

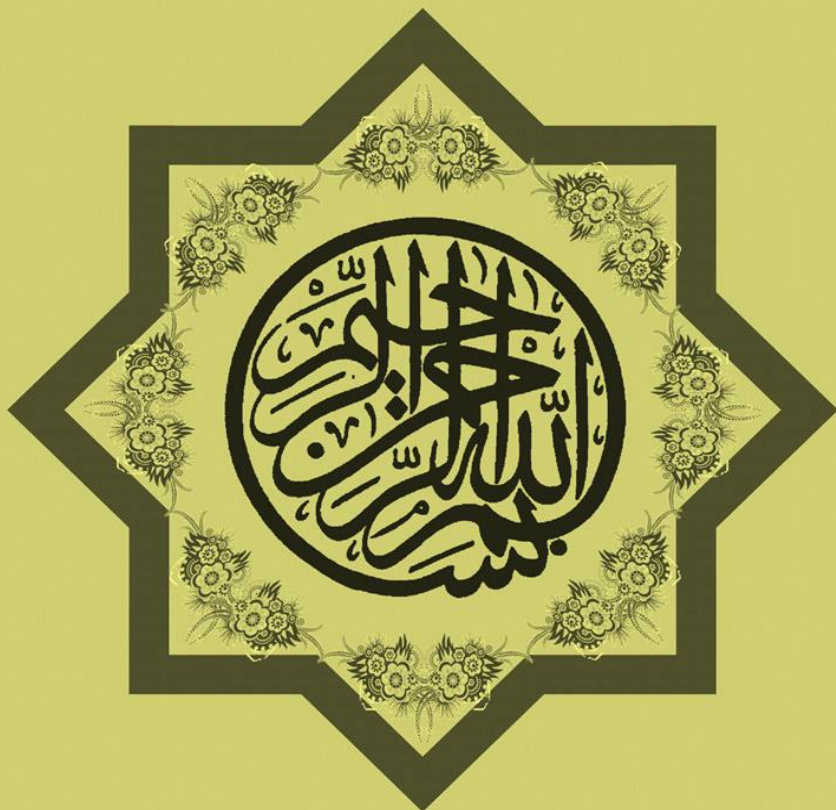
Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan

(A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands)



The Contact group for peace
The Youths & New Generation peace Jirga

Summer 2022



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Contact Group for Peace and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga

Summer 2022 – Kabul

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Acknowledgement

It is crucial to be reminded that completion of this research study which basically aims to observe and examine the struggles, efforts and demands of the New Generation and Youths to ensure peace in Afghanistan, a brief review of the peace processes and the reasons for the failure of Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha, and an overview of the factors for long-term crisis and hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan, would not have been possible without comprehensive cooperations of the Contact Group for Peace and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga colleagues.

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Together for Afghanistan

Sincerely

The Leadership of the Contact Group for Peace

And the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga

Abstract

This research entitled "Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan; A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands" has been conducted using a qualitative content analysis method. According to the findings of this research, Afghanistan's peace efforts have been pursued by the then governments, the United States of America and the United Nations' peacekeeping mission with the Islamic Movement of Taliban in the last two decades. On the Afghan side, the peace processes have been pursued by the technocrats who were in government, the Jihadist Parties or their representatives, and the Taliban side, without meaningful engagement of representatives of the New Generation and Youths. The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan, from the Afghanistan National Youth Conference (2011) to the Afghanistan Youths Peace National Jirga (2012), and eventually to the establishment of the Youth Contact Group for Peace (That is currently abbreviated to Contact Group for Peace) (2019 till date), have made efforts for achieving (Peace and Stability) by holding "New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas" and Peace Summits in 30 provinces, conducting meetings and conferences, issuing frequent statements and participating in media programs and discussions.

The resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits show that the demands of the New Generation and Youths encompass "resolving conflicts through negotiation and political agreement, establishing an inclusive political system, ensuring ceasefire and permanent end to the war, lasting peace, preventing the destruction of public infrastructures, protecting military structures, administrations, civil and administrative systems, supporting elections and the constitution, preserving the last two decades achievements such as social, economic and political achievements, protecting rights of citizens, particularly women's rights, freedom of the media, monitoring peace processes and continuation of global financial assistance". Considering the extensive political changes in the country, the New Generation and Youths suggest "the initiative of a new round of peace talk and formation of an inclusive, stable, strong and accountable government" for the purpose of achieving "Permanent Peace and Lasting Stability" by the Islamic Emirate in consultation with other influential movements, the new generation, youths and women of Afghanistan.

Keywords: Conflict, Reconciliation, Hostile Interaction of Power, Unsuccessful Peace, New Generation and Youths.

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Introduction

In the last half century, Afghanistan has been struggling with the hostile interactions of power. These aggressive interactions are inextricably linked to the forms of coups, aggression and occupation, the imposition of various Eastern and Western systems and ideologies, un-formation of an inclusive political system, and governments' financial, military, and political ties with other countries. On the other hand, Afghanistan's geographical location in a tense area between countries in its neighboring region and the world has kept the flames of war burning and prolonged the conflict crisis. In addition to the forehead factors, the exploitation of conflicting sides from ethnic, linguistic and regional issues has added cultural violence to the other calamities in the country. Finally, Afghanistan has undergone an aggressive interaction of power and prolonged wars. Beside this, in the last half century, Afghanistan's peace efforts since the Geneva Accords (1988), which led to the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to Dr. Najibullah's National Reconciliation Policy, the UN and Benon Sivan Peace Policy, the Peshawar and Islamabad Agreements, the Bonn Conference and agreements, and the US agreement with the Taliban in Doha (2019), which led to the withdrawal of US and NATO troops from Afghanistan; none of them has been successful in bringing peace to the country. In the last two decades, the peace efforts of Afghanistan's then governments with the Taliban, by participation of technocrats in the government, Jihadist Parties, the inexistence of meaningful engagement of the New Generation, Youths and Women in decision-making, have yielded a traditional and tedious diplomacy. Eventually, due increasing military dominance of Taliban from provinces to Kabul and for various reasons, the peace process of Afghanistan kept failing.

Afghanistan is still involved in hostile interactions. Because of increasing military dominance of Taliban from the provinces to Kabul, a lot of officials of former government have fled the country. A number of leaders and representatives of Jihadist parties and political movements who had been

invited to Pakistan for a meeting, have not returned to the country. Senior members of the government's security and defense forces also left the country. Colleagues of foreign forces, prosecutors, judges and a number of media activists fled the country too. The public have lost the sense of psychological security due to fear of losing social freedoms and confronting extreme poverty and unemployment. The civil-political activists of the New Generation and Youths, considering the current situation of the country, are concerned about their political future and engagement, un-formation of an inclusive system and government, governance approach, peace and stability, and other social, economic and political issues of the country. On the other hand, some extremist and fundamentalist groups are actively striving to recruit and absorb people and to pose a challenge to the security and stability of Afghanistan, the region and the world. However, a return to armed disputes is still probable.

Beside the above factors, the Taliban movement with its claim to the Islamic Emirate is following the footsteps of their previous governance. Still, the inclusive government and political structure upon mutual agreement of the Afghan sides is not built. Meanwhile, a roadmap, a clear scheme for national and international legitimacy, the constitution, the political structure accepted by all Afghan sides, elections or an inclusive Loya Jirga have not been presented, and the opinion and claims of the Islamic Emirate have been forced upon other sides. This may work in the short term, but will once again trigger conflict and hostile interaction of power in the country in the long run.

With this in mind, this research study basically observes and explore the struggles, efforts and demands of the New Generation and Youths to ensure peace in Afghanistan, recalling a brief review of the Afghanistan's peace processes and the reasons for the failure of the Afghanistan's peace process in Doha and reviewing the factors of the prolonged crisis and hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan.

This research report is organized into four chapters. Chapter I, outlines the Theoretical Framework of Research. Chapter II, presents an overview of the Hostile Interactions of Power and the Afghanistan's Peace Processes. Chapter III, deals with Data Analysis, Resolutions and Group Interview to address the demands of the New Generation and Youths. Finally, Chapter IV is dedicated to Conclusion and Suggestions.

Research Methodology

1. Problem Statement

For large part of its history, Afghanistan has been suffering from foreign aggression and civil war. In the last half century, with the coup of Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan (1973) against the administration of Mohammad Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan, peace and stability and social harmony disappeared from the country. Following this incident, the problem of legitimacy, the structure of the political system, the manner of governance, the mechanism of participation in power and decision-making, external financial, military and political affiliations, and continuation of violence in Afghanistan became a constant cycle of hostile interactions of power. As soon as a war ends, another war flares up. In addition to being involved in the longest conflict, Afghanistan is located in a region which is full of disputes, conflicts, violence, and regional and global rivalries. These factors have turned Afghanistan into an irregular politics, destructive and deadly battlefield. An old American proverb describes the state of war as follows: "When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." In Afghanistan's armed conflicts, beside human casualty and financial losses and destructions on internal and external sides, Afghanistan and its people have suffered the most. As a result of conflicts, millions of Afghans have lost their lives, and even a greater number have become orphans, widows, homeless/displaced and forced to flee the country. Eventually, Afghanistan has turned into a land where governments do not last, development is never realized, and its people are still living in extreme poverty with inadequate access to health, education, transport, electricity and other welfare services in the 21st century.

In the last half century, none of Afghanistan's peace efforts has translated into lasting peace in this country. The Geneva Accords between Afghanistan and Pakistan Governments, with presence of the then Soviet Union and the United States of America (April 1988), led to the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but did not bring peace to Afghanistan. "National Reconciliation Policy (August, 1986) proposed by Dr. Najibullah Ahmadzai, President of the

Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, was rejected by then Jihadist Parties and Figures through announcements. The UN Peace Policy and the efforts of Benon Sivan (November, 1990) did not materialize. The Rawalpindi-Peshawar (April 26,1992) and Islamabad (February 1993) political agreements between Jihadi Parties and Organizations, not only failed to form a consensual government and political structure, but also flared up the civil war. Following that, schisms, conflict over power, and occurrence of civil wars, the Islamic Movement of Taliban launched an armed battle against the Mujahideen Government, claiming that they are fighting against evil and corruption.

As a result, they gained the power and they established the Islamic Emirate in 1996. However, the then Islamic Emirate failed to achieve national and international legitimacy, forming of an inclusive political structure and the agreement with Afghanistan's conflict sides. In fact, the peacebuilding program was not adopted during this period. Finally, the Islamic Emirate collapsed after the incident of 9/11 following the US-led coalition forces attack to Afghanistan. Therefore, the Bonn Conference was held between Afghan sides for the purpose of transferring political management of the country to the Afghans, in the absence of representatives from the Taliban and Hezb-e-Islami. Thus, the first step was taken to establish the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

In the last two decades, there have been severe armed conflicts between US-led coalition forces, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and the Islamic Movement of Taliban. Despite the war, Afghanistan's peace efforts with the Taliban were pursued for the years. On the internal side, Technocrats, Jihadist Parties, or their representatives and the Taliban were engaged in the Afghan peace process. But Afghanistan's New Generation and Youths, despite bearing heavy casualties in the conflict's sides, forming more than half of Afghanistan's population and being called effective and dynamic force in society, have not been engaged in the decision-making. However, the New Generation and Youths have made tremendous efforts beyond the government's agenda and have put forth specific demands for bringing peace in Afghanistan, which will be addressed in this research study.

In the last twenty years, a new ray of hope has arisen for the New Generation and Youths. On the one hand, the New Generation and Youths have significantly empowered themselves in a wide range field including education, technology and new innovations, economics and trade, health, agriculture, literature and culture, participation in the defense and security forces, civil-political activities and the media. On the other hand, they have paid countless losses in the conflict's sides. Nevertheless, in the field of "Peace Advocacy and Campaign" the New Generation and Youths were largely divided, and there was no consensus and convergence between them. Finally, the New Generation and Youths did not have a meaningful presence in peace talks and decision-makings, and their voices and demands were not heard carefully.

Following the peace efforts; The Peace High Council of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, chaired by Pir Sayed Ahmad Gilani, reached a peace agreement with Hekmatyar's Islamic Party on September 22, 2016, and the United States of America entered into an agreement with the Taliban

in Doha on February 29, 2020. However, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan have never achieved a political peace agreement with the Islamic Movement of Taliban. Eventually, the Taliban ascended back to the power through tough fighting at the negotiation table and on the battlefield, and by extending their dominance from the provinces to Kabul.

In conclusion, on the one hand, the Afghanistan's war and peace issues in the form of occupation, legitimacy crisis, the political system and structure, mechanism of participation in decision-making, manner of governance and financial affiliations transformed the "Afghanistan's War and Peace" into a cycle of destructive and deadly hostile interactions. On the other hand, the unsuccessful peace processes of Afghanistan have drowned the governments over the last half century like a whirlwind, and have inflicted countless calamities on the people of Afghanistan.

2. Research Questions

Considering the problem statement, the Afghanistan's conflict has not yet been fundamentally resolved. Hence, the questions still remain:

- How could the Afghanistan's conflict be ended?
- What is the knot to armed conflict, hostile interactions, and the continued crisis in Afghanistan?
- What ups and downs has the unsuccessful Afghanistan peace process gone through and which sides have been engaged in peace efforts and decision-making?
- In the last two decades, what efforts have the New Generation and the Youths made to bring peace to Afghanistan?
- What are the root causes for the failure of the Afghan peace process in Doha, from the New Generation and the Youths perspectives?
- What are the criticisms, demands and suggestions of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan to achieve lasting peace and stability?

3. Research Hypotheses

It appears that:

1. Afghanistan is still entangled in a long cycle of hostile interactions, and despite the establishment of governments, a reversion to armed conflict is still probable. Whenever the opportunity arises, the scene is set for a return to armed conflicts and the battlefield. For the past half-century, Afghanistan's conflicts have been tied to crisis of legitimacy, nature of the system, inclusive and efficient political structure, financial dependence on foreign resources, the existence of terrorism hubs, and Afghanistan's location in a tense area.

2. Afghanistan's peace processes from the Geneva Accords to the Bonn Conference have never translated into lasting peace in Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Afghan government's peace process with the Taliban post Bonn Conference, by engagement of technocrats in power, Jihadi parties, Taliban Movement and without meaningful engagement of the New Generation and Youths in decision-makings, had made a soulless and failed peacebuilding diplomacy, and failed to create a political peace agreement between the then Republic Government and the Taliban.
3. In the last two decades, although the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan have not been meaningfully involved in the decision-makings, they have been making efforts to bring peace and ensure stability by establishing institutions, organizing movements, formulating programs, holding meetings, conferences, jirgas and summits, and staging protests and marches.
4. The reasons for the failure of the Afghan peace process in Doha depended on three sides; the republican side and leadership of Afghanistan's Ex-government, the countries involved in the Afghanistan peace process and the United States, and the Taliban. However, the role of the Afghanistan's Ex-government leadership in its failure is more highlighted.
5. The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan, despite their diligent and dedicated efforts to solve the Afghanistan crisis through dialogue, negotiation and political agreement, have criticized the mismanagement of the Afghanistan's peace process. Finally, the demands of the New Generation and Youths seems to include "conflict resolution through negotiation and political agreement, establishment of an inclusive system, ceasefire, permanent cessation of war and ensuring lasting peace, preventing the destruction of public infrastructures, preservation of the administrative and executive system, supporting elections and the constitution, preserving the achievements of the past two decades, such as social, political and economic achievements, citizens' rights especially women's rights, freedom of expressions, the press and media, overseeing peace processes and continuation of international financial supports."

4. Data Collection Method

The research data was compiled using a mixed methodology (library and field research). The population and sample of the research are as follows:

4-1. Population

The population of this research study consisted of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan in 30 provinces.

4-2. Sample Size

The research data was collected using a purposive sampling method from among 11286 people (8235 men and 3051 women) from the age range of 18-35 years.

5. Data Analysis Method

The research datasets were analyzed using the qualitative content analysis method. Content analysis is a method that systematically and objectively explores communication messages where the answers to questions are deduced from the content of the message. In this study, using the content analysis method, first, the concepts are defined functionally. Second, the data are categorized. Third, indicators are determined. Fourth, sampling has taken place and finally, the research findings are supported by group interviews with a number of leadership members of the Contact Group, and the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga.

6. Research Objectives

This important study aims to infer and explore the criticisms, demands and suggestions of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan to ensure "lasting peace and stability" in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework

Today, when we open web pages, flip through newspapers, follow mass media, or flip through books and articles, we come across perplexing news, headlines, articles and information about the war and peace in Afghanistan, which make us wonder what future hold for this country? Furthermore, more questions are raised about where Afghanistan is heading? What will be the state of war and peace? And will Afghanistan achieve lasting stability? These questions have been associated with wonders from peace studies and rooted in "Continued Conflicts" and "Unsuccessful Peace".

Undoubtedly, any academic and methodical research calls for a literature review. Thus, in this chapter, we seek to answer these questions: "What is peace studies? By what characteristics and under what conceptual framework can conflict and reconciliation be studied and analyzed? Finally, we look for a theoretical framework and a model for the analysis of the research data.

1. Research on Peace

Research on peace, as in other fields of study, requires a certain set of skills, knowledge and methodology. Peace studies represents efforts, activities and actions that are taken regarding the concept of peace, the context and conditions of peace in the countries and societies that struggle with conflicts. (Hasrat, 2013: 196). In other words, peace research could be construed as an activity intended for peace and focused on peacebuilding. Moreover, the strategy of evaluating activities and efforts for ensuring peace and conflict resolution is also known as peace research. (Berghof, 2012: 69)

In the first half of the 20th century, peace research, mainly influenced by the two World Wars, became methodical and gained recognition as an academic field "Peace and Conflict Studies".

Peace and Conflict Studies is one of the interdisciplinary studies fields in social science. In peace studies, conditions, dynamics, and contexts are explained in which the underlying roots of the conflict are studied and recognized, then methods and means of peacebuilding are presented. (Kurtz, 2007: 810)

Peace research requires specific methodology, concept logy, theoretical foundations, approaches, and paradigms to conduct peace research projects and programs. In the absence of a scientific method, lack of familiarity with research literature, vague language and clear definitions of concepts, theories, approaches and views, you can neither talk to individuals, policymakers, and the general public nor interpret the behaviors and reactions of individuals in the community. Therefore, technical concepts and terms that are widely used in the field of peace research are actually crucial tools to understand research findings. (Erin McCandless, 2007: 85)

Applied Peace Studies requires fieldwork and activities in various conflict affected areas. Therefore, in peace studies projects, drivers such as statistical population, statistical population indicators, statistical population reliance on groups, their influence from peace and conflict, geography of the field research, research duration, educational background, gender and other effective factors should be considered. Peace study methodology needs to be adoptable to changes and variations comes over in the style, conditions and subject of conflict in a society. (Galtung, 1973: 401-403)

Finally, in peace research there is a direct relationship between conflict and peace. Studying one necessitate studying the other. Therefore, we need to refer to definition of the conceptual framework of "Conflict" and "Reconciliation" and the presentation of analysis models.

2. Theoretical Framework of the Conflict

2-1. Definition of Conflict

In English, conflict is expressed by words such as battle, clash and combat, and in Persian, it is described by terms such as “contradiction, discord, violence, sedition, war, strife and battle”. (Dehkhoda, 1946: ρ). However, in Peace Research Literature, the word “conflict” is more common. Conflict arises when there is a contradiction between the attitudes, actions and reactions of individuals, groups and governments. In this study, the term "armed conflict" has been extensively used. Armed conflict (war) is a way of gaining and exercising power by using force in power relations. According to the international humanitarian law, armed conflict stands on four pillars: the organizational element (governments, organizations and groups), the materialistic element (the exercise of power), the spiritual element (intention) and, finally, purposefulness. (Bigdeli, 2015: 21-22)

Armed conflict has always amazed scholars and writers. Ancient writers such as Thucydides (Thucydides, 1912) and contemporary scholars such as Quincy Wright (Wright, 1942) and Richard Barnett (Barnett, 1978) have analyzed the causes, aspects, forms, and consequences of armed conflict.

2-2. Conflict Classification

Researchers usually classify armed conflict based on its occurrence location, factors, casualties, and other indicators. Armed conflict is categorized into three groups based on the scale of casualties:

- 1) Small-scale armed conflict: It describes a fight between forces in which one side is the Government. This armed conflict has (fewer than 25 lives lost over a year).
- 2) Medium-scale armed conflict: This type of conflict is defined based on casualty scale of (more than 25 but less than 1,000 people in a year).
- 3) Large-scale armed conflict: This type of conflict is defined based on casualty scale of (more than 1000 people in a year). (Leadrak, 2017: 28)

This classification has been widely adopted by researchers with slight differences. Unfortunately, over the last half-century, and especially in the last two decades, armed conflicts between governments and armed groups in Afghanistan have fallen in the category of large-scale armed conflicts in terms of intensity, casualties and victims.

According to the classification of armed conflict based on the scale of casualties, the Afghanistan conflict from 2001-2021 is categorized as large-scale armed conflict in all years. The people of Afghanistan, both military and civilian, men and women, children, youths and elders from all sides and groups involved in armed conflicts, have been the victims of these bloody wars.

2-3. Characteristics of Communities Involved in Conflict

There are generally some common characteristics among communities involved in conflict. Because most armed conflicts are characterized by certain patterns and are fueled by identical global resources. Researchers have listed a number of characteristics of communities involved in armed conflict as follows:

- Most armed conflicts spread in isolated and remote societies that are in the grip of poverty, inequality and "underdevelopment". There are a very smaller number of conflicts happening in "developing" countries. However, armed conflicts in "developed" countries are even rarer. As an underdeveloped or developing country, Afghanistan has always been the victim of civil armed conflicts which have international dimensions.
- In almost all cases, conflicts have been fueled by internal causes. This means that conflicts have taken place between domestic groups within the borders of a country. Even though

the majority of conflicts appear to be domestic at first glance, they have some international dimensions, especially if the fighters or opposition groups settle in neighboring countries, and financial resources and weapons are flowing to them from far and near regions. Such armed conflicts can be named as "Internal Conflicts with an International Dimension". Internal conflicts with international dimension contribute not only to instability in the home country, but also to instability in the region and even in the world. In the last half-century, following the coup of Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan against the kingdom of Zahir Shah, Daoud Khan's tendency to the West, and formation of disputes between Khalq and Parcham factions, and finally, the invasion of the former Soviet Union in Afghanistan, jihad against occupation, and subsequently, internal armed conflict with an international dimension was established. The formation and affiliation of Afghans Islamic and Jihadi Parties to the countries of Pakistan and Iran is an example of what we have claimed.

- Legitimization of using weapons, especially by nation-states for ensuring security and defense purposes. The world has always been considering the manufacture of weapons as a legitimate and profitable industry. Easy access to weapons can increase the scale of violence in conflicts. Following the several foreign invasions of Afghanistan, a large scale of weapons and ammunition poured into the country. On the other hand, the countries which are giving backup to Afghanistan's war, funded and equipped the conflict sides, and even developed second and third hand arms markets in the country. Therefore, as in other conflict-involved communities, access to weapons is facilitated in this country.
- In societies involved in armed conflict, the identity of the people is not necessarily defined by their citizenship. Identity correlation seems to occur among limited groups, but all citizens are not unified under a national banner. The people of these societies seek security and rely on identities that are comparable to their own experiences and they can wield control over that. These identity components can be tribe, ethnicity, religion, language, geographical affiliation, or a combination of them. Afghanistan also fell into fragmented tribal, ethnic, religious, and linguistic identities after the civil war. The grand perception in such identities is, "If you fail to prevail, you would be dominated."
- Such societies suffer from dispersion of power and formation of different groups. One of the complexities of knowing the armed conflicts is the multiplicity of rival factions and groups that usually engagement in armed competition for power and recognition. They have determinate hostility, hatred and the strengthening of group solidarity in response to the threats of their rivals. In societies like Afghanistan, false assumptions about opposing groups, conflict of interest in party and group, dark history of war and cliched definitions from each other, have doubled the length of conflict.
- Communities involved in long-term conflict, are engaged with hostility, hatred and fear of ethnic, religious and other social groups, especially since the groups have been through mutual hostilities over decades and even generations. The grand assumption in such societies is that the enemy is not beyond the border, but enemy is in the same neighboring

village and even in your neighborhood. Individuals and social groups with such a mentality can be easily manipulated by others. (Leadrak, 2017: 6-40)

The characteristics of the communities involved in conflict and their adaptation to the Afghanistan's conditions indicates that civil war with an international dimension, and fueling of armed parties and groups by the counties of neighbors, region and world, and referring of conflict sides to the ideological, ethnic, religious, linguistic and even regional issues, have fragmented the Afghanistan society and incoherent identities. The legitimacy of using the weapons and the existence of neighboring, regional and world countries behind the war, have created lasting wars in the country.

2-4. Framework of Conflict Analysis

As stated earlier, peace and conflict studies are interrelated. Peace researchers, including Johan Galtung by presenting a triangular picture of the conflict: **a.** contradictions **b.** attitudes/assumptions **c.** behaviors indicate the true nature of peace. (Galtung, 1973: 16) The conflict indicators are analyzed within this framework:

Contradictions: It indicates the situation which the conflicting sides assume they have incompatible goals. These perceptions may or may not be true. Interests and conflicts of interest can give rise to such contradictions between them. For instance, the origin of legitimacy, the nature of the system, the political structure, the mechanisms of participation and the manner of governance are examples of contradictions from the perspective of the rulers, parties and groups involved in the Afghanistan conflicts.

Attitudes/Assumptions: In the triangle of the conflict, attitude is called for the understanding and misunderstanding of the conflicting sides towards each other and even themselves. Attitudes manifest in actions or reactions. For example, the mutual understanding of the Afghanistan's conflict sides from each other and the abuse of Takfiri and humiliating cliches such as apostates, ashraf, shar – o – fesad, autocrate, spy, and foreign servant.

Behaviors: The action and reaction of the conflicting sides, are their behaviors. Conflict is inherently linked to violence, whether physical or cultural violence. Violence in its own way, manifests in three forms: Direct and Physical Violence such as armed conflict, structural violence such as government structure and formation, and cultural violence like gender, ethnicity, group and religious discriminations, etc.

Therefore, the existence of contradictions, attitudes and violent behaviors form a complete conflict. In Johan Galtung's approach, no phenomenon or situation could appear without certain factors and contexts.

3. Theoretical Framework of Reconciliation

3-1. Definition of Peace

Peace is not an absolute concept, but it is an intellectual concept that can be processed from different perspectives. Peace in the Persian dictionary means compromise, reconciliation, kindness, conflict resolution and an agreement to solve a dispute. (Moein, 2008: ص) Peace is also defined as the cessation of war, and armed conflict, thereby eliminating hatred among people (Rigi, 2007: ص). As well as, peace in Oxford Learner's Dictionary is defined as a situation or a period of time in which there is no war or violence in a country or an area.

Peace in Islam refers to the elimination of hatred among people, compromise between conflicting sides, avoidance of riot and other similar concepts. Allah the almighty says in verse 128 of An-Nisa Surah: "There is goodness in peace". This short and meaningful sentence expresses a general law based on which peace, harmony and friendship are the first rules everywhere. And conflict and separation are contrary to the nature of human and his comfortable life. Also, in the Holy Qur'an, the word "Righteous" has been used to describe and identify the virtuous, the deserving, and the Olu-Al-Aql (including angels, humans, and fairies). The Prophet of Islam, Hazrat Mohammad Mustafa (PBUH), was the founder of several peace agreements, such as the peace of "Bani Zamra", "Bani Modlej" and "Peace of Hodaybiyyah". (Hamed, 2016: 43-44). In other religions as well, particular attention has been allocated to a peaceful life.

According to the Dutch philosopher, Baruch Spinoza, "Peace does not mean the absence of war, but it is a virtue that comes from the force of life, and just as freedom does not imply the state of not being imprisoned, peace also does not mean the absence of war." In addition, the concept of peace should not be confused with the ceasefire, because "peace" is defined as putting an end to conflict and ceasing of war. Peace is not suppression, suffocation, exile, elimination, killing and deprivation by resorting to force. Also, peace is not the silence by force. Peace is a compromise, an agreement, and a fundamental solution to the conflict and the removal of riot. Peace is a legitimate, lawful, irenic and non-violent political action. Finally, peace is not provided by imposing one group's desires and values to another.

Peace reveals images of discipline, unity, and prosperity. Peace is a feeling of respect and security. Moreover, peace is not constrained to a limited number of people, and if preserved for the benefit of some but not all, peace will be ridiculous. Peace is the opposite of war. Every war brings tremendous pain and rooted enmity. This is the nature of war that the neighbors may frighten each other, or even a family member might sometimes frighten his kins. It prompts everyone into committing to kill and shedding blood. (Leadrak, 2017: 48-49)

3-2. Peace Classification

Theorists, researchers and thinkers of peace and conflict studies, classified peace into positive peace, negative peace, armed peace, brave peace, justice peace, true peace, stable/steady peace, democratic peace, perpetual peace, permanent peace and sustainable peace. They also categorized peace into global, regional, and national peace based on its scope.

The conceptual framework of peace that we are focusing in this research, is sustainable peace. Therefore, to prevent the extension of the discussion, we avoid explaining other concepts and focus on the conceptual framework of sustainable peace.

Sustainable peace has recently come into the peace studies field. The transition from intellectual concepts of peace to sustainable peace (applied and practical) gained momentum when international peacekeeping organizations, including the United Nations, have not acted successfully in their peacekeeping missions as expected. (Hasrat, 2013:19)

Sustainable peace is an applied concept that belongs to practical actions. It means, sustainable peace, along with other practical steps of conflict resolution, emphasizes on the two principles of governance and empowerment. When good governance monitors all levels of society, and by empowerment along with skill training and the distribution of opportunities by which we can discover the causes of conflict, and enable conflicting sides to reach a peaceful solution, then it could be argued that practical groundwork has been laid for sustainable peace (Peck, 1998:15)

In other words, sustainable peace means that old enemies not only put down their weapons, but also gain deep reconciliation by establishing lasting and broad social mechanisms and relationships in which justice is ensured, and enmity and hostility are eliminated. Sustainable peace presents a long-term vision of transition from conflict and peacebuilding as an integrated process of roles, functions and activities. To meet the needs of today's world, peace-making must be practical and approachable, and should be rooted in internal experimental realities that shape people's perspectives and needs. (Hasrat, 2013:20)

Reconciliation is the process by which a third party seeks to settle a dispute between conflicting sides, and tries to find a friendly solution to their disputes. The idea of reconciliation is the junction between "realism" and "practical initiative" in dealing with the challenges of contemporary conflicts. (Slim, 1994: 43) The reconciliation can be more precisely understood by addressing three specific paradoxes. First, reconciliation in a broad sense, on one hand, the confrontation between the free expression of the grueling past and on the other hand, nurtures the efforts to outline the long-term future. Second, reconciliation prepares the ground for the connecting of truth and mercy, where concerns are accepted for revealing what happened in the past and, reconsidering the past and conflict resolution. Third, reconciliation recognizes the need for time and space to correct mistakes, ensure justice, and establish peace. (Leadrak, 2017: 50)

3-3. Framework of Reconciliation Analysis

Reconciliation and the establishment of sustainable peace could be analyzed on basis of three axes: **a.** peacemaking, **b.** peacekeeping, **c.** peacebuilding.

