

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS)

Herat Security Dialogue-VII

“Crisis of Afghanistan; Causes and Solutions”

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Conference Report



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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).

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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 seventh round of Herat Security Dialogue was held under the theme of “Crisis of Afghanistan; Causes and Solutions”. The two-day conference, held on October 26-27, 2017, was attended by high-ranking government officials, legislators, academicians, representatives of international organizations, media outlets and civil society

Conceptual Note on the Conference

The crisis of Afghanistan has become one of the longest wars in modern time, spanning four decades, involving multiple actors, causes and drivers. However, despite its length, there remain competing and conflicting understandings of the nature of the conflict among both Afghans and external parties. Correspondingly, the efforts for conflict-resolution is as long as the conflict itself and prescriptions are as numerous as views of the conflict. On the eve of 100th anniversary of Afghanistan Independence from colonial Britain (1919-2019) and the 40th anniversary of the invasion of the country by the Soviet Union (1979-2019), the Seventh Herat Security Dialogue (HSD-VII) focused on the crisis of Afghanistan in a broader, historical and intellectual context. By bringing diverse perspectives together, it hoped to shed light on the reasons for the failure of the previous attempts in conflict resolution and to explore if the current effort would have a better chance of success, or not.

The seventh Herat Security Dialogue (HSD-VII) welcomed individuals from across Afghanistan and around the world to discuss these and related issues to acquire better understanding about the crisis of Afghanistan, and the solutions may have for that. Participants of the conference attempted to discuss the topic by bringing together diverse perspectives from Afghanistan, the region and the wider world. The conference, in addition to the opening and concluding sessions, was divided into seven working panels.

Objective of the Conference

Herat Security Dialogue serves as a forum between scholars, politicians, experts, analysts, and statesmen to engage in a dialogue aimed at developing practical and broad cooperation and collaboration. Herat Security Dialogue as an international forum aims to promote mutual understanding and find common grounds in the areas of political dialogue, security coordination, and confronting religious extremism in the region. One of the

significant objectives of this conference is connecting and bridging between countries. The conference aims at strengthening dialogue between countries and civilizations.

The national, regional and international participants raised their opinions and provided comments and recommendations on a variety of themes, issues and areas, including:

- Afghan Conflict: The Nexus of Internal and External Drivers
- Political System: Presidential VS Semi-presidential VS Parliamentary
- Afghanistan's Economy: From Rentier State to Developing Economy
- Afghanistan & The Grand Bargain of South Asia
- The Taliban: What Do They Want?
- Afghanistan's Foreign Policy Status: Neutral, Connector or Divisive?
- The Way Forward: Do we need a Second Bonn Conference/Process?

The conference set out to address the need for a permanent forum where both national and regional stakeholders can engage in dialogue aimed at developing practical and broad security cooperation, as well as overall enhancing cooperation and collaboration between Afghanistan, and the countries in the region. Herat Security Dialogue aims to identify the reasons for distrust between states, endure of conflicts, insurgency and terrorism in the region and beyond.

The Conference Proceeding

Opening session

The seventh 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, Mohammad Asef Rahimi.

Mr. Rahimi Started his welcoming remarks with talking on the peace process in Afghanistan:

I hope the issues in this conference explores the way co-existence in the region. Five days ago citizens of Herat through participation in the elections created a new season to the political life of the country. The people of Herat should be appreciated for their interest to democracy. This election created hopefulness to the presidential elections, And on the other hand showed that the investment of international community for a democratic and free society has not been wasted. This process has shown that people as the main supporters of this democracy, support it in its best form. I hope peace may come to Afghanistan, as peace is the current urgent need of Afghanistan. There might be barriers to achieve peace, but it is accessible. We believe that the interest of countries in the region and the world, will be obtained by end to the war. There are only terrorist groups that benefit from this crisis. Therefore, we ask from the countries near and far to support Afghanistan honestly. Let me have a few points from Herat the pearl of Khurasan which will host you in these two days. This is the second province in term of population, politics and economy of Afghanistan. Herat has been the cradle of politicians and academics in Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Timor Shah his son and the national Hero of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Masoud have been raised in this city and gained the power in the Afghanistan. Herat is now the most important center of cultural and art issues. Having ten offices of United Nations, five consulates, 38 international NGOs, 125 domestic NGOs, more than fourteen local medias, and about 1000 civic institutions is the hope for a brighter future to this ancient area. The biggest Projects of the region, including TAPI, Salma Dam, and others have shaped and created hope to the people. This shows the possibility of development in Herat. At the end I welcome you once again in Herat city and I hope you would have a good trip in this city.

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

I am going to say why Herat is one of the best cities for having dialogue in our regions. Herat has shared borders with two countries which have the same culture, the same religion and the same civilization; Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkmenistan. When you come to Herat and go to Samarkand you can see the joint civilization we have. Afghanistan and

Uzbekistan are two sisters who have been separated; Shahrokh Mirza, the wise minister Amir Ali Shir Navai and a prince like Bisenqor that I am very much interested with him and I hope Michael Barry would speak tonight about these. Then you will see that how Herat had a share on the past civilization of this country. Herat has a key role on the regional convergence. Another value of Herat is that this city has been damaged during history, however it raised again like a Simurgh (Phoenix). This is the sign for sustainability, and stability of Afghan People. Today you see Afghanistan is wounded due to four decades of war. The experience of Herat in history gives the message of reviving and has a message of spiritual resurrection for peace and prosperity for the region we are living in. The people of this region cannot gain a position in the globalized world today, without a regional convergence. I am Happy the Republic of Uzbekistan started the first constructive steps toward a regional convergence. Mr. Ambassador, we need to have a dialogue, we should face the dialogue; we should face the culture of tolerance instead of violence so as to gain the regional convergence in a world where we are the subject of globalization not an actor for globalization. So if we de-ideologize the politics and go toward dialogue, then we have walked toward prosperity for our people. I hope the efforts you and other Asian western countries have started with the help of western countries and other countries who are working in Afghanistan for peace and security will give its fruits. The main necessity of Afghans, is peace and security. Four-decade war and killing have shown that war has nothing except devastation. But it is the time to shut the guns until people can talk. I hope your presence in HSD-7 will be another sign of Republic of Uzbekistan with Afghanistan. Having shared cultural values is the main background for the regional convergence, whether the experience of the European Union is a successful experience, is that they are the owners of shared civilization and values. Values like, democracy, human rights and social justice. And now our countries as countries that have been suffered during colonialization period, want to start life with the globalization. I wish you good day with fruitful dialogue.

H.E Ismatulla Irgashev, Special Representative of the President, Republic of Uzbekistan

I am thankful for inviting me to the seventh Herat Security Dialogue, it is an honor for me to be in Herat today. It is really clear the Gowharshad Tomb is a secret of friendship ties between two countries. Our common ancestors show the shared civilization and background we have together. Our relations have history of its own. As Uzbekistan now started a peaceful policy, as our president Showkat Mirziyoyev appointed, stabilizing peace and security if a priority with the neighboring countries. We are trying with other central Asia Countries to make Afghanistan as an inseparable member of Central Asian countries, there is platform C5+1, we are going to change it to C6. We believe that what is happening

in Afghanistan, not only has its impact on the region, but on the world entirely, so we should cordially help Afghan people; this is the main goal of Republic of Uzbekistan. We have no particular benefit in Afghanistan, the only interest we have, is that we want peace and security in Afghanistan. So we will not spare out aids to Afghan people. As you know there has been a conference on peace in Afghanistan in this year, in which this was based on the interest of presidents of both countries, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. Uzbekistan support any initiative that is happening in this regard, and as you know, with the participation of Afghanistan, UN wants to have the Geneva Conference, We support this conference and our high profile board will participate in that. I want to inform you about some steps that are going to be done by Uzbekistan.

As you may be informed we have supported the cease fire announced by President Ashraf Ghani and the second time we have supported either. And we have invited the leaders of the Taliban to support the initiative of the government of Afghanistan, but It did not happen. Taliban has shown in the first cease fire that they are tired of war and they want peace as well. I hope we will find from this framework some solutions that how can we achieve peace in Afghanistan. We in Uzbekistan are trying to increase the amount of our trade we Afghanistan to one billion dollars and to achieve this goal, the Republic of Uzbekistan has given so many privileges to Afghan traders. First we have simplified the problem of Visa issuance. Secondly, we have prepared good transportation ways for Afghanistan to transit the goods. Thirdly we have created an economic free zone with Afghanistan in near border. In this zone there are so many privileges and I hope the traders of Afghanistan may use them. And we will soon start the rail way of Mazar-e-Sharif that will come to Herat. This is not only for the benefit of Afghanistan or Uzbekistan, but it is very useful for all central Asian countries. I invite the European countries to partake in the project of Mazar-e-Sharif Herat. A few months ago I was in Brussels and met with EU leaders, they were interested to partake in the economy of Afghanistan.

I think the political process in Afghanistan is very important; In this process, we have done a lot. But we know Afghanistan is near to presidential elections and I we decrease the speed of the political process. But this gives us this chance to be more active in the national economy of Afghanistan. Uzbekistan is doing a number of projects, rail way was one of them, Electricity line from Sorkhan to Pol-e-Khomri is another; Another project is a training center of Afghan students. Another project is to create an international base of education for Afghanistan. Means that this is for training of Afghan Cadres; As long as we train the Afghan youth, they will ignore to gain money by guns. One important issue is that we are doing all the peace issues based on the mutual respect and mutual understanding with Afghanistan; Especially when we contact the Taliban, we will have the agreement of government first. This means we do not want to intervene in your internal affairs. All what we will do is for the benefit of Afghans. Uzbekistan will be with you and will support you.

First Panel: Afghanistan Conflict: The Nexus of Internal and External Drivers

Moderator: Naheed Farid, Member of Parliament

Speakers

1. Professor William Maley, Professor, Australia National University, “The historical drivers of Afghanistan conflict: Post-2001”
2. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi, Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy, Afghanistan, “Conflict in Afghanistan: Geopolitical dimension”
3. Mohammad Naser Timori, Researcher, Transparency International (Berlin)- Integrity Watch Afghanistan, “Corruption and its impact on conflict”

Mrs. Naheed Farid welcomed the audience and started her speech with talking on the concepts of security. She said that we all know that the security is all changeable, complicated and has many dimensions. She then pointed out that the situation of conflict in Afghanistan has changed in the course of time since 2001.

The first speaker of this panel Professor Maley spoke about the roots and historical drivers of the conflict in Afghanistan. He emphasized that conflict has positive effect. It can be a tool for the learning of ideas. He continued his speech about conflict: “Conflict becomes a problem, when it is not directed to directions that the consequences are positive. He pointed out some of the conflict drivers since 2001. There are many factors that drive conflict in Afghanistan, not just one or two. He said that determining the most important of them is difficult. Identity, politics and group solidarity can be a problem.

Professor Maley contextualized challenges of conflict in four categories:

1. Not all conflict is dysfunctional: it is unconstrained conflict that causes the most problems;
2. Violence as a dimension of state formation: the role of ‘stationary bandits’;
3. Violence as a consequence of state disruption: I. the loss of a Hobbesian ‘common power’
4. Violence as a consequence of state disruption: II. The shift of trust to other actors.

Then he counted some conflict drivers:

- The difficulty of disentangling the effects of diverse conflict drivers
- ‘Greed’ and ‘grievance’ as conflict drivers
- Identity politics and group solidarity
- A sense of marginalisation: the legitimacy problems of a neopatrimonial system
- ‘Below-the-horizon’ feuds and rivalries
- Aid monies as fuel: addressing the issue of stake over which parties can struggle

- Dissatisfaction with the presence of foreigners
- Globalized ideologies and the radicalisation of youth
- The external promotion of instability in Afghanistan

He continued his speech on the issue of the addressing this problem and mentioned a few points on that. The points are as follow: International law and ‘creeping invasion’; the quest for a political settlement: promising path or wishful thinking? Can the Pakistan state be trusted? President Trump’s 21 August 2017 policy statement; Meddling by other states: the problem of regional disorder; Diplomatic instruments for modifying destructive state behavior: the role of China.

The second speaker of this panel was Mr. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi. Mr. Rahimi Started with a key question. Is there any Geo-Political aspect for the conflict of Afghanistan? He then answered that mainly the conflict of Afghanistan was and is a Geo-Political Conflict. He mentioned that the conflict in Afghanistan is not a conflict of values like democracy and human rights, but it is a conflict of hegemony and dominant. So we have to follow these aspects of conflict in Afghanistan in the levels of internal, regional and internationally. He then continued with the following issues: we have reduced the conflict of Afghanistan from a geo-political conflict to a political conflict. So with reduction of this we had political solution and these solutions could not answer to the geo-political question in Afghanistan, region and the world so the crisis is getting worse.

In the internal dimension, the structure of Afghanistan defines a collection of elements: these are sort of causes that can be the origins of crisis and tensions. What is the model that Afghan government has taken for resolving the problems of internal geo-politics of Afghanistan?

First, the model is complicated; this means you cannot find a clear model nationally to confront this issue. In the security issue, the de-centralizing of Afghan government can be a solution this problem of Afghanistan. In economic issues: making economic zones and preparing the homeland for economic cooperation can be the solutions for this. In the regional layer, we have a number of actors in the geo-politics of the region. We have at least four geo-political structures in Afghanistan that causes to escalate the crisis of security and economy. It is not still clear that what is the identity of geo-politics in Afghanistan.

He then continued with focusing on the Afghanistan, Heart of Asia process. He said it has a technical problem and that is, when a country want to have relations and development it should have stable security and economy, that Afghanistan does not have both of them. Afghanistan is tolerating the security charge of the regions, from west of the Asia, central Asia and southern Asia, and China is making a restrict position with Afghanistan, so Afghanistan needs to send this security guard to others so as to have a bilateral

understanding based on the shared problem. In the regional level, we still do not see a strategy for our own security. In the economy area also Afghanistan does not have any answer to confront with the new order of economy and security. So our peace talks are mainly relevant to our understanding from internal, regional and global geo-politics. In conclusion, we have to focus on an understanding of the geo-politic of Afghanistan, region and the world, so that we can have serious discussion about the peace, security and development of Afghanistan.

The last speaker of this panel was Mr. Timory. He started his speech with issue of internalizing the problem of Afghanistan. He said our problem is lack of a national government that can be just among its citizens and besides can manage the actions of international actors. He continued to speak about the picture that afghan government has. He said, Afghan government is a big government, about one million people are working within this government so this is even more than what we need. Among this one million, a smaller number, what we call “Deep State”. They may be about ten thousand. In Afghanistan, as everything has changes its picture, the issue of corruption has also been change. I want to point out on this issues that how corruption has changed from a simple issue to a threat to the national security.

During past 17 years there have been three approaches to corruption. First they said that corruption is a very simple issue. If we bring economic development, peace and solve war, corruption cannot be a game changer; This approach was between 2001-2006. After 2006 many has thought that corruption is more serious. We have to attracting the attention of international community on that. Many of these corrupt network has joined with the 16th and 17th period of parliament of Afghanistan. So when the Parliament gets corrupt, the government gets corruption as well; because most of these networks could use from their power to entitle there kinships and kinsfolks to the security sector and financial sectors. So we have arrived to a “government of Corruption”. What is the solution? The solution is that we have to create a commission to overcome all these corruptions. We have to create commissions to guarantee the integrity of politics, economy and security in Afghanistan.

Discussion Session

- Timory: you did not mention anything about the role of the international community on bringing corruption, could you please give some points?
- Maley: Can we expect the impact of Afghan war on the western countries?
- Rahimi: could you please give some more points about the process of Herat of Asia that why is not successful?
- Rahimi: what is impact of Japan and China`s conflict on Afghanistan? What is your solution for the Geo-politic conflict?

- All: what is your reaction to the representative of Uzbekistan to opening a trade road from Samarkand to Herat? How can Afghanistan's situation with Iran Modify the situation in light of Iran's possibilities and also the constant confrontation between Iran and the U.S when the U.S is so present in Afghanistan?
- Timory: with the consideration of this issue that corruption is a culture in society, do not you think that these commissions you mentioned about them, will start corruption themselves?
- Timory: what is the guarantee that structurally will have effects on those regulatory bodies?

The answers

Maley: We have to defuse the dispute between states that are antagonistic. I am very very worry about the virtues of centralized state. One of the issues that create problems is the way that the state structures are designed, in Bonn conference first they decided for 29 ministries, this virtually seek the way for corruption; this creates the bureaucratic structure with a lot of money and this can goes to corruption.

Rahimi: One of the reasons I said about the geo-politics is that there is no clear understanding of the geo-politics in the middle levels. When I say geo-politics, I do not mean to compare Afghanistan with Switzerland. This is a dynamic concept. Mainly the understanding of Afghanistan's geo-politics in twentieth century cannot be a base for our understanding for the twenty first century. The concept of heart of Asia is a subjective concept; It is not a geographical and practical concept. Our geo-politics capacity has changed. We have concepts like culture, art, music and other; but today we have concept like: terrorism, narcotics and other that define the geo-politic of Afghanistan. So these causes and element are very different from the old elements.

