

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE AFGHAN
GOVERNMENT AND TALIBAN: (2006-2016)**

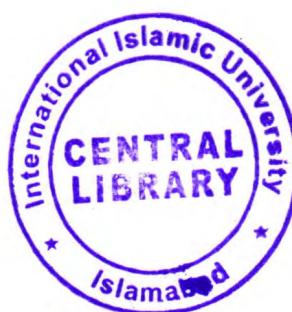


Researcher:

Muhibullah
Reg: 22-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor:

Dr. Manzoor khan Afridi
Assistant Professor/ HOD
Department of Politics & I.R.



**Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University Islamabad Pakistan
August 2017**

TH.

Accession No 17928 V₃₃



MS
320.9581
MUA

Taliban

Afghanistan - Politics and government

9/11 impact

Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin

Pugwash

MS THESIS

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE AFGHAN
GOVERNMENT AND TALIBAN: (2006-2016)**

Researcher:

Muhibullah
Reg# 22-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor:

Dr. Manzoor khan Afridi
Assistant Professor/ HOD Department of Politics & I.R.
International Islamic University Islamabad Pakistan

**Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University Islamabad Pakistan
August 2017**

Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**An Analysis of the Reconciliation Between The Afghan Government and Taliban (2006-2016)**" submitted by Mr. Muhibullah, Reg. No.22-FSS/MSIR/F14, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M S International Relations.

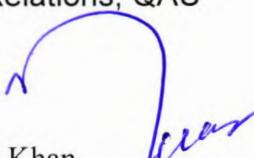
Supervisor


Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI
18/10/2017

External Examiner


Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas.
Assistant Professor,
Department: School of Politics and
International Relations, QAU

Internal Examiner


Dr. Muhammad Khan
Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI

Head of Department


Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI
18/10/2017


Prof. Dr. Samina Yasmeen Malik
Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

ABSTRACT

The predicament of reconciliation in Afghanistan is not new. Throughout the history, the assessment and opinion of peaceful settlement have been shaped by repeated failures. The country is confronted with a serious situation of loss of their lives such as on average stage 680 Afghan army have been killed every month and 900,000 people became IDPs. To result in, the rank of 60 percent unemployment gave a chance to global insurgent groups to recruit ground for militant ideologues seeking manpower, therefore, the government cannot afford the war against Taliban.

Negotiation with warring groups turned into controversial factor due to U.S. non-negotiable strategy of 2001 but later was realized that military operation would not create peace and the only is reconciliation to end the violence over the country hence High Peace Council established for reconciliation and reintegration with Taliban but the council led to breakdown due the monopoly of warlords over the council leadership. Members of the HPC had been in lack of clarity in mediation, negotiation, reconciliation, and reintegration in their objectives thus they did not meet the demands of Taliban like remove name of Taliban leader from UN Blacklist, exact date of NATO troops withdrawal, establish Islamic Emirate, amend current constitution, release of Taliban prisoners and eliminate ban on their travel to illustrate it they see their survival in prolonging the current conflict.

To conclude it, the negotiated approach to peace talks with Taliban are championed by other countries not the Afghan as they say the settlement with Taliban would be impossible without the at least silent approval of Pak and U.S but the tension of mistrust among Afghanistan, Pakistan, and U.S stocked the roadmap of peace with Taliban. Finally the constructive diplomacy with Taliban was stalled due the demise of their leaders and it was a bombshell for the peaceful settlement with warring groups.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I would like to thanks to Allah Almighty for giving me the courage and the determination as well as guidance in conducting this thesis work. And I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Assistant Professor Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi (Head of the Department of Politics and International Relations) for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm and immense knowledge. His excellent guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this study he always read and commented on the draft of my thesis and made some necessary corrections and good suggestions.

I also owe my special thanks to my brother Ziaulhaq Hemmaty for giving me invaluable sources related to my thesis whose contribution has made this work possible. Additionally, I also want to thanks to my friend Dad Mohammad Mohali for his assistance and contribution to the accomplishment of this thesis.

I would also like to thank my parents for their wise counsel and a sympathetic ear. You are always there for me. Finally, I wish to thank my loving and supportive brothers especially my elder brother Sha Mohammad who provide unending inspiration throughout my life.

Muhibullah

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter One Introduction</u>	1
<u>Review of Literature</u>	4
<u>Statement of the Problem</u>	10
<u>Research Questions</u>	11
<u>Objectives of Research</u>	12
<u>Significance of the Study</u>	12
<u>Theoretical Framework</u>	13
<u>Research Methodology</u>	17
<u>Organization of the Study</u>	18
<u>Chapter Two Historical Background</u>	19
<u>9/11 Impact on Afghanistan</u>	22
<u>Afghanistan High Peace Council</u>	25
<u>What Afghan High Peace Council has Gain?</u>	27
<u>Afghan Attitude Toward Peace</u>	29
<u>Terrain</u>	31
<u>Chapter Three Mediating and Facilitating Role of External Actors</u>	32
<u>Human Resources of Taliban</u>	33
<u>Taliban Financial Resources</u>	37
<u>Pakistan Role in Afghan Peace Process</u>	39
<u>China Role in Peacce Talks with Taliban</u>	46
<u>Russia Role in Afghan Peace Efforts</u>	48
<u>Iran Role in Afghan Peace Talks with Taliban</u>	50

<u>Chapter Four Policies of Afghan Government Toward Peaceful Settlement with Taliban</u>	52
<u>Taliban Political Office in Qatar.....</u>	52
<u>Peace Deal between Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin and NGU.....</u>	57
<u>Role of U.S.A. in Afghan Taliban Peace Talks.....</u>	62
<u>Chapter Five Concerning Point of Peace Settlement with Taliban</u>	68
<u>Pugwash Meeting on Afghanistan.....</u>	68
<u>Pugwash Meeting on Peace and Security in Afghanistan.....</u>	70
<u>Points Concerning a Possible Peace with Taliban.....</u>	72
<u>Challenges of Peace Talks with Taliban and Respond of Current Government.....</u>	76
<u>Conclusion.....</u>	81
<u>Recommendation</u>	85
<u>References.....</u>	87

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF	: Afghan Air Forces
AHPC	: Afghanistan High Peace Council
ANDS	: Afghan National Directorate of Security
APRP	: Afghanistan Peace Reconciliation Programme
ARUE	: Afghanistan Research and Unit Evaluation
ANSF	: Afghan National Security Forces
BBC	: British Broadcast Cooperation
CSRS	: Center for Strategic and Regional Studies
HIA	: Hezb e Islami Afghanistan
HAC	: Heart of Asia Conference
IDPs	: Internal Displaced People
IEC	: Independent Election Commission
IEoA	: Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan
ISAF	: International Security Assistance Forces
ISI	: Inter-Services Intelligence
ISIL- KP	: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Khorasan Province
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO's	: None Governmental Organizations
NRP	: National Reconciliation Policy
PDPA	: People Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PMA	: Pakistani Military Academy
QCG	: Quadrilateral Coordination Group

QMC	: Quadrilateral Monitoring Committee
SU	: Soviet Union
TAPI	: Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India gas Pipeline
UAE	: United Arab Emirate
UNAMA	: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
USA	: United States of America
WTC	: World Trade Center

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan with crossroads position on the roof of the world has been in battlefield for the last forty years, from 1979 the country has been suffering from civil war and external intervention as Afghans are no stranger in to intervention across their boarders, however external intervention made the country to suffer much more such as millions of Afghans became refugee to other countries, thousands of them were killed during the civil war and conflict while the poverty has crossed its limit, health sectors has collapse down, illiteracy reached beyond its level, violence and destruction has effected harshly every Afghan family, people walk between the line of life and death on daily basis . In a war weary Afghanistan fear terrible and violence took placed everywhere , Indeed majority of Afghans want to put end to the hardship, civil war, conflict and instability they want to live in peaceful and stable environment with honor and dignity(Whittaker,1999).

Peace and prosperity would be more difficult in Afghanistan because the negotiated approached are championed by none Afghans mostly by U.S. and neighbors countries, however the ongoing peace negotiation with Taliban are supported by them but still they are failed in bringing Taliban to the Table of negotiation. Indeed Afghan government itself did much more regarding reconciliation with Taliban such as the former president of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai said "People in Afghanistan want peace, including the Taliban. They're also people like we all are. They have families, they have relatives, they have children, and they are suffering a tough time". it means Afghan government is honest with all insurgent groups in the process of reconciliation, despite all that the government did a lots of efforts in bringing insurgent groups to the Table of negotiation

that is why Peace Jirga was held in Kabul, High Peace Council was created, Afghanistan Peace Reconciliation Programme was established, civil society and other governmental and nongovernmental organizations were involved in settlement of dispute resolution with Taliban. Therefore, Afghan government had met with representative of Taliban in Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China, Qatar, Paris, Germany and Oslo Norway just to put end to the ongoing conflict in the country.

Reconciliation with Taliban is one of the most essential agenda of Afghan government and Afghan people. So, the government started the process of peace and reintegration with different insurgent groups like Taliban and Hizb-e- Islami through channel of Afghanistan High Peace Council which was formed on 5 September 2010 in Kabul. The council was established by the former president Hamid Karzai. Burhanuddin Rabbani was it first chairman who was assassinated in 2011 in Kabul. Currently the council is having member from both side Afghan government and Taliban, Most of it members are former official of Taliban and warlord. The Council main aims are to bring Taliban to the table of negotiation, stop the ongoing conflict and put an end to the killing of innocent people. Despite that Afghan government with the help of international community and its neighbors countries want to find peace and stability over the country and resolve the conflict peacefully to make stand Afghanistan on its own sovereignty. However Afghans have seen nothings for the last 40 years except violence, bloodshed and civil war which was a bad experience for them indeed political settlement and peaceful negotiation with Taliban might give chance once again to all afghans to come back to their home, villages with honor and dignity and become a part of the political systems under one flag and pride once again(AHPC,2015).

The only way to end the current insurgency in Afghanistan is to start negotiation with Taliban. Through the process of negotiation we can reach to peaceful settlement in Afghanistan while

looking to the present situation in the country almost an ending to fight is the desire of every Afghans. Peace and prosperity is the number one agenda of Afghan government and Afghan people, everybody want to put full stop to the ongoing bloodshed and civil war which was started forty years ago. In this way, everyone wants to live in peaceful and safe environment without fear and violence no body want to cross border to other countries as war refugees, no one is interested to live in war wear environment, everybody has desire to end the civil war, internal conflict, poverty, illiteracy, destruction of natural resources and killing of their sisters and brothers. A war wary Afghanistan has been a battlefield for tactical, strategic and proxy wars by larger external powers it may be due to strategic and geographical location of Afghanistan. A crossroads Afghanistan has been in civil war and external intervention from 1979 till present.

Additionally, the 2001 air strike of United States of America on Afghan soil had emerged as greatest threat to political stability of Afghanistan. It weakened the social stability and peaceful environment and made the situation turn to war and violence. After the tragic incident of 9/11 United States of America and their allies brought pressure on Taliban to hand over the leader of Al Qaeda Osama Bin Laden to them, discharge all foreign national which are imprison with them, gave immunity for foreign diplomats, Journalist and help workers such as member of NGOs, immediately close down all terrorist camps, and stopover supporting terrorist groups, give the United States full access of investigation from Al-Qaeda camps which are located in Afghan soil. According to U.S.A. Osama was responsible for World Trade Center incident but Taliban refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden and did not accept the U.S.A. demands. However, speech of clerics in Kabul on 19 September 2001, "the Taliban's leader Mullah Mohammed Omar argued that the US was using Bin Laden's involvement in 9/11 as a pretext for removing the Taliban from power, and that the Taliban were ready for talks" So, in October 2001 U.S.A. started bombing Afghanistan

for the reason to capture Osama and destroy the safe haven of Al-Qaeda along with the regime of Taliban in Afghanistan. Nearby that, the main purpose of bombing Afghanistan was promoting democracy and modernization to Afghanistan but despite promoting democracy the country turn to war, violence and promotion of insurgency. Importantly it clear to all that Afghanistan turn to civil war once again and the thrown of Taliban from power emerged as most potential challenges to the security of Afghanistan once again(bbc,2001).

1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Patricia Gossman (2011) in his paper "*Afghan High Peace Council Fails to Reflect Afghan Civil Society*" expressed reintegration is the prior agenda of Afghan government, policy makers, civil societies and politicians. Afghan government wants to put full stop to the on-going violence, bloodshed and insurgency over the country which is only possible by bringing Taliban to the Table of negotiation. Therefore peace Jirga of 2010June was established in Kabul and the above Jirga led to establishment of Afghanistan High Peace Council (AHPC). The council aims were providing guideline and frameworks for peace talks with insurgent groups. Furthermore Afghanistan Peace and Reconciliation Programme (APRP) was created to bring and convince local and low-level fighters to enter governmental systems and facilitate insurgents by providing jobs and subsidies. In addition in July 2010 Kabul Conference of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members and world leaders was organized to support AHPC and APRP regarding their stance and works , all members showed their full support to Afghan government in the process of negotiation and reintegration with Taliban. Later on in November 2010 in Lisbon Conference Afghanistan Peace and Reconciliation Programme was appreciated by the members of the conference regarding

their achievements. Meanwhile all the above organizations and external actors were criticized highly by Afghan civil society representative due to High Peace Council members because most them were former Militia leaders whom fought each other before Taliban came to power, this lead to the lack of transparency, clarity in their task and objectives and none of them including external actors had clear cut idea about what is reconciliation in practice finally the criticism brought out an idea to engage local leader, interest groups and think tanks which were not represented in the High Peace Council (Patricia,2011).

Thomas Ruttig (2011) in his paper "*The Battle for Afghanistan Negotiations with the Taliban: History and Prospects for the Future*" mentioned that Reconciliation with Taliban in 2010 was moving forward without any clear cut strategy the government had only contact with low level leaders of Taliban whose were not considered as neutral leaders to most Afghans. So, at that time contact with high level commanders of Taliban was some have difficult due to the U.S. strategy "a kill-and- capture" the strategy aim was targeting high level commanders of Taliban, Despite NATO confirm to facilitated and give security to peace talk members whom were mediating reconciliation process between Afghan government and Taliban. Moreover, High Peace Council which was established for reconciliation and reintegration with insurgent groups became a failed organization because more than 70 members of the Council were nominated by President Hamid Karzai whose were unable to conduct meaningful negotiation with Taliban. for the time being Pakistani authorities also rejected and denied all blames for supporting and having control over the leaders of Taliban, many do believes that peace talks with Afghan Taliban are impossible without Pakistan cooperation as they are holding hostage Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, deputy to Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar. But Afghan official says if Pakistani authorities denies over having control on Taliban so they have considerable influence over them (Thomas, 2011).

Heela Najibullah (2011) expressed in her paper *"Afghan Attempts at Peace and Reconciliation 1986 and 2010: A Comparison"* President Karzai is not the only one who started peace talk with Taliban and Mujahidin. Will in 1986 President Najibullah also introduced National Reconciliation Policy (NRP) its aims were to negotiate peacefully with Mujahidin, give them space in the government and share power with all opposition group including extremist, Even the above policy was also supported by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, But Mujahidin were demanding the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan later on which was done. also the nature of his government "Non-Islamic" was the main question, sooner President Najibullah held two types of talk with Mujahidin first, at international level second, at national level. first stage talk were held between Pakistan, Iran, U.S.A and Soviet Union to facilitate the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country and the national level aim was to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan through National Reconciliation Policy. The NRP worked for almost six years until Mujahidin took power in 1992. Indeed the same policy being applied by president Hamid Karzai in 2010, its name was Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP) its aim was to put full stop to the ongoing civil war in the country, He also convinced UN and NATO, to remove the name of Taliban leader from UN 1267 Blacklist, he started negotiating with all insurgent groups including Hizb-e-Islami whom are also demand the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan . Will looking to the historical context there is some common similarities between President Najibullah National Reconciliation Policy and Karzai Peace Reintegration process, But Karzai peace process has more support than Najibullah because Currently Afghanistan is Islamic republic so there is no Ideological Issue as it was during 1980s, Taliban are fighting without clear-cut objectives, except international troops withdrawal and implementation of Sharia in the country, even they are not clear that they are negotiating for peace

in Afghanistan or withdrawal of international forces. Despite president Najibullah with a good structure of government, strong military and withdrawal of Russian Troops did not success in negotiation with Mujahidin so how president Karzai would achieve his goal with his weak governmental administration on depended army including the presence of Foreign troops which is the main demand of Taliban while Obama is focusing on permanent military bases in Afghanistan (Najibullah, 2011).

Public International Law and Policy Group (2011) mentioned in the article "*negotiation reconciliation in Afghanistan*" "Negotiation means is to change the current situation of Afghanistan. Several step have been taken toward negotiation between Afghan governments, Taliban, U.S. NATO and regional actors but regional actors will only play to role of mediation in the process of negotiation. Throughout the history Afghanistan has faced with different movement against the government every time the government has engaged with in negotiation and reconciliation with anti- government forces such as it was faced during President Najibullah regime in 1986. Different option were provided by Najibullah government to Mujahidin like ceasefire, unity government, share in power and much more despite all that the government fell down in 1992. So, how Taliban will come and join the current Afghan government while Afghan government main points are to breaking tie with Al-Qaeda, other terrorist group and accept the current constitution of Afghanistan despite presence of US troops in the country. At the same time a suicide bomber who brought a peace massage to leader of peace and reconciliation programme Burhanuddin Rabbani, the massage led to his assassination it means the Taliban still want fighting and destabilization of Afghanistan which later on president Karzai said I will not negotiate with Taliban I will only negotiate with Pakistan (PIL&PG, 2011).

