Justus-von-Liebig-Universität Gießen
Fachbereich 07: Mathematik und Informatik, Physik, Geographie
Institut für Geographie

State-building in Afghanistan: The role of institutional capacity.

vorgelegt von

Dipl. Geograph Sardar M. Kohistani

Dissertation
Zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Dr. rer.nat
im Fachbereich Geographie

Gießen, Oktober 2009

Dedication

To my father

Acknowledgements

It is my pleasure to express my thanks to my advisors Prof. Dr. Andreas Dittmann and Prof. Dr. Eckart Ehlers for their time and for their kind cooperation.

I would like to express my gratitude for Christine Issa who was very supportive throughout the period of my study in Bonn and then in Giessen. She also benefited me in reading and commenting this dissertation.

I wish to express my gratitude to Bernd Goecke and Nadine Vorbeck for preparing the maps as well as Dr. Frank Schuessler for reading the paper and commenting on it, and Anika Merschhemke who proofread the dissertation.

My thanks also go to Mr. Klaus Haker Mrs. Erika Haker who generously supported me during my stay in Germany especially in the final stages of preparing this dissertation.
.
There are many people in Kabul and in Germany who I cannot name all and were so kind and supportive. I wish to thank them all.

The Ministry of Higher Education as well as the Chancellor of Kabul University and the DAAD gave me the opportunity to come to Germany and to study and develop my knowledge. To all of them I owe this opportunity and to them I wish to express my gratitude.

My family endured my absence for the whole time especially my mother and my sister. My brother in Germany was also very supportive. I wish to express my love and my appreciation to them.

Sardar Mohammad Kohistani

Giessen

December 2009

Figures

Maps

Tables

1 Introduction

1.1 State-Building in Afghanistan

Today, Afghanistan represents one of the most poor, instable and insecure countries of the world. It is important to notice that the negative impact of its problems (e.g. terrorism, drug trafficking and migration) do not remain exclusively within its borders but also have worldwide effects. The terrorism issue in particular following the attacks of September 11th 2001 in the United States attracted the special attention of the international community and convinced them that such threats recognize no international borders. More importantly, however, this issue raised consensus among the major powers that weak or failed states are the source of many of the world's most serious problems, from poverty to AIDS to drugs to terrorism (FUKUYAMA 2005: xvii). Therefore, in a joint attempt with the international community the US declared the so called 'War on Terror' and put forward state-building in Afghanistan as a priority task on the agenda.

In September 2001 the US and its allies invaded Afghanistan, and helped the Rabbani led government to oust the Taliban from Kabul. At the same time with the help of the international community, different Afghan political groups (those inside the country and those who were in exile) met in Petersberg, near Bonn, and signed the 'Bonn Accord'. The meeting resulted in a plan based on which an interim administration was established for a period of six months, to be followed by a transitional administration governing the state for two years. In this period two *Loya Jirgas* (traditional tribal councils) were held, an emergency and a constitutional one. The latter approved the new constitution. With two elections, a presidential and a parliamentary that were held in 2003 and 2004 respectively, the Bonn Accord was fully implemented. According to the new constitution Afghanistan became an Islamic republic.

This sort of top-down state-building or nation-building process is nothing new in Afghanistan. Looking back more or less the same process started in the late 19th century[1] when the external powers (Russia and Britain) drew the boundaries of Afghanistan and agreed upon the existence of this territory to be a buffer state (map 7) between their areas

---

[1] There are different opinions among the authors with regard to the first state building process in Afghanistan. Here I preferred to take the year 1880 as the first attempts in modern state-building process. For details see Chapter 2.

