

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS)

Herat Security Dialogue-XII

"Afghanistan: Reviving Hope; Synergetic Efforts"

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Conference Report



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About AISS

Mission

Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) was established in October 2012 and has since become a premier research institution in Afghanistan. It aims to create an intellectual space for addressing strategic issues pertaining to Afghanistan in the wider regional and international contexts. AISS seeks to foster timely discussions on Afghanistan by publishing high-quality research reports and promoting dialogue amongst a wide spectrum of stakeholders. All our activities and programs are based on the principles of professionalism, independence, internationalism, and progressive values.

Objective and Goals:

AISS is an independent, not-for-profit research institute dedicated to providing qualitative, non-partisan and policy-oriented research, publication, translation of books/reports, professional training and policy advocacy with a distinct focus on Afghanistan. A cross-cutting priority of AISS is to empower the youth through specific programmatic initiatives, as the youth represent the future of the country.

Means and Activities:

In order to contribute to ongoing efforts in consolidating Afghanistan's fragile achievements and realise the nation's immense human and natural resources, AISS uses a series of instruments, including:

- Conducting independent research
- Entering partnership agreements with respected and like-minded research institutes
- Publication (books and journals)
- Translation of important books/articles from English into Farsi/Pashto and vice versa

- Organising seminars, conferences, workshops (provincial, national, international) and briefings
- Offering executive-type leadership training programs
- Initiating and sponsoring annual public awards for recognizing outstanding Afghan youth and international personality
- Integrating conventional and modern social media tools/networks in all its activities.

Following the Taliban's occupation of Afghanistan and the forced closure of AISS offices in Afghanistan, AISS resumed its activities from its UK office located within the University of Sussex in the UK in March 2022. Research England has also made available financial contributions to support the running of the AISS-UK Office during its initial phase. AISS-UK focuses on three priorities: continuation of AISS' activities (research, publication/translation, conference, advocacy); supporting Afghan researchers, academia and scholars in the diaspora and engaging with global research and policy communities, particularly UK/EU. AISS-UK has already taken the initial step to acquire legal and corporate status within UK's regulations to function as an independent research organisation. All of AISS's activities and programmes are based on the principle of professionalism, independence, internationalism and progressive values.

A Short Introduction to the Herat Security Dialogue Series

The Herat Security Dialogues (HSD) is an annual international event organised by the AISS that brings domestic, regional and international experts and officials together to discuss issues pertaining to Afghanistan's multiple crises. In line with our definition of security as an inclusive and multifaceted concept, the HSD aims to provide a stimulating opportunity for dialogues and the exchange of ideas among key stakeholders and perspectives. The HSD intends to evolve into a recognized and influential gathering in Afghanistan and the region. Previous nine HSDs were held in Herat, Afghanistan.

HSD-XII

The 12th round of the Herat Security Dialogue (HSD), held under the theme “Afghanistan: Reviving Hope; Synergetic Efforts,” convened in Madrid from February 25 to 26, 2025. Organized by the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS), this year’s gathering took place far from the landscapes of war but close to the heart of a political and moral emergency. In a capital far removed from the Taliban’s grip, Afghan politicians, dissidents, researchers, diplomats, and activists gathered not to mourn a republic, but to measure the silence it left behind—and to ask what must come next.

Over 150 participants from across the globe joined the Dialogue: political and security experts, former Afghan officials, civil society leaders, human rights defenders, and international observers. They arrived not only to assess the implications of Taliban rule, but to debate the shape of opposition, the failures of international policy, and the role of the exiled political class in what remains of Afghanistan’s future. Discussions ranged from counterterrorism to cultural erasure, from international aid to internal fragmentation. And though perspectives diverged, a single question hovered over every panel: Can resistance still be rebuilt from exile?



Concept Note

Afghanistan's decades-old conflict continues to remain stuck between competing interests and conflicting visions. The February 2020 US-Taliban peace agreement helped end the US's military presence in Afghanistan, but it did not end the Afghan conflict. Afghanistan continues to endure serious and severe political oppression, diplomatic stalemate, humanitarian crises, deepening security and terrorist threats and global isolation. While the people of Afghanistan, particularly its women and the neighbouring countries bear the brunt of the Afghan conflict, western governments also remain engaged in Afghanistan, via their diplomatic, intelligence and humanitarian networks. Taliban's success in outsmarting their western and regional interlocutors has not been translated in their ability to transition from an insurgent/terrorist group into a responsible modern governing authority. The UN-led efforts for initiating a two-pronged process of "Intra-Afghan Dialogue" and "Regional-Global Consensus" have failed to bring the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on board, let alone other diverse global, regional and Afghan players and stakeholders. The region's early optimism to demonstrate "Regional Solution & Ownership" was also soon replaced by the region's entrenched divided interests and visions for Afghanistan. The various anti-Taliban forces and groups' success in winning the moral and intellectual debates have not yet been translated into effective and organised resistance and alternative to the Taliban.

Amid this state of helplessness, division, suffering and uncertainty, the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS) organises its annual flagship international conference, "Herat Security Dialogue-XII" . Per its founding principles and vision, the HSD-XII plans to bring together the representatives of key Afghan, regional and global stakeholders to exchange views on their respective analysis and more importantly explore synergistic strategies in tackling Afghanistan's multitude of problems. Primarily as an intellectual platform, the HSD aims to facilitate "Intellectual Consensus" about the way forwards in identifying the premise of an enduring political settlement.

Opening Session



The opening of the conference was symbolic and unspoken; Shuhra Wakili's rendition of "Vatan Eshgh To Eftekharam," followed by a Sufi dance performed by Fahima Mirzaei, invoked both absence and continuity. On the first evening, a cultural program titled "From Khorasan to Andalusia" featured the Jaihun Ensemble, blending Afghan and Spanish musical traditions. These performances did not aim to distract. They asserted that memory, rhythm, and exile can still speak where politics has failed.



Introductory Remarks by Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Security Advisor, opened the first session with clarity and weight. While reiterating the importance of negotiation as a long-term political tool, he stated unequivocally that “the first and foremost concern of the Afghan people is liberation from the oppressive Taliban regime.” He proposed the creation of an “Afghanistan National People’s Assembly”—a political and civic platform inclusive of men and women, committed to sovereignty, freedom, and dignity. Such a body, he argued, must be not only declarative but operational, capable of articulating an alternative vision while resisting ideological fragmentation.



Spanta acknowledged that anti-Taliban forces inside and outside the country remain fractured. The absence of a unified political roadmap has allowed the regime to consolidate power. He blamed not only the Taliban’s brutality, but the international community’s incoherence. Regional rivalries, he noted, have fueled two competing blocs around Afghanistan, neither of which offers a sustainable or legitimate future. Any real alternative, he insisted, must come from Afghans themselves, but with clear strategic thinking, international alliances, and moral confidence.

Terrorism: Past is Present

Rahmatullah Nabil, former Director-General of the National Directorate of Security, delivered a stark warning: Afghanistan has returned to its former role as a sanctuary for terrorism. Extremist ideology is not just present—it is now embedded in education, policing, and propaganda. The Taliban, he said, are not moderating but multiplying threats, and the current regime may soon become a launching ground for transnational militancy. “If the world continues to look away,” Nabil warned, “the next September 11 will not be an echo—it will be worse.”



