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**No Sustainable Peace without Women Participation**

Afghan women have largely been excluded from political decision making in the course of the history. Thus, women were largely excluded from the Bonn process. Since then, they have made significant gains in rights and political participation. However, despite Afghanistan adopting in 2015 a National Action Plan on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, opportunities for women remain limited.

Currently, the United States is deep into negotiations with the Taliban over some sort of political arrangement that would enable the Taliban's entrance into Afghan politics while the US drew down its troop levels.

The specifics of these negotiations are not much known about what is on the table. And what we do know is that there are precisely zero Afghan women at the table.

Considering that under Taliban rule prior to 2001, even basic freedoms were denied to women such as going to school, speaking publicly, leaving the house without a male chaperone, among others women are more curious to know about what final decisions would be taken about the basic human rights and women rights in the future.

Islam has granted women with all fundamental rights such as doing business, holding a possession, right to inheritance, education, work, choosing a life partner, security, health and life. As a result, Afghan women want rights that Islam has given them. Islam does not stop women from getting education or work, so women should have their presence in all parts and they urge this issue should be clearly talked in peace negotiations.

However, Afghan women don't want a peace that will make the situation worse for women's rights compared to now. With this background in mind, the absence of Afghan women in the talks means more than a failure of political correctness. It means that women in the country do not know what is going to happen in their lives in the future; the days of Taliban oppression of women could return if they do not guarantee that women's rights, enshrined in the constitution, will be upheld in any future power-sharing arrangement. This reaffirms the notion that the aim of a peace process should not only be to end violent conflict but also to build a lasting peace. The absence of women and their voices in the process casts doubt on the type of peace that these talks would bring to the country.

However, women must raise their voices louder than any other time so they are not forgotten and Afghan citizens including women must clearly convey this message to the negotiators that without women it will be a broken peace.

Different studies including a research done in part by Anna Tonelli, show that the exclusion of women from peace negotiations is a predictor of failure for peace negotiations. As a result, Afghanistan would never have a stable peace unless women were given a wider role in peace talks. Therefore, as discussions in the Afghan peace process move away from issues of hard security and the use of violence, it is now more crucial than ever to think about the quality of peace and strategies to sustain the peace. This is where a more inclusive process and effective implementations of the gender-related provisions of any future peace agreements gain more importance in the Afghan context. For a way forward, however, different actors' support and commitment would be essential.

In a nutshell, the Afghan government and the US chief negotiator Zalmay Khalilzad must assure women in practice that their rights will not be affected negatively after a peace deal with the Taliban. Now, it is time to fully involve women in the coming talks with the Taliban to clearly define and ensure their place in future. Afghanistan has come a long way to achieve the rights women have now and they must be safeguarded not to lose them after a peace deal.

**How to Promote Rule of Law in Afghanistan?**

By: Mohammad Zahir Akbari

The philosophies of enacting laws are to ensure justice, orders and protect the rights of citizens in a country. It is the rule of law that draws a distinction between human societies and wildlife, and provides a safe environment for people to live in. Thereupon, Afghanistan has enacted very good laws comparing to neighbouring countries but the persisting problem which challenges the country is failing to institutionalize or putting them in effect. Laws on paper and without rule can never help societies. Some experts believe that the violation of laws in a massive scale underlines the need to convene the Constitutional Loya Jirga, and address all the existing flaws. Additionally, for the justice and equal implementation of laws, the law enforcement agencies should be strengthened, and become more independent because only law amendment cannot suffice.

In addition to the aforementioned solution, this paper is trying to focus on socio-cultural dimension of rule of law in Afghanistan. It is therefore very important to make sure that socially people are ready to obey the law. For example, we need to make sure that everyone has a right mindset of rule of law. We must guide everyone to understand that maintaining the authority of the constitution and law means maintaining the authority of the common will of Afghan citizen. Luckily, most of new age group has realized the negative effect of lawlessness and violence. That's why they want peace, lawfulness and defend from their governments and national security; they understand when the rule of law disappears, the countries are ruled by the criminals and corrupt men. The more we tolerate lawlessness, the more we repress.

In other word, the greatest challenge for a country lies not in making laws, but in putting those laws into effect. To ensure the rule of the law in Afghanistan, we must integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue. Laws are ethics that have been written down, while ethics are laws that we follow in our hearts. Both function to regulate social behaviour and maintain social order. Therefore, in running our country and society, we need to lay emphasis on both the rule of law and the rule of virtue, ensuring both the rule of the law in regulating behaviour and the role of ethics in shaping the mind, so that law and virtue promote and enhance each other and rule of law and rule of virtue complement each other.

To ensure the rule of the law in regulating social behaviour, we must also ensure that rule of law gives expression to virtues and that the laws better promotes the development of civic morality. Ethics constitutes the foundation of the law. This means that only laws that conform to ethics and have deep moral foundations will be conscientiously observed by

majority of the people. Laws, on the other hand, serve to safeguard ethics. This means that good civic ethics can be fostered through compulsory regulation of people's behaviour and turn basic ethics and convention into laws and regulations, ensuring that laws and regulation are more representatives of virtues and humanistic spirit. Therefore, we need to regularly update and also educate in school and university level, so as to enhance the overall moral fabric our society.

To ensure the role of ethics in shaping the mind, we must nurture the rule of law with ethics and strengthen the role of ethics foster the culture of rule of law. No matter how many laws we make, or how good those laws are, people will only genuinely abide by them once they have become ingrained in their subconscious. As the saying goes, "a person without shame knows no limits." Without the nutrition that virtue provides, the culture of rule of law will have nothing to enforce our laws. As we advance the rule of law in the country, we must promote the core national and Afghan values, carry forward traditional virtue, and cultivate social morality, professional ethics, family values, and moral integrity of individuals. By raising the moral integrity of our people as a whole, we will create a favourable humanistic environment to underpin the rule law in Afghanistan.

Similarly, to ensure that the law is observed by all, we must raise awareness of the rule of law among the general public. We must view the efforts to spread basic legal knowledge among the people and to encourage them to abide by the laws as long-term, fundamental tasks of the laws-based governance of the country, and take highly effective measures to strengthen publicity and educational initiative concerning our legal system.

By and large, we must start education on the rule of law with the child; incorporate such education into our national education system and our initiatives for cultural and ethical progress; and constantly enhance the awareness of rules among young people, starting out with simple requirements before moving on progressively to more difficult ones. At the same time, we need to keep adequate records regarding compliance with the law on the part of citizens and organization; improve the mechanism to reward people for good faith when they abide by the law and punish them for bad faith when break it; and create a social atmosphere in which people feel that it is honourable to abide by the laws and disgraceful to break it, so that all people show respect for the laws and act consciously to observe it.

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**The Fallacy of Soccer's Magical Bridge-Building Qualities**

By: James M. Dorsey

Imagining himself as a peacemaker in a conflict-ridden part of the world, FIFA President Gianni Infantino sees a 2022 World Cup shared by Qatar with its Gulf detractors, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, as the magic wand that would turn bitter foes into brothers.

It may be a nice idea, but it is grounded in the fiction that soccer can play an independent role in bringing nations together or developing national identity.

The fiction is that soccer has the potential to be a driver of events, that it can spark or shape developments. It is also the fiction that sports in general and soccer in particular has the power to build bridges.

Mr. Infantino's assertion that if foes play soccer, bridges are built is but the latest iteration of a long-standing myth.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Soccer is an aggressive sport. It is about conquering the other half of a pitch. It evokes passions and allegiances that are tribal in nature and that more often than not divide rather than unite.

In conflict situations, soccer tends to provide an additional battlefield. Examples abound.

The 2022 World Cup; this year's Qatari Asian Cup victory against the backdrop of the Gulf state's rift with the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Egypt; the imprint the Palestinian-Israeli conflict puts on the two nations' soccer; or the rise of racist, discriminatory attitudes among fans in Europe.

The Bad Blue Boys, hardcore fans of Dinamo Zagreb's hardcore fans, light candles each May and lay wreaths at a monument to their comrades who were killed in the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. They mark the anniversary of a riot during the 1990 match against Serbia's Red Star Belgrade, their club's most controversial match, as the first clash in the wars that erupted a year later and sparked the collapse of former Yugoslavia. Fact of the matter is that sports like ping pong in Richard Nixon's 1972 rapprochement with China or the improvement of ties between North and South Korea in the most recent Summer Olympics served as a useful tool, not a driver of events.

Sports is a useful tool in an environment in which key political players seek to build bridges and narrow differences.

The impact of soccer in the absence of a conducive environment created by political not sports players, is at best temporary relief, a blip on an otherwise bleak landscape.

The proof is in the pudding. Legend has it that British and German soldiers played soccer in no-man's lands on Christmas Day in 1914, only to return to fighting World War One for another four years. Millions died in the war.

Similarly, Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites poured into the streets of Iraqi cities hugging each other in celebration of Iraq's winning in 2007 of the Asia Cup at the height of the country's sectarian violence only to return to

killing each other a day later.

Soccer's ability to shape or cement national identity is no different. In other words, football can be a rallying point for national identity but only if there is an environment that is conducive.

The problem is that soccer and the formation of national identity have one complicating trait in common: both often involve opposition to the other.

That is nowhere truer than in the Middle East and North Africa where soccer has played and plays an important role in identity formation since it was first introduced to the region in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Qatar has been in some ways the exception that proves the rule by plotting its sports strategy not only as a soft power tool or a pillar of public health policy but also as a component of national identity. That element has been strengthened by the rift in the Gulf and bolstered by this year's Asian Cup victory.

Qatar's efforts to strengthen its national identity benefits from the fact that the Gulf state no longer operates on the notion that Gulf states have to hang together. Today its hanging on its own in a conflict with three of its neighbours.

Soccer's role in identity formation in the Middle East and North Africa was often because it was a battlefield, a battlefield for identity that was part of larger political struggles.

Clubs were often formed for that very reason. Attitudes towards the country's monarchy in the early 20th century loomed large in the founding of Egypt's Al Ahli SC and Al Zamalek SC, two of the Middle East and North Africa's most storied clubs.

Clubs in Algeria were established as part of the anti-colonial struggle against the French. Ottoman and Iranian rulers used sports and soccer to foster national identity and take a first step towards incorporating youth in the development of a modern defense force.

Zionists saw sports and soccer as an important way of developing the New Jew, the muscular Jew. To Palestinians, it was a tool in their opposition to Zionist immigration. And finally, soccer was important in the shaping of ethnic or sub-national identities among Berbers, Kurds, East Bank Jordanians and Jordanian Palestinians.

In other words, soccer was inclusive in the sense of contributing to the formation of a collective identity. But it was also divisive because that identity was at the same time exclusionary and opposed to an other.

The long and short of this is that soccer is malleable. Its impact and fallout depend on forces beyond its control. Soccer is dependent on the environment shaped by political and social forces. It is a tool that is agnostic to purpose, not a driver or an independent actor.

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