



In This Volume

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Heart of Asia Regional Order

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Summary

- In general, the world is forming in regional orders. In Asia, six regional regimes have been formed, none of which are strategic for the Heart of Asia Region. Therefore, the Heart of Asia Region must form its own regional order that can be called the "Heart of Asia Integration Union". In order to do so, it is necessary to launch the "Heart of Asia Nations Integration Movement";
- The "Heart of Asia Regional Order can be formed by agreement on four mechanisms: security mechanism (joint regional peacekeeping force), political mechanism (Heart of Asia Process), economic mechanism, (RECCA Process, ECO and CAREAC Organization) and cultural and social mechanism (integration of cultural and social sectors of the above regional organizations);
- Heart of Asia consists of four parts: first, Central Heart of Asia (Afghanistan and Central Asian countries), second, the South Heart of Asia (Iran and Pakistan), the West Heart of Asia (Caucasus and Turkey) and fourth, the East Heart of Asia (Mongolia);

Summary

- This draft is a 10-years roadmap (2020-2030) with two national and regional strategies. It was written at the same time as announcing the withdrawal of foreign troops and the start of peace talks.
 - According to this plan, whether foreign forces stay or not, whether the peace process succeeds or not, we will not achieve lasting peace without addressing the main root causes of the war and instability. Its historical roots are in the disintegration of the country by nationalism from a geographical, political and cultural whole, but its modern factors are rooted in the internal conflict caused by injustice, tense relations with neighboring countries and the competition of major powers.
 - To achieve lasting peace, we need three national, regional and global strategies. At the national level, the formation of a state of peace, at the regional level, the formation of the Heart of Asia Regional Order, and at the global level, the pursuit of a policy of international cooperative neutrality is a fundamental need for the country.
 - A government of peace can be formed on the basis of the principles of lasting peace. The internal principles of government (democracy, moderate Islam, social justice, equal economic development and good governance) and its external principles (regional integration, Islamic cooperation and international cooperative neutrality) can be.
 - In general, the world is forming in regional orders. In Asia, six regional regimes have been formed, none of which are strategic for the Heart of Asia Region. Therefore, the Heart of Asia Region must form its own regional order that can be called the "Heart of Asia Integration Union". In order to do so, it is necessary to launch the "Heart of Asia Nations Integration Movement";
 - The "Heart of Asia Regional Order" can be formed by agreement on four mechanisms: security mechanism (joint regional peacekeeping force), political mechanism (Heart of Asia Process), economic mechanism, (RECCA Process, ECO and CAREAC Organization) and cultural and social mechanism (integration of cultural and social sectors of the above regional organizations).
 - Heart of Asia consists of four parts: first, Central Heart of Asia (Afghanistan and Central Asian countries), second, the South Heart of Asia (Iran and Pakistan), the West Heart of Asia (Caucasus and Turkey) and fourth, the East Heart of Asia (Mongolia).
 - If the regional order of the heart of Asia is formed, it can pursue a policy of regional cooperation with member states and a policy of neutrality with other countries.
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Preface:

This paper is a 10 years' roadmap for sustainable peace and the order for the post-troops withdrawal in Afghanistan and the Heart of Asia Region. According to this strategy, if the US/NATO leave Afghanistan completely, the country will face many challenges. Therefore, a sustainable peace cannot be achieved with only a peace agreement. Instability and challenges in Afghanistan is not only connected to the internal and national issues but also to the external factors, especially those root in the neighboring and regional countries. Therefore, to bring a durable peace and stability in Afghanistan, we need to build two security belts: The first belt should be established at the national level and the second one at the regional level taking to account the neighboring countries. First belt will be created by making Peace Agreement and establishing a Government of Peace based on a sustainable peace policy and the second one can be created by Heart of Asia Regional Order (HARO) based on regional integration policy with the neighboring countries. To reach that

goals, I suggested two national and regional strategies for 10 years (2020-2030).

I started writing this roadmap in December 19, 2018 when I was Director of Policy Coordination NSC and the plan for withdrawal of 7,000 troops was announced and later on the negotiations between US and Taliban began. At the same year, a summary of this paper was shared with many National, Regional and International leaders, experts, advisers and Think Tanks, including Afghanistan governmental and political leaders, representatives of UNAMA, NATO, EU, US and UK in Kabul and I had sent it to the USIP, CACI, RAND and even to the Taliban and US delegations in Qatar. The draft is including analysis of realistic needs for forming a sustainable peace but its implementation and success requires more research and moreover depends on the political will of all the stakeholders. I would recommend circulation of this draft strategy to the stakeholders involving in the peace process in Afghanistan to have their buy-in and support.

