسه تشكل ملت افغان و استحكام وحدت ملى باشندكان كشور ميباشد.

اكنون در مناسبات بين اللملى، موقف افغانستان دروضع به مراتب بهتر از هر زمان ديگر است. عده يیى از كشورهاى جهان به افغانستان شتافته اند، تا در زدودن پديده هاى

## فهرست مندرجات

## صفححه

## عناوين



دربرنامه هاى اقتصادى افغانستان امروزى به قطب نهائى گرانه بازار لجام گسيخته ليبرال گذار صورت گرفته، كه هيج خوانشى با واقعيت هاى كنونى بقاياى مناسبات اقتصادى نيمه طبيعى و نيمه كالائى موجوده قومى قبيلوى جامعه افغانى ندارده ارد ادامه اينى اين سياست اقتصادى كه در اين چهار سال باعث رشد نسبى ويكى پهلوى سكتور تجارتى ومانع جدى برسر راه سكتو رهاى توليدى در كشاورزى، مالدارى و صنايع ملى شده است، خودش به يكى ازعوامل عمده بحران اجتماعى و سياسى مبدل خواهد شد. زيرا تفاوت سطح زنده گى ميان يک فيصدى كوچکى متمول جامعه را با اكثريت فقير مردم افغانستان نهايت عميق ميسازد و به گسترش نا رضايتى اقشار مختلف مردم از حكومت دامن ميزند.

با در نظرداشت مطالب فوق نكات چندى را به شكل فشرده و تيزس هاى فورمولبندى شده برمبناى در نظر گرفتن جدى اولو يت ها در برنامه سياسى، اقتصادى - اجتماعى و فرهنگیى دولت پیشنهاد مينمایم :

در شرايط كنونى دو اصلى كه در توافقنامه بن نيز به آنها توجه صورت گرفت، از اهميت زيادى برخوردار اند، كه يكى امنيت و ديگرى اصلاحات اصنى ادارى ميباشند. متاسفانه اين دو اصل كه از شرايط اساسى تحقق سالم برنامه دموكراتيزه كردن حيات سياسى و اجتماعى - اقتصادى جامعه افغانى را تشكيل ميدهند، در نتيجه زدوبند هاى غير موجه با نيروهايى كه عامل اساسى بى امنيتى وموجوديت اداره فاسد ومريض است، درحاشيه قرار گرفتند و راه رسيدن به هدف نهاديـى
 و مملو از دشوارى ها گرديد.

بعدازسقوط رزيم طالبان، ادارات دولتى دريايتخت و ولايات كشور به سرعت


بيگانه ترور يزم وبقاياى رزيم هاى توتاليتار، استقرار نظام دموكراتيى و ايجاد جامعه مدنى به مردم اين كشور يارى رسانند. اين مساعدت ها به صلح وثبات در افغانستان، منطقه و جهان كمكى نموده و بامنافع ملى اين كشورها مطابقت كامل دارند.

نقش عامل بين اللملى در زنده گى سياسى واقتصادى افغانستان درسه دهه اخير تعيين كننده بوده وبه و ي夫ه بعدازسقوط طالبان نهايت برجسته گرديده است. متاسفانه كشورهاى كمكى كننده با نسخه هاى سياسى و اقتصادى از قبل تهيه شده وبعضآ دوراز واقيعت هاى جامعه افغانى وارد كشور ميگردند، كه درتمام اين موارد واز ان جمله آوردن امنيت، درست بر نقش پاى اسلاف خو يش پا ميگذارند وهمان اشتباهاتى را كه اتحاد شوروى در افغانستان مرتكب گرديده، اين كشورها نيز بدون كم و كاست و از زاويه ديخرى مرتكب ميشوند. اگر در عرصه سياست اتحاد شوروى بر نيروهاى چپ تجر يد شده درجامعه افغانى اتكا ميكردند، امروز دولت هاى ائتلاف بين اللملى و به ويزه ايالات متحده امر يكا در افغانستان بر نيروهاى به مراتب مردودتر راست افراطى جامعه افغانى اتكا ميكنند. در هر حالت و در هر دو مقطع تار يخى توده هاى وسيع مردم افغانستان فراموش گرديده، به حاشيه رانده شده اند وهمين واقعيت، ازعمده ترين عوامل شكست تجربه اتحاد شوروى در افغانستان گرديده ومن درصورت عدم اصالحات بنيادى در اين سياست عواقب بهترى رادر وضع كنونى كشور براى سياست گذاران افغانى نيز سراغ ندارم. سياست اقتصادى، اتحاد شوروى، اقتصاد پپان شده و مداخله دولت در زنده گی اقتصادى - اجتماعى جامعه افغانى - نسخه از قبل آماده شده و وارد شده به افغانستان بود كه در مراحل اولى ايـجاد انغراستركجٍر اقتصادى (اعمار مواصلات، مخابرات، ترانسپورت، منابع انرزى، شبكه هاى آبيارى وغيره) نقش مثبت ومترقى داشت و اما در مراحل بعدى به يكى از عوامل عمده باز دارنده انكشاف سريع اقتصادى - اجتماعى مبدل ميگرديد.

ميدارند و مصروف اندوختن دارايى هاى منقول وغير منقول از طريق چهور و چییاول ملكيتهاى دولتى، عامه و شهروندان بیى دفاع كشور اند. مختلف ماشين دولتى كشور را نيز به نفع خويش استا استخدام نموده، توده هاى وسيع مرايع مردم


 انتخابات رياست جمهورى دست دادند و ميتوانستند اين وضع را را تغيير داده و و قانونيت را را دركشور بخاطر تامين عدالت بر قرار سازند. و اما، با گا كار

 باعث گسترش هرچه بيشتر فاصله ميان اكثريت عظيم مردم كشور با با حكومت ميشود و وي

 مخالفين دولت نيز گسترش هرجه بيشترى پيدا مينمايد، به عبارت ديخرير، نيرومندى
 نارضايتى مردم و محروم شدن حكومت ازيشتيبانى آنها مى باشد.



 سياسى به مفهوم محروم شدن دولت از يشتيبانى آنها در شرايط كنواني
 كوارا براى رشد وگسترش فعاليتهاى مخالفين نظام موجود درميان مردم است.

از اين "غنيمت جنگى" نصيب همان گروه هايى شد كه با خروج طالبان از شهر كابل وارد پايتخت شدند. مليشه هاى نظامى مربوط به تنظيم هاى جهادى كه درنيمه دوم
 دولتى به سرعت غير قابل تصورى دوباره مسلح شدند.

1994)ميان نيروهاى نظامى تنظيم هاى جهادى تقسيم شدند و دولت مركزى تنها از نگگاه شكلى به موجوديت خو يش ادامه داد. اين وضع متاسفانه بعد از انتقال قدرت در
 جدى در راستاى ايـجاد ادارات كارى - تخصصى در كشور صورت نگرفته است. عملا" در سراسر كشور صدها مركز قدرت وجود دارد كه با مراكز بزرگتر در ارتباط اند و دولت مركزى قادر به ازبين بردن اين ملوك الطوايفى در افغانستان نشده است. جامعه جهانى و حكومت مركزى براين واقعيت تلخ چشم ميپوشند كه حاكميت كامل دولت مركزى بر چايتخخت نيز و جود نلارد، چه رسد به ولايات كشور، و قوانين دولتى بصورت گسترده ازجانب زورگو يان ناديده گرفته ميشوند. اين وضع در تمام ادارات دولتى و به و يزه ارگانهاى قضائى كشور نيز با تمام پررو يی به مشاهده ميرسد. يک كارمند دولتى درساحه صالحيت خو يش، هر آنتچه ميلش است، انجام ميدهد و در برخى موارد حتى به دساتير قاطع رئيس دولت نيز اعتنائى نمى نمايد. زيرا همه مهره هاى اساسى ماشين دولتى به مراكز مختلف قدرت ارتباط داشته و ازجانب انها حمايه ميشوند. معيار اين حمايت تنها و تنها روابط قومى و تنظيمى بوده، اصل شايستخى ناديده گرفته شده، ومفهوم خو يش را از دست داده است.

همه اين مراكز قدرت داراى ذخاير سرشار سلاح و گروه هاى شبه نظامى و مليشه هاى غير قانونى اند كه از طرق مختلف بر مردم افغانستان ظلم و ستم گوناگونى روا

٪. ه. درقانون مذكور، بخاطر تطبيق اين برنامه و تعقيب اجراى آن در آينده، ايجاد لواى مستقل مجهز با تجهيزات نظامى چيشرفته زمينى وهوايئ در چجوكات اردوى ملى پيشبينى شود. ب: حكومت بايد خدمت همگانى و اجبارى در صفوف قواى مسلح كشور را ازطريق

جلب و احضار جوانان واجد شرايط، در قانون ويثه مكلفيت نظامى، تسجيل نمايد. مكلفيت خدمت درصفوف قواى مسلح افغانستان، داراى عنعنه تار يخى ومدرسه خوبى براى تربيت بدنى و ذهنى جوانان بوده است. نتايج مثبت بكار بردن اين شيوه ايجاد اردوى

ملى عبارت اند از:

1. بسيارى ازجوانان بى سواد، در زمان سپرى نمودن خدمت عسكرى از نعمت سواد

بهره مند، و ازنگاه فز يكى وعقلانى به مردان نيرومند و با تجر به ئى مبدل ميگردند. r. ـرمدت شش ماه اردوى ملى افغانستان از نگاه كميت عساكر تكميل خواهد شد وجز و تامهاى گونه گون آن درتشكيل خو يش هيج كمبودى نخواهند د اشت.
ץ..درآينده نزديكى افغانستان قادر خواهد بود، تا مصارف چنين اردو را مستقلانه وبدون مساعدت جامعه جهانى با استفاده از امكانات داخلى خويش متقبل گردد. در حاليكه افغانستان بدون مساعدت جامعه جهانى براى مدت طولانى قادر به ايجاد و حفظ اردوى ملى برمبناى سيستم بكار بردن عساكر حرفوى نخواهد بود. اگرچنين اردويى ايجادهم گردد، به مجرد قطع مساعدت كشورهاى دوست، حفظ ان درمحدوده امكانات كشورفقيرى چون افغانستان نمى باشد.

