



AZAD PAKHTUNKHWA

THE FOUNDING FRAMEWORK

*The Complete Constitutional Blueprint & National Ideology
of an Independent Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*

PAKHTUNLOGY

*The Political Ideology of Pashtun Self-Determination,
Islamic Democratic Governance, and Generational Renewal
— Rooted in the Living Code of Pashtunwali —*

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Sta khpal watan, sta khpal hukumat, sta khpal nang.

Your own homeland. Your own governance. Your own honour.

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PREAMBLE — THE FOUNDING IDEOLOGY

Pakhtunlogy is the political ideology of the Pashtun people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is not borrowed from the West, imposed by the East, or inherited from colonial administrators. It grows from the soil of the Pashtun homeland, from the language of Pashto, from the honour code of Pashtunwali, from the moral foundations of Islam, and from the hard lessons of a people who have been governed by others for too long.

Pakhtunlogy is the belief that the Pashtun people possess a distinct, ancient, and unbroken national identity — defined by shared language, shared honour, shared history, and shared land — that entitles them to govern themselves, on their own terms, free from external domination of any kind.

This is not a rejection of Islam. It is not a rejection of neighbouring peoples. It is not hatred dressed as politics. It is the simple, universal, and legally recognised assertion that **no people should be governed without their genuine consent**, and that the Pashtun nation has been governed without that consent — by the British, by distant capitals, by military establishments — for far too long.

Pakhtunlogy rests on three foundational pillars:

Pillar I — Pashtun National Sovereignty.

The land, its resources, and its future belong to the people who live on it. No treaty signed without popular consent, no border drawn by foreign hands, permanently overrides this right.

Pillar II — Islamic Democratic Governance.

Islam provides the moral foundation: justice (adl), consultation (shura), accountability, and protection of the weak. Democracy provides the mechanism: free elections, separation of powers, and rule of law. Neither pillar overrides the other — they are inseparable.

Pillar III — Generational Renewal Through Pashtunwali.

The living code of Pashtunwali — hospitality, honour, justice, loyalty, sanctuary, bravery, safe passage, communal space, and ceasefire — is not a relic. It is the foundation on which modern Pashtun governance is built. Pakhtunlogy does not modernise Pashtunwali out of existence. It gives it a constitutional home.

PART I — FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE

Article 1. Sovereignty of the People

All political authority derives exclusively from the Pashtun people through free, fair, and regular elections. No tribe, elder, party, military institution, religious body, or foreign power may override the will of the people as expressed through the constitution. The constitution is supreme above all.

Article 2. National Identity, Language & Pashtunwali

Official Language

- Pashto is the official national language of the state.
- Dari, Hindko, Khowar, and all other regional languages are formally protected and may be used in local administration and education.
- The state invests in Pashto literature, poetry, oral history, and cultural production as a matter of national priority.

Pashtunwali as Living Law

Pashtunwali is not folklore. It is a complete and sophisticated code of individual conduct, communal obligation, and moral responsibility that has governed Pashtun society for centuries before any modern state existed. Pakhtunlogy does not replace it — it gives it a constitutional home. Where Pashtunwali and constitutional law align, the state actively promotes and celebrates the code. Where they conflict, the constitution prevails — but the state commits to understanding why a custom exists before challenging it, and to working with communities to find resolutions that honour both the spirit of the code and the rights of every individual.

The Nine Tenets of Pashtunwali — Formally Recognised by the State

- **Melmastia** — Hospitality
- **Nanawatai** — Sanctuary
- **Badal** — Justice
- **Nang** — Honour
- **Turah** — Bravery
- **Sabat** — Loyalty
- **Hujra** — Communal Space
- **Badruga** — Safe Passage
- **Teega** — Ceasefire & Resolution

Article 3. Relationship with Islam

Islamic principles inform the legal, moral, and social character of the state. Sharia provides ethical guidance on justice, welfare, accountability, and community. However, no single clergy, religious party, or religious body holds executive or legislative political authority. Constitutional rights cannot be suspended, overridden, or reinterpreted in the name of religion. Religious courts and institutions operate within the constitutional framework, not above it. Islam and Pashtunwali are understood as complementary — both demand justice, both protect the vulnerable, both place honour above self-interest.

