

# Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS)

## Herat Security Dialogue-VIII

"Settlement of Afghanistan Conflict: Opportunities and Obstacles"

18-19 October 2019-Herat

### Conference Report



[www.aiss.af](http://www.aiss.af)

AISS-HSD-08-2019

## Contents

About AISS .....	1
A Short Introduction to the Herat Security Dialogue Series.....	3
Concept Note .....	3
Opening session .....	5
Panel I: An Inter-Elite Consensus: Nationalism & Governance .....	17
Question and answer: .....	28
Panel II: Taliban 1 & 2: Have They Learned Their Lesson?.....	29
Question and Answer: .....	35
Panel III: Economic and Social Transformation .....	36
Question and Answer: .....	41
Panel IV: South Asia: A Paradigm Change?.....	42
Question and Answer: .....	44
Panel V: Truth, Forgiveness and Peace .....	46
Question and Answer: .....	55
Panel VI: Enforcement & Guarantor(S) .....	56
Question and Answer: .....	67
Concluding Panel: The Way Forward.....	68
Question and Answer: .....	76
Note of Thanks of Director of AISS .....	77
Annex 1: Short Bios of the Presenters and Moderators .....	79
Annex 2: The Agenda .....	87
Annex 3: list of participant.....	89
Annex 4: Links of the National and international Media Covered the conference. .	93
Annex 5: HSD-VIII Photos .....	94

## About AISS

### **Mission**

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) was established in October 2012 and has since become a premier research institution in Afghanistan. It aims to create an intellectual space for addressing strategic issues pertaining to Afghanistan in the wider regional and international contexts. AISS seeks to foster timely discussions on Afghanistan by publishing high-quality research reports and promoting dialogue amongst a wide spectrum of stakeholders. All our activities and programs are based on the principles of Professionalism, Independence, Internationalism and Progressive Values.

### **Objective and Goals:**

AISS is an independent, not-for-profit research institute dedicated to providing qualitative, non-partisan and policy-oriented research, publication, translation of books/reports, professional training and policy advocacy with distinct focus on Afghanistan. A cross-cutting priority of AISS is to empower the youth through specific programmatic initiatives, as the youth represent the future of the country.

### **Means and Activities:**

In order to contribute to ongoing efforts in consolidating Afghanistan's fragile achievements and realize the nation's immense human and natural resources, AISS uses a series of instruments, including:

- Conducting independent researches
- Entering partnership agreement with respected and like-minded research institutes
- Publication (books and journals)
- Translation of important books/articles from English into Farsi/Pashto and vice versa
- Organizing seminars, conferences, workshops (provincial, national, international) and briefings
- Offering executive type leadership training programs
- Initiating and sponsoring annual public awards for recognizing outstanding Afghan youth and international personality
- Integrating conventional and modern social media tools/networks in all its activities.

## **Research Focus Areas**

AISS conducts timely research in a broad range of political, economics and societal issues. Our current research areas include: Democratic-state building process; National Security; Peace Studies; Sustainable Economic Development; Regional Cooperation/integration; US/West-Afghanistan Strategic partnerships; Islamic Renaissance; and Khorassan of ideas (national/regional cultural integration/renewal).

## **Board of Advisors**

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta, Chairperson of the Board (Afghanistan)

Dr. Barnett R. Rubin (USA)

Dr. David Samuel Sedney (USA)

Dr. Sima Samar (Afghanistan)

Professor Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh (France)

Dr. Radha Kumar (India)

Ambassador Kai Eide (Norway)

Professor Wang Jisi (China)

Ahmad Nader Nadery (Afghanistan)

## **Office Address**

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies, Qala Noh Borja, Kart-e-Parwan, Kabul, Afghanistan

Phone: 0093 202232881

Website: [www.aiss.af](http://www.aiss.af)

## **A Short Introduction to the Herat Security Dialogue Series**

The Herat security Dialogue (HSD) is an annual international conference held by the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies in the historical city of Herat. The essential aim of this conference is to provide an opportunity for representatives of the countries to discuss on issues concerning cooperation and collaboration on areas of security, politics, culture and development, both domestically and internationally.

The eight round of Herat Security Dialogue was held under the theme of “Settlement of Afghanistan Conflict: Opportunities and Obstacles”. The two-day conference, held on October 18-19, 2019, was attended by high-ranking government officials, legislators, academicians, representatives of international organizations, media outlets and civil society.

### **Concept Note**

The Afghan conflict and the ensuing efforts to find a sustainable political settlement is reaching the inglorious 40th year anniversary in 2019. This tragic milestone has also been coincided with the 100th anniversary of Afghanistan's Independence from the colonial British power. The country has seen numerous types of conflicts and various attempts for conflict resolution.

Despite many attempts and prescriptions for the political settlement, none has succeeded in delivering a legitimate, effective and sustainable settlement to one of the world's longest wars. Ambassador Khalilzad, "a large than life" American diplomat, representing a "never heard and seen" American administration has reentered the Afghan conflict scene. He has already raised hope for an eventual settlement, while prompting fear of the "Taliban 2" nightmare in many constituencies. His early association with the "Taliban 1" has compounded the latter's fear.

Would his efforts result in America's second Vietnam and the Soviet's Afghanistan experience with ensuing catastrophic costs to the Afghans, US' credibility and regional and global stability? Or could he help initiate a second Bonn process to build upon the achievements of the first Bonn conference/process in which he played a crucial role in

late 2001? What would be the consequences of the Taliban 2 for the Afghans, the region and the wider global security? What should be the priorities, modality, pillars, timeline and guarantor(s) of a second Bonn process?

The 8th Herat Security Dialogue (HSD VIII) is dedicated to discuss the Afghan conflict and ensuing attempts for its resolution in broader historical, geographical and conceptual contexts, with particular focus on the future and "solutions".

**The topics and questions include:**

- The Prospect of an Inter-Afghan elite consensus over the state identity, can Civic Nationalism heal entrenched ethnic mistrust and hostility, particularly among the elites?
- Can horizontal and vertical delegation of power and democratization bring closer the state and society?
- Afghanistan Pakistan Relations: Is there a 21st century indigenous solution to a 19th century colonial problem?
- Have the Taliban left their ideological ivory tower?
- Is "Islamic Republic" a response to the challenge of Islamist Emirate/Caliphate?
- Can the US insulate Afghanistan from its ongoing competitions with Russia, China, and Iran, and vice versa?
- Can the regional powers (Iran, China, Russia, and India) fill the vacuum of an eventual US' departure?
- Can a UN-led peace-keeping mission replace the NATO-led stabilization mission?
- Can a Peace-Dividend Trust Fund alleviate Afghans' fear of the economic price of a peace settlement?
- Can Truth and Forgiveness complement Afghan peace?

## Opening session

The eight round of Herat Security Dialogue started with recitation of Quran, National Anthem, and recitation of hymns of Khaje Abdullah Ansari, Sufi musical performance and welcoming remarks by the governor of Herat, Mr. Abul Qayoom Rahimi.



Mr. Abul Qayoom Rahimi, the governor of Herat province commenced his welcoming remarks, saying it was a privilege for the people of Herat to host the eight rounds of the security dialogue. He said it has been forty years now that the Afghans are bearing the war and no one knows when the current conflict would end. I strongly believe that we would not reach peace agreement in other countries. So we must concentrate and work for peace in our districts and villages; it can be in Shindan of Herat and/or Mosa Qala districts of Helmand province.

We had the experience of peace agreement that had been imposed from outside which were delicate and failed. Moreover, we also had many sensitive moments in our history that Afghans talked to each other and resolve the underlying challenges by themselves. I think before integrating the peace talks, there is need of academic works and gathering to find out suitable ways for peace and Herat has a bright history and always has

welcomed such programs and initiatives. I call on both sides – the government and the Taliban and also on the international community that Herat is ready to host the Afghan peace talks and there is no need of other places.



### **Welcoming remarks by Dr Rangin Spanta, Chairperson of AISS Advisory Board**

Despite sharing some commonalities with every other social and political conflict, the current conflict in Afghanistan has its unique characteristics too.

Since 2008, western countries that have had their forces present in Afghanistan, specifically Britain, and some circles in the United States, coined the term insurgency to describe the Afghan conflict. Since then, this expression entered into the political language of the countries that are allies of Afghanistan.

Our politicians had two kinds of reactions to this expression – some did not resist the use of this expression, because they believed the single reason (or at least the main reason) of Afghan conflict was bad governance and corruption – while some who thought Afghan conflict had many reasons, and the main reason was foreign intervention, resisted the use of this expression.



I also believe this expression was not appropriate to describe the Afghan conflict. For me, the Taliban movement was not a peasant's movement, nor were they insurgents to fight corruption. Corruption is one of the reasons of this conflict, not the main reason.

Behind the popular word of insurgency laid a specific intention, since then, this word has been used frequently by Afghans and the international media, as well as during official political conversations of Afghan elite and the international community. This instigated the notion that the Taliban's movement consisted of some dissatisfied and rebellious forces that fought against the invasion of Afghanistan.

The reality is that from a scientific perspective, such interpretations had no real and physical implications; neither then, nor now. The real intention behind Afghanistan's bloody conflict is not because of presence of international military forces, or the resistance against invasion of them. Neither it is Jihad; Jihad is a justification to cover a widespread massacre of people and to spread extremism, dormancy of wisdom, and to resist democracy.

Pakistan and Taliban had started war against Afghanistan long before a single American or NATO soldier's boot touched the Afghan soil. However, the presence of international forces gave them an excuse to perpetuate the bloody conflict. It is because of this excuse that fighters are motivated and their alienist and Jihadi feelings are provoked; thus religion is misused.

For the past 18 years, the United States' strategy toward Afghanistan has been to assist Pakistan and partner with them. Not only the US did not fight the birthplace and safe-haven of Taliban, instead, they supported Pakistan with generous financial support.

In this conflict, the people of Afghanistan and Afghan security forces are defending the Constitution, the country's independency and integrity; while the political elites have sabotaged the spirit of the Constitution. Elites have diluted and destroyed the rule of law and the republic state's values to an extent that only a corpse is left of it.

Afghan civilians were bombed to such an extent that they started to doubt defending the goal of this war. Some people, even accepted the illusion that this conflict is a big conspiracy with many sub-conspiracies.

In this conflict, the US is stuck too; the only justification they have to continue the war is to fight against terrorism. This pretext is becoming outdated too, since the Taliban leaders and intellectual heads have been recognized as negotiating within the peace process; in addition to their official presence in the international conferences.

Afghanistan might be strategically valuable in the United States' broader (Global) security strategy to compete China in the region. Our neighboring country, Pakistan still seeks for a strategic depth in Afghanistan; while terrorist networks like, Al Qaeda and IS-K (which has no meaningful relation and contact to ISIS at Middle East) are pursuing their jihadist agenda. Drug Mafia and illegal business owners are another side of this conflict and beneficiaries of the war economy-they strive to benefit from this situation and accumulate as much wealth as they can. From the national interest and perspective, their goals are illegal; and fighting for these goals are considered illegal as well.

In the meantime, this conflict is also a proxy and intelligent war.

The United States is against Russia and China, while Saudi Arabia and US are against Iran – the bilateral conflicts and dispute between India and Pakistan. But, at the end, it is only us, who suffered the most and become victims of the ongoing proxy efforts and proxy war.

We are entangled in a conflict which is not ours; so, there is no military solution for it. Because of multi factored nature of this conflict, violence and conflict continues itself, which Afghan people play little part in. We can also say that this conflict has become self-governing and a lifestyle. Behind this rampant violence lays destruction of our society's philanthropist values; as well as social & political values to strive for peace. We quickly return to daily routine after witnessing massacre of children, women, and civilians without questioning them.

So far this conflict has had no result except bloodshed. It is a pity that our youth are killed in dozens every day; while political elites compete to stick to a non-democratic, racist, and unlawful power that is supported by systematic fraud.

There is a famous saying that goes “If all wars had ended, we could have altered the world. Those who can live a dignified life in peace are turned into criminals in war. War unites all criminals”.

Even though it is my personal wish too, unfortunately I cannot speak about a just and democratic peace. Such peace would be a utopia; which is only possible if our leaders and ally countries have clear intentions. Only then we can easily reunite our people to strive for realization of ideal justice.

At first, Afghans wanted an impartial peace and gave many sacrifices for it; but bad governance and meaningless fights of western countries arising from regional rivalries have stripped this conflict of its fairness (if conflicts have any fairness at all).

Aristocracy nurtured by war is stripped of any patriotism. The last people fighting with heroism to defend this motherland are the national security forces.

Afghans are sick of conflicts with all the sacrifices they have suffered in the ongoing conflicts. People are weary of conflict, fraudulent election and corruption by political elites, who lie on a daily basis.

This slaughterhouse should be closed and we should bring peace to this land. This river of blood should be halted. We must put an end to this war. What we can do the least is, to bring society back to normality. This is possible only when Afghan people reach an agreement on the methods and contents of peace.

Undoubtedly, every supporter of democracy and justice wants impartial peace and wish to end structural violence. Mathias Jopp and Johan Galtung believed so too. “Every human who loves justice, wants justice to be realized inside a country’s boundaries with no less attention from the rest of the world; besides an ending to organize military violence. I i believe in such kind of peace and have struggled and will struggle until the realization of it.”

But the reality of our country is harsh; we must first accept the incomplete peace (which is known as OECD), which literally means absence of armed conflict. In other words, the absence of the current armed conflict and violence means peace for us. Even if we

reach a minimalistic peace, it will be a big step towards the right direction for our country.

But ladies and gentlemen, this so called peace process is not a peace for Afghans; it is merely peace between the United States, Pakistan and Taliban. On the other hand, the US officials insist that they only talk to Taliban over issues pertaining to the United States, and that the issues related to Afghanistan, should be discussed through intra-Afghan-talks.

Accordingly, since 2014 International forces' presence in Afghanistan is not legally approved by the UN Security Council's enactment. This presence is based on a mutual agreement between the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States with the approval from the international community. If there is any agreement regarding the withdrawal of these forces from Afghanistan, it ought to be between the Afghan government, US and NATO. But, currently, the negotiations are going on without presence of the Afghan government and allies as the talks are only being discussed between the US, Taliban and Pakistan.

The talks about assurance of Afghanistan not becoming a safe haven for other terrorist groups should be discussed with Afghanistan because any negotiation in this regard with the Taliban make two flaws.

First, accepting Taliban as de Facto and legal political force; which further means accepting Islamic Emirate's continuation.

Second, undermining the legitimacy of a state which the US and allies themselves officially recognize as a legitimate state of Afghanistan.

I believe on following factors that can play crucial role in the peace negotiations.

1. Peace process should be comprehensively led and owned by people and the state of Afghanistan.
2. Peace is not possible unless the government and the political elite are not agree on a framework and reach a consensus on fundamental contents of peace.

3. Any attempt to exclude the government, or insistence on the government's exclusive and leading role in the peace process will lead to offsetting of the peace supporters' front, and fortifies the opposite front.
4. Those whose survival, possession and ethnic power is not at stake should act responsibly toward the peace process. It is better to see peace as a national process, rather than an opportunity to compete for a non-state power.
5. Besides being aware of basics of global peace process, the negotiating team must be inclusive with strong commitment to defend the values of a Republic, constitution, justice and equality.
6. Values of the republic and the state's rule of law should be defended as an undeniable alternative to tyranny of an Islamic Emirate; or against a republic system where law, freedom and equality principles are constantly violated based on ethnic and linguistic affiliations. Our support for republic values doesn't mean supporting a hollow republic where people are disrespected and deprived of freedom. We defend a republic system, where people are treated equally regardless of their ethnic, racial, tribal, gender and linguistic affiliations. We defend a republic, where state officials and ordinary citizens are equally obeying the law. We defend a republic that does not tolerate populism, fraud, lie and exemption from the law. We defend a republic that reflect the people and respect their vote.
7. The number of Negotiating team's members should not be too many because it can prevent the effectiveness of talks.
8. Members of the negotiating team must be disciplined and coordinated on all issues related to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.
9. Peace does not mean eccentricity and turning to another Superpower; it should mean Afghan people's destiny is not in Pakistan's hand.
10. A sustainable peace requires Afghanistan not to be used as a field for proxy wars and should neither be used as hotspot of superpowers competition.
11. It is not possible unless the involved parties reach an agreement at this point and facilitate Afghanistan's neutrality; which should be guaranteed by regional superpowers and the United Nations. This plan should be part of the Afghan

peace process before full withdrawal of the international forces from Afghanistan.

12. Super powers, regional and Afghanistan's neighboring countries should guarantee the implementation of peace agreement; as well as regional country's noninterference in Afghanistan's affairs.

13. Even a minimalistic peace cannot survive without the rule of law, republic system governance, observance of human & citizenship rights and gender equality. The silence in a graveyard is an absence of noise, it is not peace. According to our religious doctrine graveyards, despite their apparent silence, are filled with grim unrest underground till doomsday; but no one reflects this unrest.

I thank my friend, Dr. Dawood Moradian, for inviting me here again this year, to express my opinions although I was not very eager to express them. I thank him and all his colleagues at the Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies for holding this conference.

I also thank the Governor of Herat, senior officials, academic, artists, and especially tolerant people of Herat for their hospitality.

I also thank guests coming from Kabul and other countries and warmly welcome them.

I wish you constructive and useful discussions in this conference. I welcome you to Herat city, my hometown. Use this opportunity to visit historical places, where you are reminded of nostalgic sound tracks of caravans that whisper the regretful loss of an old civilization.

As Rumi says:

I am the mute who have had a dream, and the whole world is deaf

I am unable to recount, the people are unable to hear it.



### **Ambassador Roland Kobia, Special Representative of the European Union**

Good morning everyone, it is my first time in Herat. First of all, I would like to thank AISS Chairman Dr Spanta and Dr Moradian for organizing the conference. It was important to come to Herat. We need to go out of Kabul and of course it is not easy for us. We are usually surrounded by security but it is important for us to go out and meet people. Herat with its history and also its future is a very important place. Herat has a rich culture and outstanding people. I came here to understand more and more about Herat city.

