PEACEBUILDING AND RECONCILIATION IN AFGHANISTAN AFTER ISAF WITHDRAWAL

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled **"Peacebuilding and Reconciliation in Afghanistan After ISAF withdrawal"** submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABP	Afghan Border Police
ACJC	Anti-Corruption Justice Centre
ANA	Afghan National Army
AIHRC	Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission
ALP	Afghan Local Police
ANDSF	Afghan National Defence and Security Forces
ANP	Afghan National Police
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
APPF	Afghan Public Protection Force
APRP	Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme
BSA	Bilateral Security Agreement
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DoD	Department of Defence
DIAG	Disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups
DRC	Disarmament and Reintegration Commission
HOOAC	High Office of Anti-Corruption
HPC	High Peace Council
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISI	Inter Services Intellegence
JS	Joint Secretariat
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDS	National Directorate of Security
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSRC	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UTEDC	Unified Training Education and Doctrine Command
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Section A

Introduction

Afghanistan was once a gateway to the cradle of civilisations and has acted as a bridge between cultures and continents. Its rich composite culture has seen an organic and evolutionary growth. Throughout its existence, its polity had been the first-hand witness to power rivalries and conflicts of the great powers. Since its society being ethno-centric and its maximum population living in the mountainous terrain remains divided with deeply engrained features of autonomy, independence and self-rule, they have naturally defied efforts that aimed at deep ethno-social integration (Saikal 2011). In the political realm, disruptions from foreign countries for realising their own interests had prevented Afghans from developing the necessary attributes of democratic political order and a strong state. The previous governments in Afghanistan also had played a major role in turning it into a failed state by not recognising the social realities of the Afghan society and through alienating the rural society making them more elusive (Favre 2005). Therefore, the establishment of a viable and centralised state has been not possible until the present day. By the end of Taliban rule, we find that this ruinous domination has led the entire state machinery into total collapse and brought the democratic institutions to a full faceted breakdown, leading to the country into exploitation and disorder. This phenomenon lead in being Afghanistan as one of the most backward nation in the world with a very low human development index ("Afghanistan | Data" 2001).

Amidst the support from western liberal powers, Afghanistan underwent a transition from Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan functioning as Theocracy of Taliban, to a pluralist democracy through the Bonn agreement of 2001. It has made notable progress in its transformation from a theocratic past as the Bonn Agreement defined the responsibilities of the parties and placed a table for national political reconciliation, peacebuilding and the construction of democratic Afghanistan (Dalton 2009). This was stimulated by the efforts, support and supervision of the UN, the US and NGOs of many foreign countries. Afghanistan on the peacekeeping front was facing a decades of turmoil, instability and wrath of Taliban insurgency, since August 2003, it was under the umbrella of the NATO. It was the NATO forces which has lead the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in the peacekeeping front in order to bring stability and maintain the security infrastructure. With the sole purpose of maximising peace and security throughout the country and also to train and develop its Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) the ISAF formulated polices so that Afghanistan wouldn't ever again get into the

influence of insurgents and terrorists. But, as we know in the case of Afghanistan, the state structures and institutions are still weak which boosts disorder leading to Taliban and dominant warlords attaining authority in the fringes, who with their own militia force run a parallel government causing de-stability and tremendous challenge to the national government and the overall unity of the country. It is because these warlords derive their power and authority from the common masses, and maintain it through their source of conflicts and perceptions of injustice and inequality in the society. Due to this scenario, we see that many warlords have created an obstacle in ensuring the reach for the national government among the tribal population, making the democracy dysfunctional in the distant and remote areas of Afghanistan. Hence, the lack of ground mobilisation of masses for the national government and its leaders coupled with the withdrawal of ISAF in 2014 has created a grave security void in the stable working of the present Afghan national unity government (Suhrke, Harpviken, and Strand 2002).

The prevailing reason behind the dysfunctional Afghan state and non-acknowledgement of its legal government, is because in Afghanistan the basic political strength of Afghan regime which generally is dependent upon the acceptance of the constitution among its masses is non-existent, and otherwise which could have been built through building the legitimacy of national leaders has always been a failure. Moreover, the ill distribution of balance of power and aid in among national and provincial governments has led in building up of an unstable political system which has further worsened the situation leading to a government which is less committed to democratic principles. Hence, we see that the regime and authority that could ensure Afghanistan its overall security and stability, was absent since decades. The other important reason behind the national government not getting success in mobilising the people is that, after the ouster of Taliban and fall of their "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" we find the insurgents melted down into the society and hence efforts to bring Taliban into peace and negotiations table has been full of hurdles and obstacles (Ibrahimi 2017). As Taliban was a theocracy, its ideology has melted into the mainstream afghan population and the method of Pentagon initially relying on the Afghan warlords as proxy fighters against the Al-Qaida backfired and created multiple pockets of power in the provinces. This assistance of United States has helped entrenched centrifugal politics that has threatened Afghanistan's weak government, as the warlords and the provincial governors have seized prime authoritative and dominant positions in their tribe and across society. The national government along with the United Nations has established and integrated peacebuilding operations so that together they

could carry means for bringing out Afghanistan from the realms of destruction and multifaceted geo-ethnic problems. They aimed for achieving reconciliation within different sections and sustenance of peace in the society through peacebuilding and various political measures. The government of Afghanistan adopted Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program (APRP) for reintegrating the distressed sections of the society and achieving the peace goals. High Peace Council was created through a peace Jirga held in Kabul in the same year, in order to facilitate the peacebuilding policies in the ground. The High Peace Council fundamentally believes that peace can only be achieved if we solve the central problems in the grass root level. We need to reach all the sections of the society and work on the inclusion of every strata of the society through the means of bottom up approach of peacebuilding. Thus, the High Peace Council under "The Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program" in theory focused on devising a framework for talks with the Taliban and armed militias through established guidelines from the government in order to reintegrate 'low level' fighters into the mainstream society (Bogdandy and Wolfrum 2005).

As it is evident, that the rule of gun cannot be converted into the rule of law without proper administrative or economic incentive. For this process of rule of law to take place, good governance should be promoted and which would lead to the birth of a secure society which would be economically and politically sustainable. Thus we see that the mechanism of a long-term reliance is creating a functional state which is in a position to exercise constitutional authority and legal coercion among its subjects so that the socio-political aspirations of the people can be achieved and the objectives of building peace and fostering economic recovery can be attained. But in the case of Afghanistan foreign aid has been unable to achieve its objectives due to prevailing economic constrains and conditions. The foremost reason behind this is the rampant corruption at every level and the ineffectiveness of the aid recipient government in providing apt services through building transparent, well-founded and forceful institutions. In the present context in order to make the programmes and policies of peacebuilding and reconciliation to work, Afghanistan needs a practical method where good governance could substantiate economic opportunity by the overall means of peacekeeping through maintenance of law and order. As democracy cannot flourish in a weak state, thus, overall security and economic sustenance continues to be the prerequisite for development of democracy in a conflict torn country. In these scenarios, the peacebuilding within the country and reconciliation of society has turned out to be of immense importance for building a stable democratic Afghanistan.

As now, the ISAF forces have left and the security of the country has been into the hands of Afghan National Army and Afghan police, with handful of United States forces supporting their cause. Being the United States forces comparatively lower in number as compared to the yesteryears, the question arises about the security of Afghanistan and its democratic government and agenda for peacebuilding in the country.

Theoretical Framework

The term Peacebuilding emerged through the work of Johan Galtung, who in his studies projected towards the promotion of systems, which would be able to create sustainable peace, but the concept of peacebuilding came to a broader public domain in 1992 when United Nations Secretary General Boutros Ghali's used it in his article the agenda of peace (Boutros-Ghali 1992). Peacebuilding is a process of adopting a long-term preventive strategy, which aims at eradicating the root cause of conflict in the absence of violence. It ensures building of peacebuilding structures, which would support the local capacities for conflict resolution. These structures processes and influences through communication, consultation and negotiation at all the levels to address the society that has experienced civil war or other significant armed conflicts in order to institutionalise peace. We find that in most part of the history, peace had been identified in its negative form, as the absence of war or hostilities. This narrow definition of peace has turned out to be insufficient for a realistic analysis as it subsumes different risk factors and characteristics present in a post conflict society, bringing complications to the successful peacebuilding in the conflict-ridden society. In his regard peace efforts of local and foreign peacebuilding actors have seldom achieved positive results, though they help the conflict ridden nation and its authorities and population to end the deep-rooted violent structures through reconciliation and re-establishing security, unless and until they have targeted and solved the principle cause . Promoting economic development through building up of infrastructure, and organising of parliamentary elections just without dealing with the root cause makes every effort vague. Further, though international actors are the ones who contribute in resolving conflict at every level in the conflict torn countries, means and approaches of peacebuilding relies fully upon the actions and dedication of the domestic actors. Interests of the hostile parties are needed to get reconciled and only then the wars can end. The hostile actors and parties at various levels need to learn to appreciate each other's differences in order to stop violence to take place. and resolve their differences. So it can be said that

foreign interveners such as international and non-governmental organisations can only support the peace initiatives initiated by the regional peacebuilding actors to control the violence in the society. Unless the warring actors resolve their own differences peace cannot be achieved by any means.

Thus, we see that peacebuilding is a complex task, which deals with reconciliation of conflict ridden, war-torn societies and countries. It is crucial to state building and overall welfare of its subjects. Peacebuilding consists of variety of activities which are adopted before and after the formal peace accords that are signed at the times of agreement (Johan Galtung 1969). In this context in order to pursue my research and understand the issues, I would refer to theories propounded by "Johan Galtung, John Paul Lederach and Thania Paffenholz" who are pioneer in the field of peace studies. Johan Galtung who is the principle founder of peace and conflict studies, in his book "Peace by Peaceful Means" has mentioned about his "Transcend Peace Theory", which explains that the peace we see in any society is not just the mere absence of direct violence or the Negative Peace, but also the absence of structural violence or the Positive Peace. Johan Galtung suggests that, positive peace not only reduces violence at the direct or structural level, but also to seek to understand the conditions to prevent violence ("GaltungPeaceByPeacefulMeans_p70_114.Pdf," n.d.). Hence, we find that in Afghanistan, the long term peace can only be achieved by the approach using positive peace. He has explained the conflict in the society always happens where contradiction among a group is raised because of attitude and behaviour towards each other, and it can be projected in a shape of a triangle where Contradiction can be demarcated as 'C', Attitude as 'A', and Behaviour as 'B' as its vertices. This what we find as a contradiction in society is what Chris Mitchel calls the mismatch between the social values and social structure. In this context, Roger Fisher and Loraleigh Keshly in 1991 presented the "Contingency and Complementary model" of conflict which is suitable for the conditions prevailing in Afghanistan. It refers to the nature and phrases of the conflict with appropriate responses that are to be needed while working in the ground for making peacebuilding possible (J Galtung and Galtung 2000).

John Paul Lederach in his book "Building peace and the moral imagination" which deals on how to address the tension of unsettled society has clearly stated that violence is the result of untransformed conflict present in any society. The transformation of the conflict by itself has to be peaceful in the society so that it does not make the situation go volatile leading to sowing of fresh seeds for future violence. He states that compatible goals leads to higher level of peace and mentions that the security approach, which is still dominant in all the practical aspects of

peace making, deals with how threats can be subdued and eliminated. In this approach, it never gets into improving relations but it creates space or a valve for other approaches to be used (Lederach 2005). Further, in the theory propounded by "John Paul Lederach" the process of peacebuilding can be represented by a triangle, which can be divided into three major categories: the top level, the middle range and the grassroot. The top level represents the few important key actors can be called as elites, and the grassroot which is base of the pyramid consists of the maximum number of people that denotes the common population. Further, in his "Top-Down approach" of peacebuilding mediators are eminent figures, with a public profile and they work for achieving a negotiated settlement between principle leaders of conflict. Whereas, his "Bottom-Up" approach involves the process of discussion about the cause of conflict and its agreement among the parties to end the conflict. In Afghanistan these local conferences or the Jirga, which work for promoting peace in the society by dealing with the contiguous issues, are generally presided by the older men of wisdom from the clans. In the same context we can also mention the name of Programmatic Peace Effort Approach for promoting peacebuilding at the grass-root level suggest a broader possibility for addressing trauma that the war has produced (Lederach 1997). So, to study and understand the importance of tribal civil society in the process of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Afghanistan, I would adopt the principle of "Thania Paffenholz" who stressed in her research project namely "Civil Society and Peacebuilding" that civil society in any conflict ridden society, has a crucial role to play in its peacebuilding and reconciliation process. In these types of process of peacebuilding and reconciliation, the important figures who also play the role of crucial political actors, play a vital role in peace making by reconciling the parties who are into conflict. They have a strong influence due to their position in society which lets them to play important role in the civil society to make the civil society more effective and coherent. In this process of studying the relevance of civil society in Afghanistan, I would adopt the functional approach for studying civil society in the realms of peacebuilding. This functional approach as will also let to take a broader perspective instead of any narrow approach towards any socio-political groups working for peacebuilding. It will also help me in looking at the functional social forces that help majorly in the peacebuilding process of any society.(Paffenholz 2012).

Peacebuilding in Afghanistan

Afghanistan in course of its thirty year, has seen its transformation from a constitutional monarchy, to republic to a dictatorial regime based on communism, it later went on to become a politically fractured state and then to a theocracy of Islamic fundamentalism. The result of these socio-political cleavages in the Afghan history has tremendously effected and have manifested itself through various forms in the peacebuilding process of the country. The Bonn Agreement through its induction of transitional government has set into action multiple steps in state building through establishing specific commissions for legal reforms, rule of law, and for the observance and protection of human rights. But, since its inception, the peacebuilding process has been effected by various inherent problems that presents grave challenges for the government and the people of Afghanistan. Though, in the country with such complex socio-political problems it is a required compulsion for all groups to arrange their odds and furnish their difference through building mutual trust and assurance. In order to achieve peace they must be willing to work out their differences through peaceful politics and trust building in its society (Thier 2006). As, we find peacebuilding to be seen and understood as a transformational activity which is undertaken in order to intercept and check the reoccurrence of prolonged conflict that has effected the society. It further lays the foundation of rebuilding the socio-political and socio-economic structures, which would help the country to face emerging trends of conflict and work on to prevent new problems so that peace could rest in the society. So, in the context of Afghanistan we see that foreign efforts in the form of military and monetary aid has turned out to be essential and important. Thus, it helps in mediating the groups and harness mutual confidence among them.

We see that peacebuilding and reconciliation targets the locus where truth and forgiveness join the individual and the group rights for social restructuring, well-being and security. Peace in the society becomes very dependent on the transformation of enmity and conflicting relations in between groups and hence for conflict transformation, transcendence within a society is needed, where transcendence mean going beyond the goal of security and reconciliation for maintaining peace within a society (Weber, Charles; Galtung 2007). Here, United States renowned anthropologist "Louis Dupree", who has precisely pin pointed the conflict in Afghan society is among those who has a notion of promoting the structure of democratic Afghanistan as an nation state with the constitution as its law of the land, and in between those who had always wanted it to be a more tradition based society which is puts more emphasis on kinship and its tribal laws (Edwards 2010). Hence, Afghanistan's peacebuilding and reconciliation

process aims at transforming the political, economic and social structures and conditions within the Afghan society with a multi-dimensional approach adopted through Political and Community Peacebuilding. Aftermath of Bonn Agreement the ISAF assisted the Afghanistan's democratic government in extending it's authority over the far flung areas and peripheries and to establish a secure environmental condition for reconstruction and peacebuilding (International et al. 2008). This was important because the ouster of Taliban government was likely to create a power vacuum, creating disorder in the Afghan society if it was not replaced by an effective governance system (Wagemaker 2001). The peacekeeping operation partially helped the purpose, because the fact that Taliban practiced fundamentalist interpretation of Islam and after their ouster from central authority they mixed themselves up with the peripheral Afghan population creating a volatile society leading to unsuccessful attempt to secure political gains (Young 2007). But, as this eventually never led to their extinction and with the withdrawal of ISAF forces in 2014, the Afghan government started facing heavy security challenges and now Taliban with its theocratic ideology has led to a direct conflict with Democratic Afghan government and its institutions (Niland 2014). The Taliban after its ouster has seen itself as a government in exile and its leaders continue to demand for the complete withdrawal of the international forces so that Afghanistan can once again turn out to become an Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, and their government could be established (Mcnally and Bucala 2015).

As peace has always remained the foremost criteria for any society to achieve stability and economic development. The prerequisite for peace needs to have good governance based on rule of law, a well-enforced justice system which would help in reconstruction and development. These features helps in building trust in the system (Waldman 2008). In order to fulfil this vision the central government in Afghanistan has adopted an ambitious programme namely the Afghanistan National Development Strategy or ANDS, which was made in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goal plan of the United Nations. Full emphasis was given in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goal plan because that would lead in transition of the Afghan society towards stability, self-reliance and self- sustaining growth of economy and human development (UNDP 2015). In this course the government has also adopted the Afghanistan Action Plan focusing on bringing peace and justice in the society through reconciliation, this was done to strengthen the community peacebuilding which aimed in developing trust though bringing security and promoting cohesion within the communities and between the tribes. It also aimed at strengthening the socio-cultural capacities which would

promote interaction among ethnicities and different groups through dialogue and discussions. This programme had all the basic criteria's of acknowledging the suffering the Afghan people had gone through in the decades of turmoil ("APRP Annual Progress Report 2013" 2013). Among various approaches to peacebuilding the "Social peacebuilding" adopted in Afghanistan tried to influence the attitudes and behaviours by promoting the infrastructure of social cohesion and building democratic values. This idea gets its sustenance due to the fact that it finds that people as its best resource in order to build and sustain peace in the society. This thus promotes the bottoms up approach of peacebuilding through participation and social cohesion (Broome and Collier 2012). In Afghanistan, the tribal structures along with the district structures which are also called as the social capital network, has had played an important role in maintaining security and socially accepted governance within the society through tribal norms. Hence, we find that in the most provinces of Afghanistan, tribal structures such as shura were the only source of facilitation of governance and promotion of justice in the past (Miakhel 2005). Whereas, in the context of the religious civil societies we find they mostly consisted of the home-grown religious actors consisting of mosques, religious seminaries and leaders. These institutions performed their religious duties along with providing the people with moral and spiritual guidance. These institutions also assisted them in practicing them their everyday religious practices and ritualistic cyclic rites (Borchgrevink 2007). Hence, we find that centralised state institutions historically have co-existed with decentralised traditional society and religious civil society actors, as they have played many roles including necessary roles of conflict resolution and that had led them to gain crucial edge in gaining public support (Foundation, n.d.). Further, we see that there are various programmes on peacebuilding, which are implemented by the NGO's like Co-operation for Peace and Unity (CPAU), Sanayee Development Organisation (DSO), Tribal Liaison Office (LTO), which engages in capacity building of existing socio-political institutions. They also promote dialogue, enhance o-operation between various ethnic tribes and facilitate talks with government (Zaman 2015). It is important for the ethnically divided societies to achieve trust group which must transform their relationship not only through dialogue and interethnic exchange because ethno-nationalism and pressure of ethnic intolerance can prevent true democracy from taking form ("Peace Review" 2017). All these approaches works for strengthening the overall capacities of the community and resolving the disputes peacefully, and to foster trust, safety, security and social cohesion within the communities. Building peace into the community or the ground level helps in strengthening cohesion, which reduces violence and promotes resistance to militants (Waldman 2008).