Chapter One Introduction

1. Subject:

After 18 years of US 'War on terror' in Afghanistan, on December 19-2018, the same day that President Trump announced he would withdraw all U.S. troops from Syria, officials in the White House said the administration would also withdraw 7,000 troops from Afghanistan (The WALL Street Journal, December 19, 2018, P1). On September 21, 2018 Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad was appointed by Secretary

Pompeo as the U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation. After his appointments, he met all Afghan leaders, visited many countries of the region and finally after 6 days' negotiation with Taliban in Qatar, he tweeted: "We made significant progress on two vital issues: counter terrorism and troop withdrawal." (Khalilzad Zalmay US Envoy for Afghanistan, 2019, January 31, (2). On

January 2, 2019, during a public cabinet meeting, President Trump asked the countries of region to take part in fight against terrorism. When the negotiations between the U.S. and Taliban began, President Trump wrote on his twitter: “I inherited a total mess in Syria and Afghanistan, the “Endless Wars” of unlimited spending and death. During my campaign I said, very strongly, that these wars must finally end. We spend \$50 Billion a year in Afghanistan and have hit them so hard that we are now talking peace...” (Donald Trump, February 1, 2019 (3). On February 3, 2019, President Trump told to CBS’ ‘Face the Nation’: “the war in Afghanistan – launched in response to the 9/11 terror attacks – would later this year

enter its 19th year.” Asked by CBS host Margaret Brennan whether he could trust the Taliban and could broker a peace deal with the fundamentalist group, Mr. Trump said, “I think they’re tired. And I think everybody’s tired. We have got to get out of these endless wars and bring our folks back home.” According a New-York-times report on February 28, 2019, all American troops would withdraw from Afghanistan over the next three to five years under a new Pentagon plan being offered in peace negotiations that could lead to a government in Kabul that shares power with the Taliban. The rest of the international force in Afghanistan would leave at the same time” (4).

The main questions are:

If the troops leave, what will happen in Afghanistan and the region?

How a sustainable peace will look like and be maintained?

And what will be the alternative order?

2. Challenges and consequences:

In my view if the U.S./NATO troops leave Afghanistan without a responsible withdrawal plan, sooner or later, the consequences will be the followings:

- Return of terrorists networks such as Al-Qaida and ISIS;
- Strengthening of thousand irresponsible armed groups and warlords;
- Strengthening of the narcotics and cross-borders crimes networks;

- Dominance of fundamentalist Ideology of Taliban;
- Vanishing of last two decades’ achievement and democratic values in Afghanistan;
- The return to anarchy to Afghanistan likely civil war;
- Increasing vulnerability of Afghanistan to become the battleground for proxy war of regional and global powers.

3. Root Causes of War in Afghanistan:

There are at least five sides to the conflict in Afghanistan: The Taliban, the Afghan government, the NATO/U.S., and the neighboring countries, particularly

Pakistan, nonetheless, the roots cause of war are complicated. In my view the main factors of war and instability in Afghanistan are the two following factors:

1- Historical factors: Afghanistan has been located in a complex region. A region expanded broadly from Central Asia to Iran and Pakistan where once had governed centrally and had experienced a Golden Age (Fredrick Starr, 2013). Nonetheless, after emergence of nation states, the region divided into small countries. In the new framework, Afghanistan became a victim

2- Modern factors: "At present, everyone agrees that inequality, injustice and the systematic failure to meet human needs are the main causes of war," (Peck, Connie 2002, p40). In Afghanistan after half a century of war, people expect the Peace Agreement to give an end to the long war and lead to a sustainable peace. But it is impossible to achieve peace without knowing the root causes of present war and addressing them. Among all the causes, three are prominent:

- Internal disputes root in injustice;
- Strained relations with neighboring countries, particularly with Pakistan and Iran, root in border and water

of its geography, nationalism and its national system. Afghanistan was invaded by great powers and forced by them to play the role of a "Buffer Zone". While internally, Afghanistan intended to remain a neutral state due to rise of new powers in Asia and emerging non-state actors, Afghanistan could not play neither the role of buffer zone nor a neutral state.

disputes in addition to the concerns of neighboring countries on the increase of their rival states' footprints in Afghanistan;

- And the interference and competition of the great global and regional powers root in imbalanced political policies.
- Challenges such as the existence of terrorist groups, drug traffickers and transnational organized crime networks, irresponsible and illegal armed groups, extremism, corruption, discrimination, injustice, poverty, illiteracy and the lack of rule of law are rooted to the factors mentioned above.

4. Thesis: Proposed Solution - Government of Peace and Heart of Asia Regional Order:

Some emphasize on failure of the international order in Afghanistan and propose building a strong national order with a neutral policy can lead to a sustainable peace in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, the reality tells otherwise. Due to new changes in the country's strategic environment, including the emergence of new powers in Asia and non-state actors, Afghanistan could not remain neutral. Still the existing national system doesn't meet the modern needs. Therefore, based on the mentioned factors, a responsible exit strategy from current

situation towards sustainable peace in Afghanistan and the region will be possible when the alternative order gets established. In my point of view, the Afghan crisis has three dimensions (national, regional and global) and without considering these three dimensions it would be impossible to achieve a sustainable peace. In particular, the main cause of instability in Afghanistan is above all is domestic, and second, has a strong link to the concerns of Afghanistan's neighbors. Therefore, sustainable peace in Afghanistan will be possible through the creation of two national and regional belts.

The first belt would be possible with the signing of a peace treaty and forming a "Peace Government" based on agreement with representatives of all political and groups and ethnicities, and the second belt

would be possible with the creation of a "Heart of Asia Regional Order" in collaboration with all neighbors of Afghanistan.

