

Future Threats and Opportunities in Afghanistan in the Post-US Withdrawal Scenario

Dr. Muhammad Tariq¹, Muhammad Amir², Saira Bano³, ¹Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Hazara University Mansehra, ²Lecturer Department of Pakistan Studies, Abbottabad University of Science & Technology, ³Lecturer Department of Pakistan Studies, Hazara University Mansehra, Email: ¹muhammadtariq@hu.edu.pk, ²muhammadamir@aust.edu.pk, ³sairabano@hu.edu.pk

The US withdrawal from Afghanistan makes a landmark in the history of the United States and Afghanistan. This will have great impact on the security paradigm of the regional as well global politics, since main focus of the world rested upon the counter-terrorism strategy and strengthening security system. The main focus of the research paper includes implications of the US drawdown from Afghanistan on the future politics and security system of Afghanistan, the commitment of the international community in bringing peace and stability in Afghanistan, the future status of women in Afghanistan and various challenges associated with peace. The study is based on the qualitative approach of methodology mainly focusing on official statements and document analysis. The paper is very significant on account of its dealing with the most important issue that is going to decide the future of Afghanistan, which will have great repercussions on the security dynamics of the neighboring countries and regional powers. The basic theoretical frame work for the study is provided by the Game Theory of Stag Hunt that explains the overall nature of the US-withdrawal, intra-Afghan talks and future challenges and opportunities. The theory caters for the competitive environment between the various competing actors. The theory deals with describing a conflicting situation between the conflicting environments in a competing situation between the various actors. It describes a condition of competing nature between the United States and the non-state actors, and between the government of Afghanistan and the non-state actors-the Taliban.

Key words: *Future, Threats, Challenges, Withdrawal, and Implications*

Introduction

The post-withdrawal scenario of the foreign troops from Afghanistan will provide the people of Afghanistan with both threats and opportunities. There is the greater possibility of political instability and insecurity in the future since the foreign troops are going to leave Afghanistan after a period of almost 19 years, which may further exacerbate the security situation in the country. Women are feeling this sense of insecurity and threats to their liberty, and freedom of thought and expression (Sopko, 2021). Facing the withdrawal of the US forces and the peace agreement by the US and Taliban and the intra-Afghan talks, the women are particularly facing the elements of threats from the hands of Taliban who are expected to gain a more prominent position in the politics of Afghanistan. It is worth mentioning to opine that women have a very bitter experience of the previous government of Taliban during their regime (1996-2001) (Maizland , 2021).

Problem Statement

Afghanistan has been facing the issues of political instability and security dynamics since the withdrawal of the Soviet Forces from Afghanistan in 1989. It was the 9/11 syndrome that further added fuel to the already deteriorating political stability and security of Afghanistan. NATO forces have been engaged in the war-stricken country of Afghanistan for the last 19 years in maintaining law and order, but no improvement seems plausible since the US has decided to withdraw her forces by May 1, 2021; however a deadlock still persists between the government of Afghanistan and Taliban over some important issues, which needs to be addressed and which may lead to the political stability and security of Afghanistan. The focus of this paper is” Future Threats and Opportunities in Afghanistan in the Post-US Withdrawal Scenario”. This paper addresses some of the most important issues which Afghanistan needs to focus on for the sake of her survival and sustainability.

Objective

To analyze future threats and opportunities in Afghanistan in the wake of US withdrawal from Afghanistan

Research Questions

- i) What implications are associated with the US withdrawal from Afghanistan?
- ii) How does the international community show her commitment to help out Afghanistan?
- iii) Why do the women feel a sense of fear in the post-withdrawal scenario?
- iv) Can peace be a challenging one in the future?



Theoretical Framework

The “stag hunt game theory” describes a situation of conflict between safety and social cooperation. Jean-Jacques Rousseau deals with it in a competing environment where two individuals or parties go out on a hunt. Each can opt to hunt a stag or hare but each player must make a choice without knowing the choice of the other. For a successful hunting, the hunter must get the cooperation of the other partner. It is important to note that an individual can hunt a hare by himself but it has less worth than a stag. This is taken to be an important analogy for social cooperation.