Peacemaking is a process of agreement and reconciliation between the elites of the conflicting sides. Peacemaking is achieved through establishment of communication, trust building and negotiation stages. The result of peacemaking is reaching an agreement on the foundation, principles, conditions and political agreement of peace. A political peace agreement may have some annexes, including formal recognition of the sides, reduction of violence, conditional or unconditional ceasefire, temporary or permanent ceasefire, accepting of compensation and paying losses, accepting justly convicted, and other peace related issues.

Peacekeeping is an agreement on the mechanisms of monitoring and enforcing the political peace agreement that prevents direct and physical violence. Peacekeeping or preserving of a political peace agreement can be attained through various methods, such as United Nation Peace Keeping Forces, Internal Guarantees or other specific mechanisms. The main duty of peacekeeping is to stop violence (Ceasefire) and to monitor the implementation of the political peace agreement.

Peacebuilding is the highest level of the peace-making process. It eliminates physical, structural and cultural violence. Some scholars interpret the “peacebuilding” as “conflict resolution” too. By peace building and executing the peace agreement, realizing the cessation of war, establishing a legitimate system, gaining legitimacy, promoting the just structures and eliminating discriminatory attitudes, sustainable peace can be established.

CHAPTER TWO

An Overview to Hostile Interactions of Power and Unsuccessful Peace Processes

The main focus of this chapter is on the causes of power-seeking conflicts and Afghanistan's unsuccessful peace processes. However, for the purpose of creating a global outlook on the geography of war in the world, this chapter starts with a report called "A Report on the State of Armed Conflict in the World".

According to this report, during the Cold War; the superpowers never got directly involved in armed conflicts over their territories. On the contrary, most wars occurred in countries that were considered proxies of the superpowers. The Cold War period was cold for the superpowers, but sweltering hot for other parts of the world. It is interesting to note that armed conflicts target the most vulnerable countries, especially in areas where basic human needs such as housing, health and education are barely met. (Yuri, 1992: 67)

Following the Cold War, the arms trade became a multinational trade network over a broad geographical area. This industry makes huge economic benefits for weapons manufacturing countries and arms trading companies. It even creates a profitable multinational markets and industries through which light and heavy weapons are transferred from first-hand markets to second-hand and third-hand markets. Any group with financial means gets easy access to different types of weapons. Therefore, money flowing to militant groups, financial loans to buy weapons, and financial cooperation for the armed forces drive poor governments and thousands of people and militant groups to arms markets. As a result, the fire of war has always been burning. (Ray, 1991: 123)

1. A Review of Hostile Interactions of Power in Afghanistan

In the last half-century, the situation of Afghanistan's armed conflict has been similar to the above report in terms of the existence of tensions and rivalries between neighboring countries, region, and world powers on Afghanistan's soil, the financing and equipping of the conflicting sides by foreigners, and the easy access of parties and groups to weapons, despite the deprivation of fundamental human needs. This has been one of the most challenging obstacles to the discipline, security, peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Due to internal, regional and global transformations, sometimes wars come to an end, and new wars are starting in Afghanistan. Groups, roles, justifications, factors and territories of war are changing, a ruler is condemned while a condemned become the ruler. One group comes into power while another group is in prison, and vice versa. However, the war is not ending. Eventually, lasting wars have been forming instead of lasting peace. For about the last half-century, hostile interactions of power have translated into lasting war. Why has this war continued in a variety of forms, perceptions, and structures? What is the solution to these conflicts? And where do the origins of this bloody war come from? To answer the forehead questions, a brief description of the five periods of "Hostile Interactions of Power in Afghanistan" is given as follows.

1-1. Daoud Khan's Coup until the Collapse of Najibullah's Government

The coup of Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan in 1973 led to the fall of the constitutional monarchy of King Zahir Shah and undermined the partial stability in Afghanistan. After that, new changes and incidents got happen in power-seeking conflict of the country. On the one hand, the rise of left-wing forces in the form of the People's Democratic Party, and on the other hand, the strengthening of Islamic movements, laid the ground for the entrance of new players in the complex power structure of Afghanistan. Daoud Khan's tendency toward the West and disputes between the two factions: Khalq and Parcham caused the coup by the communist faction, which was supported by the Soviet Union on April 27, 1978 and the administration of Daoud Khan was overthrown. Finally, the escalation of the disputes between the mentioned parties led to the invasion of the Soviet military forces on December 1979. (Tamana, 2020: 85-86)

The people of Afghanistan, due to their xenophobia attitude and ideological justification, launched a "Jihad" against the occupation of the country by the former Soviet Union and their affiliated governments, and continued the war until the full withdrawal of the former Soviet troops and the fall of Dr. Najibullah's administration (April 28, 1992) (Tamana, 2016: 86). Although the then President Dr. Najibullah proposed a "National Reconciliation Policy" with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but the conflicting parties and the armed groups (Jihadi Parties and Organizations) denied it by issuing declarations and some of them were insisting to resolve the Afghanistan crisis through military means. (Kakar, 1400: 21)

The Mujahideen declared that jihad against the Soviet Union and the war with their affiliated governments was in essence of the "occupation" of the country by the communists and their allies. The Mujahideen refused to start peace talks with Dr. Najibullah's government, even despite the full withdrawal of Soviet troops. For Mujahideen, Dr. Najibullah's government and their forces were committed to the infidels from financial, weapons and equipment perspectives, and were fighting against the Muslims. Hence, they kept fighting until the fall of the government.

The Mujahideen, in their own words, could not bear the communist political system and the presence of the occupying Soviets in the country. The Mujahideen, due to their beliefs, manner of living, traditions and principles, did not want to be engaged in the power structure that was built upon the principles of communism. Following opposition with the Afghanistan's communist regimes, they endured insult, humiliation, torture, repression and imprisonment for years, and many of them fled and immigrated to the neighboring countries. Eventually, by creating convergence, attracting resources, and establishing Islamic Parties, they entered to armed conflicts in the country.

Generally, the encouragement of Mujahideen mostly revolved around the ideology of jihad. The Mujahideen had neither a stable economy and capital, nor a clear understanding of freedom, liberation from occupation, or a political policy for governance. The majority of the Mujahideen, including those on the battlefield were illiterate, but the leaders of the jihadist organizations mostly had religious education. Thus, they have been encouraging the soldiers for war by ideological justifications. They were borrowing warfare equipment from neighboring, regional and world countries.

1-2. The Coming of Jihadi Movements into the Power

With the resignation of Dr. Najibullah and the collapse of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Mujahideen entered Kabul and seized power. Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, who had been one of the leaders of the Afghanistan's Mujahideen during the Soviet war in Afghanistan, founded the National Liberation Front in 1978 to fight the communist government of Afghanistan. Following the victory of Mujahideen in the Spring of 1992, he has served as interim president of the Islamic Government of Afghanistan for two months. Then, Burhanuddin Rabbani, who has been one of the most influential and partially conservative leaders of the Mujahideen, took the power by forming a coalition with a number of Islamic and Jihadi Parties and getting their allegiance. (Ide, 2020: 26)

When the Mujahideen were inquired about their governing policy, by different terms and terminologies their response was; a nation who was capable of defeating the Soviet Union, is competent enough to rule the country. Many leaders of Jihadist Organizations, inspired by specific religious interpretations, believed that sincerity of heart and inner virtue is enough to bring divine assistance to handle all problems. In practice, this expectation of divine intervention and attractive perception proved wrong. Finally, it has been revealed that there is a huge difference between

fighting and ruling. The governance of the Mujahideen and Taliban revealed that beside virtue and fear of Allah, work, tact and expertise are also vital requirements for governance. (Mansour, 2021: 140)

Mujahideen, under the ideological justification of "Jihad against the occupation" and the overthrow of the "Non-Islamic Government" managed to inspire people into an armed uprising. Although a lot of people lost their lives, the simple words of liberating the country from "occupation" and being recognized as "martyr" were adequate for their families. The Mujahideen were well-known for their war skills and capabilities, but they were incompetent in governance. The Mujahideen were unable to form an inclusive government that include all sides who were involved in the Jihad and War. Eventually, the bliss of victory was not long lasting, and the Afghanistan Civil War broke out between the Mujahideen groups over their disagreement about further division and seizure of power. Lack of knowledge and skills of establishing the government, the manner of governance, and lack of access to immediate financial resources, and disagreement on power sharing caused dispute between coalition, and armed battles between the Mujahideen in government and non-government sides.

However, it was not the end of the game. The "ethnic" words such as Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks, and in some cases "religious" terms such as "Shia and Sunni", the language "Pashto wan – Farsi wan" and even "Geography" were misused in the war.

In iniquity of the civil war, the Kabul was divided into several geographies of war. The war destroyed many parts of Kabul, and thousands of people have lost their lives. The entrance of terminologies "ethnicity", "religion" and "geography", not only accelerate the armed conflicts, but also created cultural violence. Hence, Afghanistan got involved in ethnic, religious, regional and linguistic discrimination.

Conflicting sides have been using terms such as mercenary, servant, foreign agents, and other offensive terms as means of cultural warfare. These factors escalated ethnic contradictions, attitudes, and divisions, and fueled internal armed power-seeking conflicts. Anarchy ruled over the country. Ethnic, religious, and regional gaps increased. Eventually, after divisions, wars, and civil disasters, the ground facilitated and opened the way for the Islamic Movement of Taliban.

1-3. Islamic Movement of Taliban and the Establishment of the Emirate

The Taliban with their special interpretation of the religion, proclaimed their existence in Kandahar province on 1994. The members of this group who were called students of religious Madrasas, declared that "They have been feeling desecrated and disrespected by the actions of the Mujahideen leaders who were fighting to seize power. Hence, they decided to root out these corrupt parties that were taking advantage of Islam to justify their actions." (Marzden, 2000: 53)

The Taliban gathered a lot of volunteers, equipped the armed forces, and created strong unity in the provinces under their control. (Tamana, 2020: 89) The Taliban took over Kandahar and Ghazni

in 1994, Herat in 1995, Kabul 1996, Mazar-e-Sharif 1997 and finally more than 90 percent of Afghanistan. (Marzdan, 2000: 260-266)

The Taliban, as claimed by themselves, was a movement established to fight against Shar-O-Fesad (corruption), and it soon managed to root out the corruption groups and replace them with law and discipline. They called the Mujahideen government, the ruling jihadi parties and organizations, and their coalition groups "Shar -o-Fesad". Hence, they started armed battles to root them out. As such, they came to power and established the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. In their own words, "1,500 religious scholars as (Ahl-o-Hal-o-Aqd) pledged allegiance to Mullah Mohammad Omar as Amir ul-Mumenin." (Ahmadi, 2021: 43)

The Taliban regime was aligned with killings, various forms of punishment, stoning, retribution, hand cuttings, severe repression of women, bans on movies and music, and dozens of other restrictions. (Ide, 2020: 26) The cultivation and trafficking of opium and drugs growth in a large scale.

Beside global isolation and economic fall, poverty and lack of access to health services make the Afghanistan people to suffer the most. Also, a number of terrorist groups got settle in different parts of Afghanistan. Among them, al-Qaeda group managed to gain a foothold in Afghanistan. Under the strict ruling of the Taliban, physical security had been fairly established in the country, but psychological security and social freedoms had disappeared from society. (Tamana 2020: 93)

As stated, during the Taliban's ex-regime, extremist and fundamentalist groups, including al-Qaeda had taken deep roots in the country. As claimed by the Americans, the al-Qaeda group planned, managed and executed the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon (U.S Department of Defense) from Afghanistan. In response to the attack, less than a month later (October 5, 2001), US-led international coalition forces started military intervention and attacks in Afghanistan. As a result, the Taliban government collapsed quickly. (Ide, 2020: 26)

1-4. The Establishment of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Following the attacks of the US-led coalition forces and the fall of the Islamic Emirate, the country entered a new phase in its history. To establish a new system and political management in the country, the participants of the Bonn Conference in Germany after 9 days of constant dialogue and discussion, signed a two-phase agreement that laid the foundation for a new system in Afghanistan on December 13, 2001. Conflicting figures and groups in Afghanistan agreed on a six-month interim government under this agreement. Various factions, from the National Islamic United Front of Afghanistan to other jihadist groups and members of the Rome Council, signed the agreement. However, the Taliban and Hizb-e-Islami were not participated in this conference. The Taliban were scattered across the country until about mid-2003-2004 with no official address or presence. (Tamana, 2020: 100-101) Therefore, they were not invited to the Bonn Conference. Even if they were invited, they were unlikely to participate for three reasons. First, they believed their legitimate government was overthrown. Second, the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan was

opposite with the Taliban's interpretation of religion, and third, the formation of an inclusive government with the National Islamic United Front of Afghanistan was impossible.

In a nutshell, the Bonn Conference has been the base for the interim administration, transitional government and the elected governments led by Hamid Karzai and Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, and the continuation of the system until August 15, 2021.

In the early days of the new system, considering the roots of terrorism, namely poverty, drug trafficking, lack of a strong and accountable government, injustice, illiteracy, and cultural intolerance, the United States for the purpose of fighting terrorism strived to rebuild Afghanistan and consolidate a strong central government. During this period, one of the biggest challenges to the formation of a national and powerful government was the existence of huge number of armed people left over from the civil war. A period of foreign intervention, the civil war, and the presence and expansion of terrorist networks had shaped a power structure that was built on the authority of local commanders, and this led to the rise of illegal armed groups. This was a key reason that paved the way for the influence of terrorists, insurgents, drug traffickers and other criminal groups. Access of many people to weapons could potentially endanger stability. The existence of illegal armed groups across Afghanistan paved the way for the rule of local commanders and their disobedience to the central government. (Tamana, 2020: 95-96)

Once again, about three years after the fall of their government, the Taliban regained their unity. This is when the United States attacked Iraq and their attention shifted from the war in Afghanistan. With this shift of attention from Afghanistan to Iraq, Afghanistan was once again pushed to the margin of US foreign policy. This situation provided great opportunities for regional players in Afghanistan's conflict to reconstruct and strengthen their influence bases in Afghanistan. The Taliban gained strength again, and posed threats to the United States and the ruling system in Afghanistan. (Sullivan, 2007: 103) On the other hand, the arbitrariness of local commanders, the construction of private prisons, the bombing of homes, house-to-house searches, misbehavior with the Taliban in government and US-Afghan jails, and finally oppression, torture, insults, humiliation and desecration of some segments of Afghanistan people contributed to the revival of Taliban and their return to the battlefield. (Amiri, 2011: 2)

This time, the Taliban returned to the battlefield claiming that "the Islamic Emirate was assaulted by infidels, the country was occupied and dominated by infidels, and the Islamic System of the Emirate was destroyed." Following this incident, the Taliban resumed their jihad to achieve two goals; First, to end the country's occupation by infidels and second, to restore the Islamic system and rule. (Ahmadi, 2021: 44)

The Taliban negotiating team did not officially recognize the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan as the ruling administration until the last days of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha. They were claiming, the existing administration was arranged by the occupiers and imposed by the infidels. They formalized their jihad on the account that the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was a band of mercenaries who aided the infidels in the war against

Muslims, preventing the establishment of the Islamic Emirate, and were serving the infidels. How true and credible this claim is, that is beyond the scope of this study. However, Dr. Mohammad Amin Ahmadi, in his book "Afghanistan Peace; the battle between the Republic and the Emirate", reasoning on Quran verses and hadiths, as well as interviews with religious scholars, rejected "jihad" against the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and consider it a war. (Ahmadi, 2021: 43-45)

In the next section, this study will elaborate on extensive efforts made to reach a political agreement with the Islamic Movement of Taliban and Hekmatyar's Islamic Party over the last two decades. Nevertheless, these efforts did not lead to a political agreement with the Taliban. Finally, after an agreement on withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan, the Taliban regained power through military dominance.

1-5. Revival of the Islamic Emirate

After nearly two decades of armed conflict, with the expansion of Taliban rule from the provinces to Kabul and the escape of President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, official authorities of former government, leaders and prominent political figures, the Taliban seized the power again on August 15, 2021. Following the fall of Kabul, a number of figures, leaders and representatives of jihadist movements and organizations who had traveled to Pakistan to attend a conference, had not yet returned to the country. Many colleagues in the armed forces and foreign institutions abandoned Afghanistan. Also, many of prosecutors, judges, members of the military troops, some of media and civil society activists have also applied for asylum. The ordinary people had no choice but to endure pain and frustration about the future, fear of repression, extreme poverty, and loss of their rights and social freedoms.

What has emerged now, is the fulfillment of the claim by the Islamic Movement of Taliban (Islamic Emirate) which they were following over the past two decades. However, a number of political leaders, the New Generation and Youths, and women activists are striving for the establishment of an inclusive system and government, system legitimacy, constitution, elections and circumstance of political engagement. But, political legitimacy, the government structure, the manner of governance, the mechanisms of participation and transformation of power, along with other issues, have remained unresolved.

2. Afghanistan's Unsuccessful Peace Processes

The study will start exploring the Afghan peace process by the story of two Somalis on how the house of peace should be built in their war-torn country.

A Somali man attending a conference on behalf of Somali NGOs meets his cousin, who was the head of a party in Somalia, in the conference hall. "Mr. Director, why do warlords like you think

they have the right to be appointed as the president?" One of them made a special Somali remark to his cousin. With this question, he was referring to the political debates commonly made in peace conferences about which tribe or person would become president, that always changing the conference to a standstill." Do you know that without a pillar, the roof of the house collapses?" He asked. With a certain sense of humor, his cousin replied, "You also know very well that a healthy body needs a head to live." I have never seen a headless body strolling around or an arm moving without a head." Meanwhile, another person responded with deep sorrow, "Dear cousin! The foundation of the house is ruined. The legs are broken and blood is shedding from the arms. There is nobody that needs a head." (Leadrak, 2017: 17)

This story illustrates the complicated situation of peacebuilding in war-torn societies. The crisis of prolonged conflicts, hostile interactions, and unsuccessful peace processes in Afghanistan is similar to the above story in several aspects. Particularly, the root and open/hidden demand of conflicting sides is that whom should have the leadership of the government and who should sit on top of the power pyramid.

Now, it is time to address these questions: who, when and how have attempted to end the war and ensure peace? And who, when and why was peace denied? Therefore, this section will discuss the peace processes of Afghanistan in the last half-century.

2-1. Geneva Accord

As explained earlier, after the coup of Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan and the overthrow of Zahir Shah's administration, new political players emerged in Afghanistan. With growing disputes between the right and left-wings (Khalq and Parcham), and Daoud Khan's tendency toward the west, Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. After several years of jihad and war, and efforts for political solution to Afghanistan crisis, the Geneva Accord was signed on April 14, 1988 between two governments; Afghanistan and Pakistan, plus the Soviet Union and the United States of America in Geneva. Even though the Geneva Accord led to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it failed to bring an end to the violence and war in this country. Because under the shadow of Cold War policies, the United States and other international allies of the Mujahideen were focused on the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and there was no specific policy for the post-Soviet Afghanistan. (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 25) Although the occupation ended with the withdrawal of former Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the Mujahideen kept fighting against the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Because according to Mujahideen, Dr. Najibullah's administration was a remnant of the occupation, and Soviet government. In short, the Geneva Accord resulted to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but did not translate into a political agreement for survival of the government or establishment of a comprehensive Islamic government between Afghanistan's conflicting sides.

2-2. National Reconciliation Policy

Another effort to ensure peace in Afghanistan was "National Reconciliation Policy" of Dr. Najibullah Ahmadzai, the former President of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This consisted of three parts:

- 1) Intra-Afghan Negotiations in which all sides participate.
 - 2) The formation of a leadership council and a broad base interim transitional government.
 - 3) International dialogue and conference; attended by regional countries and powerful states.
- (Ahmadi, 2021: 74)

With the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the national reconciliation policy was pursued more earnestly by then-President Dr. Najibullah. The Islamic parties and jihadist organizations thought, with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the cessation of their assistance, the government troops are not able to fight against the Mujahideen. Therefore, they rejected Dr. Najibullah's national reconciliation policy by issuing statements, and some even insisted on military solution to the issue. "There is still an imposed communist regime in Kabul," said Mohammad Zahir Shah, former king. Furthermore, Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, the president of the interim government at the time, stated clearly "Under any circumstance, we will never form an alliance with the two communist groups, the Khalq and the Parcham. Rather, by exerting pressure and accelerating the fight, we will overthrow the communist system in our country." Meanwhile, Burhanuddin Rabbani, president of the Mujahideen Islamic Government, called the political solution of Afghanistan crisis as a "compromise with communism." (Kakar, 2021: 21)

Among the conflicting sides, only the Afghanistan's Toilers Revolutionary Organization under the leadership of Tahir Badakhshi, with the announcement of the national reconciliation policy, joined with the then republic government. The United Nations, which was active in Afghanistan's peace field at the time, followed the national reconciliation policy with slight changes for a short time. However, with the resignation of Dr. Najibullah and the fall of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Mujahideen, the peacemaking process was forgotten.

2-3. UN Peace Policy and Benon Sivan's Efforts

As pointed earlier, the United Nations as one of the peace players in Afghanistan, by considering the overweight of the Cold War politics, did nothing but condemns the former Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and were not able to propound policy for post-invasion Afghanistan. The Geneva Accords did not include the post-Soviet peace plan, but the agreement for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the cessation of Soviet and the Western powers (led by the US) support on both sides (Dr. Najibullah's government and jihadist parties). On November 7, 1990, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 12/45, by which the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a 5-article statement on a fundamental solution to the Afghanistan crisis. This statement included the following:

- 1) Recognition of the Afghanistan national sovereignty.
- 2) Emphasizing the Afghanistan people's right to choose their government and political system.
- 3) Interim arrangements and the establishment of a reliable mechanism for monitoring elections and broad base government.
- 4) A United Nations-monitored Ceasefire.
- 5) Financial aid for the immigrants returns, economic and social reconstruction. (Assembly, 1990)

Despite the approval of this resolution, no scheme from UN was presented for peace in Afghanistan, until a Cypriot diplomat and senior adviser to the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Afghanistan, Benon Sevan peace policy came into the picture. According to the "Benon Sevan" Peace Policy, a list of 150 people from various ethnic groups and representatives of all political parties and movements, including Zahir Shah was prepared. So, these people should attend a meeting in Vienna and elect 35 representatives from among themselves. The delegates were tasked to hold a Loya Jirga in consultation with a wide spectrum of people over a month, and the appointed Loya Jirga would decide on the structure and composition of a transitional government that would lead to holding elections and the establishment of a new government. (Gargan, 1992) Although this peace policy was well appreciated, it did not achieve the expected success.

2-4. Rawalpindi-Peshawar and Islamabad Political Agreements

After nearly three and a half years of unsuccessful efforts and the hope of victory in the war, while competition for power was going on between them, the Mujahideen formed a 51-member leadership council on April 21, 1992 in Peshawar - Pakistan, after extensive consultation. This council was transferred to Kabul based on the arrangements made, after Dr. Najibullah left the power. On April 28, 1992, during a gathering at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs hall, power was handed over by Fazlul Haq Khaliqyar, the head of the Supreme Court of Dr. Najibullah's government, to the leadership council (Qayadi) led by Hazrat Sibghatullah Mojaddedi. However, despite the victory of the Mujahideen and the fall of Dr. Najibullah's government, the Mujahideen were unable to establish a government with strong foundations and an inclusive base that would be accepted by all political sides. Targeting Mr. Mojaddedi's aircraft with a missile on the first day of his arrival, indicates the durability of the conflict in the new form and shape, and dissatisfaction with the composition and structure of the political system and the transitional arrangements. This revealed further disputes between the jihadi parties and the country's political leaders over power, and the violence kept continuing as only the conflicting sides changed. (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 35-36)

Mohammad Karim Khalili (Former Vice President), who have attended the Peshawar meetings, said, "The main problem arose in a meeting in one of the consulates of Arab countries, as they stated they would talk to the Hazaras and Shias later." Asadullah Valwalji (An Uzbek Author of Afghanistan) says, "The administration and ruling system that Mujahideen formed in Peshawar

under the leadership of Mr. Mojaddedi, complicated ethnic issues. They didn't give Uzbeks even a single chair in the government, nor the Hazaras. Gradually, the issue in Afghanistan shifted towards an ethnic dilemma". (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 37)

Given the persistence and durability of war between jihadist parties, which was primarily motivated with ethnic identities, almost a year after the signing of the Peshawar Agreement, new efforts were made and began for reconciliation between conflicting parties, and establishing an agreement between them to form a "Broad Base" government, and restore peace, stability and security to Afghanistan by initiative of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The Islamabad Summit was held in 1992 at the invitation of King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, King of Saudi Arabia, and hosted by Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan. As a result of these efforts, representatives of political parties, including representatives of Shia parties who were disregarded in Peshawar Agreement, attended. After talks and mediation of two countries; Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, the summit agreed on fundamental issues to end the war and form a government, and signed an agreement on March 7, 1993 in Islamabad. After that, the Jihadi leaders attending the summit, visited Mecca for the pilgrimage of Baitullah Sharif and Hajj -al- Umrah, by invitation of the King of Saudi Arabia. Although the jihadi leaders gave an oath and commitment on the Kaaba, they later broke the oath. The Islamabad Agreement sides, gathered on April 30, 1993 at the Jalalabad Summit to establish a cabinet, and reached some preliminary agreements, but finally, this agreement was also unsuccessful in ending war and ensuring lasting peace in the country. (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 37-39)

After the jihadist organizations, the Taliban succeeded in protecting physical security, but they were unable to pave the way for psychological security, ending the violence, and lasting peace in Afghanistan. The Taliban were not ready for peace and reconciliation with any armed conflicting sides of Afghanistan, except for surrender. (wafaezadeh, 2016: 42)

2-5. Afghanistan Peace Processes with the Taliban: From Bonn to Doha

As described, following the attacks by US-led international coalition forces, the former Islamic Emirate lead by the Taliban was collapsed. Following that, the Bonn Conference was held. The main goal of this conference was to transfer political management to a legitimate Afghan government. This conference was also followed the division of power, and reconciliation between anti-Taliban sides, but most activists and politicians believed that the main purpose of the conference was not "Peacebuilding in Afghanistan."

Speaking about the Taliban after the collapse of the Taliban-led Islamic Emirate, was not pleasant. Talking about the Taliban, especially if accompanied by any descriptions, were creating doubt. The Americans referred to them by the nickname "bad guys". Foreigners had little knowledge of Afghanistan's way of live, thoughts and society. The internal sides were still drowned with the joy of victory, untangling, and power.

Both internal and external sides were believed that if the "bad guys" vanished, the problem would be solved. However, the issue of Afghanistan conflict was not only the defeat of the Taliban, but a comprehensive plan was needed to involve them into the power structure, empower them as part of society, and return their forces to normal and peaceful life alongside the rest of the Afghan people. But this was never happened.

The former President, Hamid Karzai and a few other political figures, being fully cognizant of the Afghan society, had realized that there is no military solution to the Afghanistan crisis. Karzai was repeatedly criticizing airstrikes, house searches, and the arrest and imprisonment of thousands of Taliban-affiliated forces that were backed by hundreds of families. However, airstrikes, house searches, displacing of Taliban leadership, torture, insults, humiliation and worse conditions for prisoners was not ineffective in bringing the Taliban back to the battlefield. (Ide, 2020: 394)

In addition to the forehead issues, the rural areas not only received inadequate attention but providing services to these areas was forgotten. Hence a wide distance created between the city and the village, the government and the rural people. Eventually, rural people were pushed to join groups other than the government.

The peace process over the past twenty years, from the stigma attached to speak about the Taliban to attempts to bringing them into the system and political power, has gone through many ups and downs.

In 2005, Hamid Karzai for the first time founded the "Commission of Consolidating National Peace and Reconciliation" headed by the President of the First Mujahideen Government; Sebghatullah Mojaddedi, and with the membership of some prominent jihadi figures. This commission was basically tasked to disarm the conflicting sides, but was not able to have a remarkable achievement in reaching peace with the Taliban. This commission was later renamed to "Commission of Conflict Resolution and People's Relation with Government" and resumed its operation under the leadership of Mr. Mojaddedi and his family. (Mohammadi, 2004: 2)

In 2010, by the decree of former President; Hamid Karzai, the High Peace Council was formed under the direction of Burhanuddin Rabbani, the former president of the Islamic Government, and with the membership of a number of leaders and commanders of jihadist organizations, local influential figures, several former Taliban members and eight women. The formation of this council refers back to the decisions of the Peace Consultative Loya Jirga (June 12-14, 2010). The Jirga and the Peace Council raised a lot of optimism for the progress of the negotiation and reconciliation process with the armed oppositions. (Mohammadi, 2004: 3)

Burhanuddin Rabbani was also chairman of the Peace Consultative Loya Jirga, in which the formation of the High Peace Council was one of the main suggestions to the former government of Afghanistan. The council's mission was to negotiate with the Taliban for lasting peace and finding a peaceful solution to bring an end to the Afghanistan conflict. Mr. Rabbani first set up the council's internal mechanism, and he had several meetings and travels to Pakistan and Iran for the

purpose of establishing channels of communication with the Islamic Movement of Taliban and bringing them to the negotiating table.

Of course, the path to peace was never smooth. The flames of war were raging through the country. There was a lot of problems associated with finding the address, contacting Taliban representatives, internal sensitivities, and international considerations in opening the peace doors. Prominent figures who could partially represent the Taliban, were mostly on the list of UN Security Council Resolution number 1267 (October 5, 1999) on Afghanistan, or on the Americans list. Among these people, some were subject to travel bans, and the US administration had even set a reward on finding some of them. Inside the country, some people were detained and imprisoned for their connection to the Taliban. Anyhow, channels of communication with the Taliban were limited. (Ide, 2020: 396)

Once, a man named as Mullah Mansour who has introduced himself as a high-rank representative of Taliban, had met with the Afghan and International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) officials. The true story leaked to the media later, finally revealed that the person named Mullah Mansour was a fake. He was not as influential and powerful among the Taliban as he claimed to be. The fake Mullah Mansour was only a shopkeeper in Quetta - Pakistan. He had attended several meetings with ISAF and Afghan officials before his true identity was disclosed by Afghans who knew the real Mullah Mansour. The Quetta-based shopkeeper had taken considerable money in Kabul. This person had deceived the international community and the Afghans. (Idea, 2020: 274)

So, the fake Mansour was actually a simple shopkeeper or a foreign spy, it was a complete absurdity of internal intelligence. However, this incident declared two messages about the peace approach: First, there was no secure address and communication channel for peace, and second, Afghans and the international community were really in the search of peace.

Finally, the unreliable communication channels led to the death of Burhanuddin Rabbani in September 20, 2011 by a suicide bomber who had been invited to his house as a representative and a high-ranking figure of the Taliban. This incident further aggravated distrust in the communication channels. Following this incident, any contact with the Islamic Movement of Taliban was made with utmost caution.

