

## Altai Master Plan

### ***AFGHANISTAN'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE***

***An Indigenous Process for the Resurrection of Afghanistan:  
How the West Can Finally Get It Right and Re-humanize Itself***

Conference Dates: May 25-29, 2017

#### CONFERENCE DIRECTORS

Khalil Nouri [Afghan Business Network, Inc.](http://AfghanBusinessNetwork,Inc.) (ABN, Inc.\* ) [khalil.nouri@gmail.com](mailto:khalil.nouri@gmail.com) (425) 698 -5821  
Fahima Vorgetts Gaheez [Director of Afghan Women's Fund](http://Director of Afghan Women's Fund) (AWF) [fahimav@hotmail.com](mailto:fahimav@hotmail.com) (304) 358-3221  
(ABN, Inc.\* is a 501(c) 3 Non-Profit Corporation)

#### CONFERENCE ORGANIZORS

Paul Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Gould [gould.fitzgerald@verizon.net](mailto:gould.fitzgerald@verizon.net) (781) 729-7701

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

#### GOAL and MISSION STATEMENT (Pages 4-5)

**PART 1 (Pages 6-10):** Why Afghanistan's truths from her ancient past are unknown in the West. Why the resurrection of Afghanistan will be central to the revival of not just Afghanistan but the world. What the West must learn, for its own revival, about Peaceful Coexistence and Natural Law<sup>1</sup> from this Indigenous process.

**PART 2 (Pages 10-13):** Why it is critical for the West to be Re-humanized

**PART 3 (Pages 13-14):** Why a dramatic departure from the existing narrative is needed to reorient Afghan thinking and challenge the West. Why this process will be hosted by the indigenous people of the Altai Republic in the Russia Federation.

**PART 4 (Pages 14-25):** Five Day Master Plan Outline with Discussion Topics and Speakers

-Ancient and Modern Similarities of Afghan and Irish tribal law (Speaker to be named)

-The Return of Afghanistan's Missing Ancient Cultural History by Hamid Naweed

-The 16th century Sufi poet Bayezid Ansari's Roshaniya movements led to the first formulation of the concept of Afghan nationality, including equality between men and women by Dr. Zaman Stanizai

---

<sup>1</sup> The doctrine that human affairs should be governed by ethical principles that are part of the very nature of things and that can be understood by reason.

- [The Performativity of Nonviolent Protest in South Asia \(1918–1948\)](#) by Dr. Sruti Bala Pages 140-225A discussion based on the Afghan Khudai Khidmatgar, the nonviolent movement of Badshah Khan (1929-1948) by Dr. Zaman Stanizai.

-The Afghan Youth Peace Movement, a key to a sustainable peace by Faiz Sidaq of the [Non-Violence World](#)

-A Real Solution to the Afghan Women's Issue by Fahima Vorgetts Gaheez

-An economic plan to make Afghanistan a self-sufficient agricultural nation once again by Jawied Nawabi

- Is it time for Afghanistan to look to the East for help with its current crisis? (Speaker to be named)

-U.S. and Soviet Veterans of the Afghan Wars discuss their Common Ground by Matthew Hoh

- A discussion of the history of U.S. foreign policy towards Afghanistan by Paul Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Gould

-The Official Russian position on the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan from 1979-1989 (Speaker to be named)

-Foreign interventions and their interference with indigenous tribal relations: The Hegelian Dialectic, its role in Western thought and effect on U. S. policy towards Afghanistan (Speaker to be named)

-Official Russian position on the status of Indigenous people in the Russian Federation (Speaker to be named)

-A discussion on Russian Culture, Spirituality and Politics by Dr. Sandy Krolick

-Afghans, from youth and young adults to elders, along with Altaians from the local indigenous community, will discuss a range of critical issues, shared by indigenous peoples

-Final Gathering of Afghans, from young adults to elders, will rise together with their Altaian hosts to present their Declaration of Independence that will inaugurate a new Future for Afghanistan

-Performance of Songs of Peace from Afghanistan and the 1968 Tribal Rock Musical HAIR

-Page 27: Commitment Letter to Host Conference from Danil Mamyev

-Pages 28-29: Support Letter from Matthew P. Hoh Senior Fellow Center for International Policy

-Pages 30-32: American Declaration of Independence July 4, 1776

-End of Table of Contents

Originators of the *New World Strategies Coalition Inc. (NWSC Inc.)* proposal: **Restoring Afghanistan's Tribal Balance: An indigenous peace process for unifying a shattered nation**

- Khalil Nouri - Michael Hughes - Paul Fitzgerald - Elizabeth Gould

## ADVISORS

- Asad S. Farhad: Adjunct Professor Bellevue University, and Former Deputy Minister of Finance, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
- Dr. Bashir Zikria: Professor Emeritus & Special Lecturer at Columbia University Medical Center
- Hamid Naweed: Art historian, artist, author, poet, screenwriter, cultural expert, media personality
- Jawied Nawabi: Teaches Economics, Sociology, and International Politics at the City University of NY
- Dr. Dawer Nadi: Currently living in Afghanistan
- Ralph Lopez: Jobs for Afghans
- Suleiman Wali, founder and executive producer of [Lapis Media](#), a company which produces documentaries, films and multimedia projects.
- Dr. Zaman Stanizai: Author, poet and teaches at Pacifica Graduate Institute and California State University
- Afghan Youth Peace Movement [Enough](#)
- Afghans United for Justice
- [Non-Violence World](#): Faiz Sidaq, Executive Director, and Co-founder
- Mission Commander at Pashtunistan Liberation Army, Columnist at Covert Wires and writer at Pashtuns Under Fire of Islam and Pakistan: Umar Daud Khattak
- Democratic Youth organization of Afghanistan: Arian Khyber
- Qasim Tarin Chairman-ABN, Inc. (925) 580-7789 Qasim@eisonline.net
- Theophilos Green Secretary-ABN, Inc. (510) 364-4258 terry.green@nwscinc.org

## ALTAIAN HOSTS

-[Danil Mamiev](#) had long been concerned about the fate of his native Karakol, believed for thousands of years to be a sacred valley. In 2001, he and others banded together to create Karakol [Uch Enmek Ethno-Nature Park](#). As director of the Association of Protected Areas of the Altai, Mamiev promotes incorporating traditional indigenous culture and customs into regional park plans.

-[Dr. Sandy Krolick](#), Altai State Pedagogical Academy, Department of International Cooperation. Born and raised in New York State, Sandy holds a doctorate in religious studies and a bachelor's degree from Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, NY, where he spent time as a visiting professor. After a ten-year academic career, he spent twenty years in the executive ranks at firms, including Ernst & Young, General Electric, Computer Sciences Corp. and Alliance One Healthcare. Sandy lives in Western Siberia with his family.

## **CONFERENCE GOAL**

Violence begets violence, war begets more wars. These facts have been known to generations before our time and we should not have to learn this horrible truth again. Events have been forgotten by history and covered up by administrations. Angers and hatreds have been instilled in generations. We cannot continue in this manner and survive as a people. We must calm down, face the facts of where we have come from, and put our minds to diffusing the crises and not making it worse. Is there a solution? YES, there is; knowledge, understanding and the courage to face our past and vow to resolve it without violence or prejudice. Afghans are in a unique position to help. This nation has a long standing reputation of humbling empires with their military prowess. After four decades of war and the loss of their sovereignty, it's now time for Afghans to lead the world with their intellectual prowess. It's time for Afghans to present a Declaration of Independence for the 21<sup>st</sup> century that will lay the foundation for a peaceful Afghanistan to emerge out of the final chaotic stage of empire.

## **CONFERENCE MISSION STATEMENT**

The opportunity to restore Afghanistan's sovereignty came within days following the December 27, 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan when Pushtun tribal leaders established a unified movement in Pakistan that was prepared to offer a credible non-Communist solution to the Kabul regime. Mohammed Omar Babrakzai, a leader of the Jadran tribe in Paktia District was the organizer of a National Council to provide an authoritative Afghan response. Within six weeks they called for a Loya Jirga that would set up the structure necessary to form a government-in-exile. The delegates broadly represented all major Pushtun and non-Pushtun ethnic groups. Because it was so representative of a united Afghanistan, it became a threat to the Pakistan-based exile groups. It was undermined by Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate while the U.S. looked the other way.

The next opportunity followed the 1988 Soviet withdrawal at which time the British and American governments supported the continued dissolution of Afghan sovereignty by not supporting a transition coalition government that would have included the return of King Zahir Shah. Following this the U.S., Britain and Pakistan supported an emerging new group called the Taliban whose goal of creating an Islamic Emirate was formulated by enemies of the Afghan nation.

In December of 2001 the world community was faced at the U.S.-led [Bonn Conference](#) in Germany with another opportunity to restore the nation of Afghanistan to health after nearly 30 years of war. At that time a majority of Afghans believed the only viable option for a transition to democracy rested on the return of King Zahir Shah and the formation of a government of national unity. That opportunity was squandered by the United States in a series of top-down policy decisions that placed Afghanistan into the hands of despised warlords, rapacious economic opportunists and incompetent foreign bureaucrats.