This entire process of peacebuilding had been taken a leap forward through the establishment of the Afghanistan High Peace Council, which was created in order to work as a reconciling body between both the parties of the conflict. It promoted reconciliation policy through a proper role, structure, negotiations tactics and lobby networks at local, regional and international level. The High peace council chairman describes it as that they follow two dimensional peace processes: in the first place, Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program (APRP) was created so that it could target and reintegrate the Taliban insurgents and fighters who pose threat into the society. This process of APRP had been followed to build conditions so that the these insurgents who pose armed threat to the government could renounce their violent means and reconcile to make the society threat free. It also tried to build conditions where the people and insurgents could accepts the laws in the constitution of Afghanistan and give away their sympathy with terrorists organisation (Kateb 2012). In the word of former Talibani cleric who also worked as a council member said that now the Taliban has a channel with which they can come and negotiate. It is now totally dependent upon them that whether they come to the talking table. These channels of the APRP who work for reconciliation act as mediators of the government and the Taliban keeping themselves neutral. APRP firstly wanted to create a base so that they could hear to the concern and demand the opposite party had so that a broad frame of wishes and demands could be identified. Later the council would send these demands to the government to create the groundwork for hearing and negotiations (Nixon, n.d.). These programmes adopted by the government aimed at preventing conflicts and facilitate conditions which would decrease the communities vulnerabilities towards violence of all sorts. Thus we find that the government finally aimed at influencing the attitudes and behaviours of the insurgents and conflicting communities by the promotion of democratic values and fostering peace and tolerance within the community (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan 2017).

Contradiction in Peacebuilding

Those in control of Afghanistan since 2001, have failed to develop an inclusive legitimate and accountable political system where predatory, corrupt, warlord style elite maintains an absolute dominant hold on power through direct and indirect control of state machinery and resources (Niland 2014). The factions of tribes, powerful warlords and tribal leaders who exert tremendous authority in local matters had made the unification of the country, under unitary democratic authority difficult. The failure of the Afghan central government in bringing peace,

security and stability in the society was because of infrastructural deficiency negating its coercive capacity. Further, the states limited reach among its people has limited its authoritative capacity to maintain the effective governance over its territories (Wagemaker 2001). Afghans having the notion of democracy being a foreign element in the Afghan polity, considering it non-Islamic and a danger to their values and tradition. Some also has the opinion as democracy being an western form of government only serves the western agenda, terming it as "democracy as a cultural imperialism" (Shah 2012). In the Afghani perspective the conflict present in the society is against the civil-society, where the conflict and violence present is not only towards the common people but also towards the cultural and traditional structures (Foundation, n.d.). Thus, now the security of Afghanistan has reached a crucial juncture as the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) who have succeeded the ISAF, are facing tremendous challenge in maintaining the overall security of the country making the operational environment and its effect on the ANSF leadership and force crucially (Reports, n.d.). Hence, sufficient amount of international assistance lasting for decades with the capacity building of Afghan National Army is needed to create a safe environment for reconstruction efforts. These efforts will lead to popular support and prevent the common masses form being threatened, or support the cause of Taliban, leads to the economic stability in the country (Young 2007). The silver lining in all this is the fact that he ANDSF have shown an ability to provide security for the majority of the population and the afghan government with limited coalition support, preventing insurgents from achieving their strategic objectives of taking key urban centers and significantly undermining and overthrowing the Afghan government (Department of Defense 2016). Now, as the international and domestic forces are working for enforcing peace in Afghanistan, but they have their presence in limited and specific areas and further show a very constrained behaviour in strengthening it. The primary target of the western powers after the ouster of Taliban was building of a liberal democracy, so that it could ensure peace and stability in the war-ravaged country. They had a strong commitment that they will not let Afghanistan, to become a safe haven for Taliban and insurgents who promote terrorism. This ultimately led the United States to project by far its best strategy so that it could attain its own security and would provide durable peace elsewhere, and that was to support and advance democracy in turbulent countries, which Clinton also called as democratisation the third pillar of his foreign policy (Owen 2016). There was immense faith that through the elected government, Afghan state had the potential to unite its people by establishing good governance, thus helping the country towards greater political security and economic development within the spirit of rule of law (MP 2017). But because Afghanistan's problems was well entrenched and any attempt to solve

it would have been superficial leading to its fragmentation. Hence, state building was fundamental and institution had to be build from the zero (Wagemaker 2001). Moreover, Afghanistan's economic growth and recovery was fragile and likely to get a setback unless a sustained international assistance was maintained. Thus, the only way to develop and sustain democracy in such as turbulent state was through building a capable state and robust economy was incomplete unless the foreign support (Jalali 2006). Economic incentives, promotion of law and order with proper judicial system are the basic criteria's leading to public trust, as it converts the rule of gun to the rule of law (Brahimi 2007). But as the foundation of government for democratic principles remains weak in Afghanistan with corruption playing a major part in hindering rule of law (Young 2007). It is rightly being said about democracy that, "Democracy cannot develop in a weak state, where security continues to be the prerequisite for political development and economic growth". Thus in order to achieve everlasting peace the Afghan government should work on engaging with the local militias in order to disempower and disarm them, moreover curtailing the rampant corruption and reforming the police and judicial system are important. Facilitating dialogues through neutral personalities will help in resolving tensions, disputes and conflicts across communities and tribes. Hence we see that the institutions who are working for peacebuilding and peacekeeping such as the Afghanistan government and the organisations of United Nations and the International forces who are engaged in counter terrorism work on different strategy but common goals. This has been such because eventually they need to bargain reconciliation of the conflicting actors in order to build a robust peace (Higashi 2008). In this context, political peacebuilding needs to be assigned through high-level political and diplomatic agreement to bring conflict to an end. We see that structural peacebuilding focusses on building formal structures and well established institutions that can supports the required peace culture. It involves promotion of equity and participatory governance system. Further, the social peacebuilding tries to seek influence upon the attitudes and behaviours of the conflicting parties. It tries to create social values and infrastructure to promotes peace (Waldman 2008). So, these socio-political institutions are necessary in order to stabilise peacebuilding and maintain the constitutional rule prevalent.

Objective of Study

Definition, Rational and Scope of study

The Bonn Agreement facilitated the inception of a democratic government in Afghanistan, with primary objectives of governance of the country through the principles of rule of law. Along with it came the responsibility of reconstructing and structuring the Afghan Society and all its institutions, which was in a degenerated form due to the decades of war. The national government through its various policies and programmes undertook this herculean task with its various programme and policies. Peacebuilding and reconciliatory methods in the Afghan Society was stated in order to build peace and foster trust among communities and its people who had been constantly into a conflict and rivalry with each other sometimes for generations. This peacebuilding process was also the prime objective of the United Nations and the NATO countries led by United States, which did not once more wanted it to become a breeding ground of global terrorism. This ground-breaking work turned out to a partial success because of the inability of the state to penetrate deep and coercely act with its constitutional authority. Though, all these years this peacebuilding and reconciliation structure in Afghanistan sustained itself because of the abundant foreign aid and the peacekeeping missions led by the International Security Assistance Force along with Afghan National Army. Now after the withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) from Afghanistan, we have noticed a steep rise in attacks from Taliban, thus the speculation is being made that whether the peacebuilding can be achieved successfully.

Further due to the intense realisation about the prevailing security environment, we find that armed force by themselves cannot bring peace and stability in the region. The peacebuilding processes needs to be given a thorough thought, with a serious consideration is needed in the policy and implementation level in order to end the war and promote peace in the society. We find that in past the government launched a programme called Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP) which aimed at reintegration and reconciliation of opposing fighters and groups through a twin track process. But even that has not gained credibility among the people and conflicting parties and had seen a limited success. The desire of the people of an accountable, efficient and transparent government, which had been the backbone of a peaceful and stable Afghanistan, is also seen missing. So ensuring a durable peace process has seen failure in almost all level. Now, the people demand for more efficient administrative processes and procedures so that reform programmes could be implemented in the ground.

Because the government peace structures were perceived to be as remote and ineffective, which undermined their legitimacy and capacity to deliver the people started losing hope. The people are the cog and wheels of any peace process to function and when they deny giving the minimum input, the failure of the programme rests assured. As it became very clear that for a successful peace process military solution of the conflict does not exists. As the Afghan government is rigorously pursuing reintegration in the hope of creating societal harmony with the national political stability. The responsibility of international organisations has turned out to create a number of mechanism to unable the Afghan government to increase its responsibility and build capacity. The "positive peace" is needed in Afghanistan that would help in restoring relationship, and satisfy the aspirations of the entire population. This would also help in managing the conflicts in the Afghan society in a constructive way. Thus it can be noted that the peace process in Afghanistan should be guided by a building up of transparent institutions, inclusive governance and a legitimate effort for establishing accountability of the governmental institutions towards the people. Trust building among the people would be the primary goal to achieve because this would lead to public participation, establishing democracy in Afghanistan in a true sense. Hence now in order to understand the present scenario this research would try to look upon the problems and prospects of peacebuilding in Afghanistan after 2014.

Research Question

This research paper tries to determine that what are the Socio-political means of peacebuilding and causes of failure in reconciliation among ethnic groups in Afghanistan through detailed review of literature. Further, bring out the viable methods for the reconciliation of Taliban into the formal constitutional structures, which we have seen is the most important criteria of the peacebuilding process going on in Afghanistan. Further what are the roles and prospects of peacebuilding and reconciliation through civil-society and traditional social structures is also to be questioned because the entire success of any reconciliatory process in conflict-ridden state undergoes this process. Further the question of monetary assistance is one of the most vital because unless there is any international monetary assistance and support structure for the survival of formal state institutions, the domestic structures are not stable enough to sustain the enormous financial crunch created by the peacebuilding activities. Further the last question would be whether there is possibility of peacebuilding and reconciliation processes over

legitimacy of peacekeeping forces and military method of creating a sovereign state in Afghanistan.

Hypothesis

The research paper would try to find out that whether Incentivising Consociational method of socio-political power sharing with ethnic tribes through formal state structure at every strata lead to effective reconciliation and peacebuilding.

Research Methodology

This research would try to question the validity of the hypothesis and would be conducted using the Qualitative as well as Quantitative methods, where primary and secondary sources would be used in order to gain an insight of the matters and in answering the questions and problems. The primary sources would include the government reports and the reports of national and International NGO's. The secondary sources would be the published articles and books by scholars and researchers. The newspaper articles and online security based websites would be used to gain the present understanding of the reality. Further, in order to understand the authentic ground realities a qualitative method through questionnaire is required, for this purpose questioning of samples through a field survey is going to be very helpful.

Chapters

Chapter one would be the introductory chapter which will provide a general background of the prevailing conditions and the explanation of viable structures and processes of peacebuilding through Johan Galtung's "Transcend Theory" and John Paul Leaderach's "Top-down approach" and "Bottom-up approach". The second chapter will deal with the role of High Peace Council in Peacebuilding- Role of Jirgas. This chapter will deal in the role of the High Peace Council, functional in the Afghanistan. It would try to explain the relevance, successes and limitations of those institutions. The third chapter namely Role of UNAMA and other International Institutions will lay emphasis on the international assistance provided to the Afghan government since 2001, with various efforts of peacebuilding and reconciliation. It would discuss about the suitability of those efforts and their social acceptance. Chapter four

deals with the challenges and prospects of peacebuilding in Afghanistan. This chapter would magnify the failed efforts of the Afghan national government and the foreign actors and institutions to bring peace in the Afghan society. This chapter would further search for prospects of peacebuilding through sustainable institutions and socially legitimate methods.

The last chapter would be the conclusion which would try to conclude the research findings. This chapter will test the findings of research hypothesis through answering the research questions.

Section B

Socio-Political History of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is an ancient land of civilisation with glorious history of kingdoms that dates back around 3000 years, but the Land of the Afghans took shape as a political entity in 1747 when Ahmad Shah was crowned as a king of a tribal confederation, which marked the inception of an Afghan dynasty. Afghanistan has a composite culture where social ingredients are so well entrenched into the political behaviour that the development of its society are rooted in complex phenomenon we still find influencing the entire country. These features have determined its history and social behaviour of people across tribes and ethnicity. In the modern history, Afghanistan has been the witness of power rivalry of two western colonial powers. It has been into the crossroads of rivalry between Imperial Britain and Czarist Russia, which had resulted into a series of skirmishes and three Indo-Afghan wars in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Dorronsoro 2005). From the close of the 19th century onwards, the internal balance of forces within the Afghan society was diverted into an unnatural course by Britain and Russia, which laid down its frontiers even before a true Afghan state existed with sovereignty. The frontiers of Afghanistan thus came into being through a process involving both negotiations and war between the British, the Russians and the Afghans. (Gopalakrishnan 1982)

The construction of modern state once again began at the end of the 19th century. This project of establishing Afghanistan on the western model came into existence with Abdul Rahman

Khan. He was called as the "Iron Amir" who reconquered the country and started the centralised rule and bureaucratisation of the government. The transition towards an institutional system was thus set and everything got finalised since the constitution was adopted in 1923. Decades later the constitution of 1964 was the landmark in modern Afghan history. Under it Afghanistan became a constitutional monarchy. It provided for an elected parliament and ensured the autonomy of state through recruitment of administrators. Daoud Khan in 1973 abolished the constitutional monarchy and declared Afghanistan a Republic. His strong left inclination and soviet affiliation disturbed Afghanistan's Muslim majority who did not want atheistic communists holding power over them. On April 27, 1978, the April Revolution led by high ranking leftist military officers took place. This was the time when the communist way of life was forced upon the devout Muslim nation. The situation worsened with Amin's brutal oppressive measures which led the Muslim opposition to grow, and a rebel movement took shape (Otfinoski 2004). As we see that, the series of intense political crisis in Afghanistan started in 1973 where a bloodless coup overthrew the ruling monarch of Afghanistan King Zaher Shah. Later we see that Muhammad Daoud who was his successor, was also removed and killed in 1978. This was done by the group of rival communists, who wanted Afghanistan to become a communist country led by Erstwhile Soviet Union. These communist groups soon fell apart in power rivalry and went against one another in factional war. As Afghanistan was an Islamic nation with tribal values, there was a significant opposition on the communist style of living. As the opposition against communists grew intense, Soviet Union in 1979 sent its armed forces to Afghanistan in order to save the communist government of the country form collapsing. This soviet action resulted in a civil war where on the other side there were mujahedeens who were supported by the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Though the soviets withdrew themselves after a decade in 1989, but left Afghanistan disintegrated and war torn. Later in 1994, the Taliban captured power in Afghanistan, Taliban was a movement and it followed a radical Islamic ideology that has seen its origin in Pakistani madrassas. It seeks to impose the radical interpretation of Sunni Islam which has been derived from Deoband philosophy of Islam. They after establishing control over the Afghan territory, it implemented an extremist way of living as mentioned in Islamic texts and followed sharia thorough out the country. The incident of 9/11 in United States changed the entire geo-political condition of the country. With the help of indigenous allies, the US led NATO forces overthrew the Taliban regime, but the fighting continued in the peripheries. Though the United nations along with the United States started the process of rebuilding the nation, the overall reconstruction efforts have been challenging.(Seth G. Jones, Lee H. Hilborne, et al. 2006)

Present condition of Afghanistan

The ouster of Taliban and the peacebuilding process had led to many ground related problems. The Afghanistan central government is continuously facing numerous security threats from Taliban and warlords who acts as regional commanders in the peripheries. They have not led the Afghan government to establish its authority and control over the large parts of the country. The porous border and organised groups who deal in criminal activities such as drug trade, have turned out to be threats to the peace and stability of the country. The criminal organisation, Taliban and the warlords in the country uses the money financed from the drug sale to fund their military campaign and sustainability. In the recent years Afghanistan has become the world's largest opium poppy producer. It supplied the world with 70 percent of worlds poppy during the rule of Taliban (Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliker, et al. 2006).

Thus it would be interesting to note that how the Afghan National government will coup up with this issue and how the foreign help will essentially be helpful to Afghanistan in maintain its security and ensure the peacebuilding for its society.

Ethnic Composition of Afghanistan
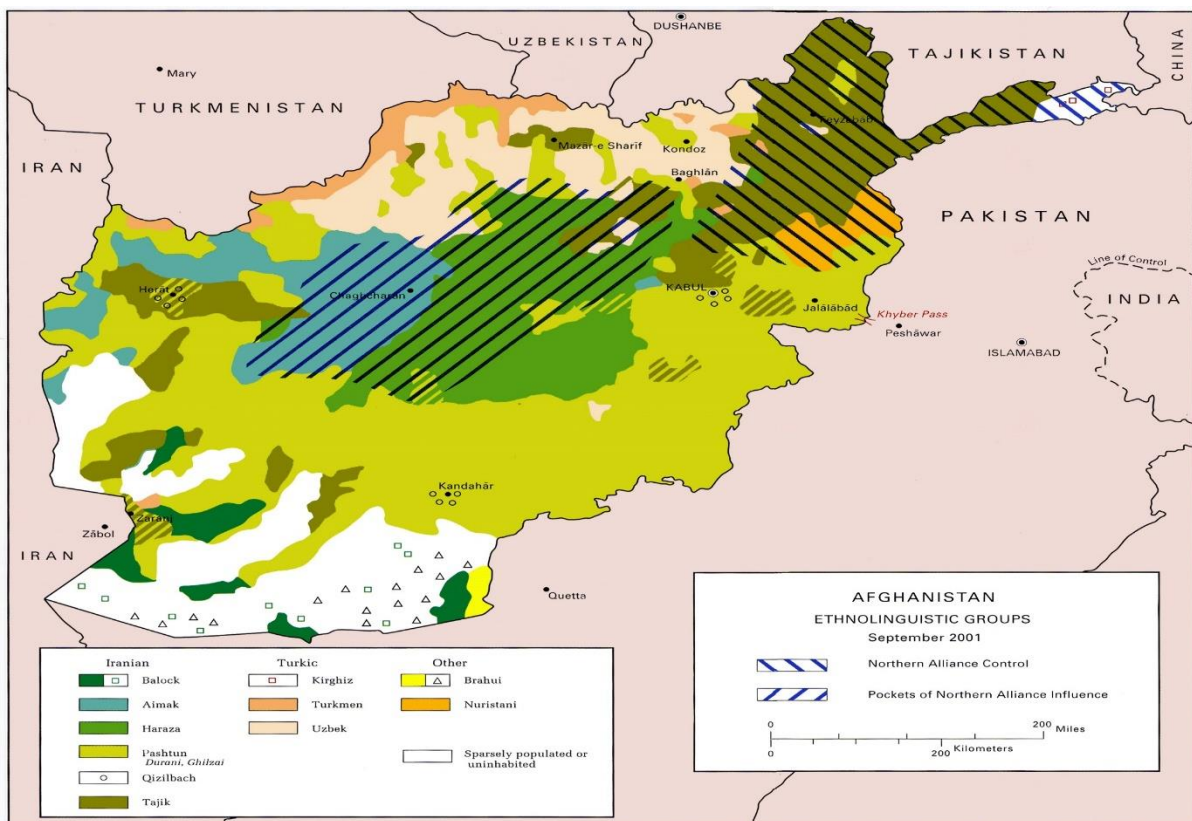
Afghanistan's population involves a complex ethnic composition which have evolved through cultural evolutions and technological developments throughout the course of Afghan history. There are four major ethnic groups in present day Afghanistan comprising of Pashtuns 42%, Tajiks 27%, Hazaras 9%, Uzbeks 9%, Aimaq 4%, Turkmen 3%, Baluch 2% and there are minorities which make up for the rest 4% (Lamer 2011).

