

A Comprehensive Peace Plan for Afghanistan

A PRACTICAL CONCEPT NOTE FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE
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MAZAR-E-SHARIF, AFGHANISTAN



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Chapter One

Problem Statement

Background

The forty years Afghanistan's history has been gradually engulfed in devastating internal conflicts with vicious costs leaving Afghanistan in a “fragile and failing state”. The prolonged crisis in this country exposes almost all the indicators of a fragile state. Lack of a central authority, crisis of legitimacy, inability of government to exercise sovereignty over territory, existence of armed and organized criminal groups, widespread administrative corruption, widespread insecurity, foreign interference, poverty and deep misery, government dependence on military support, foreign financial and foreign policy, these indicators tell us the depth of the crisis and conflict within the current Afghan society and state. This has created a vacuum that has been filled by armed groups including insurgents.

Main questions

1. The main question is how to come to the end of the several decades of ethnic, religious and political violence in Afghanistan?
2. What are the main comprehensive solutions that enable all the main actors of Afghanistan's crisis who have been involved for decades to seek their interests in future?
3. What is the sturdiest driving factor behind the conditions that have led to the continuation of the conflicts in Afghanistan?
4. Is there a peaceful solution to deadlock of the civil war and conflict in all of its forms?
5. What is the ideal political system that can provide a fair distribution of power and maintain peace in a post-conflict Afghanistan?



Session One

The root causes of conflict in Afghanistan

1- Internal Drivers of the Crisis & Conflict

a. Social Gap between Urban and Rural Areas

In the first segmentation around the social, geographic and local divisions, we can divide the effective flow of Afghanistan's current structure into at least two urban and rural sectors. According to political sociology; social groups and forces are shaped by social differences, and one of the most important historical gaps in Afghan society and government, alongside ethnic or religious conflicts, is the gap between the urban and rural areas (i.e. local and regional geographical differences). The significance of this social division has been the decisive and determinative influence on the change, rise and fall of at least six different political regimes, in contemporary history. However, no realist analyst can rule out the impact of ethnic conflict on contemporary Afghan history, but a more detailed scientific deliberation proves that the ethnic demands along with tribal demands and ideology did and will have its impacts on the structure and fate of the present and the past and of course the future of Afghanistan..

It is important to note that the reason geo-local social segmentation as one of the sources of conflict throughout contemporary Afghan history is important because the surprising overlap of this local segmentation with two powerful cultural divisions (tradition-modernism) and ideological divisions (extremism-democratization) had existed throughout the history. Simply put, about 68 percent of the non-urban population, while strongly traditionalist, also tends to be of the traditional political parties (in the *Pashtun*, *Tajik*, *Hazara*, and *Uzbek* versions).

b. Political Instability and Statesmanship

Throughout Afghanistan's contemporary history, at least since *Abdul Rahman Khan* in the late 19th century, there has been enduring internal civil war and conflict. However, the current crisis of Afghanistan that marks the beginning of the 40 years of war, is profoundly rooted in the Cold War era, predominantly, with the intervention of the former Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

The crisis and conflict in Afghanistan accelerated after 1973, when a Coup-d'état led by *Dauod Khan* shifted Afghanistan's stable political environment to the rise and fall of six regimes with devastating conflicts in the past 30 years. This change of regime, continued change of political systems has been one of the most important driver of conflict and insecurity in Afghanistan, the region and the world. With the fall of the *Zahir Shahi* constitutional monarchy by *Daud Khan* in 1974, we see the establishment of the *Daud Khani* Republic, which was partially abolished by the 1979 pro-Soviet Communist coup and with the advent of the Red Army's invasive forces, proxy flames at the height of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviets in Afghanistan broke out, eventually leading to the fall of the last Communist government (*Dr. Najibullah*) in 1992 by a coalition of *Mujahideen* parties. This period in time was characterized by bloodshed that impacted all localities of the country and left a profound scar and trauma on the Afghan psyche.

Despite all the regional and intra-Afghan efforts to stabilize the *Mujahideen* Islamic regime and bring peace to the war-torn country of Afghanistan, this time it began with the intervention and backing of regional powers of civil war among *jihadi* parties that eventually led to the establishment of *Taliban* regime backed by Pakistan and other countries. Some countries led Kabul and the establishment of the Islamic Emirate regime in 1996 with the direct support of Pakistan and as well as several regional countries, where the *Taliban* government was recognized and



established their Islamic Emirate as a de-facto form of government in Kabul. Eventually, the emergence of al-Qaeda and the September 11, 2001 attacks led to the overthrow of the Taliban regime by the international community and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (the current ruling system). This led to profound social differences and mistrust amongst Afghans from different backgrounds that remains visible to this day.

During the three decades of war, six political regimes, including the Constitutional King, the Republic, the Communist regime (under the *Khalq* and *Parcham* parties), the *Mujahideen* Islamic State, the Taliban Islamic Emirate and the current Islamic Republic, rose to power. Despite accelerating developments and the emergence of at least six different political regimes in just three decades in Afghanistan, the national demand and thirst for peace in this country remains steadfast.

c. The Succession Crisis

The structure of the Islamic State, the structure of the TTP, and even the current structure of the Islamic Republic, all suffer from a common and major dilemma: the succession crisis or the peaceful rotation of power!

The armed oppositions of the current Islamic Republic believe that they will remove, replace, or assign their leaders within the society by submitting their cases to the “Council of Elections and Settlement” (اهل حل و عقد) but in practice, they have shown that even their successor repositioning is an issue that can be disastrous. Just the same as the dispute between the *Mujahideen* in Kabul followed the overthrow of *Dr. Najib's* government, and the clashes between the Taliban after the death of their leader Mullah Omar. On the other hand, the liberal-democracy-based republic system, despite its effective and efficient functioning in its historical, economic, social and cultural context (i.e. Western Europe and North America), was immediately applied in Afghanistan. The implementation of this system in a non-indigenous and diverse environment such as Afghanistan had the same dilemma of succession crisis.