Many things have happened since last year on the peace process and I will concentrate on peace talks today and even though everybody seems to know about the election. So since last year, we have had nine rounds of bilateral talks between America and the Taliban, this increases the expectation of peace. Actually last year, people were wondering whether there will be a dialogue and today we are talking about what kind of dialogue. So this is the first step that has taken place. In the last year we have also seen two gaps talking each other. At the EU we believe that there is no alternative to dialogue if you want to bring peace. There have been exchanged hopes, concerns and all these diplomatic efforts have had ups and downs. There is some times more hopes

and sometimes frustration between the negotiator and also for the Afghans. Now the process is currently on hopes and when I am looking to the last year, we really believe that now it is not the time to disappoint and escape, it is the time to embrace each other. Looking back to the last five months, Afghanistan is ready for peace and Afghans are hungering peace, no one wants war. Europeans have about six thousand troops in the country and much more in the past but there is no military solution. Not only civilians even the military says that. So everybody, Afghans and international community understand that the war should be stopped. It created so much pains and suffering and now it is the time to try and cooperate for peace dialogue. Fortunately this country has known moments of hope. The window of opportunities have been always opened but missed. It is not enough to welcome peace we must capitalize on this efforts. If you run a Marathon, you can stop before finishing line. The five KM is hard and has its own difficulties. We have this feeling now, we are on the Marathon we do not see the finishing line yet but it is time to continue the effort. Several countries in the world have managed that recently. Ethiopia the last one, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia got the Nobel peace Prize. I dreamed the next year the Noble prize for Afghanistan but it is more than a title. The Afghan politicians must put the interest of the nation first, and above political and ethnic interests. So the time comes for the final push after so many years. We hope that the Afghans can come together for the peace process with differences. You can argue, you can disagree and fight not on the battle field, but on table and this is the first to create. Today, I would like to convey five messages:

1. This is the beginning, it is not the end. This is not the peace process; it is a part of the process, which paves the way for the Afghan peace process and talks between Afghans. We are certainly reminded every day that civilians are paying the high price of war. So we need to talk. The EU would like to call for ceasefire, not only for reduction of violence. It is important for the process. So the EU advocates for ceasefire. People say that ceasefire is an EU condition. People will not reopen the chapter that have been negotiated. It is not an EU condition. If you see the package that was negotiated between U.S. and Taliban was four points.

- a) Withdraw



- b) Counter terrorism
- c) Intra-Afghan dialogue
- d) Ceasefire

We must have ceasefire earlier. So it is not a new condition. It is just changing the sequence. The peace trust and compromise are two different issues. I want to say even though the talks between the Americans and the Taliban will take time to resume. I think this should not prevent the intra-Afghan negotiations.

2. The peace process must consolidate the incredible achievement of Afghanistan over the last eighteen years. Peace must not undermine the fundamental values. We must avoid the temptation to sacrifice or hurt democratic gains. If we risk these values, we would not have peace and democracy. Peace and democracy go hand and hand. They support each other.
3. I want to clear all different contingencies in this country. Many people believe that internationals are here for their aims. We want Afghanistan to stand on their feet. The long-term support of many countries around the world should not be taken for granted. The politicians and tax payers, citizens and parliament of many countries will only provide support to the future government of Afghanistan. If this government remains with a system of governance, if the underlying values are respected, the EU will be there for you. The EU is with you for reconstruction and development but we have principles for that.
4. We all know and many of you have done negotiations but the peace process must also be as transparent as possible. Negotiating is important but the fruit of negotiations is actually implementation. The voice of all Afghans, in particular women, minorities and youth must be heard, and must be integrated. The part that I want to insist on is that it takes time to negotiate and negotiation means making concession and making compromises on both sides.
5. The government needs to be a full-party to the negotiations. The international community can play important role, like helper and find any qualifications you wish but we should all be respecting the principle ownership of peace. If we want to create peace, let's not deviate from the principles.

So on, the base of these five points I can assure you that the EU will always be your partner. We are there to support. The EU is also ready to be a guarantor of the peace agreement, if this is required by the Afghans. This is your decision who should be your guarantor, not us. Early this weekend we met president Ghani and chief executive Abdullah and they both pass the message to me that they would like to see more support of peace efforts at all stages, before the negotiation, during the negotiation, after negotiation and after the peace process. The EU is advocating for a transparent intra-Afghan peace process. Once the process is launched, the EU will provide political and technical support. In this particular moment in which we are, we have no result of election, nothing happened on the peace process, so we should be waiting. We have more reasons to continue and work on both and try to resume the peace process and finish the election. The higher interest of Afghanistan is to work on unity. Politicians disagree on many things, for instance, social policy, development policy, on justice, energy and on anything but they should unite on one thing and that is to work on security, stability and peace in Afghanistan. That should be a uniting factor. All politicians in Kabul now must show the responsibility that is needed for this phase. The next president will negotiate peace and it is his interest to have solid and legitimate mandate based on full transparency and on a result that is accepted by everyone. I stress that now is the time for peace. The peace that is by Afghans and for the Afghans.

## Panel I: An Inter-Elite Consensus: Nationalism & Governance



### **Moderator:**

- Abdullah Azad Khenjani, Journalist

### **Speakers:**

- Dr. Timor Sharan, Deputy for Policy for Independent Directorate of Local Governance
- Dr. Mahiyuddin Mehdi, Former Member of Parliament
- Salem Shah Ebrahimi, Deputy National Security Council

### **Salim Shah Ibrahim**

Recently, an inter-ministerial team was assigned to study and evaluate the insecure districts to find out reason behind insecurity and violence in those districts. According to the findings, insecurity and violence in districts had two parts, which are as follows:

1. Local factors (deficiencies in local governance within the districts)
2. Extraterrestrial Factors (External Interventions, Role of International Terrorist Organizations, Neighbors' Interventions and External Intelligence Agencies, Crime Networks and their Supporter Organizations).

These two factors have been clearly studied and clearly seen. The study also discovered another matter which was mix-up of the threat. Most of these two concepts are even missed by the international organizations.

The past four decades have damaged social structures and individuals. At the local level, the vacuum that was created unfortunately filled by outsiders and individuals, and organizations. Sometime, these organizations have promoted extreme ideologies. They tried to teach us our religious lessons and we have many examples.

All this shows that institutionalization is more important than anything and it is a pressing priority, locally and nationally. Strengthening national and local structures and connecting them to the core of a constitutional and accountable system is vital. At the national level, the current constitution which was approved in 2003, the majority of the nation stood behind that which is the best example of making institutions.

The government is responsible for providing stability and delivering services to the citizens. People accept this system, for example three weeks ago; millions of Afghan participated in the elections, despite many threats and challenges. It clarifies that the Afghans have not lost their hopes yet form the government.

Institutionalizations are a long term process. For instance, Afghanistan security forces did their duty more professional than ever in the recent elections. They made better planning and coordination. All these preparations pave way for the presidential election. And, most importantly, they maintained their impartiality which had strengthened their credibility to the people.

About the institutionalization, it is not enough to build the structures only. There should be purposes and most important credibility and having trust of Afghans. It should be in such way where people should trust the institutions, and these entities must be able to provide conditions that everyone feels their rights are safe and protected by the structures.

In today's world, the unit of international relations is still the government. Although, there are international organizations, the government is still a unit of international relations. There is no alternative for government yet. I want to emphasize my sentence that the next thirty or fifty years the government will save its position and will play role

as bridge between countries and nations, unless it would create anarchy across the world. So government is irreplaceable.

I request from think-tanks, civil societies, politician and friends that work for national consensus and leave their short-term political interests and support the peace negotiations.

Our expectations from international and neighboring countries are to improve relations with institutions because the Afghans support this kind of engagements.

### **Dr Timor Sharan**

There are four characteristics to the elite in the Afghan history:

1. Amid a government with limited access, we can better study the Afghan elite using the theoretical framework of Douglas North's theory of "limited access to peace". A small network of tribal elites and tribesmen laid the groundwork for an empire that sought their own interests. It is the elites who guarantee or undermine political stability in Afghanistan, and it is the elite who understand each other's financial interests and political privileges. The empire established by Ahmad Shah Durrani in Afghanistan, according to Gregorian (originally a conference of tribal elites and Kings until a centralized monarchy established a joint-stock company in Afghanistan).
2. The fall of Governments: Historically, there has been political stability in Afghanistan when the balance of power has been established and guaranteed, as exemplified by the times of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Timur Shah, Dost Mohammad Khan, Zahir Shah and Mr. Karzai's first and second term. These periods are the balance of power guaranteed between the elites. The institutions were controlled by the elites of the country. This has caused problems in the process of state-building, but the role of local elites has become less prominent. We have studied every collapse date of governments. It collapse when a coalition formed between the local elites and some of the commanders in the center and overthrew the system. The only period in which 'Hakim' has guaranteed the stability of the kingdom and that is, one network has been able to integrate with other networks is the Abdul Rahman Khan era. Other periods, such as the time of Shah, Shah

Shuja, Shirali Khan, Dawood Khan and Amanullah Khan, are periods that the Afghan political elites cannot guarantee the country's political stability and governments collapse.

3. Foreign dependence of the Afghan elite: Throughout the history of the government, this has led to a coalition of local and imperialist powers. That can be a serious and intense dependency on the Dawood Khan era, the late Zahir Shah, the Communist parties and even now our elites. They have our foreign friends, and the groundwork for international state-building in the interests of the outside world so far. The prime example of which is the American negotiation with the Taliban over the peace process.
4. Ethnicity or Tribalization. The process of statehood and nation-building in Afghanistan: If we study history, we find that inter-ethnic or tribal tensions have undermined political stability. In Afghanistan, we have seen very transitional policies in Afghanistan that have challenged the process of government building. Unfortunately, in the last four decades, the slaughter of Afghan identities, such as Karrokh, Imams, etc., have become sharper and their elites have been weakened, and in Afghanistan, we are faced with instability that diminishes confidence levels and the process of state-building, and nation-building is hampered. And even the current parties have not been able to reduce tensions between the elites and bring about political stability in Afghanistan, and the role of the Cold War and international intervention can no longer be ignored.

Afghanistan after 2001:

The Bonn Agreement created an enormous opportunity for Afghanistan, where the political elites conquered all institutions and ultimately conquered Afghan democracy, and what we inherited was a networked government. The various networks took over the structures and promoted their interests, which is very important in this context.

During president Karzai and the elites who accompanied him have instituted three rules.

1. Expanding the system of patron-client in Kabul and provinces.
2. Opportunities and rent-seeking that have become an important rule of the game among elites.
3. The politicization of identities, in other words, the use of identities.

These rules among the elites of Afghanistan have created a network state. The inability of the elites since 2001 to forge national unity or national narrative in Afghanistan has been one of the biggest catastrophes in the country, and we are facing an elite tragedy that cannot strengthen structures and institutions have not been able to manage our processes to date.

Recommendations:

I believe the foundation of structures in Afghanistan is wrong and we inherited a disabled and defective structure. This is very important because we have peace talks ongoing and one of the issues to be discussed with the Taliban is how the system is going to be. And whichever system is most effective. I think the Kabul-based system, which plays a pale provincial role, will not be an effective one as we have experienced in the last eighteen years. Some friends of different systems, such as the federal one, suggest that we did not study the systems properly, the French and Indonesian countries have a centralized system, but they have delegated more competencies to local agencies. Two things are important in discussing system change.

A: Authority; means who should be given the qualification and at what level

B: Duties

If we want a centralized system, the Afghan constitution is flexible enough to make changes, we can have four basic elements at the center: foreign policy, the tax system, legalization and security, otherwise, transfer institutions and structures from water management to service provision under the same constitution to the provinces. We pointed out in local governance that the best way to overcome the challenges mentioned above is to give districts competencies, in the area of economic management. Eight economic zones must be formed, we do not need federalism but we need economic autonomy. Split into eight zones in Afghanistan and easy to implement. Our suggestion at the local organs was that all ministries should be the sole policy maker and supervisor and that all budgetary and executive competencies be given to provinces and districts. We should also think about changes in the structure of the peace talks.

## **Dr Mahiyuddin Mehdi**

At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, the present Afghanistan, this territory was practically divided into six independent units and ruled by local rulers:

1. Kabul led by Dost Mohammad Khan;
2. Kandahar, which was ruled by the Kandahar commanders led by Mehrdel Khan;
3. Herat, which was governed by the Timurid;
4. Balkh, where the Uzbeks ruled;
5. Qataghan and Badakhshan, ruled by the local Mirs;
6. The central regions or Hazarajat where the local Hazara Khans ruled.

Following the agreement reached between the Tsarist Russians and British India to determine the territory of control between the two occupations, Abdul Rahman succeeded to the kingdom in 1880, renaming the territory formerly known as "Afghanistan and its Territories", to Afghanistan. And by launching bloody operations, it overthrew local rulers and concentrated power in Kabul. However, in order to facilitate the administration of the country, it inevitably recognized the aforementioned historical divisions, with the exception that it replaced local rulers who were of non-Pashtun descent to those who were generally Pashtun, most of whom belonged to the royal family.

This style of government was passed on to the descendants of Abdul Rahman Khan; during Nadir Khan's and first thirty years of the reign of Zahir Shah (from 1929 to 1963), Afghanistan had five provinces;

1. Qataghan and Badakhshan Province;
2. Mazar-e-Sharif Province
3. Herat Province;
4. Kandahar Province;
5. Kabul Province;

And four sovereign states;

6. The Grand Farah Government;
7. The Grand Government of Maimana;



8. The Grand Eastern Government;
9. The Grand Southern Government

In the constitution of 1964, the country was divided into 29 provinces. But as we said, both the seven divisions, and these 29 divisions, were based on the same principle of concentration, though the regime was kingdom-parliamentary system. There has been no major change since then, with the exception of a few provinces on the basis of political expediency.

At the same time, to bring about a change in the demographics of the northern and western provinces of Afghanistan, many Afghan families - living across the Durand Line - were displaced, displacing high-quality agricultural land there.

For the past hundred years, no government has been prepared to launch a census program, in contrast to its territorial claims on the Durand Line to Sindh River - where most of its inhabitants are Pashtuns - claiming that Pashtuns (in addition to Pashtuns beyond the line) were the overwhelming majority. Contrary to reality, more than a million people have been nominated by Kochi; they have recently been given ten seats in parliament. So in the Communist coup of 1977 (1978), the Cabinet rarely had other ministers. Provincial governors were generally Pashtuns. No Uzbeks and Hazaras in the Military had a higher rank. There were only two Tajiks who were able to reach the rank of general.

The government of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was a party government; and it must be acknowledged that - after Habibullah Kolkani's short rule - this was the first time that Hazaras and Uzbeks were able to reach high levels of government (such as the Ministry and the governor posts).

The government of the PDPA was overthrown by general uprising of the people of Afghanistan and with the support of the free world, Islamic countries and Pakistan. The Mujahideen Government led by Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud's leadership were able to achieve power for three main reasons: 1. Better discipline than other Mujahideen parties; 2. Proximity of their territories to the capital; 3. And the

Kabul population's support of the Tajiks (the last two points played a key role in Habibollah's victory over Amanullah Khan).

Such developments did not appease Pakistan. First they rushed to Hekmatyar's aid then brought the Taliban to the scene with a religious and ethnic narrative.

In short, the Mujahideen government was overthrown by the Taliban, and their government was overthrown by the international forces led by the United States and with the assistance of the resistance forces (which had lost their commander, Ahmad Shah Massoud).

At the Bonn conference, no attention was paid to the problem of how to distribute power fairly. The negotiating sides assumed that with the transfer of power from a Tajik to a Pashtun, the Taliban would be silenced. But as we have seen the more brutal and bloody Taliban continued to fight against Pashtun rulers known for their discrimination and chauvinism.

Current Status:

Now - in fact - we have reached where we were in 2001. There is no doubt that the Taliban will dominate the country if US-led international forces leave Afghanistan. The Afghan government cannot stand on its own without foreign military, financial and political support. The army and other defense and security forces have no motive to defend the corrupt and racist government. Resistance forces have been disarmed, their commanders either killed or wounded.

The democratic institutions that emerged over the last eighteen years are dependent on the state and thus dependent on foreign support. That is why they cannot stand on their feet when the international community leave. The political parties are what they were, meaning no qualitative changes have taken place in them. We do not currently have any national inclusive political party.

In short, with the immediate withdrawal and unplanned departure of international forces from Afghanistan, we will see a far more bloody and terrible disasters than before.

On the other hand, it is fortunate that we see the United States realizing that it is conducting comprehensive talks with the Taliban, and that direct talks with those representing government are due to begin soon.

What to do?

In spite of the overwhelming and superficial view of some, these two parts of the negotiation are very closely intertwined: the gradual withdrawal of international forces gives the post-settlement administration the opportunity to adapt to the new situation with the support of international forces.

The Taliban's pledge that the territory under their rule will not allow international terrorists to nest, will also provide hope of support of the neighboring countries and the region.

But the issue of how the Taliban should be brought into government is a problem that must be resolved in intra-Afghan negotiations. The Taliban will not be satisfied with the few seats in the ministry and so on; they insist on restoring the "Islamic Emirate". The Islamic Emirate means that the 'council of elite Ulema' will designate the ruler of the country. In other words, the appointment of a leader or head of state by a limited group of mostly religious scholars. While the head of such a government - which they call Amir al-Mu'minin - has great authority, he will remain in office forever. As such, the Islamic Emirate is highly centralized, lacking hierarchy that represented power distribution.

The current regime, led by Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, is also a highly centralized government with all the authority entrusted to the President. Although the constitution of Afghanistan has spoken of separation of powers, on the one hand, the president's position in the executive branch, on the other hand, the imposition of immense competencies on him, has practically subordinated the three pillars of government to him. The most important distinction, however, of this system, called the "presidential system" with the Islamic Emirate, is that the president, unlike the emir al-Momenin, is elected by majority of people in a general election. Of course, despite all the differences that non-Taliban parties and politicians have with the system, the principle of

"elections" is a point of agreement. It is a Red Line for the delegation that will fly from Kabul to Oslo.

While the composition of the fifteen cabinets includes representatives of political parties and electoral tickets, which advocate for change of regime from presidential to parliamentary system, in their electoral campaigns and party, can they unite their differences against a very united Taliban? Despite apparent difference between the Taliban that demand Emirates and those that advocate for parliamentary government, there is actually considerable unity between the two. Recently some groups want the leader of the country's appointment or selection not through a general election, but through a community elected through a general election. Namely, the Parliament and the Provincial Councils. In fact, they are the 'council of elite/wise' who elect the president. Religious scholars are also represented in this council.

#### Horizontal and Vertical Divisions of Power

The purpose of the horizontal division of power is to separate the powers of the President from those of the head of the government or the prime minister; in other words, to delegate some of the constitutional powers reserved to the President, and to delegate them to the head of the government or prime minister. The President has both symbolic and ceremonial powers.

The president is alternately nominated and elected among the elites of different ethnicities. The aim of the vertical division of power is to transfer some of the competencies that have been - collectively - passed to central provinces, to provinces and states. To better understand this, it should be clear that the Minister of Education or the Independent Administrative for Reforms and Civil Service Commission, which is currently required when it is necessary to replace a labor worker in a school in Wakhan district of Badakhshan, would delegate that authority to the provincial level.