He then answered the question about Japan and China; We actually have more from the security charge of competing between China and India rather than Japan and China. This is my idea that in long-term this will be visible. The process of Heart of Asia is a good initiative from Afghanistan, but it is not responsive to the need of region. Our region is a region with a realistic approach, An economic approach that we are going to use it for this geo-politic will not answer; because the security priorities are not negotiable.

Timory: Mr. Timory started answering his questions with focusing on two key points: "The first point is that, can a new commission be a solution? And then about the role of the international community in the corruption. I disagree with some of the issues our international friends are doing, especially about corruption. As much as information we may have, there might be twenty times more than that information about the corruption

networks. “There is one more thing I want to add, the president either does not have the ability to challenge the corrupt people or does not want to do such”.

He then said that president committed to create the commission of counter-corruption for the elections, but after four years of following, there is nothing. He added: “at first president used to say that it is against the constitution to create a commission, but now they say that this commission would take decisions that either we do not want or we cannot implement those decisions in Afghanistan”. He mentioned that the centralized view in the National Unity Government increased; and added that lack of authority of the provinces is another problem of this government. He gave a few samples of the model commissions he was defending of that. “The model of commission is something that I can point out at least to two countries on that, first is Indonesia which showed that can continue that. South Korea is another”.

Panel II: Political System: Presidential VS Semi-presidential VS Parliamentary

Moderator: Mariam Safi, Director of Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies (DROPS)

Speakers

1. Nazif Shahrani, Professor, Indiana University, the US, “Challenges and spoilers of the political system reforms”
2. Abdullah Ahmadzai, Asia Foundation Country Representative, Afghanistan, “Electoral & constitutional reform: challenges and prospects”
3. Thomas Johnson, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, the US “The need for electoral reforms in Afghanistan”

Mrs. Maryam Safi the moderator of this panel started the panel with an introduction about the importance of the topic that is going to be discussed. She said that empirical studies show that the regime type is correlated with democratic performance; some argue that presidential and semi presidential are less conducive to the democracy than parliamentarianism. She then spoke about the challenges may a presidential system have for the democracy and went to the panelist for starting the panel.

The first speaker of this panel was Professor Nazif Shahrani. Shahrani started his points with a question that why we say presidential, semi presidential or parliamentary? Why not monarchy? The type of system cannot be a medium for us to reform our situation. We have some monarchy system in the world nowadays that are so democratic. Such as: England,

Denmark, Sweden; Similarly, we have monarchy systems that are very autocratic like Saudi Arabia or Jordan.

“We have to change our question that can change the main problem of our system; And that is: we have to pay attention to the principles of governance rather than type of government. So what I am going to focus on, is the challenging political culture of Afghanistan. I want to have my speech on four principles of governance in Afghanistan that has shaped the principles of our political culture in last 140 years”.

What are the four principles that determines our political culture? 1. Person-centrism. If the government is in kinship form and only one person decides we can never change the situation of our country. All people in this form of the governance are subjects not citizens.

2. Ethno-centrism. When you have a person-centrism form of governance, the first person would trust to his/her relatives. This means that our society has the crisis of trust. Ethno-centrism even caused to corruption in the society.

3. The third pillar is abusing from religion. In the history of our country all the elders have used from Islam as a political tool. Even those who oppose the government did the same.

4. And the fourth pillar is the economic-political problem of our states. We have always been leaning to international community. They should give us money and even support us politically. This is seen in the different course of times in history of Afghanistan. These four are the main issues that we have to work on them.

So we have to pay attention on the local governance by the people in the local, or community self-governance. Our people can keep and manage their community themselves. That will be better if the people of community elect their own governor, district chiefs and provincial council members.

The second speaker of this panel was Mr. Abdullah Ahmadzai. He spoke on the issue of requirements of electing bodies in the constitution in a government. He said if we will be fully on the path of constitution we will have 17 elections in the two upcoming decades. He said if we look at mandate and de-centralized nature of elected bodies, elected bodies are designed for a de-centralized governance structure. So having elected bodies without having the authority makes it that they will not have their own budgeting. Coming to the electoral reforms, since 2004 when we look at all these electoral cycles that Afghanistan has had, we see that there is the same action practiced after each election. This has practiced by political leaders to reform the electoral issues but that has always targeted the electoral authorities. So the first thing is to avoid decisions making on the bodies who conduct the elections. Second is the ownership of the electoral bodies mandate. He then continued with the question what reforms could happen by what time? He said the sense of urgency for

reform has always decreased the quality of reforms. He said if we have a look to the electoral reforms from 2015-2017, we can see several decision had taken either structural, legal or political; in all these three areas they decided to have quick fixes, but they had more challenges instead of quick fixes, he mentioned about the biometric devices as an example. He added a recommendation that every reform should have goals in short term, midterm and long term. Dialogue on the elections must include all political actors. The next point he focused on, was about the authority on the electoral mandate of IEC. He said that the IEC should be empowered enough, in all forms of policy, executive and logistically. He added a point about an independent institution and difference with the ministry. He said that the independent institution does not need to go for the cabinet approval. So these are the issues that need to be addressed to have reforms.

The third speaker of this panel was Professor Thomas Johnson. He spoke about the importance of the regime legitimacy in Afghanistan, deficiency with the afghan electoral system focusing on the Parliamentary and presidential elections, and what needs to be done.

He argued, when legitimacy exist, a government is secure. But when the legitimacy is low any issues can undermine the government. Afghanistan and its present incarnation is somewhat artificially created a relatively new state. He said about the history of Afghanistan that how the traditional system of governance could work and said that in the past system the legitimacy would come from religious approval. The soviet invasion devastated the institutions for the legitimacy in Afghanistan. He said that the landed elites were directly targeted by the soviets and the communist regime, this had tremendous impact on the life of all Afghans. Meanwhile the opposition to the communist government of Kabul formed a ethno-linguistic lines. But largely manages by Islamists. He then said that from 1992-2001 the legitimacy was only taken from the internal supporters of the regime. He continued his speech on the historical issues after 2001 that how the intervene of the U.S has failed. He stressed that the failure was not on the killing of the enemy, but on the lack of works to create a central legitimate Afghan government and related institutions. He pointed out on the illegal votes since the 2004 elections that how has effect on the de-legitimization of the government.

He then added that after this long course of time to de-legitimizing the government, Afghanistan needs the new way toward legitimacy. He mentioned about the democracy that could not initially work in Afghanistan based on the electoral reforms. He mentioned about the election teams that is formed from the larger ethnic groups and even the Taliban who come normally from the tribal ties that are Pashtuns, but not extensively from the Pashtuns in Afghanistan, therefore he mentioned that the Pashtun candidates have real votes in the areas that are Pashtuns, because the Taliban also support these candidates there. He mentioned that ethnicities are voting based on the ethnic group. Afghanistan remained

deeply fragmented ethnic state which creates serious challenges for the democratic institutions and cohesive and legitimate government institutions. He then said this point that based on this reason is that no national candidates has raised due to the ethno-linguistics criteria. He said that the parliamentary elections had also irregularities that completely undermined by choosing a poor electoral system, Single nontransferable vote. He said that U.S imposed the Single Non-Transferable Votes (SNTV) system of elections on Afghanistan. He then pointed on some solution:

1. That the entire election system of Afghanistan must be recalibrated. The SNTV is a true disaster to a legislature elected body.
2. The political system in Afghanistan should be empowered if the Afghanistan would be the true representative of democracy and the government should institute and extensive program of training of election workers and the work needs to be monitored by the internal and international election observers. These all should be observed for the next presidential elections that would happen in 2019.

He then concluded that it is difficult to find election results in any democratic country in the world that could compare to the results of 2014 legislative elections as well as to the 2014 Afghan elections. Afghanistan must have a look to its election`s procedures, at all levels and seriously reform that.

Discussion Session

Shahrani: how can you change the Afghanistan`s structure, because you will have to change the Afghanistan relation to the international community as well, would you please give comments on that?

Ahmadzai: what is your opinion about the system of elections and using from technology?

Johnson: what are the factors that created the crisis of legitimacy in Afghanistan?

Johnson: do you have any particular recommendation about the presence of women in the electoral reforms you have mentioned?

The answers

Shahrani: Barney I do agree with you. When I mentioned about the elements of political culture of Afghanistan, I am thinking of that systemically. There are not individual items. Of course the kind of regime that was started by Abdul Rahman Khan, I am calling it rented regime. And these rented regimes have been common in the history of Afghanistan. It is important that the political economy state should come out of its own dependency. He then mentioned about the amount of money that has been spent by western societies. We cannot abandon our relationship with the international community, but we can make it healthier that would benefit us and free us from dependency. So as to become self-sufficient.

To Dr. Farid`s question I want to say that to governing the local with the local people does not mean we do not need to have central government. But division of power must be a principle. So I think the law making is in the hand of central government in Afghanistan, the implementation of law is in the center and even overseeing the law is in the hand of central government. These three main issues cannot be done by one body. It is impossible. Another point I want to remind here is that we have used from Islam instrumentally, not based on the real values of Islam.

Ahmadzai: I have an expression which says that the locks are made for the honest people to prevent from entrance. No locks has been designed yet to prevent a professional thief. In the next elections we may have an important challenge that will be created by these biometric tools, this machine gives five times opportunity to vote for a person.

About system, undoubtedly is an expired system but I did not focus that which system is better. Because it needs a political consensus. But about the political parties it is important that they need a democratic formation. We have parties that the leaders of them are from about forty years ago. Or where do these parties get their financial support. There is no transparency on their fund raising. As long as these issues will not be solved, the electoral system cannot change anything.

Jonson: If the Afghans themselves chose SNTV, why we did not prevent them, as we knew that it is a disaster. About the role of women, I think women should be involved in all forms of politics. In my old age I have come to this conclusion that women can manage better men.

Panel III: Afghanistan's Economy: From Rentier State to Developing

Moderator: Sonia Iqbal, Executive Director Open Society Foundation, Afghanistan

Speakers

1. Ali Ahmad Osmani, Former Minister of Water & Energy, "Afghanistan waters: how to manage them?"
2. Ehsan Zia, Former Minister of Rural Development, "Aid efficiency, donor priorities, local ownership"
3. Christine Fair, Professor, George Town University, USA "Chahbahar: challenges and prospects"

Mrs. Iqbal the moderator of this panel started the panel with an introduction. She said that the economic issues is very important in the Security dialogues for two reasons: First is the economic security position in the current situation we have. And secondly, the economic security of country entirely. So this shows the importance of the economic issue.

The first speaker of this panel was Mr. Ali Ahmad Osmani. Mr. Osmani started his speech with highlighting some important points on the management of waters in Afghanistan. He said that the managing of the waters in Afghanistan has two aspects. The first is the internal aspect and second is the external aspect and he focused on the external part of the water as said that these issues are challenging in Afghanistan. He then mentioned four points that was going to address in his speech.

1. Conflict of ideas between National Unity Government.
2. The obstacles for infrastructure of managing water in Afghanistan.
3. The strategic points that highlighted in the managing of the waters in Afghanistan;
4. and fourth is united policy making on water resources.

Seventeen points were on the water management in leadership level of the government. “As I have seen there are three kinds of disagreement in the National Unity Government.

1. Thematic controversy; there was disagreement on the views.
2. Personal issues;
3. The mixed problems.

He indicated that the vast spectrum of disagreements has caused the disordering the governance in Afghanistan. About the disagreements you may see only 30 percent of that, 70 percent of that is hidden. Mr. Osmani continued his speech with mentioning the importance of water and then the water crisis and stressed that the problem of water is a multi-dimensional issue. He said to manage all these, it is important to have first, a united vision on the managing of waters. He defined water as a treasury that is taken from future generation. So our first disagreement with the National Unity Government was political viewpoint on the managing water.

From 140 years ago we had the following diplomacies to our water resources, Mr. Osmani said.

1. the traditional period of diplomacy and conflict, from 1872-1948.
2. the academic and traditional period of water diplomacy, from 1948- 1974.
3. the diplomacy of forgetting water, from 1978 to 1992. In this period the problems of Afghanistan were immense and they could not have focus on the managing of waters. In this period, in Iran the managing of water was in hand of Human; but in Afghanistan, the water was managed by nature. He said after nature, the best form

of water management is management by experts not by politicians. In Taliban period we have again diplomacy of conflict.

4. the period of Hamed Karzai which is the period of silence of water. We have not talked about water with the neighboring countries, for different reasons.
5. At the end, the period a risky diplomacy have come up for both countries, Iran and Afghanistan, and that is instrumental diplomacy of water. There are risks in the diplomacy; First government does not have control on the water flow. Second, drought and lack of water. Three, the legal issues. The water negotiations were illegal, because the rule of water has given this authority to the ministry of water and power.

The second speaker of this panel was Mr. Ehsan Zia. He spoke on the aid efficiencies, donor priorities. He said that in 2002 Afghanistan by all aspects was a failed state. He continued to saying that following the fall of Taliban Regime Afghanistan was one of the poorest countries in the world, with the highest rate of mortality and children death and low literacy rate. He said that these show not only the lack of governmental services but also the show the poverty income of Afghans. He mentioned that after 9/11 international community worked on the military and reconstruction of Afghanistan. He denoted that Afghanistan received over 57 billion official aid assistance during 2001-2015. He said that these aid had the aim of humanitarian and development. Mr. Zia mentioned that after all these aids over 50 percent of the country population is living under poverty line. Mr. Zia said that the failure of aids in Afghanistan and using of that has some factors including policies and decisions of donor countries. “firstly, between 2003 -2008 government`s national development program was kept severely back warded on the capacity of government departments”.

Then he said that after 2008 up to now corruption became a pretext to deprive the national ownership. “I have the experience the failure of large scale projects of the parallel structure that are translated as lessons learned, but small mistake in the government projects are immediately labeled as corruption. He continued his speech on the reconstruction issues of the international donations and its challenges they had either from government side of internally themselves. He mentioned the reports of SIGAR, he said that according to this report U.S spent 11 billion dollars on the eradication of poppies, but still there is poppy in Afghanistan. He said that a major success on the counter narcotic policies in other countries, is the investment on the small enterprises. He had some point on the exports and imports of Afghanistan, that how the Afghans import very small things and export in Afghanistan is still silent and mentioned that what is still remained unseen in Afghanistan is job for people and income for the development of people. But all these are conducted by parallel structure and it is not fair to blame Afghanistan and keep it alone. Also there is

improvements in some sectors, like education, health and investment in some parts of infrastructures. He said that careful analysis of the aids reveals that we had tangible results. The most important are those that are nationally led and locally owned.

In conclusion, the achievements are establishment of 48647 democratically elected community development councils (CDCs) all over Afghanistan, the implementation of 8520 sub-projects and raising community contribution of 204 million dollars, which is for the first time in the history of the country.

The third speaker of this panel was Professor. Christine Fair. She spoke on the protection of the Chabahar port from the sanctions on Iran. She said what makes Chabahar so important is that if there is to be a viable port at Chabahar, Afghanistan has other options, other than Pakistan, and of course this is one of the reasons that Pakistan is so concerned about Chabahar. And she said it is maybe one of the reasons there are many attacks on the Zaranj-Delaram high way. Because the last thing Pakistan wants, is viable alternative to what it has to offer to the Chabahar port. A viable alternative to being pushed around by Pakistan. She continued about the agreement that India and Iran made in 2001 to begin collaborating on the port of Chabahar, was briefly interrupted, when Iran came under sanctions and India stopped its activity. She said about the security point this was a very bad idea. Because when the Indians have stepped back the Chinese have stepped in, because the Iranians are indifferent that who build this port, but it is important that this port be built.

Chabahar is important to most of the actors in this region, said Fair. For Afghanistan this can be an option of independency from Pakistan. For India Chabahar is important, because Pakistan denies India access to its grounds communications. And for Iran Chabahar is the only way that India meaningfully can access to Afghanistan the rest of central Asia. Chabahar is also a part of the north-south corridor which India along with Iran and Russia have made this idea that goods go through this port to other parts of the Asia and even on to the Europe, said Fair.

Christine fair said that the reasons that U.S and Afghan partner could not pressure on Pakistan is either the using the air space, which Americans use that to resupply themselves in Afghanistan or access to Pakistan ground lines of Communication. She then mentioned that JCPOA was an opportunity for the investment in the Chabahar. She said that her inquiry for this issue is to get the different partners that are interested in a sustaining Afghanistan, to think about mechanisms, investment mechanisms that would encourage Chabahar investments. That is not only a port, you need all of the associated businesses to create a business ecology that will make Chabahar a viable transportation hub. She said: “what I am concerned is looking for financial arrangements that are robust to American

repulses". She said that I am going to argue has even greater risks, for one thing that president trump does not realize it right now is bad for the U.S interest in this region. Most people expect president Trump to withdraw the American troops from Afghanistan, but she said the United States would lose in Afghanistan after withdrawal. Afghanistan economically is a ship that is sinking. You have resource in the ground but you have to get resources to the market, said Fair. She said that in some ways the security concern is a secondary issues than economy.

Discussion Session

Fair: How do we store the prosperity that Herat and all Afghanistan had, unless that great road that Uzbek representative mentioned it with the modern rail way that is going to be built in Afghanistan?

Osmani: do we have expert of water resources in Afghanistan, if not, why are not they trained? Second, is it true that our water experts were not successful to have answers to the Iranians? Third is that Pakistan headquarters are trying to come near to water under they dispute upon the water in the future, is it true?