of interest. The colonial rivalries between Russia and Britain in the 18th to mid 20th century, the so-called 'Great Game', triggered foreign invasions, interventions and finally the emergence of Afghanistan as a buffer state between the two powers. In fact from 1809-1879 Britain treated Afghanistan as a satellite or buffer state against Russia (LENCZOWSKI 1980: 230-231). Prior to 1880, the country that would become Afghanistan had neither a name (ELPHINSTONE 1998: 151-152) nor a fixed boundary. The demarcation of the boundaries was made official after Britain's attempts to colonize and maintain its direct rule in Afghanistan repeatedly failed, particularly following the two Anglo-Afghan Wars (1839- 1842 and 1878- 1879). However, the fighting within rival Mohammadzais for the political power helped the British not to totally lose control of the land. By installing Abdurrahman (reigned from 1880-1901), one out of many rival figures, as Amir of Afghanistan, the British reached many of their goals. They found a way to safely return to their bases, something they could not achieve in the earlier periods. The new Amir deliberately accepted both the demarcation of the boundaries and the British control over the external relations of the country. Supporting Abdurrahman with money and arms helped to eliminate all Britains enemies in Afghanistan (cf. Chapter 2.2.2). From 1881-1896 Abdurrahman carried out 17 military campaigns (DUPREE 2005: 418-419) in which he expanded his influence in the country and put off many rebellions.

Based on these facts, some say that "in 1880 Afghanistan became a unique client state" (GREGOREAN 1969: 117). Others believe that Amir Abdurrahman created the modern state of Afghanistan (DUPREE 1977: xix, RUBIN 2002: 265, SCHETTER 2003: 216, 2005: 54, 2006: 22) with weapons and cash supplied by the British for their own strategic reasons (RUBIN 2002: 265). Nevertheless, it is significant that state-building and nation-building were foreign projects, implemented by external players in order to maintain their own strategic goals. This is what TILLY describes as "war drives state formation and transformation", or "war made the states and vice a versa" (TILLY 1992: 20, 67). It was extensive financial and arm support from the British that made it possible for Abdurrahman, the 'Iron Amir' to succeed his rival cousin Ayoub Khan, the ruler in Kandahar-Herat region. Furthermore the British also guaranteed to defend the ruler and his territory against any foreign invasion. In August 1907, Russian formally recognized Afghanistan as a British sphere of influence (HOPKIRK 1999: 520).

After the third Anglo-Afghan War in 1919 Afghanistan became an independent and sovereign state recognized by many European and Asian countries. However, it remained

weak due to meagre financial and human resources. Amir Amanullah (reigned from 1919-1928) carried out many attempts towards building Afghanistan as modern functioning nation-state. But he lacked financial resources since the country's independence resulted in a cut in the regular subsidies that were provided by the British to Abdurrahman and Habibullah. To fill the gap and to implement his modernization plan, he made a U-turn and established close relationships with the Soviet Union, both the European and the Islamic countries hoping political support would eventually lead to gaining financial support. Immediately after its independence in 1919, Afghanistan was one of the first countries to recognize the Bolshevik regime (BLACK, CYRILE, DUPREE, ENDECOTT-WEST, MATUSZEWSKY, NABY and WALDRON 1991: 185) and in March 27th 1919 the Soviet Union was one of the first countries to recognize the independence of Afghanistan (GHUBAR 1968: 756). The two countries established diplomatic relations. Later Afghanistan signed treaties of diplomatic relations with France, Italy, Germany, Britain, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, Egypt and Iran.[2]

The country's independence and its relationship with the outside world provided opportunities to introduce modernization to Afghanistan. This opportunity was especially prominent after the country suffered many years of 'virtual isolation' for the first time in history (BLACK, CYRILE, DUPREE, ENDECOTT-WEST, MATUSZEWSKY, NABY and WALDRON 1991: 185) in the previous three decades. The modernization program included the establishment of institutions like executive judiciary and legislative bodies of the state. For the first time the national assembly was established and a constitution was promulgated. On the other hand these modern state institutions desperately needed capable staff to run them. In order to respond to this challenge, special attention was given to the introduction and expansion of modern education in the country. Modern schools were established; the *Amani* high school built by the Germans, *Istiqlal* was built by the French, while the *Habibia* high school was built before the country became independent. The development of education produced intellectuals who constituted a new political elite in a society where until then, traditional and religious elites existed as the two dominant actors.