ج: وزارت دفاع، وزارت داخله و رياست امنيت ملى بايد از تمام افسران اردو، پوليس و امنيت ملى تحصيل يافته حكومتهاى سابقه كه سن شان از 90 سالگى تجاوز نكرده باشد، بدون هرنوع تبعيض، دعوت نمايند تا از داخل وخارج از كشور داوطلبانه به

ادامه سياست كنونى، طوريكه درمقاله تحت عنوان "شمه يى از دشواريهاى دوران

 كشانيد كه نه حكومت افغانستان و نه جامعه جهانى قادر به كنترول آن خواهد بود. عدم امكانات اصلاحات ادارى برمبناى اصول شايستگی، پاكى و تقوا ورجحان منافع اجتماعى وملى برمنافع شخصى و گروهى درحال حاضر، ناشى از عدم موفقيت دولت درتامين ثبات وامنيت در كشور بوده است. درحاليكه به عقيده من تامين قانونيت، صلح و ثبات و امنيت پايدار در كشور تنها و تنها از طريق ازبين بردن مراكز متعدد قدرت و ايجاد اداره سالم و دولت نيرومند مركزى، ممكن خواهد بود. لذا، پيشنهاد مينمايم، تا قبل از آنكه هرچه بيشتر وضع در افغانستان به طرف عراقى شدن برود، حكومت بايد هرچه زود تر به اقدامات اتى متوصل گردد:
اول - امنيتت:

به عقيده من بخاطر تامين امنيت، تحقق برنامه آتى ضرورى پنداشته ميشود: الف: حكومت بايد برنامه اضطرارى تحقق قانون حمل، نگهدارى و استعمال سلاح راز طريق پارلمان افغانستان به تصويب رساند كه در آن اصول آتى درنظر گرفته شوند: ا. تمام افراد و گروهاى مسلح مليشه موظف گردند تاسلاح خويش را در همه ولايات كشور در مدت چهار ماه از تاريخ تصويب اين برنامه، در مطابقت قانون، به ارگانهاى موظف وزارت دفاع تسليم دهند.
r. ياگروهاى معينى داده نشود و اصل تساوى حقوق شهروندان در برابر قانون جداً مراعات گردد.
r. متخلفين به مثابه مجرمين جنگیى، بدون درنظرداشت موقف اجتماعى، سياسى و يا دولتى شان درمحاكم نظامى مورد باز پرس قرار گيرند.

مـحتواى اصلاحات ادارى درسه استقامت آتى خلاصه ميشود:

الف: ساختار كابينه وادارات مركزى ومتحلى مربوطه آن، بايد متناسب به
مطالبات سطح رشد اقتصادى، اجتماعى وفرهنگیى جامعه افغانى باشد. به عبارت ديگر، تعداد وزرارتخانه ها وحـجم ادارات مربوطه آنها، بايد تا همان سطح مـحدود گردد كه جوابخوى نيازمنديهاى كنونى كشور بوده از تداخل صالاحيت ها و وظايف جلوگيرى نموده وبه كيفيت نتايج كار زيانى نرساند. كابينه كوپک واما متحرک و كارا با ادارات مركزی ومـحلى بازسازى شده آن مصارف بزرگ ماشين متورم دولتى كنونى را پائين اورده و امكان استغاده اعظمى را از نيروى بشرى متحدود كادرى و تخصصى كشور مهيا ميسازد. درعين زمان، معاشات كنونى ده ها هزار كارمند دولتى كه در نتيجهُ ازبين بردن تورم ادارى بى كارميشوند، بايد تاسه سال بعدى پرداخته شود. حكومت بايل در همين مدت ازطريق تدو ير كورسها و تدريس كارمندان بيكارشده، امكانات كار را براى آنها درحرفه ها و رشته هاى جديد دولتى و تشبثات خصوصى آماده سازد. ب: اعمارساختمان ها و تهيه وسايل كار با استفاده از تكنالوزى معاصر و در هماهنگی با رشد وامكانات بشرى به خاطراستغاده اعظمى از آنها، از اهميت زيادى برخوردار است. به هييج وجه قابل قبول نخواهل بود كه ادارات داراى اهميت دست اول بدون تعمير مناسب و فاقد وسايل و تجهيزات لازمى و ادارات داراى اهميت دست دوم و سوم طورى مجهز گرديده باشند كه وسايل آن بيشتر ازمتحدوده امكانات استغاده از آنها باشند.

ج : استفاده اعظمى از كادر هاى موجود، يكى از وظايف اساسى و ضرورى دولت است. همين حالا، در رشته هاى مختلف اقتصادى، اجتماعى و فرهنگیى و همچچنین درساحات اردو، پوليس و امنيت ملى، كادرها ومتخصصين به حد كافى وجود دارند. و اما، به خاطر برخورد تعبيض آميز با آنها و در مخخالفت صريح با ماده پنـجاهم قانون اساسى و 9

وظايف شان حاضر شوند. باحنين اقدام جسورانه سياسى، درمدت شش ماه اردوى وپوليس ملى نيرومندى درمطابقت با مطالبات وضع دشوار امروزى افغانستان ايـجاد خواهند شد.

همـچنین، مـجهزساختن رياست امنيت ملى با كدرهاى تخصصى وباتجربه يى كه امروز از •q درصد آنها، بـخاطر بر خورد تعصب آميز و حفظ سايكولوزى جنگ سرد، استغاده نمى شود، افغانستان را تايحى سال آينده موفق به كنترول كامل وضع در ارتباط به فعاليت شبكه هاى ترور يستى و لانه هاى جاسوسى كشورهاى خارجى و مافياى مواد مخدره، خواهد ساخت. د: بخاطر تربيه كادر هاى جوان، هرچه زودتر بايل، ليسه حربيه، حربى پوهنتون، اكادمى تخنيکى و پوهنتون هوايئ نظامى ، دو باره فعال گردند و از استادان خانه نشين شده انها استفاده اعظمى صورت گيرد.

همچچنين اكادمى پوليس هرچه بيشتر تقو يه گردد و براى تربيه كادر هاى ورزيده امنيت ملى، اكادمى ويزه يیى تاسيس و بخاطر بلند بردن سطح دانش افسران موجود، كورسهاى قصيرالمدت وطو يل المدت بصورت سيستماتيك، همه ساله داير گردد.
دوم - اصلاحات ادارى:

اداره دريک كشو ر از اركان عمده متشكله دولت محسوب ميشود. بدون اداره،
دولت موجوديت خو يش را ازدست ميدهد. همپحنين كيفيت اداره نقش تعين كننده يیى درضعف وعقبمانى و يا انكشاف سريع و نيرومندى يكع دولت دارد. به همين مناسبت است كه به عقيده من ، اصلاحات ادارى در ارگانهاى اجرائيوى وقضائى كشور، درشرايط كنونى، از اولو يت هاى تاخير نایذير بوده است.

د: تربيت سيستماتيكى متخصصين وكارشناسان موجود و آشنائى آنها با شيوه اداره و آخرين دستآورد هاى علمى - تخنيكى، ازاهميت زيادى برخوردار است. دولت بايد توجه زيادى را به اين امر معطوف سازد. بلندبردن سطح تخصصى كادرهاى موجوده و تربيه كادرهاى جوان بايد متمم يكديگر باشند.

## سوم - برنامه اقتصادى :

اصل اقتصاد بازار كه در ماده دهم قانون اساسى تسجيل شده است، به هيتج وجه به مفهوم حضور كامل آن در شرايط كنونى نيست. مطرح ساختن اين اصل به مفهوم قرار دادن يك هدف اساسى دربرنامه اقتصادى دولت محسوب ميشود، كه بايد زمينه لازمى و ضرورى را براى رسيدن به آن مساعد سازد. اگرما دست روى دست هم بكذاريم وفكر كنيم كه بازار برمبناى قانونمندى روابط متقابل عرضه و تقاضا بخودى خود عمل مى نمايد وهمه مسائل طبق مراد به پیش ميرود و مداخله دولت در تضاد با اين اصل قرار ميگيرد، اشتباه بزرگى مرتكب ميشويم. طوريكه قبلاً به آن اشاره شد، افغانستان درمرحله كذار از بقاياى مناسبات قبيلوى -قومى اقتصاد طبيعى نيمه كالايى به مناسبات پيشرفته كالايى و سرمايه دارى قرار دارد. اگر دولت به تسريع اين گذار مساعدت جدى نكند، اين پروسه نهايت طولانى و پر از درد و عذاب وحتى انفجارات اجتماعى خواهد شد. زمانيكه درماده ץ $\uparrow$ قانون اساسى افغانستان، اصل اجبارى بودن تعليمات متوسطه تسجيل گرديده، به مفهوم تحقق آنى آن نمى باشد، بلكه به مثابه هدف عمده درساحه معارف مطرح شده، كه براى رسيدن به آن راه درازى در پيش است وبايد زمينه هاى تحقق
آن آماده گردد.