Special Conversation with United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan

Richard Bennett, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Afghanistan, focused his address on the systematic erasure of women under Taliban rule. He welcomed the recent request by the International Criminal Court for arrest warrants against the Taliban’s Supreme Leader and Chief Justice, calling it a step that “gives hope to women

and girls who have not given up the fight.” But Bennett was also clear: symbolic acts are not enough. “Condemnation without action is complicity,” he said, calling for real accountability mechanisms and the central inclusion of women in any peace framework. He described the Taliban’s restrictions as an unprecedented form of gender apartheid and warned that any effort to normalize relations without addressing these violations would signal the collapse of international human rights standards.



Political Space & Accountability for Afghan Women

From Pakistan, Lieutenant General Asad Durrani, former Director-General of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), admitted that following NATO’s withdrawal, Islamabad abandoned its regional designs to focus inward. Mohammad Asif Durrani, Pakistan’s former Special Representative for Afghanistan, echoed this view, noting that the Taliban are not a permanent political reality and criticizing their misuse of Pashtunwali to protect Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) members.

But it was Mohsin Dawar, a former Pakistani parliamentarian, who delivered the sharpest assessment. “The Taliban are not an accident—they are a project,” he said. “A manufactured force imposed on the Afghan people, nurtured by international

cowardice and regional hypocrisy,” Dawar warned that if left unchecked, the Taliban could easily mutate into ISIS-like formations, threatening not only Afghanistan but the entire region.

Taming Great Game: Sanctions, International Cooperation & Diplomacy

Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Ryan Crocker reinforced this point. “This regime is worse than the first,” he said. “Recognition would not stabilize Afghanistan—it would legitimize repression.” Crocker underlined that terrorism remains not only present but operational under Taliban control. Any policy of engagement without conditionality, he warned, would be a strategic and moral failure.

Cultural Evening

A notable highlight of the conference was the launch of Fawzia Koofi’s new book, which drew a large and attentive audience. In her remarks, Koofi reflected on the personal and political journey that shaped her writing, speaking with candor about the pain of exile, the betrayal of peace talks, and the resilience required to continue advocating for Afghan women under the shadow of tyranny. Her book, situated between memoir and manifesto, chronicles both private anguish and public struggle, offering a testament to the endurance of those who have refused to be silenced. The launch was not only a literary moment but a political one, resonating deeply with the conference’s themes of memory, resistance, and the moral imperative to act.



Special Session with Former United States Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR).

The second day of the conference began with a keynote from John F. Sopko, former U.S. Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR). Speaking publicly for the first time since his dismissal, Sopko revealed that since August 2021, the U.S. has sent \$21 billion to Afghanistan - \$3.7 billion of which was humanitarian aid. Yet, as he noted, “not a single dollar has shifted the Taliban’s stance on women, on education, or on rights.” American funds, Sopko claimed, continue to arrive “by the ton,” funneled through UN and NGO channels that often bypass accountability. Aid is taxed, diverted, and in many cases, used to reinforce the Taliban’s intelligence services.



He described the aid system as structurally flawed - saturated with middlemen, absorbed by bureaucracy, and increasingly shaped by fear. In an anecdote emblematic of the entire operation, he cited a U.S. general who spent nearly \$1 million digging and refilling holes simply to exhaust a year-end budget. “We deceived the American people,” Sopko said. “We created a system built to lie.”

As he spoke, a woman in a burqa moved silently through the hall. She carried no banner. She said nothing. But her protest—wordless and deliberate—cut deeper than any panel. She was not a guest. She was the reason the Dialogue existed.

Sopko's remarks cast a wide net of indictment: not only against the Taliban and their financial enablers, but against the entire machinery of U.S. engagement in Afghanistan. He claimed that American generals, diplomats, and contractors routinely distorted facts to secure funding, gain promotions, and mask failures. "The war was fought with a box of broken tools," he said. "No strategy, just money. No accountability, only ambition."

He concluded with a challenge not to Afghans, but to the international community: "If your assistance sustains the oppressor more than the oppressed, then what are you assisting?"

Constitutional Process: Rule of Law & Inclusive Government

In another panel, David Loyn of King's College London turned attention to the ideological transformation underway within Afghanistan. He argued that the Taliban are not merely ruling—they are shaping the future. By controlling schools, religious institutions, and media, they are producing a generation of men raised in doctrinal absolutism and militarized piety. "We speak of resistance," he said, "but we must also ask what kind of citizen will exist to inherit it." Resistance, in his view, cannot be limited to military or political domains—it must also reclaim culture, education, and imagination. "Music, poetry, memory, dignity—these are not distractions. They are foundations."



Loyn also reflected on the role of art as a form of defiance. Referring to the musical and dance performances at the Dialogue, he remarked that each note and gesture reclaimed a piece of Afghanistan that the Taliban have tried to erase. “Art,” he said, “is how exiles refuse to vanish.”

Beyond speeches and performances, the Dialogue hosted a series of informal and thematic discussions focusing on coordination among opposition actors. One recurring question was whether disparate, disillusioned, and often divided political groups in exile could build a framework capable of regaining legitimacy among the Afghan people. Some advocated for forming a transitional leadership council. Others warned against premature institutional announcements without grassroots input.



Still, there was a shared sense that without strategic coordination and moral clarity, the resistance risks falling into the same cycle of fragmentation and elite politics that weakened the former republic. Speakers from various civil society sectors - particularly Afghan women activists - pressed for an inclusive political structure that would not replicate past hierarchies. “We are not here to reconstruct the old order,” one participant said during an off-stage session. “We are here because that order collapsed. And if we don’t change how we lead, it will collapse again.”

Nowruzistan: Multifaceted Identity & Civilizational Unity

Another central concern raised during the Dialogue was the fate of Afghan identity under the current regime. The Taliban’s governance is not only political; it is linguistic, cultural, and historical. Participants noted how the regime’s narrative seeks to erase the pluralistic foundations of Afghan society and replace them with a narrow, exclusionary model rooted in radical ideology and ethnic dominance.



There were also sobering reflections on the position of Afghanistan in the current global order. Several speakers warned that as international crises multiply, Afghanistan is fading from the radar of global policymakers. They argued that this neglect is not neutral; it is political. It emboldens the Taliban, demoralizes the opposition, and creates fertile ground for regional manipulation. One European diplomat acknowledged that while engagement with Afghanistan continues through humanitarian frameworks, political engagement has stalled, primarily due to the lack of a credible, organized alternative to the Taliban.

Conclusion:

This, many agreed, is the central dilemma. The Taliban are unrecognized, yet in power. The opposition is dispersed, yet legitimate in memory. The people are silenced, yet not broken. The way forward lies in refusing to treat these contradictions as permanent.

Throughout the two days, the proposal for an "Afghanistan National People's Assembly," first introduced by Dr. Spanta, returned as a possible structure through which Afghan political and civil forces could converge. Its emphasis on representation, transparency, and ethical resistance resonated with many in attendance. While the

idea remains under consultation, its emergence as a conceptual focal point of the Dialogue marked a shift from reactive opposition to proactive imagination.

The Dialogue's closing panel did not offer conclusions. Instead, it presented a sequence of questions. How can a movement in exile remain connected to a population under siege? How can donors support resistance without reproducing dependency? How do you oppose terror without imitating its methods? And above all: how do you resist when resistance feels like a memory?