In March 2012, after the martyrdom of Barhauddin Rabbini, his son Salahuddin Rabbani became the chairman of the High Peace Council. Later, Salahuddin Rabbani and Masoom Stanikzai; the head of secretariat to this council, were appointed to government positions in the National Unity Government. Therefore, the High Peace Council was sidelined for a while and remained without a chairman. (Sadr, 2018: 29)

In 2015, the National Unity Government reviewed the organization structure and policies of the High Peace Council. Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani, head of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) appointed as Chairman and some jihadi figures, former members of the Taliban, and religious scholars were appointed as vice-chairman and members of the High Peace Council.

During this period, the efforts of the National Unity Government, led by Dr. Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, were concentrated on dialogues and agreement with Pakistan to bring the Taliban to the negotiating table. However, with the escalation of terrorist attacks in Afghanistan cities and the lack of a clear response from Pakistan, the government's approach changed and the negotiations were stopped. (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 57)

Following the previous peace efforts, the government's efforts started through diplomatic channels in the form of a quadripartite summit (consisting of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the United States and China). Its primary goal was bringing the Taliban to negotiation without preconditions. But these negotiations also stopped with disappointment of Afghanistan and its doubts about the sincerity of Pakistan. Along with this process, the High Peace Council made efforts to negotiate with the Islamic Party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and after several rounds of negotiations, a peace agreement was signed between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Party of Hekmatyar on September 22, 2016. (Wafaezadeh, 2016: 57)

After the death of Pir Seyyed Ahmad Gailani, Mohammad Karim Khalili, the leader of the Afghanistan Islamic Unity Party and former Vice President of Afghanistan, was appointed as the Chairman of the High Peace Council of Afghanistan on June 5, 2017. Before that, Mr. Khalili acted as the vice-chairman of the council. At this period, Mohammad Akram Khpalwak was the head of secretariat to the council. After the resignation of Khpalwak from the head of secretariat to the council, Mohammad Umer Daudzai was appointed as the head of secretariat to the High Peace Council and the Government's Representative at Regional Affairs for Peace Consensus, by presidential decree on December 2018. (Mohammadi, 2019: 4)

After the 2019 presidential election and the controversies on election results between Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, and continuation of the controversies until two presidential inaugurations, by making external efforts and pressure, internal mediation and enforced agreement between Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, the High Council for National Reconciliation (HCNR), chaired by Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, was established as the address of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan for peace. The HCNR consisted of the Leadership Committee, the General Assembly, the Negotiating Delegation, and the Council's Deputies.

The political agreement between Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah resolved the election controversy but did not translate into a strong unit address of the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan for Peace. The Leadership Committee and the General Assembly of the HCNR were not created and completed. The HCNR, under the interventions and restrictions imposed by Former President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and his team, did not have the competence and were subject to many restrictions. Former President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani had repeatedly announced that "the final decision will be made by the President and the people of Afghanistan." And once, Ashraf Ghani spoke about the importance of the "final

signature" on peace agreement. This was also underlining the fact that Ex-President, Ashraf Ghani should have had the last word and the HCNR lacked the full authority of peace making.

2-5-1. The Peace Process with the Islamic Movement of Taliban in Doha

The Doha peace process is essentially the continuation of post-Bonn peace efforts. However, in terms of peace developments that happened there, it requires a separate analysis. When did Doha emerge as the peace address of Afghanistan? What were the actions and reactions of the Afghanistan conflicting sides regarding the opening of the Taliban's political office in Doha? And what did happen in Doha?

As reminded in the post-Bonn peace processes topic, one of the challenges to the peacemaking process was establishing a proper communication address and channel with the Taliban. This challenge had realized by Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the United Nations and the United States of America. Considering that, they had been referring to the address of Pakistan for years, but were not getting any result. Finally, the Islamic Movement of Taliban's political office was opened on June 18, 2013, in Doha - Qatar. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on the one hand, was willingness for a peace agreement, on the other hand, did not desire the international status of the government to be harmed by having two addresses, two banners and two flags. Hence, the opening of the Taliban's political office in Doha as the official address of the Taliban was good news, but raising up the "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" flag angered the Afghanistan's politicians, especially Former President, Hamid Karzai.

The former government issued a statement accusing the Taliban that they consider to introduce this site as a representative office of an "Independent State." Meanwhile, the fourth round of US-Afghan talks on a "Security Agreement" was going on in Kabul. In response to "Obvious contradictions in American words and action" in the peace process, the government suspended negotiations on the security agreement. This response made the Ex-Secretary of State, John Kerry, to call Mr. Karzai, promising that the Taliban flag and the "Islamic Emirate" banner would be removed from the newly opened Taliban office in Doha, and the office would not be used for any purpose other than peace talks. Eventually, the flag and banner of the Islamic Emirate were removed from the Doha office.

Abdul Karim Khurram, one of the figures close to Hamid Karzai, in the book "Forty Years in Storm" remarked that Mr. Karzai did not agree for the opening of the Qatar office. He claimed that secret meetings between the United States and the Taliban had apparently started in Germany and led to the idea of setting up an office in Qatar. Though, Afghanistan was desirous of the peace process, doubted on the way of dealing with it. (Khurram, 2019: 436- 437)

Mr. Khurram quoted President Karzai that if any office is required to be opened for Taliban outside Afghanistan, it is preferred to be set up in Turkey or Saudi Arabia, but this issue was not acceptable to the Americans. On the other hand, Mr. Karzai considered Qatar as lacking authority country

and the only executor of US orders. When President Karzai in the company of a delegation team headed toward Qatar on March 30, 2013 for the purpose of satisfying Qatar Official to arrange a direct meeting with the Taliban, Qatari officials responded "The Americans must be consulted on this issue and Qatar only plays the role of a host." (Khurram, 2019: 438)

In July 2013, the news spread that the Taliban's political office had been shut down temporarily, and the Islamic Emirate's flag and banner had dropped-down from Doha. The Taliban also confirmed that they would no longer use from this office, but their authorities stayed in Doha. The Taliban claimed that the former US President, Barack Obama, and President Hamid Karzai had excused the Islamic Emirate flag and banner and deadlocked the peace negotiations. There have been a lot of distractions between the Afghanistan government, from Karzai to Ghani, and between the United States' administrations, from Obama to Donald Trump, about whether the Taliban's political office in Doha must remain closed or not.

The Doha office was reopened. By assigning Zalmay Khalilzad as the Special Representative of the US Department of State for Afghanistan Reconciliation in September 2018, and after his meeting with the representatives of the Taliban, the peace process gained momentum. In Doha peace process, the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was marginalized. Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad was reporting on the peace process to Ex-President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, Chairman of the HNRC. Still, the former government and Afghan sides were upset at being marginalized.

After eighteen months of commuting and negotiations between the United States and the Taliban in the absence of the Afghan government, on February 29, 2020, an agreement called the "Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan" was signed between Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, the United States Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation, and Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, political deputy of the Taliban and chairman of the political office of the Islamic Movement of Taliban in Doha. Meanwhile, with the conclusion of this agreement, a joint declaration was issued by Kabul, Washington and NATO in Kabul, which revealed their commitment to stand by their obligations to Afghanistan. Subsequently, the United Nations Security Council, which authorized a military strike on Afghanistan in 2001, passed a ten-article resolution on March 10, 2020 that verified the US-Taliban agreement, as well as the Kabul-Washington joint declaration.

The exact title of the agreement is: "Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban and the United States of America." The US-Taliban agreement highlighted that the United States still does not recognize the Taliban Islamic Emirate as a state. The content of this agreement is focused on the following four axes:

1) Guarantees and practical mechanisms for preventing the use of Afghanistan soil by any group or individual against the security of the United States and its allies.

- 2) Guarantees, practical mechanisms, and announcement of a timeline for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan.
- 3) After the announcement of the forehead guarantees in the presence of international witnesses, the Taliban would start Intra-Afghan negotiations with Afghan sides on March 10, 2020.
- 4) A permanent and comprehensive ceasefire should be on the agenda of the Intra-Afghan Negotiations. The participants of Intra-Afghan negotiations will debate about the date and circumstance of this ceasefire they will specify it.

At the end of the agreement, there were considered three adaptive parts for adaptation of the forehead parts. In its third part, the "New post-agreement government which would be determined by Intra-Afghan talks" has been emphasized. (USA_Taliban, Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan, February 29, 2020, www.state.gov/)

The US-Taliban agreement is a historic achievement for the advocates of the Islamic Emirate. With the signing of this agreement, the position of the Islamic Movement of Taliban in the peace, Intra-Afghan negotiations has drastically changed. Their claims in the negotiation process grew bigger and their Mujahideen spirit became stronger on the battlefield. Particularly, the release of their more than 5,000 prisoners from government and US-Afghan prisons strengthen the fronts of war and was welcomed by public Taliban supporters. On the contrary, the marginalization of the Afghanistan government on one hand, the commitment to release 5,000 Taliban prisoners on the other hand, and the escalation of war on the battlefield weighed down the former government. The government released more than 4,500 Taliban prisoners in a process, but Former President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani convened a Loya Jirga on August 7, 2020 to discuss the release of 400 so-called dangerous prisoners, which the Loya Jirga voted for release of the mentioned prisoners.

According to the agreement between the United States and the Taliban leadership, the Intra-Afghan negotiations was to take place between the Afghanistan conflicting sides. However, this process was full of "mismanagement" by the former government. For example, when the Afghanistan government announced that a 250-member delegation would attend Afghanistan peace talks at the Doha Summit, the Taliban responded that "This is not a wedding ceremony or a party at a hotel in Kabul, but a formal conference". Even though the summit was canceled for some reasons, the appointment of such a delegation for a huge issue such as "Afghanistan Peace" was presenting the mismanagement of the process by Republic Government (Etilaat Rooz, 2019: 1)

Finally, as a result of Dr. Khalilzad's efforts, the global demand and internal negotiation, a 21-member delegation consisting of technocrats from the government, representatives of jihadist organizations and a number of women led by Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, the chairman of the HCNR as "Islamic Republic of Afghanistan's Delegation" left for Doha, but the final decision-making power was still held in Kabul. Meanwhile, the real representatives of the Afghanistan's Youths and New Generation, although could play an active role in the peace field, were not on the list of the peace delegation. This delegation headed to Doha, the inauguration and plenary summit was

started by reading the statement of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Delegation Leadership and the Islamic Movement of Taliban. It was decided that the negotiation mechanism between the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Taliban Movement should be drafted by technical committees.

The agreement on the negotiation mechanism between the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Taliban lasted 80 days. The reason behind this delay was rooted in deep differences between the two narratives of "Republic" and "Emirate". For years, the Taliban had proclaimed that the Islamic Emirate existed, and as legitimate government, it is fighting against foreign occupation and aggression while refusing the existence of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Government. Therefore, they were against of any dialogues with the government, and refusing negotiation with the delegation named "Official Delegation of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan". Therefore, they focused their attention on the Doha agreement as a basis of negotiation. They were referring the Afghanistan conflicting sides as Intra-Afghan negotiation side, not Government delegation. (Ahmadi, 2021: 334)

The Taliban were doing everything they could to avoid officially recognizing the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Government in order to tarnish the legitimacy of the government, and shield the legitimacy of their war against the government which they call jihad from doubt and criticisms. Eventually, many proposals were exchanged with the mediation of the host and peace advocacy groups, and finally, after lengthy discussions on various texts, a preliminary agreement was achieved on a treatise. In addition to the three main principles (Security Council resolutions on the US-led coalition military attacks on Afghanistan, the Kabul-Washington Joint Declaration, and the UN Security Council Declaration on an agreement for bringing peace between with the US and Taliban), the Doha Agreement was approved as the fourth principle of the negotiation. Although the Taliban was not recognizing the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Government as a state, in the first three documents, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Government was stated as the Government. Finally, according to the agreed principles, the official delegation of the government was considered as a negotiation delegation with the Taliban. However, from the Former President, Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani points of the view, this was not a good agreement. The Taliban, on the other hand, hardly combatted at the negotiating table and on the battlefield to impose their narrative. (Ahmadi, 2021: 335-336)

Finally, the Intra-Afghan Peace Negotiations was started between delegations from the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Movement of Taliban on September 13, 2020. Pleasing and attractive slogans were spreading by the media, but it took about 80 days to draft the mechanism of the negotiation. Eventually, with the expansion of Taliban's dominance from the provinces to Kabul and the fleeing of Former President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, the Afghanistan Peace Process remained unsuccessful on its initial point for the umpteenth time.

2-5-2. Informal Summits for Afghanistan's Peace

In the last two decades, several summits and conferences have been held on peace and finding a solution to the Afghanistan crisis in public and behind closed doors in various countries, including the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Pakistan, Russia, China, Norway, Japan, Germany and France. The representatives of the former governments, politicians and prominent figures of the jihadist organizations and the Islamic Movement of Taliban, as well as representatives of the neighboring, regional and world countries attended these summits. The United Nations and the Security Council of UN have also issued multiple declarations and resolutions on the "Afghanistan War and Peace". Institutions such as the Pugwash which is making efforts for peace and conflict resolution across the world, has been one of the pioneers in organizing peace summits with the former High Peace Council officials, representatives of jihadist organizations, civil society and youths, and the Taliban. This institute has hosted several major summits on Afghanistan peace in Dubai, Islamabad, Kabul and Doha.

2-5-3. New Generation and Youths' Efforts for Peace

In addition to government programs with the participation of technocrats in government and jihadist organizations in the High Peace Council, the youths as drivers of peace, have always been active to ensure peace in the country. A highlighted instance was the "Afghanistan Youths National Conference" which was held for two days, on June 18 - 19, 2011 with presence of hundreds of youths from 34 provinces for the purpose of consolidating peace and stability, participation in decision-makings and discussion on important national issues. Former President, Hamid Karzai also participated in the conference and gave statement. At this conference, the achievements, approaches and responsibilities of youths' institutions, as well as challenges and obstacles confronting the youths were addressed. The participants of the conference shared their views and suggestions on the process of reconciliation, consolidating stability, ensuring justice, good governance, the rule of law, transparency and accountability, balanced development, the fight against drugs, creating job opportunities for youths, and youths' engagement in decision-making in the form of a 20-article resolution with the people, the former government and international institutions.

Another worthy effort, "The Afghanistan Youth Peace National Jirga" was held for four days (July 2 - 5, 2012) with the participation of 1700 youths' representatives from all provinces of the country and hundreds of guests at the Loya Jirga Hall and Salam Khana - Presidential Palace. The Youth representatives in 20 committees discussed the country's major challenges, including the peace negotiation process, the circumstance of US military presence, the fight against corruption, unemployment, and educational challenges in the country. The former president, Hamid Karzai, also attended the Afghanistan Youth Peace National Jirga and delivered a speech.

The leadership of the Afghanistan Youth Peace National Jirga, compiled the comprehensive demands of the youths as a valuable effort in the form of a 31-article resolution to the Ex-President,

Hamid Karzai. The representatives of some political parties (Youth Section), representatives of political movements, civil society activists, and women's rights activists from various layers of the society were invited to the mentioned Jirga. Following this conference and jirga, several civil society organizations, New Generation and Youths activists entered to the field of social, political, reformism and peace advocacy.

Apart from the above peace-making efforts, dozens of organizations have made efforts and advocated to bring peace to Afghanistan by holding summits, conferences, rallies and other means. Meanwhile, a movement called the Helmand Peace Caravan, following a devastating blast in the Helmand Stadium, was formed on Spring of 2018. The main demand of these youths was cessation of the war and a ceasefire between the government and the Taliban.

Beside the forehead efforts, a number of institutions such as the US-Kabul Institute of Peace (USIP), the Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies (AISS), the Kabul University - National Policy Research Center, the Institute for War and Peace, the Afghanistan Mechanism for Inclusive Peace (AMIP) and some other universities and research institutes also played their part in conducting research, organizing scientific conferences, and instructing on peace and conflict resolution.

Additionally, a collective of the New Generation and Youth activists, active engagement of the Reform and Change Network, and other youth-oriented civil-political institutions and movements by understanding the existing situation and the serious and effective needs of establishing a stable system and advocacy for ensuring lasting peace and stability in the country, launched the Youth Contact Group for Peace and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga - one of the largest peace advocacy movements and programs.

The Contact Group for Peace as a national peace advocacy program, independent and not affiliated with individuals or political groups, consisting of new generation and youth activists, established on August, 2019 to create and strengthen the inclusive address of the new generation and youths, advocacy to ensure lasting peace and stability in the country, agreement through dialogue and political solutions, strengthening the position and political participation of women, referring to the votes and demands of the people, maintaining the democratic process and gaining political power through elections, and supporting a constitution in which the rights of all citizens are preserved.

The leadership of the Contact Group and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga believed that in the last two decades, there have been four political axes in Afghanistan; **1** Jihadi Leaders and Parties **2** The Islamic Movement of Taliban **3** Technocrats who have been in power and **4** The Youths and New Generation of Afghanistan. Among them, the first three axes have had active presence in all political and military decisions of Afghanistan. But the fourth axes; the Youths and New Generation of Afghanistan, in addition to believe in Islamic and national values, want the presence of all ethnic groups, women and youths in major political decisions and national engagement, have not had an active role yet, have not been involved in decisions, and have always been the victim of the first three axes' decisions.

According to the leadership of the Contact Group, "There is no military solution to the Afghanistan crisis, however, the meaningful presence of all people and factions of society in the country's political power and stability can be ensured through dialogue and political agreements." The contact group became active in peace advocacy scene to achieve the following objectives:

1. To Establish and strengthen a comprehensive address and representation in order to defend and protect the rights of the new generation and youths of Afghanistan in the peace talks and negotiations process.
2. To establish a nationwide ceasefire, advocacy for ensuring lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan, strengthening and supporting the voice of peace and Intra-Afghan agreement through political means (dialogue and negotiation).
3. To strengthen position, meaningful engagement and presence of new generation, youths and women in post-peace processes and political agreements after Intra-Afghan negotiations.
4. Supporting the efforts of international partners, especially the US, Islamic countries, the European Union, NATO and the countries of the region for resolving the Afghanistan crisis through dialogue and agreement.
5. Monitoring the peace process and negotiations and implementation of its agreements.

The leadership of the Contact Group simultaneously with establishment of the group, propounded the following 15 demands for the purpose of achieving the above objectives, and ensuring lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan:

1. Establishment of ceasefire and unconditionally supporting the Intra Afghan Negotiations.
2. Neither side should think of victory over the other. We call on Afghanistan's Government, Islamic Movement of Taliban and United States of America and their allies to end this war through dialogue and agreement.
3. Representing the will of nation through convening an inclusive Loya-Jirga to legitimate the peace agreements at national level as well as holding an international conference in one of the friendly and neutral country to ensure the peace agreements at the international level.
4. Meaningful presence of the new generation and youths as one of the influential parties in peace talks, political agreements and post peace processes.
5. Preservation of democratic processes and gaining political power through election in peace talks and peace agreements.
6. The Republican system, supporting of constitution and its amendment by inclusive Loya Jirga which is based on the votes and will of Afghanistan's people, or holding of referendum.
7. Protecting the basic rights and duties of Afghan citizens.
8. Preserving the fundamental rights and freedoms of women (rights for education, work, and active engagement in civil, social, economic, cultural, military and political fields) in peace talks and peace agreements.

9. Within the legal framework, freedom of expression, press and media, and access to information must be preserved.
10. Maintaining, strengthening and depoliticizing Afghanistan's security and defense forces (Afghanistan National Army, Afghanistan National Police, and National Security Agency).
11. The responsible withdrawal of foreign forces from the country, and continuation of cooperation and friendly and strategic relation with USA, International Community and Institutions based on the definition of new agreements; approved by inclusive Loya Jirga.
12. Maintaining, continuing, designing and developing friendly cooperation with Islamic countries, regional countries, and neighboring countries based on national interest of the both sides.
13. Issuance of resolution by Security Council of United Nation to support the meaningful presence of women, new generation and youths of Afghanistan in peace process, negotiation and post-negotiation political agreements.
14. Referring to the votes and demands of nation on major and crucial issues of the country.
15. In case of disagreement on the nature of current government, going to a third solution and amending the constitution based on votes and will of Afghanistan's people.

The leadership and colleagues of the Contact Group traveled to 30 provinces of the country until August 2021. By conducting and setting up the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga and Peace Summits, as well as holding meetings and marches have put efforts to create cohesion, consonance and convergence between the New Generation and Youths. The contact group was responsible for holding the secretariat of these programs. The Peace Jirga in provinces has been held by holding commission; consisting of institutions, youths and active political, civil and cultural figures. The members of the Jirga were divided into 10 working committees to discuss pre-determined questions, and finally, they were propounding their positions, demands and views in the form of a joint resolution. This movement also hosted a regional youth peace summit in Sparta - Turkey with the presence and participation of international students. They had also important meetings with Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, US - Secretary of State's Special Representative for Afghanistan Peace, the US Embassy -Peace Department in Kabul, and the UNAMA Office. The details of the group's activities and the demands of the New Generation and Youths will be discussed in details, in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

Data Analysis

The demands, criticisms and suggestions of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan regarding peace were found out from the resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas, Peace Summits and Group Interviews. Resolutions represent a new tool for expressing the demands and positions used by social - political non-violence activists. In a general sense, a resolution is a written message with a clear structure that explains the positions and demands of a group of people that is issued at the end of summits, jirgas, demonstrations and other movements to achieve the predetermined goals of a group.

Resolutions are an important resource of analyzing a situation, demands, actions and reactions related to events and incidents in a geographical and temporal period. Resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits are worth judging due to their practical dimensions in the peace-building process. The analysis of these resolutions, along with other sources such as books, articles, agreements, graffiti, and press conferences, can open up new dimensions in peace and conflict studies. The study of the Afghanistan New Generation and the Youths' Resolutions is essential due to their social and political implications, and transfers the message of the "New Generation and the Youths" to their audience.

The Resolutions of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirgas as well as Peace Summits had at least three audience groups: 1. The former government 2. The Taliban Movement 3. The United States, the international community, and neighboring/ regional countries.

In this chapter, resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas, Peace Summits, and by considering the new political transformation in the country (August 15, 2021), the group interviews are analyzed.

1. Indicators of the New Generations and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits

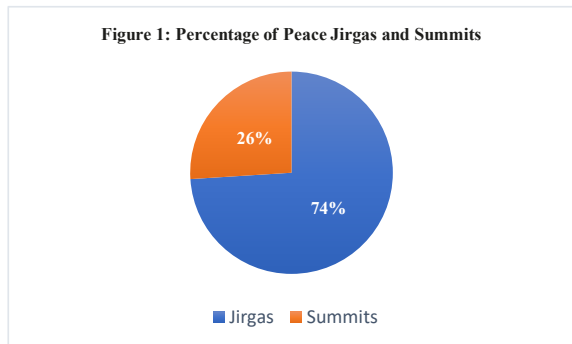
The Contact Group has conducted peace meetings, conferences, summits and jirgas in 30 provinces of the country for the purpose of cohesion, consonance and convergence of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan in the peace process. The participants of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits were assigned to working committees based on indicators of education, age, gender, ethnicity, and district. The committee members were discussing about pre-determined questions. Finally, all committees were compiling and presenting their perspectives, demands, criticisms and suggestions for peace in a joint resolution. The indicators of the New Generation and Youths peace jirgas and peace summits are as follows:

1-1. The New Generation and Youths

As previously stated, the New Generation and Youths comprise the statistical population and sample of this research. In this study, the New Generation and Youths refers to the civil-political activists who emerged from among the society following the developments of 2001, and turned to non-violent civil-political effort. In other words, the New Generation and Youths are out of the political categories of technocrats in power, the jihadist organizations and their representatives, and the Islamic Movement of Taliban.

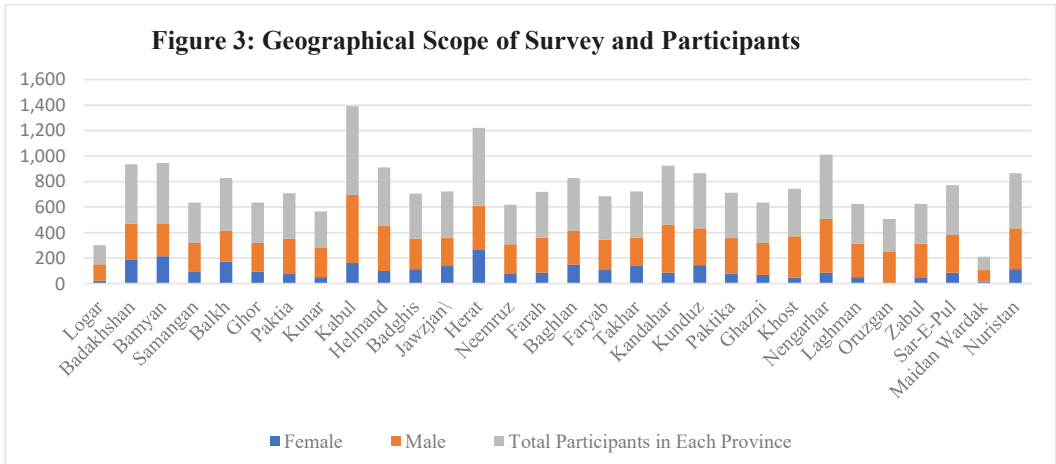
1-2. The Program Indicator

The Contact Group has held dozens of Jirgas, peace summits, seminars and press conferences, rallies and coordination meetings in various provinces, and the Regional Youth Jirga for the Peace of Afghanistan in Sparta - Turkey, to achieve its goals. It is worth stating that all of mentioned programs are not considered in this study. What is considered within the program indicators is this research, is only 23 Jirgas and 8 Peace Summits. As shown in Figure (1), the Jirgas are forming 74% of the programs, while peace summits are covering 26% of the programs respectively. (Figure 1.)



1-3. The Participant Indicator

The statistical sample of this study is participants of New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits. The participants’ indicator is as follow:



In general, the participants of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits comprised 11286 people, including 8235 (73%) men and 3051 (27%) women. Considering the age, the participants were between 18 and 35 years old, and in terms of education, they were students or had graduation or post-graduation degrees (Figure 2).

1-4. Geographical Scope of the Research

The research data were collected from New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits in 30 provinces of the country. The New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga and Summits were held on ascending order in Kabul, Oruzgan, Zabul, Laghman, Sar-E-Pol, Logar, Badakhshan, Bamyan, Samangan, Balkh, Ghor, Paktia, Kunar, Helmand, Jawzjan, Badghis, Herat, Neermuz,

Farah, Baghlan, Faryab, Takhar, Kandahar, Kunduz, Khost, Paktika, Ghazni, Nuristan, Nengarhar and Maidan Wardak provinces.

It is worth stating that Kapisa, Parwan, Panjshir and Daikundi provinces have not been included in this study. Although preparation was made for these provinces, with political transformation in country, peace programs were halted. (Figure 3).

In the meantime, the majority of the participants were from Kabul province where two summits were held. following that most participants were respectively in Herat, Nengarhar, Bamyan and Badakhshan provinces. The fewest participants were respectively in Maidan Wardak and Logar provinces.

Considering the gender, the highest number of female participants was respectively in Herat, Bamyan, Badakhshan, Balkh and Kabul provinces, and the lowest number of female participants was in Maidan Wardak, Logar, Khost and Kunar provinces. It is worth stating that no women took part in the peace summit of Oruzgan province.

1-5. Duration of the Study

The data related to resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits was gathered from August 22, 2019 to July 31, 2021. However, the data for the group interview were collected after the political transformation of August 15, 2021.

1-6. Methodology of Resolution Compilation

Members of the New Generations and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits were dividing into working committees based on the indicators of education, gender, age, ethnicity and district. They were propounding their views and opinions on the axes of 7 proper questions on peace in the relevant committees, and finally declaring their opinions in the form of a joint resolution.

1-7. Axes of Questions

In peace Jirgas and Summits, the questions have been asked on seven parts about the peace from participants. These questions included the following issues:

- 1) The demand of the New Generation and Youths from Afghanistan Government in the peace process.
- 2) The demand of the New Generation and Youths from the Islamic Movement of Taliban in the peace process
- 3) The demands of the New Generation and Youths from the international community, the United States of America, Islamic countries, and neighboring countries in Afghanistan peace process.

- 4) The circumstance of the New Generation and Youths meaningful participation and engagement in decision-making of the peace process.
- 5) Suggestions of the New Generation and Youths regarding the wrap up of the Intra-Afghan negotiations and the youths' responsibility.
- 6) The New Generation and Youths viewpoint regarding the ambiguous political future, and solutions to transition from the current situation
- 7) Suggestions of the New Generation and Youths on how to monitoring the peace process at the local and national levels.

Since the foregoing questions were not presented in the form of a questionnaire, but propounded for the purpose of discussion, and on the other hand, the viewpoints of participants were articulated in the form of resolutions, giving statistical answers to the above questions is not possible. Therefore, the responses to the foregoing questions were subjected to content analysis of the Peace Jirgas and Summits' resolutions.

2. Content Analysis of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits Resolutions

2-1. Cohesion of the New Generation and Youths

The cohesion and coordination of the New Generation and Youths for lasting peace and stability in the country, represents one of the main objectives of the Contact Group and Peace Jirgas and Summits. As stated earlier, "The Afghanistan Youth Peace National Jirga - 2012" was one of the major youth programs for peace in Afghanistan. Following the Jirga, different institutions and groups consisting of youth peace-seeking and non-violent activists were formed across the country. However, the national cohesion, lasting coordination and sustainable communication among youths in capital and the provinces were not established. Therefore, the said Jirga as a great initiative, and a unite and influential voice, could not expand beyond that historic period. Eventually, the re-cohesion of the youths at the capital and provinces of Afghanistan on orientation of the "Peace" became the guideline of the "The Contact Group for Peace".

All over the world, youths as drivers of peace culture are actively working for peace-building and avoiding violence. This was reflected in the execution of UN Security Council Resolutions 2250 (2015) and 2419 (2018) on youth, peace, security and other important issues. The main subject of these Security Council's Resolutions is the meaningful engagement of youths in all peace processes. In countries like Afghanistan, where youths account for more than 60 percent of the population, meaningful presence, demographic interaction, and defending the future which belongs to New Generation and Youths are crucially needed in peacebuilding processes. In addition, the youths are forming the majority of the armed forces. Recognizing the youths as stakeholders in the peace negotiating process was crucial to ensure their needs, interests and future destiny in peace-making process. However, in Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha, three axes

including government affiliated technocrats of the last twenty years, jihadist organizations' figures or their representatives, and the representatives of the Islamic Movement of Taliban were engaged, but the representatives of the New Generation and Youths had no role and contribution to this process.

In the last two decades, Afghanistan's New Generation and Youths, from the "Peace Consolidation Council" to the "Doha Peace Process" had no significant cohesion, coordination and sustainable relationships. The New Generation's political activists and civil society except for a few, were scattered with lack of planning, dispersion, and different address. In addition to that, all the programs and activities were concentrated in Kabul – the Capital.