The implementation of reforms and institution building came to its climax just after Amanullah returned from his trip to Russia and Europe, where he was inspired by the development in Western countries. The intellectuals mostly favoured Amanullah's

---

[2] These letters of agreement between Afghanistan and the mentioned countries are available at the National Archive in Kabul.

modernizations, while dominant religious and traditional groups criticized some of the reforms and regarded them as unnecessary for the country. The tensions erupted when the government supported by the intellectuals, began to oppress the religious and traditional elites. This oppression marked the end of Amanullah's rule since the tribal and religious leaders carried out many rebellions. This was the first time in the modern Afghan history that the state turned against the society (excluding the tiny number of intellectuals) and vice versa.

For a period of nine month the religious groups gained power under the rule of Habibullah II (reigned January - October 1929). The rise of religious elites in power alarmed both Russia and the British since they feared that a similar situation would arise in the Muslim populated territories they occupied. In order to end this, both Russia and Britain tried place figures loyal to them in Kabul. From the north, Russians first invasion failed to bring Amanullah back in to power (HAMMOND 1984: 9). From the south, the British provided all necessary support for Nadir Khan, one of Amnullah's generals together with his brothers. This enabled them to establish their family rule (Musahiban rule 1929-1973). Until the end of th British rule in India in 1947, Afghanistan remained a weak buffer-state between two powerful neighbours under the rule of an absolute monarchy loyal to the British. In order to sustain his rule Nadir Khan relied on tribes from the south while he also gave privileges to the religious establishment. However, the intellectual elite was the victim of his policies. They were killed, tortured, and sent to exile (into remote areas of the country). Nadir Khan's and his brothers' way of rule is known as 'the reign of terror' by the intellectuals of that period. Later, Amanullah's loyalists assassinated Nadir Khan in Kabul and one of his brothers in Berlin. These events increased the number of executions of political opponents which aroused widespread disgust with the regime.

During WWII, the Germans repeatedly visited Kabul through Turkey and Iran. They encouraged the Afghan monarchy to join the axis with promise to regain the lost territories of Ahmad Shah Durrani west of the Indus river. The number of German diplomats and experts in the country increased, which raised the concern of both the Russians and the British. To minimize the influence of the Germans in Afghanistan, Russia and Britain cut the communication route of the Germans through Iran in a joint attempt. The situation created a dilemma within the ruling family circle. The younger members of the royal family like Daoud and Naim immediately wanted to join the axis. But the elder members of the monarch's family, cautious about the result of WWII,

officially proclaimed a policy of neutrality. The contact with the Germans installed the ideology of an Aryan race in Afghanistan and attracted the attention of prominent Afghan writers. At this point in time Afghan nationalism emerged in the form of territorial claims to 'Greater Afghanistan'. Following the British withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent and the creation of India and Pakistan in 1947, Afghanistan raised its territorial claim over tribal areas west of the Indus. The Afghan rulers who remained silent in the past decades concerning the British rule of India, voted against Pakistan's membership in the United Nations. The emergence of the Pashtunistan issue became a central point for Afghanistan and determined its foreign relation strategy. Pakistan became a member of the British Commonwealth and relied on the West in its foreign relations. The Afghan monarchy in order to maintain their irredentist ambitions searched for help from the USSR as an alternative choice.

