MANIFESTO OF
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY TEAM

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Continuity and Change: A Manifesto
Preface

Throughout Afghanistan’s history the prime cause of challenges and crisis has been governments that in their actions followed the logic of autocracy. There are specific characteristics to autocratic governments:

1. In an autocratic government, sovereignty is not generated through the will of the people and for this reason it lacks legitimacy in the contemporary sense of the word.
2. An autocratic government does not allow any kind of participation and rests its politics on monopolizing power and taking away power from others.
3. In such a government, political power is seen as an “end in itself”, not as an instrument and tool for ensuring public services and for this reason, any means, no matter how illegitimate, is used to reach or preserve this end.
4. In such governments, culture, faith, religion, morality, the economy and trade all are used to serve the “power” in charge and all of them are used as instruments.

But the outcome of autocracy, ahead of anything, is “political instability”. This is because autocracy is in conflict with the human identity as a being that is free and makes choices. For this reason, autocracy cannot last and very quickly triggers reaction. Such reaction surfaces as popular resistance and leads to the collapse of the autocratic government.

To save ourselves from such crisis, we must set up a democratic government. A democratic government, in contrast to an autocratic government, rests on the vote and will of the people and instead of politics of exclusion, it makes use of politics of participation and the prime goal is not the preservation of power, rather, the key goal is the safeguarding of public order and provision of public services. In addition, this government is impartial towards its citizens and knows no tribal, linguistic, racial and religious favoritism and makes equality the fundament and basis of its governance.

The “continuity and change” team has entered the election race with the purpose of setting up a truly democratic and accountable government. More than anything, we want to create a fundamental change in the logic and philosophy of governance in Afghanistan and set up a government on the basis of modern, contemporary concepts and principles and then, following our Islamic and national values which have been stipulated in our constitution, create change in methods, instruments and mechanisms in various spheres of management, governance, the rights of the people, culture, economy, and Afghanistan’s international relations and with this change, ensure lasting political stability in our country and pave the way for the formation of a prosperous and progressive society resting on democracy, social justice, human dignity, human rights, national unity, equality of all ethnic groups and even-handed development throughout the country.

Today, the people of our country including outstanding individuals, intellectuals, women, young people, producers of culture, workers and other parts of society wish for change and we want to respond to this wish of the nation and will strive with all our power to make this wish reality. Our government’s plans, which we offer to you, our pure and dignified nation, through this manifesto, is an example of our thoughts and our determination to create a fundamental change in the country. Through your active presence in the election and voting for the “manifesto of continuity and change”, you, our respected citizens, can create the right conditions for positive and fundamental change in the country.
Proposal for “continuity” and “change”: We have the necessity to do an in depth study of the political history of Afghanistan and identify the causes that have continuously triggered instability, and reach a consensus over a comprehensive plan for political stability as a “roadmap” and align our politics to become an instrument for the implementation of this consensus. In the recent history of our country the thirteen years following the collapse of the Taliban’s rule make up a period of transition. This period can be turned into a bridge between instability and stability and for this reason, achieving a comprehensive plan capable of balancing out “continuity” and “change” is one of the fundamental principles of our national program and from our point of view, makes up one of the crucial necessities of the new Afghanistan.

Change where? “Change” is one of the fundamental necessities of our society for several reasons: We have a democratic political system available to us. In terms of its shape, this system has guaranteed widespread participation of the country’s citizens in all spheres of collective life. But in terms of substance, we still need deep and fundamental changes so that this participation of citizens is given institutional support in thinking, culture, literature and collective conduct and is given immunity against individual whims, dictatorial, totalitarian and anti-democratic tendencies.

Administrative corruption has like cancer taken control of our political and administrative bodies, affecting all parts of society. It is for this reason that the slogans “handover jobs to the qualified” or “rules above relations” surface as expressions of one of the most essential wishes of our citizens. Our society needs a fundamental and profound change in methods of managing political power so that – leaning on lawful methods, leadership, and political will-
Political power takes shape in the guise of a collective. For this reason, we must create legitimate political institutions so that the foundations of state legitimacy grow continuously through democratic and coherent politics. This change is counted as the foundation for the establishment of a new political culture in the country. Through laws and structures, statesmanship and governance must turn into something that requires technical and professional skills. Statesmanship and governances are not matters of taste but need lawful planning and implementation whereby the key goal would be to serve the people. In this matter, we are in need of a profound and fundamental change so that a technical consensus resting on successful international norms and standards can take place in the management of our political system.

In culture, too, we are in need of serious change. In our country, we are witness to the living together of various cultures whereby each one of them in different ways represents the collective identity of these various groups. Such multitude of views must turn into a broader, national outlook but without lessening the importance of the historical experiences of the people who live in different geographic locations of the country and hence, have their own specific identity and outlook.

Continuity in which matters? Religious and cultural values form the basis of relations, the strength of society and political order. Paying in depth and fundamental attention to the preservation and continuity of these values is not only the basis for the stability and strength of society but also boosts our national and religious identity internationally. Investing in this field is one of the priorities of our government.

The constitution is one of the most significant pillars of all of the outstanding gains of the last thirteen years.

With the departure of the international forces, the international community’s tolerance of widespread corruption has also reached an end. As the mutual accountability accords signed in Tokyo make clear, without implementing fundamental reforms in the methods of governance, the international community will no longer be willing to always finance the government of Afghanistan. For this reason, we have only two options: we can either keep pretending that the environment and the conditions have not changed and it is still possible for a limited number of people to monopolize Afghanistan or, through accepting a profound and comprehensive change, we respect the principle of the people’s rule in all spheres of the order of collective life and move the country on the path of development, civic and democratic growth. Our goal is to boost the institutions of democracy and a state that rests on the constitution so that the people of Afghanistan can possess the kind of capacity that would enable them to, as principle owners of the country, gain their own standing and legitimacy and the government of Afghanistan, too, becomes an effective, transparent and powerful instrument for the realization of people’s wishes.

One of the key conditions for the safeguarding and ensuring of stability in the country is the creation of the necessary consensus over the affairs of state-building and the enhancing of the popular foundations of governance. To reach this goal, we need a profound and fundamental change in our political attitudes for the planning and implementation of mid-term and long-term programs so that lasting change runs the country as a continuous and purposeful process.

The political class and other parts of society must accept to regard institution-building as the only guarantee for saving us from individualistic thinking and conduct in the running of the state.
In the course of the last thirteen years, despite numerous shortcomings and limitations, the constitutional values of freedom of speech have been implemented in a striking manner, becoming stronger and enriched. Prior to the new government, and especially before the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was established legally, our society had to perpetually cope with censorship. For this reason, freedom of speech as one of the most important gains of the last thirteen years, must be protected institutionally and structurally and must “continue”.

A democratic system based on the separation of the three powers of the state is one of the important achievements that have taken place within the framework of the constitution. The presidency of the republic, the national assembly and legislative and judicial institutions in their capacity as addresses that have taken shape on the basis of a democratic constitution have placed the country on the path of a new history so that all three powers of the state consider the ensuring of the rights of citizens as their key obligation. The protection and “continuity” of this value is one of the most essential, pivotal, points of “continuity” for the safeguarding of stability and the pillars of the democratic state.

As the most reasonable and healthiest platform of transfer of power, elections are one of the most important achievements that we have made within the context of the constitution. The “continuity” of this value through boosting a civic culture and civic and democratic institutions is one of the most important obligations that need to be tended to through thorough programs by the state.

Setting up and expanding civic structures throughout the country is one of the most significant achievement that we have witnessed in the last thirteen years. Councils, institutions, unions, associations, organizations, political parties, networks of young people, networks of professionals, women and so forth are rapidly taking shape and becoming organized.

Resting on this constitution, for the first time all the peoples of Afghanistan, regardless of their affiliation to a tribe, a linguistic group, a region, a gender, a religion or their social standing have been given the rights of citizens within the context of the law. This achievement will be taken as the foundation for all of the future civic and democratic achievements. When each and every individual is given the legitimacy and dignity of citizenship, the conditions for a democratic society and government are created naturally. There is no constitution in the world that before its completion has not have had flaws and shortcomings or has not needed reform in the initial stages of its foundation. But the constitution is still the best platform on the basis of which even the right to reform and change the laws are provided to citizens. The safeguarding of the constitution and the values enshrined in it is one of the most essential issues pertaining to “continuity”.

Human rights are one of the most important values that have been stressed upon in our constitution and the protection of these values is the most important obligation of our state and government. These values, as a point of connection, linking our nation with the civilized nations of the world, are one of the key principles of “continuity” and will be transmitted to the future generations of the country as our great legacy.

Ensuring the rights of women, in their capacity as the largest mass of humanity, is one of the most important obligations of our government and will be taken into account in our government as a pivotal principle of “continuity”. Creating institutionalized conditions for ensuring women’s rights requires the planning and implementation of thorough programs which will be tended to extensively in the relevant section of this manifesto.

One of the significant gains of the last thirteen years has been the creation of a favorable atmosphere for freedom of speech.
cooperation and clear coordination with our security forces. Hence, the principle of national sovereignty has turned from a hypothesis and wish into an international reality and strengthening this principle is another issue pertaining to “continuity”. In the course of the last thirteen years, Afghanistan has succeeded in protecting a degree of relative balance in cooperation with the US and the NATO forces on the one hand and keeping relations with the regional countries on the other hand. Today, we have very good relations with Turkey, India, China and Russia and have positive cooperation with Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Even with regards to Pakistan, despite our serious and historical problems, the leadership of the two governments has never followed negotiations in the clear and serious manner that is happening now. Hence, the principle of national sovereignty has been grounded in foreign policy. Now the time has come for us to, through adopting principled and institutionalized measures, pay attention to the negative aspects of our foreign policy which mostly have to do with the methods of managing diplomacy, and strive to manage our foreign policy in an active and constructive manner through positive and practical plans.

This situation reveals that social capital in Afghanistan is in the process of massive expansion and the country is moving on from individual life towards the creation of groups and organizations and this, itself, amounts to meaning that there are favorable conditions for implementing reform. Boosting and safeguarding, the more the better, of this civic structure is another important part of “continuity”. The availability of legal and structural conditions for ensuring national unity is one of the most significant achievements of the last thirteen years. Through paying attention to people’s participation and their presence in political processes, citizens’ taking part in the structures of power has gradually taken a new shape, resting on which citizens’ cooperation in a free, open and democratic atmosphere is becoming a striking reality. By contrast to the common place political attitudes of the past, conditions have been created lawfully so that individuals from any corner of the country, regardless of their tribal, linguistic religious or class affiliation, can find access to the highest positions in the government. Ensuring participation has been made evident within the context of the law and other laws of the country and has created a new foundation for national unity on the basis of widespread participation. Safeguarding this democratic platform for ensuring national unity is one of the most important issues of “continuity”.

The Bonn process of 1380/2001 began based on the verdict of the United Nations' Security Council through which the right to the legitimate use of power was taken away from Afghanistan and handed over to the United Nations. The guidelines accord and the security accord with the US in reality is the first document after the Bonn conference that ensures the legal basis for the national sovereignty of Afghanistan. The most crucial gain of this accord is that from now on, other countries in no way can make use of their forces in Afghanistan’s territory without specific permission,
Part One: Peace and Security

Lasting Peace: Peace is a fundamental pillar of political stability. A country engulfed in unrest and incapable of properly ensuring the safety and security of its citizens cannot achieve political stability. To discuss exactly why the use of violence in such countries has taken its current and continuing shape would be a separate issue. There are different reasons for this. What is important here is that political stability is fully dependent on creating an atmosphere whereby the use of violence, particularly on the part of irresponsible unauthorized groups, is prevented.

At the beginning of this discussion it is necessary to distinguish between short-term and long-term peace building. The experiences of over a hundred international peace accords that we have studied extensively show that fifty percent of such international peace accords within five years lead to new wars instead of lasting peace. For this reason, it’s necessary in the first place to focus our attention on those conditions that prepare the ground for lasting peace. This is because a peace that is the title of a new chapter of an all-encompassing war is dangerous.

Fundamental Principles of Lasting Peace: To create the right conditions for lasting peace we require both, an intellectual context and mechanisms to turn peace from a wish into a reality grounded in specific, lawful, institutions.

Intellectual Context for Lasting Peace: In our country, the teachings and culture of Islam can serve as an intellectual context for lasting peace. In the Holy Quran, mercy and forgiveness; peace and kindness; are important moral tenets regulating Muslims’ relationships. Many of the ninety-nine attributes of Allah in the Holy Quran convey the notions of mercy, tenderness and forgiveness.

In addition, there are clear teachings in Islam that stress the creation of an environment of brotherhood, kindness and friendship between Muslims. For this reason, the religious importance of peace serves as the most significant intellectual context for ensuring lasting peace. Resorting to force and relying on aggression has no place in Islam’s political theory, either. In the Hanafi (Sunni) and Jaffari (Shi’ite) schools of Islamic law, there are clear provisions that declare reform of the political system a key condition for longevity and lasting peace of a Muslim society of believers. The most famous example of this is the letter of Imam Hussain addressed to his brother, Muhammad Hanfia, in which he states clearly that the reason for his rebellion is not to grasp power and create unrest but to create reform in the leadership of the Muslim society and to restore the ways of his father and forefathers.

The fuelling of unrest has been responded to with intense condemnation in Islam. In the Holy Quran it is stated that fuelling unrest is worse than committing murder. Unrests cause the collapse of order and the state, thus endangering the lives, properties and dignity of the people. For this reason, it is important for the scholars of Islam to play their important and extraordinary role in boosting the intellectual and belief-based grounds of lasting peace. Having clarified the intellectual context for lasting peace, we are now going to turn to the second part which is about the mechanisms that make lasting peace possible through integration in legislative and legal bodies.

The Practical Mechanisms for Lasting Peace: The practical mechanisms for lasting peace depend on reaching a political consensus over the basis of the principles of justice and fairness among all the active and powerful social and political forces of the country.
To achieve this goal, we commit ourselves to setting up an authorized peace commission that would include representatives of women, religious scholars, spiritual leaders, civil society bodies, involved forces and other stakeholders so that everyone takes part in the peace debate and can directly oversee the progress of the process. An important point for establishing lasting peace is the role played by the armed opponents and the motives and causes underlying their opposition. So far, both the war and the efforts for peace have been based on generalized platitudes. But we want to base our actions on specific political principles and mechanisms. We will request from all our armed opponents to outline clearly their opinions, views and political demands and tell us what is the cause of their grievance and what they think is the solution to their grievance. In this way, we can reach conclusions about which parts of the problems and views are based on structural issues and especially, which ones are based on extremist ideologies, the very ones that have drawn the Afghan society and government into a cycle of extreme violence, oppression, discrimination and international isolation. Which ones have regional dimensions that go beyond our boundaries; which ones have to do with differences in political attitudes where we would need to reach a consensus and which ones are the result of the expression of particular interests that can be dealt within a broader, different framework.

The crucial point here is that we will enter into a dialogue with the armed opposition groups from the position of a lawful political state which has come into being as a result of a general consensus on the part of the majority of the country’s forces and political parties, one which is in tune with national, regional and international standards. This political position is the point of departure for our participation in every debate and dialogue with the armed opposition forces.
We have previously identified this as one of our country's valuable achievements and legacies of the last thirteen years and have stressed it as one of the most important parts of our theory of 'continuity'.

The role played by external allies of the armed opposition must be taken into consideration in every negotiation of lasting peace. In order to settle this conflict, it can be effective to hold discussions with our neighboring countries and to solve disputes in line with the criteria extensively outlined in the foreign policy chapter of this document. But the other part of external groups that are allied with armed insurgents, such as international terrorist groups, drug traffickers and tribal insurgents, have to be isolated and as part of mutual cooperation with our neighboring countries, the wider region and the world, fought against jointly. The crucial question here is: To what extent do these groups have independence of thought and action? What are the limits of their connections to the outside? Is it possible for them to come to a consensus over the principles and conditions of peace as part of an inter-Afghan agreement? If this were the case, then, it would be essential to directly involve the external allies of the armed opposition groups in the negotiation and the armed insurgents must clearly accept the political outcome. They must understand that their political dependence on external forces marginalizes their role in negotiations and if the outcome of the negotiation runs counter to the national interests of Afghanistan, then, this would be a severe blow to the reputation and standing of the armed opposition. For this reason, what is crucial for lasting peace is not only to start negotiations but also the substance and the outcome of negotiations through which we want to create a stable state and a strong government created through the will and consensus of the people. Any peace negotiation must move in the direction of this goal.

It is for this reason that we say that all parties involved - from the armed opposition groups to women and children who bear the brunt of the war and have been at receiving end of the greatest damage of war and unrest and who rely least on force, and our security forces who pay with their lives for unrests, to the political forces included in the state, all of them - must be taken into consideration within the framework of the peace process.

We now turn to the question of what are the mechanisms for the implementation of lasting peace and what kind of consequences would they have for the nation?

Acceptance of the Elected Government that is based on the True Intent of the Nation: We negotiate with the opposition groups from the position of an elected government which has come into existence through the conscious will of the nation. Thus, accepting the government is the prerequisite condition for achieving peace.

Acceptance of the Values of the Constitution: The constitution is the outcome of the nation's political consensus and it is the fundament of a government which has come into existence in line with the provisions of the constitution as a result of public votes.

Acceptance of the State’s Monopoly of Violence: Agreement on the establishment of government bodies through which all the individuals and forces who resort to violence to impose their views on others are excluded. Leaving the monopoly of violence to the state is another crucial element for lasting peace. The key point that dictates whether people support peace or turn against it is the impact of the state on the safety of its citizens. One of the reasons why fifty percent of peace treaties ended up in failure was the fact that after peace, in those countries the security of the people had not improved but had become even worst. We have to bear in mind that making a decision for war is one of the toughest choices for the people.
The key point here is that the armed forces that previously relied on violence for their political standing now have to establish themselves on the political scene through political methods so to find out whether the people are supportive of their political views and plans. It is for this reason that we argue that a key principle for lasting peace is linked to accepting the principle of national participation and legitimate political competition.

Accepting the Leadership of the State by the Elected Government: Political participation in the composition of political structures means that no citizen should feel alienated from the state not matter how much his or her political stance and views differ from that of the government. But this does not mean that the leadership of the government is shared with all political forces. The government leadership is the trustees who, as a result of elections and on the basis of the promises of the winning team, have been handed over the leadership. And this leadership cannot operate as a stock and share-holder company. It is because the elected team has made commitments to the nation that they must live up to and cannot leave the managing and leadership of the government to be shared. Hence, a vital pillar of lasting peace is that the authority of the elected president and his vice presidents is vigorously preserved.

Lasting Peace, Good Governance: By having peace we can bring good governance and thus:

One of the important outcomes of lasting peace is the reduction of the cost of security. If such costs are instead spent on boosting civic institutions and carrying out the duties of good governance, the living conditions of the people will change fundamentally.

Experiences of the countries that moved towards failed peace show that in these countries, there was disregard for governance and improving the living conditions of the people was neglected.

Acceptance of National Participation in the Structure of State: Co-opting armed groups into the political structure will turn their destructive and negative power into something positive and useful. We are not aware of any lasting peace that has not resulted in the former armed groups being integrated into the structures of the state following negotiations.

Under ordinary circumstances when the people feel that the safety of their lives, property and dignity is protected, they are never ready to pay the heavy price of war. But if their security is at stake, they choose war as a means of defense and war thus becomes a source defense, no matter how negative our interpretation of this defense might be. Over time, wars move away from reliance on politics, and transform to become a lifestyle for groups, bands and units whereby they receive payment in return for their fighting skills.

It is for this reason that we argue that the kind of peace negotiation that would be understood and grasped by the public and where there would be agreement over the composition of the state in a way that is acceptable to all is vitally important so that through it, we can take away from the armed insurgents the legitimacy to use violence. This is because a state that is based on the constitution, one that makes provisions for a fair reform process of its structures in order to ensure participation and justice for all, creates a solid moral grounding for its supporters. We have to keep in mind that today in our country there are many bands and groups who have no political conviction but have joined the angry forces to do smuggling or carry out other illegal activities. Hence, negotiating peace with those armed groups who have particular political convictions and demands would give us a chance to use legitimate force against those elements that regard stability a detriment to their narrow and illegitimate interests.
Politicians negotiated within themselves the distribution of offices, leaving aside the major issues related to people’s lives. For example, they ignored the situation of the victims of war and failed to find solutions to compensate for the losses sustained by the victims of war.
Hence, bearing in mind the various challenges that we encounter in this current transitional period, our plans and programs for lasting peace have been designed by taking into account our duty towards good governance. Our portfolio covers all aspects relevant to good governance in a meticulous, comprehensive and substantial manner. The most important points are listed below:

The rule of law will be one of our top priorities for peace building. The lives of young people and their needs bring to the surface specific necessities that will be taken into consideration in our plans for ensuring and safeguarding lasting peace.
Understanding the psychological conditions of the mujahidin and those who spent thirteen to thirty years of their lives defending our sovereignty, our national and religious values, and the geographic regions and the groups that have been continuously traumatized by violence will be our priority. We will think thoroughly and take practical steps to motivate these people to join the state-building process so as to return to living normal lives as parts of our society.
To create the right conditions for an intellectual grounding of our process of lasting peace, we are going to stress one religious principle which is the principle of forgiveness instead of revenge. The culture of having mercy and forgiveness for each other is part of the Islamic culture and also one of the principles of transitional justice. This culture has to turn into a nationwide process through using transparent mechanisms acceptable to all parties involved and by learning from the experiences of those countries that have had a successful experience behind them.

To this end, all parts of the Afghan society, particularly religious scholars and spiritual leaders, women, civil society and political parties have to reach a consensus so that, like South Africa and Rwanda, we, too, can go through the process of transitional justice, moving away from war, animosity and thirst for revenge to enter a period of mercy, forgiveness and to run our society in such a way that each member sees themselves as a part of a collective body of “we/us” and actively works towards healing the wounds of this collective body. An alternative model would be the experiences of Germany and France after the World War Two or that of Spain following the death of Franco who chose to forget history and still successfully moved on from the destructive impact of the war period towards a new situation where everyone looked ahead to the future and left behind them the past as an unpleasant situation to which no-one wanted to return to. We have to consider all these models but our preference as a government that wants to start a new history in Afghanistan is to launch a national debate about forgiveness and tolerance so that we all accept our national unity with awareness and to work towards establishing the civic and democratic principles of this unity in a lawful and principled manner.
To ensure and protect lasting peace, we will invest in boosting the role of the media, cultural, social, and civic institutions in a lawful and principled manner. We will consider work on these areas as our top priority so that as a result, a clear national culture is established, one that regards lasting peace as part of the conditions of the rule of law, state-building and nation-building.

Security: Security is another important pillar for establishing and solidifying political stability. Peace is the prologue to security. In a country that lacks security, the definition of the government and its undertakings is reduced to ensuring security.
But the more security is institutionalized, the more public consensus over the government’s duties and responsibilities will be defined in such a way that would fit the recognized definitions of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Our society is worried about the collapse of the state and the disruption of security. That’s why everybody’s attention is focused on security. Our government, too, has taken into consideration key principles about boosting security institutions so as to address this concern within the wider framework of a stable state. But there are two key points that we consider mandatory for any plans about boosting security forces and ensuring security.

Monopoly over legitimate use of violence on the part of the state is one of the most essential pillars of the rule of law. When violence is used randomly by anyone against the state or ordinary citizens, then, society basically turns into a jungle. It is for this reason that the state’s monopoly over legitimate use of violence is an essential condition for establishing and sustaining stability. At the same time, it is necessary to have clear and lawful criteria for the use of violence. Constant use of violence is not a sign that the state is strong. It’s a sign of political failure and that governance and the government is weak. It is one of our top priorities to launch a political process resting on which within five years consensus can be reached over the limits of the monopoly of violence and the conditions for its use. To reach a national and political consensus and to put into practice our security plan, we first of all need a clear definition of the duties of the security forces and we need to distinguish between duties. We have to make clear in a transparent and lawful way the chains of command and clarify the duties of the army, police and security forces and exactly how each of them are to carry out their duties through what kind of mechanism.

The Chain of Command of Security Forces: Managing security cannot be effective without establishing a chain of command and adhering to it. Establishing a chain of command as the structural backbone of security institutions is an imperative condition. Chains of command can only become effective and practical when we root out reliance on personal relationship in our armed forces. If the son of a general serves as soldier, officer or sergeant, he is not going to receive special treatment or be considered superior. If chains of command and military discipline are undermined, then, not only will their effectiveness be put at risk but also, full damage will be done to the legitimacy of security institutions. From recruitment to promotion, any departure from the established and recognized standards of military organization in order to accommodate personal, party-related, religious, linguistic, tribal, regional or class-related preferences will cause a challenge to the security forces, seriously damaging their effectiveness.

Establishing and implementing transparent principles for promotion and retirement are among other key matters that need to be institutionalized. In nowhere in the world have security forces managed to be successful without administrative discipline. In democratic governments and democracies, security forces have the toughest standards for recruitment and promotion. Hence, from the day a person is recruited as a soldier or a trainee security official until his retirement, he has to maintain with seriousness the particular discipline that is required of soldiers. In this field, adopting transparent principles and standards will boost our national unity and the public’s trust in the positive and healthy role of the security forces. Order and discipline in the army covers every position, from the highest level in the chain of command to the lowest rank and disorder in discipline and decision-making standards causes the army to weaken.
The Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces: It has been stipulated in the constitution that acting as a commander in chief of the armed forces is one of the president’s key duties. We are going to carry out this duty through a special office for the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Every eight hours, this office is going to deliver an orderly and coherent report about the country’s security situation to the president and high-level officials of the country. The task of this office will be to evaluate intelligence and follow up the president’s security decisions. We are going to have specific standards for this office so that on the basis of them, intelligence will be analyzed and delivered based on a clearly defined process. For example, highway security is going to be one of the top priorities of our security portfolio. If highways are not safe, our security forces have failed and our government system is faulty. For this reason, the situation on highways has to be followed every eight hours so that we can clearly identify and evaluate the work of the security forces on highways so that with the information received, if needed, the government can discipline and punish security forces.

Reward is a key principle for establishing security. Establishing security requires sacrifices and the government and society must seriously encourage those who reveal courage and dutifulness, and come up with new ideas. In the same vein, punishment is equally important. If it is proven as some accuse them that highway security forces are themselves part of causing insecurity on highways, then, measures have to be taken seriously to hold these forces into account and if necessary, punish them. The safety of the lives, property and dignity of the people will be entrusted to the security forces. Just the way the safeguarding of this trust deserves rewarding, so does a betrayal of this trust deserve punishment. Serious and comprehensive steps are needed here so that we can show that it is unacceptable for official, uniform-wearing forces to create insecurity.

Keeping to a timetable and that in an orderly fashion, the chief of the armed forces will take care of other security aspects, too, so that security, as a key pillar of political stability, is taken care of as the president’s direct responsibility and through his supervision.

The National Security Assembly: The national security assembly is another of the most important bodies to oversee security matters across the country. The assembly’s duty is to plan and implement short, medium and long-term programs to boost national sovereignty and make security institutions more effective. The assembly will remove operational overlaps among the security institutions and, working within a framework of principles and coherent, lawful regulations, the assembly will also be in charge of accountability of the security institutions so that in this manner, we can move towards the institutionalization of the national security as one of the most important pillar of stability and realization of our most important goal which is the rule of law and good governance.

The national security assembly turns the principle of civil leadership in the security forces into a reality. The president’s duty as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces is one of the foundational principles of civil leadership and has been consolidated in the constitution in a legal and institutionalized manner. Focusing the supervision of, and tending to, the affairs of the security forces within the framework of the national security assembly turns this institutional matter into a reality in a specific and practical manner. Of the essential duties of the national security assembly is to make decisions about allocating financial resources to the armed forces and designing clear and coherent standards for the effective use of such resources. Every penny spent on security in reality means that this money is not going to be spent on development or providing basic services to the people.
The police need to be moved away from organizational chaos so that we are able to create a truly national police force, one that is equipped with Islamic morality and has accepted with heart and soul the Afghan constitution and is aware of society’s culture and traditions and has learned its duties with awareness and relates to society as one of their most trusted protector of life, property and dignity, seeing himself as a tool of enforcing a lawful state. We need time to achieve this goal. But the coming five years should suffice to set up the foundations of this drive and fix its direction. Our government is committed to taking specific steps and particular initiatives in this regard and becoming accountable to their execution. To ensure that the police’s relationship with the people is transparent and, to be confident that the police are conducting their duties in a lawful and professional manner, the police and its work need to be overseen by civilians on a monthly basis so that we can prove that the police are a tool of boosting democracy and not a means of oppression used by the government, or a tool of running away from the law or a tool of feudalism.

The National Army: The key duty of the national army is to defend the territorial integrity of the country and enforce our national sovereignty throughout the country. For this reason, the army, too, must hand over to the police the role of manning checkpoints and duties that belong to the police. The army must focus on protecting our borders and countering unrests that threaten the national sovereignty. At the same time, the army must be the last not the first instrument of force. The best army is one where the state would not feel the need to make use of it. In this field, the experiences of the Canadian army is a good example because at one point, the need for its existence came fully under question and subsequently, the army changed its role from an instrument of violence to a force that takes part in implementing and facilitating civilian services for the people.

That is why, every penny spent on security has to lead to clear and specific results so that the public is assured that in return for spending their resources on security, they are given security as one of their essential demands. That taking care of the needs of the security sector is a priority is beyond doubt but the results of this prioritization have to become visible and reports about the outcomes have to be delivered to society in an orderly and transparent manner so that the tripartite relations between the government, the armed forces and the people are solidified in a lasting manner.

Police: Over the coming five years, the focus of the police work will be limited to what is their actual duty, which is to maintain the rule of law. Today, ninety percent of the police force does what is in reality the job of the army. The police force is directly taking part in war operations, but without having been equipped or trained to do so. With this neglecting of the police’s actual duty, ensuring the rule of law has been paralyzed while the police are busy doing something that is not their duty. The heavy price in lives and money that has been imposed on society and the government as a result of this arrangement is huge and unacceptable. Hundreds of police are losing their lives for doing a duty that is not their job and in this manner, serious amounts of money is wasted because the job is not done by a skilled entity.

For this reason, the police, first of all, should be given a clear, national position. Anyone who sports a police uniform has to have been professionally trained and professionalizing the police force is one of the most important pillars of a civil society. The existence of unarmed police who can ensure the rule of law armed only with a stick is the biggest sign of political stability in a society. Professionalizing the role of the police force as neutral and trustworthy authorized body is one of the benchmark against which we can measure and evaluate in a meticulous manner our move away from instability towards stability.
The role of the army in responding to natural disasters, its active part in spreading public health services and other civilian fields leads to its legitimization and popularity. Hence, in times when the army is not actively put into use, it has to think seriously about what kind of duties society needs it to fulfil.

The legitimacy of the state is showcased in the relationship between the army and the government. An army trusted by the people, one that is seen by the people as a tool of stability and sovereignty, can play an extraordinary role in solving the problem of a lack of trust between the people and the state. Since our army is a volunteer army, we ultimately have the best example of reaching this kind of role for the army. The people’s support for the role of the army is a main pillar for the legitimacy of the state. In our political history, despite the endless problems that we have had, the army has never taken over the role of political leadership. Hence, civilian leadership is one of the fundamental principles that need to be boosted and adhered to and institutionalized as a deep culture.

Another principle which connects the army to the public and the state is rules overriding power-relations, the ensuring of norms and standards of professionalism and observing the chain of command in the army. In our government, promotion and retirement in the army takes place in line with clear and transparent standards and trust in these standards is an essential part of trust building between the army and the political order and lawful steps will be taken for the army to gain its position as an important and trustworthy institution. An important category of the army that has been neglected is the sergeants. Sergeants are like bridges, they connect soldiers to officers. Some of them have repeatedly extended their service time but for a majority of them, the conditions were not right to gain the rank of officer. One of our commitments will be that we will review the situation of sergeants so that conditions are created in a transparent manner either for their promotion to officers or to draw them into the police force because they are a trained force with a great track record and we have to create conditions for their professional progress.

We are in the process of establishing one of the largest military academies in the region. Our army really must become professionalized and our young generation, who have had a positive experience of the last 13 years, must have a national outlook and start their army career from lower ranks and move up towards higher posts and the training of the future generation must be conducted in line with clear and transparent guidelines so that a trustworthy army is created and the fear of the collapse of the state will no longer be a daily worry for us.

The National Security Directorate: In today’s world, the national security directorate as a significant institution has become a necessary part of any stable society. Given the extraordinary conditions of our country, which has become the focus and meeting point of official and in official networks all of which pose a serious threat to state building, this is especially true for Afghanistan, which is why relying on the national security directorate is necessary and that is why, paying attention to the role of the directorate of national security and the boosting its networks of activities is one the essential priorities of our government. Some first steps towards reaching this necessary goal come to mind:
- All security-related activities must become the focus of the national security directorate and overlaps in undertakings must be removed.
- The national security directorate, just like the national army and the police force, must be brought under the rule of law and it must be proven that in this department strict rules override power relations.
No week passes without our security forces being wounded or martyred. Society expects the security forces to ensure security but we have to admit that our contract with the security forces is one-sided. We insist that the forces do their duties but our beliefs as a public we have not reached the consensus that the rights of the security forces also need to be taken into consideration so that we can state clearly what the duties of society towards these forces are. For this reason, there are three points that have been taken into account in our government’s attempt at turning this commitment into a two-sided one:

- Creating appropriate living conditions for the security forces is our fundamental priority. Even though the Ministry of Defense has available to it vast amounts of land not a single township has been built to allow the families of these forces to live in comfort nearby. Hence, creating townships for the specific use of officers’ families, so that they can live there, send their children to school and have easy access to health care, water and electricity, is necessary and this will reassure this part of society, which constantly faces threats in order to protect the state and public safety, that society and the state do invest in them.

- Taking care of the families of the martyred and ensuring the rights of the wounded is another matter that our government is going to pay serious attention to. Our hospitals for the national security and some other hospitals in the barracks and army hospitals have gained good reputations. We will strive to ensure that such standards and role models are applied to all hospitals catering for the army and the police. Hence, widespread investment will be made to create a transparent leadership and management so that our wounded return to health and that the specific rights of their families are ensured and their families are taken care of. This is mandatory for us.

- The expenditure of the national security directorate, which in most countries has a secret budget, must be overseen by a powerful and legitimate national commission composed of the three pillars of the state and must be overseen regularly to prevent ineffective and incorrect use of the budget.

Since we belong to one of those countries that have bitter memories and have been seriously damaged by the conditions of both, the monarchy of the pre-1973 era just as much as the secret service operations of the extremists leftists in the 1980s, we must set up a national, authorized committee to define clear and transparent guidelines within the framework of the law for the activities of the national security directorate. The limits of the national security directorate’s activities must be fully contained within the framework of the rule of law. The directorate of national security must on the one hand have the authority to act swiftly and urgently to safeguard the state and society or else the state and society would be in danger but on the other hand, there must very clear conditions to prevent any misuse or illegal behavior in this office. There have been successful examples of this balance in different countries, South Africa after Nelson Mandela in particular and Latin American countries. We can achieve results by making use of these experiences and by relying on our national culture so that the activities of the national security directorate are both effective while at the same time, the directorate is led through a system that ensures transparency and accountability so that political stability is established in society.

Society’s Support for the Security Forces: Composed of the army, the police and the directorate of national security, the armed forces of Afghanistan have a social contract with society. They have volunteered to offer sacrifices and shed their blood in order to boost, protect and safeguard the state and society.
In this manner, we will move towards the kind of institutions that would turn the trust between the people and the army and the state into something that is mutual.

Defending the role of the security forces is one of the most important duties of the state. When these forces stand up against any threat to the state and citizens, and offer sacrifices, society and the state are obliged to defend their role and dignity against the enemies and they must not be indifferent to their blood and sacrifices which weakens their morale.

Training, Equipping and Arming of the Security Forces: The training, equipping and arming of the security forces is one of the key necessities in our process of state building. Over the course of three decades of war, the capacity of these institutions - be it in terms of equipment, logistics, or the quality of order, discipline and army regulations - was reduced to zero. We can say with honesty that in the past thirteen years between the collapse of the Taliban regime and the launch of the new era, we have not raised a single outstanding soldier or uniformed police or one that would at least meet the standards of the army. In the same manner, in no part of the country not a single appropriate infrastructure has been created to accommodate the army or be used by the army so as to represent the army as an enduring security institution.

Over the last thirteen years, millions of dollars have been spent on training, equipping and arming our armed forces. Making this comparison, we need to realize that despite all the shortcomings and criticism, massive and remarkable investment has been made with the help of our international friends to establish the foundations of the security forces and there has been rapid progress that should not be ignored.

As part of the security pact with United States, there is international commitment that there will be 36.5 milliard USD to cover a term of nine years (from 2014 to 2024) to be spent on rebuilding, training and equipping the country’s security forces. With the signing of this security accord with the United States, this 36.5 milliard USD will be fully allocated to a nine year budget for the security forces. Needless to say, every country has its own specific national process for the allocation and spending of budgets and through this, we, too, are faced with pledges that we need to fulfil. Conditions for these bilateral commitments have been laid out clearly in the text of the security accord with the US and NATO. But altogether, this pledge, which took place at the Chicago conference, contains content that is very specific and clear and Afghanistan can rely on it in preparing its armed forces.

But the management of this money in the future is of vital importance to us. If we look at the last thirteen years, we can see clearly that we lacked a clear view about how to make use of international aid. We did not pay attention to the important question of in pursuit of which goal does the international community offer us opportunities; under which conditions would there be an end to these opportunities and, what would be our key, top priorities in making use of the opportunities. For this reason, with regards to some matters, opportunities flooded on us and since they came so suddenly and all at once, they ended up in disaster. With regards to other matters, we suffered conditions similar to starvation which, in turn, created serious problems. The key reason behind this neglect was that in the last thirteen years, international pledges and opportunities were no based on clear contracts and it was the forces and the donor countries themselves who made decisions about when, how much and to what to end to flood opportunities.
Part Two: State Building and Good Governance

Specifics of Good Governance: Good governance is one of the essential rights of citizens in a civil society. The most important specifics of good governance are:

Deep and lasting commitment to adherence to and implementation of the constitution;

Full adherence to the independence of the judiciary within the context of the preliminary rulings in the constitution;

Full adherence to the law-making right of the national assembly and the assembly’s other duties and authorities in line with the rulings issued in the constitution;

Boosting the government’s capacity, specifically ministries, and boosting the authority and collective responsibility of the cabinet;

Through good governance, the state makes available necessary services and facilities to citizens. These services and facilities are classified into several categories:

The first category includes services and facilities that only the state is capable of making available such as ensuring the rule of law, directing state entities, ensuring security and so forth. If this category of services and facilities is not provided by the government, individual or group efforts to provide such services and facilities leads to tension and chaos in social relationships and relations, a lack of equality among citizens, an increase in disputes and an altogether unpleasant atmosphere. For this reason, in order to provide access to this category of services and facilities, there is no substitute for the state.

In the security pact we have been given the right to make use of the pledged money for different areas of interest. Hence, the more the cost of spending on electricity, fuel and oil is integrated, the more we have a chance to make use of the money and opportunities to equip the armed forces and to expand the infrastructure. Such measures altogether will cause that by the end of the decade, the management of the institutions are truly legitimate and effective and trustworthy so that the people can clearly become confident that security is a problem solved and not a challenge that keeps them constantly worried.
The first necessity is for these obligations to be defined in a transparent manner within the context of the law and so that they are realized; and specific structures within the context of specific principles and regulations must be set up.

To develop specialist cadres, their duties and evaluation of their work must be clarified through specific principles and regulations and all their operations, long-term, mid-term or short-term, must be paid attention to by the relevant legal authorities.

To allocate the budget and use it in a timely fashion, transparent and effective leadership must be established to work at various levels of governance by complying with clear and lawful decision-making criteria and to realize that the decisions are made in an appropriate manner. When we talk about various levels of governance, we mean governance from the level of districts and villages to municipalities, provinces and central offices.

Authorities and responsibilities at each level of governance must be specified clearly and any ambiguity in this regard leads to tension and conflict, confronting the government with a lack of efficiency.

Ensuring the participation of the people, especially in those fields of governance that have to do with providing public services. Experience has proven that consultation with those in need of services always leads to better management of resources and to enforcing of the state’s legitimacy. Decisions that are fully free of administrative corruption but are made resting on the perspective of a dominant bureaucracy are perceived as less legitimate and acceptable in the minds of the people by comparison to decisions that come to the surface after consultation with the people and in which the people do the prioritizing and where the people have taken part in their implementation and realization.

In a country like Afghanistan where government institutions have not yet taken root in the culture and beliefs of the people,
Having understood the above mentioned principles of good governance, our specific proposals for reforms in the current circumstances of Afghanistan are as follows:

The Executive Branch: The executive branch is the right arm for carrying out the duties of the president. The constitution has stipulated twenty specific duties for the president. In addition, other authorities exist in various parts of the constitution that are the president’s only. International experiences show that the effectiveness of the government leadership is linked to the institutionalization of presidential authorities in the context of an institution so that through them individual authorities of the president are transferred to the presidential institution.

Before tending to other matters, it is necessary to explain that according to the constitution, the president is both, the head of the state and the leader of the government. The president must distinguish between these two duties in line with the regulations stipulated in the constitution. Presidency includes the president and his vice presidents and together the three make up the presidency institution that as a unified team puts into practice the authorities and duties of the position of presidency within the context of the law.

Institutionalizing the President’s Authorities: To institutionalize presidential authorities within the context of the law, there’s a need to take measures that can help the division of the president’s individual authorities in the presidency institution that as a unified team puts into practice the authorities and duties of the position of presidency within the context of the law.

To make it more clear, I have to insist again that political stability in our society rests on two parts, a technical and a people’s part. Since the sense of stability and security is simultaneously psychological and intellectual, a society that sees itself on the verge of collapse does not rely on technological knowledge in the first place. What has impact here is the type of behavior that rests on public conscience, the kind that boosts the sense of stability and security among the people or the kind that increases the threat of collapse and disarray in the minds of the people. For this reason, in our country, especially given the current conditions, it is necessary that plans for good governance in the first place must take place on the basis of attracting as widespread as possible participation of the people and ensuring the principle of public consultation. In this regard, we are fortunate that our past culture has made available to us a solid foundation because consultation is on the one hand a political principle in the teachings of the holy religion of Islam and on the other hand, our local traditions over centuries have emphasized consultation and the principles of cooperation.

people rely more on the technical knowledge and guarantees offered by credible and influential individuals. This means that if we want to create a government that has the people’s backing and trust, in the first place we have to do something about making people trust government institutions and see them as one of their own. To this end, having technical knowledge is necessary but is not sufficient. Technical knowledge starts off and directs the government machinery but the people’s trust in this machinery and its way of moving must be ascertained through those individuals who are regarded as credible by the people and through them the people can see themselves reflected in the government and in this manner, become ready to take part in the government’s plans and advise the government.

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The key goal of these committees is to create an atmosphere of trust between the people and the state. Committees make available the tools through which programs are moved towards implementation, transforming from ideas into realities. Hence, committees are relational bridges between short-term, medium-term and long-term measures. In our view, creating trust requires that we initially take upon ourselves a series of organized, hundred-day plans. This means that after elections, around forty-five days are needed until the state is organized and programs take a practical shape. For each hundred-day plan we take into account the necessary and adequate opportunities so that the first undertakings are examined and evaluated carefully and key mistakes, difficulties and obstacles are identified so that we can improve our future plans by resting them on such critical review.

In this manner, when the hundred-day plans start, the shortcomings and flaws will be removed and the work force will focus on the second plan. In this way, one after another, the plans are carried out and become durable. In proportion to increase in trust in projects, mid-term and long-term projects will surface and in this manner, there’s hope that at the end of five years, society is adequately prepared to implement its long-term goals.

In Afghanistan, since we live in a society where there’s no trust, we must first create short-term programs so that later, we move on towards long-term programs. Our young generation specially must take over the creativity of launching debates about the short-term, mid-term and long-term programs. Currently, the average life expectancy in our country has reached 62 years. This figure, by comparison to the year 2001 which was 44 years, reveals a hope-inspiring growth. Hence, our young people, who are between the ages of twenty and forty, can expect to live much longer lives than the previous generations.
For this reason, it is necessary that our young generation pioneers the creation of a coherent view towards the future because their lives depend on this future and this future, without leaning on long-term plans and programs, cannot be trustable. For this reason, the committees of the presidency institution become institutional instruments for conversion, organization and coordination of views that respond to our short-term, mid-term and long-term needs.

Boosting the Government’s Institutions: To achieve the goal of a society that is safe, happy and prosperous, it is necessary for us to look at each ministry as a key ministry. Dividing ministries into key and none-key in reality amounts to reducing the importance of the government’s duties vis-à-vis the nation. If a ministry is established, this means that it responds to a part of the citizens’ core needs.

For this reason, each ministry has a key position and plays a key role in its own turn and in its own remit of undertakings and responsibilities. For this reason, our commitment is that we will invest in all ministries in a fundamental manner so that the duties of the government that are explained in the constitution are realized in an effective, transparent and coordinated manner together with all other ministries that take part in specific zones of shared activities.

Removing Overlaps Between Ministries: Overlap in undertakings of ministries is one of the key ways the effective role of the executive power can be nullified. To get rid of work overlap between ministries, the duties of each ministry and the duty of each individual in the ministry will be specified through a transparent and accurate manual. President Karzai has compared the administration to a patchwork quilt. This comparison shows that currently, the administration is suffering from an organic connection and link between its composites. This mishmash is a legacy of the methods and views of the administrations of the previous centuries which are different from contemporary methods and attitudes.

The current system came into being by taking into consideration the needs that the twenty-first century has made us face up to but the structure that is still dominant in our administration and is its backbone chiefly belongs to the previous century and is the result of the ideologies and relations that used to dominate our political fate in different periods of the past.