Keeping in view the current US withdrawal from Afghanistan, the stag hunt game theory can best describe it. At first there was a race of competing forces between the NATO forces and the non-state actors in the Afghanistan, represented by the Al-Qaeda, Taliban, the *Haqqani* network, the ISIS and SIKP. But now, the withdrawal of the US Forces from Afghanistan has made it a competing environment between the Afghan government and the non-state actors, particularly the Taliban. The US has decided to withdraw her forces from Afghanistan by May 1, 2021 but has made it contingent with the peace process in Afghanistan. Peace can only be brought into Afghanistan if the Afghan government agrees to the demand of the ‘interim government’ but the Afghan President seems very reluctant to this demand. On the other hand, some of the related issues to the US withdrawal are implications of the US drawdown, the commitment of the international community for helping in a future set-up, the issues and problems faced by the women in case Taliban comes in to power and the prospects of future peace. This paper aims at addressing these issues through the theoretical framework of the Stag Hunt Game Theory.

Methodology

This study is qualitative in nature that focuses on both primary and secondary sources as there have been abrupt changes in the policies of the SU administration, the Afghan government, and the strategy of Taliban while the withdrawal scenario is drawing nearer and nearer. Primary sources include official statements by the US officials including Presidents, the Afghan President and a statement by the Taliban command while secondary sources focus on the document analysis.

Implications of the US Drawdown

The February 29, 2020 agreement between the US and the Taliban focused on four important components. The first one of these deal with the drawdown of US forces while giving a specific timeframe for the complete withdrawal till May 2021 (Clayton , November 2020). The second important component of this agreement is the assurance by the Taliban to the US that Afghan soil will never be used as base for the terrorist activities against the security of the United States and its allied partners. As a part of this component, the Taliban also showed their commitment



to the intra-Afghan talks resulting in a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire (Hale, 2020). It was also as a part of this component that details of the ceasefire and future political roadmap of Afghanistan is to be discussed under the intra-Afghan talks (Communique, 2020). The US-Taliban agreement is notable in many ways as it did not say about the rights of women, as well as other issues relating to human rights, elections, political structure, and power-sharing. Rather these are the subjects to be determined during the intra-Afghan talks (SIGAR, Quarterly Report to the United States Congress, July 2020).

The US-Taliban talks make a hallmark in the history of the present world as the US has to sign an agreement with the non-state actors for the first time in its political career. This agreement has many political and security implications for the United States and its allied powers. Firstly, the US has to show flexibility in her policies towards a weaker state where she has already spent more than 19 years focusing on the rebuilding to the country through various military operations. Secondly, this showed the strength and power of the non-state actors (Taliban) that gained universal recognition in the global politics since they are given legal coverage by reaching at an agreement with the global leader. Thirdly, the agreement also shows the elements of dissensions in the policies the US President where men of his own political party had to disagree with the stand taken by the President. Fourthly, it also shows the weakness of the policies of the United States since the current President of the US, Joe Biden has been pondering over rethinking of the US policy towards Afghanistan regarding the drawdown of the US forces from Afghanistan, as this would harm the image of the US and all efforts made by her during the long period of 19 years would be futile.

Another important aspect of this agreement pertained to the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan that has been there in Afghanistan since 2014 under the nomenclature of the Resolute Support Mission (RSM). The agreement pertains to the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan but leaves some important issues to the fate of the intra-Afghan talks. It remains concerned with getting assurance from the Taliban that Afghan soil, can in no case, be used against the security of the United States and her allied partners, in which the Taliban agreed to abide by the terms and conditions of the agreement. But it remained silent about some of the basic issues which Afghanistan has been confronted with for a long time. For example, the issue of women's rights has been very crucial in Afghanistan since they have already witnessed the discriminatory attitude during the then Taliban Regime (1996-2001) but this issue was left to the discretion of the intra-Afghan talks. Some of the other issues which need to have been addressed during US-Taliban Talks include the issue of human rights, which again needs much consideration since it is of a universal and international nature. This should have been included during the main components of the US-Taliban Talks so as to receive response and assistance from the international community. Despite their stay in Afghanistan for such a long period, the issues of elections, political structure of the Afghan government and the power-sharing formula should have been taken on a priority basis and should have been made part and parcel of the US-Taliban Agreement.