لذا، بخاطرفراهم ساختن شرايط تحقق اقتصاد بازار انكشاف يافته درشرايط كنونى افغانستان به عقيده من، مداخله محدود دولت در امور اقتصادى آتى ضرورى

اعلاميه جهانى حقوق بشر، اكثريت قاطع آنها بيكار ويا به خاطر معيشت خانواده هاى شان مصروف امور غيرمسلكى وحتى دست فروشى درجاده هاى شهرهاى كشور اند. در اخير ماده پنجاهم قانون اساسى تسجيل شده است كه " اتباع افغانستان براساس اهليت وبدون هيچچگونه تبعيض وبه موجب احكام قانون به خدمت دولت پذيرفته
ميشوند ".

دربند دوم ماده آ اعلاميه جهانى حقوق بشر كفته شده است: " هركس حق دارد كه با تساوى شرايط، به مشاغل عمومى كشور خود نايل آيد". اكثر يت قاطع كادرهاى مسلكى موجود درساحات ملكى ونظامى مربوط به همان بخشى ازهموطنان ما اند كه درحكومت هاى قبلى مصروف خدمت به وطن بودند. برخورد تبعيض آميز با كسانيكه 99 درصد آنها در زمان كارشان از ادارات دولتى سود شخصى نبرده اند و صادقانه درخدمت مردم خود بودند، برروند انكشاف اقتصادى، اجتماعى وفرهنگى وتامين سريع امنيت دركشور تاثير نهايت منفى وارد نموده است. با مشاهده اين وضع، ده ها هزار متخصصين رشته هاى مختلفى كه در مهاجرت به سر ميبرند از عودت به وطن امتناع ورزيده، منتظر شكستن يخ ها و ازبين رقتن سايكلوزى مسلط كنونى جنگى سرد در افغانستان ميباشند. به عقيده من، درهمه امور و به و يثه در استغاده از كادر ها بايد جز اصل اطاعت از قانون و شايستگى دركار، هيجِ نوع ملاحظه ديگرى درنظر گرفته نشود. به گونه مثال، در ارتباط به عدم استفاده معقول از كادر هاى ملى، ميتوان گفت كه براى پارلمان ودر مجمموع براى كشور، نهايت تحقير آميز است كه يى عضو پارلمان بنگله ديش و يا كدام كشور ديگر به و كالا افغانستان مانند متعلمان مكتب آموزش امور پارلمانى دهد. درحاليكه در پارلمان افغانستان و خارج از آن دانشمندانى دار يم كه در مطابقت با بلندتر ين سطح معيارهاى جهانى قادر به اجراى به مراتب بهتر اين امر به زبان مادرى وكالا بوده اند. پاسخ اين پرسش نيز دلحچسپ است كه چهَ مقدار پول مساعدت هاى كشورهاى دوست به مردم افغانستان، نصيب اين معلمين خارجى شده است.

اعمارسريع انفراستركخر اقتصادى درچوكات سكتور دولتى افغانستان ميسر است. دولت
 ومنابع انرزى، درواقعيت امر سكتور خصوصى را در سرمايه گذاريها درساحات مختلف اقتصادى مساعدت وسبسايدى مى نمايد و زمينه را براى رشد و انكشاف سريع آن مساعد مى سازد. حضور سهم مالكيت دولت در انفرستركچچر اقتصادى كشورهاى بيشرفته تاهمين حالا محسوس است، چهه رسد به كشورهايى كه در مراحل ابتدائى رشد مناسبات سرمايه دارى قرار دارند. دربريتانياى كبير خطوط اهن فقط در دهه گذشته
 فرانسه در ترانسپورت هوائى تا امروز مشهود است و ازقبيل آن، مثالهاى زيادى در كشورهاى ديخر جهان نيز وجود دارند.

خلاصه اينكه، امروز افغانستان در مركز توجه جامعه جهانى قرار دارد و دولت مكلف است كه قبل ازهمه ازين چانس بزرگى استفاده نموده و درساحه اقتصادى به جرئت با استفاده از مساعدتهاى كشورهاى دوست به اعمار سريع انفرستركچر اقتصادى
مبادرت ورزد.

ب : كنترول بانكى مركزى بربانكهاى خصوصى و سياست پولى كشور بايد نيرومند گردد. امروز، اكثريت بانكهاى خصوصى مفاد خو يش را به حد اعظمى آن بالا ميبرند. وبه منافع ملى كشور كمتر توجه روا ميدارند. عده ئى ازين بانكها بوسيله قانونى و رسمى فرار سار سرمايه از كشور مبدل شده اند. بانكـ مركزى اگر بر سفيد سازى پولهاى سياهو فعاليتهاى غيرقانونى گونه گون در بانكهاى خصوصى چشم مى پوشد، بايد حداقل، ازبيرون شدن غير موجه اسعار خارجى از كشور، برمبناى قانون، جداً جلوگيرى نمايد. دولت بايد به اقدامات جدى در از بين بردن فعاليتهاى غيرقانونى درساحات مختلف اقتصادى سايه يى مبادرت ورزد و تا زمانيكه موفق به از بين بردن كامل اين فعاليتها ميشود، جلوفرار سرمايه هاى هنگگغتى را كه از ين طريق تجمع مى كند، بخارج از كشو ر بگيرد.

الف - انغراستركجٍر اقتصادى افغانستان (مواصلات، بندهاى آب، شبكه هاى آبيارى، ترانسپورت، منابع انرزى وغيره) افغانستان، در نتيجه جنگهاى تخريب شده است.

اعمار انفرستركجچر اقتصادى، گسترش و نيرومندى آن در مطابقت با نيازمنديهاى امروزى، ضرورت به سرمايه گذارى هاى عظيمى دارد. و اما بازگرداندن پول سرمايه گذارى شده درساحات اقتصادى زير بنائى به زمان طولانى ترى نياز دارد. ازجانب ديگر متشبثين داخلى وخارجى درشرايط نا امنى وعدم موجوديت ثبات مطمئن درهيجِ كشورى به سرمايه گذارى هاى بزرگَ مبادرت نمى ورزند. آنها عمد تاً به سرمايه گَارى درساحات تجارت داخلى وخارجى وصنايع خغيفه كه دوران سرمايه در آنها سريع است، و در مدت كوتاهى مفاد زيادى به بار مى آورد ، تمايل بيشترى نشان ميدهند. درحاليكه اعمار انفراستركخحر اقتصادى، اقليم مناسبى را براى سرمايه گذارى هاى متشبثين داخلى وخارجى آماده ميسازد و آهنگ سريع رشد اقتصادى را تضمين مى كند. لذا، اعمار انفراستركچر اقتصادى، از اولو يت هاى برنامه هاى انكشافى هر كشور جهان است، كه بدون آن چرخ اقتصادى ازجا نمى جنبد.

متاسفانه، درين پنج سال در افغانستان به اين الفباى سياست اقتصادى توجه لازمى صورت نگرفت ومححافل حاكمه منتظر عمل كرد قانونمندى اقتصاد بازار و سر ازير شدن سرمايه هاى داخلى وخارجى در انفراستركجٌ اقتصادى كشور بودند. واما، درشرايط عدم موجوديت با زار سراسرى ملى انكشاف يافته، عملكرد قانونمندى بدون نوسانات آن، يک توقع غير واقعبينانه وتخيلى خواهد بود. درشرايط كنونى افغانستان، بايد هرچه زودتر ، زمينه را براى رشد سريع مناسبات سرمايه دارى از طريق درهم شكستن زنجير هاى بقاياى مناسبات طبيعى ونيمه كالائى قبيلوى - قومى مساعد ساخت. رسيدن به اين هدف در شرايط افغانستان امروزى، تنها و تنها از طريق جلب كمكهاى جامعه جهانى به

تصو يب رسد تا ازطريق برسش قانونى از اين تاجران وسرمايه گذاران ضد منافع ملى ووضع جريمه هاى سنگين وصدور حكم مدارج مختلف زندان بر آنها، از لجام گسيختگى وهرج ومرج در بازار جلوگيرى بعمل آيد.

علاوه برآن يكى ازوسايل مهم ومشروع در مرحله كذار از بقاياى مناسبات عقب مانده اقتصاد قبيلوى -طبيعى ونيمه كالايى به مناسبات پیشرفته سرمايه دارى - مداخله دولت در بازار داد و ستد بوده است. حكومت بايد دركنار جلوگيرى از تورم پولى ازطريق رقابت درتجارت مواد مورد ضرورت اوليه از قبيل آرد، بوره، روغن، نمك، گوگرد، صابون ، پطرول، ديزل، تيل خاك وكاز مايع با تاجران سكتور خصوصى رقابت نمايد، تا رشد غيرطبيعى وغير موجه قيمت ها را مهار نمايد.