In its closing message, the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies affirmed its role not merely as a convener of conferences but as a platform for moral and strategic discourse. It stated:

"The Herat Security Dialogue was never meant to be ceremonial. It exists because Afghanistan's political future demands rethinking. Because exile is not silence. Because there is still something to fight for."

At the final cultural program, no speeches were given. Music from Khorasan mingled with Andalusian rhythms. A small crowd, scattered but attentive, listened in silence. The performance ended with no applause—only stillness. The kind of stillness that follows truth.

The 12th Herat Security Dialogue closed without resolution, but with purpose. It marked a moment in which Afghans, far from their homeland, took ownership of their narrative—not as victims, not as proxies, but as a people still capable of imagining and organizing against tyranny.

What happens next will depend on whether this imagination can become structure, whether these words can become will, and whether the world can still listen.

Annex 1: Short Biographies

Ms. Fahima Mirzaie



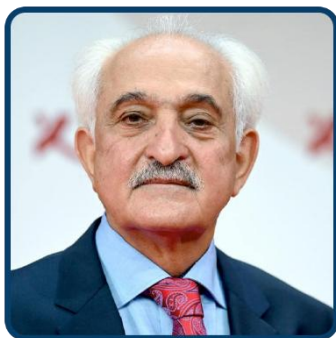
is a pioneering Sufi dancer, teacher, and activist known as the only female dervish in her country practicing semazen—a form of Sama dance involving meditative whirling—who founded the mixed dance school Shohod Arefan in Kabul to preserve Afghanistan’s rich Sufi heritage even as strict cultural bans and the resurgence of the Taliban forced her into exile in France in September 2021; her bold commitment to using dance as a means of personal expression and resistance against repression earned her international acclaim, including recognition as one of BBC’s 100 Women in December 2021.

Ms. Shuhra Wakili



Singer

Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta



Is former Afghanistan’s National Security Adviser, former Foreign Minister and the Senior Advisor on International Affairs to President Hamid Karzai. Dr. Spanta fled to Turkey during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before moving to Germany. There he became assistant professor of political science at RWTH Aachen University. He also served as Spokesperson for the Alliance for Democracy in Afghanistan and was active in the German Green Party. He also briefly taught at Kabul University after the fall of the Taliban.

Mr. Michel Gasco



is a Spanish musician, documentary filmmaker, and videographer known for his immersive field recordings and cultural projects that highlight traditional music from regions such as Afghanistan, Iran, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey. With a deep passion for preserving musical heritage, Gasco has spent over a decade working closely with communities in the Middle East, particularly through projects like “Afghan Music in Exile:

Mashhad 2022.” His work not only captures the rich, often endangered musical traditions of these regions but also serves as a historical record and a call to support the artists who keep these cultural expressions alive.

Ms. Lynne O'Donnell



is an Australian journalist and author known for her foreign correspondence in conflict zones. From 2009 to 2017, she was the Afghanistan bureau chief for Agence France-Presse (AFP) and The Associated Press (AP). Her work has appeared in Foreign Policy, Tortoise Media, and other publications. O'Donnell holds a Master's in War Studies from King's College London and is a fellow of the Dart Centre for Journalism and

Trauma. In 2007, she published "High Tea in Mosul," focusing on two British women in war-torn Iraq, and is currently writing a second book about Afghanistan. In July 2022, she was detained by the Taliban during a reporting trip and was forced to retract her reports, highlighting the risks journalists face in such environments. O'Donnell is active on social media, sharing insights and updates on her work.

Eng. Rahmatullah Nabil



Leader of Afghanistan's Liberation Party, is a politician and former intelligence chief who led the National Directorate of Security during pivotal periods in the country's recent history. A civil engineer by training from the University of Peshawar, he began his career working with the UNHCR before transitioning into high-ranking roles within Afghanistan's security apparatus. Nabil helped establish the Presidential Protection Service and

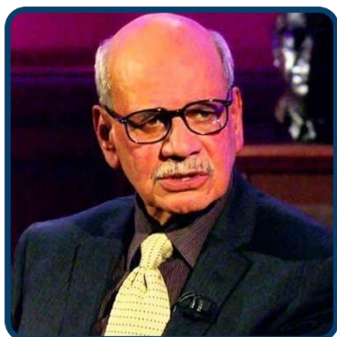
served as Director of the National Directorate of Security from 2010 to 2012 and again from 2013 to 2015, striving to reform the agency and improve its operational effectiveness amid escalating internal challenges.

Dr. Nilofar Sakhi



Is former Afghanistan's National Security Adviser, former Foreign Minister and the Senior Advisor on International Affairs to President Hamid Karzai. Dr. Spanta fled to Turkey during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before moving to Germany. There he became assistant professor of political science at RWTH Aachen University. He also served as Spokesperson for the Alliance for Democracy in Afghanistan and was active in the German Green Party. He also briefly taught at Kabul University after the fall of the Taliban.

Gen. Asad Durrani



is a retired lieutenant general in the Pakistan Army and former head of both the Inter-Services Intelligence and Military Intelligence. A veteran of key conflicts including the Indo-Pak wars and the Soviet–Afghan War, he played a pivotal role in shaping Pakistan's intelligence capabilities during critical periods of regional turmoil. After his military career, Durrani served as Pakistan's ambassador to Germany and Saudi Arabia before turning to commentary and writing, offering insider insights into the world of espionage and security. His work, notably featured in publications such as "The Spy Chronicles: RAW, ISI and the Illusion of Peace," provides a rare glimpse into the intricate dynamics of intelligence and regional power struggles.

Ms. Olivia Pirie-Griffiths



is a media professional and advocate for press freedom who currently serves as Director of Impact and Engagement at Afghan Witness, part of the Centre for Information Resilience. With extensive experience in the journalism and advocacy sectors, she has held leadership roles including Executive Director of the Alliance for Journalists' Freedom and positions in policy and strategic partnerships that span across the Asia-Pacific region. Drawing on a background in philosophy and expertise in fundraising, marketing, and communications, Olivia has contributed to enhancing media integrity and countering disinformation through her work with organizations such as Glider Global, Public Interest Advocacy Centre Ltd, and The Ethics Centre. Her career is marked by a

steadfast commitment to supporting independent journalism and safeguarding the role of the press in upholding democratic accountability.

Mr. Armands Pupols



is a seasoned human rights and political affairs officer who has built a robust international career through his work with the OSCE and the United Nations. With academic credentials in international relations and international economy from institutions in Latvia, Hungary, and Australia, he began his career in the 1990s on OSCE field missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He later served at the OSCE Centre in Almaty and the Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna before joining the UN Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia in 2008 to foster greater cooperation between Central Asia and Afghanistan. After a stint with UNAMID in Sudan, he returned to UNRCCA in 2019, where his focus is on advancing human rights and developing strategies to prevent violent extremism and counter terrorism.

Ms. Tanya Goudsouzian



is an international journalist and author with a strong focus on Afghanistan. As a reporter, she has covered Afghanistan extensively for major outlets, including Al Jazeera English, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, TIME Magazine, El Mundo and TRT World. Her op-eds have appeared in The Washington Post, Le Monde Diplomatique, Politico, Responsible Statecraft, Defense One and other leading platforms. Over the course of 20 years, she has interviewed leading Afghan figures from across the political spectrum, providing in-depth insights into the country's evolving landscape. Formerly the Opinion Editor at Al Jazeera English Online, she has played a role in shaping global narratives on Afghanistan and regional dynamics.