Leaving the most important issues at the disposal of the intra-Afghan Talks shows the weakness of the United States as her main concern during the intervention in 2001 was to install a democratic set up in Afghanistan with the proportionate sharing and participation of the different stakeholders in the affairs of the state. It is again pathetic that focusing on the assurances from the Taliban regarding the security of their installations and allied partners shows the lacuna in the security system of the US and her partners. Ignoring the main issues of Afghanistan mean the failure of the US in Afghanistan since these issues are to be addressed by the Afghan people themselves through intra-Afghan Talks. Such talks have already faced dilemmas on some of the important issues such as the swap of the prisoners on both sides of the Taliban and the Afghan government. Both the parties have shown mistrust of each other regarding not adhering to the terms and conditions of the agreement (Putz, 2021).

The substance of the intra-Afghan talks has some inherent flaws which need to have been addressed during the main talks of the US-Taliban Agreement. Both the parties have a different motive to carry forward with; the Afghan government remains more concerned with the ceasefire while the Taliban remains more concerned with the future set-up and political structure of the government. The Taliban have pledged to reduce violence in case progress is made over the future power-sharing formula in the country. However, despite efforts there is still a greater need to find out a viable solution to the future of Afghanistan by enabling the various actors to participate in the future set-up of the government so as to shape the future destiny of the country. In this regard, Pakistan has been playing a key role in carving out a viable plan for the security of Afghanistan by mediating between the Taliban and the Afghan government (Putz, 2021). The Taliban have time and again shown their concern that they cannot trust the Afghan government that they would be given due share in the sphere of the government after the US has withdrawn their forces from Afghanistan (Putz, 2021).

One of the greater hurdles in the way of successful peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban is the idea of an 'interim government' which stance is adhered to by the Taliban but the same has been turned down by the Afghan President in very clear terms. He has clearly stated that the office of presidency belongs to the people of Afghanistan and would leave to the successor of the government in a legal way. This again creates a deadlock between the Taliban and the Afghan government since the demand of the Taliban at this very moment carries no substance, since this would make them stronger than before by toppling down the elected government through their self-styled imposition of their will upon the people of the country. This would have greater repercussions on the future set-up of the Afghan government as they would move the country to a position to run it as per their own free-will.

The failure of the intra-Afghan Talks would lead to the future instability of Afghanistan and would greatly affect the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan. The outgoing president of the United States, Donald Trump, had envisioned the total withdrawal of the US forces from the country by May 1, 2021 resulting in the reduction of the US forces up to 2,500 by February. But the present President Joe Biden is going to 'review' the Afghan policy of the United States



by reviewing the current strength of the US contingent in Afghanistan. In case the deadlock is not resolved between the Taliban and the Afghan government, the US forces would likely join the Afghan forces and would disturb the balance of security in favor of the latter (762). The Afghan soil is likely to face another era of civil war whereby the Afghan government would focus on the protection of the women's rights while the Taliban are not ready to comply with this move of the government, which would definitely result in the tussle and tug of war between the two powers (Sopko, 2021). This would deprive the women and girls of their legal rights and they would not have access to the services and education system of the modern times.

Commitment of the International Community

The International community remains concerned about the future stability and security of Afghanistan and have been struggling to save the country. In November 2020 in the Geneva Conference, international donors from 66 countries and 32 international organizations reaffirmed their financial commitments to Afghanistan (Communique, 2020). They showed their commitment for the disbursement of \$3.3 billion for 2021 with the further commitment for the similar disbursement for the next four years (Finland, 2020). In the Geneva Conference, the United States reaffirmed her concern that she has pledged \$300 million in civilian aid for the year 2021, with an additional \$300 million for 2021 conditioned on "progress in the peace process" (Hale, 2020). Moreover, it is also significant to mention that the donor agencies have made conditional their grant to the peace process, the protection of human rights and women's rights and tackling the issue of corruption on priority basis. The communique of the meeting stated that, "We call for an inclusive and meaning peace process with the participation of women, youth, and ethnic, religious and other minorities. We affirm that any political settlement must protect the rights of all Afghans, including women, youth and minorities" (Communique, 2020).

