

4. “Successful” operations without an agreement have usually been confined to small areas (i.e., Haiti, Kosovo, East Timor). Attempts to assist governing in larger areas, such as Congo, for instance, failed. In these cases, operations may be limited to monitoring borders, providing economic support or checking for terrorists.

It is impossible to assess at this point which option is best for Afghanistan or whether something completely different is necessary. Nonetheless, some basic questions should be addressed: Are the parties ready for peace? If not, are we ready to impose a peaceful solution? What should the role of the outside actors be? Who will the Afghan people respect? What are their views of outsiders? Do they trust some more than others? Is there any willingness in the West to commit resources to rebuilding Afghanistan? What are the objectives of the outside states? Can they accomplish them?

#### 4. Scenarios and Recommendations for Achieving Peace and Building Good Governance in Afghanistan

##### A settlement could take place at three levels:

1. *At the national level*, a mechanism could be created for the factions to come to an agreement at the centre. This effort could be aided by the National Council for Reconciliation which is soon to convene. Such an agreement would contribute to the creation of a common Afghan state, which is currently extremely fragmented, decentralised and functionally non-existent. Such a national mechanism could enable civil society in Afghanistan to organise itself and participate in governance.
2. *At the regional level*, an agreement pledging non-intervention should be reached and foreign-based support for factions ended. This agreement could perhaps be achieved through the collective efforts of the “six plus two” (Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, China *plus* Russia and the United States).<sup>4</sup>
3. *At the global level*, the UN could attempt to create an international environment conducive to reconciliation in Afghanistan. For instance, it could supervise regional agreement compliance.

To prevent a worst possible **transition scenario** – which could include lack of law and order, hijacking of the peace process by a faction, corruption, humanitarian disaster/famine and the continued presence of U.S. troops – efforts should aim to:

- bring in UN peacekeepers
- disarm former warring groups
- establish an indigenous security force
- begin a free process of constitutional development, preceded by national consultations

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<sup>4</sup>The objective of this group is to find a peaceful solution for the Afghan conflict. The group has met more than once every year in the absence of any representation from Afghans. See [Http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~mpeia/afghanistan.htm](http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~mpeia/afghanistan.htm)