Mr. Richard Bennett



is a New Zealand human rights expert serving as the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan. Prior to his current role, he led the human rights components of peacekeeping operations for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in countries such as Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, South Sudan, and twice in Afghanistan. He has also served as an adviser to the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission and held leadership positions in Nepal and Sri Lanka, further strengthening his expertise in protecting civilians and promoting transitional justice, child rights, and gender equality. Before joining the United Nations, Bennett worked at Amnesty International as Asia-Pacific Program Director and later headed its UN Office in New York. He now continues to document human rights abuses in Afghanistan while also teaching as a visiting professor at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute in Lund, Sweden.

Dr. Sahraa Karimi



is an Afghan film director, screenwriter, and university lecturer who made history as the first female chairperson of Afghan Film, the state-run cinema organization. Born in Kabul to Afghan refugee parents, she grew up in Iran and later relocated to Europe as a political refugee at age 17, eventually earning a PhD in Cinema from the Academy of Music and Performing Arts in Bratislava. Karimi has directed around 30 short films—both documentaries and fiction—as well as feature films, including the award-winning documentary *Afghan Women Behind the Wheel* (2009) and the critically acclaimed fiction feature *Hava, Maryam, Ayesha* (2019), which premiered at the Venice Film Festival. After returning to Kabul in 2012 to support independent Afghan filmmakers, she was forced to flee in August 2021 amid the Taliban takeover. Now based in Italy, she continues to contribute to the film industry as a visiting professor and is working on new projects that document the Afghan experience and resilience.

Ms. Marzia Hamidi



is an Afghan taekwondo champion and women's rights advocate who has overcome extraordinary obstacles in her journey. Born to an Afghan refugee family in Iran, she began training in taekwondo at the age of 15 and later returned to Afghanistan to join the national team. As a multiple-time national gold medalist, Hamidi quickly emerged as one of the country's top taekwondo athletes. However, following the Taliban takeover in 2021, she was forced to flee Afghanistan and now trains in France, where she competes with the Refugee Olympic Team. Unwilling to represent an Afghanistan under Taliban rule, she has vowed never to compete under their flag and uses her platform to speak out against gender oppression and advocate for the rights of Afghan women. Her resilience, both on and off the mat, continues to inspire many and exemplifies the power of sport as a tool for resistance and change.

Dr. Orzala Nemat,



is an internationally known Afghan scholar & think tank leader. She is an expert in political ethnography, holding a PhD in Development Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and an MSc in Development Planning from the University College London (UCL). Dr. Nemat recently founded and is leading Development Research Group Limited (DRG), which aims to promote the multi-disciplinary concept of development studies in the developing world through research & evaluations, open-access teaching, and mentorship. Dr. Nemat served as the director of the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) from 2016-2022. AREU is an internationally recognized top research think tank in Afghanistan. She led several global research projects in Afghanistan during her tenure, including a sizeable five-year project, "Drugs and (dis)Order: transforming war economies into peace economies" funded by Global Challenge Research Funds (GCRF) and UKRI. She has been a member of the UKRI Peer-review college since 2017.

Dr. Dorothy Estrada-Tanck



is Assistant Professor of International Law and International Relations at the University of Murcia, Spain. She holds a PhD in Law from the European University Institute, an MSc in Political Theory from the London School of Economics, and an LLB from Escuela Libre de Derecho, Mexico City. In addition to her academic background, she has worked for the United Nations and state bodies and NGOs in Mexico, Italy, the U.S., and Spain. She focuses on issues of human rights, gender, and socio-economic justice. She is the author of *Human Security and Human Rights under International Law: The Protections Offered to Persons Confronting Structural Vulnerability* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2016). At HRP, she will be carrying out research on indirect discrimination from a comparative perspective, with a focus on the UN and regional human rights systems, for a book on economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as on international law and new technologies.

Ms. Sajia Behgam



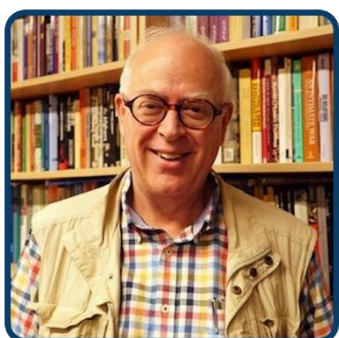
is a doctoral candidate at the Goethe University of Frankfurt and has a Master's degree in Public Policy from the University of Erfurt in Germany and a Bachelor's of Law and Political Science (Women's Leadership) from Kabul University. Behgam has worked as an associate professor of public policy at Kabul University and, at the same time, served the government of Afghanistan's chief executive officer's office as the advisor on women's and youth affairs. She led programs that aimed to cure and rehabilitate women who were subjected to violence, abuse, and torture. Her research and subsequent paper on awareness of underage and forced marriages was arguably the first of its kind work. Additionally, Ms. Behgam has worked with the Supreme Court of Afghanistan on the campaign advocating the compulsory Registration of marriages in Afghanistan in order to prevent child and forced marriages. She is also a founding member of the Young Leader's Forum (YLF) and represented the young women of Afghanistan women in Kenya, Switzerland, Norway, and Germany on diverse issues such as elections, democracy, peacebuilding and youth, and women's rights.

Prof. Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh



PhD, is a university professor, researcher and international consultant specializing in human security, prevention of violent extremism, counter-terrorism and peacebuilding with geographic specialization in Central Asia and Afghanistan. She teaches Master's Level courses on Human Security (since 2003) as well as on Understanding and Responding to Radicalization (since 2018) at the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) at Sciences Po (Paris Institute of Political Studies, Paris) and, since the fall of 2024 at the Graduate Institute of Geneva in Switzerland. She has also taught at Columbia University, Georgetown University and has been a visiting professor at universities in Tehran, Kabul, New Delhi, Pretoria, Moscow and Dushanbe. She is the author, with Anuradha Chenoy, of *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (Routledge, 2007), Editor of *Rethinking the Liberal Peace: External Models and Local Alternatives* (Routledge 2011), and author of *A Rock Between Hard Places; Afghanistan in its Regional Security Complexes* (with Kristian P. Harpviken) (Oxford University Press/Hurst Publishers, 2016).

Prof. William Maley



is an eminent scholar in diplomacy and international relations, currently serving as Professor of Diplomacy at the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy at The Australian National University. With a rich academic and professional background that includes teaching at prestigious institutions such as the University of New South Wales, the Australian Defence Force Academy, and serving as a Visiting Professor at the Russian Diplomatic Academy, Professor Maley has become a leading expert on modern diplomacy, Afghan politics, and refugee studies. He has authored several influential books on Afghanistan, including *Transition in Afghanistan: Hope, Despair and the Limits of Statebuilding*, *The Afghanistan Wars*, and *What is a Refugee?*, and his work has significantly contributed to our understanding of war-torn societies and the complexities of statebuilding. Recognized for his contributions to academia, Professor Maley is a Member of the Order of Australia and a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

Prof. Mojtaba Mahdavi



is Professor of Political Science and the ECMC Chair in Islamic Studies at the University of Alberta. He is the author and editor of numerous works on post-Islamism, contemporary social movements and democratization in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), postrevolutionary Iran, and modern Islamic political thought. He is the editor of *The Myth of Middle East Exceptionalism: Unfinished Social Movements* (Syracuse University Press, 2023), the co-editor of *Rethinking China, the Middle East and Asia in a "Multiplex World"* (Brill 2022), the co-editor of *Towards the Dignity of Difference: Neither 'End of History' nor 'Clash of Civilizations'* (Routledge 2012), the guest editor of *The Many Faces of Contemporary Post-Islamism* in *Journal of Religions* (2021), and the guest editor of *Contemporary Social Movements in the Middle East and Beyond* in *Journal of Sociology of Islam* (2014). Dr. Mahdavi is currently working on two book projects on Ethical Democratic Socialism in Muslim Contexts, and Iran's Challenges of Democracy.