As much as in the elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019, we are witnessing the emergence of fundamental and structural crises in the matter of succession, which even if the Taliban or any other fundamentalist insurgency does not fight against the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Again, peace cannot be secured because of the worsening crisis of succession and political differences and division; Because this system is inherently and critically endangered. One of the symptoms of this disease and crisis is the problem of the peaceful rotation of power, and lack of understanding about the legal mechanism for determining the succession and centralization of the current presidential system. Therefore, one of the most important gaps and weaknesses of both the current rival discourse (namely the discourse of those demanding Emirate and those demanding Republican) is the subject of the succession crisis. For this reason, any peace plan that has a national claim must be able to provide an appropriate mechanism for resolving the succession crisis in the post-peace system.

d. The Crisis of National Trust

For political sociologists, trust is defined as social capital with humanitarian arts, literature and values, pluralistic culture and socialization that strongly influence stability, national solidarity, rule of law, corruption control, economic development and the establishment of government agencies and institutions. According to Francis Fukuyama (a well-known American thinker and scientist), “lack of trust is a key factor in corruption, government instability, violence and crime.” He



believes that the shakiness of government and the violence and mafia within a society is driven from a low level of trust; because mafia life usually starts with distrust.

Hence the crisis of social trust in Afghanistan, which can be defined at different levels of social context, and how tribes and tribal relations, community-government relations, the development of anti-government religious radicalism, and modern imitations of anti-pluralism and anti-diversity ideas can be analyzed and evaluated. This has also been confounded by factionalism which has led to widespread patrimonialism within Afghan society.

Sociological surveys show failed experiences of state-building and nation-building in Afghanistan over the last half century that a number of government and political leaders inspired by the social order of patrimonialism and neo-patrimonialism in the organization of power and government, the ideological conflicts of the Cold War era, the existing political violence, and the instability of the current government are all rooted in the crisis of national trust and the low level of social capital. Just as the alienated motives and worldviews of the emergence of radical and armed groups such as the Taliban are subject to fanatical and unobtrusive religious readings in their social behavior and practices, likewise, blind adherence to imported foreign ideologies also reflects cultural and political upheaval in Afghanistan and the region. This social crisis can be resolved through the promotion of humanitarian literature, the creation of an inclusive national government and citizen-centered laws, the support of free and fair media, the strengthening of educational and higher educational institutions, and the adoption of fair government policies in the delivery of public services.

2- The External Factor of Crisis

a. Anti-Hegemonic and Irregular Geopolitical Borderline,

Ethnic forces, groups and political currents throughout Afghanistan's contemporary history have always been influenced by the country's frontier position. Afghanistan has been the ultimate frontier and boundary of different worlds and even contradictory geographic environments in the course of its recent centuries. Afghanistan; to the south is the end of the capitalist order of the British East India Company, to the north the end of the Soviet Marxism-Leninist order, and to the east the end of Hinduism and Buddhism of the ancient Indian subcontinent and just like any other frontier situation, it is rebellious, unobtrusive, and hard-pressed to maintain its freedom and independence from the domination of any alien invasion. Afghan politics has an alienated, anti-hegemonic, and irregular nature, depending on its unique geopolitical position and this is a very important point that Afghan domestic political leaders must be aware of, as well as foreign policymakers from Washington to Moscow, from Delhi to Islamabad, and from Tehran to Riyadh, all actors involved in this "anti-hegemonic border structure." They need to know and recognize the principles and rules that govern Afghanistan's bloody history.

Observers and scholars believe that whenever effective domestic actors and regional and global powers come to a deep and accurate understanding of the unique nature of the geopolitical and political principles governing Afghanistan, it will only be when all parties to the conflict will cease to strive for hegemonic control over Afghan society and government, and finally, after hundreds of years, they conclude that, at least for the sake of their future interests and security, they must recognize and respect an independent, free, autonomous position and identity of Afghanistan, and the national, patriotic and historical demands of this country.



These political geopolitics insight should be approached among international political actors and importantly, understanding and honoring the historical demand. This geopolitical insight must also take shape in the political approach of international actors and more importantly, understanding and respecting the Afghan people's historical demands for independence and their resistance to the hegemonic order surrounding should also be recognized within Afghanistan's elites and political leaders as well. The domestic actors involved in the national reconciliation and the future political system must be institutionalized and deepened particularly the political identity and pride of their ancestors within the parties and in the political, governmental and national spheres and at the same time, all the leaders and decision-makers of the Afghan people must respect the independence, freedom, culture, identity and autonomy of their fellow citizens.

The most important lesson that studies of Afghanistan political development history give to scientific observation is that all ideologies, systems, regional governments and totalitarian empires that wanted to ignore the independent existence and counter-hegemonic identity of the Afghanistan nation or even the efforts for Afghans unifications during the time has failed. In addition, hegemonic and domestic-made schemes (from authoritarian-ethnic governments to the Communist regime in Kabul), along with foreign hegemonic schemes, were both doomed to failure. Therefore, a real plan for peace should be focused on accurate recognition of Afghanistan's unique society, history, and politics.

Session Two

Effective Actors in Crisis Management

a. Internal Actors

1- The Republic Fronts

Government, recent returnees, civil society, media, human rights and women's rights activists, and political parties are called Republican Front according to this plan.

2- The Resistance Fronts

Forces and parties whose history of political activity dates back to the pre-existing regime and played an effective role in *Jihad* and resistance against the Soviet invasion and in the 1990s and 2001s, the constituent forces were the *Mujahideen* government and the anti-Taliban resistance and al-Qaeda organization, which includes *jihadi*, traditional, political, and emerging generations belonging to its social and political base. They have an important base in Afghan politics and power, which has been introduced in this project, as the Resistance Front.

3- The Taliban Fronts

Armed militants involved in fighting and war before 2001 with the Pakistani financial and military support against the *Mujahideen* government and then the Afghan National Resistance Front and for the past 18 years, they have fought against the established order and are now seeking reconciliation with the US and international supporters of the government, in this plan they are called the Taliban front.



b. Foreign Actors

The experience of national reconciliation in conflict-ridden countries such as Lebanon, Liberia, Sri Lanka and Colombia shows that any kind of internal negotiation and reconciliation can only succeed and leads to lasting peace that in addition to domestic actors, negotiations and agreements the decision and agreement of regional and global actors shall also be included. The Afghan crisis will only subside when the national reconciliation agreement is completed with a regional and global reconciliation between the governments and the actors involved in the crisis. Effective actors that should be part of this all-inclusive compromise include the US, Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, Russia, China, Iran, the European Union, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Turkey, including neighboring Central Asian countries in Afghanistan and those who have regional interests in this country.