Considering the forehead challenges, one of the primary objectives of the Contact Group was to establish an address, creating cohesion, and ensuring lasting coordination and sustainable relationships between Afghanistan's New Generation and Youths' activists in 34 provinces of Afghanistan. This movement has identified prominent figures of Youths and the New Generation of Afghanistan in all provinces, and by maintaining relations with them in 30 provinces, have organized jirgas, summits and joint activities. Also, to ensure sustainable and durable relationships with them, the contact group has created relevant provincial secretariats. The leadership of this movement has been directly and virtually in contact with the provincial secretariats. Eventually, this movement turned into one of the specific addresses of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan for peace-seeking and advocacy for political engagement of the New Generation.

The consensus, cohesion and consonance of the New Generation and Youths have been emphasized in resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas of Khost; articles 1, 2 and 8, Nengarhar; article 8, Kunduz; article 8, Baghlan; article 4, Neemruz; article 4, para 2 and 4, Badakhshan; article 5, Balkh; article 16, Samangan; article 9 and articles 3 and 6 of the Zabul Peace Summit.

2-2. Criticisms of the New Generation and Youths

The second subject, which can be inferred from the resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits, is the criticism of shortcomings, disorder in the peace negotiation process, and unpleasant consequences of war in the country. The criticisms of Afghanistan's New Generation and Youths as reflected in the resolutions, include the following:

- 1) Criticism on the absence of the New Generation and Youths representatives (Not affiliated with government and Jihadi organizations) in decision-makings and peace negotiation process.
- 2) Criticism on the composition of delegation, lack of alignment, dispersion and lack of planning, selfishness and profiteering in the republic side.
- 3) Criticism on the Taliban for wasting the time, being rigid and refusing to accept pluralism.
- 4) Criticism on the pursuit of personal, party and group interests in the peace negotiation process.
- 5) Criticizing the inflexibility of parties involved in the peace and negotiations process.

- 6) Criticism on the unpleasant consequences of war on the people.
 7) Criticism on the ambiguity of agreements and the peace negotiation process.

In Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions of Zabul; article 5, Nengarhar; article 23, Sar-e-Pul; article 3, Herat; article 2, Paktia; article 1, Neemruz; article 1, para 2, and article 4, para 1, Jawzjan; article 5, Laghman; article 3, Maidan Wardak; article 2, Kandahar; article 2, Takhar; article 4, Logar; article 5, Paktika; article 4, Balkh; article 1, Badghis; article 1, Bamyan; article 3, Baghlan; article 1, Badakhshan; article 2, Faryab; article 2, para 1, Kabul; article 4, there has been criticism on the absence of Youths and New Generation presence, and the meaningful presence of youths and women in peace negotiation process have been emphasized.

In Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions of Kabul; article 7, Nengarhar; article 4, Khost; article 6, Faryab; article 1, para 1, and Takhar; article 8, the composition of delegation, lack of alignment, dispersion and lack of planning, selfishness and profiteering in the republic side have been criticized.

Article 4 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Helmand Province states: *" We call on the parties involved to avoid internal disputes and divisive literature, and to prioritize national interests and do not emulate regional, linguistic and religious biases."*

Also, in Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions of Kandahar; article 11, Jawzjan; article 1, Maidan Wardak; article 10, Kunduz; articles 2 and 3, Logar; article 2, Faryab; article 4, Khost; articles 7, 13 and 14, Baghlan; article 9, Badghis; article 6, Bamyan; article 4, Nengarhar; articles 4 and 9, Takhar; articles 3 and 7, Paktika; article 4, Samangan; articles 8, 12 and 15, Nuristan; article 4, Balkh; articles 4 and 9, Badakhshan; articles 9 and 11, Ghazni; article 2, Herat; article 6, and Kabul; article 2, there have been criticism on inflexibility of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan's delegation and Islamic Movement of Taliban. They have been asked to prefer national interest and do not disrupt, delay and destruct the peace negotiation process for their personal, party and group interest.

Article 1 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Logar Province declares that *" We, the residents of Logar province, have suffered more from the current war in the country compared to other citizens of the country. We have been facing economic, agricultural and educational problems for many years. For this reason, through this Jirga, we want the Afghan Government, Islamic Movement of Taliban and all other factions involved in the war in Afghanistan to establish a cease-fire as soon as possible."*

Article 5 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Helmand Province states: *"Humanitarian crisis and homicide, displacement of families, increase of widows and orphans, poverty, economic crisis, destroying public institutions, and keeping youths away from education are the biggest issues which caused by war in Helmand Province."*

Also, in Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions of Nuristan; articles 1 and 6, Jawzjan; article 6, Laghman; articles 1, 4, 5, and 6, Oruzgan; article 6, Zabul; articles 2, 4 and 6, Farah; article 5, Baghlan; article 15, Kunduz; article 7, Badghis; article 7, Nengarhar; articles 6 and 20, Balkh; article 18, Faryab; article 5, Ghazni; article 7, Herat; article 12, Paktia; article 21, Khost; article 21, Ghor; article 9, Badakhshan; articles 17, 18, and 19, the unfortunate consequences of war on Afghanistan People have been criticized.

Article 5 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Kandahar Province says: "*We, the youths of Kandahar, do not want our rights to be compromised in the peace process. Both sides of peace talks have to clarify Afghanistan peace process, reveal hidden ambiguities and secrets to Afghans, allow international, national, and local media, and oversight institutions to give comprehensive awareness to Afghans on the peace process.*" Article 8 of the Logar Jirga Resolution states: "*We call on the GIRoA to clarify the peace process in the country for all Afghans and to ensure that there is no ambiguity in the process.*"

The Members of the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirgas also criticized the vagueness of peace agreements and dialogues, calling for clarity and transparency in this regard in Resolutions of Kandahar; article 6, Faryab; article 6 para 2, Helmand; article 6, Ghor; article 10, and Khost; article 22.

2-3. Demands of the New Generation and the Youths

The demands of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan from the former Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban, the International Community, especially the United States of America, Islamic, Regional and Neighboring Countries consisted of the followings:

2-3-1. Solving Conflicts through Dialogue and Political Agreement

As we have reviewed, Afghanistan's armed conflicts have transformed into hostile power interactions and a vain circle. From time to time depending on external and internal factors, while a battle comes to an end, other flares up. Victory cannot be achieved through violence, military domination and repression, and even if attained, it would not be long-lasting

All conflicting sides, including the government, representatives of the Taliban and countries supporting peace in Afghanistan, confessed that there is no military solution to the Afghanistan's issue, at the Doha Peace Summit. Unfortunately, the words and action were not the same. On the one hand, President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani declared war, and on the other hand, the Taliban also fueled the war.

In resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Peace Summits, while supporting peace, there have been emphasized on Afghanistan's Conflict Resolution through a

"Political Peace Agreement". The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan believe that there is no military solution to the Afghanistan's crisis and achieving peace and stability. Therefore, all the Peace Jirgas and Summits Resolutions emphasized on Afghanistan's Crisis Resolution through "negotiation and dialogue". Considering that, the New Generation and Youths of Ghor province by considering the platform for the peace negotiation as a golden opportunity, states: "After several years of war, violence and insecurity, the door for peace dialogue and negotiation has opened between the conflicting sides; the Taliban and the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan by mediation of the powers involved in the war and peace of Afghanistan at the national and international level. This is called a golden opportunity in the contemporary political history of Afghanistan."

In the resolutions of Zabul; Article 1, Oruzgan; Article 2, Sar-E-Pul; Article 2, Logar; Article 3, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 1 and Kabul (March 3, 2020); Article 4, the New Generation and the Youths have called for the starting of peace negotiation with the Islamic Movement of Taliban. Moreover, in resolutions of Oruzgan; Article 3, Nuristan; Article 3, Kunar; Article 2, Neemruz; Article 1 para 1, Takhar; Article 7, Samangan; Article 3, Kunduz; Articles 1 and 6, Baghlan; Article 2, Paktia; Article 19, Faryab; Article 4 para 1, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 1, and the Introduction of Logar resolution, there have been emphasizes on ending the war and crisis resolution through dialogue and political agreement.

2-3-2. Ceasefire and Permanent Cessation of War in the Country

As the date for the extraction of US-led NATO forces and the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan was announced, it was expected that a complete ceasefire would be enforced between the former government and the Taliban, or at least lead to the de-escalation of violence. Because, On the one hand, there was no excuse for Afghanistan's occupation. On the other hand, the war between Muslims and killing of a Muslim by another brother has been forbidden from Islamic points of the view. Enforcing people to accept a regime and government against their will, is not legitimate, and the continuation of war with the Afghan armed forces after the peace agreement with the United States was no longer justified with sense of cooperating with the infidels. To the ordinary people also, peace with foreigner and non-Muslim forces, but war with Afghanistan's citizens and Muslims was not justified and rational.

Undoubtedly, the Muslim people of Afghanistan, including men and women, young and old, urban and rural residents, by tasting the bitter taste of war, bloodshed, destruction, torture, suffering and humiliation for more than forty years, have never wanted the continuation of bloodshed and unrest. The ceasefire could demonstrate the image of patriotism, humanitarianism, and commitment to peace from both sides, and could pave the ground for ensuring peace and a comprehensive agreement. The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan, realizing the horrible consequences of the war, such as the loss of countrymen on both sides of the war, the orphanage of children and widowhood of women, the destruction of homes and even the loss of their agriculture products,

and dozens of pains and suffers caused by war, have started advocacy for ending the war, ceasefire and de-escalation of violence.

The resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits declares that attendees of the Summits, Jirgas and Rallies were considering necessary the "immediate, permanent, and comprehensive ceasefire," or at least "de-escalation of violence". Such efforts and other advocacies paved the way for chattering of "ceasefire and de-escalation of violence" on the sides of former government, the Taliban and international peace advocates, but have never been materialized in practice. On the contrary, in this side, President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani "declared war", and on the other side, the Taliban by their ideological rigidity kept fighting against the armed forces of the government; which they called it jihad, until the seizure of Kabul and the fall of Panjshir province.

The de-escalation of violence and ceasefire are mentioned in all resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits. Article 1 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Kandahar Province states: *"Since the US is not directly involved in the Afghanistan's Peace Process, the only request of the Kandahar youths from the Afghanistan government and the Taliban is to announce an immediate ceasefire and finally a permanent ceasefire. They need to rely on dialogue politics instead of armed battles, so that the killing of Afghans is stopped and lasting peace is attained."*

Article 2 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Farah states: *"The people of Farah, especially the youths of this province cordially request the Taliban to accept the ceasefire as a prelude to dialogues and lasting peace. Because without declaration of a ceasefire, the peace process will be threatened."* Also, in Peace Jirga and Summits Resolutions of Zabul; Article 3, Jawzjan; Article 1, Nuristan; Articles 1 and 2, Laghman; Article 1, Sar-E-Pol; Article 1, Maidan Wardak; Article 10, Khost; Articles 10 and 15, Kunar; Article 3, Neemruz; Article 2 para 1 Takhar; Article 2, Paktika; Article 1, Farah; Article 4, Samangan; Article 2, Badghis; Article 2, Herat; Article 5, Kunduz; Article 7, Bamyan; Article 1, Baghlan; Article 5, Paktia; Articles 7 and 11, Badakhshan; Articles 8 and 10, Faryab; Article 2 para 1, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 1, Kabul (March 3, 2020); Article 4, Logar; Article 1, Ghor; Article 2, Helmand; Articles 1 and 2, Nengarhar; Article 4, Ghazni; Article 6 as well as in introduction and conclusion of the Oruzgan province resolution, the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan have called for a ceasefire, permanent ending of the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan.

2-3-3. Preventing the Public Infrastructures' Destruction

The escalation of the war, the heating of attack and defense ground, and transferring of regions and public infrastructures into the hand of the Government armed forces and the Islamic Movement of Taliban's forces have resulted in destruction of public infrastructures such as schools' buildings, district buildings, military bases, bridges and even roads. Many of public infrastructures were either destroying or burning, or their property was looted. This heinous action was condemned by the people.

The Contact Group also raised its voice through Statements and Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions in terms of preventing destruction and looting of public infrastructures and property. Several resolutions of this movement have called on the Government and the Taliban to refrain from the destruction of public infrastructures and the looting of government property. The New Generation and the Youths of Afghanistan believe that state property and assets belong to all Afghans and they should not be deemed as "war booty".

Article 10 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Nangarhar Province states: *" We call on both sides of the conflict to prevent the destruction of public institutions and national infrastructures. They should respect national, cultural and Islamic values."* Also, Article 8 of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga Resolution of Kandahar expresses: *"We urge the Government of Afghanistan and the Taliban to focus on legal competencies instead of destroying the system for the purpose of bringing reforms in the structure. Efforts should be put to amend the constitution and other laws in the light of principles and verses of Islam. The destruction of national and public infrastructure should be prevented. The Taliban as a party engaged in the peace process, should clarify their foreign policy, so their strategy of post-peace process should be cleared to the people of Afghanistan."*

Likewise, Article 10 of the Nuristan province resolution and Article 13 of the Paktia province resolution also underlined the importance of banning the public infrastructure destruction.

2-3-4. Supporting an Inclusive System and Government

The nature of system has been a point of contention among the conflicting sides of Afghanistan. In the last half-century, Afghanistan has experienced various political systems and structures, but none of them has succeeded to bring all conflicting parties around the power table. The systems that failed in Afghanistan have been successful in other societies. A reason for the inefficiency of systems and structures in one hand is that they are not based on the consensus of all sides and a clear mechanism for participation in power and decision-making, on the other hand, the demands, values and desires of one or more parties have always been imposed on other parties. Therefore, it seems that a system and structure will work in Afghanistan that should be based on the consensus of all sides and in consultation with the people of Afghanistan.

The Resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits infers that the new generation of Afghanistan are in pursuit of an inclusive system and government built upon the will of the people, in which all sides can unite under one great National and Islamic ceiling.

Generally, the resolutions enacted by Peace Jirgas and Summits declares that they would support a political system that is based on the Islamic and national values, and should be obtained from a "political peace agreement" and the approval of either a "Loya Jirga; accepted by all Afghans" or a "referendum", or other acceptable mechanisms. However, there is a subtle distinction in the above resolutions:

- 1) A number of resolutions emphasize the need for an inclusive political system that would be based on Islamic values.
- 2) Some of the resolutions emphasize the protection of the republican system based on the Constitution which is compatible with Islamic values, and a middle way to bring together all sides with slight reforms to address the concerns of all conflicting sides.

In their resolutions, the New Generation and Youths have stated that the ruling system must have public and religious legitimacy. Election as a mechanism for participation in power and legitimization of the system is mandatory. The conflicting sides must gain power through peaceful and non-violent competition.

Article 1 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Ghor Province states that they are supporting a system based on Islamic values in which the rights of all citizens of this land are guaranteed.

Article 2, Para. 5 of the Nimruz province resolution, and Article 4, Para. 3 of Faryab resolution emphasize on establishment of an inclusive system and structure. Article 3 of the resolution passed by the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga of Paktika Province also states: *“An Islamic and national system should be created in the country which is not affiliated with any factions. The Islamic, national, cultural, political and other values should be observed, the previous achievements of the country should be preserved, and the will of the Afghan people should be prioritized.”* Article 7 of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga Resolution of Balkh proclaims: *“We call on both sides of conflict to establish an inclusive government in which material and spiritual values of Afghan people are preserved.”*

However, the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolutions of Bamyan; Article 2, Khost; Article 11, Helmand; Article 1, Paktia; Article 7, Herat; Article 1, Kabul (March 3, 2019); Article 6, and Kabul (August 22, 2019); Introduction and Article 6, have emphasized maintaining the republican system, democratic and pluralistic structure, observing Islamic values, and reforms to address the concerns of conflicting sides.

2-3-5. Supporting the Election and Constitution

The mechanism of participation in power and the basis of government, the legitimacy of the state, differentiation of tasks between different parts of the state, and the rights of citizens are issues that have long mounted challenges to the ruling systems. Therefore, in the majority of modern governments, "elections" have offered a means of securing public legitimacy, participation in power, and peaceful political competition. The constitution has also been acknowledged as the ground for ensuring the legitimacy of authority, the establishment of the state, the regulation of government tasks, the protection of citizens' rights, and positive interaction with the world.

One of the most important demands of the New Generation and Youths in Peace Jirgas and Summits is "elections" and "the constitution". The participants of Jirgas and Summits emphasize the holding "elections" in the country. Article 11 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Nangarhar Province states: *"We call on the Taliban to pursue political, civil and electoral means to gain power after the peace agreement."* Article 12 of the resolution enacted by the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga of Khost Province declares: *"We call on the Taliban to cease fire and come to power through free elections."* The resolutions of Herat; Article 11, Maidan Wardak; Article 6, Bamyan; Article 2, Badakhshan; Article 8 and Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 6 have emphasized refereeing to the will of the people, the vote-based system and gaining power through elections and democratic means.

There are also two types of different views about "Constitution" in resolutions. Most ideas emphasize the preservation of the constitution adopted in 2003, while some resolutions call for the amendment of the constitution to achieve peace. Article 8 of the resolution passed by the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga of Kandahar Province states regarding the constitution: *"We urge the Government of Afghanistan and the Taliban to focus on legal competencies instead of destroying the system for the purpose of bringing reforms in the structure. Efforts should be put to amend the constitution and other laws in the light of principles and verses of Islam."* The New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolutions of Herat; Article 3, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 6, Kabul (March 3, 2020); Article 6, Nuristan; Article 7, Bamyan; Article 2, and Badakhshan; Article 3 emphasized on preservation and protection of the "Afghanistan's Constitution".

2-3-6. Preserving the Last Two Decades' Achievements

Over the past two decades, despite huge conflicts and challenges, the people and government of Afghanistan have had great achievements. Hence, the resolutions of the Peace Jirgas and Summits have emphasized the preservation of these achievements in peace processes. The last twenty years' achievements with due to resolutions of this movement can be summarized as follows:

In the realm of domestic politics, the establishment of a system and the Constitution, the separation of powers, creating mechanisms of participation in power, voting and elections, belief in peaceful competition, avoiding hostile interactions, physical violence and war to gain power, the political engagement of women and youths, and the political activities of parties, groups and activists are called as the last two decades' achievements. In the realm of foreign policy, Afghanistan was struggling with global isolation during the rule of Mujahideen and the former Islamic Emirate. However, over the last twenty years, due to positive interaction with countries of the world, the recognition and relative stabilization of Afghanistan's position in international community, international commitments and extensive ties and interactions with neighboring countries, the region and the world, the situation has changed. There are, of course, challenges and imbalances in domestic and foreign policy, especially in dealing with neighboring and regional countries, but

preserving, reforming and expanding these achievements would grant further potential and strength to post-conflict Afghanistan.

Considering the economic realm, in the last twenty years, Afghanistan's status has improved in the areas of private investment, trade relations with neighboring and regional countries, eradication of transit and trade monopolies, and marketing for some of Afghanistan's commodities. For example, maintaining relative economic stability, investment in air transport, electricity services, telecommunication and Internet services, developing agriculture and livestock breeding, establishment of urban infrastructures, relative standardization of customs based on international regulations and criteria, attracting investment in mining, urbanization and environment, development of industrial factories and parks, supporting handicrafts, and some other things, are the outstanding achievements over this period. These achievements, not only need to be preserved, but also to be further advanced and expanded.

In the social sphere, great and important achievements have been attained, including ethnic and religious interactions, freedom of holding religious ceremonies, development of social relations, non-violence among the public, non-violent advocacies, returning of immigrants, the rise of political parties, the establishment of civil institutions, access to educational services and higher education for male and female students, the social presence of women, the improvement of health services, strengthening the sports system, and improving the environmental conditions. In this regard, some of the new generation and youths' peace resolutions highlighted the insufficient attention of government to the provision of services to rural areas as a challenge. Therefore, emphasis has been placed on social achievements and their development at rural levels in the peace process.

Freedom of expression and media; is another notable achievement of the last twenty years which cited in the peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions. Afghanistan has gone through significant developments in the field of printing, audiovisual media and freedom of expression compared to its past and to the neighboring and regional countries. Therefore, protection and supporting of media and freedom of expression have been emphasized in resolutions.

Maintaining the ruling system and armed forces; the defense and security forces of Afghanistan were established through investment, professional training, and a lot of valor and sacrifice. This does not give a pleasant memory of the disintegration of the armed forces. Hence, the preservation of defense and security forces has been emphasized in resolutions of peace jirgas and summits. However, what happened in practice, shocked everyone. The people of Afghanistan, the government and the peace-supporting countries were emphasizing maintaining security and defense forces, but the defense forces were surrendered unpredictably or laid down their weapons and fled.

The resolutions have called on the government, the Taliban, the United States and the countries facilitating the peace process in Afghanistan to not sacrifice achievements for the peace. From the New Generation and Youths perspective, ignoring the past achievements will complicate the

establishment of lasting peace and stability and will probably result in social, economic and political backwardness.

The New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits Resolutions of Kunar; Article 6, Jawzjan; Article 1, Nuristan; Article 12, Maidan Wardak; Article 9, Farah; Article 1 para 2, Samangan; Article 7 Kunduz; Article 1, Paktia; Article 1, Faryab; Article 2 para 2, Takhar; Article 1, Kandahar; Article 4 Badghis; Article 6, Paktika; Article 6, Balkh; Articles 2 and 6, Ghor; Article 3, Helmand; Article 1, Neemruz; Article 1, para 3 and 4, Bamyan; Article 2, and Badakhshan; Article 3 have been emphasizing on maintaining the achievements of the past two decades and also Article 10 of the Kabul resolution (August 22, 2019), Article 8 of Kabul (March 3, 2020) and Article 1 of Maidan Wardak emphasized maintaining, strengthening and depoliticizing Afghanistan's security and defense forces.

In the resolutions of Kunar; Articles 6 and 10, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 9, Balkh; Article 3, Maidan Wardak; Article 4, Baghlan; Article 10, Neemruz; Articles 1 and 2, Para. 3 and 4, Paktia; Article 12, Nengharhar; Articles 3 and 7, and Ghor; Article 3, emphasize was placed on the preservation of achievements such as the political structure, the education system, freedom of expression, the press, women's rights, the rights of ethnic minorities and preservation of the education system, the civil service system and other national institutions as the last two decades achievements.

2-3-7. The Women's Rights

Women's rights, though discussed in the achievements and social rights section, is specially taken into consideration in the resolutions enacted by the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits.

In the last two decades, Afghanistan has made significant achievements in women's rights field, such as economic empowerment, political and social engagement, employment, education and political positions.

In Resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits of Jawzjan; Article 4, Nuristan; Article 9, Maidan Wardak; Article 3, Kunar; Article 10, Logar; Article 5, Balkh; Article 5, Ghor; Articles 3 and 5, Kabul (August 22, 2019); Article 8, Kabul (March 3, 2020); Article 12, Helmand; Article 1, Bamyan; Article 2, Nengharhar; Article 7, Paktia; Article 12, Kunduz; Article 1, Baghlan; Article 10, Herat; Articles 3 and 8, Neemruz; Article 1 para 4 and Article 2 para 3, Balkh; Article 3, and Paktika; Article 6 emphasize has been placed on the preservation of women's social, political and economic rights.

Article 2 of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolution of Bamyan Province states: "*We call on preservation of the last two decades' achievements, preservation of republic system, based on votes of the people, preservation and consideration of the fundamental rights of citizens in the constitution and religious moderate law, rights of minorities, deprived classes and women.*"

Article 8 of the Kabul Summit (August 22, 2019) mentions: “*Preserving of the women’s basic rights and freedoms (Right to education, work, active engagement in civil, social, economic, cultural, military and political fields) in peace talks and agreements.*” Also, Article 1 of the resolution passed by the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga of Kunduz Province highlights: “*The preservation of the last two decades achievements, the protection of women, ethnic and religious minorities’ rights, and using the opportunity to end war and ensure lasting peace.*”

2-3-8. Monitoring and Reporting on the Peace Process

The New Generation, the Youths and all people of Afghanistan look forward to a day when lasting peace is achieved and consolidated all across Afghanistan. In Afghanistan’s reconciliation process, the involved sides exhibited great rigidity and inflexibility. The New Generations and Youths of Afghanistan were far away from the process and what was reported and screened in the media countered the realities that people saw with their own eyes on the battlefield. For example, the Taliban and the former Government statements were emphasizing "resolving issues through dialogue" and they were confessing that "there is no military solution to the Afghanistan’s issue." In practice, however, the war was intensifying. There was a huge contradiction between "words and action". Hence, the New Generation and Youths were emphasizing on monitoring the peace process and reporting to the people.

The resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits stated that the peace process needs to be overseen by the New Generation and Youths, the local people, the media, the United Nations and Islamic countries. Moreover, a number of resolutions highlighted that the UN peacekeeping forces and neighboring and regional countries should guarantee the implementation of the peace agreements. Some resolutions call for accountability and reporting of the peace process to the people, and the negotiations should not be concealed from the media. Generally, three types of supervision of the peace process and its implementation have been described in the resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits:

- 1) Internal monitoring by the New Generation and Youths
- 2) Monitoring by the media and through that by the local people
- 3) Monitoring by the United Nations, Islamic Countries and Neutral Institutions

The Resolutions of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirgas of Nangarhar; Article 21, Ghazni; Article 8 Kabul (March 3, 2020); Article 7, Kunduz; Article 11, Farah; Article 6, Badakhshan; Article 20, Bamyan; Article 10, Balkh; Article 17, Laghman; Article 3, Logar; Article 4, Baghlan; Article 16, and Neemruz; Article 6, para 6 have emphasized on developing of a peace monitoring mechanism on the orientation of the youths.

The Resolutions of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirgas of Khost; Article 22, Jawzjan; Article 7, Kandahar; Article 5, Herat; Article 13, Helmand; Article 6, Nengarhar; Article 22, Samangan; Article 16 Balkh; Article 19, Paktia; Article 22, and Logar; Article 6 have been

emphasized on public and media monitoring over the peace process. In Articles 2 and 5 of Paktika resolution, Article 12 of Kunduz, Article 13 of Bamyan, Article 14 of Badakhshan, Article 6, Para 5 of Faryab, and Article 6, Para 3 of Nemruz, emphasis has been placed on monitoring of International Institutions, the United Nations, and Islamic Countries.

The Resolutions of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirgas of Khost; Article 19, Faryab; Article 6, Para 4 and Badghis; Article 8 call for the formation of a monitoring committee. Also, the Resolutions of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirgas of Helmand; Article 4, Nengarhar; Article 13, Ghazni; Article 3 Khost; Article 17, Kandahar; Article 9, Herat; Article 10, Balkh; Article 10, and Paktia; Article 20 emphasize on guaranteeing the peace process by the United Nations, Islamic Countries, and Countries of the Region and World.

2-3-9. Continuation of Cooperation, Financial Supports and Friendly Relations with the International Community

The Afghanistan Government, despite highly constrained financial resources and revenues, requires a huge budget and massive expenditures. Poverty, unemployment, economic problems, underdevelopment, diseases control, continuity and development of public services, and fulfillment of governance requirements in the civil, military, judicial, and other expenditures are also affecting the society. It is not possible to provide these financial sources by tapping into domestic revenue. Therefore, the people and government of Afghanistan need access to global financial mechanisms and financial support of other countries.

Most of the Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions emphasized the sustainability of cooperation, assistance and efforts of the international community to achieve lasting peace, establish and strengthen a stable government, strengthen economic infrastructure, improvement and development, and overcome a long-standing crisis. Article 5 of *the Resolution passed by the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga of Paktika* states: "... The US with the International Community, the UN, the Organization of Islamic Countries and neighboring countries have to monitor and make sincere efforts for peace in Afghanistan, and resolve the Afghan crisis, and maintain its financial resources for the future development of Afghanistan." Also, the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga Resolutions of Ghor; Article 8, Bamyan; Article 9, Nengarhar; Article 12, and Paktia; Article 16 have urged on the United Nations, Islamic Countries, and countries of the region and the world to maintain their financial aid to Afghanistan.

Article 9 of the Resolution enacted by the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga of Herat Province states: " *We call on the International Community to stay alongside the people of Afghanistan for lasting peace and comprehensive development, and use all diplomatic means to end the forty-years' war in the country.*" Also, Article 4 of the Kunduz Resolution mentions: "*We call on the International Community, especially the US, Islamic countries and neighboring countries to cooperate with Afghans in concluding the peace talks.*"

Article 12 of the Baghlan Resolution also states: *“We want from the International Community and neighboring countries to respect the independence and national values of the Afghanistan’s people and assist the people of Afghanistan to achieve peace.”*

Moreover, the New Generation and Youths in Resolutions of Jawzjan; Article 3, Baghlan; Article 13, Farah; Article 3, Khost; Article 20, Helmand; Article 3, Paktia; Article 17, and Samangan; Article 11 called on the international community, especially the United States to put pressure on the neighboring countries for the purpose of supporting Afghanistan’s Peace Process.

In Resolutions of Ghazni; Article; 5, Logar; Article 9, Neemruz; Article 3 Paras. 1, 2 and 3, Samangan; Articles 5 and 6, Khost; Article 16, Faryab; Article 3 Paras. 4, 5 and 6, Badghis; Articles 3, 4 and 5, and Jawzjan; Article 3 emphasize have been placed on the continuation of International Community’s co-operation and their pressure on conflicting sides for the purpose of concluding negotiations and ensuring lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Article 12 of the Resolution issued in the Kabul Summit (August 22, 2019) states: *“Maintaining, continuing, planning and developing friendly cooperations with Islamic Countries, Countries of the Region, especially China, Russia and Neighbors based on national interest of sides.”* Also, article 11 of the resolution issued in the Kabul Summit (August 22, 2019) declares: *“... Continuation of cooperations, friendly and strategic relations with United States of America, International Community, and International Institutions based on definition of new agreements with the approval of the Inclusive Loya Jirga.”* Moreover, in article 10 of the Kabul Summit (March 3, 2020), emphasize has been put on the continuation of friendly relations with neighboring countries based on mutual national interests.

As overviewed, the Resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits are structurally composed of three parts: introduction, body and conclusion. The Introduction offers an overview of the problems, the roots of the crisis, and the reasons behind holding Jirgas and Summits.

The resolutions’ body contains "demands" and "reformist critiques" on the Government, the Taliban, the United States and other facilitating governments, which are presented in the form of a list of articles, as is common in the legislative literature. The conclusion of the resolutions, however, elaborates on ultimatums, threats, deadlines and removal of responsibility. From this perspective, there is a logical gap in most of the New Generation and Youth’s resolutions. It is due to the fact that the New Generation and Youths have no channels of exerting pressure on the Government, the Taliban, the United States and the countries facilitating the peace process except for conferences, marches and demonstrations.