Mr. Abdullah Khenjani



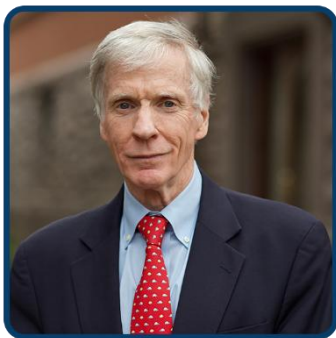
currently heads the Political Office for the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan, playing an important role in shaping the country's political future. Previously, he served as the Senior Deputy Minister for Peace at the State Ministry for Peace, where he was instrumental in advancing peace-building efforts during a pivotal period in Afghanistan's history. With nearly a decade of experience in journalism, Abdullah has honed his communication and analytical skills, providing him with unique insights into political affairs. His steadfast commitment to promoting stability and good governance reflects his dedication to the nation's future.

Ms. Kate Clark



has worked for Afghanistan Analysts Network (AAN) since 2010. Her research and publications have focused on the conflict, including militia formation, investigations into breaches of the Laws of War, detentions and the use of torture. She has also written extensively on Afghanistan's political economy. Her background in Afghanistan goes back to the 1990s, when, as the BBC correspondent (1999-2002), she was the only western journalist based in the country. After 2002, Kate was based in London, but made radio and television documentaries about the insurgency, weapons smuggling, the opium economy and war crimes before returning to work with AAN. Kate has an MA in Middle Eastern Politics from Exeter University in Britain and previously worked in the BBC Arabic Service. She has also lived, studied and worked in the Middle East.

Amb. Ryan Clark Crocker



is a nonresident senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was previously a diplomat in residence at Princeton University. He was a career Foreign Service Officer who served six times as an American ambassador: Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Kuwait and Lebanon. Three of these appointments were under Republican administrations, and three were under Democratic administrations. He received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, in 2009. Other recent awards include the inaugural Bancroft Award, presented by the Naval Academy in 2016. Also in 2016, he was named an honorary fellow of the Literary and Historical Society at University College, Dublin, where he was presented the annual James Joyce Award. He has been named as the 2020 recipient of West Point's Thayer Award. He is an Honorary Marine.

Amb. Mahmoud Saikal



is a senior Afghan diplomat and international development specialist with over two decades of experience with governments, international organizations, private sector, and civil society. Under his leadership at the Afghan Mission to the United Nations, Afghanistan won a first ever seat at Human Rights Council (2018-2020) and became a member of the Economic and Social Council (2016-2018). He is the Chair of the

Third Committee during the 73rd session of the UN General Assembly. He has served as Vice President of the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly and has chaired the New York consultations with UN member States on the Global Compact on Refugees. Throughout his career, he has worked to advance Afghanistan's international relations and to support efforts for peace and reconciliation. With a strong background in diplomacy and a steadfast commitment to his nation's future, Ambassador Saikal continues to engage with global partners and shape Afghanistan's foreign policy during challenging times.

Dr. Alireza Khoda Gholipour



He is a career diplomat with a long background in think- tank business and PhD in Political Sciences and International Relations. He has attended many international conferences and seminars and has written some books and several articles. His studies have been mostly focused on developments of South Asia Region (namely Afghanistan and Pakistan), Indo-Pacific Region (Emerging powers and their strategies),

connectivity projects and European Security. He's been posted to several countries as a diplomat (including Pakistan, Italy and Germany) for 13 years in total. Currently, he is the Deputy Director General and at the same time Director, Group for Asian Studies and Group for European Studies at the Institute for Political and International Studies, based in Tehran, Iran. He also represents Iran in BRICS Think- Tank Council (BTTC).

Amb. Asif Ali Khan Durrani



is a seasoned Pakistani diplomat with over 30 years of experience, specializing in regional diplomacy, particularly Afghanistan and Iran. He has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the UAE (2014-2016) and Iran (2016-2018) and as the Special Representative for Afghanistan (2023-2024). Durrani holds a Master's in Chemistry from the University of Balochistan and another in International Studies and Diplomacy from SOAS, University of London. He is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) and is widely respected for his strategic insights into Pakistan's foreign policy.

Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch



is the President of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs and President of the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation. A retired career diplomat, Wolfgang Petritsch was the EU's Special Envoy for Kosovo (1998-1999), EU chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet and Paris (1999), and then High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina (1999-2002). He served as the Austrian ambassador to the UN in Geneva (2002-2008) and to the OECD in Paris (2008-2013), and was the Joseph A. Schumpeter Fellow at Harvard University (2013-2014).

Mr. Tahir Qadiry



a Journalist recently working with Afghanistan International, was the Charge d'Affair of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to India. He is also a Co-Chairperson of the India-Afghanistan Foundation (IAF). Mr. Qadiry is an internationally recognized award-winning journalist with 18 years of experience across various spheres of management, media, and public policy development. He holds a Masters Degree in Global Governance and International Public Policy from the University of London, UK. He is an incumbent Ph.D. scholar from OP Jindal Global University India undertaking a comprehensive research project on scrutinizing Afghanistan's relations with India in the context of regional powers.

Ms. Fawzia Koofi



is an Afghan politician and human rights advocate. She served as Vice President of the National Assembly of Afghanistan. She was also a member of the peace negotiation team in Doha. Ms. Koofi's family background and interest in public service propelled her to pave the road for many women. After completing her baccalaureate degree, she entered a competitive medical school. However, soon after the Taliban took over her country in 1995, they barred women from access

to education, so she focused her energy on women's rights organizations and worked closely with vulnerable groups, such as internally displaced people and marginalized women and children. She also worked with UNICEF on women's and children's rights.

Mr. Ataullah Arghandaiwal



was born in Kabul, Afghanistan, but has spent much of his life in the United States. As one of ten children within a large military family, he spent much of his young life traveling and attending school in various parts of Afghanistan. With deep passion and pride in his heritage, Arghandaiwal wrote his first memoir, *Lost Decency (The True Afghan Story)*, in order to increase awareness about his country's political upheaval and

the innocent people who have been caught in crossfire. *Lost Decency* became the IBPA's recipient for the Benjamin Franklin Best First Book Award in 2013. Arghandaiwal has remained an independent banking/financial services consultant while attending to his lifelong passion for writing, speaking and leadership development.

