

Inclusive Peace Frameworks An Overview

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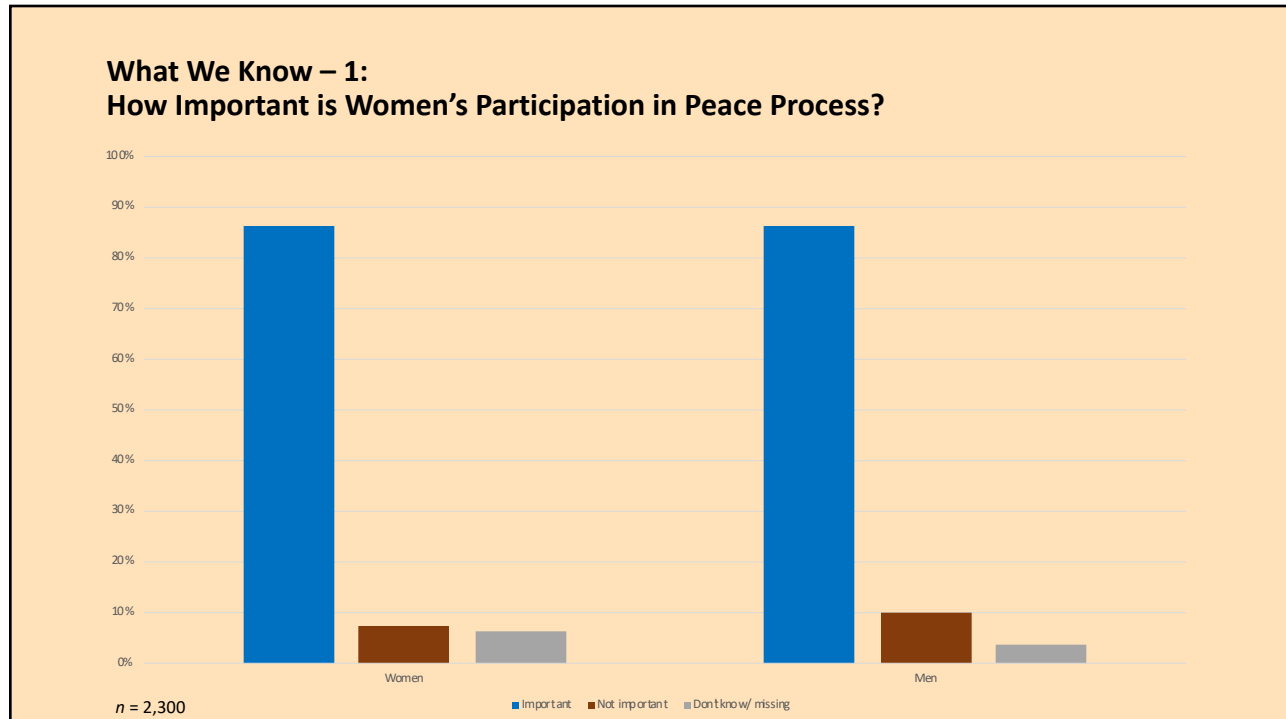


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Background to Peace Negotiations with Taliban

- Peace talks initiated by:
 - President Karzai's government in 2010 – failed, due to lack of coordination and transparency.
 - National Unity Government in 2014 – failed, due to Taliban not recognizing Afghan government.
 - The Kabul Process in 2017 – failed, due to Pakistan refusing to cooperate.
 - Closed door discussions in November 2018 during Geneva Conference, followed by:
 - US Special Envoy, Zalmay Khalilzad, directly approaching Taliban for peace talks
 - Multiple rounds of meetings between Khalilzad and Taliban in Moscow and Doha
- All consultations and talks have taken place without formal, equitable or representative participation from civil society and Government of Afghanistan.
- Meetings between United States and Taliban have had no agenda for peace to address widespread poverty, endemic corruption, transitional or restorative justice, economic development or a framework for governance of Afghanistan after peace with Taliban.