In the 1950s Afghanistan became strategically important to the major global rival powers. It became one of the playgrounds of 'the Cold War' in the region. The Western and Eastern block countries (the USA and the USSR with their respective allies) competed to invest their capital in many development projects in Afghanistan. This was a historical opportunity for the development of the country. The basis for much of the infrastructures still in use today was laid in this period. The Eastern and Western blocks countries also invested in the human resources of the country. Thousands of Afghans were sent abroad to Eastern and Western countries. However, the number of those who went to the USSR and other Eastern countries was higher than of those went to Western states. The USSR's closeness to Afghanistan facilitated its intensive investment and contacts. Moreover the oligarchic regime of monarchy helped the spread of communist ideology in Afghanistan. At the same time many Islamic movement started their activities. Many of the leading figures of these movements were among the teaching staff or the students of Kabul University. The political stability was deteriorating as a result of the anti-monarchy activities of intellectual groups in political movements and parties.

In the 19th century during the Great Game the British benefited from the tribal, kinship and family rivalry to maintain their strategic goals in Afghanistan. Likewise, in the Cold War the USSR used the same cousin-rivalry as a potential opportunity to end the monarchy and install a puppet government in Kabul. From here on the influence of the USSR grew in Afghanistan, while in the South in newly established Pakistan, the West, led by USA, the former British colony was slowly replaced. The USSR increased its influence and presence in Afghanistan. It was as a result of this influence that Daoud (the

rival cousin of King Zahir Khan) was able to end the monarchy in 1973 and to establish the first republic. This coup became the starting point for many bloody coups and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The change in geopolitical balance of the region which triggered the fall of the monarchy also ended an era of relative stability in the country which has not been regained as of yet. Later, Daoud's U-turn policy failed to end the strong ties with the USSR and to start relations with the West. In 1978, the communists carried out a bloody coup, overthrew Daoud and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Therefore, external invasions and pressure added to the long existing internal rivalry and disorder to undermine stability, sovereignty, and the effective functioning of state in Afghanistan. Every attempt to cope with these challenges failed because state-building was a foreign funded project developed only to maintaining these states own strategic goals. Moreover the rivalries between tribal, religious and intellectual elites over political power provided opportunities for foreigners to exploit the situation for their own interests. As a result the elite in power could maintain its rule as long as it received foreign support. The end of external support and intervention resulted in institutional malfunction, state failure, and even collapse. According to RUBIN, "foreign powers whose main strategic interests centred on Europe also furnished weapons, cash, and training to Daoud, Taraki, Amin, Karmal, and Najibullah, enabling them to pursue domestic projects that met the strategic goals of the suppliers. When the Soviet Union broke up at the end of 1991, so did the Russian Empire in Asia. Bipolar strategic conflict ended, and the European imperialist map of Southwest Asia was redrawn. Foreign aid to Afghanistan from competing, Euro-Atlantic powers ceased, and along with it the century old project of building a foreign aid-funded, Pashtun-led, centralized buffer state' (RUBIN 2002: 265)." Furthermore, state-building and nation-building projects were always implemented from the top by governments who usually had legitimacy problems. Thus the top-to-bottom state-building process repeatedly failed because the key role of population was largely ignored. As a result, on several occasions during such intense state-building processes the society turned against the state authorities.

These above mentioned regimes lacked legitimacy and the support of the population. In order to maintain and sustain their rule, they and their foreign supporters heavily invested in and relied upon military institutions. It is significant to see, that after the disintegration of military all of the institutions of the state collapsed. For example, the fall of the communist regime in 1992 initially started with the disintegration of the armed forces and

was followed by that of the civil institutions. Due to this factor 1992 is referred to as the time when the state utterly collapsed (ENGLEHART 2007: 144). In fact the disintegration of a state as a political institution occurs when it can no longer perform the functions required for it to pass as state (ZARTMAN 1995: 5). This was the case in Afghanistan in 1992 and continues to be so until the fall of the Taliban in 2001.