Prof. Michael Barry



was born in New York City in 1948 but raised in France and partly in Afghanistan. He is currently Distinguished University Professor at the American University of Afghanistan (now in Qatar) and holds higher degrees in Islamic languages, medieval European literatures and social anthropology from the Universities of Princeton, Cambridge, McGill and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He taught for

many years at Princeton and conceived the present layout of the galleries of Islamic Art in New York's Metropolitan Museum, further winning eighteen prizes for his teaching and writing from the United States, France, Iran and Afghanistan. He was knighted by the

French Government in 2021 for outstanding humanitarian service in the Afghan field where his work over five decades has ranged from anthropological research to coordinating famine relief and defending human rights.

Mr. Sami Mahdi



is the co-founder and editor-in-chief of Amu TV, a digital news platform launched in 2022 that delivers independent reporting in Farsi and Pashto. Drawing on an extensive journalism background, he has served as Bureau Chief of Radio Azadi in Afghanistan and held leadership roles at PAYK Investigative Journalism Center, Tolonews, Khurshid TV, and 1TV. In 2012, his work earned him the Knight International Journalism Award for his courageous reporting. Sami holds a BA in Law and Political Science from Kabul University and an MA in International Relations from the University of Massachusetts Boston as a Fulbright Scholar, and he has also taught at Kabul University. Through Amu TV, he strives to provide a free press that challenges media censorship and gives a voice to Afghan citizens, both in the homeland and in exile.

Mr. John F. Sopko



was sworn served as the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR). SIGAR's work has recovered, or otherwise saved the U.S. government almost \$2.6 billion, secured 137 convictions, and produced over 500 reports. He has more than 30 years of experience in oversight and investigations as a prosecutor, congressional counsel, and senior federal government advisor. Mr. Sopko came to SIGAR from Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, an international law firm headquartered in Washington, D.C., where he had been a partner since 2009. Mr. Sopko's government experience includes over 20 years on Capitol Hill, where he held key positions in both the Senate and House of Representatives. He served on the staff of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, the Select Committee on Homeland Security, and the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Earlier in his career, Mr. Sopko served as a state and federal prosecutor.

Amb. Manizha Bakhtari



is a diplomat, lecturer, and author. She was formerly Afghanistan's Ambassador to Nordic Countries (2009-2015) and served as the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kabul (2007-2009). Prior to her diplomatic career, Ms. Bakhtari was renowned for her work on gender advocacy in the non-profit sector, namely with the Cooperation Center for Afghanistan. During her time there, she traveled across

Afghanistan, aiming to implement global gender equality standards and raise awareness. Ms. Bakhtari received her bachelor's degree in Journalism from Kabul University and her master's degree from the university's Persian Literature Department. She later served as a lecturer at her alma mater.

Dr. Yahia Baiza



specialises in education, history, Islamic and Afghan studies, as well as the study of refugee and diaspora communities in Europe, and manuscript analysis. He is Regional Editor for Afghanistan of the Bloomsbury series Education and Childhood Studies. After completing the Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities at the Institute of Ismaili Studies and SOAS, University of London (1999-2001), Yahia

obtained his MSc in Educational Research Methodology (2002), and PhD in Education Studies (2009) from the University of Oxford. Yahia is a prolific writer. He has published more than seventy academic articles, and is the author of *Education in Afghanistan: Developments, Influences, and Legacies since 1901* (2013 and 2017), and two forthcoming books, *The Hazara Ismailis of Afghanistan and their History* (Bloomsbury), and an edited volume titled *Education in Troubled Times: A Global Pluralist Response* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing). He is also a Member of Academic Council of Hazara Encyclopedia.

Ms. Suhasini Haidar



is the Diplomatic Editor of The Hindu, one of India's oldest and most respected national dailies, regularly writing on Foreign policy issues. Prior to this, Suhasini was Foreign Affairs editor and prime time anchor for India's leading 24-hr English news channel CNN-IBN (2005-2014), where she presented the signature show "WorldView with Suhasini Haidar", and Correspondent for CNN International's New Delhi bureau before that. In 2015, she was the recipient of the most prestigious Indian print journalism 'Prem Bhatia' award, and has won a series of awards for her work in Television as well. Over the course of her 26-year reporting career, Suhasini has covered the most challenging stories & conflicts from the most diverse regions including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Libya, Lebanon and Syria.

Ms. Sharmila Hashimi



Journalist, Civil Rights & Refugee Activist, Afghanistan

Ms. Annie Pforzheimer



is a former career diplomat with the U.S. Department of State. She is currently a senior nonresident associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, an adjunct professor at the City University of New York, and a member of nonprofit organizations advocating for Afghan women. Her 30-year diplomatic career focused on civilian security and the rule of law. She was the acting deputy assistant secretary of state for Afghanistan and deputy chief of mission in Kabul from 2017–2019; director at the NSC for Central America; head of the State Department's \$700 million security assistance program in Mexico; and the lead embassy human rights officer in Turkey and South Africa.

Dr. Patoni Teichmann



is the Executive Director of the European Organization for Integration and the founder of the Afghan Women Activist Coordinating Body. Drawing on her extensive experience in international integration and advocacy, she has dedicated her career to advancing human rights and gender equality for Afghan women. Through her leadership, Dr. Teichmann has built robust networks that bridge communities in Europe and Afghanistan, empowering activists to coordinate efforts and drive policy change. Her work has provided Afghan women with a unified platform to assert their rights and shape their future, both in exile and in their home country.

Mr. David Loyn



is a visiting senior fellow in the War Studies Department at King's College, London, who specialises in Afghanistan and South Asia. He is on an advisory panel to the FCDO on South Asia policy, and runs a course for diplomats for the FCDO International Academy. As a BBC correspondent for more than three decades, David won awards in both Radio and Television reporting, including Journalist of the Year from the Royal Television Society. After leaving the BBC, David worked for a year as communications adviser to the Afghan President Ashraf Ghani. His most recent book, *The Long War*, tells the story of the US-led intervention in Afghanistan after 9/11. An earlier book, *Frontline*, was shortlisted for the Orwell Prize. He is a qualified barrister, a board member of Peace Direct, and an Associate of the Imperial War Museum. He writes regularly on Afghanistan for the *Spectator*.

Mr. Mohammad Karim Amin



Senior Political Board Member of Afghanistan's Hezb-e Islami Party.

Mr. Sanjar Sohail



is an experienced media manager with a demonstrated history of working in the newspaper industry. He is the founder of Hasht e Subh Daily Newspaper (8am Media) and is an Emmy award winner for Outstanding News Discussion and Analysis: Editorial and Opinion in 2023. Skilled in areas such as reporting, analysis, politics, storytelling, investigative reporting, and publication development, he has made significant contributions to the media landscape. Sanjar holds a Master's

degree in Conflict Analysis & Management from Royal Roads University, further enhancing his expertise in navigating complex social and political issues through media.