For this reason, our first necessity is a comprehensive review of the duties of ministries, determining the specific responsibilities of each ministry and each individual in the offices of the ministry. This measure, at the same time will cause the parallel-running independent offices to be once again drawn into the context of ministries in a principled manner and so that their responsibilities and authorities are clarified and comprehensive accountability is created. The number of ministries will also be determined through resting our decision on specific goals of good governance and if necessary, the number of ministries that can work together in a linked chain will be reduced. Good governance is a government free of corruption and one of the shapes through which corruption surfaces is the unnecessary fattening of the administration. Good governance, through a transparent relationship that is based on a lawful accord with the private sector, civil societies and citizens, sees its greatest role in overseeing the provision of services and not in monopolizing all services.

To make the goals above become a reality, the law related to the ministers’ council and the law regarding the undertaking of the duties of each ministry will be reviewed and passed with the first opportunity.

Spreading and Boosting a Culture of Accountability through Ministries: To create good governance and a culture of accountability, each ministry will draft and realize a tripartite commitment:
a pledge between the ministry with the national assembly, the presidency institution and the people.
The first pledge will be between ministries and the national assembly. On the basis of this pledge, the one year goals and programs of the ministry will be explained specifically and not only the minister but the ministry will bear the responsibility for carrying out the plan as an administrative unit. The second pledge between the ministry and the presidency and the third is between the ministry and the people. In this manner, each minister and the ministry under their direction will have a specific and determined responsibility vis-à-vis the representatives of the nation, the nation and the presidency to account for all the undertakings and activities in a transparent and principled manner. If a minister or any part of the administration under his direction turns out to be incapable of executing the program assigned to them, their work must be placed under legal review and they will be held into account.

Good governance on the one hand requires immunity of the duties of employees but, on the other hand, it also requires employees to fulfil their duties. If an employee misuses the nation’s trust just so to occupy a government post, he or she will be seriously questioned for having wasted an opportunity and government’s possibilities. With regards to an oversight mechanism and accountability in the three branches, more explanation will be offered in the relevant parts.

Prevention of Parallel Offices:
To prevent the fattening up of the administration with parallel offices, it is our commitment that all of the unnecessary and unplanned independent offices that have currently surfaced and also, other offices that have been created around the state on the basis of proposals by our international cooperators will be examined and if the necessity for their existence turns out not to be clear, then, they will be abolished. The people who work in them currently will be transferred to other government offices according to their specialization and professional experience. Hence, the removal of these offices will not lead to unemployment but will make the administration and the state more effective.

In previous years, an inadequate culture of administration surfaced as a result of which, various offices called independent offices came into being the number of which are currently twenty-five. These offices, even though their duty was to create transparency and effectiveness in the state, themselves caused a lack of effectiveness and in some cases, themselves became party to corruption. Since these offices are under the supervision or direction of any ministry, they are not accountable to any institution. The president, too, has no power to supervise or evaluate their work. For this reason, we pledge that with reviewing their undertakings and output, we will reduce their numbers or we will place each one of them under one of the ministries unless according to the constitution, the offices belong to the presidency institution.

The principle offices must be boosted inside the state structure. Parallel offices have shown no effectiveness anywhere in the world. The meaning of independence in those offices that are created because they are necessary is independence in executing programs and duties, not independence in the absence of accountability. The impression that an independent office has no accountability vis-à-vis any institution or body cannot stand scrutiny from the point of view of law. All government offices, especially offices related to the institution of presidency, are responsible towards other legal institutions that have been determined through the constitution.
Boosting the Capacity of Government Cadres

To develop the capacity of government cadres, investment will be made methodically and each year, one hundred of these cadres will be sent to ministries and provinces so that through direct experience of the situation of the places and the opportunities and conditions for implementing the government’s programs there, fresh blood is circulated and the government remains continually dynamic.

One of the principles that will be taken into consideration for widespread participation in developing the capacity of the government cadres is to request innovative plans from individuals inside government offices, civil society, the private sector and people’s councils. Reform ideas are widespread in society. This plan will pave the way for comprehensive participation at the levels of the nation and the state. In addition, specific offices under the presidency institution will be tasked with collecting from throughout the country and amidst various classes of society, any creative plans related to governance, improving wages, prosperity, effectiveness of government institutions, undertaking effective projects and so forth and register them under the name of the person who came up with the innovative idea. Such creative plans will be categorized methodically and sent to the offices that carry out the relevant responsibilities and whenever conditions for their realization are available, the person who came up with idea will also be invited to join the group tasked with the implementation so that he or she themselves take part in realizing the idea. Specific monetary and non-monetary awards and rewards will be taken into consideration for the best and most effective plans.

Commission In Charge of Administrative Reforms

To create an atmosphere of trust and safety in government officials’ work, the commission for administrative reforms will become part of the institution of presidency so that their undertakings can be supervised and controlled directly by the presidency institution. Creating an atmosphere of trust for determining technical government posts is a prerequisite for their administrative effectiveness. To create a specialist cadre and a culture of transparency in the selection or appointment of officials, the criteria must be transparent and their implementation must be done with total, comprehensive, care.

National participation and the inclusion of all parts and collectives of the population in the technical, administrative, executive body of the government is one of the essential principles of our government. But national participation does not mean the lowering of standards. To create conditions for all citizens to participate, it is our pledge that we will set up a specific specialist academy of administration so that a level ground is created for those individuals that come from different parts of Afghanistan, and the way is paved for their legitimate competition through general examination. Equally, to ensure effective and lawful leadership of this institution, a law on its composition, authorities and duties will be drafted and passed as soon as the first opportunity arises. In this manner, the law on civil services will also be reviewed and passed in line with this policy.

Electronic Governance

Our administration is still run by using pens and paper and thick folders. The need for supervision of the complex and extensive system of bureaucracy required paper and folders but this type of supervision that now overshadows our judiciary, justice and administration is a legacy from the time before contemporary technological innovations. The extensive necessities of our times has created the need that administrative processes be simplified. Hundreds of successful experiences exist worldwide that help the simplification of this process.
Reform plans in our government will be organized with a specific political, administrative and economic attitude in mind. Our country is confronted with a massive shortage in the budget. If the government administration is run electronically, the simplification of information and the citizens’ access to information creates the conditions for clearing the administration and the state of corruption. With this plan, the government’s income will be supervised by the people in a methodic and institutional manner and government offices will turn into organized tools of service provision to citizens.

Running the state through electronic means leads to new sources of income and sound and transparent management of resources. In addition, this plan saves the opportunities and conditions that exist in the state from being wasted. Traditional, old-fashioned attitudes towards administrative affairs had to do with the smaller numbers of people in the past and are not compatible with today’s world. In this old-fashioned view, the human force is seen as a physical force. While in today’s outlook, the human force is seen through the lens of thinking and creativity. Running the government and political administration electronically, contrary to common perceptions, does not lead to increase in unemployment but makes use of human resources in places where they are useful and effective and prevents them from being wasted.

The Rule of Law and Reforms in Judiciary and Justice

Law is the most civic achievement of humanity through which the limits of relations between members of a society and power relations, the shape and method of operations of those structures that manage power in society, as well as the methods of determination, distribution and use of power sources are determined. Law is a systematic collection of principles and regulations that officials in charge in the first place apply to themselves and then, to society.
Hence, the state including each of the three branches and the institutions related to them are tied to the law and cannot bypass the law in their undertakings. It is in this manner that law creates the practical conditions for justice in society and the people witness justice within the context of the rule of law in all spheres of their life. The rule of law turns security from a gift on the part of the ruler to the ruled into a democratic process in which the government becomes the tool of ensuring the people’s hopes. The first principle in democracies is that law is the people’s gift to themselves because with choosing their leadership, the people ensure that demanding accountability from the leadership and the right to change the leaders in line with their direct and transparent elections are made institutionally durable.

Our government regards commitment to the rule of law one of its most essential pledges to the people. This pledge will take shape institutionally and in the following manner:

The first duty of the president in the constitution is implementing the law. To make this happen, and so that the activities and undertakings of the future president of Afghanistan vis-à-vis his defined duties in the constitution are placed under comprehensive and constant review, within six months a report on the implementation of the constitution will be given to the people. The clear mechanism for this undertaking will be clarified in later sections.

The constitution has made the separation of the three branches a principle of good governance. Hence, the principles of good governance are recorded in the constitution in a clear manner. For this reason, the realization of the rule of law makes it necessary that the cooperation and organization of the three powers on the part of the president takes place in an orderly, lawful and institutional manner. In this regard, too, a report must be prepared every three years and made available to the nation.

The constitution has emphasized the necessity for a widespread legislative program. In other words, the constitution is like a building that still lacks doors and paint. This building is a fundamental possibility that makes up the roof of our house so that underneath it we can live under adequate conditions. But this building cannot protect us adequately against the cold of the winter or the heat of summer. For this reason, we need a methodic legislative program so that this building is made to become fit for a safe living. Our first pledge in the five coming years is to run a methodic legislative program in which all affairs that are contained in the constitution as obligations and principles of good governance are prepared in a clear manner so as to be executed. With the realization of this legislative program, the conditions for the rule of law and the separation of the three powers can be created in practice.

The reporting system must be practiced not only by the presidency but also by each of the three branches and at the end of the work year, each of them must provide the nation with a coherent report of all of their undertakings. The pledge of our government is that we will prepare a comprehensive report on the state of governance at the end of each year and put it at the nation’s disposal so that they all are clearly aware of the undertakings of the three branches. To review this report, we will ask for the help of civil society, religious scholars and various segments of the Afghan society so that on the basis of the extensive review of this national report, they grade the performance of each section of the government in specific, and the presidency as the organizational center of the three branches in particular, and verify how far the degree of the success and the claims made in the report match reality. This process also boosts freedom of speech in Afghanistan in a fundamental and institutional manner.
The favor that we will ask all journalists and the media will be to, either with the cooperation of the presidency institution or independently, prepare and publish a report about the yearly report on governance so that a coherent and comprehensive debate for strengthening the pillars of democracy in Afghanistan is launched and it becomes clear to us how to continue with reforms in which manner and through which mechanism and in this manner, help each other in ensuring safety.

The rule of law must lead to the reduction of suffering and ensuring of happiness and ease in the lives of citizens. For this reason, the rule of law, in turn, is itself a tool, not a goal. The goal is to provide good governance to the people. For this reason, our good governance program requires to save the country from a security and economic crisis with the help of the rule of law and this cannot be possible unless the government tends to its essential duties vis-à-vis citizens.

The tool of change and amendment is integrated in the constitution. This tool is the Loya Jirga grand assembly which has to take place so that any necessary reforms and amendments in the constitution are implemented. Right now there’s no Loya Jirga because on the basis of clear regulations in the constitution, a part of its composition has to be members of districts councils. Hence, one of our most essential pledges with regards to the rule of law is that simultaneous with the national assembly elections, we will also run district council elections so that the legal mechanism for change and amendment in the constitution is prepared.

For this reason, our specific proposal is to create an authorized committee composed of the relevant and authorized institutions to examine the necessity for amending the constitution. This committee must be given three years so that with profound and comprehensive effort, it collects the articles that lawfully have potential for reform, distinguish them and at the same time, create the conditions for realizing the articles that can pass through executive injunctions. Following a comprehensive examination and national participation in this debate, within four years we can invite the Loya Jirga tasked with amending the constitution to, by making use of its legal right, make decisions about specific matters that need change or amendment and in this manner, once again make the constitution harmonize with the needs and wants of the people.

Reforms in the Justice and Judiciary Institutions
1. Ministry of Justice
The Ministry of Justice is an institution that is tasked with drafting, approving and publishing laws in order to ensure justice and the rule of law. Equally, this ministry tends to legal disputes related to debt, property, family matters and defense of the rights and belongings of the state and registering social organizations and political parties and overseeing and protecting juvenile delinquents.

In terms of law-making, the Ministry of Justice needs to clearly define the duties that justice ministries have in those countries that have a democratic government.

Some other principle necessities in the operations of the Ministry of Justice include:

A command of the Arabic language and other international languages is one of the inevitable necessities in law-making. Our laws have been prepared on the basis of the regulations of the Islamic Sharia law and accepted criteria of international rights. For this reason, we have a need for a clear grasp of expressions and interpretations that make up the foundation of our law-making in line with the regulations of Sharia and international rights.
Experience in various countries, including in our own country, has proven that imported laws do not connect with the specific conditions and circumstances of a country. If we were to tie together two incompatible trees, what we will get is either nothing or something so incompatible that its damage to society is worse than not having it at all. For this reason, it is necessary that the cadres in charge of law-making have command of writing and preparing laws. Clearly, in all stages of the process we can make use of experiences of other countries but we still must pay careful attention to the fact that laws make-up a coherent channel and any law that is legislated must in a transparent manner critically examine the previous law and regarding any change or amendment, fully keep in mind the dimensions of practicality and effectiveness.

2. Police
According to the law, detecting crime is the duty of the police. No attorney will have the right to order an arrest in the absence of police detection or issue warning without court order or take over authorities of the court or interfere in economic matters without a court order. These matters are among enforced civil rights of citizens. The duties of the police in this sphere must be organized carefully in the relevant laws.

3. Attorney General
The duties and authorities of the attorney general must be realized in line with the constitution. In the past, the methods of the attorney general on many matters were not in tune with the values of the constitution. The reason for this state of affairs was that the attorney general laws that would be in step with the values of the constitution had not passed and the attorney general’s measures were taken on the basis of the laws of the past.

Passing the kind of laws that would create trust and credibility among citizens is one of our government’s priorities in the coming five years. At the same time, all steps that the attorney general takes with regards to the rights and obligations of individuals and the state will be printed. The publication of claims is one of the ways that leads to transparency in the undertakings of the justice and judiciary institutions and the people’s trust in their decisions. We will invite defense lawyers, judges and retired attorneys, university law and Sharia professors to carefully review the attorneys’ claims and in case the claims are proven not have been made on the basis of laws and in line with the clear standards of justice and judiciary and lack the necessary transparency, the violators will be responded to according to the law and there will be a serious investigation.

4. Courts
Since the judiciary is the most crucial institution for protecting democracy and justice, and since the judiciary protects the civic rights of citizens to have access to fair courts, the following measures are needed so that transparency is ensured in undertaking it duties and authorities:
Bearing in mind that the judiciary is an independent pillar of the state, this independence and impartiality must be emphasized within the context of the law clearly and unmistakably and any measure or interference, especially on the part of the executive and legislative powers, that violates the independence and impartiality of this branch must be prevented.
The authorities of the primary, appeals and supreme courts must be ordered in line with the law and in a clear manner so that each one can tend to matters in line with their legal duties and authorities and complete their files. In this regard, the current situation of our courts is unacceptable and unsatisfactory.
Sometimes, very minor decisions with regards to property disputes and so forth are sent to the supreme court which itself proves that in the system of courts, the stages of decision making are not taken into consideration in a serious and careful manner. Primary courts and then, appeals courts must be developed fundamentally so that the Supreme Court focuses on institutionalizing a culture of accountability and strengthening a civic and judiciary culture instead of busying itself with matters that can be done by primary courts. Reforming the laws related to the undertakings of the justice and judiciary institutions including the penal code, civil code, civil proceedings code, and court procedures are among the important priorities that are necessary for reforming the justice and judiciary institutions. Today, thousands of our citizens are spending time in prison and the main reason for this is that the specific articles and criteria of the penal code that rule that in all justice and judiciary stages must be completed within a specific time, days or months, and a verdict of innocent or a punishment must be issued, is not happening in reality. For example, it is stressed in the constitution that the presumption of innocence is the default state of any Afghan citizen. But we have dozens of examples whereby the primary court has given the verdict ‘innocent’ but the attorney has kept the person in prison claiming that the person apparently has no guarantor. To give guarantee was a tool used by oppressive and anti-democratic states, even prior to the constitution of 1964. At the time it was common place that if one of our fellow countrymen became a fugitive, his brother, uncle or someone from his family would be kept in prison for years even though crime is an individual act. We must move on from the culture of collective imprisonment and punishment so that the trust in civic rights becomes a part of our justice and judiciary culture and our social relations are strengthened on their basis and take the shape of institutional logic.

All settlements made by courts must be published because their publication is one of the fundamental elements of transparency. In the field of creating human resources the courts also need extensive and comprehensive investment so that they can respond to the needs of the justice and judiciary in a fundamental manner. In this part, reforming the culture of our education system will be our key priority. Our faculties are a legacy of the French fourth republic and in them, our students are taught according to methods that were common in Europe of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In a similar vein, our Islamic law faculties chiefly teach Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic culture. We still have not managed to create a common language of justice and judiciary between these two faculties. Our pledge is that the law and the Sharia faculties will be connected with each other in such a manner so that through coordination both of them teach attorneys, defense lawyers and professional judges.

Equally, in line with article 131 of the constitution with regards to ensuring the personal laws of the people of the Shi’ite faith in courts, departments of the Jaffari (Shi’ite) jurisprudence must be established in the Sharia and law faculties. In a similar vein, teacher training centers, specific centers for religious studies and scientific research in various parts of jurisprudence and the knowledge of key sects of Islam are necessary so that our Islamic culture has available to it the necessary richness and depth that is required in order to respond to the needs of the time and be compatible with global changes and developments.

Fundamental reform in the justice and judiciary is one of the important steps with making of which, the parallel offices that have been created to alleviate corruption will be nullified.
Experience has shown that a large part of these offices have not been successful. The crucial point is not cutting the administration into parts to create three, five, to ten rival offices for each key government duty. What is crucial is that an institution whose essential duty is the solidification and ensuring of citizens’ civic rights must be activated and must be aware of its work and must be credible. It is only in this manner that we can, by resting on ensuring civic rights, prevent a vast part of insecurity and corruption.

One of the specific mechanisms that will be used for the prevention of corruption and abuse in the justice and judiciary is the registration of properties, assets and income sources of the individuals who work in the justice and judiciary bodies. The investigation of these individuals will take place in a specific manner and in accordance with the necessity that applies to the whole state system. In addition, comprehensive measures for housing and wages of the employees of attorneys and judges will be made in such a manner that the state can pay for them even under the current particular conditions. Different standards of pay for individuals who do similar work will be fully removed so that we have a general and uniform base for all the stages of hierarchy, promotion and rewards and punishment.

Our justice and judiciary cadres must be taught in accordance with very clear criteria and must be chosen after proving their excellence and capability in the outcome of their university entrance exams. Specialist cadres will never be sent to posts that do not require specific skills so that as a result, the justice and judiciary cadres start work in a professional, specialist manner and on the basis of the clear standards of the law.

The seat of the judge in the holy religion of Islam is a seat through which the right of citizens are tended to and where the state is overseen and evaluated over fulfilling its duties.

For this reason, the obligation of our judges and attorneys vis-à-vis citizens is a fundamental obligation and if we were to say it emphatically, this obligation goes even beyond the law because it rests on the regulations of Sharia and our religious culture. In this regard, we must be able to boost the culture of accountability in a fundamental manner.

To be a judge or an attorney must not be a tool of bullying and corruption because these institutions have been created in the constitution so that they protect other institutions but if an institution is itself not immune to corruption, it can in no way fulfil its duty to reform other institutions and make sure that they are immune.

Financial Management
Experience has shown that national goals and programs cannot be realized without strong financial management. More than a hundred countries in the world have serious difficulties with making effective use of their development budget. In some of these countries, even after decades it has not been possible to solve this problem and for this reason, they face perpetual underdevelopment and poverty.

The effective management of financial resources requires a fundamental change. The regular budget of the country must become at least two-yearly and the development budget, five-yearly, or on the basis of the time needed to complete projects. The one year budgets as a common international standard is a legacy of the nineteenth century when the state’s obligations were limited and the spending of resources was done with special discipline in terms of timeframe for drafting and execution. In addition, the duties of the state were also limited and very specific. Hence, one year budgets are about specific and limited matters. In additions, a majority of the states were absolutists and run by a king or sultan or a specific group who had full authority over the treasury, income and spending.
The changes that have occurred in today’s world, especially in our country, have altered the circumstances. For this reason, the development budget must be drafted by bearing in mind the assigned goals and there must be specific pledges for the execution and completion of projects. The worse example of the lack of success in development projects is when projects are left unfinished while new projects are launched. For this reason, one of the fundamental necessities is that in the categorization and prioritization and timing of the execution of projects we must have the necessary flexibility. Changing the scheduling of the budget is one of our fundamental proposals to the national assembly which requires a fully focused debate before it’s passed.

Resting on this proposal, the transparency that the constitution requires and where it has been specifically stipulated that the yearly budget has to be introduced to the national assembly will be adhered to fully and our proposal for changing the timeframe of the regular and development budget in no way questions the principle of the executive’s accountability to the national assembly. On the contrary, the yearly accountability report will be done in the time specified in the constitution but the flexibility that comes into being will help the effectiveness of the government’s plans and their full execution.

Paying attention to the current situation of the budget brings a clear point to the fore: in the first months of the year, the use of the budget is done slowly because the climatic conditions in most part of our country are not adequate for executing projects and the budget is not transferred to the provinces at the assigned time. Towards the end of the year, the ministries that have not spent their budgets start to do massive purchases so that their numbers go up. But a majority of the purchases have no solid foundation explaining their necessity or effectiveness.

But since a ministry or a primary administrative unit can claim its next year budget by referring to the previous year’s amount to show its expenditure, based on this attitude, it is imagined that the budget of any office is a right that must be gained and not that the budget is a tool of ordering priorities for the implementation of projects or tending to the state’s obligations towards the nation.

For this reason, the first step that we take to reform the financial system is the creation of a strong financial management system in all ministries on the basis of which, all the budget activities of the ministries are integrated into a transparent and effective system. The second step is the adaptation of a principle on the basis of which the significant national projects and programs are prioritized and assigned durable budgets. The third step is the creation of a mechanism on the basis of which, while the yearly budget is organized, the programs of the previous year are carefully examined about their effectiveness. The fourth step is the boosting and institutionalization of the principle of reward and punishment which boosts creativity and inventiveness while increasing the chances of accountability. The fifth step is a specific legal mechanism on the basis of which a specific budget for the protection and safeguarding of projects are allocated. In our current state there’s the threat that millions of dollars can be wasted or used inappropriately. A country where a culture of allocating resources for the protection and safeguarding of values and already existing projects does not exist in reality loses its chances of investing in its future in a fundamental manner and this amounts to throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

In addition to the principles we have mention, to prevent a waste of resources and financial possibilities, it is necessary that we take into consideration specific measures.
For example, each time a ministry fails to create good management in order to make effective use of its budget and financial resources, the capacity building of the ministry must become a priority. This measure is especially necessary with regards to the ministries that are responsible for executing public welfare projects. Supervision of the effectiveness of a ministry will take place within a specific timeframe that is not longer than two years. In this time, all the leadership boards of the ministries are given specific training and their operational report will be sent to all the relevant state bodies, including the national assembly.

National Income:
A coherent national income is one of the foundations of national sovereignty. A nation whose national income is not sufficient can neither fight poverty in a fundamental way nor can it create the material conditions to ensure stability, security and opportunities for the growth of the national economy. For this reason, creating a strong management for national income is one of the important necessities of our society.

The philosophy of national income must be to increase wealth in a durable manner. The countries that only rely on limited resources for wealth production can never free themselves from economic crisis. The sources for wealth production must be diverse and multiple so to ensure the economic stability of a society.

One of the incomes of any country is the income through customs. But the higher the percentage of the role of customs in the national income, the more the country is wrapped up in an economy of consumerism and its production economy is weak. Our country’s economy is a good example of this situation. For this reason, the sources of our country’s income must change fundamentally and move away from relying only on customs so that balance is created in a fundamental manner between customs and taxes.

The percentage of tax payers and the creation of a culture of tax paying is one of the characteristics of civic growth in societies. The smaller the number of tax payers, the weaker the culture of tax paying in a country. Our neighboring country Pakistan is one of the evident examples of this where regardless of its large population, the tax payers are less than 1.40 million. Another point is the very minimum percentage of income through tax. In backward countries, tax makes up at most sixteen percent of the gross national profit while in developed countries, this figure is higher than forty-five percent. Still in those countries there is a strong and coherent culture according to which paying tax is an important part of citizens’ responsibilities. Bearing in mind these principles and understanding that the culture of tax paying is directly linked to providing effective services, one of the key pledges of our government is to create institutionalized conditions for tax paying and overseeing the transparency of their spending by the people themselves so that they can clearly gain confidence that their taxes are tools for the state to improve living conditions and deliver services by. In addition to the matters mentioned above, some other important steps that are included in our government’s pledges will also be explained here:

Since customs and profits made through them are currently the biggest chunk of our income, to systemize customs, we will reach an agreement with the private sector, especially with large and medium size import companies, on the basis of which their yearly custom duty is predicted and estimated and they pay the duty quarterly and in an orderly manner and at the end of the year, on the basis of clear standards and in line with the documents they have about their imports, they settle their finances so it can become clear whether they owe the government or whether the government owes them.
Ensuring the safety of highways will be one of our key priorities. The safety of highways is in reality the first reason we can justify why traders have to pay custom duty which in turn makes the culture of cooperation between importers and the state meaningful. Special measures that we have taken into consideration will be explained extensively in later sections. The important point here is that our merchants become confident that they can safely and soundly transport their products to the markets of the country.

In later sections we will explain more that our essential and long-term goal to create a strong national economy is to emphasize exports and reduce the country’s imports. It is with increase in exports that we can talk about increase in national productions. For this reason, for the five coming years there will be no tax on exports and all the problems that our exporters face will be fundamentally removed so that in this manner, domestic production is encouraged and conditions are created for job finding which is the key goal of our governance. The more we create favorable conditions the more, over time, the balance between imports and exports will be shifted positively and durably towards exports.

Tax Income:
The second part of our national income is through taxation. Taxation has two parts:

By implementing this principle, the state will have a chance to find out how much income duty it receives from ten or a hundred large companies and also, with this method, the state is freed of dealing with small amounts of money in its accounting and reaches total sums and can at least calculate its possibilities in a more accurate manner.

In overseeing imports we will rely on modern technology, especially cameras through which the inside of vehicles can be seen. This simplifies the import bureaucracy and makes it credible for all. Customs’ tariff will apply equally to all and we will seriously prevent discrimination so that all traders feel that the rule of law treats them all equally.

In organizing customs we will create a unified administrative attitude on the basis of which discrimination between different customs of the country is removed and everyone follows the same laws and regulations.

Official customs and ports will be established in all border provinces so that transit takes place in a legal and fair manner and the entry points that are used by smugglers also come under control.

So that the ground for trade and competition is equal for all traders, all imported goods will be overseen carefully and the goods that are not registered legally and have been smuggled into the country will be fined. This measure will be conducted seriously so that individuals who escape paying taxes through smuggling are identified and their violation of the law is prevented through lawful means.

In the field of transport, the whole country will be connected to a transport zone and from that point of reference will be overseen and questioned. All lorries and other transport means will be placed under one law so that difference places do not have their own different regulations and certificates.

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For paying taxes, large companies must have available to them an even and transparent ground whereby all laws and regulations are applied to all equally. In relationship with production companies, the key point of focus is discussion with any sector involved in producing so that the conditions and regulations of paying taxes are organized in the simplest possible manner. The state, by taking tax from citizens is in reality asking for their help. Hence, the conditions must be simplified as much as possible so that the tax payers feel content and ease and not effort and discomfort.
Handing over the balance sheet, which today is one of the serious problems of our producers, will be reviewed and reformed in the five coming years. This has created a culture of administrative corruption and harassment. After the culture of paying taxes is strengthened and there is transparency is collecting taxes, we will once again think about balance sheets.

Smaller and medium size companies are production machines in all countries. Increasing national production and national competition in the field of production cannot take place without boosting smaller and medium size companies. Our pledge is that in setting tariffs for production goods, we will reach an agreement with each production sector so that production conditions are ascertained in an atmosphere of complete transparency and the causes that lead to the creation of low quality goods that are regularly sold cheaply in markets are removed and the production sectors can compete with ease. The tax paid by smaller and medium size companies will not be calculated from the point of view of the state’s income but the key benchmark will be the proportion of their investment in creating quality and jobs. This measure will help the creation of an atmosphere of coherence and credibility and the timespan of our agreement with these companies will not change and the conditions will be clearly recorded in the agreement text so that they can conduct their work with confidence.

New Sources of Income
In addition to boosting the existing production companies, we will also seriously focus on creating new income sources. Communications is a clear example of creating new income sources. Prior to the establishment of the new communications system, communications for us was part of consumer sector. The state allocated and spent a huge budget to ensure communication services and the income was nothing by comparison to the expense. By creating open regulations for investment we showed how we can make use of capacities for ensuring services and also creating an income source. Under the most difficult conditions of the country, four large companies were set up and they invested and now, more than two million phones are available to the people and more than ninety percent of the country’s territory is covered by these communications companies and communications has turned into the third large source of the government’s income. Hence, we will create new income sources through creating an atmosphere of investment because it is only in this way that the size of our income can increase in a considerable and predicable manner.

Needless to say, our mines can also be one of the important sources of our income. The conditions for extracting them and making use of them will be seriously considered and examined and fundamental measures will be taken in the field of transparent and effective management so that these income sources of the country will be effective in both, creating jobs and ensuring the state’s income. Another source of income that will be as important as income through mines is transit. Since Afghanistan can turn into Asia’s highway, we will invest in a fundamental manner in transit so to make effective use of our geographic position. In this field, hundreds of companies can be activated and ten thousands of new jobs created.

Hence, creating new income sources is an important part of our government’s program in matters of self-reliance and improvement of the country’s livelihood. We will continually talk to entrepreneurs and creative people so that over time, the culture of entrepreneurship is boosted and on the basis of it, any citizen who has a new invention and registers it, must profit from it.
In this regard, a special office will be set up to register new entrepreneurial schemes or inventions so that the rights of entrepreneurs are ensured fundamentally and turned into a source of wealth generation.

We must stress that innovation is one of the most important sources of income. With innovation, a spending institution turns into an income producing one. One of the examples here is our universities. In their current state, our universities are entirely institutions that use money. Budget is allocated to universities but they have no essential authority over using their resources.

Through a minor change, universities can turn into state-owned enterprises with their own independent legal personality and instead of being spending units, become key production units. For example, university laboratories, be they pharmacy laboratories or geo-science labs, can be made positive use of. Such activities are currently done by private businesses and they make massive income through them. In this manner, engineering faculties, or agriculture and pharmacy in reality take the shape of a business. This is the meaning of government enterprise. Instead of professors finding jobs with NGOs, they will focus on their expertise and that, at university.

In this regard, we will set specific regulations so that the income made is used for covering the universities’ costs and enriching as much as possible their programs and activities. Another part of the universities’ income is their properties and buildings that can be used in various ways. In the same vein, research projects and surveys in many countries make up the key income of universities.

In this manner, we can also create fundamental change at schools too so that over time, they too turn from units of spending into units of income generation.

One of the key measures of our government will be to turn income sources that belong to the state – but are currently taken over by state and non-state individuals – to be handed over in a transparent manner to the state and come under the direct supervision and management of the finance ministry and other relevant bodies. This situation is one of the most evident examples of administrative corruption. For example, treatment at hospitals must be free of change but hundreds of millions of Afghanis have been made through hospitals without a penny of it going to the state.

One of our measures will be to, through shared participation of state and the private sector, create medical townships in all our key cities. In creating these townships, by making use of the opportunities of the state in providing infrastructure, which is a key problem in health service provision, the state will take part in creating townships. This type of participation will lead to simultaneous progress in both the field of preventive medicine and general medicine. Creating medical townships will also pave the way for licenses for clinics and hospitals to be issues in line with clear criteria. Creating hospitals and clinics without regard for standards and criteria are in reality violation of basic rights that are stressed in the constitution. Our government will take the necessary measures so that medical services are organized according to standards.

To improve the management of hospitals and ascertain reliable resources for equipment and deficits, we will turn state-owned hospitals into state-enterprises. With this measure, the way is paved for such hospitals to create reliable sources of income for themselves and also have authority and creativity over how they use money. So that this government measure does not clash with the principle of providing free health services stated in the constitution, we will work closely with the commission in charge of interpreting the constitution.
the supreme court and other relevant points of reference so that on this basis, the ground is prepared for people’s participation and the quality of the services grows by making use of the best international experiences in creating an effective health sector that responds to the needs of society.

The extensive medical treatment trips of our people to the neighboring countries, especially Iran, Pakistan and India, is one of the key reasons why our wealth is exported to outside of the country. Every week, millions of dollars are transferred abroad for treatment of patients. The reason for this issuance of money to outside of the country is because we still don’t have a credible hospital inside of Afghanistan and our people do not trust our doctors and experts knowledge or expertise. The reason why our people go to neighboring countries is because they believe that health services in these countries are of higher quality. But in reality, a majority of our fellow countrymen when they go to these countries, for various reasons end up getting second rate and third rate medical services in tacky health center where, apart from chaos and spending huge sums of money, they don’t gain any specific results.

So that trust is created in our medical institutions and we can prevent our wealth from being sent abroad and to prevent unnecessary pain and suffering, with the participation of the state and private sector and credible international institutions, we will create hospitals as communities in all the key cities. To make this plan a reality, our government pledges to remove all the infrastructural problems, from investment to land to primary equipment so that the people can have access to a safe and credible and standardized medical care.

To turn income sources into state owned ones-we will take three essential measures:

- Implementing the legal principle that collecting income is a duty of the state and only a specifically assigned body can have the authority of collecting incomes under the light of the law.

- Preventing the collecting of state or national income by irresponsible individuals.

- Boosting the culture of national self-reliance to discover new sources of income and to boost these new sources.

The municipalities are the only administrative unit to have the right to take tax. But so far, since attracting foreign aid has been the first priority of municipalities, the culture of citizenship of which paying taxes is a key part, has not yet taken root and has not been boosted by municipalities. Still, specific innovations have taken place on the basis of which the people, especially in the private sector, take part in creating some infrastructure in cities. In these matters, the people have voluntarily widened their roads and in the process lost a part of their property but they were compensated for this as the price of road-side properties increased.

By expanding cities, we can collect hundreds of millions of dollars through municipalities and since municipalities have a legal right to spend, it is our pledge that we will create the conditions for widespread participation of citizens from the outskirts to the quarters and cities and the wider city zones that include neighboring provinces so that the people take part in creating and boosting conditions for urban livings as they wish and the right to spending income is not once again focused on municipalities but various parts of cities are also included.
Another principle that we commit ourselves to is that a fixed percentage of the tax from the wealthy parts of cities will be transferred to the poorer parts in a durable manner so that the fair circulation of money, wealth and opportunities are created in all the body of the cities and over time, the class gap between city inhabitants is removed.

In addition, we pledge that we will create specific funds for a specific timeframe within specific frameworks that can be used for transforming illegal properties into legal ones. Creating trust in this affair is of great importance. For this reason, we will take specific measures so that displaced people are rehoused immediately and adequately. It is in this manner that the people can see the result of legalization of their properties and trust the process. For this reason, timed funds will be created so that after properties are legalized, from each project a specific proportion of land is separated and sold and the income from this is durable and spent on legalizing those properties that will disappear as a result of implementing the map.

The Role of Civil Society in Transparency in Government Administration

Civil society includes all organizations and associations that are not state-run and they are one of the key axis on which we rely in making the currents of the state’s income transparent. By playing the role of civil society, the people’s supervision of the state’s undertakings takes a practical shape.

What is important is that the culture of people’s participation in the state’s incomes is boosted as an obligation of citizens because the resources that provide state services for the people are this very participation of the people in state income. Creating and boosting this culture is dependent on the role that civil society offers.

Civil society causes the people to become familiar with the primary facilities of civic life and responsibilities. For example, the people need to grasp that the wages of state officials, teachers and security personnel are paid for through income that is secured through citizens’ participation. Hence, citizens just the way they play a role in ensuring income, they should also supervise that the way the income is spent is transparent. Civil society, especially investigative journalism, also pays a striking role in detecting state income crimes. Alongside with people’s supervision, which takes place through their authorized representatives in the national assembly and provincial municipalities, we will give credit to this role, too, so that the culture of financial transparency, be it in collecting or spending, becomes institutionalized in society.

Governance in the Provinces: To ensure social justice and even-handed development, it is necessary that each district benefits from national development programs like the national solidarity program. The program for even-handed development includes Afghanistan’s districts and in line with specific criteria, in each district the focus will be on five priorities. These five priorities will be set by the people themselves but the state and the people will implement them together. Another part of this program will be the people’s supervision which we have committed our self to through launching district councils election and people’s institutions including the national solidarity program. In this program, just like the national solidarity program, the main focus will be on creating an infrastructure for the purpose of economic growth and so that the people’s life is changed fundamentally. We will make comprehensive effort to enable the creation of production companies and making sure that district products are connected to national, regional and international markets and through this, growth in the country is balanced.
Legitimacy cannot be attained through technical criteria. So that state-building and nation-building rest on solid foundations, it is necessary that the state’s legitimacy grows day by day. Hence, technical knowledge must always be coordinated with the people’s knowledge and political awareness so that the people’s trust in the state, the pillars of the state’s legitimacy, are strengthened in the public’s mind. Today, the people have valuable and important views about the composition and substance of governance. For example, it is easily understandable for the people that in governance, rules rather than relationships must dominate. For this reason, the people must take part in all matters related to their civic life so that they can translate their wishes into reality through the state.

Hence, we can conclude that administration in the provinces is one of the most important platforms for state-building and expanding the state’s legitimacy. When the state’s legitimacy is ascertained in the public’s minds, reform processes speed up because the people’s wishes are responded to correctly. On the other hand, with boosting local administrations, our attitude towards governance expands and the people are freed from fear and worry and start to trust and the people’s trust, in turn, leads to their widespread participation in all spheres related to citizenship.

‘The people’s participation in public matters, from building mosques to irrigation system and planting trees, which were mid-term results, are examples of successful local administration. For this reason, in the process of successful statesmanship, there is a dignified link that needs to be taken into account. This dignified link is that very successful local administration that must be overseen by the people in a methodical and continuous manner. The presidential office must also be kept fully informed of the undertakings of the local administrations so that in case of need, the necessary measures can be taken.

Democracy cannot take place without active participation of the people. The meaning of democracy is not just a change in government every five years but continuous participation of the people at various levels of governances. For this reason, there’s a vital need for two principles:

In drafting and implementing programs and projects, we must rely on people’s knowledge. The people’s knowledge of their geographic, political and economic environment must be taken seriously. International experience has shown that people’s knowledge plays a key role in making effective use of possibilities and technical knowledge alone does not suffice. For example, in irrigation, if attention is not paid to the people’s solid knowledge and participation, then, serious mistakes will occur. To prevent such mistakes, it is necessary that in any development program, the people’s knowledge is taken into account as an essential principle and not as superstition, dried up beliefs that have stopped progress. It is necessary for technical knowledge and people’s knowledge and political needs to come together. Infrastructure projects cannot be realized without accurate technical knowledge. On the other hand, the protection and safeguarding of projects is not possible without political awareness and participation on the part of the people. For this reason, we insist on creating a joint team in the composition of which there will be technical cadres and also people who are familiar with the national and Islamic culture and also people who understand political needs and necessities. Insisting on technical knowledge without paying attention to social and political impact of projects leads the cadres of the state to be separated from the body of society.
The Province: At the level of the province, as one of the most important administrative units, we face some serious problems in terms of governance.

Our provinces still do not have an independent legal personality. The governor is considered a special representative of the head of state and each director, in turn, is considered a special representative of a minister. The security command is also directly connected with the interior ministry.

On the basis of regulation in article 136 of the constitution, the province is local administration. But our current local administrations cannot tend their duties and responsibilities towards ensuring good governances and providing facilities and public services to citizens owing to the composition of their population and their geographic situation.

In terms of budget, too, the province is not an independent budgetary unit. For this reason, each sector of a province is linked to a relevant ministry in Kabul. The control and supervision of budget resources and the manner of spending in the provinces is extraordinarily weak. In addition, a majority of the provinces receive their yearly budget in the second or third quarter of the year. For this reason, the effectiveness of the budget in the provinces never reaches a level that can be satisfactory or trust inspiring. There are complaints in various provinces that government posts have been monopolized generally and in various ways. In distributing resources between districts there are also many problems and complaints. This lack of coordination and balance from the level of provincial and district administration has resulted in the weakening of the government’s output and reduction of its power in the provinces.

The problem of a lack of balance in distributing financial resources and expenditure between various provinces is also one of the key shortcomings in local administration. As a result of this shortcoming, each provinces without being aware of other provinces, imagines that Kabul as the capital is having a discriminatory attitude vis-à-vis various provinces. Another perception is that Kabul has a discriminatory attitude towards all provinces and is indifferent to their problems and needs.

The lack of a clear distinction between the duties of provinces and municipalities is also a serious problem. Currently, both these institutions are appointed ones and mostly get into serious dispute over marking the limits of their responsibilities and authorities. For example, the public perception is that government-owned properties in the cities are chiefly a tool of corruption rather than resources that can be used as the legal basis for the state's power or to solve many of the administrative and financial problems of the state.

**To solve the above mentioned problems, our ledge is that:**
The limits of the administrative authorities of the provinces, districts and municipalities will be defined in a clear and transparent manner and their legal personality and legal duties will be specified. So that local administrations are enabled to create conditions of good governance for citizens, they need fundamental reform and adjustment so that in terms of number, size, components and facilities, provinces and their offices are organized in line with the law and on the basis of the number of their population, the social, economic situation and their geographic position.
Provinces will be given specific budgetary units.
While provincial budget is being prepared, each ministry clarifies the share of the provinces and the responsibility of the finance ministry is that the budget for each province is set as part of the general budget and sent to the national assembly.

After the budget is passed, the finance ministry will transfer the identified resources for each province in four installments and in an orderly fashion. Subsequently, the ministries will not be responsible for distributing the budget to the provinces.

The duty of the officials of any part in the units under ministries, from the capital to the provinces, must be clearly defined. The duties of offices at the level of provinces and districts will be set on the basis of work necessities not the order of the ministry.

Distributing resources to provinces must rest on strategic needs, creating balance, and removing poverty and deprivation and not because of a hierarchy of provinces. This hierarchy is a legacy of the previous governments and is of no use to us. Since over the last decades, the most deprived provinces of Afghanistan had available to them the smallest of resources, it is our pledge that a specific ancillary that will take into account historical backwardness and geographic conditions, which have been explained earlier as the key impediment to realizing citizens’ rights, will be taken into consideration on the basis of which all development programs will be drafted and implemented. Needless to say, the meaning of creating balance is not that the provinces that are developing rapidly are left waiting. Rather, the meaning is that in these provinces, we will rely more on the private sector to meet the needs but the backward provinces must come to the attention of government programs so that opportunities for investment and public activities are created.

For this reason, removing geographic obstacles that stop expansive social, economic, and cultural relations between citizens, will be prioritized. Our specific pledge with respect of resources is that forty percent of the national resources in the framework of regular and development programs will be allocated to local governances.

Municipalities and Urban Living: With regards to municipalities, which according to the constitution must be elected, some fundamental changes will take place.

By making use of the experiences of most countries of the world in the twentieth and twenty-first century, we will define the duties of municipalities anew and a number of offices that are currently not under control of the municipalities will be added to the administrative remit of municipalities. One of these offices is in charge of providing services such as water, electricity and organizing traffic. Municipalities will have their own special police force that will be responsible for executing the decisions of the municipalities and will operate directly under the municipality’s influence. Currently, the lack of coherence between the activities of the municipality and the police causes that a majority of the laws related to municipality are not implemented. Needless to say, so that the municipality can turn its decisions into reality, will make use of the specific people-based setups that will be created within the framework of the law.

We will make sure that within two years, the capacity of the municipality’s management reaches a level that they can implement their plans as important executive bodies. Specific mechanism will be taken into consideration so that administrative corruption, slow pace of work and a lack of safety of municipality officials, and lack of expert cadres capable of understanding urban issues and affairs, are removed and municipality becomes to society the obvious face of good governance.
Municipalities are the only local administrative units that have the right to take income. Hence, organized financial resources at the level of cities and creating a culture of public participation in developing income resources will be one of the essential steps of our government. Through their elected municipality council, the people must grasp clearly how far they have a share in creating income resources and how and through which mechanism is this share spent.

Since the more cities grow, the more there’s a gap between inhabitants of the city and the municipality, the composition of the administration of outskirts and neighborhoods will be fundamentally prepared to accommodate the people’s participation. Our pledge is that we will create elected people’s councils at the level of outskirts and neighborhoods and just like the national solidarity program, we will create an urban solidarity program so that the necessary opportunities for active participation of the people is created.

In this regard, we will also set other specific mechanisms on the basis of which, the people’s participation in legalizing illegal properties, creating a culture of overseeing the state’s undertakings and creating infrastructures are ensured. These measures altogether will pave the way for the people to become certain that their taxes lead to an improvement in their lives and that their participation in paying taxes is part of their social obligations.

In addition, since Afghanistan is faced with rapid growth of cities, we need to create offices in which city planning can be done in a more comprehensive way and by keeping in mind internationally successful norms and experiences. For example, linking Kabul to the five neighboring provinces is one of priorities in the city development program for Kabul. Without paying attention to the relationship between these five provinces and development in Kabul, an accurate and realistic program cannot be drafted or realized. In this regard, in later parts, six axes of national relations and order between cities and villages which will result in boosting a culture of production, will be explained.

As an overall conclusion, some other points with regards to the development program of local governance and administration in cities must be stressed:

The current system of county councilor must change from its current state to become an elected council of the people so that accountability and transparency between the people who represent the county and the county residents are ensured and the limits of authorities and responsibilities of elected councils must be defined clearly and lawfully.

The key cities, especially Kabul, have grown rapidly and have enlarged so much that they overshadow the city altogether. Our government will put into a practice an accurate and rapid plan for fighting urban sprawling. The city of Kabul has priority here and it is our pledge that a complete reform map of Kabul will be fully realized within five years and to maintain the properties of citizens and prevent them from being grabbed and prevent disputes related to property, all their properties will be legalized through certification in line with an organized legal plan.