This unfortunate history has presented Afghanistan and the world with multiple ongoing catastrophes. But what makes this saga even more tragic is the West's inability to see Afghanistan in its historical role; as the fulcrum upon which the balance of super powers' values (and spiritual souls) hinge. Instead of being another in a long line of imperial conquests, Afghanistan should be regarded as the spiritual and moral gauge by which those imperial values will be tested. By re-emerging, throughout history, as the land that attracts the super powers of the era, it is a vortex—with its own pull—that also draws these forces in so that their moral and spiritual compasses will be tested and have the opportunity to be corrected.

THE PURPOSE of the Altai Conference on Afghanistan's Future is fivefold. The first objective is for Afghans to establish alternatives to the current policies that have failed them and find remedies that will restore

Afghanistan's sovereignty and political health following nearly forty years of war. The Afghan identity that saw an extended period of peace and internal security as a neutral buffer state from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-1970s has been shattered into factional rivalries supported and nurtured by outside forces. The objective is to restore some sense of what it means to be an Afghan and what needs to be done to renew that identity for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The second purpose is to provide the Russian Federation with the opportunity to reconcile the Soviet Union's role in Afghanistan and make it right. The announcement alone of a formal Russian/Afghan reconciliation will enhance the process of restoring goodwill and regional peace by opening up new channels of communication to help form the foundation of regional cooperation for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Misunderstandings based on Cold War disinformation continue to plague the Russian relationship to Afghanistan, but recent overtures to Moscow by high-level Afghan officials indicate the ground is ready for change. The conference will provide an opportunity to explore new and better thinking about shared values and shared responsibilities to the future of the region and for old myths and stereotypes to be discarded.

The third objective applies to the United States and its role in the forty-year Afghan crisis. The war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan initiated during the Carter administration broke the tribal authority that had withstood foreign invasions since the days of Alexander the Great. The United States has never formally acknowledged its role in the disillusion of Afghan sovereignty or the damage to Afghan civil society caused by its covert war against the Soviet Union. Instead, American policy makers have used Afghanistan as the ideological justification for a policy of supporting Islamic radicalism that continues to fail its stated goals. The covert war waged in Afghanistan triggered a fundamental contradiction in American thinking that now threatens the very system it was intended to serve.

The fourth objective is to bring together U.S. and Soviet Veterans of the Afghan War. When deployed to Afghanistan, Soviet and American soldiers carried out policies defined by their governments as necessary and just but their experiences on the ground with Afghans made many question the validity of those policies. Over time, their questioning led to a transformation. Soldiers once committed to war had become advocates of non-violence as a way to heal the psychic and spiritual wounds they suffered while deployed in Afghanistan. This reconciliation is as important to the veterans who fought on behalf of the United States and the Soviet Union as it is for the Afghan people. The Altai conference will provide the opportunity for these veterans to come face to face with their former enemies, find common ground and move beyond violence.

The fifth objective will be for Afghans to present their Declaration of Independence for the 21<sup>st</sup> century that will become the keystone of returning sovereignty to the Afghan people. The Altai Conference will open the way for constructive dialogue on what can be done to end the U.S. occupation and finally neutralize American-allied Pakistan's support for terrorism. Afghanistan and America's souls must be healed and the path to healing runs through Altai.

Altai harmonizes with Afghanistan's indigenous past and what desperately needs to be done to restore a sacred human balance. The future importance of this region to East/West cooperation and restoration of the earth was prophesied by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian Mystic Nikolai Fyodorovich Fyodorov who believed it to have been the original Eden of biblical lore and central to the spiritual and physical evolution of the human race. This conference can be the first step in realizing that evolution on a practical geopolitical level and requires support from American, Russian and Afghan sources to accomplish it.

**PART 1: Why Afghanistan's deepest truths from her ancient past are unknown in the West. Why the resurrection of Afghanistan will be central to the revival of not just Afghanistan but the world. What the West must learn, for its own revival, about Peaceful Coexistence and Natural Law<sup>2</sup> from this Indigenous process.**

**AFGHANISTAN: A FORGOTTEN ERA OF PROGRESS**

Constrained and embittered by British colonial policy, Afghanistan's Amir Abdur Rahman began his rule in 1880 determined to establish a modern nation-state. By the end of his 21-year rule, he had created a national army and a government bureaucracy that paved the way for a small but well-educated middle-class. The accession to the throne in 1919 of Abdur Rahman's grandson, Amanullah Kahn, brought on a period of rapid modernization and democratic change that makes today's Afghan government seems pitiable by comparison.

Declaring Afghanistan's sovereignty from Britain, Amanullah's first Constitution in 1923 guaranteed universal suffrage, civil rights to all of Afghanistan's minorities, established a legislative assembly, courts; and penal, civil and commercial codes. He prohibited revenge killings and abolished subsidies for tribal chieftains as well as the royal family. His support for women's equality and the rapid modernization of Afghan society was an open and consistent theme.

Amanullah's embrace of equality and democracy is often viewed as the cause of his political downfall in 1929. Yet Amanullah's political undoing stemmed mostly from his inability to buttress his social reforms with solid economic measures, not from any underlying rejection of his educational and political programs.

1929 was also the year that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a peer of India's Mohandas Gandhi, inaugurated Afghanistan's critically important indigenous non-violent movement, the Khudai Khidmatgar. Following Britain's occupation of Afghan tribal lands east of the Hindu Kush Mountains in 1848, moderate Pashtun institutions were replaced with a severe and undemocratic penal code known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation. Khan's organization pledged to reform Pashtun society with a nonviolent movement aimed at resisting British rule. Although organized like an army, his recruits totally embraced an oath to renounce violence and never touch any weapons. Membership initially was estimated at about one thousand soldiers. Eventually Khan's army exceeded 100,000 that included both women and men.

At the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1948 (out of these Afghan tribal lands) Khan's movement was made illegal. But its power lived on and continued to inspire new generations of Afghans to embrace nonviolence. The unique concept of nonviolence that Khan had created was defined by Gandhi himself when he answered Khan's question during an exchange on one of his visits: *"You have been preaching non-violence in India for a long time now, but I started teaching the Pathans (variant spelling of Pashtun) non-violence only a short time ago, yet in comparison the Pathans seemed to have grasped the idea of non-violence much quicker and much better than the Indians. How do you explain that?"* Gandhi replied, *"Non-violence is not for cowards. It is for the brave and for the courageous and the Pathans are brave and courageous. That is the reason why the Pathans were able to remain non-violent."*

---

<sup>2</sup> The doctrine that human affairs should be governed by ethical principles that are part of the very nature of things and that can be understood by reason.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement is a part of Afghanistan's lost history that challenges the idea expressed by many orientalists, that the Pashtun people were inherently violent and that this movement was just an aberration. Instead, this wrongheaded idea is based on a profound misinterpretation of Afghan history, especially in comprehending the true meaning of the Afghan tribal code of Pashtunwali.

Another important year in Afghan history was 1933 when the nineteen year old Mohammad Zahir Shah was enthroned as the King of Afghanistan. In 1973 King Zahir Shah was toppled in a bloodless coup, abruptly ending 40 years of slow but steady progress and stability and marking the beginning of the end of Afghanistan's relatively secular tribal structure. That type of society seems like ancient folklore in light of today's conditions. After the last 35 years of unremitting conflict Afghanistan is now one of the most violent, corrupt and poverty-stricken places on earth.

It is important to understand that despite its poverty during the era of King Zahir Shah, Afghanistan had been independent in its foreign policy and self-sufficient in many areas, including food production; a vivid illustration of what life was like when Afghans were in control of their own state.

In addition, Afghans share a deep and complex system governed by an unwritten code of ethics called Pashtunwali: A code immersed in a collective honor system—honoring both an adherence to the etiquette of the code and a guarantee of the rights of the individual.

The active, viable political coalitions in the country are traditionally built upon grounds of fellowship, friendship and trust that govern their behavior - including those figures in government or other informal positions of power.

Afghans have embraced this ancient traditional, spiritual, and communal identity tied to a set of moral codes for thousands of years. These tenets promote self-respect, independence, justice, hospitality, love, forgiveness, and tolerance toward all (especially to strangers or guests).

Pashtunwali also overrides modern legal norms, making a western-style justice system ineffective. In general, Afghans are intensely focused on their code, specifically their adherence to the value of "honor" which has been described as the "ethnic center of gravity." The Pashtunwali norms override religious norms, making appeal to Islamic identity less resonant to Pashtuns.

Afghan expert Selig Harrison used Pashtunwali to explain the complex relationship between Islam and the Afghans. "On the one hand, it [Pashtunwali] explains the inevitable and ritualistic religiosity of a Pashtun and on the other it explains the futility of efforts to inject religious fundamentalism in Pashtun social and political culture as it stands in contradiction to Pashtunwali. In fact the Islamic identity of the Pashtun is only a thousand years old whereas Pashtunwali is reportedly five thousand years old."