مداخله دولت دربازار، باعرضه جنس با قواعد و مقررات اقتصاد بازار مطابقت ندارد،

 و بدينگ̌نه قيمت افغانى را ثابت نگه ميدارد و از رشد قيمت اسعار خارجىى، متناسب بار با با بالا
 بانكى مركزى دربازار اسعار متوقف شود، منجربه بحران انفجارى اقتصادى در آينده ميگردد. همين سياست پولى صندوق وجهى بين المـللى(IMF) International Monetary Fund) كه بر افغانستان تحميل شده است، درعده يى از كشورهاى ديگر و از انجمله در روسيه
 داشته است، حفظ مصنوعى قيمت پول ملى در برابر اسعار خارجى، كشور را به بازار
 وارداتى اند، بخاطر عدم موجوديت بازار انكشاف يافته سراسرى ملى، مـحدود يت يت حـي عرضه و فقدان رقابت گسترده، توسط عده محدودى از تاجران بزرگ دكته ميشود و

به عقيده من، سرمايه داران بايد تشو يق شوند تابجاى خروج سرمايه هايشان به خارج، در داخل كشور سرمايه گذارى نمايند ودرصورت چنين اقدام ازجانب آنها، درمورد منبع پول آنها تا سال •1.1 سوالى مطرح نگردد. تورم پولى (انفلاسيون ) وبلند رفتن قيمتها درشرايط گونه گون همه دولتها، بو يثه درشرايط كشورهاى درحال رشد، يكى امر اجتناب نایٍير است. و اما مهار كردن آن، در محدوده معقولى كه به يكى از عوامل تسريع كننده آهنگ رشد اقتصادى مبدل گردد، از خبره گى و مهارت بانكى مركزى خواهد بود. به هيج صورت، قابل قبول نيست كه درين مدت پنج سال قيمتهاى اموال مورد ضرورت اوليه ازقبيل آرد، بوره، گوشت، چوب، تيل خاك، ديزل، پطرول، گازمايع وغيره ازصد الى سه صد درصد بالا رفته است. اين وضع باعث انزجار مردم از دولت و بيچچاره گى اقشار مختلف شهروندان وبو يزه آنهائى گرديده است كه بيكار اند و يا مانند معلمان، مامور ين وكارمندان دولت عوايد ثابت دارند. بايد هرچه زودتر جلو نشر بانکى نوت اضافى وتورم پولى وهمچچنين كريدت لجام گسيخته حكومت توسط بانكى مركزى گرفته شود و اين عمل در مطابقت با معيارهاى دقيق وشرايط و يزه كشور محدود و تنظيم شود. امروز، زنده گى •9 درصدمردم افغانستان درسطح پائين تر از مرز رفع احتياجات امتعه مورد ضرورت اوليه خانواده ها وبه عبارت ديگر در مدارج گونه گون فقر قرار دارند. اين وضع باعث نارضايتى عميق اكثريت قاطع مردم از دولت گرديده است.

درمراحل ابتدايى رشد اقتصاد بازار عده يى از تاجران بزرگ تجارت امتعه مورد ضرورت اوليه را كه مفاد هنگفتى به بار مى آورد، در انحصارخو يش مى آورند وقيمت هارا در بازار به زعم وصوابديد خويش تعيين ميكنند. آنها به ويزه در شرايط ضعف دولت مركزى وموجوديت تعدد مراكز قدرت، مستهلكين را ظالمانه مورد چپر و چچیاول قرارداده، توده هاى وسيع مردم را هرچهه بيشتر به گودال فقر و بدبختى ميرانند. بايد هرچه زودتر قانون مبارزه با انحصار در خريد، فروش و توليد اموال ويا عرضه خدمات به

آورى زمينه هاى لازم براى رشد سريع سرمايه گزارى ها در افغانستان ميباشد. ازجانب ديخر ضرورت است، تاصندوق سرمايه گذارى در افغانستان درچوكات اطاقهاى تجارت افغانستان ايجاد و كمكى هاى بلاعوض و يا بدون ربح كشورهاى دوست به آن جلب شوند. بايدامكانات نهايت سهلى براى مولدين داخلى به و يزه مولدين كوچجى ومتوسط بخاطر اخذ قرضه هاى بدون ربح و يا داراى يى تا دو درصد ربح ازصندوق مذكور فراهم گردد. بدينگونه، در آيندهءنزد يک شرايط گواراى ظهور طبقهءنيرومند متوسط در افغانستان پديد خواهد آمد، كه درعرصه سياسى، تاثير نهايت مثبتى در جهت اعتدال گرائى وارد خواهد نمود. در نتيجه در دوران كنونى گذار، پیشنهادات خو يش را در طرح ستراتيثى اقتصاد بازار در افغانستان، چنين خلاصه مينمائيم • 1- از بين بردن عدم توازن رشد سكتور خصوصى ميان ساحات تجارت و توليد، ازطريق سرمايه گذارى هاى دولتى در اعمار انفراستركجٍر توليدى، سياست حمايوى در وضع ماليات بخاطر حمايه از سرمايه گذاران ملى در ساحه توليدات و وضع ماليات معقول بر واردات كالاهايى كه شبيه آنها، با حفظ كيفيت، در داخل كشور توليد ميشوند. Y- از بين بردن انحصار در خر يد و فروش كالاها و به و يزه، خر يد محصولات دهاقين براى صادرات و فروش امتعه مورد اوليه وارداتى و خدمات اجتماعى، از طريق رقابت دولت در بازار.
「ץ
 انفراستركخر اقتصادى و توليد كالا هايى كه متشبثين خصوصى علاقه مندى و و يا امكانات مالى

 باعث شدت هر چه بيشتر نا رضايتى مردم از حكومت گرديده و زمينه را براى گسترش دامنه

باگذشت زمان هرچه بيشتربالا ميرود. به عبارت ديگر، پول افغانى در برابر اجناس ارزش خويش را باگذشت زمان از دست ميدهد، و اما ارزش آن در برابر اسعار خارجى ازجانب بانكى مركزى بصورت مصنوعى ثابت نگا داشته ميشود. بر مبناى ارزيابى من در آغاذ سال با با در نظر داشت سطح رشد قيمت كالاهاى مورد ضرورت اوليه خانواده ها در پنج سال اخير قيمت واقعى يك دالر امريكايى در حدود •هم افغغنى بوده است. در حاليكه در تمام اين مدت قيمت يك دالر بخاطر عرضه مقادير زياد آن از جانب بانك مركزى در در سطح

 سبسايدى دولتى در بازار به دست ميآورند، در خريد كالاهاى آماده از كشور هاى خارجى و وارد نمودن آنها به كشور نفع زيادى ميبرند. برخلاف قيمت تمام شد توليدات داخلى بخاطر رشد قيمت موادخام و نيروى كار چنان بالا ميرود، كه قادر به رقابت با توليدات مشابه كشور هاى ديگر دربازارهاى ملى وبين المللى نميباشند. بدينگونه كسربيلانس تجارت خارجى عميق ترشده ميرود. بهترين مثال آن تجارت افغانستان با كشورهاى همسايه به و يثهه پاكستان و ايران ميباشد. كشورهاى مذكور باسوء استفاده ازمجبور يت هاى افغانستان قيمت اموال خود، از آن جمله مواد ساختمانى راكه، به آنها در بازار افغانى تقاضاى زياد وجود دارد، بصورت سيستماتيك، نهايت ظالمانه و پچپاولگرانه بالا ميبرند. كسرعظيم بيلانس تجارتى افغانستان با ايران وپاكستان - ناشى از، عمدتاً يكجانبه بودن تجارت با اين كشور ها بوده است.

به عقيده من، بايد هرچه زودتر، به اين سياست ناكام پولى و مالياتى در افغانستان خاتمه داده شود. ضرورت است تا هرچه سريعتر از طريق بكار بردن ميكانيزم وضع معقول ماليات بر واردات، توليدات صنعتى و زراعتى ملى مورد حمايه دولت قرار گيرند. سياست مالياتى با محتواى حمايوى، ازتوليدات داخلى - يكى ازعناصرعمده فراهم

## چهارم - درساحه فرهنگیى :



 روى دست گرفته شود.

 هدف از ضروريات جدى محسوب ميشود. در اين مورد به تعليمات نسوران بران بايد توجه بيش بيشترى

 اطالاعات جمعى، طرح و مورد تطبيق قرار ير يريرد. درشرايط كنونى به خاطر ضرور مجدد كشور ويران شده، قبل از همه بايد شبكه وسيع تخنيكم ها ها و و كورس هاى هاى تربيه







 خواهد نمود.

جنگگ و بى ثباتى در افغانستان مساعد خواهد نمود. در اخير بايد گفت، كه در شرايط كنونى افغانستان در حال گذار، ستراتيزى اقتصادى بازار ليبرال، دور ازواقعيت هاى جامعه افغانى بوده، ادامهٔ آن، پرتگاه ميان سطح زندگى يک اقليت كوچک، و اكثر يت قاطع جامعه افغانى راعميق تر خواهد ساخت و در فرجام، منجر به بحران و حتى انفجارات اجتماعى خواهد شد.

به عقيده من، در شرايط گذار از مرحله ابتدايى رشد مناسبات سرمايه دارى به
مناسبات پیشرفته كالايى و سرمايه دارى، ستراتيزى اقتصادى بازار اجتماعى، بادر نظر گرفتن شرايط و يزه جامعه افغانى و اصلاحات ضرورى در آن، يگانه الترناتيف معقول و
مؤ ثر خواهد بود.

بازار اجتماعى - ستراتيزى اقتصادى است، كه در عده يی از كشورها، از آنجمله كشورهاى آلمان فدرال و اطريش، حقانيت خو يش رادر زندگى به اثبات رسانيدهاست. واما در شرايط كشورهاى عقب مانده و به خصوص افغانستان، كه جنگی و بى امنيتى در آن گسترش ميآبد، عنصر اجتماعى آن همزمان با سرمايه گذارى هاى دولت در تجارت و توليد، بايد نهايت پر رنگگ گردد.

در صورت عدم توجه به پيشنهادات فوق، بحران دولتى ( بحران سياسى، اقتصادى، اجتماعى و امنيتى)، كه در آغاز سال ب... علايم آن برجسته تر گرديد، به يكى ازعوامـل جدى گسترش هرچه بيشتر نارضايتى اكثريت •9 درصد جامعه افغانى مبدل ميگردد. اين واقعيت به نو به خو يش دولت را از پشتيبانى توده هاى وسيع مردم هرچه بيشتر محروم و ساحه عمليات نظامى مخخالفين دولت و تأثيرات ايديولوزيكى بنياد گرايى را در سراسر كشور گسترده تر خواهد ساخت.