We see that the Pashtuns comprises of the largest ethnic groups that are politically influential in Afghanistan. They have a historic lineage, and they had been the founder of Afghanistan as a monarchy. They united the territories of Afghanistan back in 1747. Primarily they have been living in the southern and eastern province of the country. They are Muslims and follow the Sunni faith of Islam. They are comprised of five major groups of Pashtuns and they are Durrani, Ghilzai, Sarbani, Karlanri and Ghurghuscht.   Among the four of them the Durrani and Ghilzai are politically the most influential. The Pashtuns follow the social structure that is based on the "Pashtunwali" which is a code of "honour and behaviour" that guides their social activities. The Tajiks who are of the Central Asian origin are the second most populous ethnic group in Afghanistan. Because of their Central Asian roots they maintain a kinship with the four million ethnic Tajiks in Tajikistan which Afghanistan shares border with. The Tajiks concentration is mainly in northern parts, north eastern and western parts of Afghanistan. The social structure of the Tajiks revolves around the village and family. In the recent past they have suffered the most notable instances of violence by Taliban, but since 2001 their condition have change considerably. The Hazara's live in Hazarajat where they are in a majority, this location is situated in the central province of Afghanistan. In late nineteenth century, Hazara's settled in western Turkestan, which consists of Jowzjan and Badghis provinces. Almost all the Hazara's are Muslims and they follow the Shi'a sect of Islam, although there are few smaller and religiously different group of Hazaras such as Ismaili who practice a different form of Islam. Ismaili Hazaras reside around the Hindu Kush mountain ranges .

Uzbeks and Turkmen both live predominantly in the northern province of Afghanistan. Together they comprise roughly 12% of the Afghan population. Most of the Uzbeks came to Afghanistan around late nineteenth century, specifically after the Russian Revolution. Whereas the Turkmens have their roots in the Turkic speaking tribes and are closely related to the people of Turkey and the Central Asia. They are from the countries which are Afghanistan's neighbours in the north. Though, the Uzbeks are also Turkic speaking ethnic group but they are ethnically more related to the Iranian people. The Aimaq's population is about 4% of the total Afghan population and they primarily live on the steppe lands in north western parts of

Afghanistan. They are semi nomadic and their ancestral roots can be traced back to the tribes that were spread around Afghanistan and Iran, and they belong to the sub group of the Turkish Population. The Baluchi's that reside in Afghanistan are the part of cross-border Baluchi community, that is approximately of around 8 million. 70% of the Baluchi tribal population lives in Pakistan part and the rest in Iran side of Afghanistan. The Afghani Baluchi's live predominantly towards south west and south of provinces of Faryab and Helmand. The Baluchi's have a strong sense of clan and sub-clan affiliations, and loyalties towards the clan chiefs.

CHAPTER TWO

Role of High Peace Council in Peacebuilding in Afghanistan

1. Introduction to High Peace Council
   a. Precursor to APRP
   b. Objectives of APRP

2. Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP)

3. Goals of APRP

4. High Peace Council and its Initiatives
   a. Top Down Approach
   b. Role of Ulema in Peacebuilding
   c. Role of Civil Society in Peace Process
   d. The Bottom up Approach

5. Role of Jirga and Shura in Peacebuilding

6. Role of Women in Community Peacebuilding

7. UNDP and Peacebuilding under High Peace Council

8. Role of International Community and Neighbouring countries in facilitation of Peace
   a. Pakistan
   b. Iran

9. Summary of the Chapter

Introduction to High Peace Council

The "Agreement on Provincial Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-Establishment of Permanent Government Institutions" signed on 5th of December 2001 is also know to as the Bonn Agreement. This historic agreement was signed in Bonn Germany. It was a series of agreements that were passed, to lay the foundation of transition in the political system of Afghanistan after the war that rocked the Afghan society for 23 years. This agreement established an Interim Authority until the Transitional Authority was about to be established by the emergency Loya Jirga. This agreement provided the legal framework until the adoption of a new constitution. The participants of this agreement were firm and resolute to bring an end to the conflict which Afghanistan was facing so that and reconciliation could be promoted throughout the nation. This agreement determined the future of Afghanistan for peace, security and stability. This agreement gave the citizens of Afghanistan the chance to freely determine their political future according to the principles of democracy and in overall in accordance with the principles and philosophies of Islam, promoting pluralism and social justice in the society (Afghanisan 2001). The principle adopted and agreed in this agreement stated that, "the right of the people of Afghanistan to freely determine their own political future in accordance with the principles of Islam, democracy, pluralism and social justice". So, in order to create a representative and democratically elected government for reflecting the various ethnic, political and religious aspects of Afghanistan in accordance with the principles of the Bonn Agreement the representatives of Afghanistan agreed to several fundamental ideas (Ghai 2003) . Successful conclusion of the Bonn Agreement for bringing transformation and stabilisation was finalised through the birth of new parliament. The newly adopted constitution of Afghanistan was the blueprint that would guide the people and its government in all the political matters, and in matters of the peace and reconciliation in the Afghan Society. This constitution was the mirror for solving ground realities with trust and social justice, fulfilling the aspirations for the Afghan citizens.("Afghanistan: Beyond Bonn Agreement" 2005)

The purpose of reconstruction of the socio-economic sector and peacebuilding in a post conflict states, the social acceptance of legitimate power structures of the state becomes essential. But we find that in Afghanistan, the existing institutional structures were weak, corrupt and non-functioning. This was a fact that, virtually most of functioning structures and their institutionalised working order was destroyed. This led to an immense challenge in order to recreated them and make the working of those institutions sustainable. It was well predicted by the constitutional elites, that in order to nurture and develop a reformed political culture would

take decades. So a culture where the civilian authority would had been supreme, and where national interests would prevail over sectarianism was the prime objective of the nation builders ("Afghanistan's Bonn Agreement One Year Later: A Catalog of Missed Opportunities (Human Rights Watch Background Briefing, December 5, 2002)" 2002). Thus, in order to achieve such a system the United Nations started helping out the leaders of Afghanistan to establish through carving out the National Transitional Government. This creation of the Transitional Government was achieved with the help of United Nations through indirect elections, which also proposed wide range of agendas for recovery of the nation in economic, security and humanitarian terms. This was the first step in order to start the nation building process. The international intervention in Afghanistan after the ouster of Taliban regime was charged with few objective, where the attempt to project power with military force in order control the prevailing security challenge, and the United Nations effort to deter violence and build peace through development and bringing reconciliation in the conflicting parties were the prime ones. This dual path of peacekeeping and peacebuilding was adopted for building the authoritative and coercive capacity of the country. We find that building the capacity of the institution turns out to be the foremost mechanism for peacebuilding in order to overcome strong centrifugal forces operating in destabilised conditions. Thus, vision of peace was attached by the United Nations into the intervention through the international peacekeeping forces just next to the instrument of violence (Suhrke 2012).

We see that the socio-political conditions of Afghanistan after the Bonn process were very much similar to the conditions that used to prevail after the collapse of the communist government. Because the situation prevailing in Afghanistan after the ouster of Taliban was very volatile and fragile. It was dominated by powerful warlords who used to run almost a parallel governments in the fringes and peripheries, they sometimes were the clan heads who acted as its chief of its military and political organisation. Their boundary of influence were demarcated through the ethnic and religious condition. Further, we see that after the fall of Taliban many warlords returned from exile to reassert their lost authority and to fight against the remnants of the insurgents who had posed challenge to their position. They made the security environment precarious as they were getting armed and monetary help from the United States to fight the Al-Qaida and Taliban to outroot them where the International forces were not present. But this turned out to be opposite because these cache of weapons and aid enabled them to revive their past order, organisations and sphere of authority creating different pockets of power. The result of this was that as a considerable amount of power was vested, without

any responsibility made the warlords unaccountable and uncontrolled. On the other hand, there was not any such parallel coercive authority maintained at the centre in order to control them at the provinces. Thus, the Bonn agreement, the international in Afghanistan have focussed on the top-down approach of peacebuilding, through establishing security and by trying to strengthen the government institution, subsiding the bottom up approach (Omar Farooq Zain 2006).

Precursor to APRP

The United Nations started its peacebuilding venture in Afghanistan after 2001. The Bonn Agreement qualified for an outline, a route map for the vital project of transformation of the Afghan society on the way to political rights, social justice, equity and democracy. The early years of these programmes and policies that were followed by the United Nations and the International Coalition forces, there appeared to be having contradictions. It was because the aims of United Nations and military strategy adopted by the International Coalition forces were contradicting the overall philosophy of peacebuilding, because the security boots in the ground and the concept of peacebuilding goes contrary. But we find that there was consensus among the international actors that without getting rid of Taliban, the necessary security environment cannot be established. Hence for the atmosphere for the transition through transformative project adopted by the United Nations required such an approach. The United Nations along with the foreign and domestic aid community launched large-scale humanitarian assistance and reconstruction programmes in order to pacify the problems. The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission was also established, and it was among the first step towards political transition that was designed to move the country from war to peace. So, this scenario the international peacebuilding community worked with security measures as an moral obligation to help the country recover from a decades of internal strife. Hence, there was no fundamental contradiction between the military intervention represented by OEF and the UN peacebuilding agenda. Military intervention and regime change was seen as necessary condition for reconstruction, nation building and peacebuilding and the ISAF presence in Afghanistan helped to create sufficient safety and order in Kabul and to permit the newly established government and its international partners to start rebuilding the city and provide humanitarian assistance.

After Bonn agreement, Afghanistan's reconstruction saw a significant progress in normative framework for peacebuilding within the domestic and foreign policy agenda. The magnitude

of the suffering the Afghans had faced was tremendous. The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission published an report called as the Call for Justice showed that 69% of the Afghanistan's population had agreed that they or their family have suffered human rights abuses during the last three decades of the conflict. Therefore, the Afghan policymakers made important goals towards addressing the past abuses that the Afghan society had been thrusted into in last three decades. The efforts made by them have mostly focused on institution building as well as disarming, demobilising, and rehabilitating former non-state combatants (Rossi 2006). Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of ex-combatants (DDR) had been central to international engagement in Afghanistan and it was a part of Afghanistan New Beginnings Programme. ANBP mentions about the objectives of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration as "By aiming to rid the country of parallel armed structures, the disarmament of illegal armed groups is more than a nation-wide weapons collection programme. Its ultimate objective are to extend the authority of the GIRoA through the development of its capacity for effective local governance, create the conditions for the establishment, maintenance and support of security throughout Afghanistan, and strengthen public support for the lawful organs of the Afghan state" (Gossman 2009). The integration of Taliban insurgents and the combatants into the mainstream society is complex, because of its socio-political and psychological issues. This reintegration of the ex-combatant program was the continuation of DDR which was introduced in early 1990, but now it was divided into four main programs which had a specific purpose of demobilising specific groups. The first DDR program was initiated in 2003, which tried to incorporate the Afghan Military Force. This Afghan Military Force was an anti-Taliban group, which helped United States and its coalition partners in ousting the Taliban government. It force was made up of jihadi fighters who also had fought the soviet forces two decades back. After initial initiative, the Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration programme in 2005 adopted the Disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups also called the DIAG programme to curtail the insurgency that started gathering pace. It also led to the rise in efforts to expand the Afghan National Security Force and anti-Taliban fighters for village defence program. The next effort of the government which targeted ex-insurgents for its reintegration into the society was through "Tahkim-e-Sulh" which was also called as the Strengthening Peace Program or PTS initiative which was started in 2005. This initiative was launched in order to gain trust of the insurgents through contacting and providing them with opportunities so that their militant activities could be stopped and connections could be dismantled. This ambitious programme of the Government of Afghanistan enjoyed the support from UNAMA since 2007 (Kirk 2011). In 2010 see the rise

of "Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program", it was designed at the London and Kabul Conference where with persistent negotiations the Government of Afghanistan made others to believe into the capacity of this initiative. Now the ongoing Strengthening the peace programmes or the PTS was to be merged into the new flagship project of APRP ("Reintegrating-Armed-Groups-in-Afghanistan" 2014).

Objectives of APRP

In the International Conference that was organised at Bonn in December 2011, it was agreed that, "Peace is a Sacred goal and a basic need for our people and the rest of the world. We, the people of Afghanistan believe that securing peace, enduring stability and developing Afghanistan can be only achieved through mutual understanding and acceptance of each other".

The builders of APRP had a clear objective in their mind that this programme was to be the framework which could promote peace in the Afghan society. It tried to adopt the political means to bring together the regional initiatives and the international cooperation in order to build peace and reconciliation into the society in a constructive way. It adopted policies of reintegration so that the Taliban and warring militias accept the laws mentioned in the constitution of Afghanistan, and renounce violence and join the mainstream society. The credibility of APRP lies in the fact that it had been carefully designed in dealing with political, institutional and security issues and attaining the objectives to inforce peace and reintegration. Moreover it had the capacity to incorporate regional and foreign peacebuilding efforts for conflict resolution in the society as well as in the government. Thus, the prime objective of APRP was to promote peace at local levels and security and prosperity of the individuals and communities who join the peace process. The APRP had accepted for a plan of having "tripartite peace and integration process" which was to go around for 5 years. It was divided into phases and the first phase was to deal into building social outreach through confidence building and negotiations. It is a phase where the district and the provincial leaders would try reaching the people and their community who express their will to join ongoing peace process. Phase two focused on "demobilisation". In this phase the APRP focused on adopting those programmes which helped in transitioning of insurgent back to the active social live, which included the individuals who left violence and terrorism and they were granted pardon through the provision of political amnesty. Afghan action plan on peace aimed at strengthen peace and security, it also contained programmes in order to reduce the common peoples suffering

through reforming the governmental institutions and ensuring accountability and protecting them of threats of criminals and human right violators. Thus it helped in building trust and cohesion in the society leading to the promotion of reconciliation. It also helps in restructuring the institutions ensuring their accountability and it henceforth leads to national unity (Waldman 2008).

The decades of war and instability in the country with the combined conditions of harsh weather and inhospitable terrain had destroyed the physical and socio-economic structures on which the life could have depended. The survival structures had seen degradation making Afghanistan one of the poorest country to live. A speedy recovery was needed so that the quality of life could be improved, which also would lead to building trust on the governmental institutions. Thus, the members who participated in the Bonn process had a strong opinion against war and were determined to end the conflict. They unanimously were in favour of building a strong democratic Afghanistan through promoting national reconciliation through respecting the human rights and building everlasting peace and stability (Fritz 2011).

Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP)

The Afghanistan's people along with the international community had high aspirations of stability and peace to prevail in the country after it underwent to the transition from a theocracy to a democratic government. The ground work to rebuild the country and to promote its institutions was a challenge due to the ravaging of the country due to the wars. The elections in Afghanistan for the Presidential and the Prime ministerial post in 2004 and 2005 were seen as vital events in bringing peace and stability in the newly born democratic country. It was a watershed event, which had the possibility to bring reform in the critical aspects of governance and the security sector. The government created the "Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme" in order to bring together the political, economic and security dimensions of governance into the folds of peacebuilding. In the London conference held in 2010, where the APRP was presented to the international community. They gave their full acknowledgement towards the Afghan governments initiative to build peace and gave its commitment to create a "Peace and Reintegration Trust Fund" in order to aid APRP. In June 2010 the National Consultative Peace Jirga was held in Kabul, in order to discuss the process of establishment and the framework of APRP.

After the Afghan elections of 2014, there was a change in government and now National Unity Government got into power. It was a democratic political transition where with the peaceful transfer of power the leadership went to President Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah became the Chief Executive Officer. The newly constituted government was inclined towards building peace and stability in the country and it decided its strategy on achieving peace through making reconciliation and doing negotiations on a higher level. Its vision was to achieve durable peace through achieving political solutions of the conflict. It led the policy of promoting dialogue and initiating measures to reintegrate the Taliban and insurgents group into the society. This new approach and strategy was given approval by the technical committee of the APRP. It was accepted that APRP was to be the vehicle for supporting and facilitating negotiations and consolidating its achievements. The process which was to be adopted was pursuing dialogues through direct negotiations in the political way in order to influence the Taliban towards the peacebuilding process at a leadership level ("Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP) Third Quarter, 2015" 2015) .

With the Afghanistan's National Unity Government, the APRP has turned its strategy towards achieving the high level negotiations, and its High Peace Council is helping in its approach for negotiations and reconciliations. At the provincial and community level, the High Peace Council and its Joint Secretariat have been supporting the process of national level negotiations with maintaining the peacebuilding and reintegration activities within the communities at the grass root level. The success of APRP has been because it has been successful in engaging the civil society workers in the ground and understanding from them that how civil society can be engaged in the peacebuilding process. Thus, the High Peace Council is expected to have the overall leading role in negotiating a ceasefire and peace agreement through formal peace talks and mobilising wider support to peace process and participation of Afghans people. In this regard the key focus area of the HPC will include the Policy coordination for effective engagement with key stakeholders which would lead and facilitate initiatives for confidence building, countering the narrative of violence through engagement of ulemas both in the national and international levels, advocacy, public communication and developing a pro peace narrative. It would Reach out and lead efforts for promoting reconciliation and wider participation of Afghans at national and subnational levels. The APRP-UNDP Support Project supported the APRP in its coordination and dialogue with donors and other stakeholders. This included the reshaping of the APRP 2015 strategy for an extended three years period in order

to attain the primary aim of establishing peace and security in Afghanistan through reintegration, reconciliation and negotiations.

The APRP-UNDP Support Project engaged an Independent Monitoring Agent (IMA) in mid 2014 and the IMA concluded its assignment in January 2015. The IMA conducted both monitoring and review of certain aspects of the programme in four provinces to assess the effectiveness of the programme. On recommendations of IMA it has adopted an action plan to engage six newly recruited UNDP National Regional Monitoring and Evaluation officers to regularly monitor the implementation of the programme and report on measure to improve programme operations. APRP attempts to reach out to the AGEs in all parts of Afghanistan and the APRP regional teams also work closely with various actors such as Ulemma Shura, civil society members, media and tribal/religious leaders to attain its objectives. It has also been closely working with youth, media, women as well as Ulemma and holds meetings to discuss overall security situation, as well as peace efforts in the provinces. APRP-UNDP Support continues to strengthen partnerships with civil society organisations. These activities varied in their focus form planning, coordinating activities to implementing events. They implemented various activities such as peace forums, interactive meetings, peace events, speeches at mosques and broadcast of peace programs through radios and TV shows. Centrally, the APRP-UNDP Supported Project continues to work with the GEP and UNDP Gender Unit of the country office in a joint effort on women empowerment and peacebuilding initiatives. At the provincial and regional level, APRP Regional Program Coordinators (RPCs) and GEP RPCs collaborate each other as well as with the DoWAs, PPCs, PJSTs, and other relevant actors.

Thus, the Afghan government has adopted the policy of peace and reconciliation making it as the foremost priority and had taken ambitious steps in fulfilling it through political settlement. These steps towards the peacebuilding and engaging with the communities and groups has raised faith of the Afghan people in the governmental mechanism. APRP and UNDP support team currently working hand in hand with the donor communities and peace partners to decide the methods they would be adopting for the peace process. The aim is to have the peace process formalised soon in order to sustain the achievements of the APRP and make them concrete in order to achieve peace for Afghanistan.

Goals of APRP

APRP will continue its focus on reconciliation efforts and reaching a political settlement to put an end to violence and promote national unity in the country. The target of this mission is of achieving a durable and stable peace of ongoing conflicts. It had an agenda of finding political solutions through promotion of dialogue and reintegrating the armed insurgents back to mainstream society. Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme is the Afghan government's mechanism which would facilitate and foster negotiation with Taliban and hopefully soon lead them both to the discussion table to bring formal peace in Afghanistan. The Afghan Government is expected to continue its informal peace negotiations through the HPC with the assistance of the JS in addition to the building of regional and other international support for peace process. The HPC, through a designated team, will continue to lead the national peace and reconciliation efforts in the country. The JS will provide the technical and financial support for the HPC and for implementing and coordinating the peace efforts. The objective is to intensify efforts on political reconciliation and create the space for armed insurgents to renounce violence. The APRP remains the Afghan Governments leading institution to obtain and maintain peace through political solutions as well as support initiatives for conflict resolution and prevention. The Afghan Government is expected to continue its mobilization of support for the peace process from regional countries. The HPC should pursue an effective engagement strategy to mobilise their support for the peace process.

In order to create a renewed momentum among the regional countries and the international community, important regional players and strategic partners will be engaged to mobilise support for peace as well as create consensus and cooperation. It is expected that that international community reaffirms it commitment to supporting the Afghan led peace and reconciliation process in the important international events on Afghanistan("APRP-1QPR-2015.Pdf" n.d.) ("APRP Annual Progress Report 2013" 2013) .