State Diplomacy - Modern Western nations and in particular the White House's strategic view of the Middle East and Afghan crisis is highly realistic, rational and based on utilitarian and rational theories, Therefore, one can be optimistic about an international win-win agreement between such intellectual and real actors. The major regional powers and Afghanistan's neighbors must also have come to the sensible and satisfying notion that Afghanistan is not only desirable, but also impossible, to place in its satellites under its influence or protection. However, in the last 18 years, the United States and its member states have spent a great deal of money and sacrifice on reestablishing democracy and restraining radical insurgents. But they also made mistakes in the process of governance and regional diplomacy.

On the other hand, regarding the role of Pakistan and India, Afghanistan was threatened even decades before 2001 by geopolitical competition between India and Pakistan, and now the two countries must understand that the post-peace order in Afghanistan will last only if all of Afghanistan's neighbors respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Afghanistan will achieve genuine peace when the strategic backyard is no longer a foreign land and this geography no longer witnesses proxy wars on its soil.

Another axis that influences the fate of Afghanistan following the interventions of the major South Asian poles (India and Pakistan) is the persistence of proxy rivalries between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the *Shiite* and *Sunni* leading countries, have always negative influences on the national security of Afghanistan. The manifest disagreement of Iran on the presence of the United States in Afghanistan and the hidden support of Pakistan from insurgents of Afghanistan cause the strengthening of the Taliban against the United States. On the other hand, some Arabic citizens intentionally or unintentionally have had an effective role in cultural and ideological aspects in Afghanistan. For instance, the strengthening of *Wahhabism*, and *Sulfate*, these Arab ideologies gradually deep rooted in Afghanistan and formed the basis of terrorist groups and the export of terror to the region.

Russia has also shown in recent years that it pursues specific geopolitical interests in Afghanistan and it is not reluctant to contribute at the national and regional macro levels. On the other hand, the major Russian concern is the danger of terrorist groups penetrating Central Asia and possibly Russia's Muslim regions. That is why they are willing to compromise



with the US in Afghanistan, although their long-term interests may not be very close to US interests in the region. But at this historic juncture, Russia is also willing to host Afghan peace talks, which is seen as a positive and constructive approach. From this perspective, Russian's peaceful approach in Afghanistan national reconciliation should be used properly.



Chapter Two

Session One: Negotiation and Reconciliation Process

a. Intra- Afghan Talks: Requirements and Preconditions

A team of well-educated, elite, knowledgeable, effective and policy makers from every stakeholder groups shall be selected, unconditionally and without wasting time, to initially share concerns and align views within Afghanistan and start basic talks on key issues. What is crucial in the negotiation process is the defense of the fundamental values and the red lines of the republican system.

b. Preconditions, Non- Negotiable and Irreconcilable Lines

All aspects of the future of the Afghan state are up for negotiation between the two sides except the following topics:

1. Maintaining the national election process and its continuation as a peaceful and legal mechanism for the rotation of power.
2. Protection of citizen's fundamental and basic rights, especially women's and youths' rights.
3. Preserving the principle of the system of republicanism, the content of Chapter Two of the Constitution, which includes freedom of speech, freedom of the media, the right to equality of citizenship, the principle of the separation of powers, the right to equal education of all citizens, human rights with all its principles and implications, including that of Chapter II of the Constitution.
4. Defending the independence of the ANA, which is non-negotiable and must be legally non-political, should not be used as a political tool.

c. The Negotiations Process Requirements

1. Consensus and Monotheism, Resolving Political Party and Government Disagreements on the Future, Desirable and Long-Term Plan of the Post-Reconciliation System.
2. Definition of broader objectives and decisions by the negotiating teams.
3. Presenting a mid-term plan with a clear overview of upcoming years that should be based on practical mechanisms and should be based on a time-bound document.
4. A Consensus on objective, practical, short-term issues, operational guarantees and initial practical steps immediately after the signing of the peace agreement.
5. Determining the condition of "violence reduction" as a primary step for a ceasefire, which includes the immunity of cities, citizens, and public areas from both party's attacks.
6. Ceasefire announcement immediately after primary agreement, as a prove of goodwill for parties
7. The Taliban commitment to fight against the armed militants and terrorist organizations such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda in support of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.
8. The Taliban commitment to fight illegal smuggling of natural resources and as well as cultivation and trafficking of narcotics in the country.
9. The Taliban commitment to not interfere in project implementations by national and international organizations in Taliban controlled areas.
10. Consent to resolve possible conflicts in the future.



d. Mechanisms of the Peace and Reconciliation Process

In order to build confidence and trust between all sides of the conflict on integrating, disarming, and joining the peace process, a mechanism must be created for a transparent and vigorous power-sharing and decision-making between the key actors of the conflict. Therefore, for a certain period of time, in order to move from a critical phase to a lasting peace, it is necessary to develop the following mechanisms during the negotiation and reconciliation process:

- "Reduction of Violence" as a ceasefire introduction
- Political participation
- Conducting *Loya Jirga* to amend the constitution

1- Agreement on Ceasefire

Considering the Taliban's conditions for entering into reconciliation, which relies on the three principles of eliminating Taliban leaders from the UN Security Council's black list, releasing Taliban prisoners and withdrawing international forces from Afghanistan, a comprehensive reconciliation agreement and a comprehensive package is done step by step and relies on the fulfillment of mutual commitments by the trust building method:

Step First

In exchange for the removal of the Taliban leaderships' name from the United Nations Security Council blacklist, Taliban should agree on a complete "reduction of violence," halt their terrorist attacks on populated areas of the cities, and as well as denounce the trans-national terrorism to proof their willingness for peace.