حفظ محيط زيست از وظايف درجه اول دولت ومردم افغانستان است. با از بين بردن
 دركشور، جلوقطع غيرقانونى جنگالات، استفاده غير فنى ازمعادن، منابع آب، چجراگاه ها ها و زمين هاى زراعتى افغانستان گرفته خواهد شد. طبعيت زيت زيبا و و وحشى افغانستان در ر آينده به سرازير شدن سيلى ازسياحان به كشور كمكى نموده وصنعت تور يزم به يكى از منابع سرشار عوايد ملى افغانستان مبدل خواهدشد. به همين مناسبت است، كه حفظ محيط زيست بايدبه يك مفكوره ملى وشعار سراسرى مردم افغانستان مبدل شود.حكومت، جامعه مدنى ونى و
 پروگرامهاى منظمى را شامل برنامه هاى كارى خو يش سازند.

## پـنـجـم - درساحه اجتـماعىى :

درساحه اجتماعى دولت بايد قبل از همه به صورت دقيق تعداد نفوس كشور را با مشخصات عمده آن تعين نمايد. محل سكونت اصلى وفعلى، جنسيت، عمر، سواد، درجه ورشته تحصيل وسا(مت جسمى بايد شامل مشخصات عمده اتباع كشور گردند. ارتباط قومى به هيجِ صورت شامل مشخصات سند تابعيت نگگردد، تا تنها هو يت افغانى هر شهروند منبع غرور ملى و پيوند ميان تمام مردم افغانستان باشد. درك اين مطالب، برنامه هاى دولت را درتمام ساحات اقتصادى، اجتماعى وفرهنگى نهايت دقيق و هدفمند گردانيده وبه متشبيثين داخلى وخارجى امكان تعيين روشن محدوده بازار فروش كالاها، نوع و مقدار سرمايه گذارى را مهيا خواهد ساخت. تعيين تعداد ومحل سكونت شهروندان، امكان مشخص ساختن دقيق سهم ساكنين هر حوزه انتخاباتى و كوجى ها را درشوراهاى ولسوالى، ولايتى و ملى به وجود ميآورد و بخشى از دشوارى هاى جدى انتخاباتى را در آينده از بين ميبرد. لذا ثبت وشمارش و راجستراحوال نفوس كشور بر مبناى توزيع تذكره، ازاولويت هاى مبرم برنامه اجتماعى است كه بايد همزمان با جمع آورى سلاح همين امروز در دستور روز قرارگيرد. درميان انبوهى ازمعضلات اجتماعى، به برخى از آنها كه ضرورت به توجه عاجل دارند، مختصرآ اشاره مينمايم:

درشرايط موجود، به هيتج وجه به خيروصلاح كشور نيست تا در هر ولايت يك پوهنتون باشد. زيرا كمبود استادان عامل پائين آمدن زياد سطح دانش تخصصى فارغ التحصيلان گرديده، باعث ضياع وقت نسل جوان كشور ميشود. محدود ساختن تعداد آنها به سه الى چهار پوهنتون درتمام كشور و بلندبردن چند برابر ظرفيت هاى آنها از نگاه سطح دانش استادان وكميت پذيرش محصلان وهمیخنين نصاب تحصيلى نوين وشيوه تدر يس معاصر، باعث بلندبردن سطح دانش تخصصى كادرهاى جوان كشور گرديده، امكان كاريابى سريع را براى فارغ التحصيلان پوهنتون ها فراهم خواهدساخت. در تربيه كادرهاى ملى توجه جدى به تربيه دكتوران زن، به ويزه در رشته هاى ولادى ونى ونسايى به خاطرجلوگيرى از تلفات مادران واطفال در هنگام ولادت، از اولو يت هاى شماره يى برنامه هاى فرهنگى دولت به حساب ميايد.

ايجاد مكاتب حرفوى موسيقى، تياتر، سينماتوگرافى، رسامى، نقاشى، مجسمه سازى، ميناتورى، خطاطى وصنايع دستى، به حفظ عنعنات هنرى و رشد استعداد راد هاى جوان دركسب هنر معاصر جهانى مساعدت خواهد كرد كارد در صورت توجه دولت به هنرهاى زيبا، كه افغان ها در آنها استعداد ميراثى دارند، به مرور زمان مانند تمدن عصر كوشانى ها و تيمورى هاخواهد شد و فرهنگ بشرى راهرچها بيشتر معمور خواهدساخت.

توجه به مراكز تحقيقاتى وبه و يرّه نيرومندى هرچحه بيشتر اكادمى علوم افغانستان وباز
 مشوره هاى علمى و آماده سازى برنامه ها، درتمام ساحات مات موردنياز، و د درمطابقت باشرايط افغانستان، توسط كادرها و دانشمندان افغانى، تامين خواهدكرده.

درساحه حفظ آثار باستانى، حكومت بايد هرچه زودتر ونرجلو حفريات غير انير رسمى
 كشورجلوگيرى نمايد. دراين امر، بايد و ظايف جدى ترى به واليان سپرده و در قانون حفظ آثارباستانى به متخلفين مجازات سنگينى پیشيشبينى شود.

## ب - بازمانده گَان شهدا واطفال بى سرپپرست :

بازمانده گان شهداى جنگ هاى هగ ساله اخير، صرفنظر از آنكه مربوط به كدام ادارء دولتى بودنل، ضرورت به غمخخوارى دولت را دارند. دولت حداقل بايد در كار يابى وتهيه سرپناه برای آنها حق قدامت قايـل گردد. و اما در ارتباط به اطفال بى سرپرست، دولت مكلف است تا با اعمار شبكه شيرخوارگاه ها، كودكستانها ومكاتب با ليليه هاى پیرانه و دخترانه درتمام ولايات، از آنها وارسى نمايد و تربيت كامل فز يكى وعقلانى آنها را تا فراغت از مكاتب بعهده گيرد. توجه به اين مسائل به سلامت معنوى و امنيتى جامعه درمجموع مساعدت جدى خواهد كرد. درغير آن اطفال بى سرپرست كه تعداد آنها درافغانستان به ده هاهزار ميرسد و تنها درشهر كابل درحدود •\& هزار آنها در جاده هاپرسه ميزنند وبه گدائى و كارهاى دشوار امرار معيشت مينمايند، به منبع جدى جرايم و بيمار يهاى گونه گون اجتماعى مبدل خواهند شد. ت - كارمندان دولت:

توجه عاجل به وضع معلمان، مامورين و كارمندان دولت درساحه ملكى و نظامى، از وظايف عمده دولت بحساب ميرود. علاوه بر جستجوى راه هاى حل مشكل بى سر پناهى اين قشر با اهميت جامعه، بايد هرچه عاجلتر اقداماتى صورت گيرد تا معلمان، مامور ين و كارمندان دولت از امكان در يافت حقوق مناسبى برخوردار گردند كه حداقل احتياجات ضرورى يک خانواده را رفع نمايد. از آنجايى كه قانونمندى رقابت، بـخاطر عدم رشد لازم مناسبات سرمايه دارى درافغانستان، مانندكشورهاى پيشرفته عمل نمى كند، بازار هاى مواد مورد ضرورت اوليه شهروندان از قبيل: گازمايع، پطرول، ديزل، روغن، آرد، برنج، صابون وغيره عمد تاً، در انحصار عده مـحدودى از تاجران است و آنها به ميل ورغبت خود شان، بدون در نظر گرفتن مفاد عادلانه، قيمت ها را به حد اعلى آن بالا ميبرند، معلمان، مامورين و كارمندان دولت را بخاطررفع احتياجات اوليه شان، وادار به

## الف - معضله معلولين ومعيو بين :

بخاطر عدم موجوديت احصائيه دقيق، تعداد تخمينى معلولين كشور به خاطرجنگ هاى ها ساله داخلى رقم درشتى ـ د درحدود يى ميليون نفوس كشور را را تشكيل ميدهد. توجه جدى به دشواريهاى اين هموطنان ما، از وظايف عمده دينى و اخلاقى دولت بوده است. قبل ازهمه، در پروسه ثبت و شمارش نفوس كشور برمبناى سند تابعيت، بايد رقم دقيق معلولين ومعيو بين مشخص گردرد. بار علاوه بر آن همه آنها از نگًاه شدت معلوليت ومعيو بيت به سه درجه منـين منسم شوندين.
 و هيجّ نوع منبع درآمد به خاطر معيشت خويش ندارند. دولد دولت مكلف است تا با سازمان دادن انواع مختلف خدمات ومساعدت ها، به شمول اعمار شبكه ليليه هاى اختصاصى در
تمام ولايات كشور ، به حل عادلانه اين مشكل اجتماعى ببردازد.
 بايد زمينه كار را در سكتورهاى مختلف اقتصادى، اجتماعى و فرهنگى جارئى جامعه طورى مهيا
 ازاحتياجات خو يش گردند. دولت بايد سهولت هايیى رابه وجود آورد تا باعرضه مسارياءي هاى ماهوار وخدمات ضرورى به رفع كمبودى هاى لازمى احتياجات آنها بيردازد .


 زنده گى خو يش را خودشان رفع نمايند.