Peace Talks under High Peace Council

It is very encouraging to find that the common masses along with the National Government of Afghanistan and the international community working for the peacebuilding in the Nation have always taken the first step in support for negotiations. High Peace Council has facilitated measures to bring the Taliban to dialogue in order to end the conflict. This High Peace Council

was constituted by the initiative of Karzai government, in June 2010 with an office of seventy members. But after its constitution there were some allegations about some of its members regarding their political inclinations. The issue erupted because there arose an ideological rift between members of High Peace Council and Afghan Civil Society in the context of the way to proceed on the path of peacebuilding. The representatives who were from Afghan government, domestic and International NGO and civil society, gathered there for a conference in order to discuss building peace and reconciliation in Afghan society. Here it was felt about the disconnection about the approach. These members criticised few members of High Peace Council who were former militia leaders, lacking in vision and clarity of objective (Gossman 2011).

Among the majority of Afghans, the desire for peace in the society is the most important element for the success of the peace process. In July 10, the Peace and Reconciliation Process was launched to build sustainable peace and security in Afghanistan using political, economic and social approaches to engage a broad range of stakeholders. The Peace and Reconciliation process is now a top priority of the Islamic Republic Government of Afghanistan and is entirely supported by the international community. The High Peace Council sets the agenda by leading in political and strategic decision making. The High Peace Council's secretariat is responsible for programme implementation. Peace building programmes are led by governors in the provinces through the Provincial Peace Committees. The purpose of High Peace council is to engage anti-government militants, encourage them to accept the Afghan Constitution, and provide opportunities for militant groups to take part in peace talks and negotiations. Peacebuilding projects in Afghanistan are designed to reduce poverty and improve livelihood prospects. They bring warring communities together to join reconciliation and hence they can be effective in fulfilling the agendas of peacebuilding (Larson and Ramsbotham 2018).

The peace process in Afghanistan should always be inclusive in nature and it should find ways to involve all affected groups, including the most downtrodden. So the changing role of Afghan women will also be taken seriously by the Peace institutions so that they could enrich the various sectors. In this context we find that the central and the local process of peacebuilding has been operating at different spectrum and hence they target inclusivity within the society at various levels. The insight which these institutions provide leads to identification the multiple dimensions of sustainable peacebuilding. But still the Peacebuilding institutions needs to broaden their approach and attention so that the contribution of communities can be maximised (Nader and Roberts 2012).

Top Down Approach

Role of Ulema in Peacebuilding

The Ulema are the religious leaders and scholars hold considerable influence over public opinion and have a special place in the social hierarchy. They maintain strong base especially in the Pashtun dominated areas. Apart from the Pashtuns dominated areas there are numerous madrassas in all parts of Afghanistan and hence they get respect in every corner of the country. Moreover people with sufi orientations also revere the Ulemas. In recent history the Ulemas of Afghanistan took an active part in resistance movement by mobilising ground support and recruit mujahedeen fighters for the war against the Soviets. With the rise and spread of Wahabi or Deobandi beliefs they started exercising enormous influence in the Afghan society (Akhtar 2008). The ulemas across the globe and Afghanistan are trying it hard in order to promote their religion Islam as a religion of moderation tolerance peace and cooperation and which promotes sustainable peace. The meeting which was held among Ulemas across the world had an aim to familiarise the thought process of Ulemas of Afghanistan with their global counterparts. This was done in order to explore and understand the prospects that how they could help in maintaining peace in Afghanistan and how Ulemas can be used in the civil societies to harness their social influence across the society to promote reconciliation and social cohesion among the conflicting tribes and communities. They have this duty of promotion of Islamic teachings in a broad spectrum of tolerance and non-violence and keeping it in pace with modernisation and development, so that they can actively participate in the peace process of Afghanistan. Thus they are being expected to promote Islamic teaching in lieu of peacebuilding in Afghanistan by the Afghan government. Thus project tries to influence the people through a bottoms up approach through the ground elites. So it has turned out to be a cultural and religious project of peacebuilding which can influence the entire population uniformly, negating any political and military influence which has been dominant in the entire discourse of peacebuilding in Afghanistan.

There are some problems which the Afghan Ulema are facing in order to maintain peace in the society and they can be stated that not very unit of the Afghan society are well connected with them or are in the circle of influence of Ulemas. In addition to it, it is to be noted that the Afghan Ulema remains a little less connected towards their own community as we find in other Islamic countries. In Afghanistan, the theological difference among the Ulemas of different sects, makes the communication and consensus among themselves very difficult. After all these

problems we see that the religious structures in Afghanistan lack institutional capacity to make it work perfectly, moreover most of the time the masses remain unaware about any such efforts proceeded by the clergy or Ulema for peacebuilding. Thus we see that the Ulema who exerts so influential position in the Afghan society also faces divide on theological ground among themselves, moreover there have been instances where the young urban youth have had differences with the Ulema. So one can conclude that the peacebuilding initiative by Ulema has a long way to go to have a impactful contribution in the peacebuilding process of Afghanistan (Kazemi 2012). The Social organisation Nahdhatul Ulama Afghanistan or NUA has taken this responsibility of the Ulemas to a more institutionalised level. This organisation is composed of the Afghan civil society trained ulemas who's training is on human rights foreign and domestic laws and social participation in civil society. It works as a non-profit organisation of religious leaders, which was established for promoting a non extreme, moderate and tolerant approach of Islam which was completely in contrary to the Taliban way of projecting Islam. These Ulemas work as peacemakers under the program named as Role of Ulama in Peace and Reconciliation or RUPR. Thus we see that Nahdhatul Ulama Afghanistan wants to build peace, security and stability in the country by balancing the Quranic interpretation of Islam (Admin 2015).

Thus we see that the Ulema in Afghanistan through claiming spiritual authority, has been maintaining their independent position and have been successful enough in counterbalancing the state and perform the functions which were outside the states reach and hence ignored by the state.

The role of Civil Society in Peace Processes

Civil society is always present in any form or the other though war and conflict transforms it. In the context of Afghanistan it has been the victim of continuous instability due to wars and internal disturbances from last three decades. This has changed the structure of the Civil society from the way it should have been. We see thorough out the history that formal and informal structures of the government see a decline and erosion at the times of war and in the case of Afghanistan they have disintegrated and now they exist degenerated form. In the recent past we find that the commitment of the Afghan civil society towards transitional justice have significantly grown. It is clear though that the condition of civil society in Afghanistan is fragile, but the way they have been coordinating is hopeful of getting satisfactory results

(Kouvo and Mazoori 2011). In these problematic times the institutions which survives are the religious institution which turn out to be very vital in strengthening the bonds between society. Civil society along with the initiatives initiated from the communities helps in rebuilding the infrastructure and reconciling the shattered trust within the community. These functions done by the civil society and community based institutions gain their legitimacy from the religious actors and authorities. The activities which are done by the civil society groups are socially accepted in these hostile environments because they deep rooted in societal norms and practices. According to the people these actions retain social and moral values which becomes their solace in turbulent times (August 7th and Comments 2017). As the civil society in are working up with the socially recognised actors they are quiet able to successful perform peacebuilding by maintaining effective socialisation and social cohesion. They have made themselves capable in strengthening bonds between the conflicting communities and tribes. The civil society workers have been effective in sharing relevant social and political information of public value. So we see that a successful peacebuilding apart from other things requires the crucial support and participation of civil society and those things have been proved by research that "eminent civil society persons like religious or community leaders can be very effective in paving the way to official negotiations and supporting the official mediators in times deadlocks."

The most important feature of civil society in any post conflict society is that if it is engaged in a ritualistic sense then it can promote durable peace, further it has the capacity to strengthen democratic process and inclusive growth. It also performs the function of facilitator to meet grievances through facilitating dialogue among the government, insurgents and the Taliban. It also becomes a trusted medium of voice for the other grounded stakeholders of the society such as village elders, women and the young population of the society. They facilitate the building up of bridges for the promotion of community mobilisation, which also leads to trust building between people and government. Community based mechanisms can also provide pathways for community voices to feed into formal peace structures and processes ("Civil Society and High Peace Council Cooperation Framework" 2013). Civil society becomes more important for those states where democracy is in an infancy stage, which had fractured by war and hence its relevance rises in the case of Afghanistan to bring people closer to harness strength and unity among them. As it builds bridges promoting mutual communication through minorities and marginalised groups. It also checks the government's power, which sometimes carries tyrannical character with it. So, the civil society which had adopted and followed crucial role

in reforming the society, plays extremely important role in bringing people to the dialogue table. On the other hand it is also worth mentioning that the local capacity building of human and social capital provides strength to the civil society to perform it functions. So it can be said that democratic institutions of the country and its civil society are interconnected and mutually support each other (Evans et al. 2013).

The Bottom-Up Approach

Rebuilding the social capital is as important as the economic and political stability. The peace process led by the Afghanistan government has tried to understand the problems of peacebuilding very deeply and has brought out important elements for nation building. They have identified that unless the common people trust in the public and democratic institutions, rule of law cannot prevail in the society, and unless justice system works socio-political equality will not be ensured for the common masses. Moreover the governmental officials and representatives should shoulder the nation building responsibility with efficacy and efficiency so that the common people start believing in the governmental institutions. Further, the peacebuilding institutions of the government of Afghanistan should harness the cultural heritage so that people could identify the country as a nation. The government should work on building national identity, which in the course of time can subside the local conflict between people and tribes. It is important for Afghanistan to build the national identity because a sense of shared history brings fraternity, which is a vital criterion for sustaining peace.

In this process the APRP has been a radical initiative in this context as is trying to build peace form the Bottom-up through dialogue with the local communities who in turn would push the insurgents to reconcile with the government. It is because if people of Afghanistan finds the approach of the government serious and trustworthy and the government really wants to work for their betterment and welfare they would align with the initiatives of the government to end war and conflict.

Role of Jirga and Shuras in Peacebuilding

The Jirgas and Shuras harness the traditional method for dispute resolution of Afghanistan which have been present in the society since millennium. It is being presided by the councils of village elders. Jirgas and shuras can play a vital role in making the peace process successful in Afghanistan. We see that the Jirgas function as temporary or ad-hoc mechanism of resolving disputes, with a group of respected elders convening its proceedings. Whereas Shura is a group of local elders or recognised leader who convene regularly to make decisions on behalf of their community. These institutions have been preferred over the formal justice mechanism because they are led by respected elders of the society and they practice restorative justice.

The jirgas and shuras, which works as conflict resolution mechanism, in most part of its rural area, have occupied the vacuum created by any formal judicial institution. The people of Afghanistan finds these traditional institutions as trustworthy and more efficient then the formal judicial ones. Further their relevance increases because of the fact that the people find them in accordance with their culture and historicity hence about eighty percent of the rural disputes are still decided by them. Jirga is a process wherein various members of Afghan local communities establish various meetings-like formations in order to address legal matters, including disputes settlements and resolutions. Jirgas since immoral have acted as a forum for discussion for the village elders, but youths of Afghanistan defied the convention and organised National Youth Peace Jirga which discussed about prospects of peace making in the country. It stated that the nongovernmental initiatives can be more effective in building pressure upon all parties in conflict to reconcile and join the peace process. They are the ones who think sympathetically about the future of the country, at the point where the peacebuilding initiatives are of the national and international actors are low in output (Reza Kazemi 2012).

Community shuras are important mechanisms in may part of Afghanistan for managing family or other local conflicts. In some instances a shura can refer to an official structure registered with the government, but for the majority they are informal consultative bodies recognised by local communities. Many people prefer to present their cases to local shuras before approaching formal legal institutions such as the police or law courts. This is especially true in rural communities. Usually, the members of these shuras are exclusively male and include community elders, landlords, religious leaders, and local paramilitary commanders. Along with tribal customs, local interpretations of Islamic principle heavily influence the judgement of community shuras. The ulema are significant in this because they have privileged legitimacy

to consider religious issues, which are very sensitive in Afghan communities, and are able to exert considerable influence with community elders. Some ulema members in Afghanistan report feeling isolated from contemporary social debates and that expectation about their role in public life are to some extent limited to giving traditional local prayers and Friday sermons. The mass population in Afghanistan specially the ones living in the rural areas go for the Shuras and Jirgas in order to resolve their disputes. These disputes range from local land dispute to small scale conflict. Thus these informal institutions are well accommodative to handle the day to day problems that arise, solving much higher number of disputes that the Judicial system of Afghanistan . The tribal and rural peoples trust these traditional institutions as they focus in maintaining community harmony by settling the conflict. Thus we see that the local peace councils of the government are working with these traditional Jirgas and Shuras in order to fill gaps between the formal justice infrastructure by resolving disputes and promote justice. Religious actors influence also has led to mediate local conflicts. They have adopted different approaches along with the help of civil society to promote peace in response to multi-faceted and persistent drivers of conflict (Nader and Roberts 2012).

The role of women in community peacebuilding

The capacity of any society remains restricted in order to contribute towards development by barriers such as structured inequality, insecurity and societal norms. The government of Afghanistan has tried to manage the prevalent problems in the Afghan society through creating opportunities for women to play an important role in the economy and society for Afghanistan's development. They have been given equal status in the eyes of law and the government have ensured to enhance their education, health and skills so that they can play a role in growth of economy and help in reducing poverty ("Afghanistan National Peace and Development Framework" 2017). Afghan mothers have very important role in influencing their children's attitudes towards the use of violence and insurgents groups. When mothers have more confidence in their role in society and ability to meaningfully participate in public life, this transforms family attitudes towards women. Involving ulema in the peace council has helped to improve inclusivity, especially in terms of women participation. So the NGO's coordination with the ulema and community leaders such as maliks and khans has led to assurance of women achieving gender justice. The society have been accepting their greater role in committees and councils leading to their greater say in the councils decisions. Further

the acceptance of religious leaders creates space for social uplifting of women section leading to more social participation. Thus, women's role could be ensured in the peace process through can create more space for womens social participation, formal peace processes need to enable genuine participation from civil society, including religious actors and peace councils (Nader and Roberts 2012).

UNDP and Peacebuilding Under HPC

United Nations Development Programme or UNDP has been one of the major supporter for the ongoing peacebuilding and reconciliation process in Afghanistan. It has been supporting various ongoing initiatives by the Government of Afghanistan and coordinating with the other United Nations organisations working for peacebuilding in Afghanistan. Among them, most importantly it has been coordinating with the High Peace Council and its Joint Secretariat, secondly it is also coordinating with the Financial Oversight Committee Secretariat of Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme and the Provincial Peace Councils in 33 provinces of Afghanistan. Thus we see that UNDP has involved itself in a massive scale in the peacebuilding activities of the country. Apart from all these functions we see that it advices the leadership of APRP on policies and processes of peacebuilding.

Thus it indirectly works for reintegrating the Afghan society through reconciliation by assisting the Joint Secretariat of High Peace Council in the areas of planning and policy making and capacity development of the peacebuilding institutions. It also helps in monitoring the implementation through evaluating the ground realities of the policies, and supervises the management of the Peace and Reintegration Trust Fund. UNDP also ensures that donor funds are used in the most effective and efficient manner, in accordance with the guidance and endorsement of the financial oversight committee. Apart from all these the UNDP also works with provincial Joint Secretariat Teams to support Provincial Peace Committees to reach out the Taliban insurgents in order to encourage their reintegration and reconciliation into the mainstream society through adopting measures like financial assistance and livelihood skills building.

Role of International Community and Neighbouring Countries

Peacebuilding in Afghanistan can be ensured by understand the geopolitics of the region. Being a volatile country it has seen a constant foreign indulgence and interference in its domestic affairs. Though its immediate neighbours are very supportive of bringing peace in the country. But unless they give respect to Afghanistan's sovereignty and dialogue regarding the issues, that would be hard to build cooperation. It is very well understood by the neighbours that peace cannot be established in Afghanistan with solely by military means, democratic political process is needed to build trust. As the central authority remains weak, hampering its ability to exercise authority, making political process very necessary. The Central Asian states have proposed peace in Afghanistan with 6+2 method where all the six Central Asian neighbours along with the United States and Russia will join hands to build lasting peace. Regional forums like the Istanbul "Heart of Asia" Process, has become important element in brining major governmental actors of various countries to the table of discussion to talk about concerning issues which are the reason behind conflict in the region. These regional forums effectively focus on important political, economic and security issues in order to deal with them in a joint manner for their effective redressal. These organisations tremendously helps in creating solidarity and building alliances for peacebuilding.

Pakistan

Pakistan has played a major role in influencing Afghanistan affairs since its independence. Its government finds any incident across Durand line as threat to its national security. The interest of Pakistan in Afghanistan has been protecting its territorial integrity and balancing the power of India. Pakistani governments from its inception has tried to protect it from fragmentation by trying hard to neutralise Baluch and Pashtun nationalism. Further Afghanistan has always contradicted in accepting the validity of Durand line and have never accepted it as a border. They always have projected the idea of self-determination of Pashtunistan and this has turned out to be the biggest source of insecurity for Pakistan as it becomes a question to their own sovereignty. Hence we see that Pakistan's intelligence service ISI, have since the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has directed the Mujahedeen and the Taliban movement from its soil. The Taliban movement have sustained for decades now due to Pakistan's help of providing it sanctuary, funds and training.

It directly and indirectly influences the Taliban in its decision making, actions and directions in the fields in Afghanistan. Further it also influences Haqqani Network where it plays a greater role in influencing it, far greater than Taliban creating reasons for destabilisation of the country and has led to major geo-political consequences for Afghanistan the longer run. The Afghanistan government has always been wary about the implications of Pakistan's unwanted interference and has asked the United States who is a major ally to Pakistan in war against terror, to restrict its influence in Afghanistan. The influence of Pakistan in the country has been such strong that any progress in order to attain peace and stability across the country would need the Pakistan's assistance and cooperation. Further we see that after 2001 the fundamentalists and ethnic groups across Afghanistan have managed to establish strong networks to support themselves, leading to degradation of states coercive powers and creating threats for the central government. In this context Afghanistan and its neighbours have always found it hard to manage and challenge the non state actors rising in the region, there actors have been a threat for the stability of Afghanistan. Thus one can say that Pakistan has followed a predatory policy to exploit vulnerabilities of Afghanistan ad use them in its own advantage. Its is very clear that Pakistan who is an crucial neighbour Afghanistan has used its position for supporting Taliban in order to take an edge and counter the regional rivals has led to serious security threats and instability in the already destabilised Afghanistan making it more worse. As Afghanistan has been a land locked country, Pakistan has been strategically important for Afghanistan and in the recent past it has also been troubled by the instability caused by the rising threats from terrorism. So, in order to deal with rising threats from terrorism both the countries needs to sit and dialogue together for the peace in the region and contrary from its actions Pakistan has acknowledged that a "politically fragmented, anarchical and unfriendly Afghanistan would be a menace its security environment" (Akhtar 2008).

Iran

Afghanistan shares its western border with Iran which a major regional power and has a history of involvement in Afghanistan since ancient times. In the recent geopolitics regarding the region it has tried to magnify the security dimensions in this region and was vocal about the theory where it put on allegations that "Saudi Arabia and the United States were financing the Taliban movement and Pakistan played the role of an intermediary between the Taliban and these countries" (Akhtar 2008). Iran has also tried in to influence the western part of

Afghanistan in order to protect the Shiite and Persian speaking population which are in minority. It further also is concerned about its security as it tries to ensure that the United States forces can't use Afghanistan against its disadvantage. In the peacebuilding arena Iran has helped Afghanistan, providing it economic aid and building its infrastructure to help in easy transportation of trade goods. Further for making Afghanistan dependent on Pakistan for an outlet to sea, it has presented it with Iran's port of Chahbahar so that it can have an outlet to the Persian Gulf (Katzman 2017).