Annex 2: Agenda

Sunday, February 23, 2025

Through Day	Guests arrival - Hotel: Occidental Castellana Norte.
19:00-21:00	Private Dinner

1st Day, Monday, February 24, 2025

08:30-09:00	Participants Registration
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Opening Session

09:00 - 09:45	<p>Sama Dance performance by Ms. Fahima Mirzaie.</p> <p>Singing the patriotic song "Vatan Eishgh To Iftakharam" by Ms. Shuhra Wakili.</p> <p>Introductory Remarks: Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta, Chairman of the Afghan Institute of Strategic Studies (AISS), Advisory Board.</p> <p>Special Guest: Mr. Michel Gasco, Ethnomusicologist Producer, Documentary Filmmaker & musician.</p>
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Panel I: Terrorism: Past is Present

09:45 - 11:15	<p>Moderator: Ms. Lynne O'Donnell, Journalist, the Foreign Policy, UK.</p> <p>Eng. Rahmatullah Nabil, Leader of Afghanistan's Liberation Party.</p> <p>Dr. Nilofar Sakhi, Professor, Policy Analyst, Author, George Washington University; Andiana Foundation, Atlantic Council, Afghanistan/US</p> <p>Gen. Asad Durrani, Former Head of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan</p> <p>Ms. Olivia Pirie-Griffiths, Director, Impact & Engagement, Afghan Witness, UK</p> <p>Mr. Armands Pupols, Human Rights and Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA)</p> <p>Open Discussion</p>
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11:15 - 11:30 Tea Break

Special Conversation with United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan

11:30 - 12:00	<p>Moderator: Ms. Tanya Goudsouzian, Senior Journalist, Scholar, Author, and Editor specializing in Afghanistan and Iraq affairs.</p> <p>Mr. Richard Bennett, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan.</p>
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Panel II: Political Space & Accountability for Afghan Women	
12:00 - 13:30	<p>Moderator: Dr. Sahraa Karimi, Film Director & Yale University Lecturer, Afghanistan.</p> <p>Ms. Marzia Hamidi, Taekwondo Champion, Women's Rights Advocate, Champion for Peace; Peace & Sport Athlete, French National Team & ORF</p> <p>Dr. Orzala Nemat, Research Associate, SOAS University of London, UK/Afghanistan</p> <p>Dr. Dorothy Estrada-Tanck, Member, UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women & Girls</p> <p>Ms. Sajia Behgam, Gender & Policy Advisor; Doctoral Candidate, Goethe University, Frankfurt</p> <p>Open Discussion</p>
13:30 - 14:30	Lunch
Panel III: Post-Islamism: Negotiating Religion, Identity & Political Settlement	
14:30 - 16:00	<p>Moderator: Professor Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, Associate Professor, Sciences Po Paris (Institute of Political Studies), France & Geneva Graduate Institute, Switzerland.</p> <p>Professor William Maley, Emeritus Professor of Diplomacy, Australian National University.</p> <p>Professor Mojtaba Mahdavi, Professor of Political Science & the ECMC Chair in Islamic Studies, University of Alberta, Iran/Canada.</p> <p>Mr. Abdullah Khenjani, Head of Political Office, National Resistance Front of Afghanistan.</p> <p>Open Discussion</p>
16:00 - 16:30	Tea Break
Panel IV: Taming Great Game: Sanctions, International Cooperation & Diplomacy	
16:30: - 18:00	<p>Moderator: Ms. Kate Clark, Co-Director & Senior Analyst, Afghanistan Analysts Networks, UK.</p> <p>Amb. Ryan Clark Crocker, Commissioner, Afghanistan War Commission & Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan & Pakistan</p> <p>Amb. Mahmoud Saikal, Adjunct Professor at the University of Canberra, Former Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the UN</p> <p>Dr. Alireza Khoda Gholipour, Deputy Director-General, Institute for Political & International Studies, Iran</p> <p>Amb. Asif Durrani, Pakistan's Former Special Representative for Afghanistan</p> <p>Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch, President, Austrian Institute for International Affairs (OIIA) & Former United Nations High Representative for Bosnia & Herzegovina, Austria</p> <p>Open Discussion</p>
Official Dinner & Cultural Evening	
19:00 - 21:00	<p>Moderator: Ms. Meetra Qutb, Relationship Manager & Communications Specialist, Afghan Witness.</p>

	<p>Book Launch: Ms. Fawzia Koofi, Afghan Politician & Former Member of the Afghan Parliament. Mr. Ataullah Arghandaiwal, Author. Music Performance by the Spanish/Afghan Artists: Jaihoon Band. Chief Guest's Speech: Professor Michael Barry, University Lecturer, Princeton University, US. Dinner</p>
2nd Day, Tuesday, February 25, 2025	
Special Session with Former United States Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR)	
09:00 - 09:30	<p>Moderator: Mr. Sami Mahdi, Co-Founder & Editor-in-Chief, Amu Television.</p> <p>Mr. John Sopko, Former United States Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR).</p>
Panel V: Nowruzistan: Multifaceted Identity & Civilizational Unity	
09:30 - 11:00	<p>Moderator: Amb. Manizha Bakhadari, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Austria.</p> <p>Dr. Yahia Baiza, Senior Research Associate, Aga Khan Centre, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, Department of Academic Research & Publications, Afghanistan/UK. Ms. Suhasini Haidar, Diplomatic Affairs Editor, The Hindu, India. Ms. Sharmila Hashimi, Journalist, Civil Rights & Refugee Activist, Afghanistan. Open Discussion</p>
11:00 - 11:30	Tea Break
Panel VI: Constitutional Process: Rule of Law & Inclusive Government	
11:30 - 13:00	<p>Moderator: Ms. Annie Pforzheimer, non-resident associate with the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), US.</p> <p>Dr. Patoni Teichmann, Executive Director, European Organization for Integration; Founder, Afghan Women Activist Coordinating Body. Mr. David Loyn, Afghan analyst; Visiting Senior Fellow King's College War Studies. Mr. Mohammad Karim Amin, Senior Political Board Member of Afghanistan's Hezb-e Islami Party. Mr. Sanjar Sohail, Founder at Hasht e Subh Daily Newspaper (8am Media).</p>
13:00 - 13:05	Note of Thanks by Director General Of AISS, Dr. Davood Moradian.
13:05 - 14:00	Lunch

Annex 3: List of Participants

Afghan/International Participants		
No	Full Name	Title
1	Abdul Karim Khaddam	Representative Jamaat-e-Islami
2	Abdullah Khenjani	Head of the Political Committee, the Afghan Freedom Front
3	Ahmad Naveed Kawish	Amaaj News
4	Ajmal Baluchzada	Political Activist
5	Amb Mirwais Nab	Former Ambassador of Afghanistan
6	Ambassador Asif Durrani	Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran, Pakistan
7	Ambassador Jayant Prasad	Former Indian Ambassador to Afghanistan
8	Ambassador M. Ashraf Haidari	Former ambassador of Afghanistan
9	Ambassador Mahmoud Saikal	Adjunct Professor at the University of Canberra, Former Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the UN
10	Ambassador Manizha Bakhtari	Ambassador of Afghanistan to Austria
11	Ambassador Sayed Tayeb Jawad	Former Ambassador of Afghanistan to Washington, London and Moscow
12	Annie Pforzheimer	non-resident associate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
13	Arpan Rai	Independent
14	Bahaudin Jailani	Former State Ministry for Disaster Management Authority
15	Baptiste Michel Theo Berard	Marzia's Assistant - Senior Advisor, Ministry of Interior
16	Breshna Safi	Former Deputy Governor
17	Brontë Philips	Reports and Communications Editor, Afghan Witness
18	David Loyn	Senior Journalist (three decades of experience working in Afghanistan)