PART II — THE TWO-HOUSE PARLIAMENT

Article 4. The National Assembly (Lower House)

- At least **sixty percent (60%)** of seats reserved for candidates aged 18–35.
- Remaining seats open to all candidates aged 35 and above.
- Elected by direct popular vote, proportional to regional population.
- Primary functions: legislation, national budgets, government accountability, and daily oversight of the executive.
- Neither house may fall below **thirty percent (30%)** of any single gender.

Purpose: Ensures the generation living with today's decisions has the strongest voice in making them. Rooted in Turah — bravery requires that young people step forward, not wait.

Article 5. The Loya Jirga Council (Upper House)

- At least **sixty percent (60%)** of seats filled by members aged 30–60.
- Membership must include tribal elders, experienced professionals, academics, and regional representatives.
- Elected through a mixed system: a portion directly elected, a portion nominated by recognised tribal and regional bodies — all subject to a public confirmation vote.
- Primary functions: reviewing and revising legislation, constitutional matters, long-term national planning, and acting as a constitutional check on the lower house.

The Loya Jirga Council is the constitutional heir of the ancient Pashtun jirga tradition — elevated to a house of state, governed by the same values of collective deliberation and consensus that have always defined it.

Article 6. Joint Rule & Lawmaking

- All legislation requires approval from **both houses** to become law.
- Deadlock resolution: a joint sitting requiring a two-thirds (2/3) majority vote.
- Budget bills originate in the National Assembly; the Council may delay but not permanently block them.
- Constitutional amendments require a three-quarters (3/4) majority across both houses in joint sitting, plus a public referendum.

PART III — LEADERSHIP

Article 7. The Head of State — The Wali

- Elected directly by the people in a national popular vote.
- Maximum **two (2) terms** — no extensions, no exceptions, under any circumstances.
- Cannot dissolve parliament without a ruling from the Constitutional Court.
- Cannot declare war, enter military alliances, or cede territory without full parliamentary approval.
- Cannot appoint judges, commissioners, or accountability officials unilaterally.

The Wali embodies Nang — national honour — and is held to the highest personal standard of conduct. A Wali who acts with corruption, cowardice, or dishonesty has not merely broken the law. They have broken the code.

Article 8. Leadership Qualifications

All candidates must demonstrate at least one of the following:

- A recognised university degree or equivalent professional qualification.
- A minimum of eight (8) years documented public service or professional leadership experience.

All candidates must additionally:

- Hold a fully clean corruption record verified by the National Accountability Commission.
- Publicly declare all personal and family assets before candidacy, during office, and upon leaving.
- Hold no foreign citizenship and have no undisclosed foreign financial interests.

Article 9. Removal from Office

The Head of State may be removed through two constitutionally prescribed routes:

- A **seventy-five percent (75%) supermajority vote** across both houses of parliament in joint sitting, following a formal investigation by the Constitutional Court.
- A **public recall referendum**, triggered by a verified petition signed by at least twenty percent (20%) of registered voters, decided by simple majority.

PART IV — SEPARATION OF POWERS

Article 10. The Executive

The Wali leads the executive government and appoints a cabinet. Cabinet ministers are subject to parliamentary confirmation and can be dismissed by a majority vote of the National Assembly. The executive implements law — it does not make it unilaterally, and it does not interpret it.

Article 11. The Judiciary

- Judges appointed by an independent Judicial Appointment Commission comprising: senior judges elected by the judiciary itself, nominees from both houses of parliament, and representatives from civil society organisations.
- Judges cannot be removed by the executive or parliament acting alone — only by a supermajority of the Judicial Commission following a formal misconduct inquiry.
- Judicial salaries are constitutionally protected and cannot be reduced by political decision.

Badal — the Pashtunwali demand for justice — is the founding spirit of the judiciary. The courts exist because every wrong deserves a proper answer, and the state channels that ancient demand into law rather than blood.

Article 12. The Constitutional Court

The highest legal authority in the state, sitting above all other courts. It holds final ruling power over:

- Violations of fundamental constitutional rights.
- Conflicts between national law and the constitution.
- Disputes between tribal custom and state law.
- Challenges to election results and electoral processes.
- Abuse or overreach of emergency powers.
- Any action by the executive, parliament, or military that exceeds constitutional authority.

Article 13. Legal Hierarchy

The following hierarchy is absolute and admits of no exceptions:

- **First:** The Constitution — supreme and unchangeable except by supermajority and public referendum.
- **Second:** National law — informed by Islamic principles of justice and welfare.
- **Third:** Regional and provincial law — consistent with national law.
- **Fourth:** Tribal customs — only where fully consistent with the constitution and not in violation of any citizen's individual rights.

One hierarchy. Applied equally to all. No parallel legal systems. No exceptions.

PART V — TRIBAL INTEGRATION & PASHTUNWALI

Article 14. The Role of Tribes

Tribes are the living cultural heritage of Pashtun identity and are formally recognised by the state as a valued institution. They are partners in governance, not rivals to it.

Tribes and Jirgas May:

- Conduct local mediation and civil dispute resolution.
- Maintain cultural practices, communal lands, and traditions.
- Nominate representatives to the Loya Jirga Council.
- Advise local governments on customary matters.
- Preserve and transmit Pashto language, poetry, music, and oral history.

Tribes and Jirgas May Not:

- Override constitutional courts, national law, or individual rights.
- Use force, coercion, or collective punishment outside the legal system.
- Deny any citizen their constitutional rights on grounds of tribal membership.
- Issue swara rulings or assign any human being as settlement — such rulings are void, unenforceable, and constitute criminal conduct prosecutable by the state.

Article 15. Nang — Collective Honour as Civic Standard

Nang is the Pashtun concept of collective honour — the dignity of a community measured by how it treats its most vulnerable members and how it stands against injustice. The state formally adopts Nang as a civic value. National honour is measured not by military strength or territorial size, but by whether the state treats every citizen with dignity. A government that is corrupt, that abuses its citizens, or that abandons its poor has lost Nang. That is not merely shame — it is a constitutional failure.

Article 16. Teega — Formal Conflict Resolution

Teega — the placing of a stone — is a formal declaration of ceasefire and the beginning of negotiated resolution. The state formally incorporates the Teega principle into its conflict resolution infrastructure:

- Any two parties in dispute may invoke Teega — requesting a ceasefire period of up to ninety (90) days during which negotiation and mediation must take place.
- State-funded mediators trained in both constitutional law and Pashtunwali are available in every district.
- In inter-tribal conflicts involving risk of violence, the state may formally declare Teega — suspending hostilities and requiring structured dialogue under Constitutional Court supervision.

Article 17. Hujra — Communal Space as Public Institution

The Hujra is the traditional Pashtun communal meeting hall — the place where communities have gathered for centuries to deliberate, welcome guests, and resolve disputes. Pakhtunlogy formally recognises the Hujra as a civic institution:

- Every district is funded and required to maintain at least one public community centre — a modern Hujra — open to all citizens regardless of gender, tribe, or age.
- These centres serve as: community meeting spaces, youth programme venues, local mediation centres, civic education facilities, and cultural event spaces.
- Women's Hujras — communal spaces designed for and governed by women — are funded equally and treated as equally important civic infrastructure.

Article 18. Tribal-State Conflict Resolution

Where tribal custom conflicts with constitutional law, the Constitutional Court holds final authority. The state commits to respectful dialogue with elders before enforcement wherever possible — force is always a last resort. The Teega process is offered first. Enforcement follows only where dialogue has been genuinely exhausted.

PART VI — ANTI-CORRUPTION

Article 19. National Accountability Commission (NAC)

Sabat — loyalty — means that those who serve the people must serve only the people, not themselves. The NAC is the institutional expression of that demand:

- Fully independent — collectively accountable to all three branches of government but controlled by none.
- Authority to investigate **any person** in public life including the Wali, ministers, judges, military officers, and tribal leaders receiving state funds.
- All public officials declare full personal wealth annually; unexplained wealth triggers automatic investigation.
- **Absolute zero immunity** — no office, title, or position provides protection from investigation or prosecution.
- Convictions result in: permanent bar from all public office, full asset recovery for the state, criminal prosecution, and permanent public record.

Betraying the public trust is not merely a legal offence under Pakhtunlogy — it is a violation of Sabat, the deepest form of dishonour a Pashtun can commit.

PART VII — YOUTH & EXPERIENCE INTEGRATION

Article 20. Mandatory Governance Training

Turah — bravery — is not only physical courage. It is the courage to lead, to make difficult decisions, and to do so with knowledge and preparation. All newly elected National Assembly members aged 18–35 must complete within their first year in office:

- A structured governance and constitutional law programme of no fewer than one hundred and twenty (120) hours.
- A formal mentorship pairing with an experienced Loya Jirga Council member of their own choosing.
- A regional attachment programme — documented time in at least three different districts.

Article 21. Reverse Mentorship for Experienced Members

All Loya Jirga Council members are required to participate in:

- Annual digital governance and technology briefings led by young National Assembly members.
- Regular public dialogue sessions with youth civil society organisations.
- Joint cross-house policy working groups where the chairperson role rotates between a young and an experienced member.

The elders teach the code. The youth teach the age. Neither is complete without the other — this is Pashtunwali expressed in governance form.

PART VIII — GENDER EQUALITY

Article 22. The Core Principle

Gender equality in Azad Pakhtunkhwa is rooted in the Islamic principle that every soul is individually accountable before God, and in the Pashtunwali value of Nang — dignity — which belongs to every person regardless of sex. The state guarantees identical legal standing for every citizen. The law sees one citizen — not a male citizen and a female citizen under different rules. One citizen, one set of rights, one standard of justice.

Article 23. Education — No Distinction

- Every child holds an equal and mandatory right to education from age 5 through 18.
- University access, scholarships, research funding, and vocational training are open to all on merit alone — no gender restriction in any field.
- No school, madrassa, or institution may deny enrolment on the basis of gender.
- Boys and girls receive the same core curriculum: sciences, mathematics, law, civic education, Pashto language and literature, history, and physical education.
- Men are equally entitled to pursue any traditionally female-coded field without legal or institutional barrier.

Article 24. Economic Rights — No Distinction

- Women and men hold identical rights to own property, register businesses, sign contracts, access credit, and inherit.
- No employer — public or private — may pay different wages for equivalent work on the basis of gender; violations are prosecuted by the NAC.
- Men are equally protected from workplace exploitation, forced labour, and economic coercion.

Article 25. Political Rights — No Distinction

- Any citizen meeting age and qualification requirements may stand for any public office.
- Neither house of parliament may have any gender fall below thirty percent (30%) of total membership — a constitutional minimum floor, not a target.
- Women and men serve on fully equal terms in the civil service, judiciary, police, diplomatic corps, and national defence.

Article 26. Family & Personal Life — Dignity for All

- Forced marriage of any person at any age is a criminal offence with mandatory prosecution.

- Child marriage — any marriage involving a person under 18 — is absolutely prohibited with no exceptions.
- Domestic violence against any family member regardless of gender is prosecuted as a serious criminal matter — never a private or tribal matter.
- Divorce rights are equal and accessible — both spouses have full legal recourse to civil courts.

Article 27. Justice — No Double Standard

- Honour as a legal defence or mitigating factor in any violence case is constitutionally prohibited — courts are barred from accepting it.
- Any jirga issuing a swara ruling faces immediate criminal prosecution of all participating members.
- Victims of gender-based violence are entitled to state-funded legal representation if they cannot privately afford it.

PART IX — ECONOMIC MODEL

Article 28. Economic Philosophy

The economy of Azad Pakhtunkhwa is built on three foundations: resource sovereignty, regional trade, and a welfare floor that no citizen falls below. Rooted in Melmastia — unconditional hospitality — the state treats every citizen as a guest deserving of dignity, warmth, and provision. No Pashtun host turns away a person in need. No Pashtun state abandons a citizen in poverty.

Article 29. The Transition Plan — Years 1 to 10

Years 1–3: Foundation Phase

Operate on a lean emergency budget. Revenue from existing domestic tax infrastructure, international recognition grants, and diaspora bonds — Pashtuns living in the United Kingdom, Gulf states, and Australia represent billions in untapped capital with direct emotional investment in the state's success. Establish the NAC, Constitutional Court, and electoral commission before all else. Institutions first, programmes second.

Years 4–7: Growth Phase

First mineral licensing revenues flow under strict state-controlled contracts. First hydroelectric projects come online. Tourism infrastructure investment begins. Trade corridor fees from the Peshawar–Kabul route generate consistent income.

Years 8–10: Independence Phase

The Welfare Fund reaches full national operation. Foreign aid dependency ends as a policy goal. The state finances its own budget through domestic revenue. Diaspora investment transitions from bonds to direct equity in national projects.

Article 30. Key Revenue Sources

- **Natural Resources:** Minerals, gemstones, marble, timber, and hydroelectric potential. These belong constitutionally to the people. Foreign companies may hold extraction licences — they do not own the resources, ever.
- **Trade Routes:** KPK sits at one of history's most strategic crossroads. Transit trade and the Silk Road corridor are national strategic assets.
- **Agriculture and Land Reform:** Feudal land concentration is dismantled. Small farmers receive formal land title, irrigation access, and market connections.
- **Tourism:** Swat, the Kalash valleys, Chitral, Peshawar's old city, and ancient historical sites are world-class assets — developed ethically and sustainably.

Article 31. The Welfare Foundation — Melmastia as State Policy

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- A **five percent (5%) contribution** combining Islamic Zakat obligation and a progressive income tax.
 - Managed by an independent Welfare Commission accountable to parliament.
 - **Direct payments to eligible citizens** — no middlemen, no gatekeeping, no patronage networks.
 - Priority recipients: widows, orphans, disabled citizens, the unemployed, elderly without family support, and rural poor.
 - The fund is constitutionally ring-fenced — it cannot be raided by the executive for any other purpose.

PART X — FOREIGN POLICY & SECURITY

Article 32. Core Foreign Policy Principles

Melmastia in Diplomacy

The state is a welcoming and hospitable international actor. Foreign diplomats, traders, travellers, and partners are received with the full dignity of Melmastia. The state's international reputation is built on the same values that define Pashtun personal honour: generosity, reliability, and dignity.

Nanawatai — The Asylum Principle

Nanawatai — the duty to grant sanctuary to anyone who seeks it — is among the most sacred obligations in Pashtunwali. The state formally enshrines Nanawatai as its asylum and refugee policy:

- Any person fleeing persecution or genuine threat to their life has the right to seek asylum in Azad Pakhtunkhwa.
- Asylum claims are processed by an independent Asylum Commission — not the military, not the executive.
- The state will never return a person to a country where their life or safety is demonstrably at risk — this is Nanawatai in law.

Article 33. The Durand Line — A Realistic Position

The Durand Line is a colonial boundary drawn without Pashtun consent. The state formally does not recognise it as a legitimate permanent international border. Resolution is pursued exclusively through diplomacy and international law — never through military force. The long-term goal is open, formally recognised borders for Pashtun communities on both sides, achieved peacefully over time.

Article 34. Pakistan Relations — Hard Realism

- A non-aggression and economic cooperation treaty with Pakistan is the first diplomatic priority — not as a favour, but as strategic necessity.
- No claim on Pakistani territory. No support for separatist movements within Pakistan. Clear mutual non-interference.
- Economic relations are kept deliberately separate from political disputes — trade continues regardless.

Article 35. Badraga — Safe Passage as State Obligation

Badraga is the Pashtunwali duty to escort and protect travellers passing through Pashtun territory. The state formally adopts Badraga as national policy:

- All trade routes, roads, and border corridors are under the state's active protection guarantee.

- The state maintains dedicated trade route security forces — civilian in character, trained in both security and hospitality.
- Any attack on a traveller, trader, or guest passing through national territory is treated as a violation of Badraga and prosecuted as a serious national offence.

Article 36. National Defence — Turah in Service of the People

Turah — bravery — defines the ethos of the national defence force. But Pashtunwali defines bravery not as aggression, but as the courage to stand between one's people and harm:

- A professional national defence force under full civilian control, answerable to parliament and the Wali jointly.
- Military involvement in politics is a constitutional red line — any officer found engaging in political activity is immediately dismissed and prosecuted.
- A five-year military professionalisation programme in the founding decade: formal training, pay structures, and civilian oversight built deliberately.

Article 37. Counter-Extremism

- The state actively rejects armed extremism — no foreign armed group has sanctuary on national territory.
- Counter-extremism is built on three equal pillars: education, employment, and community engagement — not solely military force.
- Tribal elders and Islamic scholars are partners in identifying radicalisation — not suspects.

PART XI — RIGHTS & EMERGENCY POWERS

Article 38. Fundamental Rights — Permanent, Universal, Non-Removable

The following rights are guaranteed to every citizen and **cannot be removed, suspended, or overridden** by any parliamentary majority, executive decree, emergency order, military authority, or tribal custom — ever:

- The right to a fair and public trial with legal representation.
- Freedom from torture, degrading treatment, arbitrary detention, and collective punishment.
- Equal treatment before the law regardless of tribe, gender, religion, ethnicity, region, or economic status.
- Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to peaceful assembly and protest.
- Women's and men's full and equal participation in political, economic, educational, and public life.
- The right to education in Pashto and access to all national public services.
- The right to leave and return to the country freely.
- The right to practice one's faith privately without state interference.
- The right to seek asylum — Nanawatai as constitutional law.

Article 39. Emergency Powers

- May be declared only by the Wali with parliamentary approval from both houses within forty-eight (48) hours — no retroactive approval.
- Maximum initial duration: **thirty (30) days**.
- Renewal requires a fresh parliamentary vote — emergencies cannot be indefinitely extended.
- The Constitutional Court retains full authority throughout any emergency — courts do not close.
- The fundamental rights listed in Article 38 **cannot be suspended under any emergency declaration, under any circumstances**.

PART XII — THE PASHTUNWALI CHARTER

This Part serves as the formal constitutional recognition of Pashtunwali in its entirety — a summary of the nine tenets as expressed throughout this framework, so that their place in Pakhtunlogy is clear, permanent, and beyond political revision.

Tenet	Pashtunwali Meaning	Expression in Pakhtunlogy
Melmastia	Hospitality	Welfare state, diplomatic character, citizen as guest
Nanawatai	Sanctuary	Constitutional asylum and refugee rights
Badal	Justice	Judiciary — every wrong answered through law, not blood
Nang	Honour	Civic standard for all institutions and the Wali personally
Turah	Bravery	Defence force ethos, youth governance, public service
Sabat	Loyalty	Anti-corruption principle, oath of office, civic duty
Hujra	Communal Space	Funded public community centres in every district
Badraga	Safe Passage	Trade route protection, diplomatic safe passage guarantee
Teega	Ceasefire & Resolution	Formal conflict resolution and mediation infrastructure

Pashtunwali is not a legal code to be enforced — it is a moral code to be lived. Pakhtunlogy does not mandate culture. It creates the conditions in which Pashtun culture can flourish freely, protect every citizen, and stand before the world with the full dignity it has always deserved.

CLOSING STATEMENT — WHY PAKHTUNLOGY

For too long the Pashtun people have been governed by the logic of others. The British drew their borders. Islamabad set their budgets. Military establishments decided their security. Foreign powers fought their wars on Pashtun soil and called it strategy.

Pakhtunlogy is the refusal of that logic.

It does not promise a perfect state. No document can promise that. It promises a **Pashtun state** — one that honours the jirga tradition while refusing to let the jirga become an instrument of oppression. One that takes Islam seriously as a moral foundation while refusing to let religion become a tool of political control. One that trusts young people to lead while insisting they learn from those who came before. One that sees every citizen — man and woman — as equal before the law and equal in dignity. One that treats every traveller as a guest, every refugee as a person seeking Nanawatai, and every act of corruption as a violation of Nang.

The economic transition is honest — it will take a decade to build financial independence and that decade will be hard. The foreign policy is realistic — neutrality is a destination, not a starting point. The gender equality provisions are non-negotiable — a state that liberates a people while subjugating half of them has not achieved liberation. The Pashtunwali foundations are permanent — a Pashtun state that abandons Pashtunwali is not a Pashtun state.

The goal is not isolation. It is **dignity**. Self-determination is not a radical idea — it is the foundational idea of the modern world. It is what Pakistan itself was built on. What Afghanistan has fought for across centuries. What every people, given the choice, chooses.

The Pashtun people deserve nothing less than that choice.

Sta khpal watan, sta khpal hukumat, sta khpal nang.

Your own homeland. Your own governance. Your own honour.

This is a living document — the starting point for national dialogue, not a final decree. The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa will ultimately write their own constitution through their own process. Pakhtunlogy exists to show that it is possible, that the roots already exist in Pashtunwali and Islam and the lived experience of the Pashtun people, and that a state built on those roots can be just, modern, and entirely, unapologetically Pashtun.

ATTESTATION & SIGNATURE PAGE

This document is formally submitted as a founding ideological and constitutional framework for the independent state of Azad Pakhtunkhwa, for the purposes of national dialogue, public consultation, and future constitutional drafting processes.

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