Summary of the Chapter

The fragile developments which Afghanistan has made after the constitution of its democratic government is totally dependent upon how the peacebuilding is promoted in the society, so that the society won't return back into the conflicting past. Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme formulated by the Government of Afghanistan has turned out to be a program national priority, which has a robust and balanced structure to capacity to implement. The High Peace Council has been successful in establishing vital contacts with the leadership of Taliban. These efforts undertaken by the government of Afghanistan has had an impact in public awareness and support for the peace process. It has increased the understanding about the mode of operation of the insurgents in Afghanistan and hence led the way to deal with it in the required situation. The Afghanistan government through its High Peace Council has tried to convince the countries in regional an international events about the instability in Afghanistan has grave implications for the stability of country and the security of the region as a whole. Thus, the policies of peacebuilding and reintegration of the Taliban is important in getting the security environment safe. It reintegration policies have also provided for temporary employment to former combatants during reintegration, and has benefitted over 154,000 local people. Afghanistan that has its institutions in degraded conditions, a sophisticated and well organised plan may still turn out to be unrealistic in the ground scenarios. In order to deal with all these the peacebuilding agencies spent significant efforts in designing "joint" plans and strategies. Rather than making any largely abstract "grand plans" which would destined to get a failure. In this process, the agencies should focus on assessment and oversight through coordination actual realities and involving themselves in peacebuilding activities. But whatever is done it seems that continued rise in violence and a weak state with lack of coercive authority and legitimacy cause continuous insecurity and failure in reconstruction activities. As

challenges are bigger the progress should be expected to be slower. At the national level and a complex tribal composition at the local level. An inclusive peace process needs to accommodate both ethnic and tribal dimension of conflict. At the local level NGO's have had success with adopting a conflict sensitive approach, which tries to ensure that all relevant stakeholders in a community are consulted and involved, including in relation to tribal affiliation.

Afghan National Peace and Development Framework or the ANPDF is a five-year ambitious plan for achieving the self-reliance in Afghanistan. It is an approach based on political, security and economic contexts, that are prevailing in the country; it tries to build development through agriculture, industries and trade. The government of Afghanistan is deeply into the peacebuilding and reconciliation process the ANPDF is trying to find political solutions for resolution of the conflict. So that the people could build their confidence in a state which is governed through constitutional laws and institutions. This policy will help overcome the legacy of fragmentation and distortion that has stunted institutional development in Afghanistan. Improved governance, anti-corruption, and organisational reforms are woven into every section of this plan ("Afghanistan National Peace and Development Framework" 2017).

CHAPTER THREE

Role of UNAMA and other International institutions

1. Introduction of UNAMA

    a. Afghanistan National Development Strategy

    b. Afghanistan Compact

2. UNAMA's Role in Promoting Culture of Peace and Cohesion

3. UNAMA's Role in Faith building in Democratic Governance and Institution

4. UNAMA's Role in Maintaining Security and Stability

5. Agencies working with Afghan Civil Society for peace and reconciliation

6. Building Infrastructure of Peace

7. Regional Organisation and its impact

8. Summary of the Chapter

Introduction of UNAMA

The United Nations has engaged in Afghanistan since 1946, and has provide it with development and humanitarian aid and political reconciliation during various phases. The ouster of Taliban saw the start if two frontal approach by the National government of Afghanistan along with the International Community. They focused on military approach of peacekeeping as well as peacebuilding through strengthening of institutions and human resources, so that nation building could start in a true sense. It is important to note that the Bonn process was held in order to establish the democratic government in Afghanistan. Hence, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) was given a shape with wide range of responsibilities to achieve. It was established under the Security Council Resolution of 1401 on 28 March 2002, and since then it has been the prime institution for peacebuilding and reconciliation process. The United Nation's mission in Afghanistan has a goal to help conflicting parties in Afghan society to reconcile and accept the provisions in the constitution, so that Afghanistan can be governed according to the rule of law. This process of transition of Afghanistan to constitutional republic was to be done by the process specified in the Bonn Agreement (Suhrke et al. 2004).

UNAMA has played a vital role in facilitation of the ideas and principles adopted in the Bonn Process to get implemented in the society and it also helped in setting up of road map for establishment of peace and security in the society, through making the central authority supreme and sovereign. Being a capable and well organised institution it was thrusted with the responsibility of letting the peace process to start by indulging itself into promoting relief and reconstruction in the society along with laying strategic groundwork for the peace process. UNAMA became the organisation to conduct the elections for the democratic process to start for the first time in Afghanistan. Following these responsibilities though, it was ensured by the UN representatives that they would adopt the "Light Footprint" approach. This was done so that the Afghans and not the international bureaucrats working for Afghanistan would be at the commanding position for the well-being and welfare of the country. This was done in order to ensure that the Afghanistan's authorities would also work hand in hand and share responsibilities of the nation building process and reconstruction of the society. So, UNAMA had the overall target to promote and achieve peace in the society and democratic stability throughout the country, so that national reconciliation could take place and war could be stopped. From the beginning, the purpose of United Nations in Afghanistan was to engage itself into conflict resolution and promoting trust building through dialogue and development. It also

helped in building environment of reconciliation among the conflicting parties and Taliban insurgents. UNAMA due to is peacebuilding initiatives was trusted and had high regard among the citizens and the Bonn Process led to the increase in its respect. In this position various conflicting groups across the country accepted and trusted UNAMA acting as a mediating body for conflict redressal between them. As it was having an impartial character it was accepted as a third party who could initiate dialogue for building peace and can also engage the insurgents to have negotiations with the government. Engaging the insurgents was the first step in the peacebuilding process in Afghanistan and the second step in this process was to convince the armed insurgents to accept the norms of Bonn Agreement and link themselves to the formal governmental structure (Larsen and Norwegian Institute of International Affairs 2010).

The elections and the constitution of new parliament in Afghanistan led to the fulfilment of the dreams and aspirations of the leaders and members who participated in the Bonn Agreement. It was the blueprint designed to achieve peace and stability through transitioning it to build a national identity and a new democratic Afghanistan. The road taken by the UNAMA in Afghanistan was full of hurdles and diverse well entrenched challenges. The institutions of the government were constantly facing problems that are aroused due to lack of proper security and judicial infrastructure. The corruption in the governmental institutions were high with the illicit economy at its boom with opium poppies and lack of judicial system. However with all these odds we see that UNAMA and its associated institutions laid ground breaking efforts to build peace and stability and promote development in Afghanistan. Further the initiative of the Afghan government to disarm the ex-insurgents and train them in various skill developments was called as the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programme. This initiative has shown outstanding results with thousands of fighters who fought along with the international forces against Taliban joining into the Afghan National Army. Apart from all these the UNAMA have also helped in building peace within the tribe by playing the mediating role in their long standing tribal disputes ("Afghanistan: Beyond Bonn Agreement" 2005) . We see that the United Nations working in its full swing has tried extending its boundaries to broaden the peacekeeping approach along with UNDP who has attempted in nurturing the civil society organisation so that the grass root cleavages could be filled and the society strengthened. They are also promoting the human rights through helping the governmental organisations to attain the rule of law (Barnett 2006).

We find that the peacebuilding task undertaken by UNAMA in Afghanistan shows its dedication and straightforward character. This is because though the Taliban was ousted from

power by a military defeat but it did not lose grounds and influence among the people. The installed legitimate government after the Bonn Agreement did not have the proper infrastructure to sustain the gains. There seems to be an open conflict among the parent peacebuilders such as Afghan Government, United Nations and the United States and other actors on one hand and the neo-fundamentalist Talibani faction. Hence, the fundamental conflict about the ideology lingers in the air making the environment tense and peacebuilding for UNAMA and its international associates difficult (Saikal 2011).The NATO led ISAF and US led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) had notable successes in their hand in dealing with the Taliban across country. Operation Enduring Freedom was able to quickly sweep out the Taliban and disrupt Al-Qaida networks in 2001, but remnants still lingered. ISAF progressively took over peacekeeping and reconstruction from OEF by expanding itself. However, the increase in violence form Taliban and Al-Qaida indicates that the ongoing condition Afghanistan is not secure particularly along the border with Pakistan. There has been increase use of suicide attacks and explosives, with financing particularly provided by the drug trade ("Afghanistan : March 2006 Monthly Forecast : Security Council Report" 2006).

Hence, in order to deal with the situation Afghan government along with the institutions of United Nations and international organisations have asked the security council for expansion of security forces in the ground so that human rights could be protected by ensuring secure environment and stability. Rising security infrastructure has also been the demand of the peacebuilding actors working in Afghanistan because of the difficulty they face due to diverse interest of the Afghan parties they set themselves to reconcile. This diverse conflicting nature of Afghanistan's society makes this thought concrete that the difficult part of peace building remains yet to come and thus the international actors keep on reorienting themselves and their roles to suit according to the rising structure. Apart from all these problems the most important behavioural problem the peacebuilders are facing is the co-ordination. It is seen that the Afghan government which should play an important role in co-ordinating aid structure is absent, they completely rely upon their western counterpart aid because of the practice they have developed over decades (Suhrke 2002). The UN and the international community is propagating and seeking a better form of governance in Afghanistan that could also politically unite Taliban and non-Taliban factions. They are doing this by reconciling the tensions of the Afghans with their rival authority. They also improved the conditions of governance by helping in reducing the intrastate socio-political conflict. The peacebuilding process was taken to the next level by constituting the National Consultative Peace Jirga which facilitated the communication and

dialogue among leaders of varied factions, insurgents and regions on one hand and the Afghan government on the other. It was organised to build dialogue and negotiate with the Neo-Taliban for reconciliation. Further the creation of High Peace Council was the direct result of the National Consultative Peace Jirga for helping out the Afghan Peace and Reconciliation Program in the peacebuilding process. Thus, we find that UNAMA processed itself according to the prevailing conditions and also expanded its activities to meet the responsibilities of peacebuilding. Further in the course of time we see that the institutions in Afghanistan has gained capacity and UNAMA has always played the role of supporting actor to maximise the output of the governmental institutions.

Afghanistan National Development Strategy

This policy of the Government of Afghanistan has been the road map for building the democratic Afghan state. It has worked for state building on the premises of the Millennium Development Goals, for peace and welfare for the Afghan citizens. The functioning of ANDS has been basically in accordance with three basic elements that needed to be fulfilled in Afghanistan. These essential elements were maintaining sustained security and governance through rule of law in order to promote human rights and socio-economic development. These were the prioritised ideas and pillars which has been the guiding light in the functioning of ANDS. Since its creation it has been fulfilling the targets of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, developed by International Monetary Fund and World Bank. This targets of IMF and World Bank was made to help such countries which had high debt form the international donors.

The ANDS recognises that Afghanistan needs the implementation of rule of law, administration on the principles of good governance and justice in order to make the hostile activities stable. This would lead to the promotion of legitimacy of the government and would protect and promote citizens right. By adopting this process the government can strengthen its status and curb corruption, and illicit drug economy that has been prevailing since decades. It is a well know fact that maintaining welfare and promoting rule of law can only be successful in where the state has the capacity to exercise its authority. But in the case of Afghanistan, the ANDS's capacity were constrained by the incapacities of the Afghan government. But as the Afghanistan government has tried to establish various institutions and was getting aid and help from United nations and other international bodies, their combined effort had the capacity to reverse this and create full-fledged peacebuilding. There is a dire need of an independent and

impartial justice system in Afghanistan because it becomes the essential criteria to achive where the society has seen violence in the past. It is also because it could impart justice by adopting the rule of law, where everyone would be at equal in the eyes of law. Thus, the implementation of ANDS in its full scale would help in creating basic infrastructure of peace and justice and create a base from where development could be launched in Afghanistan. This initiative has thus become a route to create a prosperous and secure future of Afghanistan. Apart from all those activities the ANDS also helps Afghanistan in guiding the institutions of law and international community through a coordinated approach. This helps in reorienting the reforms and development build-ups. Thus, we see that ANDS has proved to set up a milestone in nation building efforts in Afghanistan by being a facilitator in publishing reports and the strategies, which would be taken up for the development and peacebuilding framework in Afghanistan. Along with all these the National government of Afghanistan and its domestic and foreign peacebuilding partners have come to agreements to work according to the provisions highlighted in the Bonn agreement.

This advancements in the coordination shows the commitment of the peacebuilding actors towards the Millennium Development Goals which also has led to the higher possibilities of achieving stability and peace in the country. This also has made APRP more capable in achieving its objectives with the cooperation of other organisations and actors with shaping itself according to prevailing situations and demand. The Afghan National Development Strategy goes to represent major security, governance and developmental challenges that is faced by the people of Afghanistan through involving the support of the common masses and the international community. It thus reflects the governments target and gives it boost and momentum to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2020. We also see that all the measures that were taken to shape the ANDS, they turned out to be 'bottom-up' because it enclosed and had a deep relation with the social and economic life and the diversity. So this inclusive approach lead to the formation of ANDP which would turn out to be the national strategy to fulfil the aspirations of the people of Afghanistan. The ANDS focuses on the fulfilling the goals made for Five years but targets the long term with finding the solution of the near ones. It works for eliminating poverty, create successful middle class and an efficient, stable and secure political atmosphere throughout the country.

Thus, we clearly see that the creation of ANDS by the government of Afghanistan, is one answer to multi-fold problems which Afghanistan is facing. It has been designed and created in such a versatile way through seeking inputs from every strata, that it can handle problems

arising at any level. It was designed to target and assist the downtrodden and most vulnerable. Further in order to attain these objectives the Afghanistan compact is linked with the ANDS so that they both can successfully achieve Millennium Development Goals in 2020.

Afghan Compact

The objectives of Bonn process was achieved by adoption of constitution and establishment of democratic parliament through conduction of election in 2004. This led to the Afghanistan government and the international actors to get into new partnership for security and state building as well as good governance and development. This agreement was signed at the London conference held in 2005. It provided the nation and the peacebuilding actors with benchmarks to attain good governance, development and security. It also emphasised on taming the growing menace of narcotics and promote cooperation in the region. In 2006, the Afghanistan compact agreed between the Government and international community which established goals for state building, governance, and development, and to counter narcotics. In order to achieve the benchmarks and obligations of Afghanistan compact. The national government of Afghanistan created the Afghanistan National Development Strategy in order to give it a concrete structure to facilitate the achievements of goals and policies decided in Afghanistan compact.

The international community understanding the relevance of this initiative, assured Afghanistan of support in the forms of monetary aid and building up of security infrastructure. They also agreed to improve the level of coordination between the international peacebuilding actors so that their work in the ground would yield faster and efficient results. They also agreed on upgrading United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan in order to give Afghanistan compact a more coordinated structure. So, the Afghanistan Compact has turned out to be a political agreement which would try to achieve forty-two agendas in five years benchmarks. These benchmarks would make progress according to the principles and objectives decided for the ANDS. As we know that the Afghanistan compact is attached with ANDS in order to attain the peacebuilding targets more efficiently, it is also well planned to achieve the Millennium Development Goals in 2020. Thus, it took the commitment to key reforms aimed at improving security and creating a more peaceful, stable and prosperous society ("Afghanistan Launches Afghan Compact" 2017).

The government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and its foreign partners were keen in improving their relations in order to serving the country and its conflict ridden society. It was done in order to make the life of the Afghans more meaningful and safe so that they could contribute in the nation-building process. Stability and prosperity in Afghanistan would promote peace and security in the region, as well as make this world a better place without threats and drugs. This outlook was based on the objective which was thrusted upon ANDS where achieving security for the Afghan society and promoting good governance through the establishment of rule of law for the overall socio-economic development were formulated. The most important philosophy that the Afghan compact had emphasised was that Afghanistan could not achieve peace and stability only through military means. It required the amalgamation of all the civil initiatives such as justice, good governance etc. for a reinforced reconstruction and overall development. Thus in order to fulfil all these targets a well coordinated approach along with the international community was essential for making the environment secure through strengthening institutions for developing the nation in sustainable manner. Thus, Afghanistan compact focused on handing the civil peacebuilding measures whereas on the security front the ISAF or the International Security Assistance Force which led by NATO were continuously expanding their security infrastructure and diligently handling the affairs of peacekeeping. They provided the government of Afghanistan with vital support in building security and stability.

In the civilian aspect we see that the cornerstone of achieving the sustained political development is attained by the process of legitimate democratic governance based on rule of law and protection of human rights. The feature of establishing democratic governance can only be achieved by an effective transparent and accountable administration which is determined in upholding justice for promotion of human rights in all the sections of society. All these measures were taken by the democratic government of Afghanistan in order to build trust into the people of the society. Afghan Compact tried to enhance the feeling of Afghan nationalism by promoting the culture of pluralism and tolerance along with the sense of being Afghan Citizen by making them observe the rule of law. It also tried making Afghanistan economically sound by building up of infrastructure for economic growth which would lead to reduction in poverty and hunger and generate employment. It also followed the policy of making Afghanistan a liberal democracy by letting in investment of capital in the economy by private actors. Further, there were many challenges that Afghanistan compact faced and among them the most important threat was being posed by the illegal narcotics, that was being grown

and sold in the black market. It gave rise to a parallel economy which financed militancy and illegal arms and Taliban activities. This rise in narcotics economy threatened the peace of Afghanistan as well as the region and the world. It directly affected the development and wellbeing of the Afghans. Thus, the government initiated many programs and plans to manage reduction in production and trafficking of narcotics. It aimed at eliminating this menace by cooperation and building trust and providing them with alternate source of livelihood. Afghan government also enhanced dialogue with its regional and foreign counterparts for the disruption of drug trade. The government of Afghanistan and the international peacebuilding community understands the critical juncture at which the country is in and has recognised that if the success of Afghanistan Compact is to be insured then it would need a strong political commitment with equal emphasis on developing the economic and social infrastructure of the country. The security benchmark is also to be taken into account so that the country does not plunge itself into a problem. Further effective coordination and monitoring of the programmes and initiatives is needed for the success of Afghanistan compact. In order to do all these the Afghan government made provision for a board, which is involved in the ANDS will also provide inputs for the organised implementation of Afghanistan Compact. Apart from ANDS the board would also take overview from international bodies, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organisations for the better implementation of the policies initiated in the Afghanistan Compact ("The Afghanistan Compact" 2006).

Promoting Culture of Peace and Cohesion

Afghanistan since the adoption of Bonn process has made significant progress in every sphere and achieved a substantial development. But still the Afghan society is confronted with multiple challenges as it strives to build a foundation of just, peaceful, and democratic society. It had been a guiding philosophy and a principle stated in the preamble of the UNESCO constitution: "That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". UNESCO has believed that for a democratic foundation of any country the inevitable criteria is to achieve peace and security. These two objectives can be achieved by promoting harmony and trust within the sections of the society. The "light footprint" approach adopted by the director of UNAMA turned out to be decisive in building the home grown institutions and measures of peacebuilding, facilitated by the Government of Afghanistan. This approach also led in unique development of the character of

UNAMA in Afghanistan where it has followed the non-intrusive policy in all its assistance missions. The UNAMA was established to facilitate the implementation of the Bonn Agreement. Hence its prime objective was to build the infrastructure of the country so that relief and recovery of the people from war tiredness could be facilitated and reconstruction of the economy and society could be started. It was tasked to coordinate efficiently with the Afghan institutions because they were in the actual position to define the needs of the society and would have better understand of the solution to the problem (Guhr and Afsah 2005).

As we see that UNAMA also has political obligation and responsibilities on it, and in order to achieve its targets it works on prevention of conflict and its resolution. It further promotes inclusion of the fighters into the mainstream society and build social cohesion among the warring communities. All these leads in building harmony and regional cooperation. UNAMA further tried to strengthen the governance system of Afghanistan by building and promoting accountable institutions, which also would foster trust and build faith of the people in government. They will also help in promoting human rights and thus bring social harmony.

As maintaining peace in the society requires the effort of every single individual and their cooperation and cordial interaction with the other community members. Likewise, UNAMA also has cooperated with various UN bodies in order to bring out peace in the Afghan society. In the same context, UNESCO which is also a specialised United Nations body for promoting peace through educating the mind about the culture and common history and traditions of the people in that region. It believes in promoting peace in a gradual way through cultivating the mindset of the people by enhancing them as human resource with potential of development. Further it is strengthening the democracy by providing the people with developing their skills and equipping them with employment opportunities through reconstruction and sustainable development. As we have seen that Afghanistan faces tremendous pressure and threats from Taliban insurgents and illegal narcotics along with intra tribal disputes and conflicts. In order to deal with these challenges UNESCO has coordinated itself with the peacebuilding initiatives of government of Afghanistan. Its foremost initiative along with the government of Afghanistan has been the development of the National Educational Strategy Plan so that the education in Afghanistan can be improved. Further we see that along with it, UNESCO had started another initiative for making the people literate with the financial help of Government of Japan and is called as Enhancement of literacy in Afghanistan programme.

Further, the UNAMA has tried to build peace in the Afghan society by building initiatives, which could promote the sense of social cohesion and national unity. They have tried to build the national identity, through making the Afghan communities educated on their cultural diversity and historical heritage, on which the peacebuilding could be made sustainable. This would lead to understanding of the shared history they share and traditions that has evolved in the course of time. Thus, this will develop a positive attitude and a feeling of commonality among each other. This feature can change the entire process of peace making by presenting it a source of national pride and identity and hence will counter the rise of enmity. Thus, it can be said that UNESCO has tried hard to preserve the cultural heritage of the country and has promoted it to sustain the peacebuilding process in the society. This way of peacebuilding would directly have an impact at the grass root level of the society because it is directly related to their conditions. Further it has also helped the rise in educational sector by promoting the reach of education to the common masses whereby creating skills and literacy. Moreover the UNESCO has also helped in development of media in Afghanistan and this rise in communication has led to the free flow of expression leading to knowledge of the things going around and making the country a single unit by reducing misconceptions and ignorance and has helped in creation of democratic society. Apart from all these the international community was apprehensive that unless the political settlement has been made between the contenders of power, that is between the Democratic government of Afghanistan and Taliban who sees itself as the authority in waiting, there is no chance of a sustainable peace in the country. Thus, UNAMA has tried to build reconciliation through many of its institutions and also by coordinating with the Afghan governmental agencies, working for peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

Apart from UNAMA, in order to achieve political settlement, the United States also took initiative for negotiations with the Taliban. In this context the United states held its "preliminary" talks with its leaders for getting into a concrete solution about reconciliation. The "Salaam Support Group" under the UNAMA was created for providing technical support to the High Peace Council, which in turn tries to create forum for reconciliation efforts of Taliban. Further the United Nations too is working in the same direction and is providing indirect support to the institutions which are working for the peacebuilding and reconciliation in Afghanistan. It also administers the funds and provides with aid for the institutions working in this sector of reintegration and reconciliation of former fighters and help them in returning

to the community life ("Peace Day 2009: 'It Is in the Minds of Men That the Defences of Peace Must Be Constructed'" 2009)

Faith Building in Democratic Governance and Institution

United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan and United Nations Development Programme facilitated and coordinated each other for conducting parliamentary elections in Afghanistan. They have been successfully helping out the country in building electoral infrastructure for the conduction of peaceful elections so that the democratic culture could be developed and sustained. As we know that Afghanistan has been infested by corruption at different levels and in this case the manipulation in the elections and of the results, is not an new thing. Elections can be an eyewash in some cases in Afghanistan which could lead to a turbulent atmosphere in governance throughout the country. Such a case was of the 2009 Presidential election where a huge controversy was created. Thus not taking any chance about the peaceful and fair conduction of elections, UNAMA has been backed by international community in order to safely and fairly conduct the presidential and parliamentary elections. The UNAMA shows a deep concern for the election process because it becomes a base of the stable and sustainable democracy.

Electoral politics in Afghanistan has always been a matter between the common citizens of the country and the government of Afghanistan. But UNAMAs role has been for providing infrastructure for conduction of free and fair election in the country. It has also helped in resolving the crisis and disputes because of its well-established connections and close association with the government and the common masses. But sometimes the crisis are adjudicated at more higher levels such as by the office of Special Representative for the Secretary General. However, this process can definitely undermine the role of UNAMA functioning an impartial body. As peace in the Afghan society depends upon trust on the government and their belief in the public institutions hence the UNAMA works with the parliament and the judiciary to promote rule of law and to improve the justice delivering system. They overall want to reform the criminal justice system so that the common people can build up faith in the judiciary. One can say that the Afghan government is trying to build up the peoples trust in the protective and assertive power of the government. Further UNAMA and OHCHR or the United Nations office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, are actively engaged with different Afghan stakeholders to maintain the issue of transitional justice

on the political agenda. This includes working with Afghan Civil society, the media, government and the international community to promote accountability, healing, reconciliation and above all the cycle of violence in which impunity continue to flourish. Significant progress has been made in areas such as health, education, agriculture and private sector reform. UNAMA/ OHCHR is fully committed to helping Afghans achieve social and economic justice including, in particular, greater protection for the most vulnerable in the society. UNAMA/OHCHR seeks to change social and cultural attitudes that effectively condone violence against women as well as their exclusion from decision making, reinforcing their unequal status and marginalised position in society.

Maintaining Security and Stability

Taliban which dispersed and melted into the very framework of the society, after its ouster from power have developed multifaceted and complex system of fund and asset generation throughout the country. Now in the present scenario they do not any longer depend upon any single source for funding their activities. Now their mode of operating has taken a diverse shape with connections with other militant and terrorist organisations. In the recent years we see that the rise in conflict in Afghanistan between the Taliban and Afghan National Army, along with security threats such as suicide bombings and terror attacks has been the greatest threat to the peace and security of the country. UNAMA in this context has been analysing the impact of the conflict among the civilians.

We find that the security condition of Afghanistan has been deteriorating since 2004 itself. But the significant rise in the number of attacks has been recorded in 2010 where 64 percent increase was seen. This was the highest recorded growth in the last five years in the country. The worst scenario in among all these is rising number of civilian causalities and human right violations in the country. Moreover, the pressing concern is that the attacks are getting more prominent in those regions, which were once considered as peaceful. This list of rising attacks are also seen in the central, northern and western part of the county. The United Nations have taken this issue very seriously and the Special Representative of the Secretary General of United nations have initiated the idea of the Afghanistan government taking greater socio-political and economic responsibilities to counter these growing attacks by the Taliban. Only answer to these growing attacks is the faster socio-political and economic development of the country.

UNAMA has taken the responsibility of promoting dialogue among its development partners form the country and from the international community. It has tried to ensure that any new design for the transition of the country has development as one of its aspect. UNAMA has also tried to promote the trust and build faith among the people that the international community and specially the United Nations will help in building the country and will not let the country to be once again the den of terrorism. It has tried to convey the message to the people that they will not be abandoned after the transition of the country is over and UNAMA is there to make a sustainable peace. In order to fulfil this obligation UNAMA has tried to coordinate all the peacebuilding measures to ensure that they work in a joint direction for maximising their result.

But as it is said that peace can't be imposed from outside but must emerge through the efforts and will of the people of Afghanistan and its government ("Peace Day 2009: 'So That All Afghans Can Live in Dignity and Peace'" 2009). The continued level of violence and the resulting deterioration of the security and humanitarian situation in Afghanistan remain a major concern. The armed confrontation and repeated terrorist attacks continue to destabilise the country as a whole ("Afghanistan: Peace Process Should Be Resumed" 2017). The Kabul Process on peace and security cooperation organised at the initiative of Afghanistan signals strong ownership of the peace efforts that have grave implications for both Afghanistan and the region. UNAMA endorsed the ownership taken by the Afghan Government to establish the Kabul Process which sends strong signal that the international community stands firmly with Afghanistan and its people. We see that the corruption, Narcotic menace through the unregulated and porous borders have also created challenges to deal. Altogether these challenges have contributed in creating insurgency and political unrest in the country and insecurity in the region. They have undermined the governance of the country giving challenges to peace and prosperity. Thus, they have created complications in building peace in the society ("Peace Day 2009: 'Peace Depends on a Strong Bond between the Government and the People'" 2009).

Agencies working with Afghan Civil Society for Peace and Reconciliation

The UNAMA facilitated Afghan civil society in obtaining the views of ordinary Afghans and like any post conflict society, the United Nations mission has laid emphasis on building and empowering the civil society (Guhr and Afsah 2005). AICS or the Afghanistan Institute for Civil society emerged in 2007. It has been working towards several objectives. The

organisation is supported through a partnership between the Aga khan foundation and counterpart international under a wider USAID-funded Afghanistan Civic Engagement Program. The Afghan government in the Kabul conference presented 22 programmes, which were of national priority. These programmes emphasised on building security and promoting good governance and development. The programmes in this conference or also called as Kabul Process were Afghanistan led was where UNAMA facilitated the dialogue between the Afghan authorities and the foreign development partners so that there could be increase in coordination and efficiency. Though, this project of UNAMA about coordination and co-operation was challenging due to the fact that the UN Country Team or UNCT etc. were operating on different schemes which were attached to different projects having other objectives. Moreover the International Monetary Fund was also involved in the peacebuilding projects by delivering funds and aids. But total reliance on International Monetary Fund has have a negative impact as the Afghan governments development agendas comes to a standstill one aid is not received.

Building Infrastructure of Peace

Infrastructure for peace as defined by the UNDP is "A network of interdependent systems, resources, values and skills held by governments, civil society and community institutions that promote dialogue and consultation; prevent conflict and enable peaceful mediation when violence occurs in a society" (UNDP 2013).

We see that the countries which are at civil wars needs cooperation from almost all the foreign and domestic institutions which are working on the peacebuilding initiatives. The infrastructure of peace is required for various mechanisms of peacebuilding like building up of the resources, values, skills and interdependent structures, which would have the capacity to contribute in the prevention of conflict, so that peace can be built in the society. These infrastructures help in building the capacity, which can reintegrate the fragile and divided condition of the conflict prone society. Hence we see that the establishing the infrastructure of peace is all about developing the institutional mechanism which could turn out to be appropriate according to the needs of the country. It tries to build up the build the culture, which would manage this approach at all the levels of the society. Further building the infrastructure of peace also leads to problem solving through cooperation and dialogue, believing in the nonviolent and civil nature of peacebuilding. These infrastructures helps the fragile and divided societies to build sustainable peace by managing the reoccurring conflicts between the communities and tribes

over social and civil matters. These institutions work on searching for internal remedies for the problems and mediate it through building consensus. It can be achieved also through negotiating and implementing new governing arrangements. It is seen that the infrastructures of peace can be established bottom-up, through governmental policies that are well connected to a national infrastructure. Compared to other countries we find that due to tribal and inclusive nature of the Afghan society, the Afghanistan's peace building infrastructure was quiet strong. Further they had their tribal or traditional way of dispute resolution through Jirgas and Shuras which were presided and chaired by the village elders.

Regional Organisation and their Impact

 As the UN's motivation for the engagement of regional organisations in conflict prevention and resolution for attaining the peacebuilding in Afghanistan is impressive. But the most striking feature is the variation in effectiveness. The organisations range from being highly successful to being completely ineffectual (Foulds 2010). The prospects for multilateral regional engagements to solve the internal security challenges are generally poor in Afghanistan. Afghanistan's neighbours have an interest in its stability but expecting, the region however defined, the number of conflicts in which regional organisation have themselves intervened is very few. We see that a shared desire to build a peaceful region after the second world war was one of the key reason for the establishment of EU and thus reflecting upon these origins, the EU has intervened in conflicts in its neighbourhood in recent times.

Although there are greater evidences about the regional and community based approaches which play positive roles in building reconciliation in the post conflict environment, implying greater chances of effectiveness if a peace deal with the Taliban can be agreed. We find that though the international community has been talking about the multilateral solution of the Afghan conflict and its reconciliation, its chances looks bleak because of the lack of trust in between the international actors itself. This is the reason why the international community has prevented the joint engagement. Thus one can say it very clearly that unless a grand vision is built by promoting trust among the Afghanistan's neighbours, the making peace in Afghanistan will face obstacles of lack of political will. For the regional initiatives to be successful, the countries also need to conceive of problems or opportunities in regional terms as evident as in EU, North, Central and South America. We see that a desire to address these obstacles and create a regional forum with Afghanistan at its centre is what prompted the Afghan

government, with Turkish support, to launch the "Heart of Asia" process and the Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan. But though in order to build a stable Afghanistan, all the contiguous neighbours signed the Declaration on Good Neighbourly Relations in 2002. They all pledged about building a committed and constructive bilateral relationship on the principles of mutual respect and cooperation. India in the case of building peace in Afghanistan India has always stood at the forefront. It has formulated economic engagements and had led various infrastructure-building measures under the Heart of Asia process. It has further hosted business summits for Afghanistan. The poor relationship with Pakistan has made India's role in the peacebuilding process of Afghanistan limited. China as an important regional actor of Asia, shares the same dream of stability in the country, as of the west and India. For China stability in Afghanistan would unable it to develop economic interests and address the fear of separatist instability. Thus, increasing sign of converging interests between regional actors offer some hope for improved stability in Afghanistan .(Price 2015)

Summary of the Chapter

The peacebuilding approach adopted by Afghanistan has been institutionally strengthened and financially aided by the institutions throughout the world. As, Afghanistan was a fragile state, building cooperation among the institutions was essential in order to make the peacebuilding efficient. This cooperation building phenomena was formulated by the UNAMA which has led a major role in building its cooperation with various institutions and peacebuilding agencies. UNAMA which is a United Nations body with civilian functions, has been very crucial organisation for helping the government of Afghanistan in pursuing its policies of nation building through promoting harmony and peace in the society. It has built its capacity through expertise and socio-political mandate, which it has acquired from the people by building trust. However, we see that with the increasing security threats and instability has constrained the ability of UNAMA to carry out the peacebuilding activities.

UNAMA's future political role in Afghanistan will depend on the outcome of a comprehensive review of its mandate, requested by the Afghan government and scheduled for the end of 2011. As the government asserts greater authority through the Kabul process, it is likely to favour a limited political role for UNAMA. The peacebuilders do not operate with a single vision or from a single blueprint, liberal values co clearly guide their activities that we can call their

collective efforts as Liberal Peacebuilding. The explicit goal of many of these operations is to create a state defined by the rule of law, markets, and democracy. This objective is informed by the belief that, to have legitimacy, the state must be organised around liberal-democratic principles, and that because liberal democracies are respectful of their societies and peaceful toward their neighbour, they are the foundation of a stable international order

Despite progress in those areas, the Taliban-led insurgency began to gain ground, particularly after 2006. Against this backdrop, Afghanistan entered a new phase in 2014 with the peaceful transition from one elected President to another and the transfer of security responsibilities from the International Security Assistance Force, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to the Afghan National Defence and Security Forces. UNAMA's work was greatly hampered by the absence of adequate security forces beyond Kabul, which made it difficult and at times impossible for the UN to offer meaningful protection to its staffs. However real and meaningful progress notwithstanding the Afghan State currently continues to rely heavily on the international community, both financially and in terms of security support. More than 60 percent of the governments budget is financed by foreign donors, and despite immense resources spent on institution-building, at moments of crisis Afghan institutions are at times perceived to be insufficiently effective at mediating between powerful interests and fractions that retain autonomous capacities for violence. The peace process in Afghanistan, including negotiations with the Taliban, must be Afghan-owned; nonetheless, the region and the broader international community also have a stake and influence in helping to create the conditions of peace. At the Kabul process conference of 6 June, the President confirmed that a "strengthened UNAMA would be a key counterpart in this process". Likewise, international and national stakeholders have indicated that the involvement of an impartial actor, such as the United Nations, will be needed to lend credibility and legitimacy to any such process.

If requested, UNAMA should therefore support an Afghan led process through advice on mediation, confidence-building measures, transitional justice, the protection of human rights and civilians, the promotion of international values and norms and the key engagement of the armed opposition. As a part of its efforts to create an environment conducive to a peace process, UNAMA should continue to support the work and the capacity of the High Peace Council as its reorients its activities towards nationwide consensus building. This could conceivably include the training of High Peace Council staff and members, assistance with process design and the provision of political and technical expertise in the implementation of

peace agreements. The mission could also work to strengthen the Governments engagements with civil society, community leaders, women groups and religious elders in peacebuilding activities. Concurrently, the mission could assist local partners in promoting a whole of government approach to peace. Finally, the UNAMA field offices could scale up their work at the local level by fostering social cohesion in preparation for a high level peace process. The UNAMA could also focus on promoting mediation efforts if requested by the government.

CHAPTER FOUR

Challenges and Prospects of Peacebuilding

1. Introduction

2. Security Challenges

    a. Prevailing Ethnic Conflicts

    b. Rise in Taliban Influence

    c. Narcotics Trade

3. Humanitarian Challenges

    a. Women's Participation in Reconciliation of Afghan Society

    b. Human Rights Issues

4. Civil Administration Challenges

    a. Discredited State Institutions and Dysfunctional Governance

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5. Democratising Challenges

6. Role of Civil society in Strengthening Democracy

7. Summary of the Chapter

Introduction

Taliban ruled Afghanistan until its ouster in 2001. It was removed from power by the combined effort of the international coalition forces, which were led by the United States Army. Few warlords and militias, mainly composed of the Northern Alliance, facilitated this international force in its purpose for bringing down the regime of Taliban. After the ouster of Taliban, and for building peace and for installation of a democratic government, a meeting was held among the influential elites of Afghanistan who wanted to build peace and stability in the country. This agreement was called as the Bonn peace agreement, and was held in Bonn Germany. This agreement tried to promoted the policies and programmes of international engagement and reconstruction for building peace and stability in Afghanistan (Joras, Schuster, and swisspeace 2008). We see that the conflict in Afghanistan had an intense socio-political implication which led Afghanistan to get into a depleted state with degenerating its formal administrative structure. It was ranked as the second most poorest country in the world by UN Human Development Report.

The consequences of this conflict led to widespread poverty and made the society to be a safe haven for extremists and terrorists. As the administrative structures in any country declines it impacts its capacity of governance and leads to massive corruption. Further in Afghanistan we see that these odds have led to a major rise in narcotics industry leading to a huge deficit in the peacebuilding infrastructure (Jupp 2011).We see that the democratic setup which was built and installed through the Bonn agreement suffered with critical flaws. The Central government which was installed in 2004, after the successful accomplishment of democratic election for the presidential post, made those cleavages prominent. The new government in Afghanistan lacked in governmental infrastructure, and hence failed in developing an inclusive and accountable political system.

The United Nations and various other international and domestic agencies were determined to build up the nation from the grass root level. But as it is know that all the policies led to reconciliation and peacebuilding in the society which meant that there was no measures taken for the persons, holding them accountable for the war crimes and human rights violation. This led in rise in distrust regarding the justice delivering mechanism of the government. The judicial infrastructure was indulge heavily in corrupt practices, making the rule of law not possible to prevail. Thus, for the initial part of peace keeping we see that the downtrodden section of the society didn't had trust for its new governments. So it means that there was no

steps taken of or any sort of investigation for making the warlords and the militia commanders accountable for the deeds they have done. After the Bonn Agreement it was perceived that following the measures and philosophies that were adopted by the founding leaders, will help in checking insurgency and building peace in the society. But, after following those measures for a decade, it turned out to be evident that it has not been able to achieve the desired targets. In this context now it is felt that the most critical aspect in Afghanistan's peacebuilding is the critical nature of its political balance, where political settlement among the conflicting members has turned out to be essential. We see that the Taliban sees itself as the government in exile, and has made itself capable in conflicting heavy damage to the international forces and subsequently rising its coercive power among the afghan citizens living in the provinces (Genral Assembly Security Council 2017).