But the main issue is the rights of each ethnicity in the country. A structure must be created that guarantees the rights of minorities - in particular the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. The vertical division of power - in fact - implies this. According to the historical divisions I mentioned at the beginning of this article, however, the province should be integrated into the structure of a state. The state has an elected

federal council that has jurisdiction over state-wide legislation, budgeting, approval of development and correctional programs and projects, and the election of the governor or deputy governor of that state. In the state divisions of power I propose, the main body of the great tribes will be in one or more federal states.

The constitution provides ways to determine the rights of minorities within a state.

The new administrative divisions will be as follows:

1. Nangarhar federal province including Nuristan, Kunar, Laghman and Nangarhar provinces, and Tagab, Sarobi;
2. Paktia federal province, including Khost, Paktika, Paktia and southern Ghazni provinces;
3. Ghazni federal province, including North Ghazni and Maidan and west of Logar province, northern part of Zabul Province;
4. Kandahar federal province, including southwestern part of Zabul province, Kandahar, south of Uruzgan, Helmand with the exception of Kajran district, and Farah Pashtun areas;
5. Bamyan Province, including Daikundi Province, South and West Bamyan, Ghor and Hazarajat Areas;
6. Herat Province including Badghis, Ghor, Herat, Farah and Nimroz;
7. Balkh province including Faryab, Jawzjan, Sar-e Pul, Balkh and Samangan;
8. Province of Takharestan or Qataghan and Badakhshan, including Baghlan, Kunduz, Takhar and Badakhshan;
9. Parwan, including Parwan, Kapisa (without Tagab) and Panjshir;
10. The capital, including the southern part of Maidam Wardak, Logar Pashtun areas, northern Kabul and Kabul city, with the exception of Saroubi in eastern Kabul districts.

The Taliban, having control of one or two provinces, can run for parliament through a general election, holding office, or holding the presidency.

### **Question and answer:**

Ali Ahmad Osmani: Mr Sharan pointed out that constitution meet current needs. I do not think so. We delegated authority to local authorities in five provinces in 2016, and now all the five directors have been referred to the prosecutor's office. The law has given the president more power than a king, while decision-making power and authority are transferred to provinces. Along with several other important elements at the same time, it is important to consider experience.

Timor Sharan: The problem is in the structure that we have not given competence and importance to the provinces. We have two types of reforms, political and administrative, the purpose of administrative reform is how people make the government accountable, and political reform so that people are involved in decisions. We need to give people a chance to elect the district governors. Because we had an unpleasant election experience in Afghanistan, and we do not need to have direct elections for electing district governors, we can have local village 'Maliks' negotiate and appoint district governors. Village Maliks can reach an agreement every two years to designate a district governor and appoint a suitable person. If they want to be nominated by the president, nominate three for the post. In the area of administrative management, we were able to consult with people on planning. With the current system, democrat in Kabul decides where to build a school and mosque without consulting the public in the villages and districts.

## Panel II: Taliban 1 & 2: Have They Learned Their Lesson?



### **Moderator:**

- Maryam Safi, Research and Development Institute

### **Speakers:**

- Lotfullah Najafizada, Head of Tolo News
- Motasim Agha Jan, former member of the Taliban
- Dr. Jafar Mahdavi, Former Member of Parliament
- Shoaib Rahim, Senior Adviser to the Ministry of State for Peace

### **Lotfullah Najafizada**

I disagree with dividing the Taliban into two parts because I think we haven't got the second Taliban yet, so we are still dealing with different people from the Taliban type of the first. The Taliban first acted as militias, then held control of most parts of Afghanistan for a while, and had been an insurgent group for the past eighteen years. Because the Taliban had not changed their basic functions and, for various reasons, we are not facing the second Taliban.

First: The Taliban's claim for justice

Second: War and violence as means of enforcement

Third: It relies on same power structure that has not changed in twenty-four years

Fourth: Lack of experience in foreign relations

On the basis of above elements in the Taliban's performance since their establishment, there are no major changes to identify the group so far. Talks are under way with the Taliban. The Taliban insist on continuing the war during the negotiations and see it as an important principle because it views the war as its greatest expression in the negotiations, and considers halting the war without the agreeing on the principles of future government.

My assessment of the Taliban is that this group does not have the profound knowledge and understanding of the drastic and fundamental changes that have taken place in Afghanistan over the past eighteen years, and this may be problematic in intra-Afghan negotiations, which may raise the question for the Taliban: Is the creator of these changes Afghans or Americans? If the top-level negotiating team talks different narratives to the Taliban and provides the Taliban an opportunity to consult people on whether they represent Afghans in the rural areas. All this should be challenged, from the Taliban's point of view. For the Taliban, Afghanistan is occupied and jihad is assumed against the invaders, and after they leave, they would establish an Islamic State. But we all know that the problem of Afghanistan is not so easily resolved. In order to shift the Taliban from a military to a purely political one, we can say that we have a second Taliban. This requires more work with the Taliban.

Another problem with the peace process is the foreign-based dialogue. In Qatar, we have made it clear to the Taliban that peace with the US does not mean peace with Afghanistan. The US has its own war and peace agenda in Afghanistan, but it cannot represent all sides.

These days the Taliban are divided into five different groups: the Doha Taliban, the Taliban alongside Mullah Haibatullah, the son of Mullah Omar, the Haqqani and groups affiliated with other countries such as Iran. Are all of these branches capable of



establishing a coherent, unified relationship with the outside world? So we should not be too optimistic about the start of peace talks because there is no fundamental approach to the Taliban's actions.

### **Motasim Agha Jan**

In Afghanistan, people have endured forty years of war and violence, and thousands have died. We have put an end to this war by all parties involved, and by a number of impartial people. We need all of our activities to be impartial, and this is for the benefit of the whole country. We do not support any group and we do not endorse or reject any group. In this speech, I neither criticize the government nor the Taliban, only to advise and propose to the conflicting parties. If they follow this plan, it will be fruitful. The title of the plan I propose is 'Solutions for Afghan Peace', which I have put forward clearly and separately:

#### 1. Foreign troops withdrawal:

The withdrawal of foreign troops, including the United States, must take place responsibly, following the signing of a peace agreement with the Afghan government and the Islamic Emirate and a cease-fire between the parties. With their hasty departure from Afghanistan, the events of 1988 can be repeated again. For example, when the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, not only did the war not end, but it grew bigger. The United States should not repeat this mistake and must reach an agreement with the Taliban and the Afghan government before leaving Afghanistan.

#### 2. Negotiating Board:

The peace negotiating committee should be trustworthy. These people should be nominated by independent Afghans and competent people and should be representative of all Afghans, and have the power to negotiate. In my opinion, there are a lot of people worthy of being a member of the delegation. Even at this conference, there are many capable individuals who are involved in peace talks and all want peace.

#### 3. Building consensus: A national and regional consensus is needed to achieve peace, and the reason for this is to address the concerns of countries in the region and the world in order to satisfy them.

4. Establishment of Safe Zone: Establish safe and secure zone for Taliban, because many of them live abroad. I propose creating a third zone in a specific geography that would be effective in peace talks. The third zone will have two or three provinces covering a total of fifteen districts. Let the Taliban control and those provinces.
5. Ceasefire: In the first place, the possibility of a global ceasefire is not possible, a relative ceasefire should be attempted. To persuade the Taliban to stop their attacks in major cities of the country, such as Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Jalalabad and Mazar-e-Sharif, the government should also pledge not to carry out night raids and operations. Once the ceasefire has been agreed upon and implemented, it will be easier to reach a ceasefire.
6. Constitutional Review: To evaluate the constitution, a committee composed of scholars, lawmakers and elites will be formed to review the constitution. If any material goes against the Taliban's wishes, it should be amended. Or we have to convince the Taliban to accept it.
7. Islamic rule: The Taliban and all sides want an Islamic government, but each has a different interpretation and interpretation. A panel of scholars and scholars has been formed to solve this challenge, and Islamic scholars have also been invited. For example, Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Qatar argue over an Islamic system and agree that one side of the Islamic Republic will designate the Red Line and that the Islamic Emirate will support the Red Line. It's important to solve people's problems under whatever name they are.
8. Providing Social Justice: Social justice is directly linked to the cause of conflict in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a shared home, social justice must be provided to all people, serious corruption must be tackled, government agencies, especially security agencies, must be nationalized and meet the criteria. Pay close attention to religious schools. Provide teaching for scholars in religious schools. Protect and expand religious schools so that our children do not go to neighboring countries for religious education and prevent their cultural and ideological influence.
9. Refugees: The government should work with international institutions to return Afghan immigrants from neighboring countries to provide them with employment, as other countries abuse them.
10. Drugs: Drugs play a direct role in the war. With the help of international partners we must work to eradicate the drug, to end the war.

## **Dr. Jafar Mahdavi**

Afghanistan is in a state of special situation that can be called a state of fear and hope. Unfortunately, with the advent of irresponsible and unpredictable political leaders over the last decade, especially when our fate is influenced by the decisions of other. With our current leaders, we are in an uncertain situation where one message of a leader of another country changes the destiny of our nation. At this juncture, it has made it difficult for us to make the space and conditions for proper decision-making. In such global conditions, many countries can be victimized and their fate changed, making Afghanistan the largest victim. After two decades, countries have been in Afghanistan with the slogan of combating terrorism, a number of fragile institutions have emerged. For the first time, the people of Afghanistan thought they would reach peace, but with just one Twitter message it wall collapsed.

I believe that it is time to try to take control of our own destiny. Until we do not trust each other, we will not achieve peace and stability. Because we have bitterly accepted foreign imposed decisions for us in the past 18 years, we have not been able to create stability. In my opinion, it will be a mistake to repeat it again, as the result will be confidence for terrorist groups with different names. The result was continuity of discrimination and injustice in Afghanistan, and the result was an impending democracy in. I think it was a bitter and worthwhile experience. At the time of the Bonn conference, I believed that this conference could not bring peace and stability to Afghanistan because of the absence of Taliban and Hezbe Islami Party representatives at the conference. In my opinion, there is no way to make peace without direct talks with the Taliban, it does not mean that I have a nostalgic sense with the Taliban, because apart from an Afghan politician, as an Afghan researcher I think realistically about Afghan affairs. If we think of a Utopian situation we will never come to terms with the current situation that tens of Afghans are being killed every day by ANA and Taliban. For the moment, I believe that there is no way out without the formation of a provisional government. The final point - whether the Taliban were a liberation movement or think of America as occupiers – would not solve our problem. The question is what we should have as strategy. Hoping in 2001 for America to bring us democracy was just as wrong

as now to think that America will leave Afghanistan forever, because on paper it is a strategic partner of Afghanistan and pursues its interests beyond that. The political elites must strive to pursue our interests within their interests. At the moment our interest is in stopping the war. Stopping the war is a priority for our government and our society, but whoever wants the republic or the Islamic Emirate can be discussed in the intra-Afghan talks. With personal experience from Taliban in Qatar, I found them a highly prepared and flexible negotiating group for a just and lasting peace.

### **Shoaib Rahim**

The text of the peace agreement between the Americans and the Taliban had been finalized before the US president's Twitter message and was ready for signature, as well as a joint declaration to be signed simultaneously between the Afghan government and the United States. The preparations for the next process of intra-Afghan talks had been made. The bargaining process was over. Four principles underpin in US-Taliban negotiations:

1. Withdrawal of US troops
2. Guarantees of the Taliban's move in the fight against terrorism
3. Intra-Afghan negotiations
4. A ceasefire or a temporary cessation of war

Our understanding from the two sides' negotiations was that the Taliban's Doha office negotiating committee had achieved in four parts and was convincing to the Taliban. Now, I want to continue talking about two possible places for negotiations between Afghans, Qatar and Norway. The relations or dynamics of power that prevailed in Doha were not dominant in Oslo, but in Doha there was an American side that could almost say that it was making the exit decision that was evident in the admiring messages of the American president. We can call the nature of the negotiations as withdrawal, the time pressure on the US. Unfortunately, presidential campaigns in the U.S. affected the atmosphere of the negotiations and everyone was in favor of the Taliban.

Eventually in the ninth round of US negotiations, dropping some of the key points outlined at the beginning of the talks, the ceasefire debate was reduced to reduction of violence.

The second difference in power dynamics is that the Afghan negotiator's understanding from the Taliban is very different to the American's perspective about the Taliban. The religious narrative, the legitimacy of the war to the Taliban's performance during their rule was not discussed. The second viewpoint in Doha, which could be called a default, was that all the provisions of the Doha Taliban negotiator's agreement were not applicable. Not only that the Taliban's will was not questioned but their capacity to implement it. In my opinion, given the Taliban divisions, could the Doha negotiators be able to represent all the Taliban?

If we are really looking for a stable peace, then the peace talks need to be conducted carefully and used from everybody's perspective.

### **Question and Answer:**

Sayeed Akram Afzali: So far, the Taliban have shown that they have acted in a united group for the purpose of peace talks and intra-Afghan talks are set to begin, but all institutions in Afghanistan have been held hostage and occupied by fabricated elites. In this situation, who will be the negotiators for Afghanistan?

Shaeed Rahim: We all support a cohesion in the negotiating body and the most important element in the peace talks is the eagerness of the two sides. If both sides and their supporters are sincerely striving to bring peace, they will achieve their goal. We have a lot examples in the world, one of which is the peace agreement in Indonesia.

## Panel III: Economic and Social Transformation



### Moderator:

- Dr. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi, Deputy for Minister of Education

### Speakers:

- Nazir Kabiri, Director, Al-Birouni Institute
- Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown, Senior Scholar, Brookings Institution
- Sayed Wahid Qatali, Head of the Presidential Administration Affairs

### Nazir Kabiri:

### Subjects:

1. A brief review of the economic development of the country in the last 15 years
2. Financial vacuum and sustainable financial outlook
3. The outlook for economic growth for the upcoming decade- from 2020 to 2030
4. How does fragility affect Afghanistan's economic outlook?

### Overview of Afghanistan's Economic Functions in the Past Half and a Half Decade:

1. In the first ten years (reconstruction season): Between 2003 and 2013, Afghanistan had a good economic growth with an average of 9%.
2. But with the onset of the national unity government in 2014 and the end of the withdrawal of international forces (the post-transition period), Afghanistan has witnessed a sharp decline in economic growth, reaching an average rate of around 2% in the last five years.
3. The economic downturn in the last five years has been tied to an increase in the uncertainty of the political situation and the deteriorating security situation.

### **2014 is a milestone in the country's economic development**

In 2014, we saw two types of transitions: one was the completion of the withdrawal of international forces (security transition) and the presidential election that led to the formation of a national unity government. (Political transition).

The function of economic growth and economic development progress since 2014 has been slow and in some cases even backward.

- Per capita income has dropped from \$ 637 in 2013 to \$ 521 in 2018.
- Poverty rates continued to rise from 38 percent to 55 percent in 2017.
- Social indicators - secondary school enrollment level constant but maternal mortality rates have been increased.

### **External grants still provide about two-thirds of public spending:**

- Despite an increase in revenue collection (which has risen from 3% of GDP in 2003 to 13% in 2018), the role of external assistance in financing is still prominent.
- Out of a total of \$ 5 billion of total military and security spending, four and a half billion dollars are funded by foreign military grants.
- More than half of the civilian budget (including regular budget and development budget) is financed by foreign civilian assistance.
- The prospect of financial stability of the country for the next ten years is disappointing issue.

- The World Bank's analysis suggests that the “potential revenue” (the maximum financial revenue that the government - given Afghanistan's economic structure can collect) is about 17.5 percent of GDP and does not exceed it. . (Except for structural change in the country's economy.)
- Public spending within the budget - currently at 17 percent of GDP - will rise to 33 percent of GDP by 2030. It is hypothesized that most of the expenditure currently funded and funded directly by donors will be transferred to the budget by 2030. The development process of Afghanistan needs to be continued.
- The situation is facing Afghanistan with a financial gap of around 18% of GDP by 2030.

**Social and political fragility endangers Afghanistan's economic growth prospects - even if peace is achieved.**

- Insecurity and violence, geopolitical threats in the region, large illicit economy (drugs and trafficking), weak institutions, deep administrative corruption, high unemployment, rising population (about 500,000 young people enter the labor market each year) and high levels of illiteracy in the country will be a number of factors of persistent fragility in the country.
- The World Bank's analysis shows that if the situation persists, the average economic growth by 2030 will not exceed 3.5% annually.
- In a more optimistic scenario, the average economic growth will rise to six and a half percent by 2030 if peace and key reforms are implemented in private investment.
- But achieving this level of economic growth requires massive public investment in the sectors of energy, infrastructure, human capital (education), agriculture and social security.
- Public investment that provides new sources of economic growth is estimated at \$ 2.2 billion annually by 2030.
- These new investments are in addition to normal government spending to provide essential services.



## **Conclusion:**

- Economic growth (even in the case of peace) will only reach an average of 6.5 percent over the next ten years if:
- At the current level of public investment, \$ 2.2 billion will continue to rise.
- Implementation critical reforms to attract private investment and suspend important economic policies.
- It is often considerable that at least 6.5% of Afghanistan's 2020-2020 years are a prerequisite for achieving SDGs' sustainable development goals.
- Unless necessary investments and major economic reforms are implemented, even in the case of peace, economic growth will not exceed 3.8.
- Afghanistan has for many years still needed foreign funding to support its civilian and military spending.
- External Commitments of Foreign Countries to Finish Afghanistan's Military and Civil Sector Finish in 2020 Extra commitments for post-2020 period remain unclear.
- Therefore, given the regional geopolitical situation and Afghanistan's economic /financial dependence, (even after peace) the country's situation will remain fragile and overall unstable.

## **Dr. Felbab-Brown**

By the war economy, I mean drugs and the cultivation opium and poppy and production of heroin. I want to start by saying both the peace negotiation and war is important for Afghanistan. I believe, it is a fundamental reality that the United States will not withdraw in very short time deadline from Afghanistan but there is no guarantee, as President Trump in the last minutes changed his mind and withdraw from the deal that ambassador Khalilzad worked out. It is going to be radically changed.

The only questions is how long the US withdrawal process would take and during the process of withdrawal Afghanistan will find a way to strike a deal with itself to have peace. Another question for Afghanistan is what role war economy play on peace talks? This is not simple to negotiate with the Taliban. Many afghan politicians' aspects have

tried to talk with Taliban and everyone seek to access the resources. As we all know, right now many powerful people has been supporting militia. The Taliban has been supported and equipped by the war economy and it obvious and no one can ignore that. Withdraw of US and international forces may take place during six months or two years but the afghan government should have managed. In the peace negotiation, Afghans do not want to give up achieved values but the matter is how much politicians will fight for those matters. The fight of the Afghan forces also depend on economy.