برخوردار است. دولت با يد طرح و تصويب برنامه دقيق وهمه جانبه مسائل مر بوط ملكيت و مناسبات ارضى وحل عادلانه منازعات ناشى از آنها را بخاطر استقرار نظم و ثبات در جامعه، در اولو يت ا قدامات بنيادى خو يش قرار دهد.
به عقيده من، اساس بر نامه مذكور را بايد توجه جدى به استحكام اسام پايه حقوقى
مسايل مربوط به ملكيت ومناسبات ارضى تشكيل دهد. به عباره ديگر تصويب قوانين، مقررات و لوايحى كه تمام جوانب موضوع را مبتنى بريحى نظم حقوقى سازد، مسئله يى است كه از اهميت و يزه ميتودولو زيك در بر نامه دولت برخوردار خواهد بود. ملكيت ومناسبات ارضى در افغانستان، بخاطر كمبود اراضى تحت زرع همواره منبع تشنجات اجتماعى ومنازعات مضمن بوده است. جنگڭهاى بيست وینج ساله معضالات نو ينى را در اين زمينه خلق نموده كه فشرده آنها عبارت انداز: - ضعف وحتى خلاى دولت مركزى و در نتيجه آن عدم موجوديت قانونيت در كشور، باعث هرج و مرج، از بين رفتن نظم عنعنوى پارينه در تمام ساحات زندگى اجتماعى وبه خصوص در ارتباط به ملكيت ومناسبات ارضى گرديده است . - تخريب زيربناى اقتصادى در شهر و روستاو گسترش فقر وبيكارى كه درنتيجه آن كميت دهاقين بى زمين وكم زمين روستا هاى كشور نهايت با لارفته وبه عدالت اجتماعى آسيب زيادى رسيده است.

- مهاجرت وبيجا شدن بيش از ثلث نفوس كشور وعودت چند خانواده بجاى هر يك از خانوادهاى بيجا شده، بخاطر از دياد نفوس، در حاليكه ساحه ملكيت شان ثابت باقى مانده ومعضله كمبود زمين را چچند برابر ساخته است. - املا كى خصوصى، عامه، دولتى، وقفى وكمو نهاى رو ستائى از جانب زور گو يان وتفنگَ بدستان مورد تعرض قرار گرفته وبا سوء استفاده ازماشين دولتى وبا اعمال فشار و ترتيب اسناد جعلى، غصب و در بسيارى از موارد، چند بار مورد خريد و فروش غرير غيرقانونى قرار گرفته وحل منازعات املاكى را نهايت بغرنج ساخته است.

كار اضافى و جانبى و يا مبادرت به اخذ رشوه و اختلاس ميسازد. لذا، دولت بخاطر حفظ قيمت هاى مواد مورد ضرورت اوليه در سطح عادلانه آن، بايد در بازار مداخله نمايد و بمثابه يكى ازطرفين عمده معاملات باعرضه همين اجناس، باسكتورخصوصى به رقابت ببردازد. بهترين راه اين مداخله، توزيع رايگان مواد مورد ضرورت اوليه به معلمان، مامور ين وكارمندان دولت ازطريق كوپون بوده است. توزيع رايگان مواد مورد ضرورت اوليه توآم با بلند بردن معقول ومناسب معاشات، از بلند رفتن قيمت هاى مواد مذكور در بازار جلوگيرى ميكند وبر قيمت كالا هاى ديگردر بازار نيز به نفع مستهلكين تاثير مثبت وارد مينمايد. با بهترشدن زنده گى معلمان، مامور ين و كارمندان دولتى، كيفيت كار بالا رفته و يكى ازعوامل عمده فساد ادارى از بين ميرود.

## ث - مسألك بـى سر پـناهى :

بى سر پناهى يكى از پرابلم هاى عمده افغانستان امروزى به شمار ميرود. تخريب روستاها وبه و يزه شهرها در جر يان جنگى هاى داخلى و بازگشت مليونها مهاجر افغان، كه در اين سه دهه هر خانواده آنها به چجند خانواده مستقل از دياد يافته، بیى سر پـناهى را به يکى معضله عمده اجتماعى مبدل ساخته و خواهان توجه هرچهه عاجلتر دولت است. حكومت بايد با مشخص ساختن هرجه عاجلتر ماستر پـلان شهر كابل وشهر هاى ديخر افغانستان و آغاز پروسه تطبيق آن از چور و پچپاول زمينهاى دولتى و ملكيت هاى عامه وفروش غيرقانونى وخود سرانه آنها جلوگيرى نمايد و از طريق توزيع نمرات زمين و فروش آپارتمان ها به اقساط داراى ربح پائين به مستحقين، به مشكل بى سر پناهى خاتمه دهد.

## ج - مسألك ملكيت ها :

در طول تار يخ، اقتصاد افغانستان، عمدتاً به سكتور هاى زراعت ومالدارى استوار
بوده وبه همين مناسبت، مسائل مربوط به ملكيت ومناسبات ارضى از اهميت و يزه يى
ح- بيكارى :

در افغانستان امروز /ه / امليون بيكاراند كه بيشتر از •آدر صد افراد قادر به كار جامعه افغانى را تشكيل ميدهد. ازبين رفتن انفرستركجر اقتصادى ومهارتهاى كارى در
 مهاجر ين به كشور ازعوامل عمده موجوديت ارتش عظيم بيكاران در افغانستان مى باشد. مداخله دولت در پروسه اعمار انفرستركجٍر اقتصادى كه درنتيجه ان زمينه براى سرمايه گذاريهاى گسترده متشبثين داخلى وخارجى مهيا و آهنگ رشد اقتصادى چند برابر خواهد شدوهمچچنين تربيه كارگران ماهر از طريق ايجاد شبكه وسيع تخنيكم ها وسازماندهى كورسهاى قصيرالمدت وطو يل المدت- از وسايل عمده محو بيكارى در افغانستان مى باشد.

## خ - مسأله مهاجر يـن، عودت كنندگان و بيـجا شده گان:

بحران مزمن سياسى و تحولات دولتى سه دهه اخير افغانستان، توأم با مهاجرت هاى بدون وقفه اقشار مختلف مردم به و يزه روشنفكران به خارج از كشور بوده است. اين مهاجرت هاى موجى، زمانى وسيع و كتله يى و زمانى مـحدود و آرم بوده كه در آن چند مرحله را ميتوان مشخص نمود
 عده يى از روشنفكران مربوط به خانواده سلطنتى به خارج و عمدتاً به اروپا و ايالات
 دستگاه دولتى كه نميتوانستند با كودتا سازش نمايند و يا پار ينه مناسبات سـرد با محمد داود داشتند، نيز شامل بودند.
 و حفيظ الله امين، انبوهى از مردم و روشنفكران غير وابسته - معلمان، استادان، rv

- پرابلم چراگاه ها كه قبلا هم عامل تشنج و منازعات قومى ميگرديد، در اين ربع اخير قرن چنان پیچچيده شده است، كه حل عادلانه آن به درايت و جديت فوق العاده يى نياز دارد. ساحات مورد استفاده عنعنوى اهالى محلى وكوچى از چراگاه ها، دستخوش تغيرات غير قانونى وخود سرانه گرديده است. عدم توجه جدى به اين معضله به مفهوم حفظ يكى از عوامل عمده نا آرامى و تشنجات دايمى در جامعه خواهد بود. - بى زمينى و كم زمينى توأم باقلت آب وخشك ساليها، يكى ازعوامل عمده فقر،

تشنجات اجتماعى وعدم استفاده عنعنوى از زمين و ترو يج كشت كوكنار بوده است. - فساد ادارى در دهه اخير وبه ويزه بعد از سقوط طالبان چنان گسترش يافته كه نظير آن درطول تار يخ افغانستان به مشاهده نرسيده است. اين پديده مهلك اعتماد مردم را از محاكم و نظام حقوقى افغانستان، بخاطر حل منازعات املاك، سلب نموده وباعث نارضايتى گسترده مردم از دولت گرديده است.

- دفاتر و اسناد املاك مورد دستبرد و جعلكارى قرارگرفته ودر بعضى مدحلات از جانب زور گو يان بكلى ازبين رفته اند. - عوايد دولت از املاكى نهايت پائين آمده و در برخى موارد، ماليات بر املاكى به هيج

مبدل شده است. در حاليكه اين ساحه بايد يكى از منابع خوب عايداتى دولت گردد. به عقيده من فروش ملكيتهاى دولتى وبخصوص زمينهاى دولتى درمطابقت با برنامه رشد زراعت وصنعت - يكى از منابع بزرگ عوايد دولتى خواهد بود، كارى را كه تفنگی بدستان بصورت غيرقانونى انجام ميدهند وبايد جداً از آن جلوگيرى صورت گرفته و مرتكبين اين
جرايم مورد تعقيب عدلى قرار گيرند.

طرح فشرده برنامه حل دشوار يهاى ملكيت، مسائل مربوطه و پايه حقوقى آن از جانب
من مستقلانه ارائه خواهد شد.

شهر هاى افغانستان جر يان داشته و نتيجه آن و يرانى دهات و قصبات ، تلفات روسـتائيان و از بين رفتن دارايى هاى منقول و غير منقول آنها شد. در فرجام بخش اعظم ساحه روستايى افغانستان ميان گروه ها ى مختلف تنظيم هاى جهادى تقسيم گرديد. بعد از سقوط دولت دوكتور نجيب الله، تنظيم هاى جهادى در رقابت و مخاصمت با يكدگر، جنگگ را از روستا ها به مراكز ولايات و شهرها، كه تا آن زمان سالم باقى مانده بودند، كشانيدند و به زودى اكثريت آن ها را تخر يب كردند. از آن جمله شهر كابل و بنــا هاى تار يخى آن به مخروبه يیى مبدل گرديد. تعداد قابل ملاحظه شهروندان كابل و شهر هاى ديگر افغانستان، زخمى، معيوب و يا كشته شدند و يا در نتيجه اين جنگها مساكن خود را از دست دادند.

اين پديده درسالهاى •rvا ( 1991)عامل بروز موج كتلوى ووسيع مهاجرت شهريان، روشنفكران غير وابسته و به خصوص اعضا و هواداران حزب وطن گرديد. اكثريت قاطع اين مهاجرين به پاكستان، ايران و جمهورى هاى اتحاد شوروى سابق كوچيدند و عده يیى هم از اين كشورها و يا مستقيماً از افغانستان به كشورهاى دور دست مهاجرت نمودند.

از كودتاى V ثور TVV ( خانواده ها در داخل و يا مهاجرت اقشار مختلف جامعه و توده هاى مردم، چنان مقياس گسترده يى را به خود گرفت كه در تار يخ شش هزار ساله افغانستان سابقه نداشت و تعداد آن ها تا سقوط رزيم طالبان به بيشتر از شش مليون رسيد.
 گسـترده جامعه جهانى به افغانستان پروسه عودت مهاجرين به شكل كتلوى آغاز گرديد. تا اواخرسال پاكستان و ايران بودند به بيشتر از چهار مليون رسيد.

فرهنگيان ديگر و متخصصان رشته هاى مختلف و تكنوكرات هاى با تجربه، كشور را ترى
 مهاجرت كردند. بر خورد افراطى و دور ازواقعيـــت هاى جامعه افغـــــنى در تحقق فرامين و ر يفورم ها، زندانى كردن ها، شكنجه و اعدام هاى بدون مححاكمه و سركوب مخخالفين با استفاده از نيرو هاى نظامى، به شمول نيروهاى هوايى، نارضايتى گسترده را در ميان اقشار


 شدند. اين اقدامات عامل طولانى شدن موج مهاجرت هاى مردم افغانستان و قوت هرچها بيشتر آن گرديد.

در زمان زمامدارى ببرى كارمل و سالهاى اول رياست جمهورى دوكتور نجيب الله مهاجرت مردم به شمول روشنفكران بدون وقفه ادامه پیدا كرد. اما اين پروسه با شتاب سابق نبود و محدود تر و آرام تر جر يان داشت.
 19199 از افغانستان ، موج نوين مهاجرت مردم ، به خصوص روشنفكران وابسته به دولت به خاطر ترس از سقوط حكومت دوكتور نجيب الله، به پيمانه محسوس بالا رفت، كه بعد از دفاع موفقانه ارتش دولتـى از جلال آباد درماه حمل حاكميت دولتى بر اكثريت شهرها و مراكز ولايات كشور ، اين پروسه دوباره محدود و ارام كرديد.

در آستانه سقوط حكومت دوكتور نجيب الله تعداد مجموعى مهاجرين افغان در
كشور هاى مختلف جهان در حدود سه مليون تخمين زده ميشد.
جنغهاى سال هاى 1

بيجا شده گان، مورد حمايت و مساعدت دولت قرار گيرند . نكات اساسى اين ستراتيزى چنين خلاصه ميشود:

- افغانانى كه در اين سه دهه به كشورهاى مـختلف مهاجرت نموده اند، در مطابقت با بند ( ( ) ماده (Y) و بند (Y) ماده (Y (Y) قانون اساسى افغانستان، افغان شناخته شده، از تابعيت محروم نميخردند و دولت مكلف به حمايت از حقوق آن ها درخارج از كشوراست. بازگشت مهاجرين به كشور، بايد داوطلبانه و بدون اعمال فشار باشد. در شرايط كنونى، كه هنوز امنيت كامل در سراسر افغانستان وجود ندارد، هيج كشور جهان در مغايرت با فقره ( (I) ماده (If) اعالاميه جهانى حقوق بشر، حق ندارد، مهاجرين افغان را وادار به عودت به وطن شان سازد. وزارت خارجه و مقامات ديگر دولتى از طريق نمايندگى هاى خارجى خو يش، مكلف انل، تا با استفاده از تمام وسايـل مشروع، از چنين شيـــوه هاى نادرست برخورد با افغان ها در خارج از كشور ، جلو گيرى نمايند. - عودت كامل مهاجرين، ارتباط متقابل و ناگسستنى با حل دشوارى آن هايیى دارد كه بعداز سقوط رزيم طالبان در اين چهارسال ونيم، به وطن عودت نموده اند. مهـاجر ينى كه داوطلبانه به وطن عودت نموده اند و تعداد آن ها به بيش از چهار مليون تن ميرسد، با انبوهى از مشكالات و عمدتاً با دشوارى هاييكه فوقاً تذكر رفت، مواجه گرديده اند. براى حل اين مشكالات، قبل از همه بايد هرچه زود تر پروگرام امنيت و اصالاحات ادارى ، كه به گونه تيزس ها و نهايت فشرده در اين برنامه قبلاً مطرح شده است، عملى گردند. بدون جمع آورى سـلاح واصالاحات عميق ادارى كه درحل عادلانه مسأله ملكيت مساعدت خواهد كرد، دولت هيچچگاه قادر نخواهد شد، تا مصئونيت عودت كننده گان را تأمين نمايد و جلو غصب ملكيت ها و دارايى هاى آن ها را توسط تفنگگ بدستان و زور گو يان بخيرد.

نيرومندى دولت مركزى و از بين رفتن تعدد مراكزقدرت، زمينه تطبيق يكسان و بدون تبعيض قانون را بر همه شهروندان ميسر خواهد ساخت و ر يفورم عميق سيستم عدلى -

عودت مهاجر ين توأم با مطرح شدن پروبلم هاى سابقه و پد ید آمدن ده ها دشوارى جديد بوده است كه عمده ترين آنها چنين خلاصه ميشوند: 1- غصب دارايى هاى منقول و ملكيت هاى غير منقول مهاجرين در غياب آنها توسـط قوماندانان و مليشه هاى مربوط به تنظيم هاى مـختلف جهادى. r- خريد و فروش ملكيت هاى مهاجرين بر مبناى ترتيب و تهيه اسناد جعلى، با استفاده از ادارات دولتى•

؟ - بـ زم زمينى و كم زمينى روستائيانى، كه دراين زمـــان بيشتر از دو دهه، به تعداد نفوس آنها افزوده شد و بجاى يک خانواده مهاجر، به طور متوسط سه، چهار خانواده عودت كردند كه اين واقعيت به مشكل بى زمينى شدت هرچه بيشترى بخشيد. Y - تخريب زيربناى اقتصادى در جنگ هاى WQ ساله، عدم موجوديت امنيت كامـل و در نتيـجه فقدان اقليم مناسب سرمايه گذارى و پائين آمدن ظرفيت ها بـخاطر عدم موجوديت مهارت هاى كارى، عامل بلند بودن سطح بيكارى افراد قادر به كار در ميان عودت كنندگان گرديده است.
ه - فقد ان سر پناه بخاطر ازدياد نفوس و همچچنين تخر يب مساكن مهاجر ين در جنگگ هاى داخلى در مناطق اصلى شان، موجب تمركز عودت كنندگان در شهر ها و به و يزه پايتخت كشور گرديده است.

4- 4 ضعف دولت مركزى و تعدد مراكز قدرت باعث غصب ملكيت هاى اقليت هاى قومى در برخى مناطق، و از آن جمله شمال كشور، از جانب قوماندان و مليشه هاى نظامى مربوط به تنظيم هاى مختلف جهادى گرديده است. در نتيـجه ، هزار ها خانواده وادار به ترک خانه و زادگاه خو يش شده و به مناطق ديگر كشور پناه برده و ارتش بزرگ بيجا شدگان را تشكيل داده اند.

حل دشوارى هاى فوق، ضرورت به طرح يک ستراتيزى جد اگانه دارد، تا مطابق به يک تقسيم اوقات زمانى و با مشخص ساختن اولو يت ها، مهاجرين، عودت كنندگان و

اين معضله توجه نمود و در اخير قرن 19 بيشتر از 19 هز هزار خانواده كوچى را در نواحى اندخوى، شبرغان و سر يل مسكون ساخت. از نيمه دوم سالهاى •† قرن بيستم تعداد قابل ملاحظه كوچى ها در هزاره جات ومناطق ديخر كشور نيز جاگزين شدند. درسالهاى
 شر يف از جانب حكومت محمد ظاهر شاه مسكون گرديدند.

در نيمه دوم سالهاى • دولت افغانستان با ايالات متحده امر يكا موافقت نامه يى را به امضا رسانيد، كه بر مبناى آن كمكى هاى كمپنى مور يسن كنودسن را به خاطر احداث شبكه آبيارى مناطق غربى كشور جلب نمود. حكومت محمد ظاهر شاه قبل از اين موافقه، پِان مسكون ساختن ••اهزار كوتى را در زمين هايكه بايد جديد آ تحت زرع قرار ميگرفت، طرح نمود. اين پلان كه بايد در پرورْه وادى هلمند و ارغنداب تطبيق ميشد، روى كاغذ باقى ماند. زيرا به تعدادى از خانواده هاى كوجى در اين مناطق زمين هم داده شد، و اما به مناسبت عدم مساعدت هاى دولت، مجبور به ترك آن نواحى گرديدند. در دوران حكومت ده ساله محمد داود ديگر به مساله كوجى ها معطوف گرديد و عده يى از پروزه هاى نواحى مختلف كشور از قبيل پكتيا، كتواز، كنر ، وغيره بعد آ در طرح سومين پِلان پنجساله رشد اقتصادى و اجتماعى افغانستان، به هدف آماده ساختن شرايط مناسب براى مسكون ساختن يى عده از كوچى ها در اين مناطق كنجانيده شدند. اين طرح ها نيز نتيجه لازمى به بار نياورد. در سالهاى •\& مساله كوجى ها هنوز هم حادتر گرديد. زيرا ازجانبى پروسه طبقه بندى در قبايل كوچى تعميق هر چه بيشتر ی پيدا نمود و از جانب ديگر اراضى مزروعى با گذشت هر سال توسعه يافته، ساحه علفچجر ها محدود تر ميگرديد. بعد از سقوط رزيم سلطنتى در سال (19Vr (1ror)، حكومت جمهورى توزيع زمين به كوچى ها را، در كنار دهاقين بى زمين وكم زمين، در قانون اصلاحات ارضى تسجيل نمود. ولى حكومت محمد داود به تحقق آن موفق نگرديد.