State-building in Afghanistan, especially after the fall of the communist regime and the disintegration of institutions, was a challenging task for the successor Mujahidin regime. In a symbolic act in 1992 the remnant of the communist regime in Kabul transferred the power to the interim government of the Mujahidin. Although the new government proclaimed the establishment of the Islamic State of Afghanistan (ISA) it could not rule effectively in the country because it inherited no functioning institutions. Army, police and security forces which comprised the backbone of the communist regimes had already disintegrated. The leading figures of the regime and its security institutions either joined different Mujahidin parties, or left the country for exile. Furthermore, the Mujahidin did not consist of a unified homogenous force. Instead, there were many political armed groups with different socio-religious and ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Any attempts to unify them proved to be difficult.

Unlike former regimes the ISA lacked a strong foreign supporter. Instead, like the internal Mujahidin fractions, their external sources were also composed of many rival players in the region. In particular the rivalry between Pakistan and India, Saudi Arabia and Iran provided not only an external motivation for the conflict, but also intensified it. At this stage the US and its western allies and Russia remained in the background and kept a low profile, while countries like Turkey and the central Asian states further added problems in the already complicate situation by supporting one side in the conflicts. India backed the Rabbani led Mujahidin government while Pakistan and Saudi Arabia supported the Hekmatyar led opposition Mujahidin groups. At this point in time Iran was playing a double role by supporting the *Shii* parties either on the side of the government or those in the oppositions. However, neither side succeeded a victory. Instead, Kabul, where the main conflict took place, was badly destroyed and its population badly affected by its outcomes. Later Hekmatyar's repeated failure disappointed Pakistan and prompted its attempt to create the Taliban militia in 1994 (MALEY 2002: 219, RUBIN 2002: xviii). The Taliban militia consisted of Pashtuns both from Afghanistan and Pakistan together with foreigners (Pakistanis, Arabs, Uzbeks, Chechens etc.). It succeeded in bringing larger parts of Afghanistan including the capital and other major cities under its control.

However, the regime failed to get international recognition from the United Nations and the international community. Only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates recognized the Taliban regime, something they declined following the September 11th events in the United States.

Today, Afghanistan has a government which enjoys international recognition and receives special attention from the international community. However, the major challenges of state-building seem to be far from over. The government has little control beyond the capital, while in the last few years the security situation has deteriorated in the capital as well. The unemployment rate is high and those in the payroll of the government receive an insufficient salary. Like in the 1980s, in 2007 Afghans once again constituted the largest part of refugee population with 3.1 million or 48 percent of the world's refugees (UNHCR 2007: 27, 43).[3] State institutions are ineffective, corruption is booming and people have lost their confidence in their elected government and parliament. The new constitution remains merely a on paper and the criminals are out of the reach of the law. The production of opium is increasing and the government's attempts to reduce it have proved little success in the past few years. The reconstruction and provision of social service is undermined by the growing insecurity and corruption. This situation continues in the country despite the government not being alone but backed by the international community. There are thousands of foreign troops led by NATO and ISAF fighting the Taliban insurgents, trying to maintain security and to help the government expand its rule across the country. In order to demonstrate that their mission is to provide peace and security, the US led forces have established a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) which carries out some humanitarian assistance and a reconstruction program. At the same time hundreds of NGOs are also involved in reconstruction and aid programs in the country.

In recent interdisciplinary publications, these problems are studied using the terms "state-building" and "nation-building". For a better analysis of these problems it is crucial to identify and clarify the right terminology employing a political and geographical perspective. Meanwhile, this study will research whether there is a certain model of statehood or nationhood in modern political geography, which will help to assess the status of Afghanistan as a state and its people as a nation.

---

[3] According to UNHCR report about half of all refugees are in protracted situation. Even though Afghan refugees are located in over 70 countries, only those in Pakistan and Islamic Republic of Iran meet the UNHCR definition of living in protracted situation (UNHCR 2007: 43).