I believe that when the united states withdraw its forces, it should its support to the Afghan military but how much would it be? The political situation of Afghanistan and election will impact on that and it is all a scenario that we are talking about. The issues we have to pay on is that a lot of people are working with military and private sectors after withdraw of the US forces. I listen carefully to Mr. Agha jan's comments and was impressed by his confidence if the peace deal is reached the drug economy can be eliminated. I believe, the drug economy will exist for a long time in Afghanistan. About the next phase of peace talks, I think, there is need to establish red lines for the many actors not just for the Taliban. There would be many issues on the table like power sharing and how the Taliban forces will be integrated to the afghan security forces.

### **Sayed Waheed Qatali**

What elements can make intra-Afghan dialogue successful? What programs do we need? It is important to determine whether to view peace as a regional and international solution or to recognize its domestic factors. In my opinion, one of the problems in the negotiations between Afghans that our views is so tied to Kabul which has a very weak relation to the local masses. When we produce and sell the notion of a peaceful life, it is more of a political emphasis than a solution to an old-fashioned way of living in a society, we do not yet have a definition of peaceful life and how different people in Afghanistan now achieve peaceful living. They will ensure their continuity and co-existence in Afghanistan.

The elites of Afghan society must be rethink their representation of all people. My aim is not to replace the Afghan elite but to ask them to actually review their representation.

For example: At this conference, some people consider themselves Taliban representatives, but I am not convinced that they really represent the needs of today's Taliban; They do not have the competence to represent the concerns of the citizens properly and we have not even identified the internal elements of the current conflict in Afghanistan. While ideological belief in conflict is serious, one of the other causes of Afghanistan's conflict is widespread poverty in society. We need to identify all the factors and seriously work on them.

### **Question and Answer:**

Dr. Soraya Dalil: Whenever we talk about security, politics and social issues, climate change is also a serious global debate. Environmental change in Afghanistan is not a future issue, it has already happened and is one of the challenges, affecting poverty, poppy cultivation and our local conflicts. According to UN, from 1950 till now, we have had a continuous climate impact. So, along with other topics, consider climate change.

Nazeer Kabiri: Unfortunately, the intensity of war, violence and other problems in Afghanistan has caused us to ignore issues such as climate change. Five years have passed since Sustainable Development, but no steps have yet been taken in Afghanistan. Not long ago, international donors met with the government, not all of the documents they submitted provided a single case of SDGs or development, while Afghanistan's international friends had signed all the documents related to the matter.

Abdul Basir Azimi: Afghanistan's economic growth is two percent and unemployment is more than five percent. According to Mr. Qattali, poverty is an important element in the Afghan conflict. People think the economy will be a better place after peace. The Taliban's mass economy was discussed. The figures you provided are contrary to what the government claims we will achieve in the budget by 2014 but according to your explanations we will not reach that goal by 2030, even if the peace deal ends because of poverty. Unemployment, and Low Economic Growth do not go up the ladder because the speakers have cited poverty as one of the root causes of the conflict.

Nazeer Kabiri: The government is providing the people with statistics. The expectation of the citizens is growing, but the government has failed to fulfill their promises and

ultimately disillusioning the people. Another reason for the inefficiency of the economic and financial institutions should be noted which is unfortunately, the departments that were formed in the presidential palace in the economic affairs had a negative impact on the ministries of economy and finance.

#### **Panel IV: South Asia: A Paradigm Change?**



#### **Moderator:**

- Ms. Jyoti Malhotra, Senior Journalist, The Print

#### **Speakers:**

- Dr. Christine Fair, Professor, Georgetown University
- Ambassador Rakesh Sood, Former Ambassador of India
- Bushra Gohar, Former MP, Pakistan National Assembly
- Mr. Tamim Asey, Former Deputy Minister of Defense of Afghanistan

Moderator: what do the afghan wants for next year?

Tamim Asey: I have to be honest and pragmatic and I don't meant to scare. Over the course of one year, we are waiting for three parallel processes going on and of the parallel process are evolution and developments.

First, one of them is, off course the ongoing elections despite of people's brave act of going out and voting. I think our politicians failed have our people in unsuccessful mismanagement of the core processes, as well as, very weak centralized politics. We see the problem of populism, though it is not a global phenomenon. My opinion on elections is that the election will not have a winner, it will have a lead candidate who either have to go to for second round or he has to make a coalition government. If we go for a coalition government. I think what will happen is in the course of one year in the terms of the election process is going to be determining that who will lead the coalition government. In the next one year in election process we will either go to second round or for making a coalition government. In the terms of peace process, I think what we basically see is a resumption of talks between US and Taliban. Maybe some sort of partial ceasefire or maybe one meeting somewhere in Oslo or Uzbekistan in one year.

And the third process is really what I call is development process which is coming conference of donors' in 2020. The Afghan government really needs to put up a plan for post America withdrawal economy (a blueprint). And there will some war and developments and peace talks at same time in the coming year that's how I see the situation.

Moderator: Prof. Fair, Donald trump woke up in the morning and decided to cancel the talks and agreement with Taliban and meeting with president Ghani. And what happens now?

Prof. Christine Fair: I can't tell you if this is correct or not because I am not in Trump administration but I actually don't think the situation can get worse than this. I had a lot of problem with the way US presumed talks with Taliban. President Trump did not deliver most of his campaign promises. Whatever he has done will cause his collapse. I can't sort president and Trump together. Actually I was quiet surprised when he cut off talks.

I am frustrated not only about this process, but whatever that is happening in Washington. What the U.S. is not doing is putting the pressure it put on Iran, to Pakistan. Everything that we have done in last 18 years has strengthened Pakistan. They are

expanding their nuclear program. I was surprised that these things were pulled off. Before the elections happens, most of the US official were interested to elections in Afghanistan. They were waiting for peace agreement. I really congratulate Afghans for the elections.

Moderator: do you think it was good idea that Trump has cancelled peace talks?

Tamim Asey: first of all, I think what Zalmay KhalilZad was doing, was basically sealing withdrawal agreement. The process was very secretive. But the process should be transparent. He is a diplomatic and he was following the instruction. We could argue weather Trump's tweet was the right thing to do. It has come at time, which was much needed. The Afghan government was worried but this particular tweet was like a savior for them. Trump smelled it was a bad deal. It comes at the right time. My worries are about the next tweet.

### **Question and Answer:**

Moderator: what is India's role in Afghanistan?

Rakesh Sood: India has been working in Afghanistan from 2001 and is rebuilding the institutions. In South Asia we have two things. First, the India and Pakistan relationships, which could affect the Afghan peace process. Second, in South Asia the regional paradigm remains constant but the international paradigm is changing.

Moderator: how you see Afghanistan situation from your perspective?

Bushra Gohar: as I mentioned last year, both side of the Durand line are affected by Taliban. US should sit with the donor of the Taliban. Most people are claiming the Taliban are Pashtuns but Taliban are from different ethnicities and we also have political Taliban, who are fighting for political interests. There was some suggestions that after the agreement certain province be given to the Taliban, but let's ask will the government Pakistan accept to give some certain provinces to Punjabi Taliban? Afghanistan election has showed that the government has the upper hand. People came out in 34 provinces and voted. Even it was less but showed the determination of Afghans. So many people

were killed, displaced and adopted in both side of the line. This is an anti-Pashtun project.

Moderator: Where is this idea coming from that Taliban's are representing Pashtuns?

Tamim Asey: Taliban are not representing any ethnicity, the biggest victims of Taliban's violence are Pashtuns, and do the 60,000 Taliban represent millions of Pashtuns? Do they TTP represent the Pakistan or Ansar-ullah of Tajikistan represent the people Tajikistan and so on? They are proxy terroristic group or a multinational company, which has outside donor and inside implementers? They are not representing Pashtuns because they are hijacking the identity of Pahtuns. Geographically most of the war is in Pashtun areas.

Fair: Afghanistan has to prepare for post American economy and have to be able to stand in his foots. Chabahar is good initiative.

Moderator: US will leave Afghanistan sooner or later, what is the Indian prospect?

Rakesh Sood: I agree with fair, Afghanistan should get for the future, Afghan people wants peace but there should be a distinguished desire for peace and the way to achieve peace.

Tamim Asey: US is fighting for security of US, Europe and so on if US don't fight them here, they have to fight with them in streets of Washington. Fundamentally US is investing for their own security and their contract. If the partner (US) walks away, they will face them in the streets of Washington and on that time they have to come back here. Afghanistan is the frontline of war against terrorism.

Bushra Gohar: US is not interested in peace for the region, US might have other interest in the region. US is legitimizing the Taliban with talking with them rather than Afghans. Pashtun youth are starting nonviolent movements. Pakistan wants peace in the region. We have the right to question what's going on. US have to take high responsibility and also China has some interests in Afghanistan.

Moderator: US policy toward Taliban and Afghanistan government?

Tamim Asey: This is a partnership; we are not asking for Charity. We have a security treaty here. We want talks between Afghans. We want peace with Afghans.

Bushra Gohar: Chabahar will affect Pashtuns because changing historical route will be damage the economy of the area which are mostly Pashtuns.

## **Panel V: Truth, Forgiveness and Peace**



### **Moderator:**

- Ms. Farahnaz Forotan, Journalist

### **Speakers**

- Professor Sayed Hussain Eshragh Hussaini, Professor, Kabul University
- Mr. Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen, Journalist
- Mr. Hans Joachim Giessmann, Berghof Foundation

### **Prof. Sayed Hussain Eshraq Hussaini:**

As said, the issue of sustainable peace is one of the most important discussions. Peace is about resolving a conflict that has to have all the grounds for sustainability. Sustainable peace means that when the conflict is over, it will not affect the stability and social and economic development, as well as, the bureaucratic political



organization, and provide the feeling to the people that they are in a state of peace. A ceasefire will be a step towards lasting peace. But lasting peace is more than a truce and has cultural, economic and political aspects, and more importantly, there is justice and a peaceful future.

The title of my presentation is restorative justice. There are concerns, despite optimism, about reconciliation. The concerns are as follows:

- Intellectual
- Human rights
- Democratic values
- Justice
- Sustainability in social and cultural areas
- Concerns about the complexity of the game

All potential and actual capacity must be employed to bring peace. Regarding the reconciliation in Afghanistan, we are facing a force [Taliban] that has reduced a spiritual Islam to a political and military Islam. The current crisis is also the product of internal and external factors. That is why the killing of people today has become a task and religious values are taken for granted.

In Dostoevsky's frightening transition of Godlessness, everything is allowed to be questioned. Today, all the militants kill in the name of God and commit atrocities. That is why I say to all those who lean towards the Taliban caliphate tendencies that Mustafa Sabaghi, the leader of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, argued that these extremist groups are facing a serious problem: the inability to understand new complexities.

The Taliban cannot operate for several reasons:

- Experiences of extremist groups
- Islamic State's failed governance experiences in Iraq and Syria
- Infighting among the Taliban
- Several Taliban splinters, each dependent on one country
- The major Taliban conflict with ISIS: Emirate Versus Caliphate

However, I think the Afghan-led talks with the Taliban have entered a flexible phase. It is up to the negotiators to emphasize a need for change in Taliban's views. Even Islamic scholars have endorsed republicanism.

Afghanistan needs rational engagement with the international community. Modern governance, realistic and democratic values must be reflected in it. There is also a contradiction in the Taliban's perception of religious sources.

These groups, which call themselves Jihadist, cannot keep imposing their "caliphate" and/or the "emirate". When they accept the terms of the US, cut off ties with other jihadist groups and still take on the task of fighting ISIS, it shows that their narrative is more in the form of power and politics.

Until, there are religious discourses, political debates are not all-time doctrines. One of the most important debates in the issue of Jihadists is that their teachings of politics and power in religion have the potential to be confronted with reality and reformulated. Present new justifications and that is why it is time for the Taliban's narrative to shift from power. Taliban 1.0 and 2.0 that was discussed yesterday have the same logic. Their narrative of power and politics must be reconstructed. There is two ways for the Taliban:

- In addition to fighting the Afghan national forces and their international supporters, and fighting ISI-K, as well as, having to fight with their own internal forces, their strength is weakened and depleted.
- Or rebuild their narrative of power: it is no longer possible to seize power by force. The best example is the Ennahdha movement in Tunisia.

The question arises of the right of victims. There is international and legal experience in this case. The injuries must be recovered. They will feel a loss and a loss of war.

Both civil society institutions and grassroots movements must promote restorative justice. Social science theorists argue that there are two advantages to peace and justice. Are temporary solutions effective? No, you have to look for stability and future.

We must adhere to the Sharia and the values of human rights on both sides. Isn't human rights and dignity a principle in Islam? These are the two main slogans of Islam. If these principles are not considered, it will lead to violence and shed the blood of Muslims.

Some are optimistic that there will be agreements without addressing the underlying issues, but a peace without democratic values, stability, and justice-based development is impossible. This is where the issue of restorative justice is very important. Otherwise, the compromise that comes out will not be for the people of Afghanistan.

### **Nazar Mohammad Motmaeen:**

This year, efforts to address Afghan challenges and achieve peace have made great progress because the world, and in particular the United States, have accepted the Afghan challenge, and strived to meet the key demands. Considering the Taliban and the Afghan nation, Taliban-US negotiations have made good progress. Suddenly, President Trump's tweet confronted the process, but now there is hope that a peace deal will finally be reached.

This year another major breakthrough in peace was the intra-Afghan summit in Qatar and Moscow. Although there were some obstacles, it was a good start and the trend may continue.

What are the demands of Afghans?

1. Withdrawal of foreign forces, of course on the basis of a reasonable scheduled timing, with international guarantees.
2. The rule of an Islamic government, which represents all Afghans and protects the country's cultural and religious values, and is based on a moderate reading of Islam.
3. The Afghan system and government is a way for everyone to participate.

Requirements for Peace:

1. Reduce war and extremism and prevent civilian casualties.
2. Security, territorial integrity, independence, education and progress must be the main goals of peace.

3. Afghanistan's foreign policy should revolve around non-interference, mutual respect and economic development.
4. Providing compelling answers to neighboring countries' concerns and restoring relations with them.
5. Exchange and release of prisoners.
6. A general amnesty for the Afghan conflicting parties.

The Taliban, the US and the world are well aware of those past mistakes that have caused the war, so they are not likely to be repeated.

I believe that all involved Afghan parties will remain committed to the values that are contained in moderate readings of Islam, such as freedom of expression, women's education, human rights, good relationship with neighboring countries and countries around the world.

I believe that peace should not jeopardize these achievements and values at all, but should strengthen them further. Today, Afghanistan needs more than ever to be built by the people and its new generation. Similarly, long-term economic prosperity in Afghanistan requires the financial assistance of friendly countries.

Opposition to peace has no justification for the illusion that peace will return Afghanistan to the 1980s. On average, 200 to 300 Afghans are killed every day. Both the security forces and the Taliban are Muslims. By killing them, mothers become widows and children become orphaned.

I am confident that if the withdrawal of foreign forces is guaranteed by NATO and the United States, and with the start of negotiations between the Taliban and the Afghans, agreement will be reached on the structure and type of new government. That will be a 70% improvement for peace.

Signing of peace agreement between Taliban and US.

1. Begin Intra-Afghan negotiations as soon as possible and move forward on a regular basis.
2. The negotiation team of the parties involved should be Afghan and consist of talented, influential, competent and peaceable people.

3. Trust, tolerance, patience and compassion among Afghans must be demonstrated in practice.
4. If the directions involved are genuinely seeking peace, I can honestly say that peace is possible.

Ways to reach peace:

1. Inter-Afghani talks are a big issue, and little is said about it. When intra-Afghan talks begin, Afghans will have to find solutions to every issue.
2. Withdrawal of foreign forces and the Islamic system is the wish of the entire Afghan nation.
3. First of all, we must all work for the withdrawal of foreign forces. To put an end to the Taliban's excuses, this is a good way to achieve peace.

Obstacles:

1. Emphasize on the presence of foreign forces in the country.
2. Emphasis on whether the Taliban must adopt the current constitution and adhere to the current system under the name of the republic, or the Taliban's emphasis on the Emirate.
3. The lack of a clear strategy for peace and the emphasis that peace must come so that the values of the ruler are kept absolutely in place.
4. The problem now is that some of the internal and external circles are preventing Afghans from achieving peace by discussing solutions among themselves.
5. Unless the Taliban and the parties involved are satisfied, insecurity does not end because they will keep fighting.

### **Prof. Hans-Joachim Giessmann**

Sustainability is a key objective of any peace process. Many peace processes fail because of the illusion that peace is achieved just by signing an agreement between the parties to a conflict. Signing an agreement can hardly be more than a first, admittedly important, step. A peace agreement can bring about a security framework for a peace process. This framework can help to build trust in the process towards peace through paying respect to the rules of the agreement. But it can neither substitute for the need of

turning hostile relations into constructive collaboration nor can it bring about the inclusivity and participation of a society as a whole that is required to form and implement a new social contract within this society.

Reconciliation or, more appropriately to end socially protracted armed conflict, conciliation comprise three inter-related dimensions.

First of all, the personal level. This dimension refers to individual human beings, the relatives of victims, of affected families and communities. Forgiveness at this level is something very personal. Conciliation cannot be imposed on the people; the people must be able and given the right to accept and forgive, if they wish so.

The second tier or level, applies to identity groups, normally communities who have particularly suffered during the conflict, for examples ethnic or religious minorities. The precondition for conciliation here would be to establish equal rights and to allow for full participation in political and social life.

The third tier is national. The cohesiveness of the nation is a prerequisite and an objective of conciliation at society level. Conciliation here means to restore the collective identity of the nation across ethnic and social strata. A national dialogue, for example, or nation- wide dialogues can provide the sufficient inclusivity that a society is in the need for to overcome deep cleavages and to avoid societal fragmentation. An overall narrative of national integrity and restoration needs to be established and implemented. A true transformation of an armed conflict in a society with such a complexity of rifts as Afghanistan requires a restoration of relationships between the conflicting parties to change as part of a long-term communal relationship-(re-) building process.

Although conciliation at all three levels require different strategies and action, a closer look reveals some commonalities.

First, key elements of sustainable conflict transformation are ownership of the process by the conflict parties, inclusivity, as well as an appropriate approach to dealing with the issues of “truth”, forgiveness, and reconciliation, amongst others.

For any process to be sustainable, the main role and responsibility for transforming a conflict lie with those who are most affected. Only the actors affected can build peace, all actors involved have resources to build on.

While it can take many years if not generations for fighting parties to trust each other enough to engage, trust in a well-designed process can go a long way in allowing them to take steps towards peace.

For Afghanistan, as for any else protracted conflict, it is worth to consider the difference but also mutual complementarity of dialogue and negotiations. Dialogue and negotiations, although sharing similar goals, are different in size and format as well as in their concrete objectives.