Thus, we see that negotiations led by the Afghan government over the years have not yielded prominent results, making the democracy marginalised in the country. The reconciliation project had flaws due to the fact that it excluded the militias and the remnants of Taliban from the dialogue .Further we see that the major hindrance in the peacebuilding process is also due to a dominant feature of the Afghan society and that is the role played by warlord styled elite which maintains abusive hold of power through illegal control of state machinery and its resource. This predatory and corrupt behaviour of the warlords has led to rise in threats to the life and livelihood of the common citizens. This has led to the regional destabilisation, making it difficult for establishing a conducive environment for human development. We see that the condition of security differs across Afghanistan. We find that some parts of Afghanistan have moved towards post conflict phase and some are developing, while we see that some regions who still are facing tribal and community conflicts and need humanitarian aid. The central part along with the north and the north west regions are comparatively calm then the rest of the country. This has happened due to the visible and assertive presence of the governmental bodies, which are successful in promoting rule of law and good governance.

Further we see that the governmental institution in the east and south and south west are weak and in a condition of deterioration making them incapable in handling affairs of the government (Gholinejad 2014).We see that in the provinces situated in the south of Afghanistan has shown very scary results that the security forces and the police has a control over the main town and the districts during the day, but at night it the Taliban and the anti government bodies are the ones which control it. Apart from all the problems faced by the International and Afghanistan institutions working for peacebuilding along with the security forces which are working for

peacekeeping is the rising influence of the Insurgents and the Taliban since 2005 to the present. They have increased the risk for the civilian lives greatly. The lacking capacity of the Afghan peacebuilding agencies is the they are financially weak and under resourced, making some observers to feel that the opportunity to bring the country under peace and development has been missed.

Now after the withdrawal of the International Assistance Security Force form Afghanistan has led to the capacity of the Afghanistan National Army's remain limited to carry out peace operations and maintain the security across the country. In this context we see that the Afghan government along with the international community has acknowledged the fact that these conditions has led to undermining in the chance to build sustained economic growth and peacebuilding through welfare. The National Unity Government, which has been into power since 2014 is hence facing challenges form three fronts. It is from the rise in insurgent activities from Taliban terrorists, armed oppositions from warlords and this condition has been intensified due to the lack in security infrastructure due to decline in the level of international troops ("Afghanistan National Peace and Development Framework" 2017).

Afghanistan from 2014 is continuously facing problems in the form of security, political and economic issues. These problems have deteriorate in some places and even have worsened due to the security void that has been created after the withdrawal of ISAF forces. Though the strength of Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police has risen but they are not in a position of dominating the security scenario. They suffer from various crucial capabilities such as the logistical and support capacities which makes their sustenance at the conflicted regions difficult. Moreover corruption, nepotism and patronage in ethnic lined leads to sustainability of the Afghan forces in question. Hence it is recalled and compared to the scenario which prevailed in Afghanistan in 1990, when the international support and aid were revoked for Afghanistan. At that time Afghanistan plunged into a vicious civil war and Taliban was the result of the insecurity and instability in the society. Thus it has been feared that if the security scenario remains the way it is there are chances of the revival of Neo Taliban. Thus a part of the international community should always take responsibility to train an mentor the Afghan security forces and support its counter insurgency programmes and counter terrorism efforts (Felbab-Brown 2013). Thus we see that the conflict in Afghanistan now, is not limited to the Afghan government. Rather, it the implications of rising insecurity will have implications throughout the world.

Types of Challenges faced by Afghanistan

Challenges in Afghanistan can be broadly divided into:- Security, Humanitarian, Civil Administration and Democratization categories.

Security Challenge

As we have seen that Afghanistan faces some cardinal security problems and without drawing them to solution a secure environment cannot be established in the country. UNAMA and the International Security Assistance Force, which was led by the United States force were responsible for peacebuilding and peacekeeping in the country. They had adopted various measures to fight the insurgency and to bring peace and stability into this war ravaged country. Their approach to sustain peace has been failing since then and had been proved completely ineffective. The security forces have suffered a drawback since they didn't had an insight about the ground realities of Afghanistan and how it functions. Further they also didn't had any appropriate planning in order to control and defeat them. Apart from Taliban we find that security conditions of Afghanistan has been volatile due to significant corruption in the public sector and also due to the menace of narcotics industry (Bojor and Cosma 2015b). As Taliban has melted in to the population, its ideology was prominent which was needed to be countered, we see that though Taliban being in small pockets, still they had strong influence into the Afghan society.

The collaboration of the Taliban lies across the borders in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. They are deep rooted in those frontier territories and it remains the safe haven for their existence. With the rising violence in the country leads us to the understanding that the condition in Afghanistan has been far from safe. Thus one can easily say that the objectives of the NATO based "Operation Enduring Freedom" has not been achieved completely so far and at this point the consensus which has been built among the Afghans and the international actors and the peacebuilding institutions has been that Afghanistan need security. The Taliban portrays the international forces as external occupiers and themselves as the government in exile.

So the question of a tremendous importance arises that what will happen when the ISAF leaves the country and whether Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police is capable enough in handing the arising security conditions in the country. Whether they will be able to check the rise of any other bloody internal conflict and will not let Afghanistan in breaking up

into feudal tribal entities. Is has been seen that when the state and its institutions are weak, they go to seek protection and patronage from militias and other non-state actors. So the duty of the government is to provide security infrastructure within the country so that public safety could be maintained (Chan 2007). As the civilian causalities are rising the perception of the common people is continuously changing that the security conditions prevailing in the country is worsening form the times of the ouster of the Taliban regime. It is found that the prime reasons for joining the insurgency by the common masses seems to be due to high level of corruption in governance which has led to lack of justice to the people.

So in the case of Afghanistan the political stability is necessary which would also promote the peace initiative for maintaining the social solidarity and stability of the country. The common people are against the abusive and insensitive actions that was carried out in the name of controlling and defeating the Taliban, by the International Security Assistance Forces along with Afghan National Security Force. The inability of the Afghan government in carrying out able and inclusive governance has led to insecurity at the local community level. This lack of governance has also created vacuum which has been filled by the authoritative power of the Taliban and has been the reason behind the social political conflict in Afghanistan (Derksen 2014).

After 2014 we see that the lack of Afghan National Security Forces presence has led to the resurgence of Taliban apart from the illegal armed groups in those conflicted areas. The Afghan citizens have also promoted one more dimension of the incapability of the Afghan government who in order to defeat Taliban for rising have outsourced its security responsibility to the local militiamen who work under their warlord or commander. This condition has led to the rise of parallel state structure or can also called as the state within the state. These warlords have turned out to be so powerful that they exercise the law with their own hands which was meant to be exercised by the provincial or the central government. Their authority has a dictatorial nature where sometimes it also leads to human rights violation. This was the exact reason why the people turned out to be against the government initiatives of peacekeeping, because they were the ones who faced the consequences of any action by the government. We see that the security vacuum was created due to the fact that, the transition of authority to the Afghan National Security Forces was premature and the Afghan forces were not in the condition to carry out full responsibilities of the security of Afghanistan. Thus in 2014 when the International Security Assistance Force was about to leave Afghanistan there was a condition of uncertainty about the security of the country in future.

Rise of Taliban Insurgents

The Taliban government in Afghanistan emerged as a repressive regime in 1994 and ruled the country from 1996 to 2001. It gained its power amongst the civil conflict going on in the country since the withdrawal of the soviet forces. It was overthrown by the United States forces which was accompanied by the fighters of the Northern Alliance and we warlords who where against the Taliban regime. Since its ouster Taliban has adopted the policy of waging insurgency against the Afghan government and the international forces that was backing it. This insurgency has caused severe threat to the peace and stability in the country. This method of waging war against the government has led to widespread destruction in the country and has led to grave human rights issues. The worst part of this war is that the frequency of attacks on civilians and the state has also risen leading to insecurity and unpredictability across the country (Larsen 2010).

The Taliban has alienated themselves form the peacebuilding initiatives which were undertaken by the democratic government of Afghanistan and further they have kept themselves always from any political process going on in Afghanistan. This attitude of not participating in any mainstream way of attaining power has led them to fight for power in a more brutal and bloody way. The Taliban have never recognised any government as a legitimate one in Afghanistan since 2001. The High Peace council was set up through the National Consultative Peace Jirga in order to initiate formal peace talks with Taliban. The Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme also made various recommendations in order develop action plan and peace strategy (Pattanaik 2013).

As the security infrastructure has been decreasing in Afghanistan due to the return of the international forces we find that the Taliban has been steadily making territorial gains in those parts of the country where fighting has been very intense. The way they have emerged and consolidated their power in those territories have lead the Afghan National Security Forces to have a retreat. Moreover we find that they have temporarily consolidated their gains in Kunduz province of Afghanistan. These advancements have led to the situations to be very volatile and has remained uncontrolled form the hands of the government of Afghanistan and its international partners who are engaged in the peacebuilding activities throughout the country ("In Search of a Peace Process: A 'new' HPC and an Ultimatum for the Taleban | Afghanistan Analysts Network" n.d.).

In this scenario we see that the Afghan government along with the international agencies have tried to reconcile the Taliban militants through numerous initiatives, but hardly any result was attained due to miscommunication at political level or due to various other factors. In the latest initiative about building peace was in 2015 when the Government of Pakistan facilitated the meetings of Afghan Government and Afghan Taliban to discuss the processes of reconciliation. But apart from that on the contrary, we see that the Afghan warlords have raised private militias who are build in order to maintain security of their areas and tribes from Taliban. There are some vested interests in building those militias by top governmental officials because they are too dependent on them for security and protection against Taliban and criminal elements.In the recent strategy the Taliban has now presented themselves as the protector of the nationalist aspirations of the Pashtuns. They have tried to show that now the Pashtun identity and its social status is in danger and have presented themselves as the protector of the Pashtun glory. It is attempting to Islamify Pashtun nationalism so that it could be used to incite the entire tribe and bring them under one umbrella.

It is also to be seen that the Taliban insurgency what we see in Afghanistan and Pakistan has been dominated by the members of Pashtun tribe. While the rest of the tribes of Afghanistan are largely aloof from the insurgent activities. But as the dominance of Pashtun Taliban rises in the country it would definitely lead into ethnic tension and will reframe the Afghan conflict as sectarian. In this case there are possibility of a conflict which would break out in between the Pashtun dominated Taliban and the non-Pashtun population who have had very bad experiences of Taliban in the past (Saikal 2011). We see that rise in Taliban stronghold and in its membership is because of the high rate of unemployment in the country. It is the conflict which leads to the uncertainty looming in the lives of people crushing their dreams and aspirations.

The economic uncertainty in the country has led to the youngsters to get attracted towards Taliban and hence they get into the trap of the recruiters. To steer young generations from would be Taliban fighters a new pull factor needs to be applied. Economically viable livelihood opportunities that benefit themselves, their families and their communities should be established (Ponzio 2015). Thus the Afghan case has questioned the entire process of peacebuilding which says that the wars that end in definitive victory on the battlefield proves to be providing more solid foundations for peacebuilding, than those that end in a negotiated settlements.

Ethnic Tensions

It is believed that tensions of ethnicity and tribal disputes leads to factional conflicts and they have the capacity to maximise the conflict going on between the government and the opposition creating the situation of disability and rift in the society. As the conflict is ethnic in tension this leads to making on alliances and consolidation of power and mobilisation of forces in order to undermine their opponent. According to the Afghans the government has failed to intervene in these sort of ethnic tribal conflicts making the situation worse.

The ethnic consolidation in the form of armed rebellion or fighters have severely endangered the peace and stability of the state and disrupted the working of law and order (Samset and Kubai 2005). It had thus undermined the legitimacy of the government in those areas. It has been strongly felt that in the absence of lawful dispute resolution mechanism leads to the rise in influence of powerbrokers, local elites and the warlords. In these ethnic conflicts the community members involve themselves over political rivalries which are generally driven by hatred and animosity which are driven by historical conflicts and memories of past incidents. They compete for power and the intension of subduing the opponent for gaining political leverage in the community. This has turned out to be a dividing force in the present democratic Afghanistan which has also been heightened by the high level if illiteracy rate and poverty. These community level conflicts have greater chances of rising into full scale Taliban insurgency dew to the ethnic affiliation of Taliban. The lack of infrastructure has also led to the rise in these conflicts as the formal judicial mechanism in the country is generally absent in most part of the country. Further we see that the uneven development of the regions have led to the uneven growth and development in the ethnic communities. This has taken because in Afghanistan various communities have been residing in different parts of the country. So the conditions of development has been uneven, making a larger outrage about development needs.

In order to maintain peace in the society the government of Afghanistan initiated a ambitious programme called as The Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme or APRP. It was based on the implementation of governmental initiatives in the Afghan society to build sustainable peace by focusing on the reconciliation of insurgents who wanted to renounce violence and come to the mainstream society by accepting the Afghan Constitution. This has tried to lead the country into a condition of peace. But the view of the common masses about the peace programme say that it has reversed the impact of peace and stability in the society. According to them this programme is led by people who have vested interest and they want

this conflict to continue because that benefitted them and it suited their own personal gains. According to them the APRP which was initiated as a peace programme and was based on meaningful participation of the common masses to restore peace in the provinces, but it turned out to be a counter insurgency tool with high involvement of security institutions and forces. Further in many cases the APRP was unable to cope up with the problems of the reintegree militia men form Taliban and other armed faction. APRP could not provide them with security and employment. Thus the common people of Afghanistan have the opinion that this programme is seen as an unsuccessful counter insurgency tool that is used by a range of self-serving actors.

The only way to establish peace in Afghanistan can be done by restoring the authority of the state, the state needs to build up and maximise its coercive powers. The Afghan state should promote public confidence into the state institutions. The means should be ensured to counter the rampant corruption in the public institutions with making them inclusive and responsive. The Government of Afghanistan should limit the abuse of authority by the warlords and other powerbrokers who dominate over the provincial governments.Community peacebuilding should be promoted at the village level, the village level peace and development council has turned out to be very successful in addressing trust deficit between communities and Afghan National Police. Thus the Afghan common people have always believed that proactive efforts to promote peace and human rights by the government, leads in strengthening of rule of law and facilitates the targets of the civil society and international community.

We see that the role of women in peacebuilding and their inclusivity in the initiatives are very important to achieve peace in Afghanistan. Their rise in capacity in the local government would lead to end in the suppression that they have been facing since Taliban times. The condition of Afghanistan has turned out to be in a turmoil due to the warlords. They have sustained themselves in the course of time through the means of smuggling, drug production and after the arrival of the NATO forces they were provided with enormous amount of economic assistance along with arms and ammunitions to fight the Taliban form the sides of Government of Afghanistan and its alliances. For establishment of rule of law in any society, the role of legitimate political authority and popular control over police and armed forces becomes important Establishing a legitimate political authority and civilian control over the police and armed forces is fundamental. For solving the problems in Afghanistan the leaders from the ground level and the civil society groups which are functioning in that region should guide the people about their common values and how they are related to each other. They should remind

them of the common shared history and the identities which have evolved over the time. These features of the society can bring unity once the Afghans could relate it with the roots. The broad understanding about the society would lead them to understand what exactly divides their country and what would bring unity in the region (Ponzio 2015).

Narcotics Trade

Narcotics has been a menace for Afghanistan since its historical past. It has brought socio-economic instability and security threats throughout the country. The governance system of Afghanistan has been undermined due to the ever expanding narco trade, and has facilitated the institutionalisation of corruption in the governmental institutions. It is a bane for the country that its economy has been dependent upon opium for its largest share than anywhere in this whole world. Afghanistan has been the ground for production, refinement and export of opium and 70% of the world opium is produced in Afghanistan. Though, we see that the Government of Afghanistan has banned poppy cultivation in 2003 itself even though there was a huge spike in poppy production in 2006. There was the rise of 61% in poppy cultivation and on that very season Afghanistan to produce over 90% of the world opium. These prevailing conditions in the country have led to serious political and security implications for the region and the entire world as a whole.

The condition of the law enforcement agencies have been of a helpless body which are unable make understand the people and control its production. They are also helpless about being able to end the trafficking across boarder due to their poor infrastructure and organisational capabilities. This growth of narcotics trade has led to the flow of weapons into the country and has also connected the rising opium trade to the Taliban insurgency and armed conflict, this is also an important cause for high level of corruption and criminality in the country. There are numerous regional leaders and warlords in Afghanistan, whose entire resources and revenues were based on the production and sale of opium. There earned huge revenue through the growth of opium and turned out to be economically so strong that they carried their own authority in the Afghan society, just like a parallel government.

Afghanistan has been infested with declining institutions and corruption. It has been widely acknowledged that the condition of corruption in public institutions and elsewhere is getting worse. The rise in corruption and lack in security in the peripheral areas has been the prime

reason of the flourishment of poppy cultivation. This rise in poppy cultivation has also led in rise in terror activities because the narcotics industry funds the terrorist activities that are going in and around Afghanistan. The condition of support from non-state actors and the strength the terrorist have due to the revenue of multi-billion dollars they generate, can be assumed by their capacity to withstand and sustain the military might of the ISAF forces led by United States army. They have not only sustained themselves in the decade and a half long war but they also have expanded its influence across the country. Further, the main reason of the conducive environment that the armed opposition in Afghanistan has benefited from has been the decline of the coercive power of the state. In this scenario, with the withdrawal of ISAF forces form Afghanistan we see that, this rise in opium production and its revenue has led to the anti-government groups to finance the Taliban and it has led in Afghanistan's instability. So the Afghan government can make Afghanistan a peace and stable country is through strengthening is security. It should focus on offering financial and military support to the Afghan National Army (Bojor and Cosma 2015a). Apart from that, the Government of Afghanistan should focus on strengthening the law and order which would promote a vibrant regional infrastructure and a legal administrative structure. This would build peace in the society and strengthen its root structures (Ponzio 2015).

Humanitarian Challenges

Humanitarian organisations along with important UN agencies such as UNHRC, UNDP, UNAMA etc. are actively working on building peace in the country. The presence of ethnic, tribal or community based factions are inevitable features of any society. They have the capacity to bring instability if not controlled, these features bring rivalry which leads to the powerful group grabbing the state power to deploy it against the enemies and subdue them.

Women's condition in Afghanistan

The women section in Afghanistan makes up for 48.8 percent of the total population. The women provides for double dividends for every step taken for its equality and justice in the society. As empowering them leads to benefit of both the women and her children, there is no doubt that a healthy and empowered women force would benefit the entire country and can become positive change agents for the precarious Afghan society. As we know that

Afghanistan has a socially conservative culture were the gender based discrimination is deeply entrenched. The main reason behind this is that, structural barriers, cultural norms and insecurity restrict them. This has led to women inequalities especially in the rural areas, though the condition of women in the urban areas has been much better comparatively. In the Urban areas the women community have made some satisfactory gains through education, employment and have attained legal status. It is important to see that only seventeen percent of the women are literate. Further, their access to education has been severely affected by the continuous fighting that has engulfed Afghanistan since decades. Apart from education the women face huge domestic violence and in extreme cases we see that the women face severe human rights violations in the house hold and in the community level.

On the economic front, we see that there is a huge contrast between men and women and only fifteen percent of Afghan women have paid employment. Though it is clearly understood that the women's participation in the economy and society would lead to successful development. The long term investment in the education of women and in her skill development has led to reduction in poverty at the household level. We see that the maximum potential for the women's of Afghanistan is in small business and also in agriculture. The skills they acquire can be beneficial for them in the small scale industries for revenue generation. So it can be said that the sustainable peace in Afghanistan could be achieved through empowering the women section of the country. They can play a crucial role in peacebuilding through promoting household stability and hence peace in the society. Thus the cultural taboos which prevents them in participating into the mainstream economic activities should be changed. Women should be allowed actively involved themselves in all aspects of the peace process.