1.2　State-Building or Nation-Building: Terminology

In order to focus on the main topic of research it is crucial to identify and use the right terms for the research area. There are two terms within literature dealing with the post conflict reconstruction process that are most frequently discussed and used for countries like Afghanistan. These two terms are "state-building" and "nation-building". It is not easy to find a generally accepted definition for either of these terms. Usually any attempt towards ending a military conflict, rebuilding and reconstruction programs in a country or the supporting and strengthening of a government in a weak state is considered as nation-building or state-building. Watson defines nation-building as "ending military conflicts and rebuilding economic infrastructures, along with basic services, to include the armed forces, police, government, banks, transportation networks, communications, health and medical care, schools, and the other basic infrastructure" (WATSON 2004: 9).

Meanwhile, there is some confusion regarding the usage of state-building and nation building if both terms are used for the same purpose. For example, the term nation-building is used as meaning the formation and establishment of new states as a political entity: "nation-building is both formation and establishment of a new state itself as a political entity and the processes of creating viable degrees of unity, adaptation, achievement, and a sense of national identity, among the people" (BELL and FREEMAN 1974: 11). FUKUYAMA repeats the same confusion today when he uses these two terms state-building and nation-building while he referes to only one concept. In his book (*State-Building*) he defines: "state-building is the creation of new government institutions and strengthening of existing ones." (FUKUYAMA 2005: xvii). But in his recent book '*Nation-Building*' he uses both together with a comprised meaning: "What we mean by nation-building is usually state-building coupled with economic development" (FUKUYAMA 2006:3). HIPPLER believes that nation-building is a process of socio-political development, which takes place over a long historical time span (HIPPLER 2005: 6). This definition seems to be based on the very old concept which considered 'nation to have a common history', an idea which is different from the modern concept of nation.

This confusion in usage makes it hard to distinguish the difference between the two terms. So if nation-building is state-building, then what is state-building? It seems that the confusion between 'nation-building' and 'state-building' stems from the already

existing confusion over the term 'nation' and 'state'. GLASSNER, a political geographer, believes that this confusion is not only prominent among the nonspecialists but also among scholars in many disciplines. They are confused in differentiating the term 'nation' from 'state' or even 'State' from 'state' (GLASSNER 1993: 35).[4] For example according to RICHMOND sociologists find it hard to maintain a distinction between 'state', 'nation', and 'ethnic group', due to the fact that they frequently overlap in historical reality (RICHMOND 1987: 4). On the other hand political scientists also admit that in common speech 'nation' is often used loosely to mean 'state', as it does in phrases such as 'United Nations' (MILLER 1998: 657 and CRAIG 1998: 657).

Besides the terms 'nation-building' and 'state-building' there is also the modern term 'nation-state building' which is a combination of nation + state = nation-state (PENROSE and MOLE 2008: 273-275). These varieties of terminology complicate the distinction and use of the right and appropriate terminology in this study. In order to overcome this problem it might be better to look for a precise definition of state and nation first. This will make it rather easier to find an answer to questions like "is it possible to build a nation or a state or even a nation-state?"

Nation

The term 'nation' stems from Latin '*natio*' meaning race, people and tribe (*Geschlecht, Volk, Volksstamm*) (BECK 1986: 617). In the historical concept of the nineteenth century the term 'nation' was often used interchangeably with the term 'race'. The British referred to themselves as "an island race" different from "the Irish race" etc. (COX 2002: 168). However, the modern concept of the term 'nation' varies from the historical one. It developed with the changing modes of practice associated with the dominance of modernism (JAMES 2006:370). Modern 'nation' is a multidimensional concept as a result of which scholars from different fields define it according to their own perspectives. This means it usually depends on from which perspective one looks at the 'nation'. With regard to different perspectives, 'nation' is defined by state, by language and culture, by common history and heritage, by territory, and by common aims (BENN 1972: 443-444). As a result this provides a variety of definitions for the term 'nation'. At the same time such definitions resulting from particular perspectives can hardly provide

---

[4] GLASSNER believes that "in much of the discussion, not only among nonspecialists but even among scholars in many disciplines, the term 'State' is confused with 'state' or 'nation'. Often the 'State' or 'state' or 'nation' is used interchangeably with 'nation-state' and sometimes the hyphenated word is used rather pompously in place of simpler one (GLASSNER 1993: 35)." In the context of this study, the term 'state' is used as a political organization. That is too important for a footnote.

its complete criteria. That is why within scientific literature certain criteria which are mentioned for the term 'nation' are confusing.