Negotiations aim at a signed agreement between conflict parties on crucial matters of ending war and starting a peace process. Negotiations have a limited number of participants and are in parts confidential until the end. A key element of negotiations is the verification of what was agreed. Mutual trust can evolve from implementation of the agreement. The participants of a negotiation process build trust into the process, not necessarily to their counterparts on the other side of the negotiation table. Negotiations are sufficiently representative for the most relevant opponents. Successful negotiations end with a compromise, in the best case with a clear sign of good faith and promising win-win for all sides.

Dialogues aim at building trust during the process itself, through providing a space for learning about one another, for creating understanding of underlying, interests, grievances and concerns of others. Dialogues can be based on the Chatham House rule (e.g. opinions can be publicly shared, related names, however, must not be disclosed) but should be as transparent as possible. Dialogues must be sufficiently inclusive for the society and people – and give weight to those who suffered most during the conflict. A dialogue is not in the need of producing an agreement, but the consensus achieved should become public in the form of declarations or joint statements.

The Doha Intra Afghan Dialogue that my team had the honor to provide support to – was a dialogue – a dialogue among representatives from the government representatives and from political parties, the Taliban movement and civil society.

Third parties like Germany or NGOs like the Berghof Foundation can play a role in a peace process by providing technical and operational support, by offering capacity-building, supporting research and knowledge management (including lessons learnt from case studies, the “mistakes” others have made as well as their successes). They can also play the role of a host, facilitator, mediator, or guarantor, amongst others. Any of this involvement, however, should be agreed on and controlled by the national conflict stakeholders in order to hold on to ownership of the process.

Within the context of this ownership, third parties can support the actors to manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to pave the way of developing mutually acceptable and sustainable agreements and support their implementation. In contrast to “neutral” parties, *multi-partial* actors are transparent with regard to their own affiliations and understanding of the conflict at hand, empathize with and try to understand all parties, and see their role as serving the process as a whole. Particularly in an environment where armed conflict is recent or ongoing, a third party can represent a bridge towards engagement between conflicting parties, who cannot yet trust each other but might be willing to place some trust into the outside actor and some first mutually agreed upon process steps. However, third parties cannot provide the conciliation and healing that only the affected society is able to generate. They can help if the society considers itself to weak or unprepared to face the challenges for example of (transitional) justice by providing supportive tools, skills, or – if needed – resources and personnel. However, conciliation efforts are highly sensitive. Perception of failed reconciliation and peace building efforts can lead to a fracturing of social cohesion and community resilience delay sustainable peace for a long time. Third parties should stay humble, patient and act only upon request.

Long-term inclusivity and stable peace require the establishment of permanent and functioning national mechanisms of exchange, sufficient space for expression of



differing views and constructive disagreement. Finally, an inclusive society must be able to tolerate a plurality of “truths” coexisting peacefully.

**Question and Answer:**

Since the Mujahidin said the Najib government was a puppet government, they did not negotiate with the Dr. Najibullah’s Government. Why the Taliban insist on negotiating only with the US, despite insisting that the US is their enemy. But at the same time they do not want to negotiate with the Afghan government?

Prof. Eshraq: first issue that I wanted to say that the Taliban have become vulnerable and because of this they are negotiating with the US, not the Afghan Government. The next issue is that their negotiations have taken place in the shadow of the US and some other countries. Third point is that Talks with the United States are undoubtedly in coordination with Pakistan. Forth, not having a national government plan is a Taliban principle. They operate through violence and suicide. This shows that they have no plans for government.

Hans Giessman: As far as I know, the Taliban see themselves as a legitimate government, so they want to negotiate the future of Afghanistan for the withdrawal of foreign forces. They want to return to Afghanistan and live. Another reason is that they do not believe in elections because the basis of this system is not legitimate for them. For this reason, the Taliban believe that if they come to an agreement with the United States, they may take the first steps to form a future government and consolidate their base in Afghanistan.

## Panel VI: Enforcement & Guarantor(S)



### **Moderator:**

- Amb. Jawed Ludin, Former Deputy Foreign Minister

### **Speakers:**

- Dr. Sayed Rasoul Mosavi, Assistant Foreign Minister of I.R. Iran
- Dr. Bakhtiyor Mustafaev, Director, Presidential Center for Strategic Studies, Uzbekistan
- Ambassador Robin Raphel, former US Assistant Secretary

### **Moderator:**

In this panel, we want to move forward with the discussion of a lasting and guaranteed peace. If we want to create a lasting peace, how can we guarantee it? How to build national, international and regional consensus? The European Union has announced that it will guarantee what is agreed in the Taliban and Afghans intra-Afghan agreement. One dimension is the guarantee of this agreement, and a larger dimension is the continuity and sustainability of how a lasting peace will be formed. What is the guarantee that there will be a ceasefire between the Taliban and Afghanistan, or what is

the guarantee that other insurgent groups will not emerge after the Taliban insurgency?

We start the panel with the above layout:

**Amb. Sayed Rasul Mosavi:**

I offer my condolences because of the terrible terrorist incident yesterday that took many civilian casualties. What I am going to is not necessarily the position of the Iranian State but my own research and observations.

Following the previous session in which truth, justice and forgiveness was discussed let me give you an example that there can be no peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis because there is no justice. With that in mind, as our American colleague said that the US is not negotiating with Taliban on behalf Afghans, but rather negotiating to prepare conditions for intra-Afghan negotiations. The ownership of the negotiations will also be given to Afghans.

Khalilzad's negotiations will not result in negotiations between Afghans and Taliban. Mr. Khalilzad's agenda is a separation agenda. Is Mr. Khalilzad's negotiation really supported by the United States?

Let me point out that these negotiations are Khalilzad-Taliban negotiations. The purpose of these talks is likely to end with intra-Afghan negotiations. The result will be lasting peace. However, I think that is a question. Read Mr. Barnet Rubin's letter to the Taliban once. By the time the Taliban were ready to go into civilian life in 2004, but the United States refused and the Afghan talks were abandoned. So much of the US pressure on the Taliban had encouraged Taliban to take weapons rather than civilian life. America once made a mistake, moving the Taliban from a position of compromise to a hard one.

The second mistake is happening right now. Two years ago, I said in Bamyán that the Taliban are part of Afghan society and it must be acknowledged. I was criticized but even now I will say the same.

What Mr. Khalilzad has done is not something that leads to peace. This is a reflection of Mr. Khalilzad. Many asked why Iran would not attend the Beijing summit. Because

Iran doubted that it was a peace process or a process that we did not know where it would end.

In my opinion, this process has five outcomes, these five will give another shape to the future. The first result of this process is that the Khalilzad-Taliban negotiations are moving towards a Doha process, rather than continuing the Bonn process. The current government is the result of the Bonn process that produced the constitution. The Bonn process created a republic, women's rights, freedom of press, freedom of expression. But in the Doha process nothing is clear. The information is not public. So how do we set put the existing system that is a result of Bonn process aside for a Doha process give that we do not know anything about. The peace process should be a continuation of the Bonn process, not a new Doha process

Second, I think there is a change. The traditional institutions are replacing the modern ones. What is the place of the parliament, elections, government, human rights, and women's rights after the Doha negotiations? The Loya Jirga, the interim government, and the peace council are being discussed. All these break away from modern trends and move towards traditional trends. The Doha process strengthens traditional institutions rather than modern ones.

The third issue is consensus. In Moscow, we were talking to Mr. Kabbalov, and we asked what he was doing. They said that America, Russia and China were moving forward, we would later invite Iran and Pakistan to take part. I asked what we were doing. They said that if Iran, Russia, China, Pakistan and the United States make a decision, it will be implemented. I said the consensus is with the Afghan government and the Afghan nation. National consensus can only bring peace to Afghanistan, not international consensus. If we consider international consensus, what Afghanistan needs is national consensus, not international consensus.

The fourth point is replacing the concept of Emirate with the Republic. After the Khalilzad-Taliban talks, this has become common. The Emirate debate can be good theoretically, but the Emirate cannot sustain peace in Afghanistan. This is a theoretical discussion. This happened when the United States said in a ten-point statement that it

had reached an agreement with the Taliban, and wrote that it was an agreement between the United States and the Islamic Emirate.

That is when the Emirates entered the political literature of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is Iran's neighbor, now called friends. Iran also has a relationship with the Taliban and helps them. Taliban is also our neighbor. We must live with our neighbor. Security and peace in Afghanistan is peace and security in Iran. If the Taliban's Emirate is restored, there will be no peace. A new round of wars will begin and this is worrying. The Afghan constitution is a modern law and it is in place. This constitution must be maintained if it is destroyed, there is no alternative.

Bottom line: In my opinion, the danger of replacing ISIS, rather than the Taliban, is emerging. I do not accuse or condemn anyone, but I point out, ISIS is a project that failed in Syria, it is going to Central Asia. If this project succeeds, the Taliban will leave their place for Islamic State. This is very dangerous.

So if the United States makes another mistake in 2019, according to the document it wrote, with the Taliban, it creates another insurgency.

Moderator: Even though you said that you do not represent the Iranian government, if there is an agreement between the Taliban and the U.S. in which the U.S. troops leave Afghanistan, will Iran support it? Will Iran participate in Doha as observer or guarantor?

Amb. Mosavi: We fully support the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The solution to peace in Afghanistan is to withdraw foreign forces. But the withdrawal of foreign troops should be the result of the national consensus of all Afghan forces, not the result of a group's agreement with foreign forces. It is wrong in every way. All Afghan national forces that care for Afghanistan must agree on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. What happened in 2001 was the resolution of the Security Council. The problem was different then. What is happening now is different. We say the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan is good, but not to repeat the Soviet withdrawal experience. Exit must be responsible exit. Surely these foreign forces must be responsibly withdrawn. Iran participates in any peace negotiation that benefit the people of Afghanistan.

But there are other different questions, Iran signed the Nuclear Agreements, the Security Council approved, but the US withdrew. Did Obama represent the US government? Then why did Mr. Trump leave? Then when the Kurds in Syria under the bombardment of the Turkish army, U.S. did not help these Kurds. They did not provide weapons, did not help the Islamic State? Why did America stand down?

Those who raise these issues believe that Khalilzad is currently working to re-elect Trump. The fear is that if something else happens again tomorrow, who will guarantee the US government? Another issue, referring to the September 8 tweet, Mr. Trump said that I would no longer attend the meeting. So there is no trust.

Moderator: Yesterday, at least in one of the panels, we covered the South Asian dimension of the Afghan neighborhood in a lot of detail. Today, while specifically focusing on the issues of guarantees for a sustainable peace, I also recognize the fact that other than the presentation that was made by European Special Envoy, Ambassador Kobia, we have not had any intervention from U.S. perspective. We would appreciate if you could cover that.

Amb. Robin Raphel:

I would like thank Dr. Moradian for a fabulous concert last night [showcasing art, cultural and music of Herat]. I have to say that my first question to the Taliban would always be, in the government and society that you envisage, would such concerts be allowed, because it was really wonderful.

I want to emphasize that I do not speak for the U.S. Government. I worked for the U.S. Government for many year, but I no longer do. But since no one else has been speaking from the U.S. perspective, I try to shed a little bit of light on what the U.S. is trying to do in this whole peace process. I emphasize that I have not been privy to the negotiations. I have not seen the draft text that everyone is talking about. But I still consider myself a fairly informed observer. I would also emphasize that what I say is all in the context of an enduring commitment to Afghanistan. The U.S. wants to continue to be a partner to support Afghanistan's journey to becoming a stable democratic prosperous society, so that commitment will endure. We want Afghanistan

to get connected to its neighbors economically and politically. And most of all we want the Afghan people to have the opportunity to fulfill their potential that has been so denied in the last 40 years. So that is a really important backdrop to what I am going to say.

So looking at how the U.S. is viewing this, after 18 years, we tried many different approaches, such as, surge, withdrawal, various forms of social engineering we tried in Afghanistan, and to quote my colleague Amb. Sood from yesterday, after 20 years of numerous mistakes, the cumulative decision was that perhaps the U.S. is part of the problem rather than part of the solution. So we realize there is a stalemate in military terms and that the only option negotiated political settlement. We also concluded that the Taliban leadership, at least, share this view that there is a military stalemate and there needs to be a negotiated political solution. Someone yesterday asked what became of U.S. South Asia Strategy, I would say that after a year of very limited progress in terms of South-Asia Strategy, President Trump finally concluded that we really needed to start direct talks with the Taliban and so he appointed the very experienced Zalmay Khalilzad to start these direct talks. We talked to the Taliban before, but the difference was that the fact of these talks was public. Of course the substance was confidential. Khalilzad identified four elements for the peace process, a timetable for troop withdrawal, counterterrorism assurances, an intra-Afghan negotiation, and a universal permanent ceasefire. In the beginning, clearly his preference was that these four elements could move simultaneously. You might recall him that nothing is agreed till everything is agreed. Of course the preference would have been to involve the Afghan Government directly from the beginning, but it proved too difficult to convince the Taliban to pursue that particular method. So what the U.S. did was to split this process into two parts. The first part was the US-Taliban negotiations and the second part would be intra-Afghan negotiations where the Afghans would decide the really big issues and important issues of political dispensation and power-sharing and the rest of it.

It is really important to understand what the US-Taliban negotiation has been about. It has not been about a peace agreement for Afghanistan. It has not been the US and the Taliban negotiating a peace deal behind the backs of the Afghan Government or the

Afghan people. It was about establishing a timetable for troop withdrawal in exchange for counterterrorism assurances and Taliban willingness to sit down in the table with other Afghans. So when people say, “you negotiated, you Americans gave up everything to the Taliban and you did not get anything in return”. From the American perspective, it is not nothing to get counterterrorism assurance and it is not nothing to get the Taliban agreement to sit down with the other Afghans. So the whole idea was for a US-Taliban agreement to pave the way and enable the beginning of intra-Afghan talks. And as I said, it is at the intra-Afghan talks that the key issues would be decided and the U.S. was determined not to get involved in the substance of the intra-Afghan dialogue. The whole idea was that that dialogue would be Afghan-led and Afghan-owned. The U.S. had been criticized over the years for trying to be over-involved in Afghanistan, tell Afghanistan what to do and decide Afghanistan’s future. So the whole idea was to turn that process to the Afghans. While the U.S. was not going to be directly involved in that intra-Afghan dialogue, it has to be said that the U.S. still has some leverage. The idea was that, as you have read in the press and I think this is accurate, there would be an initial troop withdrawal which demonstrate the U.S. bon appetites and their willingness to withdraw troops, but there would be a remainder of 8600 troops in the country so that if progress was not made on the ceasefire and intra-Afghan dialogue. These troops would not immediately inevitably withdrawn, the remaining troops would provide a certain amount of leverage on the Taliban making good on its commitments to an intra-Afghan dialogue.

The U.S. recognizes that the real peace negotiations involve complicated issues that are bound to take a lot of time, so we recognize there is a need to be patient on our part. But having said that, I think, Afghans should still move as quickly as possible in this intra-Afghan dialogue, because we not an administration in the US that is not patient despite the broader recognition by experts that this is going to take some time. The U.S. also realizes that it is not just the internal situation in Afghanistan that needs to be considered. There is also the regional dimension and international support that is essential to the success of any agreement. And this is why Amb. Khalilzad on a peripatetic journey not only to Doha but also to Brussels, Islamabad, New Delhi, Central Asia, Moscow and Beijing, not to Tehran sadly, but everywhere else. This is because



there is a recognition that you need to have the support of the broader international community.

Question has been asked, how do you make sure that any agreement that is reached either between the U.S. and the Taliban or among the Afghans can be enforced and sustained? I think on the US-Taliban side that is relatively easy. Troop withdrawal can be observed and verified fairly simply. In terms of CT assurance, the U.S. believes that it and its allies can validate whether CT assurances are met or not. But for the intra-Afghan actual peace agreement, I think, the best guarantee of sustainability and enforcement is that the agreement is a good agreement. For a good agreement, it needs to be responsive to all the grievances from all the groups in Afghanistan that we have heard about this morning in the course of these discussion. It needs to be inclusive. The Taliban was not included in 2001 and 2002, so that did not work out so well. So everybody needs to be included. You need to respond in this agreement to the fear of women and minorities that their rights will be rolled back. You need to have a fair distribution of power. There is a need for decentralization that all power should not be in Kabul. So these issues need to be worked out. You need an equitable distribution of wealth and economic opportunities. You need to address the feeling that there has not been rule of law. You have to address the victims of the violence of this war on all sides. You need an agreement that has real compromises and seems fair to everyone. That is the best guarantee that it will be sustainable. It is also important, as Agha Jan said yesterday, that the agreement, whatever it is internally, needs to be mindful of the concerns of the neighbors. You want the neighbors to be neutral and not start any more proxy wars. You need to take into consideration their concerns. And then finally, to help make an agreement sustainable, you need to take into account international norms that are important to the international community. Because Afghanistan is going to need to have the political and economic support of the international community, going forward if it is going to continue on its journey towards greater development and integration. It is very clear, as you heard from Amb. Kobia yesterday, if international norms are not respected in a new political dispensation, and if there is not any effort to consolidate the gains of the last 18-20 years, the international community is not going to be interested in continuing support. So that is going to be the most important part of sustainability.

Of course there are specific mechanism, you can have a joint commission in Afghanistan with all parties together to help determine whether there is ceasefire violations, you have an international conference where everyone agree for neutrality in Afghanistan. There is various mechanism that are available to further guarantee. So my closing point, as there is a lot of criticisms inside the U.S. of the U.S. negotiating with the Taliban, the Taliban rightly or wrongly, and I would argue rightly, have been demonized in the United States for their harsh rule in the 90s and civilian casualties and so on. But as Hillary Clinton often said, you do not negotiate peace with your friends. So we needed to take this step, it is felt very strongly in the U.S. to get this negotiation going. I would just emphasize that the U.S. believes that this is the best way forward to get to the intra-Afghan dialogue. It is so essential to give Afghanistan a change at finally, after 40 years, getting to peace and ending the suffering of the Afghan people. And I think it behooves us all to give this effort our best shot.

Jawed Ludin: Thank you Ambassador. If I may just follow up, two very quick questions. Will this peace process that got canceled by President Trump restart? Especially now that the elections have taken place in Afghanistan, where we stand we have seen some movement. Ambassador Khalilzad has clearly survived this upheaval and he is back in theatre, meeting people. What do you think in terms of the next steps in the US-Taliban peace negotiation process? The second question, as an observer, what do you think was the problem that led to a lot of people being suspicious about the peace process? And I am not talking about only Afghans. Peace is a priority that basically just not Afghans but everybody across the board agrees with it. The U.S. has initiated something that had not happened for many years, even we all sought to do it and worked for it. The U.S. started something, so rather than cheering, everybody started criticizing the U.S. and still do. A lot of people would come up with more questions and criticism rather than affirmations of what has happened. Even the EU, as Amb. Kobia spoke yesterday, said if it is going to start again, we have to reorganize some of the priorities and bring in ceasefire to the front. So what do you think went wrong in terms of the U.S. communicating? Perhaps this was about communication or lack of consultation, but we need an analytical view on it.