قضايى كشور، اعتماد مردم را دوباره بر دولت جلب و عدالت را برقرار خواهد كرد.
تطبيق اصالحات ارضى از طريق اعمارشبكه هاى آبيارى و مزروع ساختن زمين هاى دولتى و توزيع آنها به كوپیى ها، دهاقين بى زمين و كم زمين و به ويثه عودت كنددگان ، مشكل بيكارى و تقاضاى خانواده هاى روستايى را به زمين ازبين خواهـــد برد. همحچنين مشكلات ملكيت، بى سرپناهى و بيكارى عودت كننده گان، توأم با شهروندان ديگر، بادر نظر گرفتن و عملى نمودن پيشنهادات قبلاً طرح شده در اين برنامه، حل خواهند شد.

- معضله بيجا شده كان نيز ناشى از ضعف دولت مركزى و حاكميت تفنگى در
 مشكالات عودت كننده گان و بيجا شده گان نخواهد شد، بلكه بحران دولتى ( سياسى، اقتصادى ، فرهنگى و امنيتى) در كشور هرچه بيشتر گسترش پيدا خواهد كرد.


## د - مسأله كوچى هـا :

 افغانستان به זمليون و YVF هزار تن ميرسيد. از جمله تمام ولايات كشور، زياد ترين كوچى ها در ولايات غور ،كابل، هرات، بادغيس، جوزجان، سمنگان، بغلان، وفارياب متمركز گرديده بودند. علت اساسى آن ششرايط مناسب مالدارى، وفورگراگاه ها ها وعلفچֶرها در ولايات مذكور ميباشد. طبق آمار سال
 مربوط به اقوام چهار ايماق، ازبك، هزاره، روخشانى، براهوى، عرب، مغل، گوجر، جت، تركمن، پشه يی، وحبش بوده اند.
 اجتماعى - اقتصادى، جامعه افغانى بوده است. براى بار اول امير عبدالرحمن خان به حل

حل معضلهُ كمبود زمين، امكان پذير خواهدبود. درعين زمان دولت بايد به دهاقين دررفع احتياجات شان به تخم بذرى، كودكيمياوى، ادو يه ضد امراض نباتى وحيوانى وكشت بديل مساعدت نمايد. اين مساعدت ها بايد ازطريق ايجاد صندوق ويزه انكشاف زراعتى وگسترش شبكه نماينده گى ها ى آن در و لايات كشور و كريدت هاى بدون ربح آنها به كشاورزان سازماندهى گردد.

ر - متقاعد يـن :
متقاعدين در افغانستان يكى ازمحرومترين قشرجامعه افغانى را تشكيل ميدهند. افرادى كه همه عمر توانمند خو يش رابه خدمت وطن وقف نموده اند، درسالخورده گى فراموش گرديده و ازحداقل امكانات زنده گى محروم اند. دولت بايد هرچهه زودتر به حل اين معظله توجه جدى نمايد

درشرايط بعد ازسه دهه جنگگ واز بين رفتن اسناد وآرشيف ها، تقسيم متقاعدين به كتگورى هاى مختلف ودرجه بنديهاى آنها به خاطر پرداخت حقوق تقاعد برمبناى سطح معاشات قبل ازتقاعد وسالهاى كارآنها، نهايت دشوار است. لذا درارتباط به اين مسأله درسه جهت بايد كارصورت گيرد:
ا- فعلاَ براى تمام متقاعدين، معاشى پرداخته شود كه حداقل احتياجات آنها را به امتعه مورد نياز اوليه رفع نمايد.
r- برنامه يى براى تفكيى متقاعدين به اساس مقدارمعاش قبل از تقاعد وسالهاى كارشان طرح و در مدت سه سال تطبيق گردد، تا برمبناى آن متقاعدين حقوق متفاوت ماهوارخو يش را به دست آورند وعدالت اجتماعى تامين گردد. دراين حالت نيز بايد حقوق هيج متقاعد كمترازسطحى نباشد كه احتياجات آنها را به امتعه مورد نياز اوليه رفع ننمايد. ץ- براى افرادى كه هنوز تقاعد نكرده اند و در موسسات دولتى و غ غير دو لتى مشغول كاراند، بايد با استفاده از تجارب كشور هاى ديگر در مطابقت با شرايط افغانستان، نظام
تقاعدى باز سازى گرددودر قانون جديد تسجيل شود.
 هر نوع سازندگى را به نابودى كشانيد. بدين ترتيب، مسأله كوجى ها حل ناشده باقى ماند و از رزيم هاى سابقه به حكومت رئيس جمهور حامد كرزى بـا به ميراث رسيد.

حل مسأله كوچى هاتنها وتنها، از طريق ساكن شدن آنها ميسر است. حكومت دراين رابطه بايد هر چه زودتر برنامه ويزه يى راطرح و درمعرض اجرا قرار دهد. در اين برنامه بايد قبل از همه آمار دقيق كوجى ها و نيمه كوجى ها با مناطق كوچيدن آنها، در هنگام شمارش نفوس همه كشوربر مبناى توزيع تذكره، مشخص گردد. سپس پرورْه هايى روى دست گرفته شوند، كه در آنها با اعمار شبكه هاى آبيارى ومزروع ساختن زمين هاى باير دولتى، در مناطق نزديكـ به مسير كوچيدن شان، زمينه توزيع زمين به كوچى ها و ساكن شدن آنها مساعد گردد. علاوه بر آن در برنامه مذكور كوجى هاى مسكون شده در اراضى جديد بايد براى حداقل پنج سال از پرداخت هرنوع ماليات بر اراضى ومواشى معاف گردند. همیچنين در طول همين مدت دولت بايد در رفع نيازمندى هايشان به تخم بذرى، كودكيماوى، و ادويه ضد امراض حيوانى و نباتى مساعدت نمايد. بدينگونه، در قرن بيست و يكم، افغانستان بالخره از زنده گى بدوى كوچیدن بخش قابل ملاحظه اتباع خو يش نجات يافته، به حل يكى از بییحده ترين وسرسخت ترين معظله هاى اجتماعى خو يش موفق خواهدشد. حل مسألهُ كوچى ها به تسريع رشد اقتصادى - اجتماعى وفرهنگى همه كشورمساعدت
چششم گيرى خواهدنمود.

ذ - موادمـخدر :
زرع، توليد وترافيك مواد مخدر يكى از پرابلم هاى اساسى جامعه افغانى است. حل ريشه يى اين معظله، از طريق جمع آورى كامل سلاح، ازبين بردن تعدد مراكزقدرت ونيرومندى دولت مركزى وتامين قانونيت در كشور و همحچنين حل معظله بيكارى درروستاهاى افغانستان ازطريق انكشاف كشاورزى صعنتى واصالاحات ارضى به خاطر

افغانستان بايد با تمام كشورهاى جهان وبه ويثه كشورهائيكه درمبارزه عليه تروريزم، نيروهاى ضددموكراسى وعقبخرا بامردم افغانستان هساعدت مينمايند، مناسبات خو يش را گسترش دهد.

## * * * *

همه اين اقدامات بالا، عدالت اجتماعى را تامين وزمينه را براى انكشاف سريع اقتصادى - اجتماعى وفرهنگى كشور مساعد خواهد ساخت. در نتيجه، افغانستان در مدت كمتر از يك ونيم دهه، در توليد بسيارى از كالاهاى مورد نياز، به يك كشور متكى به خود، مبدل خواهد شد.

ششـم - در ساحـه سيـاست خارجـى :
 جهانى قرار گرفته است. علاقه مندى جدى بسيارى از كشور هاى جهان و بو يزه كشور هاى عضو پیمان ناتو و در راس ايالات متحده امريكا وهمـچنين جاپان استراليا و دولتهاى همسایه در ايـجاد روابط حسنه با افغانستان ومساعدت در باز سازى آن، چانس بى نظير و تار يـخى را نصيب افغانستان نموده است. در حاليكه امكانات و ظرفيت هاى داخلى بـخاطر استغاده اعظمى ازاين شرايط مساعدبين المللى در افغانستان جنگگ زده وجود ندارد، قسمت اعظم موفقيتها كشور در صـحنه جهانى بعد از سقوط رزيـم طالبان، مرحون ابتكارات كشورهاى خارجى و به خصوص ائتلاف ضد ترور يزم بين لمللى بوده است. اكثريت كارمنـدان وزارت خارجـه و از آن جمله نماينده گی هاى خارجى آن، افراد غير حرفوى اند. تعداد زيادى از ديیلوما ت هاى تحصيل يا فته وبا تـجربه افغانستان در مهاجرت زنده گیى ميكنند و يا در داخل كشور بيكار و يا هم در پست هاى فرعى وححا شيه وى قرار داده شده اند. وزارت خارجه مانند همه ماشين دولتى به بازسازى واصالحات عميق ادارى نياز دارد. ديیلومات هاى حرفوى، كادرهاى با تجربه و دانشمندان افغانى، تجارب كشورهاى دوست را در كشور ها ى ديخر جهان با شرايط و يزه افغانستان مطابقت خواهند داد و مساعدت جامعه جهانى را در مبارزه با تروريزم و انكشاف اقتصادى اجتماعى و فرهنگی افغانستان را بر مبناى اولو يت ها هر چه بيشتر هدفمند وثمر بخش خواهند ساخت. بايد از ديپلو مات هاى افغانى در داخل وخارج از كشور هرچه زود تر دعوت به عمل آيد تا دربازسازى وزارت خارجه و نماينده گى هاى آن در خارج سهم فعالى گرفته و با اجراى وظايف در ادارات آن، دين وطنى خو يش را ادا نمايند.