By the time the Soviet Union was lured into defending its regional interests against the United States on the Cold War chessboard in 1979, Afghanistan had fallen victim to an emerging confluence of outside forces at odds with Afghanistan's traditions and nationalism. Afghanistan was a classic lesson in how the global elite then and now are willing to destroy and undermine the self-determination of an indigenous society in order to satisfy geopolitical and economic interests.

The before and after snapshots of Afghanistan, an Afghanistan that was once free from external interventions and today's occupied Afghanistan, are nearly unrecognizable. A country, that less than two generations ago was transforming itself into an enlightened, modern and democratic society has been thrown back centuries.

Eyewitness accounts from the 1960s and 1970s document the rapid changes embraced by Afghan men and women across a broad spectrum of society. By contrast, today's Afghanistan is the poster child for neocolonialism, manipulated by foreign powers that have marginalized, weakened and corrupted centuries-old indigenous institutions and value systems.

Despite a decade and a half of direct Western involvement, Afghanistan is today a shell of the nation it once was, economically, politically and culturally. The first challenge before the international community remains to help the Afghans regain what has been lost while having the faith and moral courage to allow the Afghans to once again control their own destiny.

### ETHNIC STRUCTURE AND THE DYNASTIC PRINCIPLE

Replicating the exact form of government, laws, customs and rituals of Afghanistan's past is not necessary to restore the country's society to health. Yet there are certain tribal tools and traditions that might be put to use. It has become clear that the society-in-a-box formula imposed upon the Afghan people by Westerners is anathema to the core fabric of their historical development.

The last time the Afghan nation saw anything that resembled stability was when its tribal structure was intact and a national unifying monarch sat on the throne. Throughout this era, the state operated on lessons learned over centuries of balancing its interests against the interests of an insular tribal society. This is not to say that this type of government could or should be returned, but only to demonstrate that the only solution that can work is one derived from the Afghans themselves.

Although weakened by war and migrations, tribal principles and national identity are still central to Afghan life, as the tribe continues to be the most integral political, economic, military and cultural unit for many in Afghan society.

### THE CRISIS OF TODAY'S AFGHANISTAN

Today, the United States and Russia again stand at a perilous crossroads as America declares Russia to be "the biggest threat" to U.S. national security. Over 35 years ago the Carter administration made strikingly similar accusations over Soviet "aggression" in Afghanistan.

History has since revealed it was the U.S. itself that had been the aggressor in Afghanistan by funding and training terrorists to sow instability inside the Soviet Union, but the war that followed never ended. Lost in today's chaos are the voices of Afghanistan's indigenous peoples whose sacred tribal lands have become the object of exploitation and desecration at the hands of powerful and self-destructive global forces.

The Afghanistan war that began 35 years ago now threatens the security of the world from the Middle East to the streets of Paris and New York City but yet the place where the war began remains a battleground.



The Afghan people still suffer the after-effects of the Cold War, caught in a violent nexus between the Taliban's Islamic extremism, the emerging threat from ISIS, Western neocolonialism and a predatory Afghan government.

Afghanistan must be transformed to have any chance of building a sustainable future and stabilizing Central Asia, but such a transformation can never be realized within the framework of today's Western-engineered and maintained Afghan society. Western policymakers either do not understand or refuse to accept this reality, because even the most well-intentioned proposals are based on the same failed policies that have been the bane of Afghan society since King Zahir Shah was exiled in 1973.

As events develop, it is becoming clearer that the Obama administration's lack of a viable exit strategy may actually derive from a lack of a real desire to exit. Washington's Cold War 2.0 requires a U.S. military presence on Russia's periphery to sustain its program for global dominion. But the U.S. is no closer to achieving its strategic objectives than it was ten years ago while its choices will only leave Afghanistan in deeply-fractured disarray.

The failure of the American war strategy can largely be attributed to the application of a philosophy at odds with Afghan culture combined with a complete lack of input from native Afghans during the policy development process. The United States should have been the natural ally of the Afghan people. Instead, the American occupation has imprisoned loyal Afghans in their own country, abused their rights as sovereign citizens and provided incentives to support Afghanistan's enemy, the Taliban. Instead of resolving an ongoing narcotics problem the American presence has transformed Afghanistan into the heroin capital of the world.

Thirty-five years of war have led to the annihilation of the country's traditional tribal structure, transforming it into one of the most corrupt, violent and poverty-stricken places on earth. This has resulted in plans and programs that are formulas for state collapse - including the continuance of a failed counterinsurgency strategy, the C.I.A. drone war and a power-sharing arrangement that divvies up the country amongst corrupt Afghan government officials, violent Islamic extremists, Mujahedeen warlords and various other malignant actors. In addition, there are others in favor of a de facto partition of Afghanistan which would condemn the region to an endless ethnic conflict.

The U.S. does not need Afghanistan divided or even occupied militarily in order to achieve peace. For over a century Afghanistan maintained itself as a buffer state between the Russian and British empires and could do so again with the support and guarantees of the United States and its neighboring countries, Russia and China.

What is needed for the Afghan people is a grassroots, bottom-up solution for Afghans and by Afghans. The roadmap might seem paradoxical, but once the essence of the problem is understood, it will be much easier to grasp what the Afghans really need in order to restore the sovereignty of their homeland.

The aim of this proposal is to finally give Washington its exit strategy and give the Afghans back their country. But whether Washington can accept a solution emanating from within Afghanistan's own tribal structure remains a much larger issue that must be confronted. Standing in the way is the Western way of thinking about tribal societies themselves, a subject which the Canadian philosopher Marshall McLuhan eloquently summarized in a 1969 interview:

“The cultural aggression of white America against Negroes and Indians [Native Americans] is not based on skin color and belief in racial superiority, whatever ideological clothing may be used to rationalize it, but on the white man’s inchoate awareness that the Negro and Indian [Native American] — as men with deep roots in the resonating echo chamber of the discontinuous, interrelated tribal world — are actually psychically and socially superior to the fragmented, alienated and dissociated man of Western civilization. Such a recognition, which stabs at the heart of the white man’s entire social value system, inevitably generates violence and genocide. It has been the sad fate of the Negro and the Indian [Native Americans] to be tribal men in a fragmented culture — men born ahead of rather than behind their time.”

## **PART 2: Why it is critical for the West to be Re-humanized.**

### **FUTURE STATE: TRIBALISM, IMPERIAL DECLINE AND THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC**

Many modern nations coexist with indigenous tribal populations living within their boundaries but most share a long history of failed tribal/state relations because they simply ignore the importance of tribal tradition. In the U.S., the Native American tribal problem has become systemic. Now the failure of that system, as evidenced in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle East demonstrates that the American way of doing things is unable to achieve success by any measure.

American-trained managers routinely eschew responsibility for such fundamental failures, but the time has come when the U.S. can no longer rely on its principal tools and methods or even its overwhelming military power to achieve even minimal successes.

The situation in Afghanistan is a microcosm of a much larger issue facing Western neocolonial powers and the global elite’s concept of their own well-being. From the Middle East to the streets of the U.S., the West’s cultural foundation is showing cracks. Financial turmoil, fatal to the West’s hegemony has begun to erode its economic preeminence and there is no country in a more precarious position than the United States.

Washington stands powerless as it witnesses revolts, riots and uprisings against American-backed dictatorships and puppet monarchies in such countries as Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Jordan and Algeria, among others.

In Afghanistan the U.S. didn’t even follow its own rules of engagement by first failing to adequately assist the fledgling Afghan government in regaining control of the countryside and then significantly undercutting the military strength necessary to do basic ground-up nation-building.

Today’s American empire was established in the post-WWII era with the U.S. acting as “receiver” for British mercantile interests. Along with its corporate elites and imperial mandate, the U.S. inherited a 19th century European worldview referred to as the Hegelian Dialectic, which is based on the belief that “conflict creates history.”

The dialectic derived from German philosopher Georg Hegel’s critique of natural law, written in 1825, in which he posited a theory of social and historical evolution. Hegel’s new manner of thinking with its Thesis – Antithesis – Synthesis revolutionized thought and served as a tool for a new breed of social engineer eager to

overthrow the old world order. Hegel's dialectics acted as the foundation for the communist economic theories of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In essence, Hegel disputed the theory of universal natural rights espoused by other philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, thereby laying the foundations for totalitarianism.

According to Hegel, human society could only achieve its highest state and mankind its highest spiritual consciousness through endless self-perpetuating ideological struggles and conflicts between bipolar extremes. This conflict of opposites when applied to the social, political and the economic would ultimately result in the synthesizing of opposites which would inevitably lead mankind to final perfection.

Evidence of the "invisible dialectic" controlling the daily narrative can be found everywhere: Environmentalists against private property owners, democrats against republicans, communists against capitalists, pro-choice versus pro-life, Christians against Muslims. No matter what the issue, the invisible dialectic controls both the conflict and the resolution yet it now seems that Hegel's progress toward perfection has led only to new and more deadly cycles of conflict.

The Hegelian dialectic works as a powerful tool for legitimizing whatever dialogue advances the global elite's interest and looking back over the past 100 years, it is almost impossible not to see how its deliberate use has delivered a corrupted synthesis of state power.