Since there’s no systematic order of urban living, the price of services in the city of Kabul has increased extraordinary. For example, the cost of transporting a son or a daughter to a university or an educational institution is enormous. The Japanese have made surveys through which they have shown that at least thirty-three percent of the people of Kabul walk from one area to another area of the cities. One of the crucial reasons for this is that they cannot afford transport. But another key reasons is that a city that has no city planning, the time spend on transport is much longer than just walking.
For this reason, the coherent plan for housing, administrative offices and city services will change in such a manner that it will match the culture of city living and also to make best use of land, green spaces, leisure parks and areas to be used for general education, hospitals, schools and higher education institutions all can be run in such a manner that both, their protection and maintenance, are possible and also the citizens’ part in running and overseeing citizens’ issues is ensured.

Environmental pollution is one of the essential threats to our big cities, especially Kabul. In fighting against environmental problems, specific and definite measures are needed which will be our key priority. Living conditions in Kabul, from air pollution to the pollution of underground water, which are getting rapidly polluted owing to a lack of attention by citizens and government bodies, have made the city face a serious threat. The experience of Delhi proved that the worse use of fuel, after the supreme court of India interfered, became the most positive measure to fight against environmental pollution. To implement this experience, we must in the first place reform and broaden our attitude towards our definition of the city and the rights of citizens. The fight against the threats of a polluted environment is not only the responsibility of the state but also, a culture of citizenry must be created and boosted in such a manner that each individual of society through participation can create positive change in their own living conditions and the living conditions of the future generations.

Tending to the Situation of Districts and Villages: Making sure that central government offices are coherently linked to their counterparts in the provinces, municipalities and districts and villages is one of the necessities that our government will pay serious attention to.
By leaning on the participation of the people, especially in big cities, properties with legal flaws have not only led to widespread corruption but have paved the way for forced grabbing of properties. Since the properties and ownership of citizens do not have credible legal basis, a vast capital of our people is perpetually under threat. At the same time, one of the results of the legal flaws of the documents of these properties is that our cities can never take the shape of civic cities and citizens cannot tend to their rights and obligations as citizens. For this reason, we commit ourselves to a very transparent and methodical process of legalization these properties. We will start this program in Kabul in the first place where an estimated seventy-five percent of the people’s properties legally flawed.

Turkey has had a successful experience in this field. In Ankara, which was in a similar situation as Kabul, through a very methodical process, all properties of the people were given a legal shape on the basis of which all the regulations and order of urban life was implemented. We will conduct a similar process as one of our key priorities in the city of Kabul and subsequently, in all cities of the country.

Solving Disputes over Property, Housing and Land: The lack of secure ownership has been one of the crucial causes of conflict in the history of Afghanistan and is still a key part of disputes and violent animosity. To ensure this right, our government will pay attention to the following specific measures:

So that pressure over housing as one of the most essential needs of society is reduced, the drafting and execution of a comprehensive nation-wide program to create five hundred thousand new housing will be our priority. All these new properties and ownerships will have legal and credible certification on the basis of very simple principles which will be registered through an electronic system and this will give citizens a change to make use of the credibility of their legally-owned property in entering any transaction or trade or business or agreement with state bodies or the private sector.

We commit ourselves to legalizing all properties that have legal flaws on the basis of a coherent and accurate program.

Dispute over establishing property rights is the key preoccupation of all our fellow countrymen and each year, hundreds of millions of Afghani are spent on these disputes and a great deal of time is wasted on them and hundreds of problems and disputes damage the people’s relationships and for this reason, large and small investments that can only be done by establishing property rights are fully halted while at the same time, powerful individuals extort properties by force.

Extorting land and property has become an acute disease. This problem is particularly vivid in the sphere of government lands.
To prevent the illegal grabbing of government land and property, in the first place we must register all these land and manage them through an office. For this reason, our plan is to create an authorized committee at the presidency to directly take over the administration of all government properties. Specific ministries, especially the defense and agriculture ministries, must not play a role in managing government properties. This is not part of their duties. All state properties must be registered and handed over to the previously mentioned authorized committee and be managed in line with the specific transparency that the constitution has stipulated. It should be mentioned that the constitution orders clearly that the president has no right to give government properties as presents and the process of managing government properties must be done in line with the law.

Our commitment is that as soon as it is possible, we will send the law on government properties to the national assembly and take widespread measures to implement it. With this plan, a vast part of the problems of the private sector and the problems of housing programs will be also solved. Government properties will become a tool for orderly investment and the creation of lawful properties. To take back properties taken by force we must take steps in line with the values of the constitutions and these steps, on the basis of international experiences and our national conditions, must take place in such a manner that they become a cause of stability and legality of properties so that we can register all properties, by they privately owned, state-owned or endowments, within a systemized and accepted framework with specific limits and characteristics.

Solving Minor Disputes Locally: To solve minor disputes locally, an authorized council composed of specific individuals from religious scholars to credible local figures, civil society activists and other segments of society, will be created in all provinces of Afghanistan to make definite decisions over all minor local disputes and prevent repeated decisions over specific matters. At the same time, since mistakes are possible in all human matters, we will also take into consideration another mechanism on the basis of which a specific fund is created in each district so that a person, whose property is definitely settled, pays a specific amount of cash to this fund for the probability that if in the future it is proven that the settlement had been unfair, the person that had been damaged must be compensated fully so he or she can again become a property owner through entering the market. But the specific property that has been taken away from his ownership through the settlement of the council will not be a matter of dispute and counter-settlement unless a recognized court of the justice and judiciary system orders a review of the settlement.

In addition, our other commitment is for a registration program to take place comprehensively and nation-wide so that all the documents and certificates are made accessible to our countrymen via electronic storage. The old methods of keeping documents in storage rooms, tax offices and so forth will be fully transformed into a very clear program of property registration through electronic storage of information and will be prepared in written form and published at a specific time for transparent decision-making in all court and commission settlements and in case, public overseers discover any mistakes on the part of the responsible officials in decision-making and settlement, the said officials will be responsible for all issues.

Our government altogether tries to create conditions for those government institutions that in various ways provide services, through implementing all the principles of transparency and accountability, have decision making rights on spending and make use of their budget according to their needs and priorities.
This action has several benefits. Firstly, the need for the government to have budgets for these institutions is lessened. Second, they'll gain independence in their budget. Third, the culture of accepting responsibility grows among them. Fourth, legitimate competition between various institutions that are active in a field comes into existence. Fifth, as a result of competition created between institutions, it becomes clear which one has been more creative in creating income sources.

If government institutions are accepted as state enterprises, these institutions not only move from being units of spending towards units of productivity but the culture of self-reliance as a principle will be boosted as in all government institutions. China has had successful measures in this field and has been successful and the result has been the country’s great economic growth.

Part Three: The Rights of Women, Young People and the Destitute

In our society, we have three numerical majorities that economically and politically speaking, have become minorities. These three numerical majorities include: young people, women and the destitute. None of these classes are satisfied with their participation in the country’s economy, politics or administration. Still, the opportunities that have been created over the past thirteen years have prepared the ground for these three majorities to shine as huge and effective collectives in social relations, culture, politics and the economy. By making use of the institutional and lawful contexts that have been made available to them, these parts of society have quietly and gradually entered various parts of collective life, paying their active and effective roles.

A crucial point here is the emphasis of these parts of society on the need to understand their outlook, conditions and role in processes that our government has taken into consideration under the rubric of ‘continuity and change’. From among the three mentioned numerical majorities, the poor and the destitute still lack the kind of support by legislative bodies that would allow them to represent their voices and demands within the context of the government and law. Effective participation of these parts of society in elections has not yet been integrated into an organized framework so that this can play a positive role in changing their living conditions. For this reason, our government’s program tackles various aspects of the fight against poverty. We discuss the specific principles of this matter extensively in part seven of this manifesto which is about economy*. In this part, where we lay out the specific priorities of our government, we look separately at issues pertaining to women and young people.
In the last thirteen years, women and young people have had widespread and effective presence and participation in our collective life. The various groups and institutions that each with their own distinct identities, political, cultural, civil society and social activities made their presence felt throughout the country, have the remarkable support and energy of young people and women. That is why, in terms of impact and effectiveness of women and young people, the environment in our country has fundamentally changed in the last thirteen years. As the most essential part of civil society, women and young people insist on the principle of ‘continuity’ of the values stipulated in the constitution and they demand that conditions must be ‘changed’ for the realization of these values. For this reason, the pledges that we have made with regards to the rights of citizens and the government’s duty to realize these rights as they appear in our election charter and our manifesto, to a large extent draw on coherent and comprehensive discussions with these two parts of society.

Below, we are going to outline the key principles that we think create the conditions for the active and effective participation of women and young people in a state that believes in justice and the rule of law. We outline them in two parts as our government’s pledges:

**Priorities Related to Women**

1: Political Participation: In our view, understanding the perspective of women on all aspects of society and governance is of fundamental importance. As a result of this view, we regard the quantitative and qualitative participation of women as an essential necessity in all sectors of the three branches, particularly in government agencies, at village levels, up to the presidential office. Our commitment is to follow the provisions of the constitution and create the conditions for widespread participation of women in all sectors of the three branches, particularly in government agencies, at village levels, up to the presidential office. Our commitment is to follow the provisions of the constitution and create the conditions for widespread participation of women in all sectors related to governance, economy, culture and social relations. We will take the following steps:

In relation to women, the fundamental point is to change our attitude towards their station and role in society. Women possess an independent legal personality without being considered as belonging or being related to someone else. From this point of view, women are taken into consideration as women, not as mothers, sisters, daughters or a person that belongs to someone else. This change in attitude is the first and most fundamental step in reforming all matters related to women’s rights in society. Active and widespread participation of women requires their individual safety in all fields that encompass the spheres of their activities. They have to be immune from any harassment, threat and aggression and we should not tolerate work environments that poison and limit their activities and we have to seriously and lawfully respond to those who break these rules.

So that women’s participation is not symbolic but is real and can represent women, we will take into consideration measures to boost women’s capacity in leadership and management in a fundamental way so that women can legitimately compete with men in an open environment, and prove their competence and capacity.

In employment, we will prioritize educated women who face unemployment. The principle of equality requires gender balance in the composition of office staff. That is why, educated women, who themselves and their families endured great risks and hardship to pay for their education and become educated and qualified,
will receive our government’s serious consideration so that as a result, conditions for their employment are created, enabling them to make use of their knowledge and higher education in taking part in their families’ economic growth.

To implement our pledges in relation to ensuring women's rights, we will create two types of changes in our budget:

As the first step, we will realize a plan for a gender budget in our national budget and we will strive in a fundamental way to run our budget system in a way that would take into consideration social priorities in general and in particular, our priorities of women specific programs. In the second step, all development programs through the ministries will be run with a view to the equal growth of women. Women's political participation is not limited to the central administration but we will create conditions for widespread participation in provincial offices, local administrations, and municipalities

We will take into account positive discrimination favoring women in our programs in all spheres of politics, administration, and development programs that require inclusion in the national budget.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs is to act as one of the key bodies by ensuring women's rights through specific, clear and coherent programs put into action. The ministry will have special assistance in capacity building for women especially in the fields of education and higher education and professional skills and careers.

2: Health and Sanitation: Paying attention to health and sanitation services is a top priority for our government.

Women in general and young women in particular face serious risk of death in childbirth.

Similarly, older women suffer from the kind of diseases that are the result of poor nutrition and numerous physical and emotional pressures that they have endured in their lives. Therefore, in our government, developing a nationwide program of preventive medicine will be a major priority. We will plan infrastructures to especially deal with fighting against the deaths of young pregnant women which is a serious catastrophe.

Regarding general medicine, by ensuring specific regulations, we will take fundamental steps to create fundamental reforms in government-run hospitals and create a trustworthy and confidence-inspiring private health sector.

The reform of the health education system and the creation of medical centers and hospitals catering for women – ones that are consistent with international standards - is our main priority in attracting international aid. We will specially prioritize the training of female doctors in general medicine and particularly in obstetric gynecology. Women should walk into hospitals with confidence and be able to be treated by experienced female doctors.

Our medical training will take into serious consideration family planning, gender priorities and the quality of health services. In a society where women are a numerical majority, there is need for female doctors and other female specialists to work in the technical departments of hospitals. Therefore, the most important matter that we pay attention to is training female specialist and skilled cadres. At the same time, to prove the proficiency of female specialists, we will take steps both, by using the lawful mechanisms of the free market and the health criteria.*

To create trust that we will implement reforms in health services for women, we will collect and publish surveys in a systematic manner.
Investigative journalism, and monitoring and evaluation on the part of women's organizations and civil society will help us to prevent corruption and ineffectiveness so that a climate of trust arises. Our citizens live in a total lack of any kind of social insurance. The family and the traditional system of society create a kind of social insurance for us.

Under the current conditions, where we are financially severely limited, we cannot pledge any kind of social security for our society. But to verify the feasibility of the idea of social security, to measure the participation of society and the state, we will start this process with teachers and government officials so that, just like during the initial experience that took place in the years before the April coup of 1978, social security for government officials and teachers are ensured in a principled way through specific budgets to gradually encompass all segments of society. Social security for women and families in particular is of paramount importance and in its policy agenda and measures, our government will take action regarding the creation and funding for social security.

3: Education and Higher Education: National and international experiences have shown that investment in boosting female capacity plays a crucial role in transforming culture, the economy and the governance of society. In our constitution, too, the family as a fundamental core of society has been given special attention. Mothers play a vital role in the family because they influence the attitude of their offspring in the medium-term. The children, consciously or subconsciously, follow the standards of relationships set by their parents. Just the way in our plans for governance we discussed alignment between schools, madrasas, and mosques, here, too, we will present important plans.

Girls’ literacy will be one of our priorities in educational programs and through launching specific programs we will strive to ensure that girls across the country have access to education. In order to launch literacy programs for young girls and middle-aged women, who, as a result of insecurity, cultural and social factors, were deprived of education, we will implement particular schemes within the framework of rapid education programs through schools and mosques so that women are enabled to speedily pass through primary and secondary grades and be prepared to enter the next level of education.

To boost women’s capacity for leadership, through coordination and cooperation with the private sector, or by utilizing government resources and opportunities, we will establish at least one female only university that in terms of educational standards would be in tune with global standards of education. Given the particular circumstance in Afghanistan, establishing a women only university will reduce the gap between male and female education opportunities and from the point of view of cultural values, families will be reassured that their daughters will be studying in a safe and reliably modest educational environment. In the same manner, with regards to girls’ schools, we, likewise, will provide specific facilities for those girls who could not go to school as a result of war, insecurity or unconducive environmental factors, as well as for those whose capabilities and talents were kept down.

Technical education for women is part of our government’s priorities. Afghan women have traditionally been active in loom industry, cotton spinning, carpet weaving, needlework, tailoring, cooking and other such activities; but these activities alongside with social and cultural sensitivities, have prevented women’s talents from growing and their capabilities have been limited within frameworks inherited from centuries ago.
Technical knowledge provides the opportunity for women to actively participate in all aspects of civil life. Computer literacy is one of the means through which women can use their talents to contribute to their family’s wealth. But this opportunity can only be provided for a specific class of urban women. But what is important for a vast majority of rural women is to be able to take part in initiatives such as the National Solidarity Program (NSP) or get hold of the necessary means and tools through which they can prove the role of their creativity and thoughts in improving general conditions in society, especially in terms of family set-up and relations.

Boosting women’s educational levels and creating plans to reduce pressure and oppression in social relation and in families are some of the most fundamental national goals of our government. In this regard, in particular regarding family planning, we are to make extensive use of the successful experiences of two countries, Iran and Bangladesh. In both these countries, religious bodies and civil society played a crucial role in implementation family planning. The average life expectancy has remarkably increased during the past thirteen years. This in itself is a positive and promising change. But now, we should focus on the expansion and strengthening of this culture so that a prosperous society based on national and Islamic values becomes our most important civil right. To this end, we primarily need to expand education across the country both for women and men. Education, health, sanitation and proper nutrition all together pertain to the implementation of family planning.

Part four: Right to Work and Property: The provision of work, employment opportunities and making women have their right to ownership of property are other important pillars of our government’s program for establishing the rights of women as citizen.

The situation of women in society is tied to the right to owning property. Islam has placed women in position of esteem in all walks of social life. At least 1300 years ago and long before women in the West and other societies were formally allowed to have property rights; women in Islam had the right to own property and to do business. We need to embed these rights in the constitution and institutionalize them now.

Women in rural and urban regions take active part in the generation of family wealth. One of the issues that must find a place in the legal framework is to defend women’s right to ownership of family wealth. In this realm, precise and coherent laws must be outlined so that women would be given the right to family wealth in proportion to their contribution to the family. The other challenge regarding the productivity of rural women is their lack of access to markets or access to information. These affect their ability to link with networks and thus directly affect the balance of women’s contribution to production in rural parts. The provision of the necessary facilities with this leads their productivity to turn into sustained cash flow.

There is a need for national programs at village and district levels to collaborate with the private sector and establish chains of networks to take the agricultural, dairy and fruit products of women to markets. Such an investment will rely on women’s physical capacity. Our aim is to offer a reasonable plan, grounded in the actual realities of women to create opportunities so that their products can lead to legitimate and sustained wealth generation.

Besides, experiences elsewhere in the world where employment opportunities were generated for women could also be beneficial to us. One of such successful experiences is the establishment systems of textile distribution. Large companies in Italy and Spain have started this process and have achieved remarkable success.
In India and China, companies distribute raw materials in villages and then take the finished products and market them through systematic networks. In this manner, the cheap labor of village is made use of so the prices remain down while at the same time, wealth is distributed extensively across the country.

In this regard, our country is blessed with capacities that give us reason for optimism. Our government, in partnership with the private sector, will provide opportunities that increase medium size investment in the remotest parts of the country. This way, millions of our citizens, especially women, will find opportunities to make use of their abilities and skills in the generation of beneficial wealth. Traders and businesses will also have opportunities to market their goods at competitive prices. We will work on specific project to label women products and also secure for it government support to market it and encourage buyers to use the products. For example in state institutions such as the Afghan National Security forces, we will make it a priority to use local products and especially ones that carry women’s label. Besides, we reduce taxes significantly to encourage both businesses and women.

Another sector where women can productively contribute is jewelry making. This part is both environmentally feasible and it can be done at village level. In terms of precious metals, Afghanistan is one of richest countries of the world. The recent discovery of gold mines and effective use of emeralds, rubies, and lapis provides an opportunity to connect the Afghan jewelry making industry to international markets such as India, China. Arab countries that make available to our producers huge markets where they can easily sell their products. In this field, too, we can create many facilities for the production and export to markets of goods carrying the specific women label.

It is far more difficult to establish employment opportunities for women in the cities compared to women in rural Afghanistan. In rural parts of the country, for food security, woman relies on other members of their family. But in the cities, poor women in charge of their household find it difficult to get employment. In this regard, our government will work on paying special attention to them and providing employment opportunities for them. One of the issues for which we will seek the help of the private sector is the production of artificial limbs or other parts of body. The success of the Indian case of Jaipur, where artificial limbs are produced, could be replicated and limbs or others parts could be designed and produced cost effectively yet with quality materials. Women’s participation in this sector, besides offering employment opportunities, will lead to reduced cost of these products that many will be able to afford and use. Keeping in mind the three decades of war in the country, Afghanistan is a big market for artificial body parts and investment in this sector will prove effective and beneficial for the country. Work and employment opportunities are not spaces where only the government can do something about. For providing work opportunities for citizens, we will create a special fund to be used for improving the capacities of women and young people. This fund will support innovative projects by women and young people and encourage small scale investment. One of the fundamental duties of the government and small and big businesses will be to support the products and innovations of women and young people so that we can provide employment opportunities.

We will prioritize employment opportunities for educated women especially in the fields of education and health which will be taken under serious consideration. For example, today the health sector of the country faces a dearth of nurses. Even though we have skilled doctors in many hospitals,
Just as in other processes of good governance, we need specific mechanisms to ensure that the steps needed for women’s identification to be formally registered can turn into practice. One of the institutions that in our government will be included in local administration is the mosque. Mosques will be turned into important centers in which some of the government’s duties will be carried out through the active and lawful activities of religious scholars. In this field, we need to establish legislative frameworks so we can turn into action cooperation between the involved institutions at the level of the state and its three bodies, as well as at the civil society level and influential parts of society such as religious scholars, political parties, and the media. Establishing the civic rights of women is one of greatest national objectives of our government and we will strive to make use of the most practical and effective methods to reach this goal.

For securing the citizen rights of women on the basis of the constitution, we need the unambiguous and comprehensive support of religious scholars and spiritual leaders. With care and attention, religious scholars and spiritual leaders are capable of removing the doubts that in the guise of religious teachings and duties are made use of to prevent women’s rights. A vast majority of such doubts are rooted in traditions and rural culture and are in conflict with the spirit and teachings of Islam where equality between men and women is emphasized and all human beings are seen as equals in the eyes of god. For this reason, the active participation for ensuring the rights, the dignity, the right to property and the spiritual rights of women, it is mandatory to make use of religious scholars and spiritual leaders who can cause great progress in creating a fair society where men and women have rights and dignity in equal measure.
A priority necessity in dealing with women’s issue is that we must refrain from any project that contains imported notions or those that are not compatible with the specific conditions of our country. Experience in other countries in ensuring women’s rights show that specific measures and plans that are linked to particularities of the cultural conditions can be copied by us to improve the living conditions of our women. There is no bigger threat to ensuring women civic rights than the accusation that such plans are imported and incompatible with the cultural and national conditions.

Careful planning in the field of Islamic Studies, the preaching of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and his companions is one of the important ways to help us establish independent ways whereby we would be relying on the teaching of religion and our own culture. In Islamic history we have eye-catching examples that can serve as role models for behavioral imitation in making a reality the rights of women and ensuring the dignity of women.

Amena, the mother of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and Halima, his nanny, Khadija and Aysha, his wives, Fatima Zahra, his daughter, Zainab as the messenger of the Ashura school of thought, are all shining examples defining the status of women in the history of women and in the life of Prophet Muhammad. Khadija was a woman who became the first person to embrace Islam and until her death, was never doubted. She stood up against threats, accusations and pressures, making sure that the prophet’s standing was solidified. Ayesha was a woman who recorded and transmitted the Prophet’s sayings, playing a crucial role in documenting the hadith and the illustrious character of Mohammad (PBUH). Fatima Zahra was a woman who both, a young girl as the Prophet’s daughter, and later, as the wife of Hazrat Ali, served as an extraordinary example of a Muslim woman in history.

Our history shows that significant women have shone in our history, from Gawhar Shad to Sultan Ilias, from the mother of Mirwaise Baba and to the sister and mother of Amir Abdulrahman, they all have been ambitious and hard-working and some of them had sufficient education. Historical evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show that in elite families it was normal to invest in the education and training of women. The issue that is important here is the extraordinary role played by religious scholars and spiritual leaders who, in the guise of teachers, taught women in mosques, royal courts or inside family homes.

Investment, and extensive and comprehensive planning, in the field of women’s education is the prologue to securing the rights of women as citizens. Since a vast majority of women live in remote rural areas and do not have access to educational opportunities, in our government we have plans based on which - with the help of religious scholars and spiritual leaders and other education specialists - we create a specific, nation-wide curriculum to be used simultaneously in schools, mosques and madrasas to compass the process of girls’ literacy in full.

The issue of rights, the ensuring of rights and the duties of the citizens and the state is not a matter solely limited to the government’s role and direct plans. To institutionalize the rights, we need to create a wider culture in which all sectors and forces of society take part in a coordinated fashion.

By contrast to class-related issues, the issue of women rights cuts across through all societal strata. Relations between men and women have created a particular situation in the regulation of relationships between members of society. To reform and improve this, we need to create a broader vision that would fully change the culture of society.
Her sons, Hassan, Hussein and her daughter Zinab, are equally shining examples of the impact and role of this woman in the history of Islam.

We have to highlight the role and status of women in the leadership of Islam as healthy role models for ensuring the station of women in our current society. By following those in leadership of Islam as role models, we fight against extremists' views on women in a principled and reasonable manner and in doing so, introduce to the world the humanitarian spirit of Islam, a spirit that is about rights.

During the war, the women of our society bore the greatest brunt of destruction, with their rights and honor having been trampled upon extensively. Hence, to establish lasting peace, it is our fundamental principle to create an atmosphere of safety for women. Ensuring peace must lead to the creation of institutions through which we can fix specific goals for mid-term and long-term programs that would speak of our commitment to making women’s rights a fundamental reality.

Taking into account the views of women on all development programs will lead to lasting change. Women are an integral part of the peace and stability process. The meaning of the rule of the law is that the life, property, and dignity of citizens are safeguarded. Ensuring women’s safety is an important and essential part of this drive. The participation of women will cause that their views are included in all spheres related to planning and execution of plans.

Economic growth, the improvement of services must create change in job creation, and rescuing women from poverty, deprivation and marginalization.

Reform and good governance lead to the creation of an atmosphere of safety where young girl can actively and comprehensively have impact on their lives and play their useful role in creating stability and social welfare. In this manner, putting into practice plans influenced by women’s views will ensure that as a numerical majority, this part of society is fundamentally participant in the spheres of administration, politics and economy.

Priorities for Young People: Young people constitute the majority of the population of our society. If attention is paid to improving their wages and if basic facilities are provided, then, there’s hope that the life expectancy of young people is going to increase steadily. Young people are a part of society that takes part extensively in the process of future building. While the attitudes of previous generation was one limited to short-term wants and hopes, the young people have a long-term vision in all spheres. The future of the young generation depends on state building. The important point here is that when we talk to young people, we take into account girls and boys in equal measure. The needs of the young people, as a part of society that owing to their age find themselves in a particular position and have their own shared specific needs rooted in their age in no way reveals a gender-based difference.

Paying attention to this point is important because young people are naturally inclined to look at the future in the long term and the plans that they keep in mind rely on and hope for a long and safe future. Hence, the crucial dimensions of our conversation about good governance once again need reviewing to take into account the viewpoints of young people.

Peace and Stability: War and instability severely affect the young. A vast majority of war victims, be they from the side of government security forces or the armed opponents, are young people. The people who, owing to widespread insecurity, have been deprived of education and participation in a healthy economy are once again young people. Criminal economy prey on the young.
Mafia networks on the one hand continuously spread and prolong the culture of violence and hatred amongst the young, on the other hand, they involve young people in the production, trafficking and consumption of the drugs. Therefore, the first need of the young is lasting peace, not the kind of peace that leads to a new chapter of war.

Reform and Change: Reform and change from the perspective of young people belong to a wider framework and short-term programs are not fit to accurately respond to the needs of the young people for a stable future. To persuade them and make them have trust in a long-term future, there’s a need to invest in a comprehensive and deep-running and fundamental change. At the same time, the young have urgent needs, too, which plans for reform and change must not neglect. Reform and comprehensive improvement of education, higher education, work and recreational and sporting and artistic activities are fields of particular attention for the young in the process of change and reform.

Identity: From the point of view of the young, identity is of crucial importance. Failure to respond accurately and scientifically to the question of identity - a kind of respond that would give the young the necessary confidence and dignity in the world and in their living environment – creates the conditions for the young to be drawn to breaking the law, running away from the law and all other protest and angry behavior. For this reason, creating a common language between the young who have deep-rooted and fundamental needs to express their independent identities as an active and effective part of society is one of the indicators of change and reform.

State-building and Good Governance: Paying attention to the role of the young people in the process of state and nation building is a necessity upon which the creation of the new Afghanistan is based. Investing in creating a culture of communication that connects young people across the country is one of the fundamental steps for which our government will formulate comprehensive and extensive plans to address it. The active political participation of the young people is the key element in the process of moving our country towards a new Afghanistan. We will take into account the views of the young people, representing as they do new ways of thinking, in all spheres of good governance. We will move on from the slogan “the Young are the leaders of tomorrow” to “the young are the managers of today and the guarantors of tomorrow”.

The participation of young people in setting up political parties, civil society bodies and volunteer organizations are the issues that we will take as the basis upon which to fundamentally change the context of relations between politics, cultural and social relations. In this manner, young people will play key roles in all spheres of governances, from the presidential offices to the provinces, districts and villages.

Boosting Academic and Professional Capacity: We have drafted specific plans for education and higher education and all these plans rest on the notion of boosting political knowledge, technical skilled knowledge and knowledge of the nation. Young people are not to view politics as something that is limited to taking part in government bodies. Rather, they are to view politics from the broader perspective of political economy and political culture. Our specific programs should boost the intellectual and professional skills of the young in a way that would be broad and wide to encompass the whole order of collective life. Given the current precarious conditions, we have to raise them in such a manner that they become bridge builders, connecting today’s management of affairs to a guaranteed future.
If we let our young generation become prey to the attitudes of the older generations, we risk a repeat of the experiences of the past. It is for this reason that boosting their intellectual and professional capacities should amount to a means through which they can move from grasping the traumas of the past and moving on from them towards a future in a way that would heal their wounds.

Becoming Globalized: Becoming globalized and taking part in a world where, owing to the dominance of new technologies, no borders or walls are recognized, is one of the most important matters to be taken into account in relationship with young people. With access to information technology, cell phones, computer and the internet, the young people of today are no longer limited to narrow worlds where they can easily become prey to the wants and pressures of certain groups. The young people of today are obviously and unabashedly part of a generation that is connected and coordinated. Such particularities bring to the fore the needs and wants of the young people at a global level so that they are not left behind in small and narrow worlds. Defining our relationship with young people with a view to this wider world is one of the crucial and fundamental priorities that encompasses all spheres related to governance. Plans formulated to play games with the feelings and sensitivities of young people lead to nothing but a waste of our country’s time and opportunities.

Experience of the “Arab Spring” and the deep and widespread changes that this movement brought about accompanies numerous lessons for all politicians who neglect the role and positions of young people or strive to take advantage of the young people by using the old and traditional methods of the past.

Reform in Management and Administration: Reform of the state’s management and administration are not only a tool of defending ourselves against corruption, but also a means of ensuring national unity through the participation of young people. This reform should be put into practice in such a way that each and every Afghan feels included in the process and is reassured that he or she has competed for jobs in line with clear and transparent standards, entering the leadership of the government, free of any undemocratic discrimination. Our culture of governance has to get rid of identitarianism in administration and put into practice the principle preventing nepotism in a comprehensive and meticulous manner. When processes that distribute government privileges, from entering universities to scholarships for technical and scientific capacity building, to access to government posts and passing university entrance exams are fair and transparent, then, we not only get rid of the crisis of unrest caused by feelings of oppression and discrimination, but also growth and progress in politics, economy, culture and arts are speeded up as they need to.

Culture, Arts and Sports: Our government regards investing in culture (poetry, fictions, prose), art (painting, sculpture and film making, cinema and television) and sports as three serious fields for nourishing the talents of young people and has prioritized this in the budget. The most important responsibility of the Ministry of Information and Culture will to discover and nourish talents in culture, art and sport. This investment will lead to not only cultural, sporting and artistic returns but also economic and productive ones, too. Literary, intellectual and fine art productions are not inferior to consumer goods production. Hence, we consider paying attention to developing literature and arts as our main fields of consideration with regards to capacity building of the young and making use of their capacity to flourish the country.
Understanding the Region and the World: Making use of the massive capital of our young people in studying the region and the world and setting up special desks where they can gain deep and thorough insight into our foreign policy and foreign relations, is our priority. Iranian studies, Pakistan Studies, Turcology, Sinology, Japan Studies, European Studies and American Studies as well as studies of Arab countries and the countries of the Gulf to South East Asia will connect us to a great world of thought, intellect and art. The talents and capacities of our young people, a vast majority of whom were raised in exile and have first-hand experience of living in many of the mentioned countries, are a great capital. Our government will make extensive and appropriate use of them.

By relying on these talents, we can turn Kabul into something like Baghdad in the Abbasid period, Qartab in the Ammawi period or Cairo in the Fatimid period.

The War Victims: In the course of the past three decades, the war and the lack of security inflicted great damage on many of our young people. A majority of our young people either devoted the best years of their lives to Jihad and to saving their country, or ended up wounded and disabled.

We now need a special program to support this part of society properly and fundamentally and compensate for the damages incurred to them. An area that we will address will be capacity building through education, higher education, professional and vocational programs. We will put these plans into action through speedy programs. Paying serious attention to war victims, especially the young victims of war, will save the country from that crisis that engulfed us in the past.

People with Disabilities: Afghanistan has inherited thousands of people with disabilities from three decades of devastating war and the number is still growing.

Based on estimated figures, more than one million Afghans live with disabilities, which means that one in every thirty Afghans has a disability.

Based on our principle of partnership, we see it as our moral duty to work with this group as individuals and as teams. As members of a collective, we owe these people for their sacrifices. It was them who with their sacrifices paved the way for our achievements today. We believe that our nation needs social partnership agreements. Those parts of society that have been damaged and suffered must see their future safeguarded through such agreements. Following this principle, we should consider that people with disabilities are an integral part of our society and have special talents and capacities.

Based on a series of detailed consultation with their representative organizations, and also based on respect for international charters, laws and conventions, we promise that:

1. Our first service for people with disabilities will be the preparation of a detailed and accurate survey composed of three parts:
   a. The type of disability;
   b. The capacities of the person with disability;
   c. The views of the people with disability about how they think their capacities can be used;

2. In partnership with the government and the private sector, we will establish a special service sector for people with disabilities which will have two sections, technological services and health services. Self-reliance in this part of society on the one hand reduces the problems of people with disabilities and on the other, creates job opportunities. Based on accepted international experiences, the Afghan government will develop an emergency plan to transfer technologies helpful for people with disabilities.
Artificial legs made in Jaipur is one such technology that can be easily and affordably produced and distributed locally. Equally, we will take steps and make investment in health services catering for people with disabilities.

3. For people with disabilities a special aid fund will be established to attract international aid.

4. In governmental policies, affirmative action will replace negative discrimination against people with disabilities. Following a general principle, we will let this part of our society assess all ministries. In this manner, people with disabilities will play a key role in assessing the work of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Equally, cooperation will take place with the private sector so that there, too, positive affirmation replaces negative discrimination. In addition, microfinance services and other possibilities for investment and entrepreneurship will be considered for people with disabilities.

5. Meanwhile, representative bodies of people with disabilities will be supported so that through them people with disabilities can ensure that they are represented in society. Considerable support will be given to these institutions in management, supervision and capacity.

Part Four: Justice and Partnership

Justice and Partnership

Providing justice to citizens and ensuring their partnership in all relevant fields of civic citizenship life is the most crucial pillar of stability in a society and the most important obligation of good governance. During the last two centuries or more, the idea of governance was limited to the use of government resources by particular forces and groups. The principles of justice and partnership, which make up the fundaments of a democratic society, were not part of this notion governance. In such governments, the notion of national sovereignty was understood to mean that the ruling class was not accountable to the legal institutions that acted beyond the individual interests of the ruling class.

As a result of changes and transformations that have taken place over the last two centuries in human societies, political views on governance have also changed fundamentally and the citizens of a nation, through widespread and extensive networks that go beyond a state resting on law and duties, have become connected. This new system is that very democratic system in which citizens have particular rights both in relation to each other and in relation to the state. It is for this reason that trust in justice and in participation of all citizens is the basis upon which the legitimacy of a state rests.

In our system of governance, we will consider five specific dimensions of justice and partnership within the lawful framework of citizen’s rights and responsibilities:

1. Civil rights and responsibilities
2. Political rights and responsibilities
3. Social rights and responsibilities
4. Economic rights and responsibilities

5. Cultural rights and responsibilities

These five dimensions of rights and responsibilities are based on the universal declaration of human rights and other international conventions, all of which are also reflected clearly in our constitution. Consensus over these human rights and responsibilities is the outcome of extensive and continuous discussions on the part of world thinkers and is considered the foundation of the civil growth of humanity that took place in the context of the United Nations at a time when independent Muslim countries, Afghanistan included, were members and took part in them.

In the discussion of citizen rights and responsibilities, the key benchmark for us is our constitution which in addition to our commitment to all articles of the international human rights declaration and other international conventions, also covers three other specifications:

In our constitution, the basis of our views on governance rests on Islam. In Islam, justice and participation are emphasized as pillars and foundation of governance. Islamic teaching, from jurisprudence, to the sayings of the Prophet, theology, poetry, philosophy and oratory all emphasizes justice. The Venerable Omar Farug (A.S.) and the Venerable Ali (A. S.) are prominent examples of just governance in the history of Islam. In addition, the views on justice of three canonical literary figures of our region, namely Saadi, Amir Ali Shir Nawayi and Khoshal Khan Khatak, resemble each other and they all stress that worship is an individual duty while justice is a social obligation. Needless to say, since these literary figures lived in times when the fundamentals of democratic systems such as citizens’ participation did not exist, they had no choice but to use wise council and advice to encourage rulers to take justice into consideration.

But in our age, with the creation of a democratic system and the rule of law based on partnership and public participation of people, justice and partnership is no longer a matter of counsel and advice to be heeded to or ignored by rulers. They are legal obligations to which presidents and government leaders commit themselves to realize for their people. Hence, we have now moved on from the age of council and advice and follow all affairs on the basis of institutional and legal responsibilities.

The second chapter of our constitution specifically includes all five dimensions of justice and partnership, and all fundamental principles of the international human rights declaration and other international conventions are included in our constitution. Hence, our reliance on the constitution and our commitment to realizing our constitutional values is a sign of our commitment to the principle of justice and partnership in governance.

In the second chapter of our constitution, in addition to rights, especial emphasis is placed on the responsibilities of government to implement the rights. Hence, our commitment to the implementation of the constitution, to which we devote ourselves extensively in the subsequent parts of this manifesto, is part of our commitment to realizing the principle of justice and partnership in our governance.

But before entering this discussion, it is necessary to explain that our constitution is the outcome of our national consensus and the values included there do not require a review but they require realization in the context of the law and government institutions. For this reason, it’s necessary to consider the citizens’ right in the context of a series of interrelated systems.
To put it more clearly, the right of every citizen brings to surface the obligation of other citizens to accept that right. Similarly, the rights of citizens brings to the fore the government’s obligation to comply with the rights. Hence, one of the government’s key assignments will be to define clearly the specific limits of rights and responsibilities of citizens’ in relation to each other. If one citizen’s use of his or her rights harms another citizen, the scope of this right will be limited. For example, freedom is a crucial right of a citizen, but a positive use of this right means that no harm will be done to others as a result. Freedom of speech is an obvious example of this. If the rights of other citizens are not taken into account in our application of freedom of speech, then, freedom of speech will be abused for a literature of hatred, insults, aggression and racism. Freedom itself will become negative, leading to greater harm for society.

It is true that freedom itself is the best means for clearing such negative aspects of freedom. But in civil societies and especially in societies that are in transition, the law must specifically clarify the limits of freedom, for the whole of citizens’ rights and their responsibilities in relation to each other and to the state, so that society is not faced with the crisis of unrest and instability. By obeying the principle of strengthening the state and political stability, the rights and freedoms of citizens will reach equilibrium and conditions are created whereby positive use of rights and freedom of citizens will spread day by day, reducing negative abuse of rights.

First, Civil Rights and Responsibilities: To have the right to have rights is the greatest indicator of civil rights. For centuries, people were deprived of having rights. In Islam, human beings have rights and rights are the pillar, the fundament, resting on which we can reach justice.

Since the political philosophy of Islam rests on the principle of justice among people, justice cannot be realized without taking rights as a default. Rights, both in the context of the Afghan constitution and that of the international declaration of human rights, are the most pivotal point for the establishment of a democratic political system, a democracy. In various chapters of this manifesto, we have tended to “rights” as one of the most fundamental pivotal points of our political and democratic thinking.

Investing in access to information about civil issues is a serious need, and it needs an efficient framework so that those values become institutionalized and the citizens’ grasp and trust in these values are boosted. The chain of information here should start from primary school and continue to university graduation. In addition, the public should be enlightened about the values contained in the constitution and other laws.

In this discussion, to clarify this matter further, we will outline a series of specific rights and explain in the good governance part of this manifesto plans for their implementation:

1- Right to Citizenship
According to the constitution, no Afghan can be denied their right to citizenship. No Afghan can be extradited to another country unless there is a mutual contract or there exist the specific conditions that stipulated in the constitution. No Afghan can be denied their right to live inside Afghanistan or return to their country.

2- The Right of Access to Justice
According to the constitution, access to justice is one of the most significant rights of citizens.
This right should be guaranteed and stressed in the context of the law with clear conditions. One of our main commitments is to institutionalize the government’s obligation in strengthening the judicial sector and extensive investment in defining their specific duties based on the values of the constitution.

3- The Right to Safety
The safety of life is a key civil right. Unfortunately in our country, in the same manner that all other human rights were systematically broken, lives, too, were fundamentally in danger, there being no immunity. Over the last thirteen years, when we started a new life based on civic values and in line with the constitution law, we still could not properly safeguard our citizens’ lives. In addition to the killing of innocent civilians in the war and in suicide attacks, we encounter other factors that have turned the lack safety into one of the most serious concerns of our citizens. The lack of security on highways, in schools and universities and continuous threats against the lives and properties of our business community are some of these factors.

4- The Right to Ownership
Following the right to safety, the right to ownership is emphasized both in our constitution and our religious culture. The right and the safety of ownership have existed from the formation days of Islam and are part of its evident rules. Just to make a comparison, in most western societies, prior to a hundred and fifty years, women did not have the right to ownership; whereas Muslim women from the beginning of Islam had the right to ownership and this right has been treated as a legal and lawful in all Islamic courts.

5- The Right of Contract
Right to contractual agreement is one of the most prominent rights of citizens that are also particularly stressed in Islam. Civil life essentially rests on contracts and contracts create the conditions for citizens to connect to each other in ways that are precise and measurable.

International experience has proven that reliance on contracts and immunity is one of the most crucial foundations of economic growth. We must review and rebuild our culture and structures of contractual agreement in line with modern, civil, and democratic criteria's so that as a result, we can not only turn contractual agreements into legal tools for securing economic partnership, the establishment of companies and economic institutions, but also, to use them as foundations for political and social participation.

Second, Political Rights and Responsibilities
Understanding and adhering to political rights and responsibilities when placed in the context of specific principles and regulations create the kind of relations in society on the basis of which citizens turn into a political mass in an organized manner. Under the light of political rights and responsibilities, citizens come to the agreement to regulate their political relations through debate, reason, and persuasion based on the principle of citizenship partnership; to put forward their individual and collective interests by keeping in mind the interests of all citizens; to refrain from imposing their own ideas unilaterally on everyone else and reach results in creating legislative institutions in an atmosphere of toleration of each other’s views and opinions. The meaning of political consensus is not the seeking of hegemony on the part of individuals or organizations over other individuals and organizations.
The meaning of political consensus is to accept a series of principles regarding the establishment of a government and political relations whereby political disputes are resolved through civil politics in the context of principles, laws and specially, the country’s constitution. For this reason, the rights and responsibilities that come to the fore through political consensus are divided into three categories:

1. The rights of citizens vis-à-vis the government.

2. The responsibilities of the government vis-à-vis the people.

3. The citizens’ obligation vis-à-vis the government and society.

The Rights of Citizens vis-à-vis the Government: A government that is created based on democratic principles and standards considers its main goal to provide facilities and welfare to citizens. For this reason, citizens in the first place have specific rights that the government is duty-bound to ensure. In a democratic constitution, the rights of citizens are clearly explained. The second chapter of our constitution also includes a set of rights that the government is duty-bound to ensure for its citizens:

1- The Right to Good Governance
One of basic rights of citizens to which that government is duty-bound is the right to good governance. The state is obliged to structure all three of its branches in such a way that ensuring safety and welfare of the people become top priority of its activities. It is through the practice of good governance that the people can have security and welfare services so that their problems are solved easily.

2- The Right to Freedom of Speech
One of the other basic rights of citizens is the right to freedom of speech. Freedom of speech creates the conditions that enable the people to express their thoughts and ideas without fear and in this way, they can establish political parties, associations and organizations and or assess and criticize the government’s activities and policies.

The government preserves the right to freedom of speech in the context of the constitution and to prevent the misuse of this right by a citizen or a group of citizens in violation of other citizens, it identifies specific limits so that society can strengthen its civil ethical axis and freedom of speech will not lead to a disruption of social relations.

Civil politics is not separate from social ethics. The more the accepted ethical principles in a society are strengthened, the more politics will become civil politics. Language is of great importance in this arena because language is the most significant tool of connecting the individuals and forces of society. The use of a language and literature of hatred, violence and racism, or the threat to resort to violence and force demonstrates the failure of civic politics. The more the language and literature of hatred, violence and racism grows in a society, the more the atmosphere of fear and intolerance grows. Similarly, the more the discussions of interests are brought to the fore in the context of reason and inquisitiveness, the more there is consensus for bringing closer points of views and creating methods to use such interests and points of views for cooperation.

3- The Right to Establishing Civil Associations and Institutions
Establishing civic associations, unions, societies and civic institutions is another right of citizens which the government is duty-bound to ensure. Today, we see a great movement towards creating social capital.
Various unions, associations and institutions, each resting on specific visions, aims and interests, have come together and are rapidly merging and coordinating. This transformation in the first step is important for the creation of social capital. But if these unions, associations and institutions fail to become comprehensive and connect with each other, then, they will remain limited to being simply identitarian structures, over time becoming negative, and turning into key causes of social tension and disruption.

History has shown that when a small mass grows inside a context of strong identity and regards politics as a means of reaching its own limited interests, it ends up creating problems for justice and participation in the long term. Hence, it's necessary to manage the cultural and social possibilities for the creation of civic organizations and institutions in such a way that they progressively strengthen national bonds so that at the same time investment is made in smaller tribal, regional and class-related identities, the bigger national identity, too, becomes a serious point of collective participation. Fortunately we are witness to the creation of just such movements, but the government must increase possibilities for more extensive civil activities so that local politics is connected to national politics.