Zia: would you please give three issues that was done for the rural areas and had positive effects on them?

Fair: can you describe the international rights for those countries that they do not have access to water?

Osmani: do you have any program on recycling of water in your plans?

Zia: if the program of national solidarity has resulted positive, why the poverty came to 55 percent from 33 percent in Afghanistan.

Fair: how do you see the MoU of Afghanistan and China on Belt and Road initiative, do you think that could be a pressure point on the U.S revitalize, and do you think that CPEC has positive effects on the two Countries?

Fair: could you please give remarks that how sanctions put less effect on the Chabahar port initiative?

Osmani: could you please say what was the main disagreement between you and the president?

The answers

Osmani: As I said we had seventeen point disagreement with president on planning. Two issues exist about water resources, one is the united water management, and the second is to governing the water resources. The governing of water resources if different from other

parts of government. We have to separate the political and technical issues on the water resources. We cannot waste the rights of neighboring countries based on the political problems we have together. So we recommended academic diplomacy that is based on the knowing of reality. About Mr. Hafezi`s issues, I should say that we have a multi-layer diplomacy with many countries. About the capacity building, the capacity building is a ratio phenomenon; one of the reasons of close-handed financial policy on the capacity building. They do not give money for the necessary capacity building. We had two kinds of negotiations with Iran. One was the Commissioners on water and other was on Hiray Rood and Hirmand rivers. On Hirmand I should say that the Hirmand issues is closed. But on the Commissioner of Water about our weakness and strength, we had two times this negotiation. For this negotiation, I said to my colleagues that you have to confess that your right on the water of Afghanistan have been given. On Pakistan also we had a wide study and even one time negotiation with them. And other parts.

Fair: For my point of view the U.S is in decline. Declining of power, said Fair. I think it is inevitable that the U.S declined in influence, there will be other powers that can create this bridge and I think that China is one of them. I want to say that CPEC is. First I should say that Guadar is not an economically viable port. In fact Karachi is not even at that capacity. There is a lot of under capacity in Karachi and then raises the question that why Guadar exist at all? So when products are offloaded to Guadar, there is really two ways that they can take, one is to through Chamen and the other if they are going to north, they have to basically go to Karachi anyway. So Guadar is Actually a joke. It takes about six times to move a crowded way from Guadar to Shen Shian, as there is not any other internal way. So Guadar has become Synonyms to CPEC. The most important part of CPEC is not Guadar. Is actually the agricultural lands in Pakistan that China has gained access to. So China will be growing products to feed Chinese. This is particularly gives water shortages to south Asia. Guadar even does not have any line of connectivity with other central Asian states. But what Afghanistan needs is access to a port that does not involve Pakistan. I wish the people stop CPEC to Guadar.

The question about BRI, as a realist, I do not see any other alternative to China; the Indians should ask this question that is it better that Chinese pick up the slip or the Americans had left off? Or is it simply better we have a vacuum? I think if those are your options China picking up this lack. This U.S government is not going to stay this course. This U.S government is going to get out.

Zia: the first thing is access roads. This was the first time that two villages were connected to each other by this. In the electricity of villages. In this Herat, there are hundreds of villages that connected to electricity through the national solidarity program. On the drinking water. And the question about the raising of poverty, you cannot change the economic situation of a village with a small scale of investment in that village. The national

solidarity projects had at most 60 thousand dollars. Economic development is basically relevant to economic activities. Afghanistan has this capacity to replace the importing goods with the investment in those villages. We can have at least 20-30 types of basic needs of the country.

Panel IV: Afghanistan & The Grand Bargain of South Asia

Moderator: Barnett Rubin, Centre for International Cooperation, New York University

Speakers

1. Jawed Ludin, Former Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, “How to move beyond the enmity with Pakistan?”
2. Afrasiab Khattak, Senator (Rtrd), Pakistan Senate, “How can Afghanistan address Pakistan grievances?”
3. Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, Former Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan, “How to change Afghanistan as an arena of mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan?”

Professor Barnett Rubin started the panel with a few remarks on the panel. He said that the panel has been mistitled, as Afghanistan has borders with other countries as well. So it has to be bargain of the Asia not just the south Asia.

Jawid Lodin was the first speaker of this panel. His presentation emphasized how Afghanistan could benefit from having the US on board with the peace process, despite the reservations that many may have.

He spoke about this question: can Afghanistan move beyond the Pakistan? And the answer he gave shortly, was yes. He said that there is always a way out, the National Unity Government has tried its own way to do that and failed, like I think we did in our government. He said we try to engage Pakistan very sincerely and it did not work. we had very unhelpful engagement with Pakistan, but this government has the lack of transparency of the approach on engagement with Pakistan, they tried to do behind closed doors, Said Lodin. Mr. Lodin mentioned that sometimes when the western fiends would come to Afghanistan, he spoke with them about Pakistan and they did not broadcast them through the medias and used diplomacy against that. He mentioned that in this case the problems is deepened instead of solving that. He continued that in last 17 years we have always complained that Pakistan is a part of problem rather than being a part of the solutions. He added a question about the changes in the Pakistan. That what will be changed in the

Pakistan? Will Pakistan give hope that there can be a future for the relations of two countries? He then continued that the Pakistani part and Afghanistan are both have quarrel on some issues and one of those is the Durand border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. He denoted this points that Pakistan has always dealt with Afghanistan from an strength point and this could create some problems, besides no one in Afghanistan can discuss on the Durand line unless there will be a Political Consensus on this issue. The other issues he added was the insecurity of the Pakistani establishment, the relation of Pakistan with India and how Afghanistan is an Indianized Nation and the Policy of Afghanistan even is in this formation. He stressed the issue that in Afghanistan should think on a Post-Pakistan security Paradigm. He said: “we have seen increasingly the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan that diminished its role in this country”.

Another element for the post-Pakistani paradigm of security, is the role of the United States that he spoke about. “Now the U.S has fully come on the board of the peace process”. He said that this could be a positive point for Afghanistan and the peace process of Afghanistan. He then mentioned about the peace proposal in Afghanistan. He said that cease fire is not peace. That is a very limited goal, the real objective is a non-state to peace which is what Afghanistan will look like after the war is finished and Taliban come back and some sort of the settlements happen. That will have to be done by Afghans, said Lodin. We have seen the release of Mullah Brother by Khalilzad that could not happen for years we have tried to release him from Pakistani jails. This shows that how Pakistani people sees the Afghan-led Peace process. He stressed that the region can see Afghanistan for itself but not the project for Americans that they have to engage through the U.S. so it is very important for Afghans to take the leadership of processes like the Istanbul Process.

Afrasiab Khatak was the second speaker of this panel. He started his speech with his agreement on the remarks of Pro. Rubin about other borders of Afghanistan. He mentioned that south Asia is now a case of restarted region for Cooperation. It cannot compete with others when it comes to regional cooperation, said Khatak. He also mentioned about the involvement of Afghanistan in SARC and the functioning of SARC for Afghanistan. He said that SARC is not still functioning.

Coming to Pakistan; I think Pakistan is a very important country which have a huge population with great civilizational areas. And great potentials for economic development, but it is unfortunate that Pakistan is under the guilt of the distorted policies of military dictators, it is sort of accusing so many things and justifying it; because Pakistani Policies are not representing the wishes of Pakistan People. The afghan policy of Pakistan came from 1980s, it was part of the grand strategy of the western powers to defeat the Soviet Union. Within this policy there was smaller policy followed by Pakistan agendas. And this policy was on the issue that how to undermine Afghanistan and unfortunately it continued

for forty years. Mr. Khatak continued about the wars that Pakistan had in Afghanistan. He said that Pakistan fought four times in Afghanistan. First from 1980-1989; the second from 1994-2001. In this period Pakistan openly supported Taliban, Said Khatak. Third one was after 9/11 in 2003 that Taliban regrouped. he said the problems on the relations of the two countries is the consequence of the foolish policies are made by their state; he mentioned an example of the borderline which is closed unilaterally. He said: “trade is like water, when you block one avenue, it opens up another avenues”. He indicated about the failure of the Pakistan on accessing to the Central Asian countries. Forty percent of Karachi is dominated by Taliban, said Khatak. In conclude, there can be two opportunities to address the Afghan conflict. First, was after soviet withdrawal, in that time many actors had the reductionist approach. The second important issues was during the Bonn process, I think the ideas that are generated now, were the ideas that should have been focus at that time. That was the time for reconciliations, but in was ignored. And it was revived and I doubt that it will work now, Siad Khatak. Khatak mentioned about the agreements that have been signed between Pakistan and Taliban. As he said 12 agreements were signed and no one of them had its function and all have been failed. Then according to Khatak it cannot be succeeded in Afghanistan. Taliban still burning schools, stoning girls, still bombing. So in the regard all the actors need to work together, said Khatak.

Gautam Mukhopadhyaya was the last speaker of this panel. Ambassador Gautam started his speech with connecting to what Mr. Barnett, Khattak and Jawid Ludin, pointed out. some of the weaknesses of the brief and scope of this panel, I don't want to let Pakistan of the hook for its responsibility for the situation in Afghanistan, but India-Pakistan issues are not the key issues in the current situation of Pakistan, I could list out at least twelve reasons that why this not so and why such an approach is faulty. Said Mukhopadhyaya. Then he mentioned that the idea of Pakistan-India has grown during last 15-20 years post-Taliban. it was a very historical idea, it's a post-colonial idea, post-Taliban idea, he stressed that it did not exist during the contemporary periods in Afghanistan. it started when Pakistan started actually losing the plot, and those who had end up pleading for a kind of linkage between India and Pakistan and Afghanistan these issues, forget that there are India-Pakistan issues that we are trying to resolve bilaterally, there are Afghanistan-Pakistan issues that we have to resolve bilaterally, as mentioned by Mukhopadhyaya. He then continued with the wars India had with Pakistan. “we attained independent, we have had four official wars, 1948, 1965, 1971 and then the Kagal war. Afghanistan never was actor, in the tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan, starting with the non-recognition of Pakistan in 1947 but late on”. And he continued about the conclusion they went through after all these. He said: “I just want to leave that aside, ultimately what we come down to is, problem really lies into Pakistani state, the problem lies in the security of Pakistani state which feels Pashtun nationalism on its west, Karewas Kashmir on its east and is envious

of us about India's trend in terms of size, demography, economy, technology and other areas, and is not able to address that by conventional means of any sort, I think it is the core problem, when it comes to this".

He continued that there is no very soon solution for the problem of Durand line. but both India and Afghanistan have a problem with Pakistan on terrorism. And even he said there is no solution for the problem of exporting terrorism. "So among these three countries, we do not see any bilateral or trilateral grand bargain, do we see any grand bargain among the other participants? Not visible, not least at the current context" said Mr. Mokhopadhya. He mentioned that Afghanistan is a country with many natural resources. He added that through investment on these resources of Afghanistan, this can generate so many opportunities to this country. He mentioned that it is the time to come to once again talk about the grand bargain, around the Afghan economy, and bringing the United States, China, India, Iran, Russia, Pakistan and all its Central Asian neighbors, in seeing who can add more value, to the primary products and natural resources of Afghanistan, said Mukhopadhya. He did continue on thinking of a diplomatic initiative that combines the essential features of the Heart of Asia process but brings in the whole idea of investing in the Afghan economy. he said: "I am sorry if I am sounded pessimistic about the other political issues, but this is the only area that I see the possibility of grand bargain, not everyone may benefit equally, there may be some losers, some winners and may be some spoilers, but at least, this is the only direction of the grand bargain".

Discussion Session

Khatak: What does Pakistan Want from Afghanistan? Is that the Taliban Emirates back to Afghanistan? Or that Afghanistan should recognize the Durrand Line? Please tell clearly?

Ludin: Where should we move while the Kowita Shoura and Peshawor Shoura are in Pakistan?

Khatak: What should we do till we get rid of Pakistan?

Ludin: To what extent you see the role for international community and the region countries in peace process of Afghanistan? And when do you see that happening?

Khatak: Isn't that so ideal if we think that Pakistan had to focus on economic issues with the Central Asia countries instead of supporting Taliban and terrorist groups?

Ludin: Was not Afghanistan's foreign policy gingerly toward the countries of the region and the international community?

General to All: Have you ever seen the changes in Pakistani policies toward Afghanistan, if there is, please mention?

Mukhopadhyaya: Do you think that with the current structure of Afghanistan government, would that optimism on solving the situation, be realistic?

Ludin and Khatak: It is being said that discussion of Durand Line is taboo in Afghanistan?

The answers

Ambassador Gautam Mukhopadhyaya: In the context of investment, I should be clear that my point was that I was pessimistic about anything else, and this was the only area that gives me hope, and that is different from optimism and that of course requires efforts, but I forgot to mention the development during the last five years that I left Afghanistan, during these years, there was strongly development of connectives of Afghanistan, so in terms of natural resources exploitation, beneficiation, value adding and evacuation. You have the Chahbahar which is developing, and I agree once again that we need China and India to think of solutions to keep the viability of Chahbahar project, may be linked with the Uzbekistan rail line that we discussed this morning, the second, the Lazuli corridor, an entirely newly development till now, the TAPI gasoline, the KASA on thousand, the international north south corridor is going on and what advantages could offer, and some projects are under the BRI, going to Central Asia, we have reservation for the CPC, at least there are number of connectivity initiatives that they can connect the region. Regarding the question on the structure, structure of a system also follows the objectives, if you have the objectives right, then you will have the structure that follows, so if the objectives are right, then how do we convert the Afghanistan into a theater of cooperation on the economy through investments, in natural resources and primary products in agriculture and other sectors, we would think of the structure for that, even on the international plan, three days ago we were at a conference between US, India and China, were discussing the possibility of cooperation for Afghanistan, we found that Chinese colleagues very open to the idea of cooperation, not limited to soft sectors like training which we have begun, but also open for the ideas including as far as security. So you know there are some positive trends.

To final question and a kind of remark to Madam Rezaei's question, I have always felt that for a long that time, as far as Afghanistan is concerned, there are thing that Afghanistan can do nothing about and there are things that Afghanistan can do something about, Afghanistan can do nothing about Pakistan and its policies and I think there is much hope for change there, Afghanistan cannot do much about Taliban that are outside their hands, but should keep trying as they are, Afghanistan cannot do much about US policy, if the US decides to stay the cost, willing good, if the US decides to walk out one day, there is not much Afghanistan can do, but there is one thing Afghanistan can do, which is to preserves it internal cohesion and unity, if this one thing goes, then everything will pray upon those disunity and lack of cohesion, so this is the one factor weather Afghanistan has the money,

the weapon or other equipments, it is a political decision, that Afghan can take care of, if they focused on this, I think a lot else would follow.

Jawed Ludin: To Farkhonad's question which was on post Pakistan paradigm, what I think is more as a trend, we must be aware that there are new factors that are coming into play, even if we take the Taliban itself, even if Pakistan stopped, you know the situation in Afghanistan and middle east and dynamics of the conflicts at the rest of the region, will that mean that Afghanistan will we be immune from other factors of instability? No, we won't be, so that is why I think we need to be really aware of that, because in the last seventeen years, for the right reasons we have focused and we did not have the other instruments of basically defending ourselves, we engaged in advocacy, in relation to Pakistan rule in Afghanistan in security, so we lobbied in US, in western world and the region and focused exactly on Pakistan, I think we have done a good job of that, now we really need to move beyond that and should think on the wider dynamics, that is not to say that Kowita Shoura is still there, and they still remain as the number one factor of instability.

Regarding Madam Rezaei's question, we have not seen any changes in Pakistan policies yet, in the last seventeen year in our foreign policy we have followed the Pakistanis issue and it had not had any results, it was so complicated, at the current government there is no result and today we are in unsuccessful situation, but regarding Ambassador Khalilzad's new assignment and releasing the Taliban officials from Pakistani prison may look that a process which was leaded by the Afghans, was not helpful, but the process which was leaded by American, was helpful, anyway, we need peace, either be achieved by US or Pakistan.