This pledge of financial aid by the international community and donor organizations is conditional with the peace process in Afghanistan. Significance of the peace in Afghanistan can be gauged from the fact that there are 66 international donors along with 32 international organizations. This shows the significance of the peace process in Afghanistan which will determine the future course of action and protection of human rights, particularly the women's and girls' rights in Afghanistan which the Taliban have not been ready to grant. This shows the commitment of the international community towards the establishment of a democratic government whereby they can give due weightage to the rights of women, girls, ethnic groups, and other minorities. What is more important is here is the fact that the Taliban has not brought any change in their attitude towards the women and other minority groups in Afghanistan which may again make them the focus of the international community. This may create problems for the Taliban in the future set-up of Afghanistan which still remains a non-state actor with no participation in the affairs of the state.

Afghan leaders also show their reservations over the grant of financial assistance to the Afghan government by the international donors and organizations. They fear the revival of the 1992 case of foreign aid to Afghanistan in the post-Soviet withdrawal scenario that with the stoppage of the Soviet aid, the government of Najibullah collapsed (Ferris-Rotman, 2012). This resulted in the creation of widespread chaos and violence across the country, the birth of various warlords, who kept on fighting for their vested interests until they established their hegemony in a particular area, and divided up the remnant resources of the country (SIGAR, 2019 High Risk List, 2019, p. 8; Ketti Davison, Afghanistan: A Tale of Two Withdrawals, 2019). Even today, at the departure of the US forces from Afghanistan, violence is on the rise in Afghanistan and a condition of civil war is likely to overpower the country, which may again lead the country towards another intervention by the regional or global power whose interest is placed in jeopardy. Another threat of a heinous nature has emerged to the security of women, increased ratio of target killing of community leaders, and unclaimed attacks in various forms coupled with the explosion of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDS). Cases of 136 such killings were reported during 2020 when various civil servants, journalists and human right workers were killed by the terrorists as per report of the New York Times (Abed & Gibbons-Neff, 2021). Similarly, two working judges of the Supreme Court were put to death in the capital city on January 17, 2021 while they were busy in their work (BBC, 2021).

So, the allocation of financial assistance by the various donors to Afghanistan creates a sense of fear in their minds that would lead the country towards a quagmire resulting in the chaos and civil war and collapse of the system. In case of the failure of the governmental machinery, the country would be left at the disposal of the alien powers while women, human rights and minorities are going to suffer a lot on account of their being violated by the non-state actors. Too much dependence on foreign aid would further weaken the entire structure of the country since the country may not be in a position to generate their own resources as the non-state actors (Taliban, the ISIS, the ISKP, and other terrorist and insurgent groups) would remain busy in establishing their own writ while challenging the established authority of the government. The non-state actors have already increased their activities in the country since more than 100 civilian officials, journalist and social workers have been killed in various incidents. Women have also been facing the same fate of their being deprived of their participation in the social sphere of life. The warlords are likely to establish personal set-ups for their vested interests, as with the decline of the US forces in Afghanistan, they would be in a better position to reassert their authority.

Women's Status in the future

In the post-US withdrawal scenario, the status of women still remains a question before the Afghan government and the global actors. Two important issues haunt the mind of women about their future, firstly, how much change has there been in the attitude of the Taliban towards women's role in the society and secondly, what can the Afghan girls and women expect from the future government of Afghanistan in which Taliban may have their sphere of influence?



Sirajuddin Haqqani, while expressing his opinion about women has already stated that “I am confident that liberated from foreign domination and influence, we together will find a way to build an Islamic system in which all Afghans have equal rights, where the rights of women that are granted by Islam- from the right to education to the right to work- are protected, and where merit is the basis for equal opportunity” (Haqqani , 2020). The Taliban, during their regime in 1998 had drafted a constitution regarding freedom of expression, women’s education, and the rights of a fair trial but with an important admonition: these were the rights granted within the limits of the Taliban’s strict interpretation of Sharia Law (Behzan , 2020).