4- The Right of Establishing Political Parties

One of the other most important parts of citizens' rights vis-à-vis the government is the right to establishing political parties.

Political parties are tools for organizing political forces and for the launch of political discussions for a dynamic political system. Since in our country, political parties were mostly in the shape of dictatorships rather than resting on democratic standards, the people associate the word political party with bitter memories.

But we have to bear in mind that parties that come into being in an atmosphere of oppression - whereby freedom is not ensured lawfully and in a fundamental manner and where there are no laws regulating parties - are fundamentally different from those parties that believe in democracy and are established based on having individual freedom, individual choice and where a change of vote turns one party into another one. We must prepare the legal grounds and environment for the establishment of such parties. This is because the establishment parties of nation-wide scope that are strongly rooted throughout the geography of Afghanistan is one of the basic conditions for ensuring stability and creating institutionalized cooperation between the state and the nation.

5- The Right to Elect and to be Elected

Parties cannot come into being without political rights of which the right to elect and the right to be elected are the most important aspects. Hence, the right to elect and to be elected must be institutionalized in a fundamental manner so that parties are enabled to come to the fore as a result of transparent and widespread competition. In this regard, our government is committed to converting the current election system, which rests on a system of non-convertible vote and where parties have no effective presence, into a system in which parties can enter into competition in a lawful manner and through party election campaigns, play their role in participating in politics, administration, power and monitoring of the government.

The right to elect or to be elected is another of citizens’ rights vis-a-vis the government. This right is linked to transparent and fair elections through which an atmosphere of trust comes into being and the vote of a person as a citizen becomes the tool of creating a legitimate government.
Hence, the more transparent an election, the more trust in the bodies that manage the election and the more trust on the part of individuals in their role in creating an atmosphere of change.

Based on transparent elections and increasing the participation of people in elections, individual visions turn into mass movements and change takes place in line with social conscience and the wishes of the people and not through the movement of a minority that feels separated from society and believes that it is their revolutionary duty to lead society as if society is flock of sheep.

6- The Right to Peaceful Gathering
The right to peaceful gathering is also one of the basic citizen rights which is part of the freedom of citizens to express their thoughts and demands. Citizens have the right to express their demands and wants in the context of the law and while taking in consideration order, and public rights.

7- The Right to Holding Government Accountable
Another right that makes all citizen rights meaningful is the right of citizens to hold the government accountable. Individuals have the right to ask the government how the government has put into action their responsibilities towards citizens; how they spent the national treasury; how successful they are in fulfilling commitments and assignments; and how they will report their output which is the source of government legitimacy. Hence, the right to holding the government accountable is one of the main political right of citizens and this right in our government will be essentially and institutionally considered.

8- The Right of Access to Information
One of basic right of citizens is their access to government information. According to article 5 of our constitution, the government is duty-bound to fulfill this obligation through the creation of legislative institutions and mechanism so that members of society, civil society, social and cultural institutions are enabled to freely ask for this right. Access to information right will be passed in government entities as soon as the opportunity arises.

9- The Right to Compensation
According to the specific article of the constitution, if the action of a government employer or a government institution causes harm to citizens, then, they have the right to request compensation from the government. Taking care of this right is not only a part of our government’s commitment to securing justice but also one of the most important tools for transparency in relations between society and the government. This right is known as the government’s civil responsibility which, based on the constitution’s article 51, will be stipulated and passed as soon as the opportunity arises.

10- The Right of Access to Health Services
According to the constitution, the government is obligated to take steps for the provision of health services and sanitation to citizens. However, because of the particular economic situation of our country, in coordination with those institutions that are responsible for the interpretation of the constitution, we will make preparations so that the government can fulfil this properly with the cooperation of the citizens with the private sectors.

The Government’s Obligation towards Citizens: To institutionalize the right of citizens towards the government,
it’s necessary that the government carry out its responsibilities towards citizens in a fundamental way, through the establishment of legal institutions. For example, a specific assignment of the presidential office is to create a charter encompassing all of the government’s pledges towards citizens and taking care of their accurate implementation within a specific timetable to which we commit ourselves in this manifesto.

It is the duty of the government to follow up all matters that come to the fore as part of citizens’ rights: ensuring good governance; the safeguarding of freedom of speech; support for the establishment of institutions, political parties, the protection of life and property of citizens, ensuring the right to contractual agreement; accountability to citizens via legislative bodies and civil society, access to information for citizens, compensation and other such examples are obligations that the government is duty-bound to implement.

The Responsibilities of Citizens towards Government and Society: Political rights cannot be limited to ensuring the rights of individuals, institutions, and the government’s obligation to ensure these rights. The third part, which is the responsibilities of individuals and institutions towards each other is equally important.

Given the particular junction of history in which our country is finding itself right now, we are not going to stress the obligation of citizens towards the government in a serious fashion. This is because the government in the first step must be institutionalized so that later we can talk about the rights of the government towards the nation. The particular social and political situation that we have had means that it is necessary to place more stress on the duties of the government rather than its rights.

We can pay attention to the rights of the government vis-à-vis the citizens only after democracy is institutionalized. Nonetheless, we will point out some of the main obligations of individuals and institutions vis-à-vis the government which can be effective for boosting a culture of political responsibility in a democratic state:

1- Commitment to National Unity
The first obligation of citizens is their commitment to national unity. Every individual who through irresponsible action and behavior, hurtful and poisonous speech, insults or through the use of hateful literature causes hatred, violence and racism or resorts to character assassination, willful undermining and mockery, in reality fails to fulfil his citizenship obligation. Here, it is necessary for us to particularly carefully review the limits of freedom of speech as an obligation and to set clear limits in a clear and transparent manner in the context of the law based on all criteria of the constitution and human rights standards so that abuse of freedom of speech is not turned into a weapon of instability and unrest, spreading in society in the guise of a literature and culture of hatred and racism.

2- Participation as Citizens
Citizens’ second obligation is to take part and be partners in all fields of civic life. Rights cannot be ensured without public participation. The perception that that the government must automatically ensure and guarantees citizen rights is an attitude that is a leftover from the undemocratic governments of the past. Citizens are themselves the creators of governments and the very matter of making sure that the government lives up to its pledges and obligations is up to citizens themselves. For example, today, very few parents take part in the management of schools.
It’s obvious that the future of our children is vital for us and when we spend our hard-earned money on private schools, what we do in reality is that we prove that we take care of our children’s future with responsibility. But in addition to this great sacrifice, are we ready to use our time to take part in the running of schools, universities and higher education institutes and to monitor their activities? The type of participation varies from matter to matter, but what is important is to understand that participation in every aspect of civic life is our main obligation as citizens. The more this obligation takes the shape of actual practice and spreads, the more we can boost the right to hold the government and the institutions that claim to be offering us services, into account.

3- Commitment to Tax
The third obligation of citizens is to create the culture of paying taxes and economic participation in creating infrastructures and strengthening institutions of public welfare. Our society cannot reach welfare through begging. No human society has ever managed to create a strong middle class, which is the basis of a democratic state, through foreign aid. It is only the creation of a culture of productivity and that of a national production economy that can cause the coming into being of a strong and lasting middle class resting on a culture and foundation of civic-mindedness. That is why our duty to pay tax is one of our basic obligations as citizens in return for which we can demand services from the government. We must bear in mind here that these points are linked together like the two sides of a coin. We pay tax to our government and in return, we ask the government to give us security, facilities and welfare. When we look at the degree of expectations from the government, we realize that these expectations are at most possible in societies of mid-size economic wealth.

But in terms of economic foundation, our society is one of the ten poorest countries in the world. Without our participation, this poverty cannot be transformed into wealth and empowerment. Significant participation in creating a taxation system does not only mean that we just take part as taxpayers. Our other obligation is to prevent corruption in the sources of the government and the misuse of the country’s sources of income generation. When, in our capacity as citizens, we report government corruption and investigate corruption, in reality, the statement that we make is that government officials cannot exploit the people or assume that with their dictatorial mentality, every government official has the right to use the authority of the state to extort money from citizens as if the state were a dictatorship. Standing up against this culture and rejecting it is a part of our obligation as citizens. When we boost the culture of tax paying in our relationship with the government, we naturally move on from being a Bedouin tribal society towards becoming a modern, civil society.

4- Participation in Institution Building
The fourth obligation of citizens is their participation in institutionalization and establishing societies and structures that serve as the backbones of regulating social relations. Active participation in mosques, shrines, spiritual institutions, needless to say, within a context of lawfulness, transparency and accountability, is one of the most essential pillars of life and obligation as citizens through which our Islamic and national culture will also grow.

5- Participation in Elections
Another of the most essential responsibilities of citizens is to take part in elections and to vote in line with the criteria that make up our national wants and demands.
It is for this reason that our presidential election is deemed the most important chapter. For the first time in our political history, conditions have been prepared for power to be transferred through the direct vote of citizens from one elected ruler to another one. If we do not take this obligation seriously and do not take part actively and with awareness in political affairs and do not carefully assess the consequences of our political decisions, then, we can no longer lay the blame solely on the doorsteps of the political class.

6- Participating in the rule of law:
Participating in the rule of law and implementing the country’s legal principles is another of our important duties as citizens. The rule of law is not possible by just having it on paper or by just passing decrees; rather it happens and is boosted through a culture in which citizens feel themselves responsible for both, ensuring the rule of law and monitoring its implementation by both citizens and other institutions. The culture of the rule and implementation of law means that at home, our children are not turned into protectors and implementers of laws. After all, it’s our children who outside of their homes, become part of a government entity or bodies that ensure the rule of law. Our participation in growing the culture of respecting law is one the crucial pillars of our responsibility as citizens.

Third, Social Rights and Responsibilities: The understanding of social rights and responsibilities became common place in the twentieth, especially the second part of the twentieth century. Bearing in mind the distinctive conditions of Afghanistan, we turn to social rights and responsibilities, dividing them into five parts, differentiating between the rights of citizens and the government’s duties to implement them:

- **1. The individual rights of citizens**
  That are distinctly part of their most fundamental human rights such as education, environment, health, employment and food security.

- **2. The rights of religious scholars and spiritual leaders**
  Who, through mosques, madrasas and shrines, are counted as the crucial sources of preserving moral values and strengthening the culture of Islam.

- **3. The rights of the victims of war**
  Who have been seriously affected in their mental, physical and psychological health owing to the incidents that have occurred over the last three decades.

- **4. The rights of the regions**
  That have specific and rough geographic conditions whereby a lack of necessary attention to them has led to their unbalanced development vis-à-vis the rest of the country.

- **5. The rights of women**
  Who especially during the war period have suffered the worst type of damage, and taking care of whose needs and difficulties is the key index of responsible and accountable government.

1. The individual Rights of Citizens
A democratic society comes into being on the basis of the participation of individuals. For this reason, tending to the individual rights of citizens, which is summed up in a safe, prosperous and happy life, is the most important obligation of any democratic government and democracy. In the structuring of democratic governments, it is this aspect of their work that is stressed.
Our government is going to commit itself to ensuring the individual rights of citizens not only through ministries and specific entities, but also through continuous reform and amendment of laws, and composition of political and administrative structures. Offices related to education, health, labor and social affairs, water and electricity, public works, communications, environmental protection and information technology will all be established with the philosophy of the individual rights of citizens in mind.

2. The Rights of Religious Scholars and Spiritual Leaders

As heirs to the prophets, spiritual leaders and religious scholars are trusted by society and are a powerful tool for social tolerance, moral consensus and action based on Islamic values. One of the primary obligations of our government is going be to secure the moral and financial standing of religious scholars and spiritual leaders so that these networks are boosted and become effective.

So that religious scholars, spiritual leaders and Islamic institutions can play an affective role in strengthening and managing a stable government, we pledge that we will create the legal and institutional conditions for their participation in a transparent and principled manner. The government will take part in strengthening mosques and shrines and create structures through which religious scholars and spiritual leaders act as the government’s upper arm in the management and execution of some key matters:

In local rural administrations, religious scholars and spiritual leaders will take part institutionally. For example, membership in offices of population registration such as births, parenthood, death, handing over and taking over of property. Membership in councils to settle minor disputes locally and so forth.

Working on a new education curriculum particularly in literacy and Islamic education which need to be formulated and put into action locally through religious scholars.

The establishment of official research institutions to explore Islamic history, ethics and education which will help public awareness of matters and teachings of Islam.

The establishment of official organizations to tend to social issues such as management of irrigation, agricultural development and similar relevant issues through membership and contribution to the National Solidarity Program.

The establishment of Islamic training centers through which seekers of Islamic knowledge are enabled to go through Islamic higher education inside their own country.

So that religious scholars have the opportunity to enter the government, a series of legal steps will be taken into consideration to ensure that their certificate of education is verified and proven through application of clear and transparent standards so that they can use their certificate to enter official government bodies or do other important work.

3. The Rights of War Victims:

During the past three decades of war, hundreds of thousands of our fellow countrymen were traumatized in different ways and damaged in various ways. Tending to the situations of these fellow countrymen is one of the most important pledges of our government. We are committed to implementing timed and organized programs to cater to the disabled, the families of the martyrs, and those with psychological trauma so that not only the rights of these fellow countrymen are ensured but also so that their positive energy is activated and they can work on making and changing society.

4: In terms of geography, Afghanistan is located mostly in rough regions.
The differences in geography and a lack of attention on the part of governments have caused uneven development in the country. This isolation through the prison of geography has on the one hand become a huge obstacle in connecting the people and on the other hand, it fully limited and localized economic exchange and trade in remote areas of the country while at the same time, it made difficult providing welfare services and implementing development programs.

In this field, our government has taken into consideration special measures and steps which in the first step is to take into account the rough geographic position of particular regions of our country such as central Afghanistan and Badakhshan. We will explain our specific economic policies and development plans extensively in the chapter about the economy. But it is necessary to point out here that we will break the geographic siege and isolation of central Afghanistan through constructing vast highways and conducting projects to enhance the capacity of these regions in terms of their contribution to production. This will be a priority of our government.

The special National Solidarity programs and rural rehabilitation projects, agriculture, livestock, electricity, mining, health and public works will be designed and implemented with the aim of ensuring a balance of development between various parts of the country. In this regard, the programs of the National Solidarity Programs will in particular focus on wealth generation in these regions so that within the coming five years, the projects turn from spending into producing and in turn produce capacity resources in the context of which people can work on both, removing geographic limitations and investing in the infrastructure of an economy of production.

It is fortunate that the main natural resources of Afghanistan, particularly mines, are mostly located in regions that geographically speaking, are part of the rough areas.

Hence, our government’s development programs will chiefly rely on those economic opportunities that would first of all increase the capacity of these regions to take part in national production, putting into work our physical investment. Also, by connecting people from different parts of the country, these programs will prepare the ground for joint supra-local investment, becoming a platform for national unity.

5: The Rights of Women
Afghan women face specific problems parts of which are caused by the continuous wars and insecurities that have taken place in the last three decades. But another part has to do with culture, relations and the existence of political governments that failed to look at women’s issues from the perspective of rights and obligations of citizens. We are going to extensively talk about the issue of rights and obligations of women and the specific pledges of the government towards change and continuity in other parts of this manifesto. But here, we have to state rather urgently that tending to the situation of women is an important part of our government’s pledges in all of the development spheres. The basis for our attitude is to look at the rights of women in the guise of their being independent legal personalities without being counted as belonging to something or someone else. In this manner, in terms of her cultural and civic growth, the Afghan woman reaches a stage where she can independently represent her own rights and demands.

The impact of war has put women under enormous pressure. We can call this pressure a double pressure. The psychological and mental impact on the one hand and the burden of financing the family, on the other hand. For the first time in the history of our country, ten thousands of families are financed through the work and efforts of widowed women.
Their entire lives are dependent on the work and efforts of women and we are still a country that has made the highest rate of mortality in childbirth its specialty. Rural women take part in both, economic activities such as agriculture, working in orchids and animal husbandry while some also work in other activities such as spinning wool, carpet and rug weaving. But most of the time, women’s work is not translated into a specific wage and independent economic capital for herself. Poor women in the cities are even worse off. A majority not only have no clear or reliable work but their source of income is constantly under threat because by contrast to rural women who at least have access to the food they produce, or in many cases rely on traditions of social support and cooperation to solve their problem, the women of the city, without the money that they themselves can make cannot meet even their smallest needs. We will explain more about improving women’s situation in the relevant section.

Creating a Civic Culture for Participation in Producing National Resources:
The matter of the rights of citizens and the government’s obligation to ensure these rights cannot be carried out successfully without the active participation of citizens in nation building and state building. Without the people, and their active participation, the government has neither resources for its power nor resources on which it can rely to deliver services. The participation of the people is that very social responsibility that is stressed in both, in today’s global civic culture and in the teachings of Islam where it is clearly emphasized. In the holy religion of Islam, there are specific and systemized principles for fulfilling social responsibility. Charity is a specific mechanism for the fulfilment of social responsibility.

The term bait-al-maal (public treasury) is a noun that describes a fund that only and solely belongs to the people and no leader has the right to plunder it for his own personal taste or wish. In this regard, the Venerable Omar Farough and the Venerable Ali have left behind shining examples. Bait-al-maal is a specific mechanism for linking society with individuals via the government’s role as a trustee. What is even more important is that Islam emphasizes equality between people without any regard for gender, race, color or ethnicity and this principle is the basis for social justice in society. In the famous letter that the Venerable Ali wrote to Malik Ashtar, who at the time was assigned ruler of Egypt, the latter is told to treat everyone equally regardless of their religion and faith, and says, “They are either your brothers in faith or are the same as you in creation.”

In current conditions, in term of tending to social responsibility, our government has two specific dimensions that we can stress: A dimension that fully pertains to the government and the government is duty-bound to ensure them by leaning on government resources. A dimension that pertains to society and citizens themselves and without their collective participation cannot be put into practice. In the coming chapters, we are going to extensively explain the programs that our government is committed to. But quickly, we are going to list some examples that can illustrate participation and partnership of people in rural regions.

1. The System of Irrigation:
Our system of irrigation system is a very good example of fulfilling a social responsibility. Through cooperation and consensus, the people have over thousands of years created ordered systems of irrigation and by managing the systems themselves, have benefited from them.
In this system, each person feels themselves responsible for the protection, guarding and growth of the irrigation system. Both religious scholars and farmers played a role.

2. The hawala money transfer system:
The hawala system is another example of a network of money exchange in social order. Hawala is a series of a chain of exchange that exists throughout the country whereby the transfer is impossible without relationships, cooperation and trust in each other. It has been noticed that in the hawala system, considerable sums of money are transferred through the use of a simple secret code which can be a simple word. By leaning on the hawala-keeping networks, we were able to exchange the old currency with the new currency, which was a difficult nationwide process and we did this within four months, successfully. The fulfilment of this task would have been impossible without active and comprehensive participation of money exchangers and hawala-keepers.

4. Social Assemblies:
Social assemblies are another efficient tradition that is practiced in villages but can be, with slight modification of its method of practice and management, turned into a nationwide practice. There exist modes of thinking in our national culture that, if polishing can be used to rebuild our people’s attitudes towards all issues in civil society. For example, we can take advantage of the culture of social assembly for the participation of all citizens in protecting the environment or for the establishment of public welfare projects. One attitude which requires fundamental change in our society is our definition of ownership and property. The current definition limits the scope of both ownership and property and prevents us from collective participation.

Our basic concept is that our property is the four walls that circumscribe our house and that’s it. For this reason, most people throw their waste outdoor onto the streets, against their walls or even front doors which are part of a public space, the street. Family property is always kept neat and clean in Afghanistan and everyone pays attention to this. Every Afghan grows flowers inside their home but the public street in public’s mind is not considered as their property. It is for this reason that on the one hand we neglect taking part in improving the environment and on the other hand, we limit the scope of our property.

For this reason, our government will assist the creation of attitudes based on which the cities are understood to belong to citizens. To this end, we will create lawful, systemized programs. Any service provided by the government to the people will be deemed a service from citizen to citizen. As long as citizens do not become owners of their cities, as long villagers do not become owners of their villages, social responsibility is not going to turn into a shared culture.

5. The Culture of volunteering
The establishment and boosting of voluntary associations is another of the steps that our government will take into consideration to fulfil its obligations towards citizens. Voluntary associations are the basis of social capital. In such associations, humanitarianism underlies all services and activities. In a voluntary association, people are not divided by ethnicity, religion, gender and other associations. In our society, this civic and modern attitude has not yet properly taken hold. For this reason, first of all there are few voluntary organizations in our country, and secondly, given the particularity of our current circumstances, such associations have limited the scope of their humanitarian activities to serving a specific category of people.
Hence, we are taking into consideration our country’s voluntary associations at two levels:

The first level is that very local and limited level where voluntary associations have available to them opportunities and conditions they can use to provide services to some individuals of society. The second level is the one where we will manage the culture of volunteering on a civic and humanitarian platform so that society as a whole can benefit from such voluntary services.

If a voluntary association is established to ensure the interests of a limited, particular, group, without having any relationship to other institutions, then, in the long run, it ultimately causes an increase in tension and conflict. But if through coordinated relationships such institutions turn from small groups into large networks, then, they not only improve their chances of comprehensive cooperation but also turn into social capital at a national level.

Social Security: One of our government’s crucial pledges is to establish and boost a social security scheme. In our country, not a single citizen is entitled to the services and guarantees of social security. Government employees, students, teachers, families, all parts of the nation suffer from the lack of social security, from the lack of a vision for a long-term and safe future. Social insurance can be provided either by the private sector or the government. But what is important here is the creation of a legal and institutional platform so that citizens can trust such insurance policies.

In the absence of the social security of the civil society, a majority of the people seek protection in private, tribal social security setups.

Reliance on the limited identities of tribe, religion and language, reliance on the family structure and income, or economically speaking, reliance on saving cash individually or dispersing investments in different part are examples of non-civic modes of social security used in our country.

In our government, legally-bounded conditions will be created to do both, rebuild and boost the already existing rural networks and to create the conditions for the establishment and boosting of trustable social securities on a broader, national, level. Social security, be it at the limited level of the family or large institutions in reality removes the pressures of damages and incidents that may occur in the future. Our government’s key task will be to facilitate the process of creating a social security sectors in the country.

Family, the Basis of Economic Growth: Following World War Two, Japan started its economic growth by leaning on the setup of the Japanese family. On the basis of this plan, the law officially made the family take on social responsibility and act as the government’s arm in ensuring law and putting into practice programs designed by the government for the purpose of social welfare. That is why, when it comes to this important matter, we have to think at the same time about a scheme to spread citizen participation throughout the country while also make use of the most important individual innovations for improving and enriching development and longevity plans.

Presently our families are affected by a widespread attitude in which parents, mothers in particular, regard their sons as their social security and see daughters as individuals who will ultimately leave the family after marriage. This perception keeps the fundaments of the family perpetually unstable. Our government will take legal and institutionalized measures resting on which the family becomes an ordered structure in which both sons and daughters are included.
To this end, in addition to creating a social security setup, we will also support families through their participation in a wider economic and cultural scheme. In this cultural and economic scheme, families will take part comprehensively in all spheres of social life, in the management of government resources and other opportunities that will be made available to them within the context of the government’s public welfare development programs. We are going to explain some of our plans geared towards improving the economic situation elsewhere in this manifesto but a crucial part of these plans will be creating conditions for employment generation in rural areas.

Public Participation in Creating a National Culture: One of the necessities that we have for creating a connected civil society is paying attention to our duty as citizens in creating a national culture. Presently, the predominant complaint in our society is about a wave of cultural invasion by the world or one or the other neighbor which is apparently threatening our national culture. Firstly, we bear in mind that in today’s world, there is no closed cultural borders within which a society can live as an island, completely separated from others and not be affected by the cultural waves surrounding it. Secondly, tending to the concern over cultural invasion is only possible through boosting the foundations of the national culture not by creating obstacles against the cultural invasion of others.

In this area, our most important duty as citizens is consensus over the creation of a national culture that is formed through public participation of all people throughout the country. For example, if we consider language to be the basis of our society’s culture, then, the linguistic rights of the people of Afghanistan, just as they have been stipulated in the constitution, must be stressed, ensured and supported.

The right of education in one’s mother tongue is one of the elements that boost the national culture. In our constitution it has been made clear that two languages are to be included as official languages in education curriculum throughout the country and that in those regions where a majority of the people speak another language, this mother tongues should be part of the curriculum.

It is for this reason that instead of worrying about cultural invasion on the part of others, we pay attention to enriching our own national culture and making use of the cultural offerings of others. The creation of a national culture is a trigger for a nation-wide discussion and comprehensive participation of all parts of society.

Alleviation of Poverty, the Most Important Social Duty: Our country is one of the poorest and most deprived countries of the world. Hence, paying attention to poverty and deprivation is one of our main social responsibilities. There’s a saying by Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) that says poverty can be the cause of disbelief. Therefore, in this teaching of the holy religion of Islam, on the one hand the damaging dimension of poverty is defined and on the other hand, our social commitment to creating equality and alleviating poverty is brought to the fore. The government is not the sole effective entity for alleviating poverty. Different parts of society must come to the conclusion that the stability of society rests on participation in alleviating poverty. As long as poverty is a threat to the majority of a society, that society remains perpetually unstable. A society that is faced with the continuous threat of poverty will not be able to think systematically about state-building*.

There is a difference between poverty and the feeling of deprivation. In poverty, there is no sense of discrimination and injustice. Whereas in deprivation,
the public’s perception is that one part of society has willfully and systematically been deprived of access to resources and opportunities. In contrast to poverty, the feeling of deprivation has cultural, moral, psychological, economic and political dimensions. For this reason, our duty to alleviate the sense of deprivation in our society becomes broader, more complex and important. We are listing here some of them which include our government’s systematized and structural plans.

Preventing the Culture of Hate, Violence and Racism in National Relations:
Our past history is a bitter testimony to the fact that the vocabulary of abuse and slander has been used by this part of our people against that part of our people and this practice is unfortunately still common place. Our media is still witness to this catastrophe. For this reason, it is our national duty to fight seriously and wisely against this culture of scorn and slander that in turn boosts an environment of hate, violence and racism in society. The damage caused by such terms of slander and abuse is worse than poison or wounds inflicted by a dagger because these words hurt people mentally and destroys the chances of creating and strengthening a national culture.

Boosting a Sense of National Empathy: As already emphasized in the chapter on peace, we need a society-wide process to discuss the incidents that happened as a result of crisis and wars through which we can express the pain that is within us and by expressing this pain, we can create conditions for easing it and moving on from it so that we can focus on a future in which a democratic society with a civic culture is created. This goal can only be achieved when we all feel a sense of responsibility as a society.

Our country needs to create a healthy society. Opportunities must be created so that the hatred of the generations that were involved in the wars is not passed on to the future generations.

For this purpose, a culture must be shaped that would connect the past to the future through a wise and scientific polishing. The first necessity to this end is to make history historical, which is to say that we must study and understand the past but we must not make the present and future generations be held responsibility for the actions of the previous generations. To this end, we must create a process of awareness that would establish our dignity as a healthy collective and through leaning on which we can succeed in realizing a process of nation-building and state-building.

The process of nation building requires a conscious acceptance of each other as inseparable members of a collective political body called the nation of Afghanistan. The day in which we with awareness reach the conclusion that we are not only stakeholders in each other’s losses but also in our national gain, we will solve a significant part of our social conflicts. But our society is still struggling with their feelings and emotions and struggling with feelings and emotions move away the individual from the realities of society to the spheres beyond the reality. Our intellectual task in the first step is to help society come down from those high spheres and turn the vast energies that are used negatively today into something positive here and now. Citizens must have a sense of compassion and empathy about each other’s fates and regard each other’s pain and happiness as the pain and happiness of a healthy, living body.

Uninterrupted Supervision of Civicness: The basic principles of a democratic system have been specified in various articles of the constitution. The separation of state powers into executive, legislative and judicial branches; the creation of independent counter emergency directorates; conditions for adjustment of the constitution and a directorate to explain and clarify the articles of the constitution in a clear and transparent manner is one of the pillars of the order of our Islamic Republic.
In this manner, in our constitution we have explained the rights and obligations of citizens in a manner that is completely clear. But the constitution is not solely a contract between the nation, the government and civil society institutions. Contracts facilitate the implementation of rights and obligations but they do not guarantee them in full. The guarantee for ensuring and implementation of contracts lies solely in a power that has both parties of the contract as monitors of their rights.

Hence, one of government’s obligations is to institutionalize structures based on which citizens have the power to guard their rights and make the government ensure them. By passing the constitution, our nation has reached a consensus over creating a powerful and effective government. The values that are deemed fundamental to a democratic society are also specified in our constitution. Therefore, our assignment is to implement these values. Specific mechanism have also been stipulated in the constitution for whenever political and social consensus brings to the fore the need for an amendment to the constitution.

To boost lawfulness and the conditions for citizens to continuously supervise the government’s fulfilling of its obligation, we will take into consideration a series of specific steps that will be briefly explained below:

Among the committees that compose the president’s office, a special committee will be included to monitor the government’s fulfillment of its obligations and ensuring the rights of citizens. This committee will draft and index all the rights and duties that we have committed ourselves to in our governance plans and will schedule precisely their implementation. In addition, this committee will be assigned to write down and include in the index of action all the promises that the president makes during speeches, interviews and meetings with different groups of people or in regular weekly, monthly and seasonal speeches. When these two committees fulfil their duties, the risk of the government forgetting its promises to the people will be removed.

Every six months, coherent reports on implementation of constitutional values will be presented to the nation.

Through a coordinated legislative program for the national council, the ground will be prepared so that within four years all those matters that need to be legalized and passed through the national council take the legal form and the political and administrative order of the country is prevented from facing a legal vacuum. An important aspect of this action is that by resolving legal problems in implementation of the three state powers through legislative laws, the need for amendment in the constitution will be reduced.
Part Five: Health

As a popular saying goes “a sound mind is in a healthy body”. Unfortunately, today all members of Afghanistan’s the body of including children, young people, women and the elderly suffer from a variety of diseases. The conditions of the Afghan child are deplorable and the majority of them do not food security. For this reason their growth especially between the ages of twelve and twenty is exceedingly insufficient which in return leads to many complications in later stages of their lives. The rates of Afghan mortality in childbirth are the highest in the world and a majority of the people over the age of fifty suffer from specific health problems (including heart diseases, vain diseases, advanced diabetes, etc.) that are hard to treat inside the country.

In our view, the issue of health is not limited to health services. Health is a specific culture that can be attained by harmonizing body and mind. To reach healthy conditions, in addition to health services, investments should be made in the areas of culture, customs and traditions, food and environmental hygiene, sport, the environment, provision of safe drinking water, public awareness and various aspects of life.

In the past years, nation-wide programs of limited achievement have been implemented but the continued travel to the neighboring countries of many Afghans for medical purposes shows that a massive task still lays ahead of us. Although there are no accurate numbers about this, mass media surveys conducted at the country’s airports and the ports of Torkham, Spin Boldak and Islam Qala show that every year, hundreds of thousands of people travel to the neighboring countries of India, Turkey and the Gulf states and mostly, they set off on travel at a stage when it’s already too late for treatment.

Bearing in mind this precarious situation, we will allocate the largest portion of the civilian part of our resources to the public health and education sectors.

Our initiatives in the health sector will focus on the following six areas:

1. Reform of Policy and Management
The Management of the Health Sector: Since the coordination of national programs in the health sector is made within the framework of the Ministry of Public Health, our first task will be to create capacity for the management of programs within the context of this ministry at both, central and provincial levels. Currently, an eye-catching part of the ministry's budget is spent on hiring international advisors. In the course of the last thirteen years, there has been some progress in building technical capacity but this area still needs further and serious attention.

The management of national programs in this area must gradually be transferred to the government. International aid for this area must be spent directly through the government budget. In the first step, we will examine how, through consultation with the private sector, we can create a better model of joint government and private sector healthcare. To ensure that services are effective, all contracts and processes of service will be brought under the supervision of the people and the media.

National programs need strong management, vision and commitment. To ensure that the management of the programs is effective, we on the one hand need health care professionals including doctors, dentists, nurses, physiotherapists, technicians, pharmacists, rehabilitation staff, midwives and psychotherapists and on the other hand, we need a core staff of managerial specialists.
This part must be separated from politics and be created in line with internationally accepted standards. We will assess the needs and capacities of the professionals of this sector, starting from the leadership of the ministry down to those in charge of clinics and by bearing in mind clear principles of reward and punishment, we place them under continuous supervision.

Health Profile: One of our first steps in this area is to conduct a careful study to result in a classification of diseases based on different ages and various geographical locations so that as a result of this comprehensive analysis of the country’s health situation – an analysis that would cover different elements including issues related to culture, society, food and environmental hygiene and sport facilities - a full document containing an analysis of the state of health in Afghanistan (a health profile) can be prepared. The setup should be capable of predicting and measuring the cost of health for each distinctive occurrence, and diagnosis and treatment of each category of registered diseases.

The Human Capital and Resources of the Health Sector: The health situation of our countrymen is directly dependent on the human capital in our health sector. The more the level of knowledge of health care professionals is raised during their early education and advanced training, the more effective will their services become. Students who find their way into medical faculties must from early on be trained in those obligations that are specific to this specialization. In terms of standards, those students who join private medical schools must at least live up to the standards required to join government-run medical schools.

In the area of human capacity building in health sector, attention will be paid to enhancing the capacity of the current professionals and certifying the level of their knowledge, and also, effective plans will be implemented in the field of long-term higher education and specialization.

Boosting the Capacity of the Current Human Resources: The hiring of doctors and other health professionals in the national programs and the health area must be done in line with transparent standards. So that the professional standards of the health personnel can be certified in a transparent manner, we will create an independent, authorized and volunteer board composed of those specialists who believe in the necessity of reform. The foreign health personnel who are hired to work for national programs and in health care must fulfil the specific standards and conditions formulated by the board. In as much as it is possible, we will prioritize local professionals but simultaneously, we have to draft urgent and comprehensive plans to boost the capacity of the local medical personnel. The level of knowledge of each one of the medical personnel must be verified anew each year so that in this manner, we can continuously assess the specialized and professional skills of the health personnel. Government and non-government employees will both be included in this evaluation.

Since experimental sciences evolve continuously, it will be necessary to create programs to raise the knowledge of the medical personnel after graduations and make them aware of the newest discoveries in their fields of expertise. To increase the capacity of the current local professionals, investment has to be made in creating short-term educational programs that would rest on their professional needs.

Creating New Human Capacity: Public health staff including, medical doctors, dentists, nurses, physiotherapists, technicians, pharmacists, rehabilitation staff, midwives, psychotherapists, managers, budget specialist and so forth make up a specific and coherent chain system. Weakness in any link of this chain can damage the service process. Therefore, it is necessary that investment is made in all spheres of specialization.
In order to achieve this objective, we need a coherent system of long and short-term higher education. So that the different links in the chain of the health area are integrated into one comprehensive scheme of higher education, the following measures will be taken:

**Short Term Trainings: Midwives, Technicians and etc.:** Since basic knowledge and training is sufficient for a considerable part of basic services, we will try to create short-term programs to train midwives and technicians. Although there has been relative progress in the training of midwives, serious attention needs to be paid to expanding this program to those provinces that, owing to their unfavorable geographic location, suffer from deprivation. We must positively discriminate these provinces. In those provinces where the living conditions are rough, special programs will be taken into consideration to train rural women so that these programs, in addition to improving the health situation and service, also create job opportunities for rural women.

**Long Term Higher Education (Medicine, Nursing, Technology, Stomatology, and other areas):** To make long-term higher education more effective, the following parts will be taken into consideration:

- **Standardization of Medical Faculties and Universities:** All medical universities and faculties will be organized under the umbrella of an organized, national educational scheme. The purpose of this scheme is to attain the kind of standards that in terms of professional capacity first place us at the same level as other countries of the region and then, at the level of the world. To attain this goal, conditions will be created for aligning educational institutions in Afghanistan with recognized universities of the region and in the world. The Gulf states and India, who have made serious investment in this area, are in terms of time difference, about half an hour to one hour behind local time in Afghanistan.

- **Conditions will be created to facilitate distance learning with the educational institutions of these countries. In addition, class rooms and students will be linked through the internet with universities and educational institutions in European countries and the United States of America. So that students can compete regionally and internationally, comprehensive and speedy English language programs will be launched for the students of the health sector. To make this scheme more effective, we will make significant investment in the following four important areas:**
  1. Planning, monitoring and evaluation of class sessions.
  2. Standardization and capacity building of lecturers.
  3. Establishing key hospitals, well-equipped laboratories and developing the current opportunities.
  4. Preparing the curriculum and the teaching systems to match internationally accepted standards.

- **Attention to Particular Parts:** Providing higher education opportunities in the fields of nursing, public health, pharmacy, technology and radiology technology and so forth are one of the most important necessities of contemporizing the health system. In this area, we will pay attention to creating at least the following additional fields of expertise:
  - **Nursing:** Appropriate educational opportunities will be made available inside the country so that nursing becomes more professionalized and the number of nurses increases.
  - **Technologists:** Diagnosis plays a very crucial role in recognizing diseases. If there are no well-equipped laboratories, then, treatment through telemedicine is also not possible. The private sector in Afghanistan has made progress in this area but there is an urgent need for standardization in this sector.
• Radiography Technicians: In addition to laboratories, radiography, too, plays an important role in diagnosis of diseases. In our higher and mid-level education institutions, we do not have opportunities to acquire this expertise. To increase capacity in this field, we will create radiography technology departments in our higher education institutions so that modern and contemporary technologies such as X-ray, ultrasound, CT Scan and MRI are used effectively.

• Pharmacists: Pharmacists not only advise patients about the use of medicine but medical doctors also need specialist pharmacists to make recommendations for the proper use of medicine by patients. According to the Afghan pharmacy laws, in addition to hospitals and private and government-run clinics, pharmacists, too, must employ professional pharmacists. The pharmacy faculty of Kabul University once used to be equipped with high-quality laboratories. But unfortunately today, neither in health care institutions nor in pharmacies there exist sufficient number of pharmacists. We will increase the number of pharmacy faculties and appropriate short-term training opportunities will be designed for current pharmacists.

Higher Education Opportunities for Specialization, Master's Degree and Ph.D. Degree Programs: Since progress in various fields of specialization requires an education level that is higher than graduate degrees, we will launch coherent programs for higher education for levels above graduate degree.

Funding Medical Services
Budget: The precarious health conditions of our countrymen demands that in addition to education, a large portion of our civil budget be allocated to and spent on the health sector.

The aim is not only to increase the percentage of the budget but our goal is to make services effective. To ensure that the budget allocated to service is used effectively, the following points must be taken into consideration:

Effective Management and Transparent Resources: The more resources are spent in an effective and transparent manner, the more the resources will be put into effective use. Improving managerial skills and recruiting competent and capable managers in the health sector is one way of ensuring that the budget is used effectively.

Making Use of Land and Properties of the Ministry of Public Health: We are not making proper use of the opportunities that are available to us. A majority of hospitals in Afghanistan cover extensive areas of land and make limited use of their superfluous properties. Here, we lay out as examples two possible ways of using the properties.
1. Within the context of the law, unused land can be leased to the private sector for use and to solve the problems of the private sector.
2. Depending on needs and by taking into consideration the available opportunities, the government also can make use of the land and properties to expand its health development projects.

Creating Joint Ventures in Partnership with the Private Sector
The opportunities available to the government, including government facilities, government-owned land, properties and surroundings belonging to hospitals will be shared with the private sector in line with the law. The government will lease land to private investors who want to invest in the health sector based on the Afghanistan health profile, health townships will be built and other types of support will be offered. Preference here will be given to those entrepreneurs who wish to and are capable of offering advanced medical services so that as a result, the number of people travelling abroad for medical purposes is reduced.
Health Insurance and the People’s Participation: International experiences have proven that the people's participation is one of the most important factors in making medical services effective. Creating health insurance services to be used by both, government employees and ordinary people, is necessary and will play a role in fair distribution of health care opportunities.

Offering Health Services: One of the most important achievements of Afghanistan is the wide coverage of health services. Maintaining this achievement is one of our goals. The coverage of health services rendered by specialized hospitals at national and regional levels and that of curative hospitals at provincial, district levels and clinics and basic health services at the village and district levels must be safeguarded and expanded. But at the same time, serious attention should be paid to the issue of standards and quality as well.

Hospitals, Health Clinics and Public Health Centers: First of all, we will assess all the currently available health clinics to verify according to which standards and qualities they have been built. In our evaluation of clinics, we will pay serious attention to the budget allocated to their maintenance and upkeep. The import and use of medicine in health clinics will be based on the clarified standards that are discussed in the next chapter of this manifesto. Considerable efforts will be made to make sure that all health clinics are functioning in accordance with the accepted standards. Since modern technology has changed health services in the whole world, connecting health clinics, hospitals and health centers through networks of optical fiber will serve as a bridge for health services. Serious attention will be paid to this area.

Services, Hospitals and Government-Run Health Clinics
Our key objective in this area is effective management of health services and innovative initiatives.

To assess the effectiveness of the services offered by hospitals and government-run health centers, hospitals and health centers must be carefully assessed. In addition to other standards, it must be verified how many medical staff are available to tend to one patient and how many patients are there for one medical doctor. Hospitals will be converted into government enterprises so they have financial independence and themselves manage their income and expenditures.

We must make a distinction between management skills and medical specialization. Therefore, for those graduates of medical schools who are interested in management, opportunities for higher education in this field should be made available. Since health makes up a significant part of the government budget and household budgets, the management of health matters must be added to other fields of study as a separate subject.

Prevention
Since prevention is a thousand times cheaper than treatment, we will focus on prevention as our first priority. Paying attention to prevention reduces treatment expenses. During the last thirteen years, we have secured significant achievements in this regard. Child and maternal mortality rate is reduced. Opportunities and challenges have been discussed and based on them, short-term, medium-term and long-term programs have been made feasible. Our pledges in this area the following:

1) Vaccination: we will implement key vaccination programs for children, mothers, and all citizens, in particular a polio vaccination program will take place across the country. Similarly, investment will be made in the local production of standard vaccines.
2) The Training of Midwives: Even though we have relative progress in training midwives, there is a serious need for expansion of this program particularly to those areas that, owing to their unfavorable geography, have remained deprived. We must practice positive discrimination with regards to these provinces. In the provinces where the living conditions are rough, specific training programs will be launched for rural women so that in addition to improving the state of health and the provision of services, job opportunities are created for rural women. Similarly, there will be training programs for specialist midwives who can advise mothers during pregnancy and if needed, refer them to the relevant sections in hospitals.

3) Child and Maternal Mortality: If make the reduction of mothers’ death in childbirth our target, and divide this target by percentages, the reduction of the first percentage of mothers’ mortality rate is relatively easy, but bringing down the second and the third percentage requires more investment and specialization. In order to make progress in this field, a seven year higher education in medicine is not sufficient. In this field, there is a need for specialist cadres and this serious need will be met by designing specific programs.

4) Public Awareness: For public awareness, we will make use of all effective and positive tools such as the media, schools, mosques, cell phones, print media and other means of mass communication. In addition, doctors and professionals responsible for clinics, hospitals and small health clinics will be obligated to provide patients and their care-givers with information about the diagnosis of the illness, the methods of treatment and other related matters in a clear and understandable language. In case of violation, complaints authorities will be there to address them without any delay.

5) Iodine Salt: In response to the shortage of iodine, investment will be made in local iodine production and in ensuring that the required ratio of iodine is available inside the country.

6) Potable Water: Public awareness of using safe drinking water must be increased and investment in this field will increase the percentage of prevention.

7) Food and Environmental Sanitation: In this area and other included areas, effective mechanisms will be set up for coordination between the ministries of public health, finance, agriculture, legislative and judicial authorities, municipalities, security bodies and food processing industries.

Sixth: Medicines
The Quality of Medicines: We will standardize the import of medicine and will pave the way for local production of medicine. There are globally accepted standards for quality assurance of medicines and there is consensus in this regard. Our commitment is that we will offer a five year license to a limited number of drug-importing companies based on negotiation with the companies and by taking into account the following conditions:
A. The companies will purchase and import medicines only from ten globally-recognized international firms. Both the production firm and the importing firm will be responsible for and guarantee for the quality of the imported medicines. Quality assessment will be conducted through impartial international firms and quality assessment reports will be printed and presented to the people. In this regard, the role of the directorate for control of pharmaceutical products is of importance. The government will pay serious attention to this directorate.
B. Importers should have representative branches in all provinces across the country and hire a professional pharmacist in each branch to supply the medicine based on the authorized doctors’ prescriptions and for a fixed price. The pharmacy owners will assume responsibility for the quality of their medicines and in case of any violation, their pharmacy will be closed down and the importing companies will be sued.

C. On a monthly basis, the Health Board (discussed under the human resources section) will assess some samples of the patients’ prescriptions against their compliance with the type of diagnosis, the dosage of use, and the ingredients of the medicine. In case of mistakes, this board will be authorized to issue warning to the doctor and remove his or her license.

D. All government institutions will be obligated to prioritize to at least twenty percent locally produced medicines in their procurements. The government will work with investors and importers on a joint plan to identify which medicines can be produced more quickly and cost effectively locally. Since Afghanistan is one of the ten poorest countries in the world, there are special concessions and incentives for Afghanistan’s exports. We believe that Afghanistan is capable of becoming one of the major exporters of medicine in a short term. To attain this goal, the government will make importers of medicines and investors sign a mutual agreement in which they will be obligated to solve the key problems ahead of investment in this field within five years and pave the way for exporting medicines. Afghanistan is one of those countries where possibilities for the production of new medicines are available. Hence, the government will work closer with trusted international firms to explore possibilities for the discovery of new medicines and joint research in special plants.

In the last few decades, in addition to contemporary medicine, traditional medicine has also established itself. We should systemize the export of medicinal plants and reach agreements with trusted international firms about systemizing the export of medicinal plants and the establishment of export companies and the processing of medicinal plants.
Part Six: Specific Priorities

First: Education and Higher Education: Our current education system reflects views from the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. This way of thinking rested on a number of hypotheses:

First hypothesis: Knowledge is limited. Therefore, the duty of the pupil and the student is to have command of this limited knowledge.

Second hypothesis: Knowledge is transmitted through hierarchical relations. Therefore, the relationship between a student and a teacher is similar to that of a soldier and an officer. The teacher dictates and the student accepts.

Third hypothesis: School, and later university, are confined spaces with their own specific rules and regulations and it is not possible for other individuals of society to take part in them.

Fourth hypothesis: A pupil is raised to become part of society’s elite. From the very beginning, the pupil is made to believe that he is related to society, but his literacy and education is the distinguishing feature between him and the rest of society. In this hypothesis, the perception is that society is ignorant and that it is the duty of the educated and knowledgeable individuals to change society and this change is one of their fundamental commitments.

Fifth hypothesis: The fundamental standards of education are general and the pupil, after grades six or nine or usually, after grade twelve, has command of everything, becoming specialized in all areas.

These hypotheses altogether are characteristics of views and opinions on education of the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries and our education and higher education still rest on them in their operations. This outlook is the reason why pupils and students are requested to memories their lessons and repeat them like parrots and through such repetition, progress in their education.

Under the specific circumstances of the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, information was limited and access to information was extraordinarily expensive. It took months to access a book. Transfer of information and the cost of communication were extremely expensive. For this reason, someone who graduated from school or university could indeed claim to be part of the elite.

But the circumstances of the twentieth-first century are different from those of the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries:

Mankind has understood and accepted that knowledge is unlimited. For this reason, there is no reason for pupils and students to exhaust themselves trying to have a command of all knowledge. All that a student or a pupil needs is to learn ways of acquiring knowledge and based on that becoming involved in a continuous learning process and never imagining that he would contain all knowledge.

Education is a two way process in which both the teacher and the pupil, or the professor and the student, mutually participate. Ultimately, the teacher or professor takes the role of a guide, rather than unilaterally transmitting all knowledge to the pupil or student.

The sphere of education cannot be limited to the specific confinements of school and universities or a series of specific rules and regulations. On the contrary, every place and every opportunity can be useful for practicing the process of education. In education, the role of parents and the family is far more important than the confinements of school or university or specific teachers and professors.

By acquiring knowledge or pursuing a specialization, the pupil and the student are not given marks of specific distinction to set them apart from other members of society so that they would claim for themselves the exclusive role of creating change or leadership. The pupil and the student are just ordinary members of society who ultimately have a better understanding of some issues in some areas than other members of society.
and this does not make them any different or superior. On the contrary, the pupil and the student learns that the more he understands his position and role vis-à-vis ordinary members of society, the more he increases his own effectiveness and usefulness to society. The fundamental criteria is acquiring methods of education and continuous education and not having command of all knowledge. Grades six and nine or twelve are merely the initial stages of a long journey of education. For this reason, efforts are made to reduce the number of subjects that pupils take and to concentrate all their talents on specific and necessary areas so that instead of learning everything, pupils develop the capacity and talent to learn everything by themselves.

In addition, the education system of the twenty-first-century has other characteristics too and they will be given fundamental importance in our reform of the education system:

In our century, access to information has become cheaper and globalized. Whoever has access to a computer and internet, will have access to far more information than the information contained in the American congress library. For this reason, the issue of access to information has been resolved fundamentally at the global level and no-one in any part of the world is faced with the difficulty of accessing information.

It has been proven that science is constantly changing. If somebody was to study engineering seventy years ago, he would have been right to believe that his methods and nature of work were not going to change for a few decades and that he could only increase his practical knowledge through gaining experience. Today, if someone studies computer engineering and is considered a top pioneer or innovator in his own profession, within six months to a year all his information becomes outdated and not usable.

For this reason, in the competition between a computer engineer who graduated ten years ago and one who graduated ten days ago, the odds are in favor of the engineer who graduated ten days ago. Since access to information is easy and on the other hand, science is continuously evolving, no one can claim to be the master of everything like the scholars of the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries did. Hence, the main focus of the education system is on how an individual can carry on with the continuous process of educating himself or herself. In our century, the fundamental point is not making pupils repeat information. Rather, we are trying to make sure that pupils develop their own power of creative thinking and analyze and scrutinize the information they obtains through their own grasp and thinking.

In our century, knowledge and seeking knowledge are no longer individualistic. In the past, a pupil as an individual would be in competition with other individuals. This competition has now changed to become group work and cooperative work. In such group work, in addition to a better understanding of lessons, the role of cooperation, coordination and democratic thinking are experienced. In the contemporary education system, the top grade student is not superior to other students but is just a member of a group who all take part with their conclusions and that even if one of them receives the highest grade in exams.

Since power is linked to knowledge, the nature of capital has also changed. The biggest capital in the biggest companies of the world is intellectual capital. Intellectual capital has taken over financial and physical capital or assets. Google and Microsoft are the result of intellectual capital not money or inherited money. In this manner, not only has work taken the shape of group work at school and universities but also, the relationship between work and knowledge with the environment and the relevant and beneficiary classes has also fundamentally changed.
The role of parents in the process of education has become extremely important. Without active participation of parents the process of education is flawed and incomplete. In the current education system the difference between school and home is disappearing. There is no solid wall between home and school to separate the two. Home, school and university have become fundamentally connected to each other and parents are also no longer illiterate people who, once the apple of their eye becomes literate, become estranged from their child, each living in a different world.

The private sector has been given a significant role with regards to providing education as well as its type and quality. The knowledge produced in schools and universities is useless unless it is linked to the conditions that the private sector establishes. The private sector requires a particular type of knowledge so that it can help increase its production and wealth. If knowledge fails to meet the requirements of the private sector, it becomes irrelevant.

The state’s role, too, is not just about the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Higher Education determining the type or quality of education. As a larger structure, the state is also involved in all relevant affairs. Creation of wealth and transformation of wealth into capital is the most crucial duty of the state. The education system is the producer of human capital which can put into productive use all types of other capital. In the absence of such capital the state is forced to import human capital or rely on raw and unproductive capital.

For this reason, our attitude towards education needs to change and reform fundamentally. Some of the steps we will take in the area of improving and reforming education are as follows:

School curriculums, particularly from grades one to six, should be compiled and composed in such a way so as to create and boost in students the art of creative thinking.

For this reason, the primary focus will be on language and literature so that the pupils’ thinking power and analytical skills grow. In addition to the official languages and mother tongues, the more pupils become familiar with other languages, the more they increase their intellectual capacity and comprehension power. For this reason, in primary school education, focus on learning languages will be a fundamental priority.

In the curriculum, not only are textbooks organized according to the criterion of preparing pupils to become active members of human society but also, contemporary technology is also going to be used extensively. CDs, films and educational slides, supplementary books, magazines, and newspapers which have exclusive pages or columns on science, culture, art, history and geography all make up an educational curriculum. Fortunately, in all these areas with regards to information, we are not faced with any problem and we can easily have access to millions of pieces of information.

In terms of moral and cultural values, it is necessary for us to change our educational curriculum in such a way that they buttress self-confidence and belief in self while also generating modern information and awareness for pupils. Loading pupils with a vast collection of useful and useless information does not help us in reinforcing our cultural and moral values. In this regard, the only awareness and information that is useful is the kind that can create the essence of self-confidence in pupils and make them possessors of strong moral and cultural judgment. In this regard, we will use a specific methodology that would lead to a clear and precise outcome in our organization of the educational curriculum.

Investing in teachers and educators, particularly in primary education, will be one of the most important parts of our education reform program.
The thinking and personality foundations of pupils take shape in primary education and as builders of pupils’ minds and behavior, teachers play a vital role. The problems of teachers and educators both in terms of wages and in terms of social standing and position will be solved in such a way that the most talented people of society will be drawn to becoming teachers.

We will implement a specific plan for the education system, based on which competent and outstanding teachers would be identified and through a coherent plan, would share their knowledge and teaching experience with all other teachers throughout the country. This program can be implemented in various ways: Creation of seminars and special learning stations, video conferencing, recording teaching methods and content on CDs or digital tools and their dissemination to schools all over the country.

We will furnish the education system in such a way that schools and universities, like mosques and madrasas, turn into social projects. In this regard we need a legal setup where the balance of the participation of parents and the state is determined in a transparent and lawful manner. Currently, our education and higher education has turned into one of the most expensive government institutions even though the degree of its positive returns is almost entirely disappointing. Cooperation between the state and citizens must be setup in such a way that the citizens end up viewing investing in their children’s education as an investment in better and safer future. Since parents spend time and money on better education and training of their children, they must also take part in it.

Building schools has become the biggest source of expenditure in our national budget. The experience of Japan and some other countries shows that the method and quality of education is far more important than the building that pupils enter to get into school. School buildings play a secondary role.

In Afghanistan during the late 1950s, the best schools were neither fully equipped nor did they have ventilation and heating facilities. But the standards of education in these schools, which were limited in number, rivalled with the most developed neighboring countries in the area. Graduates of these schools managed to become globally recognized and they managed to compete with their peers in the most advanced educational institutions of the world. We will therefore, on the one hand adjust our school building projects in proportion to our economic growth and on the other hand, amend the quality of teaching and lessons.

Maintaining and protecting schools and establishing funding sources for them as a joint project between the state and villages will be another fundamental step that we will tend to. We will create specific laws to clarify the nature of the families’ relationship and participation in the education system and the role of the private sector in this system so that the responsibility and participation of all relevant parties are clearly identified.

Recruiting young cadres to tend to the needs of the education system will be one of the fundamental measures that we will pay attention to in a serious and fundamental manner. In this manner, we will allocate the scholarships that we get from friendly countries in such a way so they can help us boost our education system. We will take into consideration specific conditions for attaining such scholarships and using the privileges that come with them so that they result in both, attracting the best talents of society to the education system and also preparing the ground for their return and for using their scientific abilities and talents for training further talents in society. We will take into consideration programs that encourage the most talented and educated young people to serve in the most deprived areas of the country in return for monetary and non-monetary privileges.
This program, in addition to allowing the emergence and development of hidden talents in deprived and far-flung areas of our country, also helps in establishing balance in the administration and future leadership of the country so that these managers and leaders are not linked to specific cities or regions but also get deployed to all over the country.

Our education system will be rebuilt and steered in such a way so that pupils come to consider all the compulsory subjects they take in school as the confirmed needs of their society and country. Pupils should not study just because they want to become a governor, minister, doctor or engineer in the future. At this stage, pupils’ attitude towards education has to be enhanced so that they assess and evaluate the nature of society’s needs from a broader perspective in which society is seen as a living body.

The different parts of the social order are part and parcel of each other. Pupils must understand that wealth is infinite but the source of wealth is limited and the production of wealth depends on the system, organization and human capital. In this manner, the attitude that must take shape in our education system, in one part will be linked to a way of thinking in which state-building as a pressing need of society is understood by pupils.

Pupils must grasp how a coherent system makes use of talents and how and why do these talents become part and parcel of each other in order that in the end the cycle of society moves forward. Therefore, a major part of the educational curriculum, particularly from grades nine to twelve, must discuss the successful experiences of state-building and nation-building with students and teach them how they become integrated in society and how they take part in the improvement and betterment of society’s structures.

After grade nine, pupils gain sufficient capacity to initiate in depth and coherent discussions about their role of and responsibilities as citizens. The important thoughts and questions which shape pupils’ mind-set must be taken into serious consideration during this stage. Three countries that have gained extremely successful experiences in this field are Chile, South Korea and Singapore. From an economic point of view, one of the most important criteria for economic progress is the standard of the workers’ education. Today, in Singapore and Chile, unless a worker has graduated from high-school, he will not find any kind of employment. Physical work like cleaning roads is not classified as a job. In today’s economic market, the jobs that are called jobs are only those jobs that lead to long-term income and ensure the dignity and respectability of the worker. This type of work is not available unless one has a high-school degree. One of the main reasons for this is that every country’s exports are a reflection of their intellectual capital. The quality of production also depends on the level of knowledge and education of the producer. There is no production in today’s world which is feasible without the use of modern technology. Since technology advances day by day, workers, too, must tend to their education and literacy so that they can keep up with the changes in technology.

One of the best examples in our country is armored vehicles which are run through computers. In our country, we do not have special drivers for them. For this reason, one of the biggest supports that have been given to us will largely remain out of use. If we pay attention to this example, we can understand to what extent finding reliable employment in a country where production largely relies on modern technology depends on education.

The education system must improve the culture of listening, writing and speaking in society.
Writing and speaking are important for delivering a message, but listening is important for understanding the message. Pupils must learn that for delivering better and in depth messages they must pay attention to building and improving their own capacity and this capacity will not grow unless the culture of listening to good speeches is boosted in society.

Writing is one of the best tools we have available to us for recording our thoughts. Unless the culture of writing is boosted and respected, no-one will be able to put forward their thoughts for review and evaluation. Spoken thoughts are always deniable unless they are recorded through information technology. But the most important characteristic of written thought is that it becomes separated from the writer through a piece of paper and a third party can highlight its errors and mistakes and the writer is obliged to accept it and rectify the shortcoming and errors of his thoughts. The writer cannot deny having written the writing. For this reason, the discipline of a writing culture must be fundamentally boosted.

In addition to the culture of writing, in our century the culture of the spoken word has also established its own unique discipline. This change is the result of the spread and dominance of information technology. Speech is a means of dialogue and communication and like every other part of the world, we, too, are in the process of becoming an information society. For this reason, managing speech has become one of the main matters in our culture and we must pay attention to it through our education system. At the same time, speech also has its particular discipline. In our culture, the discipline of speech is acquired in a traditional way. Our elders and scholars have always had the upper hand in speech; but most of the literate members of our society who used to work in government institutions have had plenty of problems with the art and discipline of speech and this problem still persists in the class of bureaucrats and managers.

We must fill the gap of the art and discipline of speech in our education system. Creating a favorable atmosphere in schools and universities and turning the specific opportunities that exist at schools and universities into arenas for practicing speech is one of the most vital steps that we must pay attention to in our education system. Clubs and organizations that come into being on a voluntary basis, radio and visual media have favorable conditions for practicing and boosting the culture of speech in our society.

One matter that is important in the culture of speech and writing, one based on which the education system must train children, is familiarity with the norms of writing and speaking. This norm is about a person’s respect for his own thoughts and ideas. If we pay attention, we see that degree to which a speech is positive and carefully thought out is closely linked to the degree the person respects their own thoughts and reflections. In the literature of deep thinkers, we hardly ever encounter discourteous speech contaminated by hatred, violence and contempt. The more vulgar people become in their thinking, the more they become vulnerable to discourteous speech contaminated by hatred, violence and contempt.

After grasping the culture of writing and speaking, we will also understand the importance of the culture of listening as well. The culture of listening is not about absorbing or acquiring a thoughts or ideas but it’s also about tolerating thoughts and ideas. We want to boost the atmosphere of tolerance of thought and thinking through the education system. We must become capable of listening carefully to each other and reach the fundamental point that by listening to others we in fact encourage them to listen to us. Familiarity with and respect for the culture of listening is one of the conditions for reducing spoken threats in our oral literature.
The more debate, discussions, speaking and listening become commonplace in society, and the more people understand each other, the more they find a chance to move away from formalized ways of communicating and collectively learn to listen and speak to each other.

Paying careful attention to the words of the speaker results in our better understanding of what the speaker means. The continuation of this process boosts the culture of tolerance, mildness and mutual acceptance in society and it is through this perspective that we can institutionally prepare the ground for nation-building as an outlook. One of the pivotal values of our constitution is to enhance the kind of culture that leads to the rule of law. Nation-building is not possible if it is confined to respect to each other’s status as citizens and citizen rights. The culture of tolerance, mildness and mutual acceptance is the most sensible way of achieving the goal of nation building. For this reason, each one of our schools, particularly between seventh and twelfth grades, is a large laboratory for nation-building and state-building. If children realize that they live within the framework of a believable and mutual national order where the etiquette and discipline of speaking and listening are characteristics of civic morality and citizenship, from that point in school they will try to create an atmosphere of safety through which their country transforms into a safe retreat for their collective life.

Through fundamental and purposeful reform of the education system we can equip our young generation with a broad outlook towards the future as they grow up and mature. One of the pivotal points that is of extraordinary importance to our fundamental reform of the education system is history lessons which through a deep and enlightened attitude must be codified in such a manner that while pupils become thoroughly familiar with the past, they also develop a broader vision of the future.

History lessons are not only about repeating the past to revive the negative and unpleasant dimensions of the actions of those of the past but they are cautionary lessons for building the foundations of the future so as to prevent the chances of a repeat of negative and unpleasant experiences of the past.

Our history lessons must create a possibility for us to save ourselves from becoming stranded in history and so that in terms of their thinking and intellect, our future generations reach the kind of views that would give them the capacity to at least plan the fifty years ahead. In its history section, our curriculum must be the kind of curriculum that rests on a way of thinking that is about building a future. After the successful experiences of Malaysia, future-building has become a specific discipline of governance throughout the world and this discipline has led to all projects from small and mid-size towns to large countries to be discussed by bearing in mind this future-building attitude and so that this matter becomes a matter of national debate, national programs and a national discipline.

By leaning on this outlook, we hope to put the foundations for a new history in our country in the coming five years so that our citizens are freed from the short-sighted ways of thinking that are about what can be achieved today, at this very moment and pay attention to a point on the basis of which they can imagine themselves as members of a wider society and understand that political stability is the provider of a space in which all their long-term goals and hopes can be realized and to move forward on the basis of this principle.

Fundamental reforms in the higher education system: An important point that we have to bear in mind is that no society can afford to send all their people to university.
At the same time, it is a necessity for all societies to have many people attend university. Going to university is a wish and hope of any citizen. But going to university is extraordinary expensive. In our country, this expense is paid for by the state through the national budget. For this reason, the money spent on universities must have returns that are acceptable and understandable to society. Or else, the story of spending on university resembles the story of a gardener who spends years working but ends up with trees that bear no fruit. And at the end, all he has done is to create dry wood that he can burn, and no other specific or useful result. Our attitude towards our universities resembles the story of the dry wood, and not a sapling that grows and stays standing two to three hundred years. We cannot justify this situation in any possible way. The university is not a place in which professors, managers and students are disappointed for this or that reason. On the contrary, the university must be a source of pride and hope and self-confidence so that anyone who enters it feels that he or she is going through one of his greatest life experiences and is moving forward towards a future full of pride and confidence.

For this reason, to draw a conclusion from these thoughts, we will pay attention to a number of necessary points:

Our education system must gain the kind of capacity that when a pupil completes the ninth grade, he or she is capable of taking part in both, the economy, and social matters and can lay the foundations for a secure future for himself and his country. The same applies to pupils who complete high school or higher than that, university.

We have to raise our pupils in our education system in such a way that they don’t assume that completing grade nine or twelve amounts to the end of their lives.

On the contrary, we must create the kind of conditions in which the panorama of long-term education takes shape naturally in their mind. In this manner, pupils who owing to specific circumstance or particular necessities of life or because their families had no other option have been forced to abandon their education are given the opportunity to whenever they have a chance, resume their education. To put it more bluntly, knowledge should not be about a certificate given by a school or university rather with the establishment of special classes, opportunities should be created resting on which any skilled worker or any individual willing to raise the level of their education has the opportunity to, by following parallel programs, gain a recognized certificate which would be equivalent to the specific certificate offered by schools and universities and the owner of which must gain all the privileges and if necessary, pass through all the stages of higher education.

Our higher education must fundamentally separate three stages: grades fourteen, sixteenth and eighteen. All students should not be forced to complete university in four years. Rather, through specific programs and rapid development, we should train individuals in such a manner so that they can enter the job market after two years. In this program, focus must be on the needs of the market. In this manner, through activating our human resources, our higher education system becomes part of our economic plan.

Children play a crucial role in changing and shaping the views of their parents. Parents regard their children as their investment and for this reason, their being affected by the views and wishes of their children is hugely important. One of the ways through which it is possible to change the culture of a society, especially in countries like Afghanistan, is fundamental and purposeful investment in child education.
In this regard, since contemporary technology is very effective in children’s education, our government will vigorously pay attention to creating the conditions for making available the technology for children’s education. The international program that the American MIT University has taken into consideration and that currently is being followed by universities in China and India is that contemporary technology related to education must be produced at such cost to make it affordable to a majority of people. In this regard, with the help of various civil society foundations and other volunteer organizations, our government will cooperate with all international institutions that work on the development of the education of women and children.

In our education system, we have to pay special attention to those citizens who owing to war and insecurity or economic, cultural and social conditions have been left behind in education. Specific rapid development programs must be set up through which pupils of different ages can progress in a short but continuous time – whereby the criteria for their acceptance to the classes and the reliability of their knowledge is ascertained through careful examination – in various regions from grade six to nine and twelve. This point is of vital importance in relation to women. Women, regardless of at what they age they want to enter the education system, should have the chance to leave the four walls of their home and through turning to education, pave the way for the growth of their own intellectual capabilities and take part in boosting the a cultural and scientific atmosphere in families and the wider society.

At whichever stage students leave university, they must have gained specific specialization resting on which they can take part in the economic growth and improvement of the management of governance of society.

The crucial point on which the rebuilding of our higher education must take place is the categorization of pupils at secondary school. Starting from at least ninth grade, on the basis of their interests and talent, students must specialize in particular fields so that their time and energy is used in a purposeful and effective way. Making students study all subjects until the twelfth grade is a legacy of the previous century. The education system must be run in such a manner that by the time pupils reach grade nine, the level of their general knowledge is sufficient for the necessities of civic life. After this stage, pupils have to be carefully categorized so that they have chance to specialize in the fields of their interests and talents. Given that some fields of science are related to and connected to each other, in addition to specialist subjects some other subjects must be taught as additional, complementary subjects such as computer and information technology which, in our time, are necessary tools in all sciences. But other subjects must be taught only within the confinement of specialization so that students’ minds are not exhausted.

The issue of language including our official languages, native tongues and the key international language must be given a fundamental place and importance. We have to bear in mind that given the expansion of natural sciences and the fact that they surround all parts of civic life, we do not have the option to teach them properly in our own languages. Natural sciences grow and change with such speed that acquiring them through translation is impossible. For this reason, one of the essential necessities that must seriously be included in our curriculum is the English language. By the time pupils reach grade nine, their command of English must be of such to enable them to study natural sciences, mathematics, and information technology in English.
For this reason, alongside investing in our official and mother tongue, we have to keep in mind the English language as a certain necessity for all pupils whether they specialize in mathematics, natural sciences or humanities. And for those students who enter the field of humanities, the Arabic language must be included in their key subjects to enable them to properly make use of Arabic texts.

In the field of national culture and Islamic knowledge and morality, careful and purposeful attention must be paid to primary school years up to the classification stage. In this field, our education curriculum must be prepared in such a way that pupils become familiar with the depth of our national culture and Islamic knowledge so that they become immune to any position that may lead to extremism and fundamentalism. In this regard, the texts of our literature and culture are extraordinarily rich so that by leaning on them, we can easily boost the senses of humanitarianism, civic attitudes, tolerance and acceptance in the pupils thinking and conduct and raise them as self-confident people with trust in the capacity and capability of mankind, the nation and Islam.

In the stage after classification, too, our curriculum must be structured in such a way that pupils and students are raised with a healthy spirit and with the intention of active participation in the order of collective life. In this manner, any individual who graduates in any specific field, as an active and responsible citizen, will be possessor of a deep and rich cultural attitude vis-à-vis public matters that are related to civic life.

To fight against extremist and fundamentalist ways of thinking, departments related to Islamic sciences and knowledge must be paid attention to in a fundamental way and study fields and subjects that help a culture of tolerance and religious reconciliation must be established and boosted. In this field, setting up departments that teach Islamic interpretation, jurisdiction and the sayings of the prophet from a comparative perspective of various Islamic schools of interpretation, especially the Hanafi (Sunni) and Jaffari (Shi‘ite) schools, is of huge importance.

University entrance exam must be fundamentally reformed so that the best talents of our country are enabled to enter our higher education or be able to take advantage of foreign scholarship opportunities. To this end, one of the most fundamental steps is that starting from primary school, the education system must be organized in such a manner that conditions are created for the even-handed and comprehensive growth of all talents of society. University entrance exam also must change from the way it is conducted in the provinces so that the possibility of using force or the influence of local power-holders is prevented. University entrance exams must be organized to take place in adjacent provinces and the questions must be prepared in a standard manner, with thorough supervision and care so that the university entrance exams take place with the necessary transparency and soundness. Methods that are compatible with electronic supervision and evaluation must enter the university entrance exams so that the citizens’ trust in the soundness of them is fully secured.

Second: Election and the Participation of citizens in the political process: Elections are the healthiest mechanism for managing the process of power transfer from one elected government to another one. Widespread participation of citizens in the election process; ensuring the transparency of the process of election, protecting the votes of the citizens, and respect for the outcome of elections are important principles of a democratic state.
To institutionalize, the more the better, the democratic process, our government will commit itself to the following steps:
Institutionalizing the activities of political parties: Creating the right conditions for the activities of political parties cannot take place without the state investing in civic politics. Tending to this matter is the most important part of the government’s commitment to ensuring the rights of citizens. Without political parties, democracy and the culture of democratic participation cannot take root in society. The state is a complex structure the foundational philosophy of which is ensuring safety, ease and happiness and all other rights of citizens. It is only through organized and institutionalized participation of citizen that this complex and vast structure can act to the benefit of justice and participation. In this field, political parties make up the most important pillar of organized participation of citizens. For this reason we promise to take a series of measures as our working priority so that resting on them, we can create the right conditions for the establishment and growth of national political parties so that they are enabled to compete with each other through outlook and programs and play their effective role in making the work of government transparent. Our most important steps in this field will be:
Amending the election law: In its current shape, the election law in practice removes the possibility of effective activity on the part of political parties. If political parties are unable to make use of their organizational power in elections, which is the most important pillar of political participation, then, in the public mind, they have lost their effectiveness and credibility. For this reason, we will amend the election law in such a manner so that the right conditions for the activities of political parties are provided in an institutionalized and legal manner and political forces are enabled to, resting on their lists and programs, enter the sphere of political struggles to win votes and strengthen their position. This background paves the way, in a practical sense, for another positive part of usefulness and activities of political parties so that through comprehensive nation-wide programs they can move political debate from the limited sphere of identity and turn them into structures that rest on the interests of wider segments of the nation so that national bonds can be created throughout Afghanistan. Elections and active and effective participation of parties in this nation-wide process is one of the adequate platforms for addressing this important need. In elections, all citizens connect with each other regardless of their identity and for the purpose of a greater matter and all of them together strive to ensure their shared and collective interests. It is for this reason that from the point of view of civic and democratic politics, elections are regarded as the most important platform for the growth and boosting of justice and participation in society.
Change in the system of registration of national political parties:
Owing to the major role political parties play in organizing social affairs, to register and officialize their activities, political parties must create high and transparent standards. If the registration and recognition of the activities of political parties fails to be of high and trustable standards, then, they collapse in terms of their expectations and efforts and as a result, they lose their chance of winning the nation’s trust in their ability to play an important role. If the large number of political parties from one perspective shows that free conditions have been created for their establishment and growth, from another perspective, it shows that their standards are poor.
The German system in which a minimum of five percent of votes from across the country is a requirement for a legal acknowledgement of a party is one of the standards for raising the level of political parties’ official activities. In this regard, we can take into consideration different examples that have been put into practice in various countries. But it is necessary that through an extensive and deep debate with political parties and civic institutions, all of these examples and views reach maturity so that they can become practicable as a law.

Reform of the election system at the level of administrative units: In terms of its relation with administrative units and election zones, the method of election also needs fundamental changes. Experience has shown that the province as an election unit is not a positive tool for securing relations between voters and their representatives. Our commitment is that we will categorize election zones in line with the regulations of the constitution and on the basis of the very clear criteria of the number of population and the geographic position as soon as the opportunity arises and prior to the launch of the next parliamentary elections so that voters and their representatives have a more direct and clear relationship with each other. In addition to also availing the right necessary conditions for the activities of political parties, this measure helps representatives to identify and solve the specific problems of their voters and offers a chance to representatives so be in touch with their voters in an institutional and organized way.

Establishing election institutions from villages to the provinces: Another section which in this regard is of huge importance is the creation and implementation of a plan resting on which governance horizontally and vertically is covered by civic politics.

What this means in practice is that we must have election institutions from village to district, to municipality and province to the whole nation-wide region. On the basis of this, the village must find a specific and defined legal status. Presently, Afghan villages do not have a legal status. Once the legal status of villages is secured, their election councils become a tool of widespread participation of citizens in politics and in the sphere of political management and leadership.

So far, district councils have not taken shape yet. Our commitment is that when the national assembly elections take place, district councils will also be elected. In the constitution it is clearly stipulated that municipalities must be elected. But conditions for the participation of citizens must be created from the outskirts to cities to city zones in an institutional manner so that in the municipality councils there is a balance of technical knowledge, and political and administrative knowledge.

In this vertical and horizontal participation it is necessary that the law related to provincial councils is adjusted and specific laws for ensuring the authorities of provincial and district councils are created so that they become tools of organization not instruments of conflict and animosity. For this reason, we must learn from the experiences of the previous years and resting on these experiences, arrange the relationship between elected and appointed institutions in such a way that the ground is prepared for as much as possible accountability on the part of government bodies and as much as possible effectiveness of the offices’ output.
Our municipality law in no way responds to the necessities of the twenty-first century. For this reason, we commit ourselves to amending the municipality law in a fundamental manner so that the authorities and responsibilities of the municipalities are similar to the authorities and responsibilities of the municipalities of the kind of cities where stability, prosperity and participation have been ensured in a required manner. In this regard, some countries in Latin America, Europe and America have made significant progress so that their experiences are worthy of imitation and use by us. It has been proven everywhere that the participation of the people in matters of municipality is one of the most significant causes for the spread for city affairs in those cities that have available to them a progressive civic culture, politics and economy.

Solving the formidable problem between nomads and village inhabitants:

Nomadism is a specific way of life in which a group of people move back and forth between different regions seasonally and according to climatic conditions. Specific groups from different parts of Afghanistan are included in this way of life. The Aymaq, the Uzbeks, the Turkmen, the Pashtuns, the Arabs, the Gujars and some others in greater or minor ways lead nomadic lifestyles.

Owing to the particular changes that have taken place in the conditions of the region, especially in our country, the nomadic lifestyle as a national issue has drawn to itself serious attention on the part of the state and society and improving and accommodating the lives of nomads has been stipulated in the constitution as one of the obligations of the state of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

Historically speaking, nomads have played a number of crucial roles in the region and in Afghanistan. Prior to the establishment of a modern transport system, nomadic caravans were one of the key tools of transport and trade relations in the region and also played the role of a mobile market, moving between different regions. In addition, nomads also played an important role in meat and dairy production and thus a significant part of the people’s needs were met along the movement route of nomads. Nomads also played a role in trade that went beyond the region and in a timeline stretching from the middle-age to late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they moved between Afghanistan, India and China. Before the creation of closed borders, nomadic trade caravans moved in a wider region stretching from Calcutta to Bukhara and Iran and Russia.

Under the conditions that existed between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, nomadic life was taking place in a situation when the population of Afghanistan was small and according to estimates, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the population was no more than five million people. At the time, a considerable number of the people of Afghanistan were nomads. Depending on the conditions and the specific social and political circumstances, the shape of the relationship and relatedness of nomads and village dwellers differed in different periods and regions. In some regions like Waziristan, village dwellers asked for extortion money from nomads but in other regions, nomads forced their way into regions. Conflict between village dwellers and nomads over letting their livestock move through some regions or over nomads’ use of grazing grounds and fields has always existed and in some regions, has led to violent and destructive struggles. This kind of conflict existed regardless of whether or not the nomads were of the same tribal and linguistic affiliation as village dwellers.
The conflict carried on, rotating and in different shapes until the end of the Taliban rule as a result of which, nomads became divided into three different categories.

A significant part of the nomads became agricultural laborers and left behind the nomadic lifestyle. The season of wheat harvest in Jalalabad and Khost arrives at the beginning of spring whereas in other parts of Afghanistan, four more months pass before wheat is ready for harvest. The movement of a large part of nomads was related to wheat harvest and this group was a significant force in agricultural support. This group which included a majority of poverty-stricken, incredibly deprived people, turned to village and city life and gradually, cut off their affiliation with nomadic lifestyle. Continuous drought was another key reason why this segment of nomads stopped the nomadic lifestyle. This is because every time a serious drought threatened Afghanistan, a significant part of nomads ended up losing their livestock and finding themselves forced to become first agricultural laborers and then city or village dwellers.

Another part of nomads who, because they had entered the contemporary market of trade and investment, stopped the nomadic lifestyle and chiefly became city dwellers. This part invested in contemporary forms of transport and created the main transport companies of Afghanistan. In addition, this part invested in agricultural land in different parts of Afghanistan, especially in Logar, Khost or Jalalabad and purchased lots of land which altogether caused them to settle in villages.

Another part of nomads carried on with their nomadic life, making a living through shepherding and livestock keeping. The life of this part of nomads, which on the map lay in the middle of a pyramid shaped region, was extraordinarily affected by the April coup and then the Soviet invasion of 1979 and for some, owing to the five years of drought that took place during the Taliban rule. Some of them sold their livestock and moved towards the top of the pyramid and invested in various cities and some others went down to the bottom of the pyramid and became regular labourers in villages and cities and in this manner, when the Bonn process began, around seventy to eighty percent of Afghanistan’s livestock keeping had disappeared.

A significant part of the conflict that exists between nomads and village dwellers is a legacy of the nineteenth century in central Afghanistan. As a result of the decade long violence on the part of Amir Abdurrahman, thousands of people were either killed or forced to leave their property and belongings or be exiled and made to settle in other parts of the country. In Hazarajat, the consolidation of the pillars of the central government happened with great violence and subsequently, according to the witness accounts in Saraj-al – Tawarikh, a huge part of the Hazara-owned lands - Hazaras were inhabitants of central Afghanistan - was distributed to government officials or soldiers and officers who took part in this war and they sold the land to the nomads. In addition, a part of the confiscated property was given to those nomads who had taken part in Abdurrahman’s battle of Iljari against the Hazaras.

For this reason, in central Afghanistan relations between nomads and village dwellers was continuously a mixture of a sense of cooperation and constant conflict and this ended with the start of the jihad period. During the jihad period, a majority of nomads were forced to migrate or take part in jihad or settle in Pakistan.
After the Bonn conference, the return of the nomads to Hazarajat was accompanied by conflicts as a result of which a large number of our fellow countrymen including both, nomads and the inhabitants of central Afghanistan especially Behsud, Daimord, and Khwat lost their lives. For this reason, solving the formidable problem of nomads and village dwellers requires an integrated national plan that has to simultaneously take into account a number of dimensions:

Implementing the program of accommodation and improvement of nomads’ lives in line with article fourteen of the constitution is the most fundamental step that needs to be realized so that leaning on it, conditions are provided so that young nomads, just like other young people of the country, take part in building the new Afghanistan. There are hundreds of educated young nomads who have degrees from universities in Pakistan, India and Iran and other countries and are active in government offices and private businesses. This group is a good role model and in this manner, the project of nomads’ settlement turns into a voluntary and acceptable process. Bearing in mind the experiences of some regional countries, especially Iran and Arab countries, in settling nomads, my proposal is that just like the other processes, this process, too, has to take place by taking the kind of steps that cause the conflict to be solved fundamentally, from its roots without causing negativity on either side of the conflict. Our commitment is that simultaneously with the program to settle nomads, we must also put into practice specific projects for contemporary styles of livestock keeping as one of the economic priorities of our government. Through this program, with strong management of the state in attracting international and Afghan investment, nomads gain access to alternative livelihood and the production of meat, dairy and other animal husbandry produce becomes a key source of the country’s income.

In this manner, setting up limited partnership companies in different parts of Afghanistan is another step through which we can use joint production on the basis of climatic and geographic conditions into a trigger for linking the participation of different sections of the country’s economy and encouraging all parties involved to create joint capital. Equally, investing in irrigation systems and boosting of modernized agriculture is another step that encourages nomads to engage in long-term economic programs. This program has had successful outcomes in some countries like New Zealand, Scotland and elsewhere which can also be used in our country.

Bearing in mind what was laid out above, the government of “Change and Continuity” sees solving the conflict between nomads and village-dwellers throughout the country, including Hazarajat, in a manner that is finite and deals with the underlying causes of the conflict as one of the most essential duties of the government and commits itself to realizing the plan in line with the laws of the constitution especially articles five, six, fourteen, forty and forty-four which are “ensuring safety”, “creating a prosperous and progressive society resting on social justice, the protection of human dignity, support for human rights, ensuring democracy, ensuring national unity, equality between all tribes and ethnic groups, even-handed development across the country”; “boosting agriculture and livestock-holding, improving the economic, social and livelihood conditions of farmers and livestock keepers and settlement and improving of the lives of nomads”, “protection of property from attack”, “creating balance and boosting the education of women, improving education of nomads and tackling illiteracy in the country” as key obligations of the state and will implement and ensure them.
An authorized commission composed of credible and impartial personalities with no stake in the conflict will be created under the division of the presidential office so that a concrete and comprehensive and timed plan (the first three to four years of the presidential term) is realized for nomads’ settlement and improvement of their lives and protection of their legitimate and lawful property throughout the country, including in Hazarajat, and nomads’ access to social services, especially education and health is ensured. A commissioner from the independent human rights commission and an authorized representative from the Supreme Court will also be included in the commission.

To realize the program for nomads’ settlement and improvement of their lives, help for the two sides of the nomads versus village dwellers throughout the country and compensation for the damages suffered including in Daimirdad, Kajaw, Khwat, Naru, and Logar Province and tending to the survivors of the victims of both sides of the conflict and solving all conflicts and disputes that have an economic dimension, a specific budget on the part of the government through a special fund will be taken into consideration. This budget will be included every year in the national budget until the program for the solution of the conflict between nomads and village-dwellers is fully solved.

The commission will be authorized to solve and settle all conflicts related to property and ownership of nomads and village-dwellers and government-owned grazing lands throughout the country including Hazarajat through the country’s courts of justice relying on lawful and reliable documents of ownership from both sides of the conflict.

Since the continuous conflict between nomads and village-dwellers, including in Hazarajat, has caused the martyrdom of tens our fellow countrymen and forced enormous financial and mental damage on hundreds of families on both sides of the conflict, the moving of nomads to regions where there has been conflict will be completely stopped.

The commission in charge will measure the cost of damage and the government will pay the cost until the program for settlement and improvement of nomads’ lives is completed.

Through careful examination of the reliable documents, damages caused to village-dwellers throughout the country in the course of eight years of conflict including Daimurd, Kajaw, Khwat, Naru and Logar Province will be carefully measured by the commission in charge and paid for by the government. Measures will be taken to facilitate the return of the displaced to their homes and properties.

Any use of weapons and resorting to war and military-like conduct will be banned to both sides of this affair and breaking this rule will be treated as rebellion against national security and strength of the legitimate state of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan will be responded to with full and comprehensive steps.

Four: Fighting Administrative Corruption: The fight against corruption has become a serious priority in our country’s governance. The fact that the country is positioned in the line-up of the most corrupt countries of the world reveals the enormous crisis that we are faced with. This corruption has taken hold of all parts of our collective life from offices to politics and economy and culture and morality and fighting it has become one of the most serious duties of ours.
The fight against corruption requires a systemized and comprehensive plan the fundamentals of which rests on the political will and determination of the highest level of state leadership. The key point is not only that we can no longer tolerate corruption anymore but if corruption goes on, then, the country cannot be sure of its own survival.

To fight against administrative corruption in addition to the need to fundamentally reform the basis of our attitudes and beliefs, we must also make use of international experiences where some of the experiences gained especially in financial accountability can be categorized as follows:

Whenever the culture of the country’s administration tolerates widespread corruption and does not react to it, this means that corruption is a tool of agreement between a limited number of people through which they secure their own monopolized interests and as a result, the offices that are created to fight corruption mostly themselves become tools of corruption.

But accountability in those states where control over the administration is very strict in reality amounts to blindly ensuring all laws. In such a situation, corruption becomes under control but the implementation of the budget does not result in growth. This is because in such states, the goal of ensuring the law is to limit and is not about development and social matters. In such a state, there is no rapid development growth neither is there basic and adequate services for the people.

In states where accountability is related to realizing the national budget through national programs, each ministry or each programs is an instrument of implementation of specific goals and through this, the state and society are linked together in a chain. In this type of accountability, the state’s commitments are to establish a lasting, prosperous economy.

On the basis of this type of accountability, the hypothesis is that if capital is not produced extensively, then, the realization of national programs will become difficult if not impossible. This type of accountability which is taken into consideration in Scandinavian countries and economically advanced countries, is practiced in those countries because there is very little corruption there. But in countries where corruption is extensive, the implementation of this type of accountability is difficult because the rate of wealth production in these countries cannot match the rate required for the implementation of national programs.

The fourth type of accountability which only a handful of states have managed to implement is full accountability on the part of the state. In this type of accountability which is based on flexibility and cooperation between various bodies of the government, the state is taken into account as the overall entity and accounts for all the procedures that take place in the sub-institutions.

Given the specific conditions of our country right now, we have no choice but to move from the first stage in which widespread corruption has taken hold of the government body and society and where the culture of tolerating corruption is common place to stage three which is building a national budget and creating plans. Our experiences from the years between 2002 and 2005 show that if national programs are created with careful consideration, then they can be implemented and lead to results even under very difficult conditions. But we have to bear in mind that this kind of planning requires specific capacities without which the programs cannot be properly drafted and realized.

For this reason, so that the government has accountability in a fundamental and legal way, the drafting and realizing of a national budget that includes all parts of the government from the capital to the villages and whereby transparency
and accountability are practiced in the rendition of services and in wealth production, is of vital importance. Some of the issues that reveal a political void as well as widespread corruption and need fundamental attention are as follows:

Abuse of position and authority in government posts which has caused both, misuse of public opportunities and wealth and the boosting of the culture of nepotism, while at the same time, abuse of government authority as an illegitimate tool of income and misuse of people’s rights.

In the last three decades vast areas of land has been grabbed and this trend is carrying on. The chief reason for land grabbing is the lack of a government policy for the production and distribution of land. For example in Kabul, the government has not assigned neighborhoods so that land is distributed lawfully. A key part of the government’s activities in Kabul is still the result of work done in previous eras.

Building dams to irrigate arid and barren land has been one of the important matters of discussion in the last twelve years but the program has not been realized. The lack of an orderly system to tend to this grave problem through meticulously thought out planning aiming at the protection of already existing agricultural land and the production of new lands is felt strongly.

There are two reasons why neither government land nor privately-owned land has been protected. First, the legality of the land has not been consolidated. Pieces of land already registered in the past are few. Second, an effective legal system to tend to land disputes does not exist. For this reason, dispute over land has become one of the gravest problems of society and is one of the most visible faces of corruption.

Hence, to solve this conflict, we will take the following measures: We will respond to any type of misuse of government position and authority to commit administrative corruption by applying concrete laws and using definite methods and we will track down those accused of corruption through specific institutions and bodies which we will create within the context of law and if the crime is proven, we will punish the perpetrator in the most definite manner.

In cities, we will put into practice an extensive housing program through apartment blocks, making sure that the housing, heating and maintenance are economically viable. Through creating housing, we help reduce the price of land so that land becomes accessible to the general public.

Through legalizing property, we make society party to the protection and maintenance of property.

By not giving government officials a free hand for corruption, we put an end to their extortions.

By legalizing land and property ownership, we will make the use of housing more practical. Currently, a significant part of property is illegal and land is used in a most unscientific manner.

So far, absolutely no thought has been made about the narrow streets and the waste and no program has been prepared for housing that would take into account the environment. The legalization system that we propose is one in which all the people of the neighborhood come to agreement with each other over allocating a specific place for legalizing the infrastructure so that in case the size of land is reduced, they can take into consideration a plan so that the quality of making use of land rises fundamentally.
Reform of the justice and judiciary system and establishing specialist courts and funds for solving disputes is a plan resting on which we free lands from disputes so that in the next step, they can be registered. The important parts of our governance that need profound and fundamental reforms are regarded as special priorities in our program and they are:

1. Government accords: Government accords are key to administrative corruption since it’s through them that state opportunities and income is monopolized in the interest of a limited number of people. To solve this formidable problem, an effective office will be established at the presidency office level so that on the basis of categorization, and in line with transparent and clear standards, government accords are scrutinized and all the significant accords are integrated into a coherent system of examination while at the same time, given to public scrutiny as well.

2. Smuggling: Widespread smuggling is one of the key matters related to corruption. Widespread corruption has caused damage to the culture of tax paying. What causes smuggling can be shown in several examples. The lack of state’s control over cities, smuggling ports and cooperation between different offices of the state and smugglers which through changing documents, create the right conditions for escaping taxation.

3. Illegal Exports: A significant proportion of our exports are sent to neighboring countries which as examples include carpets and dry fruit. These exports which often are conducted illegally, have on the one hand damaged our traders and on the other hand, have led to a reduction of government income and the country, too, has been deprived of its exportation credibility.

To fight against this predicament, we will take the following measures:

- Control of ports and highways through the relevant bodies: Creating institution through which wholesale and retail sellers and consumers can oversee the quality of imported goods and through which the conditions are created for legalization of imports so that goods enter markets after import duty and state tax are paid. This action will cause that healthy competition between traders is ensured.

- Legalizing smuggling ports and creating legitimate supervision on the part of merchants and investors interested in ensuring the legitimacy of the state and compete in conditions of transparency. Increasing the wages of teachers, police and civilian officials of the state so that they do not turn to corruption to compensate for their low wages. Rewarding those officials who take part in fighting corruption and punishing those individuals who commit corruption.

1. Smuggling of historical artefacts, precious stones and wood logs
The smuggling of historical artefacts, precious stones and wood logs is also one of the most important causes of widespread corruption in the country. This type of smuggling, in addition to damaging to the economic value chain has also caused massive damage to culture and historical values and the environment as well.

Creating community networks for the protection and safeguarding of forests, creating the right conditions for furniture making companies, tasking border control forces to take active part in the protection of woodlands and creating awareness of the long-term damages caused by the disappearance of woodlands owing to increase in natural disasters and more importantly, investing in boosting of a national culture in which people become aware of the importance of protecting their national resources will be among the measures that we will realize to fight against such forms of smuggling.
The first step towards protecting our historical artefacts is to certify them and create a system and specific projects through which the centers of safeguarding these artefacts are turned into centers of services for domestic and international tourism. Equally, through creating and boosting of a specific department of tourism at schools and universities, the culture of protecting and safeguarding historical artefacts will grow in society.

The effective use of precious stones can create employment for thousands of our fellow countrymen and lead to legitimate income generation by the state. In this regard, we will take comprehensive measures so that the people’s participation in the usage of precious stones, with the participation of national and international private sector is done in a manner that is most effective and fruitful.

2. Selling and Buying Government Post
The selling and buying of government posts is also one of the most important examples of administrative corruption. There is widespread belief in society that specific people get government posts by paying money. This action naturally leads to a type of invisible contract resting on which, government officials are given permit to commit extensive corruption in order to compensate for the money they spent on buying their government post but also to secure their future. In our government, we will fight this disease seriously and in a definite manner and those who commit it will face the hardest possible punishment as provided for by law.

3. Justice and Judiciary Institutions
Given that justice and judiciary institutions are tasked with protecting lawfulness and ensuring the rights of citizens, they should not get accused of corruption. For this reason, fundamental reform in the justice and judiciary system is the most important priority of our government in the fight against corruption.

In addition, we will take other measures to reform the top end of the judiciary and justice system. All judgment and adjourning will take place openly and their final shape will be made publically available. If judgments and adjourning have to legal standing, then, the pronouncement is nullified and the persons who made the decision will themselves face prosecution and if there is evidence of corruption, then, they will face serious punishment.

5. The government cadres’ system
The government cadres’ system must be created in line with most transparent standards and individuals who reach government posts and positions must undergo a transparent and clear process of examination. Equally, promotion and retirement of the cadres must rest on the law and match standards of good governance and meritocracy. Giving posts to the qualified is one of the most essential of our commitments to which we will pay serious attention and we regard this as a key to the success of our government. Any abuse of state authority and position to remove or install the cadre in addition to an obvious violation of citizens’ rights also causes the government to fail. The fight against this plague is one of the most crucial pivots of our fight against administrative corruption.

6. Reforming laws
One of the most important causes of corruption is ambiguity or contradiction in laws. Since our political and administrative setup lacks an organized system to explain and ensure the law, the culture of abuse of ambiguities and contradictions of legal regulation has spread extensively. To solve ambiguities and contradictions in the law is a priority of our government and we will take measures to make this a reality in the first stages. In this manner, we will simplify as much as possible all of the government’s bureaucratic processes so that citizens can easily avail themselves of the government’s facilities.
A clear example here is customs whereby documents related to customs will be reduced from 24 pages to one page. Our payment system has been simplified and all the systems that require valid documentation such as passports, personal IDs, ownership certificates and so forth, that need to be registered with the government will be turned into very simplified processes so that they lead to income generation on the part of the state and also create ease for citizens.

7. Electronic governance
The electronic processing of all government activities is one of the most important ways of fighting against corruption. Electronically-run processes of governance seriously limit misuse of documents or authority of the government while at the same time create ease and speed for citizens too. The important point of speed and ease of governance processes is that the government’s authority is implemented in a manner that the people feel themselves in the most simple and easiest way under the mandate of the government’s authority. Hence, creating ease of access for citizens to government and government services at the same time eases the spread of the government’s pillars in all parts of society. The more the government creates ease and prosperity for the people, the more it makes the people dependent on its authority as the government.

8. Investigative journalism
One of the important ways to prevent administrative corruption is to encourage a culture of public review and investigative journalism. Governance gains transparency only when all its activities can be seen and judged by the people. Committing corruption turns into a dangerous catastrophe when there is no supervision or oversight of operations of individuals with government authority. Investigative journalism makes it possible that all operations of government authorities can be revealed to the people promptly and clearly.

It will be one of our government’s measures to make all high-ranking state authorities register and make public their assets. Examination and following up any change in their assets will be handed over to public investigation and investigative journalism. At the same, to punish those who commit administrative corruption, from buying and selling government posts to misusing the interpretation of the law or misuse of office for the purpose of extortion and bribery, creating serious impediment to activities of merchants and investors and those who generate wealth will be conducted in a prompt and definite manner and violations will be followed up by legal bodies. So that our fight against corruption is done with impartiality and transparency, we will work closely, in an organized manner and through a clear and comprehensive agreement with the key institutions of international transparency.

9. Offices for ensuring citizen rights
The highest degree of corruption in the administration, security and justice bodies are related to the parts in which the cycle of bureaucracy (petition, document, signature of relevant parties, following up files) take place. The key instances of this corruption are bribery, wasting citizens’ time, slow work and misuse of the credibility and authority of the political and administrative order. Corruption reports from the year 1392/2013 show that in one year, the citizens of Afghanistan paid twice as much in bribes as the country’s yearly budget. If we keep in mind this figure plus the time that has been spent on delaying and postponement in the process of tending to affairs, we can get a better picture of the state of administrative corruption in the country.
In our government, special offices at the level of all provinces and their surroundings will be set up through a commission for ensuring citizens’ rights and implementing government’s obligation belonging to the presidency institution and it will be their duty to ensure services that count as the basic rights of citizens and the state, in line with the commitments that it takes upon itself in this manifesto will be obligated to implement them. The mechanism for the practice of these offices will be organized within the context of the law and through specific and orderly programs so that the problem of citizen’s access to government services are removed and also, deliberate slowness of work and abuse of government positions is prevented as well as the government’s authority is established through administrative, security and justice bodies.

Six: The calamity of fundamentalism and extremism: Fundamentalism is a phenomenon of the first quarter of the twentieth century. The predominant shape of fundamentalism has been religious fundamentalism which has specifically spread among Muslim but in reality, fundamentalism as a way of looking at issues of belief, politics and society has existed in various schools of thought and in various parts of the world. Over the last four decades, our country has been damaged by various types of fundamentalism. The key characteristic of fundamentalist thoughts and trends are a return to the past in an extreme manner and dogmatism towards any change that would direct life towards the future. For this reason, dogmatism is a common trait to all fundamentalist circles and currents. Fundamentalism in the sphere of thoughts and views directly leads to ungovernable violence and extremism in behavior. Our country has been witness to the most eye-catching fundamentalist thoughts in various shapes from leftist to the right-wing.

1. Religious fundamentalism
These days, when there is talk of fundamentalism, attention is mostly drawn to religious fundamentalism. The Taliban and some other religious circles and parties are regarded as the outward representation of a fundamentalist current. For this reason, the fight against fundamentalism and finding reasonable and constructive ways to save the country from the politics of extremism and directing it on the path of moderation, tolerance and clemency is one of the key challenges for the political administration of the future.

Civilizations that rest on a monotheist culture possess books and texts that are used by fundamentalist circles as the theoretical and intellectual basis of their politics. The first reasoning and justification of fundamentalist circles is that they are reforming and rebuilding the foundations of their thoughts on the basis of the first texts. But rethinking and rebuilding for the purpose of gaining the power to live with modern changes and move towards the future and fundamentalism and extremists politics and behavior are two completely different phenomena. Rethinking is a lasting element and its positive content leads to growth and progress in society. Returning to the prophet’s ways has kept alive the impact of the prophet’s thoughts and behavior over subsequent centuries and in different Muslim countries. By turning to the holy Quran and the prophet’s ways, Muslims have succeeded to better grasp and interpret the divine message. One of the key reasons for growth and dynamism of Muslims societies of the first century after Islam has been that the tradition for returning to the prophet’s ways was kept alive and such return conducted in a deep and fundamental way has been to better grasp and interpret the rules and teachings of Islam.
Fundamentalism by contrast to reformism moves in the direction of dogmatism and absolutism. For Islamic religious scholars of highest ranks, the diversity of interpretation was natural and regarded as a positive tradition that they supported and protected. Such religious scholars tried to convince each other through logic and reason. For this reason, we are witness to a deep intellectual movement among the leaders of Islam. Historiography, the science of speech, exploration of jurisprudence, the spread of the science of hadith and interpretation are all signs that show that leading Muslims of Islam were affected by the legacy of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his companions as role models.

Debate over the soundness of the hadith and the transmitters of hadith used to be common place in the Hanafi interpretation of Sunni Islam as much as in the Shi’ite interpretation and were deemed as the first step towards grasping and learning the rules and teachings of Islam. There are numerous signs in the history of Islam that people with different views and ways of thinking were continuously in debate and even if they had the most intense differences, while speaking and listening to each other’s views, they did not fall prey to doubt, dogmatism and absolutism. Fundamentalism has seriously damaged this positive tradition and has transformed religious information into a series of absolute and forced dogma which, over time, has seriously damaged the current of open and inquisitive thinking among Muslims.

In the beginning of the twenty-first century, fundamentalism came to the fore as a reaction to two extremist political points of view. These two extremist political views were made up of communism and fascism. Communism completely rested on the rejection of religious thinking and given its anti-religious stance, its behavior was many times worse than the actions of the church in the middle-ages.

In communism, diversity of views and interpretation regarding the basics of the theory of Lenin, Marx and Engels was not allowed and for this reason, millions of people were killed for the crime of not being consistent with the theories and methods of communism. In this manner, communism, too, is a striking example of fundamentalist thought and fundamentalist behavior in the early twentieth century which also transmitted its legacy of opposition to religious currents to religious currents.

Fascism was a different type of fundamentalist thought and behavior which rested on racial superiority and by synthesizing different elements from religious, political to economic thoughts, created one of the biggest catastrophes of the twentieth century. It was because of the fundamentalist thinking of fascism that more than six million human beings were killed in crematory ovens and the horrific tragedy of holocaust and widespread destruction of the infrastructure of a majority of European countries took place. We have to bear in mind that in its way of thinking, Fascism was not opposed to religion. On the contrary, one of the most intense forms of religious fundamentalism turned up in racist thinking in Fascism. The interpretation of the place and role of the leader in Fascism, which created the most dangerous form of dictatorship in history, was fundamentally affected by beliefs the religious roots of which were extraordinarily powerful.

In addition to communism and Fascism, Christianity also played a striking role in the establishment and growth of fundamentalist thinking. Christian fundamentalists too insisted on returning to the early principles and texts of Christianity and on the basis of this, revive the simplicity of life and the ascetic morality of Jesus’s first disciples.
But Christian fundamentalism, since it had gone through the dark and horrific period of the Christian states of the middle-ages, failed to come to the fore within the framework of a political current that would gain national standing.

The tragedy of Islamic fundamentalism has been that it surfaced as an extreme reaction against Western oppression and views. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a majority of Muslim countries were colonized by European colonial powers. A people who for centuries have had political strength were suddenly turned into persons convicted and in terms of politics, their lives were filled with experiences of insults and sorrow. Up until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Muslims of India did not have the right to put on their shoes in front of the English. They had no right to build a mosque.

At the same time, another trigger which came into being in that time was the large number of Christian missionaries who descended on Muslim territories to convert Muslims to Christianity. With this serious religious and political offensive against Muslims, a number of Muslims thought about resistance and in their struggles against colonialism and defense of Islam, they restarted Islam in the guise of returning to the beginnings of Islam and rejection of any phenomena that were modern and had Western and oppressive overlay. This defense was a reaction that moved the world of Islam in the direction of fundamentalism and over time, it transformed into the predominant current among Muslims.

2. Political fundamentalism

At the beginning of the twentieth century, freedom-seeking views vis-à-vis colonial politics of exploitation took shape in different guises. Even though these views were not limited to religious radicalism or communism they had a great impact on these currents that were essentially nationalist and independence-seeking.

Fundamentalism took place in these independence-seeking movements as well and over time, dominated Muslim societies in different shapes, taking hold of and influencing the dominant political currents in such societies, the most striking and common aspects of which we can find in the Taliban’s politics of violence and extremism.

One of the damages of fundamentalist ways of thinking and politics was that we were dragged towards an environment in which in the name of resistance against exploitation and the manifestations of Western civilization, we were removed from grasping and understanding the Islamic civilization as one of the most splendid civilizations of the world. This matter, too, in its own way became the reason why our struggle against colonialism surfaces in the shape of struggle against all values that are valuable achievements of mankind in our times. In the shadow of fighting against colonialist powers, for a long time we were not able to avail ourselves of democracy, civic values such as human rights and citizens’ right and modern technology in our country. As a result, our government and politics in general were at the disposal of oppressive and anti-democratic regimes that used the struggle against colonialism as a smokescreen and through chanting anti-colonialist slogans, extensively violated the civil and democratic rights of citizens.

Today, the world of Islam altogether and our own country in particular, suffers from a lack of trust in the spheres of politics, society and culture. For this reason, an essential necessity which must be tended to through a comprehensive government program is finding an intelligent path to counter fundamentalist thoughts and politics which is stopping our country from dealing with the world in a positive and constructive manner and results in our loss of valuable opportunities that are made available to us for growth and progress.
We must place our practical and positive plans to counter fundamentalist thought and politics in our country within a wider context of establishing and safeguarding stability. Our country, for various reasons is faced with dangerous unravelling and collapse. If this situation on the one hand is a result of fundamentalist movements and thoughts in our country, on the other hand, it has placed the country at the frontline of the threat of fundamentalist politics and movements. For this reason, the response to fundamentalism and radicalism is not reliance on fundamentalism and radicalism. A wise and intelligent directing of the political power makes it necessary that realistic plans are taken into consideration so that on the basis of them, in the first step, the strength and stability of the political order is safeguarded so that later, opportunities are made available so that institutions in charge of protecting the law and safety of citizens take shape within the framework of the law and protect the country against any threat from the direction of politics of extremism and fundamentalism.

In this regard, paying attention to the roots and results of the movement that as the Arab Spring changed Arab societies is of extraordinary importance. In Arab countries, dictatorial states calling themselves republics had imposed totalitarianism and tyranny in the guise of a family or a group on the people. In such states, the theories of the rulers were the opposite of their realities. Saddam Hussein’s state, or the state of Mumar Gaddafi or Hafez Assad were in theory popular governments but in reality, they were the worse type of dictatorship resting on tribal or family interests. As a result of this conflict and contradiction, Arab societies were mobilized by a simple incidents and a total majority of these states were uprooted. The experiences of the Arab Spring are of serious use and benefit for us and through a purposeful and careful study of them, they can help us respond to the roots and causes of public complaints that lead to the growth of fundamentalism and extremism.

3. Ethnic Fundamentalism
Another important part of fundamentalist thinking and extremism in our country surfaces in the shape of ethno-centrist politics. When a society is deprived of a democratic and people-based government and the people’s extensive participation in the composition of political power is not ensured through laws and institutions, then, relying on ethnicity-based and factional views becomes common place. The first path of rescue from this damaging and unpleasant situation is reliance on creating a meticulous process of state-building on the basis of democratic attitudes.

Following the collapse of Dr. Najibullah’s regime in 1996, our country faced the extensive collapse of the political order. As a result of the serious animosities of the political parties which surfaced in the guise of a comprehensive internal war, politics in a comprehensive manner became ethnicized and factionalized. At least four key ethnic groups of Afghanistan saw the most obvious type of social security around these parties and specific political currents. Whichever this ethnic categorization may be labelled, it cannot conceal the essential fundamental cause which is the lack of an opportunity for widespread and institutionalized participation of citizens in the composition of the political order.

The political parties and currents that have entered the political sphere of the country on the basis of ethnic and tribal demands in reality also reflect a part of the political demands of citizens in the guise of ethnic and tribal identity. One of the chief reasons why our government managed to secure the contentment of a majority of the country’s regions was because it rested on extensive ethnic and tribal foothold. In this state, for the first time in the political history of the country, all tribes and ethnicities felt that they have been given a chance to take part in the political order and none of the ethnic and tribal groups felt completely alienated from the political order.
Now, the time has come to, through boosting the values of the constitution which stresses the civic identity and dignity of all the people of Afghanistan- pave the way for moving past ethnic and tribal participation towards civic participation so that all the people of the country instead of seeking refuge in their ethnic and tribal identities, define themselves through the common identity of citizens within the framework of a great nation and recognize this nation. The more the people’s civic identity is boosted, the more we will limit opportunities for political opportunism of fundamentalist thinking and attitude type.

The key steps that we can take to counter fundamentalist thinking and politics in its various guises are as follows:

Emphasis on the centrality of the constitution and state basing itself on people’s citizens’ right is the first principle that strengthens us vis-à-vis fundamentalist thinking and politics. When the idea of citizens’ rights and dignity become common place, the chances for fundamentalist currents and circles to draw society en mass towards themselves disappear.

Insistence on the state’s right to have monopoly over legitimate use of violence is the second principle which makes fundamentalist and extremist currents and circles to stop using violence and paves the way for the spread of a culture of tolerance and toleration and clemency.

Creating networks of special centers that act as faculties and Islamic research departments that work actively and purposefully to polish society’s grasp and understanding of the thinking and belief foundations of Islam. These centers must be directly in touch with mosques, madrasas and networks of religious scholars and spiritual leaders.

Work focusing on the history of Islam, the ways of the prophet, research into the foundations of theology as the greatest source of understanding the holy Quran and Sunna and the study of the works and thoughts of the great philosophers and scholars of Islam will be the most significant part of the activities of these centers. Research into the thinking blocks of mysticism of leaders of mystical strands of Islam to create an atmosphere of tolerance in society is of great importance. Our researchers must study this part alongside focusing on the roots of experimental and natural sciences of Islamic scientists so that it is shown that that Islamic thought exists in wider and comprehensive outlook that takes into account all dimensions of collective life and that cutting it into pieces and limiting it to a series of dogmatic beliefs damages the inquisitive spirit of Islam. Creating legal conditions for the presence and participation of the forces and classes that with their civic and democratic thinking have appeared on the scene in last thirteen years and represent the image of the new Afghanistan. Institutions that defend women’s rights and human rights and the rights of citizens and the media will be especially supported.

Fundamental and profound work on the education curriculum and the system of education so that is created with a humanitarian and justice-centered spirit in mind. In this manner, the roots of fundamentalist and extremist thinking and behavior dry up and aware and conscious, society moves towards the tolerance and justice-seeking guidance of Islam.

Purposeful and specialist work must be done on Islamic philosophy so that the great historical achievements of Islamic scholars for the growth of intellect and wisdom are studied and acknowledged and opportunities are limited for fundamentalist and extremist games that play games with people’s feelings and sensitivities.
Through widespread reforms of the state, conditions for widespread participation of religious scholars and spiritual leaders and all parts of society in the composition of the political power will be made available. In this manner, one of the most crucial reasons for the growth of fundamentalist and extremist thought which is rooted in bitterness over having been left behind in political power, is removed and the forces of society, instead of fighting and negative conflict, take the path of reform and positive participation in the operations of the state.

Boosting institutions of citizens’ participation through leaning on the principles of the constitution is the first step towards ensuring the contentment and extensive participation of the people in the political order. When the people feel that they are taking part in the political power and have active and lawful participation, their tendencies toward fundamentalist thinking and politics will disappear.

Ethnic and tribal fundamentalism chooses educated young people as the main part of their force. Creating fundamental and profound reforms in the education system is one of the opportunities that removes the sense of discontent and injustice among young people. In addition to increasing opportunities for higher education for young people, principled measures for ensuring that the university entrance exam are transparent and fair and distribution of scholarships to study abroad are of extraordinary importance.

Another opportunity to counter ethnic and tribal fundamentalism is to create networks on the basis of which people of various identities gain the same experience. Schools, universities, teacher training centers, institutions of civil society, business companies and finally political parties are adequate platforms for reaching this goal. For example, with regards to school, schools can be planned in such a manner that a specific group of students from various grade spend specific periods of the year – paid for and facilitated by the government- move back and forth between regions of summer pasturelands to winter pasturelands so that in addition to spending a term of education they also become familiar with each other’s way of life and cultural and social specifics. In this manner, limited partnership companies can turn agricultural produce, bee keeping and honey making, livestock keeping and so forth, into an opportunity for joint trade and work.

Another measure that is effective in countering tribal fundamentalism is the setting up of national programs within which the people feel the government’s legitimate authority as a chain of connection with all people and places of the nation. Canada serves as a good example here. In comparison to Afghans, Canadians have fewer common points of connections. In terms of history, the people of Canada all are immigrants that set off from Europe and settled and created a new country on the other side of the Atlantic. In terms of nation-building, Canada has gained a fully successful experience and one of the key reasons for their success is a national program through which the remotest parts of Canada to the cities are all fundamentally connected so that a Canadian regardless of which region he or she is from, feels proud of being Canadian. Canada’s excellence today is due to the fact that when they accept an immigrant, they give him or her an institutionalized chance to see their identity in the future as a Canadian without ever feeling a loss of the identity, be that an Indian or African identity, to which they belonged prior to coming to Canada.
In this manner, establishing citizen networks creates an adequate platform resting on which we will have a nation where no-one has fear the loss of their tribal or linguistic identity. Investing in our national languages is one of the ways that cause the historical achievements of all tribes of the country to become part of enriching a shared national culture and so help the creation of a common national identity. In terms of its ethnic and linguistic composition, our country is one of the richest countries of the world and by boosting the identities of smaller tribes, has the potential to create an adequate platform resting on which all identities can become participants in creating a greater national identity and through linking themselves with this greater national identity, find an adequate place for themselves alongside other nations of the world.

Seventh: Environment: In our times, the problems and perils of localized existence has turned from a hypothesis into a reality. In the last thirty years, all scientists in the world have come to the shared conclusion that if we do not take serious steps to fight to protect the planet earth, our chances of existing on this planet will be seriously threatened.

With each increase in temperatures, enormous changes take place in the climatic conditions of the world and if the heat of the planet increases by six more degrees from now, almost all parts of the world will change in a manner that conditions for natural and regular existence in them will disappear. If this were to happen, a majority of agricultural and green spaces of today will turn into deserts.

Historically speaking, such changes have also occurred in our history, too, and we can easily point them out. For example, historical Sistan which includes Farah, Helmand and Nimruz (in southern Afghanistan), is described in Ferdawsi’s Shahnabahmah as a place with extensive ranges and hunting grounds. Zaranj, as Rostam’s capital, was filled with green spaces and woodlands. Equally, Kabul, Samangan, Mazara and the extensive spaces of Balkh which feature in Shahnabahmah and other historical sources, were green spaces filled with forests and today, a considerable part of them have turned into desert.

One of the most significant signs of environmental change is the drought periods. In the last four decades, on average of every thirty years we have had a period of drought and in ever one hundred years, we had encountered a whole year of drought which surfaced as famine. In the drought year of 1873, hundreds of villages in the north and northeast of Afghanistan became depopulated. Another time, in 1973 there was a year of drought, forcing people to sell their children. This situation became a humanitarian catastrophe in Nimroz in particular. But these days, drought cycles repeat themselves almost every five years. Climate change also takes place in a bewildering manner. Within one year, the cold of the winter leads to the death of tens of people and the next year, in the middle of winter, water on the ground surface doesn’t even turn into frost. Hence, we have to pay serious attention to our environment. Paying attention to the environment will be included in those measures that include protections of trees, spread of green spaces, prevention of air pollution and careful and economic use of water and serious control of waste and trash that pollute underground water resources and our immediate environment.

In our country, a significant percentage of trees and woodlands that helped protect the irrigation systems and prevent floods, the erosion of mountains and hills, have been cut and today, all those regions have turned into arid land. In this manner, through unprincipled use of livestock, we have cut the plants and ranges that played a vital role in protecting the environment from their roots. In this manner, with digging deep wells in an unscientific and thoughtless manner,
we have not only destroyed our traditional irrigation system but also damaged underground water resources. Building residential homes on agricultural land or turning the best soil into bricks is another reason the environment has been damaged. Instead of building edifices on the basis of a meticulously thought out, careful plan aligned with city planning so that both, the cost of building and the maintenance and protection of the building are economically viable, we have chaotically built buildings in every corner of the city so that today, they impose a massive loss on the country’s economy, not only in terms of the money spent but also the problems they have created for order in city life.

In addition to the losses that we endure owing to drought, hundreds of millions of dollars are lost owing to floods, the disappearing of river banks, especially the banks of the Oxus River. In the same vein, the use of low-quality fuel is a significant part of air pollution in the country as a result of which there is lasting health and hygiene impact affecting pregnant women and children in particular. Since we do not have a proper traffic system, the amount of fuel used is extraordinarily large and the price high.

Urgent measure that we must take into account to protect the environment are as follows: Control of the quality of fuel is the first step which has to be a priority in our protection of the environment. License to import and distribute fuel must be distributed with great care, and after passing the necessary stages of examination. The standards used here must display our government’s serious commitment to protect the lives of our citizens. Competition between fuel importers must take place in line with transparent criteria and specific principles centering on environmental protection and the health of citizens.

Order must be created in the situation of transport in the cities. Successful experiences from Latin America in creating traffic systems are hope-inspiring and compatible with our conditions. In this regard, citizens, the government and the private sector can reach a clear and lawful agreement on the basis of which services are delivered while at the same, reliable money generating sources are made available to the government, the citizens and the private sector.

So that services in urban centers are delivered in an orderly manner, we need a clear and coherent urban master plan for housing and creating a healthy environment and this will be a priority of our government which will bring to the fore clear and measurable results in five years. Urban sprawling which we have extensively discussed in other parts of this manifesto, is one of our key programs for the improvement and protection of the environment.

Widespread participation of citizens in creating green spaces from the narrow residential streets to public spaces is of extraordinary importance. In terms of woodlands, the innovations and creativity of the people of Nuristan, where the protection and safeguarding of forests has been turned into the essential duty of the people and where apart from some specific exception, no-one has the right to cut wood, serves as positive model to emulate.

In the field of earth science, new methods have been discovered through the application of which Latin American countries have managed to turn dry mountains into green forests within a decade. We have vast areas of land that used to be forests and it is possible to get the forests back. We will make use of modern methods, on the basis of which, owing to a shortage of water, measures will be taken into consideration that the roots of plants and forests grow naturally. In this regard, we will get the kind of forests that are both, compatible with our environment and produce wood consistent with the demands of regional markets.
One type of tree for which there is a good market in East Asia can be grown in the regions of Khost to Konar which are part of the warm climate regions. In this regard, investment and careful and coherent planning is necessary which in our government we will tend to as a national program.

Creating forests on river banks is another measure that we can pay attention to. Central Afghanistan is one of the key sources for the growth of fruit and non-fruit trees, especially buttonwood. The trees can be used for both, to improve the environment and to create wealth. Planting trees along river banks leads to the strengthening of the banks. For example, the Kabul river which has become a huge source of environmental pollution can easily be turned into a massive opportunity for green spaces to counter pollution or the perils that are cause through floods or the buildings and edifices around the river.

Creating order in the irrigation of farmlands is also seen as a necessity in our environmental protection plans. In our government, we will take measures to systemize the use of water with modern methods that have proven positive elsewhere in the world. The effective use of water in the first place has to do with fair distribution and in the second place, careful and planned use and in the third place, the creating of a culture in which people pay attention to water as their most important value in life and pay utmost attention to its use and use it economically.

Preventing arbitrary well digging which directly damages the sources of water is a priority of our government. Deep wells in addition to damaging underground water resources also mean that a capital that is public and benefits hundreds unfairly becomes at the service of one individual or group.

To regularize the use of water in cities or for industrial purpose at factories, we need a comprehensive policy so that the necessities of those who need water are met as well as the waste of water is prevented. Our government will take principled and specific measures compatible with the newest scientific principles and methods that have proven effective elsewhere in the world.

Creating a culture of living with the environment is one of the priorities of our government which we will tend to with specific and careful planning. The culture of living together with the environment means that we have to stop treating the environment roughly and not damage the environment with our thoughtless actions. The culture of industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was exceedingly aggressive towards nature and human beings, especially in Europe and America, damaged nature in a catastrophic manner. In this field, our country which has many mines and these mines will in the future become one of the key sources of our national wealth, requires thought out and careful measures. We have to create specific measures for making use of the mines so that both the state, the private sector and the people who are involved in working and extracting the mines, do not damage the environment. The former Soviet Union, England and so forth were countries that damaged nature and now are faced with numerous damages as consequence. Hence, from the age of kindergarten to the university, we will dedicate a specific part of our curriculum to the environment and our media, too, will dedicate a considerable part of their advertisement specifically to this matter.

Creating a system of regional cooperation in the field of environment is another priority that will be seriously taken into consideration. Environmental damage does not know political boundaries. The frontiers that separate the country’s political geography are not the kind of borders to contain the damages caused to the environment.
The environment is a complex and ordered system that requires all countries of the world, especially the ones that are in the same climatic zone, to align their politics and policies. The protection of rivers, the bolstering of forests and investment in mines have comprehensive impact on the whole region. For example, earthquake and floods are among natural incidents that heavily impact the environment and in responding to such incidents must take place through regional cooperation. When there’s a flood that spills over from one country to another, if responding to the flood and tending to the victims and damages created is not done through cooperation and coordination, the results can be extraordinarily terrifying. In the same manner, predicting such incidents and taking contingency measures can be positive and effective.

One of the positive aspects of environmental protection is that considerable international resources exists that states by handing in their practical and positive plans, can make use of such financial aid. In addition, there is agreement the global level over a system of environmental protection which is called credit carbon. This means that the more carbon dioxide is produced in any part of the world, the more there’ll be negative impact on the environment. Similarity, in whichever part of the world the production of carbon dioxide is reduced through environmental measures, the more positive the impact. Hence, factories that cause environmental pollution are ready to invest in forests in non-industrial regions and in this manner, justify the continuation of their activities. We need a core group of specialist technicians who can make effective use of such international opportunities through drafting and realizing specific projects so that with the use of international aid, they can access new resources in addition to the national budget that would lead to both, the protection and improvement of the environment and to reduce pressure from the national budget.

Investing in the environment in countries like Costa Rica has not only boosted internal tourism but also created networks of cooperation between civil society, universities and different countries. This measure is a good opportunity for the participation of young people through international relations networks and creation of travel opportunities and study and specialist higher education in various countries. In this manner, paying attention to the environment will also be an opportunity for us to show a completely different face of our country to the world.

Eight: Tending to the situation of immigrants

One of the issues that our government will pay serious and fundamental attention to is the issue of immigrants. Today, we have five million immigrants in Arab countries, Iran, Pakistan and other parts of the world. A majority of these immigrants are not owners of Afghan passports. Our first step will be to create goal-oriented measures through which we will pave the way for these Afghans to prove their Afghan identity. To tend to this issue, as already explained in our foreign policy section, we will increase the capacity and authority of our political representatives, especially consulates, in host countries so that they are enabled to deliver the services needed by immigrants in a principled and adequate manner. Equally, we will tackle the shortcomings in provision of services and behavior that have been noticed in such offices.

The second measure is reaching a stage where the rights of our immigrants are ensured in line with their human rights and international conventions. In this regard, we will take two dimensions into account,

First: The right of every immigrant as an Afghan citizen is that they have to have comprehensive support of the Afghan government. One of the essential obligations of the government is defending the rights of immigrants in the neighboring countries and other countries.
Second: immigrants have a series of internationally accepted rights. Hence, the foreign ministry of Afghanistan has the responsibility to represent and protect the rights of our immigrants in the countries where they live.

Third, in cooperation with the host countries and relevant international institutions, we will take specific measures that will cause increase in human and skill-based capacities of immigrants.

Return to the homeland is one of the basic rights of any Afghan immigrant. A government that is not capable of creating the conditions for protecting the life and property of the citizens or to create adequate conditions for their security and livelihood can never claim to be successful. For this reason, with regards to the return of immigrants, our government will take specific measures so that all citizens can return to their homeland in a dignified manner whereby conditions for housing them and for making a living are prepared.

Stability is the most important cause of immigrants’ return but without creating circumstances of prosperity, we cannot at once attract five million immigrants to our recently emerged society. For this reason, through a coherent and comprehensive program, we will turn the return of the immigrants into a serious issue so that their citizen rights are transformed into a credible and recognized national process. But while immigrants are outside of the country, we have to think about opportunities to increase their human capital and capacity.

One of the ways through which we can help specifically solve the problems of immigrants is to create employment and work conditions in East Asia, the Gulf and other states so that these our human forces that currently feel themselves deprived of taking part in any national processes, are enabled to, with the wealth that they acquire, invest in a respectable and stable Afghanistan.

The creation of specific economic projects in which our immigrants are employed currently, from aviculture to livestock to pisciculture and bee keeping etc. are part of other programs that will be a priority of the government prior to the return of immigrants.

Nine: The fight against drugs and addiction

The production and smuggling of drugs is like a dark stain that has marked us. Today, around one million citizens of the country, a majority of them young people, are addicts. In the Afghan culture it used to be unheard of for a family to expel their offspring because of addiction. In the last thirteen years, hundreds of pages have been written about the reduction of drug production and hundreds of millions have been spent on this and still, the production level in 2013 has been estimated 5,500 tons.

The size of land on which poppy is grown is 209 hectares, 98% of which is in the Western zone of Afghanistan and 2,693 hectares in Helmand Province.

According to data collected in the last eight years, in this chain of poppy growing and drug smuggling, around 25 to 30 main smugglers, 200 to 300 regular smugglers, 500 to 600 average traders, 10 to 15 thousand local traders and 350 thousands farmer families are involved. According to one source, from among the total of 40 milliard dollars of the drugs economy, around 7 milliards go to the neighboring countries, 14.2 milliards go to the domestic smugglers and only 560 million go to the farmers’ families.

According to this source, the price of one gram heroin in Afghanistan in the year 2008 was only 5.2 cents, in Pakistan 5.3 cents, in Turkey 8 cents, in Germany 22 cents, in England 30 cents and in Russia 33 cents. According to this same source, 30 percent of drug smuggling takes place through Iran, 40 percent through Pakistan and 20 percent through Tajikistan.
In the year 2013, the amount of poppy production increased by 490 percent by comparison to the previous year and the number of provinces with no poppy production had gone down from 17 to 15. So we can say that efforts in this field have been fruitless.

The problem is that the production, organization and smuggling of drugs is not the result of disconnected activities on the part of individuals but it is an organized system. The elements included in this system are:

1. International drug users/consumers: The key centers are in Europe, Russia and Iran. The international drugs market is rapidly growing in Pakistan, India and China. In these countries, there is capacity for purchase and hence, conditions are favorable for smuggling drugs into these countries.

2. The international mafia: The international mafia has extensive networks of drug distribution in European countries, making up around 1000 milliard dollars of criminal economy.

3. Key, powerful smugglers
Since Afghanistan is landlocked, a significant portion of drugs are smuggled through Iran and Pakistan to Europe, America and China. The flow of drugs in these countries reveals the influence of smugglers in these countries. Iran is the only country with serious measures in this regard but still, around 30 percent of drugs are moved via Iran. Fewer limitations on trade activities and trade relations at the European level have made the work of drug smugglers in Europe easier and it has been rare for the European police to confiscate a ton of drugs.

The internal structure of drugs is composed of the following four circles:

1. The circle of key smugglers who are at the center of the production and trade of drugs. Their number is estimated to be around 35,000 people.

2. The hoodlums who number around 10,000 and provide technical support, arms and facilities.

3. Long-term farmers and land-owners.

4. Seasonal laborers whose wages increase considerably when they work on poppy rather than regular farms.

The external and internal circles of the drugs economy are intimately connected with each other and create an organized whole system that contains three key particularities:

1. Opium can be stored for years so it’s a cash capital. But heroin, on the contrary must be consumed as soon as possible. Keeping this mind, smugglers direct the exposition of drugs very carefully and effectively.

2. The largest part of profits from drugs belongs to the international mafia, the smallest to Afghan farmers.

3. Currently, a vast part of poppy is grown on land and arid land grabbed from the government an example of which is the growth of poppy on agricultural farmlands of Helmand.

Legal farming in Afghanistan is very weak by comparison to the organized system of production, trade and distribution of drugs. The lack of markets, loans, lack of promotional services, lack of skilled workers, lack of irrigation infrastructure, the disconnect between production sites with markets, and lack of awareness are crucial problems in this field. Equally, international smugglers and mafia play a direct role in corrupting government, judiciary bodies and boosting anti-security forces and the drugs economy is one of the main causes of the war in Afghanistan.

1. The key goal is for Afghanistan to have a strong, organized economic system of production. Plans for this system, which include agriculture, industry, transit, transport, the service sector, and the construction sector, are laid out in the economy section. But needless to say, our specific focus in this sector will be on the agriculture sector.
2. Since citizens of regional countries, Europe, Russia and China suffer from the existence of the mafia, our shared interest obliges us to work together first towards the reduction and later limiting of the production and smuggling of drugs. Our first step in this regard will be to find markets for legal produces of Afghanistan. Iran, the Gulf countries, Europe, India and China are vast markets for Afghan produce. We will strive to reach an agreement with each one of these countries so that they on the one hand privilege Afghan produce and on the other hand, so that the produce is consistent with their market needs and necessities, create practical and technical support for the improvement of the distribution of Afghan produce.

3. Since Afghanistan is a landlocked country, it is necessary to reach an agreement with Iran and Pakistan over the issue of transit in line with clear criteria and principles so that the way is paved for transit of Afghan produce to major markets.

4. Existence of a loan system for farmers is a necessary and irrevocable matter. The price of wheat must never be lower than the cost of its production or its final price. For this reason, it is necessary to establish Silo systems and to boost agricultural cooperatives in various parts of the value chain including finding markets, processing and so forth.

5. We possess at least one and a half million hectares of arable land that was used in the year 1978 and is not being used now. According to our ministry of agriculture, there are around 5 million hectares of arable land that is neither farmed on nor irrigated. On the basis of this, there is at least ten to twenty-five million (jerib) of land that can be irrigated and used for farming.

6. Irrigation and farming on this quantity of land can turn Afghanistan into a key exporter of foodstuffs. Our other goal in this regard is to distribute land based on an organized system of agriculture and rent out government-owned land for mid-term, long-term periods for the purpose of attracting international investment.

Alongside this, to regain land that has been grabbed and make sound use of it, we have to think of a reasonable solution.

7. According to research conducted by the US embassy, Afghanistan needs 120,000 km of road so that its agriculture sector can be turned from a drug producing sector to a legitimate and lawful sector, as it happened in Thailand.

8. Thailand’s experience proves that new agricultural produce cannot replace poppy but processed produce and loom have the capacity to compete with poppy. For this reason, Afghanistan urgently needs international investment and entry into international markets.

9. Professionalizing the agricultural sector is an essential condition for modernizing agriculture.

Needless to say, our key proposal in this regard is the creation of a strong substitute market for agricultural produce to replace the mafia market. Of course, the rule of law and serious and principled reforms in the national security forces are irrevocable and urgent here.

Addiction is another calamity that, in addition to drugs, has turned into a national catastrophe. To solve the formidable problem of addiction, we need a comprehensive program resting on international opportunities.

If during the poppy harvest season, conditions are created for Afghan workers to work outside of the country, then, we can make use of the biggest weakness and vulnerability of the drugs mafia which is limited human resources and this will challenge the mafia. It is also necessary to inform the public adequately about the rules of the constitution, the health and ethical consequences and the material and spiritual damage of drugs. The powerful role of religious scholars is important here.

The production of drugs requires tough physical work but since the wages paid are relatively high, unskilled workers and semi-skilled workers find the work acceptable.
In this regard, once again the importance of human forces is stands out. The more the skills of workers are improved, the more we will succeed in boosting the national economy and preventing drug production.

Ten: The Arts: We feel that there’s widespread concern among the people that Afghan culture and traditions are under threat by new and foreign cultures.

National art is an important part of national unity and national sovereignty. Human beings represent their lives through the tools of art. Art has also become a great industry, bringing with it numerous opportunities. Hundreds of Afghans are paid daily for selling music CDs, and film and concerts.

Various art genres including calligraphy, painting, drawing, music, poetry, theatre, the cinema and so forth can play a very positive role in boosting the national culture and the culture of tolerance and psychological healing and the spread of civic morality.

Our commitment to spreading art and literature are as follows:

1. Through consultation with all art institutions, a public and nationwide strategy for boosting arts will be prepared.
2. Within the context of the national academy, a specific section will be created for the arts.
3. The way will be paved for coordination between the media, the private sector and the government for boosting fine arts.
4. Through consultation and cooperation with art institutions, artists and scientists, efforts will be made to prepare the school and scientific institutions’ curriculum so that it is equipped with what is needed in order to grow and boost young people’s aesthetic sense and capacity.

Eleven: Sport: So far, even with relatively little investment in the field of sport, Afghanistan has succeeded in making great achievements regionally and internationally.

Today, the Afghan national cricket team and football team are among the significant teams of the world. The people’s reactions in Kabul and the provinces show that they follow their teams with great interest and respect their success.

Young Afghans have also stood out internationally in the field of individual sport. Players and heroes of Afghanistan’s national team are personalities to which children and young people look up to and hope to one day be like these heroes and become famous for a positive reason.

International experiences have proven that investing in sport has widespread and comprehensive positive impact. The more young people at schools and universities turn to sport, the more they are distanced from drugs and other unhealthy behavior. In addition, athletes are more careful of their health in later stages of their lives which in turn causes a reduction in illnesses. Equally, sport is one of the key elements of preparation for entering the national forces and plays an important role in growing and boosting the volunteer forces of the army and police.

Sport reveals on the one hand order and discipline and on the other hand, shows the effectiveness of group work. The more the culture of discipline and cooperation is practiced on sporting grounds, the more there’ll be impact on order and discipline in other spheres of life. Another striking dimension of sport is its economic value. The people show their interest in sport through the media as well as directly and over time, sporting teams turn into economic institutions and companies. Sport champions are among the wealthiest people in the world. In addition, since young Afghans are regularly faced with the threat and risk of drug addiction and violent behavior, sport has a very positive impact on changing their mind-set and behavior.
Bearing in mind the extraordinary achievements and values of sport, our commitment in this regard is as follows:
1. We will set up a specific boards for each one of the games, especially national cricket and football boards and create institutions to draw aid and investment. To encourage investment and aid on the part of such institutions, in our financial laws, we make amendments to make concessions to those investors and business people who take part in boosting national teams. In the short term, it will be the government’s key priority to make use of the national budget to solve the infrastructure problems of our sport teams and attract world class trainers and create adequate conditions. So that these boards are directed effectively, short-term, mid-term and long-term plans will be drawn up. In addition, dignified employment opportunities will be created for those players with economic difficulties.
2. The Olympic Committee will be comprehensively overseen and through short-term, mid-term and long-term programs, a professional and credible leadership will be created to run the committee. In addition, to manage the committee’s opportunities, the best people will be employed and the future leaders will be trained. Relations between the national Olympic committee and international sport institutions will be boosted and enhanced.
3. To establish, grow and boost other games’ teams, both through the national Olympic team and through boosting specific sporting teams, investment will be made.
4. We make efforts to spread sport thorough the ministry of education and higher education and through schools and universities and create mechanisms for coordination between the ministries and the Olympic committee.
5. At the level of villages, a part of resources of the national solidarity program will be assigned to sport.
6. As we have promised, up to forty percent of the regular budget we will directly move to the provinces and by taking advantage of this opportunity, the two steps listed below will take place:
   a. Each provincial administration will be obligated to allocate a specific budget to sport both at the municipalities and the district levels.
   b. Progress in sport will be a key benchmark in evaluation of the work of governors, mayors and district chiefs.
7. In addition to Olympic Games, the buz-kashi game, horse riding, wrestling and spear throwing will be boosted in the provinces and conditions will be created for friendly competition between teams and private teams and competitions will be reported on by the media and awards will be specified for the winners.
   1. In buz-kashi and horse-riding, competitive tournaments will be set up with Asian and Gulf states countries.
   2. In the field of boosting and creating a sport infrastructure, two steps will be taken through municipalities and other institutions:
      a. Government-owned land, based on prioritization, in all cities of the countries, will be separated to create sporting grounds.
      b. Clear and specific criteria will be created for building high-rise government buildings and one of the criteria will be allocating a part of the building’s ground to sport. Equally, residents who live next door to government buildings will be given permission to during specific hours make use of the sport opportunities and infrastructure in the government building and grounds.

Twelve: The Internally Displace: The internally displaced are victims of internal animosities. In line with estimated data, the number of internally displaced people in Afghanistan is 1.5 per person. Such families have been moved from their villages and cities and a majority of them live in difficult and inadequate circumstances in Kabul and other provinces and are deprived of basic comforts.
As long as we do not find a lasting and solid solution to the predicament of the internally displaced, reaching peace and stability will be impossible. Our commitment for the solution of this problem is as follows:

1. We will within six months prepare a thorough survey of the number of displaced people. In this survey, the clear conditions of the families and individuals including age, gender, principle place of residence and the reason for their displacement from their own point of view will be registered.

2. We will conduct the second survey in the original region of residence so that it becomes clear who has taken over their property and what are the conditions of the property.

Equally, with the purpose of concretely examining the conditions for new residence for the internally displaced, government-owned properties in the original place of residence and the current residence and the closest sphere in which there are government properties will be surveyed and registered.

1. On the basis of these three surveys, a specific and timed program will be drafted for internally displaced and one of the two following options will be made available:
   a. The displaced person or family stay in their current place of residence and have access to services.
   b. The displaced person or family return to their original residence through new projects.

In addition to this, in agricultural projects which will be created through irrigation of government-owned land, in terms of access to land and to work conditions, the right to priority will be given to the internally displaced. Up until the internally displaced are rehoused through a long-term process, the necessary services, especially basic needs, education opportunities for their children, health services and other services will be made available to them.

In addition, the government will create opportunities for training in professional skills for the young people of internally displaced families so that they are enabled to have a respectable income and life and live a regular life.
Part Seven: Foreign Policy

The stability of our government depends on the stability and regulation of our relations with the outside world. Domestic politics in Afghanistan, particularly during the last 40 years, have been intensely influenced by foreign policy. To put it bluntly, various aspects of our lives have been dependent on the widespread presence of the former Soviet Union, followed later by regional and international rivalries and in the last thirteen years, the direct presence here of the United States and NATO. It is a rare case when the social, economic, cultural and political relations inside of a country are so extensively connected to its foreign relations.

In 2014, especially with the coming to power of the new Government, our country is going to enter a new relationship with the world, a relationship that requires a new definition and restructuring of our foreign policies so that they are grounded in the independence of Afghanistan as a sovereign state while at the same time taking into account the country’s national, regional and global interests. To make sure that our foreign policy is built on the kind of principles and precision that would match international standards of diplomacy, in response to those countries interested in extensive and lasting relationship with us we will establish special offices, employing experts and specialists knowledgeable about each respective country. In order to boost the principle priorities of such offices - depending on the friendly country’s helpfulness and willingness - we will create specialist scholarships to enable such young leaders to acquire the necessary knowledge about the history, culture, as well as the political, social and economic structures of each country through a structured and goal orientated program, so that they can increase the capacity of our foreign desks with such necessary knowledge about the affairs of each such country.

Our Five Foreign Policy Circles of Relationships: To manage and direct the country’s foreign affairs in a manner that would lead to prosperity and stability, we need to identify five circles of relationships in the region and worldwide and for each one, we need to make specific plans and take comprehensive initiatives. The five communication circles are explained as follows:

First Circle- the Neighboring Countries: Five out of six countries in our neighborhood belong to the circle of Islamic countries. With these countries, we not only share the same religion but also have in common particular geographic, political, and economic characteristics. Even more significantly, our stability is inextricably linked to each one of these countries. Instability in any of these countries is a threat to our stability just the way instability in our country is a threat to them. It is for this reason that when it comes to stability, we are a valuable partner for these countries just the way we share the heavy price that we pay for instability and insecurity. It is this vision that is the foundation of our policy with regards to regional cooperation.

We will put together all our efforts to reach an agreement with all neighboring countries on a pact of regional cooperation which will make sure to bring stability, security and economic growth to the region. The fundamental basis for such an agreement on regional cooperation will be the acceptance of each country by the other as legitimate representatives of their respective people. Member countries will work towards an environment where the region can become more stable and prosperous as a result of such regional cooperation agreements. As a prerequisite to any such agreement, no member country will have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbors. All problems in bi-lateral relations will be solved via political dialogue and cooperation.
The first step towards forging robust and comprehensive relations with the neighboring countries will be initiated by the state. On the basis of this relationship, a sense of friendship and cooperation will grow between two countries, in turn transforming into comprehensive cooperation between peoples and economies.

We will explore later the role of China, our great neighbor belonging to the Asian circle. But in this section, we will focus on the central Asian Republics by which we mean Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, from the northeast to the northwest, and then Iran and Pakistan, from the West to the South and East. Our relationship with these five neighboring countries is of vital value and importance. With each country, our government will focus on the following specific issues:

1. Tajikistan: Tajikistan is one of the first neighboring countries to which our lives, relations and culture are vitally linked. The construction of bridges over the Oxus River reveals that regional cooperation can lead to a great deal of ease. Points that used to separate the two sides of the river are today connected with each other in an orderly fashion. Each week, shared trade means that one good reaches Afghanistan while another one reaches Tajikistan. The two partners also cooperate in service delivery. Our cooperation with Tajikistan is a good example of moving away from the idea of closed borders to that of open borders, which means that coordinated cooperation improves the quality of lives in exceedingly rough geographic regions.

Another important issue is the shared capacity of Afghanistan and Tajikistan to produce electricity. The Panj and the Oxus rivers have an enormous capacity for producing electricity but this capacity has remained untapped because the projects initiated by the Soviet Union were not completed and we still lack a system of regional cooperation to further produce and distribute electricity.

Our proposal is that Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, China and India should jointly invest in electricity production, become joint shareholders and subsequently, work on the distribution of electricity in regional cooperation projects. To reach this goal, however, it is necessary that we reach an agreement on a comprehensive structure of electricity energy exchange. The problem with Tajikistan exporting electricity is that its power production is seasonal, meaning that during some seasons, Tajikistan is incapable of exporting electricity and then there are seasons when they, themselves, need electricity. This problem used to exist in other parts of the world too, but a solution was made possible through networks of regional cooperation.

Additionally, such regional cooperation prepares the ground for us to turn to comprehensive cooperation and working together in order to solve our other problems, too. All the three countries that border on the Oxus River, namely Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, share with us the same concerns and interests over the strengthening of the river banks. During the past two decades, the river banks on the Afghan side have been damaged greatly, causing thousands of our fellow countrymen to lose their homes. Here, too, to take control of the receding river banks, we need to work together to take steps.

Moreover, with regards to the use of the Oxus River water, it is necessary for all four countries bordering on the Oxus River to reach a fundamental accord ensuring that the water is used fairly, within a framework of regional cooperation. Needless to say, the issue of using water to produce electricity is a separate point as a system of electricity production through extensive networks causes the water to be used collectively whereby water is not wasted.
But utilizing water for agriculture and in other ways involves a waste of water which is why we have no choice but to reach separate agreements that would take into account fairness and international standards. Therefore, considering the current situation, as our first step we are going to place more emphasize on the production of electricity. The Oxus River’s capacity for tens of thousands of mega-bites of electricity will trigger extensive regional cooperation. In this project, not only the Central Asian countries but also South Asian countries and Iran, too, can become participants.

Another issue in our cooperation with Tajikistan is what we share in the Pamir region. The high mountainous area on both sides of the border includes regions of enormous deprivation. Equally, our regions that run along the Pakistani Chitral and Gilgit areas have similar issues. As already mentioned, geography is one of the key elements of deprivation and to struggle against this geographically caused deprivation, we have specific plans which also include the high mountainous regions of the Pamir. It is important to understand the point that alleviating deprivation not only leads to positive social and political impact but also to positive, economic results. That is why investing in this area leads to economic growth in the wider society as well.

Addressing the needs of the high Pamir terrains is not possible without regional cooperation and mutual efforts. Therefore, in order to improve the conditions in these areas and to make use of the opportunities in each country, we will develop and put into action specific programs that would include the evaluation of experts from all countries to show the easiest way to realize development projects.

Our shared cultural heritage with Tajikistan is our Dari and Pamiri languages. In this respect, we will not only work towards enhancing the Dari culture as a shared cultural phenomenon with Tajikistan but we will also take action towards the strengthen of the Pamiri language, making use of the rich treasures of this language while at the same time, living up to our constitutional duty to boost regional languages.

2. Uzbekistan: Adjacent to Tajikistan is Uzbekistan, our second neighboring country which is also one of the most important points of reference in our regional cooperation. The Uzbek railway networks connect us to Ukraine, Russia and Europe. The first railway to have been completed in Afghanistan has been the one between Hairatan (in Uzbekistan) and Mazar-e Sharif (in northern Afghanistan). In terms of import-export, our relations and cooperation with Uzbekistan would take us all the way to Europe, which is a matter of vital importance to us. This same relationship, in the other direction takes us all the way to India and Pakistan, which in turn can create an extensive network of relationships over a wider regional space. Any transit facility provided by Uzbekistan will lead to the welfare of the people of Afghanistan. At the same time, we have planned for railway projects to connect us to South Asia and Iran so that the people of Uzbekistan would also benefit from this.

In terms of expanding regional cooperation, one of Uzbekistan’s most significant plans is to export electricity to regional markets. But this project can only be implemented with Afghanistan’s cooperation. Uzbekistan is currently one of the major exporters of electricity to Afghanistan. It is owing to the cooperation of this county that Kabul and other provinces located along this network benefit from the light of electricity.
We see the creation of a regional marketplace for the production and use of energy as the first step towards regional cooperation. India and Pakistan are the two countries with limitless need for electricity power and energy. By cooperating with Uzbekistan, we not only expand the current reach of electricity between south and central Asia but we will also have comprehensive cooperation with Uzbekistan in the shared production of electricity from the Oxus River, which is also our border.

Uzbekistan has an enormous capacity for construction projects. During the Soviet era, road building in all other parts of the Soviet Union was part of Uzbekistan's specialist expertise. It was Uzbek engineers who built the Herat to Kandahar highway. We will therefore be ready to set up joint construction companies with Uzbekistan so that we can benefit from their technological expertise.

Uzbekistan is also one of the major producers of cotton globally and regionally. In this arena, we can pursue two types of cooperation. Firstly, we will make use of Uzbekistan’s experience in our attempt to introduce the culture of cotton cultivation to our northern and northeastern provinces. We will also run this project in Nimruz, Helmand and Farah provinces where the conditions are right for cotton cultivation.

Moreover, as one of the largest importers of cotton, Pakistan imports up to 2 million tons of cotton per year. It is our plan to make effort to create a wider and more productive chain of relations to include Pakistan, too.

The points that we have so far laid out as examples reveal only a fraction of our capacity for creating cooperation. When the conditions are right and understanding is reached, in other spheres, too, we will have plans and specific initiatives that would be to the contentment and agreement of both sides, leading to joint investments by both parties.

Afghan businessmen are active in Uzbekistan. Uzbek businessmen are also welcome to invest in Afghanistan. Both countries will try to boost trade and relations with one another.

Meanwhile, the Uzbek language, which is our third main language in Afghanistan, is the cornerstone of our shared cultural ties with Uzbekistan. Thus bearing in mind the Afghan Constitution’s requirement for the government to boost local languages, together with Uzbekistan, we will invest in the promotion of this language which is spoken by millions of our fellow countrymen and women. We will invest in comprehensive projects to promote and enrich the culture of Afghanistan’s people of Turkic ancestry who, after all, have produced some of the most important figures of our history such as Mir Ali Shirnawi, Queen Gowhar Shad and Babur Shah.

3. Turkmenistan: In the course of the last 13 years, Turkmenistan has been one of our major economic partners, having played a vital role in exporting fuel, food supplies and construction materials to Afghanistan. It is owing to Turkmenistan's major investment in creating and extending a contemporary infrastructure for communications that Afghans and their international partners are linked together on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Our fuel import from Azerbaijan is a living example here. Using the same route, we have economic cooperation in other spheres with countries such as Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Our cooperation with Turkey is also facilitated through this Caspian network.

Therefore, our primary objective is to increase the volume of trade with Turkmenistan and through Turkmenistan enhance transit trade with other countries in the Caspian Sea region. This will enable us to protect our markets against price fluctuation in international markets as well as provide much needed development to the provinces bordering Turkmenistan (Badghis, Faryab and Herat).
Our second objective is to develop and invest in our inland ports. Our railway networks are connected to Thurghundi via Uzbekistan. Just the way our railway network has reached from Hairatan to Mazar, we are going to make efforts to connect Herat to Thurghundi and to Islamqala, a project which has been left unfinished. This plan, too, would lead to the creation of vast connections in the region. Right now, Aqina has become an important border port for us but the facilities of the port do not meet the needs of the traders and are not fit to accommodate expansive cooperation. We plan to construct a larger port in Badghis province to create the conditions needed for comprehensive development.

Furthermore, we import electricity from Turkmenistan. This network started in Herat but there is the need and the possibility for it to extend to other parts, too. As we have already explained with regards to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, we are going to take serious and fundamental steps towards creating a structure for regional exchange of electricity energy. The energy sector as discussed in relation to cooperation with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan will be covered on a regional basis covering all the neighboring countries, including Turkmenistan.

One of the most important areas of future cooperation with Turkmenistan is the creation of a network of pipelines connecting Pakistan and Turkmenistan via Afghanistan that will be later extend to India. These projects are of vital importance to economic development in the region, particularly in Afghanistan. The discovery of considerable quantities of natural gas, particularly in Sheberghan, gives us the opportunity to make this network economically more viable on a daily basis, creating comprehensive cooperation on the part of all regional countries. We can do this by pursuing precise and meticulously outlined plans.

As with our other neighboring countries, Afghanistan has strong cultural links with Turkmenistan. Turkmen is an important language in Afghanistan which we share with our neighbors in Turkmenistan. As with the development of other languages like Dari (variations of which is spoken in Tajikistan and Iran) and Uzbek (spoken in Uzbekistan), we will invest in development of Turkmen language and culture in Afghanistan.

Two other issues of importance with regards to Turkmenistan is the expansion of our exports, particularly of marble stones and construction materials. Turkmenistan is undertaking massive investment in infrastructure. The country’s need for quality construction materials will cause widespread investment which will bear fruit for us, too. Another aspect is finding markets in Turkmenistan for our agriculture and animal husbandry products. We can introduce our high quality agriculture produce (especially fruit and vegetables) and animal husbandry products to the Turkmen market which will result in increased trade and investment between our two countries.

Afghanistan and the other three Central Asian Republics together with the Republic of Kazakhstan share a culture of horse riding, the game of Buzkashi (polo) and the breeding of the kind of horses that can be used in regional and global sports. This matter includes both, cultural and economic aspects. To take advantage of this opportunity, our Government will draft concrete and precise programs, and to put the plans into practice, we will enter joint investment and exchange schemes with all the countries mentioned. Setting up tournaments and horse riding events and polo games can be a great catalyst for enhancing regional cooperation with the region, the Arab countries and the wider world. The culture of horse breeding is rooted in thousands of years of history in our region and is a significant part of our sporting cultural heritage.
With slight modifications of content and form, we can transform this into something contemporary and useful, through which we can create the conditions for comprehensive cooperation regionally and internationally.

To summarize our evaluation, it is safe to say that with regards to cooperation with Central Asian countries there is no fundamental problem for cooperation. The only issue where we need to reach a legal agreement is the distribution of the Oxus River waters. This agreement can be realized by taking into account the principle of fairness, of international rules and norms and of environmental protection. But as the first step, the production of electricity and facilitating transit are of paramount importance to our national interests. We will make full use of all our capabilities to draft and implement projects that will improve the development, transit and distribution of energy within Afghanistan and the region.

We have to reach a consensus based on principles that would allow us all to live together in an environment of lasting stability. Our specific commitment to all our Central Asian neighbors will be that the territory of Afghanistan will never be used against their national interests. In the same way, we have no doubt that our Central Asian neighbors will be committed to not allowing their territory to be used against the stability and national interests of Afghanistan.

4. Iran: Iran is an important neighbor with whom we not only have extensive historical and cultural ties but also, given the current conditions, this country has become one of our most vital regional partners, a role that is going to expand in the future. One of the positive points of our relations with Iran, one that gives us reason to be optimistic, is that we have no problems with border disputes. We agree on our borders and they have been recognized internationally, and there is no conflict in this regard.

At the same time, one of the positive legacies of the government of the last 13 years has been the preserving and expansion of friendly relations with the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Hence, taking into consideration the country’s national interests, the government of Afghanistan has prioritized the sustaining of positive relations with Iran. The expansion and solidification of this relationship is going to be a fundamental cornerstone of Afghanistan’s policies.

In economic terms, Iran is the second important source of transit for Afghanistan. The port of Bandar-e Abbas is of vital importance to us and the connection that the Persian Gulf creates between us and the rest of the world is valuable to us. It is for this reason that the Chabahar project and the creation of a fully equipped, state-of-the-art port which will not have the complications of Iran’s current ports, is of vital importance to us and to the region. For this reason, our government is going to take advantage of the useful and easy conditions that the government of Iran has created to invest heavily and comprehensively in creating shared ventures by the Afghan government and Afghan entrepreneurs.

Iran is the gateway for our exports to the Gulf region. Since Iran’s standards and trading conditions had not been clarified to Afghan traders and exporters, the export of Afghan fruit via Iran has faced enormous difficulties over the last years. The cultivation and smuggling of drugs is another shared concern for Iran and Afghanistan. For this reason, to allow Afghan agricultural products access to international markets would be beneficial for both countries.

We are planning to conduct, grounded in political principles, a series of discussions and debates with the Iranian government.

1. In order to convey clear standards for an ease of transit in a way that would be easy to follow for both Afghan exporters and Iranian officials, we need a series of bilateral agreements.
2. We need a joint commission charged with solving disputes, the kind that would have authority at the national level, and would be capable of making quick and transparent decisions on the basis of transport seasons.

3. Creating the conditions for joint ventures between export and transport companies of Iran and Afghanistan to improve economic coordination in the region.

The second part of this project is the extension of highways and the setting up of railways in which the government of India is our partner and interested participant. We are going to encourage this trilateral cooperation in every possible way and make efforts to solidify it. The expansion of trade and transit between Iran and Afghanistan via several ports will result in the development of various provinces of Afghanistan. These projects will be of vital importance to creating conditions for economic growth in Herat, Nimroz, Farah and Helmand.

The third part of our cooperation with Iran is the prevention of smuggling which damages the shared interests of both countries. To prevent smuggling, we have a specific plan to identify points along the border that would become official inland ports. These points are currently used illegally for smuggling but by cooperating on both sides of the border, we will create the conditions for a solid infrastructure that would extend cooperation while at the same time create conditions for economic growth in these regions.

Our fourth project is working together in the fight against the cultivation, production, use and smuggling of drugs. Iran is a country that has experienced serious damage owing to drugs and has invested extensively in annihilating drugs, spending vast amounts on fighting drug smugglers. Iran’s investment in health and security reaches billions of dollars yearly. In this respect, we have numerous points of communality.

The culture of drug addiction is spreading rapidly in Afghanistan. It is estimated that we have around one million addicts in Afghanistan. Both the treatment of addicts and the creation of a culture that would prevent addiction, is a shared project that we will move forward with Iran’s serious and comprehensive cooperation. Moreover, Iran is a major importer of food supplies in the region and Iranian cooperation with Afghanistan in promoting alternative crops instead of the poppies grown by Afghan farmers could be mutually beneficial for both our countries. It is understood that traditional food crops cannot replace poppy cultivation, however the establishment of a modern production system, using scientific norms and modern technology is of huge importance and can also result in serious and widespread cooperation.

Therefore, our respective export and import policies needs to be adjusted to take into account not the only minor and short term benefits of both parties but also to consider the greater long term and mid-term regional interests so that by pursing several clearly defined and timed projects, conditions are created for the expansion of cooperation between both countries so that we can take advantage of our mutual capacities in a proper and solid manner. Transit to the Gulf is of importance to us and transit to South Asia is of importance to Iran and will cause economic progress for both countries and trigger the collapse of the cultivation, production and smuggling of drugs.

The fifth area of cooperation with Iran will focus on family planning. In this area, Iran has been one of the globally most successful experiments in controlling population growth. What took the United States a 100 years and India 40 years, Iran managed to achieve within a decade and today, population growth in Iran is under one percent. Since Afghanistan's population is growing at an alarming rate and is a cause for serious concern, it is vital for us to pay attention to Iran’s experience.
According to clear evidence based on recent data, Afghanistan’s population is set to double in thirty years. Iran’s experience, the role of the country’s religious scholars and civil society in establishing and implementing family planning as a globally accepted principle but one that is in line with the teachings and rules of Islam, can also be seriously useful for our country, too. We are capable of drawing on Iran’s comprehensive cooperation in this regard, too. 

The sixth area of our cooperation with Iran concerns the Afghan entrepreneurs who are active in Iran and conditions need to be created for their return to Afghanistan. Furthermore, by creating a stable environment of prosperity, we can enter into clear and transparent agreements with Iran through which we can expand joint investments in different areas so we can make use of each other’s experiences in a productive and useful manner.

The seventh area of our cooperation with Iran will focus on the more than 2 million Afghan refugees currently living in Iran. The Iranian job market acts like a magnet in attracting poor Afghans seeking employment there. Our Government will undertake job creation projects so that Afghan refugees in Iran will be drawn back to Afghanistan in a steady and dignified manner. We will take principled, constant and gradual steps in this direction as this project is not a short term undertaking. As a first step, we will upgrade and empower with additional staff and resources our representative and consular offices in Iran that are dealing with refugee issues. This will allow us to increase the effectiveness and reach of our representatives in Iran in dealing with refugee issues in that country. Any proposal or future programs about refugees’ return will be undertaken with full respect and consultation of international conventions and laws dealing with refugee issues as well as the capacity of our economy in terms of available employment for refugees.

The dignity and wellbeing of our refugees in Iran is of paramount importance. Our relations with Iran will be negatively affected if Afghan refugees in Iran are treated badly, as like any other society, our society is also concerned about the wellbeing of Afghans living in other countries. Any behavior that undermines internationally sanctioned rights and privileges of Afghan refugees will have a negative impact on our relations with Iran.

The eight areas where we seek cooperation with Iran is the issue of Afghan workers and laborers in Iran. The presence of Afghan workforce in Iran is a very important issue. According to Iranian studies, Afghan workers in the construction and other related sectors in Iran contribute a significant amount to the Iranian GDP. Normally the work that Afghan workers undertake in Iran is shunned by ordinary Iranian workers. Even though Iranian workers do not like to seek employment in the sectors that employ Afghans, a number of groups in Iran incorrectly claim that Afghans have taken employment opportunities away from Iranian citizens, leading to tensions and ill treatment of Afghans working in Iran. We need to reach a transparent agreement with our Iranian counterpart in relation to the rights and responsibilities of Afghan workers in Iran, which will prevent cross border illegal movement of labor and at the same time protect the rights of Afghan workers in Iran. Together with the private sector in both countries, the Afghan and Iranian Governments should launch negotiations and consultations in order to reach an agreement in this area.

The ninth area of cooperation with Iran encompasses joint projects to promote our shared cultural and linguistic ties. The Farsi language covers our historic and cultural ties. Both countries are possessors of rich national cultures with historical roots. We respect the national culture of Iran and expect Iran to respect our national culture as well.
In cooperation with our Iranian neighbors, our Government will undertake concrete steps in promoting academic and research projects in areas such as education, culture, language and history which will strengthen our cultural and historic ties with Iran. Afghanistan considers the Iranian regime a legitimate representative of the Iranian people, at the same time we expect our Iranian counterparts to continue to engage with the Afghan Government as the sole legitimate representative of the Afghan people, in line with international norms. As two sovereign nations living side by side and through state to state contact, our relations can further expand within the principle of not acting against each other's national interests and sovereignty. Therefore, both the Iranian and Afghan Governments must be committed to non-interference in each other's internal affairs and also not allowing their respective territories to be used against the other.

In our Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) with the United States, it has been stated clearly that our territory will not be used to create instability in our neighboring countries. Just as in the past Iran maintained close relations with other countries that were not friendly towards Afghanistan, our third circle of relations which includes Europe and the United States is not going to endanger our relations and mutual interests with Iran. To protect its longevity and prosperity, every sovereign country is entitled to the right to manage its relations with other countries to meet the requirements of sovereignty and national interests. The only condition is that such relations are not to cause insecurity and instability in the neighboring countries. We are confident that given the achievements we have made in national sovereignty, we would be able to continue with our independent policies in relationship with Iran. Where our interests are in conflict with each other, even if we cannot reach a solution in the short term, we are hopeful that over medium and long term, we can get results through cooperation between the two states and the continuation of friendly relations.

5. Pakistan: Pakistan is our neighboring country which offered refuge to millions of Afghans during the Jihad era and played a vital role in the victory of Jihad. Similarly, millions of Pakistanis trace their ancestry to Afghanistan and are proud of being Afghan. As with Iran, we also have deep cultural interests with Pakistan and more than three million Afghans still live in Pakistan. By contrast to the bitter experiences of Afghan immigrants in other parts of the world, refugees in Iran and Pakistan were never confined to camps secured by barbwire and their movement was not limited. In personal encounters, there has been a courteous relationship between Pakistanis and Afghans. At the same time, economically speaking, Pakistan is our best route towards reaching the Indian Ocean. If political conditions were right, Delhi would be only eight hours of distance from Kabul. With the rapid speed of growth conditions, trilateral economic cooperation between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India is easily possible.

Having said this, political relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have suffered from fluctuation in various periods of history. Afghanistan’s historical track record with the independent state is by hundreds of years older than Pakistan’s, which as a newly founded state is only just over fifty years of age. The political existence of Pakistan in the shape of an Islamic Republic is the result of the partition of the Indian subcontinent. This event was brutal and full of bloodshed as a result of which millions of people lost their lives. This incident also resulted in the creation of a political culture of mistrust in Pakistan. In addition to fearing India, Pakistan has also been perpetually fearful of Afghanistan, too. During the years of jihad in Afghanistan, the leaders of Pakistan’s military regime believed that a united leadership for the Afghan jihad would not fit their interests.
They feared the Afghans’ sense of patriotic nationalism. As a result, they created and developed numerous Mujahidin groups that were both, rivals as well as cooperators. The Mujahidin groups failed to reach a consensus over a single leadership or a unified government that would preserve and maintain the prideful achievements of jihad. When it became clear that the Russians were to leave Afghanistan, a number of Pakistani security experts imagined that a weak government in Afghanistan would serve as an insurance policy for the protection of Pakistan’s interests. They counted Afghanistan as a place where Pakistan could reach political strategic depth in the region. There was nothing new to this perception because the British India, too, regarded the Hindukush as its strategic border and Lord Curzon, who was the governor general of British India at the end of nineteenth century, identified three borders: an administrative border which included Peshawar and its surrounding areas; a political border which later became the Durand line; and the Hindukush, a strategic border against which to lean in case of possible attacks by Czarist Russia. Following this hypothesis, from the point of view of the people of Afghanistan, Pakistan’s interference is perceived as negative interference and is understood as the cause of mistrust in the relationship between the two governments.

After the launch of the Bonn process and especially following the creation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Pakistan provided shelter to the armed opponents of Afghanistan and this hideout became a tool of continuous pressure on the part of the Pakistani government against the people and the government of Afghanistan. But if the pursuit of this policy meant that the people and the government of Afghanistan had to face extensive damage, Pakistan, too was dragged into a dangerous whirlwind of crisis.

The Taliban whom the Pakistani government used as tools of pressure to weaken the Afghan nation and government ended up having widespread impact inside Pakistan itself. The Pakistani Taliban and the other extremists groups created in the country, in cooperation with Al-Qaeda, made use of the holy religion of Islam to spread a culture of extremism and animosity against the world. Pakistani politicians who for the first time have witnessed a peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another, have reached the conclusion that extremism and the presence of non-state armed groups are a threat to the interest and stability of their own country. If this conclusion is true, then, we have the opportunity to seriously think about an extensive framework for regional cooperation.

The point which should be made clear is that instability in Afghanistan, without any doubt, causes instability in Pakistan, just the way instability in Pakistan has adverse effects on all aspects of our lives. Therefore we have no choice but to agree on the creation of a system of regional cooperation and to define and create economically vital common interests and this can be achieved through bilateral cooperation.

Bearing in mind the principle that as harmonious political systems democracies do not fight each other, there is a need for joint struggle against extremism and terrorism which is a shared threat to the solidification and growth of democracy and democratic institutions so that through such institutions re-integration, the rule of law and development projects can be implemented particularly in the tribal regions so that terrorist activities and terrorist strongholds within the local communities are eradicated in order to instate stability and welfare in both countries.
Having understood this common purpose, we want to make use of Europe’s successful experience, especially that of Germany and France, to envisage and improve our relations with Pakistan in such a manner that would be deemed trustworthy by both states so that all issues of conflict are addressed through continuous and fruitful negotiations.

In case particular groups and/or agencies in Pakistan are still inclined towards using force to create instability in Afghanistan, it should be made clear that Afghanistan will defend its sovereignty and national interest at any price. But our first choice is cooperation. In cooperation lies the welfare and stability of the region and the provisions of Islamic values. Through securing their national interests, both countries could prove to be good examples of wider cooperation in the Muslim world.

Our principle goal for the mid-term is to create special relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, similar to the relation between France and Germany in the fifties and sixties.

The Durand Line: The fundamental policy in our relations with all the countries in the region, especially with Pakistan, is the creation of an atmosphere that would allow us to through strategic cooperation rescue the region from crisis and instability, so that the region is transformed by stability and prosperity.

It is for this reason that we do not consider the Durand line, which is, after all, a legacy of colonial oppression for both countries, as our priority in our working relationship. This is because this border is not closed and given the possibilities and conditions of the 21st century, this border can never become a closed border. The ultimate decision in regards to the destiny of the Durand line requires national consensus in Afghanistan and the satisfaction of the people on both sides. We need time and specific and conducive plans in order to reach this stage.

The following points about the Durand line are worth considering: The bonds that connect the people on both sides of the Durand line are strong and multilateral. We cannot cut off these bonds with official borders and frontiers. The people who have lived on both sides of the border have not accepted the Durand Line as a principle of separation in their relations.

Every day, hundreds of people are cross the Durand Line. The successful experience of Europe in the 21st century has shown that open borders are far more effective and beneficial than closed ones. Therefore, the principle of freedom of movement for the people on both sides of the line must be accepted as one of the basic principles in the future.

Some of the most deprived people of the world live on either side of the border. These two areas are deprived of the basic services that a state provides to its citizens. Therefore, large projects are required in order to take these people towards welfare and stability.

During the last decade, a dangerous plan to destroy the traditional and cultural leadership on both sides of the Durand line has been underway. Hundreds of young people, influential individuals and religious scholars, especially on the Pakistani side of the line, have been killed, and this danger also threatens prominent people on our side of the line. In order to counter this threat, there is a need for the creation of a conducive atmosphere and bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This problem is not confined to the two countries alone but the presence of Al-Qaeda is an international threat that also targets countries like Saudi Arabia and the entire Islamic world. Therefore, multilateral coordination can address this challenge and further develop opportunities for regional cooperation.
According to clear evidence based on recent data, Afghanistan's population is set to double in thirty years. Iran’s experience, the role of the country’s religious scholars and civil society in establishing and implementing family planning as a globally accepted principle but one that is in line with the teachings and rules of Islam, can also be seriously useful for our country, too. We are capable of drawing on Iran’s comprehensive cooperation in this regard, too.

The sixth area of our cooperation with Iran concerns the Afghan entrepreneurs who are active in Iran and conditions need to be created for their return to Afghanistan. Furthermore, by creating a stable environment of prosperity, we can enter into clear and transparent agreements with Iran through which we can expand joint investments in different areas so we can make use of each other’s experiences in a productive and useful manner.

The seventh area of our cooperation with Iran will focus on the more than 2 million Afghan refugees currently living in Iran. The Iranian job market acts like a magnet in attracting poor Afghans seeking employment there. Our Government will undertake job creation projects so that Afghan refugees in Iran will be drawn back to Afghanistan in a steady and dignified manner. We will take principled, constant and gradual steps in this direction as this project is not a short term undertaking. As a first step, we will upgrade and empower with additional staff and resources our representative and consular offices in Iran that are dealing with refugee issues. This will allow us to increase the effectiveness and reach of our representatives in Iran in dealing with refugee issues in that country. Any proposal or future programs about refugees’ return will be undertaken with full respect and consultation of international conventions and laws dealing with refugee issues as well as the capacity of our economy in terms of available employment for refugees.

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The Pashto language – a bond between the two nations:
The Pashto language constructs a significant cultural connection
between Afghanistan and a considerable part of Pakistan. Pashto is
not only an important language of politics and culture in Baluchistan
and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but a large number of Pashtuns also live,
work and do business in Karachi, the biggest city of Pakistan. In
the past thirteen years, the Pashto language has undergone very
important developments and through the creation of a conducive
atmosphere of cooperation on both sides of the Durand line, the
language has spread in a striking manner. Improved relations
between Afghanistan and Pakistan and creating space for
cooperation between the two countries will result in the expansion
and development of this important language of the region, and
will play an important role in cultural exchanges between the two
countries.

Resolution of regional conflicts:
We strive to appropriately resolve all issues in dispute from different
perspectives, within the framework of regional cooperation. If we
sum-up our relations with Iran and Pakistan, we come to discover a
sizeable capacity in the form of thousands of Afghans trained in the
scientific and cultural institutions of the two countries. Therefore, in
order to pave the way for regional cooperation, establishing special
departments for Pakistan and Iranian studies will be one of our
major programs. So far we have not benefited from this untapped
potential yet.
Also, specialist departments for a detailed and extensive knowledge
of different countries and continents will be created where, alongside
engaging hundreds of educated elite of our society in research
and study, we will also provide academic scholarships to a large
number of them, with the help of countries which are of our interest
in studying and understanding their culture and history.

Through their study and research, these educated youth would
expand on the treasures of our country’s political culture.
Our youth who have been educated in these countries are counted
as our greatest capital in the establishment of the aforementioned
departments. This is because they are not only familiar with the
named countries but also have met and made extensive contact
with large numbers of people. We will utilize these cadres as
Afghanistan’s economic, political and social resource for deepening
our regional ties.
In terms of security and economy, the current situation in the region
shows that regional cooperation is not only a pre-requisite for our
economic gains but is also an essential principle for survival. Owing
to the changes that have occurred in today's world, no nation can
live within iron borders, no nation can protect itself inside iron,
fortified fortresses or guard itself inside the high walls of borders.
That is why the only thing that ensures stability and general security
is to reach to the political point of view on the basis of which regional
cooperation is accepted as a fundamental principle to find solutions
for all the problems that are of concern for all the member states
within the framework of this vision. Most importantly, opportunities
need to be converted into reality. That is why our proposal that in the
next five years, we are to reach an agreement of regional cooperation
to include stability, security, transit, culture, energy, economic
cooperation and a mechanism to counter natural disasters.
Our specific proposals in this regard are as follows:
Each state should respect the sovereignty and system of governance
of its neighboring countries and commit to not using its territory and
resources against the sovereignty, the values of the state, security
and stability of the neighboring states. Regional cooperation in the
twenty-first century constitutes one of the foundations of national
sovereignty.
Between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, sovereignty meant that every state is an island and whatever happens on that island is not the business of other states. Governance also meant absolute dominance over the population and the territory of the state. The dangers that threatened such medieval governments are different from the dangers the governments of the twenty-first century face. Medieval governments’ duties towards their people were limited. That is why any dictator could easily form a government of absolute rule.

But the threats of the twenty-first century carry no passports with them. These threats do not recognize borders and do not limit themselves to threatening states. They emerge from complex networks that are beyond borders, beyond states and connected through the technologies of the twenty-first century, they collective assault the lives and security of mankind. These networks act speedily and with little expenditure but cause significant emotional, security and economic problems.

By contrast, government-led processes are slow, expensive and time-consuming and that’s especially the case in matters of security. Countering threats to these government-led processes is only possible through regional cooperation and the key principle of this cooperation is paying attention to stability. To ensure stability, the first step is to come to a shared understanding about how to reach common goals and interests.

When the region’s statesmen and women come to the conclusion that stability is about the entire region and that it is a tool of strengthening national sovereignties and that stability of their neighboring countries is key to the stability of their own country, then, this would show that they have changed their minds. This vision replaces reliance on force, conspiracy and pressure with a focus on collaboration.

The use of legitimate force to ensure regional security must equally take place within a framework of clearly spelled out agreement between the countries of the region. In such a case, no state or the citizens of the state will be accused of seeking to undermine the authority, sovereignty, or national interests of their neighboring country in the process, disregarding their concerns and problems. Security cooperation among the regional powers can help marginalize extremism and reduce threats.

The countries of the region must jointly and seriously address the underlying causes of poverty and deprivation which in many cases lead to the use of force and the loss of the states’ legitimacy. That is why the region must deal with the problem of poverty and deprivation as problems that are not confined to the boundaries of a particular country or region but as problems that negatively affect the region as a whole. Serious and positive cooperation in this regard is the most fundamental trigger for the creation of an atmosphere of trust among countries in the region.

Another aspect of regional cooperation is to tackle natural disasters. We live in a region where earthquakes and floods are common disasters. Earthquakes in Kashmir and floods in Pakistan reveal that natural disasters do not recognize political boundaries of separation. Environmental change is one of the most disturbing realities of the 21st century. Central Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia are in a state of major environmental and the climate change. Efforts to create a regional cooperation system to cope with natural disaster and a coherent training of the security forces of these states to handle these disasters will be a great step that our government will propose in order to have it implemented and coordinated through the concerned ministries.
Transit constitutes another part of regional cooperation. The current transit infrastructure is certainly not the best in the world, but analysis by the World Bank and other international development institutions has shown that the difficulties are not so much about the infrastructure itself but have to do with policies of cooperation and the politics of collaboration. If we address the surface problem which has to do with policy and attitude, then, we can easily solve the underlying problems of infrastructure.

Therefore, our first suggestion is that all countries create a favorable atmosphere conducive to positive transit policies. Afghanistan is undergoing a change of moving away from one-sided reliance on Iran and Pakistan and in the process turning into an Asian transit route. It is for this reason that we are entering into positive bilateral relationships with all countries that participate in regional transit schemes.

If Afghanistan needs Iran and Pakistan to access the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, Iran and Pakistan, in turn, need Afghanistan for access to Central Asia and South Asia. European and East Asian experiences have shown that transit is a major factor for the creation of wealth, cooperation and shared employment opportunities. That is why we not only want to create appropriate transit-related policies, but also advocate the creation of joint ventures in which investors in the region collectively come together and create larger firms and in this manner, take over and run a significant part of transit exchange.

As already mentioned, the energy problem cannot be solved without regional cooperation. We need a large network of communication and cooperation in order to balance supply and demand and help transport the production of energy to regional markets, and thus have an organized structure of energy exchange in place. In today’s world, energy is regarded as fundamental. There is not a single part in economic exchange and activity that does not require the use of energy.

That is why we need to create an environment where the modern technologies of the twenty-first century are in place and available in all sectors of all our lives and activities, from companies to the markets; from government offices to private businesses; from educational institutions to mosques and madrasas, so that we can use them to facilitate and increase our productivity.

Cooperation and cultural exchange is an important component of regional cooperation. As already mentioned, Afghanistan has thousands of experts of Pakistani and Iranian affairs and our government will use this enormous untapped resource to create opportunities in expanding our cultural relations and in developing our policies in the economy and governance sectors and all aspects of regional relations. Hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees have received local education during their stay in different countries and currently thousands more Afghans are being educated in these countries.

Equally, hundreds of our leaders have been educated in other countries of the region and have become closely familiar with their history, culture, government system, environmental issues and all other aspects of growth and development. This capacity will strengthen our understanding of friendly countries and our government is going to use this capacity in the guise of experts of regional and international affairs.

Creating conditions for cooperation between universities and schools through organized channels of communication is one of our most fundamental priorities in the fields of politics and regional cooperation.

We must determine and agree on standard regional and international criteria in the field of education, training and higher education so that our degrees and certificates are credible and acceptable to each other.
Communication facilities should be easily available and regional visa and travel facilities should be extended. Of course, this is only possible when an atmosphere of trust and confidence is created so that the movement of people from one country to another does not result in security problems.

Second Circle- Islamic Countries: The circle of Islamic countries is an important circle that affects the internal conditions in our country be it positively or negatively and that’s because our attitudes, thinking and behavior are wholly based on the teachings and beliefs of Islam, and there is not a single part of our lives that is not ruled by the culture of Islam. In this part, we will focus on the following points:

1. The Hajj pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is one of the five Islamic pillars, and every Muslim who has the means must perform it. To enable our people to perform this religious duty, our government is going to create many facilities. We will negotiate with the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to increase the number of Afghan pilgrims and facilitate more services for them during their Hajj. We will also establish a special permanent office at the embassy of Afghanistan in Saudi Arabia to better facilitate Hajj for Afghans, and will invite all Afghans at the end of their Hajj to share their experiences, complaints and feedback with the embassy service, companies and airlines that take part in facilitating Hajj. This feedback will be relayed to the relevant government departments to improve their work. Based on their complaints, appreciations and feedback, all those involved in Hajj operations will be rewarded if they succeed, and punishments if they fail.

Inside the country, we will establish a special office in charge of making sure that the Hajj quota is divided fairly among all Hajj visitors. We will not tolerate any kind of corruption in Hajj operations.

For a sufficient and transparent performance of Hajj, we will implement a system of rewards and punishments. For better management and organization of Hajj operations, we will learn from successful implementation of other Islamic countries.

2. Islamic Scholars (Ulama)

Islamic scholars are known as the most important assets of the Muslim world. Currently our Ulama’s relations with the main Islamic centers are not satisfactory. We will invest hugely in the creation of stable networking between our religious scholars and the well-known Islamic scholars in the world and connecting them with the main Islamic research centers. In our relationships with Islamic countries, a large part will be given to religious scholars to exchange their ideas, and we will focus on gaining scholarships for our religious scholars in other Islamic countries. We will also work on encouraging and hiring the most intelligent religious scholars in our Islamic institutions. We will work to organize conferences on Islamic culture, history and education, and will introduce Islam as an important cultural dimension in all our development projects.

3. Issuing Afghan passports for Afghans living in Islamic countries

Hundreds of thousands of our countrymen are living in other Islamic countries, particularly in the United Arab Emirates. Many of them have no Afghan passport, thus placing them in a difficult situation. One of our primary commitments is to issue those people Afghan passports to enable them to have privileges of an Afghan nation while living in the host country. This will also make clear to host countries that the Afghan government is representing all of the privileges and rights of their citizens abroad. We will extend the validity of Afghan passports to 10 years.
4. Employment opportunities in Islamic countries
The Arabic countries and Malaysia are in serious need of Afghan workers and, fortunately, Afghan workers are the most trusted and well known workers in Arab countries compared to workers from other countries. The honesty and hard work of Afghans are especially singled out and praised. In this regard, we will take two fundamental steps: a) meet the needs of the current workers and create relationships between the workers and the Afghan embassies and representatives of Afghanistan in host countries, and b) establish companies and organizations to professionally train Afghan workers, first in Afghanistan and then in host countries to facilitate good working conditions for Afghans.

3. To make better use of the services of other universities, our university curriculum, especially in the fields of natural sciences and mathematics, should be developed to match theirs and this, in turn, will enable our students have their degrees recognized in other countries.

The Arabic language is not only the basis of our judiciary but it also covers all aspects of our cultural values from manners to philosophy, metaphysical spirituality, arts and sciences. That is learning the Arabic language will be part of our government policy and will be considered in all our political, cultural, economy and foreign relations. We will improve Arabic language classes in our universities.

4. Investment in higher education
A number of Islamic countries, particularly Arab countries, have invested hugely in higher education. The Emirates and Qatar, as well as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, are good examples of these countries, in which today the most trustworthy American and European universities prefer to establish their research centers in collaboration with such universities in Islamic countries. To benefit from this investment, we will take three steps forward:

1. Securing scholarships for the most intelligent students in Afghanistan in these universities.
2. Establishing educational networks by using remote education systems and information technology to enable our universities across the country to access the lessons of these universities. This collaboration is much easier to establish with universities in Islamic countries compared to universities in Europe and the US as the time difference between Afghanistan and most of the Islamic countries is thirty minutes to one hour, which can be easily managed.
3. To make better use of the services of other universities, our university curriculum, especially in the fields of natural sciences and mathematics, should be developed to match theirs and this, in turn, will enable our students have their degrees recognized in other countries.

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4. Investment in agriculture production
Today most of the wealthy Arab countries are investing in places across the world. One of the reasons they changed their investment pattern after the global economic crisis was the high price of agricultural products and food items.

In previous decades, Arab countries relied on the free market for their food supplies. This is owing to the fact that Arab countries are the biggest importers of food items in the world. But the global economic crisis and the spike in food item prices, particularly the price of wheat, motivated them to invest in agricultural products. This investment is taking place in developing countries which have better opportunities for midterm and long term agricultural and livestock investment. Thus, one of our aims is to attract Arab countries to invest in the two sectors of agriculture and animal husbandry so that our agriculture is mechanized and run in line with international standards of agriculture and traditional animal husbandry methods are replaced with modern methods to ease the lives of livestock owners and make their work more effective.
In the same vein, attracting investment by Arab countries in fruit production is equally important. We have numerous and good customers for our fruit all around the world, particularly in Arab countries but the reputation and popularity of our fruit are not enough. Fruit consumers in these countries are used to getting the best products on international markets. Our fruit should reach these acceptable health standards to satisfy buyers in Arab markets. The same applies to investment in vegetables. Our fruit and vegetables are not up to the standard required to be exported to other countries. With precise planning, analysis of the market and by achieving international standards of production and packaging, markets for our produce will be increased, as well as employment opportunities established for our people.

In addition, Arabic countries are today leading in the expansion of petroleum, gas, transportation and banking systems. Attracting these countries’ investments in all these areas is one of our main goals, which will be seriously considered in our government policies. The conclusion we reach about this second circle of our foreign policy is that fortunately, we have available to us a dignified historical network of cultural and economic exchange and that opportunities for cooperation, which can trigger both, a boosting and enhancement of our Islamic culture, our comprehensive relations as individuals, institutions and governments, as well as helping the growth and improvement of our economy.

Third Circle - Europe, USA, Canada and Japan: For centuries, powerful states attributed any threat to their interests to other states. Great powers were in a constant power struggle and rivalry with each other to reach hegemony and after the Second World War, the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union polarized the world with their conflicting worldviews.

During the Cold War, the United States focused on the threat emanating from the Soviet Union while the Soviets were equally concerned about the threats coming from the direction of the United States. The intense Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union spilled over to affect relations between their respective allies.

With the demise of the Soviet Union, the United States emerged as the sole, undisputed, superpower in the world. However, at the start of the new millennium, a new threat emerged in the form of non-state, highly-networked extremist groups that transcended borders and transformed the very definition of ‘threat’ and ‘rivalry’ in the international arena.

These extremist networks fundamentally changed the definition of failed states, too. Like parasites, extremist networks used failed state as hosts to sustain their nourishment. In terms of security, the failed states had either already lost the right to legitimate use of force or in other instances were in the process of losing it. That is why extremist networks were able to easily undermine official international borders, establishing themselves in such geographic points and organizing their activities there. In the same vein, just like the extremist ideological networks, international criminal syndicates too found an opportunity to take control of failed states, posing a serious threat to global economy and security.

Information technology also became a new trigger. It created the conditions for the global, worldwide, spread and growth of connectivity. But at the same time, its use as a tool by criminal and extremist networks brought to the foreground the serious threat that they posed to legitimate economies, civic cultures and human interactions.
In the September 11th attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, all of the aforementioned causes came together and revealed themselves. The incidents of 11th September showed that the dangers of these new networks of power are neither specific nor general and in this manner, with the coming into existence of such networks, the definition of threat itself changed fundamentally. As a result, the preparations that had been made over decades to counter traditional forms of threat came under reconsideration. As a result of this changed evaluation after September 11th, Afghanistan, too, was propelled to become the center of global attention.

A comprehensive analysis of all the changes triggered by September 11th requires a great deal of work. But the matter that is evident here is that the point that connects us to this third circle of Afghan foreign policy is rooted in a precise understanding of the changes in the international arena. Prior to September 11, Afghanistan was brought up as a living example of a failed state. It was for this reason that regional and international extremist and criminal networks had found an opportunity to turn the war-torn and poverty-stricken Afghanistan into their feeding ground.

Our fundamental objective, as explained in length in this manifesto, is the establishment of a strong, productive and effective state. To make this goal reality is not possible without a sound and intelligent directing of our domestic, regional and foreign policy. That is why our relations with the third circle of our foreign policy is of vital importance to our national interests and in the coming decade, this third circle is going to be one of the key, fundamental causes that would strengthen our national sovereignty. Given this understanding, the key points of our relationship with the third circle are as follows:

According to several surveys, our security institutions have won the trust of a majority of the population and this would not have been possible without the generous assistance and support of the third circle. This matter brings to the fore the need for managing diplomacy with this third circle. At the same time, we are in a situation where we have moved from relying for our security on widespread presence of the international forces to relying on our own national security forces. It is planned that by the end of 2014, the full responsibility for security throughout the country would be transferred to the Afghan National Security forces.

In line with the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) between Afghanistan and the United States, authority for legitimate use of force will be transferred to the Afghan State. Following September 11th, the international community intervened militarily in Afghanistan and exercised authority for the legitimate use of force as per the United National Security Council (UNSC) resolution that sanctioned the intervention. During the last thirteen years, the international forces have conducted military operations against armed insurgents and international terrorist networks based on the same UNSC resolution and, in some instances, even ran detention facilities where suspects and prisoners of war (POWs) were kept in detention. During military operations against armed insurgents and extremist networks, damage caused to civilians was also covered under the same UNSC mandate. In this manner, with the aim of supporting the international forces, tens of local and international security companies turned up, independently making their presence felt. Their impact on the security situation in Afghanistan was extensive. Following the Strategic Partnership Accord and the Bi-lateral Security Agreement, in terms of the presence of the international security forces, the environment has fundamentally changed for us and recognizing this shift in environment is very important for us.
We must study and manage our relationship with the United States and our international partners in view of its effects on enhancing our national security and national interests. During the last twelve years and especially from 2009 to 2012, we witnessed the peak of international military engagement in Afghanistan. However, from now on, the military engagement of our international partners will be considerably reduced and their focus will be primarily on the following areas (apart from instances directly requested by the Afghan state): Education, training, equipping, and financing of the ANSF. The majority of the international forces that stay on will be housed in ANSF military bases. Moreover, the international forces will follow ANSF's lead in all military operations against armed insurgents and terrorists. This will result in reduction of incidents of civilian casualties and financial damage to the local population, which created ill-will among the local population towards the State and international forces. Such incidents occurred in the past due to the fact that international forces were in the lead. After signing of the BSA, the ANSF will be responsible for all military operations against armed insurgents and terrorist networks. On the Bagram detention center there is an agreement on transfer of responsibility to the Afghan state. With the ANSF taking center stage in all military affairs in Afghanistan, the international forces will assume technical and financial support and a mentoring role. The BSA has clarity on all these issues which directs international forces to operate within the framework of Afghan laws and to respect Afghan sovereignty. Within this new framework of our relations with the international community, we enter a phase where our interaction is at state-to-state level. Afghanistan as a sovereign state is entering into a mutually beneficial relationship with other partner states like the United States, NATO member states, EU member states and Japan. In summary, Afghanistan, which was once a failed state that posed a direct threat to international peace and security and where the UNSC had approved the use of military force against, is being transformed into a state with rights and responsibilities as a part of the international community. This transformation has been one of achievements of international engagement with Afghanistan during the last twelve years, and the newly elected Government of Afghanistan will formulate relations with the third circle with a clear view to further enhancing these achievements. The main points of our cooperation with the third circle in this new era

1. Security and Peace
The BSA is considered as a means to support the sovereignty of Afghanistan. We hope that President Karzai will sign the BSA. If not, we will sign the BSA upon assuming office.

Peace is our strategic objective. For this reason, establishing mutually benefiting strong relations with the third circle will help us to formulate a political roadmap that will lead to enduring peace and stability in Afghanistan. During President Karzai's visit to Washington in 2013, President Obama clearly declared that the conflict in Afghanistan can only end through a political solution. Since then, the United States has undertaken a number of initiatives to kick start the peace process in Afghanistan, which unfortunately has not been successful so far.
Our Government, in collaboration with the United States and our global partners, will present a specific plan with regional and international dimensions to end the conflict and bring peace to Afghanistan. We will request our partners in the third circle to provide us with the necessary support to succeed in this endeavor.

The people of Afghanistan want countrywide peace. During the last twelve years, our security forces and especially the Afghan National Army (ANA) have taken big strides in their development as well as earning the respect of the Afghan population. Still, our security forces have not managed to establish monopoly of legitimate use of force within the state. The signing of the BSA with the United States will provide us with USD 36.5 billion in assistance to equip, train and finance the ANSF for the next nine years. Therefore, it is fundamentally important that such international assistance is utilised in the most effective way possible that will allow us to transform the ANSF to become an effective and professional force that will be able to defend the rights of every Afghan as well as our national security.

Our fundamental objective is bringing accountability, effectiveness and legitimacy in utilizing the assistance provided by the United States and other countries in the third circle in order to firmly establish and maintain the ANSF (ANA, ANP and NDS). It is only through bringing effectiveness and accountability that we can build a professional and national security force able to earn the respect and faith of the Afghan population. Only then will the nation accept our security forces as their protectors in accordance with our Islamic values.

The fundamental Islamic ethics of ANSF must be honesty, trustworthiness, respect for duty and regulations, respect for women, children and civilians, and respect for legitimate use of state resources.

Consequently, any kind of corrupt behavior within the ANSF will be deemed against these Islamic principles and will not be tolerated. For a state to be effective, there needs to be clarity of purpose between the State, the military forces and the general population. Within the framework of our partnership and cooperation with the third circle, we have the opportunity to strengthen ANSF as a cornerstone of our national sovereignty. We will be able to train a new generation of professional officers who belong to post-Bonn Afghanistan and who have a national outlook regarding issues in Afghanistan. Such officers will have the leadership of ANSF and will be able to put an end to the misery of the Afghan population.

It is important to mention that under the terms of the BSA, it is foreseen that the distribution of resources and their effective use will be reviewed each year. So any improvement in the management of resources will allow us to enhance the financial capabilities of our security forces which will lead to their overall effectiveness.

We particularly have an opportunity to professionally train our national security forces which could be one of the most professionally trained forces in the region. The military academy established in Qargha (Kabul) is one of its kind in the region with many departments that train cadets many areas, from the correct use of force, to engineering, to financial and administrative management and technical knowhow, which is needed by any military force in the 21st century.

The countries in the third circle have had lasting relations with countries in the region, especially with Pakistan. But still, the center of the strategic threat that threatens both the US and the region is within the territory of the Pakistani state. With Iran, the relations of the United States, Europe and NATO has undergone ups and downs, starting from a strategic partnership with the Shah to turning into rivals with no political relationship.
Even though basic talks between Iran and the United States have just about begun, the United States has still not yet recognized the nation state of Iran. For this reason, there is need for a proposal that will bring peace and stability to the region and will be a catalyst to remove strategic threats. All this requires active diplomacy and relationships with the countries of the third circle, which is not only vital to Afghanistan, but will also provide assurances to countries in the region. With the attainment of this strategic goal of eliminating strategic threats in the region, the pressing need for the presence of international forces in Afghanistan will diminish with time. The objective is to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan and the region, which requires the establishment of a working cooperative relationship at regional level as a result of which peace and stability will prevail in the region.

2. Economic Growth and Development:
Our relationship with the third circle countries is critical for our economic growth. The Chicago Conference paved the way in security assistance, with the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) serving as the most important implementation mechanism. The Tokyo Conference in 2013 provides the framework for economic assistance, based on the notion of mutual accountability. The next Afghan government is committed to making substantial reforms in state building and good governance, so that the international community can justify their development assistance to their people, parliament and civil society and the media.

Our proposed objectives for reforms go beyond those commitments made by the Afghan government at the Tokyo conference. We believe that we need extensive reforms in state building and governance, our institution have to change fundamentally not only to attract international assistance effectively and to make good use of it, but also to establish the basis that our future development does not rely on international assistance.

As we stated in various parts of our charter, reforms are the desire of our people and indeed it is a need through achieving of which we would perform our key function as a state and to provide citizens their rights in the areas of safety, security and prosperity. Therefore, our relationship with the countries of third circle is the basis toward achieving economic growth and development, as well. To emphasize, the international community will not be forcing us to reform. On the contrary, we will have a primary role in combating corruption since transparency and accountability are vital principles without which our existence as a nation will be questioned. The international community will play a key supporting role in this matter. Experiences from both the international community and our own country have indicated that the most effective mechanism in resource utilization is to manage them through government budget channels. That is, such mechanisms of resource management strengthen government institutions and strengthen the culture of government accountability.

In the context of weak states, the international community often relies on parallel structures to assure themselves and the host countries that money is spent effectively, although international experiences have shown that such performance has not solved key economic and development problems. Based on our experiences from 2002 to 2005, we hope to attract international assistance through the national budget to increase aid effectiveness, so that projects, programs and activities are in line with the country’s goals in economic growth and development in the medium and long-terms. We will be able to use this opportunity to build national capacity in the economic sector, as well.
International experiences have also proved that countries with effective use of international assistance not only have utilized their huge resources and national capacities but also have increased credibility to make international investment through such assistance. Therefore, the main economic dimension of our foreign policy with regards to third circle countries is to attract private investment, specifically for the development of hydrocarbon and minerals resources.

During the last thirteen years, foreign investors from third circle countries have had little interest in Afghanistan due to the lack of a suitable environment for investment in the country. It needs emphasis that big international firms seek to invest in those countries that have conducive governance and security environments. As many countries are competing for limited foreign investments, firms have a choice about where to invest. We will compete with countries in South Asia, East Asia and Africa, to attract foreign investment. Therefore, we need to invest in our education, workforce sectors and legal areas. We have opportunities that we can make use of through private investment from large companies. Afghan companies with internationally-accepted standards can play a connective role in partnership, investment and economy activities.

3. Our role in bringing the third circle and Asian countries together:

Firms in countries in this circle especially the United States, are key drivers of global economic development and significant players in Asia. The large scale international companies in the third circle countries have considerable influence on changing the economies in Middle Eastern, Gulf, and South Asian countries. However, the current state of affairs indicates the tendency of the Asian countries towards radically changing the way they have been doing business with various circles, particularly, in the area of economic matters.

India, for instance, employs thousands of engineers in order to respond to the needs of the given countries with over 500 million poor people by initiating innovative technologies. In China, the same factor, large companies, have been the key drivers of economic well-being. Meanwhile, the existence of large scale companies has increased investments of all kinds on international levels. The experiences and lessons learnt from these countries could be used in the case of our country to establish relationships between the third circle countries and Asia. Use of innovation and low cost technologies that are suitable to Afghanistan’s environment can play a bridging role between hospitals, universities, mines, water and energy investments.

In light of the earlier statements, our relationship with third circle countries could be described as: “our national interest lies in our multilateral cooperation with the third circle countries,” The desired cooperation at first needs to take place in the area of security. We need to make sure our national security is ensured and we reach our goals of peace, stability and regional cooperation. The second step would be to expand the partnership to economy as well. Equally important is exchanging cultural and social cooperation, so that Afghanistan can, once again, become an Asian roundabout in the global dialogue of civilizations and cooperation, of state and countries in overcoming the threat of extremism.

Fourth Circle- Asian Countries: When it comes to relationships with other countries in the region, China respects a policy of economic development in its neighboring countries. Additionally, the improved trade and transit relationships between India and Pakistan have supported scaling business in the Waga border.
Taking into account the huge market in China and India and also China’s policy of supporting economic growth in regional countries, Afghanistan is well-positioned to tailor its production based on the demands of the world’s two largest economies.

The use of innovative technologies, which is rapidly expanding in eastern and southern Asia, is another important aspect of our relationship with Asia. The technologies produced in countries that are located in the third circle of our relationship are costly, which means the technologies produced these countries (for instance, in China, India, Singapore and Malaysia), are affordable to us. However, it should be noted that geographic conditions, levels of civilization and development, and the level of knowledge of consumers to use the given technologies are equally important.

We can easily overcome the challenges already faced by those countries by benefiting from the ample experiences they have and by using their technologies, their decades-long experiences could help us overcome the hardships others have already overcome to create these technologies. A large number of our young people are studying in Indian universities and the same can be applied to China—we can send our young students to China to study and learn from the experiences there and ensure a more accurate transfer of knowledge to Afghanistan. Implementation of the earlier stated plan could be part of a regional coordination framework.

Another dimension that plays a vital role in our relationship with China and India is how to apply the successful and effective experiences of both countries in the establishment of village and city cooperatives, associations in China and economic cooperation in India. There are productive associations in China which have already been established at village and urban levels. These associations are one of the significant factors for economic growth and production.

One of the world’s success stories is the experience of the Milk Production Association in India that produces dairy products to high standards and requirements. The producers do their own marketing, based on explicit and precise conditions in regular networks and by applying required technologies.

Therefore, China and India will share a good lesson learned and experiences in economic mobility and discovering the best choice to help entrepreneurs and various profitable investments. They also could provide technical support and train our experts and entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, in terms of producing human resources capable of grasping the conditions, historical, political, cultural and social grounds of Asia, we need to set departments for Asian studies to conduct research, just as with the neighboring countries, and identify possibilities and opportunities. These departments, focusing on China and India, will help us develop our economic policy and particularly formulate them in the areas of export and import.

The purpose for establishing these departments for Asian studies is not exclusively for academic and theoretical research. Our private sectors have valuable and helpful information that we can use for developing our economic policy. Our Chamber of Commerce should have particular units capable of explaining the market status and the varieties to producers.

Therefore, there should be networks of information coordination across the board from start to finish that can realize the dynamics of Asia and recommend adjustments to production based on actual realities.

Another important point in relation to Asia, specifically to China and India, is the policy of stability which must be properly formulated. The two great powers in Asia are China, our direct neighbor, and India, which was formerly a neighbor until the creation of Pakistan.
Strengthening the stability of Pakistan and the beliefs of leaders and rulers to accept each other’s sovereignty in internal affairs will play a vital role for regional stability. Therefore, our government will pursue a regional cooperation policy for the stability of the region, particularly with these two countries (China and India) and also Russia and Turkey, which are also regional powers.

Fifth Circle- Large International Institutions: Our foreign policy is connected to international development institutions and private investment actors such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the International Monterey Fund, the European Union and countries such as the USA, Canada, the UK, Japan and many more in the fifth circle. These institutions are among the major players in continuous coordination of international aid. This circle is counted as one of the most important areas in shaping our foreign policies, which is in crucial need of an accurate and professional focus. To attract the help and support of these institutions in technical, economic, cultural and political areas depends on several major principles. Among the most important one is to ensure the most effective accountability mechanisms. The countries that had clear outlined plans for nation and state building were able to make considerable use of such aid. Evident examples here are Japan, Korea, and Malaysia in Asia, and Holland and Spain in Europe. They managed to make productive use foreign aid in state building. By contrast to these countries, there are numerous other countries that owing to corruption, have failed to turn the goals of economic progress outlined in written accord into reality.

The reforms through our government policies and plans promote accountability and transparency. We will implement these reforms by using formulas of international institutions, including the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the International Monterey Fund.

We are able to utilize them through a proper system, which ensures mutual accountability. As most countries are minimizing aid to our country, their major reason is the uncertainty of aid effectiveness. As different countries are pulling out their armies from Afghanistan, we continuously face the threat of minimum financial assistance. Therefore, we have to implement our national and foreign policies by considering international norms, so that we can achieve the confidence of the international community to continue aid to our country. By contrast to the previous decades, when motivated by their strategic relationships, governments made quick decisions about dispatching aid without taking into consideration particular requirements, from now we are finding ourselves in the precarious position of having to compete over aid with dozens of other countries. All these countries will strive to surpass us matching their political standards to fit international standards and in influencing public opinion in countries that provide aid.

For this reason, one of the fundamental necessities in our international relations is to prove that Afghanistan can utilize its resources transparently and effectively and maintain positive working relations with international organizations. Our commitment is to enter into agreements with the international organizations that provide support and back up for our developmental agendas and encourage foreign investment.

A major criterion in utilizing foreign or international assistance is whether or not the government is able to execute its development budget in accordance with effective open budgetary principles. Relying on parallel structures or UN agencies is a clear sign that the countries that provide aid do not trust the capacity and authority of the government at the receiving end of aid. A majority of UN agencies do not have surplus money to hand over to recipient countries.
In reality, they enter into competition with the host country over getting access aid resources. It is for this reason that the offices of UN agencies create parallel mechanisms and to get vast amounts of aid from aid providing countries, they draft and offer their specific proposals. Public perception in most aid-receiving nations is that aid channeled through UN agencies is ineffective. Despite this fact, the UN has a good reputation in parliaments of aid providing countries that for this reason rely on the UN for everything.

We have a clear commitment in our government to give the United Nations six months to integrate all their projects within a clearly-defined framework so that the transparency and effectiveness of their activities can be established in comparison with other governmental and non-governmental organizations. Or else, after two years and following an evaluation, we will limit the activities of those agencies that fail to prove their transparency and effectiveness. We are not going to give them the right to abuse the trust of the Afghan government and the international aid providers inappropriately.

The most effective way to utilize international assistance is for them to be managed through the government’s national budget. We commit ourselves to prioritizing the national budget in a transparent and clear manner, to facilitate all national projects under a long-term strategic plan, and implement the plan. Projects that are implemented in a non-aligned manner and with no relation to one another will harm the economy and politics of the country. Economic stability is a product of equal progress in all aspects of a country’s welfare. If such balance and equality is not considered in the implementation and management of development projects, the country would face a massive management crisis and would eventually lose most of the opportunities and resources provided.

We should also emphasize that international assistance can only function as a temporary approach to economic progress and growth. A driving force for economic growth and development is coordinated, effective and long-term investment. The idea for a coordinated, effective and long-term investment is the establishment of market principles and the rule of law which will be the basis for a credible and stable market. Anarchy is against the principles of an open market. An open market, as such, provides equal opportunity for competition, and is not about misuse of resources, monopoly, or the multiplication of one person’s capital.

In the following parts, we will discuss how our government will bring the public and private sectors into an agreed and coordinated framework and therefore, provide opportunities for both national and foreign investors to trust in a credible government. This will also provide market security of commodities, goods and services for the people.

The Principles Necessary for Attracting International Investment:

1. Trustworthy Policies and Laws:
   The most important principle for attracting international investment, just as attracting domestic investment, is to create trustable laws and policies. The laws and policies that define the activity limits of the domestic private sector and international investors must be precise, transparent, trustable, and accountable. Economic laws and policies, especially the ones concerning agriculture, mines, and seasonal products, must create an atmosphere whereby the profits made by investors in midterm and long term periods would be both, encouraging and stable and investors must be able to access their profits. It is for this reason that the growth and drawing of investments is strongly linked to stability and trust in the state.
2. Investment in Infrastructure

Investment in building infrastructure is another important principle which must be focused on in attracting investment by the private sector and international investors. For example, investment in the provision of security for investors is initially very important. Security and stability causes economic activities to be carried out in the long term based on trust. If investors, especially international investors, doubt that their economic activities are safe, they will not put their wealth at risk. In the same manner, the plans and specific conditions through which the natural resources are converted into national asset are other fundamental principles beneficial for drawing in investment and encouraging investors.

3. Human resources:

Another principle which attracts investment is the availability of human resources with remarkable discipline and knowledge. For this reason, the more advanced the types of investment, the more there will be the need for a more capable workforce with higher education. Today production conditions in Chili, South Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore are such that unless a person has completed high-school where he or she gained specific technical skills, there is no chance for him or her to be employed. Therefore, our calculation must not be based on the number of our population or the number of our young people. Rather, we must invest in the quality of our human resources so they are capable of competing with the Chinese, Koreans and Indians. We shall not forget that international investment is mobile. After the 2008 economic recession, tens of countries compete for specific and limited wealth. Therefore, the views of rightwing and leftwing extremists who were convinced that wealth is in underdeveloped countries and that international investors compete to steal the wealth does not stand scrutiny if measured against the current global conditions. Therefore, the conditions and opportunities for attracting investments must be defined clearly, and clichés must be avoided.

Singapore is one of the countries which rejected all the predominant assumptions of the 1960s and provided the beneficial and stable conditions for international investors. An island with no natural resources evolved into becoming a significant economic power and was able to save its people and government from absolute poverty. Everyone had predicted Singapore’s implosion and fall, but in fact, they reached the peak of economic power. Therefore, we need to carefully review the fifth circle of our foreign policy and international relations so we can benefit properly.

Understanding that there are five circles in our foreign policy and each of them is related directly with our internal affairs, we will focus on few principles in our governance:

Progress and change in Afghanistan without knowledge of our surroundings in five circles of foreign policies which we described, would not be possible. Our government, because it is committed to state building and nation-building, deems understanding each one of our foreign relations circle as a top priority. Therefore, we will make use all of our existing capacities to gain accurate knowledge of these five circles, making use of this knowledge for maintaining of national goals and strengthening our national interests.

The human resources that we need to achieve these goals encompass thousands of individuals. Therefore, in the first step, we must draw from the existing human resources that currently have specific and coherent knowledge about these circles. In the second step, we must prepare a coherent plan to build human resources which must be adaptable.
As already mentioned in the domestic policy section, we need a competent managerial cadre who understands the bigger picture of our reform and state building projects and acts in tune with its goals. We also need management and leadership of international relations in professional institutions that fully understand the picture of globalization in relation to these five circles of our foreign policy. With the establishment of such professional institutions, our national benefits will be coherent and strong.

In terms of the overall management of our foreign policy, given the ministry's current capacity level our government cannot submit all responsibilities to the foreign ministry alone. The foreign ministry must be fundamentally restructured so that it can reach beyond the duties of managing our foreign policies to play a key role in our relationship with these five circles of the foreign policy. Meanwhile, since different ministries including the defense, interior, finance and social work affairs, need knowledge, management and understanding of skills, the creation and development of capacity in each of these ministries and institutions is the first step in the capital (Kabul). In the second step, in provinces and districts and in the places where comprehensive national and international investments have been done, building human capacity is necessary.

Another point that we stress again is that knowledge of the international laws and regulations is necessary for all of these aspects. The management of our international relations cannot be solely conducted from the point of view of maintaining individual rights or adjusting the government's responsibilities. International contracts are one of the main factors that can maintain or undermine our rights. Understanding the principles of negotiation and or the workings of international contracts is a special and important section in our dealings with international relations.

If we do not have the necessary capacity, it is possible that owing to a mistaken conclusion or perception we may lose hundreds of millions even without corruption or by contrast, by having an understanding of the principles of contracts, we can ensure that we sign contracts which will maintain our long term and midterm benefits and earn millions of dollars.

Another part of our fundamental needs with regards to international investment is trust in the transparent and precise working of our legal and legislative institutions. The more corrupt our judicial and legislative bodies, the more insistence on the part of foreign investors to settle disputes outside of the country or ask an impartial, international third party to take care of the matter. It has frequently happened that developing nations have lost billions of dollars in such disputes as well as wasted opportunities. That is why we need an outstanding, organized working structure employing experts of commercial laws and international investment so they can direct and manage in a scientific and precise manner each circle from which we desire investment. This structure of expertise is in fact the very thread that connects all the five circles together. Our government is committed to making possible this kind of excellence and capacity in managing its foreign affairs.
Part Eight: Political Stability

Political stability is the outcome of a political system that is built on the conscious will of the people; the ensuring of justice within the context of the law and law-making bodies as well as the full participation of the people.

Political stability is not something that just happens to occur spontaneously but is a process that develops over time and reaches maturity. To ensure political stability, what we need more than anything is a legitimate government. But the legitimacy of a government is not something that happens every five years. Rather, both the political stability and the legitimacy of a state are a continuous process as a result of which the people view the government as their own and the government, too, regards itself as a tool for the fulfilment of the hopes and wishes of the people and through this mutual contract, society and government build a strong and lasting bond.

In order to build an effective government and a stable society, political stability must become the goal of the political class. Political stability is a greater goal and to achieve this greater goal, it is quintessential to create an atmosphere of thinking that rests on the shared values of the people. The shared values of our society have two dimensions, an Islamic one and a national one. “Islamic values” in the sense that Islam makes up the fiber and tissues of beliefs in this society and that the philosophy of Islam also leans on justice and equality between all believers whereby there is no discrimination because of color, race, gender, class or social standing.

“National values” in the sense that our historical record goes back five thousand years and that we all have come together to form a society resting on our history, culture, and our shared political and social destiny - a society in which the equality of every Afghan in relationship to another Afghan is regardless of ways of thinking, political beliefs, religious beliefs, tribal belonging and gender and serves as the political, economic, social and cultural foundation of society.

Based on our shared religious and national values, we have also reached a shared political understanding that living our lives outside of Afghanistan will be much harder for us than living inside Afghanistan. Political stability is a necessity that transforms this shared political understanding from a wish into a reality while simultaneously providing it with practical opportunities.

Why do we not have stability? Our lack of access to political stability has been caused by the problems that we have encountered in our political history. For this reason, in terms of running a state, we have witnessed a brand of recurrent disruption and a lack of continuity and our politicians have never been able to make certain that positive experiences of governance are carried over from one period to another. From the time of the rule of Ahmad Shah Baba (r. 1747- 1772) to the end of the Taliban period in 2001, owing to the hypocrisy of our statesmen, state institutions have collapsed on an average of every thirty years.

Wars, coups, conflicts and foreign attacks have meant that every couple of decades, we have to start building our state institutions from scratch. If we specifically scrutinize our political class, then, we become alert that in no period have they managed to come to a consensus over shared principles resting on which the continuity of the political system and the participation of the public in the government could have be secured.

First, conflict between royal dynasties: From the end of the rule of Ahmad Shah Baba in 1772 to the end of Zahir Shah's period in 1973 , members of the royal dynasties have been incapable of reaching a consensus over issues of succession based on specific and transparent principles.
Hence, we have been witness to the fact of members of dynastic families constantly engaging in violent animosity whereby such animosities have led to disastrous wars between brothers, cousins, nephews and so forth.

Second, conflict between the government and local land-owners: Land-owning has not been the exclusive privilege of a specific ethnic group. Rather, it has been a structure to be found amidst all ethnic groups of Afghanistan and each group has had their own political leaders who were called khan, arbab, beg and so forth; who, corresponding to their social position, have been shareholders in political power. At the same time, in contrast to Europe, where local elites and members of royal dynasties had reached consensus over the principles of governance and had established a specific type of class-based order that gradually also paved the way for the participation of a growing number of ordinary people, in Afghanistan, this agreement between local power-holders and the government was not formalized as a result of which, continuous animosity between local rulers and the government became a key cause of instability.

Third, the lack of cooperation between the government, spiritual leaders and religious scholars: Religious scholars and spiritual leaders are a major influential class in Afghanistan. If the power of the royal dynasties and local power-holders rested on wealth, land and the sword, then, religious beliefs and convictions formed the basis of the power of religious scholars and spiritual leaders. After the people embraced the holy religion of Islam, mosques, Sufi shrines and widespread networks of religious scholars and spiritual leaders over time drew attention to themselves as political and even economic centers. At the same time, the class of religious scholars and spiritual leaders also failed to come to a consensus with the royal court and local power-holders over specific and enduring principles for the sake of political stability.

Consequently, on most occasions, religious scholars and spiritual leaders have played a critical role in revoking the legitimacy of the state and the collapse of the state.

Fourth, conflict between the government and the educated class: Right at the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the whole of the twentieth century, the educated class comes to the fore of Afghanistan’s political sphere as a new class. In Afghanistan, the basis for the establishment and growth of the educated class has been first madrasas and then, schools. This class has two key characteristics. Firstly, they have been the managers of any kind of change in the political system. This is because the more a political order relies on writing, books and bureaucracy, the more there is a need for a class of experts and skilled professionals. Secondly, this class, from the beginning of the first constitutional monarchy in 1963, has had a specific political viewpoint regarding the shape and substance of statehood but their views have continuously been in conflict with the views of the other political classes, especially those of the royal dynasties, religious scholars and local power-holders. For this reason, a majority of educated Afghans have had to spend time in prison but after their prison term, they would be instated in the bureaucracy, holding posts stretching from those of prime minister and ministers to the level of ordinary bureaucrats.

Fifth, conflict between the government and the economic class: Except for a brief period during King Nader Shah (r. 1929-1933) and then, Zahir Shah’s rule (r. 1933-1973 ), our political leadership has never worked together with our business class on the basis of specific and enduring principles. Our economic class was composed of traders but the government mostly never regarded traders as a class that had social and political legitimacy and never saw them as their partners.
It was only Abdul Majid Khan Zabuli and Nader Shah who managed to reach a fundamental agreement of cooperation between the political and the economic classes of Afghanistan as a result of which, a national economic setup came into being and it was this setup that- as an economic setup in which capital was being produced and growing - moved Afghanistan forward during the most difficult periods that followed the end of World War One and World War Two. Apart from this example, the different parts of the political and economic classes of Afghanistan have never had coherent and lasting cooperation.

The lack of coordination between different political classes, ideological conflicts and differences in views about the shape and substance of governance has been the public manifestation of politics in our country. As a result of this situation, instead of coherent politics that would lead to a gradual expansion of the pillars of the state, the ground was prepared for the formation and growth of extremist politics. The April coup d'état of 1357 (1978) and the changes that occurred consequently are clear illustrations of this unpleasant reality whereby a majority of the people, even though they had no interest in extremist ideologies, over time fell prey to such views and practices. Fundamentalism in its various religious, political and ethnic guises is actually a product of constant instability which will be explained extensively in the final chapter of this manifesto.

Informed participation of the people as the basis of political stability:
The most important principle for making political stability a certainty, one which has not been taken into account in Afghan politics, is the creation of conditions for as broad as possible participation of the people and the creation of a political environment whereby democratic political parties can come to the fore so that with a clear vision and commitment to the values of the constitution, the majority of people who hitherto have been silent turn into a majority that has views and voting rights and takes part in an effective manner in the running and leadership of the state. Broad and informed participation of the people causes governance to changes both in its form and substance. Political instability is a clear indicator of the absence of good governance. From our point of view, good governance is one of the most basic rights of citizen. This right encompasses all the rights included in the declaration of human rights as well as in other international conventions and is reflected in the second chapter of our constitution. However, without the establishment of a democratic political order, these rights stay on paper and are never guaranteed to be put into practice.

It is for this reason that good governance is seen as one of the most fundamental rights of citizens. People have the right to having a good government because good governance is a tool for political stability. Repeated failures in our political history is once again evidence that we have not had reached consensus over good governance. In different periods of our political history, issues related to governance have opened up gaps, at times created oceans, separating the people from the ruling class.

Regional and global dimensions of stability: The establishment of political stability in Afghanistan has not only national but also regional and global dimensions. We live in a region where governments must reach a fundamental consensus over accepting each other’s existence as governments and run their internal and foreign policies accordingly. In this regard, we can make good use of Europe’s experience in the second half of the twenty-first century. This experience was the product of bloody wars and the growth of regional governments that caused both, the two world wars and enormous material and human devastation.
The dominant political conduct in our region has been to use the forces of non-state actors as tools of pressure for ensuring the interests of one’s state and for this reason, in most countries of the region, the boundaries separating state and non-state bodies are not linked to a transparent and clear state. Any government in the region that suffers from weak internal institutions becomes prey to the short-term policies of its neighbors. Unless they have regional backing, on their own, no armed movement would be capable of threatening to bring down a government or disrupt normal life.

In the last three decades, almost all countries in the region have paid a heavy price owing to the lack of a strong regional order in which the rights and obligations of governments and their citizen vis-à-vis each other are clearly defined. In the same vein, in the last thirteen years, one of the key reasons of instability in Afghanistan has been direct and indirect foreign interference in our internal affairs.

But change is underway. Just as the internal situation has changed fundamentally, in the beginning of 2014 we are witness to some major changes in the region, which, if managed with foresight and patience, can move the regional situation in a positive direction.

First, political stability and our relations with the international community: One of the most important dimensions of political stability in Afghanistan specifically depends on our relations with the international community in general, and the US and NATO in particular. In the course of the last thirteen years, the United States has several times reviewed its policy towards Afghanistan: in the first phase, after the Bonn process, the US’s focus on Afghanistan was exceedingly narrow and limited to specific matters. At the Tokyo conference, the US made a pledge of only $ 300 million dollars. This country was not willing to send the ISAF (International Security Assistance Forces) forces, who at the time were only limited to Kabul, to other parts of the country.

The US was in favor of the presence of a small-scale force to counter terrorism and ensuring security in Afghanistan was not an issue of particular interest to America. The emergency Loya Jirga and the success of the Bonn process that ultimately ended with the successful elections of 2004 led the US and the Europeans to change their view of Afghanistan and pay more serious attention to this country. The Berlin conference in 2004 was an outstanding illustration of this change in attitude. At this conference, based on Afghanistan’s request, the international community agreed to commit 8.2 milliard dollars for three years and to pledge 28.6 milliard dollars for a ten year Afghanistan plan.

After the US attacked Iraq, its attention to Afghanistan once again diminished and between 2005 and 2008, the US and Europe paid minimum attention to Afghanistan. Following reviews of the end of President Bush’s term and later, in the beginning of President Obama presidency, it was decided to send a large number of American and NATO forces to Afghanistan. Also, the US substantially increased its economic aid to Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, coordination and a common perspective between the government of Afghanistan and the international community did not happen in this regard. As a result, at the beginning of the Obama administration, the Afghan government and the international community in the first place failed to reach a consensus over consolidating the national sovereignty of Afghanistan. However, through comprehensive discussions an agreement over guidelines, the process of transition and the safety of civilians during operations and the handover of the Bagram prison, security companies and other aspects of matters was finally realized within the context of the Bilateral Security Agreement document and a fundamental change in relations between Afghanistan and the US took place.
The key characteristic of change in relations between the US and Afghanistan can be observed in the acknowledgement of Afghanistan’s national sovereignty, which, from a legal point of view, is included in the Security Agreement in a fundamental manner. Hence, the atmosphere in relations between Afghanistan, the US, NATO and the European Union is ready for a qualitative change. Let’s not forget that the presence in the last thirteen years of the international forces rested on the United Nation’s decision and was not a decision made by an elected Afghan government. In the future, this change is going to be integrated in the document in a clear manner and with its signing, conditions for qualitatively new relations with the international community will come into existence.

The other dimension of this matter is that without good governance and a systemized plan for reforms, the international community cannot explain and justify the amount of aid that it has taken into consideration for Afghanistan to their own people. Hence, the continuation and the effectiveness of the international community’s cooperation with Afghanistan also depends on our progress in reforms and in our struggle against administrative corruption. The three dimensions of stability at national, regional and international levels should be completed with due consideration to another fundamental reality. We are a country that has around five million immigrants in two of our neighboring countries while at least one million other Afghans live in the Gulf States and other countries. The process of consolidating stability will be incomplete without the return in a dignified manner of these immigrants and their integration in the economic, political and cultural body of Afghanistan.

For this reason, the issue of immigrants is the fourth dimension of our country’s stability.

This matter is not only a matter of human relations or deprivation but it is also a critical and fundamental issue concerning the establishment of stability in Afghanistan. The situation of immigrants is on the one hand a fundamental problem of our failure in governance because in most host countries they are not treated with respect and dignity, and in fact, they live in purgatory. On the other hand, immigrants are important in their capacity as points of obvious and very broad contacts so that this issue, too, makes an agreement over stability and prosperity in the region a requirement or else, the immigrants’ return is not possible. At the same time, agreement is needed over an order in which people can use the contacts and networks that they have created as a means for prosperity and stability and not as a tool of unrest and violence.

Second, the conduct of the four major regional powers: The second major change in the region has been the consensus reached between the four major regional powers, meaning Turkey, Russia, China and India, over the importance of political stability in Afghanistan. Each one of these great powers has reached the conclusion that instability in Afghanistan will threaten the growth of Asia as the largest world economic power in the coming 25 years. In addition, continued instability will not remain limited to Afghanistan itself but will lead to movements that will trigger broader instability in the region. The realization of this critical point by the four major regional powers have made available conditions for their comprehensive support for ensuring lasting political stability in Afghanistan.

Third, relations between Iran and western countries: The third major change is the relative improvement in relations between Iran, the US and the European Union.
With the election of President Rouhani, and the successful negotiations between Iran, the US and Europe concerning Iran's nuclear program, conditions for progress in solving the fundamental problems between the US and Iran have been made available. The reduction in tension in Iran's relations with western countries, the US in particular, will boost the atmosphere of good will and cooperation over guidelines at the regional level. Hence, regional conditions are changing positively but such conditions alone are not sufficient in the absence of a plan for regional stability and prosperity that would cause the formation of a coherent political vision and ultimately, comprehensive accords for the solution of enduring regional problems. For this reason, in terms of building an atmosphere of good will, cooperation and realization of common interests, the next decade is a great opportunity that offers a vital chance for the future Afghan government.

Fourth, Pakistan's outlook: Following the Bonn conference, the government of Pakistan officially recognized the Afghan government and since then has maintained diplomatic relations with us. As per accepted international rules and regulations, the national sovereignty of both countries must be mutually respected. However, even though it is against the accepted rules and principles agreed upon by the two state, vis-à-vis Afghanistan, specific circles within the Pakistani state are pushing the kind of policies that result in the intensification of extremism and instability in both countries and thus the continued and lengthy negotiations between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan have not helped remove this obstacle. Following the election of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, there are signs that show that Pakistan's statesmen have reached two fundamental conclusions: the first conclusion is that extremism is a serious threat to the Pakistani state. As a result, Pakistan is reviewing its conventional approach of dividing extremist organizations into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ ones.

Pakistan statesmen have for many years been of the view that the Pakistani Taliban and their affiliates are bad while the Afghan Taliban and their affiliates are good. The current realization of Pakistani statesmen indicates a positive change in their outlook and if this outlook is taken into consideration in the infrastructure of their regional policies, then, the situation in the region will improve altogether and regional stability, which is inextricably linked to the internal stability of each regional government, will change fundamentally. The second conclusion is that they have realized that the spread of extremism in Afghanistan will reinforce similar movements inside Pakistan, too. This threat also has seriously worried Pakistani statesman and there is hope that with deeper sinking of this realization, conditions for moving away from military confrontations and initiation of proxy wars in neighboring countries will be created and region-wide there will be improved chances for lasting peace and stability.

Still, there is no reliable evidence to prove that the Pakistani military and intelligence agencies have acknowledged that a comprehensive review of their regional policies is quintessential for the existence of the Pakistani state as well as stability and prosperity in the region. While we welcome the change in the Pakistani statesmen’s outlook, we expect that the Pakistani government, as a unified government equipped with a comprehensive and coherent plan, start working with us, as the Afghan government, on a practical plan for region-wide stability and stop continuing the conduct that causes distrust and suspicions between the two countries.

Taking into consideration the four dimensions of stability in Afghanistan, what conclusions do we reach? Consensus over good governance is the link that connects all four dimensions of stability.
Without political consensus over good governance, we cannot complete the process of state-building and nation building successfully and with the necessary speed. At the same time, the region will not take us seriously as a government capable of command and leadership. Most importantly, without a stable environment and trust in stability, it will not be possible to draw Afghan, regional and international investment. In addition, a dignified return into the folds of the nation of five million immigrants is not possible without a coherent process capable of attracting five million people and making them have trust in their future. For this very reason, elections should pave the way for the creation of a national consensus over good governance and agreement over the speed of reforms.

Stability requires citizens to trust the government. Our identity-based politics are the result of the nation’s lack of trust in a state building process that would be uninterrupted and lead to the consolidation of stability. Identity-based politics have taken the guise of social insurance. The need for such insurance will only be reduced when people see themselves as a link in a chain that connects the people with the government. For this reason, the process of state building must move in parallel with the nation building process so that an environment of mutual trust develops and we move on from identity-based politics to broad-based politics.

Our internal policies cannot be isolated from our regional ones. Since regional powers are the cause of our instability, we are duty-bound to understand regional stability in a fundamental manner and not only be the architects of a plan for stability but also take the lead in implementing the plan. Fortunately, our geopolitical position, which in the last two centuries has been an obstacle to our growth, can under current conditions turn into our best opportunity.

This is because without establishing stability in Afghanistan, regional economic cooperation is not possible and Asia’s process of fundamental economic transformation cannot be fully completed. Based on the great legal progress that we made in order to gain national sovereignty in legal terms, we should align our policies towards the US, Europe, Japan, Australia and other developed parts of the world in such a manner so that our relations turn from centering on security into focusing on the economy. In the coming years, the fundamental point of our policy should be such that through establishing regional economic cooperation, consolidating national sovereignty, and progress in the peace process, we reach a point where the presence of the international forces will not be needed except for training, equipping and strengthening our security forces. Our active participation in this process will reinforce the belief that stability in Afghanistan will lead to trust on the part of other countries in the region and the world rather than causing damage to anyone. One of the important aspects of stability, which is of specific importance especially to young people, is its economic dimension. A government that is incapable of funding its basic budget through stable internal revenues is an incomplete government. A state that is incapable of providing jobs and employment to forty to sixty percent of its young graduates faces constant instability. We will discuss this issue later on, in relevant sections and with great detail, but paying attention to economy and establishing a leadership that considers the economy a comprehensive element of politics, society and culture, is of essential importance.

Afghanistan cannot live on through international donations. Our country is rich with hidden resources and possibilities. But it is an absolute must that this potential becomes the government’s economic foundation through which the people’s hopes can turn into reality and this can be done through a national economy of production.
The expectations of our society are similar to the ones of those societies where the middle class is a vast segment of society. Yet, we still lack the kind of middle class that comes into being as a result of economic production. The middle class that has been created in the last thirteen years is the result of the presence of the international community. With the change in their presence, various dimensions of our economy and society are also going to change. For this reason, in parallel with internal, regional and international dimensions, the economic dimension needs to be considered too. Since in the same measure that our security and political stability requires thinking along three dimensions, our economy similarly requires comprehensive and in depth attention.

Conclusion

Keeping in mind the vital and democratic values stated earlier, it can be claimed that we have the necessary basic foundations to implement the "Change and Continuity" enterprise and we do not need to start everything from scratch. The gains we have made in the new Afghanistan of the last thirteen years are significant gains leaning on which we can accurately set the priorities of our governance and schedule the implementation of specific plans that rest on a clear vision.

The history of the development of societies tells us that each of them has passed through different phases and has integrated the outcome of their experiences in their setup of a specific political order. The politics of some societies have been all but a reaction to what had happened to them. In such societies, the political class spends decades on responding to incidences on a daily basis and the ultimate end of their efforts is to stay where they are and not to move forward. However, history has shown that instead of staying put, such societies mostly move backward. This is because staying static is not possible in a progressive social trajectory. You either move forward or you are forced to move backward. Some African countries are an example of such movement.

In some other societies, the political class has had an outlook through which society has been given a purpose. Such societies without exception have moved towards growth and have made great gains. The future has no clear and specific definition. History does not force us to predict the future. That history forces us to predict the future is a product of tenuous hypothesis.
Realities, historical and geographical conditions do exist but the point that connects the history of all societies is that individuals have interpreted or changed these realities, historical and geographical conditions, according to their own whims. Therefore, given the precarious situation of our country right now, the most essential part of our politics would be to boost in our society a purposeful forward-looking outlook. Elections are a great opportunity to institutionalize a realistic forward-looking way of thinking in our society.

As a result, we have to focus on some specific points:
Political stability cannot be established through supremacy, discrimination and negativity. It cannot be established with guns. Hence, the use of force should be the last resort not the first, and that, too, by a legitimate government.

Public participation is a must not an option. The political awareness and shared understanding that have emerged amongst different parts of society are our social capital and this capital should be made use of intelligently and wisely.

Let’s leave behind exclusionist policies and instead adopt a politics of inclusion and belonging. In this case, our political class can take a lesson from our young people, specially our athletes, and make use of their talents and capacities collectively and with the purpose of spreading the country’s reputation and pride at international competitions. We all have common interests and such common interests require that we develop a reasonable environment for political debate and exchange based on principles.

The final and crucial conclusion of this discussion is that our national consensus over establishing political stability cannot rely on individuals and personalities. This consensus must rest on institutions that "continue" beyond the will and wants of individuals. Individuals and personalities are a means to establish institutions but it would be our historical responsibility to figure out how to make use of the specific conditions that have been created to align the principle of "Change and Continuity" so that the people do not once again fall prey to politicians’ short-sightedness, bitterness and desires.
TEAM OF CHANGE AND CONTINUITY