Step Second

The Afghan government will propose ceasefire for the conflict; neither the Taliban nor the Afghan government will fight each other and targeting each-other in their respective areas of control.

If the Taliban accept the ceasefire the Afghanistan government and international forces will stop their military operations in areas that are under the control of the Taliban.

The Taliban must halt any operations that are potentially known to the Afghan government and international security forces, including intelligence, informational, or explosives collection.

In this stage, the Taliban can maintain administrative responsibilities in areas under their control. Areas under direct control of the Taliban needs to be identified before the any agreement. First define the Taliban's physical location and second, have the Taliban responsible for any incident that threatens areas under government control and international forces.

Third Step

The Taliban must systematically cut ties with foreign nations, particularly with the foreign intelligence agencies and as well as their military organizations.

The Taliban detainees will be handed over to the Afghan government and the international community. The Taliban will provide security to areas under their control in line with the basic needs of human rights and social justice and provide safe conditions for the reconciliation process. If these actions are taken by the Taliban, the Afghan government will release the number of Taliban prisoners who have not actually been convicted to the life time imprisonment and/or death penalties and will ensure that the Taliban leadership is prevented from carrying out future warfare acts. In the last part of the peace and reconciliation process, all the areas controlled by



the sides of the conflict will come under the direct control of the Afghan government and the Afghan law will be enforced unexceptionally.

2- Political Participation

In the 25 years since its emergence as a political-military movement in Afghanistan, the Taliban have generally gone through two major periods, pre-2001 and post-2001, in fact in each of these stages in different ways they are defined against national and state order. Similarly, considering the different periods of separation of the important fronts of Afghan politics and power, it is well known that this issue should be taken into account in the process of power sharing and participation in the political arena. From this point of view, the three major political fronts in Afghanistan's reconciliation process over the last 25 years can be defined and explained as:

Anti-Taliban Resistance Front	The Taliban's Political-Military Front	The New Age front and the Republication Period
<i>Mujahideen leaders and political parties opposed to the Taliban who represented the Mujahideen government and the political and military front against the Taliban before the international community's entrance. The group now has political and civilian activity but has the military capacity; and has high standing among the ethnic masses, the younger generation, and the modern Afghan society.</i>	Taliban has a politico-military nature and practically from the opposition front of the current government, has power and influence in various sector.	The camp includes technocratic leaders, civil society, media and newly established parties that have been formed over past 18 years, have now played an influential role in government and civil society, including those involved in ongoing peace process and became dependent to the constitution.
View of the three camps of power and politics in Afghanistan		

Power-sharing will support the peace and reconciliation process with equally allocation of power between the three sides of the conflict. It's imperative to keep a balanced distribution of power in the government agencies to not detriment the work of public service and legal institutions. Civil servants and administrative bureaucrats are recruited on the basis of specialized knowledge and they should not be impacted. Thus, the power-sharing mechanism in forming a coalition government is based on a regime in which the competences of the president and Prime Minister/CEO are clear and better established through transparency, legality, new employment and employment immunity. Establishment of a high council leadership, where experienced elderly leaders will observe and advice the government in national and foreign matters.

3- Power and Competence Distribution Mechanism

Applied analysis from multi-ethnic countries that struggled with power and conflicts have shown that competing groups have achieved a political settlement once the power was shared between them equally. Therefore, the distribution of competencies and power among structure is sought in different models, including countries such as Afghanistan that have a complex and multicultural social context. It requires a power sharing model at central level between the president and Prime minister/CEO, and with the creation of a National Leadership Council (it will be a symbolic entity) that will identify the three most important political and cultural camps with the opportunity to participate fairly in power at the President and Prime Minister/CEO axes. It has



to be said that participation in the political process and power actually involves all the political actors in Afghanistan.

4- Type, Number and members of the negotiating teams

Given the high importance of the negotiation process in achieving reconciliation and peace, it must be done in a specialized and professional way by different parties on the various level and at different stages. In this regard, the Afghan government, in particular, has a very heavy responsibility to create political consensus as prerequisite for the formation of negotiating teams. The government must ensure that the type and structure of the negotiating team is inclusive and broader than Bone 2001 conference.

Our proposal for the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in negotiation with the Taliban is as follow:

a. The high-level negotiating team includes:

- 1- 15 senior political leaders and influential men and women from ethnic, tribal, traditional and technocrat leaders to negotiate the most critical and sensitive matters. (Numbers of negotiators can be flexible, however, decision-making is more effective in smaller number of people).
- 2- Teams of 50 well known individuals from civil society, women, media association, academia...etc. will share their opinions on society, cultural, politics and fundamental freedoms and their demands with the Taliban in a friendly atmosphere and while they cordial in the hope that this sharing of views will provide the basis for better consensus among the key players in the Afghanistan negotiations, it is important to remember that the dialogue team will have ceremonial role.
- 3- The negotiation team will appoint specialized team of administrative and legal consultant to provide legal advice and perform the administrative tasks.
- 4- Establishing Peace Talks Secretariat

5- The following government positions and entities are NOT negotiable with the Taliban:

1. President and Prime Minister
2. Defense and Interior ministries as well as National Directorate of Security (NDS)
3. Ministry of Finance
4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

6- International guarantees of national negotiation and compromise provisions:

The consensus of the major world powers involved in political and military games in Afghanistan, the United Nations Security Council and neighboring countries and the region is needed for a long lasting peace. In order to ensure the effective start and continuation of security and peace in Afghanistan before and after reconciliation, it is essential that, in addition to endorsing and guaranteeing strong domestic institutions such as the traditional *Loya Jirga*, the text and contents of the final peace agreement shall be guaranteed by the neutral authorities and Powerful supporters at international level. In this regard, at least the guarantee by the United Nations and



the Organization of the Islamic Conference seems necessary. These institutions should be encouraged to support the reconciliation process and to act as a guarantor of non-intervention by neighboring countries in arming, equipping, training and leading the Taliban and other armed groups.

Representatives from the United Nation Security Council, representatives of neighboring and regional countries and international organizations such as the organization of Islamic states should support the implementation of a comprehensive plan and as well as the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan.