3. Group Interview

Considering the recent political transformation (August 15, 2021) in country, this interview was conducted between the analyst of this research study as "The Interviewer" and a number of

Leadership Members of the Youth Contact Group for Peace and the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga as "Interviewees" from July 4, 2022 to July 31, 2021 in the form of a group interview. The Interviewees included the following people:

Mohammad Sangar Amirzada, General Director of the Contact Group and Former Director of the Reform and Change Network, Khalil Ahmad Matin, Deputy Director of the Contact Group, Ehsanullah Hikmat, Head of Communication and Media Office and Spokesperson, Homayoun Miakhil, Head of Coordination and Information Gathering Committee, Ahmad Baktash Barialai, Head of Coordination Office with War Victims, Wahidullah Sohail, Head of Human Rights Committee, Mohammad Fahim Karimi, Spokesperson and Deputy Head of Communication and Media Office, Mohammad Ali Fitrat, Ajmal Sayis, Mehna Sola Niazi, Mitra Himat, Ziauddin Jahish, Hamidullah Masroor, Sonia Ahmadi, Toryali Helmand, Roqia Gharjistani, Jan Mohammad Jahid, Shabnam Shaygan Saei, Mohammad Iqbal Sakhi, Jahanzib Sharify, Nisar Ahmad Azad, Seyed Noorullah Baes, Seyed Jamaluddin Asifkhil, Lina Haidari, Sajidullah Afghanmal, Forozan Aria, Mohammad Hamdard, Amanullah Rahgozar, Arash Basharyar, Mohammad Akmal Monis, Khalilullah Vahmanesh, Zahir Mahboob, Habibullah Akmal, Rokay Musleh, Hanifullah Shahab Pashayi, and Abdul Sattar Shamal; Leadership Members of the Contact Group and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga.

This interview was conducted to find out insights of the New Generation and Youths concerning these six axis, including; the factors of Doha Peace Process failure, the causes of protracted conflicts and hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan, the role of Afghanistan's geographical location in hostile interactions of power, the role of relying on ethnicity, religion and language in continuation of hostile interactions and cultural violence, details of the meeting with some Leadership Members of the Contract Group and Zalmay Khalilzad; the former representative of the US Department of State for Afghanistan's Peace, and the New Generation and Youths' vision for the lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan.

3-1. The Failure Factors of Peace Processes

As overviewed, Afghanistan's peace processes have gone through tremendous ups and downs over the last half-century. In the last two decades, beside war, a lot of efforts have been made to ensure peace. Undoubtedly, the war has claimed countless lives from the conflicting sides and the people of Afghanistan. Eventually, one of the most serious peace efforts exercised, was the Doha peace process. Unfortunately, the Doha peace process failed to reach a political peace agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Movement of Taliban. Hence, the interviewees were asked about the factors of the Doha Peace Process failure.

Interviewer: You know that peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan failed by expansion of the Taliban's dominance from provinces to Kabul and the flee of former President Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani. What do you think are the reasons for the failure of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha?

According to the interviewees, the failure of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha is attributed to three parties, including the United States and the countries involved in the process, the Republic side and former Government, and the Islamic Movement of Taliban. The details of interviewees response to this question are described as per following:

First; Marginalization of the Former Government and Other Influential Sides

According to the interviewees, one reason for the failure of the Afghanistan peace process in Doha is marginalizing of the republic side. Interviewees believe that the Doha Peace Process had never been an Intra-Afghan process, it was a process between the Taliban Movement and the Americans in which the former government and other Afghan factions were not involved. When the Peace Talks between the United States of America and the Taliban started in Doha, parties other than the US and Taliban were marginalized. This side was including the Republican side; the former government, the prominent political factions, civil society, women, and the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan. These were needed to be involved in the process as a third party but were overlooked.

Regarding the negotiations between the Taliban and the United States, the interviewees believe that the Doha Agreement has given global recognition to the Taliban and made them stronger than before. They are adding, the Taliban's claim back then was that Americans were their main opposition. Because their fighting was against Americans. It was due to the US "invasion" in 2001 on Afghanistan and brought down their legitimate government (Islamic Emirate) and "occupied" Afghanistan, as claimed by the Taliban. The Taliban, therefore, saw the United States as their main opposition, claiming that on the first step "occupation" should be ended, then the Intra-Afghan Negotiations should be started.

According to the interviewees, if the Americans did exert pressure, the presence of third side was possible at the beginning of the peace process. It is because the Taliban did not have a reasonable position; or "they were in a good position, but it was not excellent." It was possible for the third party, including the Republican Side, the then Government, Influential Political Movements, Civil Society, the New Generation and Youths, Women and the Prominent Activists of the last twenty years, to be engaged in the process. Eventually, the engagement of the third party could have been highly effective for Intra-Afghan Negotiations and the proper management of the peace process. Unfortunately, it did not happen at the time.

Second; Miscalculation of the Former Government

According to the interviewees, the issue of hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan would not end by abandoning. Describing that, after the Taliban's agreement with the Americans on the "Withdrawal of US Troops from Afghanistan", the Taliban believed that "the Americans are about to leave." Hence, their perception was that they will be able to overthrow the government of Afghanistan. However, the calculations of the Afghanistan government were inaccurate. Because

they presumed, "Americans would not leave". Whereas the New Generation and Youths, considering the agreement between the Taliban and the United States, regional and international transformations, and information received from international sources, they had come to the conclusion that "Indeed, a decision has been made and the Americans are leaving Afghanistan." Not as quickly and hastily as they left, but they are leaving in some other ways. On the one hand, the lack of a long-term government policy for defense after the withdrawal of foreign troops, and on the other hand, the miscalculation of the former government wielded a negative effect on the outcome of the negotiations.

Third; Limited Access to Peace Information

According to the interviewees; the access of the republican side, the former government, influential political movements, the New Generation and Youths, and women of Afghanistan to data, information, and details of meetings and agreements between representatives of the Taliban and the United States were very limited. Describing that, the Americans did not share information and the details of peace issues and discussions with other sides; political movements, the new generation and youths, women and civil society, except Former-President; Mohammad Ashraf Ghani, Dr. Abdullah Abdullah; the Chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation, and some prominent political figures and leaders of jihadist organizations. Although some political movements were invited to peace meetings at the Presidential Palace and the office of the High Council for National Reconciliation, the essential information was not shared with them. These meetings were nothing more than rabble-rousing speeches. Therefore, many political movements were defining their position according to the government information.

If the information was shared with other parties, most political movements might have parted ways with the wrong path of the government. Moreover, if the people of Afghanistan had access to reliable and credible information about the peace process, they could distinguish between the blame and right sides and made a stand against the blamed side. However, a few other movements outside the government's agenda, have followed a reformist and realistic stance, constantly protesting the wrong path pursued by the government and some prominent political leaders involved in the peace process.

Therefore, to the interviewees, limited access to information and lack of direct access of other influential sides to the peace information has put negative impact on the peace process.

Fourth; Process Mismanagement and Existence of Dispersions

Another factor contributing to the stagnation of Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha was the mismanagement of the process and existence of dispersion. According to the interviewees, among the former government and the republican side, there was incompatibility and dispersion from the beginning of the negotiation until the unsuccessful end of the peace process in Doha. The former

government side was extremely busy in fighting over the power. Huge administrative and financial corruption, inability to persuade Western allies, lack of creating of balance between neighbors in the region, hidden diplomacy of the ruling figure, prejudice and racism, pretended and ineffective activities, and centralization of political and economic decision-making power in presidential palace, caused for dispersion and mismanagement in the process. Intensification of intra-government competitions and bureaucracy of the government wasted few months of golden opportunity for peace, without forming a "Competent Negotiating Delegation".

In line with this view, a number of interviewees referred to the instance presented in the review of the peace processes. Once, a 250-member delegation was formed for peace negotiation by the former government. In reaction to the number of negotiators, the Taliban responded, "This is not a wedding ceremony or a party at a hotel in Kabul, but a formal conference. We are going to negotiate here." Finally, a meeting was set between the 250-member negotiating delegation of the Republican government at the Presidential Palace. Preparations were made for departure of delegation and holding the meeting in Qatar, but that meeting and this meeting were canceled.

According to the interviewees, the dispersions in the government and the republican side were never removed, a strong political consensus did not form inside the country, and even the general assembly of the High Council for National Reconciliation was not formed and held. In fact, it reflected the mis intention of the government leaders toward peace and their ambition to stay in power. Hence, the Republican side were not holding regular meetings and they were unable to take a unified decision. Following such dispersions and discord, lack of political consensus and selfish nesses, the delegation of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan attended the Doha Intra-Afghan Negotiation table with two separate proposals (plans), one from the former President and the other from the High Council for National Reconciliation. Meanwhile, other influential internal sides also propound their views.

Therefore, what is inferred from interviewees' responses is that another factor contributing to the failure of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha was the mismanagement of the process, the existence of dispersions among the republican side, and discord and confusion in the Afghanistan political system that eventually led to its collapse.

Fifth; Assigning the Delegation with Lack of Authority

One of the discussed issues in Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha was the authority of decision-making and putting the final signature on the peace agreement. In this respect, it was sometimes referred to the authority of the President, sometimes to the ratification of the National Assembly, and sometimes to the approval of the Loya Jirga, but few were referring to the authority of the High Council for National Reconciliation and the Negotiating Delegation.

Considering the issue, the interviewees remarked that following the reaction of the Taliban's representatives to the 250-member delegation of the Republic Government and the cancellation of the pre-arranged meeting, Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad once again attempted to form a new small

delegation of peace negotiators who had the authority to make decisions. Therefore, after extensive negotiations and consultative meetings, a new delegation was formed, but the essential authority was not given to them. The former president was many times declaring that the "final signature" matters and the final decision would be made in the Loya Jirga. Finally, the former government position was that the Republic Government Delegation should negotiate, but the final decision would be made by the leadership in Kabul. However, there was no unified stance in Kabul. Interviewees believe that the Islamic Republic was paddling with distrust, dispersion division, and flaws. On the contrary, the Taliban front was unified, converged and with strong military morale.

Therefore, according to the interviewees, another reason which contributed to the losing of opportunity and failure of Afghanistan Peace Process was assigning the delegation with lack of authority.

Sixth; Wasting the Negotiation Opportunity

Arising of the door for negotiation and peace was a golden opportunity for bringing peace to Afghanistan. The intensity of the war was causing the heavy and irreparable human and financial losses to the people and the country. Therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity at the time was crucial.

According to the interviewees, a lot of opportunities were lost in Afghanistan's Peace Process in Doha. Describing that, the Americans had agreed with the Taliban to release 5,000 of their prisoners. However, the former government leadership was insisting that they would not do so, and they wasted five to six months on the issue. The prisoners were eventually released, but time was lost. As said by interviewees, if the Afghanistan Government had released the prisoners as a sign of good faith for peace, they could declare their sincerity in the peace process and revealed the world that they are committed in bringing peace to Afghanistan. This was much better than the forcible release of prisoners.

In the opinions of the interviewees, after reactions to the release of the prisoners, another schism emerged between the Government, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the United States. Following the Loya Jirga conducted for the release of the 400 so-called dangerous prisoners, a great opportunity was lost, though they were released at the end of the day. As attacks intensified and provinces fell, the Taliban released their own prisoners as well as thousands of others.

On the other hand, disagreement over the negotiation mechanism, insistence on fulfilling preconditions, unwillingness to end the war through dialogue and negotiations, and escalation of the war by the Taliban were also caused for the wasting of time and opportunities.

Therefore, according to the interviewees, it is inferred that on one hand, the circumstance of appointing the negotiating delegation, drafting the plan and the release of prisoners by the government, and on the other hand, the disagreement over the negotiation mechanism and the escalation of the war by the Taliban caused to lose of many opportunities.

Seventh; The Emphasis of Conflicting Sides on War and Escalation of War

According to the interviewees, another reason for the failure of the Peace Process in Doha was escalation of war on the battlefields. When the US President (Joe Biden) announced the preparedness of the last American troops to withdraw from Afghanistan, the leaders of the former government were suddenly shocked. On the one hand, the government did not have an accurate and clear plan for defense after the withdrawal of foreign troops. On the other hand, excessive political interference in appointments, widespread corruption in the high-ranking military organizations, and severe interventions in authority and improper management of the war caused to mismanagement of the war and the collapse of the system. On the other side, the Taliban did not think they could take over the entire Afghanistan in a short time, but they had preparation for war.

As claimed by interviewees, following the withdrawal of US troops, the peace literature changed drastically by the former government. The ex-president called for an ad-hoc meeting of the National Assembly and declared war, promising that they would change the war situation within six months. Thus, the declaration of war by the President ended dangerous. On the opposite, "Now, will see what would happen in the war" the Islamic Movement of Taliban replied. In fact, this indicates the ambiguous intentions of the sides involved in the Afghanistan Peace Process.

According to the interviewees, since both sides chanted war, the peace process came to a standstill. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan came to Kabul, and some stayed in Qatar. Once again, the Americans, the United Nations, the Peace Advocate Countries, Prominent Political Figures, the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan called for the reduction of violence and ceasefire in the country. The Islamic Movement of Taliban also announced that they would not attack on the cities, but they did. Therefore, major cities under the rule of the government were captured by the Taliban.

Eight; Lack of Honest Cooperation of International and Regional Players

Based on the interviewees' perspectives, another reason contributed to the failure of Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha was the insincere cooperation of international and regional players involved in the peace of Afghanistan. This factor was influenced by a raft of players, the absence of an impartial and sincere mediator, the conflict of interests between the countries involved, regional rivalries, and competition between Eastern and Western powers, which eventually deprived Afghans from the opportunity to fundamentally solve the crisis.

Ninth; Stubbornness and Inflexibility of the Islamic Movement of Taliban

The interviewees states that the Taliban's inflexibility in the peace process and their stubbornness was another cause for the failure of the Afghanistan's Peace Process in Doha. The Taliban with their firm belief in totalitarianism, did not believe in peace and an atmosphere with the diversity of expression and pluralism. Following the final decision to the withdrawal of US troops, the Taliban refused to continue peace talks. The Taliban, as an Afghan side, fell short of understanding their responsibility and refused to accept the Afghan people's demand for a ceasefire and solution to the Afghanistan crisis through dialogue and negotiation. There was a golden opportunity for "Intra-Afghan Negotiations" after American signed the agreement with the Taliban, but the Taliban missed this opportunity on the account that, in one hand they were thinking that existing government was a puppet and they would never negotiate with them, on the other hand, they believed they win this war on the military battleground.

According to agreement between the Taliban and the Americans and based on the opinions of the interviewees, the Intra-Afghan Negotiations should have determined the future political system, based on the Afghan Sides agreement. The mechanism of participation in power and national decision- makings should have been defined and the religious, public and international legitimacy of the government should have been decided through the Loya Jirga, election and other international mechanisms. Interviewees point to the Taliban's premise, that the Taliban were thinking: "When we can take by force, what is the point of sharing it with others." According to the interviewees, this assumption may have been practical for winning the war on that time, but it was a wrong strategy to resolve the power conflicts in Afghanistan.

Therefore, the escalation of war turned out dangerous for both sides. When war broke out in the cities, it was clear that the peace process would fail.

Tenth and Final; Refusing to Form a Transitional and Consensual Government

According to the interviewees, another factor that contributed to the failure of Afghanistan's Peace Process was the "Refusal of Forming a Transitional and Consensual Government". A transitional government was a prerequisite for handling the reconciliation and peace process, but Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and his team repeatedly announced that "They would transfer power to an elective alternative and have stood firm on their stance until the end." The transitional government could have properly and decisively concluded the peace process with the Taliban. Furthermore, according to the Doha Agreement between the Taliban and the United States, and the official statements made by US diplomats, an inclusive and consensual government was supposed to be the outcome of the Intra-Afghan Negotiations. But due to the escalation of the war, the diminishment of the government's scope of authority, and expansion of Taliban's dominance, the process (Intra-Afghan Negotiations) was abortive, and that consensual government and "Afghanistan's Future Political Roadmap" was never formed and developed. What is formed today, is neither a transitional government nor an inclusive government, but the claim of the

Islamic Movement of Taliban (Islamic Emirate). While, if you consider the statements by officials and spokespersons of the Taliban before the military dominance of Afghanistan, they were stating that the "Nature of the System" and other issues shall be discussed and determined in "Intra-Afghan Negotiations" by the Afghan sides.

Therefore, the factors led to the failure of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha were threefold: **a)** the former government and the republic side, **b)** the United States and the regional and global players involved in the process, and **c)** the Islamic Movement of Taliban. Each of them had a role in the failure of the Peace Process.

3-2. The Factors of Hostile Power Interactions according to the New Generation and Youths

In the last half-century, Afghanistan has been suffering from hostile interactions of power. Hence, governments have been formed and gone with short lives. Every now and then, when a battle stops, another breaks out. The Afghan sides were unable to reach an agreement over a legitimate system, political structure, a comprehensive solution to all major and national issues of the country, and a governance manner in which all side with consultation of Afghanistan people agreed on. Moreover, the inability to distinguish friends from enemies at national, regional and international levels and failure to create good and stable relations with neighboring countries based on national and common interests caused for lasting wars, prolong conflicts and hostile interactions of power. The following has been asked the views of some leadership members of the Contact Group and the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga:

Interviewer: To consider the findings, in the last half-century, the armed conflict over the seizure of power in Afghanistan, following the presence of foreign troops in this country, the lack of an inclusive system and dependence on foreign countries have turned into a vicious circle, hostile interactions of power and inhibited peace and stability. What is your perspective on this? How had we have failed to achieve peace and stability and what were the factors?

According to the interviewees, the following factors have had role on hostile interactions of power since 1978:

1) The Imposition of Foreign Ideology

Interviewees argued that some Afghan political sides bring an external ideology; by relying to military force, injecting money and a plethora of other excuses, they want to implement it with all of its principles, values and regulations in Afghanistan. Whether it is an Eastern or Western ideology. While there is no general consensus and proper ground for its acceptance inside the country. For example, in the early days of his office, Noor Mohammad Taraki issued a decree according to which no one was allowed to have more than 30 acres of irrigated lands. Properties

that exceeded the limits set by the decree were confiscated and divided. While there is still ground for extremism in Afghanistan, they uprising against a foreign ideology. At the end of the day, in adapting them with the way of thinking and beliefs of the people, they are relying to fatwa, Quran verses and hadiths, even if there is no religious or logical connection.

2) The Existence of Fundamentalism Ground

According to the interviewees, the ground for fundamentalists in Afghanistan is existed, and such threats were mostly created by the villages. The rural people have overthrown the urban governments with armed uprisings. It is because the governments of Afghanistan failed to forge good relations with the villages. In the last two decades, the gap between rural and urban areas widened. Hence, due to the unbalanced development across the Afghanistan, villagers had limited access to standard education, health and other public services. This factor has been effective to push rural people to seek help from groups other than the government.

According to the interviewees, illiteracy, racial and ethnic discrimination, and lack of public awareness from ideological issues laid the grounds for fundamentalism, prejudice and violence. Therefore, fundamentalism, supremacy, extreme tribalism, and monopoly were among the factors that contributed to power conflicts.

3) Xenophobia of Afghans

Interviewees stated that, considering the history and familiarity with the way of thinking, life style and traditions of the Afghan people, Afghans do not get along well with foreigners, especially their militants. Even they managed to do so temporarily, finally they became incompatible. For example, if you look at foreign military interventions over the past century, from British military intervention, and the Soviet Union to the presence of the US and NATO-led international coalition forces, a part of Afghan people had always engaged in armed conflicts against them.

According to the interviewees, in the new order of the international system, the government and people of Afghanistan should stay in touch with other countries. A number of Afghan figures and political movements who have relations with neighboring countries, the region and the world, should be used as an opportunity. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to consider national interests, identification of the sides and monitoring of them, but the label "spy" should not be thrown out indiscriminately to anyone.

According to the interviewees, by moving towards national political agreement, we should consider the experience of the last century, especially the last twenty years, and should not allow another foreign military presence. The foreign troops presence paves the way for regional and global rivalry. Eventually, the military presence of foreigners, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, must be prohibited. Afghanistan can maintain strong strategic relations with the countries of the world based on national interests, in which the type of relations and interests of the sides are clearly defined.

4) Power Monopoly

According to the interviewees, another factor contributing to Afghanistan's conflicts is the monopoly of power, the centralization of the governance system, the failure to institutionalize social justice, the unfair distribution of the national budget, and the circumstance of using the national wealth. They added that whenever a political side ascended to power, they began to monopolize power and never gone toward a national agreement.

Afghanistan's ethnic elites have not yet reached a consensus on how to cope with the power issue. The weak and insignificant participation of ethnicities in political power and government decision-makings have always caused that other sides put efforts to feed from international and foreign sources at various levels, even military and intelligence to gain power. For instance, in the conflicts of the last half century in Afghanistan, countries such as Pakistan, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom and other states were intervening. They were funding their allies and Afghans were fighting against each other. Foreign intervention and internal irrationality caused that Afghanistan's conflicting sides to be used for political and intelligence purposed by foreigners. Therefore, incompetent leaders, the emphasis on the narrative of minority and majority by ethnic leaders, selfishness, corruption and inefficiency of the government's leadership caused to the monopoly of power and has been counted as a reason of Afghanistan's conflicts.

5) Lack of Strong, Non-Political and Independent Defense and Security Forces

Interviewees believe, over the last century especially the last 20 years, Afghanistan has been unsuccessful in building a non-political and independent army. During the last one century, whenever new governments have been formed, the Afghanistan army was formed based on connections and the influence of those in power. Although the defense and security forces had received good trainings, they failed to handle affairs in a non-political way and giving priority to maintain the national security of the country. Unfortunately, in the last twenty years, tremendous efforts have been made to build up the Afghanistan army, but the country's army has thrived only in the number and by reliance on foreign advisors and trainers, irrespective of the roots of indigenous socio-cultural structures. External dependence in the financial, security, service and battle fields was the main factor caused the army to be failed in relying on its own internal strengths and to build effective logistical, supply, technical, and communications capabilities.

According to the interviewees, heterogeneity of the army, lack of clear political and strategic insight, politicization and intervention, indiscipline and incoherence, and inexistence of necessary coordination in the army caused widespread administrative and financial corruption and even squandered the budget of soldiers. When the inefficient generals and commanders were arrested for embezzlement, stealing and abuse of military soldiers, instead of being imprisoned trailed, they were re-assigned to other army corps, which further persuaded them to continue the path of embezzlement and corruption. Interviewees stated that in the past 20 years, promotions and appointments to sensitive military positions have not been taken place based on professional and

military competence. However, it was taken place by loyalty to the ruler, the ruling groups, and the allies in power.

Interviewees believe that in the last 20 years, insufficient attention has been paid to create a strong narrative for defense, clear definition of the enemy, national interests and national security among the defense and security forces. The defense and security forces have been misused or improperly deployed and reinforced in the war. The intelligence unit of the army has not been organized properly, so it has been the weakest unit among the security and intelligence divisions of the army. For this reason, even changes in the political structure of the country could weaken the country's army and military institutions. These weaknesses and inability to form a powerful, non-political and independent army have been one of the biggest causes of hostile interactions of power for more than a century. Therefore, to achieve lasting peace and stability, Afghanistan needs to form and build a strong, non-political and independent army, a committed and non-political intelligence and security organization, and a professional police force that can protect the country's authority, territorial integrity, and national interests, despite the changes and even political collapse.

3-3. The Role of Regional Location in Hostile Interactions of Power

Afghanistan is located in a region that is full of regional and global disputes and rivalries. Undoubtedly, this has not been ineffective on Afghanistan's internal conflicts. Therefore, in the following section, some leadership members of the Contact Group and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga have been asked about this issue.

Interviewer: Geographically, Afghanistan is in a region teeming with regional and global disputes and rivalries. In your opinion, what should be the position of Afghanistan in the disputes between the Pakistan with India, Iran with Saudi Arabia and global competitions such as the rivalry between the east (China, Russia, India) and the west (America and Europe)? How can Afghanistan be safe in these dipustes and rivalries?

As stated by interviewees, Afghanistan's location in a region full of disputes, rivalries and proxy wars has been very much challenging for Afghans. It is because Afghanistan sits in a region that is geographically in favor of regional and global games, rivalry and conflicts. Throughout the history, Afghanistan has been suffering from its regional location. Interviewees suggest the following ways to stay safe from regional rivalry and disputes:

1) Establishing a Strong and Legitimate Government

According to the interviewees, the only way to manage the regional challenge and to be safe from the consequences of regional disputes is to have a strong and legitimate government. By establishing a powerful government which raises from the realities of Afghanistan, and to be formed based on the votes of the people and elections, and to have both national and religious

legitimacy, Afghanistan can protect itself from rivalries, conflicts, and the consequences of regional and global disputes.

The interviewees added that a strong and legitimate government in Afghanistan can be formed when fair laws are formulated and implemented, political engagement should be existed, and political efforts, and reaching to political authority should be party-oriented. The committed, non-political and independent defense and security forces should be established, and power sharing, pluralism, observance of human and citizen rights, peaceful competition, avoidance of hostile interactions and meaningful participation of women, the New Generation and Youths, groups and political activists should be applied.

2) Avoiding Sensitivity in Foreign Relations

According to the interviewees, Afghanistan needs to avoid creating sensitivity in its foreign relations, and must maintain its neutrality in conflicts, negative competitions, and military and intelligence wars in the region and the world. Afghanistan requires an active and specialized diplomatic system as well as a clear definition of its foreign policy by considering the national, regional and international priorities.

Interviewees added; a peaceful Afghanistan cannot be isolated from its neighbors and cannot afford to disregard the regional countries. Therefore, we need a comprehensive foreign policy based on the mutual interests with neighboring countries including China, Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Afghanistan should make efforts to create regional convergence, use of regional economic opportunities and promote friendly relations. Also, Afghanistan needs to take steps to reduce disputes in relations between Afghanistan and neighboring countries, especially Pakistan; Of course, these steps should not be sensitive to the countries of the region, especially India. Afghanistan also requires a proper policy to deal with China. Afghanistan can benefit from economic, transit and connection-oriented opportunities in its relations with China.

Interviewees believe that Afghanistan should become a strong player in the region. Afghanistan's special location and geography should be used in positive and economic interactions with the region and the world, but Afghanistan should never pursue a policy of confrontation. In neighboring, regional and beyond the regional countries; Russia, India, Japan and Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and other Islamic countries, more resources must be used to create and improve extensive relationships based on national interests.

According to the interviewees, Afghanistan needs to make efforts to find more allies in the world. Afghanistan still needs to have strategic and friendly relations with the United States of America and its other allies, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, the European Union, especially Germany, France and Italy. Having a friendly and strategic relationship with the United States of America is an asset and a great opportunity. Therefore, considering the new definition, by developing friendly and strategic relations with these countries, especially the United States,

Afghanistan should fulfill its economic and financial needs, expand its international credibility, and use the opportunities and privileges of international organizations.

3) Using the Privileges of Regional Organizations

Interviewees states that existing platforms in regional and global level should be used for the benefit of Afghanistan. Afghans have yet failed to use the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in favor of the country. For instance, Afghans still do not have visa-free travel privileges among SAARC member countries, while this privilege is accessible to the nationals of many member states. The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) has been barely used. For example, Afghanistan's border with Turkmenistan is often closed or it is difficult for Afghans to get visas for this country. As same as countries such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries. Moreover, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has not yet effectively used for the favor of Afghanistan.

Interviewees added that Afghanistan should become a stronger player in the region. Afghanistan's special location and geography should be used in positive interactions with the region and the world countries, but the policy of confrontation must never be pursued.

4) Moving from the Regional Challenge to the Economic Opportunity

Interviewees argue that the location of Afghanistan should not be seen only from war perspective, as this has been the case so far. Eastern and Western powers and neighbors should not militarily use Afghanistan for their interests. On the military front, the world has seen the Afghan's war. They know that Afghans are valiant fighters, neither afraid of their own death nor their enemies. From economic perspective, Afghanistan has not received enough attention on how the country can be used as economic and transit hub. Afghans have not used these capacities so far and the geographical and economic capability of Afghanistan have largely been overlooked by the countries in the region and the world. Afghanistan can play an important role in regional convergence. Economic projects and policies of energy transfer, transit and regional connection can be implemented with the cooperation and participation of Afghanistan. On the other hand, considering the special interest of countries in Afghanistan's natural resources, there is a need for building capacities to develop Afghanistan's economy in the mining, agricultural and water sectors. If such a goal is attained, Afghanistan will reach to lasting peace and stability.

Therefore, the interviewee's perspectives infer that Afghanistan has been suffering from its regional location and to be protected from regional and global disputes, it is suggested that Afghanistan should "establish a strong and legitimate government, avoid sensitivity in foreign relations, use the privileges of regional organizations, and move from regional challenges to economic opportunities".

Interviewees also suggest that Afghanistan should enter into large-scale talks and agreements with neighboring and regional countries and should make efforts for creating regional convergence.

3-4 Recourse to the Ethnic, Linguistic and Regional Issues in Hostile Interactions of Power

Following few decades of the conflict in Afghanistan, ethnic politics and recourse to the ethnicity, religion, language and region have caused cultural violence. Undoubtedly, there is no military solution to cultural violence. The following outlines the opinions of the interviewees in this regard.

Interviewer: As studied; recourse to the ethnicity, religion, language and even region has created hatred, fear, discrimination and cultural violence among Afghanistan citizens. What is your opinion in this regard? How can we live in peace with ourselves and others?

According to the interviewees, prolonged conflicts, tribal life, ethnicities segregation, geographical factors, and unhealthy competition of ethnic elites caused the failure of forming urban and nationalism life in Afghanistan. Belief and respect for national symbols have not been institutionalized, as well as parties, groups, and individuals are still looking for power from an ethnic approach. In the conflicting sides, there is an ethnic and tribal view of power, and this has reduced the chances of coexistence for Afghans. Still, most people in ethnic groups hold misconceptions about each other. People are judged on the basis of the ethnic group to which they belong. There were hopes that the New Generation would be different, but the policies, government structures, and conflicts over the last twenty years have also imposed an ethnic perspective on the New Generation.

Therefore, to overcome this problem, the people of Afghanistan need to embrace, respect and cherish each other's rights, ensure social justice, and reach mutual understanding. Meanwhile, we need to fight for cultural, religious and ethnic pluralism. A fair legislation system and the rule of law must be established. As stated in the Constitution; national wealth and authority should be for all Afghan citizens. Efforts should be made for national awakening and a transparent, written and clear social contract should be drawn up and developed among the elites of various ethnic groups in Afghanistan in order to promote respect for each other's ideas, material and spiritual possessions.

The interviewees add; the illiteracy and low levels of education and religious literacy of the people have been misused in Afghanistan's wars. This is while the Muslim war against Muslims is prohibited. The majority of Afghanistan's war is fueled by poor strata of society who have been deprived of literacy and intellectual development. Balanced development and tackling the problems in rural and remote areas of the country, the expansion of religious studies, the compilation of a revised and approved curriculum for religious institutions, the establishment of the Jurisprudential High Council and Dar al-Ifa, promotion of religious intellectualism, and standardization of education based on community needs are solutions to fundamentalism and misuse of people. At the same time, Mullahs and Imams of mosques need to pass specific courses at a special Imamate educational center or university. If these institutions are not existed, they

should be established and built. There is a need for establishing dialogue between the university and the Madrasas, and the interaction between the two ideas should be formed.