The Taliban are very clear about the status of women in future if they come to the throne of Kabul. They are of the view that they (women) will enjoy all rights, granted by the Islamic law (Haqqani , 2020). But according to Ghizzal Haress, Assistant Professor, American University of Afghanistan, “if we leave it to the Taliban’s broad interpretation or to [their] broad idea of women’s Islamic values, then we are going to be in trouble” (University, 2019). Although the Taliban officially state that they are not opposed to the girls’ education, very few Taliban officially actually permit girls to attend school past puberty. Other Taliban don’t permit girls to attend schools or colleges at all; they have a very strict attitude towards girls’ education and want them to be confined within the four walls of the house. It is also significant that in some districts, the Taliban have adapted a very flexible response to girls’ education on account of the public demand and compulsion (Watch, 2020).

Girls’ education is the need of modern times which has a universal recognition and is very important for the growth and prosperity of a nation. There are diverse views about women’s education on the part of both the Taliban command and women. The Taliban adhere to strict Islamic laws banning the women and girls from getting education while the latter are much concerned about getting education. Even the Taliban circle is divided over their decision of allowing the women to get an education or not. Most of the senior and top leading circle of the Taliban are against the system of women’s education while the junior and local circle of the Taliban are a little bit flexible about the education of women. They have succumbed to the local demand and pressure from the public allowing girls and women to get an education while the women have no restrictions in such areas as going to schools, colleges and attending their duties. Moreover, the senior class of Taliban are also in favor of education since they advocate their freedom of thought and expression and their right of getting education but that is again a question to be answered if the Taliban find any share in the future set-up of the Afghan government.

Challenging Peace

The Biden Administration has launched its first diplomatic initiative for accelerating the Afghan peace process despite the fact it intends to review the Afghan policy (Lodhi , 2021). This move by the Biden Administration centers around three important things; a renewal of the US commitment to withdraw her forces from Afghanistan, securing a peace settlement among

the various warring warlords and the willingness for using pressure to achieve this objective as planned by the terms and conditions of the US-Taliban Agreement reached at Doha on February 29, 2020 (Lodhi , 2021). This poses many challenges to the future stability and security of Afghanistan. Some of these challenges include: is the Biden administration committed to outwit with an ambitious plan that can be accomplished within a specific time frame, mounting pressure on the various parties in Afghanistan? Does the US have the influence to make them agree on a certain and specific plan for the country? Is the proposed interim government achievable in the present circumstances as the bitter foes will have to share power of the government, and the fact that the Afghan parties have the potentiality to own all this while deciding the fate of the country (Lodhi , 2021)?

The Biden administration is busy in engaging the various actors of Kabul, the Taliban, and other Afghan leaders in discussions over the peace plan and the May 1, 2021 deadline regarding the US withdrawal from Afghanistan with the prerequisite that a final decision will come after the review process by the US administration concludes. Now, this is a very comprehensive plan by the US for reaching a viable solution to the Afghan issue encompassing the engagement of the various actors that have a deciding role in the Afghan peace process. But this timeframe of May 1, 2021 again has some inherent flaws, since the Biden administration has made it clear that the deadline of May 1, may not be extendable even by ‘a lot longer’ while the Taliban have time and again warned that any such delay in the stipulated deadline would result in a reaction form the Taliban.

The US diplomatic initiative focuses on the direct involvement of the regional actors to expedite the peace process in Afghanistan. This emphasizes four key significant elements which could help resolve the issue of instability and insecurity. Firstly, the regional powers comprising Russia, the US, Pakistan, Iran and India to work for forging regional consensus so as to support the peace process in Afghanistan. Secondly, the need for the preparation of draft peace agreement for facilitating negotiations on reaching at a settlement and ceasefire. An important proposal in this regard is the establishment of a transitional government in Afghanistan comprising all the stakeholder once the peace agreement is reached. Thirdly, Turkey can play a very significant role in holding a meeting between the Taliban and Afghan government and make efforts in sealing the peace deal once the agreement has been reached. Fourthly, The Taliban need to reduce violence for a period of 90 days as this would help in averting the ‘spring offensive’. This plan, if put into practice, would expedite the total withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan.