In its foreign policy, Afghanistan has pledged not to engage in any regional conflict, following the need for the international community's military assistance and stability, to build on the principle of impartiality. Adoption and adherence to this policy by Afghanistan, which is essential to prevent the intervention of competing regional powers in Afghanistan, must be ensured by United states, the United Nation's Security Council, and Afghanistan's neighbors, particularly Pakistan and Iran.

7- Timing and Scheduling Mechanism

Providing a timing and staging mechanism to accelerate the reconciliation process is one of the key priorities of the peace process in fragile states. Therefore, it's recommend to set two terms (2 years of transition period and 5 years of sustainable term) to ensure peace and sustainability in Afghanistan has reached, enabling mutual engagement and trust between the parties to the conflict. It is also imperative that from the beginning of the 2-year transition period, the Prime Ministerial position is established and continues to operate throughout this period. The process of amending the constitution to legalize peaceful demands during the transition period shall also be carried out.

The long running confrontation between the parties that has led to the sacrifice and killing will not be forgotten this soon. New reports recently published by the Washington Post on the US war in Afghanistan reveal that the Afghan government has lost more than 62,000 and Taliban more than 42,000 in the war against the Taliban, while civilian casualties more than 43,000 civilians are reported to have been killed, including the United States, with 2,300 killed and 20,589 injured.

Based on the facts, these figures are larger than stated in the report, and on the other hand, the radical and rigid nature of the Taliban's incitement to a predominantly religious-ethnic flow requires a careful process of integration and engagement to be taken under consideration.

It should be noted that the responsibilities of the peacekeeping parties in Afghanistan should be adjusted according to the arrangements to be restored to the transition period and the period of sustained stability of political and government management. It is important that the civilization process, reintegration, constitutional adjustment in case of necessity, transfer and rotation of power all be taken into account in the timing mechanism.

a. Transition period mechanism

It is recommended that the transition mechanism be regulated within the legal and political framework, with the aim of maintaining peace and achieving future goals.



1- The formation of a two-years national inclusive government

In order to reach a sustainable peace and trust between all sides of the conflict, it is important to set a two years transition inclusive government. This government will serve as the transition from a conflict to a sustainable peace.

2- Transition Government:

The two years inclusive government is responsible for solving possible disagreements, time management for the purpose of amending constitution, regarding parties' promises, revision in central, local governance and as well as implementation of the peace agreement with the Taliban. In this form of government, the following steps must be included:

1. Establishment of the High-Council of the Government which will include eight members from the government and political parties' representatives, Taliban representatives, and international community. (Number could be changed based on the need).
2. The executive responsibilities and authorities of the President and Prime Minister should be clearly defined.
3. Formation of the government cabinet should be inclusive and vigorous from all sides.
4. A *LOYA JIRGA* (National Grand Council) for the amendment of constitutions shall be planned in a practical manner.
5. Management of legal and political matters to ensure a smooth transition to a sustainable and peaceful government.

3- Combination of Transitory Government:

This government will be formed by individuals that are approved by the conflicting sides. The leadership of this government is formed by President and three VPs in a national combination within parties 'agreement (Government, Resistance Coalition and Taliban). Besides, Prime Minister/CEO/ Chief of Ministers/Chancellor will be selected with his three deputies.

4- Responsibilities:

In the transition government, the national inclusive government is obliged to pave every possible way/opportunity for achieving peace agreement and clarifications of objectives to smoothly transfer to stable phase.

1. This government will lead the full spectrum of the peace agreement.
2. Implementation of objectives of the ceasefire by the government.
3. Observatory committees to closely monitor the ceasefire.
4. Implementation of any agreement with the international community.
5. Implementation of all agreed objectives of political reconciliation.
6. Establishing Executive committees for applying the peace articles.
7. *Loya Jirga* before elections.
8. Conducting widespread elections considering the next governmental system.
9. Transition of power to elective government.

It should be mentioned that a transitory phase is included with hopes and fears as experience showed of other societies. Usually success and failure in peace building process has direct relation



with management in transitory phase. Thus, the important priority and way of management for the transitory phase depends on signing agreements and applying them. Therefore, successfully passing a transitory phase shall include three parts in agreements: disarming and civilianization, general clemency and social justice, conducting *LOYA JIRGA* for amendment of constitutions and holding elections.

b. General Disarming and Civilianization:

In a legal article, all the sides of the conflict will agree and sign the mechanism of preventive, danger and possible threats to the peace process. This agreement will be closely monitored by national and international executives with full decision-making authorities.

- Identification of nationality, quantity of militant, civilian personnel and as well as the reintegration of Taliban.
- Scheduling the disarming process (first phase handover of heavy weapons, second phase handover of light weapons)
- Integrating anti-governmental forces to ANDSF after agreement based on a specified mechanism.
- Establishment of an observer entity to closely monitor this process by the national and international actors.
- Reintegration in society and civil organizations
- Announcing the dissolution of the Taliban military and other local forces and popular uprising of the Taliban military forces and their reintegration to a peaceful and lawful society is the beginning of implementation of a peace agreement by all parties, which will begin by forming a transition government that will include the position of a Prime Minister, nationwide disarmament process, civilizing and partnership of the Taliban in an executive committee to implement the peace agreement. This will be the last phase of the ceasefire. All the Taliban controlled areas will come under direct control of the central government.
- Deploying a limited portion (3000 to 5000) of Taliban troops in local army units, anti-narcotics units, gendarmerie units to secure highways, and energy transfer routes.
- Disarming and civilianization phase should be seriously observed by international and expertise units that are completely unbiased.

c. General Clemency and Social Justice Treaty

Peace process is not just meaning reconciliation with government, but a big part of it is Taliban's reconciliation with all the sides/parties and reintegrating Taliban as responsible members of the society. This should be considered as the priority of peace and civilianization.

In this program that is jointly led by Government of Afghanistan and International Community where Taliban is also part of. The Taliban members will be supported by government same as every other civilian citizens. Government is responsible for providing vocational training programs for reintegrated Taliban in their local communities.