Therefore, the above measures could be effective in abolishing extremist ideas and recourse of ethnic, regional and religious issues, and will guide people to intellectualism and balanced perceptions. So that the imported ideas which are fueled by abroad are defused. To do so, on the one hand, religion would be liberated from the clutches of religious tradesmen. On the other hand, instrumental uses of religion and language are prevented. In this way, cultural violence can be reduced and we all can live a peaceful coexistence.

3-5. The Details of Contact Group's Meeting with Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad

A number of the leadership members of the Contact Group and the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga met Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, the former Special Representative of the USA Secretary of State for Afghanistan's Peace, on April 10, 2021. Since Dr. Khalilzad represented the United States in the peace process and the United States as a key member in the war and peace has been the partner and ally of the Afghanistan government, finding their opinion and stands in war and peace of Afghanistan is counted essential and vital. Therefore, the details of the meeting are asked as per following:

Interviewer: You had a meeting with Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, the former Special Representative of the USA Department of State for Afghanistan Peace on April 10, 2021. What were the details of that meeting? What did Khalilzad say about Afghanistan's Peace?

The interviewees stated that they had promised to the members of the New Generation and Youth Peace Jirga and Peace Summits that they are going to convey their demands to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban, the United States and its allies. Hence, the objective behind the meeting with the US Special Representative for Afghanistan Peace was to convey the message of the New Generation and Youths.

Interviewees stated that they communicated the message of the New Generation and Youths to Dr. Khalilzad, reminding him that in Afghanistan's political affairs, there have been four main axes, including the technocrats in power, the Islamic Movement of Taliban, jihadist organizations and prominent Mujahideen figures, and the New Generations and Youths. The first three axes are involved in Afghanistan's affairs and Peace Negotiation Process, but the real representatives of the New Generation and Youths who have been active in the social and political spheres for the last twenty years, are excluded.

According to the interviewees, they explained to Dr. Khalilzad that more than half of the Afghanistan's population is the youths. On the other side, the youths are giving sacrifices on conflicting sides, and the future belongs to the New Generation and Youths who are both educated and tolerant, and they are willing to live, work and do politics in peace and harmony with the

Taliban and all other Afghan sides. Therefore, the New Generation and Youths must be involved in a process that influences their future and political destiny.

The interviewees have also shared the concerns of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan with Dr. Khalilzad, called for avoidance of any unilateral decisions and misuse of the peace process for the benefit of individuals, so that the peace process is not sabotaged. The interviewees have pointed out that way of reaching to political authority must be other than guns. The hostile interactions of power in the last half-century have devastated Afghanistan. Elections must be deemed as a principle. The Intra-Afghan peace negotiations should lead to a "comprehensive political peace agreement" and a broad national consensus on the "mechanism of political engagement and power sharing". It has also been emphasized that US troops must withdraw from Afghanistan, because their presence continuation will escalate the war, but this withdrawal should be in a responsible way.

The interviewees stated that Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad didn't go into details at the meeting. However, he highlighted the following points: As claimed by the interviewees, Dr. Khalilzad told the leadership of the Contact Group and the Jirga; he had reminded the Government and the Taliban that "If you continue to resolve the Afghanistan conflict by force, you will never have the support of the international community." There is only one way, and that is dialogue and negotiation. There is no other way, either dialogue or else the foreign aid would be cut off.

In regard to the future political system, Khalilzad stated to the leadership of the Contact Group and the Jirga: "We are not imposing anything. Everything must be resolved in the Intra-Afghan Negotiations." He has particularly emphasized on the "Intra-Afghan Negotiations."

Interviewees explained that Dr. Khalilzad tended to listen rather than talk. He did not seem happy with the peace talks and was somehow disappointed. Interviewees asked Dr. Khalilzad that he had signed an agreement with the Taliban in Doha, but the violence had increased, and the war, far from cessation, broke out. What would happen if the government or the Taliban fail to reach peace? Which way the situation is going? And what will happen at the end? In response, Dr. Khalilzad expressed his disappointment as follows: "Once, the leaders of the jihadist organizations, went on to visit the Kaaba and perform the Hajj Umrah by invitation of the King of Saudi Arabia for the purpose of peace agreements. They swore in the Kaaba. Nevertheless, when they came back to Afghanistan, they kept fighting." This message of Khalilzad implies that "Afghan sides have not stood by their commitments, and their words and actions are different."

3-6. The Future of Afghanistan's Peace according to the New Generation and Youths

The Afghanistan's peace efforts were remained unsuccessful due to the expansion of the Taliban's dominance from the provinces to Kabul and the eventual escape of President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani and the leadership of the then government. In this case, the interviewees were asked about the future of peacebuilding in Afghanistan.

Interviewer: Considering the major transformations and coming of Taliban into the power, what can be done for peacebuilding in Afghanistan? And what is your suggestion?

According to the interviewees, considering the recent political transformation in the country, two scenarios are probable and practical:

First Scenario: If the Islamic Emirate desires that Afghanistan reach to lasting peace and stability, a competent commission or council must be formed to continue peace talks with other Afghan sides to ensure lasting stability.

Lasting peace and stability are achieving when all sides put an end to decades of crisis through dialogue. Hence, the Taliban, in consultation with other internal influential movements, the women, the New Generation and Youths should take the initiative of national reconciliation, peace and the formation of an inclusive government. They should observe citizen and civil rights, women's rights, and freedom of expression for the people of Afghanistan, and to set the ground for greater national cohesion and solidarity. Coercion in religious affairs must be terminated and they should act according to the demands of international politics. They should observe international treaties, conventions and accords regarding governance. The Islamic Movement of Taliban must be committed by the rule of elective and non-violence political game. They should establish a system based on the votes of the people, and start working on codification of the new constitution in consultation with all movements. If this initiative is not put into practice, Afghanistan will once again face serious crisis.

The interviewees further refer to Bonn's experience: At the Bonn conference on 2001, the Taliban side and Hekmatyar's Islamic Party were ignored which was a reason for the continuation of the war. Members of the Islamic Movement of Taliban were insulted and humiliated, their homes and families were harassed, they were put in jail for several years, and many were forced to flee the country. Even ordinary people across the country were oppressed under the name of the Talib. If this scenario being adopted and implement by the soldiers and commanders of the Islamic Emirate this time, and the ordinary people humiliate, they may take up arms again. Following the conflicts in the last half century, take up arms in Afghanistan has become easy. In addition, some countries and terrorist groups are still waiting, and some might be recruited and funded.

According to the interviewees, if Afghans desire for stability and peace in Afghanistan, the remaining peace process needs to be restarted more efficiently. The peace issue is still ongoing and we need to pursue peace seeking as a national claim. If the peace process, especially political peace does not complete, it will not lead to stability.

The interviewees further stated; if any Afghan side is subjected to political revenge, they will retaliate one day, and this will lead to the persistence of hostile interactions. Conversely, if the ground for dignified social life and political activity is provided for all, participation in power and political decision-making facilitate for all Afghans, including the New Generation and Youths, and the political parties continue their activity in a more organized manner, we can reach to lasting

peace and stability. Therefore, the Islamic Emirate need to listen to groups other than the Taliban, recognizing them as political opposition without closing the path of dialogue. Today, the Islamic Emirate, through political tolerance and sincere efforts and by using the experiences of countries that are analogous to Afghanistan, should put sincere and honest efforts for lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Second Scenario: According to the interviewees, if the Taliban presume that they have conquered Afghanistan by force, and are therefore free to do as they wish, such assumptions would not lead to the lasting peace and stability. History has taught us, that ruling by force in Afghanistan would not last, as same as the ruling of communists and republics did not work, and the Americans and NATO by having tremendous facilities and power, faced to challenges.

The interviewees added, gaining power and transferring power through war have brought nothing but devastation and destructions for the people and the country. The Taliban are now in a distinctive position. People want jobs, food, security, justice, participation, development and welfare services from them. On the other hand, the Taliban are not the only ones in Afghanistan. There are different political movements different ethnicities are living, and different perspectives are there in Afghanistan, other than Taliban. If an appropriate solution is not sought, the experience of failures in Afghanistan will be repeated.

The interviewees offered the following details about the proposal of the peace initiative and the first scenario by the Islamic Emirate: To attain stability, a roadmap must be specified. The Doha agreement regarding the Afghanistan's future political roadmap and the formation of a new post-agreement government, as determined by Intra-Afghan Negotiations must be implemented and the new Intra-Afghan Negotiations should be started between the Taliban and other Afghan sides. All Afghan sides should come together in a Loya Jirga that is accepted by all. Finally, "elections" should be held.

If the Taliban are criticizing the corruption and foreign interference in past electoral processes, they can now conduct elections free of any corruption and foreign intervention. For this purpose, a governing system which is nationally and religiously legitimate should be established. A political system that is accepted and approved by all sides, and neither side seeks to impose their demands on the other should be established. The thirst for power must be subsided in the country, and humility, tolerance, mutual acceptance and pluralism spirit should be promoted. Finally, the peaceful path to reach political power must be determined. Further, a political system must be set up in the country in which other political sides with the Taliban, and Taliban with other political sides can live, work and do politics together.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

This research study was trying to find out the answers for: How the Afghanistan's conflict could be ended? What is the knot to armed conflict, hostile interactions, and the continued crisis in Afghanistan? What ups and downs have the unsuccessful Afghanistan peace process gone through and which sides have been engaged in peace efforts and decision-making? In the last two decades, what efforts have the New Generation and the Youths taken to bring peace to Afghanistan? What are the root causes for the failure of the Afghan peace process in Doha from the New Generation and Youths perspectives? Finally, what are the criticisms, demands and recommendations of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan to achieve lasting peace and stability?

The hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan are rooted in foreign aggression and occupation, the imposition of foreign ideology in Afghanistan, the un-formation of an inclusive political system agreed by the conflicting sides, the crisis of legitimacy and the direct and indirect reliance of governments on international financial and military resources. Afghanistan's geographical location in a region rife with disputes and competition of neighboring, regional and international countries has caused interventions and support of internal conflicting sides which actually formed civil wars with international dimensions. Aside from war and physical violence, relying of the conflicting sides to the ethnicity, religion, language and even region has caused the cultural violence in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's peace processes since the Geneva Accord (1988) signed between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan plus the former Soviet Union and the United States, which led to the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Dr. Najibullah Ahmadzai's "National Reconciliation Policy" (September 1987), which was refused by the Mujahideen and conflicting

sides, the UN Peace Policy and the efforts of Benon Sivan (1990), which were left unsuccessful, The Rawalpindi-Peshawar (April 26, 1992) and Islamabad (March 1992) political agreements between the parties and Jihadi organizations not only fell short of ensuring peace and forming an inclusive government, but also sparked civil wars.

The Afghanistan government's peace processes with the Taliban after the Bonn Conference, which was held with the participation of Government Technocrats, Jihadist Parties and representatives of the Islamic Movement of Taliban without meaningful participation of the New Generations and Youths in decision-making has made a soulless peace-building diplomacy, which was unsuccessful in achieving a political peace agreement between the Republic Government and the Taliban. In the last two decades, the former government entered into a political agreement with the Islamic Party of Hekmatyar (September 22, 2016) and the United States (February 29, 2020) with the Taliban.

The Doha peace process which was a golden opportunity for bringing peace in Afghanistan, was unsuccessful in ensuring a peace agreement between the then government and the Taliban for a plenty of factors from the then Government, the Islamic Movement of Taliban, the United States and international players in the Afghan peace process. The reasons behind the failure of Afghanistan peace process in Doha were threefold: The republic side and the leadership of the former government, the United States, global and regional players involved in the peace of Afghanistan and the Taliban.

Now that the Taliban have seized power with the claim of reviving the Islamic Emirate, Afghanistan is still in a vicious circle of hostility. Because, on the one hand, many officials of the previous government fled the country. Many leaders and representatives of jihadist organizations and political movements who had been invited to Pakistan for a meeting, never returned to the country. Senior members of the government's security and defense forces also left the country. The foreign forces' colleagues, prosecutors, judges and a number of media activists also left the country. The public have lost its sense of psychological security for fear of losing social freedoms and facing extreme poverty and unemployment. The civil-political activists of the New Generation and Youths, considering the current situation of the country, are concerned about their political future and engagement, un-formation of an inclusive system and government, restrictions on media, governance manner, peace and stability, and other social, economic, and political issues. On the other hand, some extremist and fundamentalist groups seek to recruit new forces and pose challenges to the security and stability of Afghanistan, the region and the world. Meanwhile, the capacity for returning to armed conflicts has always existed. If the opportunity arises, the ground is ready for a return to the battlefield and armed conflicts.

The following conclusions can be inferred from the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits' Resolutions:

First. The emphasis of the New Generation and Youths on cohesion, consonance, convergence and coordination to ensure lasting peace and stability in the country.

Second. The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan were criticizing the absence of the New Generation and Youths representatives (other than the government and jihadi organizations) in decision-makings and peace negotiation process, the delegation composition, misalignment, dispersion and disorganization, selfishness and profit-seeking among the republicans, inflexibility and unacceptance of pluralism by the Taliban, seeking personal, partisan and group interests in the peace process, the unpleasant consequences of war on the people, and the vagueness of agreements and the peace process.

Third. The demands of the New Generation and Youths from the resolutions of the Jirgas and Peace Summits are inferred as: for the purpose of seeking peace, the youths call on " Resolving conflicts through dialogues and political agreement, ceasefire and permanent cessation of war in the country, preventing the destruction of public infrastructure, supporting an inclusive system and government, supporting the elections and the constitution, preserving the achievements of the last two decades such as social, economic, political, citizens' rights, especially women's rights, freedom of speech and media, maintaining the system and armed forces, monitoring and reporting on peace processes and continuance of cooperation, financial support and friendly relations with the international community." The details of the New Generation and Youths' demands derived from the group interview with some of the leadership members of the Contact Group and the Jirga can be summarized as follows:

1. Taking practical, honest and committed steps by the Islamic Emirate (The Taliban Side) to resolve conflicts through political negotiation and agreement, starting a new process of peace talks and negotiations, national reconciliation, agreement on a comprehensive roadmap, and agreement on the circumstance of drafting and approving the new constitution with other influential Afghan sides and parties for a permanent end to the war and stable political future.
2. Avoiding selfishness and monopoly in power, flexibility and accountability of the Islamic Emirate (The Taliban Side) and other influential Afghan sides to reach a big political agreement.
3. Agreement and commitment of all political sides on a non-violence and selective political game.
4. Defining political structure and governance, laying the groundwork and defining the meaningful engagement of all ethnic groups in political power and government decisions based on approval and implementation of justly laws.
5. Maintaining and implementing the process of democracy and gaining political power through elections, elected government (having both national and religious legitimacy), elected and accountable leaders, defining pillars of government and separation of powers, holding fair and general elections, and referring to the votes and demands of the nation on major and crucial issues of the country.

6. Defining and respecting the national and common values, compatibility, respecting of all ethnic groups and movements for each other's intellectual, political, cultural and social values and diversities, and putting efforts for a stable and prosperous Afghanistan.
7. The brotherhood and coexistence of the religions followers in Afghanistan are unparalleled in the region and are inseparable. Therefore, along with the Sunni and Hanafi religion, the Shiite and Jafari religion must be preserved and respected as the official religion of the country.
8. Preservation of moderation, abandoning coercion and preventing excesses in religious affairs.
9. Preserving and development of freedom of expression, the press and the media, the right to access the information, social, civil and political freedoms, and the right to peaceful protest for all Afghan citizens within the framework of justly laws.
10. Protecting and supporting women's fundamental rights and freedoms (right to education, study, work, meaningful engagement and presence in political, civil, social, economic, cultural and military fields).
11. Meaningful presence and engagement of the new generation and youths as an influential side in the national decision-making process. The elites of the new generation and youths must go beyond individual and scattered efforts (If it is not possible to stand in a single line, they can form several purposeful civil-political movements with a clear agenda for governance and political power with their like-minded people), they should put together in achieving political stability and lasting peace in the country. In the last two decades (The Rise of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan), there have been four political axes in Afghanistan; **1** Technocrats in power **2** Jihadi Leaders and Parties **3** Islamic Movement of Taliban and **4** the New Generations and Youths of Afghanistan. Among them, the first three axes have been actively involved in all political and military decisions of Afghanistan. But the fourth one - The New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan have not played an active and meaningful role so far, have not been involved in decisions and have always been victims of the first three axes' decisions.
12. Political engagement and participation of the New Generation and Youths in national events and decisions, international forums and platforms on Afghanistan issues other than the three axes involved in political decisions.
13. Protecting the rights and unexceptionally addressing and solving the problems of war victims, heirs of martyrs and people with disabilities that caused by decades of war in Afghanistan.
14. Establishing and creating committed, non-political and non-affiliated Defense and Security Forces, Intelligence and Information Organization, and Professional, Committed, Independent and Non-Political Police.
15. Avoiding restrictions and banning of cultural and artistic activities, and protecting Afghanistan's cultural, artistic and ancient heritage.

16. Maintaining, continuing, developing and establishing friendly and strategic relations with neighboring countries, the region and the world based on national interests.
17. Avoiding sensitivity in foreign relations and maintaining neutrality in conflicts, negative competitions, military and intelligence wars in the region and the world.
18. Strong support of the United Nation, especially the Security Council and other international organizations from the people, women, the new generation and youths of Afghanistan.
19. The continuation of global financial support, and the serious and honest cooperation of the international community with the people of Afghanistan in achieving lasting peace and stability.

Eventually, Afghanistan will move towards peace and stability when the peace initiative is revived and an inclusive system which is agreed by conflicting sides and based on the votes of the people is formed in Afghanistan. That could be an attempt to put an end to the war and hostile interactions of power. A national and powerful government system should be formed based on political agreement. The matter of engagement in decision-making and power should be resolved by developing a mechanism. All sides must give up physical violence (armed conflicts). In other words, the war and conflicts must be dismantled and the political campaign that form the basis of a political society must be carried out in a peaceful and non-violent approach in the country. Finally, by resolving internal issues and creating a strong national government, the ground for international legitimacy and friendly relations with neighboring countries, the region and the world should be provided.

The future of Afghanistan's peace needs a makeover of peacemakers that goes beyond the traditional activities, frameworks, and peacemakers that created a soulless diplomacy. All segments of society must contribute to the establishment of peace. To this end, the middle segment of society (the new generation, youths, and emerging figures) needs to have a more prominent role than the top leaders (authoritarian and conflicting sides). This role should not include only the resolving of urgent conflict issues (the division of power), but also should include the concerns that may lead to a reversion to armed conflict and hostile interactions.

Recommendations

1. Political Roadmap

In the last half-century, Afghanistan has been suffering from hostile power interactions. Hence, governments have been formed and gone with short lives. Every now and then, when a battle stops, another breaks out. The Afghan sides were unable to reach an agreement over a legitimate system, political structure, a comprehensive solution to all major and national issues of the country, and a governance manner in which all sides with consultation of Afghanistan people agreed on. To bring an end to the decades of conflict in Afghanistan, practical and sincere steps should be taken towards national reconciliation and conflict resolution through dialogue and political

agreement by the Islamic Emirate (The Taliban Side) and other influential Afghan sides (Jihadi Leaders and Organizations, Technocrats in power over the past two decades, Women, the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan). This should be done for the purpose of creating an electoral system that have both national and religious legitimacy, all sides have agreement on it and neither side enforces its demands on the other. The spirit of humility, tolerance, mutual acceptance and pluralism must be considered and cherished, conflicts need to be resolved through dialogue and political agreement, and finally, the way of gaining political power through the non-violent approach must be outlined in a way that guarantees sustainable peace and stability in Afghanistan. And the political roadmap must be executed for the specific period of (1 to 5 years) as per following:

- ✓ The Taliban Side and other Influential Political Sides take a serious decision to end the war and ensure lasting peace, once and forever. All sides should be ready for decisive, comprehensive and serious negotiations to solve power issues in Afghanistan. Hence, the Taliban side with other political sides of Afghanistan, and other political sides of Afghanistan with the Taliban should take steps to start a trust-building dialogue inside and outside Afghanistan (neighboring, the region and the world countries; supporter of peace and stability in Afghanistan).
Therefore, the United Nations, International Organizations; supporting peace in the world, countries that support lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan, and a group of pacifist personalities and mediators in Afghanistan should lay the ground to facilitate these talks.
- ✓ The re-starting of an influential Intra-Afghan Negotiations by the Islamic Emirate with other Afghan sides with the facilitation and monitoring of the United Nations.
- ✓ Establishing an inclusive government (entitled/ Care Taker / Interim / Transitional government for a specified period until holding of election) in which the meaningful presence and participation of ethnicities, parties and political sides, including the new generation and youths, and emerging figures should be considered.
- ✓ Creating the Loya Jirga Holding Commission based on the agreement of the parties.
- ✓ Conducting an acceptable Loya Jirga to approve the inclusive government and establish a National Commission to draft the constitution
- ✓ Approving justly constitution by an acceptable Loya Jirga, a referendum or agreement on other acceptable mechanisms by the Taliban and other influential Afghan political sides.
- ✓ Holding country-wide and fair election and forming next government according to the new constitution.

2. Political Structure

The power monopoly, the governance centralization, the failure to institutionalize social justice, unbalanced development, unfair distribution of national budgets and circumstance of spending national wealth, and lack of meaningful and justly engagement of ethnicities in political power and government decision – makings have always caused other sides to rely on international and foreign resources at various levels, even the military to gain power. Foreign interference and internal irrationality have caused that Afghanistan's conflicting sides been used for intelligence and political purposes. Hence, the incompetent leaders, reliance on the narrative of the minority and majority by ethnic leaders, selfishness, corruption and incompetence of the government leadership have caused the monopoly of power and contributed to the escalation of Afghanistan's conflicts. Therefore, for a unified, integrated and stable Afghanistan, the following political structure which can be applicable in different types of systems is proposed:

1. President with Vice Presidents 2. Prime Minister with Deputies 3. National Assembly 4. High Council of Jurisprudence and Dar-al-Ifta 5. High Council of Supreme Court 6. Governors 7. Municipalities 8. Provincial Councils 9. District Councils, and 10. Districts governors must be elected directly or indirectly by the people of Afghanistan in accordance with the law and with specific power authority separation in the framework of law.

3. The Circumstance of Gaining Political Power

The Islamic Movement of Taliban and influential political axes in Afghanistan should reach to a consensus on the rule of electoral political game to gain political power. There is no other acceptable way for Afghans to ensure lasting peace and stability in the country other than elections. Therefore, elections must be accepted as a principle by all sides, and political efforts for achieving power should be done through political parties within the framework of the law, not individuals.

4. Balanced Development and Fair Usage of National Wealth

National wealth; underground resources, water, land, ancient and cultural monuments, government infrastructures, human resources and financial incomes of the government are the public property of all Afghan people that must be utilized and protected within the framework of law.

Fair distribution of national wealth and using national wealth revenues in a fair manner and balanced development from the provinces to the capital should be in a way that the respective provinces have complete control and authority over circumstance of spending these revenues within the law.

5. High Council of Jurisprudence and Dar al-Ifta

The people of Afghanistan are facing with a lot of narrations and definitions proposed by various authorities in religious and jurisprudential affairs. Considering the current situation of Afghanistan, religious and jurisprudential scholars and elites should present necessary fatwas, guidance and advice to the people of Afghanistan. Therefore, there is an urgent need to establish the High Council of Jurisprudence and Dar al-Ifta in Afghanistan, that the scope of their authority, activities and structure should be defined in the Constitution.

6. Relations with Neighbors, the Region and the World

Geographically, Afghanistan sits in a region that is teeming with regional and global disputes and rivalries. Undoubtedly, this issue has not been ineffective on Afghanistan's internal conflicts. Afghanistan needs to avoid sensitivity in its foreign relations and need to maintain its neutral position in conflicts, hostile rivalries, and military and intelligence wars in the region and the world. Afghanistan needs an active and professional diplomatic system as well as a clear definition of its foreign policy by considering the national, regional and international priorities.

A peaceful Afghanistan can neither be detached from its neighbors nor disregard the regional countries. Therefore, we need a comprehensive foreign policy based on the interests of the parties with our neighboring countries such as China, Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Efforts should be made to foster convergence, utilization of regional economic opportunities and friendly relations. Necessary steps must be taken for reducing disputes between Afghanistan and neighboring countries, especially Pakistan. Of course, such steps should not cause further sensitivity with other regional countries, especially India. Afghanistan also needs a transparent and defined policy on interaction with China. Afghanistan can use from economic and transit opportunities in its relationship with China.

Afghanistan needs to become a strong player in the region. Afghanistan's location and geography should be used as a privilege in interactions with the region and the world, and should never use the policy of confrontation. In relations with other states in the region and beyond, including Russia, India, Japan and Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and other Islamic countries, Afghanistan needs to capitalize on resources and establish extensive and developed relations in accordance with national interests.

Afghanistan needs to develop further allies in the world. It has to develop its strategic and friendly relations with the United States and its allies including the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and European Union countries, especially Germany, France and Italy. Having friendly and strategic relation with the United States should be seen as an asset and an opportunity. Therefore, based on the new definition, Afghanistan must fulfill its economic and financial needs, develop its international credibility, and use from aids and opportunities of International Institutions by developing its relation with these countries especially United States of America.

Research Limitations

1. As the demographic statistics of each province and district of Afghanistan are not accurate, it was difficult to create an accurate proportion or percentage between the statistical sample and the statistical population.
2. The research literature and the adoption of words and terms that are not at odds with the spirit of peace-seeking, and the ruling social and political sensitivities are considered in it, was another limitation of this research.
3. Poor observance of the scientific structure in some resolutions which led to the confusion of criticisms, demands, suggestions and ultimatums.
4. The collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and restriction of civil and political activities prevented the completion of this study in 34 provinces of Afghanistan. Eventually, four provinces of Panjshir, Parwan, Kapisa and Daikundi, despite preparations for holding Jirgas, were not included in this research.
5. Another limitation in completion of this research was political transformation of August 15, 2021, which was to some degree overcome by conducting a group interview.
6. In compiling information and data, the security issues, financial limitations and the dispersion of the New Generation and Youths have been other challenges to this study.

Hoping for the peace and stability in Afghanistan

Best Regards

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3. Demonstrating the nation will through holding an inclusive Loya Jirga for the purpose of legitimizing the peace agreements on national level. Also, holding an International Conference in one of the friends and impartial country to guarantee the peace agreements on international level.
4. The meaningful presence of the new generation and youths as an influential side in peace talks, political agreements and post-peace processes.
5. Maintaining the democratic processes and gaining political power through elections in peace talks and agreements.
6. Republican system, supporting the constitution and amending it by inclusive Loya Jirga which is based on will and vote of Afghanistan's people, or holding referendum.
7. Preserving the basic rights and duties of Afghanistan's citizens.
8. Preserving of the women's basic rights and freedoms (Right to education, work, active engagement in civil, social, economic, cultural, military and political fields) in peace talks and agreements.
9. Maintaining freedom of expression, media and press, and access to information within framework of law.
10. Maintaining, strengthening, and depoliticizing the Afghanistan's security and defense forces (National Army, National Police and National Security).
11. The responsible withdrawal of foreign forces from the country, and continuation of cooperations, friendly and strategic relations with United States of America, International Community, and International Institutions based on definition of new agreements with the approval of Inclusive Loya Jirga.
12. Maintaining, continuing, planning and developing friendly cooperations with Islamic Countries, Countries of the Region, especially China, Russia and Neighbors based on national interest of sides.
13. Issuance of Resolution by United Nation Security Council for the purpose of supporting the meaningful presence of women, new generation and youths of Afghanistan in the peace process, negotiations and post-talks political agreements.
14. Referring to the votes and will of the nation in major and decisive issues of the country.
15. If there is no agreement on the nature of current government, moving toward the third solution, amending the constitution which is based on the votes and will of Afghanistan's people.

Finally, a group youths, civil and political institutions, representing the new generation of Afghanistan, officially announce the Youth Contact Group for Peace, and declare that from our views, continuation and escalation of war is not the solution at all. This big problem should be solved through Intra-Afghan talks and negotiations in which the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan should not be twirled. Neither side should think of surrendering to the other. We reject any escalation of violence, bloodshed and destruction of the homeland.

Best Regards

The Youth Contact Group for Peace

August 22, 2019

Kabul – Afghanistan



Oruzgan – Youths and Peace Summit

The youths and elites of the new generation held the summit entitled “Youths and Peace” on September 12, 2019 in Oruzgan Province and called for immediate ceasefire and beginning of the Intra – Afghan negotiations. These youth activists in Oruzgan emphasized that in ongoing burning war, the main victims are the people, especially the new generation and youths. The Oruzgan Youths called for the following issues on this summit:

1. We want the meaningful presence of the new generation and youths in major national decision-makings, peace talks and Intra-Afghan negotiations.
2. We call for the beginning of Intra-Afghan negotiations for the purpose of consolidating lasting peace in the country.
3. The peace talks with the Taliban which lead to end the war is the wish of all people in Afghanistan, and we support it.
4. We support the dignified and lasting peace, but we never call for the temporary peace which lead to another war.
5. The Afghanistan's Citizens, the Conflict Sides, and International Community should make efforts together for the purpose of creating a healthy environment for peace.
6. The parties involved in war should know that war is not the solution. The continuation of this illegitimate war is not for the benefit any involved sides.

At the end, the participants of the summit, have once again emphasized on immediate ceasefire and meaningful presence of the youths in peace process and major national decision-makings. The summit was ended with selection of Provincial Leadership Board (Oruzgan) of the Youth Contact Group for Peace and praysers for the welfare of Afghanistan People.

Best Regards

The Press Office the Youth Contact Group for Peace

September 12, 2019



Zabul – Youths and Peace Summit

A collection of youths and elites of the Zabul New Generation participated in a summit entitled “Youths and Peace” on September, 20, 2019 and propounded their suggestion and demands as per follow:

1. Zabul Province is one of the provinces that have always been affected by war and insecurity and especially in recent years, it has made many sacrifices in this area. We want elders of this province who are active in irresponsible armed groups or Islamic Movement of Taliban or they are in government, to strive for achieving peace and start Intra-Afghan peace negotiation;
2. The honorable people of Zabul, especially the youths of this province, sacrifice every day due to war and insecurity. This has caused our youth and new generation to stay away from lessons, education and higher education;
3. Ensuring security is one of the most basic and fundamental rights of our citizens. Therefore, we want the honorable people of Zabul, both men and women, and especially the new generation of the country, to raise their voices and together call for the end of the war and the beginning of peace negotiation;
4. We the people of Zabul have sacrificed more than anyone else in this imposed war. we have lost our family members, we have lost our properties, we are immigrants and displaced, we, the youth of Zabul, want our fellow compatriots to raise a common voice with us in this regard;
5. The youth, as a large population of Afghanistan, either do not have any participation in the peace negotiations, or it is very little. We want the youth to have an active and effective presence in the peace negotiations. Because the youth made the most sacrifices in this war and no address can represent this group or have a correct understanding of their situation;
6. In the field of war and insecurity, one of the main responsibilities of our youth is this to show the main picture of the current war in the villages and towns of Afghanistan to the world and the palace dwellers. This war is not imposed by us, but we make the sacrifice, the fire is someone else's, but we burn in the midst of it. Sacrifice is ours, but benefit is from someone else. No one can bring us peace, unless we ourselves enter into peaceful measures centered on Afghans;
7. Youth contact group for peace is the only address for youth to achieve peace and peace negotiations. Youth contact group for peace wants to represent the youth of Afghanistan so that proxy wars are not imposed on our people again and we do not become victims again.