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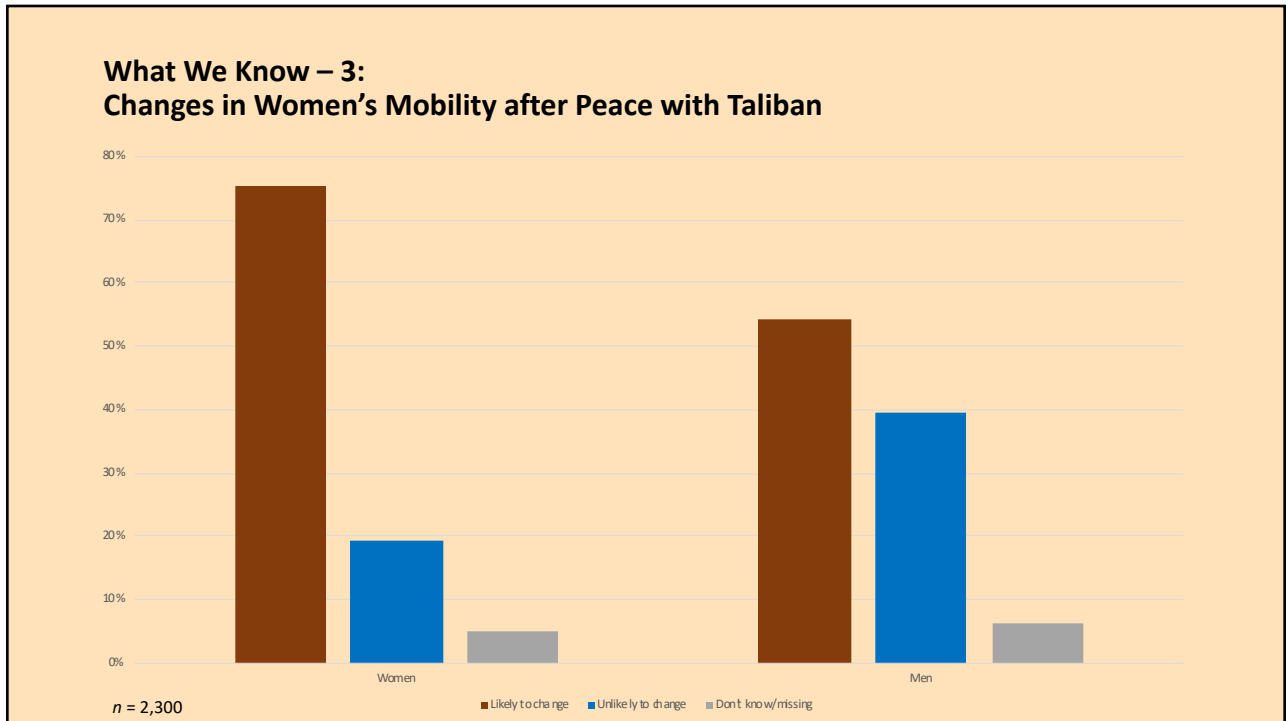
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**What We Know – 2:
How is Life Under Taliban Rule?**

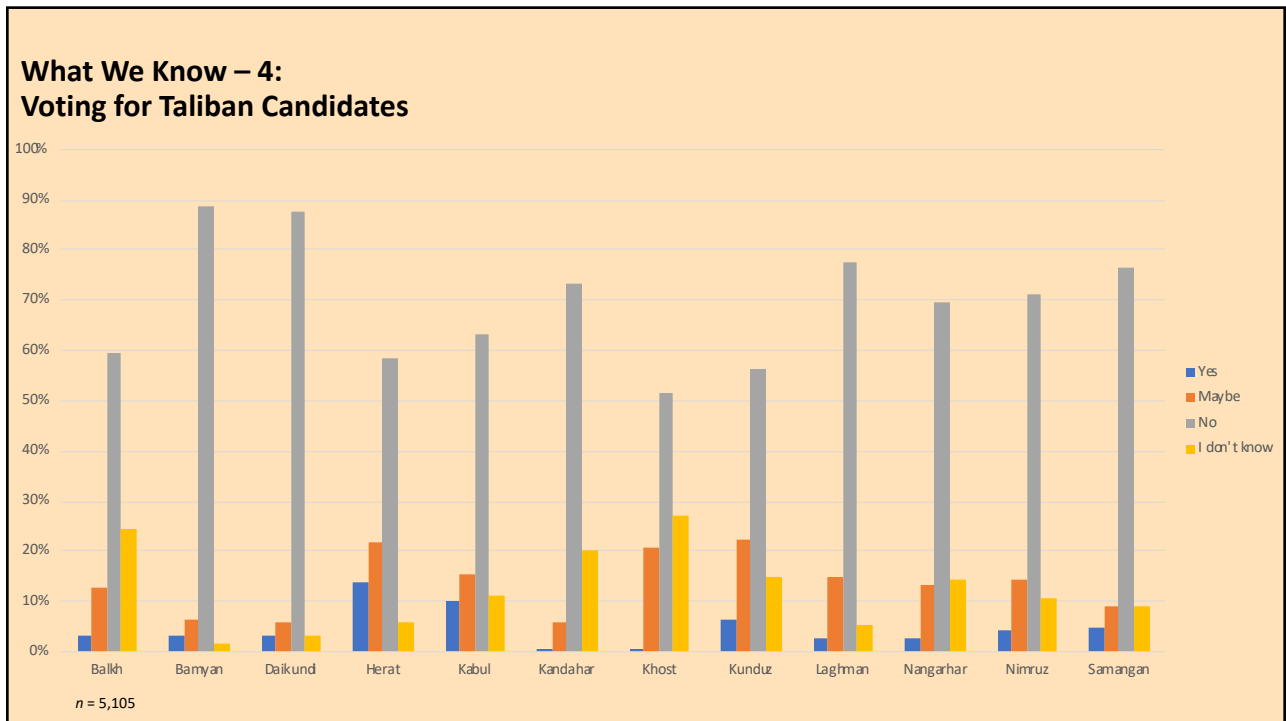
- No major issues with health service delivery, as long as segregation is respected.
- Girls can attend school till puberty. After puberty, segregation has to be enforced, at least in the form of a loose curtain separating male and female students.
- Women are less likely to be able to borrow money because they often need a man’s permission to do so.
- Women stop going to the bazaar unaccompanied and generally reduce their presence outside the home.
- Lower bride price than the prices women themselves set, which angers the women but pleases the men.
- Many feel pessimistic about prospect of a Taliban-dominated government and see their options as preparing to leave or being forced to comply with strict social rules.

