

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

English interpretation: “O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah as just witnesses; and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety; and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Well-Acquainted with what you do.” Page 144, Interpretation of the Meanings of The Noble Qur'an, by Dr Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali & Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Darussalam, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1998

Manifesto

Right and Justice Party

November 2011 AD

I. PROLOGUE

Once again, history has faced our nation with a difficult test. Presently, on one hand, our nation has been given the best and most important historical opportunity for building the country. On the other hand, our country has encountered the biggest danger for its survival. This is the first time that national security interests of the international community converge in many ways with those of our country. It is precisely for this reason that Afghanistan's international allies are cooperating with our country in combating terrorism and narcotics, in establishment of sustainable peace and security, in building state institutions and civil society and rebuilding our economy. Certainly, this cooperation has brought noticeable achievements to our nation.

However, the process of change and transformation in the country has not been compatible with the vested interests of specific domestic and foreign circles and that of the regional and global terrorists. Consequently, the most horrifying terrorist warfare has been waged against our country. This attrition warfare has increasingly threatened security, the process of rebuilding and even the very existence and survival of our country. The sad reality is that the ruling establishment is not only incapable of leading the national and international efforts to address the on-gong crises, but also, in most

cases, it is part of the problem. As a result, our people are watching the country's regress with ever-increasing despair and anxiety.

This serious situation calls for deliberation and critical thinking on the part of all patriotic, committed and awakened Afghan political and civil society actors. As there are great opportunities for progress, development and transformation of Afghanistan into a democratic, stable, advanced and credible society, there are also numerous and serious dangers that gravely threaten our shared home.

Fully cognizant of this historic responsibility, the founders of this political movement have pledged to create a political party and transform it into a credible and capable institution of governance to safeguard the achievements of the past ten years, properly exploit the opportunities to secure and rebuild our country and struggle to eliminate the threats to our existence. To actively participate in this noble national struggle, we have formulated this party manifesto.

II. REAL AND HISTORIC NECESSITY FOR CREATION OF A NEW POLITICAL FORCE

Our people cherish the freedom that they have earned with enormous sacrifices throughout our history, from the rule of colonialism and terrorism in association with their domestic and external allies. They are determined, with help from Allah Almighty, to achieve full victory in the fight against terrorism. In achieving this victory, we must not only protect the achievements of the past ten years, but also resolutely continue our decisive struggle for security, rule of law, justice, democracy, development and prosperity for all.

Furthermore, in attaining these great national aspirations, our country is facing a myriad of serious threats which if not tackled, will result in the loss of these historic and valued opportunities. Our assessment of these threats is as follows:

1. Unjust peace in violation of the values of our Constitution and national interests:

Our nation is longing for peace based on Islamic justice, human rights and the rule of law. The hypocritical and non-transparent politics of the ruling establishment concerning peace and national interests of the country not only fails to inspire national consensus and confidence, but also causes serious concerns on part of our nation and international allies. This effort and process must not result in the breakdown of our national unity and the emergence of new regional rivalries.

2. Proxy war disguised as civil war resulting in disintegration of national unity, nation state and political order:

The lack of national consensus and regional and international accord concerning peace and the future of Afghanistan can lead to new regional rivalries and war in the guise of a civil war, which will undoubtedly cause massive catastrophe. Because of poor judgment, misguided and non-transparent policies of the Afghan government, ill-intended interferences of a number of countries with vested interests, this threat has increasingly become a source of grave concern and anxiety among our people.

3. Weakness of the rule of law and the ever increasing violations of human rights:

The government's weakness in ensuring the rule of law and human rights, and even worse, the violation of the rule of law by the government and its leadership have irreparably damaged the credibility of the government in the eyes of the public and question its legitimacy. With the passing of every day, hope in the government's ability to improve this situation fades away.

4. Pervasive spread of administrative and political corruption and the establishment of illegal economy:

The spread and institutionalization of administrative and political corruption at all levels of the state and administration, and the establishment of illegal economy have squandered the best opportunities to rebuild our country. The powerful roots of corruption and its structural nature have deepened poverty and deprivation, increased local and national rivalries and conflicts and become a serious threat to national security. The state leadership's inability to rein in corruption and illegal economy, and in some instances, their personal involvement in administrative and political corruption has caused a general disillusionment in the country.