Joseph J. Collins (2011) wrote in his book "*Understanding War in Afghanistan*" In 2001 when the international advisors arrived in Afghanistan they realized that Afghanistan is shacking from mismanagement of Taliban authoritarian policies, So, on almost 80 percent of the school were destroyed, 25 percent of child die before the age of five, less than 10 percent of the people had access to health care. After 9/11 mainly in 2002 and 2004 the country was totally in peace and stability much more was done in the economic and security sectors, But when the country divided in two zones regarding security between NATO and ISAF that brought the security of the Afghanistan under question. Like most of the NATO members countries did not let their soldiers in offensive combat with Taliban, almost all the wars were carried out by U.S.A, UK, Canada, Denmark and Netherland, definitely divide in zones policy went wrong because this policy give chance to Taliban to rebuild their groups like a small groups of Taliban was rebuild by the help of Opium money, charity, help from gulf states and cash from al Qaeda. While the conflict had started mainly in Pashtun dominated areas due to the lack of Afghan Army and corruption in the government. Especially from 2004 onward the Taliban is on the front page of Afghan government regarding peace and stability (Collins, 2011).

M.Nazif Shahrani (2009) mentioned in his research paper "*Afghanistan's Alternatives for Peace, Governance and Development: Transforming Subjects to Citizens & Rulers to Civil Servants*" The policies of United States and its international partners went un-appropriate and not suitable in Afghanistan. Their policies were criticized everywhere because they failed in their promised to bring peace and stability in Afghanistan and also policy makers doubt that military aids which was allocated to Afghanistan ,US might not spend all of it in Afghanistan. Their policies were planned weak and poor such as president Bush administrations should not be so soft about regional countries, US and its allies build Afghan National Army too late, at large number of foreign

resources should not be spend on poppy eradication, exclusion of Taliban from Bonn conference could be a mistake, US and NATO policies does not look like they are really seeking peace and stability in Afghanistan so the main reason of the above factors could be the corrupted administration in Kabul, it need a systematic response to be solve, Additionally the US and its partners should involve regional approach to Afghanistan crisis, such as chance should be given to Afghanistan neighbors including India, Russia and Saudi Arabia with clear cut focus on the role of Pakistan, long lasting peace in Afghanistan could be dispute with Pakistan on non-recognized Durand Line without no legal reason, Therefore the complex relations between the two countries faced policy maker with critical question regarding peace in Afghanistan, the only path for peace in Afghanistan is to legally recognize Durand Line (Shahrani, 2009).

Wazhma Frogh (2010) wrote in her research paper "*Will the Afghan Government's Reintegration and Reconciliation Efforts Bring Peace to Afghanistan*" Through military perspective we cannot solve the Afghan problems, there should be incentive based reintegration and reconciliation. Process built up from all tribal leaders, warlord, Taliban and ethnics from all around the countries, through which we can solve many problems. However negotiation like this would be acceptable for all Afghans at any cost. Without doubt the important chance which was missed by Afghan government and international community regarding peace and reintegration in Afghanistan was exclusion of Taliban from Bonn conference in 2001, however in the Bonn agreement most of the warlord were participated whom were involved in civil war in Afghanistan. Even though for the last few years peace talks were started with insurgent groups (angry brothers) but the angry brothers responded peace through suicide attacks gunfire and made the process of reintegration less meaningful to most of Afghan citizens. In addition Peace process means to the Afghan government whereby insurgent groups put down their weapons on the ground and put full stop to the violence

by which they will be granted personal security, economical assistance, amnesties, and be part of the political process of the current government. Peace Jirga which was created for reintegration with angry brothers had only two main purpose first to remove the name of Taliban leader from Blacklist of UN which was mostly done Second one to release the prisoners of Taliban from International Security Assistance forces prisons (ISAF) which was also some have implemented therefore reconciliation does not means just talking with Taliban it means to finish the on-going conflict in the country (Frogh, 2010).

Iqbal (2014) said in his article "*Quest for Peace in Afghanistan*" In Afghanistan the efforts for peace have happened over the history even the peace talk have been going on since 2010 but to most Afghan it does not seem positively because bringing of all insurgent groups to the same page would be difficult task for Afghan government due to the actors different stance over the peace process. However Karzai Regime was more focused on effort of Pakistan rather than use his own diplomatic skill because he was in the view that no one has more influence on Afghan Taliban except Pakistan indeed Pakistan might have influence on them but definitely cannot control them at all times, More ever since a decade US did not did not transfer Afghanistan from a failed state to stable state which was promised by them to Afghan people (Iqbal, 2014).

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The controversial fraction inside the movement of Taliban was started after the death of Taliban Spiritual leaders Mullah Omar and Mullah Mansor. The fighters of Islamic Emirate were confused whether to enter to the political system of Afghan government and lay down their weapons on the ground or keep on fighting against Afghan army and their NATO allies. In spite of the friction

between the Taliban movement. The militants of Islamic State (IS) have emerged as new challenges for them and as well as for Afghan peace talks such as ISIL Militants-Khorasan Province (ISIL- KP) is seeking for recruitments of fresh militants by providing them huge amount than Taliban and Al-Qaeda provide. Another point is in conflict resolution a ceasefire and concession should be maintain but between Taliban and Afghan government the point of "ceasefire and concession" is missed. The split among the leadership of Taliban would give a chance to Afghan government to overcome the fragmented militant units than united one but this case went opposite in Afghanistan. Therefore, hopes for peace and stability and social progress were stuck down.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- To what extent the Afghan government was serious about peaceful political settlement with Taliban?
- Why the current strategy regarding peace negotiation with Taliban is not efficient and meaningful?
- How external actors "facilitators" played their role in peace talks between Afghan government and Afghan Taliban?

4. OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

1. To explore and find out states weak polices structural content regarding peace talks with Taliban.
2. To analyze that which factors lead to meaningless and weakness of current strategies in the process of peaceful settlement with the Taliban.
3. To illustrate the role of external facilitators in reconciliation between Afghan government and Afghan Taliban.
4. To evaluate the role of Afghan High Peace Council and all accords which was held between Afghan government and Taliban mainly it will focus on Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China, Qatar and Iran and the role of above countries in the settlement of Afghans disputes.
5. To asses and find out the fragmentation happened among the Taliban leadership after the death of Mullah Mohammad Omar and Mullah Akhtar Mansor and its implication on peace talks with Afghan Government.

5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis will address and help policy makers, think tanks, students, academicians, research organizations and non-governmental organizations concerns with Afghanistan peace reconciliation and reintegration context, and will effectively highlight all meetings which were carried out between Afghan government and Taliban regarding peace negotiations and reintegration and will lead to understand the role of external actors “mediators/facilitators” who are involved in Afghanistan peace process.

6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Discussions about reconciliation often focus on overcoming settlement conflict, especially through legal, political or diplomatic means. Reconciliation also emphasizes on rebuilding trust and overcoming of personal enmities and extends to establish peace, harmony, justice, fairness, healing and forgiveness however reconciliation in broad sense is a synonyms of "negotiation" which refers face to face talks. To reach an agreement on a situation that seems as sources or reason of conflict problems (Komesaroff, 2008). Till now there is no single definition about reconciliation, different scholars defined in different ways but according to Brouneus (2003) Reconciliation "is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace" Reconciliation simply can be define to prevent conflict in war turn societies. Furthermore the most important factors which should be discussed and perceived in reconciliation are religious, socio-cultural, economic, political, psychological, and juridical aspects of reconciliation (Boruneus, 2003).

In a country like Afghanistan it would be difficult to fit a case in this picture because over the history reconciliation in Afghanistan have not yet reached an agreement on what constitutes national interest of disputed parties because for negotiation first is to consent on talks and second the presence of disputed parties in negotiation that case in Afghanistan is like the Afghan government called the Taliban for negotiation but Taliban perceived that meaningless Taliban said we would not negotiate with a "puppet regime" (Rustum,2015) . The Taliban even change the direction of negotiation sometime they talks with the government of United States not Afghan government vice versa. For a conflict resolution national and local initiatives should be perceived that is what Taliban missed in Afghanistan.

The dilemma of reconciliation in Afghanistan is not new and it should not be surprised, throughout the history in Afghanistan reconciliation have shaped by repeated failures especially during late 1980s , Dr. Najibullah several times tried to reconcile with Mujahedeen, he declared his National Reconciliation Policy (NRP) on broad sense for the planning support for reconciliation . He traveled to different European countries for broader support he mentioned to the world that Afghanistan will turn to civil war and war turn society but despite all that he failed, and his all efforts were rejected by Mujahedeen because they called his regime Soviet Union (SU) puppet regime. Thus, the same situation is currently being repeated by the Taliban who called Current government “west puppet regime” indeed successful reconciliation initiatives should be examined in the conflict but in Afghanistan the assessment and opinion of Taliban is changing from Time to Times, although they should recognize and acknowledged the post conflict of late 1980s.

The problems of peace reconciliation with Taliban could be glanced to the experienced of post 1990s conflict, the main and common weakness to the current peace negotiation in Afghanistan with Taliban could be completely withdrawal of International forces, democracy, women rights, violation of human rights, current constitution and political systems, so the current reconciliation peace process is neglected due to the above mentioned points (Hasrat Hussain & Amie Kirkham, 2012). However reconciliation with fundamentalist could be difficult task for someone because the Taliban want to establish and implement Islamic Emirate free of foreign control, in today interdependent and interconnected world it would be difficult task for a country like Afghanistan to survive along with weak structure of state, corrupted administration and uncertain destiny. In order to promote development in reconciliation process disputed parties should come down to concession of one another point which that can strengthen reconciliation and avoid undermining

fragile rations but between Taliban and Afghan government the point of concession is neglected overall (Brounéus, 2007).

For this reason, the case in Afghanistan is complex and unification of Afghan society has proven multipart and finding single theoretical cause is probably not possible like which is not that unique to a country in a state of war between different political factions and warlords. For the last four decades the Afghan history has been faced with multi wars that scared the public's and made extreme condition in term of security and political stability there for making unification and finding a single case of study is far more complex. But in dilemma of Afghanistan the Galula "theory of coin" some have fix in this case, as the theory explain three main groups of population. First the friendly minority, Second the neutral majority and third the hostile minority here only "hostile minority" will be taken and according to the theory the majority always tried to gain the support of neutral groups of the society but that is what Afghan Society did not have experienced, Afghanistan has been facing with "hostile minority" groups. From "coin" perspective dividing groups to apart is the key ingredient for victory but this case went opposite in Afghanistan like by apart of insurgent groups the problems went complex and getting harder. Coin discussed that the "civilian casualties should be avoided" and the forces will have to accept the limitation of conventional war. In dilemma of Afghanistan both conflicted parties state sponsored army and insurgent groups crossed their limitation of warfare in case of civilian casualties that is why in Afghanistan is always disorder and they cannot maintain security order and none of the party support neutral population as coin discussed that "warring forces need to localize and organize in order to mobilize the neural majority" in under controlled area of insurgent groups the population are prevented from the development of political insurgency cells and stopped from active participation in political matters as Galula explained " it is important to emphasize that the support

of the population is conditional" but all these cause are avoided in Afghanistan therefore, since long Afghan society suffered from national fragile rather than local intense. In details the Galula theory discus from coin force fighting to stay is the opposite of Afghanistan where the foreign coin force International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) is fighting to leave, and following the declaration of exit date lead to another troubles especially the timeline as Galula highlighted that coin forces need to "stay to the very end" which is very hard for them while the war is optional and almost depends on domestic political support. According to the coin principles the local population needs to be convinced that the coin forces will succeed in the end, but in Afghanistan population think after the withdrawal of coin forces "ISAF" the situation will be worst rather than succeed at the end, but since the exit date is proclaimed and the mission focus on changes from reaching objectives that lead to the progress to focusing on time which determines the basics of coin theory (Galula, D. 2006).

Additionally, where there has been violent political conflict and armed aggression or battle between the military forces of states or warring groups the nature and shape of war has been changed. Civil war between warring groups of warlords against the government breakout harsher frequently than wars between states (Elisabeth Porter, 2016). As, Mack wrote down that "Violent conflict within states now makes up more than 95 percent of armed conflict" (Mack, 2005). Since the late of 1980s Afghanistan has been in civil war and approximately none of the civil wars ended by negotiation settlements the warlords stopped the war among them for some time but later they started to fight again due to "power sharing" and the case of Taliban with Afghan government is not due to power sharing, Taliban want to have full control over the state they said that the current government is unpopular and puppet of western countries. Meanwhile, according to the Connecting Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation theory" the consequences including having

politician who mismanage policies are corrupt, and sometime endorse military coups, or having a dictator who has ruled for so long that citizens defy longtime repression to rebel and large scale civil strife erupts" the theory fit with Afghanistan situation now, we have been faced with corrupted politician who mismanage governmental policies and these policies caused the basic needs of citizens like food, shelter, healthcare, education, water and their security are not met. The theory discuss about "Ethnic and religious differences are more important than political ideologies" and in Afghanistan there is no ethnic and religious differences, all war in Afghanistan except external intervention took place on power sharing not on religious bases warlords and insurgent groups often tried to gain political position but due to lack of compromise among the warring groups the country have been faced with civil wars therefore political settlement did not gain through peaceful negotiated settlement therefore the case is very complicated and complex like the situation in Afghanistan is, Does security produce peace, or does peace produce security. And the peace building took place while the conflicted parties stop fighting "ceasefire" in Afghanistan none of the warring groups stopped fighting neither military forces of state nor the insurgent groups. Theory suggest that "violence and the threat of violence do not end when arms are laid down or peace accords are signed" in case of negotiation with Taliban, the militant of Taliban are not ready to laid down their weapons and they are not willing to compromise their stand point is very harsh therefore the goal of peace seeking are prevented (Elisabeth Porter, 2016).

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology in this research work has been qualitative, based on both primary data and also secondary data. The primary data has been directly collected in the form of interview through questions approximately more than 4 persons have been interviewed. There are two reasons behind such types of interview, first because of the nature of Taliban almost all of them have same

opinions regarding peace negotiation with Afghan government, second due to the current security situation in Afghanistan which is unfavorable for this study. However the size has been changed according to need and situations. Research allows us to options for convenient sample under unfavorable security situation like in Afghanistan, therefore one can change the numbers of interviewees.

Interview have been conducted from both sides, Afghan government including Afghan politicians, Journalist, analysts and civil societies members and as well as former official of Taliban mainly those who are involved in peace talks with Afghan government, while the secondary data sources has been collected from different documents books, academic articles, newspapers, research journals and different websites have been used as per requirement.

8. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This Thesis is divided into five chapters along with the conclusion at the end. This structure of the chapters is helpful in clear understanding of the study.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

Chapter 2. Historical Background.

Chapter 3. Mediating and Facilitating Role of External Actors.

Chapter 4. Policies of Afghan Government Toward Peaceful Settlement with Taliban.

Chapter 5. Concerning Points of Peace Settlement with Taliban along with Conclusion and Recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As operation enduring is the sixteenth years political settlement with Taliban is viewed by the external and internal component to end the war in Afghanistan though many debates were conducted inside and outside Afghanistan to end the unending conflict with Taliban so only negotiation can change the ground reality in Afghanistan where there have been war for the last 40 years in the country. Therefore it is essential to glance to some important period of Afghanistan over the history hence I would like to glance to four main periods 1978-1989, 1989-1996, 1996-2001, and 2001 onwards.

The only time Afghanistan enjoyed peace is mid of 20th century and sooner that peace ended in 1978 by a coup of members of Marxist People Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). They killed the president of Afghanistan Daud Khan and formed socialist regime soon after the PDPA collapsed and created environment for Soviet Union to invade Afghanistan and finally they invaded Afghanistan on 24th December, 1979.

The 10 years' war was started and communist regime fought against Islamist led Mujahedeen (Holy Worries). The United States, Saudi Arabia, supported Afghan Mujahedeen with weapons along with logistical support of Pakistan. By the help of above countries Mujahedeen resisted against Soviet forces until they withdrawal in 1989.

The PDPA government was shocked by the withdrawal of red forces from Afghanistan. The government was ruled by president Najibullah, his government was illegitimate to many Afghans because to most of them his government was soviet puppet regime despite that he maintain his rule

for several years in Kabul which later PDPA dissolved in April 1992 and the leader of PDPA Najibullah remained in Kabul until he was hanged by Taliban in Ariana square in 1996 in Kabul.

The revivalist Mujahedeen started fighting among themselves on the bases of power each of them had controlled on specific region none of them were enough powerful to dominate one another, they fought among themselves until the Taliban movement came in to being in southern province of Kandahar, the Taliban were led by Mullah Umar and his movement gained strong support of Pakistan and rapidly extended to all Afghanistan and finally took control of Kabul in 1996. The Taliban formed Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and they ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. Taliban had controlled almost 95% percent of Afghanistan except northeast. As the country was left with 2 million deaths and 1.5 million disabled after the soviet intervention, beyond the massive bombing on larger areas and big cities of the country the carpeted land mines of 1980s have been taking the life of people till now. However the communist regime was collapsed during 1992 and Islamic Jihadist took power in Kabul unfortunately they started fighting on the position of leadership these warlords made the situation turn to bloodshed, violence, hardships and civil war as well millions of Afghan left their homes, thousands of people lost their lives, and dozen become disabled due to the civil war of warlords through the fought among themselves when the Taliban came in to power in 1996 they established Islamic Emirate with a weak foreign policies they were diplomatically recognized only by three countries Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirate and Islamic Republic of Pakistan while all western countries were accusing Taliban for not giving women rights and un democratic regimes along with providing illegally safe haven and bases for Al-Qaeda which was recognized the most dangerous terrorist organization by United Nations. And lastly after establishment of Islamic Emirate the Taliban fund an ally Osama Bin Laden who was accepted by Taliban as host guest and was allowed to train his forces inside Afghanistan and was

denied to be handed over to US and Saudi Arabia by hosting Osama Taliban paid heavy cost which followed by 11th September 2001 (John Richardson, 2011).