Recently, it is emphasized; such meetings should continue and we want all scholars, elders, professors, youth, businessmen and other citizens of the country to raise their voice for peace and fulfill their responsibility of faith and conscience in the field. We want the United States of America, the government officials and the Islamic Movement of Taliban to resume the dialogue and try to start intra-Afghan peace negotiations, and we want the influential countries in the Afghan peace process to encourage the sides to the Afghan peace negotiations to restart the intra-Afghan peace negotiations.

Best Regards

Elders and Youths of Zabul Province

September, 20, 2019



Laghman – Youths and Peace Summit Resolution

We a collective of the scholars, youths, social, civil, and political activists, and supporters of the Youth Contact Group for Peace in Laghman province, call for restarting of peace talks and negotiations and following issues:

1. The Laghman people along with our other compatriots, have suffered irreparable losses from war and insecurity which a large part of these sacrifices has been paid by the youths from conflict sides. Therefore, we, the youths and people of this province call for cessation of war and immediate ceasefire between involved sides (United States of America, Afghanistan Government and Taliban Movement).
2. We, the youths and people of Laghman call for resumption of peace talks and negotiations between USA and Taliban Movement with presence of inclusive delegation by Afghanistan Government and other influential Afghan figures, and support the peaceful efforts for ensuring lasting and permanent peace.
3. We, the youths of Laghman along with other youths and representatives of the new generation support the position of the Youth Contact Group for Peace regarding the Youth Presence in Peace Process. We call on the Government of Afghanistan, International Community, and Taliban Group that the youths as the most effective social stratum should have an important role and direct supervision on peace talks and negotiations.
4. A large of number of the civilians and families in Laghman Province have made many sacrifices during the wars. We call on conflicting parties (Government and Taliban) to not use from people's houses as shelters and do not cause victims innocent civilians.
5. We, the youths and people of Laghman express our opposition with night operations which mostly leads to loss of civilians and innocent people, and we call on the officials and authorities, especially security institutions to pay serious attention in this issue.
6. During the wars in Laghman Province, a large number of innocent families in Laghman have left their houses and became displaced. We call on the government and aid organizations urgently take care of the displaced people situations.
7. We, the people and youths of Laghman province declare our firm support from any action that create the trust atmosphere between conflicting sides (Afghanistan Government, USA and Taliban Movement) and leads to lasting peace in the country.

Best Regards

A collective of Scholars, Youths, Civil, Social and Political Activists, and Supporters of the Contact Group for Peace

Laghman – Afghanistan

December 6, 2019



Sar-E-Pol - Peace and Youths Summit Resolution

We, the youth, women, influential people, scholars and supporters of the "YCGP" in Sar-E-Pol province stated the following issues during the conference "Peace and Youth" litigation based on peace talks:

1. We, the people of Sar-E-Pol, support any action that leads to a reduction of violence in the country and call for a permanent ceasefire and peace.
2. Intra-Afghan peace talks must begin unconditionally.
3. We want the participation of the representatives of the Youths and New Generation in the peace talks and the high-ranking officials of the government cannot represent from the new generation of Afghanistan in the process.
4. We, the people at the Sar-E-Pol, are deprived people, but if a nationwide peace and stability is ensured in the country, we can play a key role in development and self-sufficiency of Afghanistan through science and knowledge, livestock, agriculture, animal husbandry, etc.

Best Regards

Scholars, Youths, Women, Influential People and Supporters of YCGP

February 18, 2020



Peace Agreement, Concerns and Demands of the New Generation

The Youth Contact Group for Peace as the Afghanistan Youths and New Generation inclusive movement with cooperation of dozens of youths – oriented institutions and representatives of the Afghanistan' youths and new generation was established on August 22, 2019. The contact group has put efforts for achieving permanent and country wide peace, and supporting of peace talks and negotiations in Afghanistan, and has consulted with thousands of youths in capital and provinces of the country.

We, a collective of youths-oriented institutions, new generation activists, and the contact group for peace appreciate the talks and negotiations which leads to a permanent peace and ending of war in Afghanistan. To speed up the peace process, we call for followings to be happen:

1. While we appreciate the signing of peace agreement between Islamic Movement of Taliban and United States of America, we call for a serious discussion and agreement on some of this agreement's issue in Intra-Afghan talks.
2. We seriously call on the Taliban Movement to end the hatred literature and unwanted war. In a war which the people of Afghanistan are giving martyrs and wounded, no side is the winner. Therefore, after US peace agreement with the Taliban, any military operation against Afghanistan's security and defense forces by the Taliban are unforgivable crime.
3. We call on the government leadership and the president himself that for creating the spirit of brotherhood and sense of cooperation, prevent the literature which harms the peace and negotiation process.
4. Establishing an immediate ceasefire and starting of Intra – Afghan Talks: We call on defense and security forces, as well as the Taliban Movement to stop fratricide and let the Intra – Afghan talks to start and reach to a positive conclusion. At the same time, we call on the conflict sides (Afghanistan Government and Taliban Movement) to stop any kind of attack against each other, and put efforts for creating the reconciliation atmosphere and ensuring lasting peace.
5. Organizing an inclusive Loya Jirga for the purpose of legitimizing the peace agreements at the national level. Also, organizing an International Conference in one of the impartial countries for the purpose of guaranteeing peace and ending of war in the country, at the international level.
6. Maintaining the Islamic Republic system, supporting the constitution and amending on it by an inclusive Loya Jirga.
7. Creating an inclusive delegation for Intra-Afghan Talks: We call on the Afghanistan Government that for the purpose of starting the Intra-Afghan Talks, create an inclusive delegation which represent the prominent political movements inside and outside of the government in which the representatives of youths and new generation of Afghanistan have a meaningful role. We call on the Afghanistan Government, Taliban Movement and International Community led by the US that beside meaningful participation of the new



- generation in peace talks, give them the right of these talks monitoring. It is worth stating that the Jihadi Parties and their affiliated people, examined technocrats and government employees are not our (New Generation) representatives and they cannot represent us.
8. Preserving and supporting the armed forces of Afghanistan (National Army, National Police and National Security), and laying the ground work for general disarmament through a specific mechanism.
 9. Supporting the responsible withdrawal of foreign forces, and also continuation of cooperations, friendly and strategic relations with the United States of America, International Community, and International Institutions based on a new definition and according to the decision and approval of the inclusive Loya Jirga.
 10. We share our immense gratitude with all the friend countries and allies of Afghanistan who are trying for achieving peace in Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan want friendly relations with neighboring countries based on mutual interests. However, we never give the right of interfering in peace process to anyone. The past experiences have proved for us that Pakistan has never been honest with us, and does not want real peace in Afghanistan. Therefore, we seriously call on the Pakistan government, especially their external policy system to not interfere in our internal issues.
 11. The Release of Taliban Movement Prisoners based on a logical and calculated plan: The release of Taliban prisoners has created concerns for the Afghanistan people. Therefore, we call on the Afghanistan Government and United States of America to create and implement a rational and measured mechanism for releasing the Taliban prisoners for the purpose of establishing trust atmosphere and sense of cooperation. So that the release of these prisoners does not lead to the escalation and continuation of war in the country, but lead to the reconciliation and establishment of brotherhood and peaceful atmosphere.
 12. Issuance of resolution by United Nation Security Council for the purpose of supporting the women's right to education, women's rights to work, active engagement of women, youths and new generation in political, civil, social, economic and military fields.

Best Regards

A collective of Youths-Oriented Movements and the Youth Contact Group for Peace

Press Conference – Kabul – Afghanistan

March 3, 2020



سازمان آزادی و صلواتی و ارتقا و برابری
 مجلس جوانان برای صلح
 ۱۳۹۹



د لویې لاس او شوراگانو ملي جرگه
 د لویو کسانو لاس لاس لاس او شوراگانو
 Youth & New Generation Movement

Logar - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

We, a number of youths of Logar province, participated in the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga which was held on Thursday, August 27, 2020 in Logar province. We discussed regarding the demands of the Logar Province youths in the peace process from the Afghan Government, Islamic Movement of Taliban, International Community, circumstance of ending the war in the country, damages caused by the war in the province and circumstance of setting up a youth monitoring group on the peace process in the province, and we issued the following decisions:

1. We, the residents of Logar province, have suffered more from the current war in the country compared to other citizens of the country. We have been facing economic, agricultural and educational problems for many years. For this reason, through this Jirga, we want the Afghan Government, Islamic Movement of Taliban and all other factions involved in the war in Afghanistan to establish cease-fire as soon as possible.
2. We, participants of the Logar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga call on the Afghan Government and Islamic Movement of Taliban to be flexible in their positions and to remove all barriers for the starting of intra-Afghan talks.
3. We, the members of the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga, call on the Afghan Government and Islamic Movement of Taliban to start intra-Afghan talks as soon as possible and we call on the International Community, the US, the Countries of Islamic Conference and Afghanistan's neighbors to increase pressure on the Taliban and the Afghanistan Government to start intra-Afghan talks.
4. We, the people of Logar province, call on the Afghan Government and Taliban to pay serious attention to the presence of young people in the peace process and give them the right to oversee the process.
5. We, the members of the Jirga, support the fundamental rights of Afghans, especially women and call for a meaningful presence of women and youths in the peace process of Afghanistan.
6. We, the participants of the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga, are working to bring local monitoring groups to the village level to monitor the peace process.
7. We, the Jirga participants, urge the Afghan Government to implement the decisions of Peace Consultative Loya Jirga as soon as possible and release 400 Taliban prisoners.
8. We call on the GIRoA to clarify the peace process in the country for all Afghans and to ensure that there is no ambiguity in the process.
9. We, the participants of the Jirga, appreciate the efforts of all individuals, countries and neighbors of Afghanistan which are doing their best for the peace process, regardless of their interests, but it is to be mentioned that no one, country and neighbor of Afghanistan will be allowed to misuse this process for their interests.

Best Regards

Logar - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

August 27, 2020

Logar- Afghanistan



17. War in Badakhshan province has caused girls to stay away from education, backwardness, forced marriages and destruction of agriculture.
18. The war in Badakhshan has led to illegal mining, looting and smuggling of natural resources in the province.
19. The war in Badakhshan has deprived people from access to public health services.
20. We support the presence and significant role of youths in the negotiation process and the monitoring of this process by youths.

Best Regards

Badakhshan Province - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

September 6, 2020

Badakhshan – Afghanistan



Bamyan - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga of Bamyan was held on September 15, 2020 in Bamyan Province with presence of hundreds of the youths. The Jirga was launched by YCGP in which the representatives of the New Generation and Youth from eight administrative units of the province participated and expressed their demands and decisions from the Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the United States of America as follow:

1. We want declare of ceasefire between both sides of the conflict as soon as possible.
2. We want preservation of the last two decades' achievements, preservation of republic system, based on votes of the people, preservation and consideration of the fundamental rights of citizens in the constitution and religious moderate law, rights of minorities, deprived classes and women.
3. We call for effective and meaningful participation of youths in the peace process.
4. We call on the both sides of conflict to prioritize national interest and using the opportunity, put efforts to establish stable and dignified peace.
5. We call on the both sides of conflict to consider the national interest of the country in the peace negotiations, do not seek victory on each other, and both sides show flexibility.
6. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban, Government and politicians of Afghanistan to be honest about the peace process, act independently without any external pressure.
7. We call on the neighboring countries and countries involved in the peace process of Afghanistan to prevent putting pressure and intervention and let Afghan people to decide about their own destiny.
8. We want from our international partners to continue their cooperation with the people of Afghanistan to prevent appearing and growing of new terrorist groups in Afghanistan.
9. We want form United State of America, our other international and regional partners to continue their assistance in various fields, especially military and security until peace negotiations get concluded, and do not leave Afghan People alone.
10. We call on the youths and new generation of Afghanistan to do their best in establishing stable peace in the country and support and monitor the peace negotiation process.
11. We want from Islamic Movement of Taliban and Government of Afghanistan to pay serious attention to the security of Kabul-Bamyan highway and prevent physical inspection and harassment of the civilians.



12. We want from the central government to consider the principle of balanced development in allocating financial resources, and plan suitable solutions for youths' employment, and prevent migration and other factors that escalate war and insecurity.
13. We call on the both sides of conflict and International Community to pave the way for monitoring of peace process by national and impartial institutions, medias, civil society and human rights institutions in order to build trust and transparency.

Best Regards

Bamyan - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga September 15, 2020



Samangan – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Samangan province on September 24, 2020 in the presence of hundreds of young people. The Jirga was set up by YCGP, in which representatives of the new generation and youths of this province participated from 7 administrative units and expressed their demands and decisions to the Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the US, as following:

1. We call on the negotiators of both sides to ensure that the youths play a key role in post-peace government.
2. The cessation of war and a permanent ceasefire are our most important demands.
3. Soft dialogue between negotiating delegations and non-use of hate literature.
4. The respect of the intra-Afghan peace talks parties to all religions in Afghanistan.
5. Exerting high pressure on both sides by the International Community for the conclusion of peace talks.
6. Pressure from the International Community on countries that provide armed supports to the Islamic Movement of Taliban.
7. Commitment of both negotiating parties to the achievements of the last 19 years.
8. We urge the negotiating parties not to sacrifice the existing opportunity for personal or group interests.
9. We call on the youths to cooperate in the peace process.
10. We call on the government to support and strengthen security institutions to reduce violence till concluding of the peace process.
11. We call on neighboring countries to cooperate with the people of Afghanistan in the peace process and prevent intervening in the process.
12. We call on both sides negotiators to prioritize the highest interests of the country over individual demands and interests.
13. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to prove their good faith in the peace process in practice.
14. The US must have good faith in the peace process and act honestly in the peace process, and should consider the interests of the Afghan people.
15. We call on both sides to refrain from seeking profit and supremacy in peace negotiations.
16. We call on the International Community to support establishing a commission of professional, experienced, and educated youth, women and the damaged cortex of the community to monitor peace talks.
17. We want the peace that does not lead to the loss of Islamic, cultural, national and human values.
18. We call on the Afghan Government to pay serious attention to the security of the Kabul-Samangan highway. We also call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to facilitate the passage of people without fear in their areas of rule.

Best Regards

Samangan - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

September 24, 2020



Balkh – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga was held on September 30, 2020 in Balkh province, hundreds of youths attended. The Jirga was conducted by Youth Contact Group for Peace with participation of new generation and youths' representatives from 15 administrative units of this province. Participants of the Jirga expressed their demands and decisions with the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially United State of America as following:

1. We want real representatives of the youths to be participated in the peace process.
2. We want the preservation of the last two decades achievements, considering the national, Islamic and humanitarian interest by involved sides of the conflict in the peace negotiations processes.
3. We want country wide, permanent and dignified peace in which Islamic and humanitarian values are preserved and citizen's rights, women rights, ethnic and religious differences and the rights of minorities are protected.
4. We call on the both sides of conflict; government and Islamic movement of Taliban to show flexibility in peace negotiations and make sincere efforts to reach a general agreement.
5. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to respect citizens' rights, religious and ethnic differences and do not apply their personal and group interests.
6. We call on Islamic Movement of Taliban to preserve the last two decades achievement of Afghan people and show their good will in peace negotiations.
7. We call on both sides of conflict to establish inclusive government in which material and spiritual values of Afghan people are preserved.
8. We want neither instrumental abuse of Islam religion nor civilian as a war shield.
9. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to establish an inclusive composition in its negotiating team, in which youth and women representatives have an active and meaningful presence.
10. We want the international community and the countries involved in the Afghanistan peace process, especially the United States of America, to create an executive guarantee for the peace process.
11. We call on our international partners to put diplomatic pressure on both sides of conflict to reach the conclusion of intra-Afghan negotiations.



12. We want from the United States of America and our international partners to not rely on a contractual peace, but cooperate with people of Afghanistan to achieve the lasting peace.
13. We want our international partners to support the families of war victims and provide them educational cooperation.
14. We call on neighboring countries to not interfere in our internal affairs and allow Afghans to independently reach a permanent agreement.
15. We call on Islamic countries and our neighbors to respect any agreement out of in Intra-Afghan peace negotiations and prevent political and intelligence interference.
16. Conducting Youths Peace Consultative Jirgas for the convergence and consensus of new generation in Afghanistan.
17. We want, the establishment of an independent and dedicated commission of youth representatives to monitor the peace negotiations.
18. In the absence of peace, the people of Afghanistan, especially the people of Balkh province have been facing the problems such as; insecurity, unemployment, creating divisions, ethnic prejudices, power gaining of irresponsible people, street robberies, destruction of academic places and infrastructure, increasing civil and military casualties, blackmailing people in the name of tithes and zakat, insecurity of highways, keeping youths out of education, and creation of panic, which have caused mental and emotional problems.
19. The effective presence of the media for the purpose of informing the Afghan people about the intra-Afghan peace negotiations.

Best Regards

**Balkh - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga
September 30, 2020**



Ghor - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

Allah – Al-Hakim Said: The believers are brothers. So, make peace between your two brothers and fear Allah that you may receive mercy. (Hujarat, Verse:10)

Peace and reconciliation, as one of the important principles and values of Islam has been a natural and basic human need that undoubtedly paves the way of foundation for a peaceful life and the key to the prosperity and progress of human society.

Afghanistan is a country that has been the scene of war, violence and insecurity for the years which has taken all the opportunities for a healthy life and political, economic, cultural and social progress from this nation and people. A lot of people got victim during the ongoing civil wars and has caused a lot of destructions.

After years of war, violence and insecurity, the door of peace talks between the Taliban and the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, with the mediation of the powers involved in the war and peace of Afghanistan at the national and international level, has considered an opportunity in the contemporary political history of the country.

We, the youths of Ghor Province, welcome and support the peace process and dialogue, and we call on the peace talks delegations of the two sides, by considering Islamic guidance and values and for the good of the nation and the future of Afghanistan, to avoid personal and divisive desires and views, move forward with patience and to find out an effective solution to reach lasting peace and tranquility of the Afghan people and reach a final agreement.

We, the Youths of Ghor Province, in the Jirga entitled "Youths and New Generation Jirga" of Ghor province, which was held on October 8, 2020 approved the followings as the demands of the people of Ghor province, and present this as a resolution to the countries involved in the war and peace in Afghanistan, national and international institutions and the parties in the peace talks:

1. Supporting and protecting a system based on Islamic values in which the rights of all citizens of this land are guaranteed.
2. In order to gain the trust of the Afghan people and to facilitate the peace negotiation process, we call for a comprehensive and lasting ceasefire and stopping of the war and bloodshed immediately.
3. Preserving the achievements such as political structure, military forces, educational system, freedom of expression and the press, and women's rights.
4. Consideration of all the civil-political, social-cultural rights of the Afghan citizens, especially the linguistic, ethnic, and religious minorities.



سولې لارو ته غوښتلو، د اړیکو لارو ته
د ټولې افغانې ټولنې د واکمنانو او واکمنانو
د ټولې افغانې ټولنې د واکمنانو او واکمنانو
National Peace and Reconciliation Commission



د افغانې ټولې ټولنې د واکمنانو او واکمنانو
د ټولې افغانې ټولنې د واکمنانو او واکمنانو
د ټولې افغانې ټولنې د واکمنانو او واکمنانو
National Peace and Reconciliation Commission

5. Protection of the rights and status of women and children in accordance with Islamic law and applicable laws of the country.
6. We call on the Taliban to cut ties with all terrorist groups after the date and participate in the peace process based on the interests of Afghanistan's people.
7. We want from the International Community, the US, Islamic countries, neighbors and all other countries involved in the war and peace process in Afghanistan to cooperate honestly and impartially in the peace process and negotiations.
8. We call on the International Community and the US to do not leave Afghanistan alone after the completion of the peace process between Afghanistan Government and Taliban, and continue their political and financial support.
9. Disruption of social situation, poverty and unemployment, lack of access to education, migration, personal conflicts and destruction of social infrastructure are the most important problems caused by armed conflicts in Ghor province.
10. We call on both sides of the peace talk to inform the people of Afghanistan regarding of the progress in the talk process and its outcome constantly and instantly.

This resolution consist of an introduction and 10 articles was approved by all members of the Jirga after proof reading.

Best Regards

Ghor - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga October 8, 2020



Paktia – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held on October 14, 2020 in Paktia province, Gardez city with the presence of hundreds of young people. The Jirga was organized by YCGP in which representatives of the new generation and youths from 15 administrative units of the province participated and shared their decisions and demands from the GIRoA, the Taliban and the International Community, especially the US, as following:

1. The youths should be present on the negotiating teams and the achievements of the last twenty years of youths should not be sacrificed in the peace process.
2. The principles of Islamic law should be given serious attention, and the peace agreement should be in the light of Islamic principles.
3. The peace process must be inclusive.
4. The Afghanistan Government and the Islamic Movement of Taliban must be flexible in their positions and work together brotherly.
5. We call on the GIRoA to include the families of the martyrs and victims of the war in the peace process.
6. The GIRoA must commend all individuals and sides who are trying to pursue their personal interests in the peace process.
7. The republican system must not be dealt and a permanent ceasefire must be established.
8. Afghan youths should have direct talks with the Taliban independently, and we call on the Taliban, the Afghanistan Government and the International Community to facilitate the direct dialogue of youths with the Taliban.
9. The peace process must be honestly followed with the Taliban and national interests must be given priority.
10. We call on the GIRoA and the Taliban to not use civilians as shields and take the necessary measures to prevent civilian casualties.
11. We call on the Taliban to establish cease fire as soon as possible, and we request from both sides to stop killing Afghans in which foreigners are getting benefit of it.
12. We call on the Taliban to pay serious attention to women's rights from the Islamic perspective during the peace talks, and allow them to have the right to education and work.
13. We call on the Taliban to not damage the national capital "educational centers and public projects" and allow public projects to be completed.
14. We call on the GIRoA and the Taliban to jointly prevent killing and harassing of the civilians.



15. We call on the Taliban to not be influenced by pressure of foreigners and neighboring countries and cut off their contacts with all terrorist groups and make their decisions independently.
16. We call on the US, neighbors and Islamic countries to be honest in the Afghan peace process and work to succeed the process. We also ask them to continue their assistance with Afghanistan.
17. We call on the International Community to support the Afghan peace process regardless of any interests and put pressure on the Taliban and the Afghan Government to make the process successful.
18. We call on the US to refrain from any foreign interference that would hamper the Afghan peace process.
19. The youths should hold various programs in the peace process and force the GIROA and the Taliban to make intra-Afghan talks successful.
20. The International Community, Islamic countries and neighboring countries must guarantee the implementation of the peace agreement.
21. Paktia province has suffered a lot from the current war in the country; the residents of the province are facing risk of death. This province has been tolerated economic, educational and agricultural damages.
22. A national consensus at the Afghanistan level should be established to monitor the peace process.

Best Regards

Paktia Province - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

October 14, 2020



سولې لارڼه د شوراګانو د اړیکو ګروپ
 ګروپ لمانځنې ځوانان او ځوانې
 Youth Summit Group for Peace



د ځوانو لامل او ځوانانو ملي جرګه
 ځوانان لمانځنې لامل ځوانانو او ځوانې
 Youth & New Generation Peace Jirga

Kunar – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Kunar Province, Asadabad city, on October 14, 2020, by presence of hundreds of youths. This Jirga was conducted by YCGP in which representatives of the new generation and youths from 15 administrative units of the province participated, and declared their decisions and demands to the Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, as following:

1. We, the youths of Kunar Province (men and women), declare our strong support for the current peace process.
2. We, the youths of Kunar province, call on the government and the Taliban to reach to peace through intra-Afghan negotiations.
3. In the current process of peace talks, we call on the government and the Taliban to ensure ceasefire.
4. We call on the neighboring countries to cooperate in the peace process of the country, so the process will be successful.
5. We call on the government and the Taliban to be honest in the peace process.
6. We call on the government and the Taliban Movement to preserve the values and achievements of the past two decades during the peace talks.
7. We call on the International Community to encourage the involved parties to ensure that the peace talks lead to a positive outcome.
8. We strongly urge the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the government to refrain from any problems or challenges to the peace process and make the process successful.
9. The International Community must honestly support the Afghan peace process.
10. We, the women's rights activists in Kunar province, call on the government and the Taliban to preserve the women's rights in peace talks.

Best Regards

Kunar – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

October 14, 2020

Kunar – Afghanistan



Jawzjan - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Jawzjan province on October, 23, 2020 with the presence of hundreds of youths from all administrative units of the province. This Jirga was conducted by Youth Contact Group for Peace in which participants expressed their demands and decisions to the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially United States of America as following:

1. Flexibility, preserving the last two decades achievements and prioritizing national interests in peace negotiations.
2. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to prove their honesty by declaring ceasefire and ending the war.
3. We want from our international partners especially United States of America to put pressure on neighboring and involved countries in peace process to give up interference.
4. We want stable peace in which human and fundamental rights of women, youths and other layers of the society to be preserved.
5. We want the meaningful role and participation of youths in the peace process.
6. Insecurity, mental and emotional pressures, deprivation of people from education, homelessness of families and economic stagnation are among the challenges that the people of Afghanistan, especially the people of Jawzjan, have suffered from decades of wars.
7. Informing the people of Afghanistan about the intra-Afghan negotiations through national and local media for the purpose of accurately monitoring this process.

Best Regards

Jawzjan – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

23 October 2020



Badghis – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Badghis province on November 13, 2020, with presence of hundreds of youths. This Jirga was conducted by the Youth Contact Group for Peace (YCGP) in which representatives of the new generation and youths from seven administrative units of this province participated and expressed their decisions and demands with the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the United States of America as following:

1. Participation of youths, both men and women in the peace process and paying attention to the reasonable demands and opinions of the youths and also preserving Islamic, social and cultural values in peace process.
2. Declaration of a permanent ceasefire and agreement on establishment of an inclusive system, mutual acceptance and coexistence within the framework of Islamic Sharia by preserving Islamic and cultural values based on national interest.
3. Comprehensive and impartial support of International Community from peace process in Afghanistan.
4. Comprehensive and honest support of United State of America and putting pressure on both negotiating sides for peace agreement in which the national and Islamic values of Afghanistan are preserved.
5. Nonsupport of Islamic and neighboring countries from terrorist groups and respect to territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country.
6. Flexibility of peace negotiating sides and respect to logical demands based on the rule of law, social and cultural justice and preservation of several years' achievements of the country.
7. Loss of life, dignity and property of the people, blocking of transportation routes to the provinces and districts, poverty and unemployment, displacement of people from poverty and insecurity, targeted killings, ethnic conflicts, destruction of public infrastructures, depriving of youths from access to education and health services, ending economic growth and development are the damages caused by civil wars in Badghis province.
8. Establishing an impartial committee consisting of the new generation, youth, women and national and religious personalities to monitor the peace process and share the peace progress through the mass media.

Best Regards

**Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga
Badghees – Afghanistan
November 13, 2020**



Herat –Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Herat province on November 21, 2020 in which hundreds of youths attended. This Jirga which was set up by YCGP in which representatives of the New Generation and Youths from 20 administrative units of the province have participated and stated their demands and decisions from the Afghanistan Government, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community as following:

1. The current democratic and pluralistic structure should be preserved and the possibility of meaningful political participation for youths and new generation should be considered.
2. Engaging the youths with political and legal knowledge from the context of society in the composition of the negotiating team of the government regardless of ethnic, regional, linguistic, racial, partisan or religious issues.
3. Preserving the achievements of the last two decades, including the country's constitution, women's rights, protection of freedom of expression, civil rights, equality between ethnicities and religions.
4. Ensuring the security of the country's citizens, which is one of the duties and priorities of the government.
5. Immediate ceasefire by the Taliban to reduce violence and prevent civilian casualties.
6. We call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to act independently in the peace negotiations with a view to safeguarding national interests, and provide a comprehensive and clear agenda for intra-Afghan talks.
7. We call on the Afghan Government to remove obstacles in peace talks, and on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to cut ties with countries and organizations that provoke war.
8. We call on the Taliban to consider women's right to education and political participation in peace negotiations.
9. We call on the International Community to stay alongside the people of Afghanistan for lasting peace and comprehensive development, and use all diplomatic means to end the forty-years' war in the country.
10. Guarantee of International Community for preserving the last two decades achievements and values.
11. Referral of the negotiations parties to the votes and will of the people on the major and crucial issues of the country.
12. Lack of physical and mental security, destruction of infrastructure and aggravation of poverty, unemployment and social crisis etc. are the problems which caused by war in Herat province.
13. Preparing the platform for inclusive participation and allocating facilities for the formation of groups of people for monitoring and achieving lasting peace in the country.
14. Presence of the media and civil society for the purpose of transparency in the peace negotiation process.

Best Regards

**Herat - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga
November 21, 2020**



Neemruz – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

Neemruz Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in the capital of Neemruz on December 11, 2020 with the presence of hundreds of youths from 6 administrative units of this province. This Jirga was set up by YCGP which the members of the Jirga expressed their demands and decisions to the Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, as following:

Neemruz Youths Demands from Afghan Government in Peace Process:

1. Using the art of diplomacy.
2. Engaging women and youths in the peace process.
3. Preserving the achievements of the country.
4. Considering women's rights.
5. Creating equal opportunities for all minorities and layers of the society.
6. Lasting and permanent peace, not based on slogans.

Neemruz Youths Demands from the Taliban Movement in peace process.

1. Permanent ceasefire.
2. The Taliban's commitment to the decisions and promises of the peace talks.
3. Preservation of women's rights.
4. Preservation of the Afghan people's few years achievements.
5. The Islamic Emirate should not be returned, because the people of Afghanistan have gone through this experience.

Neemruz Youths Demands from the International Community; the US, Islamic Countries and Neighboring Countries in the peace process:

1. Serious cooperation of the International Community and the UN in the Afghan peace process.
2. Integrity of neighboring countries, the region and the world in the peace process.
3. Putting pressure on the involved parties in the negotiations (the government and the Taliban) to shorten the interventionist's hands in Afghanistan's peace process
4. Condemnation of several years of burning wars in Afghanistan by Islamic countries.



Suggestions on circumstance of concluding the Intra-Afghan talks and the responsibility of the Neemruz Province Youths:

1. Engaging of impartial and educated youths in the peace process.
2. Creating national, regional and global consensus.
3. Islamic Sharia should be the main base for peace negotiations.
4. Flexibility of the negotiating parties (the government and the Taliban) in the peace process.

Local problems caused by armed conflicts in Neemruz province:

1. Fleeing of talented figures from Neemruz province.
2. Human and refugees trafficking this province due to armed wars.
3. Loss of security.
4. Lack of balanced development.
5. Increasing of crimes in Neemruz province.

Ideas and suggestions on the circumstance of monitoring the peace process at the local and national level, and the responsibility of Neemruz Province Youths:

1. Involving influential people, youths and women in political engagement to improve the peace negotiation process.
2. Establishment of committees and regular meetings at the provincial and national levels on peace negotiations.
3. Durable monitoring of the peace process by the UN and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.
4. Inviting people to peace and goodwill, and publishing and disseminating issues related to peace-loving.
5. Monitoring the peace process should be impartial, and the interventionist groups should not misuse the process.
6. The presence of the new generation, youths, media and civil society for the purpose of increasing transparency in of the peace process monitoring.

Best Regards

Neemruz - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

December 11, 2020



جږي لږدو د وختونو د اړتياو لپاره
گډون کوي
Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga



د نورو نويو جيلونو لخوا
د افغانستان د وختونو لپاره
د نورو نويو جيلونو لخوا
د افغانستان د وختونو لپاره

Farah – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

Farah Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in capital of the province on December 18, 2020 with the presence of hundreds youth from all administrative units of this province. This Jirga was conducted by Youth Content Group for Peace in which participants expressed their demands and decisions to the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially United States of America as following:

Article 1: The people of Farah, especially the youths of this province, call on the government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to take practical measures in the peace process and intra-Afghan negotiations with Islamic Movement of Taliban based on national interests and make a wise decision.

Efforts and consultations to reach an agreement for the establishment of a moderate Islamic system, preservation and protection of the most important achievements of the last 19 years, creating unity and adopting a single point of view and a constructive position toward the peace process, providing a comprehensive definition of lasting peace, development of a single strategy and corresponding diplomacy are among the basic demands of Farah province youths from the Afghan government.

Article 2: The people of Farah, especially the youths of this province, sincerely call on the Islamic Movement of Taliban to accept the ceasefire as a prelude to negotiations and stable peace. Because without declaring a ceasefire, the peace process will be severely damaged. Paying attention to the demands of majority in Afghanistan, respecting the rights and legitimate achievements of women is one of the important demands of the Jirga members from Islamic Movement of Taliban.

Article 3: The basic demands of Farah province youths from the international community, especially the United States of America, Islamic and neighboring countries is that they consider the national interests of Afghanistan in all their actions, and has observe the principle of nation right to self-determination as one of the fundamental principles of international law and allow the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny. Applying positive pressure on the countries and involved sides in Afghanistan's war, and continuing the comprehensive support of international community for the stable peace process in Afghanistan are among the important demands of Jirga members.



Article 4: Demand of Farah Province youths from both sides of intra-afghans negotiations is to declare and respect immediate ceasefire which considers the country's national interest as a basic and fundamental demand, and prefer national interests over their own interests, and do their responsibility toward their country in this way.

Article 5: Demand of Farah Province youths regarding local problems caused by both sides of civil war is that; human, financial and life losses, intensification of corruption, bureaucracy, creation of backwardness in various dimensions should be reduced and stopped. Because Farah society has suffered the most human and financial damage by war and armed conflicts.

Article 6: Special suggestions and opinions of Farah's youths of about circumstance of monitoring the peace process at the local and national level is; that the representatives of new generations and youth, representatives of scholars of the country, representatives of civil society institutions, medias, the country's academic community, elected representatives of Afghan women and representatives of parliament and senators monitor the actions of the of intra-Afghan negotiations sides, they should be involved in these negotiations and monitor them.

Article 7: This resolution has an introduction and 7 articles written by members of the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga of Farah Province, which is prepared and gathered by the secretaries of ten committees and presented based on the views gathered during the work process of the committees.

Best Regards

Farah - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga December 18, 2020



Baghlan – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New generation peace Jirga was held in Baghlan province on December ٢٨, 2020 with the presence of hundreds of youths. The Jirga was conducted by Youth Contact Group for Peace in which representatives of the new generation and youths from all administrative units of the province participated and expressed their demands and decisions from the Government of Afghanistan, Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the United State of America as following:

1. We call on the government of Afghanistan and Islamic Movement of Taliban to give active contribution for youths in peace process and youths should have independent and effective representation in the peace process.
2. We call on the both sides of negotiations to commence negotiations without delay with an honest will.
3. Peace is the right of Afghanistan people and we want from both sides to respect this right of the people and facilitate them a peaceful life.
4. We call on the government of Afghanistan that by establishing a national consensus facilitate the achieving of inclusive and stable peace.
5. We call on the both sides of the conflict to reduce violence and pave the way for a stable ceasefire.
6. We want form both sides of negotiations to put efforts in ensuring security, civil liberties and welfare of the people.
7. We want from both sides of the negotiations to hold peace negotiations inside the country and turn this process into a national process.
8. We want from the Islamic Movement of Taliban to facilitate the participation of women and youths in their negotiation team. The opinion of youths and women on Taliban side should also be considered.
9. We call on the both sides of peace negotiations to use flexibility and softness in the peace negotiations.
10. We want from government of Afghanistan and Islamic Movement of Taliban to consider values of the people, the fundamental rights of citizens, especially women rights and preserve the last two decades achievements in peace negotiations.
11. We call on the both sides to stand on their commitments and agreements and prevent any distrust in the process.



12. We want from the International Community and neighboring countries to respect the independence and national values of the Afghanistan's people and assist the people of Afghanistan to achieve peace.
13. We want from our international partners to prevent supporting terrorist groups and put pressures on countries supporting terrorism.
14. To achieve the outcome of the intra-Afghan negotiation, we want the unity of the Afghan people, supporting of civil society movements, protection of independence in decision-makings, protection of the sovereignty and values of the country, creating a global consensus to end the war in the country, participating of religious scholars and tribal elders, and legal experts to defend the rights of war victims.
15. Lack of access to health services, destruction of schools, hospitals, lack of preservation and implementation of development projects, migration, and displacement of people and security threats, are the causes of war in the country, especially in Baghlan province.
16. Presence of impartial people, countries of the International Community, involvement of stakeholders, media and participation of youths and representatives of the new generation to monitor the peace process.

Best Regards

Baghlan - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga
December 28, 2020



Faryab Province – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

Faryab Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Faryab province on January 14, 2021 with the presence of hundreds of youths from all administrative units of the province. This Jirga was conducted by Youth Contact Group for Peace in which participants expressed their demands and decisions to the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially United States of America as following:

1. The Demands of Faryab Youths from the Afghan Government in the Peace Process:

- Saying no to exclusivity and prejudices, establishing an inclusive team and involving youths, women and all sections of the society in the peace process.
- Coherence and unity of politicians and national influencers and establishing of national unity.
- Flexibility based on Islamic laws in the peace negotiation process.
- Considering the national interests of the country.
- Nationalizing of post-peace political structure.

2. The Demands of Faryab Youths from the Islamic Movement of Taliban in the Peace Process:

- The ceasefire should be the basis of peace negotiations.
- Respecting the last 20 years achievements of the people and Afghan Government.
- Independency in negotiations and termination of cooperation with countries that want the continuation of war in Afghanistan.
- Flexibility of both sides according to the Islam holy religion and country's constitution.

3. The Demands of Faryab Youths from the International Community, the United States of America, Islamic Countries and Neighboring Countries in the Peace Process:

- Supporting the peace process, preventing the interference of countries and respecting the principle of the country's territorial sovereignty.
- Establishing a global and international consensus for the peace process.
- Adherence to the commitments of the sides involved in the Afghan peace negotiations.
- Supporting of the International Community, especially the US from the peace process and preserving the position of international observer.



- Consensus of Islamic countries to support the peace process and declaration of a resolution by the Islamic Conference Organization in order to call the war illegitimate in Afghanistan.
- Regional consensus at the level of neighboring countries to support the Afghan peace process.

4. Providing suggestions on circumstance of concluding the Intra-Afghan Negotiations and responsibilities of Faryab's Youths:

- We, the youths of Faryab are supporting the peace negotiations.
- Respecting the national interests and achievements of the last 20 years.
- Establishing a new and inclusive mechanism in which the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan with the Taliban and also influential parties contribute and jointly have a transitional government structure.
- The involved sides should carry on the negotiations on the basis of national interests and should be flexible.

5. Local Problems Caused by Armed Conflicts in Faryab Province:

- Displacement of Faryab people from districts to cities due to ongoing war.
- Destruction of public infrastructure, lack of access to health and educational services, and backwardness of development programs.
- Insecure highways and permanent power outage in Faryab province.

6. Opinions and suggestions on circumstance of monitoring the peace process at the local and national level and responsibilities of Faryab's Youths:

- Accelerating the peace process by the government of Afghanistan and Taliban.
- Publicizing the agenda of the peace negotiations.
- Management of negotiations by the inclusive address (the High Council for National Reconciliation).
- Establishment of an inclusive committee from all layers of the community to monitor the peace negotiation process.
- Decisive monitoring of peace process by international partners and International Community.

Best Regards



Faryab Province -Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga
January 14, 2021



Takhar – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga was held in Takhar province on January 17, 2021 with the presence of hundreds of young people. This Jirga was set up by YCGP in which the representatives of the new generation and youths from all administrative units of the province attended. They have declared their demands and decisions to the Afghan Government, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the US, as following:

1. Preservation of the achievements and values of the last two decades.
2. Establishing country wide ceasefire between the parties involved, especially the Islamic Movement of Taliban.
3. The Afghanistan Government and politicians should abandon the desire for power and prefer national interests to personal interests.
4. Meaningful presence of women and youths in the peace talks process and the post-peace process.
5. We, the youths of Takhar province, call on the US, the UN, NATO and the countries of the region to seriously support intra-Afghan peace talks.
6. Holding peace talks inside Afghanistan with the meaningful presence of the youths and the new generation of Afghanistan.
7. Flexibility between the negotiating parties to clarify the current ambiguity.
8. Active participation of youths and women in the High Council for National Reconciliation.

Best Regards

Takhar - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

January 17, 2021



سوانه ایزده و جوانانو د ایتماو گروه
گروه ایتماو جوانانو د ایتماو
Youth Contact Group



د جوانانو د ایتماو
گروه ایتماو جوانانو
Youths & New Generation

6. All the hidden and clear covenants in the peace process must be exposed to the people of Afghanistan. Afghans as a free and independent nation have the rights to amend, accept or reject all fundamental treaties.
7. Peace process should be running by scientific, academic, religious, political, competent and acceptable people at the national and local level which they prefer national interests then personal interests.
8. We urge the GIROA and the Taliban that for the purpose of bringing reforms in the structure, focus on legal competencies instead of destroying the system. Efforts should be put to amend the constitution and other laws in the light of principles and texts of Islam. The destruction of national and public infrastructure should be prevented. The Taliban as a party engaged in the peace process, should clarify its foreign policy that their strategy of post-peace process should be cleared to the people of Afghanistan.
9. The International Community must seek the assurances of the parties involved in the peace talks to bring peace to the country. They put pressures on countries which they supply weapons and equipment for war in Afghanistan, to stop their financial and equipment supplying for armed oppositions.
10. The Islamic Countries Organization should play a direct role in the peace process in Afghanistan, and force other countries to conclude the Afghan peace process in favor of the Afghans. If the countries do not do this, we, the youths of Kandahar call on the people of these countries to work with us to resolve the Afghan peace crisis.
11. We call on the both sides of the negotiations to refrain from complex and sentimental politics and show forgiveness and flexibility in the process. The Afghan people, especially the people of the Great Kandahar should be involved in the peace process. Kandahar is a good place for Intra – Afghan Negotiations, the youths and people of Kandahar are ready for hosting peace talks in this province.

Best Regards

Kandahar - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

February 10, 2021

Kandahar – Afghanistan



Kunduz – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

Peace is Allah's decree. Allah the almighty says: (Peace is good) (Make peace between your brothers).

Peace is a holy and pure demand of every Afghan. Today we, the youths of Kunduz province, have gathered and we wish that permanent peace with dignity to be ensured in the country. Using the incoming opportunity, the voice of peace should be reached to all the factions involved in the war in Afghanistan, the government and the Taliban negotiation teams, and the views and suggestions of the youths to be considered in peace talks.

Therefore, the youths of Kunduz province in cooperation with YCGP launched the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga of Kunduz on February 14, 2021 with the presence of hundreds of youths from all the administrative units of the province. They stated and approved their demands and suggestions in the form of a resolution as following:

1. We, the youths of Kunduz province call on the government and the Taliban to continue the peace talks and to reach a conclusion. The preservation of the last two decades achievements, the protection of women, ethnic and religious minorities' rights, and using the opportunity to end war and ensure lasting peace.
2. We call on the government and the Taliban to emphasize on national and collective interests and by flexibility avoid insisting on personal interest.
3. We, the people of Kunduz, have suffered more from war and insecurity. We respectfully urge the Taliban to put pressure on the negotiating team to be flexible in peace talks, attend dialogue and accelerate the peace process.
4. We call on the International Community, especially the US, Islamic countries and neighboring countries to cooperate in concluding Afghan peace talks.
5. We call on the US new administration to focus on the negotiating parties instead of evaluating the US agreement with the Taliban and put pressure to get start and conclude the intra-Afghan talks as soon as possible.
6. We, the youths of Kunduz province call on all parties involved in the war to run intra-Afghan peace talks considering the divine orders, the guidance of the holy Qur'an, the principles of sunnah and put an end to the long tragedy of Afghanistan.
7. We, the youths of Kunduz province have been suffering from the house-to-house conflicts that are going on in the country. Dozens of young people die every day, and on the other hand, we have been suffering from lack of access to the education and unemployment. Therefore, we call on the parties involved to put an end to the current war and reduce violence as soon as possible.



مجلس نوجوانان و نسل نو و نسل جوان
کونډوز، افغانستان د پراختیا غونډه
Youth & New Generation Peace Jirga



د نسل نو او نسل جوانو مجلس غونډه
کونډوز، افغانستان
Youth & New Generation Peace Jirga

8. We call on politicians to build a unified consensus to ensure lasting peace which would be accepted by everyone in the country.
9. We as the youths of Kunduz province call on the negotiating parties, to preserve the system, especially defense and security forces in the peace talks.
10. We call on the Taliban to not close the highways, and to keep the gates of educational institutions open to the people of Afghanistan including men and women.
11. We, the youths of Kunduz province are ready to do our responsibilities for the purpose of monitoring and getting concluded the peace talks, by sharing opinions, advocacy and holding public summits.
12. We want the unconditional right of monitoring intra-Afghan peace talks by media, civil society organizations, impartial international institutions and the activists of new generation.

Live long Afghanistan

Best Regards

Kunduz - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

February 14, 2021

Kunduz - Afghanistan



Khost – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga of Khost was held on March 4, 2021 by the presence of hundreds of youths from the province. This Jirga which was conducted by the youths of the province with the cooperation of YCGP, representatives of the New Generation and Youths from all administrative units of the province participated and expressed their demands to the Government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the US as following:

1. The programs, summits and civil movements such as Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga of Khost should be held more, and these programs should also be held in villages and towns, especially in insecure areas.
2. All Afghans should do their duty and pave the way for peace through various channels, especially through the media, the religious scholars, the various classes and the traditional jirgas, in which women and youths from all administrative units participate on it
3. For the purpose of engaging Khost youths in the peace process, an inclusive policy with a broad and comprehensive structures should be developed, coordination and unity should be created among the youths of this province. The youths of this province should be consistent, and establish a coordinated and united movement for peace.
4. The youths and all other residents of Khost province, considering the population of this province, should be participated in the High Council for National Reconciliation. At the same time, pressure should be put on the government to hear the voice of the youths.
5. The youths of Khost province call on the government to re-evaluate the negotiating team and provide them with reliable information.
6. Government negotiating team should be inclusive and honest, impartial individuals should have membership, not on the basis of relations.
7. The Afghan Government must make sacrifices and show flexibility in its position. Meetings between the negotiating team should be held in Afghanistan and both parties show goodwill for the process. The youths and people of Khost province are ready to host peace negotiations in Khost province.
8. The GIRoA must abolish monopolies of power, put aside ethnicism and regionalism, and make national consensus and not sacrifice peace for the sake of extending their power.
9. The Afghan Government must ensure security all over the country and make changes to the structure of the High Council for National Reconciliation to be credible and acceptable to all factions.
10. We call for a permanent ceasefire, an end to aimless bombings and an increase in the number of youths in the peace process.



11. We, the youths of Khost province call for the maintenance of the current system, and serious reforms on it through legal means. We also call on the government to share the details of the peace process with the Afghan people.
12. We call on the Taliban Movement to cease fire and come to power through free elections.
13. The Taliban should not emphasize on their position and should be flexible. Taliban must give positive response to the demands of the Afghan people.
14. We call on the Taliban to show goodwill in the peace process and to be committed to national interests. We call on them to stop killing of Afghans.
15. We call on the International Community to force the Afghan Government and Taliban on the basis of the national interests of the Afghan people to ensure a ceasefire and peace in Afghanistan and we also ask them to prioritize the national interests of Afghan people not group's interests of Taliban and Government.
16. We call on Islamic countries to clarify their position on the Afghan peace process and collaborate comprehensively in the process.
17. We call on the International Community to not look at the Afghan peace process as a project and remain honestly committed with peace process. We also call on them on creating international guarantees, support and maintain the process. They should share the signed agreements between the Taliban and the US to the Afghans. The International Community should stop supporting of war criminals.
18. We strongly urge the neighboring countries to make every effort to make the Afghan peace process successful.
19. Establishing a committee to oversee the peace process, and all probable challenges posed by the negotiators should be specified and solved.
20. We call on the International Community and the European Union to put pressure on Iran and Pakistan for the purpose of supporting the Afghan peace process, and make them to not support one side of negotiating team for ruining of Afghanistan.
21. The people of Khost province are facing insecurity, educational, developmental, health, unemployment and economic problems which caused by war. The people of Khost province are also suffering psychological problems due to armed conflicts.
22. The Afghan peace process should not be hidden, it should be exposed to all Afghans. The Peace Process should be monitored by religious scholars, elders and youths through creating committee and consensus.

Best Regards

Khost -Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

March 4, 2021

Khost - Afghanistan



Paktika – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The fact that there has been an external war in the country for forty years, the Afghans has sacrificed. This war damaged the structures and even completely destroyed the economy, health, social affairs, culture and all other sectors.

The great world powers have historically misused this situation in the country and pursued their sinister goals, and we have been sacrificed. Peace talks are taking place now and the opportunity for peace has been created. Therefore, hundreds of youths, including the men and women of Paktika province gathered and launched peace Jirga with the cooperation of YCGP on Sunday March 28, 2021, expressing their demands in the following 8 articles resolution:

1. We call on all parties involved in peace talks to ensure decisive, urgent, national and long-term ceasefire in order to facilitate peace talks.
2. The Intra-Afghan talks should be started soon between factions involved, in an impartial country, without the influence of international factions under the supervision of the International Community, the UN and the Organization of Islamic Countries.
3. Creating an Islamic and national system in the country which is not affiliated with any factions. The Islamic, national, cultural, political and other values should be observed, the previous achievements of the country should be preserved, and the will of the Afghan people should be prioritized.
4. We call on the parties involved to conduct the peace talks as honestly and truthfully as possible. Considering the undeveloped country, devastated and poor people, running the peace process without the influence and pressure of foreigners, by considering Islamic values and national interests and without wasting the time. Involved sides should accept each other, should have mutual respect, prefer national interests to personal interest, and show flexibility.
5. The US and the International Community have started a twenty-year war in our country and now are trying to put an end to it and ensure a lasting peace. Therefore, the war must end in a complementary and responsibly manner and ensure a lasting peace. Considering our history, they should not ensure us an incomplete peace. The US with the International Community, the UN, the Organization of Islamic Countries and neighboring countries have to monitor and make sincere efforts for peace in Afghanistan, and resolve the Afghan crisis, and maintain its financial resources for the future development of Afghanistan.
6. The achievements of the past years, especially the protection of civil rights, women's rights, the right to freedom of expression and a number of other rights must be taken seriously and preserved in the peace talks.



7. In addition to all political addresses, religious scholars, elders and ethnic influential figures across the country, the active presence of youths and women should be considered seriously in peace talks.
8. The youths of Paktika consider the current opportunity for peace as a golden and historical opportunity and urge that the opportunity should be used to end the miserable war of the past decades. The one or faction which ignores this opportunity, will be responsible to the people, future generations and the history of the country.

Best Regards

Paktika - Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga March 28, 2021



Ghazni - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga of Ghazni Province was held by the youths of Ghazni Province in cooperation of YCGP on March 28, 2021. This inclusive Jirga was for Ghazni Province Youths in which all ethnicities, layers including men and women, and victims of war had participated.

We, the Youths of Ghazni Province, in the Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga discussed the issues and shared our demands in the peace process with Afghan Government, the Taliban Movement and the International Community as following:

1. We call on the Afghan Government to do its responsibility accordingly in the peace process and to strive more for ending of the war, and greater and stable national peace.
2. We call on the Taliban Movement to show flexibility in peace talks and end the current war through dialogue. War and unrest in the country will only harm the people of Afghanistan and will not be for benefit of either side.
3. For the purpose of inclusive and stable peace, we call for the guarantee of the post peace agreements by the International Community and the UN at the international level and the ratification of the result of negotiations by the people of Afghanistan at the national level.
4. We call on the engaged parties to effectively involve the influential, scholars and youths for the purpose of concluding peace talks.
5. We urge the countries involved in the Afghan Peace Process to honestly put efforts for the conclusion of the peace talks.
6. We call on the IAN engaged parties to pave the way for an immediate ceasefire and both sides to Stop airstrikes, bombings, killing innocent people and incursion of violence.
7. Lack of literacy, weak economy, irresponsible armed groups, violation of civil rights, blockage of transportation roads, as well as lack of access to services are the problems which caused by war in Ghazni province.
8. We want the meaningful presence of the youths in IAN, and the monitoring of this process by an impartial and inclusive group of the Youths and New Generation.

Best Regards

Ghazni - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

Ghazni - Kabul

March 28, 2021



Nangarhar – Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga Resolution

The Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga of Nangarhar Province was held on April 5, 2021 with the presence of hundreds of young people. The Jirga was organized by the youths of Nangarhar province in cooperation with YCGP in which representatives from all the administrative units of this province, participated and expressed their decisions and demands from the government of Afghanistan, the Islamic Movement of Taliban and the International Community, especially the US, as following:

1. We call on the Afghan Government and the Taliban to end the war, or at least end their aggressive attacks.
2. The peace process must break free from the monopoly of the powerful groups and individuals and should not emphasize on individuals and groups demands. Also, the engagement opportunity at the peace process should be given to the people who have lost their family members in recent years due to the war.
3. We call on the Afghan Government and the Taliban to protect the national interests and institutions of the country.
4. The Afghan Government must work with patience, ensure a ceasefire and sacrifice its red lines for national interest of the country. The existing factions in the country must put aside their political, groups and party's conflicts, should be committed for the peace and should take a unit approach.
5. We call on the Afghan Government to remain committed to all its commitments in the peace process and should put efforts for its implementation.
6. We call on the Afghan Government and the Taliban to stop field trials and should not punish anyone without court orders. We call on both sides to prevent target killings, especially the killing of women and youths.
7. We call on the Afghan Government to involve impartial youths in the peace process. We call on Afghan Government and the Taliban to protect the rights of women and all other Afghans.
8. The Afghan Government must involve civil society in the peace process and build a national consensus. The Afghan Government should use the policies and schemes which have been made by youths.
9. We call on the Taliban Movement to present their strategy and solution for peace, show their flexibility and strive for the Afghanistan's interest.
10. We call on both sides of the conflict to prevent the destruction of public institutions and national infrastructures. They should respect national, cultural and Islamic values.
11. We call on the Taliban to use political, civil and negotiation channels to gain power after the peace agreement.



12. We call on the International Community, the US, our neighbors and Islamic countries to not make Afghanistan as a center of proxy war and make this country the center for their economic cooperation, support the peace talks, and be honest to its successful conclusion.
13. We call on the International Community to do their withdrawal from Afghanistan responsibly and after peace agreement. We also call on the countries of the region, neighboring countries and the International Community to guarantee implementation of the peace agreement and decisions.
14. We call on the countries of the region, neighboring and other countries to stop funding and supporting of terrorist groups in Afghanistan.
15. We call on Islamic countries to sincerely and honestly put efforts to end the ongoing, useless, and illegitimate war in Afghanistan.
16. We call on the International Community, the US, neighboring countries and Islamic countries to listen the voices of the people, instead of paying attention to the positions of the involved sides in the war.
17. We call for a lasting peace agreement and increment of civil movements and programs for peace to put pressure on engaged parties.
18. We, the youths of Nangarhar province wants from the youths of the country to support the peace process and develop mindset for achieving of peace in the country.
19. Nangarhar should be declared as a safe zone and ceasefire should be ensured in this area, and peace talks should be run through this province.
20. Fear, poverty, unemployment, flee of talents, crises, targeted killings, lack of access to educational services, lack of access to health services, displacement, insecurity, the distance between government and people, and loses of scholars are the problems which caused by war in this province, so we call for an immediate end to it.
21. To monitor the peace process, an accountable youths-led and social monitoring center should be established and the center should monitor the process with full commitment.
22. The peace process should be made public through the media, by investigative journalism and all issues behind the scenes must be revealed. The media should use anti-war literature.
23. The youths participating in the peace talks, do not represent the youth of Afghanistan, but represent their political parties and agenda. We want that the new generation and youths should be engaged in the future meetings and summits.
24. The Doha and Moscow meetings have not had any result yet, and we call on all parties in peace talks to reach a positive conclusion in future meetings.

Best Regards



Nangarhar - Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga

April 5, 2021

The Peace Process and Demands of the People and Youths of Maidan Wardak Summit Resolution

The people and Youths of Maidan Wardak declared their demands on a summit entitled “The Peace Process and Demands of the People and Youths of Maidan Wardak” which was conducted on April 8, 2021 at Maidan Wardak province as follow:

1. Whatever system which comes over, the security forces and the armed system should be maintained.
2. The Maidan Wardak Youths should be given important role in peace process.
3. The social and human rights, including women rights should be preserved in the framework of Islam Holy Religion rules.
4. The freedom of expression especially freedom of media should be preserved.
5. The changing of individual figures is not important, but the peace should be ensured which does not lead to another war.
6. A mechanism should be built in which all people can see themselves.
7. The peace should be in a way which the managers and leaders should not be from the same ethnicity and group.
8. The opinions of all people should be considered to ensure a country wide peace.
9. The last achievements should be preserved.
10. First, there should be ensured a general ceasefire.
11. Both sides should be flexible.

Best Regards

The Summit of People and Youths of Maidan Wardak

April 8, 2021

Maidan Shahr – Afghanistan



“Nuristan Province – Peace Process and Demands of People, Scholars and Youths” Summit Resolution

We, the Nuristan youths with cooperation of Youth Contact Group for Peace conducted summit entitled (Peace Process and Demands of People, Scholars and Youths) on July, 31, 2021 in the center of this province.

We adapted and inspired from the blessed verses of the Holy Quran / فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ (فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ / وَالصُّلْحُ خَيْرٌ / وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا) the rules and principles accepted by interpreters, Islamic jurisprudence and Muhaddith that shows peace and reconciliation between Muslim brothers. We consider the ceasefire and the end of the war through dialogue and political negotiations to be the solution to the Afghan crisis, and we call for the followings:

1. Ruinous war and the miseries of the last 40 years, which have brought us Afghans, especially the youths, nothing but destruction, ruin, displacement, and destitution, should be stopped urgently and a peaceful system and society should be implemented with the protection of all the society's layers rights.
2. We want both sides; Government of Afghanistan and Islamic Movement of Taliban to declare permanent ceasefire without of any conditions.
3. Immediate starting of peace negotiation and referring to the important and vital issues.
4. We, the youths of Nuristan province call on both sides of negotiations to respect national interest and avoid personal, arbitrary and selfish orders and agree to an inclusive peace agreement .
5. We, the youths of Nuristan call on both sides of negotiation to select one of the Afghanistan provinces which has history of jirgas instead of Doha or other foreign countries, and start the peace negotiations as soon as possible and move forward decisively.
6. Status, position, influence and power are not worth shedding the blood of an Afghan, the sides, especially the Islamic Movement of Taliban should give up fighting as soon as possible and end this fratricide.
7. The Constitution of Afghanistan which is one of the most Islamic laws in the world, should not be canceled. Its adjustment should be done based on the will of the Afghan people.
8. Peace process should be inclusive which all the section of society feels their existence in it, and ethnic and religious minority should be participated.
9. We want the guarantee of women and children rights in accordance with Islamic Sharia and international standards and laws in peace agreements.
10. Both sides especially Islamic Movement of Taliban in battlefields should avoid destruction of public infrastructure and personal and moveable and immoveable property of public and the people.



The Peace Jirgas and Summits



The Afghanistan's Youths National Conference, Kabul – June 18-19, 2011



The Afghanistan Youths Peace National Jirga, Kabul – June 2-5, 2012



Inauguration of the Contact Group for Peace, Kabul – August 22, 2019



Oruzgan Peace and Youths Summit – September 12, 2019



Zabul Peace and Youths Summit – September 20, 2019



Laghman Peace and Youths Summit – December 6, 2019



Sar-E-Pul Peace and Youths Summit – February 18, 2020



“Peace Agreement”; Concerns and Demands of the New Generation, Kabul – March 3, 2020



Logar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – August 27, 2020



Logar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – August 27, 2020



Badakhshan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – September 6, 2020



Badakhshan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – September 6, 2020



Bamyan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – September 15, 2020



Samangan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – September 24, 2020



Balkh Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – September 30, 2020



Ghor Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – October 8, 2020



Paktia Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – October 14, 2020



Kunar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – October 14, 2020



Helmand Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – October 16, 2020



Jawzjan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – October 23, 2020



Badghis Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – November 13, 2020



Herat Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – November 21, 2020



Nemruz Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – December 11, 2020



Farah Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – December 18, 2020



Farah Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – December 18, 2020



Baghlan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – December 28, 2020



Baghlan Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – December 28, 2020



Faryab Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – January 14, 2021



Takhar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – January 17, 2021



Kandahar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – February 10, 2021



Kunduz Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – February 14, 2021



Khost Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – March 4, 2021



Paktika Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – March 28, 2021



Ghazni Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – March 28, 2021



Nengarhar Youths and New Generation Peace Jirga – April 5, 2021



Maidan Wardak Summit “Peace Process; the Youths and People Demands” – April 8, 2021



The Peace Process and Demands of the People, Scholars and Youths of Nuristan – July 31, 2021

The future of Afghanistan's peace needs a makeover of peacemakers that goes beyond the traditional activities, frameworks, and peacemakers that created a soulless diplomacy. All segments of society must contribute to the establishment of peace. To this end, the middle segment of society (the new generation, youths, and emerging figures) needs to have a more prominent role than the top leaders (authoritarian and conflicting sides). This role should not include only the resolving of urgent conflict issues (the division of power), but also should include the concerns that may lead to a reversion to armed conflict and hostile interactions.



د ښوونې لپاره د اړیکو ډله
گروه تماس برای صلح
Contact Group for Peace



د نوي نسل او خواتونو د ښوونې جرگه
جرگه صلح نسل نو و جوانان
Youth & New Generation Peace Jirga