Discussion and Conclusion

The United States is going to withdraw all her forces from Afghanistan by May 1, 2021 subject to the condition that the peace process in Afghanistan is expedited by the regional actors. Both the Trump and Joe Biden administration are in favor of the early withdrawal of their forces provided all the stakeholders in Afghanistan come to terms with a consensus, but one of the



greatest hurdles in the way of the peace process is the formation of a transition government, which is not acceptable to the Afghan President. He has been denying the establishment of an interim government in Afghanistan while the Taliban have been adhering to the establishment of an interim government that will include all the stakeholders of Afghanistan.

It is an admitted fact that the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan has many implications for Afghanistan, the United States, regional powers and the global actors. The US has been very much concerned with the peace process in Afghanistan and presses upon the regional powers to expedite the peace on a priority basis. The US government under the Trump administration remained more concerned with the early withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan till May 1, 2021 and was opposed by even members of his own political party stating that the total withdrawal of the US forces will place them on a weaker position and they would lose what they have already gained in Afghanistan. Some of the senior US officials are against the total withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan and want a strong contingent to stay in Afghanistan for security purposes. The Biden administration wants to review the Afghan policy of the United States, who has time and again expressed his concern about it. But the most interesting thing of this agreement lies in the success of the intra-Afghan talks that had not been successful since the Taliban urges on the creation of an 'interim or transitional government' but the President of Afghanistan has been showing his reluctance to it.

Peace and stability are the most significant areas of concern for most of the regional and global actors. The international community in the Geneva Conference of November 2020 comprising 66 international donors and 33 international organizations reaffirmed their concern of the disbursing of funds for the infrastructure and developmental projects including security dynamics. They have also made their grant conditional with the peace process in the country, their disbursement share is \$3.3 billion for the year 2021 while that of the United States is \$300 million for the same year with an additional grant of \$300 million more subject to the success of the peace parleys in Afghanistan by the government and various non-state actors reaching a permanent solution to the political stability. The international community works for the cause of the human rights, rights of girls, women and minorities but mostly these have been violated in Afghanistan at the hands of the non-state actors.

As far as the status of women is concerned, there are diverse views on the part of both the Taliban and the women. The farmers are of the view that have always given them rights according to Sharia Law, which on many occasions, has also been expressed by the senior leadership of the Taliban. The women complain of the discriminatory attitude by the Taliban where they have been debarred from participating in the educational, social and political activities of life. But it is also a fact that the Taliban have a very flexible attitude at the local level where they have interaction with the people. They show their willingness to allow the girls to go to schools and other educational institutions but again they have been compelled by the local people to let their children get an education and partake of the social activities of life.

Though the US forces are going to withdraw from Afghanistan as per the fixed schedule of May 1, 2021 yet there is no guarantee of political stability, peace and lasting security since Afghanistan has a very bad experience in the past. During the post-Soviet withdrawal, Afghanistan was faced with the issues of leadership vacuum, power-sharing mechanisms and involvement of all stakeholders in the affairs of the state. Afghanistan had mainly to remain dependent on the foreign funding but when that was stopped, the government of Najibullah collapsed as a result of financial crisis. Similarly, the US government is also following that strategy of funding and grants in the post-US withdrawal scenario but at the same time, they also focus on the peace process and reaching a viable agreement over the future from of government in which all the stakeholders may have a due share so as to make Afghanistan a stable, peace loving and most secure state in the world.