The only approach to end the current insurgency in Afghanistan is to start negotiation with Taliban through this way we can reach to peaceful settlement in the country while looking to the present situation in Afghanistan almost an ending to fight is the desire of every Afghans, peace and prosperity is the number one agenda of Afghan government and Afghan people, everybody want to put full stop to the ongoing bloodshed and civil war which was started forty years ago. In this way one and all wants to live in peaceful and safe environment without fear and violence no body want to cross border to other countries as war refugees, no one is interested to live in war ware environment, everybody has desire to end the civil war, internal conflict, poverty, illiteracy, destruction of natural resources and killing of their sisters and brothers. A war wary Afghanistan has been a battlefield for tactical, strategic and proxy wars by larger external powers it may be due to strategic and geographical location of Afghanistan. A crossroads Afghanistan has been in civil war and external intervention from 1979 till present.

The 2001 air strike of United States on Afghan soil had emerged as greatest threat to political stability of Afghanistan. It weakened the social stability and peaceful environment and made the situation turn to war and violence. After the tragic incident of 9/11 United States of America and their allies brought pressure on Taliban to hand over the leader of Al Qaeda Osama Bin Laden to them, discharge all foreign national which are imprison with them, gave immunity to foreign diplomats, Journalist and help workers of NGOs and immediately close down all terrorist camps and stopover supporting terrorist, give the United States full access of investigation from Al-Qaeda camps which are located in Afghan soil. According to USA Osama was responsible for World Trade Center (WTC) incident but Taliban refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden and did not

accept the U.S.A. demands. Nevertheless, a speech of clerics in Kabul on 19 September 2001 are "the Taliban's leader Mullah Mohammed Omar argued that the US was using Bin Laden's involvement in 9/11 as a pretext for removing the Taliban from power, and that the Taliban were ready for talks" Thus, in October 2001 U.S.A. started bombing Afghanistan for the reason to capture Osama and destroy the safe haven of Al-Qaeda along with the regime of Taliban in Afghanistan. Beside that the main purpose of bombing Afghanistan was promoting democracy and modernization but despite promoting democracy the country turn to war, violence and promotion of insurgency, Importantly it is clear to all that Afghanistan turn to civil war once again, the thrown of Taliban from power emerged as most potential challenges to the security of the country once again(bbc,2001).

9/11 IMPACT ON AFGHANISTAN

As, Taliban publicly condemned 9/11 and they were in the fever of negotiation with U.S.A. As well, Taliban wanted to negotiate with America but no time was given to Taliban for negotiation as they claimed Osama had been lived in Afghanistan President Jorge W. Bush told reporters on the white house lawn "This is non-negotiable There is no need to discuss innocence or guilt, we know he is guilty Turn him over, If they want us to stop our military operations they have just got to meet my conditions." Later on with the help of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, America started series airstrike on Afghanistan for taking revenge of World Trade Center from Al-Qaeda and their allies like Taliban, In addition, for bring down the regime of Taliban United States started financial support to northern alliance for providing U.S.A. road maps to handle over the regime of Taliban easily and within a month the Taliban were remove from power and Hamid Karzai was

installed as first president of Afghanistan and 2004 the first presidential election were held and Hamid Karzai won 53% of the votes(bbc, 2001).

While in 2003 United States invaded Iraq the U.S.A. has changed its path of view from Afghanistan to Iraq when the war in Iraq became harsh they deployed some troops from Afghanistan to Iraq along with financial aids the reason for increasing insurgency after 2006 could be the U.S.A. invasion on Iraq, Anyhow that, the civilian casualties had been increased according to the United Nations reports within nine years 10,000 thousands of civilian had been killed during the war with Taliban even the number of international troops were increasing yearly for defeating Taliban such us in 2010 Stanley A. McChrystal deployed 30,000 fresh troops for handling Taliban while the Obama deadline for withdrawal of troops started in July 2011 and by the end of 2014 Afghan army would take full responsibility of the country.

After long time United State and world realized that negotiation with Taliban is the only way to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan. Later on Afghan government started some efforts in bringing Taliban groups to the Table of negotiation such as Afghanistan High Peace Council which was formed on 5 September 2010 in Kabul. The council was established by the former president Hamid Karzai. Burhanuddin Rabbani was it first chairman who was assassinated in 2011 in Kabul. In addition, Peace Jirga was held in Kabul, Afghanistan Peace Reconciliation Programme was established, and Civil Society and other governmental and nongovernmental organizations were involved in settlement of dispute with Taliban. Therefore Afghan government had met with representative of Taliban in Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China, Qatar, Paris, Germany and Oslo Norway just to put end to the ongoing conflict in the country (Insight on Conflict, 2016)

The poorest country on the world map is trying to rebuild its self once again as 9/11 gave a financial chance for Afghanistan to stand on its own feet billions of dollars were pumped to the country and the world left their wallets open for Afghanistan due to their lost. In spite of billion of pumped dollars to the country is still the poorest country in the world where there life expectancy is 44 years along with number one corrupted administration and larger producer of the opium in the world and unsecure place on the earth. Despite all that, Afghan government entered to negotiation and peaceful settlement with Taliban and other warring groups but Taliban has some harsh stance regarding peaceful settlement the same stance United State had during 2001 as they said the Taliban and Al-Qaeda are merged now, their military structure is same, their ideology is same so there is no need of negotiating with, in the meantime Taliban want to establish Islamic Emirate free of foreign occupation and completely withdrawal of international troops even though the government and people want to bring sad brothers to the system and join the current government so we can put an end to the ongoing conflict over the county(AHPC,2016).

AFGHANISTAN HIGH PEACE COUNCIL

The year of 2008 was a tough year in Afghanistan because the distance between public and government had increased the high level of corruption in governmental offices, failure in reconstruction and infrastructure sectors and wide- spread in Norco trade production and beside above factors which lead to the dissatisfaction of Karzai government the lack of security and failure of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops to defeat Taliban in the battlefield as they were expected at first stage and that their strategies against Taliban were not much effective and efficient so their combat operation brought high level of civilian casualties and rise public anger against western troops in the country these factors made United States and their allies to review their policies once again to find out a suitable way to end the conflict. Finally they fund that the only way to end the political conflict was peaceful settlement with Taliban. (Patricia, 2011).

After continuation of many debates the process of reconciliation and reintegration with Taliban was officially started through Afghanistan High Peace Council which is the only sole body for peace and reintegration with Taliban, The 70 members council along with 888 members in all provinces and 142 staff members council was established on 5 September 2010 by the former president Hamid Karzai for the reason to negotiate with Taliban, Burhanuddin Rabbani was it first president later he was assassinated by a person who brought peace message to him and he got the famous name of “peace martyr” and was replace by his son Salahudin Rabbani the current foreign minister of Afghanistan. Additionally the council task is to provide framework guideline and advise for talks with Taliban most of the member of high peace council are former warlords and militia whose fought among themselves before Taliban came in to power and most of them are disabled to understand diplomatic skill of negotiation even majority do not understand what is “negotiation, reconciliation, reintegration and mediation” like we can say most of them are

completely illiterate and eligible to work in peace council beside that they are working on reintegration with Taliban majority of them have lack of clarity in their objectives including chaired person.

Moreover, reconciliation is the buzz and most highlighted word currently goes in Afghan media and among Afghan politician. Policy makers see reconciliation with warring groups will end all insurgency in the country but majority of Afghans criticizes are in the view of that the role of Afghan High Peace Council is just symbolic because millions of dollars had been spent by the council according to the Afghanistan Research and Unit Evaluation (ARUE) a dependent research organization based in Kabul, 782 million dollars had been spent by the council in the process of reintegration, Afghans are in the view of if the 782 million dollars would be used in infrastructure it would have been brought a positive outcome instead of using it on baseless reintegration. Additionally, the council had spent millions of dollar but wide number of people is unhappy from the outcome of peace council the 70 member's council has offices in all provinces except central Province of Panjsher, along with 888 members and 142 staff members the council is funded by external donors and the major donors are the following three groups

Window A: United States, Australia and Finland

Window B: Denmark, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Spain and South Korea

Window C: United Kingdom, Estonia (Sources: UNDP-2011- Report).

Regard to the ministry of finance the first and third categories did not provide information to Afghan government about their funds but the second category window B had pledged 134.11 million dollars assistance in their programs with High Peace Council (HPC). Thus, Afghan people and politician say the council had spent all the money completely baseless.

WHAT AFGHAN HIGH PEACE COUNCIL HAS GAIN?

According to High Peace Council so far 10,500 militants have joined the council and the surrounded militants have put down more than 8101 weapons and handed over to the government most of the weapons were collected from Baghlan, Ghor, Nangrahar and Herat province.

Initially wide number of militants has been joining the peace process but it is shocking and dangerous because these surrender fighters are not helpful to settlement peace because conflict is increasing day by day. According to United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) annually 47,000 innocent people along with women and children have been killed over the last five years 16,954 people dead and 29,744 injured.

Obviously UNAMA's reports says that over the first six months of 2015 as many as more than 1600 civilians including women and children were killed and 3,329 were injured, casualties are not only related to civilian even though high governmental official also lost their lives the former president and Chairman of HPC Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani was assassinated in suicide attack of September, 2011 in his house in Kabul. Despite Rabbani a month later another key member of the Afghan High Peace Council Arsala Rahmani was killed in another attack even though beside the two of them 33 members of Afghan high Peace Council has been killed in 17 provinces of Afghanistan. To demonstrate it, Afghan says that millions of dollar has been spent hundreds of people have been lost their lives in the way to bring peace but where is the peace?

They see that the AHPC is just as symbolic mission far from reality some says the HPC must be abolished and we are no more in the favor to support the council many says HPC just waste money without gain, one female teacher of political science Shehla Farid at Kabul university said reconciliation of 10.000 militants was not achievement because most of the militant were tired

from fighting they returned from battlefield by themselves, she said warlord had been members of AHPG who saw their survival in prolonging of conflict another point she mentioned is that she accused foreign countries interference in Afghanistan internal affairs(Abdul Qadir Munsef, Zarghoona Salehi, 2015).

For further clarification I interviewed Tayab Agha the head of the political wing of the Taliban and a close aide to Mullah Omar. During the government of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, he served as chief of staff to Mullah Omar, as well as his personal secretary, translator, and press spokesman. And asked him why the current strategy regarding peace negotiation with Taliban is not efficient and meaningful. To many of us High peace council has symbolic symbol? He said “The council is combined from a people who do not understand the meaning of reconciliation and are not interested to conflict resolution meanwhile it is not dependent council and government do not let it to be dependent. Whatever government tells them to do they must do. Beside that in all their activities government permission is must to precede their orders.

Let's see if high peace council had dependent members and people who have wanted really peace in Afghanistan, now we would have seen the outcome of last few years of negotiations with Taliban, and also the conflicted parties would trust them. For Taliban High Peace Council is not dependent council. The reason we do not reach to conclusion with Taliban is government officials because most of them are not interested to bring peace in the Country because they are taking high credit from the conflict with Taliban and are interested to prolong the violence for many years more, that is why all members of the council are former warlords who fought against the Taliban and for Taliban they are puppet of west. Lastly I can say in one word that High Peace Council is dependent” (S. Tayab Agha, personal communication, November 07, 2016).

AFGHAN ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE

There is a strong support throughout Afghanistan for peace talks with Taliban. Especially it is strongly supported by Pashtun and also other ethnics groups are also in the favor of peace negotiation with Taliban. A weak Afghanistan Surrounded by stronger neighbors went through different phases of peace but during Karzai regime the inner circles were motivated to seek a peace agreement at any cost but he could not because the Taliban were not one and united they were groups and different units. But the question which was rounding among policy maker was that whether the Taliban and there leader are interested in negotiation or no? Pakistan and America has had the biggest concerns like Pakistan consideration is that Kabul government may not be able to negotiate alone directly with Taliban Pakistan assured to Kabul based regime that Islamabad arrangement will put enough pressure on the Taliban to bring them to the Table of negation for better clarification the view of external mediator will be explain third chapter (James Shinn, James Dobbins, 2015)

As reconciliation is popular with U.S. and neighbor countries what do Afghan government and Taliban think about it? It is only negotiation through which we can change the ground reality and can reach to peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. Negotiation was started just to prevent Afghanistan from terrorist and not turning back to the safe haven of international terrorist nor becoming ally of any terrorist network, for the above reasons Afghanistan was under attack in 2001 by the United States and their allies, So U.S. and their co- partner were too much optimistic that after overthrowing Taliban there would be peace and prosperity along with pro- western style regime due to wide number of financial assistance and cooperation to the government will bring peace but such cooperation and assistance went against Afghan government and their allies. However, most of the policies went against Afghan government and their western allies and some

1702-8

lead to uncertainty and Talibanization over the country. After 2003 the security situation had been deteriorating day by day and later become worst especially during 2009 and that was the time which Afghan government and their allies realized that fighting against Taliban is not the road map toward peace and stability in Afghanistan they realized that the only way to peace and prosperity is peaceful settlement and willingness to bring back Taliban to the table of negotiation to hold some dominant position in the government and later that negotiation were supported nationally and internationally highly were persuaded by Pakistan, United States, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and India (John Richardson, 2011).

While looking to the current situation in the country conflict in Afghanistan is increasing and governmental forces are losing their lives on daily bases, on average stage 680 Afghan Police and solider have been killed every month. Beyond that the conflict also brought bad result for the civilian such as 10,000 civilian were killed and injuries in 2014 and 140,000 people were displaced in the same year of 2014 which was the highest number after 2001. Additionally there are 900,000 Internal Displaced People (IDPs) over the country. The violence blocked the way of trade investment, economic development across the country. Simply we can say the government cannot afford the war against the enemy. Overwhelmingly most of Afghan wants peace and stability over the country. Currently policy makers and analyst do believe that the only way to end the conflict is to negotiate with Taliban. Through fighting the war would never be end, and the death tools would be ended only through negotiation and that will must produce stable peace (Matt Waldman, 2015).

TERRAIN

Terrain had been played the most important factor in Afghanistan security. In counterinsurgency book David Galula considered that favorable geography is one of the four conditions for a successful insurgency. He also mentioned that geography may be broken to different parts, such as location whether the country is isolated by sea or bordered or by a countries who is in the favor of insurgency. So, here he came to the point that the larger is the country the more is difficult for governmental forces to secure it. As geography play an important role in every country security but when it comes to Afghanistan in term of location, it is bordered with six countries Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and China most of the border areas are mountains and has many bypass and cross border and it may be very easy to be cross, in term of insurgency it is very easy for them to travel and cross borders especially mountains give favor to insurgents to travel easily while winter come in Afghanistan the insurgency and insurgent activities drops down dramatically due to snow fall in mountains (David Galula, 2011). Though looking to the current security situation in Afghanistan and the impact of terrain over the United Stated and Afghan governmental policies their mission has reached to a critical stage in Afghanistan because the security situation is deteriorating day by day and Afghan government is losing control over terrain, Taliban conducting high profile attacks in all over the country even as they control most of the districts in western provinces. Far from defeated the ongoing insurgency remains a serious challenge and threatens to reverse hard-won prior gains. Although the decision of drawdown of western forces had faced Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) numerous challenges because ANSF are incapable as counterinsurgent forces, they may be able to push insurgent back for a while but would be difficult for them to sustain sufficient presences to prevent their return because they are faced with big challenges like lack of air support asset, The Afghan Air Forces (AAF)

are unable to provide ground forces the same level of support that coalition airs unite provided. Despite the Taliban Al- Qaeda and Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) forces also have safe haven in Afghanistan and they are more dangerous than Taliban. These groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIL faced Afghan government with big challenges because they not only lunch high profile attach against Afghan government but also continue to provide support to global terrorist activates. The big trouble was created by coalition government itself because since President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah came in to power unemployment had been increasing most of the young people had been run away from the country and some of them had joined Taliban and ISIL militants, the above factors can be big reason of uncertainty over the country (Lauren McNally, Paul Bucala, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIATING AND FACILITATING ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS

This chapter will mainly focus on and analyze Afghan government efforts of peace talks with Taliban and will identify several factors that lead to un-successful negotiation with Taliban. The main focus will be on mediating roles of neighbor countries, and will highlight to what extent the neighbor countries played a positive role in Afghan peace talks with Taliban along with human and financial resources of Taliban and the essential question to be answered is how the Taliban has managed to finance the 16 years long-lasting war, and why their revenue is getting hard to target.

HUMAN RESOURCES OF TALIBAN

The highest corruption over the country has slow downed jobs creation, increased unemployment, prevent reconstructions and infrastructure programs. Though after 9/11 most of Afghans were full of hopes and ready to work and were interested to support the government but such things happened opposite of their wishes. Unemployment ratio increased over 60 percent in the recent years and it gave good chance to the global insurgent groups to recruit ground for militant ideologues seeking manpower as General Karl Eikenberry said to the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) in 2007 "Much of the enemy force is drawn from the ranks of unemployed men looking for wages to support their families." What might be surprise it was not due to the warlord and corrupted administration who stole most of the money the blame is on the foreign contractor companies who scooped up more than 40 percent of the funds before any ground for a

project such as \$15 billion of aid with Afghanistan has so far been spent on returned to donor countries in corporate profits and consultant salaries (Ralph Lopez, 2010).

Moreover, in all statement of Taliban a clear-cut message is that, Taliban would welcome all those who oppose government and their international allies and they will be rank as high militants along with providing them amnesty. Taliban have been increasing focused on their efforts to recruit Afghan governmental official's especially Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) members. Obviously the active strategy of insurgents about recruitment is to focus on local public among young men a body in the age of research and understanding. As a matter of fact, it is most likely easy to be recruiting the young men to the insurgent ranks. With this intention they emphasize on ANSF officials to be conscript in their rank as International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) indicated "that as many as 5,000 Afghan soldiers are quitting their posts every month" in essence it is unclear how much impact they put on Taliban recruitment policy, at this instant efforts indicated two goals. First is to highlight Taliban increasing day by day in numbers with governmental officials, soldiers and policeman and getting organizational strength with depth government weakness. Second goal of Taliban is to publicize their recruitment message and amnesty commission to audience. (Jami Forbes and Brian Dudley, 2013).

With this regards, in a recent audio tape the deputy chief of the Afghan Taliban Sirajuddin Haqqani also known as Khalifa said that: "The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan is not opposed to any talks if they are held in line with Islamic teachings and in accordance with sharia law. The political commission of the Taliban is tasked to deal with the issue of peace and negotiations and if the Taliban were against peace talks, we would have not formed this particular commission. This had been approved and became a consensus decision of Taliban leadership from the very beginning". Haqqani network has \$5 million budget on his hand which is the most dangerous and sophisticated

insurgent group in the region with an extra men power. Additionally, afghan government blames the network for the negative impact on the process of peace negotiations. In the other hand, Haqqani Network has never accepted peace talks during the last 15 years and tried to prolong the Afghan conflict. Above all, efforts were conducted by Afghan government and U.S.A. To bring Haqqani Network to the table of negotiation but all efforts has failed (Ahmad Murid Partaw, 2016).

To illustrate in another way, think you're An American Air force Marshal and you bombard a place and killed many innocent people and they have blood relations like brothers, sisters, uncle, son and father. The one who is still alive will looks for revenge, in spite of knowing what is right and what is wrong, whatever he will join insurgent group just to take revenge. As one bannered point out a message "Dear Obama, when U.S. missile drone kills a child in Afghanistan and Pakistan the father will go to war with you, guaranteed. Nothings to do with Al- Qaeda" people joined insurgent just to take revenge (Salman Mehdi, 2014). In the other Hand, the surviving person has a choice support the government or joins the insurgency. If clarify in another scenario, think there are two brothers both driving "truck" to support their family none of them has joined the insurgency one night the U.S. missile kills one of the brothers without knowing exactly the target, consequently the family ask from the government why? Government responds "he was Taliban." Hence, the surviving brother has choice support the government or joins Taliban for taking revenge. If we think about the scenario, the survived brother will think that U.S. forces killed my brother because of fake intelligence report would not they come soon for me too? Even my brother was not with Taliban neither me. The last option for him will be why not joining the insurgent groups to take revenge and be killed in right way (onviolence.com).

"taking young boys from every family as a form of forced recruitment" and also Azimy local young said to Aljazeera English "They are also using mosque loudspeakers to ask the people to set up Sharia law and are asking people to go about their business" (Aljazeera, 2015).

TALIBAN FINANCIAL RESOURCES

It would be difficult to find out the exact financial figure of Taliban because funding insurgency is an "open secret" nobody wants to talk about it. The unwanted fact is clear to the Afghans that the richest source for funding Taliban is foreign aid; however, Taliban generate resources from both internal and external actors. The essential question to be answered is how the Taliban has managed to finance the 16 years long-lasting war, and why their revenue is getting hard to target?

Tiwari, S. (2016).

To begin with, Afghan Taliban generates external aids through donations from sympathy and support among Muslim countries under the name of zakat and extortion source. They have support of different secret agencies such as Saudi strategy in Central Asia and South Asia is to build a wall of Sunni radicalism with Shia rival in contain to Iran. Sources important to be realize that Saudi had spent billions of private money to funnel on Sunni organizations, madrasas and universities to shape attentions of next generation toward Shia rival. In this regard, external resources of Taliban generate more than \$100 million dollars per years (Carlotta Gall, 2016).

As a matter of fact, the afghan government has been financing their own through donations, sympathy, drug trafficking, extortion, illegally mineral excavation, taking and business and taxes. Given that, Afghan government failed to prevent above mentioned elements that generate financial resources for insurgency that is why; the Taliban illicit source of income has been so hard to target.

With attentions to that, internal revenue of Taliban goes up to \$250 million per year (Global Post, (2013). In addition, Internal revenue of Taliban relies on taxing, kidnapping, drug trafficking, donation from local populations, extortion, foreign donations, commercial business of mine, smuggling, poppy cultivations and larger companies in Afghanistan have started paying Taxes to Taliban in order to allow them to operate without threat (Masood Saifullah, 2015). Besides that, According to the new York times the Taliban “collecting electricity bills from thousands of homes in provinces such as Kunduz and Helmand, the insurgents levy taxes on potato harvests, flour mills, teachers’ salaries, marriage ceremonies, and fuel and vegetable trucks crossing their checkpoints” (Muhib Mashal and Najim Rahim, 2017).

In the meantime, narcotic trade and hashish production is the most important generator for the Taliban as they are not directly involved in production, cultivation or distribution; they just collect taxes from individuals as the country is the world largest producer of drugs. In due time, according to United Nation Office on Drug Crime Afghanistan is “producing 95 percent of world heroin” and the annual estimations of heroin production in Afghanistan is 6400 tons Tiwari, S. (2016). Officially, it is believed that the Taliban has more than \$500 million dollar expenditure per year Global Post, (2013). Despite that some intelligence agency admits that the real budget of Taliban is closer to one billion dollars. In spite of poppy cultivation, Taliban has been assisting the individuals in trading and smuggling heroin out of Afghanistan or illegally takeout mines, like marble, and export them to other countries; or take taxes from citizens and business man in order to allow them to operate without threat or they have some contribution with them. as Wahid Mazhdah an Afghan Politician told DW "Telecom companies have paid protection money to the Taliban in the past, but reports indicate the group wants to tax the telecom sector by 10 percent just like any other business in the areas under their control," (Gabriel Dominguez. 2016). In

conclusion, we can say that the degree of cooperation and coordination between the Taliban and aid workers is surprising and would most likely make funders extremely uncomfortable. Lastly to point out, we can say that narcotic trade is the fundamental sources of financing insurgency in Afghanistan (Joseph V. Micallef, 2016).

PAKISTAN ROLE IN AFGHAN PEACE PROCESS

From December 2010 to February 2011 a polling survey was conducted by British Broadcast Cooperation (BBC) world service in 24 countries around 24,000 people participated in this assessment, among them 40% of the people supported negotiation of NATO with Taliban, 16% responded immediate withdrawal of International Forces from Afghanistan and 29% were in the fever to continue fighting against Taliban. Meanwhile the poll was conducted at the time Osama Bin Laden was still alive and after the death of Bin Laden in May 2011 the discourse of reconciliation with Taliban became the most possible solution to the current conflict in Afghanistan because the death of Al-Qaeda leader could step down the motivation level of Taliban and other insurgent groups.

Importantly, Pakistan and Afghanistan have marked mutual hostile, suspicion and controversial relations over the history. Almost the relations between the two countries based on ambiguity, mistrust, suspicion, accusation and contradictions. But in the recent years the two countries had witnessed the improvement of good relations especially after Karzai government National Unity Government had expressed that “Pakistan cooperation was a key to the peace process” as Pakistan always played a key role in Afghan peace process that is why Afghan government believed that Pakistan critical support is overall success of reconciliation but the question was that, To what

extent Pakistan has the will and capacity to play constructive role in Afghan peace reconciliations process instead of constructive role Pakistan designed and pursued double-standard policy from one side being allied with international troops from another side provided safe heaven to Al-Qaeda and Taliban. Meanwhile, Pakistan loyally argued that foreign insurgent did not reside inside Pakistan soil and they always rejected the accusation of supporting insurgents despite that, the purpose of Karzai visits to Pakistan was to help his country achieve stability and told reporters that Afghanistan-Pakistan relations remain strong that the brotherly role of Pakistan is crucial to defeating terrorism in the region. In response Pakistan played puzzling role nobody knows either they encourage Taliban or supporting negotiation of Afghan government with Taliban (HalimullahKousary, 2011).

The idea of reconciliation in Afghan society is highly supported and persuaded by Pakistan along with western countries, the Pakistan realize that the only way to create peace in Afghanistan is to talk to Taliban but Talking to Taliban is most controversial issue because the present conflict to some of them it was extraordinary high risk strategy to deal with Taliban, as it is clear to all that successful peace would be the best option to end the unending conflict in Afghan society. Hence, the government of Pakistan at the beginning of 2013 released 26 Taliban detainees between November and January as Islamabad was worry that Pakistan and Afghanistan both countries will face serious challenges after transition and they hope that there is an indication that some insurgent groups are Tired from fighting anymore because they had been faced losses and now they are in the favor of negotiation (H. Cordesman, 2016).

After Karzai, President Ashraf Ghani assumed the policy of rapprochement toward Pakistan. Therefore, he postponed strategic partnership with India, and avowed close tie with Pakistan in turn Pakistan convinced representative of Taliban to negotiation and they talked with

representative of Afghan government in Murree on July 7th 2015 in this talks Taliban showed their interest for peace and stability and agreed to tentative ceasefire and the talks were welcomed by international community, United States and Afghan officials, meanwhile the efforts of Pakistani official were appreciated for facilitating talks with representative of Taliban along with that Pakistani and Chinese official guaranteed to play proactive role to make long lasting peace between the two sides at the same time Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that “the talks were overt, not covert” and that “all measures were being taken to ensure that nobody tries to derail this process.” But the death of Taliban Leader Mullah Umar derailed peace process with Afghan government. Apparently the newly elected leader of Taliban Mullah Akhtar Mansoor order to “increased their attacks inside Afghanistan”. While after, the formation of Unity Government president Ghani measured that “peace is the foremost wish of Afghan people” and only through peace we can bring political and economic stability to the country, which he thought that peace is impossible without establishment of good relations with Pakistan, he thought that Pakistan has considerable control over some groups of Taliban like “Quetta Shura and Haqqani network” at the same time his policy was criticized at home broadly. Additionally, Pakistan response positively Ghani friendly relations such as Pakistan reduced Indian centric concerns which they thought that it may remain same as it was during Karzia time. And also realization was brought in Pakistani policy toward Afghanistan like they realize that unstable and insecure Afghanistan is detrimental to Pakistani peace building efforts. Until the death of Taliban leader Mullah Omar the two countries had enjoyed good relations but Mullah Omar death derailed the process of peace the reason could be the Taliban were divided to different groups (SafdarSial, 2015).

The leadership in Islamabad especially military has the power to play an instrumental role to bring Taliban to the table of negotiation because while Taliban were in power in Afghanistan, Pakistani

military had close interaction with Taliban regime that is why Afghan officials says the contact between Taliban and Pakistani military is still remained close as it was existent in the past. Meanwhile, New York Times stated “those talks with Taliban would be impossible without at least the silent approval of Pakistan” (rt 29, Jan 2012). Currently Pakistan is in the fervor of immediate face to face talks with Taliban but it was stalled due to the death of Taliban leaders Mullah Omar, when the news of the death of Taliban leader Mullah Omar spread on media on 29 July 2015 this was like bombshell for the planned peace talks which was organized by Pakistan and sooner after the death of Mullah Akhtar Mansoor was confirmed, the death of these leaders created vacuum for the course of negotiation. In spite of that, China, United States, Pakistan and Afghanistan started immediate talks with Taliban leaders but the process was delayed due to the death of Mullah Akhtar Mansoor because electing new leader in such an estranged group is harsh challenges to pursue the path of prolonging peace process with Afghan government. (Dr. Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee, 2015).

Furthermore, the Asia Heart Conference which was held in Islamabad on December 6th 2015, brought the two countries close together and it reduced the tension of mistrust and lack of trust among the two nations meanwhile at the Asia Heart Conference Quadrilateral Monitoring Committee (QMC) was established by Pakistan, Afghanistan, U.S and China the committee assured to facilitate and support the Afghan reconciliation process and they created roadmap for the ongoing peace talks with Taliban and their first meeting was held in Islamabad on January 11th 2016, in which they pursued Ghani close tie once again with Pakistan such as the sending of six Afghan Army trainees to Pakistani military Academy (PMC) in Abbottabad to study there for 18 months and signing of intelligence sharing information for coordination between Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the Afghan National Directorate Of Security (ANDS). These acts of

president Ghani was highly criticized internally and was openly criticized by former president Hamid Karzai he accused Ghani administration of treason for signing the intelligence-sharing agreement with Pakistan due to increment of insurgency in Afghanistan (SafdarSial, 2015).

Additionally, in harmonization of Pakistan Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) focused on to revive peace in Afghanistan and attempt the efforts of peace process, so their first meeting was held in Islamabad on January 11, 2016. The session of the four countries was started by Adviser to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz who said in his speech that “no preconditions should be attached to the reconciliation process. as the primary objective is to create conditions to bring the Taliban to the negotiation table and offer them incentives that can persuade them to move away from using violence a tool for pursuing political goals.” In spite of, U.S. Special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Ambassador Richard G. Olson and representative of all above countries agreed on direct talks, realistic assessment of reconciliation and create conducive environment of peace dialogue between the Afghan government and representatives of Taliban (Amina Khan, 2016).

Consequently, The United States had been trying to push Pakistan into bringing back life to a stalled peace process in Afghanistan restart the negotiation process once again among all conflicted parties in response Pakistan claim that our strategic advantage gives peace to the region and we view our relation with our neighbor countries through the lens of peace but Washington want from Pakistan to element all safe haven and sanctuaries on its soil and completely element the Haqqani Network which help fuel in the insurgency in Afghanistan and convince Taliban to come to the negotiation Table and hash out peace deal with Kabul to end the ongoing war. (Dr. Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee, 2015). But recently, the relations between the two countries once again became at all-time low flowing as a series of clashes along Pak- Afghan border, Pakistan has been calling for

stronger management in the border side of the two countries and requesting of constructions of fence at Torkham crossing but Afghan officials always strongly opposed all barriers of construction at Torkham border because of dividing Pashtun tribe. As a result of tension, both countries agreed to cease the blame game and set up the bilateral relations and talk border related matters, finally the reached to agreement on June 21, 2016 Afghan delegation, headed by Deputy Foreign Minister, Hikmat Khalil Karzai, and the Pakistani side represented by Foreign Secretary, Aizaz Ahmed Chaudhry, they decided to cease the blame game and set up a bilateral mechanism to discuss matters related to border management and security in order to prevent recurrence of border clashes in the future (Amina Khan, 2016). Even though, Pakistan denied all blame game and said that Afghan government must take it to account that it is their own responsibility to talk to Taliban and convince them to negotiation the Afghans must fine plausible solution to their conflict as an Afghan prerogative responsibilities instead of blaming others for success or failure of peace talks they need to move on themselves (Amina Khan, 2016).

Additionally, for more clarification I interviewed The Director General of the Center for Strategic and Regional Studies Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin and asked him. What is the role of regional states in reconciliation between Afghan Government and Taliban? He said "In this side, political ethics play important role and Pakistan has multi- political task in Afghanistan such as Pakistan want to get financial support from western countries and for the long time Islamabad is working on it, second Pakistan want to reduce Indian role in Afghanistan, Islamabad think that after cold war India became good ally of America so Pakistan want to take the position of Indian in Afghanistan, for this purpose they bring Kashmir issue here as well, so Pakistan created a situation in Afghanistan that peace will just come to Afghanistan through Islamabad door and their stance is clear that until Pakistan do not want to bring peace in Afghanistan, Kabul cannot bring peace.

As well, Taliban says that Pakistan cut down our feet like Pakistan brought U.S.A. forces to the region they gave our leaders to U.S. they sold our commanders and leaders to U.S.A. because of money therefore now a day's Taliban do not trust Islamabad and Taliban tried to occupy an isolated position and cut down their ties with Pakistan but they cannot do it because still the key member of Taliban are living in Pakistan and they have to accept Pakistan army demands as well, Islamabad want to have their pressure on Taliban without end. So, both side Pakistan and Taliban is playing mistrusted game with one another and the deceiving diversion between them was started after 2010 while Taliban started relations with China, Iran, Russian and other countries so it means that now they do not need Pakistan support at all beside Pakistan there is other actors whom are willing to help them.

In my opinion here is another problem although that Afghan government assume that peace talks should be only held inside Afghanistan and must be led by afghans, the governmental official do not trust third party they do not like the mediating role of regional countries due to the vacuum of mistrust specially on Pakistan. Of course Afghan government do not see a trusted third party as they experienced the mediating role of Pakistan, China, Qatar, Saudi Arab, U.S.A. and Turkey and they failed that is why Kabul says this is our issue we should resolve it by ourselves.

In my view another problem regarding peace with Taliban is blaming game of Pakistan and Afghanistan as Afghan government says peace with Taliban is at the hand of Pakistan and it is only possible through Pakistan side, because Taliban are under direct support of Pakistan therefore Kabul says instead of Taliban we should talk with Pakistan and Afghan government called that Taliban are puppet of Pakistan at the same time Taliban called that Afghan government is puppet of United States of America. Hence, this is very complicated issue" (Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin. 2017).

CHINA ROLE IN PEACE TALKS WITH TALIBAN

The withdrawal of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) by end of 2014 was harsh for the Afghan government and Afghan people in April 2015 Taliban announced to launch their spring operation under the name of “AZM” in which they will start fight against Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) in all provinces and over the nationwide. Besides that, the increasing presence of Islamic States militants and threat of security vacuum which created by the withdrawal of International military from Afghanistan the regional countries combined increased their support toward peace in Afghanistan that is why the representative of four countries Pakistan, United States, China and Afghanistan encouraged Taliban to resume negotiation (Wojciech Lorenz, Marcin Andrzej Piotrowski, 2016). The International community was worried that the withdrawal of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan may suffer the same fate as Dr. Najibullah government had faced with, if the ongoing issues are left unaddressed. Since president Ghani came to power he has believed that the fundamental problems is not about peace with Taliban, the fundamental problems is peace between Kabul and Islamabad he said “the undeclared state of war between Afghanistan and Pakistan for the past 14 years is the primary reason for instability in his country” so he decided to long standing Pakistani interference in Afghanistan internal affairs and get Islamabad truthful support for his government. Therefore, Ghani reached to third party, China, in order to guarantees Pakistan dedication to peace process. President Ghani expected that only China mediating role can change the game in Afghanistan and can get Pakistani approval to enable his government to reach to political settlement with Taliban and China as regional country has greatest influence on Islamabad (Hugo Chéné, 2015).

Taliban senior delegation visited China on July 18 to 22, 2016 the delegation was head by Abbas Stanakzai head of the Taliban based office Qatar and Taliban told “We have good terms with

different countries of the world and China is one among them," and they said we informed Chinese official about American occupation of Afghanistan by force and had been killing our innocent people so Chinese leaders should help us to raise this issue on world forums and help us to get freedom from occupying forces (Reuters, 2016) Notably, according to observers Chinese foreign policy focus on to take hand-off approach in region and nations at war but the commitments of peace process in Afghanistan is surprising because the anti-terrorism mission unfinished and foreign troops will leave Afghanistan so the country will be left a mess so it is important for china to be involved to secure the regional stability. In this case, if China takes a proactive role in peace talks with Taliban and China has the ability to convince Pakistan to bring Taliban to the Table of Peace talks (Edward Wong and David Jolly, 2016).

The conflict in Afghanistan will not finish until "occupation of Afghanistan ends" newly elected leader of Taliban Mullah Haibutullah said in his Eid message Week ago, his deputy Serajuddin Haqqani said "Afghan government as puppet regime" holding peace talks with it is useless. Despite the above message Afghanistan government was optimized over the future peace talks in the firm of Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) to search out neighbor countries to convince the Taliban to the table of negotiation with attention to that, QCG has faced with failure due to role of individual objection by some members such as beside convincing Taliban to negotiation Pakistan was questioning its interest in reconciliation and another is the death of Taliban leader, China role in the QCG pursued a paradigm somewhat similar to Pakistan did not play a role as it was expected and US indicates the role of China growing in Afghanistan at last we can say the QCG has failed due to every state individual interest (HalimullahKousary, 2016).

RUSSIA ROLE IN AFGHAN PEACE EFFORTS

Russian Federation new strategy is to undermine western role in Afghanistan. That is why Moscow is collaborating with insurgent groups in the region just to protect their strategic interest in Central Asia. As a Mantytskiy Russian ambassador to Kabul told Reuters, "We have ties with the Taliban to ensure the security of our political offices, consulates and the security of Central Asia, "(dawn, and 2016). Meanwhile they want to undermine the role of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and step-down the militants of so called Islamic State (Thomas Joscelyn, 2017). Point often overlooked is that, the Afghan officials are concerned about depending ties between Taliban and Russia because Russian government is providing ammunition and fund to the insurgent groups and this precarious security situation over Afghanistan but Russian official denied this they claim that "our limited aims is to bring the Taliban to the table of negotiation" (Reuters, 2016). At the same time, a senior Afghan security official called Russian support for the Taliban a "dangerous new trend", beside him the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan General John Nicholson called it a "malign influence" of external actors in Afghanistan (Hamid Shalizi and Josh Smith, 2016).

With this intention, U.S- NATO and Afghan forces officials had expressed their concerns about Russian support to insurgent groups fighting against Afghan and American backed troops but Russian government denied all accusation of lending support to insurgency in Afghanistan they claim that Washington has frequently tried and failed to open the door to peace because of lack of confidence building between the Afghan government and U.S. they are failed. In this regard, Russian ambassador to Kabul Alexander Mantyskiy told Reuters "They are trying to put the blame for their failures on our shoulders," additionally Russia's ambassador to the United Nations, Vitaly Churki said to Voice of America "Our contacts with representatives of Taliban are limited to the

task of providing for the security of Russian nationals in Afghanistan and also aimed at moving the Taliban towards joining with the process of national reconciliation," (Ayaz Gul, 2016).

In order to, Taliban formalized their relations with regional and international actors beside Turkey, Qatar, China, Saudi, Norway, Germany and Pakistan they have been flying to Iran, Tajikistan and Russia even they appointed their representative to some countries as Maulvi Nek Muhammad is Taliban envoy to Tehran and Taliban called it 'major political force' for enjoying good relations with other countries (Pajhwok Report, 2016). Above all, an individual close to the Taliban told Pajhwok Afghan News Mullah Akhtar Mansoor the previous spiritual leader of Taliban visited Iran to meet Russian delegation before he was killed in drone strike in Pakistan on May 21, 2016 (Heart of Asia, 2016). In reality, Kremlin had been in contacts with Taliban since late 2007, to point out Moscow claim the sole reason behind supporting Taliban is due to the presence of Islamic State militants in Afghanistan, they can be threat to Russian national interest in Central Asian countries but the key point is ties between Russia and Taliban was started in 2007 at that time even so- called Islamic State militants were not existent. To gather with, a senior Taliban official told Reuters "Their sole purpose was to strengthen us against the U.S. and its allies." In addition, Taliban spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid, who reportedly said to Reuters, "ISIS is not an issue." Meanwhile senior Taliban official told to Reuters, that Moscow and Taliban have a "common enemy" (Tom Batchelor, 2016). And we need support from Russian to get rid of the US and their International Allies in Afghanistan and wanted all foreign troops to leave Afghanistan soon as soon as possible (Edwin Mora, 2016).

Eventually, Russian officials tried to help and reach a negotiated political solution to the Afghan conflict. As mentioned above, Russian government conducted three- ways talks with regional countries to bring the Taliban to the Table of peace talks with Afghan government. Indeed these

talks were so called "working group on Afghanistan" but the surprising points in these wider partnership efforts of peace is Afghanistan and United States were not invited to none of their meetings. Point to be noted is Afghan conferences are conducting without Afghans. At last, we can say that Moscow initiative toward peace efforts in Afghanistan is full of distrust (Zahid Hussain, 2017).

IRAN ROLE IN AFGHAN PEACE TALKS WITH TALIBAN

Iran as a neighbor country plays an essential role in Afghan peace talks with Taliban therefore Iran has secured its position as a crucial partner by increasing its soft power in Afghanistan. The relations between the two countries is close and friendly and want to make it closer more, that is why the countries promoting the port of Chabahar in Sistan Baluchestan province just to outlet trade to and from Afghanistan to Central Asia. In cooperation with a land lock Afghanistan Iran want to let Kabul to access to Bandar Abbas on Persian Gulf (FatemehAman, 2015).

First thing to remember those efforts toward peace is an effective step toward stability and security in Afghanistan that can end violence and will establish durable peace over the country. For the purpose of peace in Afghanistan, Iran foreign minister requested Chief Executive Dr. Abdullah Abdullah to invite Iran to the next Quadrilateral Committee Group (GCG) but his proposal is still weigh so we can say that Tehran strongly supports any move that can help and restart peace negotiation between Afghan government and the Taliban (Noor Zahid, 2017).

Above all, Afghan government officials accused Iranian government for providing ammunition and fund to the insurgent groups operating inside Afghanistan along that Iranian government provided safe haven for Taliban leaders in Mashad, Yezd and kerman cities as Some reports stated

that 18 months before Iran provided drone planes to Taliban to make films of their suicidal operations. Behind Taliban Iran has several reasons such as Iran want to disable some of nations water dams because of that Tehran can get larger share of water from the Helmand river, block illegal ways of drug trafficking entered Iran soil, step down the growing of Islamic States militants and prevent the role of Saudi Arabia influence over the country (Al Arabiya, 2016).

Additionally, Afghan government blames Iranian support toward Taliban is increasing instability inside Afghanistan and besides providing ammunition and fund to the Taliban Iran pay cash money to Taliban. when Abdullah a Taliban commander was arrested he said “whenever we need any things we turn to Iran and Iran pay us \$580 dollar as salary” but Iran denied all that, analyst cited that Iran strategy behind supporting Taliban is to counter western influence in the region and provide counterweight to Islamic State militants in Afghanistan (Margherita Stancati, 2015). At the same time, media reports cited that when Mullah Akhtar Mansoor was on his way to Pakistan he was killed, reports indicated that he was tracked inside Iran after investigation it was confirmed that he had multiple visit to Iran and his passport had stamp of entry and exit from Iran (Izazullah, 2016).

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICIES OF AFGHAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH TALIBAN

Forth Chapter will focus on Taliban political office in Qatar, peace deal with Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, United States policy toward negotiation with Taliban and U.S current policy about the Taliban. As will be highlighted the role of Qatar office in peace talks and interviews of Afghan Politicians and public figures.

TALIBAN POLITICAL OFFICE IN QATAR

The Taliban ruled about 90 percent of Afghanistan from September 1996 to 2001 and it was a stark reality to the world that Taliban controlled more than 90 percent of the country. But the incident of 9/11 and the U.S. Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001 collapsed the Islamic Emirate Regime after that Taliban warriors loyal to Islamic Emirate turned to fight against U.S- NATO forces as well as their allied Afghan governmental forces. Fighting for more than ten years the Taliban showed willingness to have diplomatic voice where they have the opportunity to talk with Afghan government and United States. In 2011 December, day after Bonn II Conference it was revealed that secret talks between Taliban and United States with Germany as an acting mediator had took place and that was led to opening of political office for Taliban in Doha Qatar. In these secret talks Afghan government was left isolated that is why the secret talks created doubt among Afghans politician. Since 2010, Afghan government has been made several peace proposals toward the Taliban but Taliban did not show their interest in the process because the insurgent groups of Taliban thought that Afghan government is as a “puppet regime” of western countries. But later on it was exemplified in the insurgent official statement release on 3 January 2012, in which they

have mentioned the opening of political office in Qatar to negotiate with US regarding peace efforts in Afghanistan at the same time they did not write any willingness to discuss the peace talks with Afghan government. Sooner after, Qatar office has become the single and most important achievement of peace talks as Taliban prisoners from Guantanamo bay was released on request of Sayed Tayab Agha in which Qatar office was deeply involved. (Sayed Maisam Wahidi, 2011).

As well the State of Qatar has played an important role as a mediator actor between the United States and Taliban. Unlike Saudi Arabia and U.A.E. did not recognize Taliban as a legitimate government of Afghanistan when the movement ruled during 1996 – 2001 but Qatar officials allowed the Taliban to reside in Doha to be in contact with U.S. and Afghan government. So, in June 2013, Taliban opened office in Doha- Qatar but it was violated by rising of white flag banner of “The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan” on the building and it raised concerns of Afghan government and later it was promised that the flag of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan would be removed but still the flag remains albeit on a shorter flagpole another concern was that the process was not Afghan-led. Later on, Doha government at the request of US closed the office but let representative of Taliban remained in Qatar. Along with, “exchange of captured US soldier Bowe Bergdahl for five Taliban figures held by the United States and the Prison facility in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The five released to Qatar were Mullah Mohammad Fazl, the chief of staff of the Taliban’s military Noorullah Noori, the Taliban commander in northern Afghanistan Khairullah Khairkhwa, the Taliban regime Interior Minister, Mohammad Nabi Omari, a Taliban official, and Abdul Haq Wasiq, the Taliban regime deputy intelligence chief and these five were banned from traveling outside Qatar for at least one year. That deadline expired on June 1, 2015, but Qatar officials extended the travel ban until there is an agreed solution that would ensure the five do not rejoin the Taliban insurgency Since May 2015, in the Pugwash International Conference on

Science and World Affairs had talked in Qatar between Taliban and Afghan officials they agreed upon on to reopen the office in Qatar so they can reach to solution the office head is Sher Mohammad Stanekzai (Kenneth Katzman, 2016).

To resolve the Afghan conflict peacefully it is important for Afghan government and its western backers to contact the Taliban who do not have a known located address and Taliban were allowed to open office in Turkey, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E. and Qatar but the Taliban preferred the state of Qatar because they considered to be neutral with this Afghan government and U.S.A was also happy with Qatar option and it became a permanent address to the Taliban and currently more than 20 representatives of Taliban reside in Doha (Bbc, 2013). So, the obstacle regarding the office was peace process not being Afghan-led, and former President Karzai was concerned it could be used for recruitment, fundraising and making contacts with other countries he was looking for the guarantees of the office would only be used for peace talks and the flag of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan means a diplomatic reality and a military victory, civil groups and women rights activities feared about limitation of their freedom, Created for Pakistan a win-win situation because achieving their goal of international recognition to its favorite Taliban and main player of solving Afghan conflict, completely withdrawal of international forces, provided new kind of recognition for Taliban in international arena, issues regarding Afghan constitution (Sami Sadat, 2016).

A part from that Taliban wanted to release their prisoners from Guantanamo and Afghan Jails, also the removal of remaining Taliban leaders from UN sanction list. Above all, Karzai stance about the office was that “Talks should eventually move to Afghanistan, Talks should result in the ending of violence in Afghanistan and The Taliban office should not become a venue for other countries to exploit or use for their own interests”. (Bbc Asia, 2013). The consequences is, that the political office of Taliban in Doha will give hope to achieve comfortable exit of NATO troops from

Afghanistan, and establish some sort of relationship with Taliban and Afghan government will find direct negotiation with the Taliban as well will curb violence and sustain enduring peace and will remove the Pakistani influence from the Taliban. Beside above, Pakistan will show to the world that Taliban are an indigenous movement and are not a proxy of Pakistan and will have control on the strategic line of communications between the Taliban leadership in Pakistan and their representative in Doha (Sami Sadat, 2016).

For better clarification I interviewed Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzaia Member of Wolesi Jirga “Parliament” and asked him, Political offices were opened for Taliban in Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia to negotiate with Afghan government what was there achievement? “What I think these offices had much success for example Afghan government met with representative of Taliban face to face and heard their demands and understand their ways of thinking and found the direction of communication like now Taliban are not fundamentalist such as they are not against women rights, girls educations, freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of movement so it is all the achievement of these office that we understand the way of thinking of Taliban and it is very important for government to understand it” (Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai, 2017).

As well I went through the point of view point of Mr. Zia ul Haq Amar Khail CEO of National Stability Society and asked him where are the things which were done in the name of peace in Afghanistan my point of view is political office of Taliban? He said “Will thanks once again, sure I participated in different conferences about reconciliation with Taliban. And I had met them even talked with their highlighted leader, in talking with them their view is totally different from what we think now because most of them are educated and understand what is going on now a days, and they accept their mistake about banned a kind of entertainment like music, television, videos, shaving beard, pant shirt, close down girls school even banned sport games that was so extremely

bad and could not be appear as Islam message of peace and tolerance now they are willing to end the ongoing bloodshed, finish the conflict and want to live in peace and tolerance. Meanwhile they accept the constitutions, do not have problems with women educations and the current regime they claim that we should bring slightly changes in the constitutions, do re-elections and finished corruption, they do not claim that constitution must change overall" (Ziaul Haq Amarkhil, 2016).

Above all, I interviewed The Director General of the Center for Strategic and Regional Studies Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin whom visited Qatar on July 24 and had met the members of the Taliban's Political Office and ask over him, will the Taliban agree to be a part of Afghan government in a democratic set-up? He said "I think Taliban do not want to be a part of the political set up Taliban want peace it means that we should consider overall situation in Afghanistan like constitution, government structure, foreign troops presence and Taliban are ready for peace but government do not have any mechanism toward peace like Afghan government call to Pakistan to bring Taliban to peace table. Overall government does not have any entity or body who understand the language of Taliban. Secondly, Afghan government do not have good and trusted third party, as from one side they call on Pakistan to convince Taliban to negotiation from another side they do not trust Pakistan, here government created mistrusted vacuum. Besides that, inside Afghan government there is people who do not want peace with Taliban they want to disturb talks with Taliban it is another problem as well there is people within Taliban who do not want peace with government and want to continue the war against ANSF. Above all, we should not be totally against Pakistan if we make good relation with Pakistan I am sure it is on our benefit and should stop the view of public if you are against Pakistan you are a good Afghans and if you are not against Pakistan your spy of Pakistan it is a big problems and fence for peace. The problems is Afghan government

cannot convince Pakistan that our soil will be not used against Pakistan and Islamabad fear from increasing Indian presence in Afghanistan" (Abdul.Baqi Amin, 2017).

PEACE DEAL BETWEEN HEZB-E ISLAMI GULBUDDIN AND NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT

The leader of Hezb e Islami Afghanistan (HIA) Gulbaddin Hekmatyar had battled against soviets unions in the 1980s and then took part in Afghan civil war that erupted after their withdrawal clashing with the so- called Northern Alliance later he was driven out when Taliban seized power in 1996 but returned after the American invasion vowing to resist what he termed the foreign occupations (Rahim Faiez, 2017). After all, for last one month the name of Gulbadeen Hekmatyar leader of Hezb-e- Islamis circulating in the media.

Afghan government is requesting from French and Russia to remove the name of Hekmatyar from UNSC blacklist because removal of Hekmatyar from UN sanctions list was one of the three significant chapters which contain 25 articles regarding peace deal between Hezb-e Islami (HI) and National Unity Government. Sooner later, France and Russia rejected the removal of HI leader name from UNSC blacklist consequently he released a statement and said "UN blacklist is not important" he noted, whatever I will come to my country and there is no need of visa to enter to Kabul and it is intra- Afghan peace deal. To demonstrate it, since last three months NUG has been working on finalization of peace deal with HI and want to fulfill all its promises which it made in the deal. In particular in 2009 when a significant member of Hezb-e Islami Dr. Ghairate Baheer was released from Bagram jail shortly after the peace talks between Hezb-e Islami and Afghan government started. Point often overlooked is that, from 2011 to 2014 HI has sent 17 times its

delegation to Kabul in order to conduct peace talks but these efforts had no clear-cut outcome it could be due to HI militant presence in the battlefield and opposition of some parties with HI. But whenever Ghani seized power in Kabul he strictly followed Taliban and HI to peace Talks finally NUG and HI has singed peace deal on 22 September 2016.

After singing the deal, President Ashraf Ghani formed a commission to implement the provisions of peace deal with HI. President advisor “Dr. Akram Khpalwak was selected as head and Faizullah Zaki and Muhammad Masood Andarabi as the members of the Afghan government’s representatives in this commission and Qazi Abdul Hakim Hakim was the head and Mohammad Amin Karim and Ghairat Baheer were the members of HI’s representative Azizullah Din Mohammad, Ataurahman Salim, Habiba Sarabi and Mawlawi Abdulkhabir Ochqon were selected as the representatives of High Peace Council (HPC)” (Center for strategic and regional studies, 2017). So, the first meeting of executive commission held on 7 November 2016, to implement the bellow three commitments.

First, Hezb-e Islami leader Hekmatyar removal from UN blacklist Second, HI prisoners should be release, Third distribution of 20 thousand Numras 500 square meters of land to the migrant affiliated to HI (Center for strategic and regional studies, 2017). Afghan government officials met with United Nations delegations regarding removal of Hekmatyar name from UNSC blacklist, as Karim Amin Hekmatyar special envoy says that Ghani executive officer national council official and other authorities have seriously asked the UN delegation for removal of Hekmatyar Name from terrorist blacklist. According to the peace deal signed between the two parties the removal of Hekmatyar name from UN blacklist is responsibilities of Afghan government. In this part, Presidential palace asked the U.S. for help to remove the group from the UN blacklist therefore,

Afghan government requested from UN with the help of to remove Hekmatyar from UN blacklist (ariananews, 2016).

Finally on 3 February 2017 UN Security Council Committee removed the name of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar from the blacklist just to support peace efforts in Afghanistan. The Security Council committee removed Hekmatyar name following the request on Afghan government and it shows the UN support to peace making in Afghanistan. In the meanwhile, Mohammad Karim Amin, Head of HIA Delegation told “removal of HIA leader’s name from UN-black list is a positive step toward peace in Afghanistan.” In the two year of formal and non- formal negotiation the peace draft contains three chapters and 25 articles The HIA committed to accept Constitution of the country and renounce anti-state activities. The party also pledged to end its ties with terrorist outfits (Farhad Naibkhel, 2017).The removal of Hekmatyar leader of Hezb e Islami from terrorist blacklist of ISIS and Al-Qaeda would let Hekmatyar have no longer have his assets frozen, be subject to a travel ban or to an arms embargo and he will have full political rights.

For better clarification about coming Hekmatyar to peace process I interviewed Zia ul Haq Amarkhil former Head of the Secretariat of Independent Election Commission (IEC) and current CEO of National Stability Society and asked him, Hezeb-e- Islami came to the point of negotiation with Afghan Government why so late? He said” I talked with most of the key political figures of Hezb-e-Islami they said we were shouting to government about negotiation but nobody were listening to us and I participated in different conferences about reconciliation with Taliban. And I had met Taliban leader even talked with their key leaders in talking with them their view is totally different from what we think now because most of them are educated and understand what is going on now a days, and they accept their mistake about banned a kind of entertainment like music, television, videos, shaving beard, pant shirt, close down girls school even banned sport

games that was so extremely bad and could not be appear as Islam message of peace and tolerance now they are willing to end the ongoing bloodshed, finish the conflict and want to live in peace and tolerance. Meanwhile they accept the constitution, do not have problems with women educations and the current regime they claims that we should bring slightly changes in the constitutions, do re-elections and finished corruption, They do not claim that constitution must change overall and I think if Taliban come as well it is not late for them as well I hope all warring come to table of peace" (Zia ul Haq Amarkhil, 2016).

Notably Hekmatyar, a white bearded and clad in his trademark black turban after 20 years in hiding returns to Kabul on 4 May 2017 he came 8 months after the government signed peace deal with his representative Amin Karim. Heze-e-Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar first appeared in public in Lagman province and had met with his followers and government officials later he went to eastern province of Nangrahar and from there he came to Kabul with a convoy of heavy armed men and dozens of Kabul residents came out with chanting "Long live Hekmatyar". Then he met with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani, Chief Executive, former jihadi leaders and other senior governmental officials and also Gulbuddin delivered a long speech at presidential palace (CSRS, 2017). As well, in his speech he assured the rights of women, freedom of press, the media and civil society and freedom of movement and at the same time called on Taliban "his brother" to end their insurgency and offered them to mediate talks with government as he said "I call upon the Taliban to choose me as their brother," he told a ceremony that was held in his honor at the presidential palace. "I will fight for all your legitimate demands." And also he said to "end all reasons for the presence of foreign troops" in Afghanistan and end this war and rescue the country from crisis peace is the only way. And he called on neighboring countries Iran and Pakistan not to interfere in Afghanistan. Additionally, President Ghani prized the peace deal with Hezb-e- Islami

and said the country had taken “a big step” toward peace and called upon on all opposition groups to follow the footsteps Hezb-e-Islami and join the peace as he added “Let me ask the Taliban. What agenda and goal do you have other than killing innocent people? What have you achieved?” (Radio Free European, 2017).

Last but not the least, some Afghans are worry that in what way the peace deal with Hekmatyar will bring peace to the country and this was cleared in Hekmatyar first speech to public since his return to the public he called on the recalcitrant Taliban to join the “caravan of peace” to put down their arms and join the peace. As UN remove his name from black list meantime European Union has backed the deal and offered millions of dollar to implement the deal with Hekmatyar and his party. For the time being, some believe that peace with Gulbuddin is not success at all because the party was not directly involved fighting against government so it will not reduce the war and the level of violence and majority are in the view that Hezb-e- Islami leader should be tried in front of an International Court of law for his crime that he committed against Afghan People.

But the interesting point is several member of the party is already present in the highest institution of the current government while are fighting against the same government by this Hezb-e- Islami will get more power in coming elections as their leader said his party will participate in elections. And he said that 2014 elections was disrupted by Washington and National Unity Government was “not working” either Abdullah or Ghani should resign (Nicole Valentini, 2017). To illustrate this point clearly I interviewed Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin chief executive officer of Center for Strategic and Regional Studies (CSRS) and asked him As Hekmatyar is out of black list, now what can be his role in this process? He said “In my opinion it was positive step toward peace and Hekmatyar called on all warring group to join the caravan of peace as well he said now war took another shape only Afghans are dying and the conflict between Hekmatyar and Taliban is not new it was started

decades ago and they reason Hekmatyar came to Peace is, when American troops withdrew from Afghanistan and the war became between Afghans so he realized that now it is time for peace negotiation. Additionally, Hekmatyar put a positive impact on Taliban as well, and Taliban now realize that just Afghans die in this conflict. Even Taliban said in Qatar we are ready to join peace process and Hekmatyar did well they realized that we want to stop killing of innocent Afghans” (Abdul.Baqi Amin, 2017).

Last and most importantly, government is very happy that Hekmatyar called on Taliban to join the caravan of peace as Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzaia Member of Wolesi Jirga “Parliament” told me in personal interview and I asked him what can be his role in this process? He said” government showed that we are serious in peace talk with all warring groups whether it is Taliban or Hezb-e-Islami or whatever, and Hekmatyar gave a positive green light for Taliban and showed that here is place for them in this government as well” (Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai, 2017).

ROLE OF THE U.S.A. IN AFGHAN TALIBAN PEACE TALKS

A resurgent movement of Taliban is threatening to overrun some part of Afghanistan and it is just 200 mile far from Kabul. Beside them ISIL Militants-Khorasan Province (ISIL- KP) is emerging in the east Jalalabad Province Afghan army is faced with huge challenges fighting on multiple fronts The war is getting harsh and it is pulling NATO forces back into combat therefore American forces sees no way out of Afghanistan. With the new administration of President Donald Trump it is time for U.S. to think again for its strategy and policy as war and military operation was not an effective ways for peace. Negotiation and reconciliation is the only way for effective solution of current conflict and could bring peace and stability in Afghanistan. So far, United States has shown bipartisan determination to continue engagement in Afghanistan. The role of constrictive

diplomacy with Taliban will renew the long lasting peace commitment of the U.S. and U.S. realized that military operation would not create peace and the only way to bring peace in Kabul is to talk with Taliban through constrictive diplomacy. Peace success will incentivize and motivate Taliban to lay their weapons and break ties with Al-Qaeda partner as well, other militant group will be also encouraged and motivate to abandon their weapons and join peace negotiation. U.S. along with Afghan government is working for regional integration with collaboration of regional actors who are concerned about the re-emergence of Taliban such as Pakistan looks to recognize its vulnerability if the Taliban get too strong in Afghanistan as will China is anxious about radicalization of Muslim in northeast (Marzia, 2016). Above all that, I interviewed Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai a Member of Wolesi Jirga "Parliament" and asked him what role America has played regarding negotiation with Taliban? He said "U.S. strategy about Taliban is different at first stage during 2001 U.S. was not in the fever of negotiation with Taliban they thought we can defeat Taliban in battle field but later on they realize that military operation alone cannot create a lasting peace in Afghanistan so after 2010 their policy changed toward Taliban and they started negotiation with Taliban like they said that an Afghan owned and Afghan led peace process will bring Taliban to peace As well, they support Afghan government policies toward peace talking with Taliban as they were involved in all talks with Taliban and U.S in coordination with Qatar established office for Taliban in Doha and as well they created Quadrilateral Group of Pakistan, China, United States and Afghanistan to convince Taliban to come and join the current peace process" (Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai, 2016).

Afterwards the Afghan government and U.S. realized that there are several ways for them to counter resurgence of the Taliban. First, a concerted effort by the Afghan government is to stop poppy cultivation and drug trafficking would cut off Taliban income. Second, U.S. should continue

targeting remnants of militant groups like Al-Qaeda, ISIL- Khorasan Province (ISIL-KP). Third, Taliban realized statement about supporting “national projects” including Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) gas Pipeline. By supporting such project Taliban cannot benefit from foreign company. At this point, the Afghan government and U.S. need Pakistan cooperation in the process of peace talks with Taliban and Afghan government requested from the U.S. to put pressure on Pakistan to stop its aid to insurgents group like Haqqani network. Reconciliation and political settlement with Taliban should become an integral part of the U.S. security strategy in Afghanistan and to estimate the level of efforts and the degree of seriousness of Taliban about peace talks is outreached to Pakistan especially to Pakistan army which looks as a key arbiter in Pak- Afghan policy. In this regard during the visit to Kabul General Raheel Sharif on Feb. 17, 2016 quoted that “Afghanistan’s enemy is the enemy of Pakistan,” in the meantime President Ashraf Ghani said in an interview with Guardian in March 2016 in reference to Pakistan reliance “we want friendly relationship, but not to be under Pakistan’s thumb.” (Daud Khattak, 2015). For further clarification of U.S. policy regarding peace talks with Taliban I questioned Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin CEO of Center for Strategic and Regional Studies and asked him. What is the role and stance of United States regarding peace talks with Taliban? He said “I concur with former president Hamid Karzai which he said that “peace in Afghanistan is at the hand of Pakistan and U.S. A.” Thus, Washington role in Afghanistan is very important if they want to stop the hostilities they can do it easily Islamabad and Washington are the main actors of Afghanistan conflict and their mediating role is very important in conflict with Taliban. Apart from this, Afghans themselves created the situation worst and provided interference for external actors to interfere in Afghanistan internal affairs, most importantly if Afghans come together they can say “no presence” of U.S. troops in Afghan soil just like Iraqi government did so in this manner we can

finish the current war. As a matter of fact, U.S. want to instable the region mostly Washington stance was to defeat Taliban and Al-Qaeda so they can tell to their people that Al-Qaeda killed our people and we took the revenge from them. To demonstrate this point it highlight that they do not come to Afghanistan to bring peace for Afghans they just came to take revenge from Al-Qaeda that is all. Furthermore, what is going in Afghanistan, who is dying, who is suffering U.S. do not care looks their all aid are symbolic from one door their aid is coming and from another door it goes back to U.S. again in reality they do not work for the infrastructure and reconstruction of Afghanistan U.S. As a part from this, they weaken Karzai administration by creating similar institution for Afghan government just to face Karzai with conflict Moreover, Washington do not want peace in Afghanistan even they do not want peace in overall Islamic world, they played an important role to create ISIS and destabilize Middle East they are ruling the world conflict. Furthermore, their presence in Afghanistan is fear for Russia, China and even can influence North Korea, if U.S. wanted peace in Afghanistan so their aid should be spent on Afghans needy, Taliban representative told me in Qatar that U.S. do not want durable peace in Afghanistan they told me that we told to America we want peace in Afghanistan but they do not listen to us" (Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin, 2017). As well I interviewed Mr. Tayab Agha the head of the political wing of the Taliban and a close aide to Mullah Omar and asked him. What is the role of regional states and U.S. in reconciliation between Afghan Government and Taliban? He said "Regional countries played a controversial role in Afghan peace process. Their stance is to cooperate with Afghanistan at cutting insurgency but that is standpoint looks symbolic and they regional players are deeply involved in supporting insurgency in Afghanistan and they realized that stability in Afghanistan support regional security if they collaborate with Afghan government it would be in the best interest of the region. But I think they are not willing to cooperate in this regards honestly the same

policy is applied by United States and their allies" (S. Tayab Agha,n 2016).Additionally, Peace with Taliban remained uncertain United States and Afghanistan has shown their interest and willingness to go after Taliban leader around the region with the intension of ending instability in Afghanistan. The political and military victory in Afghanistan required three pillars" Significant improvement in the Afghan government performance, long term US commitment, and regional cooperation and investment in Afghanistan" as well the killing of Mullah Mansour in US drone strike in Balochistan province of Pakistan has further upset the fragile Afghan peace process and made ripple on the relations of Pakistan and United States and it seen ebb and flow as the Interior Minister of Pakistan Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan accused Washington of "sabotaging the peace talks with Afghan Taliban Therefore the Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) framework and the peace process has taken a back seat and negotiation with Taliban dated back to the early stages. Through creating QCG Pakistan, US, China and Afghanistan wanted to convince Taliban to peace talks but Taliban refused to participate in the process, they said only if certain precondition were met, completely withdrawal of foreign troops, removal of Taliban leader from UN blacklist, and releasing of Taliban detainees from Afghan prisons we can join the course of action. United States policy is to crack down and take out Taliban leader who opposed to peace talks with Afghan government for that reason US killed Mullah Mansour US commitment to stabilize Afghanistan, support its government and crush the insurgent and put pressure on Pakistan to crack down on the Haqqani Network. As last we can say that the Afghan government had no clear roadmap for peace (Shah. K. (2016).Consequently now, it is a decade and half of 9/11 attacks and U.S leftover intensely engaged against counterterrorism in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria and approximately 8400 U.S. forces is still in frontline with extremist groups as in April 2017 United States dropped one of the most powerful "non-nuclear bombs –a GBU-43/B massive ordnance air blast bomb" against

Islamic State militants tunnels in eastern province of Nangarhar. A question which is still circulating in the mind of people is. Whether U.S. has no or little interest in Afghanistan? As one Chicago Tribune reported “we have no prospect for victory in Afghanistan and no appetite for what it would take even to gain the upper hand. In truth, we have already lost that war.” Some says that United States wasted huge sum of money on reconstruction sectors instead of focusing on counterterrorism. The U.S. has wide range of national security interest in Afghanistan and abroad, like balancing against major power such as China and Russia, controlling North Korea, stopping Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, targeting terrorist and extremist groups activities in Iraq and Syria but U.S. has important national security interest in Afghanistan first, the presence of different extremist groups in Afghanistan and U.S withdrawal will allowed them to increase their activities in the region second, an ongoing war would increase regional instability in regional countries were to support militia and insurgent groups, Washington interest is to prevent major power conflict in region especially conflict between nuclear power Pakistan and India, third NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan would faster the perception that U.S is not reliable ally and extremist group will see military departure as their most important victory such as the departure of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989 and it is called Mujahedeen victory (Jones, 2017).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCERNING POINTS OF PEACE SETTLEMENT WITH TALIBAN

This chapter will mainly focus on meeting and seminar which were held face to face between Taliban and representative of Afghan government along with international diplomats, academician, policy maker and journalist. And will point out the key challenges and recommendation to both conflicted sides like Taliban and Afghan government. From the last few years Pugwash has been organizing non official meetings about Afghanistan Pugwash gathering is academic where all participants are free to expose their opinion on a non- attributive basis. The participants are representative or people linked to different parties and groups from Afghanistan including civil society, tank tanks, non-governmental organization, and people from United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). Thus, the participant kept in mind that they did not represented the organization they just represented him/her in friendly environment.

PUGWASH MEETING ON AFGHANISTAN

The important points highlighted by pugwash are below:

1. The participants in general appreciated and shared their sense of gratitude toward state of Qatar for hospitality and assistance for organizing the meetings.
2. End of violence and bringing peace in Afghanistan was wholeheartedly supported by partakers.

3. Civilian causalities should be taken in to serious account, the conflict have been cried everybody, who lamented them differences may exist. But protection of civilian should be priority for everybody.
4. The role of international forces regarding civilian causalities is not acceptable. Many said that NATO forces have to leave Afghanistan soon.
5. Discrimination against any political party or group would be problems to peace process. Especially, removing Taliban from Black List will created opportunity for peace and all political prisoners should be released.
6. Poppy cultivation, corruption, unemployment and drug smuggling are the most serious problems of Afghanistan.
7. Political structure of current system like Afghanistan constitution should be discussed in details. No political party should have monopoly on power.
8. Whatever, Afghanistan will be an Islamic State. This does not mean that there is discrimination against minorities.
9. Education for both men and women was underlined by everybody and education will heavily depend on peace.
10. The so- called Islamic State (Daesh) is a foreign phenomenon.
11. Relation and cooperation with neighbor countries should be strengthening this does not mean that neighbor countries are welcomed to interfere in Afghanistan internal affairs.

12. The 02-03 May 2015 meeting should be followed by other meetings until the peace process is sustained.

13. Taliban played an important role in Doha Talks and they should be opened to facilitate meeting and talks.

14. State of Qatar, United Nations, and non-governmental organization like Pugwash should be hopefully continue to support the Afghan Peace Process.

15. Public interest should be center of attentions of the participants in the next meetings (Ramusino, P. C. (2015).

PUGWASH MEETING ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFGHANISTAN

Fifty five senior academicians with wide range of background in peace and reconciliation gathered on 23-24 January 2016 in Doha Qatar to talk about peace talks between Afghan government and Taliban. The gathering was un- official it was held in the spirit of mutual respect and non-discrimination all participants expressed their appreciation to the government of Qatar for allowing this events of academicians to take place in Doha. The purpose of this conference was to explore steps toward peaceful and independent Afghanistan. The participants of this conference highlighted the following steps.

1. The long lasting war has been imposed on Afghanistan and it had bad impact on their daily life peace is an insistent need for Afghans and they are waiting impatiently for peace.

2. Military confrontation must be end. Peace and stability should be achieved and sovereignty of Afghanistan must be observed in legitimacy of constitutional framework. Finally NATO troops must leave Afghanistan.
3. Some members said that the current constitution should be amended while others believed that it should be rewritten the subject of constitution should be discuss in detail in coming gathering.
4. Afghans themselves should control the politics of Afghanistan only international experts should help them in technical, economic and cultural promotion.
5. Freedom for all parties should be ensured from now on. All side should sit together, ban on travel and blacklist should be eliminated, freedom of movement should be guaranteed along with visa facilitation eventually all participant agreed that Taliban should have an office and an address.
6. To faster peace dialogue among the parties, some said that the negotiation must lead by Afghans in their traditional establishment like Jirga.
7. "A ceasefire must be a part of negotiation".
8. End to civilian causalities is shared goals of all.
9. The primary concern is constitution and it need to be discussed in details Afghanistan should have and Islamic government some believed the present constitution needs to be changed or amended but the fundamental concern is that constitution should have the monopoly of power to ensure the right of no discrimination on the base of religion.
10. It was said that, peace can create a better environment for economic development which will benefits all, role of civil society, freedom of expression and education according to the Islamic principle in achieving these goals was agreed.

11. Activities under the name of ISIS Daesh in Afghanistan is foreign phenomenon and rejected by Afghan people.
12. The participants emphasized on to end violence against women and no abuse against human rights.
13. "Health and education issues are a priority independent of the various political positions".
14. Protect public properties like schools, hospitals and country infrastructure is important. Those who commit crime against them should be prosecuted.
15. From the past decades, devastation of society in regards of drugs, illiteracy rate, less access to health care, un-employments and high corruptions took place over the country and it should be end.
16. All participants desired for future engagements, and welcome friendship of cooperation to support Afghan peace building with the international community based on mutual respect.
17. All participants showed their willingness of continuing this serious meeting of pugwash in Doha (pugwash, 2016).

POINTS CONCERNING A POSSIBLE PEACE WITH TALIBAN

13 December 2016 Intercontinental Hotel Kabul was witnessed of Pugwash meeting. The gathering had around forty participants such as politicians, tribal elders, parliament members and policy makers from different orientation. The means of the conference was peace efforts in Afghanistan with possible agreement with Taliban to convince them to come and join the current

government. The participants should fully discuss the pugwash proposal for peace in Afghanistan the proposal is initial dropt and it should be further explain in fully details.

Presently all Afghans wish for restoration of peace everybody is tired of war and violence. The decades old conflict did not give victory to either side. So, there is urgent need of perpetual peace over the entire territory of Afghanistan, the following points will highlight the concerning points toward peace.

1. The primary stage is the establishment of ceasefire between the current Afghan government and the Taliban movement. Ceasefire is the common wish of all Afghans, and it should be enter into force over entire country.
2. A unique national committee with a proper mechanism should be established for verification of ceasefire.
3. Both parties should guarantee absolute freedom of movement of people and goods over the country.
4. People connected with Taliban should be delisting from UN sanction list.
5. Presence of foreign troops should end according to agreement. For the protection of diplomatic missions an exception should be made.
6. Kabul will never host any one whose aim is to promote global conflict. Both parties showed their interest in this point.
7. According to amnesty law the prisoner related to Taliban movement or other insurgent group should be released, and amnesty will not cover any crime, genocide, and rape and murder case of private citizen in the future.

8. Those who are in the custody of Taliban movement should be freed, or handed over to the government in case of private violence such as rape, genocide and murder of international private citizens.
9. Freedom of speech, expression and movement should be guarantee by both parties. Women rights human rights should be fully respected by everyone and that should be guarantee by law.
10. Afghanistan is an Islamic country; there should be no discrimination on the base of color, language, religion, race and ethnicity.
11. Current constitution should be amended.
12. The parties' consent that international donors are welcomed to Afghanistan whose mission is cooperation for economic development, restoration of natural resources and environmental protection.
13. With the help of International community Afghanistan will be put in condition to make available service to Afghan people in different sectors like education, medical and transportation.
14. After the process of reintegration, the militants of Taliban should be defined means the combatant's forces should enter to armed forces of national police and national army.
15. Poppy cultivation and selling of illegal drug should be end.
16. After the agreement general election will be held on proper time. And the winning party will run the country for the constitutional defined period.
17. The law of Afghanistan should be compatible with Sharia. A principle body of Ulema. As well, for further information I interviewed Tayab Agha and asked him where is the thing which

was done in the name of peace in Afghanistan? Political offices were opened for Taliban in Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia to negotiate with Afghan government what was there achievement? He said "This conference had personal interest it was not the lead way of negotiation with Taliban. It had project shape of personal interest. Additionally if these conferences were made to bring peace and end conflict in Afghanistan now we would see positive outcome like peace but I think it is western countries project by the name of mediating just to deceive people and prolong the conflict because all gathering were made by western and they were Mediating players. Western view point was really matter in all gathering with Taliban. And western would only achieve their interest in conflict and war because prolonging war create situation for them to stay for long in Afghanistan so they can reach to their goals. In my opinion it is clear-cut to all that Afghanistan is colonized by westerns at the same time Afghan citizens are colonized by Afghan government. In current government all high official are electing by references and governmental ministries took the shape of private homes where friends and relatives gathering so in friendly environment they feel free do corruption and fill out their pockets from public money. Despite election had done but all election were just symbolic none of people representative is elected yet. And also Instead of peace talks with Taliban we should do first peace with Pakistan not Taliban because Taliban are puppets of Pakistan and this is what government said. But what I think that is what Taliban says too and Taliban is some have correct and through the point than governments. I just return from Qatar I participated in one conference by the mane of "rescue from Pakistan" in this conference all were agreed that we can resolve our problems only through Afghans, non- Afghans can do nothings regarding peace in Afghanistan, looks Taliban says more than 45 countries came to our land and they colonized us, So with colonized and puppets we cannot negotiate because they are not free and cannot carried on their own decisions and talking with Afghan government is wasting of time.

Pakistan has direct influence by Taliban but now totally dependent by Pakistan some have they are dependent what I think accusing one another would not end the conflict if we put these talks a side so we can reach to conclusion and a positive outcome (Tayab Agha, 2016).

CHALLENGES of PEACE TALKS WITH TALIBAN AND RESPOND OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT

To find out the way of solution regarding peace I went through Afghan politician and interviewed them as I asked from Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai is a Member of Wolesi Jirga “Parliament” Why the current strategy regarding peace negotiation with Taliban is not efficient and meaningful? He said “Dear Muhibullah it is my pleasure to have you here at my office I am very happy you’re doing master at international Islamic University which is one of my favorite university and coming to your question regarding negotiation with Taliban it was started at the time of former president Hamid Karzai and many Taliban leader put down their weapon and joined government it is all the role of High Peace Council, yes difficulties are there in High Peace Council like there is some people who really do not want Taliban to be a part of the current system but they are only few. Yes it is clear to all that Taliban are not alone they have many donors and get direct support from them. Looks fighting has very huge cost and it is very difficult for Taliban to carry on their 16 years fighting. So Taliban cannot do it alone by themselves, the fact is Taliban are directly receiving help from Pakistan, Iran, Russia, Arab Countries. And Taliban claimed that these countries are helping them, they send their representatives for Hajj” pilgrimage” during hajj they are seeking for collecting Zakat from Arab traders, I can only say it is very complex game we are facing now” as well asked him Peace talks is a weapon in the hands of most skilled side, some parties want to pursue their own interest in any way they can What do you think? He said “In my

opinion it is right that many warlords see their survival in prolonging the conflict with insurgent because some of these warlords fought against the regime of Taliban and they are still member of High Peace Council they fear if Taliban come and join the present administration so they will be taken to court because most of them are involved in high corruption such as they built house in sher pore areas and give their house to High Peace Council by rent and they are receiving a huge bundle of money from this way, they recruited their relatives and friend in HPC and they are talking good salary. So, if Taliban come from where these people will find money that is why some of them want to extend the conflict with Taliban (Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai, 2016).

As well I interviewed the similar question from Mr. Zia ul Haq Amar Khail CEO of National Stability Society and asked him. Could you tell me about High Peace Council achievement during the past five years please? He said ‘First of all I would like to thank from you and it is my pleasure to talk to you about such interesting topic like negotiation with Taliban, will Afghan High Peace Council had some achievement such as we see on daily news that most of the local fighters are welling to the process of reconciliation and till now hundreds of local commanders of Taliban put down their weapon on the ground and joined Afghan government. Coming to the point while Taliban want peace and government want too. So, who do not want and why we do not reach to conclusion? Hmm, interesting question here inside Afghanistan political parties and outside Afghanistan some countries are using Taliban and persuading them to prolong the conflict because they are taking advantage from this conflict, I want to say our neighbors countries has influence on Taliban and neighbors do not want peace in Afghanistan”(Z. Amar khail,2016).

Also I have interviewed Dr. Abdul Baqi CEO of Center for Strategic and Regional Studies and asked him what is the role of regional states in reconciliation between Afghan Government and Taliban? He said “In this side, political ethics play important role and Pakistan has multi- political

task in Afghanistan such as Pakistan want to get financial support from western countries and for the long time Islamabad is working on it second Pakistan want to reduce Indian role in Afghanistan. Pakistan think that after cold war India became good ally of America so Pakistan want to take the position of India in Afghanistan for this purpose they bring Kashmir issue here as well, so Pakistan created a situation in Afghanistan that peace will just come to Afghanistan through Islamabad door and their stance is clear that until Pakistan do not want to bring peace in Afghanistan, Kabul cannot bring peace.

As well, Taliban says that Pakistan cut down our feet like Pakistan brought U.S.A. forces to the region they gave our leaders to U.S. they sold our commanders and leaders to U.S.A. because of money therefore now a day's Taliban do not trust Islamabad and Taliban tried to occupy an isolated position and cut down their ties with Pakistan but they cannot do it because still the key member of Taliban are living in Pakistan and they have to accept Pakistan army demands as well, Islamabad want to have their pressure on Taliban without end. So, both side Pakistan and Taliban is playing mistrusted game with one another and the deceiving diversion between them was started after 2010 while Taliban started relations with China, Iran, Russia and other countries so it means that now they do not need Pakistan support at all beside Pakistan there is other actors whom are willing to help them. In my opinion here is another problem although that is Afghan government assume that peace talks should be only held inside Afghanistan and must be led by Afghans, the governmental official do not trust third party they do not like the mediating role of regional countries like due to the vacuum of mistrust specially on Pakistan. Of course Afghan government do not see a trusted third party as they experienced the mediating role of Pakistan, China, Qatar, Saudi Arab, U.S.A. and Turkey and they failed that is why Kabul says this is our issue we should resolve it by ourselves. In my view another problem regarding peace with Taliban is blaming

game of Pakistan and Afghanistan as Afghan government says peace with Taliban is at the hand of Pakistan and it is only possible through Pakistan side, because Taliban are under direct support of Pakistan therefore Kabul says instead of Taliban we should talk with Pakistan and Afghan government called that Taliban are puppet of Pakistan at the same time Taliban called that Afghan government is puppet of United States of America. Hence, this is very complicated issue" and asked him what do you think about High Peace Council? He said "I think HPC council has multi challenges like I can the member of the council even do not know their job, its mission is to negotiate with warring groups and return them from fight to peace but Taliban view HPC very badly regarding their provincial offices because HPC created provincial offices to offer financial aids to Taliban leader and bring them to join political set of current government so think is this peace or tactics of war? The same Taliban are doing they gave money to national army personal to leave their jobs and join Taliban I think this is not the way toward peace which HPC is dealing with it is the way and tactic of war. Second the council does not have the capacity to talk with Taliban there is no honesty between HPC members. Third the council doesn't have full authority to negotiate with insurgents they are bound by other governmental organization that is why they feel limited authority" (Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin, 2017). And well I asked Tayab Agha. Why the current strategy regarding peace negotiation with Taliban is not efficient and meaningful. To many of us High peace council has symbolic symbol? The council is combined from a people who do not understand the meaning of reconciliation and are not interested to conflict resolution meanwhile it is not dependent council and government do not let it to be dependent. Whatever government tells them to do they must do. Beside that in all their activities government permission is must to precede their orders. Let's see if high peace council had dependent members and people who have wanted really peace in Afghanistan now we would see the outcome of last few years of

negotiations with Taliban, and also the conflicted parties would trust them. For Taliban High Peace Council is not dependent council. The reason we do not reach to conclusion with Taliban is government officials because most of them are not interested to bring peace in the Country because they are taking high credit from the conflict with Taliban and are interested to prolong the violence for many years more, that is why all members of the council are former warlords who fought against the Taliban and for Taliban they are puppet of west. Lastly I can say in one word that High Peace Council is dependent (Tayab Agha, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The dilemma of reconciliation in Afghanistan is not new and it should not be surprised throughout the history in Afghanistan reconciliation have been shaped by repeated failures especially during late 1980s Dr. Najibullah several times tried to reconcile with Mujahedeen, he declared his National Reconciliation Policy (NRP) on broad sense for the planning support for reconciliation. He traveled to different European countries for broader support he mentioned to the world that Afghanistan will turn to civil war and war turn society but despite all his efforts he failed and his all endeavor was rejected by Mujahedeen because they called his regime Soviet Union (SU) puppet regime. Therefore the same situation is currently being repeated by the Taliban who called current government west puppet regime indeed successful reconciliation initiatives should be examined in the conflict but in Afghanistan the assessment and opinion of Taliban is changing from Time to Time although they should recognize and acknowledged the post conflict of late 1980s.

Currently Afghanistan is faced with a difficult situation of huge loses for instance governmental forces are losing their lives on daily bases “on average stage 680 Afghan Police and solider have been killed every month” (Ralph Lopez, 2010). Beyond that the conflict brought bad result for the civilian such as 10,000 civilian were killed and injuries in 2014 and 140,000 people were displaced in the same year of 2014 which was the highest number after 2001. Additionally, there are 900,000 Internal Displaced People (IDPs) over the country the violence blocked the way of trade investment, economic development across the country simply we can say the government cannot afford the war against the Taliban.

Unemployment ratio increased over 60 percent in the recent years and it gave good chance to the global insurgent groups to recruit ground for militant ideologues seeking manpower as General

Karl Eikenberry said to the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) in 2007 "Much of the enemy force is drawn from the ranks of unemployed men looking for wages to support their families." What might be surprise it was not due to the warlord and corrupted administration who stole most of the money the blame is on the foreign contractor companies who scooped up more than 40 percent of the funds before any ground for a project such as \$15 billion of aid with Afghanistan has so far been spent on returned to donor countries in corporate profits and consultant salaries (Ralph Lopez, 2010).

At first stage U.S. strategy of "a kill-and- capture" and non- negotiation with Taliban was controversial a factor for reconciliation with warring groups and it lead the process of peace go without any clear-cut roadmap approach such as President Bush told reports about the negation with Taliban during 2001 that "This is non-negotiable. There is no need to discuss innocence or guilt, we know he is guilty Turn him over, If they want us to stop our military operations they have just got to meet my conditions. "In spite of that, High Peace Council which was established for reconciliation and reintegration with warring groups but the presence of warlord as a key member of the council lead to the breakdown of the council because most of member of the council are former warlords and militia whose fought among themselves before Taliban came in to power and most of them are disabled to understand diplomatic skill of negotiation even majority do not understand what is negotiation, reconciliation, reintegration and mediation like we can say most of them are completely illiterate and eligible to work in peace council beside that they are working on reintegration with Taliban all most majority of them have lack of clarity in their objectives including chaired person. Beside the council Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme APRP was on the way to put full stop to the ongoing hostility over the country and convince UN and NATO countries to remove the name of Taliban leaders from UN 1267 Blacklist but Taliban

have different stance from Afghan government they want to establish an Islamic Emirate free of foreign occupation, completely withdrawal of foreign troops and implementation of Shariah in the country. The controversial point is Taliban are fighting without clear cut objectives like they are not clear whether they are fighting for peace or withdrawal of NATO from Afghanistan their stance about negotiation changes from time to time as well change the direction of negation along with sometime completely rejecting negotiation with Afghan government.

In addition, Afghan government claims that negotiated approach of peace with Taliban are championed by non-Afghan and they believe that peace in Afghanistan is impossible with the Pakistan and U.S. cooperation as they are holding considerable influence over the Taliban as former president Hamid Karzai said “ I will not negotiate with Taliban I will only negotiate with Pakistan” Karzai more focused was on efforts of Pakistan rather than use his own diplomatic skill because he was in the view that no one has more influence on Afghan Taliban except Pakistan but he missed the chance of like Pakistan might have influence on Taliban but definitely cannot control them at all times so he should use his own diplomatic skills.

After Karzai, President Ashraf Ghani assumed that talks with Taliban would be impossible without at least silent approval of Pakistan therefore Ghani assumed the policy of rapprochement toward Pakistan he postponed strategic partnership with India and avowed close tie with Pakistan in turn Pakistan convinced representative of Taliban to negotiation and face to face talk between Taliban and Afghan government was held in Murree on July 7th 2015 in the meeting Taliban showed their interest for peace and stability and agreed to tentative ceasefire as well the efforts of Pakistan was appreciated by international community, United States and Afghan officials as a Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said “the talks were overt, not covert” and that “all measures were being taken to ensure that nobody tries to derail this process.” In Addition, Islamabad positive

response brought realization in the two countries relations they realize that unstable and insecure Afghanistan is detrimental to Pakistani peace building efforts.