Amb. Raphel: number one, yes I do think the process will get back on track. Amb. Khalilzad has been informal discussions in Pakistan and perhaps that will continue somewhere else, but there is definitely a desire to get it back on track.

And for the second question, what went on? Amb. Khalilzad had a difficult job. So many competing interests and priorities and so on. He took one approach, someone else would have taken a different approach, because it was difficult job. I think people became suspicious for a couple of reason. First, because they did not know the details. I was very clear that this is not the U.S. deciding the future of Afghanistan, but I think that is what people though. Because they did not know what was exactly in the text. Rumors spread around. But for diplomacy, in order to make progress, you need discretion and confidentiality. So people were nervous because of not knowing. Diplomacy requires a lot of persuasion and various kinds of argumentation where you may be saying one thing to one person and one thing to another, but all in the cause of getting to one bottom line. And one more point I would say, after so many years of war, if you are thinking of the prospect of peace, it can be intimidating, your demands go up, as to what you want.

Jawed Ludin: You think the ceasefire should be brought up to the front as a precondition, as president Ghani has been saying, and now we hear others, if the process restarts.

Amb. Raphel: first of all, in an ideal world, absolutely yes. But diplomacy is the art of possible and trading things off, so I would hope that. Because there has been a pause in the talks that will give an opportunity for reevaluation on all side that would move a reduction in violence up higher in the agenda.

Mustafeev: I would like to present our strategic vision, as the prospect of development and situation in Afghanistan, which is considered as part of our region.

It's impossible to talk about a peaceful and prosperous Central Asia without solving Afghanistan problem. We are pleasant there is on spot intensification international efforts to resolve conflict in Afghanistan. Moreover, positive trends are emerging in the issue of Afghan settlement which give some hope for beginning of intra-Afghan talks.

Sustainable peace in Afghanistan will depend on: first of all, inclusion of all political forces including ethnic members of minorities. No one should remain out of peaceful political process. I am convinced that it's important for entire Afghan socialites to be consulted on national interests of peace and prosperity in the country. In order to further progress of peace process and ensure its inclusiveness, Uzbekistan held important talks with Afghan leadership and leading Afghan political forces including the Taliban. In addition, as the president of Uzbekistan stated we are ready to create all the necessary conditions for the organizing direct talks between the government of Afghanistan and Taliban in Uzbekistan. We would like to emphasize Tashkent coordinates all these conditions as the official direction of Kabul. We remain committed to fundamental principles of the political process to establish lasting peace in Afghanistan. The process should be carried out only by Afghans themselves and under leadership of Afghans. Uzbekistan is absolutely sincere carrying out Afghan policy. The priority for us is to achieve national reconciliation in Afghanistan. We have always held a neutral position and we have not interfered in internal Afghan affairs. We always supports efforts to reconcile the parties.

We also invest in economic future and social stability of Afghanistan for the young generation of Afghanistan. In this regard we have embarked in joint implementation of large projects in Afghanistan, in the field of transport, logistics, energy and trade. Considering economic development as most effective factor in resolving, Uzbekistan has always launched many projects to support infrastructure in Afghanistan.

I would like to highlight some of them. First construction of railway of Mazar-e-Sharif-Herat; which increased the trade in Afghanistan up to 50 percent, and the project of cargo transit operations which is 3.5 million tons per year will increase to 50 million tons in a year. The launch of railway provides about 30000 jobs. As the annual income of transit will be 400 million dollars. All the neighbor states of Afghanistan will receive economic assets of this project. Through the Mazar-e-Sharif-Herat corridor is an access to Iranian port of Chabahar and Bandar Abbas port that will allow South Asia to get short access to markets of central Asian and Commonwealth independent states. The launch of the road will also promote active use of potentials and capabilities of port

infrastructure of Iran. It will give new dynamics to its relations with Central Asian states. In terms of prospects of using transit infrastructure, Uzbek-Afghan corridor opens up a possibility for Central Asian states to access to Indian Ocean. Second is the development in the cooperation in the field of energy.

Uzbekistan is a reliable supplier of electricity to Afghanistan. Compared to 2002 it has increased 30 times. Now we are working on another transfer line through Balkh, Samangan and Pule-Khomri to Kabul which increase the capacity of electricity for Afghans. CASA 1000 will allow Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to transfer electricity to Pakistan and India.

Since 2008, we have opened education center in city of Termiz and we have enrolled Afghan youth to two, four and six-year full time programs in 17 areas in higher education and 16 secondary special school. Today about 100 students are enrolled as railway engineering and Uzbek language.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Uzbekistan will continue practical assistance in building infrastructure of Afghanistan. Considering this condition for promoting peace in this country, this will help to resolve Afghanistan conflict and regional and global security issues. Peace in Afghanistan will bring peace and prosperity in region which affect the economy of the region.

### **Question and Answer:**

Question: I would like to ask Amb. Raphael as the first hand evidence, about the 1996 Bagram experience, when she met with Commander Massoud. Please tell us about the story.

Answer: On that time I and our delegation traveled to all districts of Afghanistan and met the Jihadi leader like Massoud, Hekmatyar or Doustum to say that the solution to Afghanistan conflict is not war and Afghans should negotiate with each other for stability and peace.

Question from Amb. Musavi: What is your comment about Iranian relationship with the Taliban?

Answer from Amb. Musavi: We do not hide that we are in contact with the Taliban. We believe that the Taliban are part of Afghan society and the reality of Afghanistan. The first institution to make peace with the Taliban was the Afghan government. We are supporting peace and communicating with the Taliban, but we will never help the Taliban against the Afghan government, but rather encourage the Afghan government. All our communications to the Taliban are provided to the Afghan government. There is no meeting with the Taliban that we have not reported to the Afghan government and the Afghan National Security Council. I had a role in Tajikistan peace. I have considerable experience. When we had a negotiation in the name of Mashhad, the president of Tajikistan and Mr. Nuri negotiated in Mashhad, this was the nature of the negotiation. We need a lasting peace. Anyone who opposes peace must be taken away, and whoever was against the government front. All opponents of peace were dismissed. But negotiating with the Taliban is good, but what about those who oppose peace with the Taliban? I said ISIS is a project. ISIS is opposed to the Taliban peace. In any peace plan, the task of the opponents of peace must be clearly identified.

## Concluding Panel: The Way Forward



**Moderator:**

- Mr. Samiullah Mahdi, Bureau Chief, Radio Azadi

**Speakers:**

- Gen. Saleh Mohammad Registani, Former Member of Parliament
- Ms. Freshta Karim, Director, Charmaghz
- Ambassador Huseyn Avni Botsali, Organization for Islamic Cooperation  
Special Envoy for Afghanistan

**Saleh Mohammad Registani:**

I would like to answer one of the questions that many of my compatriots ask: what should the Afghan nation pay for a sustainable peace?

We must first define peace. First, what is our definition of peace? Peace is said to mean that there are no armed groups in our country to kill people for their own political ends. This is the first definition. Without knowing the Taliban, we will not reach peace. The Taliban are an ideological and hardline ethnic group who came from a remote village in Afghanistan. This group is a patriarchal group. There are three characteristics to the Taliban's radicalism. First, they are a bipolar group. Second, they impose their will on the people. Third, they are violent and cruel. In the last 25 years, 110,000 civilians and more than 130,000 have been killed. All of these casualties were civilians, and the Taliban killed them to go to heaven.

Here is a list of Taliban demands:

1. Recognition of Qatar Office
2. Removing the Taliban leaders from blacklist
3. Withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan
4. Release of Taliban prisoners
5. Postponing the elections
6. Forming a Provisional Government
7. Revision and Amendment to the Constitution

The Taliban constitution is divided into several sections:

1. Change of regime from Republican to Emirate
2. Amir's selection based on the decision of the "leading scholars"
3. 18-year achievements with sharia extension
4. Absolute separation of men and women in all spheres of life.

Conclusion: Based on these Taliban demands, the following is the conclusion:

1. Agreement on all disputes
2. It is very difficult to accommodate the Taliban to the current social conditions
3. The Afghan nation must sacrifice some of its 18-year achievements to achieve sustainable peace.
4. Given the issues at stake, achieving a sustainable peace is very difficult but possible.

Moderator: You had 25 years of conflict with the Taliban, during this time it has been proven that the Taliban cannot accept the objective reality of Afghan society. What is the solution?

Saleh Mohammad Registani: A German philosopher said that bringing several contradictions together is impossible. I mentioned that it is very difficult to make peace with the Taliban but it is possible. I have met with the Taliban several times informally. I have asked them what they would do with your weapons when you make peace. They said that they should not mistake with the Mujahideen who handed over their weapons [when they joined the government after Bonn process]. Taliban say that they will preserve their geography and weapons as a guarantee of any kind of agreement until the end and this is not negotiable. When the Taliban have weapons and geography in their hands, who can guarantee that the Taliban will not attack Kabul after US troops withdraw? So peace with the Taliban is very difficult, but peace talks can be guaranteed if the only legitimate military force is the Afghan security forces. Otherwise the war will continue.

**Huseyn Avni Botsali:**

And on behalf of the Secretary General of the OIC, I would like to first convey to you our deep sympathies and condolences for all the sacrifices and loss that Afghan people



have been exposed to, including the last violent terrorist incident yesterday that took place in Nangarhar, inflicting additional pain in lives of Afghans. Human life is irreplaceable. Islam represents a concept and philosophy of peace. Anything which tends to identify Islam with criminality, death and violence, it is the source of occurring clash of civilizations and cultures. Our world needs to work and focus on how to tackle Islamophobia, to put an end to this concept of clash of civilizations which may have disastrous results far beyond Afghanistan and the region.

I want to read three excerpts, not from the document, but from one of the best books written on Afghanistan by a very devoted United Nations Special Envoy Kai Eide. He spent two full years in Afghanistan, and exactly 10 years ago when he was leaving this country, he in his memoir said the following;

- “Two years had passed since my arrival in Kabul. At that time, the most urgent task had been to bring some order to a chaotic international engagement in Afghanistan. I had arrived with hope of being able to make a difference and help shape a strategy that would finally work. Now, I was tired and bitter. Tired from two dramatic years of constantly worsening security situation, political disagreement and personal rivalries.”
- Special Envoy also said that that “the most important reason for my bitterness was my ever-growing disagreement with the International strategy in Afghanistan and it had become increasingly dominated by military strategies, forces and offenses. Urgent civilian and political requirements were treated as appendixes to military tasks. The UN had never been really involved and consulted on critical strategy-related questions. More importantly Afghan authorities had mostly been spectators to the formation of a strategy aimed at solving the conflict in their own country”.

There comes the concept of Afghan-owned Afghan-led. We are commemorating this year the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of foundation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. In the last 11 years of OIC spent trying to transform itself from a conference into an inter-governmental organization. I have to clearly put where OIC stands internationally.

It is still missioned on end-progress. OIC has a lot of distance to cover, to tackle its internal issues as well as institutional issues. But it is very critical and crucial at this juncture of history of Afghanistan that OIC plays a constructive role. OIC has a standing constructive mandate to facilitate and promote peace in Afghanistan. The Secretary General's mandate is annually renewed by the council of ministers of OIC. A lot of people would say that this is more declaratory than action, but OIC has one strategic advantage and asset that no other international institutional ever had or has now in Afghanistan. OIC even with imperfections and internal problems is the only platform international recognized institutional platform which can speak in the name of Islam. The conflict in Afghanistan has been related with regional and international struggles, superpower rivalries, neighborhood problems and then tribal and other internal issues. But ever since throughout the past 40 years the Afghans have carried out a Jihad against alien invaders to defend their homeland, OIC always stood by Afghans throughout. But the more the current stalemate continues in Afghanistan, the concept of Jihad has been exploited and abused in the name of Islam for reasons and objectives which have nothing to do with the tenets of Islam. Therefore, we will have to find a way to bring an end to the cause of the conflict. Those who die and those who kill in Afghanistan are unfortunately Muslims. This has turned into a slaughter of brothers, the bloodshed of Afghans against Afghans. If this peril is not prevented philosophically, conceptually and strategically, the conflict will continue as long as you have not removed the cause of the conflict. The solution to remove the cause of the conflict needs to come from within the world of Islam. There, though you may consider OIC as a weak platform, but maybe this relative weakness turns into a comparative advantage. Because OIC is a platform which has the voice of 57 Muslim states of the world. This is 27% of the membership of the United Nations, more than the quarter of it. OIC represents more than two billion people over the world, the Muslim Ummah. So Afghanistan feels isolated, lonely and weak. Afghanistan actually, if it can lobby the Muslim world, is not alone. We are there and we have been there.

Throughout the Afghan Jihad when Afghans were defending their homeland, and now when the Afghans start reaching peace and a Jihad for peace, a Jihad to rebuild their country, the Jihad to rebuild their education and future generations, we will be there to

act in solidarity with you. By helping Afghanistan, OIC will actually be able to reposition itself as in a strategic way in the global affairs of the world and go beyond for humanity and civilization in many respects. Therefore, I would like to highlight, in order not to go to much detail, the recent three important events:

- The first time ever in the Afghan conflict's history in, July 2018, more than 100 international Muslim scholars convened a session exclusively aimed at promoting peace and stability and security in Afghanistan. The meeting took place in Mecca. Several of you might say that Taliban were not there. The level of the meeting could have been higher, but this was a beginning. There has not been a Fatwa but there has been an important declaration.
- At the time, when NATO summit in Brussels renewed NATO's military commitment to continue supporting Afghanistan's capacity of self-defense and security (law and order), in the same day, Muslim world was adopting a resolution to appeal to all Afghan parties in the name of the holy religion of Islam to lay down their arms, end hostilities and reconcile. So this is an important starting point. This declaration of the International Ulema was endorsed.
- This year, in the 46<sup>th</sup> council of minister's session of Islamic foreign ministers held in Abu Dhabi in March, and subsequently in 31<sup>st</sup> of May the 14<sup>th</sup> Islamic summit held in Mecca also endorsed that and appealed to all Afghans without discrimination to end hostility and move towards peace, and renewed secretary general's mandate to help Afghans in their endeavors for peace, and to also encourage a traditional conservative clerical establishment of the Ulema, which is in your ascending and descending veins all over the country in the very deep inside Afghan society, and also to take a standing towards promoting peace more actively.

So the OIC will continue to support this conceptual change, which has the potential to gradually move and remove the cause of the war and conflict from the within the Afghan society. That is one major step to be hopeful. I am not underestimating the complexity of issue in Afghanistan. Whoever will have to deal with Afghanistan, or is committed to Afghanistan, first needs to listen to Afghans. We should never underestimate, and

nobody should never ever dictate Afghans, the meals cooked in outside kitchens. Afghans are perfectly capable of fostering and engineering their peace. We need to simply help them by providing and preparing the conditions to move into a really Afghan-owned Afghan-led peace process. I think history is preparing, and I am illusionist but optimist, we are approaching a moment where Afghans will grab that opportunity. We should stand with Afghanistan and act in solidarity.

Sami Mahdi: as you said, the OIC has got strategic asset that no other international organization has got, and it is able to speak on behalf of Islam, but so far how your organization has used this strategic asset to bring about peace in Afghanistan? You said that the Afghans are not alone, the Islamic world is supporting Afghans. But we are suffering and bleeding and some of the Islamic world is supporting Taliban and other groups. How are you going to use your asset finally in the interest of the Afghan people?

Amb. Botsall: well, my presence in Kabul is the symbol of OIC's commitment. This office has been opened some years ago. It may not have been active as Afghans would have desired to see, but essentially OIC is not like an organization, such as the EU and the UN's system and still in its formative years. Afghanistan is its founding member. Afghanistan needs to lobby and create its own path. This is also going to be one of the ways of building a really Afghan-owned Afghan-led peace process. You have to build up where you want and how you want the OIC get involved. Certain Afghans have, unfortunately, this habit of expecting their friends and allies to prepare things for them, because this is the easy way to go. But this will not provide them the solution they desire and deserve, whereas if Afghans really work for the building and engineering their own peace, we will not shy away.

I have brought 10 copies of recent resolutions we have adopted. Ad along as these resolutions are in paper, they will not make sense, but if you also claim ownership of these resolutions and make OIC act in direction of these resolutions substantially, you will see OIC's role gradually increase.

**Freshta Karim:**

First, I must make my own observations on Afghanistan and the ruling narratives on peace. Then we have to talk about the future and our role of youth in the future. First of all, the Afghans are tired of the war and that there should be peace. But at what cost? When asked, it was clear that there were obstacles to peace, especially as women were seen as barriers to peace. One of the ways in which women could define peace and achieve the values of peace was 'My Red Line' movement. This movement was able to express people's narratives of peace and the price for reaching peace. The Taliban are not only killing us, they are killing our dreams. It is sad that in the 21st century our wish is to just be alive. This is a golden opportunity to answer the question of what kind of peace do we want. Sustainable peace with a ceasefire? The conference provided an opportunity to reflect our definition of peace, and I am very happy to see peace as a cessation of war above it. In a peaceful situation, the children of this country must make bigger dreams.

The question is, do we have women's rights guaranteed in a peaceful situation? We must have our own plans for peace. In the past nine months we have abandoned our dreams. The fear of the Taliban return has become even more frightening than themselves.

In the political system it is important note that the difference between the Emirate and the Republic is not just a literal one. These two systems are about the differences between dreams and aspirations. Afghanistan is a country of youth. 47% of Afghanistan's population is under 15 years of age. We have a moral responsibility to create system that we do not inherit from our ancestors and fathers. Because we are also suffering from such a system.

In addition, how do we bring youth into the social political process? Peace must promote development, include opportunities, and not limit their opportunities.

We hope that in the future peace process, we will be more careful about the future of women and children and involve them in the peace process.

## **Question and Answer:**

Moderator: what is the relationship between the current (tense) situation and our aspirations?

Freshta Karim: I'm scared about this. This is a very difficult question. We have lost our relatives, friends, companions. Human security survives. Do we just need security? Don't we need to think about freedom and discovering our potentials? This is the question for hundreds of our children.

Question: What will happen if there is a possible US-Taliban negotiation and if one of the preconditions for that is the cancellation of the security agreement between Afghanistan and the US? If we do not break down the unbelievable walls, and if we do not talk about peace narratives and peace building literature at national and international conferences, will peace come? How would you describe your concerns about the absence of women in the peace process?