Chapter Two: The National Strategy

Forming a Government of Peace based on a Sustainable Peace Policy (Within 5 years)

1. Introductions:

A post-peace state can be formed by signing a peace agreement and elections or any other mechanism, but based on caucuses of war and the new strategic environment reaching to a peace agreement and forming a government never mean completely ending war and achieving a sustainable peace. To end the war permanently and achieve "sustainable peace" there is need for establishment of an inclusive government based on sustainable peace policy which we can call it "state of peace" or Peace government. To understand a peace government and how to reach it, we need to know at least three things: the definition of war, peace and concept of sustainable peace, and the identification of the principles for state of peace. "War and peace are contrasting states, one being defined by conflict involving the organized use of weapons and physical force by states or other large-scale groups and the other being an occurrence of harmony characterized by the absence of conflict and violence." (War and Peace, Leo Tolstoy, 1986). In my view war means conflict and violence, especially political violence. "war is rooted in deprivation, discontent, injustice and repression" (Connie Peck, 2002) but peace means reconciliation and freedom from violence

and fear. Moreover, Sustainable peace is a pervasive concept that addresses the origins, causes, and dimensions of conflict and violence.

The most famous work on sustainable peace is Kant's "Perpetual Peace". In this essay, Kant proposed a peace program to be implemented by governments. The "Preliminary Articles" described these steps that should be taken immediately, or with all deliberate speed:

- "No secret treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war"
- "No independent states, large or small, shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase, or donation"
- "Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished"
- "National debts shall not be contracted with a view to the external friction of states"
- "No state shall by force interfere with the constitution or government of another state"
- "No state shall, during war, permit such acts of hostility which would make mutual confidence in the subsequent peace impossible: such are

the employment of assassins, poisoners, breach of capitulation, and incitement to treason in the opposing state"

According to him, Three Definitive Articles would provide not merely a cessation of hostilities, but a foundation on which to build a peace.

- "The civil constitution of all states to be republican"

2. Principles for the Government of Peace:

Based on the concept of sustainable peace and the new strategic environment of the country (Troops withdrawal), the foundations of a peace can be determined. Recent studies show that: "There is a profound link between development, democracy, human rights and peace" (Connie peck 2002). In my view, the basic goals of the Peace Government can be to complete the building of independence/self-sufficiency, security,

First, principles of the domestic policy of the state of peace: According to the public opinion, existing challenges and accepted values in the country; the foundations and principles of a domestic peace policy can be formed based on five principles (republicanism/democracy, moderate Islam, social justice, good governance and equal development). The first two principles can be categorized as the epistemic basis of a future state, that is, a state based on Moderate Islam and democracy. The last three principles (social justice, good governance and equal development) can be seen as the

- "The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states"
- "The law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality"

In the modern sense, it can be argued that at the national level, republican system, at the regional level, the formation a federation of states and at the global level, the concept of global citizenship was put forward. (Toward Perpetual Peace a Philosophical Sketch Immanuel Kant Copyright © Jonathan Bennett 2017(6).

peace and sustainable development (economic, political, cultural and social), but principles of a peace state can be divided into two Sections: first, the principles of domestic policy (republicanism/democracy, Moderate Islam, social justice, equal economic development and good governance) and second, the principals of foreign policy (regional integration, Islamic cooperation, and international cooperative neutrality).

superstructure of the peace state and the first two mechanisms of action.

Principle 1: Republicanism/Democracy: According to Kant, republicanism can create sustainable peace. According him, the goal of the republic is to create a system based on the will of the people, to rule by law, to have equal standing as citizens before the law, and to have their individual freedoms and human rights protected. (Kant Perpetual Peace)

Principle 2: Moderate Islam: according to the existing statistics, in a country comprises 99 percent of its population as

Muslims and calls for a system based on Islamic values, trying to impose any other system can create problems and lead the country toward extremism, fundamentalism and even terrorism. Terrorism is a new political phenomenon in

Principle 3- Social Justice: "In countries where governments treat their citizens unequally or do not listen to their complaints and grievances; those countries are prone to further unrest. Contrary to countries whose governments have listened to the wishes of the people, they have achieved sustainable peace and stability over time" (: Connie Peck, Sustainable Peace: Role of the UN and Regional Organizations in preventing Conflict, 2002, p40). Therefore, the government should pay attention to the wishes of the people to prevent the riots. One of the most important demands of the Afghan people right now is to ensure social justice. Social justice means that the issues of power sharing, distribution of wealth, as well as the issues of fundamental rights and Human rights, human security, cultural and identity, must be dealt with fairly. Identity issues are identified and reinforced by promoting a culture of tolerance, pluralism and respect for cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, but the issue of distribution of power and wealth can be resolved when mechanisms of justice are achieved including peace agreements. The purpose of national equitable participant is to distribute power and wealth not on ethnic grounds but on two levels: central and local. In the center it will be based on parties and the parliamentary system and balancing the power of executive, legislations and judiciary. At local level on the basis of delegating more authority to local institutions (provinces, districts and

our region which is imposed by terrorist groups and Proxy wars but moderate Islam which is based on Sufism, moderate Hanafi interpretations and tolerance has existed for hundred years and created the "Golden Age of Central Asia" (Frederick Starr, 2013).

villages). Experience has shown that enhancing the competence of local institutions and enhancing public participation is essential not only for self-actualization and development, but also to lift the rural areas out of poverty, deprivation, recruitment and violence, and to secure the nest of extremism and extremism and, ultimately, the foundation of Regulations, stability and sustainable peace in the country are vital.

Principle 4 - Equal Development: equal development is also part of social justice and aims to develop economic allocation and distribution of economic projects and programs equally between provinces, districts and villages.

Principle 5 - Promoting Good Governance: Good governance is one of the key tasks of all modern governments. Good governance means delivering quality services according to people's will and participation, rule of law, the administration of justice, meritocracy, transparency and accountability to the people. Therefore, it is necessary to all institutions, laws and policies should be modified and strengthened in accordance with the objectives of good governance. Moreover, for strengthening security, political and economic development it's important to promote it to a regional governance / regional order and even a "regional peace and welfare state".

Second, the principles of foreign policy for the Government of Peace:

Foreign policy is the methods and policy which governments take to achieve their national goals and interests in the international environment. According to the Afghanistan constitution, the country's foreign policy aims are to preserve independence and integrity, ensuring national security, achieving self-reliance, economic prosperity, and promoting the country's position in the international system. The means to achieve those goals are (military, political, economic, cultural and social) and one of the most important sources of national power is internal unity, which the Government of the National Unity (GNU) failed to achieve it. Principally foreign policy is adopted by three institutions (the Presidency, the National Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as executed body) but now in practice the President is the only decision-maker and executor of the country's foreign policy. There are challenges arising from the position

Principle 1 - Regional Integration: for achieving good governance and preventing war it's essential to upgrade and promote to a regional and international governance. (Connie Peck, 2002, P40) Promoting regional governance can "enhance national and local agendas," Peck said. According to President Ghani, "regional integration for the sake of peace is a must". (Zia Danish, 1395). In Afghanistan about region all uses 3 terms (regional consensus, regional connectivity, and regional cooperation) but the problem is that the concept of this 3 is not clearly distinguished, while these four separate issues need to be addressed. The Regional Consensus is what regional issues should agree on, and indeed on the regional agenda, with the countries of the region.

(geostrategic, geopolitical, geo-culture and geo-economic). President Ghani for achieving those above goals and to turn the challenges into opportunities, to turn competition to cooperation, to transform Afghanistan into the Asian and regional crossroads; introduced five rings of external relations (neighbors, the Islamic world, Western countries, Asia and international and non-governmental organizations and companies). (Zia Danish, 1395). In practice not only the challenges were not turned into opportunities but the challenges became more complicate and GNU failed to coordinate between theory and practice. We can turn our position into an opportunity when we can independently and freely decide on our own interests, as well as set up external relations circles with respect to our natural ties. From my point of view, our country has three natural circles of foreign relations: the first ring - neighbors / region; the second ring - the Islamic world and the third ring - the great powers and other parts of the world.

The Regional Connectivity is to connect Afghanistan to the countries of the region due to its commercial and transit position. Its examples are the TAPI projects, Chabahar-Port, CASA1000 and Railways. Regional Cooperation is a matter of bilateral and multilateral co-operation by regional and neighboring countries on various security and economic issues. Regional Integration is including all mentioned terms and its aim is to establish the transnational and regional institutions and laws. According to this policy, regional integration is a process start by normal regional consensus, interconnection and cooperation that can lead to the creation of transnational institutions and laws; even to complete integration and the formation of a

"Regional Government of Peace and Welfare"(Fajristan: A Movement for coexistence of the people of Region, Author, 2011). According to this principle, cooperation can be with any country and region, but for integrations having three basic characteristics are necessary: first, having a shared history and culture, second having a geographical link, and third, having an interdependence and shared security and economic destiny.

Principle 2 - Islamic Cooperation: Currently, the foreign policy of the Afghan government is based on historical and cultural links, emphasizes the rapprochement and strengthening of relations between Islamic countries through bilateral and multilateral relations, but this policy is not purposeful, clear, methodical or practical. I suggest that we, by adopting Islamic cooperation policy, aim to combat

extremism, institutionalize Islamic moderation, and religious, cultural, and economic cooperation, and structurally turn the support of the Organization for Islamic Cooperation into a permanent goal.

Principle 3 - International Cooperative Neutrality: Theoretically, the Afghan government in foreign policy seems to be talking about a policy of balancing the relationship between global and regional powers, but has not succeeded in doing so. In order for Afghanistan to succeed in its foreign policy, we must follow a neutral cooperative policy in the international level. It means, neutrality on the negative issues and cooperation on the positive issues. By adopting this policy within the framework of the UN can assume its responsibility to participate in the international system.

3. Implementation Mechanism for Peace Agreement and Peace Government:

Step 1- Forming a National Consensus:

As a first step at the national level, there is need for a national consensus between government leaders and political leaders, women, civil societies and victim's representatives.

The consensus should be on the 3 issues: forming a National Peace council including all are leaders, parties and minorities, forming a peace agenda and a comprehensive delegation. The delegations must move according the Agenda and guidance already made by NPC and must be accountable for NPC Peace.

Step 2- Making Agreements: Successful implementation of the peace treaty and forming the government of peace will only be possible when make sure the concerned parties (Taliban, Government of

Afghanistan, political parties and NATO especially the United States, Heart of Asian countries, especially Pakistan) are included with specific packages and commitments in the peace agreements.

There must be 4 peace agreements:

- First, U.S/NATO-Taliban agreement, on troops withdrawal and cutting ties with the terrorist networks,
- Second inter-Afghan agreement on Government of peace, The Afghan government and political leader's commitment to forming an inclusive or a Government of Peace and The sincere commitment of the Taliban to completely end the war and violence, declare a cease-fire, flexibility in inter-Afghani negotiations, cut ties with terrorist groups, lay down arms and

prepare for integration into the political and civil society and form an inclusive system;

- Third agreement between Peace Government and the neighboring countries and the rest of Heart of Asian countries on forming HARO,
- And fourth Agreement between Heart of Asian countries including Afghanistan and the supporting countries continuing international support for Government of Peace and forming HARO.

Step 3- Transition periods:

Not only do the responsibilities of the stakeholder in the peace treaty specify, but also the stages of political integration, security, and transition to good governance and economic development clearly outlined and the commitments required by the parties concerned to implement it.

- **Political Transition:** Signing the peace agreement, power-sharing, holding the Loya-Jirga, for constitution's reform and forming a peace government with the participation of all major political groups and providing the ground for a new election (within 1 year).
- **Security Transition:** Integration of Taliban forces and irresponsible armed groups into the government body, implementation of security sector reforms, a plan for self-reliant and move towards the formation of a "Joint Regional Peacekeeping Force for Afghanistan" (within 1 years)
- **Transition to good governance and economic development:**

Understanding and implementation of good governance and economic programs. Such as providing quality services, reforming and strengthening institutions, laws, policies, public participation and creating transparency and accountability. as well as developing economic understanding of mining (Afghanistan may be sitting on one of the richest troves of minerals in the world, valued at nearly \$1 trillion, scientists say.¹³) water management, investment, strengthening domestic industries, mechanizing agriculture, Livestock and strengthening regional transit and trade links and moving towards regional cooperation and integration (within 1 years).

- **Transition to a regional governance:** there is common threats, interests and interdependency between Afghanistan and its neighbors and to bring stability and development in Afghanistan there is need for establishing a regional order to enhance peace, economic development and good governance by a regional governance (2years).

Step 4- Guarantees and monitoring the agreements:

- Global and regional powers (US, UK, Russia, China, India, Germany, Turkey and Saudi Arabia),
- UN, NATO, EU, OIC, ASEAN, SAARC, Shanghai and EAEU.
- The neighboring countries (Iran, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan)

Chapter Three: Regional Strategy

Forming the Heart of Asia Regional Order based on regional integration policy
(Within 5 years)

1. Introduction:

What is the need for forming HARO?

There is a strong global movement towards regional integrations and the world is moving toward regionalization in the 21st century. Asia and our region as Heart of Asia are also moving towards regional cooperation and Integration. There are currently at least six regional security and economic Orders in Asia, of which at least one is weak and one-dimensional regional Orders and five other regional for the small countries of our region including Afghanistan and Central Asia are not strategic. For example, the “The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)”, the “Collective Security Treaty Organization” and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the Eurasia regions are formed with the Russian focus. The “Shanghai Cooperation Organization” in the Far East region is centered on China, and “South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation” has been formed in the South Asian region and is centered on India, “The Association of Southeast Asian Nations”(ASEAN) is formed for [Southeast Asia](#) region and the “Gulf Cooperation Council” is formed for Arabic countries of Gulf but Unfortunately, neither of these organizations are strategic for the countries of our region. The only strategic regional origination for our desired region is “Economic Cooperation Organization” but it’s due to 3 factors has failed: lack of people awareness, economic dimension only and the memberships of multiple organizations.

Moreover, according to CSIS, “A geo-economics contest is underway to shape Asia’s future. Regional powers (ASEAN, China, India, Russia, Japan, North Korea, Iran and Turkey) are putting forward ambitious plans for building roads, railways, pipelines, and other hard infrastructure across the region”. The most ambitious projects in Asia are: China’s Silk Road Vision (One Belt One Road), US’ New Silk Road’ initiative and the Indo-Pacific Economic Corridor linking South Asia with Southeast Asia, Russia’s The [Eurasian Economic Union \(EAEU\) and North-South Transport Corridor \(NSTC\)](#), the [Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025](#), Prime Minister [Narendra Modi](#)’s “[Act East](#)” policy aims to strengthen links between India and [ASEAN](#) nations and Chabahar Port, EU’ Vision(Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T) and The EU-China Connectivity platform, Japan’s [Partnership for High Quality Infrastructure](#) and the [Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity](#), North Korea’s Northern and Southern Component. But there is no a clear vision in the HoA Region. If they come together, as a complementary they can create an amazing vision.

<https://reconnectingasia.csis.org/analysis/competing-visions/> Center for Strategic and International Studies.

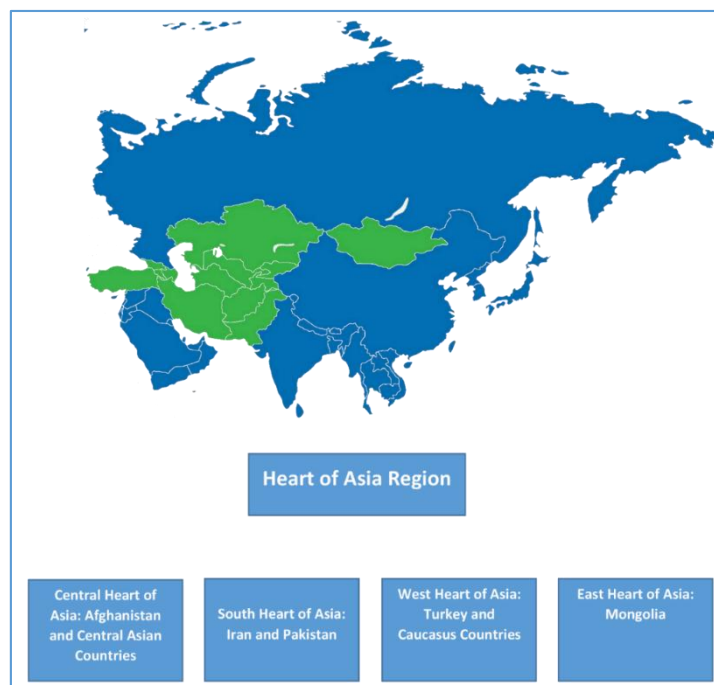
What is the Heart of Asia Regional Order?

In my view, we have to organize the small countries of the region out of the mentioned regional orders, into a separate and strategic regional order, which can be called the "Heart of Asia Regional Order". So that if NATO and US forces leave, HARO can prevent the return of terrorist groups and prevent the rivals of major powers on Heart of Asia Region. The HARO can provide a platform for peace and sustainable development in the Heart of Asia Region. A

regional order that pursues a cooperative International neutral policy in the global level and a regional integration policy inside the Heart of Asia Region.

Where is Heart of Asia?

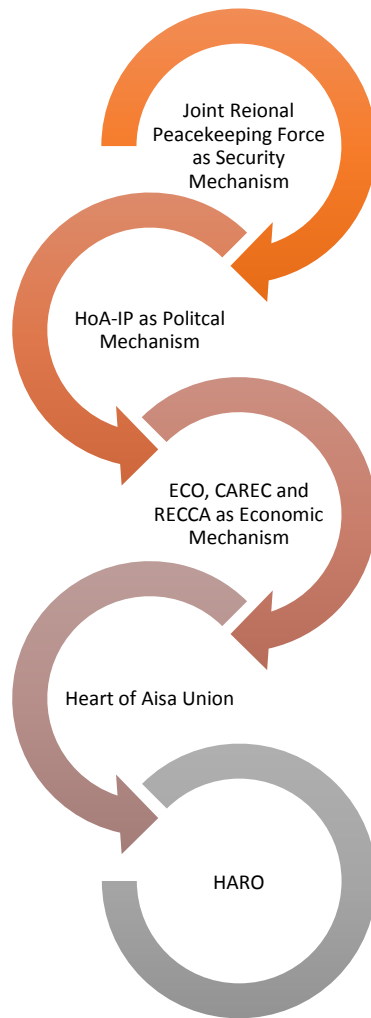
According my understanding, the "Heart of Asia Region" can be divided into four parts: First, the Central Heart of Asia (Afghanistan and Central Asian countries), Second, the South Heart of Asia (Iran and Pakistan), Third, the Western Heart of Asia (Turkey and Caucasus) and fourth, the East Heart Asia (Mongolia).



How to form HARO?

According to the plan, the "Heart of Asia Regional Order" can be formed in four stages: Step One - Agree on the Formation of a Joint Regional Peacekeeping Force as a Security Mechanism (within 2Years); Stage two - Agreeing on Heart of Asia Process as a Regional Political Mechanism

(within 1year), Stage Three - Agree on the RECCA Process, ECO and CAREAC as a Regional Economic Mechanism (within 1year) and Stage 4 - Agree on the integration and promotion of all third (security, political and economic) mechanisms into the "Heart of Asia Integrations Union" (within 1year).



Step 1- Establishing a Regional Peacekeeping Force for Afghanistan as Regional Security Mechanism (within 2year) :

Traditionally, the task of peacekeeping forces was usually to maintain peace by monitoring ceasefire, non-aggression, reaching out to conflicting parties, humanitarian assistance, monitoring the proper implementation of the peace treaty and respect for human rights, but in the modern sense the goal of the peacekeeping forces is not only on maintaining peace but also on achieving sustainable peace by facilitating political procedures, elections, economic development, good governance, security sector reform and the promotion of

human rights standards. The “UN peace operation is different, there is a considerable degree of consistency in the types of mandated tasks assigned by the Security Council. Depending on their mandate, peace operations may be required to: Deploy to prevent the outbreak of conflict or the spill-over of conflict across borders; Stabilize conflict situations after a ceasefire, to create an environment for the parties to reach a lasting peace agreement; Assist in implementing comprehensive peace agreements; Lead states or territories through a transition to stable government, based on democratic principles, good governance and economic development. Depending on the specific set of challenges,

UN peacekeepers are often mandated to play a catalytic role in the following essentially peace building activities: Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants; Mine action; Security sector reform and other rule of law-related activities; Protection and promotion of human rights; Electoral assistance; Support for the restoration and extension of State authority; Promotion of social and economic recovery and development. “(UN website, 2019).

According to the UN modern understanding and possibility of a peace agreement in Afghanistan, establishing a "Regional Peacekeeping force for Afghanistan" can be a good start for Heart of Asia Region. RPFA can be established with a UN- US-NATO presence, plus Afghanistan and its neighbors, for a transition period of 3years. The role of UN, US and NATO, should be to assist, train, consult and preparing the RPFA for taking all responsibilities. This role is for 3years

Step 2 - Agreeing on the Heart of Asia Process as a Political Mechanism (within 1years):

There is a good regional initiative already called “Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process”. The Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process is a regional initiative of Afghanistan and the Republic of Turkey, which was launched on 2 November 2011 in Istanbul. The HoA Current Members are [Afghanistan](#), [Azerbaijan](#), [China](#), [India](#), [Iran](#), [Kazakhstan](#), [Kyrgyzstan](#), [Pakistan](#), [Russia](#), [Saudi Arabia](#), [Tajikistan](#), [Turkey](#), [Turkmenistan](#), [United Arab Emirates](#). Supporting Countries are [Australia](#), [Canada](#), [Denmark](#), [Egypt](#), [European Union](#), [France](#), [Finland](#), [Germany](#), [Iraq](#), [Italy](#), [Japan](#), [Norway](#), [Poland](#), [Spain](#), [Sweden](#), [United Kingdom](#)

only; within the specified time all responsibilities must be transferred to the RPFA completely. Based on root causes of war and instability in Afghanistan an effective regional forces can be established by presence of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran but due to tension between Iran and USA, it would be better to begin with the northern neighbors which I called it the Countries of Amu (Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). after 3years the other neighboring countries and the rest of Heart of Asia Countries can be included to this regional forces and it can be upgrade and promoted to a permanent regional force which we can called it “Heart of Asia Joint forces for Defense and Security”. The major regional and global powers and Organizations including UN can have a supportive and supervisory role. The financial issues can be provided, 50% by countries of region and 50% by donors. This force can counter terrorism, narcotics and transnational crime networks also.

and [United States](#) and Supporting Organizations are [United Nations](#), [AKDN](#), [CAREC](#), [CICA](#), [SAARC](#), [ADB](#), [CSTO](#), [ECO](#), [NATO](#), [OIC](#), [OSCE](#) and [SCO](#). The process aims to promote regional security, economic and political cooperation centered on Afghanistan through Political consultations, Confidence Building measures (CBMs) and Cooperation with Regional Organizations. (MoFA, Regional Cooperation Directorate, 2019). I suggest, the HoA-IP as a political mechanism for the “Heart of Asia Regional Order”. The HoA-IP should be reformed According to HARO. This reforms must include name, members and goals.

Step 3 - Agree on the integration of ECO, CAREC and RECCA as an Economic Mechanism (within 1years):

The economic mechanism of HARO can come from the reform and integration of existing regional economic organizations such as the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation Organization (CAREC). The aim of the reform is to establish a mechanism without the presence of major world powers, and second, to integrate all economic organizations into one single economic mechanism.

Step 4 - Agree on the integration and promotion of all three- security, political

2. Supportive Actions:

In order to achieve these major goals, the following steps are necessary:

- **At the National Level-Making It Part of Peace Agreement:** The Afghanistan Peace Agreement is a good platform for starting a basic compromise on HARO. This compromise and cooperation can be started on founding a Regional Security Mechanism (Regional Peacekeeping Force for Afghanistan). Therefore, it's important to share this plan with the government, political leaders and Taliban.
- **At the Regional Level-Bringing a Regional Consensuses on HARO:** it's important to start compromising with the countries of HAR on founding the HARO.
- **At the Global Level- Agreement of Powers on A Cooperative Region:** in the global level it's important to bring

and economic mechanisms into the "Heart of Asia Union" (within 1 years).

The Heart of Asia union is the final stage of HARO. It can be formed through the integration of three (security, political and economic) mechanisms. Security Mechanism (Joint Regional Peacekeeping Force) Political Mechanism (Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process) and Economic Mechanism (RECCA, ECO and CAREC). All other process of regional integrations such as founding Heart of Asia Parliament, Common Market, Common currency, Common Visa, etc. can be established in the framework of HAU.

a consensuses and agreement among all stakeholders including great powers on the forming of a cooperative Regional Order in the Heart of Asia (Heart of Asia Union).

- **At the Governments Level-Founding the Ministry of Regional Integrations:** in order to move towards regional Integration, it is necessary for Heart of Asian countries to adopt a series reforms in national policies and institutions towards regional Integration. These reforms could be start by establishing a regional desk in each ministry and in particular forming a Ministry of Regional Integrations in all member countries. In Afghanistan, the Government in recent years has launched many regional initiatives such as HoA-IP and RECA and many regional agreements (TAPI, CSA1000, Chabahar Port and Railways,) but

there is no a single body to follow up this issues. Because the regional cooperation is a new phenomenon in the country and region. That's why the "MoRI" should be formed. The new ministry can be established with the merging of Ministry of Border and Tribal Affairs, DM Customs, Ministry of Finance, Border police of MOI and Directorate of Regional Cooperation and Directorate of Border and Security Cooperation of MFA. Government of Afghanistan shall form an expert team inside the ministry to follow up all Afghanistan regional mechanisms and regional agreements, especially to start negotiations with the neighboring countries and bringing regional consensus on the Idea of "HARO".

- **At the People level- Launching the HEART OF ASIA NATIONS INTEGRATION MOVEMENT**

3. Goals, Benefits and Conditions:

A-Goals:

- To sustain stability and security and provide a sustainable peace, economic development and prosperity for Afghanistan and the Heart of Region;
- To found a strategic regional platform for regional Integrations inside the region;
- To create a ground for cooperation among global and regional powers on Afghanistan the region.

B-Benefits to its Stakeholders:

- Its benefits for global and regional powers are reducing cost of war by stopping competitions, proxy wars and

(HANIM): in the whole world, the people are considered the greatest force for change. In order to achieve the above objectives, it is necessary to launch a popular and regional movement by the elites, intellectuals and civil societies of the region. It is expected that this regional movement as a pressure group will force the Heart of Asian governments to move towards regional Integration. To reach that goals, the below programs shall be undertaking: Friendship Association of Border Cities, Caravan of Regional Integration Ambassadors, Heart of Asia Regional Discourse, Friendship Association of Parliaments of the Heart of Asian countries. In the future it could be transformed to a real Parliament, Heart of Asia Chamber of Commerce to work for Free Trade Area and creating Institute of Heart of Asia for Regional studies.

creating a common ground for their cooperation,

- Its benefits for HAR is to create a sense of responsibility and cooperation among counties of region on Countering common threats and ensuring common interests such as security, stability, sustainable peace and economic development through regional Integration.

C-Conditions and Limitations:

- The HARO, is limited to all small and vulnerable Countries of the region such as Afghanistan, Central Asian, Magnolia and Caucuses countries. the countries have geographical linkages

and share common history and cultures and level of their populations and geography and economy is not much different and they have same security and political destiny,

- The Semi-powerful countries such as Pakistan, Turkey and Iran would be included to this Order whenever their current policies and institutions changed towards equal relationship as precondition for regional integrations.
- The HARO, does not include great regional powers such as Russia, China and India; because they are coming from different civilizations, have more populations, strong economy and military and moreover they are part of another region and have their own regional order already,
- Global and major regional powers such as USA, Russia, China, India and international and regional organizations such as UN, NATO, EU, Shanghai, SARCC, ASEAN, EEU, CST, GCC and OIC can be monitoring members of this new regional Order (HARO).
- The HARO can play role of a Cooperative Region among great powers and organizations and its policy inside HAR would be integrations and collective security but with the other major regional and global powers and organizations would be a neutral cooperative policy.
- The HARO process would be started from a simple cooperation to a complete integration.

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Mohibullah Noori is the founder of Heart of Asia Nations Integrations Movement (HANIM). Mr. Noori was a Ph.D. candidate in International Relations-Regional Integration at Pune University, India on 2010-2015 but could not complete it and received his Master's Degree in Political Science from same University. He received a post-graduate Degree in International Relations, Human Rights and role of International Law from the College of Abida-Inamdar-Pune-India on 2010 and also a post-graduate diploma from NATO Defense College-Rome-Italy on Regional Cooperation Course, on global security and international organizations. He holds a BA in Law and Political Science from Kabul University in 2007.

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Mehr Brief series aims at bringing you scholarly articles and journals from prominent Afghan and International authors about the Afghan Peace process. Under Mehr Brief series, authors provide opinions, critiques, and expert views, from scholarly perspectives on the conflict in Afghanistan, and the conduct of the peace negotiations and peace settlement by the Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the U.S. Government, and other stakeholders.


The roots of the term 'Mehr' is the Indu-Iranian. The term 'Mehr' was taken from the root of "Mithra", which is one of the oldest gods in the ancient Persia. Mehr or Mithra means "light, lightening, friendship, unity, connectivity and affection" in Persian language. Mehr is against falsehood, mendacity, perjury and unkindness. 'Mehr' is a word that links to God and is the best divine gift. 'Mehr', is the beacon for a brighter tomorrow and brighter horizon. In Persian cultures, 'Mehr' is translated as angels of kindness, friendship and wisdom that bring goodness, joy and peace.

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