From: Jackson, A. (2018). *Life under the Taliban shadow government*, available from: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/12269.pdf>

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Pre-conditions for Constructive Peace Negotiations

- Agreement on all sides that the current conflict cannot produce an absolute winner
- Agreement in principle by all parties to end conflict → need for de-escalation of violence
- Agreement in principle by all parties to make concessions → need for flexibility in “redlines” and “green lines” and the need to make trade-offs
- Agreement in principle by all parties that the peace agreement leads to the “greater good” for Afghan citizens after peace → need for a detailed agenda for peace

Agenda-driven peace negotiations require:

- Transparency and accountability
 - Inclusiveness: needs of all segments of society, particularly the most vulnerable, are openly addressed
 - Representation: Who participates, based on what selection process or criteria?
 - Sustainability: How can a negotiated peace hold?
- To meet the above conditions, we need to identify Actors, Factors, and Mechanisms for initiating peace process and sustaining peace

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Civil Society and Peace Processes				
Place of Conflict	Role of Civil Society	Years in Conflict	Negotiation Period	Peace Holding?
Northern Ireland (UK)	Direct Representation in Official Negotiations	Since early 20 th Century	1996 - 1998	Yes
Guatemala	Formal, Non-Binding Advisory Role	36 Years	1994 - 1996	Yes
Darfur (Sudan)	Semi-official Technical Resource to Negotiating Teams	18 Years	2004 – 2006	No
South Africa	Creating Space for Talks	Since 1960s	1990 – 1993	Yes
Mozambique	Initiation and Mediation of Peace Accords	15 Years	1992 - 1994	Yes
Sierra Leone	Confidence-Building Between Conflicting Parties	Since 1991	1997 – Ongoing	No
Liberia	Mass Mobilization for Peace	2003 (latest)	2003 – Ongoing	No
Colombia	Track II Localized Citizen-led Peace Agreements (followed by elected national government initiative)	Since 1960s	2012 – 2016	Yes
Tajikistan	Track II Dialogue as Basis for Official Negotiation	1991 – 1993	1993 – 2003	Yes

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Peace Process Characteristics – Northern Ireland and Colombia					
Conflict (Yrs)	Negotiation (Yrs)	Actors	Factors	Mechanisms	Peace Holding?
Northern Ireland: Since early 20 th Century Colombia: Since 1960s	1996-1998 2012 – 2016	Track II Northern Ireland: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National and international NGOs A functioning Northern Ireland Women's Coalition as new NGO Civic / Religious Leaders Academics Colombia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An elected & functioning Municipal Constituent Assembly Religious leaders Citizen groups, trade unions and NGOs Business Leaders Local government officials Track I Northern Ireland: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> British Government IRA Republic of Ireland United States and European Union Colombia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Colombian Government FARC Cuba, Norway, Venezuela, (Sweden, Chile), UN and US 	Northern Ireland: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Representative negotiations Representation through elections Inclusion of spoilers International support Formation of Northern Ireland Women's Coalition Spaces for meeting of multiple stakeholders, group training and learning. Colombia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Locally initiated activities for peace and security Formation of Mogote's Municipal Constituent Assembly (AMC), with 2/3 women Consensus-based decision making <u>or</u> majority rule Open statements by FARC and Government on wanting peace. Commitment by FARC to de-escalate 	Northern Ireland: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiative '92 (visioning a peaceful future and active participation of citizens in political processes). Peace and Reconciliation Group mediating for de-escalation of armed violence. Peace polls to monitor public opinion on peace. Civic Forum to represent multiple stakeholders. Capacity building. Colombia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prayer Groups Liberation Project (peace, poverty reduction, anti-corruption) 18 Local Assemblies electing delegates to AMC Public information dissemination Confidence-building measures Trilateral mechanism for the final ceasefire, verification and monitoring of disarmament of FARC. Constitutional amendment on human rights. 	Northern Ireland: Yes Colombia: Yes