Registani: The US is seeking a responsible and honorable exit, so will the security agreement make sense when the US goes for an agreement with the Taliban? In my opinion, the Taliban is an enemy, but we make peace with an enemy.

Freshta Karim: I think it is not a concern for the women alone. As we have seen, our government was not at the negotiating table, which means no one is involved. And this is worrying.

## Note of Thanks of Director of AISS



Thank you all for joining us and I hope you all enjoyed your time in Afghanistan and Herat. The only message I want to make is about the Afghan peace process. We hope that this process will be an Afghan one, not only politically but also geographically. I can say that our peace negotiations can be held in any province of Afghanistan. Now that we are in Herat and the governor of Herat yesterday noted that Herat province can host any kind of peace conference and we, the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies are also ready to be part of this process.

Special thanks to friends who came from outside Afghanistan. Special thanks to the Afghan National Security Forces who protected us for the past 24 hours.

I also thank the government agencies, Official of the National Security Council, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, local authorities, Herat Governor's Office, and all the institutions involved and the honorable people of Herat.

Special thanks to the sponsors of the Herat Security Conference series: Embassy of the Republic of India, Embassy of the United States of America, Embassy of the French Republic and The Asia Foundation.

I hope we can host you at the 9th round of the Herat Security Dialogue which will be held on October 9-10, 2020, and I hope the next conference will be on "How to Strengthen Peace."



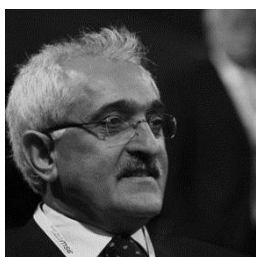
## **Annex 1: Short Bios of the Presenters and Moderators**

### **Abdul Qayoum Rahimi**



Abdul Qayoum Rahimi is the Governor of Herat province. He has experience working in government and foreign agencies. Abdul Qayoum Rahimi previously served as Director of Public Support at the Independent Directorate of Local Governance. He holds a Master's Degree in Management and Business. Abdul Qayoum Rahimi was formally announced as the new governor of Herat province by a decree issued by Afghan President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani.

### **Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta**



fall of Taliban.

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta is former Afghanistan's National Security Adviser, former Foreign Minister and the Senior Advisor on International Affairs to President Hamid Karzai. Dr. Spanta fled to Turkey during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before moving to Germany. There he became assistant professor of political science at RWTH Aachen University. He also served as spokesperson for the Alliance for Democracy in Afghanistan, and was active in the German Green Party. He also briefly taught at Kabul University after the

### **Ambassador Roland Kobia**



notably covering the regional politics and the Great Lakes conflict. He also served in Kenya as the Head of the Regional Political Section, covering political affairs, conflicts and peace processes in 12 countries of the Horn of Africa and of the African Great Lakes regions, and negotiating / mediating peace agreements.

Ambassador Roland Kobia was appointed as the "EU Special Envoy to Afghanistan" on 1 September 2017. He has been specialising in peace conflict and transition countries, peace processes and reconciliation initiatives, regional security issues and state-building for the last 17 years. Prior to his current appointment Roland Kobia was the first resident Ambassador of the European Union to Myanmar/Burma (2013-current), after having been the first full-term EU Ambassador to Azerbaijan (2009-2013). Earlier on, he was the Deputy Head of Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo,

### **Abdullah Azad Khenjani**



Mr. Abdullah Azad Khenjani is a prominent journalist who works as the head of a television station. Mr. Abdullah Khenjani has received the Alexandros Peterson Scholarship, which provides the opportunity to pursue a master's degree in war studies to provide the best and brightest students living in Afghanistan, Central Asia and the South Caucasus. He studied at the College of London College, London.

### **Dr. Timor Sharan**



Dr. Timor Sharan was born in Bamyan province in year 1984. Dr. Sharan obtained his doctorate from the University of Exeter in the UK in the field of governance and politics in year 2013. Dr. Sharan holds a Masters in Development Studies from Cambridge University. He led the International Crisis Group in Afghanistan for one year. He has been the program manager for Asia Foundation since June of 2008 for one year. He was appointed to the position of Independent Bureau of Local Authorities on September 2016 under the decree of President Ghani as a professional and policy deputy.

### **Dr. Mahiyuddin Mehdi**



Dr. Mehdi, writer, researcher and former member of the Afghan Parliament, holds a doctorate in linguistics from the Tajik Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the Emergency Loya Jirga, a member of the Loya Jirga of the Afghan Constitution, a professor of language and literature at the University of Kabul and a member of the Afghan Parliament. Mr. Mehdi has written many books and articles, including, the National Dialogue of Afghanistan, Orthography, and The History of

the Language and Literature.

### **Maryam Safi**



Maryam Safi is the Director and Founder of Policy Research and Development Studies. This research organization is considered a prominent think tank in Afghanistan and is committed to fostering democratic ideas and values. She was honored in the Diplomatic Media Network as one of the world's top women in 2014 for her contribution to the research community in Afghanistan. He is a senior fellow at the Afghanistan Policy Group, a senior fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies in Sri Lanka and a graduate of the Center for Strategic

Studies in Southeast Asia and a local expert on direct peace building. Ms. Safi holds a Master's Degree in International Peace Studies from the United Nations-supervised University for Peace in San Jose (Costa Rica).

### **Lutfullah Najafizada**



Mr. Lotfullah Najafizada is an award-winning journalist and director of TOLONews, Afghanistan's top 24/7 news and current affairs TV channel. At TOLONews, Mr. Najafizada oversees the largest news operation in Afghanistan. His international recognitions include Reporters without Borders's prestigious medal of Press Freedom Hero for his fight for free press in Afghanistan in 2016, TIME Magazine's title of Next Generation Global Leader and Forbes magazine 30 under 30 Asia influencers in media. He's member of Asia Society's Global Council and a former fellow with the World Press Institute and

Rumsfeld Foundation. He has a BSc in Economics.

### **Motaesm Agha Jan**



Former Taliban finance minister Motaesm Agha Jan has been Mullah Omar's assistant and a moderate member of the group. Motaesm Agha Jan after the fall of the Taliban, was the political leader of the Taliban leadership council known as the Quetta Council. He has mediated peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban.

### **Dr. Jafar Mahdavi**



Dr. Jafar Mahdavi was born in winter 1976. He received his bachelor's and doctorate degrees from Tehran University and his master's degree from Tehran's Modarres University. He is the founder of Gharjistan University in Kabul. He has also served as an adviser to the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs and to the Minister of Education and to collaborate with the political parties active at the time and elected as the Secretary of the National Consultative Peace Jirga. He is the author of "Taliban Political Sociology" and "An Analysis of the Democratization Process in Afghanistan." He was elected as Member of Parliament in the 2010 Sixteenth Parliamentary Elections.

### **Shoaib Rahim**



Shoaib Rahim is the Senior Adviser at the State Ministry for Peace. He has previously served as the Acting Mayor of Kabul as well as Senior Adviser to Minister of Defense. Shoaib is a Fulbright fellow, an Asia Society Fellow, a Rumsfeld Foundation Fellow and a Duke University Alumni.

### **Dr. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi**



Dr. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi was born in 1976 in Uruzgan. He graduated from faculty of Political Science and Geopolitical Geography of Tehran University in 2008. Dr. Rahimi is a political science graduate of Tehran University in 2004 and has a bachelor degree in environmental health from Tehran University in 2002. He has been a member of the Afghanistan Policy Group since 2012.

### **Nazir Kabiri**



Nazir Kabiri, Founder and Executive Director of the Al-Biruni Institute. Previously, he served as a Senior Policy Advisor to the Finance Minister of Afghanistan for over six years. He was also a key interlocutor in the Ministry of Finance for international institutions and bilateral donors. Nazir Kabiri holds a degree in Management from South Korea, a BA in Economics from Kabul University and a Master's Degree in Development Economics (Fulbright Scholar) from the United States. He is frequently contacted by the media on issues related to the Afghan economy and regional issues.

### **Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown**



Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown is a senior fellow in the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. She is also the director of the Brookings project, “Improving Global Drug Policy: Comparative Perspectives Beyond UNGASS 2016,” and co-director of another Brookings project, “Reconstituting Local Orders.” Felbab-Brown is an expert on international and internal conflicts and nontraditional security threats, including insurgency, organized crime, urban violence, and illicit economies. Her fieldwork and research have covered, among others, Afghanistan, South Asia, Burma, Indonesia, the Andean region, Mexico, Morocco, Somalia, and eastern Africa.

### **Sayed Abdul Wahid Qatali**



Sayed Abdul Wahid Qatali is a graduate of arts from Herat University. He established the Harry Potter Film Institute in early 2008, producing documentaries, fiction and television dramas and national anthems within its framework. He was a member of the Herat Provincial Council in 2013 and 2014 and chaired the Herat Provincial Council. He was subsequently appointed mayor of Herat. He was appointed General Director of Administrative Office of the President in a 2018.

### **Jyoti Malhotra**



Jyoti Malhotra is National & Strategic Affairs editor at The Print website in New Delhi, India. She has been a journalist for 30 years and writes on foreign policy and politics, especially as it intersects in India's neighbourhood, as well as how South Asia is impacted by great power politics. For power to be responsible, she believes, it must be imbued with both morality and the realisation that neighbours have no option but to live next to each other.

### **Prof. Carol Christine Fair**



Professor C. Christine Fair is a Provost's Distinguished Associate Professor in the Security Studies Program within Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. She has previously worked as a senior political science researcher with the RAND cooperation and also with the United Nations Office in Afghanistan (UNAMA). Ms. Fair's field research is political and military in South Asia today, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, and has written books on this field. Among these books are "The Permanent Challenges of Pakistan", "Police and Insurgents" and "Political Islam and Governance". Ms. Fair received her Ph.D. in civilization and south Asian languages from the University of Chicago.

### **Amb. Rakesh sood**



Ambassador Rakesh Sood He is a former Indian writer and foreign affairs expert. He was appointed in September 2013 as Special Envoy of the Prime Minister (Mr. Manmohan Singh) for disarmament and non-proliferation. He studied physics at St Stephen's College in Delhi and joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1976. He served as Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan and Nepal, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. He also served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the Indian Embassy in Washington, DC.

Ambassador Sood has also served as first secretary and advisor to the Indian High Commission in Islamabad and first secretary to the Permanent Mission of India to UN offices in Geneva, apart from serving in the Indian diplomatic missions in Brussels and Dakar.

### **Bushra guhar**



Bushra Gohar is a Pakistani politician who is leader of Awami National Party and has served as Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan from 2008 to 2013. Gohar studied economics at the University of Peshawar and moved to the United States where she received master's degree in human resource management from the Wilmington University in 1991 followed by a postgraduate certificate in South Asian Studies from the University of Pennsylvania. On return to Pakistan, she worked as a consultant with UNDP, USAID and UK-AID. In 2000, Gohar became the member of the National Commission on the status of women, a position she retained until 2003.

### **Tamim Asey**



Tamim Asey is the Founder and Executive Chairman of The Institute of War and Peace Studies (IWPS). He is also a fellow at the Royal College of Defense Studies (RCDS) in London and the former Deputy Minister for Policy and Strategy at the Ministry of Defense of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. He previously served as the Director General of International Relations and Regional Security Cooperation at the Office of National Security Council (ONSC) of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. He also served as the

Director General for Policy and Strategy at ONSC. He is a fellow at Asia Society and was a Fulbright scholar at Columbia University. Mr. Asey also taught at the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF). He is a prolific writer and regular contributor to Foreign Policy magazine, The Diplomat, Eurasia Review, The Diplomat, 8am Newspaper and appears on regular on national and international media to discuss political and economic developments in Afghanistan and South Asia.

### **Farahnaz forotan:**



Farahnaz Frutan was born on August 1992. He immigrated to Iran following Dr. Najibullah's death. She dropped out of one year of education on discrimination against immigrants in Iran. And began another school in a newly established Afghan school. After completing the interim and election with her family, she returned Afghanistan. She began her career as a children's program at Nurin TV. Then she went to Ariana for two years as a cultural programmer and then entered the serious world of journalism in Aryana News and Tolo News. She spent

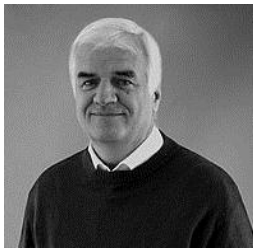
eleven years working in the local free press. Dialogue between Afghan people launches views on peace called My Red Line Campaign. The campaign is now being interviewed in Helmand province

### **Prof. Sayed Hussain Eshraq Hussaini**



Professor Sayed Hussain Eshraq Hussaini has completed his higher education in Afghanistan and Iran in the field of philosophy. Mr. Hossaini is the founder of the Nebraska Institute for Studies and Research, director of the Nebraskan Scientific Research Group and lecturer at Kabul University and Kabul Education University. He is the author of scholarly works on language, discourse and pluralism, and key concepts of intercultural philosophy.

### **Prof. Hans Joachim Giessmann**



Professor Hans Joachim Giessmann is the Berghof Foundation's Executive Director. Before joining our organisation in 2008, he was Deputy Director of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH). As Adjunct Professor, he currently represents the University of Hamburg on the Board of Directors for the European Master Programme in Human Rights and Democratization (E.MA) From 2009 to 2014, Hans-Joachim was a Member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Councils on "Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction" and on "Terrorism", serving as the Chair of the latter in 2011 and 2012. He is presently in his fourth consecutive term as Member of the Advisory Board for Civil Crisis Prevention at the German Federal Foreign Office. As author, editor or co-editor he has published more than 40 books and 350 research and media articles, numerous of which have been translated into more than ten languages.

### **Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen**



Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen is a journalist & political analyst based in Kabul, Afghanistan. He has a bachelor degree in engineering faculty of Kabul University. Following the events of 9/11, Mutmaeen continued to work with a couple of NGOs operating in the fields of engineering & construction. In 2005, Motmaeen joint UNOPS (United Nations Office for Project Services) in Kandahar, but he was later shifted to continue working at UNOPS Kabul office until his resignation in back 2009. After completing his mission, he began his efforts to negotiate with armed opposition groups in the Afghan government. Mutmaeen attended the peace conferences of Islamabad, Istanbul & Warsaw, which were held to settle peace & reconciliation in Afghanistan.

### **Amb. Jawed ludin**



Ambassador Jawed Ludin was born on March 16, 1973 in Kabul, Afghanistan. He was admitted to the Faculty of Medical Sciences of Kabul University. Jawed Ludin resumed his studies when he went to exile in London, United Kingdom, in 1998, studying politics and sociology. In 2002, he earned a Master of Science degree in Political Theory from the University of London. Jawed Ludin was the Deputy Foreign Minister on Political Affairs. He was appointed on 2011, by President Hamid Karzai. He was Ambassador of Afghanistan in Canada from 2009 to 2012, and had been Spokesperson and later Chief of Staff to President Karzai.

### **Amb. Sayed Rasoul Mousavi**



Ambassador Sayed Rasoul Mousavi is born in 1958 and is a senior diplomat of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Ambassador Mousavi was the Director of Cultural Relations at the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance from 1986 to 1991. From 1991 to 1996 he was the head of the Central Asia and Caucasus Studies Center at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran. In 1996 he was appointed Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Tajikistan. After returning to Iran in 2001, he became Head of the Center for the Study of Central Asia and the Caucasus. He was appointed Iranian Ambassador to Finland from 2009 to 2014.

### **Dr. Bakhtiyor Mustafayev**



Dr. Bakhtiyor Mostafayev is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the Uzbekistan Presidential Administration. He holds a bachelor's and master's degree in international relations from the Uzbekistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy. He has served as a senior adviser to the Uzbek Presidential Administration. He also headed the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the Uzbek presidency.

### **Amb. Robin Raphel**



Ambassador Robin Raphel is an expert on political, security and economic development in South Asia and the Middle East. She has served as a professional Foreign Service expert for nearly 40 years in US foreign agencies, including the State Department, the US Agency for International Development, and the US Department of Defense. He was the first assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs, ambassador to Tunisia, deputy director of the National Defense University and deputy inspector general for Iraqi reconstruction. He also served early in his career in Pakistan, India, South Africa and the United Kingdom. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Senior Advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Ambassador Raphel holds a bachelor's degree in history and economics from the University of Washington and a master's degree in economics from the University of Maryland and a degree in modern history from the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom.

### **Samiullah Mahdi**



Mr. Sami Mahdi is the Bureau Chief of Radio Azadi (Radio Free Europe) in Afghanistan. He was Director of PAYK Investigative Journalism Center and former Strategic advisor to Tolonews. He previously worked as C.E.O. of Khurshid TV from 2013 to 2014 and as Director of News and Current Affairs at 1TV from 2009 to 2013. He has been also an op-ed contributor to major Afghan and international newspapers and magazines. In 2012, Mr. Mahdi was awarded the prestigious Knight International Journalism Award from the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) for his excellent and courageous reporting. Prior to joining 1TV, Mr. Mahdi began his career as a journalist in 2007 with Tolo TV. Mr. Mahdi holds a BA from the School of Law and Political Science of Kabul University (2009) and a MA in International Relations from the University of Massachusetts Boston as a Fulbright Scholar (2016). He currently teaches at Public Administration and Policy School of Kabul University.

### **Freshta karim**



Freshta Karim began her career at the age of 12 and worked as a journalist on various radio and television networks in Afghanistan. In these programs, she produced research reports on the situation and challenges of Afghan children. Freshta is currently the director of the charmaqz Organization, an NGO in Kabul dedicated to promoting critical thinking among children by providing resources and places on buses that have become mobile libraries. He has previously worked with UN agencies, international organizations and the Afghan government and most recently worked as a political analyst at the Office of the President of Afghanistan.

### **Amb. Hussain avni botsali**



Ambassador Hossein Ovni Botsali is the Permanent Representative and Ambassador of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. In 1983, he served as the Head of the Turkish Foreign Ministry's Board on International Security and NATO Affairs. From 1985 to 1988 he also served as second and third secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal. He also served in Afghanistan as the first secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Kabul from 1988 to 1991. He has also carried out diplomatic activities in countries such as the United States, Greece, Iraq, Egypt, Bosnia and Herzegovina and organizations such as UNESCO. In 2018, Botsali was appointed Permanent Representative of Afghanistan by the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. He holds a degree in political science from the University of Ankara.



## Annex 2: The Agenda

Friday October 18		
Opening Session		
08:30-09:30		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Recitation of Holy Koran</li> <li>2. National Anthem</li> <li>3. Recitation of Hymns of Khaja Abdullah Ansari</li> <li>4. Sufi Musical Performance</li> <li>5. Welcoming remarks by the Governor of Herat, Mr Rahimi</li> <li>6. Welcoming remarks by Dr Rangin Spanta, Chairman of AISS Advisory Board</li> <li>7. Keynote Speaker: Amb. Roland Kobia, EU Special Envoy for Afghanistan</li> </ol>
	Panel I: An Inter-Elite Consensus: Nationalism & Governance	
	Moderator	Mr. Abdullah Azad Khenjani, Journalist
09:30-11:00	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dr. Timur Sharan, Deputy, IDLG: Administrative Reform; Opportunities and Challenges</li> <li>2. Dr. Mahiyuddin Mehdi, Leadership Council Member of Jamiat Islami Party: Why Parliamentary System for Afghanistan?</li> <li>3. Mr. Salem Shah Ibrahim, Deputy National Security Advisor: Institutionalization: A Guarantee of Political Stability</li> </ol>
11:00-11:30	Tea Break	
	Panel II: Taliban 1 & 2: Have They Learned Their Lesson?	
	Moderator	Ms. Maryam Safi, Director, DROPs
11:30-13:00	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mr. Mohtasem Agha Jan, Former Senior Member of Taliban: Peace in Afghanistan</li> <li>2. Mr. Lutfullah Najafizada, TOLONews: Taliban: From Battlefiled to The Negotiation Table</li> <li>3. Dr. Jafar Mahdawi, Secretary General of Afghanistan Mellat Party: Today's Taliban and The Political Structure of Tomorrow's Afghanistan</li> <li>4. Mr. Shoaib Rahim, Senior Advisor for State Minister for Peace: Negotiating with the Taliban: Doha vs Oslo</li> </ol>
13:00-14:00	Lunch	
	Panel III: Economic and Social Transformation	
	Moderator	Dr. Sardar M. Rahimi, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education
14:00-15:30	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mr. Nazir Kabiri, Director, Biruni Institute: The Afghan Economy; Opportunities and Challenges</li> <li>2. Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown, Senior Scholar, Brookings Institution, The US: The Hour of Reckoning? Crime, War, and Peace in Afghanistan</li> <li>3. Mr. Sayed Waheed Qattali, Head, Administrative Office of The President of Afghanistan: Applicable Definition of a Non-Slogan Peaceful Local Life</li> </ol>
15:30-16:00	Tea Break	
	Panel IV: South Asia: A Paradigm Change?	
	Moderator	Ms. Jyoti Malhotra, Senior Journalist, The Print
16:00-18:00	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dr. Christine Fair, Professor, Georgetown University: Perspective of Stability in South Asia</li> <li>2. Ambassador Rakesh Sood, Former Ambassador of India: South Asia: A Paradigm Change</li> </ol>

		<p>3. Bushra Gohar, Former MP, Pakistan National Assembly: South Asia: Opportunities and Challenges</p> <p>4. Mr. Tamim Asey, Former Deputy Minister of Defense: Afghanistan: A Paradigm Shifter or a Balancer in South Asian Geopolitics</p>
19:00-21:00	Reception & Cultural Program hosted by Governor of Herat (ARG Hotel)	

**Saturday October 19 ( ARG Hotel)**

08:30-09:00	Traditional Sufi Music	
	Panel V: Truth, Forgiveness and Peace	
	Moderator	Ms. Farahnaz Forotan, Journalist
9:00 – 10:30	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Professor Sayed Hussain Eshragh Hussaini, Professor, Kabul University: Taliban Reconciliation and the Framework of Restorative Justice</li> <li>2. Mr. Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen, Journalist: Road to Achieve Peace</li> <li>3. Mr. Hans Joachim Giessmann, Berghof Foundation: Conciliation Support - Opportunities and Limitations for Third Parties</li> </ol> <p>Discussion</p>
10:30-11:00	Tea Break	
	Panel VI: Enforcement & Guarantor(S)	
	Moderator	Amb. Jawed Ludin, Former Deputy Foreign Minister
11:00-12:30	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dr. Sayed Rasoul Mosavi, Assistant Foreign Minister of I.R. Iran: Peace Process and Stability in Afghanistan: Iran's Contribution</li> <li>2. Dr. Bakhtiyor Mustafaev, Director, Presidential Center for Strategic Studies, Uzbekistan: Approaches of Uzbekistan in resolving the situation in Afghanistan</li> <li>3. Ambassador Robin Raphel, former US Assistant Secretary: The Framework of U.S.-Afghanistan Relations</li> </ol> <p>Discussion</p>
	Concluding Panel: The Way Forward	
	Moderator	Mr. Samiullah Mahdi, Head , Radio Azadi
12:30-14:00	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gen. Saleh Mohammad Registani, Former Member of Parliament; What Should the Afghan Nation Pay for Peace?</li> <li>2. Ms.Freshta Karim, Director Charmaghz: The Role of Women, Youth, Civil Society and Media in the Country in the Future</li> <li>3. Ambassador Huseyn Avni Botsali, OIC Special Envoy for Afghanistan Afghans Can Make Peace</li> </ol> <p>Discussion</p>
14:00-14:05	Note of Thanks: Director of AISS, Dr. Davood Moradian	
14:05–15:00	Lunch	
	Departure to Kabul	

### Annex 3: list of participant

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Kabul)		
Abdul Basir Azimi	Director/Office of Chief Executive	CEO
Abdul Qayoum Sajjadi	President	Khatam-u-Nabiyeen University
Abdulah Khenjani	Journalist	
Abdulghafoor Arezou	Diplomat	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Agha Jan Motasim	Analyst	
Ahmad Ali Hazrat	Head of Nangarhar Provincial Council	
Ahmad Saeedi	Political Analyst	
Ahmad Shakib Omari	Journalist	
Ahmad Shuja	Director	National Security Council
Atifa Tayeb	Chancellor	Isteqlal University
Aziz Rafiee	Director	Afghanistan Civil Society Forum
Aziz Royesh	Director	Marefat School
Bahar Mehr	Senior Advisor	Ministry of Interior
Bahauddin Baha	Former Deputy Chief Justice	Afghan Supreme Court
Bilal Sarwary	Journalist	
Dawood Ali Najafi	Former Minister	Ministry of Transport
Mahiyuddin Mehdi	Former Member of Parliament	
Omar Sharifi	Country Director	American Institute of Afghan Studies
Farahnaz Forotan	Journalist	
Fraidoon Azhand	Spokesperson	Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development
Freshta Karim	Director	Charmaghz
Hamdullah Mohib	National Security Advisor	National Security Council
Hamed Akrami	Former Governor of Kabul	
Haris Ahmadi	Civil Society Activist	
Hasina Rasuli	Senior Advisor	European Institute of Peace
Hassina Sherjan	Director	Aid for Afghanistan Education
Homayoun Ahmadi	Senior Member	Afghanistan Green Trend
Jafar Mahdawi	Former Member of Parliament	
Jawid Ludin	Former Deputy Minister	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Liaqat Ali Ameri	Deputy Director	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Lutfullah Najafizada	Director	TOLONews
Mansoor Faizi	Editor in Chief	Afghanistan Times
Mariam Safi	Director	Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies
Masood Tarashtwal	Director	Afghanistan Law and Political Studies Organization
Masouda Mehdizadah	Civil Society Activist	
Moein Moein	Director	119 Police – Ministry of Defense
Mohammad Jumma Adeel	DC of Academy of Police	Ministry of Interior
Mohammad Zaher Azimi	Former Spokesperson	Ministry of Defense
Moqaddasa Yourish	Former Deputy Minister	Ministry of Trade
Mukhtar Pidram	Editor in Chief	Subhe Kabul Newspaper
Naser Maimanagi	Director	Salam Watandar
Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen	Analyst	
Nazir Kabiri	Director	Biruni Institute
Qadeer Mutfi	Spokeperson (Former)	Ministry of Mines and Petroleum
Rangin Dadfar Spanta	Chairman	AISS Advisory Board
Ramin Mazhar	Journalist	
Roya Sadat	Director	Roya Film House
Mohammad Saied Madadi	Advisor	State Ministry for Peace

Saleh Mohammad Registani	Analyst	
Salem Shah Ibrahim	Deputy	National Security Council
Samiullah Mahdi	Bureau Chief	Radio Azadi
Sardar Mohammad Rahimi	Deputy Minister	Ministry of Education
Sayed Ghulam Hussain Fakhri	Director General	High Office of Anti-Corruption
Sayed Hussain Eshraq Hussaini	Lecturer	Kabul University
Sayed Ikram Afzali	Director	Integrity Watch Afghanistan
Sayed Waheed Qataali	Director	Administrative Office of President
Shaharзад Akbar	Chairperson	Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission
Sharif Hassanyar	Director	Ariana News TV
Shoaib Rahim	Advisor	State Ministry for Peace
Sidiqullah Tauhidi	Director	Afghan Journalists' Safety Committee
Suraya Dalil	Chief Advisor	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Sima Samar	State Minister for Human Rights	
Tamim Asey	Former Deputy Minister	Ministry of Defense
Tawab Ghorzang	Strat-Com Director	Ministry of Public Works
Tariq Arian	Spokesperson	National Security Council
Timor Sharan	Deputy Director	Independence Directorate of Local Governance
Waheed Muzhda	Analyst	
Waheed Paiman	Deputy Editor in Chief	Hashte Subh Daily Newspaper
Zakia Wardak	Director	Society of Afghan Women in Engineering and Construction
United States of America		
Christine C. Fair	Associate Professor	Georgetown University
Michael Rubin	Resident Scholar	American Enterprise Institute
Robin Lynn Raphael	Senior Advisor	Center for Strategic and International Studies
Vanda Felbab-Brown	Senior Fellow	Brookings Institution
Mikaela Ringquist	Grants Director	American Institute of Afghan Studies
Arab Republic of Egypt		
Ahmed Hammam	Deputy Head of Mission	Egyptian Embassy in Kabul
Mohamed Abdelhalim	First Secretary	Egyptian Embassy in Kabul
Mohamed Fayez Farhat	Senior Researcher and Head of Asian Studies Unit	Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
Sahar Abdul Rahman	Deputy Editor In Chief	Al Ahram Daily News paper
Walid El Sherif	Counselor	Egyptian Embassy in Kabul
French Republic		
Thomas Watkins	Kabul bureau chief	Agence France-Presse
Federal Republic of Germany		
Hans Joachim Giessmann	Executive Director	Berghof Foundation
Republic of India		
Gajraj Singh Bhati	Consul General	Consulate General of India in Herat
Gautam Mukhopadhaya	Former Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan	Ministry of External Affairs
Jyoti Malhotra	National and Strategic Affairs Editor	The Print
Kabir Taneja	Associate Fellow and Head of West Asia initiative	Observer Research Foundation
Rakesh Sood	Former Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan	Ministry of External Affairs
Vinay Kumar	Indian Ambassador to Kabul	Embassy of India in Kabul
Rashim Bali	Defense Attaché	Embassy of India in Kabul
Bastian Chacko	Second Secretary	Embassy of India in Kabul
Islamic Republic of Iran		

Ali Akbar Baba	Deputy Consul General	Consulate General of Iran in Herat
Mohammad Sedighifar	Consul General	Consulate General of Iran in Herat
Mohsen Azizzada	Phd Researcher	Tarbiat Modares University
Sayed Hamza Safawi	Director	Institute of Islamic World Future Studies
Sayed Rasoul Mosavi	Assistant Minister for West Asia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Kazakhstan		
Anastassiya Reshetnyak	Senior Research Fellow	Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Kazakhstan
Alimkhan Yessengeldiyev	Ambassador	Kazakhstan Embassy in Kabul
Talgat Karayev	Political Officer	Kazakhstan Embassy in Kabul
Islamic Republic of Pakistan		
Afrasiab Khattak	Senator (Rtrd)	Pakistan Senate
Bushra Gohar	Former Member of Parliament	Awami National Party
Muhammad Ibrahim	Consul General	Consulate General of Pakistan in Herat
Russian Federation		
Vladimir Boyko	Director of Asiatic Expert-Analytical	Center Altai State University
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka/UK		
Shivan Mahendrajah	Research Fellow	Institute of Iranian Studies University of St Andrews
Republic of Tajikistan		
Bakhtiyor Kholikov	Director of Foreign Affairs Analysis Department	Center for Strategic Studies Under the President of the Tajikistan
Nazarov Nakhtullo	Head of Administration	Center for Strategic Studies Under the President of the Tajikistan
Republic of Turkmenistan		
Aymyrat Gochmyradov	Consul	Consulate General of Turkmenistan in Herat
Kingdom of Sweden		
Abdul Qasim Bahadury	Political Advisor	Embassy of Sweden in Kabul
Republic of Uzbekistan		
Bakhtiyor Mustafaev	Director	Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies Under the President the Uzbekistan
Furkat Nazarov	Minister Counselor	Uzbekistan Embassy in Kabul
United Nations		
Maciej Dachowski	Political Officer for Regional Affairs	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
Primrose Oteng	Acting Head of UNAMA Herat Field Office	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
Andriy Larin	Political Affairs Officer	UNRCCA
European Union		
Pierre Mayaudon	Ambassador	European Union Delegation in Afghanistan
Roland KOBIA	EU Special Envoy to Afghanistan	European Union
Guillermo MARTINEZ	Special Assistant to EUSE	European Union Delegation in Afghanistan
Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)		
Huseyin Avni Botsali	Ambassador	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Herat)		
Abdul Qayum	Herat Governor	
Abdullah Fayez	President	Herat University
Abdulqader Kamel	Political Analyst	
Abdulrahim Asemi	Religious Scholar	
Ali Ahmad Kawa	University Lecturer	
Ali Ahmad Osmani	Former Minister of Energy and Water	
Aminullah Amarkhail	Police Chief	Herat Police Office
Aminullah Azadani	President	Foreign Relations in Herat
Amir Mohammad Esmail Khan	Former Minister of Energy and Water	
Aria Rafoofian	Director	Herat Culture Information Directorate
Barzin Khatibi	Political Analyst	

Davood Erfan	University Lecturer	
Fahim Mayar	Political Officer	UNAMA-Herat
Farooq Nazari	Member	Afghan Parliament
Fazel Mohammad Jonbesh	Army Commander	
Ghulam Davood Hashemi	Deputy Admin Director	Herat Governor Office
Ghulam Farooq Majroh	Member	Afghan Parliament
Ghulam Farooq Raseb	Institute of Research for Peace	
Ghulam Hazrat Moshfeq	Herat Municipal	Herat Municipality
Habibulrahman Pedram	Member	Afghan Parliament
Hadi Wasiqi	Lecturer	
Hamed Momen	Member	Nai-Supporting Open Media in Afghanistan
Hamed Sarfarazi	Mediothek Afghanistan	
Hanif Qaderi	Member	Afghan Parliament
Jahantab Taheri	Member	Provincial Council
Jamal Naser Habibi	Member	National Coalition Office
Jamshid Nikjo	University Lecturer	
Jawad Amid	Member	Nai - Supporting Open Media in Afghanistan
Kabir Esar	Member	Provincial Council
Kamran Alizai	Director	Herat Provincial Council
Khodad Saleh	Director	Herat Council of Clergy
Mahadi Hadid	Member	Provincial Council
Maraim Jami	Member	Women's Chamber of Commerce
Marya Bashir	Member	Provincial Council
Marzia Rahmani	Civil Society Activist	
Mirwais Azimi	Researcher	
Mirwais Fazli	Researcher	
Mohammad Naser Rahiab	President	Ghaleb University
Mohammad Rafiq Shahir	Council of Experts	
Mohammad Saleh Saljoqi	Former Member of Parliament	
Mohammad Shahir Salehi	Chief of Herat Airport	
Mohammad Siros Alaf	Civil Society Activist	
Mohammad Tareq Wameq	University Lecturer	
Monawar Shah Bahadori	Member	Afghan Parliament
Monesa Hassanzada	Deputy of Herat Governor	
Mujibulrahman Ansari	Religious Scholar	
Naheed Farid	Member	Afghan Parliament
Nasir Ahmad Rahimi	University Lecturer	
Nazir Ahmad Hanafi	Member	Afghan Parliament
Reza Khoshak	Member	Afghan Parliament
Sadeq Qaderi	Member	Afghan Parliament
Saeed Haqiqi	University Lecturer	
Sakina Hussaini	Member	Provincial Council
Sayed Amin Hamedi	President	Kahkashan University
Sayed Ashraf Sadat	Civil Society Activist	
Sayed Jawad Ramyar	University Lecturer	
Sayed Wase Khademi	Head of Sector	Herat Governor Office
Sayed Wase Saeedi	Head	WASA
Shamshar Pesarlai	University Lecturer	
Shapoor Popal	Member	Afghan Parliament
Tareq Nabi	Political Expert	
Toryalai Taheri	Member	Provincial Council
Wahid Joyan	Deputy Director	Foreign Relations in Herat
Yaqoob Mashoof	Political Expert	
Yones Qazizada	Director	Chamber of Commerce
Zalmai Mayar	University Lecturer	
Zohra Aminpor	Member	Transparency Watch

#### **Annex 4: Links of the National and international Media Covered the conference.**

- DW
- Dari VOA
- Alarabi Press
- The National Interest
- Washington Examiner
- Fars News Agency
- BBC Persian
- 8am
- Awna
- TOLO News
- MEHWAR
- FARAKHABAR
- 1TV News
- Afghanistan Times
- Pajhwok Afghan News
- Ariana News
- Tasnim News
- 8am: Transcript Dr. Spanta
- 8am: Learn from the mistakes of peace talks Khalilzad is not the solution
- Awna News
- Subhe Kabul News
- Afghanistan Times
- Independent Persian
- Tolo News
- Baztab News
- 8am: Herat Security Conference and Afghanistan Long Struggle
- 1TV News: US Taliban talks best way forward to get to intra afghan dialogue raphel

**Annex 5: HSD-VIII Photos**



*Sufi Music Performance - First Day of the Conference*



*First day of the conference - October 18, 2019*





*First day of the conference - October 18, 2019*



*First day of the conference - October 18, 2019*



*Cultural Program - End of the first day of the conference (October 18, 2019)*



*Cultural Program - End of the first day of the conference (October 18, 2019)*



*Second day of the conference - October 19, 2019*



*Second day of the conference - October 19, 2019*

## Herat Security Dialogue-VIII

18 - 19 October 2019  
Herat - Afghanistan



## کنفرانس امنیتی هرات

اتم نړیوال کنفرانس  
۲۶ - ۲۷ میزبان ۱۳۹۸



\*\*\*The End\*\*\*

Contact us

Website: [www.aiss.af](http://www.aiss.af)

Email: [contact@aiss.af](mailto:contact@aiss.af)

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/AISSAfghanistan](https://www.facebook.com/AISSAfghanistan)

Twitter: [www.twitter.com/AISS\\_Afg](https://www.twitter.com/AISS_Afg)

Linkedin: Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies