

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS)

Herat Security Dialogue-XI

“Reimagining Afghanistan: Ways Forward”

27-28 November 2023 - Dushanbe, Tajikistan

Conference Report



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AISS-HSD-11-2023

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About AISS

Mission

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) was established in October 2012 and has since become a premier research institution in Afghanistan. It aims to create an intellectual space for addressing strategic issues pertaining to Afghanistan in the wider regional and international contexts. AISS seeks to foster timely discussions on Afghanistan by publishing high-quality research reports and promoting dialogue amongst a wide spectrum of stakeholders. All our activities and programs are based on the principles of professionalism, independence, internationalism, and progressive values.

Objective and Goals:

AISS is an independent, not-for-profit research institute dedicated to providing qualitative, non-partisan and policy-oriented research, publication, translation of books/reports, professional training and policy advocacy with a distinct focus on Afghanistan. A cross-cutting priority of AISS is to empower the youth through specific programmatic initiatives, as the youth represent the future of the country.

Means and Activities:

In order to contribute to ongoing efforts in consolidating Afghanistan's fragile achievements and realise the nation's immense human and natural resources, AISS uses a series of instruments, including:

- Conducting independent research
- Entering partnership agreements with respected and like-minded research institutes
- Publication (books and journals)
- Translation of important books/articles from English into Farsi/Pashto and vice versa
- Organising seminars, conferences, workshops (provincial, national, international) and briefings
- Offering executive-type leadership training programs
- Initiating and sponsoring annual public awards for recognizing outstanding Afghan youth and international personality
- Integrating conventional and modern social media tools/networks in all its activities.

Following the Taliban's occupation of Afghanistan and the forced closure of AISS offices in Afghanistan, AISS resumed its activities from its UK office located within the University of Sussex in the UK in March 2022. Research England has also made available financial contributions to support the running of the AISS-UK Office during

its initial phase. AISS-UK focuses on three priorities: continuation of AISS' activities (research, publication/translation, conference, advocacy); supporting Afghan researchers, academia and scholars in the diaspora and engaging with global research and policy communities, particularly UK/EU. AISS-UK has already taken the initial step to acquire legal and corporate status within UK's regulations to function as an independent research organisation. All of AISS's activities and programmes are based on the principle of professionalism, independence, internationalism and progressive values.

A Short Introduction to the Herat Security Dialogue Series

The Herat Security Dialogues (HSD) is an annual international event organised by the AISS that brings domestic, regional and international experts and officials together to discuss issues pertaining to Afghanistan's multiple crises. In line with our definition of security as an inclusive and multifaceted concept, the HSD aims to provide a stimulating opportunity for dialogues and the exchange of ideas among key stakeholders and perspectives. The HSD intends to evolve into a recognized and influential gathering in Afghanistan and the region. Previous nine HSDs were held in Herat, Afghanistan.

HSD-XI

The 11th Herat Security Dialogue was held in Dushanbe, Tajikistan for a second year in a row focused on the theme "Reimagining Afghanistan: Ways Forward". The two-day conference was on the 27-28 of November 2023 with domestic, regional and global stakeholders in Afghanistan participating in seven (7) panel discussions, a special discussion with prominent leader Ismail Khan as well as a performance by the exile Afghanistan National Institute of Music orchestra. The conference was broadcasted live via AISS social media platforms and has been given wide global coverage by international and local media.

Concept Note

After more than two years since the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, the situation in the country continues to deteriorate steadily. Over this period, Afghanistan's economic state has significantly worsened. Individual and civil liberties have been systematically violated, and strict restrictions have been imposed on freedom of expression. Afghanistan has, over the past two years, transformed into an information void, with limited news coming out about new developments and events within the country. Despite the dire circumstances in Afghanistan, there are ongoing efforts by certain groups to present a more favourable image of the Taliban. Furthermore, the international community, along with Qatar and Pakistan, has made numerous attempts in the past two years to persuade the Taliban to adhere to international norms, particularly in the areas of human rights and women's rights. Unfortunately, these efforts have been met with little success. Simultaneously, the security landscape in the region has undergone a profound shift since the Taliban's rise to power. The resurgence of international terrorism poses a renewed threat to the region. Afghanistan has once again become a safe haven for international terrorists and transnational jihadists. Central Asian countries are deeply concerned about the presence of Al-Qaeda and ISIS in Afghanistan, viewing it as a significant threat to their national security. Pakistan, in particular, is alarmed by the close and multi-layered relationship between the Afghan Taliban and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. In an endeavour to seek common ground and address the long-standing and intricate conflict in Afghanistan, the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) initiated its annual "Herat Security Dialogue" in 2012. To date, ten conferences on various Afghan-related issues have been held by AISS. Similarly, the AISS is organising the 11th Herat Security Conference on the theme "Reimagining Afghanistan: Ways Forward". This conference is scheduled to take place on November 27 and 28, 2023, in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. As in previous years, the conference will gather a diverse group of experts on Afghanistan, civil society representatives, academics, domestic and international journalists, former government officials, and representatives of international organisations. The aim is to explore the challenges facing Afghanistan and discuss viable solutions. The Herat Security Conference serves as a platform for engaging in dialogue across different political spectrums and reconciling divergent viewpoints on Afghanistan's future. It represents an earnest effort to finally address the enduring problems that have affected the Afghan people for half a century.

Opening Session

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

OPENING SESSION

یازدهمین کنفرانس امنیتی هرات
۶-۷ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

SPEAKERS

- Ms. Bahara, Persian Poetry**
- Ms. Fereshta Sama**
- Professor Qasim Shah Eskandar**
President of the Centre for Afghanistan and Regional Studies of Tajikistan
- Mr. Sharaf Rahimi**
Head of the Department of Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan
- Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta**
Former Foreign Minister of Afghanistan and Chairman of the AISS Board of Advisors

Time: Tajikistan: 09:30-11:00 | Afghanistan: 09:00-10:30

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As we gather together in the 11th Herat Security Dialogue, we do so in the darkest of times for the people of Afghanistan. After two years of Taliban rule, women are systematically being erased from society, stripped of the opportunity to educate and increasingly removed from the workforce, in what is now globally referred to as the Taliban's gender apartheid. The ideological foundation which the Taliban share with global terrorist organisations is materialising into an increasingly flourishing relationship with abundant space and resources being made available for their sustenance and growth, posing a greater danger to the region and the world. Afghanistan's diverse and rich society is being targeted based on linguistic, sectarian as well as ideological discriminatory practices and forced migrations sowing the seeds of deep-rooted dissent.

Knowing the history and political realities of Afghanistan, it is not enough to state that we will survive these dark times; rather we must consolidate our political and intellectual capital towards reimagining Afghanistan and chart a new path forward. One based on the core strengths, values and civilizational identity of the people of this land. It is with this intent that people are attending this conference, to move forward the conversation and chart a path for betterment of Afghanistan.

Summary of Remarks by Dr Spanta

Your Excellencies,

It has been two years and three months since the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and their surrender to the Taliban.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of educated citizens and trained professionals have been forced to flee the country. Thousands of Afghan men and women have been imprisoned, tortured and tormented. Our women's glorious fight for freedom and their human rights is the most illustrious manifestation and a symbol of our people's struggles for liberty and democracy.



- Our people continue to fight against authoritarianism and injustice of a most barbaric kind, and will continue fighting until justice and freedom are achieved.
- The Taliban's narrative of their recent power grab casts their actions in the mould of a victorious *Jihad* and ending the occupation of Afghanistan by the Crusaders and the Infidel.
- In reality, the Taliban's return to power was the result of the incompetence of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and was made possible in the aftermath of structural transformations in the political world order and temporal strategic exigencies on the global scale.
- Even though, ever since Taliban's return and until the present, our people's fight has not yet reached a stage where Taliban's rule would be imminently coming to an end, the fighting continues in various shapes and manners; and it will continue until the establishment of a righteous and legitimate regime established via a fair and free popular election in Afghanistan.
- Our concern, the concern of the people of Afghanistan, is the loss of independence, the absence of the rule of law, lack of political and social safety, and being deprived of economic growth and cultural and ethnic equality.
- Considering solutions for the issues of Afghanistan, "interaction with the Taliban" is passed around political and diplomatic circles as the predominant approach in international politics.
- None of the propositions advocating interaction with the Taliban so far, have a clear plan or a road map with a clear destination. It is worth noting a couple of issues referred to in the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Secretary

General of the United Nations, Feridun Hadi Sinirlioğlu, at least from the point of view of Conflict Resolution Theory.

- I would like to emphasise here that there was no need to whitewash the Taliban, and point out issues that cannot be of any significance in the midst of all the horrific and iniquitous policies carried out in our country, especially considering the gender apartheid implemented in Afghanistan, in order to be able to put forward such a scheme.
- The multi-faceted resistance of the people of Afghanistan did not emerge from diplomatic *salons* and it is not rooted in the aspirations of a belligerent spirit, and thus, it cannot be undone with moralistic sermons. When autocracy and totalitarianism comes to an end, their modes of struggle will also change.
- We are well aware that the days of foreign deployment in Afghanistan are over. What's more, no patriotic Afghan wishes for the deployment of foreign legionnaires in his country. The Taliban stand alone in this regard, having stationed thousands of terrorist mercenaries in our country, who will nonetheless be driven out on the dawn of a free Afghanistan.
- To this end, a new narrative is needed, founded undoubtedly on the following principles and values:
 - The unquestionable sovereignty of the people
 - Having a constitution founded upon the basic rights and freedoms of all citizens
 - Unconditional acceptance of equality between men and women
 - Unconditional human rights
 - Accepting the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country
 - Downgrading the current scale of centrism
 - Extensive secularisation of the law and the judicial system of the country with an unconditional emphasis on national unity and the territorial integrity of Afghanistan
- Following the course of a narrative founded on these values we can save our country and our people from this horrendous chasm of civilisational rupture and begin on a glorious journey towards the establishment and preservation of a democracy born of the free will of our people.
- Here I would like to express my gratitude to His Excellency, Emomali Rahmon, the esteemed President of the Republic of Tajikistan, the people of Tajikistan, the esteemed officials of the Foreign Ministry, the honourable Professor Qasem Shah Skandar, Director of the Centre for the study of Afghanistan and the

Region, and the academic community of Tajikistan for helping us through these difficult times and collaborating with us in organising this conference.

Prof Qasim Shah Eskandari

We are pleased to host the 11th Herat Security Dialogue in Dushanbe for a second year in a row as Afghanistan is a serious matter for us and the region, particularly since the takeover by the Taliban. There are dozens of terrorist organisations operating in Afghanistan under the Taliban which is a major source of concern for us and the region and as a whole.

We hope to play a constructive role in bringing together the various experts of Afghanistan to achieve recommendations and policy lines which will address the various concerns. It is only through national dialogue that we can achieve sustainable peace and security and this is why 11th HSD is an important opportunity for free and expert discussion on such issues.



Mr. Sharaf Rahimi

I would like to welcome you all to Tajikistan as your second home. We are delighted to host intellectuals, thought leaders and experts in this prestigious conference. Afghanistan is in a difficult situation facing a declining economy, extreme poverty and increasing security concerns.



President of Tajikistan, Imam Ali Rahman, has always highlighted the need for the international community to continue focusing on Afghanistan and address the serious challenges it faces. Tajikistan has always supported the United Nations and other international agencies in providing assistance to the people of Afghanistan. We are concerned about the situation of women in Afghanistan as well as the various ethnicities who are targeted and sidelined.

We have always lobbied for an all-inclusive government in Afghanistan representing the diversity of its people and believe this is the path for stability and security.

Panel I: Security Black Hole: Theme Park of Tragedies & Threats

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

**PANEL-I:
“Security Black Hole;
Theme Park of Tragedies & Threats”**

بازدهمین
کنفرانس
امنیتی هرات
۷-۹ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKERS

Jyoti Malhotra
Founder-Editor, AwaazSouth-Asia New Delhi, India

Mohammad Hossain Jafarvan
Author & Senior Expert on Afghanistan, Iran.

Mohsin Dawar
Member of Parliament, Pakistan

David Sedney
Senior Associate, Center for Strategic Studies and International Studies, US.

Rahmatullah Nabil
Former Head of National Directorate of Security, Afghanistan.

Dr. Esther Zubiri
Head of UN Analytical Team on Al Qaeda/Taliban, Spain

Time: Tajikistan: 09:30-11:00 | Afghanistan: 09:00-10:30

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The moderator set the panel’s tone by introducing the notion of a government in exile, making comparisons with the Nelson Mandela and Dalai Lama models and how the various non-taliban political actors can realise this.

This panel had an in-depth discussion on the various security concerns and realities in a Taliban-run Afghanistan and the regional and international response towards this. Mohsin Dawar highlighted the Doha Deal, signed between the United States and the Taliban, as the region’s new great game and how it served to de-recognize the State of Afghanistan. He argued how the Taliban are a threat to the region, harbouring various terrorist organisations such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and groups targeting Tajikistan. He also argued how Taliban are alien to the population inside Afghanistan with their militant mindset and aggressive brand of Islam. The collapse of the Taliban is inevitable and everyone needs to prioritise on having proper alternatives.

Esther Zubiri provided insights into the relationship between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda (AQ) and argued how using the title of Taliban 2.0 or ‘pragmatic Taliban’ is dangerous, giving them greater space to strengthen bonds with terrorist organisations. The Taliban, she argued, currently provide monthly welfare payments, passports and safe harbour to known members of AQ. The Taliban use members of AQ to train their new recruits, the Deputy Director of the Taliban-run intelligence agency is a former AQ member. The information clearly shows a strengthening relationship between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Her analysis, although provided in an individual capacity, is

based on information that the UN Sanctions team uses and it shows a tight bond between the Taliban and TTP where they quietly reached out to request support in fighting ISIS-K. The Taliban's drug policy was also discussed where we now see a narcotic price rise due to the selective ban on methamphetamines. Lack of cohesive policy among the regional and international actors allows the Taliban to play one interlocutor against another. The sanctions, Esther argued, must be maintained on the Taliban.

Mohammad Hossain Jafaryan shared a personal story from the late 1990s where he visited Ismail Khan in a Taliban prison in Kandahar where he had been captured. He recalls that encounter, and how a few years later Ismail Khan escaped the prison, went to the north and formed a new front to fight the Taliban. He became minister of energy and water in the post-bonn cabinet and is now in Mashhad, Iran. His story is telling of how things can change in Afghanistan and how we should not be fixated on the present but have a vision for the future.

David Sedney argued how the world and the United States will continue to ignore Afghanistan because it is easier to do so. He provided some historic context in the US-Taliban transactions over the years, where first the Taliban had captured Boe Bergadehl and the US was eventually forced to accept their terms and release five Taliban senior members from Guantanamo Bay in exchange for his release. The Taliban also kidnapped two professors from the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF) and after years of failed attempts, the United States accepted the release of three Haqqani prisoners in exchange for their release. The infamous Taliban convicted drug trafficker, Bashir Noorzai, was released by the US in exchange for Mark Frerichs. Through these interactions, the Taliban now know that when dealing with the US and the international community, all they need to do is to wait and eventually others will give in and compromise.

Rahmatullah Nabil argued how the Taliban's close ties to the TTP has undermined the strategic depth doctrine that neighbouring Pakistan had assumed. He shared his concern on Taliban's access to sophisticated surveillance systems and how they are using it against the people of Afghanistan. He spoke about the Taliban inspiring militancy around the world and also how the threat of Islamic State Khurasan (ISK) is fake in many instances and instrumentalized for their own gains. Among certain Taliban circles, there is consideration of working towards gaining access to tactical nuclear weapons, which shows how bold they have become in their ambitions. Nabeel quoted Sirajuddin Haqqani where he said "My grandfather defended against the British, my father defended against the Russians, I defended against the United States, it is time for my child to rule the region."

Q&A

In response to Jyoti Malhotra's question on Pakistan's desire to achieve strategic depth, Dawar argued that Pakistan served as Taliban's strategic depth and provided safe harbour for them in the past two decades. Without Pakistan's help, the Taliban would not have survived, and the expulsion of refugees from Pakistan is part of an agenda to support Taliban and other militant group's recruitment efforts.

When asked about the difference between the Taliban in Kabul and Kandahar, Jafaryan stated that the Taliban are one entity and these differences are miniscule at best. There is a lot of misinformation about Kandahar, for example the picture of the supreme leader Haibatullah on the internet is not accurate nor verified, we have only been told that this is how he looks. Jafaryan argued how in Syria, the US and the international community supported war efforts against the regime, while in Afghanistan the resistance front is not supported in any military campaign. He questioned the Doha Deal and how the US needs to be questioned in handing over Afghanistan to the Taliban.

Esther Zubiri was asked by the audience whether it's time to review and tighten the sanctions against the Taliban since the existing mechanism is not working. She responded that there is no consensus among the P3 and P2 states on sanctions implementation and that the travel ban is not effective due to this.

Panel Highlights

- The Taliban, Esther Zubiri argued, currently provide monthly welfare payments, passports and safe harbour to known members of AQ.
- David Sedney argues that through these prisoner swaps and interactions, the Taliban now know that when dealing with the US and the international community, all they need to do is to wait and eventually others will give in and compromise.
- Rahmatullah Nabeel quoted Sirajuddin Haqqani where he said "My grandfather defended against the British, my father defended against the Russians, I defended against the United States, it is time for my child to rule the region."

Panel II: Gender Apartheid: Rhetorical Solidarity; Effective Mechanism

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

PANEL-II: Gender Apartheid: Rhetorical Solidarity; Effective Mechanism

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۷-۹ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKERS

Nazila Jamshidi
Founder-Editor, Awaaz-SouthAsia New Delhi, India

Dr. Bushra Gohar
Former Member of Parliament, Pakistan

Alyssa T. Yamamoto
Senior Legal & Policy Advisor, Atlantic Council, US

Amb. Shukria Barakzai
Former Ambassador to Norway, Afghanistan

Parwiz Kawa
Executive Director, 8Am Media, Afghanistan

Time: 11:30-13:00 Tajikistan | 11:00-12:30 Afghanistan

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The panel extensively examined the term "gender apartheid" within the framework of a crime against humanity, investigating mechanisms for its international recognition under established international law. With a focus on Afghanistan, the session aimed to illuminate potential avenues for accountability regarding human rights violations faced by Afghan women and girls. Moderator Nazila Jamshidi guided the discussion, featuring panellists Alyssa T. Yamamoto, Bushra Gohar, Shukira Barakzai, and Parwiz Kawa.

Key Points:

- Legal Implications of "Gender Apartheid":** The panel acknowledged the heightened prominence of the term "gender apartheid" and scrutinised its legal implications, particularly in the context of advocating for justice and accountability concerning human rights abuses against Afghan women and girls.
- Advocacy Momentum:** With advocacy for gender apartheid gaining momentum, the panel explored the potential benefits of codifying it to pursue justice and accountability. The discussion emphasised the importance of international recognition in addressing the challenges faced by Afghan women.

3. **International Response and Advocacy Coordination:** The panel critically assessed the current international response to Afghan women advocates, highlighting challenges stemming from uncoordinated efforts. Shukira Barakzai expressed concern over the limited influence of Afghan women's advocacy on governmental decisions concerning Afghanistan, despite active engagement with world leaders.
4. **Codifying Gender Apartheid:** Human rights lawyers on the panel discussed the potential impact of codifying gender apartheid as a crime against humanity, emphasizing the possibilities that could emerge if such codification takes place on the international stage.
5. **Role of Afghan-Led Media:** Parwiz Kawa emphasised the crucial role of Afghan-led media in the diaspora in raising awareness about gender apartheid and advocating for its recognition. Persistence was underscored as key to the media's impact in pushing for the acknowledgment of gender apartheid.
6. **Addressing Patriarchy in Culture:** The panellists delved into the deep-seated elements of patriarchy, particularly among Pashtuns, embedded in the region's culture. They highlighted the role of scholars and researchers in correcting misogynistic customs and values prevalent in the cultural fabric of the region.

Panel III: Donor Industrial Complex: Humanitarianism, Accountability, Effectiveness

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

PANEL-III:
“Donor Industrial Complex; Humanitarianism, Accountability, Effectiveness”

MODERATOR

Habiba Ashna
Activist and Researcher

SPEAKERS

Michael Semple
Former Deputy EU Envoy for Afghanistan

Zahra Joya
Founder of Rukhshana Media, Afghanistan

Dr. Sarajuddin Isar
Researcher, Radboud University, Netherlands

Dr Fardin Hashemi
Director of the Afghanistan Development studies Center

Shoab Rahim
Associate Professor of Practice, American University of Afghanistan

Time: 14:30-16:00 Tajikistan | 14:00-15:30 Afghanistan

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The moderator set up the panel discussion by introducing the dilemma the donor community faces in terms of delivering humanitarian assistance to the people in need while ensuring that it does not contribute to the worsening human rights crisis imposed on the people by the Taliban. Michael Semple argued that the current crisis in Afghanistan is a direct result of Taliban rule, their incapacity to govern and their archaic policies and we cannot resolve the deep rooted problems by distributing bags of wheat and rice. The Taliban determine who are the beneficiaries, appoint their personnel within the NGOs and channel a substantial percentage of the aid to themselves. He argued that the Taliban perpetuate hunger and disparity to drive further donor contributions and we must work towards addressing the main issue of Taliban rule.

Sirajuddin Isar then discussed the state of the economy under the Taliban and how with the Taliban’s takeover, nearly one third of the economy has contracted. Economic activities across all three sectors namely agriculture, industry and services declined. There was an abrupt cut off in the level of external aid to the country which led to higher rates of unemployment, starvation and hunger. We have officially entered recession after August 2021.

During a recession, economists advise to adopt expansionary economic policies, particularly in the fiscal and monetary sectors. Fiscally, it is critical to lower taxes and

customs duties to encourage businesses and boost investment so that more jobs are created in the market. Taliban have been doing the opposite. They imposed more taxes without providing any corresponding services. The kind of taxes imposed are very coercive or extortionist. In absence of a functioning economy, imposing such taxes will only further impoverish the already very poor people in the country.

At the monetary front, the interest rate has to be decreased or removed during the recession. This is an essential tool to widen business access to credit and loans in such situations. Taliban have banned interest rates and did almost nothing with regards to expanding Islamic banking services in the country. Such policies contributed to further appreciation of local currency, Afghani against other foreign currencies (FXs).

While the existing deflationary environment has been celebrated by many, one has to notice that it can have an adverse effect. In the shorter term, it is a blessing to consumers as it increases their purchasing power. However, in the long term, it undermines the private sector's vitality and businesses; hence further fueling recession.

Finally he argued, while international humanitarian assistance has played a key role in stabilising the local currency, it has indirectly benefited the Taliban. Taliban managed to receive FXs and have thus been able to auction US dollars to absorb the excessive Afghani from the market. Without access to the FXs, Taliban's financial operations would be significantly challenged. Without the UN cash shipments, the country would have experienced an economic chaos which would have led to a serious humanitarian crisis.

Zahra Joya focused on the systematic economic persecution of women under the Taliban rule and the corruption in aid distribution where they prioritise Taliban members over the intended civilian beneficiaries, she reference how as per Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in Kabul's estimate, over 4 million women and children are facing extreme malnutrition today. Women are not allowed to leave their homes without a male counterpart, cannot hold meetings with the local representatives to ensure their home receives the aid, are not allowed to be employed to earn a living, hence the systematic targeting of women by the Taliban is massively contributing to the worsening of their situation.

To address this, we must first hold international donors, particularly the UN accountable for this aid. Where are the funds going and who is benefitting from it? Aid is currently being used as a cover to absolve the international community from addressing the root problem of Afghanistan, which is Taliban rule and the threat of terrorism for the people of Afghanistan and the world.

Shoaib Rahim argued that western sense of guilt and shame due to the military defeat of NATO by the Taliban is equated to a moral defeat, hence all policies introduced over the past two decades are questioned and considered erroneous, this should not

be the case. We should not equate a military defeat with a moral defeat, we should recognize the gains in education policy, governance and service delivery, growth of civil society, development of laws in various sectors and growth of commerce that took place in the past two decades.

He argued how the Republic was closely scrutinised in international platforms in exchange for the aid it received, having to provide extensive reports on aid disbursement, project execution as well as impact assessments where feasible, but the Taliban are not subject to the most basic level of accountability. This double-standard of the west is recognized by the people of Afghanistan as well as the region, and is seen with suspicion as pay-off to gain some sort of leverage with Taliban decision-makers. Hence aid is used to progress non-humanitarian agendas and its impact intended for the beneficiaries is severely undermined. Difficult conversation needs to be had on how we can gradually introduce measures of accountability on the aid being sent to Afghanistan either directly or through international NGOs.

Dr Fardin Hashemi discusses the negative impact that aid has on the domestic economy and how it breeds greater dependence. He discusses the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SGD) and how the donor community lacked the long term vision of empowering the republic in the past two decades in achieving any sort of self-sufficiency. This sets the stage for requesting greater donor commitments to Afghanistan essentially repeating the vicious cycle of aid dependency.

Q&A

In response to a question on platforms for dialogue, Michael Semple said that there is always space for dialogue but not creating platforms which allow exploitation by the Taliban and any international organisation which works towards such a platform can be called out and stopped. He continued to discuss how his research shows that the Taliban have ambitions beyond Afghanistan and to influence the Islamic World and particularly muslims living in western countries. He also pointed out how counter-terror finance policy jails people for sending USD 500 to Afghanistan but the same system provides access of USD 2.5 Billion budget to the most successful terrorist group in the world with close to no accountability, allowing the fungible funds to be misused.

On the question where the funds are going, Sirajuddin Isar pointed out that the Taliban claim to have a 160,000 strong security force and that by some estimate fifty percent of the total budget of the government is going to security matters. How else can the Taliban fund their members unless they tap into the humanitarian aid and development aid which enters Afghanistan directly or through the aid organisations? The Taliban have off-budget funds they receive from undisclosed sources and use this to progress their agenda.

In response to a question by the audience, Shoaib Rahim argued how the underlying assumption of donors, which is that aid will create the right incentive structure for the Taliban to gradually change behaviour is false simply because the Taliban have demonstrated that they do not prioritise the welfare of the population, nor their quality of life if and when it clashes with the group's ideological positions such as girl's education, or power sharing, hence this aid will continue to serve political agendas and have minimal impact on the welfare of the people at large.

Panel Highlights

- We cannot expect to address Afghanistan's problem by distributing bags of grain, argues Michale Semple, while the root cause of today's crisis, the Taliban are still in power.
- Zahra Joya argued how the systematic targeting of women by the Taliban is massively contributing to the worsening of their economic situation.
- Shoaib Rahim argued how the Republic was closely scrutinised in international platforms in exchange for the aid it received, but the Taliban are not subject to the most basic level of accountability.

Panel IV: Islamic Renaissance: Post Islamism; Civilisational Islam

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

PANEL-IV:
"Islamic Renaissance;
Post Islamism; Civilisational Islam"

بازدهمین
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امنیتی هرات
۷-۹ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKERS

Susanne Koelbl
Author and Lecturer

Amb. Mohammad Moheq
Islamic Studies Scholar, Afghanistan

Dr. Michael Rubin
Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, US

Mustafa Akyol
Writer & Journalist, Cato Institute, Turkey/US

Kadyr Malikov
Advisor to Director of State Commission for Religious Affairs, Kyrgyzstan

Nasrine Gross
Author & Women's Rights Activist, Afghanistan

Dr. Hassan Aboutaleb
Scholar, AL-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt

Time: 16:00-17:30 Tajikistan | 15:30-17:00 Afghanistan

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The panel, skillfully moderated by Ms. Susanne Koelbl from Der Spiegel, Germany, brought together an array of perspectives on the multifaceted journey of modernising Islamic civilizations. The diverse panel included Amb. Mohammad Moheq, Islamic Studies Scholar, Afghanistan, Dr. Michael Rubin, Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, US, Mr. Mustafa Akyol, Writer & Journalist, Cato Institute, Turkey/US, Mr. Kadyr Malikov, Advisor to Director of State Commission for Religious Affairs, Kyrgyzstan, Dr. Hassan Aboutaleb, Scholar, Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt, and Ms. Nasrine Gross, Author & Women's Rights Activist, Afghanistan.

Ambassador Moheq initiated the discussion by highlighting the urgent need to eliminate violence against women, linking it with the UN's ongoing initiative. His emphasis on Afghanistan's struggles against terrorism underscored the poignant human cost, emphasising the necessity of addressing these challenges at a global level.

In contrast, Dr. Rubin's remarks centred on the adverse repercussions of governments leveraging extremism for foreign policy goals. He underscored the significance of introspection within Islamic policies, pointing to certain countries and the concerning pattern where innocent citizens suffer the consequences of blowback resulting from policies entangled with terrorism. Dr. Rubin's plea for a civilised discourse and constructive engagement found resonance amidst the differing perspectives.

Mr. Akyol, though unable to attend in person, contributed through a recorded video. His emphasis on intellectual review and reform within Islamic societies echoed the sentiments of other panellists. Akyol called for fundamental changes in theology, Sharia, and human rights while preserving the core values of Islam.

Mr. Malikov brought a unique perspective, emphasising the critical role of Muslim intellectuals in embracing a new wave of thinking. Scientific knowledge, critical thinking, and comparative analysis were highlighted as crucial components for the intellectual development necessary for reforming Muslim societies. His insights reflected the importance of fostering a culture of open-mindedness and intellectual curiosity.

Dr. Aboutaleb focused on the compatibility of Islamic faith with modern values, advocating for the reinterpretation of Islamic principles through various cultural lenses. He emphasised the importance of freedom of thought within the Muslim community, suggesting that diversity in interpretation is essential for a dynamic and progressive Islamic civilization.

Ms. Gross offered a compelling perspective, drawing attention to the impact of women's exclusion on fostering extremism. She argued for intellectual discussions on the reinterpretation of Quranic principles, stressing the need for women to be active participants in these dialogues. Her insights highlighted the gender dimension in the broader discourse on modernising Islamic societies. She argued that the following five points will be instrumental in moving Afghanistan away from being drenched in extremism:

- 1- To distribute a translation of the Koran to a large number of people in Afghanistan because when people read the translation in their own language, they will understand it in direct, personal and the non-extremist way that it is in reality.

- 2- To reinstate a normal scholastic curriculum and reestablish/reopen literacy, schools and universities to all Afghans. To attain this and also help collect all the unemployed educated people from the streets into a professional cadre we need to establish a mechanism akin to what the Shah of Iran had as the White Army or we have in the US as the AmeriCorps, to populate the administrative and scholastic needs of schools. Whichever way we do it, we must bring the educational system up to speed and make it available to all citizens – young and old, male and female!

- 3- To bridge the communication gap that exists between the educated and those less schooled. We have to develop ways to bridge these two generations to foster better communication and help lower the general vulnerability – something they both need in order to better withstand enemy machinations.

- 4- The Islamic world should develop ways of normalizing the data accumulated in Koranic translations/interpretations (not in the Arabic of the Koran). I believe such

normalization will create a better uniformity of understanding that will promote cooperation and mutual respect all over the Muslim world including in Afghanistan.

5- We must help citizens of Afghanistan achieve a level of healing and closure, and breathe some genuine serenity and peace.

Several overarching themes emerged from the panel discussions. The imperative for intellectual reform within Islamic communities to adapt to modern challenges remained a central focus. The inclusion and empowerment of women were identified as pivotal for addressing extremism and fostering a more balanced and progressive Islamic civilization. The impact of external forces on Islamic societies was acknowledged, with calls for cautious and productive foreign engagement. Good governance, justice, and anti-corruption measures were recognized as essential components in preventing radicalization and fostering societal development.

In conclusion, the panel provided a nuanced and comprehensive exploration of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the quest to modernise Islamic civilization. The speakers' diverse perspectives enriched the discourse, fostering a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics involved. The discussions underscored the importance of ongoing dialogue, intellectual engagement, and global cooperation to address these critical issues.

Panel Highlights

- **Intellectual Reform:** Emphasis on the urgent need for an intellectual review and reform within Islamic societies, encompassing theology, Sharia, and human rights.
- **Gender Inclusivity:** Recognition of the pivotal role of women in combating extremism, with a call for their active participation in discussions and reinterpretation of Quranic principles.
- **Global Engagement:** Acknowledgment of the impact of external forces on Islamic societies, underscoring the importance of cautious and productive foreign engagement for societal development.

Panel V: Nowrozistan: Persianate World; Inclusive Neighbourhood

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

**PANEL-V:
"Nowrozistan:
Persianate World; Inclusive Neighbourhood"**

MODERATOR

Manizha Bahrah
Scholar

SPEAKERS

Dr. Javeed Ahwar
Postdoctoral Scholar,
Nazarbayev University,
Kazakhstan

**Dr. Habib Ollah
Fazeli**
Lecturer, University of
Tehran, Iran

**Senator Afrasiab
Khattak**
Former Senator, Pakistan

Dr. Nazif Shahrani
Professor of anthropology and
of Central Asian and Middle
Eastern Studies at Indiana
University Bloomington

**Dr. Abdullah
Rehnoma**
Senior Researcher, Center for
Strategic Studies, Tajikistan

Time: 9:00 – 10:30 Tajikistan | 8:30 – 10:00 Afghanistan

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This panel discussed the potential of the Persianate civilizational identity and how it can serve as a basis for greater regional and global cooperation with the modern world, particularly among the geographies celebrating nowruz.

Iran-Shahr (Iranian City) or Iran-Zamin (Iranian Land) is the broader concept of the greater Iranian cultural zone and geographically this comprises modern-day Bukhara to Syria to Egypt. Dr Sayed Jawad Tababai, the Iran-Shahr theorist, argues that the concept of Iran-Shahr spans millennia starting from the Achaemenid period, goes quiet for two centuries during the Sassanid period, and then resurges from the third to fifth century through works such as Ferdowsi's Shahnama, Khaja Nezam-ul-Molk's Syasat Nama, and works from Farabi and Avicenna.

After the Mongol invasion, the decline of Iranian thought begins and logic and rationality are replaced with deterministic thought. Traditions overtake reason and the dark ages of Iranian thought last over nine centuries. During the Constitutional i.e. "Mashroota" period, a legalistic school of thought resurfaced out of tradition and modern intellectuals and legal scholars such as Mostashar-u-Dawla, author of 'Resala Yak Kalema' challenged the notion of tradition and argued that laws emanating from Iran-Shahr should replace tradition.

Dr Habibullah Fazeli argued that Iran-Shahr is a concept taken from Iran's religious and Avestan history and converted into a political concept of the millenia until the

Safavid dynasty. He argues that it is wrong to define this political concept within the confines of modern-day Iran's geography and that it spans the region covering Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan and parts of India. There is potential to form a new political identity based on this concept to be more in line with the more inclusive and broader direction that collective political orders are moving towards

Dr Jawed Ahwar discussed how the Persian language was a strong part of the shared history among the region, particularly Afghanistan and Uzbekistan and where the concept of Khurasan served as an umbrella identity for the various sub-groups in this geography including for the Pashtun king Ahmad Shah 'Abdali' who used this term and not Afghanistan. Western nationalism undermined this common political heritage but Persian can be used to reconnect these historic cities. The fact that much of this Persian speaking population's history has remained oral and not codified and most of the written text refers to non-Persian rulers who have systematically been hostile towards Persian served as a major barrier in the formation of a pan-persian identity in modern times.

Dr Abdullah Rahnama discussed how ideological and religious fundamentalism as well as systematic political hostility undermined the Iran-Shahr political identity. A clear example is the use of a translator when a Taliban delegation visited Tehran, when everyone knows that Persian is a common language among all residents of both countries. We had a ten-fold greater Persian-speaking population compared to today only 150 years ago and collectively fifty times more political power. Tajikistan recognizes itself as the legacy holder of Aryan governance. The Persian civilization rules in Tajikistan and is the government official policy. Celebrating Nawroz and protection of Persian language and its historic figures is a matter of law for Tajikistan, unlike the hostility that Persian faces in Afghanistan as well as in Iran from religious or ethnic ideology. He noted the political and economic necessity of Tajikistan using the Cyrillic font as a legacy of Soviet rule and over time this is an issue that Tajikistan intends to address.

Afrsiab Khattak referenced the clash between modernists and traditionalists as the source of conflict fuelled by great powers in the region in the twentieth century. He discussed the 'Jihad' project funded by University of Nebraska in Pakistan and the creation of fifty thousand madrassas linked to extremist ideologies of Wahhabism and Salafism going against the religious schools in Samarkand and Bukhara which were based on diversity, tolerance and togetherness. Pakistan removed Persian from its curriculum in 1980 and this disconnected us from our Persian heritage and allowed for greater religious indoctrination. We must revive this common identity and embrace pluralism once again.

Dr Nazif Shahrani argued how these identities are all artificial constructs and are not necessarily organic, rather cultural and political in nature. He argued how the diverse range of sub-identities in Afghanistan needs to be recognized if we are to form any

political identity which is pluralistic in nature promoting tolerance and acceptance among communities. Without this umbrella identity, we cannot create trust among Tajiks, Pashtuns, Uzbeks and Hazaras in Afghanistan.

Panel Highlights

- Dr Jawed Ahwar discussed how the Persian language was a strong part of the shared history among the region, particularly Afghanistan and Uzbekistan and where the concept of Khurasan served as an umbrella identify for the various sub-groups in this geography including for the Pashtun king Ahmad Shah 'Abdali' who used this term and not Afghanistan.
- Afrasiab Khattak discussed the 'Jihad' project funded by University of Nebraska in Pakistan and the creation of fifty thousand madrassas linked to extremist ideologies of Wahhabism and Salafism going against the religious schools in Samarkand and Bukhara which were based on diversity, tolerance and togetherness
- Dr Nazif Shahrani argued how the diverse range of sub-identities in Afghanistan needs to be recognized if we are to form any political identity which is pluralistic in nature promoting tolerance and acceptance among communities.

Panel VI: Regional Consensus; Global Support

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

PANEL-VI:
“Regional Consensus; Global Support”

بازدهمین گفتوگوی امنیتی هرات
۷-۶ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKERS

Lynne O'Donnell
Author and Independent Journalist

Amb. Said Jayab Jawad
Former Ambassador to Russia, Afghanistan

Ashita Mittal
Regional Representative for Central Asia, UNODC, Uzbekistan

General Asad Durrani
Former Director General of ISI, Pakistan

Sir Nick Kay
Former Ambassador to Afghanistan, UK

Karina Timsina
Programme Coordinator for Central Asia United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism (UNOCT)

Dr. Vladimir Evseev
Head of CIS Institute, Department of Eurasian Integration & SCO Development, Russia

Time: 11:00-12:30 Tajikistan | 10:30 – 12:00 Afghanistan

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A diverse slate of highly experienced panellists analysed different angles of regional consensus and global support to address the crises in Afghanistan. Below are key points of analysis and recommendations by the speakers for national, regional, and international actors.

Analysis

The departure point of the analysis of this panel was whether it is realistic to have expectations from the region and the international community on the case of Afghanistan at this point in time. While Some of the speakers called on the region and the global community to “re-engage” with Afghanistan, others cautioned saying, “Nobody will come to help.” One of the speakers quoted from the previous Herat Security Dialogue where an American participant had reportedly stated, “Afghanistan is off the American radar.” One of the speakers asserted a more nuanced position and stated that the answer lies somewhere in between optimism and pessimism.

There was, however, consensus among the panellists that both regional consensus and global support for Afghanistan was “in short supply” these days. Several reasons were mentioned to support this statement including:

- Lack of a legitimate partner in Kabul;
- Absence of a coherent opposition to the Taliban that can threaten to capture geography;

- Other global crises that hinder cooperation among global powers including on Afghanistan;
- Domestic challenges and priorities of other countries. For example, the United States will be focused on presidential elections over the course of the following year.

Even though speakers acknowledged the difficulty of achieving regional consensus, not just now but historically, they identified a few avenues that might still encourage, or even force, regional collaboration on Afghanistan. For instance, the growing “East-West divide” might force the region to work together “to have a chance for survival”. Fight against Daesh or ISIS was mentioned as another shared interest of the regional countries. Other proposed common agenda included addressing the catastrophic human rights crisis in Afghanistan. Finally, the panel called attention to the fact that the threat of drug trafficking, and even the dire humanitarian impacts of the reported reductions in opium cultivation, require collaboration in Afghanistan.

Recommendations

The following actionable recommendations were offered during the panel discussion:

- 1) The international community should put more efforts in support of the Taliban’s opposition and Afghanistan’s civil society.
- 2) The UN Security Council members should focus on accountability. A specific action is to recognize gender apartheid in Afghanistan. This is morally the right thing to do. It is also a topic that no country rejects and it provides common ground for collaboration.
- 3) The recommendations of the recent Assessment of the Situation in Afghanistan by the UN Secretary General’s Special Coordinator for Afghanistan should be implemented. These are:
 - a. Organize a large-format conference on Afghanistan.
 - b. Create a Contact Group to follow up the decisions of the large-format conference.
 - c. Appoint a high-level UN Special Envoy for Afghanistan to address the political context of the situation.
- 4) The region and the international community should invest in licit economy to prevent the growth of illicit economy.

Panel VII: National Dialogue: Towards a Democratic Afghanistan

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

PANEL-VII: "National Dialogue: Towards a Democratic Afghanistan"

بازدهمین کنفرانس امنیت هرات
۷-۹ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKERS

Dr. Sahraa Karimi Filmmaker and University Lecturer	Aref Dostyar Senior Advisor, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame, US	Dr. Zakar Hussain Eshad President of Afghanistan Citizens' Party	Dr. Atefa Tayeb Former Parliamentary Deputy Minister, Afghanistan	Shah Mahmood Mlakhet Head of Republicans' Movement of Afghanistan	Ali Maisam Nazary Head of Foreign Relations for the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan	Bashir Ahmad Tahyanj Former Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Afghanistan	Karim Amin Senior Member of Hizb-e-Islami

Time: 12:30-14:30 Tajikistan | 12:00 – 14:00 Afghanistan

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The moderator started the panel by highlighting how under Taliban rule in the past two years the world saw the dismantling of the democratic political structure and the erosion of foundations painstakingly built by the people of Afghanistan with international support. The consequences were abandonment of the constitution, dissolution of the parliament, economic collapse, and the marginalisation of women. A regressive attitude has permeated various facets of Afghan society, from education to the judicial system. The global community's apparent tolerance of these events as they unfolded adds an additional layer of tragedy. Former republic-era officials, shedding the garb of renewal, aligned themselves with the Taliban, compounding the crisis. The urgency of the situation has been eclipsed on the global stage by subsequent geopolitical events, relegating the issue of Afghanistan's democracy to the background.

The overarching Question is can a national discourse for coexistence, mutual acceptance, and the restoration of democracy still be envisioned in Afghanistan?

Aref Dostyar discussed how global attention is now focused on other conflicts such as Israel-Palestine and the Ukraine war, leaving no attention or pressure on the Taliban to join in dialogue with non-Taliban stakeholders. On the other hand, the non-Taliban actors inside Afghanistan are not active at all, and are still taking shape outside the

country, hence the overall space for meaningful dialogue does not currently exist. This means, we either wait for the situation to change or take matters in our own hands to force greater alignment of the international community towards dialogue. Collective efforts towards dialogue must gain momentum among non-Taliban actors and this is the only path for achieving a political resolution for Afghanistan's crisis.

Shah Mahmoud Miakhel was asked how he has shifted his position from acting defence minister fighting against the Taliban during the Republic era and now pushes for political engagement. He discussed how we and the region have not learned from forty years of conflict in Afghanistan and are repeating the same flawed methodologies, unable to consolidate around a few fundamental pillars to create a political process. Afghanistan cannot meaningfully fight terrorism without a legitimate government based on the rule of law and the will of the people, and this should be our priority.

Zaker Hussain Ershad highlighted how the current conflict in Afghanistan is one between the people and the Taliban who are imposing a rigid interpretation of religion on the population. He refers to how genuine religious scholars who based their faith and preaching on the true teachings of Islam need to be supported to fight the extremism and fundamentalism of the Taliban. The clergy of Afghanistan who represent the civilizational, pluralistic and tolerant Islamic principles in line with the culture of the people and not against their beliefs and rights. Today's generation, particularly those in the anti-Taliban front must clarify the values they are fighting for. We must envision a structure that is responsive to the diversity of Afghanistan and must not sanctify old structures, it is only in this scenario where we will be empowered to address women's rights and provide justice.

Atefa Tayeb highlighted how women were continuously sidelined by most political entities in the past twenty years, and that women had to fight an uphill battle to achieve the gains made. Currently under Taliban rule, it is the women who are leading the fight and protest against the Taliban by demanding the right for education, the right to work and their freedoms and continuing to pay a heavy price being jailed and tortured by the Taliban. Demanding that women must have collective political effort might not be fair, as men and women must work side by side to achieve political objectives and having an all-women political party for example might not be as effective, regardless of the fact that we as a society might not yet be prepared for such a move.

Maisam Nazary, representing the resistance front, argued how their position to fight against the Taliban is on behalf of the people of Afghanistan. Based on our understanding of the Taliban, he argued that we must fight the Taliban by any means necessary. After the collapse of political engagement, we started a military confrontation to show to the world that the Taliban are not immune and are a vulnerable group which can be challenged militarily. It is our intention to create the

necessary pressure on the Taliban so they are willing for meaningful dialogue. We envision that once this meaningful engagement begins, after a transitory phase of governance, we can move towards a democratic political structure representing the will of the people of Afghanistan. The ball is in the Taliban's court, on whether they are interested in dialogue or in further conflict. The door of negotiations are always open and we are open to discussions with the Taliban to determine the future of the country, if they are serious in the matter.

Bashir Ahmad Tayanj argued how he is seriously concerned about the forced migration of communities in north of Afghanistan and how Pakistani pashtuns are placed in various parts of the north. If we want to come together as a nation, this concern should not only belong to Uzbeks or Tajiks in the north, rather the Pashtuns of Afghanistan should also raise their voices against this, otherwise it will continue to deepen mistrust among the various ethnicities in the country.

Mohammad Amin Karim highlighted that his presence in the conference is in a personal capacity and not representing Hezb-e-Islami. He argued that he is not in favour of toppling the Taliban or painting parties in a black and white manner as this goes against the spirit of tolerance, which many in the panel have referred to. He argued that he is in favour of many developments which have taken place in the past two years under the Taliban. The international community has taken a clear position to engage the Taliban and most recently UN Special Special Coordinator, Feridun Sinirlioğlu to conduct an Independent Assessment on behalf of UNSC and after three months of visiting various provinces across the country have issued a report which I endorse. Mr. Karim argued that he does not see an inherent problem in the interests of the Taliban, the people of Afghanistan and the International Community which cannot be addressed through a UN-led political process.

Panel Highlights

- Atefa Tayeb highlighted how women were continuously sidelined by most political entities in the past twenty years, and that women had to fight an uphill battle to achieve the gains made.
- Mohammad Amin Karim argued that he is not in favour of toppling the Taliban or painting parties in a black and white manner as this goes against the spirit of tolerance, which many in the panel have referred to. He argued that he is in favour of many developments which have taken place in the past two years under the Taliban.
- Bashir Ahmad Tayanj argued how he is seriously concerned about the forced migration of communities in north of Afghanistan and how Pakistani pashtuns are placed in various parts of the north.

Special Panel: Conversation with Amir Ismail Khan, a prominent anti-taliban leader

HERAT SECURITY DIALOGUE-XI
November 27-28, 2023, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

Special Panel

بازدهمین
کنفرانس
امنیتی هرات
۷-۹ قوس ۱۴۰۲، دوشنبه - تاجکستان

MODERATOR

SPEAKER

Ahmad Wahid Payman
Writer & journalist

Amir Mohammad Ismail Khan
Anti Soviet Resistance Commander,
Former Governor of Herat Province
and Minister of Energy and Water,
Afghanistan.

14:00-14:30 Tajikistan 13:30-14:00 Afghanistan

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Summary of Remarks by Mohammad Ismail Khan

- I am grateful to Tajikistan for hosting such a conference to allow our thought leaders and intellectuals to gather in these dark times. Regardless of reaching a consensus, it is critical to understand the trajectory of regional and global affairs through dialogue and discussion.
- Since Afghanistan's collapse, the country now faces unprecedented challenges under the tyrannical rule of the Taliban, where the mineral resources of the country are being exploited, the economy of the country is in shatters, there is mass poverty, millions have fled and are trying to flee the country, and forced migration policies are undertaken by the Taliban where refugees from Pakistan are located in various parts of the country to change the ethnic composition of the population.
- Thousands of religious madrassas have replaced schools which are dangerous for the region and the world. This is why the region and all must be wary of the Taliban and the hidden agendas that intelligence agencies pursue through them because it won't just be the people of Afghanistan who pay the price.
- The question now is what must we do. There is always resistance in the face of tyranny, and the people will challenge those in power either through soft power or hard power methods. This is how the Jihad against the Soviets formed among the people of Afghanistan, how the first resistance against the Taliban formed and how the current resistance is shaping up as well. The courageous

resistance of the women, the assemblies and protests as well as the media, cultural and political efforts are all in this path of achieving change.

- Our past experience tells us that without forming a decentralised political structure which gets its legitimacy from the people and without accepting the ethnic and cultural diversity within Afghanistan based on the rule of law and civil liberties, we cannot achieve a system responsive to the needs of the people and will not be able to establish peace and security within Afghanistan.
- I am proud that in this second resistance I, together with my peers, have laid the foundation of a popular resistance and want to commemorate the brave and courageous fighters of a national resistance front on the high mountains of Afghanistan as well as the political, cultural and social activities that support this endeavour for justice.
- The Taliban and their supporters must know that working against the people of Afghanistan through tyranny and systematic discrimination only empowers and emboldens the will of the people to continue their stand and resist.

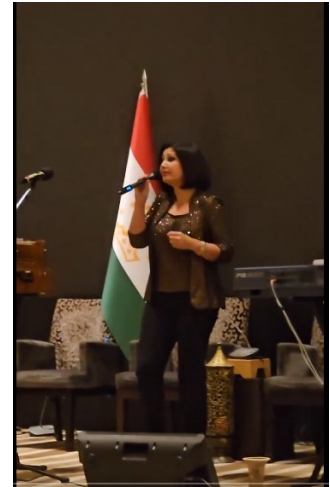
Q&A

- In response to the question on whether or not he believes it is possible to hold talks with the Taliban and have political dialogue, Ismail Khan responded by referring to the first resistance when multiple attempts to hold political talks took place, specifically when the Ahmad Shah Masoud went to Wardak to meet with the Taliban for peace talks but wasn't successful and also when former President Burhanuddin Rabbani was assassinated by Taliban while leading the peace process in 2010. We have always explored various paths, but it is the Taliban who want to dominate and control it all, we will continue to strive using political means even today.
- When asked what the next steps should be given the Taliban's unwillingness to have dialogue, Ismail Khan highlighted that the Taliban are only a small fraction of Afghanistan and that this is a large country with forty million people. The Taliban will not last. We, the resistance, are trying to engage politically with the Taliban and ask the region and the world to continue pressure on the Taliban to force talks but we are also pursuing a military path to force them to talks.
- On the issue of lack of unity and consolidation among the non-Taliban front, Ismail Khan highlighted that the collapse was unexpected and the political class, intellectuals and thought leaders were scattered around the world and that it takes time to consolidate. Ismail Khan argued that there is increasing consolidation and unity among the resistance leadership and we will continue to see this strengthen.

Cultural Events

Herat Security Dialogue is a strong believer in the power of poetry, music and artistic expression and its strong and impactful political symbolism. With this in mind, HSD-XI had the privilege of having the top artists of Afghanistan represented in the conference.

The renowned singer, Madame Fereshta Sama performed a series of highly patriotic songs such as 'Watan Eshq-e-to Eftikharam' which roughly means 'O home, loving you is an honour for me'.



The Youth Orchestra of Afghanistan performed ten various musical pieces in the famous Lahooti Theatre in Dushanbe. These included epic and patriotic songs such as the Farsi 'Sarzame Man' (Oh my Homeland), and the Pashto 'Watan Jannat Neshan De' (Homeland is the symbol of heaven), as well as western and European musical pieces such as the Turkish March from Mozart and also classical music from Afghanistan such Anar Anar, Masti Mangai, Sar Sare Pushta, Pa Besmillah and Lal Mari, which were all received with standing ovations from the excited audience.



Closing Remarks

The philosophy of the Herat Security Dialogue can be best encapsulated by the Persian idiom which states “feed him and do not ask him of his faith”, and therefore since 2012 we have opened our conference to people from all walks of life and continue to extend invitations to as diverse a range of participants as possible, regardless of their response, as we believe in the power of dialogue.



The Afghanistan that I know, believe in and continue to struggle for is based on justice, rationality and dialogue or “Sho’or”, on persian poetry and the values it encapsulates “Sher”, “Sharab” which is interpreted different by scholars and intellectuals reflecting the sufi and mystical essence of our culture and finally “Shabab” or the beauty and elegance of our people and our history.

Immense gratitude to His Excellency Imam Ali Rahman, the President of Tajikistan, for providing the opportunity to hold the HSD-XI in Dushanbe and appreciated the cooperation of governmental and non-governmental institutions of Tajikistan in organising this conference.

This conference would not have been possible without the financial support of sponsors, mainly the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) supporting HSD since 2012 as well as University of Sussex for their continued support.

*****The End*****

Annex 1: Short Bios of the Presenters and Moderators

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta



Is Afghanistan's former National Security Adviser, former Foreign Minister and the Senior Advisor on International Affairs to President Hamid Karzai. Dr. Spanta fled to Turkey during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before moving to Germany. There he became assistant professor of political science at RWTH Aachen University. He also served as Spokesperson for the Alliance for Democracy in Afghanistan and was active in the German Green Party. He also briefly taught at Kabul University after the fall of the

Taliban.

Prof. Qasim Shah Eskandar



Is the founder and President of the Centre for Afghanistan and Regional Studies of Tajikistan. Meanwhile, he is the Chief Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. Previously he served as the head of the Department of Iran and Afghanistan at the Institute of Language, Literature, Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan. His research focus is on the problems of Afghanistan and regional security.

Mr. Sharaf Rahimi



Head of the Department of Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan

Ms. Jyoti Malhotra



is Founder-Editor of Awaaz South Asia web portal (awaazsouthasia.com) which is devoted to informing an international audience about the politics, business and cultures of South Asia. The website partners with news media from every country in the region, including Afghanistan. Ms. Malhotra has been a multimedia journalist for nearly 40 years and worked in India's top news media in print, TV and online, like the Indian Express, Times of India, Star News & The Print website. She is a regular guest on BBC. She lives in New Delhi, India. Her social media handle is @jomalhotra. Ms Malhotra's areas of specialisation are focused on India's foreign policy and its domestic politics as well as the overlap between the two. She has interviewed several leaders across the region, and is especially interested in why nations are lurching towards the Right, why freedom of speech is increasingly at peril and why the distance between the elite and the street is growing.

Mr. Mohammad Hossain Jafaryan



was born in 1346 in the Panj Tan Talab neighbourhood in the city of Mashhad, Iran. Serving as a cultural attaché for the Islamic Republic of Iran in Afghanistan, he holds the distinction of being one of the few journalists worldwide. In his professional journey, Jafariyan initiated his poetic career with the collection titled "Windows Facing the Sea," published in 1369 by the Artistic Circle Publications. His poetry predominantly encompasses lengthy pieces presented in a white, neoclassical style. Additionally, he has produced reports and documentaries on contemporary wars in Islamic countries, including Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Bosnia, Kosovo, Pakistan, Kashmir, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and more. One of his renowned works in this domain is the documentary "Incomplete Epic," widely known as "The Lion of the Panjshir Valley," depicting the life of Ahmad Shah Massoud, an Afghan commander.

Mr. Mohsin Dawar



Mr. Mohsin Javed Dawar is a Pakistani politician who is the chairman of the National Democratic Movement (NDM). Mohsin Dawar was elected to lead the national assembly standing committee on foreign affairs in 2022. Mr. Dawar has been a member of the National Assembly since August 2018. He is also the chairperson of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), and the co-founder of a human rights movement – the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM).

Mr. David Sedney



is an analyst and commentator on international security and strategy. He was President of the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF) and is a member of the AUAF Board of Trustees. Sedney has appeared on CNN, BBC, PBS, Al Jazeera, VOA, Australian and Turkish national TV programs, on Times Radio (UK) and Public Radio International. His views have been published in the New York Times, Washington Post, Newsweek, Time, the Guardian, Business Week, the Daily Beast, and other media. Mr. Sedney has testified before the U.S. Congress and appears as a speaker at think tanks and academic institutions. Earlier, Mr. Sedney served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia (2009–2013) and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia (2007–2009). He was Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d’Affaires at U.S. Embassies in Kabul, Beijing, and Baku after earlier diplomatic service in China and Romania. He was twice detailed to the US National Security Council, including as NSC Director for Afghanistan (2003). Mr. Sedney holds a B.A. from Princeton University, an M.Sc. (with distinction) from the U.S. National War College, and a J.D. from Suffolk University. Mr. Sedney received the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters (honoris causa) in July 2017 from the American University of Afghanistan. Mr. Sedney has been awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, the Secretary of Defense Medal for Meritorious Civilian Service (twice), the Defense Intelligence Director’s Award, the Department of State’s Superior Honor Award (six times), and the Department of State’s Meritorious Honor Award (twice). He also received the John Carroll School’s Charles K. Riepe Alumni award in 2012.

Dr. Esther Zubiri



is a Spanish State Attorney Chief with over twenty-five years of experience in counter-terrorism and sanctions regimes. Currently, she has served as a UN Security Council expert at the ISIL/Al-Qaida/Taliban Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring. Previously, she served as the Chief of Justice, Rule of Law, and Human Rights at the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), leading the Rule of Law Indicators Study (ROLIS) and the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA). Formerly, she worked as a Senior Expert at the United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism (UNOCT) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). She was appointed as the Agent of Spain to the European Court of Human Rights and the Council of Europe, representing Spain at the Committee of Experts on Terrorism (CODEXTER). She worked as a counter-terrorism counsellor in the Embassies of Spain in the United States of America and Afghanistan and the Permanent Mission of Spain to the United Nations. As a State Attorney Chief of the Ministries of Interior and Justice and the Supreme National Court, she led the investigation and prosecution of high-profile terrorist cases linked to ISIL and Al-Qaida, including the Madrid March 11 bombing attacks. She is the author of numerous articles and publications on terrorism and its financing, extradition, mutual legal assistance, and international criminal law. She holds a Juris Doctor Degree in Law and a master's degree in law and economics from the Comillas Pontifical University of Madrid (ICADE). She has been awarded with the Merit Cross of the Spanish National Police and the Silver Cross of the Spanish Civil Guard.

General Rahmatullah Nabil



Rahmatullah Nabil is an Afghan politician, and former Chief of the National Directorate of Security (NDS), in Afghanistan. Prior to that General Nabil served as Deputy of the National Security Advisor, and founder and Chief of the President Protective Service (PPS). He also served as the Deputy head of interior affairs at the National Security Council (NSC) (2003 - 2010). He was a candidate in the 2019 Presidential election.

Ms. Nazila Jamshidi



is a dedicated professional specializing in inclusive international development and democratization interventions. With a career spanning over a decade in Afghanistan's development and democratization process, she has become a skilled advisor, program creator, and implementer focused on advancing the rights and inclusion of marginalized communities through international development, foreign aid, and institution building. Nazila's journey commenced with observing human rights barriers, women's political and economic participation, gender equality, and social justice issues across Afghanistan's 27 provinces. Recognizing the imperative for fundamental changes in social justice systems and public policies, she earned a bachelor's degree in Government and Justice and Peace from Georgetown University and an M.A. in Human Rights in Foreign Policy/Diplomacy from Columbia University. Her portfolio includes collaborations with organizations such as the UN, USAID, IFRC, and other international entities in Afghanistan and the United States. She has also played a pivotal role in shaping policies and strategies that advocate for gender equality and democratic values within certain Afghan government entities. Currently based in Washington, D.C., Nazila serves as a Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Advisor. She continues to contribute her expertise towards nurturing inclusive societies and sustainable development.

Dr. Bushra Gohar



is a former Member of Parliament. Ms. Gohar is founding member & Pakhtunkhwa Chairperson of National Democratic Movement (NDM) As a former member of Parliament (2008-2013). She chaired the Parliamentary Committee for appointing chairperson of the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), Pakistan. She was elected chair of the National Assembly's Standing Committee on Women's Development and was member of National Assembly's Standing Committees on Interior, Finance and Kashmir Affairs. She was a member of the National Assembly's special committee on Millennium Development Goals & Energy Sector. Ms. Gohar was also founding member of the Women's Parliamentary Caucus. Ms. Gohar is global Adviser of Women Regional Network (WRN). She has over 30 years' experience in policy influence, development, human rights in Pakistan and the region.

Ms. Alyssa T. Yamamoto



is the Senior Legal and Policy Advisor at the Atlantic Council's Strategic Litigation Project, which works on prevention and accountability efforts for atrocity crimes, human rights violations, terrorism, and corruption offences around the world. In this capacity, she supports the grassroots End Gender Apartheid Campaign, and she is part of the core legal team leading an initiative to codify the crime of gender apartheid under international law, including in the draft crimes against humanity treaty presently under consideration by the UN General Assembly Sixth Committee (Legal). Yamamoto is a human rights lawyer who previously served as Legal Advisor to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism. Her work focused on advising UN Member States on human rights and gender mainstreaming in counterterrorism and national security and advocating for independent oversight and accountability for the systematic abuse of counterterrorism measures to target human rights defenders, civil society actors, and minority groups. Yamamoto previously worked as an attorney at an international law firm, where she specialized in public international law and international arbitration. Her representations involved litigation before the International Court of Justice and US courts, including under the US Alien Tort Statute, Torture Victim Protection Act, and International Organizations Immunities Act, and communications before the UN human rights treaty bodies and special procedures. Prior to law school, she worked in international development and global health, including as a researcher and engagement manager for the nonprofits Partners In Health and Village Health Works, respectively. She received a JD from Yale Law School and AB from Harvard College. She was also a visiting fellow at the Human Rights Center at University of Minnesota Law School; the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies; and the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights. Yamamoto has published extensively, including on issues of state responsibility for gross human rights violations and different modes of liability under international law.

Amb. Shukria Barakzai



Shukria Barakzai is a parliamentarian and a women rights activist in Afghanistan. After she was beaten on the streets of Kabul by the Taliban militants for being outdoors without a man, she became a women rights activist. She first founded a clandestine school for girls and later, when the Taliban forces were ousted from Kabul, Aina-E-Zan ("Women's Mirror"), a national weekly newspaper which informs women in Afghanistan about recent developments in health care, education and civil society. Mrs. Barakzai is an outspoken critic of child marriages, forced marriages and home violence towards women. In 2003, she was appointed member of loya jirga, a representative body convened to discuss the Constitution of Afghanistan. In 2004 she was elected a member of the Lower House of the Afghanistan Parliament. Her outstanding public service has also received recognition outside Afghanistan. In 2004, Shukria Barakzai was named the International Editor of the Year by the World Press Review and Woman of the Year by the BBC radio program Woman's Hour. Shukria Barakzai holds a degree in geology and archaeology from the University in Kabul.

Mr. Parwiz Kawa



is a Media Specialist, Civil Society Activist and Journalist. He is a founding member and Executive Director of Hasht-e Subh Daily, the largest newspaper of Afghanistan. During the years 2021 to 2023 he also served as the News Editor at Afghanistan International TV, a 24/7 news channel, in Washington DC. He is also a winner of "Journalist of Courage and Impact" award by East-West-Centre in 2018 and again in 2022. He has more than 20 years of experience working with different monthly journals, radios, TVs and newspapers. He is also an advisor to Afghanistan Journalists Centre (AFJC) and a jury member for selection of the Journalist of the Year in Afghanistan. He has graduated from the school of Law and Political Science of Kabul University, and holds a master's degree in Peace, Security and International Development Studies from the University of Innsbruck, Austria.

Ms. Habiba Ashna



Habiba Ashna Marhoon is a long activist and researcher on South Asia politics. She founded the Liberty Coalition, a nonprofit working for Afghan women and the former CEO of Kayenat Publications and Translation Center.

Mr. Michael Semple



is a research professor at the Senator George J Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice, Queen’s University Belfast. He presents the podcast Taliban Turbans and Smart Phones. Michael conducts research on Afghanistan. In recent years he has specialised in investigating the political culture of the Taliban movement. In collaboration with the Afghan National Security Council, he helped develop the early approaches to reconciliation-oriented engagement with the Taliban. He does not take responsibility for the adverse outcome of later approaches! Michael has worked in a variety of roles in Afghanistan and Pakistan. He worked with international NGOs on delivery of humanitarian assistance. He worked with UNAMA and its predecessor missions during the first Emirate and the early phases of the Republic. He served as the Deputy to the EU Special Representative. And he has worked on policy advice around conflict for a range of national and international actors. Michael’s interests include complex conflict analysis, understanding Islamist movements, witness and documentation, human rights, dialogue, alternative strategies of conflict transformation and humanitarianism in conflict.

Ms. Zahra Joya



is an Afghan journalist who was born in 1992 in Bamyan province and she has been working as a journalist in Afghanistan since 2011. She has worked on women's and children's stories and has also written investigative reports. In 2020, she decided to create Rukhshana Media through personal savings. she chose the name of her news agency Rukhshana after a 19-year-old Afghan girl who ran away from home in Ghor province for a forced marriage and was

stoned to death by the Taliban in 2015. She was evacuated to Britain in August 2021 after the fall of Afghanistan. She was chosen as one of the 12 women of 2022 by Time magazine because of her work. she received the freedom of expression award from the city of Valencia, Spain, and the changemaker award from the Bill Gates Foundation.

Dr. Sarajuddin Isar



is a Political Economy researcher with extensive overseas experience in taxation and state-building, aid, conflict, and development. He holds a PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London, with his doctoral focus centred on the political economy of taxation and state-building in Afghanistan. He is a Radboud Excellent Fellow at the Centre for International Conflict-Analysis and Management (CICAM), Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands. Dr Isar worked as a senior researcher at the International Accounting Bulletin and was engaged with several academic institutions including the Open University, University of Edinburgh, The International Centre for Tax and Development (ICTD), and Oxford Policy Management (OPM) in the UK. He was an AREU visiting scholar and collaborated with Oliver Wyman, Independent and BBC Persian London. He also served as the Chief of Staff of the Governor of the Central Bank of Afghanistan and worked in different capacities with a series of international organisations including the USAID/BearingPoint, UN/WFP, the Catholic Relief Services, Acted, Afghanaid and Oxfam. Dr Isar is a published academic author and contributor to a number of academic journals, media outlets and research think tanks across the globe.

Dr. Fardin Hashemi



was born in 1982 at Herat city of Afghanistan. After finishing primary studies, He earned his bachelor's degree in political science and master's degree in international relations from Shahid Beheshti University of Tehran, Iran in 2008. Subsequently he received his PHD degree in international relations with central Asia and development approach from National University of Tajikistan in 2018. Dr Hashimi has been working as professor and head of faculty at Management and Development Department of Kabul University, focused on research and teaching of international development and sustainable development goals in undeveloped countries from 2013 to 2021. in 2020 Dr Hashimi established Afghanistan's Development Studies Canter ADSCO, as a non-

profit research centre focused on sustainable development in Afghanistan, ADSCO published several research about sustainable development goals in Afghanistan like Gender Equality and role of United Nation agencies in Afghanistan.

Ms. Susanne Koelbl



is a distinguished journalist at Der Spiegel since 1991, is renowned for her extensive reporting from conflict zones globally, including the Balkans, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and more. Her expertise lies in interviews with prominent political and military leaders, spanning from Bashar al-Assad to President Trump's advisors. Beyond her journalistic pursuits, Koelbl has authored impactful books on Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia, offering deep insights into these regions. She also engages in academic roles, teaching at Leipzig University, and actively contributes to programs training young journalists worldwide. Additionally, she spearheads the poetry project.de, a platform amplifying the voices of war migrants through their biographies in poetry, alongside her affiliations with Berlin-based philanthropic foundations.

Amb. Mohammad Moheq



holds master degree in theology and Islamic philosophy. He had taught in Herat university for 10 years until 2006. He was a member of the curriculum board of the education ministry, 2007. He worked as advisor in the strategic studies centre in foreign affairs ministry, then as political officer of the Afghanistan embassy in Cairo between 2008 to 2011. He was cultural advisor of the president of Afghanistan between 2015 to 2018. He served as Ambassador of Afghanistan in Egypt from 2018 to 2021. He is currently editor in chief of 8am newspaper. He has published several books on reforming Islamic thoughts, and criticism of religious extremism. Also, he has translated several books from Arabic into Farsi. He is known as a public speaker in Afghan and international media.

Dr. Michael Rubin



is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he specializes in Iran, Turkey, and the broader Middle East. A former Pentagon official, Dr. Rubin has lived in post-revolution Iran, Yemen, and both pre- and postwar Iraq. He also spent time with the Taliban before 9/11. For more than a decade, he taught classes at sea about the Horn of Africa and Middle East conflicts, culture, and terrorism, to deployed US Navy and Marine units. Dr. Rubin is the author, coauthor, and co editor of several books

exploring diplomacy, Iranian history, Arab culture, Kurdish studies, and Shi'ite politics, including "Seven Pillars: What Really Causes Instability in the Middle East?" (AEI Press, 2019); "Kurdistan Rising" (AEI Press, 2016); "Dancing with the Devil: The Perils of Engaging Rogue Regimes" (Encounter Books, 2014); and "Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos" (Palgrave, 2005). Dr. Rubin has a PhD and an MA in history from Yale University, where he also obtained a BS in biology.

Mr. Mustafa Akyol



Writer & Journalist, Cato Institute, Turkey/US

Mr. Kadyr Malikov



Advisor to Director of State Commission for Religious Affairs, Kyrgyzstan

Dr. Hassan Aboutaleb



Has a PhD in political science with rank of first honour, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, 1995. Working now as Consultant at Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies and a Columnist in Al-Ahram newspaper(Cairo) and Al-Sarq Al-Awsat newspaper(London). Previously, was a Chairman of the Board of Dar Al Ma'arif (National Press Foundation) 2014-2015, Director of the Al-Ahram Regional Institute for Journalism (2007-2014), Assistant Director of Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (2000-2011), Editor of the "Arab Strategic Report" published by the Center for Political and Strategic Studies (2000-2007), and Supervisor of the Electronic Site of Al- ahram Center for Political & strategic Studies (1989 to October 2009). His main interest: Regional security by applying to the Gulf, East Asia and the Korean Peninsula, Terrorism phenomena in the north African states, Foreign policy of Arab countries and Arab Regional system.

Ms. Nasrine Gross



Author & Women's Rights Activist, Afghanistan.

Ms. Manizha Bahrah



Born in Herat, completed her bachelor's degree at Herat University, master's degree at Erciyes University, Turkey, and is currently a Ph.D student in Sociology at Ankara University, Turkey. She is a member of the Union of Young Academicians of Turkey, a researcher at the Research Academy in Turkey (MESBAM), Member of the "Research Studies" group in Türkiye, the head of the Abdulvahed Bahrah educational and research centre in Herat, a university lecturer.

Dr. Javeed Ahwar



holds three master degrees: in Politics and Security in Central Asia from the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (2011), in European and International Human Rights Law from Leiden University (2015), and in Cultural Anthropology from Utrecht University (2018). He recently completed his Ph.D. degree (Magna Cum Laude) in Eurasian Studies at Nazarbayev University. He has also participated in Gender Equality Studies Fellowship Program at Iceland University in 2012. Dr. Ahwar's research can be described as critical study of elitist politics and historiographies within the overall frame of postcolonial studies with geographic focus on Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan. His research so far has mostly focused on comparative study of early modern Uzbek, (Tajiki/Dari) Persian and Pashto literatures. Through his works, he has laid emphasis on the role of language ideology, elitist (dominant group) politics, educational policies and history-writing in transforming national vis-a-vis subnational identities. He has also done fieldwork among Afghanistani diaspora in Hamburg Germany in 2017.

Dr. Abdullah Rahnoma



Senior Researcher, Center for Strategic Studies, Tajikistan.

Dr. Habib Ollah Fazeli



Professor of Political Science at the University of Tehran, Iran, Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Tehran, author and researcher in the field of national identity and political thought in Iran.

Senator Afrasiab Khattak



is a Pashtun nationalist politician and political analyst who is a senior leader of the National Democratic Movement. He has formerly served as the chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, a member of the Senate of Pakistan, and the provincial president of the Awami National Party. He is an activist in the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement.

Ms. Lynne O'Donnell



Australian journalist & author Lynne O'Donnell is a columnist for Foreign Policy magazine. She writes regularly about Afghanistan, Pakistan, South and Central Asia, as well as extremism and terrorism. She was bureau chief in Kabul for the French news agency AFP and the Associated Press between 2009-17, and returned to Afghanistan in 2021 to cover the last four months of the Taliban's insurgency. She was detained and interrogated by the Taliban's GDI when she returned in 2022 to do a series of reports on life under the extremist regime. She holds a Master's degree in War Studies from King's College London. She spent more than a decade as a journalist in China. She is based in London.

Amb. Said Tayeb Jawad



is the CEO of Capitalize LLC, a US based strategic consulting firm specializing in the investment and security. He has served as Chief of Staff to the President of Afghanistan, and Ambassador of Afghanistan to Washington, London, Moscow, as well as Buenos Aires, Brasilia, Bogota, Mexico City and Dublin, over two decades. Ambassador Jawad's academic positions include Chairman of the American University of Afghanistan, Diplomat in Residence at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and Fellow at the Future of Diplomacy Project at the Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government. His most recent book is *The Fist Flamenco in Samangan*, a collection of his poetries.

Ms. Ashita Mittal



is the Regional Representative, United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime, Regional Office for Central Asia, based in Tashkent. She has been working with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) since 1995. She served as the Deputy Representative for the UNODC Country Office in Afghanistan, from 2009 to 2014 and prior to that served as the Deputy Representative, UNODC Regional Office for South Asia covering Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, where she joined in 1995. Prior to this, she served with the World Food Programme in India, engaging in food security. She worked extensively with civil society on drug use prevention, treatment and rehabilitation and was well recognized for her pioneering work in the field. Her work was nuanced with health, gender, sustainable development perspectives. She brings with her over 28 years of development experience, especially her work on counter narcotics and crime. She has published articles and contributed to research and development of knowledge products in the sector. She brings a wealth of experience on Programme management of technical cooperation programmes on narcotics and other transnational organised crime, at both country and regional level on policy, advocacy, programming, quality assurance of technical assistance programmes, capacity development, with governments, international organisations and civil society. With a Graduate degree in Psychology and a master's degree in social work from Delhi University in India, Ms. Mittal was also a Fulbright Fellow (1989-90) in the USA.

Dr. Vladimir Evseev



is Head of the Division for Eurasian Integration and Shanghai Cooperation Organization Extension of the Institute of CIS Countries. He is also Deputy Chairman of the Expert Advisory Board affiliated with the Committee for CIS, Eurasian Integration and Compatriots Relations, the State Duma (the lower house of the Russian parliament). Dr. Vladimir Evseev was Deputy Director of the Institute of CIS Countries from 2016 to 2019. Then he was Leading Research Fellow in the Center for Post-Soviet Countries Studies, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies. After that Vladimir Evseev came back to the Institute of CIS Countries. From 2004 to 2006 he worked for the Carnegie Moscow Center as Program Coordinator of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Program. Dr. Evseev was an assistant to the State Duma Deputies Alexei Arbatov (2002-2003) and Nikolai Bezborodov (2004-2007). From 2002 to 2003 he worked on the State Duma

Defense Committee. Vladimir Evseev has military experience. After graduating from A. F. Mozhaysky Military Space Academy (St. Petersburg) in 1986 Mr. Evseev served in the strategic missile troops (Yoshkar-Ola, 1986-1991) and the military research institute (Moscow region, 1991-2001). He received a Ph.D. in Engineering in 1998. In 2005 Dr. Evseev graduated from the U.S. Defense Department Senior Executive Course at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu (Hawaii). Dr. Vladimir Evseev is co-author of the monographs: "Beyond Nuclear Deterrence: Transforming the U.S.-Russian Equation" (2006), "Nuclear Weapons after Cold War" (2006), and "Iran, Uranium and Missiles" (2009). He is author of the book "Influence of the International Trade of Nuclear Materials and Technologies on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime" (2006), monographs "Military-Political Aspects of the Iranian Nuclear Problem" (2010), «Central Asia: Internal and External Threats: 1991–2011» (2012), "Prospects of the Iranian Nuclear Programme during President Hassan Rouhani" (2013) and about four hundred books and articles. His research interests include Eurasian Integration, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, regional aspects of international and regime security, nuclear non-proliferation and ballistic missile defence.

General Mohammad Asad Durrani



General Asad Ahmed Durrani is a retired 3-star rank general in the Pakistan Army and presently a commentator, speaker, and author. General Durrani is the former Director of the Pakistan Army's Military Intelligence (Inter-service intelligence, ISI). After retiring from the army, he served as Pakistan's ambassador to Germany (1994–97) and Saudi Arabia (2000–2002).

Sir Nick Kay



is a retired diplomat. As an ambassador, he specialised in multilateral diplomacy and peace building in conflict affected countries. Most recently Sir Nicholas was COP26 Regional Ambassador to sub-Saharan Africa ahead of the UN climate change conference in Glasgow in 2021. Prior to that he served as Senior Civilian Representative to Afghanistan for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Previously, Sir Nicholas was United Kingdom Ambassador to Afghanistan from 2017 to 2019, and UK

Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa from 2016 to 2017. From 2013-16 he served as the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia. He was Africa Director at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 2012 to 2013, and Ambassador to Sudan 2010-2012 and the Democratic Republic of the Congo 2007-10. He was the United Kingdom's Regional Coordinator for Southern Afghanistan and the first head of the Provincial Reconstruction Team for Helmand Province from 2006 to 2007. Now retired from the UK Diplomatic Service, Sir Nicholas is a member of Diplomats Without Borders

Dr. Sahra Karimi



Dr. Saahra Karimi is a Visiting Professor at Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia. Itlay. women activist, a filmmaker, and the first female Director of Afghan Film. Dr. Karimi has directed 30 short films, 3 documentary films, and one fiction film. Dr. Karimi holds a Ph.D. in Fiction Film Directing & Screenwriting from the Academy of Music and Performing Arts (VŠMU), Film and Television Faculty (FTF), Italy. She got her master's and bachelor's degrees from the same university.

Mr. Aref Dostyar



is a Senior Advisor for the Afghanistan Program for Peace and Development (AfPAD) at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Previously he worked as Afghanistan's Consul General in Los Angeles, USA. Prior to that, Dostyar served at the Office of the National Security Council in the positions of Director General for International Relations and Director of Peace and Reconciliation Affairs. In these leadership positions, he served as liaison to global foreign policy directors, and authored several strategic documents including the National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism and Afghanistan's Seven-Point Peace Plan. Dostyar's latest article entitled "What Could Shape the Conditions for Dialogue in Afghanistan" was published at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His writings and interviews on Afghanistan can be found in the New York Times, the BBC, the Foreign Policy Magazine, Al-Jazeera, Hasht-e-Subh, and several other publications. Born and brought up in Afghanistan, Dostyar earned a master's degree in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame through a Fulbright Scholarship.

Dr. Zaker Hussain Ershad



is a respected academician, strategic analyst, and political leader renowned for his multifaceted contributions. He holds a Doctorate in Political Science from the University of Tehran and completed postgraduate studies in Pluralism at the University of California. With over 15 years as a professor at Ibn Sina University in Kabul and a tenure at the University of Bucharest, Romania, Zaker's commitment to education is evident. He also served as the Deputy for Academic

Affairs at the Union of Private Universities in Afghanistan and chaired Ibn Sina University's Founding Board.

Dr. Atefa Tayeb



is a PhD candidate at the educational development unit of Imperial College London. She has engaged for over a decade in community empowerment, educational development, and political endeavours. She has a Master's and a Bachelor degree in Public Health from Kabul University of Medical Sciences in Afghanistan, as well as a Master's degree in Governance, Development, and Public Policy from the University of Sussex. She served as deputy minister at the State Ministry for

Parliamentary Affairs in the government of Afghanistan. Tayeb co-founded Isteqlal University in Kabul and served there as chancellor for five years. She is also the founder of Peshgaman Isteqlal Private High School and Kindergarten. Atefa advocates for women's rights and is the author of "Sang o Saar," a book about violence against women in Afghanistan.

Mr. ShahMahmood Miakhel



was former Governor of Nangarhar Province, Deputy Minister of Interior and First Deputy/Acting Minister of Defense of Afghanistan. He used to work for the UN, United States Institute of Peace and was a reporter for the Voice of America. Currently, he is representative of Harare-e- Jamhuri Khwahan (Pro-Democratic Movement of Afghanistan and Chair of Peace and Democracy Movement of Afghanistan.

Mr. Ali Maisam Nazary



is currently the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan's Foreign Relations Head and senior advisor to Ahmad Massoud. He is also a historian and researcher. His main areas of focus are the history of Islam, history of Central Asia and the Iranian Plateau. Nationalism, nation-building and ethnic conflict are other research interests that he has. Ali double majored in Political Science and Iranian Studies at UCLA and graduated with Cum Laude in 2012. He was also a research assistant at UCLA's Political Science Department during his last year there. Afterwards, he attended the London School of Economics for his Master's degree and was awarded a Master's degree in Comparative Politics in 2013. The dissertation topic for Ali's graduate degree was The Role of Ethnic Politics in Afghanistan, from 1978-2001. In late 2013 he joined Dr. Abdullah Abdullah's presidential campaign as Deputy Director of Media Affairs and confidential advisor. Since 2014, he has actively been involved in Afghanistan's politics and simultaneously was a board member and a director at the Massoud Foundation, a charitable organization. He did extensive lobbying in the United States and Europe for many from Afghanistan. In 2018, Ali joined Ahmad Massoud's political efforts to start a grassroots movement to prevent the collapse of the Republic in Afghanistan and in August 2021 with Mr. Massoud, founded the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan and was appointed as its head of foreign relations.

Mr. Bashir Ahmad Tahyanj



was born in north Afghanistan, Khan Char Bagh district of Faryab province. After graduation from Abu Muslim high school, He started studying in the faculty of History in Balkh Province university. After graduation from university for a short time he was self employed then gradually he was elected as people's representative in provincial council for Faryab province and served his People for four years. After completion of four years serving his people, with the encouragement of his people He got elected as the member of Parliament in the Afghan Parliament council and served his people about nine years as Parliament member. And finally in few years back He was elected as the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs by the Parliament of Afghanistan due to an election conducted in Parliament building of Afghanistan and continued as the Minister for more than a year till the Government of Afghanistan collapsed to the Taliban.

Annex 2: The Agenda

Monday, November 27, 2023

08:30-09:00 Participants Registration

Opening Session

- 09:00-09:30
- Recitation of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari's poems by **Ms. Bahara**, Persian Poetry
 - The performance of the songs "Da Zamong Ziba Watan" and "Watan Eshqe To Iftikharam" by **Ms. Fereshta Sama**
 - Welcoming Remark by **Professor Qasim Shah Eskandar**, President of the Centre for Afghanistan and Regional Studies of Tajikistan.
 - Remark by **Mr. Sharaf Rahimi**, Head of the Department of Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan.
 - Remarks by **Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta**, Former Foreign Minister of Afghanistan and Chairman of the AISS Board of Advisors.

Panel I: Security Black Hole: A Collection of Tragedies & Threats

- 09:30-11:00
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Moderator | Ms. Jyoti Malhotra , Founder-Editor, Awaaz South Asia, India. |
| Speakers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mr. Mohsin Dawar, Member of Parliament, Pakistan. ➤ Mr. Rahmatullah Nabil, Former Head of National Directorate of Security, Afghanistan. ➤ Dr. Esther Zubiri, UN Security Council Expert, ISIL/Al-Qaeda/Taliban Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, Spain. ➤ Mr. David Sedney, Senior Associate, Center for Strategic Studies and International Studies, US. ➤ Mr. Mohammad Hossain Jafaryan, Author & Senior Expert on Afghanistan, Iran. |

Open Discussion

11:00-11:30 Tea Break

Panel II: Gender Apartheid: Rhetorical Solidarity; Effective Mechanism

11:30-13:00	Moderator	Ms. Nazila Jamshidi , Advisor for Endocrine Society, US.
	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Dr. Bushra Gohar, Women’s Rights Activist, Pakistan. ➤ Ms. Alyssa T. Yamamoto, Senior Legal & Policy Advisor, Atlantic Council, US. ➤ Amb. Shukria Barakzai, Former Ambassador to Norway, Afghanistan. ➤ Mr. Parwiz Kawa, Executive Director, 8Am Media, Afghanistan. <p>Open Discussion</p>

13:00-14:00 Lunch

Panel III: Donor Industrial Complex: Humanitarianism, Accountability, Effectiveness

14:30-16:00	Moderator	Ms. Habiba Ashna , Researcher, Activist & Founder of the Liberty Coalition, Afghanistan.
	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mr. Michael Semple, Former Deputy EU Envoy for Afghanistan. ➤ Ms. Zahra Joya, Founder of Rukhshana Media, Afghanistan. ➤ Dr. Sarajuddin Isar, Researcher, Radboud University, Netherlands. ➤ Dr. Fardin Hashemi, Director of the Afghanistan Development Studies Center. ➤ Shoaib Rahim, Associate Professor of Practice, American University of Afghanistan. <p>Open Discussion</p>

15:30-16:00 Tea Break

Panel IV: Instead Islamic Renaissance: Post-Islamism Towards Civilisationnel Islam

16:00-17:30	Moderator	Ms. Susanne Koelbl , Author & Journalist, Der Spiegel, Germany.
	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Amb. Mohammad Moheq, Islamic Studies Scholar, Afghanistan ➤ Dr. Michael Rubin, Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, US. ➤ Mr. Mustafa Akyol, Writer & Journalist, Cato Institute, Turkey/US. (Recorded Video)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mr. Kadyr Malikov, Advisor to Director of State Commission for Religious Affairs, Kyrgyzstan. ➤ Dr. Hassan Aboutaleb, Scholar, Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt. ➤ Ms. Nasrine Gross, Author & Women's Rights Activist, Afghanistan <p>Open Discussion</p>
19:00-21:00	The first cultural night: the screening of the movie "Hava, Maryam, Ayesha" Directed by Dr. Sahraa Karimi + musical performance by Ms. Fereshte Sama - Hyatt Regency Hotel Ball Room / By Invitation Only.

Tuesday, November 28, 2023

08:30-09:00	Traditional Music Performance	
Panel V: Nowrozistan: Persianate World; Inclusive Neighborhood		
	Moderator	Ms. Manizha Bahrah , Scholar at Ankara University, Turkey.
9:00 – 10:30	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Dr. Javeed Ahwar, Postdoctoral Scholar, Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan. ➤ Dr. Abdullah Rahnoma, Senior Researcher, Center for Strategic Studies, Tajikistan. ➤ Dr. Habib Ollah Fazeli, Lecturer, University of Tehran, Iran. ➤ Senator Afrasiab Khattak, Former Senator, Pakistan. ➤ Professor Mohammad Nazif Shahrani, Professor of Anthropology, Indiana University, US. <p>Open Discussion</p>
10:30-11:00	Tea Break	
Panel VI: Regional Consensus; Global Support		
	Moderator	Ms. Lynne O'Donnell , Author & Independent Journalist, UK.
11:00-12:30	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Amb. Said Tayeb Jawad, Former Ambassador to Russia, Afghanistan.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ms. Ashita Mittal, Regional Representative for Central Asia, UNODC, Uzbekistan. ➤ Dr. Vladimir Evseev, Head of CIS Institute, Department of Eurasian Integration & SCO Development, Russia. ➤ General Asad Durrani, Former Director General of ISI, Pakistan. ➤ Sir Nick Kay, Former Ambassador to Afghanistan, UK. ➤ Ms. Karina Timsina, Regional Programme Coordinator for Central Asia, United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism, US. <p>Open Discussion</p>
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Panel VII: National Dialogue: Towards a Democratic Afghanistan

	Moderator	Dr. Sahraa Karimi , Filmmaker & Lecturer, Bennington college, US.
12:30-14:00	Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mr. Aref Dostyar, Senior Advisor, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame, US. ➤ Dr. Zaker Hussain Ershad, President of Afghanistan Citizens' Party ➤ Dr. Atefa Tayeb, Former Parliamentary Deputy Minister, Afghanistan. ➤ Mr. Shah Mahmood Miakhel, Head of Republicans' Movement of Afghanistan. ➤ Mr. Ali Maisam Nazary, Head of Foreign Relations for the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan. ➤ Mr. Bashir Ahmad Tahyanj, Former Minister of Labor & Social Affairs, Afghanistan. ➤ Mohammad Karim Amin, Senior Member of Hizb-e Islami, Afghanistan. <p>Open Discussion</p>
14:00-14:30		Special Panel: Conversation with Mr. Amir Mohammad Ismail Khan , From Anti Soviet Resistance Commander to Governor of Herat and Minister of Energy and Water, Afghanistan.

Moderator	Ahmad Wahid Payman , Writer & journalist
14:30-14:40	Note of Thanks: Director of AISS
14:40-15:40	Lunch
18:00-20:00	Cultural Program (Special Concert by Zohra/Youth National Orchestra) – Lohuti Theatre Dushanbe, Rudaki Avenue 86, Dushanbe / By Invitation Only.

Annex 3: List of Participants

No	Name	Organization
India		
1	Kabir Taneja	Fellow, Observer Research Foundation
2	Dr Shanthie D'Souza	Founder and President of Mantraya
3	Arpan Rai	Journalist, Independent
4	Jyota Malhotra	Senior Journalist, New Delhi
Iran		
5	Dr Mohammad Ali Bahmani Ghajar	Lawer
6	Dr Hussain Dehbashi	Historian
7	Mandana Teshehyar	University Professor
8	Dr Jafar Haghpanah	University Lecturer
9	Dr Habib Fazeli	University Lecturer
10	Vahide Karimi	Journalist
11	Mohammad Hossain Jaffarian	Filmmaker
Pakistan		
12	Mr Mohsin Dawar	Former Member of Parliament, Pakistan
13	General Asad Durani	Former DG of ISI
14	Dr Bushra Gohar	Former member of Parliament
15	Senator Afrasiab Khattak	Former Senator, Pakistan
Russia		
16	Dmitrii Sinelnikov	Leading specialist of the Center for Scientific and Analytical Information
17	Vladimir Evseev	Deputy Director of the Institute for SCO Studies
18	Omar Nessar	Director, Center for Afghanistan Studies
UK		
19	Lynne O'Donnell	Columnist , Foreign Policy and Journalist
20	Sir Nicholas Kay	Former UK Amb to Afghanistan
21	Aaron Yeganeh	Policy Director, Independent Diplomat
USA		
22	Mr John Agoglia	Representative of Global friends of Afghanistan
23	Dr Michael Rubin	American Enterprise Institute, USA
24	Alyssa T. Yamamoto	Senior Legal & Policy Advisor, Strategic Litigation Project
25	David Sedney	Former President of AUAFA and Former US Diplomat
26	Derek Wright	Political Officer, U.S. Mission to Afghanistan
27	James Machado	LTC rank- Defence Attache to the US Afghanistan Affairs in Doha
Belgium		

28	Annie Cowan	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRITY
Kyrgyzstan		
29	Dr. Kadyr Malikov	Director, Analytical Research Centre “Religion, Law and Politics” Advisor to Director of State Commission for Religious Affairs
Egypt		
30	Hassan Aboutaleb	Consultant in Al Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies
Georgia		
31	Ms Tamar Kekenadze	Managing Director , CAMCA Regional Forum. Tbilisi
Norway		
32	Stephan Andreas Jensen	Director, EY-Parthenon
Spain		
33	Principal Police Commissioner Marcos Frías Barbens	Counsellor for Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan
34	Jefa Marta Laguno Alvarez	National Police General Directorate , Madrid Spain
35	Esther Zubiri	Expert at AQ/ISIL/Taliban Monitoring Team of UN Sanctions Committee, United Nations Security Council
Kazakhstan		
36	Ruslan Kozhakhmetov	
EU		
37	Mr Magnus FORSBERG	Policy Officer Afghanistan & Pakistan Division European External Action Service (EEAS)
Germany		
38	Susanne Koelbl	DER SPIEGEL Foreign Desk Correspondent
Ireland		
39	Michael Sample	Former Deputy of EU Special Representative for Afghanistan
Turkey		
40	Kokhorjon Aminov	Islamic Development Bank, Ankara, Turkey
UN Agencies		
41	Ms Ashita Mittal	UNODC
42	Salome Flores Sierra	UNODC Information Centre on Transnational Threats
43	Ms. Karina Timsina	Regional Programme Coordinator for Central Asia United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism (UNOCT)
Spain		
Sweden		
44	Gaelle Cornuz	Specialist, Peace Process Support
45	Enayat Adel	Bernadotte Academy (FBA), Stockholm
Tajikistan		
46	Iskandarof Akbarsho	
47	Bahadur Behruz	
48	Bek Mohamadof Qasim kHwaja	

49	Abdullahyef Rahmatullah	
50	Kazakob Rustam	
51	Qadir Of Dawar	
52	Makhshulof Mohammad Salam	
53	Mirzoev Niazi	
54	Mirzayeva Adolat	
55	Mullah Jan Saifullah	
56	Nabaot Faizuddin	
57	Nazarof Nosir	
58	Nazarof Omid	
59	Najmuddin Parviz	
60	Rahmanof Bakhtyar	
61	Rahmatullah Erkin	
62	Abullah Rahnamo	
63	Rajab Aliev Khairullah	
64	Rezayan Sher Ali	
Foreign Embassies in Dushanbe, Tajikistan		
65	Embassy of USA	Political adviser of the US Embassy in Tajikistan
66	Embassy of India	India Ambassador to Tajikistan
67	Embassy of France	Political Officer or Representative
68	Embassy of Uzbekistan	Representative of the Embassy of Uzbekistan in Tajikistan
69	Embassy of Afghanistan	Political Officer or Representative
70	Embassy of Kazakhstan	Political Officer or Representative
71	Embassy of Pakistan	Political Officer or Representative
72	Embassy of I.R of Iran	Representative of the Embassy of Iran in Tajikistan
73	Embassy of Germany	Political Officer or Representative
74	Embassy of Saudi Arabia	Political Officer or Representative
75	Embassy of Qatar	Political Officer or Representative
76	Embassy Britain	Political Officer or Representative
77	Embassy of Turkiye	Turkey Ambassador to Tajikistan
78	Embassy of Belarus	Political Officer or Representative
79	Embassy of Japan	Political Officer or Representative
80	Embassy of China	Political Officer or Representative
81	Embassy of Russia	Political adviser of the Russian Embassy in Tajikistan
82	The EU representative	Political Officer or Representative
Tajikistan Government Agencies		
83	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Attending 5 persons
85	Ministry of Interior	Attending 4 persons
86	Border Security Department	Attending 3 persons
87	Ministry of Defense	Attending 3 persons

88	Centre for Afghanistan and Regional Studies	Attending 10 persons
Afghanistan		
89	Abdul Hameed Karimi	Journalist, Afghanistan International TV
90	Abdul Razaq Ahmadi	Assistant to Former Minister Sayed M. Ismail Khan
91	Ahmad Khan Ghorl	Assistant to Former Minister Sayed M. Ismail Khan
92	Shoaib Rahim	Associate Professor of Practice, AUAF.
93	Ahmad Soroush Raheen	Member of the young international leaders, FSAW
94	Ahmad Wahid Payman	Journalist
95	Ali Moradian	AISS Representative in Iran
96	Aryan Sharifi	University Professor,
97	Atefa Tayeb	Researcher, Imperial College of London
98	Bashir Ahmad Tanyanj	Former Minister
99	Daoud Ali Najafi	Former Acting Minister of Civil Aviation and Transport of Afghanistan
100	Davood Moradian	AISS Director
101	Dr Ahmad Sarmast	Director, The Afghanistan National Music Institute
102	Dr Rangin Dadfar Spanta	Chairman of AISS Advisory Board
103	Ejaz Ahmad Malikzada	AISS Representative in Canada
104	Fardin Hashimi	University Lecturer
105	Habib Rahiab	Program Officer at National Endowment for Democracy
106	Habiba Ashna Marhoon	Founder of The Liberty Coalition
107	Hafizullah Bahmani	Assistant to Former Minister Sayed M. Ismail Khan
108	Javeed Ahwar	PhD Scholar, Nazarbayev Univerity
109	Karim Haidari	Journalist, Afghanistan International TV
110	Khandan Danish	Communications Officer, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
111	M. Ismail Sadeq	Former Minister, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
112	M. Nazif Mohib Shahrani	Professor at Indiana University, USA
113	Manizha Bahrah	Scholar at Ankara University, Turkey
114	Mansoor Ahmad Faizy	Journalist, Amu Media
115	Marhaba Alikhail	Journalist, Afghanistan International TV
116	Mohammad Aref Dostyar	Senior Advisor on Afghanistan, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies
117	Mohammad Karim Amin	Peace Activist, N/O
118	Mohammad Moheq	Independent author, Independent author
119	Mohammad Nasir Saleh	Admin & Finance Officer, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
120	Mustafa Aryan	Munk School
121	Nargis Hurakhsh	Journalist, Afghanistan International TV
122	Navid Feyz	Economic Advisor, Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Russia
123	Nazila Jamshidi	Scholar, Columbia University
124	Nigara Mirdad	Deputy Ambassador, Afghanistan Embassy in Poland

125	Parwiz Kawa	Journalist, Hashte Subh Daily Newspaper
127	Rahmatullah Nabil	Former Director of Afghanistan National Department of Security,
128	Sadiq Amini	Program Manager, Outreach at Observer Research Foundation America (ORFAmerica)
129	Sahraa Karimi	Filmmaker and University Lecturer
130	Said Tayeb Jawad	Chairman, American University of Afghanistan
131	Sanjar Sohail	Journalist, Hashte Subh Daily Newspaper
132	Sarajuddin Isar	Research Fellow, Radboud University Nijmegen
133	Sayed Askar Mousavi	University Professor, University of Oxford
134	Shahmahmood Miakhel	Director, Jamhuri Khwahan Movement
135	Shukria Barakzai	Member of Parliament, Afghanistan Parliament
136	Tajuden Soroush	Journalist, Afghanistan International TV
137	Zahra Joya	Founder of Rukhshana media
138	Zaker Hussain Ershad	Chairman, Afghanistan Citizens Party
139	Sulaiman Naikzad	IT Officer, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies
140	Haanya Malik	Assistant Communication, Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies

Annex 4: Links of the National and International Media Covered the conference

- Afghanistan International
- Amu TV
- Hasht Subh
- The Independent
- BBC Farsi
- Voice of America
- Foreign Policy
- Sharq Daily Iran

Tajikistan Media

- BBC
- Khovar Media Agency
- Radio Ozodi
- Channel One
- Sputnik News
- Asia Plus Tajikistan
- Reuters
- Voice of America - VOA
- Farazh
- Golos Tajikistana

Annex 5: HSD-XI Photos





























Herat Security Dialogue (HSD-XI)
“Reimagining Afghanistan: Ways Forward”
27-28 November, 2023 - Dushanbe, Tajikistan

یازدهمین دور گفتگوهای امنیتی هرات
«بازخوانی افغانستان: راهکارهای متفاوت»
۶-۷ قوس ۱۴۰۲ - دوشنبه، تاجیکستان



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