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Northern Ireland and Colombia – Key Features

- Long process: Northern Ireland (3 years), Colombia (4-5 years).
- Willingness by all sides to negotiate.
- Agenda for peace, e.g., poverty reduction, economic development, anticorruption, transitional and restorative justice.
- Participation in peace process based on elected representation.
- Multiple stakeholders: religious figures, citizens' groups, NGOs, media, academics, business leaders, trade unions, local government officials.
- Significant role of:
 - Women as mediators and arbitrators
 - Clerics in supporting the peace process and organizing prayer groups for peace
 - Media in disseminating accurate and inclusive information on the peace process
 - NGOs / INGOs in enabling and assisting women and other vulnerable groups
 - Multilateral organizations and other governments acting as third parties, e.g. UN, EU, US, Sweden, Cuba in providing content and financial support.
- Referendum on final peace agreement.

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Highlights from Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif

- Absence of formal representation from opposition groups.
- Overwhelming support among participants for open and free dialogue on peace.
- Overwhelming recognition by male and female participants of women's role in peace negotiations and maintaining peace.
- Women majority in participants of both open forums.
- Willingness to compromise in return for sustainable peace.
- Protection of key civic rights gains since 2001, the 2004 Constitution, gender equality, and status of Afghanistan as a Republic / democratic system.
- Use of pre-existing, formal and traditional structures to elect representatives for peace talks.
- Need for capacity development, particularly in civic law and negotiation skills for those who negotiate.

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Implications and Questions

- Peace negotiations succeed when more can be gained from cooperation than fighting: **What is the win-win solution for Afghanistan?**
- Cooperation for peace needs to be based on a shared notion of the "greater good":
 - **What is the greater good for Afghanistan: Emirate, Republic, or Islamic Republic?**
 - **Who should define and decide on the greater good for Afghanistan?**
 - **What should be the agenda for peace: poverty reduction, anticorruption, equality and equity in fundamental rights ...?**
 - **What key factors support or undermine peace: Can interference by regional neighbors, particularly Pakistan and Iran, be enhanced to support peace or mitigated if against peace? How?**
 - **What mechanisms are there for inclusive engagement of multiple Afghan stakeholders to define the greater good? Are they adequate and sufficient?**
- Election of representatives: **Can we use pre-existing structures such as CDCs, Jirgas, Provincial Councils, Provincial Governor Offices for election of representatives? How do we ensure representative participation of women, minorities and youth?**
- Trainers and training: **Who should train, who should be trained?**
- Media's role: **Can we take media to account for its social responsibility toward peace and importance of inclusive and accurate reporting?**
- Religious leaders / authorities: **What role can they play in facilitating inclusive dialogue on equitable peace?**
- Enabling environment for citizens' involvement in peace process: **In addition to open forums, what else can be done to increase interest and involvement of civil society in peace efforts?**

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A Framework and a Roadmap for Peace

- Nationwide, subnational and inter-community (province to province, district to district) consultations on peace:
 - State Ministry for Peace, HPC, IDLG: Commit to and facilitate community level consultations about peace and election of representatives in the peace talks.
 - NGOs, women's organizations, and network organizations such as AWN, ASPM, and NAC-PP: peace belongs to everyone, include, include, and cooperate and provide mutual support!
 - Opposition groups and community-based structures operating in areas that are disputed/ outside of government control: support civil society and community-based initiatives for peace.
 - International donors: support inclusive efforts by Afghan civil society and Afghan government toward peace.
- Establish a national, multi-stakeholder, representative body with a mandate to develop a roadmap for peace for Afghanistan, emphasizing:
 - Lessons learned from other peace frameworks, roadmaps and agreements.
 - Instrumental roles of women, civil society and community-based organizations in reaching consensus to end conflict.
 - Realistic demands, objectives and timelines to reach peace milestones.
- Outreach, advocacy and lobbying activities outside Afghanistan targeting influential neighbor countries and key international donors / actors.
- Keep going until the work is done.

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Thank you

Questions?

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