19	Dr. Ali Baqeri	Universal Peace Federation, Permanent Representative
20	Dr. Alireza Khoda Gholipour	Deputy Director-General IPIS
21	Dr. Annika Schmeding	NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies
22	Dr. Davood Ali Najafi	Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation
23	Dr. Davood Moradian	DG of AISS
24	Dr. Haqmal Daudzai	NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies
25	Dr. Nilofar Sakhi	Author and Professor, George Washington University
26	Dr. Orzala Nemat	Researcher, SOAS London
27	Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta	Chairman, Advisory Board, AISS
28	Dr. Sahraa Karimi	Film Director and Screenwriter
29	Dr. Sayed Hussain Eshraq	Philosopher and Writer
30	Dr. Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh	Associate Prof, Sciences Po (Paris), Geneva Graduate Institute
31	Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch	President of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs, OIIP.
32	Dr. Yahia Baiza	Senior Research Associate, Aga Khan Centre, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, Department of Academic Research and Publications
33	Eleanor Jane Pugsley	Senior Reporter and Newsletter Editor at 8am Media
34	Enayatullah Kamal	Former Deputy Attorney General for Judiciary
35	Eng. Rahmatullah Nabil	Former Head of the National Directorate of Security (NDS)
36	Fahim Kargar	Former Chief of staff Parliament and ONSC
37	Fahima Mirzaie	Sama Dancer/Artist
38	Farhad Sarfaraz	Journalist, Aamaj News
39	Farida Sial	Radio Azadi
40	Fawzia Koofi	Afghan Politician and Former Member of the Afghan Parliament

41	Gen Ajmal Omar Shinwar.	Former Spokesperson to Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF)
42	General Asad Durrani	Former ISI, Pakistan
43	Haji Abdul Sattar Hussaini	Farah MP in the House of Representatives
44	Hamid Obaidi	Instead of Freshta Hemmati - AJSO
45	Hasibullah Azem	Cameraman, Aamaj News
46	Jere Van Dyk	Author
47	John F Sopko	Former SIGAR
48	Karen Deker	US Charge d'affaires for Afghanistan
49	Karim Amin	Senior Political Board Member of Afghanistan's Hezb-e Islami Party
50	Karim Amini	Journalist, Amu TV
51	Karim Haidary	Producer, Afghanistan International
52	Marzia Hamidi	Taekwondo Champion, Women's Rights Advocate. Champion for Peace with Peace and Sport Athlete of the French National Team & ORF
53	Mehdi Fathollahi	Cameraman + Producer
54	Michael Semple	Irish expert on Afghanistan
55	Mohsin Dawar	Former Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan
56	Mukhtar Wafayee	Independent Persian
57	Musaddiq Faqiri	Representative Jamaat-e-Islami
58	Nabil Flowers	US Diplomat
59	Naseer Hashimi	US Diplomat
60	Nasrin Gross	Women Rights Advocate and Founder of KabulTec
61	Nazif Salarzai	Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium, the European Union and NATO
62	Nigara Mirdad	Diplomat

63	Olivia Pirie-Griffiths	Director, Impact and Engagement, Afghan Witness
64	Professor Michael Barry	University Lecturer, Princeton University
65	Professor Mojtaba Mahdavi	Prof of Political Science and the ECMC Chair in Islamic Studies at Albrta University
66	Professor William Maley	National University of Australia
67	Qais Alamdar	Researcher
68	Razia Barak Haidari	Women Rights Activist
69	Richard Bennett	UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan
70	Rohullah Amin	Research Fellow, Helmut Schmidt University, Universitat der Bundeswehr
71	Sajia Behgam	Gender and Policy Advisor
72	Sameera Rasaa	Afghanistan International TV
73	Sami Mahdi	Co Founder of Amu TV
74	Sardar Mohammad Rahimi	Former Deputy Minister of Education
75	Sattar Saeedi	Journalists, Afghanistan International
76	Sayyara Dashti	NRF Women Committee
77	Shah Zamir Hotaki	Poet
78	Shahrzad Koofi	Activist
79	Shaira Karimi	AISS team
80	Sharif Amiry	Journalist, Amu TV
81	Sharmila Hashimi	Vienna Guest
82	Shuhra Wakili	Singer
83	Sohail Sanjar	Founder of Hashte Sobh Daily Newspaper
84	Suhasini Haidar	Diplomatic Affairs Editor, The Hindu

85	Sulaiman Haqpana	Tabla Player
86	Sumaia Frotan	Women Rights Activist
87	Tahir Qadiry	Journalists
88	Waheed Ahmadi	Journalist, DW News
89	Wahid Payman	Journalist
90	Wahidullah Waissi	Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to the Commonwealth of Australia
91	Wali Arian	VOA Afghanistan
92	Zahra Kazemi	Women Rights Advocate
93	Zainab Homam	Women Rights Advocate
94	Zakarya Mashkoo Kabuli	Cleric and Political Activist
95	Zia Shahryar	Journalist, BBC Persian
Spain Participants		
No	Full Name	Title
96	Abdullah Walizada	Porana News
97	Ahmad Kamil Rafiqi	GEODIS
98	Ambassador Danat Mussayev	Amb of Kazakhstan to Spain
99	Amine Lejarza	
100	Ana Ramos	
101	Anusha Safi	Activist
102	Aria Koofi	Activist
103	Atefah Hassani	IE University Alumna
104	Batol Gholami	Founder, AYLA

105	Begoña Solorzano	Plan internacional
106	Carmen Fernández Vivanco Sanz	Head of Strategic Partnerships, Amnesty Intl. Spain
107	Daniela de Fátima Da Silva Carvalho	INECO
108	Dr. Dorothy Estrada-Tanck	President, UN Working Group Discrimination against Women and Girls
109	Farkhndah Mashall	volunteer
110	Fernando Camacho Padilla	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
111	Gema Canovas Inesta	director, Frog
112	Gustavo Suárez-Pertierra	President, UNICEF Spain
113	Hamida Andesha	Activist
114	José María Botana Mateo	CGI
115	Julia García González	IR specialist
116	Katherina Miller	Miller International Knowledge, IE University lecturer
117	Khadijaa Amin	Journalist
118	Laura Guío de la Orden	Project Coordinator, Madrid for Refugees
119	Laura Pelaez	Spanish Youth Council Delegate
120	Maite Pacheco Mateo-Sagasta	General Director, Luz Casanova
121	Manaf Jbari Boulaich	Gallach's assistant
122	Manuel Gazapo Lapayese	
123	María José Rodríguez Becedas	President, Netwomening
124	Marina Martinez Angulo	IR Student
125	Mario Rebollo German	keyboardist
126	Mohammad Anil Qasemi	Afghanistan Development Academy

127	Mohammad Qasim Yousofzai	
128	Myriam Erquicia León	Feminist Foreign Policy Advisor
129	Nadia Majidi	Founder & Director of United Globally (UK Registered Charity)
130	Nazi Nadiri	Women Activist
131	Nazifa Alimi	
132	Nilofar Yousefi	Activist
133	Paola Bernal Fuentes	Social Policy officer, UNICEF
134	Professor Javier Gil Perez	Comillas Pontifical University
135	Said Hamed Wahdat Ahmadzada	Former Diplomat
136	Santiago Ripol Carulla	Head of Legal Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs
137	Sergio Vezquez Torron	Presidente, INECO
138	Sharmila Hashimi	Vienna Guest
139	Sunita Nasir Tareen	Activist
140	Tamkin Faizi	Vice president, ADA
141	Waheda Ahmadi	Student, Youth Activist
142	Wajiha Mashal	
143	Zaryabuddin Sharifi	Activist

*** THE END ***