Releasing Taliban members should be done by a trust making process and under the condition that they will cut their relations with military units in the region. Releasing prisoners shall be started from high rankings till the lower level. Taliban shall take the responsibility of controlling their released members to not join any other fundamentalist groups like Taliban and/or ISIS



networks. Intelligence units of Afghanistan and counter-terrorism units of coalition shall cooperate in preparing the list of prisoners to be released.

In addition to its main task, the *LOYA JIRGA* as the representatives of the people of Afghanistan shall request for general forgiveness of the Taliban from Transitory Government and Afghan people for the sake of the national reconciliation.

This agreement/treaty will be signed between Government, Political parties and the Taliban group for the purpose of bringing peace and stability to the war-stricken society of Afghanistan. Maintaining peace and management of peace process and agreement which will result in enduring peace and stability in the country requires that the peace process to be followed by presence and participation of all hostile parties and related sides. Domestic Players of the country should be recognized justly considering tribal and cultural issues. Victims of war should be behaved by affability. On this perspective, the political agreement shall be managed with the following contents:

- Establishing an observing unit forming by domestic and international observers under the frame work of the United Nations.
- Declaring national Reconciliation and avoiding hostile Political literature
- Declaring cooperation with government and international community for the purpose of peace.
- Appropriate arrangement and honor to the families of the victims.

d. Conducting a *LOYA JIRGA* for Amendment of Constitution

A legal Call for *LOYA JIRGA* should be done for the purpose of amending constitutions based on order of current constitutions by President and Prime Minister of the transitory government. If congressional elections are held in districts level, Taliban could also nominate their representatives for districts governor positions. If election is not plausible in the country, Taliban can choose their representatives to *Loya Jirga* in their controlled territories. There will be a mechanism for the Taliban in this regard. Maintaining the principle of the Republic System, contents of second season of constitutions containing freedom of speech, Freedom of Medias, Equality in citizenship rights, principle in distinction of forces, equal rights of all citizens for educations, human rights with all its principles and subordinates that include second season of constitution are non-changeable and non-negotiable issues. In the last two decades, as level of knowledge of educated generations especially, among youth arose, a big part of society want amendment in constitutions. A better system in the country is a multi-tribal system with a structure of semi-presidency that Prime Minister Position could be a strong pillar of system. In such a case, citizen would replace a national moral instead of to their tribal interests. This system is instead of current presidency system that is administered by role of a special individual who is giving no chance to national entities, political parties and civil society.

This current system is propelling voters towards tribal issues and avoids shaping a national sense. Manifestation of such a system in our country caused discrimination among tribes in the country. In this system, if an ethnic group, always declare itself “all time winner,” the others will feel isolated and discriminated which lead to potential destruction and hostilities. Since the cultural



priorities are different across the country, a non-central system is necessary to be replaced the current centralized system.

e. Elections

Elections will be held in the way that is approved by *LOYA JIRGA*. Besides other parties, civil society and independent candidates, Taliban could also enter this electoral campaign as a political side. Political activists of this party shall previously resign from their military positions when entering political activities.

f. Transition of Power to Elected Government

Recruiting Taliban as representatives of a political party in Legislative and Executive Branches and their presence in parliament shall be done considering on how they choose their side: joined government, or act as opposition. The areas that are controlled by Taliban will be directly included in governmental system.

By making the municipality positions of provinces and districts governor positions elective or semi-elective, Taliban will have more chance to enter political competitions in provinces. In case provincial governors are selected by central government, Taliban could also introduce their candidates from provincial councils to central government.



Chapter Three

A Proposed Concept on Structuring Inclusive Government and International Consensus

Preface:

Observations and scientific studies of the last century of Afghanistan history show that political conflicts, social distances, inequality and instability of political systems and the lack of widespread national legitimacy of governments are the outcomes of the failed states and existence of ethnic division within society. Meanwhile, violent conflicts and deadlock in the process of peaceful transfer of power through elections and sometimes veto of government decisions by the people in post-2001 Afghanistan, indicate that establishment of power and government has failed to meet the demands and aspirations of citizens and ethnic groups.

Although the post-2001 political system has relatively been established based on constitutional and democratic values, but the president's unlimited powers and uncertainty on how to respond to other constitutional entities, as well as the shift in political and cultural awareness of ethnic groups and citizens have made all people seek equal rights and privileges within the government institutions. The political-ethnic alignments of past elections illustrate the inefficiency of a centralized, integrated government that is incapable of allegiance and inclusive will.

Similarly, the experience of the National Unity Government (NUG) during the stalemate of the 2014 elections, was taken to address the disadvantages and shortcomings of a single, concentrated power structure in a multi-ethnic and pluralistic society; because no political-electoral faction or coalition was willing to accept defeat and transfer power to the rival faction. It should be added that the division of power and the participation of political-ethnic groups in the structure of the state has been used as a political practice in resolving power conflicts in recent years, and it is now time for this political practice to be reformed by law and to create a comprehensive structure and shall be codified accordingly.

a. National Inclusive Government

A national inclusive government plan that can reflect the participation of all the people, strata and citizens of the country shall be implemented. The inclusive nation-state is seen as the solution to the crisis of state-building, the crisis of national trust, the crisis of peaceful rotation of power, and ethnic and group conflicts to political participation, which reinforces the motives for peace and cooperation between Afghan factions and actors. It should be added that this political model is based on the specific needs of the Afghan society with regard to the complex territorial contexts and different social structures through the reform of the current centralized presidential system to a corporate-governance system that maintains the centrality and role of the Presidential Institution at the heart of the system. Moreover, it is the creation of better public services, the realization of the goals of good governance and the national aspirations of the people living in the Prime Ministerial State, inspired by the effective and efficient experiences of past governments,



especially the Zahir Shah government. This model of the political system is based on the division of power and competence between the center and the districts, it is designed in way where the governors are partially elected by the Provincial Council Members at the provincial level and yet to be approved by the president. Administrative and budgetary competence at the provincial and district levels would be increased. It is unfortunate that the implementation of the structure of the inclusive national government should take place from the transition period (two years) in order to strengthen the peace process and at the same time the transition will be legalized through subsequent constitutional amendments. It is noteworthy that the implementation of the structure of the national inclusive state should be undertaken through a transition period (two years) in order to strengthen the peace process so that the transition could be legalized at a later stage by amending the constitution for subsequent periods.

