



# Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS)

## Herat Security Dialogue III

(September 27 and 28, 2014 - Herat)

### Conference Report



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## **About AISS**

The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) was established in October 2012. It aims to create an intellectual space for addressing strategic issues pertaining to Afghanistan in the wider regional and



will

international context. Promoting dialogue between and among different stakeholders be an end as well as an integral means in attaining AISS objectives.

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### **A Very short introduction to the Herat Security Dialogue Series**

As part of its strategic programs series, the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) hosted its first annual international conference, Herat Security Dialogue (HSD), in partnership with the Delhi Policy Group. Held on October 18-21, 2012 in the Herat City, the conference centered on the role of regional countries and



the transformation decade. Representatives from over 20 countries, officials from the Government of Afghanistan, members of parliament, non-government organizations, and representatives from civil society and the private sector were all in attendance. The conference provided the opportunity for participants to voice their opinions on issues ranging from regional economic cooperation beyond 2014, and the security and political transition.

This is a report of the HSD-III conference held on September 27-28, 2014. AISS plans to conduct HSD-IV in early October 2015.

## **Summary of Herat Security Dialogue-III**



The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) hosted the Herat Security Dialogue II (HSD-II) on September 27-28, 2014 in Herat, Afghanistan. This was the third annual international conference that AISS hosted. It was attended by government officials, international organization delegates, legislators, academic experts, distinguished journalists, business delegates, media and civil society representatives from Afghanistan, the region and wider international community.



## Objective of the Conference

The conference set out to address the need for a permanent forum where both domestic and regional stakeholders may engage in dialogue aimed at developing practical and broad security cooperation, as well as overall confidence building. Committed to greater understanding and collaboration, HSD-III encouraged discussions on a variety of themes, including challenges to conventional approaches to security, normative and cross-cultural concerns with approaches to and perspectives on security, and the influences of Afghan security in a wider regional and global context. Local, national, and international participants raised their opinions, and provided comments and recommendations on a range of issues including:

- Transformation Decade (2004/2014): Challenges and Opportunity;
- Turbulence in the World Politics & Future of the Islamic World;
- Justice and Enduring Peace: Afghan Peace Process;
- Regional Economic Cooperation: Opportunities and Obstacles;
- Inclusive Security: Cosmopolitan Community, Islamic Sufism;
- Women, Peace & Security: from Rhetoric to Mainstreaming;
- The Nexus of Drugs, Criminality, Terrorism and Corruption;
- Prospects of Regional & International Cooperation on Afghanistan.

Creative “out of the box” thinking was encouraged! HSD-III was held from September 27-28, 2014 in the historical city of Herat, a city with a long history of creativity, connectivity, and cooperation, and a post-2001 cultural renaissance center.

The conference attracted a wide range of media coverage including local, national and international exposure. Local circuits provided online reporting, while national outlets provided special reports on the conference. International reporting included BBC Persian, Voice of America (VOA) DW Radio, and Radio Azadi, just to name a few. See appendix for full list of media coverage. The complete video clips of the conference are available in the AISS’s official website.



This report is a summary of the central ideas, and range of perspectives and recommendations identified by HSD-III participants about the aforementioned subjects. While some of the recommendations and comments mentioned in the report are personal views, others are based on consensus met during the conference.

## **Part I**

### **The Conference Panels**

The subjects discussed at the Herat Security Dialogue III (HSD-III) were chosen on the basis of key strategic concerns and issues for both Afghanistan and the wider region.

As we move into 2014 and the impending withdrawal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) combat forces, Afghanistan must prepare for some major strategic changes. First, with only a handful of non-combat international advisers, Afghanistan is forced to realize the realities on the ground on its own. However, the current state of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) suggests that they are unprepared to meet the remaining insurgent groups who continue to widen their activities throughout the country, let alone take over security responsibility for the country. Second, while Afghanistan remains highly dependent on financial aid and political support to operate even its most basic administrative affairs, a reduction of funding is expected to accompany the withdrawal of forces. Finally, other challenges such as drug trafficking, terrorism, and political mistrusts continue to threaten progress in Afghanistan and overall stability for the region. While it is acknowledged that the NATO withdrawal will result in such serious challenges to progress, the impending exit strategy remains on schedule.

According to dominant views, a post-2014 Afghanistan draws on binary conclusions. On one end, there is the possibility of a return to the chaos that defined a pre-2001 Afghanistan. The likelihood of such relapse depends on how prepared the Afghan government is to deal with the realities of post-2014. On the other end of this binary, we observe the Afghan government and the international community continue to make preparations that limit the likelihood of such chaos. The Afghan government has begun serious national, regional and international programs to effectively respond to such changes, while the international community has committed to help in terms of security and developmental assistance. However, there still remains a relatively weak estimation of the challenges that lay ahead and an over optimism of the future of Afghanistan. These are positive steps but not easy tasks to accomplish. Clear, thorough, and thoughtful strategies are necessary for political progress, economic development, and cultural acceptance.



During the HSD-III panel discussion on such concerns, participants provided their views and highlighted recommendations toward building a credible consensus among national, regional, and international stakeholders – one that would benefit both Afghanistan and the entire region.

## Inauguration Ceremony

Introduced by Khurrassani and Sufi Musical performance, the Director of AISS, Dr. Moradian, addressed his welcoming words to all participants of the Herat Security Dialogue III.

From the first session of Herat Security Dialogue to the third, many issues were brought up and addressed the Presidential elections were held and the new government will soon be in place. Dr. Moradian saluted Mr. Abdullah and Mr. Ghani for the national unity agreement to form the new government and felt proud to have worked with President Karzai, a patriotic man who served Afghanistan well.

HSD-III coincides with the 600<sup>th</sup> birthdate of Jami Heravi, a Herati poet and to glorify that, AISS has republished one of his books, *Yosef and Zolaikha*.

The two interconnected aims for the conference are:

- 1- To create a permanent platform for Afghan, regional and international experts, politicians, and policymakers to share their ideas in order to achieve a permanent and comprehensive peace;
- 2- To establish the *Herat Security School*, alongside the existing national security theories; that would originate in Herat - the capital city of ancient Khorasan with its glorious heritage and the geostrategic location – with the aim to redefine Security for Afghanistan, a notion different from liberal individualism.

HSD-III has the support of prestigious and respected authorities and institutions that AISS would like to particularly thank: The governor of Herat, Afghan Security forces, The head of provincial council of Herat, University of Herat, Herat Media organizations, The national Security Council under Dr. Spanta, Ministry of foreign affairs, interior ministry, ministry of finance and ministry of information and culture, the National Security body and Independent Directorate of Local Governance, the Embassies of republic of France and Great Britain, Asia foundation, Tawanmandi organization.

Governor Wahidi of Herat stressed that security cannot be maintained by the use of force, but through Dialogue, international Dialogue; hence the need for HSD-like formats.

“Once again Islamic radicalization is a threat to our region and to the world, but the main casualties are Muslim. International strategy against radical Islamists is not well designed and implemented. Regime



change didn't work across Arab world. (Look at Iraq, Libya, Egypt and Syria). Even a dictatorship is better than disorder. Why international alliance would attack ISIS bases in Iraq and Syria and they do not attack terrorists who are active in our region? (Taliban and al-Qaida) Why international community won't impose sanctions on those countries that support and use terrorism? (Like sanctions imposed on Apartheid regime in South Africa)"

Dr. Spanta outlined some important questions that people of the region ask from the north of Africa to Pakistan:

- 1- How can we prevent this region from becoming a safe heaven for terrorists?
- 2- How can we change nondemocratic regimes into democratic ones?
- 3- How do we can prevent the falling down of the legitimate governments in this region?

The region faces vulnerabilities like the existent tendencies for Sectarianism, Dictatorship.

## **Panel 1: Transformation Decade (2004-2014): Challenges and Opportunity**

The Chair of the Panel Mr. Loftullah Najafizada, Head of News and Current Affairs at Tolo TV welcomed the international engagement in Afghanistan after the retreat of international troops and emphasized the hope given in the signature of the National Unity Agreement by Afghan government. This agreement will shape future relationship with the West.

Speakers:

Political Development, Mr. Sardar Naeem/Presidential Candidate

Economic Development, Dr. Saihoon, Professor, Kabul University

Security Outlook, Gen. Mohammad Zahir Azimi, Spokesperson, Ministry of National Defense of Afghanistan

US-Afghanistan Relations, Mr. David Sedney, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Washington D.C., USA

Mr. Sardar Naeem insisted on the historical turning point of the Presidential election of 2014 in Afghanistan. Giving a personal outlook of the history of Afghanistan, he saluted the new President's victory and congratulated the two leading candidates to the Presidential elections on the National Unity Agreement they concluded. Being himself a candidate to the elections, Mr. Naeem referred to this event as a "peaceful and smooth transfer of power". In the process of these elections, the Afghan people showed hopeful curiosity and excitement, in particular the Afghan youth; moreover the Afghan people demonstrated to the world despite



security, logistics challenges how interested they were in this process. This itself is a great achievement to be saluted.

Though the second round of election was sadly marked with fraud and disputes and threats, which de-legitimized the whole process.

*“We need to learn to learn from this painful experience, because at the end of the day the losers were the Afghan people and I share with them the deep concern that they have about this particular process and these elections. [...] Now it is a time and a chapter for us to look forward”*

The new Unity Government needs to be more than a Unity Government by name; it will have a representation of the whole Afghan people, our leaders need to know that. The past decade has allowed the blooming of a new generation of brilliant young Afghans, involved in the politics of the country. Never such a competent pool of talent was present in Afghanistan; it needs to be tapped in. Therefore Mr. Naeem urged new ruling leaders to make great use of this reservoir.

Great achievements and changes have been completed in the past 13 years, more could have been done but what was achieved needs to be preserved. Afghanistan is still a fragile democracy with lasting security issues and a stagnant economy.

Afghanistan will need the support his foreign partners for at least 15 years in order to become truly manageable, with a sufficient level of self-reliance; according to Mr. Naeem. President Ghani and Dr. Abdullah inherited a major challenge that “needs to be addressed quickly, swiftly and decisively”: security, the stagnation of economy – the flow of aid has to come back -, implementation of rule of law, corruption, judiciary system reform ... And of course a new regional and global diplomatic vision.

*“The vital recipe for the success of all the other elements would be Unity of Afghan people.”*

On economic development, there is a worldwide understanding of development. There are some important components like having resources, techniques and good management of resources. Afghanistan has natural resources but never managed to benefit from that. Insecurity is one of the most important obstacles for investors who want to invest in Afghanistan. Then the Illegal economy/war economy must be changed. In order to develop Afghanistan must introduce its capacities for regional engagement and cooperation. Through the history, the country never managed a plan for development without the aid of the outside world.



Mr. David Sedney, already a speaker at HSD-II, who was asked to cover the stressing topic of US-Afghanistan relations in the 10 coming years, welcomed the wise words of Dr. Spanta on the “US strategy” for Afghanistan. Remaining very prudent on the subject, he reminded how the bilateral relations with the US but also with the rest of the world would adopt the shape decided by the Afghans themselves. As a former element of the US government, Mr. Sedney highlighted the fact that there is in fact multiple approaches for Afghanistan, as the United States is a democracy and not a unitary actor. Looking ahead in the next few years, the image of Afghanistan in the rest of the world is not very shiny – moreover the international community is slowly abandoning the country because of the global feeling that foreign aid is wasted rather than being used to tackle the stressing issues -; many opportunities for Afghanistan are opening and it belongs to the new government to overcome the challenges, in which he believes.

He, then again, raised awareness on the violent extremism issues that are condemning the future of Afghanistan. This issue, according to him, needs to be addressed not only by the Afghan government and the American administration but the whole world.

## **Panel 2: Turbulence in the World Politics & Future of the Islamic World**

Chair: Mr. Nader Naderi, Founder and Chairman, Fair Election for Afghanistan (FEFA)

Speakers:

1. Ambassador Neumann, President, American Academy of Diplomacy, USA
2. Prof. Amb. A. Engin Oba, Senior Adviser, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM), Turkey
3. Dr. Eshragh Hussaini, Professor, Lecturer of Kabul University

The confrontation between Radical Islam and the Western Civilization can be analyzed in the light of various aspects: weakened rational thinking, lack of dialogue between Islam and other civilizations, the lack of dialogue within Islamic sects, the Dissemination of a restricted narrative of Islam, the Western civilization seeking hegemony. (Dr. Eshragh Hussaini)

Ambassador Neumann, President of American Academy of Diplomacy (USA), thanked Mr. Moradian and Dr. Spanta for organizing such needed and constructive event. He, then, pointed out the fact that Dialogue needs to take place within Islam rather than between Islam and the West. Meaning the turbulence in the World Politics is the fact of respective opposing national interests.

*“It will be very difficult to deal with the bad government and the repression within some states which itself is part of the cause of these new radicals.”*



The attention of the American government is changing – during the last Presidential elections in the United States there was no single reference to Afghanistan -, its priorities are shifting: now Iraq and Syria are in the line of sight, then Ukraine. Afghanistan is no longer the primary focus and might be forgotten; though it needs to handle its future by itself and only then the American politics will develop the idea that the country is a success that can be built on! For instance, a radical change in highest position of the Afghan army would send a big message to the US.

On the difficult topic of Islamic Dialogue, Prof. Amb. A. Engin Oba, Senior Adviser, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) in Turkey, firstly stated that the Islamic World is now so divided that no common objective can be agreed on. The lack of an authority in Islam answers the question of Unity in the Islamic world. The problems of Islam are so outnumbered – Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, - that the world could grow some sort of exhaustion regarding the Islamic world, disturbing the balance of the world in this era of globalization. Post-Cold war Global governance cannot tackle the current issues of the Islamic world, the United Nations needs to operate some reforms and become more sensitive to what is occurring outside the European sphere of interests. G20 for example, an organization that has nowadays much for impotence and ability to influence the international politics, could address this sort of challenges. The Islamic world should as well stop fighting the West and adapt to Western norms and organizations, in order to cooperate. The future of Islam is lying in secularization, following the model of Turkey.

### **Panel 3: Justice and Enduring Peace: Afghan Peace Process**

For this panel, Chair Mr. Haseeb Humayoon, Founding Member of Afghanistan's 1400 Civil-Political Movement, introduced Mr. Habibullah Fauzi, Former Taliban's Representative to Saudi Arabia / member of High Peace Council, Afghanistan, Dr. Michael Rubin, Senior Researcher, American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., USA, Dr. Habiba Surabi, former Governor of Bamian and Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan.

Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan, briefly mentioned how when Afghanistan was first destabilized, global instability reached the country of Pakistan as well. Having a look at the Peace Process, it is clear that Afghanistan has not until now made grand step towards peace. Why militancy is surviving in this country while the United States and NATO forces have been fighting for so many years on the Afghan soil? Ambassador Wazir believes in the merits of negotiation between the United States and the Taliban. He finally saluted the great ability of Afghans leaders to find a solution to this ever lasting security issue, in which Pakistan desires to have an active part.



Maybe, the new government should include opposition figures like Taliban and others into the government in order to maintain peace and unity. (Mr. Habibullah Fauzi)

Afghanistan's Constitution is the greatest achievements for Afghan people. Maintaining this achievement is very substantial for the domestic social perspectives, especially regarding Afghan women. For a sustained peace in Afghanistan all must be equal in front of the Constitution. Even today, some people in Afghanistan do not access equal rights in social and political activities. And violence against women still exists. (Dr. Habiba Surabi)

Taking on a very free talk, Dr. Michael Rubin, Senior Researcher at American Enterprise Institute in the United States began his speech by reminding to all the important false assumption that parties entering a resolution conflict dialogue are determined to in fact resolve a conflict: "*Dialogue can very often times be a tool of asymmetric warfare*". The concept of reconciliation that the general audience might often differ from the one of diplomats. While negotiating with the Taliban, the United States forgot all lessons they could have learnt from previous negotiations between 1995 and the year 2000. What is the level of sincerity now and before from all parts of the peace process? Some elite of Afghanistan tend to use the threat of Islamism as a tool, which inevitably will produce some more blow-back.

But unfortunately today there is a comfort in keeping on with the Dialogue rather than finding concrete and tangible solution. One of the problems of diplomacy is that there are some arsonists among diplomats and conflict resolution parties, incentivizing bad behavior; especially when short-term is prioritized over the long-term.

#### **Panel 4: Regional Economic Cooperation Opportunities and Obstacles**

Chair Mr Shakib Noori, Commercial Attaché, Afghanistan Embassy, Washington D.C. Introduced eminent speakers on development challenges: Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Mastoor, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Finance of Afghanistan, Dr. Emilbek Dzhuraev, Professor, American University of Kirghizstan, Bishkek, Dr. Andrey Medvedev, Director, Center for Political Technologies, Moscow, Russia, Professor Nirmala Joshi, Senior Advisor, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi and Dr. Sayyed Yahya Akhlagi, Director of Transit & Trade Facilitation, Afghanistan's Ministry of Commerce.

Promoting economic cooperation is a vital line of Afghanistan strategy according to Mohammad Mustafa Mastoor Deputy Minister of Ministry of Finance of Afghanistan, joining as many development groupings as possible to facilitate various projects in diverse sectors such as energy – projects TAPI and CASA -, mining, water, transport, trade sector, border management, exchange of knowledge.



Many large-scale cooperation projects have been or are to be implemented within the region – with Azerbaijan, the Kirghiz Republic, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, ... However win-loose strategies from Afghan potential partners are a big setback for the economic development of the country. A sustainable economic development will be launched only with the commitment of the private sector, rather than military and intelligence agencies. Too much time has been wasted already; the political processes towards economic success need now to become more flexible.

Chair Mr. Noori then oriented the discussion toward the lack of effective policy toward economic development, a topic touched on Dr. Emilbek Dzhuraev, Professor, American University of Kirghizstan, Bishkek. Cooperation in the region is what we make of it; the lack of cooperation clearly exists today. Taking a “possibilistic” outlook Afghanistan the economic sector has to free itself from the current security issues, because poverty and despair obviously inhibits economic growth. Secondly major projects like TAPI and CASA have overshadowed other less media attention projects that are as substantial and needed: in construction area, financing, banking, tourism, educational and medical services. The dominant illicit drug economy is an other obstacle, deviating part of the economic activity.

Moreover all surrounding countries have their own domestic issues, meaning that the readiness of Afghanistan will not suffice to spur a trend of regional cooperation. It is a collective challenge for all the countries of the region: as Dr. Spanta recommended not later than last year at the HSD-II there is a clear necessity to encourage the cross-border trade regimes. These regimes would boost effective trade between the countries without waiting for billion dollar projects to be implemented.

India also has the ability to play a great role in the economic cooperation of this region, Professor Nirmala Joshi, Senior Advisor, United Service Institution of India; New Delhi exposed the dominant trends to keep in mind. Firstly the trend of globalization: a greater movement of trade, people; and then the trend toward regionalism: the region benefits from globalization.

Afghanistan and Central Asia belongs to one region, and because these countries are landlocked they share common features, in order to join the path of development they need to join the process of globalization. Professor Joshi recalled that India signed Strategic Partnership Agreement with Afghanistan in 2011, as well with Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. She highlighted one main issue: India has no direct connectivity with this landlocked region. Therefore attempts can be listed, in the area of transportation with transport corridors that would introduce optimistic fallout.



The current status of buffer zone of Afghanistan can be transformed so that Afghanistan turns into a land of connectivity and interconnection. The Istanbul – Heart of Asia conference of 2011 had already introduced the idea of Afghanistan as a land-bridged for Eurasia.

The two options offered to India are, first the transport corridor going through Chabahar seaport with a free industrial zone in Iran (the initial idea goes back to 2003). India is ready to support the stagnant project up to \$ 150 million. One the other hand, a network of roads will connect Chabahar port to Herat, Afghanistan and up to Tajikistan, Uzbekistan; thus a new portion from Mazar Sharif to Hunduz, India could be added in the context of a connected region.

According to the Professor, investment in this corridor would bring mutual cooperation and great prosperity and act as a game-changer for the region.

At last, achievements were presented by Dr. Sayyed Yahya Akhlagi, Director of Transit & Trade Facilitation, Afghanistan's Ministry of Commerce: more than 12 agreements with neighboring countries are now signed; regarding import of gas from Turkmenistan and Iran, goods trade – nuts, fruits, marble, granite, medical goods -, new transit routes as it was expressed earlier by Professor Joshi, along with Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan a new Caspian Route will start from Afghanistan for access to European markets. Afghanistan is also now party of TIR Convention, engendering transportation price reduction and transportation speed increase; and hopefully soon member of the World Trade Organization. Bilateral trade with Pakistan is expanding despite some technical issues that can be overcome.

The security of the investment and the security of the investors shall be considered; illegal drug trade tends to destroy the reputation of the domestic economy, thus this should be addressed as well.

Adequate economic diplomacy in the region appears as one recommendation from Dr Akhlagi, as Afghanistan is landlocked but can play the role of “*landlink*” country.

### **Panel 5: Inclusive Security: Cosmopolitan Community, Islamic Sufism**

Dr. Farid Mir Bagheri, Professor, Cyprus National University chaired the panel on inclusive security, topic introduced by Mr. Reza Mohammadi, Poet/Writer, Kabul, Afghanistan and debated by Dr. Amin Ahmadi, Professor, Ibn Sina University, Kabul, Afghanistan and Prof. Suleyman Sensoy, Chairman, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM), Turkey.



*“Persian literature has always a special interest in peace.” (Mr. Reza Mohammadi)*

According to Islamic Irfan, each religion is a way to God and there is no reason for hatred towards those who think differently. According to the Islamic Irfan, there are three reasons that prevent us from religious hatred: 1- every religion is a form of religion 2- the origin of every religion is behind its purpose 3- there are no cognitive differences between religions. This narrative is very different from the Orthodox narrative of Islam that condemns everybody who would think differently. (Dr. Amin Ahmad)

Living in a world where growth, production and the concept of consumption reign stated Professor and Dr Amin Ahmadi, global issues occurred. New emergent powers from the South and East make the current situation even more complex. For instance, the aggressive growth of China can be seen as a handicap; growing at the expense of human being's comfort. If we consider the human being a creation of God, our challenge is to live within and in accordance to the given existing world.

Islamic Sufism includes very important references bringing the Church to act by virtue of the acceptable way, Sufism needs to seek renewed representation: interpretation must be subject to the actual time framework.

Islamic world with the episodes of the Arab Spring has come to know about micro-nationalism, integration, unpredictability. Micro-nationalism has devastating effects as Professor Ahmadi demonstrated it through the enumeration of the cases of Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Ukraine, Libya, Scotland, and Catalonia. Unity within diversity would be an important tool for dealing with the new micro-states.

He concluded:

“We need a new system which will include the new powers that have emerged and the new system should carry the slogan 'Power and Justice', power reached by legal ways and justice as a supportive element”, two ingredients contained in Sufism.

Professor and chair Farid Mir Bagheri called for a more systemic approach. In Islam peace is both internal and radiates on the outside, at a social, political, international scale.

*“As war starts in the minds of men, peace starts in the mind of men”.*

The hearts and minds of the people need to be influenced, this process is as important as the signature of Peace Agreements between nations.



In opposition to the concept of sovereign state looking after its own interest, Sufism promotes the quintessential condition for human life as peace. There is a need for individuals likely to live by the rules of the system, a system that would not call upon selfish behavior. While some schools of thoughts clearly have failed to deliver such individuals, there is an incentive to ask the individuals to give more of themselves in order to benefit to others.

Internal Jihad is the most difficult, calls for the domination of one's own greed.

### **Panel 6: Women, Peace, Security: from Rhetoric to Mainstreaming**

Ms. Najla Ayubi, Deputy Country Representative, The Asia Foundation, Afghanistan was chosen to chair the sixth panel in which Ms. Kojasta Ibrahim Khail, Director, Office of Human Rights & Women's International Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, Ms. Khalida Khursand, Poet/Human Rights Activist, Afghanistan, Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute, Washington DC, US and Mr. Mark Tomlinson, Head of Internal Politics, British Embassy, Afghanistan will discuss about Women, Peace and Security.

The place given to the question of women and their treatment in Afghan society is another evidence of AISS's identity.

Despite great achievements concerning women rights during the past decade, women still aren't represented well in judiciary system, security and other policy-making platforms. Thus, women must be included in decision-making processes. Women as mothers have especial capabilities for management and decision making. They can be helpful for maintaining peace and prosperity.

Secondly, violence against women is a big challenge. The government of Afghanistan must include women in peace process. Preserving what we have achieved in the past decade concerning women rights for work, education etc. is a red line. We must get rid of bad social practices against women.

Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown stressed the unacceptable financial dependence of Afghan women nowadays, but highlighted the central role of women in societies all over the world – from Latin America to Somalia where women have suffered from violence, rape and submission -, women are indeed “agents of life and agents of change” towards better governance, towards better security and peace. She noticed the absence of Afghan male representation to the panel, which would have send a strong message and help to the global debate of the Dialogue.



Despite the nominal rights inscribed on the Constitution, which is already a great achievement, women still suffer from a lack of freedom. The future will hopefully be witness of change, enabling women to be present in business, security dialogue, to be respected and allowed to grow and influence policies as real experts.

Mr. Mark Tomlinson from the British embassy recalled that in societies where women hold prominent role in politics, advocate peaceful settlements to disputes; those countries have a much better chance to reduce security problems and disagreements. Progress in Afghanistan, on human rights and particularly on women rights are for real, even though some can argue the aims have not been reached as far as we all would like. For instance, they cast their vote for the first and second round of the recent Presidential elections: this clearly says Afghan women, like the entire population, reject violence and wish to have a say in the country's future. He, then, developed the program of his country made in the sense of women rights' progress in Afghanistan.

Overall, gender and its correlation with economy, culture and politics must be considered in every theory that looks into the security and peace. We must go beyond the symbolic presence of women within the society. (Ms. Khalida Khursand)

The commitment of the government of Afghanistan and the international community to improve women life is a very important factor. And it's important for women to support each other into achieving their collective goals.

### **Panel 7: The Nexus of Drugs, Criminality, Terrorism and Corruption**

This complex panel was chaired by Ms. Seema Ghani, Senior Advisor, Afghanistan's Anti-Corruption National Strategy Authority, to give voice to Oleksiy Feschenko, UNODC, Anti-Money Laundering Lead of UNODC's Global Program against Money Laundering, Proceeds of Crime and the Finance of Terrorism; Dr. Hamid Zarei, Director, The Center for Universal Drug Researches, Approaches and Studies (CUDRAS) , Tehran, Iran; Dr. Shoaib Suddle, Former Director General , Intelligence Bureau, Pakistan; Dr. Ekaterina Stepanova, Head of Peace & Conflict Analysis Unit, Russia Academy of Science, Moscow and Mr Hashim Wahdatyai, National Programme Officer, UNODC.

This theme, usually removed from public debate, was probably one of the highlights of HSD-III.

A very realistic view of drug issue in Afghanistan was adopted for this talk. Drug trafficking has corrupted power - authority - and even part of civil society. Not that everyone is directly involved, but everyone let to



do - as the international community - everybody tolerated the fact that Afghanistan, at the bottom of all world rankings when it comes to social or economic benefits.

*"Who has not heard "the public scenes are those of public hypocrisy," but at least in the corridors, that after all, one could live with narcotics, or that they are essential to an emerging economy? Many Afghans have returned from abroad, where they often succeeded, to rebuild their country: was it to come up with this? are they still proud to be Afghan? What could be the role of supposed elite, if it is not to save the country from such a slope?"*

The representative of UNODC, Oleksiy Feshchenko, embarked on a strong dialogue with the audience on the concrete mechanisms of trafficking, including money laundering.

*"What would you do if you had 800 MUSD dirty money? Where to keep them? In a bank? But what bank would you choose? (Various answers in the room). No, there is better: the smartest is to create your own bank. I'm not talking in the abstract."*

Mr. Suddle did not disappoint: he chose sobriety and concrete views, as close as possible to reality, giving real life examples of successes and failures in the operation between Afghan and Pakistani police. Its main conclusion was that in the absence of legal and technical harmonization - for the police did not work either in the same language, or with the same technological means, therefore confuses communication - the anti-narcotic border cooperation could be limited in its effects. Criminals played with time and the complexity of procedures, including in deciding which court had jurisdiction, which body could investigate and where, or what clues could be considered by the judges as evidence. It was time and absolutely necessary to establish a common legal process (Afghanistan-Pakistan) to deal with cross-border organized crime. *"It would be a significant step, which would save many speeches."*

And if the institutions were slow to do so - concluded, not without surprise, the senior official - then civil societies had to pressure: why not start a Track-two of non-state experts to Afghanistan and Pakistan, devoted to concrete proposals for technical and legal fight against narco traffickers?

The intervention of Ekaterina Stepanova focused on the disastrous impact of the consumption of narcotics in Russian society. According to assessments its Academy, export of narcotics to the Russian Federation had decreased by 91% under the Taliban. But since the departure of these, cultivated land had "multiplied by 26". 90% of exports by the Northern route were consumed by the Russians. Russia "was injecting or smoking alone as many drugs as all other European nations together."



Every year some 150 million dollars goes into the pocket of insurgents Taliban. 70 trillion dollars goes to the pocket of organized crime. In 2009, a UN survey showed that there were some 940,000 addicts in Afghanistan. It's estimated that there is around 1.3 to 1.6 million addicts today in Afghanistan. If they consume every day just one dollar of narcotics, every year they spend one million dollars. But it seems that nobody from the government of Afghanistan to the regional players and the international community is paying enough attention to this problem.

But why narcotics didn't vanish during the past decade or decreased? Why is it increasing? The answer is that we lacked political will to fight that. Fighting narcotics was not a priority for the government of Afghanistan. Despite the fact that Interior Ministry has a department for fighting narcotics, it is not a priority for them either. Afghanistan cannot prevent smuggling of chemical material that is used to produce drugs. If regional powers don't help Afghanistan fighting drug smugglers, Afghanistan cannot succeed in this. After the announcement of foreign forces withdrawal, smugglers and insurgents encouraged Afghan peasants to cultivate opium and narcotics. If the regional and international players don't cooperate with the Afghan government, the fight against narcotics cannot be won.

Right now the Eurasia region faces many problems like poverty, radicalism and terrorism, violence, inequality and etc. which is threatening everyone in the region. Thus it is important to set up a shared platform to confront this through regional cooperation. We must have a clear and well defined strategy that would cover all the regional players. The correlation between drug trafficking, organized crime and violence, radicalism and terrorism must be studied and analyzed. Development programs must be implemented while confronting this. (Dr. Hamid Zarei)

### **Panel 8: Prospects of Regional & International Cooperation on Afghanistan**

Chair Mr. Matin Begh, Deputy Minister, Independent Directorate of Local Governance, Afghanistan introduced four speakers for the last panel: Dr. Arun Saghral, Director, Forum for Strategic Initiative, New Delhi, India; Ambassador Aziz Ahmed Khan, Former Pakistani ambassador to Afghanistan; Dr. Mohammadi Safolzoda, Deputy Director, Strategic Research Center Under the President of Tajikistan; Dr. Jean-Luc Racine, Vice President, Asia Center, Paris, France.

Firstly, Aziz Ahmad stressed that he had not returned to Herat since 1998. But he has said the city "*has changed to the point of being unrecognizable today.*" The city is a witness of the mobilization of the Afghan people and the international community to rebuild the country.



*"So I see here a success story, a success. And I am especially pleased that 60,000 engineers and technicians worked on the reconstruction of the country, in our cooperation programs."*

Pakistani

In the same tone of warm amiability, former Ambassador called for the opening of a new page in relations between the two countries, and rejected the accusations against his country: he proved through less formal experiences and personal memories that the two countries were victims of terrorism, both shared the goal of development.

“Tajikistan wants to expand relations with Afghanistan and promote economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. The cooperation between Afghanistan and Tajikistan has several aspects but we think that energy is the main field of interest between the two countries. The program of Central Asia- South Asia is an ongoing program (for transition of electricity through Afghanistan to Pakistan and India, then south Asia) that would connect Herat to the region with the construction of an electricity line. Another program that would connect Herat and Afghanistan to the region is the construction of a railway through Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan and China. Herat can become an industrial city.” (Dr. Mohammadi Safolzoda)

After an introduction in which M. Jean-Luce Racine mentioned the Afghan-French relations and the Process of Chantilly, he mentioned the complexity of a region where the dichotomy between discourse and practice was the rule and not the exception: on paper, each one was for non-interference in affairs of others and for regional stability, and yet each was also accused of having a hand in the destabilization of the other; Russia and China criticized the US presence, but did not really wish removal. And on the side of USA / NATO we considered the "zero option", but at the same time we came to reassert at the Wales summit, the continuity of the commitment and determination not to repeat the mistake of 1992.

Sometimes he would refer to the Old Great Game that opposed in the 19th Century Afghanistan, Russia and the British Empire. He, then, came to notice how we are no longer in this simple game, today the actors are numerous and their motivations to act so diverse – within each actor administrations also fight with divergent approaches. We can call this configuration the Grey Game.

Mr. Racine highlighted some features of the diplomatic history of the region, made of positive openings and windows of opportunity which then closed again under the blows of "spoilers". Time was an important dimension and often frustrating in a region where governments changed, returning backwards on a particular issue, or along the way losing popularity and political strength required for a bold initiative; and particularly



through ages political priorities were changing, - we had just seen in panel 7 how drugs had become the No. 1 issue in the case of Afghanistan, which does was not the case obviously not the case in the 1980 or 1990.

From this point of view multilateralism as "Heart of Asia" was attempting to do - but with a lot of trial and error as evidenced by the AISS study on this question - might be the solution (June 2014 : « The Heart of Asia Process at a Juncture : An Analysis of Impediments to Further Progress » by AISS). A multilateral approach seemed the only appropriate one to develop integrationist concepts like "connectivity". Though again the history of major economic projects of integration, such as TAPI and CASA-1000, was disappointing. However, it was important in these processes; that everyone is familiar with the history of the region and its diplomatic fluctuations; otherwise we might go all the time on already exhausted routes.

A different track was initiated by Mr. Arun Seghal, director of the "Forum for Strategic Initiative" in New Delhi. The ultimate goal was to bring together all the players around a "regional compact" because what was needed was to bring "everyone to have the same good intentions at the same time." Perhaps in reference to the idea advanced by Shoaib Suddle in panel 7 M. Seghal suggested a "track-two" political NGOs and think-tanks from each country that could give the example of a "regional compact".

## The Way forward

Dr. Moradian saluted the fruitful debates of the Herat Security Dialogue on a positive note.

*"The world can not be seen as a compartmentalized entity, but as a system that consists of components in one single unity. Cosmopolitanism and no nationalism, no religion, no ethnicity, no difference."*

*"The challenge in Afghanistan and in the region and the World is to find out if and how we can recreate a cosmopolitan world, based on the sense of solidarity. Herat Security Dialogue-III was brought in that way, with an optimistic view of Humanity."*

Dr. Moradian then encouraged once again the new government, led by outstanding authority figures, Mr. Abdullah Abdullah and President Ashraf Ghani.



## HSD-III Policy Recommendations

The following is a list and summary of major agreed-upon policy recommendations raised during HSD-III conference regarding the withdrawal of foreign military forces and other relevant topics:

- Consensus was made regarding the political maturity that allowed elections to take place in relative peace and order and the National Unity Government to emerge, the panelists emphasized on the grand role of the government to provide a safe political environment for the duration of the mandate. This major historical step calls for more resolutions in the direction of the country's global improvement.
- As the international community has acknowledged Afghan leadership elected by Afghans, now is the opportunity for Afghan political parties and elites, civil society institutions, and public intelligentsia to jointly take part in the effective management of the post-2014 Afghanistan, without consideration and prioritization of ethnicity, sect, race or language. In particular, Afghan political leaders and the government must set their agendas based on national priorities, interests, and needs, rather than ethnicity, sect, race or language.
- The reduction of regional mistrust and the furtherance of regional collaboration rest on finding common cultural links and shared cultural heritage. It is recommended that efforts at regional trust building focus on such common and shared cultural links.
- The completion of cross-country roads, rail networks, and gas pipelines which connect Central Asia to the Indian subcontinent are a vital first step at greater regional economic development and as such, should become high on the government's agenda.
- Afghanistan is a great nation, therefore it is the home for a competent pool of talent that needs to be wisely exploited and considered. The future of Afghanistan lies in the coming generations, which benefited from the establishment higher education institutions all over the country since 2001.
- Steps towards peace are visible and must be considered as a precious legacy from foreign involvement which is now restrained. It is why negotiation with Taliban must reach a level of sincerity for the sake of the people. Moreover, political elite should not instrumentalize the extremism phenomenon which would inevitably bring some blow-back, dangerous for domestic and stability.



- The promotion of economic cooperation has been identified as the vital line of Afghan Strategy for development and sustainability. Private sector needs to be supported with a more flexible entrepreneurial and economic context. Colossal projects must be supported while encouraging less media-attention projects as well.
- On regional cooperation, Afghanistan should position itself as a "land link" country rather than a landlocked country, thus a multilateral approach based on a shared cultural heritage seems like the appropriate one to develop integrationist concepts like "connectivity".
- Regarding Drug trafficking and counter-narcotics policies, these issues have been made issue No. 1 by the government. A Track-two of non-state experts to Afghanistan and Pakistan, devoted to addressing concrete proposals for technical and legal fight against narco-traffickers, could be set up.
- As Afghanistan is walking towards social change and regime equality, women rights have largely progressed within Afghanistan. On the occasion of the Presidential elections, women asserted their individual powers and raised their voices by voting. The new government shall promote the place of women in the society by helping them become "agents of life and agents of change".
- The Afghan government and civil society can play an important role in protecting society from the long-term threats of radical religious ideologies with carefully planned educational programs and broad public policy that encourage a return to peaceful cultural roots, such as Sufism.

## **Conclusion:**

This year's HSD was oriented towards the withdrawal of NATO forces on the ground, in the context of disputed election results, soon resolved by the establishment of the National Unity Government. The ability of this new government to take over the security issues was raised as the challenge of the ongoing mandate by the present speakers and audience. The management of the post-2014 situation is dependent of the remaining terrorist threat, with the rise of the Islamic State Organization in the Middle East. The influence of extremist behaviors within insurgent groups in Afghanistan needs to be contained by the local and regional policy-makers and social changers. This change can occur with the help and the expansion of the private sector in a number of domains, therefore bringing regional economic and social development. Afghanistan has to earn back the trust of its people with the support of its neighbors, primarily in Central and South Asia. A strong and visionary security policy will allow Afghanistan to maintain international cooperation and keep a global visibility on the International Sphere. Alongside Afghan Civil Society, the Afghan government of



President Ghani can build the adequate capacities; make wise use of domestic resources - with clear and honest vision for the decade to come.

The Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) through its HSD Series initiative remains one of the first Afghan civil society programs that attempt to address these issues. HSD-III provided - once again - a platform for national, regional, and international representatives to share their views and recommendations toward supporting progress in Afghanistan. The efforts advanced by AISS reflect the potential of civil society institutions to have a positive and fruitful impact on the direction and future of the country. The civil nature of HSD-III provided an open environment free from the politically charged atmosphere of traditional government-based conferences. As a result, participants remained comfortable with raising issues they believe of significant concern for Afghanistan and the region without concerns regarding political, cultural, or social reprisal.



## Appendices

### APPENDIX 1: List of HSD-III Participants

#### Herat Security Dialogue III

27-28 September 2014

#### Agenda

Sunday, Sep 27 <sup>th</sup>	
08:30-09:30	<b>Opening Session</b>  <i>Recitation of Holy Koran</i>  <i>National Anthem</i> <i>Recitation of Hymns of Maulana Abdul Rahman Jami</i>  <i>Sufi Musical Performance</i> <i>Welcoming remarks by AISS Director Dr. Davood Moradian</i> <i>Welcoming remarks by the Governor of Herat, Mr. Syed Fazlullah Wahidi</i> <i>Keynote Speaker by the Afghan National Security Adviser, Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta</i>
09:30-11:00	<b>Panel I: Transformation Decade (2014-2024): Challenges &amp; Opportunities</b>  <i>Chair: Mr. Lotfullah Najafizada, Head of News &amp; Current Affairs, Tolo TV</i> <i>Speakers:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <b>Political Development:</b> Mr. Sardar Naeem/Presidential Candidate</li><li>2. <b>Economic Development:</b> Mr. Mohammad Mustafa Mastoor, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Finance of Afghanistan</li><li>3. <b>Security Outlook:</b> Gen Mohammad Zahir Azimi, Spokesperson, Ministry of National Defense of Afghanistan</li><li>4. <b>US-Afghanistan Relations:</b> Mr. David Sedney, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Washington D.C., USA</li></ol>
11:00-11:30	Tea Break



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11:30-13:00	<p><b>Panel II: Turbulence in World Politics &amp; Future of the Islamic World</b></p> <p><i>Chair: Mr. Nader Naderi,, Founder and Chairman, Fair Election for Afghanistan (FEFA)</i></p> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Ambassador Neumann, President, American Academy of Diplomacy, USA</li><li>2. Prof. Amb. Dr. A. Engin Oba, Senior Adviser, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM), Turkey</li><li>3. Dr. Eshragh Hussaini, Professor, Lecturer of Kabul University</li></ol>
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14.00-15:30	<p><b>Panel III: Justice and Enduring Peace: Afghan Peace Process</b></p> <p>Chair: Mr. Haseeb Humayoon, Founding Member, Afghanistan's 1400 Civil-Political Movement</p> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1.Mr. Habibullah Fauzi, Former Taliban's Representative to Saudi Arabia/member of High Peace Council , Afghanistan</li><li>2. Dr. Michael Rubin, Senior Researcher, American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., USA</li><li>3. Dr Habiba Surabi, former Governor of Bamian</li><li>4.Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan</li></ol>
15:30-16:00	Tea Break
16:00-17:30	<p><b>Panel IV: Regional Economic Cooperation Opportunities &amp; Obstacles</b></p> <p>Chair: Mr. Shakib Noori, Commercial Attaché , Afghanistan Embassy, Washington DC</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Dr. Emilbek Dzhuraev, Professor, American University of Kirghizstan, Bishkek</li><li>2. Dr. Andrey Medvedev, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, Russia</li><li>3. Professor Nirmala Joshi, Senior Advisor, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi</li></ol>



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	4. <i>Dr Sayyed Yahya Akhlagi, Director of Transit &amp; Trade Facilitation, Afghanistan's Ministry of Commerce</i>
19:00-21:00	<b>Governor of Herat – Official Reception (Governor Official Residence)</b>
<b>Sunday, September 28<sup>th</sup></b>	
8:00 – 8:30	<b>Sufi Music</b>
8:30 – 10:00	<b>Panel V: Inclusive Security: Cosmopolitan Community, Islamic Sufism</b>  <i>Chair: Dr. Seyed Mohammad Mir Bagheri, Professor, Cyprus National University</i>  <b>Speakers:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Mr. Reza Mohammadi, Poet/Writer, Kabul, Afghanistan</i></li><li>2. <i>Dr. Amin Ahmadi, Professor , Ibn Sina University, Kabul, Afghanistan</i></li><li>3. <i>Prof. Suleyman Sensoy, Chairman, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM), Turkey</i></li></ol>
10:00-10:30	<b>Tea Break</b>
10:30-12:00	<b>Panel VI: Women, Peace, Security: From Rhetoric to Mainstreaming</b>  <i>Chair: Ms. Najla Ayubi, Deputy Country Representative, The Asia Foundation, Afghanistan</i>  <b>Speakers:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Ms. Kojasta Ibrahim Khail, Director, Office of Human Rights &amp; Women's International Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan</i></li><li>2. <i>Ms. Khalida Khursand, Poet/Human Rights Activist, Afghanistan</i></li><li>3. <i>Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute, Washington DC, US</i></li><li>4. <i>Mr Ben Melton, Representative, British Embassy, Afghanistan</i></li></ol>
12:00-13:00	<b>Lunch</b>



13:00-14:30	<p><b>Panel VII: The Nexus of Drugs, Criminality, Terrorism and Corruption</b></p> <p>Chair: Ms. Seema Ghani, Senior Advisor, Afghanistan's Anti-Corruption National Strategy Authority</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Oleksiy Feschenko, UNODC, Anti-Money Laundering Lead of UNODC's Global Program against Money Laundering, Proceeds of Crime and the Finance of Terrorism</li><li>2. Dr. Hamid Zarei, Director, The Center for Universal Drug Researches, Approaches and Studies (CUDRAS) , Tehran, Iran</li><li>3. Dr. Shoaib Suddle, Former Director General , Intelligence Bureau, Pakistan</li><li>4. <b>Dr Ekaterina Stepanova, Head of Peace &amp; Conflict Analysis Unit, Russia Academy of Science, Moscow</b></li></ol>
14:30 – 15:00	<p><b>Tea break</b></p>
15:00 – 16:30	<p><b>Panel VIII: Prospects of Regional &amp; International Cooperation on Afghanistan</b></p> <p><i>Chair: Mr Matin Begh, Deputy Minister, Independent Directorate of Local Governance, Afghanistan</i></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Dr. Arun Saghul, Director, Forum for Strategic Initiative, New Delhi, India</i></li><li>2. Ambassador Aziz Ahmed Khan, Former Pakistani ambassador to Afghanistan</li><li>3. Dr. Mohammadi Safolzoda, Deputy Director, Strategic Research Center Under the President of Tajikistan,</li><li>4. <i>Dr. Jean-Luc Racine, Vice President, Asia Center, Paris, France</i></li></ol>
16:30 – 17:00	<p><b>The Way forward: Open Discussion</b></p> <p><i>Chair: Dr. Davood Moradian, Director, AISS</i></p> <p><i>Open Discussion</i></p>
17:00 – 17:30	<p><b>Sufi Music</b></p>



## Appendices

### APPENDIX 2: List of HSD-III Participants

#### Afghanistan

Name	Position	Organization
Ahmadi, Mohammad Amin	Lecturer	Ibn-e Sina University
Akhlaqee, Sayed Yahya	Director of Transit and Trade	Ministry of Commerce and Industry
Amiri, Liaqat Ali	Lecturer	Gowhar Shad University
Ariayi, Abdul Jabbar	Director General	Mitra Television Network
Ayoubi, Esmat	Chief of Staff	Central Bank
Azimi, Mohammad Zahir	Spokesperson	Ministry of National Defense
Baheen, Sultan Ahmad	Director General of third Department	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Balkhi, Sediqa	Member	Afghanistan Parliament
Bashir, Marya	Head	Herat Attorney Office
Behsoodi, Abdul Baqi	Commander	Herat Security Department
Bek, Abdul Matin	Deputy Minister for Admin and Finance	Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG)
Eshraq Hussaini, Sayed Hussain	Lecturer	University
Faiz Zada, Abdul Zahir	Member	Herat Provincial Council
Ferozpur, Ahmad Zia	Field Management Officer	Media& Information Center/Balkh
Fouzi, Habibullah	Head of International Relations Committee	High Peace Council



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Ghani, Seema	Advisor	Anti-Corruption Authority
Hasanyar, Shareef	Head of News	Ariana News
Hashemi, Fardin	Lecturer	University of Afghanistan
Humayoon, Haseeb	Central Council Member	Afghanistan 1400 Political Movement
Ibrahim khel, Khujasta Fana	Director General of Human Rights and International Women Affairs Directorate	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jafari, Fatema	Member	Herat Provincial Council
Jahed, Taj Mohammad	Commander 207 Core	Afghan National Army
Jami, Asiluddin	Deputy Governor	Herat Province
Kabiri, Nazir	Advisor to the Minister	Ministry of Finance
Karokhel, Danish	Director	Afghan Pajhwok News
Khair Andish, Aziza	Activist	Civil Society
Khalid, Abdul Hadi	Ministry of Interior Affairs	Former Deputy Minister for Security Afghanistan
Majidi, Ahmad Farhad	Member	Afghanistan Parliament
Mastoor, Mohammad Mustafa	Deputy Minister	Ministry of Finance
Masuod, Ahmad Wali	Head and Founder	Ahmad Shah Masoud Foundation
Mohammadi, Reza	Poet and Writer	Civil Society
Mojaddedi, Hazrat Omar Nasir	Spokesperson	Herat Civil Society Organizations
Mousavi, Sayed Askar	Senior Advisor	Ministry of Higher Education



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Mubarez, Abdul Hamid	President	Afghanistan's National Journalists' Union
Murtazawi, Shah Hussain	Editor in Chief	Daily 8 Sobh
Naderi, Ahmad Nader	Founder and Chairman	Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA)
Naeem, Sardar Mohammad Nader	Political Activist	-
Najafi Zada, Lufullah	Head of News/Current Affairs	TOLO TV
Nikbin, Gulam Ghaws	Mayor	City of Herat
Noori, Shakeeb	Commercial Attaché	Embassy of Afghanistan, Washington DC
Paryani, Nazari	Editor in Chief	Daily Mandegar
Qattaly, Sayed Wahid	Head	Herat Provincial Council
Rafiee, Azizullah	Executive Director	Afghanistan Civil Society Forum
Rahimi, Abdul Qader	Head	Herat Independent Human Rights Commission
Ramesh, Somaya	Activist	Civil Society
Raufian, Aria	Head	Herat Information and Culture Office
Rezai, Shahgul	Member	Afghanistan Parliament
Royesh, Aziz	Activist	Civil Society
Sabawoon, Waheedullah	Advisor on Tribal Affairs	Presidential Palace
Sadat, Sayed Samiullah	Director	Strategic Communication and Outreach of High Peace Council



Saihoon, Saifuddin	Lecturer	Kabul University
Salangi, Abdul Basir	Deputy	Ministry of Interior Affairs
Sarabi, Habiba	Ex- Governor	Bamyan Province
Shahir, Mohammad Rafiq	Director	Herat Experts Council
Sherjan, Hassina	Founder and CEO	Aid Afghanistan for Education
Spanta, Rangin Dadfar	Advisor	National Security Council
Subat, Abdul Saboor	Head	Herat National Department of Security
Tamanna, Faramarz	Director General of Center for Strategic Studies	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Tauhidi, Sediqullah	Director of Media Watch	Nai-Supporting Afghanistan Open Media
Wafa, Abdul Waheed	Executive Director	Afghanistan Center at Kabul University
Wahidi, Sayed Fazlullah	Governor	Herat Province
Zewari, Sayed Naweed	Lecturer	Kabul Pole Technical University

### **Azerbaijan**

Abbasov, Tural	Director	Center for Economic and Social Development (CESD), School of Public Policy
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### **China**

Xuemei, Qian	Lecturer	Peking University
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Cyprus



Mir Baghiri, Sayad Mohammad	Professor	Cyprus National University
<b>France</b>		
Daguzan, Jean-Francois	Deputy Director	Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique
Manville, Yves	Political Counselor	French Embassy, Kabul
Racine, Jean-Luc	Vice President	Asia Centre
<b>India</b>		
Afroz, Nazes	Journalist	-
Kumar, Radha	Director General	Delhi Policy Group
Joshi, Nirmala	Research Advisor	The United Service Institution of India
Kumar, Saurabh	Joint Secretary	India National Security Council
Mishra, Hamid Kumar	Consul General	Indian Consulate General, Herat
Prasad, Jayant	Former Ambassador of India to Afghanistan	Embassy of India, Kabul
Sahgal, Arun	Director	Forum for Strategic Initiative
<b>Iran</b>		
Khosrow Aghaei, Ali Morad	Member of Board of Directors	Center for Universal Drug Researches
Mir Baghiri, Sayad Mohammad	Professor	Approaches and Studies (CUDRAS) Cyprus National University
Rashidi, Mahmood Afkhami	Consul General	Consulate General of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Herat



Zarei, Hamid	Director	Center for Universal Drug Researches Approaches and Studies (CUDRAS)
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### Iraq

Abood Badai, Khalid	Official	Iraq Ministry of Interior Affairs
Qodri Hussaini, Ali	Official	Iraq Ministry of Interior Affairs

### Kazakhstan

Yessentayev, Arman	Economic Section Councilor	Embassy of Kazakhstan in Kabul
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### Kyrgyzstan

Dzhuraev, Emilbek	Associate Professor	American University of Central Asia
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### Pakistan

Ahmed Khan, Aziz	Chief Executive Director	Jinnah Institute
Morowat, Saifullah Khan	Consul General	Consulate General of Pakistan, Herat
Suddle, Shoaib	Former Director	General Intelligence Bureau
Wazir, Ayaz	Former Ambassador	Embassy of Pakistan, Kabul

### Russia

Oleg, Kulakov	Professor	Moscow Defense University
Medvedev, Andrey	Director	Center for Political Technologies
Stepanova, Ekaterina	Head of Peace and Conflict Studies Unit	Russian Academy of Sciences



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Timokhov, Ilya	First Secretary Political Section	Embassy of Russia in Kabul
<b>Tajikistan</b>		
Safolzoda, Mohammadi	Deputy Director	Strategic Research Center
<b>Turkey</b>		
Engin Oba, Ali	Vice Chairman	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies
Sensoy, Suleyman	Chairman	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies
<b>Turkmenistan</b>		
Ewazof, Khwaja	Consul General	Consulate of Turkmenistan, Herat
Geldinazarov, Shalar	Head of the Department for Middle East Countries	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan
<b>United Kingdom</b>		
Melton, Ben	2 <sup>nd</sup> Secretary	British Embassy, Kabul
Tomlinson, Mark	Head of Internal Politics	British Embassy Kabul
<b>United States</b>		
Felbab-Brown, Vanda	Senior Fellow	Brookings Institution
Kraemer, Richard	Senior Program Officer	National Endowment for Democracy
Neumann, Ronald E.	President	The American Academy of Diplomacy
Rubin, Michael	Resident Scholar	American Enterprise Institute



Sedney, David	Senior Fellow	Atlantic Council
Vatanka, Alex	Senior Fellow	Middle East Institute

### **The Asia Foundation**

Ayubi, Najla	Deputy	Country Representative The Asia Foundation Afghanistan
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### **UNAMA**

Brooks, Martin	Political Affairs Officer	UNAMA
Lachinyan, Azat	Team Leader, Political	UNAMA
Pont, Mark	Senior Political Affairs Officer	UNAMA

### **UNDP**

Nouroozi, Ramin	Advisor	UNDP
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Feschenko, Oleksiy	Anti-Money Laundering Advisor	UNODC
Wahdatyar, Hashim	Regional Program Officer	UNODC

Pupols, Armands	Political Affairs Officer	UNRCCA
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**Here is the link of the photos taken during HSD-III:**

**Here is the link of the videos taken during HSD-III:**