At a micro-level, this phenomenon can be observed in the modern history of Afghanistan. Thirty five years ago the Judeo-Christian West employed violent Islamic radicals and referred to them as "freedom fighters" to break down an emerging progressive social order in Afghanistan. It then turned around and fought the same violent jihadist terrorists to justify breaking down the West's existing democratic order in the "war on terror."

#### THWARTING A LOSING TRAJECTORY

Today's Hegelians claim for their objective a more egalitarian society, yet in practice they merely manipulate and subvert the existing order with the ultimate goal of a utopian world government i.e. "New World Order" which they themselves will rule. The system of designed social conflict to break down individual rights was spelled out by Hegel himself when he said:

"...the State 'has the supreme right against the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State... for the right of the world spirit is above all special privileges."

By this definition, state power requires the rule of law, minimal corruption, judicial independence and state monopoly over the means of coercion as well as a political culture of some trust and compromise rather than distrust and conflict. But when the state's monopoly on coercion ultimately leads to distrust and conflict, then Hegel's method has reached a contradiction which it cannot escape. When democracies cling to legitimacy based solely on the use of coercion on its own citizens, they are no longer democracies but a fascist/totalitarian state.

Economist and historian Antony Sutton belittled the Hegelian method by writing that at its best, "the Hegelian doctrine simply replaces the divine right of kings with the divine right of states." So, based on America's

failures in Afghanistan and Iraq, the tumult in the Greater Middle East and now in Eastern Europe, has the Hegelian dialectic run its course?

The American empire is at a turning point politically, economically and socially. The Hegelian dialectic of endless conflict and competition has proved ruinous to the health of Western civilization. Will its course lead to a synthesis of its best elements or into a further disintegration of what has traditionally been known of as society?

The only way to defeat the downward progression of Hegel's hypothesis is to step outside the dialectic and free ourselves from the limitations of controlled and guided thought. By moving away from a reliance on the monopoly of coercion and reaffirming our belief in the natural rights of all humans, we will return the foundations of legitimacy to the American government.

Sutton frames the Hegelian dialectic as against the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States by stating how "We the people" grant the state some powers and reserve all others to the people and not self-appointed elite running the State.

If Americans truly believe the rights of the state are always subordinate and subject to the will of the people and consent of the governed, and truly believe that all people are endowed with inalienable rights and are created equal, then the time has come to reevaluate the dialectic and return to our time-worn natural rights. The West can be restored, but only if Westerners rediscover their individual human right to those principles and traditions they claim to uphold.

It is time for Western leaders to understand that the dialectic, which demands perpetual conflict, is a losing cause that has become self-defeating wherever applied. This is a key point to the purpose of the entire conference which is to break free of the dialectic's narrative of defeating the "other" and opening up to a larger and more complex narrative in which Afghanistan functions as the spiritual and moral gauge in which one's own values will be tested.

As difficult as it may be for Westerners to grasp, not only does Afghanistan's future lie in reconnecting with its ancient tribal past, but the West's future lies in a similar process of re-humanization so it can address its own identity crisis. To quote from McLuhan again: "... we're standing on the threshold of a liberating and exhilarating world in which the human tribe can become truly one family and man's consciousness can be freed from the shackles of mechanical culture and enabled to roam the cosmos. I have a deep and abiding belief in man's potential to grow and learn, to plumb the depths of his own being and to learn the secret songs that orchestrate the universe. We live in a transitional era of profound pain and tragic identity quest, but the agony of our age is the labor pain of rebirth."

It is critical to establish a new narrative for the Afghan people. Doing so will promote the rights of all indigenous people around the world as a new standard for the West. The time has come to turn to the wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi for guidance: *"I am prepared to die, but there is no cause for which I am prepared to kill. I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will."*

This new principle for state legitimacy that does not require a monopoly on coercion can be accomplished by enforcing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which was adopted by the UN in 2007. The UN describes it as setting "an important standard for the treatment of indigenous peoples that will undoubtedly be a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against the planet's 370 million indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalization."

### **PART 3: Why a dramatic departure from the existing narrative is needed to reorient Afghan thinking and challenge the West. Why this process will be hosted by the indigenous people of the Altai Republic in the Russian Federation.**

Reshaping this decades-long mindset will require more than just "thinking outside the box" – it may demand throwing the entire box away. Afghanistan is desperately in need of an indigenous peace process. Afghans must be allowed to rediscover their tribal identity and establish sovereignty based upon a communal will. This can only be done by empowering indigenous Afghan leaders to oppose today's strongmen who derive power from the barrel of a gun.

Accordingly, we recommend a radical starting point: Afghans should hold a retreat to determine their future at the Uch Enmek Ethno-Nature Park in the Golden Mountains of Altai Russia. Many will wonder what Mount Uch Enmek and the surrounding Karakol Valley have to do with restoring Afghanistan's primal narrative. How is it relevant to reconstituting Afghanistan's tribal value system? How will it help the Afghans achieve long-term peace? Perhaps, in part by closing old wounds; and in part by giving a new perspective on their own ancient tribal values.

The sacred Karakol Valley, a UNESCO-designated World Heritage site, lies at the geographic center of the Altai Republic in the Russian Federation. It is part of the 60,000-hectare Uch-Enmek Nature Park, full of endemic biological and cultural diversity. The park occupies a special status in Russian conservation law; it is one of the rare instances in which indigenous people have a degree of autonomy in the management of their lands. As far back as any political anthropologist can trace, Altai's indigenous populations have exhibited a strong degree of tribal *communitas* and a sense of egalitarian sharing that stands in direct counterpoint to today's dog-eat-dog world ruled by Hegelians. Even, the more modern migrations of Russians and Slavs seem to have followed in the footsteps of the earliest inhabitants, which philosopher/author Sandy Krolick suggests may be the genesis of the concept of the Russian soul — whose forbearance and gentleness have retained much the same emphasis on homeland, family, and kinship as seen among the Ancient Altaians.

Altai has long possessed an aura of sacrality and religious significance. During his trek through Central Asia in the 1920s, Russian philosopher and painter Nicholas Roerich visited the region in search of the entrance to *Shambala*, the mythical province of enlightenment and peace.

In 1933, a popular British author named James Hilton wrote about such a magical place in a hidden valley beyond the Himalayas. His bestselling novel, *Lost Horizon*, immortalized a beautiful Utopia of mystical sages in Middle Asia referred to as Shangri-La.

Nicholas Roerich won over the American Henry Wallace, Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and 33<sup>rd</sup> Vice President of the United States to his Great Shambala Project. "The Plan" as it was codenamed envisioned the creation of a settlement in the region under the spiritual leadership of the Panchen Lama where like Shambala, Westerners could learn from enlightened teachers who possessed mystical and psychic powers and the secrets of longevity.

Stories had filtered back about Shambala for a century based on the memoirs of a French Catholic missionary named Abbé Huc who traveled through the region in the nineteenth century. According to Huc, Shambala lay somewhere between Tien Shan and the Altai Mountains.

But Huc was not the first to obtain information about the secret, mystical kingdom. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Catholic missionaries from Europe had returned from the region filled with wondrous stories about this natural paradise, an "Oasis of Peace" where all the inhabitants were full of wisdom and justice reigned. It was a place where the spirits had brought down a favorable blessing upon the land and its people.

The concept of such a place; a meeting place between heaven and earth, is as old as the West itself. In the seventh century B.C. the Greeks were mesmerized by legends about a source of great wisdom in the arctic land "at-the-back-of-the-north-wind". Centuries later, the Greek sage Apollonius of Tyana journeyed beyond the Himalayas in quest of what was then called the Abode of the Gods.

But perhaps even more propitious for the Afghans and their hopes to restore their country as an oasis of peace is the prophecy of the influential nineteenth-century Russian Orthodox philosopher, Nikolai Fyodorovich Fyodorov who believed the region to have been the original Eden of biblical lore, and to be central to the spiritual and physical evolution of the human race. Living during the height of the Great Game between czarist Russia and imperial Britain, he saw in the great-power competition for the region, the seeds of a new kind of cooperation and proposed a joint Anglo-Russian archaeological expedition "as a first step toward restoring the wasteland to a garden."

As Americans concerned with the future of Afghanistan and all the indigenous peoples of the world, we like the idea of changing the term Anglo-Russian to American-Russian in the hopes of fulfilling the Fyodorov prophecy of restoring the wasteland to a garden.

By looking to the past, and what still seems to work for the indigenous peoples of the region, a set of sacred values might be resurrected that will establish a philosophy of governance truly reflective of the will of the Afghan people and its tribal heritage. This process will not only reverberate throughout the region but will serve as an example to a Western culture that is much in need of a restoration and re-humanization itself.

## **PART 4: Five Day Master Plan Outline with Discussion Topics and Speakers**

The conference will be filmed as it unfolds over 5 days starting May 25<sup>th</sup> through May 29<sup>th</sup>. In addition to Afghans, the conference will be composed of invited dignitaries, indigenous participants, scholars and journalists from an array of media platforms including the main stream. The conference will have translators to be available in multiple languages. The guest list is estimated to be 125.

### **DAY 1: Arrival**

All guests will be invited to a banquet in the evening to inaugurate the conference. President Putin and President Obama will be invited to attend.

### **DAY 2, 3, and 4: Discussion Topics and Speakers**

A series of discussion sessions with speakers will layout the foundations for redressing and correcting errors in Western/U.S. thinking regarding what Afghanistan was historically and how it really lost its sovereignty through Cold War politics. This will allow the West to understand the role it has played in creating the crisis that led to the death of Afghanistan. That will help the West to provide far more appropriate support to Afghans who will identify what they need to create a way forward that will lead to a genuine new form of self-rule.

### **Part One Discussions: Setting the Historical Record Straight - From Ancient to 21<sup>st</sup> Century Afghan History and a Path Forward Towards Sovereignty**

#### **-Ancient and Modern Similarities of Afghan and Irish Tribal Law (Speaker to be named)**

The Catholic people of Ireland were first to be colonized by the Protestant English in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was in the early 19<sup>th</sup> cc that the British Empire began to have an impact on Muslim Afghanistan which continued until the departure of the British in 1947. Parallels have been drawn by numerous experts to the complexities of Afghanistan and Pakistan's sectarian/tribal dynamic with Ireland's ongoing conflict but the connections go much deeper and are more profound. England's Queen Elizabeth continues to hold the Afghan, Persian and Indian symbol of royal authority, the Koh e Noor as the single largest jewel in her crown, seized during the invasion of Afghanistan by East India Company's troops. Pakistan's tribal areas continue to remain chaotic and divided, ruled by an archaic set of laws known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation which were derived from the medieval Statutes of Kilkenny.

Aside from sharing a long colonial heritage with Britain, Ireland and Afghanistan share an ancient legacy of tribal law and secular codes of moral conduct that long precede the Christian and Islamic eras. Ireland's pre-Christian tribal code Brehon Laws provided a sophisticated set of rules for every aspect of Irish society. Prior to hostile European invasions, the Afghan tribal code known historically as Pashtunwali, was a guide for a peaceful and hospitable Afghanistan that was known to accommodate Jews and Christians, considering them both to be religions of "the book."

"The Brehon Law Society came into existence in 1978. The organization takes its name from the body of ancient Celtic law that defined and governed legal relationships on the island of Ireland. From the earliest times, Brehon Law was distinguished by its egalitarianism and by its respect for fundamental rights and liberties. Inspired by the strongly humanitarian tradition embodied in the Brehon law, the members of the Brehon Law Society strive to use their talents to protect, to defend, and to extend human rights, principally - but not exclusively – in Northern Ireland." READ MORE... at: <http://brehon-law-society.com/about/>

(Suggested Speakers: Professor Fergus Kelly, one of the foremost experts on the Irish –Celtic Brehon Law and is a Senior Professor in the School of Celtic Studies, at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.)

Shahmahmood Miakhel is the Country Director in Afghanistan for the US Institute of Peace (USIP). Prior to that, he was a Governance Advisor for the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, from 2003–2005, a Deputy Minister of the Interior in the Government of Afghanistan.

### **-The Return of Afghanistan's Missing Ancient Cultural History: a discussion led by Hamid Naweed**

This discussion will shed light on the ancient cultural history of Afghanistan, which has been either ignored or misrepresented by Western scholars of the 19th century and early 20th century. In its long-standing history throughout the pre-Islamic to the Islamic Era, Afghanistan has had different names; Ariana, Khurasan and Afghanistan. Many countries, such as Italy, Poland, Turkey and Persia had different names in the course of their history. However, in the case of Afghanistan, western scholars arbitrarily assumed Afghan history began when Ahmadshah Durrani was inaugurated as king of Afghanistan in 1748 while giving the credit of Afghanistan's history from the second millennium BCE to the 18th century to Persia, India and more recently, to Pakistan.

The facts will show clearly that Afghan schools of arts and literature flourished from the second millennium BCE to the reign of the Great Koshanian Empire (2nd - 5th century AD,) Ephthalites, (6th century AD) and the Kabul Shahan erudite kingdom 7th century AD until the emergence of Islam. This period of history belongs to the ancient civilization of Afghanistan when it was known as Ariana, according to many credible scholars, such as Strabo and sources, such as the ancient texts of the Avesta.

Then the discussion will focus on the great cultural achievements of the Afghan people while their country was called Khurasan in the Islamic period. During this era Afghanistan was the birth place of important scholars such as Avicenna, Al Bironi, Sanaie, Mowlana Jalaluddin Balkhi (Rumi), Jami, Behzad the great artist of the Islamic era, Nawaie, Pir- Roshan. Many styles of art and architecture have emerged from Balkh, Ghazni, Bamiyan, Kandahar and Herat, when Afghanistan was the center of independent kingdoms, such as the Samanid, Ghaznawid, Ghorid, Hotaki and Durrani empires. Finally the focus will be on what has happened to Afghan culture from the mid-19th century until now, when the western colonial powers entered the region.

### **-16<sup>th</sup> century Sufi poet Bayezid Ansari's Roshaniya movements led to the first political formulation of the concept of Afghan nationality, including equality between men and women: A discussion of the history of progressive change in Afghanistan will be delivered by Dr. Zaman Stanizai**

We are regularly bombarded with political analysis that reflects certain underlying assumptions about Afghanistan. These assumptions range from claims that Afghanistan was always a backward state ruled by warlords, to assertions that the country was never really a nation at all. Those who knew Afghanistan prior to America's current military engagement understand that these assumptions are wrong, yet they form the basis of a mythology that underlies the shape of American policy that continues to plague Afghanistan to this day.

Afghanistan's fierce wars against colonial occupiers are well known, but the country's efforts to maintain its independence and to establish itself as a modern nation against the constraints and interests posed by these forces, are not.

According to Vartan Gregorian in his 1969 study, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, Afghan nationalist historians have faced resistance to their efforts at establishing the origins of an Afghan identity since the early 20th century. Gregorian's exhaustive study paints a vivid picture of a once vital country in the brutal throes of



modernization and change - from the genesis of the modern Afghan state in the 1880s under Abdur Rahman Khan (Amir of Afghanistan from 1880 to 1901) until the end of World War II.

But the internal movement for progressive change came to be dated well before the rise of Abdur Rahman - to the 16th century and the rise of the Roshaniya movement. Led by Sufi poet Bayezid Ansari and known as Pir (saint) Roshan, Ansari's movement is a major chapter in the region's ethnic Pashtun history as well as indicative of the broadly progressive nature of Afghan Islam. Ansari fought against both the oppression of the Moghuls and the feudal practices of his own Pashtun nobles. His goal was said to be the achievement of equality between men and women. According to Gregorian, Ansari's "aim, among other things was to establish a national religion; the movement encouraged the Afghans in the tribal belt to struggle against Moghul rule. The Roshaniya movement thus promoted the first political formulation of the concept of Afghan nationality."

Prior to the British military invasions of the mid-19th century, the Afghans were not hostile to the European powers. Gregorian writes of British explorer Charles Masson, who "was well treated by Muslim religious men and Afghan tribesmen." Of his stay in Kabul in 1832, he reported that a Christian was respectfully referred to as a "Kitabi" or "one of the Books." Renowned adventurer and East India Company political officer Alexander Burnes wrote home in May of 1832, "The people of this country are kind hearted and hospitable. They have no prejudice against a Christian and none against our nation."

Burnes argued correctly that the strong Afghan Amir, Dost Mohammed, "could keep the country together and resist Russian or Persian encroachment, but a country split into feudal principalities and tribes would invite Russian intrigue aimed at picking them off piecemeal with no great difficulty."

Yet, his argument and the goodwill of the Afghan people were lost when London acquiesced to the conquest of Afghanistan through what is known as the "Forward Policy," setting the stage for three Anglo-Afghan wars, an endless low-intensity conflict, and a century-and-a-half of political instability. The Anglo-Afghan wars also contributed to the consolidation of Afghan feudalism and tribalism.

Constrained and embittered by British colonial policy, Amir Abdur Rahman began his rule determined to establish a modern nation-state. By the end of his 21-year rule, he had created a national army which and a government bureaucracy that paved the way for a small but well-educated middle-class. The accession to the throne in 1919 of Abdur Rahman's grandson, Amanullah Kahn, brought on a period of rapid modernization and democratic change that makes today's Afghan government seems pitiable by comparison.

Declaring Afghanistan's independence from Britain, Amanullah's first Constitution in 1923 guaranteed universal suffrage, civil rights to all of Afghanistan's minorities, established a legislative assembly, courts, and penal, civil and commercial codes. He prohibited revenge killings and abolished subsidies for tribal chieftains as well as the royal family. His support for women's equality and the rapid modernization of Afghan society was an open and consistent theme.

Amanullah's embrace of modernism, equality and democracy is often viewed as the cause of his political downfall in 1929. Yet, as Gregorian and others have observed, Amanullah's political undoing stemmed mostly from his inability to buttress his social reforms with solid economic measures, not from any underlying rejection of his educational and political programs.

The same could be said of King Zahir Shah's "experiment in democracy" from 1963 to 1973, where failure stemmed not from the Afghan people's rejection of democracy, but from the King's flawed administration of power and the emerging storm of external Cold War political forces that already were tearing at the fabric of Afghanistan's fragile political structure.

The true causes of Afghanistan's slow progress towards democracy were clearly summarized by Gerald J. Schmitz, Principal Analyst, International Affairs, at the Parliamentary Information and Research Service in Ottawa, Canada in 2009:

"The historical record plainly shows that Afghan efforts to build a modern liberal democracy were resisted and later fatally undermined by great power and then Cold War political 'games', not that these efforts never took place or only did so in a intrinsically inhospitable societal environment. Of course they were championed by urban elites. But the key point is that for decades the principle external actors did more to hurt than to help secular democratic aspirations in Afghanistan. No wonder they never lasted. They were never given much of a chance."

The international community has one last chance in Afghanistan. It must open up to a better, more complete and honest set of assumptions about the secular democratic aspirations of Afghanistan's people in order to create a policy acceptable to the Afghan people. (Speaker to be named)

[-The Performativity of Nonviolent Protest in South Asia \(1918–1948\)](#) by Dr.Sruti Bala, pages 140-225 Un-armed soldiers in a nonviolent army: a discussion based on the Afghan Khudai Khidmatgar nonviolent movement of Badshah Khan (1929-1948) will be led by Dr. Zaman Stanizai.

*Afghan Proverb: Is not the Pashtun amenable to love and reason? He will go with you to hell if you can win his heart, but you cannot force him even to go to heaven.*

While Mahatma Gandhi was leading his nonviolent movement, Afghans had their own indigenous and broad based non-violent leader, Badshah Khan, a peer of Gandhi. Dr. Sruti Bala's research lays out how the British replaced Pashtun moderate institutions with their severe and undemocratic frontier crime code transplanted from Ireland. Her thesis also refutes the notion of the Pashtun people as inherently violent; based on consistent misinterpretations of the meaning to the Afghan tribal code of Pashtunwali by orientalist. Dr. Bala "argues that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement offered an example of radical nonviolent action, drawing from Islamic principles, and dialectically engaging with transnational debates."

This exchange between Badshah Khan and Mahatma Gandhi as mentioned in the film, [\*Citizen of the World - Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan\*](#), will be the basis of the discussion. Khan asked Gandhi, "you have been preaching non-violence in India for a long time now, but I started teaching the Pathans non-violence only a short time ago, yet in comparison the Pathans seemed to have grasped the idea of non-violence much quicker and much better than the Indians. How do you explain that?" Gandhi replied, "Non-violence is not for cowards. It is for the brave and for the courageous and the Pathans are brave and courageous. That is the reason why the Pathans were able to remain non-violent."

## -The Afghan Youth Peace Movement, a key to a Sustainable Peace: a discussion led by Faiz Sidaq of the [Non-Violence World](#)

In war zones, who is responsible for working toward peace? Typically, it is the adults, perhaps diplomats or political leaders. The warring sides engage in the traditional model of “peace talks” to negotiate a truce or treaty. Sadly, this is often unsuccessful. Lack of acceptance, lack of understanding, stubbornness, and self-righteousness of old enemies often sabotage long-term peace.

Young people can play a critical role in peace building that can be far more effective than the traditional model. Young people typically are idealistic. If they have not yet become jaded, they tend to have a more positive attitude, welcoming possibilities that their adult counterparts never would have thought possible. They can bring freshness and creativity to situations that adults, who may be burned out or cynical, would never think of. Without the participation of youth, any decision or idea will surely fail. And yet, young people are not typically given a voice in directing the peace process in their countries, although they can have a keen interest in peace building if they are given the education and opportunity to do so.

Young people are the most vulnerable in society and the most frequent victims of war. So many young people have lost parents, siblings, relatives and friends. Their studies have frequently been interrupted. They have often been recruited into the war effort. Poverty, a common result of war, leads to hunger, illness, and demoralization. A significant percentage of refugees from conflict zones are young people. They experience difficulties adjusting to a different culture, learning the language, managing money and healing trauma. The youth therefore can have a strong motivation to work toward peace and rebuilding society.

### How to Involve the Youth in peace building

1. Afghanistan’s youth are the key to sustainable peace. In many countries, they constitute the majority of the population. In Afghanistan, for example, 60% of the population is under the age of twenty. If they have a voice and hope for a better future, most will remain within their communities and continue the positive changes they have started to work toward. They can be a formidable force in turning the tide from the decades of war that lie behind us to decades of peace that can lie ahead.
2. Building the consciousness for a peaceful Afghanistan must begin with the children. Many young people have been conditioned to believe that war is the only solution. The answer to this indoctrination is to stand against the culture of toy guns, weapons, and violent video games. Teaching peace and acceptance in schools and colleges, having essay contents that deal with peace-building topics, and utilizing other institutions like the media and social media will help lay the foundation.
3. Create connections between young people and educational, civic, social, and cultural institutions. Participation in all aspects of community life will lead to success and bring self-confidence and trust to the sustainability of peace work.
4. Emphasize tolerance and inclusivity. Children are not born prejudiced against other cultures, religions or ethnicities. These are learned attitudes. If they have been indoctrinated into prejudice, they can learn to adopt an attitude of acceptance much faster than adults. So teaching and promoting unity, tolerance, accountability, responsibility, and acceptance are essential in peace building.

5. Give young people a voice. Involve them and nurture their ability, talent, and leadership. Respect their opinions and ideas. Allow them to participate in peace-building efforts that traditionally have involved only adults.

### -A Real Solution to the Afghan Women's Issue: a discussion led by Fahima Vorgetts Gaheez

Afghanistan is the most dangerous country in the world to be a woman. Afghan women are a brutalized and tortured population. This might come as a surprise to many who have accepted the official propaganda of the Western world's leaders proclaiming that women in Afghanistan now enjoy so-called "freedom" and "liberty." The sad truth can only be known by those who travel throughout the country—especially into remote and rural areas—and talk to women who are "invisible" to the Western world. I have visited these areas and witnessed and heard their experiences firsthand.

After almost four decades of war, some of it intended to "liberate" Afghan women, Afghanistan remains one of the most dangerous places in the world. These decades of war have caused untold devastation and mental and emotional pain. This is especially true for women and children, who have suffered the most from the traumas of war; loss of loved ones, everyday violence, poverty, lack of education, and inadequate living conditions. Despite the presence of over forty countries, Afghanistan remains the largest source of refugees in the world. Most of the population, both men as well as women, live in abysmal mental and social situations.

Alleviating these situations will require broad-based and comprehensive negotiations, a deeper understanding of the roles of women and men, and the implementation of sustainable peace-building activities. It is imperative that there is recognition of the causes of prolonged war. That will require analyzing the causes and effects of war. That will help move people, especially women, to consider their participation in the peace process. Afghan women throughout history initiated and did the legwork for solving disputes within their own family and community, and in neighboring towns. If we want lasting peace, the mothers, wives, and daughters of Afghanistan should play important roles. They are the ones who will be raising the next generations. They are the ones who suffer the most from the wars. They are the ones who hold the families and tribes together.

Education is key to the creation of a more peaceful society. Educating men will help them to explore opportunities and learn new skills, thereby building their self-esteem and increasing their ability to support themselves and their families. Equally importantly, they will begin to value education and will be more supportive of providing it to their wives and daughters.

The impact of woman's education will be widespread and long-lasting, being felt for generations to come. It will play a role in ending poverty, eradicating diseases, reducing the mortality rate, eliminating violence, increasing household income, and building a more tolerant society, which will lead to a more peaceful society.

### A Call to Action

There are several critical steps necessary for leading to better conditions for women as well as peace in Afghanistan.

- ☐ Starting the disarmament of all warlords and local illegal militias who are very much an obstacle to peace.
- ☐ Creating a secular government and eliminating the power of religious groups.
- ☐ Ensuring a dialog between women representative from different institutions, organizations, groups, areas, and tribes and the warring factions in a very respectful atmosphere.
- ☐ Including women in peace talks.
- ☐ Educating, educating, educating everyone; men, women, and children!

- Supporting peace education in schools and the media for sustainable peace.
- Ensuring on-going peace education, particularly for religious and tribal leaders, to overcome prejudice and intolerance resulting from decades of conflicts.

To achieve these goals, we need peace. There is no peace without justice, and justice will only be served if the community as a whole believes and participates in it.

- An economic development plan to make Afghanistan a self-sufficient agricultural nation once again: a discussion led by Jawied Nawabi

Looking at some basic demographic facts of Afghanistan, we see that over 60% of the Afghan population is less than 30 years old. There is a 40% (probably closer to 50%) unemployment rate, about 80% of Afghans do not have basic clean water to drink, wash and cook, and 70-80% of Afghans reside in rural areas which makes them vulnerable to the motives of armed and unarmed oppositions supported by Afghanistan's neighbors and internal anti-US/NATO forces and anti-democratic circles. Furthermore, due to a lukewarm and uncoordinated agricultural policy for the past 13 years by the occupying forces, it is within these rural areas where poppy cultivation is in full force by farmers who feel they have no other alternative to support themselves and their families. Unfortunately also for Afghanistan's case, the primary place where insecurity (outside of Pakistan's role) is generated is in the rural areas, such as the southeast provinces, because the Taliban are able to recruit young unemployed men who feel that they do not have any stake in the foreign-supported Kabul administration. Poppy cultivation is obviously being supported and protected by the armed opposition as well as some other opportunists, to either justify financing their "jihad", or simply profiting from the situation.

Afghanistan should have been helped in the thirteen years of US/NATO occupation to become food self-sufficient. It is one of the puzzling legacies of Afghanistan's occupation where forty or so of the most developed countries of the world who occupied Afghanistan themselves have the highest academic knowledge, highest technological capability, and the historical experience on the role of agriculture towards the road to industrialization. In fact, they have used their knowledge and technology to develop themselves into industrial countries with high living standards that to this day subsidize their own farmers (agricultural is not more than 5% of their respective GDPs and about the same amount of labor force working in their agricultural sector) a total of about \$365 billion dollars in direct and indirect aid per year (this is 2008 figures that I remember from my research). The USA subsidizes its own agricultural sector directly about \$20 billion annually. Yet, in the thirteen years inside Afghanistan they have "somehow" benignly neglected Afghanistan's agricultural sector where close to 80% of its population resides! This is a large part for why there is probably a 50% unemployment level while Afghanistan has become the biggest opium producer (over 90% of the supply of world opium) in the world!

Now looking at the basic economic needs of the country from the very beginning (2001 invasion) the rural sector of the Afghanistan should have received massive infrastructural aid. The growth and development of the agricultural sector does not mean just growing more tomatoes and onions. Rather it will also require the building of the rural infrastructure, like roads, bridges, electrification, clean water, irrigation, health clinics, and local schools. For all this to happen the government will have to improve the land records of who owns how much land. Better land records will also improve the government's ability to know whom to tax and how much yield the different regions and areas of Afghanistan produce. Better land records are needed not only to create a secure environment for property ownership but it is also vital so that the government can help in steering the

market incentives of the kinds of agriculture products that Afghan farmers can best produce and link them to small rural manufacturing industries.

These developments will also create the favorable conditions for Afghanistan to build its light weight manufacturing sector like cotton production and textiles, jam manufacturing, cement production, electrical wiring and even eventually its own steel production (which is heavy manufacturing). Thus, developing the agricultural sector will have to be part of a broader package which will have to be prioritized by a systematic state interventionist approach (this is the opposite of the neoliberal approach) that invests in rural infrastructure development (irrigation, electricity, roads, health clinics, schools), provides services such as micro-credit at reasonable rates of interest, trains farmers in the newest production of sustainable farming production techniques, etc. There has to be supportive macroeconomic policies which are not adverse to the agriculture sector such as exchange rate overvaluation and trade policies that make agricultural imports so cheap that local growers cannot compete – then to encourage the poor to seek to earn a living in farming is to lure them into debt and penury.

This approach of not neglecting the agricultural sector but rather approaching the development of Afghanistan and simultaneously fighting the “War on Terror” is what I call agro-industrial oriented developmental plan over the Urban Bias plan that US and other Occupying powers have taken. The agro-industrial plan would employ Afghanistan’s young men and women who would find a stake in building a hopeful future for themselves and their families. This would take away the need for farmers growing Opium and the Taliban’s recruiting ability. This opportunity for livable paying jobs and being able to accumulate small family plots of land can create the conditions for upward social and economic mobility for many young Afghans and their families. The creation of a middle class for a stable political system is a lesson learned from the OECD countries is an observation that is missed in this “War on Terror”.

- Afghanistan has been looking to the West for help with its long standing and deteriorating crisis with no success. But as an official observer of the Shanghai Cooperation Agreement, Afghanistan has already taken a step towards its neighbors in the East. Is it time for Afghanistan to look to the East for more serious help with its current crisis? (Speaker to be named)

## **Part Two Discussions: A Path forward for the West towards Peaceful Co-existence**

- U.S. and Soviet Veterans of the Afghan Wars discuss their Common Ground: a discussion led by Matthew Hoh

All veterans share a common ground. Whether “winners” or “losers,” the experience of participating in the violence of war for whatever cause, separates the soldier from the civilian in ways that often defy rational explanation.

War’s deep mythological roots date to the origin of human consciousness. The futility and madness this human paradox induces is dramatized in the nearly century-old William Butler Yeats play *On Baile’s Strand* in which the mythological Irish King Conchubar tricks his fiercest warrior Cuchulain into killing his own son. The madness of Cuchulain’s despair drives the mighty hero into the sea where, seeing Conchubar’s crown on every wave-top, he takes up a battle against the onrushing tide until he is consumed by it.

Real war pushes every soldier off solid ground and into this mythic sea. In that roundtrip journey the veteran offers an insight and a perspective that can never be fully comprehended by the civilian standing on the shore.

The Afghan war experienced by Rory Fanning, an American veteran who was deployed in Afghanistan in 2002 and 2004, caused him to question the legitimacy of a US policy based almost exclusively on the use of military force. “I signed up after 9/11 to prevent another 9/11 from happening,” he said in an interview with Chris Hedges.<sup>3</sup> “But soon after arriving in Afghanistan I realized I was only creating the conditions for more terrorist attacks. It was a hard pill to swallow. We were essentially bullies.”

“We’d have a rocket land in our camp,” Fanning continued. “We wouldn’t necessarily know where it came from. It came from that general direction over there. We’d call in a 500-pound bomb. It would land on a village.”

Rory Fanning’s questioning led to his transformation. He joined Veterans for Peace and authored a book titled, [“Worth Fighting For: An Army Ranger’s Journey Out of the Military and Across America.”](#)

Matthew Hoh, the former Director of the Afghanistan Study Group, a network of foreign and public policy experts and professionals advocating for a change in US strategy in Afghanistan and a former State Department official, resigned from his post in protest of US policy in Afghanistan in September 2009. Hoh, who fought in the Iraq War with the US Marines, explains his motivation. “We have longed passed any reasonable boundary that could have been assigned to measure the good faith and the integrity of the international community in its role in Afghanistan. For this reason, as well as the dire and worsening situation that exists for the Afghan people, it is clearly apparent that a cessation of violence and a process leading to stability, reconciliation and peace in Afghanistan must come from the Afghan people themselves.”

In a 2014 interview with Stars and Stripes, Hidar Dyikanbaev, a veteran of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan who served in Kabul from 1981 to 1983, explained how he witnessed the US facing the same quagmire in Afghanistan that the Soviets had faced: “For those people who fight — it makes no difference whether you are Russian or Kyrgyz or American — it is important to have people who understand you by your side.”<sup>4</sup>

Having spent decades fighting their own war in the graveyard of empires both Soviet and American veterans understand the soldier’s dilemma better than anyone. The Altai conference provides the opportunity for both Soviet and American veterans to come face to face with their traditional enemy, find common ground and move beyond violence. This will become the only path for a soldier to follow to avoid the tragic fate of the warrior Cuchulain.

-A History of U.S. Policy towards Afghanistan: a discussion led by Paul Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Gould

It is an historical fact that the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was orchestrated by President Jimmy Carter’s National Security Advisor, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski to draw the Soviet’s into what Brzezinski

<sup>3</sup> [The Lie of Patriotism](#) by Chris Hedges, Truthdig.com April 3, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> [Veterans of an earlier Afghan War](#): 'You have a brotherhood', Josh Smith, Stars and Stripes February 11, 2014.

described as their own Vietnam syndrome. To this this day, the U.S. has never acknowledged the suffering, misery and destruction that foreign policy decision caused the Afghan people. Paul Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Gould's books, [\*Invisible History: Afghanistan's Untold Story\*](#) & [\*Crossing Zero The AfPak War at the Turning Point of American Empire\*](#) & [\*The Voice\*](#), will be the basis of this discussion.

-The Official Russian Position on the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan from 1979-1989.

Through this conference, Russia has the opportunity to redress the grievances, suffering and misery of the Afghan people caused by the Soviet Union's role in the super power confrontation with the U.S. during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan from 1979-1989. (Speaker to be named)

-Foreign interventions and their effect on indigenous tribal relations: the Hegelian Dialectic's control over Western thought leaves little room for a genuine new paradigm for human relations to emerge beyond the use of force: a discussion that will present ideas to address that fact. (Speaker to be named)

-The Official Russian position on the status of Indigenous people in the Russian Federation. (Speaker to be named)

-Russian Culture, Spirituality and Politics, [\*The American Spirit and the Russian Soul\*](#) by Dr. Sandy Krolick, [\*The Spiritual Roots of Russian-American Conflict\*](#) by Kerry R Bolton: a discussion led by Dr. Sandy Krolick

### **Part Three Discussions: A Path forward for Afghans towards Peaceful Co-existence**

-Afghans Reflect on their indigenous past with their Altaian hosts

There is a profound need for Afghans to recollect and activate their traditional culture in order to rework their values into 21st century mainstream and worldwide thinking. This group discussion will allow that process to begin. It will bring together Afghans, from youth and young adults to elders and Altaians from the local community, to discuss how their common ancient tribal patterns of local self-governance and egalitarian sharing produced a radically different view of the world from the West. The goal would be to begin to articulate a plan of action to help restore a true political and human balance for the all the Afghan people that will lead to a genuine form of self-rule.

-Afghans will rise together with their Altaian hosts to present their Declaration of Independence that will inaugurate a new Future for Afghanistan

The purpose of this final gathering for Afghans from youth and young adults to elders, with support from local Altaians, will be to take the final step to articulate a plan of action (21<sup>st</sup> century Declaration of Independence) to help restore a true political and human balance for the Afghan people that will lead to a genuine form of self-rule. It will be critical for the young Afghans-who will actually live in the future being created by these



discussions- be acknowledged as equals in the decision making process by the Afghan elders. This public acknowledgement will inaugurate a new era for Afghans that will begin the process of resurrecting Afghanistan today and the world tomorrow. Afghans will come as ordinary citizens without any affiliations or titles.

## --Performance of Songs of Peace from Afghanistan and the 1968 Tribal Rock Musical HAIR

1. Afghan poets, singers and musicians will be invited to perform their works that best represent the will of the Afghan people in their **long standing desire for** peace and sovereignty to return to their homeland.

## 2. Why HAIR still matters today, by Paul Fitzgerald, Claude in the 1970 Boston production of HAIR

As a freshman at Boston University in 1969, I realized that the school had me in the same old stifling mold of conservative-student-athlete that I'd known in high school and I needed something new. When I read that New York casting agents were auditioning for a Boston production of HAIR, I wandered down to the Wilbur theatre and signed up.

That same day, my faculty advisor strongly advised me against doing the audition. After asking, "How do you feel about the war in Vietnam?" he suggested I was cut out for far more serious things and probed whether I might not be interested in a career with some mysterious and unnamed government agency.

With the experience of my father's recent death fresh in my mind I needed a stable career but unlike my advisor, I considered HAIR to be a very serious choice and went ahead with the audition. By the middle of January I was on stage in the lead role of Claude and had met the woman who would become my wife. Coming as it did, HAIR was a lifesaver. It showed me at the age of 19 that positive change was possible and I still believe it is. Since performing the role of Claude in Boston in 1970, HAIR has been an inspiration in my work.

My wife Liz Gould and I knew we needed to develop a radical new approach to international problem-solving. That's why we decided to stage this peace conference for the tribal people of Afghanistan in the land once described as the gate to Shambala: the Altai Republic of the Russian Federation.

The Altai Conference provides the opportunity to bring a spiritual awakening to a troubled world at the most dangerous moment in our history while acknowledging the oneness of the tribal origins of our lives. In its time HAIR was an unexpected "out of the box" political and social awakening whose impact still reverberates around the world. We are bringing the power of our HAIR experience to Altai to put it to work transforming today's toxic international scene into a movement to bring about positive change to the world.

The Altai Conference will be an evolution of the HAIR awakening. It is embodied in this 1970 HAIR benefit performance I participated in that was filmed at Boston City Hospital. Most amazingly, this precious 20 minute

video found its way to me in 1980. It renewed my belief in the power of the HAIR experience. That was when we decided to find a way to bring that spirit and success to the Altai Conference.

**A Rare 20 Minute Video of the Boston Cast of HAIR 1970 Benefit Performance**

**DAY 5: Departure -All guests will be invited to a breakfast for closing remarks**

## LETTER OF COMMITMENT TO HOST THE CONFERENCE FROM DANIL MAMYEV

Russian Federation Republic of Altai  
Budget Institution of the Republic of Altai  
Karakol Nature Park “Uch Enmek”

78 Sovetskaya St  
Ongudai, Republic of Altai,  
649440, Russia Ref. 38  
Sept. 03, 2015

Dear Sandy,

I am deeply touched by your appreciation of the significance of Altai in giving life to an ancient spiritual and ecological wisdom that can help reinvigorate the values of our forebears for generations to come. Our work in the sacred territory of Karakol Valley has validated the traditional faith of the indigenous people of Altai. A key element of this faith is that Uch Enmek serves as the navel of a living, vibrant earth. Truly, there seems to be a quiet, irenic energy emanating from this sacred space that has a healing effect on the human spirit, mind, and body.

At present, an Ethno-Cultural Center for research and education, “Aru Svati,” has been opened here to help recover and disseminate traditional (holistic) knowledge. The Center has been a success in utilizing the unique features of the valley as an educational ‘institution’ of a new kind, a natural institution, if you will. This could be a way to understand Lev Gumilyev's concept of a “culture-forming landscape.” Furthermore, in Nicholas Roerich’s view, “the Altai and Himalayas are the two magnets, the two equilibrium centers, two bases.” In fact, Roerich developed this idea by opening the research institute, “Uru Svati,” in the Kulu Valley of India, and now we have opened our institute, Aru Svati, at the second magnet found here in Altai, in “Uch Enmek.”

This is why we support your request, and we agree to host the conference, “*An Indigenous Process for the Resurrection of Afghanistan: How the West Can Finally Get It Right and Re-humanize Itself*,” here at the Karakol Nature Park — Uch Enmek. Knowing the capacities of the Karakol Valley, I am sure, that “...this process will not only reverberate throughout the region but will serve as an example to a Western culture that is much in need of restoration and re-humanization itself.”

Best regards,  
[Danil Mamyev](#)  
Director, Uch Enmek  
[Ethno-Nature Park](#)  
Karakol Valley, Ongudai  
Altai Republic, Russian Federation



CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Advancing a sustainable, just and peaceful world

March 25, 2016

Elizabeth Gould and Paul Fitzgerald  
Altai Conference Project Directors  
197 Forest Street  
Winchester, MA 01890

Dear Liz and Paul,

I am excited to support your planned conference, *An Indigenous Process for the Resurrection of Afghanistan: How the West Can Finally Get It Right and Re-humanize Itself*, this summer in the Altai Republic of the Russia Federation.

We have long passed any reasonable boundary that could have been assigned to measure the good faith and the integrity of the international community in its role in Afghanistan. Certainly your reporting and writing would disperse any notion that benevolent interest in Afghanistan has ever existed by foreign powers in the modern era. For this reason, as well as the dire and worsening situation that exists for the Afghan people, it is clearly apparent that a cessation of violence and a process leading to stability, reconciliation and peace in Afghanistan must come from the Afghan people themselves.

While it may come across as hypocritical and arrogant for westerners like ourselves to state a need for an Afghan solution to the Afghan civil war, I understand our role in this effort to be as a model for the international community: to assist and facilitate indigenous Afghan efforts for peace rather than to lead, control or dictate. I believe if such an approach had occurred at any point over the last several decades, as opposed to consistent, and failed, international attempts to directly and indirectly subjugate the political direction of Afghanistan, Afghanistan and its people would be at peace.

While the goals of your conference may seem to some to be incredibly ambitious, after nearly forty years of war in Afghanistan, precipitated and sustained by foreign powers, such goals, including your ability to envision them and your courage in seeking them, are imperative and just.

Please keep me advised of how I may assist you and your efforts. I look forward to working with the both of and with the other conference participants.

Sincerely,

Matthew P. Hoh  
Senior Fellow

*Matthew Hoh is a Senior Fellow at the Center for International Policy and is the former Director of the Afghanistan Study Group, a network of foreign and public policy experts and professionals advocating for a change in US strategy in Afghanistan. A former State Department official, Matthew resigned in protest from his post in Afghanistan over US strategic policy and goals in Afghanistan in September 2009. Prior to his assignment in Afghanistan, Matthew served in Iraq; first in 2004-5 in Salah ad Din Province with a State Department reconstruction and governance team and then in 2006-7 in Anbar Province as a Marine Corps company commander. When not deployed, Matthew worked on Afghanistan and Iraq policy and operations issues at the Pentagon and State Department from 2002-8. Matthew's writings have appeared in the Atlanta Journal Constitution, Defense News, the Guardian, the Huffington Post, USA Today, the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post. He has been a guest on many news programs on radio and television networks including the BBC, CBS, CNN, Fox, NBC, MSNBC, NPR, Pacifica, and RT. The Council on Foreign Relations has cited Matthew's resignation letter from his post in Afghanistan as an Essential Document. In 2010, Matthew was named the Ridenhour Prize Recipient for Truth Telling. Matthew is an Advisory Board Member for Expose Facts (ExposeFacts.org) and an International Advisory Board Member for Veterans for Peace. He is certified by North Carolina as a Peer Support Specialist for Mental Health and Substance Use Disorder.*

## **The Declaration of Independence: July 4, 1776.**

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right

ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.