1- Organizing Central Level Institutions:

The central government in the model of an inclusive national political system results from the division of power between the three pillars of the system and the independence of the judiciary power, the division of powers and duties between the presidential and executive bodies shall be constitutionally reformed and modified so as to establish a stable and legitimate state. In addition, the National Elite Council is set up to form thirty persons as a consultative body designed to support state policies and safeguard Islamic and humanitarian values, national interests and national unity, and to assist in the process of reconciliation in accordance with the law.

2- Organizing Provincial Level Institutions:

Structural vise Provincial Governance holds position at the middle of operational level and functions in accordance with rules and procedures defined by the law. The goal of reforming the current centralized provincial governance is to combine central-local government, and to remove the gaps between the central-local level functions and empower and enhance local administrators authority in responding the citizens' demands and needs, controlling corruption, reforming public administration inefficiencies, and more importantly reducing the gap between people and government. This system is made possible by increasing the administrative and budgetary competencies of the governors and involving the will of the citizens in decision making processes that includes the election of both the governor and mayor. Worth mentioning that the nominees for the governorship position would be elected by the provincial council members and elected representatives of the said province in the lower house and then proposed to the president for final selection; in which the president selects one from the proposed list in consultation with the prime minister and deputies.



3- Organizing District Level Institutions:

District governance is at the bottom level in terms of organizational and operational structure, which implements national and state goals and policies throughout the district level making sure the participatory governance is being practiced. It is noteworthy that during the forty years of war and crisis in Afghanistan few central governments have had the opportunity to govern and exercise sovereignty in rural areas. Therefore, it is necessary to organize and manage the district governance through an elected process. Where the district governors and district councils will be nominated and elected by the people for a specified election period to end the crisis of state legitimacy and the rule of law crisis in the villages.

b. Mechanism for Implementing the Division of Powers and the Introduction of the President and the Prime Minister.

The political history of Afghanistan during the Middle Ages (1970-2002) witnessed six models of the radical system that have been experimented within the country. In one sense, experiencing different models of political systems is seen as the most important factor in the current crisis and violence. Therefore, preserving and maintaining the current Islamic Republic is one of the most important principles for nation-building, which can contribute to the democratic and citizen-centered values of the constitution. One of the modifications required by the current constitution to address the political and civic demands of Afghanistan's multicultural and multiethnic society is a reform of a highly focused presidency-governing system through a participatory management structure between the President, Vice Presidents, the Prime Minister and his deputies from different ethnicities, strata, and cultures. It should be said that the creation and emergence of this model is done in a hierarchical order without any job interference, to ensure inclusive political participation, and contribute to political stability and legitimacy, social mobilization and better service delivery. This system enables government agencies to practice good governance characteristics which are responding to citizen needs, serving with quality, and ensuring equality and the rule of law. It is worth mentioning that the method of introducing a presidential candidate along with the vice-presidents and prime minister with his deputies is presented to the Afghan people during the Presidential Election Campaign as a single electoral unit in accordance with the law, the legitimacy of the President and the Prime Minister, each comes from an election result driven from the actual will of the people for the period of five years. It should also be noted that the existence of the prime ministerial-ship does not mean building stove pipes within the system of governance, but rather establishing good coordination and cooperation among the powers in pursuing good governance policies through implementation of government programs and good practices taking the good governance characteristic in mind.



An example of the division of executive powers in the following table:

Prime Minister	President
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Prime Minister has three deputies who are introduced alongside a presidential candidate and his deputies during a presidential election campaign 2. The Prime Minister is the highest ranking official of the Government working as the Chief Executive. He chairs the Council of Ministers and has service, administrative, technical, financial and economic competencies 3. The Prime Minister nominates Ministers and Independent Directorates' Directors in agreement with the President for a vote of confidence in the House of Representatives. Ministers and Independent Directorate's Directors are accountable to the Prime Minister and the President for their work. 4. The Prime Minister has the power to appoint and remove senior officials in an agreement with the President, which is to be determined by law 5. The Prime Minister, as the most senior executive, oversees how laws, national policies, and government services are implemented across the country. 6. The Prime Minister is accountable for his performance against the President, and the people. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- The President has three deputies who are nominated in a single ticket during the presidential election. The deputy's competencies shall be regulated in accordance with the law. 2- As president of all three branches of government, the president also heads the cabinet and the Security Council, and has consistent legislative, security, and defense competencies. 3- Prime Minister, Ministers, Independent Directors, Governors and all Executive Units are under the command of the President. 4- The President, in the role of National Head, serves as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the fundamental lines of the country's foreign policy. 5- The appointment and dismissal of foreign ministers and security and defense agencies is the specific competence of the President, exercised through consultation with the Prime Minister. 6- The president is accountable for his performance against the nation and representatives. 7- Approves proposals from ambassadors and diplomatic representatives



c. National Elite Council

It is one of the national and political bodies created to consult on the formulation of important national and state decisions, its composition is made up of partnerships of leaders of political parties, traditional leaders, and influential and national figures of about thirty people, in which government officials cannot obtain while in government mission. It should be said that the council has one chairman, two deputies and two secretaries who are elected for a fixed term by a majority of votes (50 + 1), The Council's meeting and plan will be organized on the basis of a bill of internal duties. In addition to the privilege of consulting and advising, it acts as a mediator in disputes between political parties, peace parties and government institutions.

Roles and Authorities:

- 1- Write proposals to strengthen state institutions, and national unity of ethnic groups
- 2- Issue national, religious, cultural and political declarations and recommendations for the protection of national policies and interests and important national policies.
- 3- The role of mediator and peacemaker in the event of political divisions between the government, political parties and the Taliban.
- 4- Attending national and state assemblies
- 5- Develop proposals and advise the authorities to improve security and peace
- 6- Support both the education and higher education units
- 7- Consulting to improve humanitarian rights
- 8- Consultation on important government appointments for national unity
- 9- Accompany the president, vice president, prime minister and other high-ranking officials to the provincial and international visits if necessary.
- 10- The role of mediator and peacemaker in the event of a dispute between parliament and the government

d. Supreme Council of Government

The Council is created solely for the period of transition for the realization of the peace process and the sustainability of the peace, which has legal and executive powers related to the peace process and the peace agreement between the parties. From this point of view, it plays the role of a court and arbitrator in the field of national reconciliation, the composition of which is based on the sharing between domestic and international currents.