5. Inequitable development and the escalation of societal fragmentation due to unjust distribution of opportunities and national wealth:

Afghanistan has produced more millionaires in the past ten years than during its entire history. Although the country's economy has improved relatively, unjust distribution of national wealth and opportunities, due to wrong policies, political patronage, administrative and political corruption, continuation of the culture of impunity in Afghan government and the weak transparency and accountability in foreign aid system have resulted in public disenchantment and increasing the gap between the poor people and the political, military and economic power holders on one hand. On the other hand, it has also facilitated recruitment of foot soldiers from among the disadvantaged and disenfranchised citizens by the terrorists.

6. Losing international allies and becoming politically isolated at a global level:

We support the legitimate demands of our government from the international community to focus on eliminating terrorists' sanctuaries outside Afghanistan, preventing civilian casualties and respecting Afghanistan's national sovereignty. But, unfortunately, the deliberate efforts by some circles within the state leadership to escalate tensions with Afghanistan's allies and their pursuit of opaque regional policies at the cost of losing Afghanistan's most strategic partners have caused national grave anxiety. These concerns have escalated with the start of the transition of security responsibilities and its security, political and economic consequences. We believe that it is not in the best interest of the country to seek distance from and be antagonistic towards our strong and committed international allies. Strengthening friendship with our strategic partners and neighboring countries on the basis of the country's national interests must form the basis of our foreign policy.

Fully aware of the above threats and conscious of the need for a joint national effort to eliminate them, the founders of this movement have strongly pledged to stand by our people and establish this political party to bring together our committed people for this noble national cause. With a strong belief in pluralism, we hold in high respect all those political parties and organizations that are committed to provide a lawful political leadership in the country. We, however, strongly believe that in view of the depth and breadth of the existing national challenges, our country needs a new political force to be able to transcend societal boundaries and unite our nation in achieving this noble goal.

III. OUR VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR CHILDREN:

It is our aspiration that the country, which we have inherited from our ancestors and always loved and taken pride in, will be inherited by our children and future generations as an independent, secure and prosperous country. After so many honourable sacrifices, none of us, Afghans, wish to see our children uprooted and without a country of their own. The country that we envisage for ourselves, and for our children and future generations should be an Afghanistan that is united and owned by every citizen and every Qawam (tribe) of our homeland, and where:

1. Religious values, human dignity, human rights and political freedoms are protected and promoted,
2. All its citizens have equal rights and obligations before the law,
3. Independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country are protected and democratic governance is strengthened,
4. Peace, stability and sustainable security are established,

5. Civil society is strengthened and the country is rid of oppression, injustice, discrimination and violence,
6. Social justice and sustained prosperity are ensured for all citizens,
7. National solidarity is strengthened, linguistic, ethnic and sectarian divisive gaps are eliminated,
8. Relations with neighbors and the international community are organized based on national interests and accepted norms of international relations.

IV. OUR CORE GOALS & OBJECTIVES:

No nation can accomplish its aspirations without hard work and acceptance of sacrifices. To achieve our vision for the future of our country and our children, we are committed to make sacrifices in attaining the following objectives:

1. Political mobilization of the people of Afghanistan and strengthening of our national unity,
2. Ensuring just peace, sustainable security and stability,
3. Strengthening national sovereignty,
4. Strengthening democracy and democratic values and increasing citizen participation in determining the fate of the country,
5. Strengthening accountable governance and fight against corruption,
6. Ensuring rule of law and justice in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation,
7. Protection and strengthening of religious and cultural values of the nation,
8. Ensuring equitable and inclusive economic and social growth and sustainable prosperity of the nation with special attention to vulnerable groups, women and children headed families, orphans, persons with disability, refugees and internally displaced people and the Kuchis,
9. Continued fight against narcotics and illegal war economy and increasing efforts for protection of the environment,
10. Developing the nation's human capital with a special focus on the country's younger generation,
11. Establishing and developing international and good neighbourly relations and cooperation for achieving peace and security, ensuring national sovereignty and territorial integrity and economic growth.

V. OUR CORE PROGRAMMES:

In achieving the above vision and goals, the political leadership and stewardship of the country requires well thought-through political programmes. To achieve the party's strategic goals, the core elements of our short and medium to long-term political programmes are as follows:

1. Program One: Political mobilization of the people of Afghanistan and strengthening of our national unity.

- First: To strengthen national unity and politically mobilise and lead the nation, this party must grow into an inclusive political institution and take roots throughout the country as a legitimate, credible, answerable, capable and effective political movement.
- Second: The fundamental aim of this political programme is to mobilise and organise our people and the civil society to ensure citizen participation at all levels of governance, develop and strength the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to and safeguarding of national interests and fight against all phenomena that undermine national unity.
- Third: Cooperation with like-minded political parties and movements is and will continue to be of special importance to our party in order to achieve common national goals.
- Forth: Our political party is committed to continuously hold public debates on key issues of national interests, effectively disseminate required information and carry out public education with integrity, and work towards building national consensus with a view to our national interests.

2. Program Two: Ensuring just peace, sustainable stability and security:

- First: We are committed to building national consensus towards elimination of domestic and external causes of conflict and reaching a just and sustainable peace on the basis of values enshrined in Afghanistan Constitution and our national interests. We will work with our people and cooperate with like-minded actors to work against illegitimate and non-transparent policies in negotiation with enemy forces and their regional and international supporters. Our party will continue to make tireless efforts towards ensuring national participation and especially Afghan women's participation in the peace and reconciliation process as a key prerequisite to build just peace.

- Second: Our party will work with the Afghan government, other political parties and Afghanistan's international and regional partners in eliminating terrorist sanctuaries, training facilities, weapons supply and financial sources outside Afghanistan.
- Third: We will lend our full political support to the implementation of national programmes in the areas of rule of law and justice, development of ANSF, economic growth, reduction of poverty and elimination of war economy and narcotics. We see these programmes as critical to building a just and lasting peace.
- Fourth: Given the government's ineffectiveness in ensuring security, we will work with our people, elected, representative institutions and other branches of the government to increase the government's effectiveness in ensuring sustained transition of security responsibilities to ANSF.
- Fifth: We find the government's approach to ending civilian casualties in the war against terrorism incendiary and emotional. We will therefore work with the three branches of government and with ISAF and Coalition Forces to find effective ways to end civilian casualties. Moreover, if based on Afghanistan national interests and not threatening the legitimate interests of other nations, we consider long-term strategic cooperation between Afghanistan and the United States as well as other allies to be critical to ensuring national security and long-lasting stability in Afghanistan and the region. In this regard, we deem building national consensus absolutely necessary.

3. **Program Three - Strengthening national sovereignty of our country:**

- First: The main objective of this programme is to ensure continued cooperation and working with the government, the Parliament and Afghanistan's international partners with regard to (a) legalizing the continuation of the military presence of ISAF and Coalition Forces in the country, (b) sustained transition of security responsibilities to ANSF by the year 2014, and (c) strengthening of strategic cooperation with Afghanistan's international allies.
- Second: For the purpose of ensuring Afghanistan's national sovereignty, we support Afghan judicial sovereignty; specifically, the transfer of responsibility for detention centers and prisons from foreign forces to Afghanistan government control. We also support termination of extrajudicial home searches and arrests of Afghans whether by ISAF/CF or ANSF. Moreover, we believe that it is critical for the government of

Afghanistan to fulfill its obligations with regard to good governance and development of its capability to achieve the above for judicial sovereignty.

- Third: We will work with our people and the representative institutions of the nation to thwart attempts by proxies of foreign powers to influence domestic and foreign policies of the country. Critical to strengthening our national sovereignty is that we, as a nation, succeed in this using all legitimate means to influence policies and decision-making processes.

4. Program Four - Strengthening democracy and democratic values and increasing citizen participation in determining the fate of the country,

- First: We will work the Parliament, other political parties and the government on reforming the country's electoral systems and legal frameworks with a purpose to promote free and fair elections and ensure the independence and develop the capacity of the Independent Elections Commission (IEC) and that of the Elections Complaints Commission (ECC).
- Second: We will work with all representative institutions, the three branches of the government, civil society institutions to (a) strengthen the constitutional roles of the representative institutions and separation of powers of the three branches of government, (b) protect and expand freedom of speech, freedom of press and public access to information based on law, and (c) strengthen civil society's role in the country.

5. Program Five - Strengthening accountable governance and fight against corruption:

- First: Cooperating with like-minded parties and movement, we will strive to promote the culture of accountability throughout the governance system and end the culture of impunity by raising public awareness, strengthening effective oversight by representative institutions/assemblies, civil society and the media.
- Second: We will support the essential, responsible public administration reform, institution building, organization and capacity development, reform of legal frameworks and regulations, strengthening and empowerment of sub-national administrations and essential decentralization, de-concentration and devolution of authority to them.
- Third: To raise the sense of responsibility, answerability and effectiveness of the government, we will establish an effective political supervisory structure (such as the structure of a shadow government) to oversee various governmental departments. We make an effort to develop the capacity of such a structure and increase its effectiveness.

- Fourth: To strengthen the role of the legislature and improve the effectiveness and answerability of the government to the nation, we will work with all members of the Parliament and set up a parliamentary group consisting of the members of this political movement and like-minded individuals.

6. Program Six – Ensuring rule of law and justice in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation,

- First: We will continue to support the national programme for reform and development of the judicial system throughout the country.
- Second: We will promote social justice through strengthening citizen rights, active political participation of our people in governance and democratic processes, equitable and inclusive economic and social development and merit-based appointment.
- Third: Protection and seeking justice for victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity will be our top priority in working with our people, elected institutions, the state, like-minded political parties and movements and civil society.
- Fourth: We will support public and private programmes designed for protection and advancement of human rights across the country, with a special focus on the most vulnerable and affected segments of the society (including people with disabilities, families of martyrs, the elderly, women and child-headed families, returnees, internally displaced persons, Kuchis and victims of natural and manmade disasters).

7. Program Seven – Protection and strengthening of religious and cultural values of the nation:

- First: Focus on provision of equal access to education for all citizens across the country and improving its quality, promoting culture and access to Islamic education for all, providing an enabling environment and effective quality regulations for all educational institutions are our important priorities.
- Second: countering politicization of religion and its use for political ends, working against undesirable and un-Islamic traditions and customs, and promoting desirable culture and values will have a central place in our

strategy. In this regard, our effort will concentrate on legislative work, political oversight of government organizations and public education.

- Third: We are committed to improving the well being of religious scholars, Mulla Imams, preachers at mosques, Takiya and Jamaat Khanas, and to fully supporting their constructive role in promoting peace, security and national unity. Moreover, improving the wellbeing and professional development of teachers, professors, religious teachers and civil servants are among our top priorities.
- Forth: we are strongly committed to protecting and advancing the rights of other religious minorities of the nation as the rightful citizens based on Afghanistan constitution.
- Fifth: protecting our cultural and historic heritage and values will have a priority in our programme.

8. Program Eight: Ensuring equitable and inclusive economic and social growth and sustainable prosperity of the nation with special attention to vulnerable groups, women and children headed families, orphans, persons with disability, refugees and internally displaced people and the Kuchis:

- First: we will support (a) public investment programmes to ensure equitable, pro-poor economic growth and social prosperity across the country (including but not limited to education, public health, access to water and an effective social policy), and (b) a people-centered approach to development with a special focus on rural areas and vulnerable groups (including people with disability, families of martyrs, the elderly, women and children without support, refugees, returnees, internally displaced persons, kuchis and victims of natural and man-made disasters), will be at the center of our attention.
- Second: We will promote and support special public programmes for political, legal, economic, social and cultural empowerment of Afghan women.
- Third: Our economic programmes will promote an enabling environment, including favourable political, legal, security and support conditions, for private sector investments as an engine for inclusive and multi-faceted socio-economic growth and sustainable prosperity.
- Forth: Effective and responsible use of our natural resources for the purpose of building and expanding critical infrastructure including but not limited to transport, energy production, development of small and large scale industries, urban development, rural development, agriculture and animal

husbandry to build a strong, sustainable and self-reliant economy and to reduce dependence on foreign aid.

- Fifth: Design and implementation of comprehensive programmes for environmental protection with a special focus on forests and reforestation will be a key priority for us.
- Sixth: We commit ourselves to a strong political oversight and public awareness raising with regard to the performance of the government of Afghanistan to deliver on the policies and programmes that it committed itself in Afghanistan Compact in London (2006), Afghanistan National Development Strategy (2008 and 2009) and at various international conferences including the Kabul Conference (2010).

9. Program Nine - Continued fight against narcotics and illegal war economy and increasing efforts for protection of the environment:

- First: It is our priority to support and monitor the implementation of the National Drugs Control Strategy in all of its facets including security, law enforcement, development of rural economy, alternative livelihood and demand reduction.
- Second: we will work with the government, the parliament and the judicial system of the country to provide effective law enforcement with regard to drugs crimes and corruption and bring criminals to justice. Promoting a strong political will and accountability at all levels will be the most critical step in this struggle.
- Third: We are committed to working with representative institutions of the nation and the government in design and implementation of effective programmes to fight the illicit and criminal economy (including but not limited to smuggling of underground resources, artifacts and cultural heritage, deforestation and money laundering) in the country.

10. Program Ten - Developing the nation's human capital with a special focus on the country's younger generation:

- First: We will collaborate with the government and the representative institutions of the country in design and implementation of effective programmes in the area of expanding access for all to educational opportunities including primary, secondary, tertiary, technical and vocational and literacy. A special focus will be given to our children, young boys and girls.
- Second: Our party will design and execute a special educational programme for young boys and girls in areas of political leadership and public

administration so that a new generation of young and committed leaders is promoted for the nation.

- Third: We will pay a special attention to promote mobilization of young people in legitimate social and political spheres by strengthening young people's association, unions and institutions.

11. Program Eleven - Establishing and developing international and good neighbourly relations and cooperation for achieving peace and security, ensuring national sovereignty and territorial integrity and economic growth:

- First: we will cooperate with the government and the parliament as well as other like-minded parties in reducing tensions between the government of Afghanistan and our international partners.
- Second: We are committed to cooperate with political partners, the parliament and the government, in developing and strengthening relations with neighbours, Islamic countries and our regional and international partners as well as other nations to protect and promote the national interests of Afghanistan - in particular in the areas of peace and stability, common fight against terrorism and illicit drugs, safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, promoting trade, transit, economic growth and reconstruction as well as protecting the rights of Afghan refugees and ensuring their voluntary and dignified return. In this regard, active participation in international and regional forums and organizations is of particular importance.

VI. OUR VALUES AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Our party is committed and guided by the following values and guiding principles:

- For us, the holy religion of Islam is the highest source of guidance in all affairs.
- We promote the principle of consultation and participation based on the holy Quran Ayat of Ash-Shura: **وامرهم شورى بينهم**
- Adherence to and compliance with the Constitution and other laws of the country and commitment to the basic and universal principles of human rights are the defining features of our party.
- We hold unwavering loyalty to democracy, national sovereignty, national interests, national unity, social justice and territorial integrity of the country.
- We strongly respect accepted values, traditions and customs of our country.

- Commitment to civil liberties, democratic values and pluralism within the framework of laws of the country forms the cornerstone of our party culture.
- We will demand and support transparency and accountability at all levels of governance.
- We deem continued struggle against all types of violence, discrimination, injustice, racism and provocation of linguistic, sectarian, ethnic and regional differences as our duty.
- We are strongly committed to the principle of participation of all ethnicities and tribes of Afghanistan in governance and public administration at all levels based on merit, expertise, commitment, integrity and capability.
- Adherence to and compliance with international law and Afghanistan's international obligations are the basis of our foreign policy and relations.

VII. HOW IS THIS PARTY DIFFERENT?

- This party does not belong to a specific ethnicity or group. It belongs to all people of Afghanistan of all ethnicities. The party considers all types of discrimination and superiority claims in contradiction of the principles of the holy religion of Islam, human rights and afghan values. We belong to all ethnicities and all parts of our country and work for the national interests of our country.
- The raison d'être of the party is not to bring a particular person or group of people to power. Its mission is to work for a new vision of our country defined by the aspirations of our people.
- Those, whose hands are stained with the blood of our people or their names are tarnished with corruption, organized crimes and looting of public resources are not with us and will not find a place in our party.
- Our political leadership is not in the hands of one person. Inspired by a shared vision and guided by a set of principles and a political programme for the best interest of our nation, our party is led by an elected leadership.
- We have made a commitment to reform the existing governance system and make it accountable to our people; not to undermine or destroy it. We are coming out to the political scene of Afghanistan for friendship and partnership to rebuild our country. We are not for destructive competition and rivalry.
- Our thoughts and vision are a reflection of the aspirations of the young generation of the country. We believe in the ability of our youth and

experience of our elders. Our party is committed to continuously nurture young political leaders for our country.

And victory is Allah's

November 2011