Recommendations

- The state of Afghanistan needs to agree on a viable plan for the future of the country in a manner so as to include all the stakeholders in the future form of government, giving each stakeholder his due share in proportion to his strength and ratio.
- There is greater need for the formation of a neutral ‘transition government’ which will take the responsibility of holding a transparent election in the post-US withdrawal scenario. This will help in strengthening the future political system and will build the confidence among all the political parties and stakeholders in Afghanistan.
- Both the government of Afghanistan and the Taliban should work in close coordination and cooperation to redress the core issues of political instability and make the country a secure state.
- The establishment of an ‘interim (transitional) government’ will resolve two basic issues; firstly, it will facilitate the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan by May 1, 2021 and will not compel the Biden Administration to reconsider his Afghan Policy, and secondly, it will enable the Taliban to develop confidence in the governmental machinery of the country for the sake of their direct involvement and participation in the affairs of the state.
- The Taliban should also make an allowance in their policy for the political participation of women in the affairs of the government and should also make their policies flexible towards girls’ education and women’s participation in the social activities of life.



REFERENCES

- Abed, F., & Gibbons-Neff, T. (2021, January 2). "Targeted Killings Are Terrorizing Afghans. And No One Is Claiming Them,". New York, United States: New York Times.
- BBC. (2021, January 17). "Afghanistan conflict: Female judges shot dead in Kabul,".
- Behzan , F. (2020, April 26). "Taliban Constitution Offers Glimpse into Militant Group's Vision for Afghanistan,".
- Clayton , T. (November 2020). *Afghanistan: Background and US Policy: In Brief*. Congressional Research Service . Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <http://crsreport.congress.gov.R45122>
- Communique. (2020, November 23-24). Communique from the 2020 Afghansitan Conference . Geneva, Switzerland .
- Ferris-Rotman, A. (2012, February 15). "Taliban Says the U.S. to Repeat Soviet Defeat in Afghanistan,". Reuters.
- Finland, M. o. (2020, December 7). 2020 Afghanistan Conference press release, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland.
- Hale, D. (2020, November 24). Under Secretary for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Remarks at 2020 Afghansitan Conference .
- Haqqani , S. (2020, February 20). "What We, the Taliban Want, Want" . New York , United States .
- Lodhi , M. (2021, March 22). Challenging Roadmap to Peace: The US Peace Plan for Afghanistan Faces Critical Tests Ahead. Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Maizland , L. (2021, March 15). *The Taliban in Afghanistan*. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Affairs : <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan>
- Putz, C. (Ed.). (2021, January 12). Retrieved from Latest Phase of Intra-Afghan Peace Talks Off to Slow Start: Agreeing on an agenda quill prove a difficult task, with the Afghan government prioritizing a ceasefire and the Taliban a political arrangement.: <https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/latest-phase-of-intra-afghan-peace-talks-off-to-slow-start/>
- SIGAR . (July 2020). *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*. Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction.
- SIGAR. (2019, August 29). 2019 High Risk List, 2019, p. 8; Ketti Davison, Afghanistan: A Tale of Two Withdrawals. *The Institute for the Study of War*, 2.
- Sopko, J. F. (2021). *SUPPORT FOR GENDER EQUALITY: LESSONS FROM THE U.S. EXPERIENCE IN AFGHANISTAN*. Arlington , Virginia : Special Inspector General for Afghansitan Reconstruction .



- Tariq, M. (2015). India-Pak Rivalry in Afghanistan . (R. Sultana, Ed.) *FWU Journal of Social Sciences, Special Issue , 1(2)*, 15-24.
- Tariq, M. (2018, September). AN Analysis of Insurgency in Afghnaistan (2001-2016) . *Global Social Sciences Review , III(II)*, pp. 131-145.
- Tariq, M. (2018). The Pashtun Tribal System and Issues of Security. *Global Social Sciences Review , III(I)*, 101-112. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gssr.2018\(III-I\).07](http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gssr.2018(III-I).07)
- Tariq, M. (2020, September). US Withdrawal from Afghnaistan:Latest Securiry Situation. *3(2)*, pp. 290-297.
- University, G. (2019, July 11). “Ensuring an Inclusive Afghan Peace Process,” panel discussion hosted by Georgetown University Institute for Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS). electronic, 3.
- Watch, H. R. (2020, June 30). You Have no Right to Complain: Education, Social Restrictions and Justice in Taliban-Held Afghanistan,. 5.