Shape and Members

Two from the International Community and United Nations as the Observing Members	Two from the Taliban Leaders	Four members of the government, political parties and influential leaders
Political Authorities		Legal Authorities
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Preventing potential tensions over the election and selection of government officials 2- Monitoring the fair mix of ministers and high-level officials from different tribes and factions during the transition period 3- Coping with the tensions raised between the government and the political opposition in times of peace 4- Review and monitor the integration and disarmament process 5- Supporting Afghan Government's Friendship Policy in Foreign Relations by Preserving Independence and Freedom to All Governments in the Region and the World 6- Monitor foreign and international assistance for balanced development. 7- Support national government plans and policies to advance the country in the fields of commerce, economics and culture, education, health and industry 8- Representing will of all people of Afghanistan regardless of ethnicity, gender, religion, and language in the peace process 		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Monitoring Peace Agreements 2- Interpretation of Peace Agreement Articles 3- Providing a solution based on agreement and law in the event of political and legal disputes between the parties 4- Strengthen political and national solidarity between the factions and parties in power, politics and government in the peace process. 5- Comment on political and national decisions related to the peace process 6- Issue executive resolutions to different parties if violence and conflict are likely to occur 7- Supporting the domestic and international reconciliation process 8- Monitoring and advising on the selection of executive members of the electoral commissions. 9- Monitor the government's commitment to amending the constitution during the transitional period with a view to legalizing the inclusive national government (other adjustments as needed) that can facilitate the process of national peace and unity. 10- Monitor armed opposition commitments to uphold the laws, national interests, rights and freedoms of women, citizens, the media and youth



Section II: International Peace Management Mechanism

Preface:

As the legacy of other societies involved in ethnic conflict shows, the process of reconciliation is possible at two levels, with the successful form of first and indigenous peace being dependent on the national government, which succeeds by dividing power in structures, participating in government decisions, and formulating fair policies and moderate behavior and literature between political leaders. However, the second level of a successful peace process comes from international consequences and aspects. That is why the role of neighboring countries, major powers, the United Nations and other international organizations in maintaining and sustaining peace is crucial.

Experiences of the peace process in countries that have gone through ethnic and political conflicts show that the genuine oversight and support of international actors has had a great deal of success in the transition period; because powerful nations and the United Nations constructive reactions through declaring threats of sanctions, promises, rewards, and persuasions to both the parties involved in the reconciliation process, state a clear and concise effect over the process if something happens unplanned.

Since the origins of violence and political and group conflicts in countries are also to some degree affected by the internal and external aspects, the research and observations of the war and crisis in Afghanistan over the last forty years also reveal that the domestic violence and crisis in a country like Afghanistan; has been the very victims of international and foreign factors actions. Similarly, the transition to the Afghan peace process, which will be based on fear and hope for the war-torn civilians, will be linked to the implementation of a comprehensive domestic policy plan, as well as from the international dimension of intentions and aspirations. The compassionate behavior of countries in the region and around the world will be affective and worth to bring a sustainable peace in Afghanistan.

That is why we come to the conclusion that the process of Afghan reconciliation must be organized internally and externally on a comprehensive, active and inclusive regional and global policy and diplomacy that can be defined at three levels.

National Level	Regional Level	International Level/World Wide Level
Adopt an independent and impartial policy based on the national interest of the Afghan government with all countries of the world	Coordination and consensus of regional countries in Afghanistan peace process	Aligning on the subject of Afghan peace as a victim country since the Cold War.



a. Consensus mechanism in international peace process for Afghanistan

Unfortunately, Afghanistan is located in a highly heterogeneous, divergent and confrontational region that has highly vulnerable geopolitics of competing and conflicting diplomacy in international relations and the international arena. For this reason, in the second half of the twentieth century, at the height of diplomacy, the influence of Western camp communism and the policy of expanding East Camp communism dominated the 1990s through the political and intelligence intervention of neighboring countries and regions aimed at establishing arbitrary and radical government through radical readings. Finally, since 2001, it has been involved in the fight against international terrorism and intelligence-backed groups in a number of countries, which at all times cost the Afghan people as victims of their regional, global policies and have paid it by sacrificing their lives, property and land. It therefore requires that the reconciliation process in Afghanistan be supported and guaranteed by issuing a resolution of the General Assembly and the United Nations Security Council and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. In addition to signing the peace agreement between the Taliban and the domestic parties, the countries involved in the Afghan war and peace process also support a peace treaty and a non-interference policy. Meanwhile, the Afghan government is committed to the region and the world, with all countries pursuing their own policies, regardless of the competition.

International Institutions	Regional and Global States	Continuous monitoring of the peace process in cooperation with the Afghan government	Coordination between the Afghan government and international actors
Support the peace process in Afghanistan by issuing a resolution	Support the peace process in Afghanistan at an international meeting on a legal document.	Establishment of a Provisional Institution for the Transition to Fulfill the Commitments of the Parties to the Peace and the States concerned	Adopt a policy of friendship and brotherhood with all countries, with the preservation of national independence and continued cooperation aimed at ensuring international security and order that this commitment must be signed between the Government of Afghanistan and other countries



- b. Signing of a trade and development agreement with the countries of the region and beyond:

Governments in the region and Afghanistan are in dire need of trade and economic exchanges, so it is better to support Afghanistan's national reconciliation policy through a revision of regional trade, economic and transit policy. The Government of Afghanistan and its international partners can build regional consensus by signing regional and international agreements among a number of countries on peace and politics. Because peacebuilding in Afghanistan will lead all countries involved in war and security to a win-win situation with a development-oriented and economic-oriented diplomacy.