Senator Afrasiab Khattak: To question form Mr. Natiqi and Ahmad Saeidi. I think Pakistan has started its policy from 1980s, it has been one policy all the time, when General Ziaulhaq said in 1980 there are no Afghan refugees because they are refugees (Muhajer) in sense of Isamic history, and we are Ansars, the hosts, referring to the life of Prophet Mohammad Peace be upon him, it was settle that have seen, there are not two countries, there is only one country and Islamic country, and it is Pakistan, so their policy was started right from Ziaulhaq, it was crystalized in 1994 with the creation of Taliban, because when Taliban entered Afghanistan on 26 of September 1996. What did they do in Kabul? You found they have done six major things, they banned the Afghan national flag, they banned Afghan national anthem, they name Radio voice of Kabul to Radio voice of Sharia, Nawroz the old festival has been banned, Jirga, the most essential Pashtun institution was banned, they said no Jirga in Sharia, they murdered Dr. Najibullah who was living in UN compound and started peace and reconciliation, they diminished Budda statue, everything that was representing the Afghan identity was attacked, they were not coincidence, they were programmed, I believe, they are still implementing their program which is strategic depth

in Afghanistan, we as Pakistanis believe that it was a very misguided policy, it has to be changed, and I am sure it will be changed, because it has no future, you see, if God forbid Afghanistan, crisis deepen, the depress fallen in Pakistan, the depress fallen in all region, the region can't afford it, Pakistan can't afford it, I think the agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2014, when president Ashraf Ghani visited Islamabad, 48 MOUs, memorandum of understanding, are most important and both countries should return back to them, our plea is that we need too close relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan as two severing countries, brotherly countries, respecting each other sovereignty and political survive, you see in 2015 when president Ashraf Ghani was elected to come to Islamabad to Heart of Asia conference, we the Pakistani politician became a delegation, we met president Ashraf Ghani, we met chief executive Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, we met Mr. Qanoni, we met the former president Hamed Karzai, we met Said Ahmad Gilani and so many leaders. And we requested them to persuade president to visit Islamabad, because president Pakistan has not full filed its promises, we said you are absolutely right, but you should say the same thing in Islamabad, please come to Islamabad because the process should continue, he and other Afghans were very gracious to accept our request, it shows that diplomacy and politics work, why shouldn't we use these things instead of sending Taliban and conquering Afghanistan through Taliban, why can't we talk to Afghans, why can't we engage them in a political method, I think this is a viable alternative, we are not saying that idealistic. You see Germany and France, Germany and Poland, they had war, but they are not anymore enemies. Neighbor countries remain to be perpetual enemies, so I believe it is possible and it is not idealistic, it is practical thing for both countries, if God forbid and they don't learn lessons, they will have the same destiny. talking about Pashtuns in Pakistan, my party issued a policy regarding the Afghans in forty points, in that policy we said that we recognize two countries, each Afghanistan and Pakistan, they should have the best of relations, the only thing that it wanted, was opening the borders for trade, cultural relations, people to people relations and we are not alone at this, we have several differences with Mr. Imran Khan, we have great reservations regarding the type of elections which brought him to power, but even then, when he came to power, at the first speech he said we should have open borders with Afghanistan, these type of relations are not demand only by Pashtuns, others also say this that we should have open borders, well, they might have differences on the Durrand Line, in many countries, they have this colonial legacies problems, but these problems should not make them fight, I think through cooperation, they come overcome these problems, and they come look for a peaceful resolution. When I speak here, I must remain you that when I came here to Afghanistan, I think it was after September 11, it was the first function of National Hero of Afghanistan University, and I said in that first function that please you should note that there are two Pakistan.

One, the Pakistan of dictators, those who use up powers, those who deprive the people of Pakistan from their rights, and the other is the people of Pakistan, who have no problem

with you, who are your brothers, sisters and would like to have peace in Afghanistan, I believe and talked with the people of Pakistan that they have no problem with the people of Afghanistan, we seriously believe that our destiny is common, we either will have respectful and bright full future with together, or God forbid the destruction that we will have together.

Panel V: The Taliban: What Do They Want?

Moderator: Nader Naim, Deputy of High Peace Council

Speakers

1. Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen, Journalist, “What is the political agenda of the Taliban?”
2. Robin Lynn Raphel, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic & International Studies, the US “What are The main claims of Taliban?”
3. Shah Gul Rezai, Member of Parliament, Afghanistan, “Taliban, Sharia and traditionalism: did the Taliban’s perspectives change?”
4. Bushra Gohar, Former member of Parliament, Pakistan, “What form of dtate does Taliban envision? To what extent Taliban leadership’s perspective differ from their rank and file?”

In discussing the issue of the Taliban, this panel raised a number of significant perspectives on the current peace process. Nazar Mohammad Motmaeen highlighted how the Taliban need to accept the current constitutional framework. Robin Lynn Raphel highlighted that it was important for the US to directly deal with the Taliban as this was a major impediment in moving forward with peace talks. Bushra Gohar, speaking from her experience in Pakistan, emphasized how the Taliban is an illegal movement and thus cannot be treated as being at the same level as the legitimate Afghan government; there must be limits on the extent to which we engage with the Taliban.

Nazar Mohammad Motmaeen was the first speaker of this panel. His speech was in Pashto. He spoke with the question, what is the main asking of Taliban? Then said that two points are their mains asking; First expelling of the foreign forces from Afghanistan, and Second holding an Islamic government that can represent all Afghan people and respect the cultural and religious values of Afghanistan. He said that most people misunderstood Taliban. Some may think that Taliban want a Fundamental Islamic government and other may think that they want a part of the country for their own governance; but this is a wrong

understanding of Taliban because of some points. First that Taliban came and prevented from the disintegration of the country, so they never want now to disintegrate the country after all. And about war, Taliban now that they have caused so many wars in Afghanistan and based on his view he did not think that Taliban are thinking of war again in Afghanistan.

He said: “I believe that peace process must not face the achievements we had due to years. But must consolidate them. Afghanistan needs to education for its children more than any time ever and so Afghanistan needs the economic assistance of the world community. He then concluded with some quick points for the peace process in Afghanistan. First that focus on this that how many international forces are needed and how many not. Focus on this that Taliban must accept the current constitution of Afghanistan and join with them and like Hizbe- Islamic can work from inside of the government.

Robin Lynn Raphel, was the second speaker of this panel. She started her speech with focusing on this point that she was going to talk as an American Citizen and a former diplomat of the U.S government. He then continued with saying that “I won’t be the advocate within view of the United States to prioritize the peace process, needed to talk with Taliban since that was an obstacle to moving forward, and finally to put someone senior in charge, so needless to say that I was very pleased that US did that with the assigning Zalmay Khalizad, this was a hugely significant step for the United States”

She continued that the situation now is much more complicated and there are so many actors and maybe many others would come. She named countries like Iran, Russia, ISIS and so on. She had points on making the situation worse and the consequences may have for all and said that president Trump is frustrated of war in Afghanistan and this becomes the issue that is focusing on the privatizing the war in Afghanistan. And the issue that government of Afghanistan is focusing on the entering the Taliban to political system. About issue of Pakistan she said: “for the Pakistanis that I can speak for them, but I guess that has Longley concluded that strategic depth approach and insistence on a frighten government at Kabul is not realistic for them anymore, Afghanistan is now connected to the World and more than every determine to create its destiny”. She mentioned also about the political system of Pakistan, the economic crisis they have and the problems they have with the Pakistani Taliban inside that country. The last issues she was focusing on, was the issue for the people of Afghanistan. There is here speech on the people of Afghanistan. She said: “for people of Afghanistan, they have been very clear through their peace marks marches and support for the ceasefire, so they are tired of the war and want peace, so there is a moment has be created here, but despite the witness, there are still assumptions on side of the parties whether they want peace or not... I think that is really important to look at some of these assumptions that challenge them as best we can, one of the assumptions that

we have seen for the long time is on side of Taliban, that Taliban have a zone and get weight international forces and get the idea of we have the watches and we have the time, and they thought that the Afghan government will collapse if the US forces left, so they prepare the way, they are begging to rethink this how much everybody on the side of Taliban reason of that, has the US thought the Taliban as enemy and the Taliban hate Americans, Taliban support Al-Qaeda, they want to return to power to Kabul and reestablish the caliphate and turn back the women rights and all the part of the society”. She mentioned about her discussions with people and taking their ideas about Afghanistan and Pakistan interfere in Afghanistan. She offered that some points are important to be considered, like the Taliban that want respect and recognition, ending the so called foreign occupation, creating the Islam Laws and shared power and so on. Many American of course remain concerned about these issues, but the government says less about them, the Afghan government for its part wants recognition as legitimate government and be the first among equal in political negotiations, it wants respect for the constitution and continued economic military support. Pakistan for its part wants no participate withdrawal of U.S forces.

Then she concluded her remarks with these points: “so in order to get this conflicting and common goals get achieved, we need both be patient, we need to move from process to substances, all the parties need to articulate at least to themselves what their really positions could be, we need to find a way to listen to all parties, not only Taliban or government, you need to socialize the idea of peace...I need this is complicated, and I come to everybody to do their part in the chapter”.

The third speaker of this panel was Shah Gul Rezai. She spoke about the movement of Taliban. “Taliban with leaning on Jihad concept of the Islamic movements have come to this arena. Based on her point of view they were the students of Afghan illiterate mullah and fundamental Pakistanis”. She said: “the ideology of Taliban have originated from fundamental parties of Pakistan”.

She then continued that Taliban firstly have come up under the names of sacred fighters, and the undisputed soldiers of God. This concept had its own impact on the situation of that time and could attract so many youths to itself. And based on her speech Taliban firstly could bring an order to the situation of Taliban in that time in Qandahar province. Shah Gul Rezai believed that Taliban are taking advantage of Sharia. She mentioned that it is an instrumental usage of the Sharia that Taliban had during their period. She continued that the organizers of Taliban were very good aware of the situation at that time and knew that the Afghan people believe in Islamic tradition and the customs of the society. So Taliban could conquer so many places in a short course of time. Even the Council of Ulama has not given any Fatvas on the taking advantages of Taliban from Islam. Although recently some cases were seemed to be done by this council. She then said a few points about the

politics of Taliban against women. Issues like closing the girls school, hitting them, not allowing them to go out and all other restrictions that have been made by Taliban were the issues come in the speech of Shah Gul Rezai.

She then concluded by saying that, although Taliban has so many success in Afghanistan by mis-using the Islamic laws and the taking advantage of the traditional society like Afghanistan, but the reality is that they did not believe in no laws of Islam. And everything they did was only belong to themselves. So in the Talibanism thought Sharia and traditionalism are the most important factors and mediums to use for the idea of Talibanism.

The last speaker of this panel was Bushra Gohar, in here you can find most of her speech in direct form. “what we try to do, is giving legitimacy to those who masticate people here and so, I don’t believe that there is going to be much achieved from so called peace talks with the Taliban unless those who have stuck in peace are involved, and it is the people of Afghanistan, and the Pashun on the other side of Durand line, they have suffered the most, Taliban in my opinion is an anti Pashun project, it is not an independent body, that still have sets in a legitimate state within a state in Afghanistan, I agree with Ludin Saheb who said that the Afghan government tried to negotiate the release of one of Taliban leaders but it was not done, if we want to build confidence, that could be the best approach in the region to have the Afghans and Pakistanis sit together and to discuss the release of a Taliban member, but to wait for Americans and release under the circumstances that we are not aware of it faces very truly. I don’t see it a good step in the right direction, transparency is needed in making the confidence, whoever do it, people need to know, what are the circumstances, I am fully in favor of the Afghans sitting and talking in integrating the soldiers and so, but when it comes to the Taliban leaders who have the blood of the Pashtun to their hands, I think we should write a book rather than talk to, what messages are we sending, just because Americans decided that they want to leave, we pushing to certain process that none of us really know, we have not really sat and discuss, it has to be Afghan led, and we must mean it that it has to be Afghan led, we all say that it has to be Afghan led, but we all have our agendas for it, and that is not going to bring peace, we have seen Afghan youth coming out, we have seen Pashtun youth in Pakistan coming out, and they have started the peaceful storm, they are the one who are going to bring pressure, and they are the one who are stakeholder of the peace, it is the youth on both side who are now putting their agendas on the table and that is what we need and that is what we hope, it is not the kind of things that I hear from external forces pushing for so called I mean what do the Taliban want, we have to see what their sponsors want, who is supporting them? Taliban for me not an independent body, so unless we talk to the sponsors and bring them to the table, change the policies, these are what militants want to be used and we are trying to say that they have their status in peace, every day they are attacking here, this should be

quit, if they really want peace, at least they should step back and the sponsors also should step back, so in my opinion, for the Afghans, and internal debate is needed, and internal consensus is needed, what kind of peace, what do we mean by peace, what does it mean by bringing these militants on the table and who is going to talk to them, they are using the same argument that I heard yesterday from Milley, that the Afghan government is corrupted, it does not have legitimacy, they want respect for this and that, the people of Afghanistan have already demonstrated that they want constitutionalism, they want democracy, Taliban threatened the electoral process, but the people came out in large numbers to show that they are not going to be threatened or push against the war, so the people have spoken it, now I wish that the region and also the international community listen to people, do not give us these half-baked ideas, we have already tried so called peace talks, I wish we could rename that, why do you call these talks with Taliban as peace talks, the peace talks should be with the people who are the real stakeholders of the peace, not the attackers or who are killing people, so we have to move from the security centric approach to peace, we have to broaden engagement, and bring the people of Afghanistan and the Pashtun on the other side as well, because they have suffered the most from these policies, Pakistan suicide policies, when I am hearing that Pakistan is going to change those policies, I don't see it on the ground, I still think funding for corruption in Afghanistan, it is openly being said, the mosque that are announcing that they are collecting donation for corrupting in Afghanistan, now you can't have both, like what Taliban do; attack and want peace, it can't happen, but also with the regional bears, you can't have peace in your policies, you can't continue to support and ask for peace, it can't happen. I also see lots of books written on Taliban, the other day I was in one of the book stores, I can tell you, that it is an overly studied and researched, there is no academic solution to it, people are constantly say that it is a political and we have to come to the table, but what I am going to say is that the stakeholders and stakes in region should sit and talk to each other, I personally fear that whatever the so called the negotiation that is going on without the Afghan government and Afghan stakeholders, it is going to be meaningless, Pakistan has already tried these peace talks and we have all failed, only one was transparent process and that was done by my party in Swat, it was transparent, politically owned, however that failed either and so I am saying this that keep open, engage with people, start the debate, the other thing that I suggest and I don't know that it may be taken here is that the Pashtuns on both side of Durand line, have suffered the most, they have been used back in corruption in Afghanistan, there have been used as gun holders and still can be used as gun holders, we have to have a process of engagement among the Pashtuns as well from all stratus, to defined what is it that we want, we can't be just spectators to our own stratus or the kind of environment that we have, the Pashtun youth have started process and here trying to start the Pashtun leadership also to start raising certain issues, I have seen certain the Helmand peace process also that gives us hope, but I think it is very important that Pashtuns from both side sit together and because they have only seen the past fourteen years death,

displacement and lives that have been destroyed, so it can't continue, the other thing is that no compromise on the women's rights whoever is talking with these Taliban, please we are not going to accept any compromises on our behalf, what is keeping us out of this process, let us lead this process, and we will tell you what peace really means, how we have been effected, the space that women have been hoping with this all situation, so with those few comments, I feel it is human security that we should put on the Table".

Discussion Session

Motmaeen: What method will Taliban use to govern this country after withdrawal of the foreign forces?

Robin Raphyl: Do Americans really want peace in Afghanistan?

Bushra Gohar: Mrs. Gohar said that Taliban are anti-Pashtun, can you please say who did make the Pakistani Taliban and who did support them?

Mohammad Asgarkhani: Is there any peace process here? Yes or no? Is there war here? Yes, or no? is Afghanistan in the state of limbo? Yes or no?

The answers

Robin Raphyl: There are significant changes in the US policy, they are prioritizing the peace process, they put someone quite qualified in charge of this, Ambassador Khalilzad is moving around and making the introductory calls, so he is anxious to move beyond some conventional wisdom of formulations the peace process will be a long process, it has to be deliberate and the US cannot do it alone especially when there are too many players.

Nazar Mohammad Motmaeen: Actually Taliban 17 years ago had the government for 5 years, it means they have the experience of governing, they have changed and will come with the new agendas and procedures, I am sure they will keep the present structure and the fundamental issues, there will be some needs for improvements as I know, they have the experience and they will have the Islamic Emirates but it be will name of the government like the neighborhood countries. Regarding the power sharing, as I know Taliban don't not deal with the present government, but they want to be involved to the government and to be member of the coming government, if that government is acceptable by ex-Mujahidin and ex-communists then Taliban also want to be part of the politics, but not the present government which is recognized by the international community, but it is not the representative of the Afghanistan community, it is created by America and supported by America, which we cannot say that it is our government.

Bushra Gohar: I should make some comments beside answering the questions, we should differ between Taliban which is a non-state actor and Afghanistan government, Afghanistan government is a legitimate state and Taliban is an illegal movement, so they can't be equal...at the peace process the people of Afghanistan should be involved, the Taliban must be questioned, they should not be left freely as we have the experience at Pakistan... the question which was asked about the Taliban's sponsor, it is clear that Pakistan supports Taliban.

Panel VI: Afghanistan's Foreign Policy Status: Neutral, Connector or Divisive?

Moderator: Abdul Ghafoor Liwal, Advisor to the President for Borders and Tribal Affairs

Speakers

1. Nasir Ahmad Andisha, Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan "Concept of neutrality and its relevance to Afghanistan"
2. Ali Asghar Davoodi, Associate Professor, Azad Islamic University, Iran, "Role of neighboring countries, particularly Iran in stability and development of Afghanistan"
3. Ambassador Zhehong QI, President, China Institute of International Studies, China "Afghanistan's position in Belt and Road Initiative and China's regional diplomacy"
4. Professor Alexey Malashenko, Chief Researcher, Institute of the Dialogue of Civilizations, Russia/ Germany, "Moscow's view of neutrality of Afghanistan"
5. Abdullohi Rahnamo Hakim, Head of Department of Analyzing and Forecasting of Foreign Policy, Centre for Strategic Researches under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan "Afghanistan-Tajikistan Relations"

This panel made a number of insights that provide guidance for the current peace process. Mr. Andisha emphasized the importance of a proper balance of interests, particularly with the country's neighbours. Mr. Davoudi emphasized how Iran could play a bigger role if other nations, especially the US, did not have conflicting interests. Mr. Zhenhong stated that China would support an Afghan-led peace process. Prof. Malashenko stated how Russia is able to play the role of mediator in helping Afghanistan resolve its issues.

The first speaker of this panel was Mr. Andisha. He spoke on the issue of neutrality. He said: “The old version of neutrality regarding to this concept I have read three case studies, basically historical case studies of Switzerland, Austria and Laos, Switzerland and Austria are two successful cases but Laos is a failed case then, I contrast this three cases on the base of same state which are worthier right now. They are frontline of great part of conflicts”. He then continued to say “I contrast two all cases and a few new cases that we can learn from them, the assumptions that this study “old version of neutrality functioned as conflict resolution tool throughout the history including the cold war”.

Dr. Andisheh Said: “New neutrality- a framed and adopted version of this policy- could serve the needs of the 21th century world order and hopefully prevent the re-emergence of what is termed as the “New Cold War”. This pursuit will enable policy makers to further explore the feasibility of reframing, adopting and applying a policy of new neutrality as an attempt to maintain order in the Zone of conflict among great powers in our time. A number of strategically located small and worthier state that is basically the first definition of a candidate for neutrality. Strategically located and small and worthier state. Where the possibility of policy to prevent neutrality and meant of preventing confrontation and maintaining stability in the balance of power and have made the consolation. Afghanistan and Georgia are the most extensively discussed of these new neutral balance. Assumption is that, the main ingredient of conflict in Afghanistan and Georgia is from negative competition among external powers and that finally au makeable solution to address this concerns of the external forces to lead stability and prosperity in both countries. So it really does not consider much the domestic factors”.

Mr. Andisheh talked about internal and external factors caused this issue. The external factors of the determinacy:

1. The base on geopolitics and that is an appropriate geopolitical position in politics.
2. Appropriate external condition balance of power and military summit.

In Internal factors, he mentioned the following points:

1. Domestic stability.
2. Capability of economic.

The state respect neutrality and non-state would not do it. He said: “I did research on Pakistan and Afghanistan. I asked people regarding to attacks on Afghanistan, crossing border and indulgencies. Some people said yes and some people said depends on and third group said event if we want, we would not be able”. Even if we have treaty of neutrality. The last and most important one is countered and ideological new neutrality; he then continued his speech on Islam and the role of this religion in neutrality, he believed that there is even neutrality in Islam.

He concluded his speech with this issue: “In my opinion and the conclusion of my speech is that the best policy for Afghanistan is that we can recognize the legitimate interest of neighborhoods and international partners but we as afghan government have to be able to institutionalize the balance of interest not the balance of power, the balance of interests of this regional actors and should go on with this, when we are invited in meeting like this we have to be responsible”.

Ali Asghar Davoudi, was the second speaker of this panel. Mr. Davoudi mainly spoke about Iran and its role in reconstruction of Afghanistan. Mr. Davaoudi said that Iran and Afghanistan, despite the heterogeneity of their interests in some cases, can use the regionalism theories to define a common definition of the identities and norms, governing their own foreign relations. He mentioned that it is the countries inside the region that should try to rehabilitate Afghanistan. He continued with the shared history that these two countries have, and in case there have been a conflict, undermined the relation of two countries.

He said: “I believe that if the interests of Iran were not in conflict with other powers, especially the Western powers, especially the United States, perhaps Iran could have played a much more effective role in Afghanistan's peace and stability”. He also focused on the security problem of Afghanistan that with securing Afghanistan the situation of Iran would be better. In this case he mentioned the point that “The war in Afghanistan is often referred to as the continuation of the rivalry, hostility and security dynamics of the countries of the region that we see in Afghanistan. It means that the most insecurities in Afghanistan is under the prevailing contradictions between India and Pakistan, Iran with the United States, Iran with the Gulf States and other countries”. He then continued that how the nuclear deal of Iran with the western countries and the withdrawal of U.S may effect on the situation of Afghanistan and the role of Iran that would be decreased in this case.

In case of the development he mentioned that both countries have shared religion and cultural background, so in modernization they may need some ways to proceed, like: increasing employment and ensuring economic capability, in order to participate in political-economic processes. He then said that Iran must avoid some issues regarding Afghanistan; First, exporting the political ideology; second, eliminating anti-Afghan sentiments with country; and respecting the refugees and help to better their situation.

He then concluded his speech with saying four areas that Iran may help and work for Afghanistan. “Economy: Iran and Afghanistan have been good economic partners since the fall of the Taliban and are expected to expand in the near future. Since 2002. Iran can use its normative power to provide patterns of Islam. Considering the national interests of

Iran in controlling the various forms of Sunni and Shia individualism, as well as the Salafist and Takfiri ideologies in the region, can help somehow in the countries that are in danger. Iran's monopoly protections from Shiite communities in Afghanistan have put them at risk. Iran could manifest its interests in supporting the Hazara group in another way. Indeed, Iran can revise its policy on the religious issues of Afghanistan, and by this revision they can be somewhat safe from the ISIL invasions in Afghanistan; and the last issue is the revival of Iran's culture and power. Unfortunately, the Islamic Republic has more emphasis on ideology, it has more to talk about supporting Shiite groups in Afghanistan, reviving Iran's soft power can be based on Iran's Persia as a civilization identity rather than an anti-Semitism and Shiite and anti-Western monopoly on national security policy and Iran's foreign policy is based”.

The third speaker of this panel was Professor. Qi Zhenhong. He spoke about the history and then with four main issues.

Firmly supporting Afghanistan`s political reconciliation. Under this matter, he mentioned that the Afghan-led, Afghan-owned peace process is something that Chinese will also support that and even strengthening that. He then continued on the Kabul process and the impact this process may have on the peace issues within Afghanistan. He then said: “China also calls for operations in accordance with relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly to be conducted by the Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) of Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and the United States to promote the realization of peace negotiations between the Afghan government and the Taliban at an early date.”

Firmly supporting Afghanistan`s peace and reconstruction. The second issues that Pro. Qi Zhenhong has focused on, was the issue of peace and reconstruction. He stressed that China is committed to support Afghanistan through its own way on the issue of reconstrution. He also, under this matter mentioned that China is committed to encourage those who can support Afghanistan within the country. He said: “We anticipate that political parties within Afghanistan could bridge their differences to jointly promote national development. Meanwhile, in order to counter terrorism and transnational crimes such as drugs smuggling, the Chinese side will keep coordinating within the international society, enhancing the capacity building of Afghan National Security Forces for national security and strengthening Afghanistan`s self-defense and anti-terrorism capabilities”.

The third issue that he mainly talked under his title was about the Firmly supporting Afghanistan-Pakistan mutual understanding and cooperation. he indicated the role of China on the trilateral meetings and cooperation between China-Pakistan and Afghanistan.

And the fourth and last issue he denoted was on Firmly supporting Afghanistan`s integration into regional development. He said: “In accordance with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly, China is determined to improve the economic cooperation and interconnectivity in this region and facilitate Afghanistan`s integration into the regional trend of development through the promotion of the Belt and Road Initiative.”

He concluded his speech with an emphasize on the role of China in rebuilding Afghanistan he the said that China will remain firm in enhancing practical cooperation with Afghanistan and providing further assistance for its peace and reconstruction within its capacity so as to deepen and consolidate our bilateral strategic partnership.

Professor Alexey Malashenko, was the fourth speaker of this panel. He started his speech with questioning the Neutrality. What can be and where can be found? And he is that he is pessimistic to this idea. Then he continued about the Russian vision of Neutrality. His speech comes after: "I think Russia has no such vision. I try to speak about the relation between Russia and Afghanistan. First of all, Russia is becoming more active in the Muslim World in general. Look at Egypt, Syria and so on...and could we put Afghanistan in that frame of Russia political course in Muslim World. It is problem, why is it a problem? Because rarely you hear at Moscow about the development of Russia-Afghanistan relations. But there are two points. First, I doubt that Russia is able to impact on Afghanistan situation. Second, don't you feel that Russia wants to be irresponsible in Afghanistan situation? It does not want and it cannot. But still. So that is why, even in some Moscow mass media you can see some articles that the authors argue that let Americans be in Afghanistan, let them be responsible. We at Russia could feel the situation, also we have to recognize that Russia has no real instruments to impact and to do something. What Russia is able to perform is mediation. Russia wants to be a mediator. In a way, we can remark this in a lot of the situations in the world. Russia pretends to play the same rule, successfully or unsuccessfully. It depends on the situation. Here when talking in Afghanistan, we should recognize the Russian activity and Russian relations with the Taliban. By the way, why not? The United States, Europe try to construct the position of Taliban. I met some of them or multi of them.

Besides we should recognize that Russia has the experience of how to deal and work with Islamic radicals. Don't forget about the relations between Russia and Hamas at Palestine. Sometimes the Hamas members come to Moscow as they come to their house and nothing happens. As usual, you may read that interest of Taliban sometimes coincide with the interest of Russia in the field of fight against the Islamic State, but I think that presence of Islamic State has been used by Russia to show how important Moscow's political and military presence is at central Asia.

This could be a good practice, while I am here, maybe some of the Jihadist and members of Islamic States have some interest at Central Asia and at short time we may see destabilization and political problems at central Asia, the problems will come from Moscow or the Islamic States, it will have local problems and will be local problems, and this is normal, so when they say in Russia that problem is coming from Islamic State, they exaggerate it. By the way, the similar official explanation of Moscow, I think Putin or someone else was talking about the situation in the Caucasia, he was telling that we should get ready for Islamist, Islamic Terrorism, but they never talk about the economic and social situation.

In case of economic cooperation, I think that yesterday Barnett Rubin said that Russia

subsidies Afghanistan for ten years, I don't know and it is possible, but they take money from my pocket. Believe me that Russian society step by step begins to be against such kind of assistance; don't forget that we are the Soviet Union. Russia is a poor country. Of course the relations between Afghanistan and Russia will develop, but there should not be exaggeration, instead, they must have a mutual understanding. Russia is unable in doing lots of things, not comparable with the Soviet time, in Russia the society and even the political establishment finally understood that it is more productive and important not to see Afghanistan like Bashar Al-Asad, but because of ourselves, and it will effect on our foreign policy”.

Abdullohi Rahnamo Hakim, was the last speaker of this panel. Mr. Ranamo with giving of a question about the issue of Afghanistan started his speech and then listed a number of points regarding Afghanistan.

1. The internal level of the Afghan crisis.
2. The regional level of the Afghan crisis.
3. The great geopolitical and international levels of the Afghan crisis: Afghanistan's crisis has now become the arena for confronting the interests of major regional and global powers. In this process, Afghanistan is also gaining ground in the proximity of other areas of influence.
4. The economic and energy aspects of the Afghan crisis
5. The ideological side of the Afghan crisis: Confronting different worldviews and even among the Islamists
6. The Ethnical and Cultural Aspects of the Afghan Crisis: In the last two decades, ethnic, religious and cultural struggles have been taken seriously in the Afghan crisis.
7. The security aspect of the Afghan crisis: The continuation of the long and big crisis in Afghanistan will affect the security of all its neighbors in Central Asia and South Asia, but also far more, will have direct impact.

He then said that crisis of Afghanistan has special impact on the central Asian Countries. “The long-standing crisis in Afghanistan has made Central Asia a major part of the wider international trend, it will make history of Central Asia's political and security status completely different in international politics”. He mentioned that the crisis of neighboring countries have caused to have the internal security on the top of the internal policies. He then said “The Afghan crisis has prevented the real political, economic, and cultural ties between Central Asian countries with the South”.

The main policies of the Republic of Tajikistan are as follows:

- Realistic Neighborhood;
- Supporting Unity of Afghanistan;
- The necessity of regional and international agreement;
- Refrain from ideological, ethnic, and local politics;
- Afghanistan as Security Partner;
- Socio-Economic Revival of Afghanistan preference.

Discussion Session

Andisha: how can you describe the issue of neutrality in this globalized world?

Davoudi: How can we talk about tolerance, while we have not created a united political ideology in the three Islamic republic we have in Asia?

Haqpanah: in your idea, geopolitically Afghanistan is a western Asian country, southern Asian? Or so; and what will be the consequence of this kind of politics you are following?

Pro. Qi: why are not you have serious action on the Chabahar project, which is in the benefit of Afghanistan?

All members: is there an access currently, which does everything it can to prevent this stable relation between Iran and neighboring countries?

The answers

Andisha: in order to have a short answer for the question referred to me, the both issues will come in my book soon and you can find the answers.

Rahnoma: to the question of Mr. Arezo. We in our foreign policy experience, we obviously know that no country like Iran, Saudi or others and not the bigger countries, do not have clear and realistic policy for us. Each has its own benefits in our country. So this is important for our foreign policy to bring a balance and keep our physical existence in this conflict of interests. We do not have politics in a vacuum, we have politics in a region where China, Russia, America and other are fighting; so implementing our politics in such a region is success.

Davoudi: Islam is a religion with the potential of taking so many interpretations to it. There are so many interpretations of that. It is natural that Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, each has its own interpretation and make its own policy based on that interpretation of Islam. But about Iran, there is also a kind of Persian understanding of politics.

Professor. Qi: Due to so many discussions we heard that Afghanistan is suffering a lot; there is always a question in my mind that, what is the real intention? And it is for your own benefits or Afghanistan's peace, stability and prosperity. I think all parties should reflect on it, otherwise we cannot reach a consensus; and always blame each other. In all projects, we should firstly bring a regional consensus on that.

Malansheko: There can be only one corridor and that is all.

Concluding Panel: The Way Forward: Do we need a Second Bonn Conference/Process?

Moderator: Lutfullah Najafizada, TOLO

Speakers

1. Mohammad Natiqi, Spokesperson of Political Parties Coalition, "Can a second Bonn conference address the current crisis?"
2. David Sedney, Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA, "Washington's view of peace and settlement in Afghanistan and prospects of US-Afghanistan relations"
3. Ajmal Ahmadi, Economic Advisor to President, Afghanistan, "Does Afghanistan have a National Economic Strategy?"

This session made a number of suggestions that implicate the peace process. Mr. Natiqi mentioned how a stronger government, elected through a better system, would be better able to negotiate with the Taliban. Mr. Sedney emphasized that the US will have continued interactions with Afghanistan for years to come. Mr. Ahmadi emphasized how security resources are greatly lacking in the country and, thus, there needs to be a transformation in the realm of security.

Mohammad Natiqi was the first speaker of this panel. He spoke about the need for another Bonn conference. He said: "We must consider the conditions of the two periods of time. We participated in the Bonn Conference in December 2001 and agreed for the political system in three stages: Temporarily Administration, Transitional Period and Elected Administration. These three issues have been the essence of the Bonn Conference". He mentioned that at that time the world community was united on the issue of Afghanistan and now the world is not united and there is no one voice on the problem of Afghanistan. Based on the problems that Afghanistan has in the region, he was pessimistic for another

Bonn conference. He believe the reason is due to the controversy that exists between countries in the region and the world on the Afghanistan's problem.

Secondly, in 2001 Afghanistan agreed on establishing the temporary administration by sending strong delegation to Bonn with Professor Rabbani, but in his view such an agreement will not take place now. So he said that there are internal and international problems.

He continued his speech by giving the solutions and said: I think there are two solutions, the first is elections. In this issue, we have as a general assembly of 35 general political parties, we presented a plan for the election that should be containing three issues: Changing of electoral system, the current Non-transferable electoral system is Anti-Party, Anti-Justice and Anti Democracy and the second is using technology. Unfortunately, foreigners who are in Afghanistan are anti-party elections". He said by changing the method of elections the Parties will be empowered and the corruption will be decreased, then such a government can negotiate with Taliban. The second solution he gave was at the time the elections would not work, the by negotiation with Taliban and sharing the power with them, they will go further.

He then concluded: "Therefore, we do not emphasize the second Bon conference because of regional and global disputes, we consider the way of elections as a logical and rational way, and if we do not go to elections, we may move towards the temporary administration and the Taliban should be involved".

Professor. David Sedney was the second speaker of this panel and spoke on the issue of Washington's view on the Peace and settlement of Afghanistan. Sedney started his speech with the issue that whatever the platform is and whatever we say about the platforms for the Afghan government, this the Afghans who have to decide that and make their own policies and society. He continued with the question that does United states have any interests? And answered, Very definitely. In the following the expanded idea of David Sedney comes regarding the question. since 1950s, Afghanistan has been one of the most recipient of United States assistance, first, economically, and then later, militarily, and ups and down of the history, but one thing from perspective of an American who is now an analyst, I think it is quite clear that U.S role in Afghanistan for various geopolitical reasons, over the last nearly seventy years, has been fairly constant, it was a large and huge part of U.S assessments it has not an overriding national priority, but US has been constantly there, and I think that is an important messages in terms of general topics, any advice on the future of Afghanistan in term of political saying I think I should not get in and I think those who are coming from outside of Afghanistan...if you look at history of last seventy years, you will see that United States has acted very active in Afghanistan, you can criticize what

the United States done, many people in U.S criticize us, but one thing I think is very in interest, base your policies on some ideas that United States is going to withdraw from Afghanistan, pull up from Afghanistan, ignore Afghanistan, I know that people of Afghanistan...again look at history, at US national interest that US is international actor, that has national interest in every corner of the world, its interests in Afghanistan have been larger than any other countries...so for any other international actor, whether be Pakistan, Iran, Russia, China, India to base future policies that U.S will be ignoring Afghanistan, that U.S will not find Afghanistan very important, I think it will be strategically mistake. that is strategically mistake. If the U.S want to pull out from Afghanistan; but that is it, and this is always hard for audiences from many different countries, there is no such thing that especially today as the United States' view, there are a number of different views in the United States, there is a continuing contest between different points of views, between different policies, between different parties, the visions inside the United States are almost everywhere, including domestic, international politics, in my opinion have sharper and stronger of last twenty years, the visions that exist, they are sharp and strong, but the result of the last seventy years has been a continuing U.S interaction in Afghanistan, that sometimes has been positive, sometimes has been negative and sometime has been complicated. my prediction for the view of Washington is that the U.S is continue to be a major actor and my advice for all those are making policies for the government is that United States is going to continue to interact, I think there was some confusions earlier, my colleague Ambassador Raphyl made some comments on that U.S views of Afghanistan's constitution and role of women, I don't think she necessarily meant this way, but I talked with people and people took away from that statement that U.S is walking away from constitution and walking away from supporting the role of the women that they have achieved, many cases through their own references through last several decades, I took the opportunity to check that U.S government and the answer is that United States is not walking away from Afghanistan constitution and assume that not giving up the supporting of Afghan women in terms of official positions. Now everyone has his/her own view and Ambassador Raphyl, I don't say that what you have said, but that is what people think that you have said, and what people think that you have said is actually much important than what you said, I do want to stress that and clear for the women who are here, that U.S of support for the right of Afghan women in all talks with the Taliban, in all discussions of peace with them, said that US is not going to abandon the role of women, I am not speaking for the U.S government except in this case, I have checked that with U.S government, because people came to me.

Ajmal Ahmadi was the last speaker of the concluding panel. His speech was mainly rotating on three pillars. First, the elections, second is economic, and third, the security issues.

He mentioned points on the last parliamentary elections took place in Afghanistan. He said that for some reasons the last elections was successful for Afghans. First, that elections took place, second, the acceptance of the result by political party that all their grievances have been addressed. Third, that Afghans out of nine million, four millions have come to vote. Fourth, that the security has taken by afghan forces and in some cases there were actualities, but not like the other years. And fifth that the in this elections the biometric system has been used for the registration of the voter. The second issue he had his speech on, was the issue of economy. He said a number of points regarding the economic situation that have been raised due to last years. The points were basically on: First, paving the way for easier business starting and reducing the tax. He then said: “and the one last area which I touch in economic growth is the area of middle sector, here we all see the reports that Afghanistan has more than trillion dollars resources, we have never been able to realize that potential, the reason for that is that we have had poor legislative and regulative framework, earlier this year, we approved the new mining roadmap, and just last week we approved the new mining law, as result of this, we signed three mining deals last month, and these deals have jumpstarted investment into mining sector and we think that further deals will be coming”.

The last point of his issues was the point of security. In security also he mentioned a number of thing he said that “I think one thing that Afghan government has not been sufficient for is the structure reforms within the security area, let me highlight that please. First, our goal is tripling our air forces and doubling our especial forces within the next few years, this really produces the structure transformation in terms of how can we project powers in Afghanistan, I think not many people fully realize that through past few years we had shivery constrained in terms of force projection because our helicopters have been shifted from MI7,35 to new black Hawks, and journey from that transition, we have not been able to support our troops in broad areas as much as we hoped, I think that we are going to see those changes. Another one is where we have shifted our helicopters from ministry of interior to ministry of defense, I think ministry of interior affairs during the past years have been engaged in dual banding; counter terrorism and policing, what we have done is that we have created a structure by which ministry of interior focusing on policing and ministry of defense the banding for counter terrorism and security issues, so with that, I want to highlight these three areas; First in terms of successes of elections, second in terms of economic reforms and third in terms of transformation within the security areas”.

Discussion Session

Ajmal Ahmadi: My question is regarding the presidential elections, if there will be the presidential election at 2019, does it mean that there will be other federal elections to give the new president a comfortable majority or will he work with this model?

Ajmal Ahamdi: talked about the success of the last parliamentary election due to the using of biometric, biometric must have server and online connection, how do you claim that the offline usages of biometric was successful?

Ajmal Ahmadi: How many economic policies do we have?

The answer

Ajmal Ahmadi: the first question which was about the election, I said that we have made a framework for the elections to be successful, there were challenges, the first reason that I say that it was a successful elections: we had extremely high turnout, the second: the security was managed and executed by the Afghan security forces. Third, regarding the technology at the elections, if they had some problems, it is acknowledgeable, but this is a step to the right direction, regarding the biometric which was offline, on the checking process they go online.

About Mr. Osmani's question, I think he is right, the whole economic strategy is not clear, but the important thing is the implementation of the projects, that we do our best to implement the TAPI, KASA1000 and other projects.

Note of Thanks of Director of AISS

At the end of this two-days annual conference, Director of AISS, Dr. Davood Moradian, thanked all the participants that have endeavored to participate in this annual conference. He added “ this year we had the seventh HSD, as you may know that the NO`7` is a sacred number to most of the civilizations, for instance: 7 skies, 7 floors of heaven, 7 floors of hell, 7 level in Music, 7 days of the week and so on”. He said if we talk about the renaissance, 600 years ago, Behzad the painter, Jami the Sufi, used to sit in Herat Citadel and worked together, as Micheal Berry revived 600 years ago for us and this shows the dynamics of this land”. He continued his speech on the content of the conference; “in these two days we have heard so many critics, especially from Afghan participants about the problems, corruption, lack of planning, insecurity and so on; the issues that is considered less in the lectures, are two things, first the freedom we have in Afghanistan. This means we did not have this freedom in last 100 year, to speak in presence of Governor, the high

profile authorities, people would come and criticize the government easily. We should keep the value of this phenomenon. And the second is about the legitimacy of this system; on one side the legitimacy of this government has so many problems, but we have the sense of ownership to our government; we have so many critics of all parts of the government; but at the end, they are all from us. So we have this right to criticize ourselves. We can see that with so many threats, lack of planning, the people participated in the elections; this shows that people and the political elite of Afghanistan want the success of this government and post Taliban political process and system. So those who heard all these critics, these are for the betterment of the government/system, as we want to have a better society”. At the end, he thanked once again the participants and he also thanked AISS’s financial supporters – namely the Embassies of the USA, India, France and the Asia Foundation for their generous financial support to the conference; while respecting AISS’ independence in planning and managing the conference. He concluded by extending special appreciation to the people of Herat for their patience and superb hospitality as well as the tireless efforts of the Afghan government and security forces in extending their full support and contribution to the better and secure organizing the conference. The 8th Herat Security Dialogue will tentatively be held on 17-18 October 2019.

Annex 1: Short Bios of the Presenters and Moderators

Abdullah Ahmadzai



Abdullah Ahmadzai is The Asia Foundation's County Representative in Afghanistan. He served as the Deputy Country Representative from 2012 to 2014. He was formerly Chief Electoral Officer for the Independent Election Commission (IEC) of Afghanistan. Prior to his position with the IEC, from June 2006 to October 2009, Ahmadzai worked with the Foundation, serving under the Support to Center of Government project in Afghanistan. Between 2004 and 2006, he held positions with the UN under the Joint Electoral Management Body Secretariat (JEMBS), first as an Area Manager and then as Chief of Operations.

From 2003-2004, Ahmadzai was actively involved with the Afghanistan Constitution Commission which was mandated by the 2001 Bonn Agreement to draft a new constitution for the country. Under the Commission, he assisted with the Emergency Loya Jirga and later the drafting of the constitution which was formally adopted in January 2004. He has a Bachelor's degree in Information Technology from Brains Degree College in Peshawar, Pakistan, in addition to several workshop certificates earned through Harvard and Georgetown Universities, and the International Foundation for Electoral Services.

Abdul Ghafoor Liwal



Abdul Ghafoor Liwal is the Special Advisor to the President of National Unity Government for Tribal and Border Affairs. Prior to this, he worked as a Deputy Minister of Tribal and Border Affairs. He has a Bachelor's Degree in Literature from Kabul University and two Masters, one in Journalism from Maryland University (2004-2005), and another in Pashtu from Kabul University in 2008. He is fluent in Pashtu, Farsi and English. He has published numerous papers in national and international publications.

Mahmoda Sonia Eqbal



Mahmoda Sonia Eqbal is the country director of Open Society Afghanistan. Sonia brings a depth of knowledge and experience from across different sectors in Afghanistan. She has over a decade of experience in management as well as research and evaluation and has worked with several national and international organizations.

Sonia holds a BA in Peace Studies and International Politics from Juniata College and earned an MA in Political Science, Post War Recovery and Development from the University of York, where she held a Chevening fellowship from the Open Society Institute. In 2013, she was elected chair of Afghanistan 1400, the Afghan youth political movement, and has also served as its secretary general and as an elected member of the council.

Afrasiab Khattak



Afrasiab Khattak was born in a small village known as Mandoori Khaderkhal. After receiving early education from Kohat, Khattak was admitted to the Peshawar University There, Khattak obtained a bachelor's degree in Russian history and a BSc in Political Science During this time, Khattak was also the student leader at the local university union and took active participation during his college times.

During this time, Khattak became an active member of Communist party of Pakistan. He was an active leftist politician during the 1970s and 1980s. Khattak spent many years in self-exile in Afghanistan during the 1980s, due to his strong opposition to General Zia-ul-Haq's military rule. After his return from Afghanistan, Khattak contested the general elections from Karak in 1990 but lost to Aslam Khattak.

Ajmal Ahmadi



Mr. Ajmal Ahmady is the Senior Economic Advisor to President Ashraf Ghani. He has a MBA from Harvard Business School, a Master of Economics and Public Administration from the Harvard Kennedy School, and a Bachelors in Mathematics and Economics from UCLA. He previously spent eight years in the asset management industry investing in global macro, emerging markets, and corporate strategies for some of the largest asset managers in the world. He has also worked for Booz Allen Hamilton, the World Bank, an EM private equity group, the US Treasury Department and the Afghan Ministry of Finance.

Alexey Malashenko



Alexey Malashenko is a former chair of the Carnegie Moscow Center's Religion, Society, and Security Program. Malashenko also taught at the Higher School of Economics from 2007 to 2008 and was a professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations from 2000 to 2006. From 1976 to 1982 and again from 1986 to 2001, Malashenko worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences as a research fellow, head of the Islamic Department, and finally as senior associate. In 1990, he was also a visiting professor at Colgate University in New York. From 1982 to 1986, he was editor of the journal Problems of Peace and Socialism.

Malashenko is a professor of political science as well as a member of the RIA Novosti advisory council. He serves on the editorial boards of the journals Central Asia and the Caucasus and Acta

Eurasica and the newsletter Russia and the Muslim World and is a board member of the International Federation for Peace and Conciliation.

Ali Ahmad Osmani



Ali Ahmad Osmani was born in 1971 in Herat. He has a Master's Degree in Dam Construction from Mashhad University. Osmani served as the Minister of Water and Power in the National Unity Government. He is a founder member of the Steering Committee of Private Universities Association. He was elected as a Deputy of International Sustainable Energy Organization in 2018 and Head of Afghanistan Committee for Dam Construction in 2017. He has chaired several panels on Energy and Water Resources and Sustainable Development in international conferences.

Ali Asghar Davoodi



Ali Asghar Davoodi has a PhD Degree in Political Sociology. He has more than 25 years of teaching experience in Iran and Afghanistan. Currently, he is faculty of Islamic Azad University, Mashhad Branch; Head of Department of Political Science, Islamic Azad University, Afghanistan Branch; and Chancellor of Islamic Azad University, Turbat-e Jam Branch. He has published five books and 35 Journal papers. Davoodi is member of four associations: Iran Political Science Association, Iran Sociology Association, Iran Geopolitics Association, and Iran and Afghanistan Friendship Association.

Barnett Rubin, Dr.



Barnett R. Rubin is a Senior Fellow at New York University's Center on International Cooperation, where he also directs the Afghanistan-Pakistan Regional Project. From April 2009 until October 2013, Dr. Rubin was the senior adviser to the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan at the U.S. Department of State. He previously served as special advisor to the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General for Afghanistan, during the negotiations that produced the Bonn Agreement. He subsequently advised the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan on the drafting of the constitution of Afghanistan, the Afghanistan Compact and the Afghanistan National Development Strategy.

Rubin is the author of *Afghanistan from the Cold War through the War on Terror* (2013) and has written numerous articles and book reviews on Afghanistan, South and Central Asia, U.S. foreign policy, conflict prevention, state formation and human rights. His articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New Yorker*, *Survival*, *International Affairs*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Review of Books*, as well as several academic journals.

Bushra Gohar



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.

Carol Christine Fair



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 previously served as a senior political scientist with the RAND Corporation, a political officer with the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul, and a senior research associate at USIP's Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention. She has served as a Senior Fellow at West Point's Combating Terrorism Center, a Senior Resident Fellow at the Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis (New Delhi) and will take up a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship in the spring of 2017. Her research focuses on political and military affairs in South Asia (Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka). Her most recent book is *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War* (Oxford University Press). Additionally, she has authored, co-authored and co-edited several books, including *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), *Policing Insurgencies: Cops as Counterinsurgents* (Oxford University Press, 2014); *Political Islam and Governance in Bangladesh* (Routledge, 2010); *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations in Sacred Spaces* (Oxford University Press, 2008); *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan* (USIP, 2008), and *The Cuisines of the Axis of Evil and Other Irritating States* (Globe Pequot, 2008), among others. Her current book project is *Lashkar-e-Taiba: In its Own Words*.

David Samuel Sedney



David Sedney is a Senior Associate (non-resident) with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. He was the Acting President of the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF) 2016-7. He is an independent analyst/commentator on national security and foreign policy and has appeared on CNN, BBC, PBS, Al Jazeera, VOA, and Public Radio International. His views have been published in the New York Times, Washington Post, Newsweek, Time, The Guardian, Business Week and other media. Mr. Sedney has testified before the U.S. Congress and been a speaker at think tanks and academic institutions. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia (2009-2013) and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia (2007-2009). He was Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing (2004-2007), after service as DCM at U.S. Embassies in Kabul and in Baku. Earlier he served as a U.S. diplomat abroad and in Washington and was detailed twice to the National Security Council. He is on Board of Trustees of the American University of Afghanistan and a member of the Board of Advisors of the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies.

Ehsan Zia



Minister Zia is the pioneer of Peacebuilding & Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan. Back in 1993 he attended a three months course on conflict resolution in Birmingham UK and soon after return to Pakistan he organized a two weeks training in Swat for the staff of NGOs working in Afghanistan. During this training Zia promoted the idea of establishing a local organization to pursue the capacity development of Afghanistan people on conflict resolution and peacebuilding. His efforts led to the birth of Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU). In this position he led CPAU's involvement in the development of local capacities for peace and the promotion of peace building and human rights at the community level that is now an active NGO in the area of peacebuilding conflict resolution in Afghanistan. Zia served as chairperson of Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU) from 1996-2001. As a Minister of the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development Zia integrated peacebuilding conflict resolution and do no harm into the policies and programming of the ministry and organized extensive capacity development of the MRRD staff in this area.

Gautama Mukhopadhaya



He has been Ambassador of India to Syria, Afghanistan and Myanmar. He has also worked in the United Nations Headquarters in New York as a Consultant on Social Development and has been a Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was born on May 24, 1956 and studied in Delhi University in India.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1980, and has served in various capacities in Indian Embassies in Mexico, France, Cuba, Afghanistan and Syria, the UN Mission in New York City and the Ministry of External Affairs and Ministry of defense, in India. He has also worked in the UN Headquarters in New York as a Consultant on Social Development. He re-opened the Indian Embassy in Kabul in

November 2001 after the new regime took over in Afghanistan. His father B. Mukhopadhaya was a very famous doctor of his times in Bihar.

Hakim Abdullohi Rahnamo, Dr



Dr. Hakim Abdullohi Rahnamo is Head of the Department on Analysis and Foreign Policy Perspectives (Vision) of the Center for Strategic Researchers under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan. He is an expert of the issues related to Central Asia including Afghanistan.



Irgashev Ismatulla Irgashev

Mr. Ismatulla Irgashev was born on September 24, 1960 in Tashkent city. He graduated from Tashkent State University in the specialty of “Orientalist-philologist, teacher of Farsi and English language” (1982). From 1982 to 1984, he served in the Soviets army in Afghanistan. After independence of Republic of Uzbekistan, he served in different capacities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Uzbekistan. Since May 24, 2017, he is Special Representative of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan for Afghanistan. He speaks Persian, English and Turkish and he is

married and has five children.

Jawed Ludin, Ambassador



Jawed Ludin is an Afghan entrepreneur and former diplomat. He was formerly deputy minister of foreign affairs and chief of staff to the President of Afghanistan. With over 20 years of professional experience and a diverse career, Ludin currently runs a number of private sector initiatives between Kabul, Dubai and London. Ludin entered politics in Afghanistan in the year 2003 and served in various high level positions in the Afghan Government over the years, including as Presidential Spokesman (2003-2005), Chief of Staff to President Karzai (2005-2007) and Deputy Foreign Minister (2011-2013). His diplomatic experience includes serving as Afghanistan's Ambassador for the Nordic Countries (2007-2009) and for Canada

(2009-2011).

Ludin has written on Afghanistan for UK-based publications, notably the Guardian, and is the co-author of a book on conflict management strategies 'Working with Conflict', He is fluent in Dari, Pashto and English, and also speaks some French and Hindi. Ludin is married and has four daughters.

Lotfullah Najafizada



Lotfullah Najafizada, 30, 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, TIME Magazine's title of Next Generation Global Leader and Forbes magazine 30 under 30 Asia influencers in media. He's a former fellow with the World Press Institute, the Asia Society and the Rumsfeld Foundation. He has a BSc in Economics. He's married and lives in Kabul.

Mariam Safi



Mariam Safi is the founding director of Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies (DROPS). She was honored by the Diplomatic Courier media network as one of their Top Global Women in 2014 for her contribution to the research community in Afghanistan. She is a member of the FES Afghanistan Policy Group, a Senior Fellow at the Institute of National Security Studies in Sri Lanka, and an alumna at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies and a local peace-building expert for Peace Direct. Ms. Safi has an MA in International Peace Studies from the United States.

Dr Michael Barry



Born in New York City in 1948 and raised in France to American parents based in Paris (with UNESCO), Dr Michael Barry is an internationally recognized scholar in Islamic art and civilization. Dr Barry holds higher degrees in Arabic and Persian studies and social anthropology from Princeton University (USA), Cambridge University (Great Britain), McGill University (Canada), and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (France). After teaching for sixteen years at his alma mater Princeton in the United States, Dr Barry has now been serving since autumn 2017 as the Distinguished University Professor at the American University of Afghanistan.

M. Nazif Shahrani



M. Nazif Shahrani is a professor of anthropology and of Central Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. Shahrani has had research and teaching positions at several American Universities, including Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the University of Nevada-Reno, Stanford University, and UCLA, before moving to Indiana University in 1990. He was also a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institution (1997–98). He teaches in the departments of Anthropology, Central Eurasian Studies, and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures departments at Indiana University. He has conducted extensive field research in Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan and Uzbekistan.

Mohammad Naser Timory



Mr. Timory joined Integrity Watch as a researcher in January 2015 and was part of National Integrity System Assessment (2015), Community Score Card of Kabul Municipality (2016), Scoping Study of Construction Sector Transparency Initiative (2016) and Fighting Corruption in Afghanistan: Solving the Institutional Puzzle (2016). He was previously Adjunct Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Herat University and has taught for more than five years. Mr. Timory has a BA in Philosophy from Fergusson College (Pune) and completed his post-graduate studies in International Relations from South Asian University (New Delhi).

Mohammad Natiqi



Mohammad Natiqi was born in 1954. He was one of the participants of Bonn Conference on Afghanistan in 2001. Following that, he served as the Ambassador of Afghanistan to Libya from 2003 to 2008. Subsequent to that he worked as an advisor for West Asia and North Africa Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Currently, he is the head of High Level Commission on Overseeing the Implementation of the National Unity Government Agreement.

Nadir Naeem



Nadir Naeem is Deputy Chairman at High Peace Council. He was born 1965 and is the son of the late king's daughter Princess Mariam and former king's grandson. Prince Nadir launched the "Voice of the People" movement at a People's Jirga (traditional assembly of tribal elders) March 2013, following four years of "informal" consultations with the Afghan people. Nadir, returned to Afghanistan as his grandfather's private secretary in 2003 - after more than 20 years in exile in the UK.

On October 6, Prince Nadir announced his candidacy for the 2014 Afghan presidential elections.

Naheed Farid



Naheed is currently a member of the International Relations Committee in Parliament. She previously served as a temporary secretary of the Wolesi Jirga, or lower house. Naheed Farid earned a Bachelor's degree in Law and Politics from Herat University. Two years (2010) later she was awarded her Master's degree in International Relations from the George Washington University in the United States.

Her background includes work for different NGOs and the World Food Program (WFP). She still runs the family Farid Foundation, which, according to her, has provided stationery and clothes to 70,000 school children in Herat. Farid is a member of the International Youth Association.

Nasir Ahmad Andisha



Nasir Ahmad Andisha obtained a bachelor's degree in law and political science from the Kabul University. Before joining the Foreign Service, Andisha worked with the International Committee of Red Cross as a field officer. He taught International Relations and Economics at the Al-Beruni University, Afghanistan (2005-2006). In summer of 2007, Andisha received the prestigious Fulbright Scholarship and completed his master degree in international affairs (International Economics and Development) at The George H. Bush School of Government and Public Services in Texas A&M University. He later finished Advanced Security Studies Diploma from the Marshall Center for European Studies in Garmisch-Germany and Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Hawaii, USA. He earned his undergraduate degree, in Economics and Political Science from Osmania University in Hyderabad- India. Andisha was teaching Economic at the Institute of Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Andisha is married. He and his wife having two children.

Nazar Mohammad Mutameen



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.

Mutmaeen was able to meet a number of civil societies & political parties while he was physically present in Kabul, but it was during the recent times when Mutmaeen joint the ongoing peace efforts to compromise with the Afghan armed groups. Mutmaeen attended the

peace conferences of Islamabad, Istanbul & Warsaw, which were held to settle peace & reconciliation in Afghanistan

Qi Zhenhong

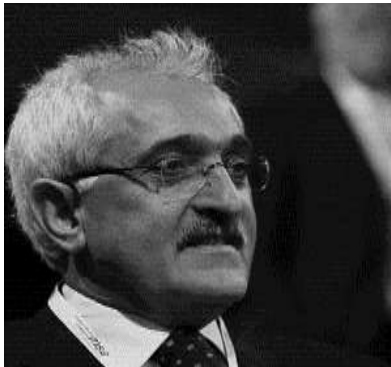


Qi Zhenhong is currently President of the China Institute of International Studies. He joined the Chinese Foreign Service in 1988, with a university degree. He served in different capacities as following:

1988-1996 Assistant Economist, Economist, Deputy Director of the Operation and Audit Office, Beijing Service Bureau for Diplomatic Missions. 1996-1997 Second Secretary, Representation of the People's Republic of China to the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group. 1997-1998 Second Secretary, Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic Of China in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 1998-2004 Second Secretary, Deputy Division Director, Division Director, Policy

Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). 2004-2009 Division Director, Counselor, Policy Planning Department, MFA. 2009-2012 Counselor, Deputy Director-General, Policy Planning Department, MFA. 2012-2014 Deputy Director-General, General Office, MFA. 2014-2017 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Rangin Dadfar Spanta, Dr.



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 fall of Taliban.

Robin L. Raphel, Ambassador ret'd



Ambassador Robin Raphel is an expert in political, security and economic development issues in South Asia and the Middle East. As a career foreign service officer, she served nearly 40 years in U.S. foreign affairs agencies, including the Department of State, USAID, and DoD. She was the first Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Ambassador to Tunisia, Vice President of the National Defense University, and Deputy Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction. She managed the sharp increase of development assistance to Pakistan under the late Ambassador Holbrooke, and deployed to Iraq with the first civilian contingent after the 2003 invasion to help restore the critical food ration system throughout the

country. Earlier in her career she served in Pakistan, India, South Africa and the UK, and taught history at Damavand Women's College in Iran. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Senior Adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. She serves on the board of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training, and the Friends of The American University of Afghanistan. Ambassador Raphel holds a BA degree in history and economics from the University of Washington, and Master's degrees in Economics from the University of Maryland and Modern European History from Cambridge University in the UK.

Sardar Mohammad Rahimi



Dr Sardar Mohammad Rahimi was born in 1977 in Dikundi. He accomplished his preliminary and higher education till PhD in Iran. He earned his doctoral degree in geopolitics from Tehran University, Iran. Following that, he has taught in governmental and numerous private universities in Kabul. At the same time, he worked as advisor to Minister of Urban Development. Currently, he works as a Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy. He speaks fluently Farsi, English and Pashtu. He has published a book titled the *Geopolitics of Afghanistan*.

Shah Gul Razai



Shah Gul Razai is a member of National *Shura* of Afghanistan. She has a Bachelor's Degree in Law and Political Science and Master's in Public Policy and Administration from Kabul University. She represented Ghazni in the 15th and 16th terms of National *Shura*. Ms Razi was member of Committee for Formation of National Unity Government in 2014. She has also been member of several parliamentary committees such as Anti-Administrative Committee and Advocacy for Political Participation of Women Committee.

Thomas H. Johnson



Professor Thomas H. Johnson is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Afghanistan Institute for Strategic Studies and Director of the Program for Culture and Conflict Studies at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA. He has conducted research and written about Afghanistan, South Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa for over 2 decades.

Military History of Insurgency Military History of Counter-Insurgency Counter-Insurgency in Afghanistan Introduction to Central Asia. He has taught at the University of Southern California and the Foreign Service Institute, and frequently lectures at Service Academies. Before joining the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School, he served on the research faculty of George Mason University. He regularly conducts field research in Afghanistan and South Asia. He served as the counterinsurgency advisor to the Commander of Task Force Kandahar (General Jon Vance).

William Maley, Professor



Dr William Maley is Professor of Diplomacy at the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy at The Australian National University. He is author of *Rescuing Afghanistan* (2006), *The Afghanistan Wars* (2009), *What is a Refugee?* (2016); and *Transition in Afghanistan: Hope, Despair and the Limits of Statebuilding* (2018); edited *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban* (1998); and co-edited *The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (1989), *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States* (2003); *Reconstructing Afghanistan: Civil-military experiences in comparative perspective* (2015), *Theorising the Responsibility to Protect* (2015), and *Afghanistan – Challenges and Prospects* (2018)

Annex 2: The Agenda

Herat Security Dialogue-VII

26-27 October 2018

Agenda

Friday October 26									
Opening Session									
08:30-09:30	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recitation of Holy Koran 2. National Anthem 3. Recitation of Hymns of Khaja Abdullah Ansari 4. Sufi Musical Performance 5. Welcoming remarks by the Governot of Herat Mr. M. Asef Rahimi 6. Welcoming remarks by Dr Rangin Spanta, Chairman of AISS Advisory Board 7. H.E Ismatulla Irgashev, Special Representative of the President, Republic of Uzbekistan 								
Panel I: Afghanistan Conflict: The Nexus of Internal and External Drivers									
09:30-11:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Moderator</td> <td>Nahid Farid, Member of Parliament, Afghanistan</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Speakers</td> <td>4. Professor William Maley, Professor, Australia National University, "The historical drivers of Afghanistan conflict: Post-2001"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi, Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy, Afghanistan, "Conflict in Afghanistan: geopolitical dimension"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Mohammad Naser Timori, Researcher, Transparency International (Berlin)-Integrity Watch Afghanistan "Corruption and its impact on Conflict"</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Discussion</td> </tr> </table>	Moderator	Nahid Farid, Member of Parliament, Afghanistan	Speakers	4. Professor William Maley, Professor, Australia National University, "The historical drivers of Afghanistan conflict: Post-2001"	5. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi, Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy, Afghanistan, "Conflict in Afghanistan: geopolitical dimension"	6. Mohammad Naser Timori, Researcher, Transparency International (Berlin)-Integrity Watch Afghanistan "Corruption and its impact on Conflict"	Discussion	
Moderator	Nahid Farid, Member of Parliament, Afghanistan								
Speakers	4. Professor William Maley, Professor, Australia National University, "The historical drivers of Afghanistan conflict: Post-2001"								
	5. Sardar Mohammad Rahimi, Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy, Afghanistan, "Conflict in Afghanistan: geopolitical dimension"								
	6. Mohammad Naser Timori, Researcher, Transparency International (Berlin)-Integrity Watch Afghanistan "Corruption and its impact on Conflict"								
Discussion									
11:00-11:30	Tea Break								
Panel II: Political System: Presidential VS Semi-presidential VS Parliamentary									
11:30-13:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Moderator</td> <td>Mariam Safi, Director of Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies (DROPS)</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Speakers</td> <td>4. Nazif Shahrani, Professor, Indiana University, the US, "Challenges and spoilers of the political system reforms"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Abdullah Ahmadzai, Asia Foundation Country Representative, Afghanistan, "Electoral & constitutional reform: challenges and prospects"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Thomas Johnson, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, the US "The need for electoral reforms in Afghanistan"</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Discussion</td> </tr> </table>	Moderator	Mariam Safi, Director of Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies (DROPS)	Speakers	4. Nazif Shahrani, Professor, Indiana University, the US, "Challenges and spoilers of the political system reforms"	5. Abdullah Ahmadzai, Asia Foundation Country Representative, Afghanistan, "Electoral & constitutional reform: challenges and prospects"	6. Thomas Johnson, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, the US "The need for electoral reforms in Afghanistan"	Discussion	
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	5. Abdullah Ahmadzai, Asia Foundation Country Representative, Afghanistan, "Electoral & constitutional reform: challenges and prospects"								
	6. Thomas Johnson, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, the US "The need for electoral reforms in Afghanistan"								
Discussion									
13:00-14:00	Lunch								
Panel III: Afghanistan's Economy: From Rentier State to Developing Economy									
14:00-15:30	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Moderator</td> <td>Sonia Iqbab, Executive Director Open Society Foundation, Afghanistan</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Speakers</td> <td>4. Ali Ahmad Osmani, Former Minister of Water & Energy, "Afghanistan waters: how to manage them?"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Ehsan Zia, Former Minister of Rural Development, "Aid efficiency, donor priorities, local ownership"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Christine Fair, Professor, George Town University, USA "Chahbahar: challenges and prospects"</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Discussion</td> </tr> </table>	Moderator	Sonia Iqbab, Executive Director Open Society Foundation, Afghanistan	Speakers	4. Ali Ahmad Osmani, Former Minister of Water & Energy, "Afghanistan waters: how to manage them?"	5. Ehsan Zia, Former Minister of Rural Development, "Aid efficiency, donor priorities, local ownership"	6. Christine Fair, Professor, George Town University, USA "Chahbahar: challenges and prospects"	Discussion	
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	6. Christine Fair, Professor, George Town University, USA "Chahbahar: challenges and prospects"								
Discussion									
15:30-16:00	Tea Break								
Panel IV: Afghanistan & The Grand Bargain of South Asia									
16:00-18:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Moderator</td> <td>Barnet Rubin, Centre for International Cooperation, New York University</td> </tr> </table>	Moderator	Barnet Rubin, Centre for International Cooperation, New York University						
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Saturday October 27									
08:30-09:00	Traditional Sufi Music								
9:00 – 10:30	Panel V: The Taliban: What Do They Want?								
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Moderator</td> <td>Nader Naim, Deputy of High Peace Council</td> </tr> </table>	Moderator	Nader Naim, Deputy of High Peace Council						
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	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Jawed Ludin, Former Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, “How to move beyond the enmity with Pakistan?” 5. Afrasiab Khattak, Senator (Rtrd), Pakistan Senate, “How can Afghanistan address Pakistan grievances?” 6. Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, Former Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan, “How to change Afghanistan as an arena of mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan?” <p style="text-align: center;">Discussion</p>
19:00-21:00	Reception & Cultural Program	
	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Nazar Mohammad Mutmaeen, Journalist, “What is the political agenda of the Taliban?” 6. Robin Lynn Raphel, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic & International Studies, the US “What are the main claims Of Taliban?” 7. Shah Gul Rezai, Member of Parliament, Afghanistan, “Taliban, Sharia and traditionalism: did the Taliban’s perspectives change?” 8. Bushra Gohar, Former member of Parliament, Pakistan, “What form of dtate does Taliban envision? To what extent Taliban leadership’s perspective differ from their rank and file?” <p style="text-align: center;">Discussion</p>
10:30-11:00	Tea Break	
	Panel VI: Afghanistan’s Foreign Policy Status: Neutral, Connector or Divisive?	
	Moderator	Abdul Ghafoor Liwal, Advisor to the President for Borders and Tribal Affairs
11:00-12:30	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Nasir Ahmad Andisha, Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan “Concept of neutrality and its relevance to Afghanistan” 7. Ali Asghar Davoodi, Associate Professor, Azad Islamic University, Iran, “Role of neghbopuring countries, particularly Iran in stability and development of Afghanistan” 8. Ambassador Zhehong QI, President, China Institute of International Studies, China “Afghanistan’s position in Belt and Road Initiative and China’s regional diplomacy” 9. Professor Alexey Malashenko, Chief Researcher, Institute of the Dialogue of Civilizations, Russia/Germany, “Moscow’s view of neutrality of Afghanistan” 10. Abdullohi Rahnamo Hakim, Head of Department of Analyzing and Forecasting of Foreign Policy, Centre for Strategic Researches under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan “Afghanistan-Tajikistan Relations” <p style="text-align: center;">Discussion</p>
	Concluding Panel: The Way Forward: Do we need a Second Bonn Conference/Process?	
	Moderator	Lutfullah Najafizada, TOLO
12:30-14:00	Speakers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Mohammad Natiqi, Spokesperson of Political Parties Coalition, “Can a second Bonn conference address the current crisis?” 5. David Sedney, Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA, “Washington’s view of peace and settlement in Afghanistan and prospects of US-Afghanistan relations” 6. Ajmal Ahmadi, Economic Advisor to President, Afghanistan, “Does Afghanistan have a National Economic Strategy?” <p style="text-align: center;">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

List of Participants		
Name	Designation	Organization
Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Kabul)		
Abdulghafor Arezo	Former Ambassador	Embassy of Afghanistan in Tajikistan
Abdullah Ahmadzai	County Representative	Asia Foundation's County Representative in Afghanistan
Abudul Ghafoor Liwal	Advisor to the President	Presidential Palace
Adela Raz	Deputy Foreign Minister for Economic Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan
Ahmad Haroon Najmpoor	Minister Counselor	Afghanistan Embassy at Tehran
Ahmad Saeedi	Political Expert	
Ajmal Ahmadi	Senior presidential advisor on financial affairs	Presidential Office
Ajmal Baluch Zada	Political Activist	
Ali Ahamd Osmani	Former Minister	Ministry of Energy and Water of Afghanistan
Arian Sharifi	Director of Strategic Threat Assessments	National Security Council of Afghanistan
Azaraksh Hafezi	President	ECO Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Afghanistan
Azizullah Omar	Deputy director General of Policy and Strategy	ministry of Foreign Affairs
Azizullah Rafiee	Executive Director	Afghanistan Civil Society Forum
Bahauddin Baha	Former Chief	Afghanistan Supreme Court
Ehsan Zia	Former Minister	Ministry of Rural and Development of Afghanistan
Farooq Azam	Chairman	Movement for Peaceful Transformation of Afghanistan
Fazel Rahman Fazel	Former Ambassador	Embassy of Afghanistan in Cairo, Egypt
Fazel Sancharaki	Deputy Minister	Ministry of Information and Culture of Afghanistan
Habibullah Fawzi	Member	Afghanistan High Peace Council
Homaira Saqib	Director	Afghan Women News Agency
Jafar Mahadavi	Member	Afghan Parliament
Jawid Ludin	Former Deputy Foreign	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan
Khaled Khesraw	Author	
Liaqat Ali Amiri	Deputy of the Fifth Political Department	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan
Lutfullah Najafizada	Director	TOLO News
Maryam Safi	Director	Organization for Research and Development Studies
Mohammad Nateqi	Deputy	Hezb-e Wahdat-e Islami Party
Mohammad Qasim Wafayezada	Deputy Director General on Policy and Planning	Afghanistan Civil Aviation Authority
Nadir Naim	Deputy	High Peace Council
Naem Ayoubzada	Head	Transparent Election Foundation of Afghanistan
Naheed Farid	Member	Afghan Parliament
Naser Timory	Head of Advocacy & Communications	Integrity Watch Afghanistan
Nasir Ahmad Andisha	Deputy Foreign Minister for Management and Resources	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Nazar Mohammad Motmaeen	Writer and Political Analyst	
Rangin Dadfar Spanta	Chairman	AISS Advisory Board
Sardar Mohammad Rahimi	Deputy Minister of Education for Literacy	Afghanistan Unity Government

Sayed Ghulam Hussian Fakhri	Director General	High Office of Anti-Corruption
Shah Gul Rezaee	Member	Afghan Parliament
Sima Samar	Chairperson	Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission
Sonia Iqbal	Executive Director	Open Society Foundation
Zaher Azimi	Military Expert	
Zalmai Hiwadmal	Cultural Advisor to the former President Hamid Karzai	
Zalmai Rasuol	Former Minister	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan
Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Herat)		
Abdul Haq Ahmadi	Attorney General	Attorney General office
Abdul Qader Kamel	Representative	Political Parties in Herat
Ahmad Shahir Salehi	Director	
Ali Ahmad Kaveh	University Lecturer	Herat University
Aminullah Azadani	Head of Department for Foreign Affairs in Herat	Department for Foreign Affairs in Herat
Aminullah Khan Amin	Head of Security	Herat Head Quarter of Security
Aria Raufian	Director of Information and Culture Department	Department of Information and Culture
Aziza Khairandish	Civil and Women Activist	Civil Society and Human rights Network
Abdullah Faiz	Chancellor of Herat University	Herat University
Aminullah Hamedi	Chancellor of Kahkashan University	Kahkeshan University
Davood Erfan	University Professor	Herat University
Farzanah Karimi	Political Activist	
Fateme Bagheri	Head of Provincial Commission for Electoral Complaints	Department of Electoral Complaints for west zone
Fateme Jafari	Member of Provincial Council	Herat Provincial Council
Abdul Halim Barakzai	National Directorate for Security Director in Herat	Directorate of Herat National Security
Aminullah Amarkhil	Commander of Police Forces	Herat Head Quarter of Security
Gulbuddin Alkozai	Commander of Border Police Forces	Commanding office for Border Police
Mohammad Joma Adil	Commander of West region Police	Ansar Command Zone 606
Ghulam Mohammad Rahmani	Director of Herat Justice Department	Herat Justice Department
Ghulam Hazrat Moshfeq	Head of Local Government Department in Herat	Public Support for Local Government Independent office in Herat
Ghulam Sakhi Khatibi	Researcher for Foreign Affairs Department in Herat	Foreign Affairs department
Sayed Ghulam Rashed	Chancellor	Ghalib University
Hayedeh Faqiri	Policy Officer of Herat Province	Herat Governing office
Jawad Amid	Head of Civil Society Network	Civil Society Network
Malalai Alavi	Women and Civil Activist	
Maria Bashir	Political Activist	
Maryam Jami Allahmadi	Civil and Women Activist	
Mirwais Fazli	Researcher and University Professor	University of Kahkashan
Mohammad Asef Rahimi	Governor of Herat Province	Herat Governing office
Mohammad Davood Anvari	Mayor of Herat	Municipality of Herat
Mohammad Faqiri	University Lecturer	Herat University
Amir Mohammad Ismail Khan	Former Minister	Ministry of Energy and Water
Mohammad Kamran Alizaee	Director of Herat Provincial Council	Herat Provincial Council

Mohammad Nasser Niknam	Commanding officer	Herat International Airport
Mohiuddin Noori	Deputy Governor of Herat	Herat Governing office
Molana Saleh Khodad	Head of Clergy Council for the west zone	Clergy Council for the west zone
Moneseh Hassanzadeh	Deputy Governor of Herat	Herat Governing office
Muhammad Rafiq Shahir	Political Activist	Herat society of Experts
Naqibullah Arvin	Political Activist	
Naser Moein	Head of Master's Degree board of Herat University	Herat University
Nasir Ahmad Rahimi	Peace activist	Peace Center of Herat University
Seyed Ashraf Sadat	Political Activist	
Seyed Mehdi Afzali	University Lecturer	Ishraq University
Tariq Nabi	Political Activist	
Tooryalai Taheri	Deputy of Herat Provincial Council	Herat Provincial Council
WaliShah Bahrah	Cultural Activist	
Yaqob Mashouf	Author and Researcher	
Zalmai Mallyar	University Lecturer	Herat University
Commonwealth of Australia		
Farkhondeh Akbari	PhD scholar	The Australian National University
William Maley	Professor	The Australian National University
Kingdom Belgium		
Yves Janssens	Counselor	Belgian Embassy to Islamabad
People's Republic of China		
JIAN GAO	Secretary in Chief	Shanghai Academy of Global Governance and Area Studies
Lan Jianxue	Associate Research Fellow	China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
Li Zhen	Political officer	Chinese Embassy to Kabul
SHENGPING XIA	Vice director	The Information Center for Dunhuang studies, Dunhuang research Academy of China
Wang Daxue	Deputy chief of mission	Chinese Embassy to Kabul
Wang Tiangang	Deputy Head of The Security Team	Chinese Embassy to Kabul
Xi Meng	Director	Pashto Service China Media Group
YIYONG GOU	Director of Foreign Economic Research Institute	Guizhou province Academy of Social Sciences
Yongbiao ZHU	Director of the Center for Afghanistan Studies	Center for Afghanistan Studies of Lanzhou University
YUHONG FU	Professor	Jilin University
Zhenhong Qi	President	China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
Arab Republic of Egypt		
Ahmed Hammam	Deputy Head of Mission	Egyptian Embassy in Kabul
Hassan Aboutaleb	Senior Researcher	Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
Kamal Aly Gaballa	Journalist	Al-Ahram Newspaper
Walid El Sherif	Consul	Egyptian Embassy in Kabul
Federal Republic of Germany		
Christoph Peleikis	Chargé d'Affairs	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Kabul
Republic of India		
Gautam Mukopadhya	Former Ambassador	Indian Embassy in Kabul
Kumar Gaurav	Consul General	Indian Consulate in Herat
Rajeshwari Krishnamurthy	Deputy Director	Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies
Vasudev Ravi	Second Secretary	Indian Embassy in Kabul
Vinay Kumar	Indian Ambassador	Indian Embassy in Kabul
Islamic Republic of Iran		

Abumohammad Asgarkhani	Professor	Tehran University
Ali Asghar Davoudi	Associate Professor	Azad Islamic University
Jaafar Haqpana	Professor	Tehran University
Mahmood Afkhami Rashidi	General Consul	Iran Consulate in Herat
Italy		
Paolo Cotta-Ramusino	Secretary General	Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs
Republic of Kazakhstan		
Alimkhan Yessengeldiyev	Ambassador	Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Kabul
Almas Tussipzhanov	Second Secretary for Political Affairs	Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Kabul
Irina Chernykh	Chief Research Fellow	Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Kingdom of Netherland		
Timotheus Swagemakers	General Manager	Agha Khan Development Network
Kingdom of Norway		
Kai Eide	Former SRSG	UNAMA
Islamic Republic of Pakistan		
Afrasiab Khattak	Senator (Rtrd)	Pakistan Senate
Boshra Gohar	Former Member of Parliament	Awami National Party
Ibrahim Khan	General Consul	Pakistan Consulate in Herat
Russian Federation		
Alexey Malashenko	Chief Researcher	Institute of the Dialogue of Civilisations, Germany
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka		
Gagan Bulathsinghala	Ambassador	Sri Lanka Embassy in Kabul
Kingdom of Sweden		
Louise Körnung	First Secretary, Political Affairs	Sweden Embassy in Kabul
Qasim Bahadury	Political Analyst	Sweden Embassy in Kabul
Tobias Thyberg	Ambassador	Sweden Embassy in Kabul
Republic of Tajikistan		
Abdullohi Rahnamo Hakim	Head of Department of Analyzing and Forecasting of Foreign Policy	Centre for Strategic Researches under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan
Haqnazar Imomnazar	Deputy of Foreign Policy Department	Centre for Strategic Researches under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan
Republic of Turkey		
Ali Aerguncinar	Coordinator	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
Mohammad Bakhshi	Chairman	Turkish Embassy
Turkmenistan		
Aymyrat Ghochmyradov	General Consul	Turkmenistan Consulate in Herat
United Kingdom		
James MacKenzie	Chief Correspondent	Reuters
United States Of America		
Barnett Rubin	Senior Fellow	New York University's Center on International
Christine Fair	Associate Professor	George Town University
Craig Nelson	Kabul Bureau Chief	The Wall Street Journal
David Sedney	Senior Associate	Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC
Hamid Arsalan	Program Manager	National Endowment for Democracy
J.p. Lawrence	Reporter	Stars and Stripes
Michael Barry	Visiting Professor	American University of Afghanistan
Nazif Shahrani	Professor	Indiana University

Robin Lynn Raphael	Senior Advisor	Center for Strategic and International Studies
Thomas Johnson	Professor	Naval Postgraduate School
Republic of Uzbekistan		
Aslam Akbarov	First Secretary	Ministry of foreign affairs
Bakhromjon Sotiboldiev	Head of The Division	Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan
Ismatulla Irgashev	Special Representative of the President	Republic of Uzbekistan
Shavkat Otamuratov	Second secretary	Embassy of Uzbekistan in Kabul
Aga Khan Development Network		
Nurjehan Mawani	Ambassador	Aga Khan Development Network Diplomatic Representation
Anthony Josef	Security officer	Aga Khan Development Network Diplomatic Representation
Organization of Islamic Cooperation		
Huseyin Avni Botsali	Ambassador	Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Kabul
The North Atlantic Treaty Organization		
Antonio D'Angella	Secretary Commander of International Forces	NATO/Resolute Support Mission
Justin Mufalli	Deputy Commander of International Forces	NATO/Resolute Support Mission
United Nations		
Andriy Larin	Political Affairs Officer	UNRCCA
Antje Grawe	Head of Mission in Herat	UNAMA

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

International Medias

[R.F.I News](#)

[Farsi. Al-Arabia](#)

[Farhang Press](#)

[IRNA New](#)

[Aawasat News](#)

[Gate Ahram News](#)

[South Asian Monitor](#)

[DID Press Agency](#)

[Daily Outlook Afghanistan](#)

[Azadi Radio](#)

[The Frontier Post](#)

[Xinhuanet](#)

[Fars News](#)

[Voice of America](#)

National Medias

[Ufuq News](#)

[Etelaat Roz Newspaper](#)

[One TV News](#)

[AVA press](#)

[Daily Afghanistan](#)

[8 AM](#)

[Pajhwak News](#)

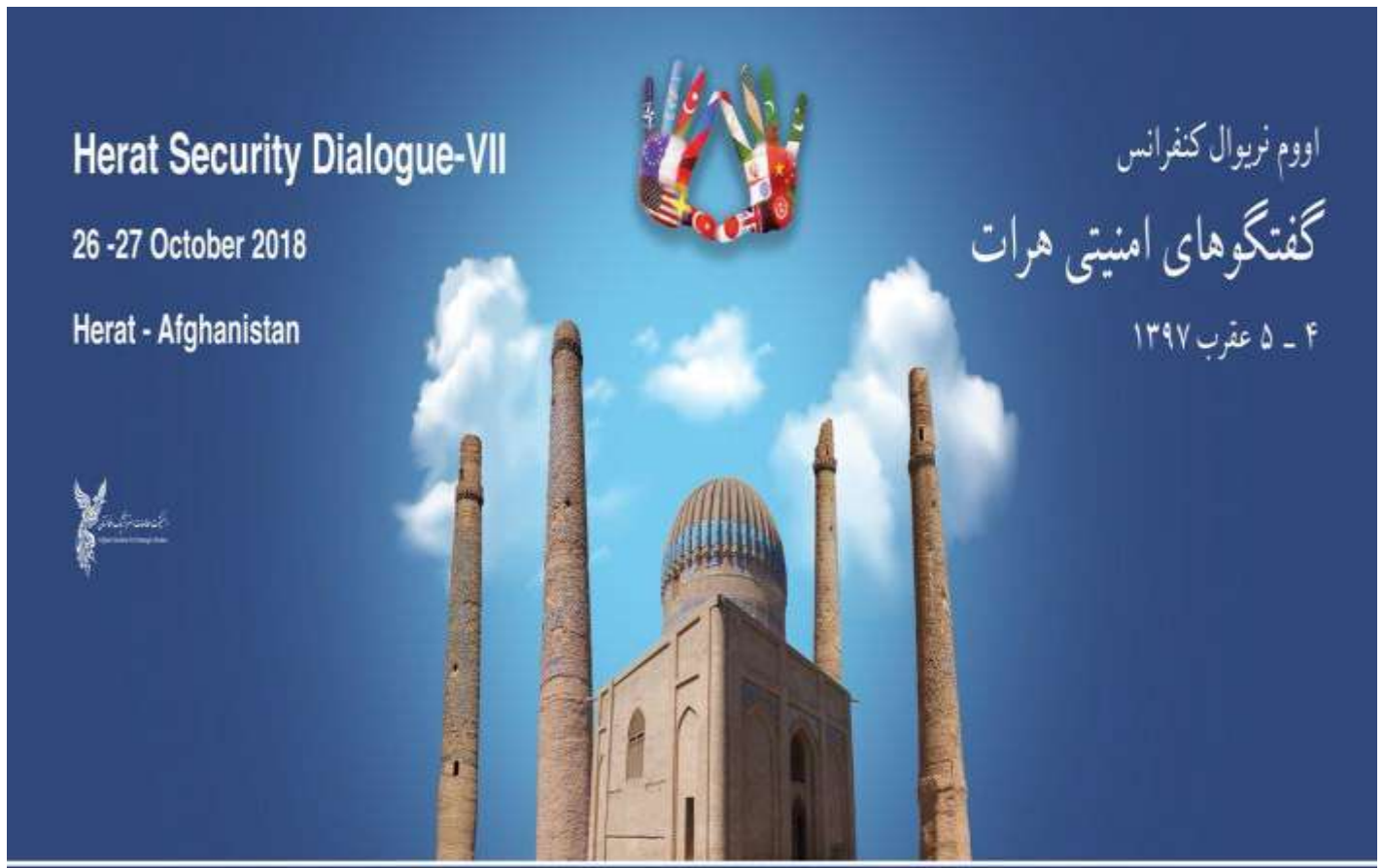
[Tolo News](#)

[Pashtun Express](#)

[The Kabul Times](#)

[Ariana News](#)

HSD-VII Logo and Photo



The End

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Linkedin: Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies