

Research Brief

Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan

(A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands)



Contact Group for Peace
And New Generation and Youths Peace Jirga

Summer 2021



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



د نوي نسل او ځوانانو د سولې جرگه
جرگه صلح نسل نو و جوانان
Youth & New Generation Peace Jirga

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www.contactgroup.af
info@contactgroup.af , ycg4peace@gmail.com

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1. Abstract

According to the findings of research entitled "Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan; A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands" which has been conducted using a qualitative content analysis method, 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 ¹Contact 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 data of the research 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.

2. 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

¹ Which previously operated under the name "Youth Contact Group for Peace"; Based on consultation and decision of the leadership and colleagues of the Contact Group and Youth and New Generation Peace Jirga, after the political and military transformation of August 15, 2021 was shortened to "Contact Group for Peace".

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.

On the other hand, in the last half century, none of Afghanistan's peace efforts (From Geneva Accord to the Doha Peace Agreement) has translated into lasting peace in this country. In the last twenty years, the Afghanistan's peace processes were pursued by participation of Technocrats who were in government, Jihadist Parties, or their representatives and the Taliban side; but the New Generation and Youths, despite significant progress in various fields, have not been engaged in the decision-making, and their voices and demands have not been given attention. 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.

In a nutshell, 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.

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

Any academic and methodical research calls for a literature review. Thus, in this part, 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.

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.

Peace research requires specific methodology, concept logy, theoretical foundations, approaches and paradigms to conduct peace research projects and programs. 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)

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.

Conflict is expressed by terms such as “contradiction, discord, violence, sedition, war, strife and battle”. (Dehkhoda, 1946: م). 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)

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) 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.

Peace means compromise, reconciliation, kindness, conflict resolution and an agreement to solve a dispute. (Moein, 2008: ص) 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”.

Theorists and researchers considering different indicators, 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. 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. (Peck, 1998:15)

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. Peacekeeping is an agreement on the mechanisms of monitoring and enforcing the political peace agreement that prevents direct and physical violence. 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.

4. Research Methodology

The research data was compiled using a mixed methodology (library and field research). The population of this research study consisted of the New Generation and Youths of Afghanistan in 30 provinces. 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. 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. The research datasets were analyzed using the qualitative content analysis method. 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.

5. The Research Data

The data of research (Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan; A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands) 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 this part 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.

The Contact Group has conducted dozens of peace meetings, conferences, rallies and coordination meetings in 30 provinces of the country to achieve its goals. It is worth stating that what is considered within the program indicators is this research, is only 23 Jirgas in provinces of Badghis, Bamyān, Badakhshan, Baghlan, Balkh, Paktia, Paktika, Takhar, Jawzjan, Khost,

Samangan, Ghazni, Ghor, Faryab, Farah, Kunduz, Kandahar, Kunar, Logar, Nengarhar, Neemruz, Herat, and Helmand and 8 Peace Summits in provinces of Oruzgan, Zabul, Sar-E-Pol, Kabul, Laghman, Maidan Wardak and Nuristan.

Participants 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 members of the committees were propounding their views and opinions on the axes of 7 proper questions (**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. Finally, all committees declaring their opinions, demands, criticisms and suggestions on peace in the form of a joint resolution.

Since the forehead 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 forehead questions were subjected to content analysis of the Peace Jirgas and Summits' resolutions. 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).

6. Content Analysis of Research Data

The content related to the resolutions of the New Generation and Youths Peace Jirgas and Summits included three following issues: **1.** Cohesion of the New Generation and Youths **2.** Criticisms of the New Generation and Youths and **3.** Demands of the New Generation and Youths.

The cohesion, consensus, consonance and coordination of the New Generation and Youths for lasting peace and stability in the country, represents one of the important indicators of content analysis of Peace Jirgas and Summits resolutions that have been emphasized in resolutions of different provinces. The second subject, which can be inferred from the resolutions of Peace Jirgas

and Summits, is the criticism of New Generation and Youths including (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.

The third subject, which can be inferred from the resolutions of Peace Jirgas and Summits, is the demands of New Generation and Youths 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 including 1. Conflict resolution through dialogue and political agreement. 2. Ceasefire and permanent cessation of war in the country. 3. Preventing the public infrastructures destruction. 4. Supporting and inclusive system and government. 5. Supporting the election and constitution. 6. Preserving the last two decades’ achievement. 7. The women’s rights. 8. Monitoring and reporting on the peace process. And 9. Continuation of cooperation, financial supports and friendly relations with the international community.

On the other hand, the data related to the group interview was conducted by considering the recent political transformation (August 15, 2021) in country, 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 Youths Peace Jirga as "Interviewees" from July 4, 2022 to July 31, 2021 in the form of a group interview.

This interview was conducted to find out insights of the New Generation and Youths concerning six axes (1. The factors of Doha Peace Process failure. 2. The causes of protracted conflicts and hostile interactions of power in Afghanistan. 3. The role of Afghanistan's geographical location in hostile interactions of power. 4. The role of relying on ethnicity, religion and language in continuation of hostile interactions and cultural violence. 5. 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 6. The New Generation and Youths’ vision for the lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan.)

According to the interviewees, the reasons behind failure of the Afghanistan Peace Process in Doha are included (Marginalization of the former government and other influential sides Miscalculation of the former government, Limited access to peace information, Process mismanagement and existence of dispersions, Assigning the delegation with lack of authority Wasting the negotiation opportunity, The emphasis of conflicting sides on war and escalation of war, Lack of honest cooperation of international and regional players, Stubbornness and

inflexibility of the Islamic Movement of Taliban and Refusing to form a transitional and consensual government).

According to the interviewees, the factors such as Imposition of foreign ideology, Existence of fundamentalism ground, Xenophobia of Afghans, Power monopoly and Lack of strong, non-political and independent defense and security forces have had role on hostile interactions of power since 1978.

Interviewees added, 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 ways such as Establishing a strong and legitimate government, avoiding sensitivity in foreign relations, using the privileges of regional organizations, and moving from regional challenges to economic opportunity to stay safe from regional rivalry and disputes.

According to the interviewees, recourse to the ethnic, linguistic and regional issues in hostile interactions of power has caused to prolonged conflicts, tribal life, ethnicities segregation, geographical factors, and unhealthy competition of ethnic elites. Interviewees recommend that 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-Ifta, promotion of religious intellectualism, and standardization of education based on community could be effective in abolishing extremist ideas and recourse of ethnic, regional and religious issues, and will guide people to intellectualism and balanced perceptions.

The interviewees stated that they had promised to the members of the New Generation and Youths 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, in a meeting with Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, the former Special Representative of the USA Department of State for Afghanistan Peace, they communicated the message of the New Generation and Youths and conveyed to Dr. Khalilzad.

Meanwhile, the interviewees regarding the future of Afghanistan's peace stated as follow. At the moment by 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.

The Taliban side, 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.

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.

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.

7. Conclusion

The research “Conflict and Reconciliation of Afghanistan; A Case Study of Youths and New Generation Demands” was trying to find out answers for the questions which was propounded in problem statement part. The findings of this research study which were inferred from the resolutions of the new generation and youth peace jirga and summits, and group interview with some of the Contact Group and Jirga leadership members, are summarized as follow:

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.

8. Recommendations

8.1. 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.

8.2. 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.

8.3. 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.

8.4. 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.

8.5. 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.

8.6. 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.