In addition, on December 6th 2015 Asia Heart Conference was held in Islamabad in the AHC tie of two countries became closer and lead to reduce the tension of mistrust and lack of trust between Kabul and Islamabad meanwhile at the Asia Heart Conference Quadrilateral Monitoring Committee (QMC) was established by Pakistan, Afghanistan, U.S, and China the committee assured to facilitate and support the Afghan reconciliation process and they created roadmap for the ongoing peace talks with Taliban and their first meeting was held in Islamabad on January 11th 2016, in which they pursued Ghani close tie once again with Pakistan such as the sending of six Afghan Army trainees to Pakistani military Academy (PMC) in Abbottabad to study there for 18 months and signing of intelligence sharing information for coordination between Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the Afghan National Directorate Of Security (ANDS). These acts of president Ghani was highly criticized internally and was openly criticized by former president Hamid Karzai he accused Ghani administration of "treason" for signing the intelligence-sharing agreement with Pakistan due to increment of insurgency in Afghanistan.

Sooner After, talks with Taliban was stalled due to the death of Taliban leaders Mullah Omar, when the news of the death of Taliban leader Mullah Omar spread on media on 29 July 2015 this was like bombshell for the planned peace talks which was organized by Pakistan and sooner after the death of Mullah Akhtar Mansoor was confirmed the demise of these leaders created vacuum for the course of negotiation and created opportunity for QMC member countries to proceed individual interest like Pakistan questioned its interest in reconciliation "dominate role" as well U.S. indicates the role of China growing in Afghanistan and China role pursued a paradigm similar

to Pakistan and Taliban came with new leader and new ideology with said of "The conflict in Afghanistan will not finish until occupation of Afghanistan ends" Mullah Haibutullah.

Finally the role of constrictive diplomacy with Taliban renew the peace commitment of U.S. and they realized that military operation would not create peace and the only way is to talk with Taliban through constrictive diplomacy so in June 2013 an office of negotiation was opened for Taliban in Doha but it was violated by rising of white flag banner of "The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" on the building and it raised concerns of Afghan government and later it was promised that the flag of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan would be removed but still the flag remains albeit on a shorter flagpole and Qatar Doha government at the request U.S. to closed the office but let representative of Taliban remained in Qatar. And the office lead to give a chance for Taliban to become internationalized and they fund link with other countries intelligence and the frequent efforts of U.S. to open the door of peace failed and created mistrust between Afghan government and Washington.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A ceasefire should be established and it must be a part of negotiation with a proper mechanism of a unique independent committee of verification to avoid civilian casualties.

To be in successful peace dialogue the negotiation must be led by Afghans inside Afghanistan with an Afghan traditional establishment like Jirga.

The Taliban should have an office and an address inside Afghanistan.

Current political structure should be discussed in details especially Afghan constitution should amend and none of the political party should have monopoly of power on one another.

As Hekmatyar was removed from UN black list so removing the name of Taliban leader from black list, eliminate ban on travel, guarantee freedom of movement along with visa facilitation will create opportunity for peace.

Those who are in custody of Taliban should be freed as well all political prisoner of Taliban should be released.

Afghan politician themselves should control the politics of their country. International expert should consult them in technical matters.

Poppy cultivation, corruption, unemployment and drug smuggling are the most serious problems of Afghanistan and it should be eliminate together.

All parties should guarantee absolute freedom of movement of people and goods over the country.

And relation and cooperation with neighbor, regional and far- regional countries should be strengthen this does not mean that neighbor or any other country are welcomed to interfere in Afghanistan internal affairs.

REFERENCES

Afghan High Peace Council - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. (n.d.). Retrieved July 30, 2015, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_High_Peace_Council,

Agredano, R. (2016, June 5). Taliban: Recruitment and Training. <https://www.highbeam.com/topics/taliban-recruitment-and-training-t10483>

Aman, F. (2015). The Prospects for Peace Talks in Afghanistan. <http://lobelog.com/the-prospects-for-peace-talks-in-afghanistan/>

Al Arabiya, (2016). Afghan Taliban reveal relations with Iran. <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/10/30/-Afghan-Taliban-reveals-relations-with-Iran.html>.

Ariananews (2016). Afghan Gov't Calls for Removal of Hekmatyar's Name from UN Black List. <http://ariananews.af/latest-news/afghan-govt-calls-for-removal-of-hekmatyars-name-from-un-black-list/>.

Brounéus, K. (2003). Reconciliation. *Theory and practice for development cooperation. Documento SIDA, Estocolmo*.

Balarezo, C. (2011). Reconciliation in Afghanistan—By Michael Semple. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 20(1), 148-149.

Bhattacharjee, D. (2015). US-Pakistan and Peace in Afghanistan. *Indian Council of World Affairs*.

Batchelor, T (2016). Is Putin supporting the TALIBAN? US officials warn of 'dangerous new trend' in Afghanistan. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/741411/Russia-supporting-Taliban-US-dangerous-new-trend-Afghanistan>.

Collins, J. (2011). The Second War Against the Taliban and the Struggle to Rebuild Afghanistan. In *Understanding war in Afghanistan* (pp. 63-69). Washington, DC: National Defense University Press.

Chéné, H. (2015). China in Afghanistan, *Institute of peace and research studies*.

Center for strategic and regional studies. (2017). The fate of the HI-NUG peace deal. <http://csrskabul.com/en/blog/fate-hi-nug-peace-deal/>.

Center for strategic and regional studies. (2017). Weekly analysis- issue number 205 April 29-06 May, 2017).

Domínguez, G. (2016). How the Taliban get their money. <http://www.dw.com/en/how-the-taliban-get-their-money/a-18995315>.

Donati, j. (2015). Exclusive: China seeks greater role in Afghanistan with peace talk push. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-china-idUSKCN0IV1EB20141111>.

Dawn, (9, December 2016). Russia-Taliban ties worry Afghan, US officials. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1301365>.

(Dr. Abdul Baqi Amin, personal communication, June 13, 2017).

(Dr. Obaidullah Kalimzai, personal communication, March 17, 2017).

English, Aljazeera. (2016, Dec 2016). Afghan Taliban 'recruiting boys' from Kunduz families. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/afghan-taliban-recruiting-boys-kunduz-families-150930155157751.html>.

Frogh, W. (2010). Will the Afghan government's reintegration and reconciliation efforts bring peace to Afghanistan ?. *Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy*.

Forbes, J and Dudley, B. (2013, November 26). Increase in Taliban Efforts to Recruit from Afghan Government and Security Forces. <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/increase-in-taliban-efforts-to-recruit-from-afghan-government-and-security-forces>.

Faiez, R. (2017). Afghan warlord removed from UN blacklist. <https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2017/02/04/afghan-warlord-removed-from-un-blacklist.html>.

Faraz, M. (2016, December 12). The role of the U.S. in Afghan-Taliban peace talks. *thehill.com*, <http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/309753-the-role-of-the-us-in-afghan-taliban-peace-talks>.

Global Post, (2013). Who is funding the Afghan Taliban? You don't want to know.

<http://blogs.reuters.com/global/2009/08/13/who-is-funding-the-afghan-taliban-you-dont-want-to-know/>.

Gall, Carlotta, (2016). Saudis Bankroll Taliban, Even as King Officially Supports Afghan Government. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/06/world/asia/saudi-arabia-afghanistan.html?_r=1.

Gul, A (2016). China, Pakistan, Russia to Meet on Afghanistan, Angering Kabul Leaders <http://www.voanews.com/a/china-pakistan-russia-to-meet-on-afghanistan-angering-kabul-leaders/3651066.html>.

Q&A: Afghan Taliban open Doha office (2013, June 20), Bbc news. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-22957827>.

Galula, D. (2006). *Counterinsurgency warfare: theory and practice*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Heart of Asia, (2016). Before being killed, Taliban supremo met Russians in Iran: <http://www.heartofasia.af/index.php/national2/item/1367-before-being-killed-taliban-supremo-met-russians-in-iran>.

Hussain, Z (2017). Russia getting into Afghan act. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1306197>.

Insight on Conflict. "Afghanistan: Conflict Profile". N.p., 2016. Web. 3 Mar. 2016.

Izazullah, (2016). Iran supports, funds Afghan Taliban: officials. http://central.asia-news.com/en_GB/articles/cnmi_ca/features/2016/08/29/feature-02.

Joscelyn, T (2017). Russia's New Favorite Jihadis: The Taliban. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/01/03/russia-s-new-favorite-jihadis-the-taliban.html>

Jones, Seth G. (2017). Managing the Long War: U.S. Policy toward Afghanistan and the Region, *Rand Corporation*, <https://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CT472.html>.

Khan, A. (2014). Taliban's Spring Offensive and their Interest in Peacemaking: How to Reconcile the Two.

Komesaroff, P. A. (2008). Pathways to reconciliation: Bringing diverse voices into conversation. *Pathways to reconciliation: Between theory and practice*, 1-14.

Katzman, K. (2010, September). Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and US Policy.

Khan, A. (2016). Afghanistan-Pakistan-US-China Quadrilateral Coordination Group.

Kousary, H. (2011). Pakistan on the Afghan Reconciliation Process. *Center for conflict and peace study Afghanistan*.

Katzman.K. (2017). Qatar: governance, security, and U.S. policy. *Congressional Research Service*, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R44533.pdf>.

Khattak, D. (2015, March 13). Peace Talks With the Taliban Are Risky Business. The South Asia Channel, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/13/peace-talks-with-the-taliban-are-risky-business/>.

Kousary, H. (2016). The Afghan Peace Talks, QCG and China-Pakistan Role. http://www.caps.af/Doc/Peace_Talks.pdf

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE
<http://www.pajhwok.com/en/2015/09/02/huge-expenses-afghan-peace-effort-achieve-little-gains>.

Lopez, R. (2010, February 13). Why do Men Join the Taliban.

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2010/2/12/836525/->.

Lorenz, W. and Andrzej Piotrowski, M. (2016). Afghanistan New Opportunities for Talks with the Taliban. https://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=21224.

Mehdi, S. (2014 December 18). Why do people still join the Taliban and other militant outfits after knowing that they don't follow the ideologies they propagate?

<https://www.quora.com/Why-do-people-still-join-the-Taliban-and-other-militant-outfits-after-knowing-that-they-dont-follow-the-ideologies-they-propagate>.

Mashal M, and Rahim, N (2017) Taliban, Collecting Bills for Afghan Utilities, Tap New Revenue Sources.

Micallef,V,(2016). How the Taliban Gets Its Cash.http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-v-micallef/how-the-taliban-gets-its_b_8551536.html

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/28/world/asia/taliban-collecting-electricity-bills-afghan.html?_r=0.

Masood, Z (2016). Afghan Senate: Iran and Russia are supporting Taliban.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/asia/2016/12/08/Afghan-Senate-Iran-and-Russia-are-supporting-Taliban.html>.

Mora, E (2016). Report: Afghan Taliban Claims 'Sole Purpose' of Russian Ties Is to Expel U.S. <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2016/12/09/report-taliban-russia-combat-us/>.

Nixon, H. (2011). *Achieving Durable Peace: Afghan Perspectives on a Peace Process*. PRIO.

Naibkhel, F. (2017). Hekmatyar's name removed from UN Security Council sanctions list: Afghan officials laud the removal. <http://thepashtuntimes.com/hekmatyars-name-removed-from-un-security-council-sanctions-list-afghan-officials-laud-the-removal/>.

Nicole Valentini (2017). What does Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's return mean for peace in Afghanistan? http://www.business-standard.com/article/international/what-does-gulbuddin-hekmatyar-s-return-mean-for-peace-in-afghanistan-117050500823_1.html.

Onviolence. (2008, September 17). Join the Taliban. The Americans Will Kill You Anyways <http://onviolence.com/?e=523>.

Patricia Gossman. (2011, January 12). *Afghan High Peace Council Fails to Reflect Afghan Civil Society | United States Institute of Peace*. Retrieved from <http://www.usip.org/publications/afghan-high-peace-council-fails-reflect-afghan-civil-society>.

Public International Law & Policy Group. (2011, November). Retrieved from https://www.google.com.pk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&yed=0CBsQFjAAahUKEwif0sDc_JPHAhUJPRQKHe9HBi8&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpublicinternationallawandpolicygroup.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2011%2F10%2FBackground-Briefing.pdf&ei=JBLDVZ-wCYn6UOrja. PmfgC&usg=AFQjCNH1YdJDvyDNFI2tnVnNry7EnnNZbw&bvm=bv.99556055,d.ZGU&cad=rja.

Patricia Gossman. (2011, January 12). *Afghan High Peace Council Fails to Reflect Afghan Civil Society* | United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from <http://www.usip.org/publications/afghan-high-peace-council-fails-reflect-afghan-civil-society>

Partaw, A. M. (2016, July 15). The Haqqanization of the Afghan Taliban. <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2016/07/15/the-haqqanization-of-the-afghan-taliban/>. Pugwash Meeting on Peace and Security in Afghanistan. (2016, 23 January). *Pugwash.org*, https://pugwashconferences.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/20150503_doha_notes_pcr_fin.pdf.

Pajhwok, (2016). Taliban enhance diplomatic contacts with Iran, Russia. <http://www.pajhwok.com/en/2016/10/17/taliban-enhance-diplomatic-contacts-iran-russia>.

<https://pugwash.org/2016/01/24/doha-meeting-on-peace-and-security-in-afghanistan/>.

Porter, E. (2016). Gendered narratives: Stories and silences in transitional justice. *Human Rights Review*, 17(1), 35-50.

Ruttig, T. (2011). *The Battle for Afghanistan : Negotiations with the Taliban: History and Prospects for the Future*. New America Foundation.

Ruttig, T. (2011). *The Battle for Afghanistan: Negotiations with the Taliban: History and Prospects for the Future*. New America Foundation.

Rustam Shah Mohmand. (2015, March 6). Will Kabul's talks with the Afghan Taliban succeed?. *The Express Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/848377/will-kabuls-talks-with-the-afghan-taliban-succeed/>.

Rt, (29 Jan, 2015). US starts negotiations with Taliban.

Reuters, (2016). Afghan Taliban delegation visits China to discuss unrest: sources. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-taliban-china-idUSKCN10A09H>.

Radio Free European (2017). Hekmatyar Urges Taliban 'Brothers' To End War, Offers To Mediate Talks, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-warlord-hekmatyar-returns-kabul/28467563.html>.

Ramusino, P. C. (2015, May 2-3). Report of A 2 days Pugwash meeting on security in Afghanistan. [Pugwash.org](http://pugwash.org).

Ramusino, P.C. (2016) Report of the Pugwash meeting in Kabul, 13 December 2016. [Pugwash.org](http://pugwashconferences.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/20160519_kabul_afghanpeace_statement.pdf),
[https://pugwashconferences.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/20160519_kabul_afghanpeace_statement.pdf](http://pugwashconferences.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/20160519_kabul_afghanpeace_statement.pdf).

Saghafi-Ameri, N. (2011). Prospects for peace and stability in Afghanistan. *Afghanistan Regional Dialogue Background Paper*, (1).

Shahrani, M. N. (2009). *Afghanistan 's Alternatives for Peace, Governance and Development: Transforming Subjects to Citizens & Rulers to Civil Servants*. Centre for International Governance Innovation.

Sajjad, T. (2010). *Peace at all Costs?: Reintegration and Reconciliation in Afghanistan*. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit.

Serena, C. C. (2011). *A revolution in military adaptation: the US Army in the Iraq War*. Georgetown University Press

Shaheen, A. (2008, Feb 27). Poverty pushing youth into arms of Taliban? <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2008/02/27/poverty-pushing-youth-arms-taliban>.

Shalizi, H. (2014, Jun 2). Taliban recruit young fighters as attacks rise ahead of Afghan vote. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-taliban-idUSKBN0ED0WQ20140602>.

Sajjad, T. (2013). *Transitional justice in South Asia: a study of Afghanistan and Nepal* (Vol. 68). Routledge.

Shinn, J., & Dobbins, J. (2011). *Afghan Peace Talks: A Primer*. Rand Corporation.

Shalizi, H and Smith, J (2016). Ties between Russia and the Taliban worry Afghan, U.S. officials <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-russia-idUSKBN13W2XJ>.

Sudan Kasturi, C (2016). Russian blow to India on Taliban. [https://www.telephindhia.com/1161229/jsp/frontpage/story_127453.jsp#.Wlx9GrmO21s](http://www.telephindhia.com/1161229/jsp/frontpage/story_127453.jsp#.Wlx9GrmO21s).

Sadat, S. (2013). Taliban Political Office in Qatar 'Hopes and Fears'. *Huff post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sami-sadat/taliban-political-office-_b_3638354.html.

Shah, K. (2016). Reconciling with the Taliban: The Good, the Bad and the Difficult.

S. Tayab Agha, personal communication, November 07, 2016.

Sial, B. (2013). Pakistan's role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980. *report by Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center*, 2.

Tiwari, S. (2016). Understanding Taliban and the Peace Process.

Tierney, D. (2014). Fighting While Negotiating in Afghanistan. *Orbis*, 57(1), 171-186.

The US refuses to negotiate with the Taliban. (2001, September 24). Retrieved March 04, 2016, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/events/the_us_refuses_to_negotiate_with_the_taliban.

Whittaker, D. J. (1999). *Conflict and reconciliation in the contemporary world*. Psychology Press.

Weinbaum, M. G. (1991). War and peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistani role. *The Middle East Journal*, 71-85.

Wong, E. and Jolly, D. (2016). China Considers Larger Role in Afghanistan Peace Process. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/25/world/asia/china-considers-larger-role-in-afghanistan-peace-process.html>

Wahidi.S.M. (2011). Consequences of Taliban Office in Qatar. *Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies*, <http://www.caps.af/Doc/Consequences%20of%20Taliban%20office%20in%20Qatar-2.pdf>.

Zahid, N. (2017). Afghan Authorities Accuse Iran of Using Taliban to Undercut Water Projects. <http://www.voanews.com/a/water-afghan-leaders-believe-iran-uses-taliban-to-target-projects/3689059.html>.

Z. Amar khail, personal communication, November 15, 2016.

Z. Amar khail, personal communication, November 15, 2016.