Civil Administration Challenges

The international cooperation gained by Afghanistan were of new and temporary buildups having partial ground in Afghanistan. We find that Afghanistan has inextricably linked conditions of security and unrest, which has led to the underdevelopment, and impoverishment of its masses. So, building of effective and a legitimate state has been the foremost of goal to cope up with reformation of administrative backwardness. The foreign and domestic peacebuilding actors have throughout acknowledged the fact that the lack of economic development and failure to reinforce the military gains for reconciliation has led to the current

problems. Now the scenario is that the Afghan Government is facing lack of credibility in the eyes of the common Afghan population.

Discredited State Institutions and Dysfunctional Governance

The violent history of Afghanistan and the agreements of Bonn process after the ouster of Taliban has had this intense and homogeneous view that Afghans should be made capable in governing the country efficiently. They need to fill the void and cleavages of democratisation process by themselves and shape their own future. They would think about shaping their future, which would allow an inclusive and legitimate governance across the tribes and communities. The democratisation process would include every initiative which would serve the national interest through developing political culture. This included peacebuilding and reconciliation at the maximum level (Niland 2014). But we see that the principles which Bonn process defined and architecture which was to be build could not be achieved in its truest sense. It processes of democratisation and peacebuilding in Afghanistan have given rise to manifold governance failures. It has led to frustration and distrust in the minds of the common masses.

The institutions which were built after the democratisation of the country lacked in organisational capacity, those institution didn't had proper infrastructure to work upon the required agenda and its targets. So these cleavages led to the concentration and abuse of power, making them corrupt and degenerated. These institutions led to the marginalisation of the society and left the common masses to feel disempowered. Thus the democratisation process, which was to make the country stable, secure and developed, and its people empowered, gathered inherent contradictions. These defects led to the empowerment of warlords who enjoyed unchallenged impunity by the virtue of their close connections with the government functionaries. Thus we see that the absence of meaningful checks and balances in the organisational infrastructure led to unaccountability and corruption. This feature was enhanced by the capture and control of the state assets and its natural resources by the powerful and the authoritarian elite led to the concentration of power into the hands of few, leading to a feudal and pseudo democratic setup and making its nature as of the war economy.

This condition of deterioration of the governmental agencies and institutions has been seen since 2004. This process has been facilitated by continuous illegal cross border activities specially in the southern and south eastern provinces of Afghanistan. These conditions have

left many parts of the country being off limits to the ongoing developmental programmes and policies, making it more vulnerable of neglect and being capitalised in the hands of the Taliban. Further it is very evident that instability in the provinces leads to lack in ability of the aid and peacebuilding agencies of the government to operate and effectively implement projects and programmes. Thus we can clearly say that the prime and central challenge to the Post-Taliban Afghanistan is to design such a state which could deter the threats of instability and will be able to encourage the common masses to trust the public institutions. This can only be done through building legitimacy of the institution among the society. The Afghan government would need to promote legitimacy, transparency and accountability along with the capacity building of the institutions, so that corruption and crime could be curtailed in the Afghan society. So monitoring transparency and accountability structures in the aid system operating in Afghanistan is therefore important.

Corruption

Corruption is a potent challenge that almost every nation is dealing with. It even outranks the threats posed by the security in a nation. We see that corruption has turned out to be the biggest challenge for any government to deal with. We find that the issue of corruption in Afghanistan has had a long and dominant history. Corruption has had huge impacts in the socio-economic conditions of the Afghan people, it has greatly effected the poverty stricken majority of the country, further it has affected the economic development and has reduced the efforts towards social services. The prominence of corruption in Afghanistan has led to deficit in good governance, promoting human rights and inclusive democracy. The main reason behind the menace of corruption in any third world country is because of its weak infrastructure of governmental institutions and its inability to ensure the rule of law. On the other hand it possess a peculiar threat and rises to its peak in the post conflict countries because it undermines the legitimacy of the government and gives ground for public distrust. As it destabilises the efforts to build security, we see that it has led in Afghanistan's ranks to be among the lowest in its ability to control corruption. Due to corruption we see that Afghanistan has been in the bottom most of the eight countries which has faced huge governance problem and which are due to the lack in rule of law and regulations based in the constitution.

The corruption in Afghanistan has led to rampant abuse of political and military powers and misuse of public funds by the governmental officials. Among the worst of all we see that the

Judiciary has been the most affected institution in Afghanistan, with the administrative branch of government in the second place. It has also played an important role in not letting the economic sector to flourish. Trade and commerce have taken a setback due lack of investments on that sector. In order to deal with corruption the governments approach has been largely temporary in nature. A coordinated and comprehensive approach is needed to deal with such a rampant corruption. In this context the civil society can play a major role in curbing it through educating the masses about the implications of this activity in the larger perspective. Further Media is also playing an important role in making the people aware about it. Apart from these measures, the political actors themselves can play the most important role, because curbing corruption of this level would require intense political will. Lastly, an effective implementation of the anticorruption strategy would lead to capacity enhancement of the institutions dealing with corruption in Afghanistan. Though we see that the government has already began its preventive measures to curb corruption a genuine high level political commitment is still lacking.

Democratisation Challenges

Democratic institution in any country leads to the establishment of the structure and framework for the democratic government to function effectively. These strong institutions plays an important role in determining the effectiveness of sustainable peace in the society. The democratic institutions leads their way deep inside the problems faced by the common masses through making the governmental actions inclusive. They can address the ethnic conflicts with ease by making negotiations in between both the conflicting parties. So we see that the prime objective of any democratic government is to make its people feel safe and confident on the state and its representatives and institutions.

Afghanistan since its historical past has seen turmoil in its political system. It moved from the theocratic and fundamentalist interpretation of Islam to a liberal democracy in 2001 with the signing of the Bonn Agreement. The Bonn Agreement led to the creation of interim administration and gradually subjected it to democratisation process, In 2004 the Democratic government of Afghanistan was established by popular elections. But the odds faced by the democratic institution of Afghanistan started to take shape because these elections were manipulated with money and guns and sometimes with foreign support (Suhrke et al. 2004). As, Afghanistan is facing a condition of institutional fragility after the conflict, its stability still

depends largely upon the foreign actors led by the United States. They have always undermined the capacity of the traditional community to pursue democracy (Pattanaik 2013).

In order to understand the conflict we need to see that in Afghanistan war has strained and fractured the fabric of the country among others causes the poverty and unemployment has played the major role in creating insecurity. This has also been facilitated by the lack of effective institution working at the local government level. We see that the cause of dispute at the local level has been generally personal or of property and these disputes generally are resolved by the Shuras or Jirgas Shuras and somewhere they are perceived as being more effective than formal state mechanisms. Jirgas and shuras in Afghanistan has been the most popular mechanism for resolution of disputes at community level. As these conflict resolution mechanisms are presided by the elders and person of wisdom we see that they have a legitimacy in the society, though sometimes they fail to be properly representative and inclusive. It is the case also because, they apply customary laws and follow the sharia law and customs from Pashtunwali (Waldman 2008).

So in order to build a vibrant democratic vibrant state we need to see that the fragile nature of the democratic institutions of Afghanistan should be revitalised, moreover the government should maximise representation and stability. We see that due to the illegitimate way of achieving the political posts during the time of election, it has an inherent legacy of fraudulent elections. It clearly shows that the powerful have used their men and muscle power to achieve posts, making the status critical for the resolution of conflict in Afghanistan and hence forth critical in achieving peace as well. We see that the concentration of power has always been dangerous in any unstable political system, where there are chances of misuse of power by the ruling elite. In this scenario the best remedy for this would be the Collegiate system of government in which the powers are not vested in any one person who could lead polarisation of decision making powers in the government. So in this system the powers are shared by the coalition executive through choosing representatives of major ethnic groups, who would get into power and decide for any situation together (Johnson 2006).

Since historicity we see that Taliban has been an unstable stage for the ruling powers, where the ethnic tribes have led their indigenous way of maintaining order in the society, thus in this modern scenario and in the democratic setup, Afghanistan should operate through negotiations. Major emphasis should be given in achieving consensus through negotiations in between the central authority and the local tribal leaders. It should be noted that any sort of tensions should

not emerge in between the both which could lead to conflict and lack of trust in between the central government and the common people of Afghanistan. It is interesting to see that the even the Taliban which used tremendous coercive power over the population, also was forced to negotiate and accept their demand of local autonomy (Strand 2005).

Moreover it is important to note that the democratic process has not taken its expected shape because of the fact that most of the provincial capitals are far from the Capital of Afghanistan. These cities situated in the far flung areas are remote and the infrastructure has not been developed and is insufficient in imposing a high level of central control. This has also because of the fact that the independent nature of the tribes has led to strong social organisations which is hard to penetrate, and most of the decisions which are taken by the central government remains alien to them. Moreover the recent human rights violations and brutality by the International forces in the name of peacekeeping have led to popular distrust for the central government and this had been one of the important cause of strained relationship between the people and the National government (Thier 2006).

Thus, we find the main cause for the present situation has been due to the incapability of the Afghan government in proper planning and attending the geopolitical realities of the country. It has made much emphasis on the peacebuilding and peacekeeping of the country though both of them seems to be not successful as per assumptions made at the time of Bonn agreement. We see that the strategies and tactics adopted by the ISAF and the United States forces along with the Afghan National Army which aimed at fighting the insurgency and bringing peace and stability in Afghanistan have proved to be ineffective. Now the situation is such that the government is seriously lacking on development and welfare of the common citizens. Now the government in Afghanistan has to deal with poorly functioning institutions and rising level of warfare and insecurity which has been heightened by the prevailing widespread lawlessness (SAGHAFI-AMERI, n.d.)

Role of Civil Society in Peacebuilding

Afghanistan is a country with a diverse ethnic composition that complicates democratic as well as state formation. The tribes in Afghanistan see the central government as nothing more than a foreign and unfamiliar power trying to force control in areas of society that traditionally are governed by tribal code of conduct. Most tribes and villages have remained self sufficient and

autonomous, accepting central control only when in their material interest or when faced with overwhelming force.

Summary of the Chapter

We have seen that the government in Kabul has turned out to be weak and fragmented to control and manage the political fault lines of the Afghan society. These cleavages have deepened and have taken new shapes and few new have also emerged over the course of time. Though the constitution which was adopted in 2004 created a legal basis for strong and centralised Afghan government but the ground realities were different and it lacked in the policy implementation process. The government which was established in Afghanistan created Afghan Peace and Reintegration Programme along with United Nations Assistance Mission in order to deal the security and stability issues and promote peacebuilding and reconciliation. It made plans to counter the regional fragmentation which were magnified through the authoritative powerholders. Now in the present situation we see that as the insurgency has grown to alarming heights, the policymakers in the centre came up with plans to effectively decentralise the governmental powers and establish centres of power in the provinces as well. This was done effectively to check the menace of corruption. Further they tried to promote accountability and transparency in the government mechanism through establishing democratic institutions. further as the state of Judicial structure was corrupt and unreliable, steps were made that they follow the rule of law, so that the trust on government could be restored in the eyes of the people. These processes would lead to successful counter the rising cleavages and fault lines in the society. This would also lead to bring down the threats posed by insurgency due to ineffectiveness of the government structure.

The members who participated and signed the Bonn Agreement, pledged and committed to work for achieving peace and security, law and order throughout the country. But as the condition of the country is not stable due to the continuing insecurity in many parts of the country due to the presence of armed groups which have led in rise of high crime rates. Further the Governments approach towards peacebuilding through reconciliation by initiating dialogues has been called as an insincere call for peace by the Taliban. They call it as a distraction for the common masses and term the ongoing conflict as an illegitimate war of neo-colonialism. But whatever the case have been we find that in order to sustain democracy the need of the hour is that there is a clear opportunity for effective international backing, in order

for the recovery process to continue. There is an enormous need of foreign aid for the country as the economic reliability of Afghan institutions has been depleted, so that the condition of Afghanistan could be re-established. We see that the condition in which Afghanistan is massively devastated and is in a fragile state due to the complex relationship it maintains with it people and non-state actors. Further, the relationship between relief, reconstruction and development of Afghanistan is also at a critical situation where they do not correlate with each other. Thus in all these scenarios we see that to build peace, the Afghan government should specially work upon building and strengthening the institutions so that local, provincial and central structures are built and sustained. Without this measure, it is no possibility for the government to build a long term condition for reconstruction and peacebuilding. Further the capacity building of the local institutions would advocate for the peace structures at the grass root level building direct links between the government and the common masses (Muhammad 2002).

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Afghanistan has been one of the most geopolitically volatile and structurally complex places on earth. The cultures and tradition in this country had its organic evolution in the time immemorial. The society in Afghanistan has been tribal with various ethnic communities calling its geographically harsh terrain their homeland. Due to its tribal features, they have a strong affiliation towards community solidarity and self-rule and independence. But since its historical past this land has had been a conflict prone zone due to tribal wars and ethnic strife and the war for supremacy among these tribes has rocked this land since ages. The peacebuilding and reconciliation activities, which finds its existence in the modern times has taken shape after the interim government was set up in 2001. The Bonn process after the ouster of Taliban, led to the initiatives regarding building peace and solidarity in the society. As Afghanistan adopted the liberal democratic setup of governance system, peace and stability was the prime requirement for the sustainability of participatory democracy. Though this system was not new to the country, but establishment of a democracy in Afghanistan after about three decades of war and conflict, it provided with a ray of hope for peace in the country. This establishment of democratic political system was facilitated by the international community with the overall observation from the United Nations. We see that the United Nations paved out measures to build peace in the society in Afghanistan so that the new form of governance could be entrenched into the society. It created institutions like UNAMA, APRP and HPC to build peace in the society and reconciliate the armed insurgents and the Taliban. Along with the United Nations the international community led to the contribution in the drives for regional coordination.

As this research has been dealing with peace building and reconciliation in the Afghanistan after the International forces left so what we see that, in this context the validation of the hypothesis and questions of the research has been partially true and justified. We see that the peacebuilding institutions of the Afghan National Government such as the High Peace Council and APRP along with the various other peacebuilding institutions working under the United Nations such as the UNAMA in Afghanistan has been working at its full potential to build peace and reconcile with the society. It is trying to reconcile the warring factions of the ethnic tribes and the communities to make peace among them through various institutional measures

of programme and policies. It is also trying to reconcile with the Taliban insurgents and reintegrate them to the mainstream society. What we find is as the Taliban has seen itself as the government in exile which also has a lot of public support in the far flung tribal areas. It has been really hard for the Afghan National Government and the international community to build their notion of peace. It is also because the Taliban has a theological orientation which was to establish shariat form of rule in the country, the main source of conflict has been the clash of ideology between the National government and the Taliban. Thus, in these scenarios what we see is unless both the authorities, the one is the recognised as an internationally legitimate authority whereas, the other is the self-declared legitimate to the people according to the hardest of rules mentioned in Koran. Thus, they both need to accommodate each other's views and try to reconcile with each other in order to build peace in the society. As we see that both the National government and the Taliban have a powerful hold over specific areas, it would be hard for both of them to completely dismantle and dominate each other, so for the benefit of all the parties and the common masses they need to reconcile. Further it is to be seen that trying to bring the Taliban into the dialogue table has been hard, thus they can dialogue with each other on an equal footing. The National government should bargain the Taliban for getting into the political process as thus in that case they would be in a position to claim legitimacy through a democratic process. So we see that making an exact deal with the Taliban on equal footing is essential for peace in Afghanistan.

Apart from that the Peacebuilding has depended upon the building up of formal institutional structures in Afghanistan, in order to sustain the democratic setup. As we know that, these formal structures were in a state of depletion due to the war going on in Afghanistan for decades. Thus in the present context the capacity building of these institutional structures remain important. They should be tried to make accountable and transparent in their functioning and inclusive in nature so that they could perform their functions of nation building in an effective. As we have seen the governmental institutions in Afghanistan are infested with corruption which had made them less popular in the eyes of the people thus the first need to organise themselves through transparent governance and effective policies. With these measure they would provide inclusive, welfare and good governance to the people of Afghanistan, who still turn towards their traditional institutions of governance and decision making. This would lead to trust and confidence building among the common people for the democratic public institutions and lead the way for a modern democratic Afghanistan. Apart from building democratic Afghanistan through well established institutions, democratic process of elections

should also be free and fair, we have seen instances of manipulation of votes through various unfair and illegal means, which has led to change in the election result. The powerful elites in this case has an undue advantage to get into power and exercise the entire governmental machinery which leads to discontentment and lack of trust in the entire system of democratic governance. Hence to promote trust in the society for the democratic institutions and democracy as a whole, they should also need to ensure that democratic process should be free and fair.

Further we see that after the withdrawal of the International forces from Afghanistan the security condition has taken a major dip. The rising conflicts of the Taliban insurgents with the Afghan National Army and their terror activities throughout the country has led to the environment of insecurity and fear. It has been see that the Taliban are capturing territories and running a parallel form of government in few areas of rural Afghanistan. In this scenario they have been capitalising their gains to the maximum extent. So for dealing with such situations the Government of Afghanistan should build the security infrastructure and most importantly work on the capacity building of the armed forces. Further, it should also be the obligation of the international community and Afghanistan's immediate neighbours to help it in terms of maintaining security infrastructure. It is said that peace cannot prevail without a secure society and thus securing the Afghan society from all sorts of threats would lead in building peace and for that the international community needs to come in helping Afghanistan. Further, Afghanistan is also threatened by Narcotics which are carried out through its porous borders. This grown of narcotics has led in running of a parallel illegal economy. This economy has led to the funding of the terror activities throughout the country and it has been the source of sustenance for Taliban. Thus this menace can only be cured by a good administrative infrastructure of the Afghan National government. Apart from all that the role of women is one the most important element which can play a great role in peacebuilding in Afghanistan. It has been such because women's are half the population of Afghanistan who are impoverished and neglected. Centuries of domination through various social means and cultural norms has increased their agony. So we see that social empowerment of the women would lead to the development of the society. It is a well known fact that an empowered women would lead her children to empowerment. Thus it is two generations which is influenced by the women empowerment. Understanding this the Afghan government has undertaken various measures through various NGO's and governmental agencies to work for the empowerment of women. Even the International community has been working for the empowerment of women at

different levels. In this context in order to build peace in the land of conflict, we see that the Government of Afghanistan needs to build up institutions and administrative and political structures which have been degraded by war lasting for three decades. The government of Afghanistan's effort for peacebuilding had been praised by every sections of the society because the reason being the conflictual past of Afghanistan, which has led to a massive desire for peace in the hearts and minds of the people of Afghanistan. The entire process of peacebuilding adopted by the institutions after the Bonn process tried to modify and strengthen the structural framework of the country so that they can reduce and manage conflict.

The present current policies adopted by the central government should have the target to fulfil the desires of the people an ensure the overall development of Afghanistan. These policies should try to curb the backwardness and sectarianism in the society. These policies should try to focus and understand the basic circumstances so that they could impact at the right place. Focusing on the circumstances has been important due to the fact that, in the present scenario we see that Afghanistan's development in peacebuilding and reconciliation will not be visible at a sudden rather it will take years to come. In these cases we see that Afghanistan government needs to take one step at a time and successfully implement policies one at a time in order to accomplish its goals. In this context one can say that Afghanistan needs steady progress, it does not matter that how modest the progress is, the most valuable is the Afghanistan's success at reconstruction will need to be measured not in months but in years or even decades. Given Afghanistan's current situation, any progress, no matter how modest, is a valuable and important stride forward.

We see that the complexity in peacebuilding in Afghanistan due to its diverse local and social realities. The Afghan security forces have managed to keep their capacity to deal with the insurgents growing so that they could manage their security responsibility. The new generation in the Afghan population is optimistic about their countries future that Afghanistan will get out of its age old mind set which is hampering the growth of Afghanistan, they are hopeful about the initiatives of the government that it will lead to the welfare society and would also lead to rule of law. Further international support in the form of aid and security measures is needed in order to keep Afghanistan a secure and stable place. The civil society of Afghanistan is playing a major role in the peacebuilding and reconciliation of the society. They have successfully adopted the bottoms up approach of peacebuilding and have impacted at the grass root level.

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