In considering the multidimensional concept of 'nation', SMITH defines it "as a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common culture, a common economy, a common legal rights and duties for all members (SMITH 1991: 43)." In this definition special emphasis is placed on the common inclusion of a few criteria for 'nation', especially 'culture' while the term 'culture' is not clarified. Culture itself is understood to involve complex layers of shared meaning and experiences. Societies generally include many subcultures defined in terms of region, status, ethnicity and other factors, such as occupation and gender (RICHMOND 1987: 4).

If 'common culture' were a criterion for 'nation' it would be possible to find it not only in one country but in many countries e.g. in the Middle East as well as Arab States. The Arabs, despite having a shared culture (language, religion, history and customs), are divided into many separate states. Formally they are regarded as the Egyptian nation, the Libyan nation and the Iraqi nation etc. More significant is that they share in general a common identity as 'Arabs'. The difference among them may be seen more in terms of urban and rural life a phenomenon that is also present in countries with homogenous population. A similar situation can be seen in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Furthermore, there are large homogenous group of people who live within many countries but they are not regarded as separate nations. The Kurds living in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran, or the Baluch people, living in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, are such examples.

However, countries can also be found that have a variety of cultures (multi-ethnic and multi linguistic) while they posses one state, and share one identity like the Indian nation. The USA called a 'melting pot', which is another example of a population of more than 300 million with a different backgrounds coming from Europe, Asia, and Africa is considered to be 'the American Nation'. In some cases religion become the reason for establishing both a nation and a state. For example, in Pakistan and Israel religion was the basic reason for forming a new nation.

A territorial reference is another necessary component of the idea 'nation' mentioned in the above definition. The same criterion with a historical association is also considered as

sine qua non (RICHMOND 1987: 4). However, this does not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of a particular state. In other words, the geographical parameters of a given nation may not always be as clearly defined as those of the state.

Another major characteristic of the term 'nation' is that its members tend to identify with one another, feel closer to one another than to outsiders, and to believe that they belong together. They are clearly distinguishable from others who do not share their culture (DICKEN 2004: 123). This is what IBN KHALDON noticed and called it as 'group feeling' when he compared the sense of togetherness among the Bedouins and of urban people (IBN KHALDON after ROSENTHAL 2005: 98-99). Further criteria of a 'nation' include political, social and economic institutions.

Nevertheless with these criteria mentioned in the above, the question still remains whether it is possible to form or to build a nation or not. To sum up the definitions, generally there are two views with regard to the nation, a subjective and an objective view. According to subjective view nations are essentially voluntarily associations of people held together simply by the continuing will of their members. Nation is formed because its members want to be politically associated. On the other side, according to objective view, nations are marked out by certain objective characteristics that their members share – racial descent, by language, religion, common traits of character, and so forth (MILLER 1998: 657-658). The latter seems to be similar to the old concept of 'nation' from the nineteenth century, when 'race' and 'nation' were used interchangeably.

There is no doubt that those who fevor the objective view, can hardly believe in forming and building a nation out of different cultural, linguistic, and religious groups. The objective view is similar to what COX considers as "nation in biological terms", through the perspective of which many people almost conceive the construction of nation as a very odd and even bizarre idea (COX 2002: 168). In addition to that, this is a nationalistic view of the nation which proclaims that the nation and state should be congruent. Nationalism holds that the legitimate rule is based on the sovereignty of a culturally or historically distinct people in a political system that expresses and protects those distinctive characteristics (SNYDER and BALLENTINE 2001: 65). However, nations with such distinct characteristics hardly exist in the world today. One can find tiny minority groups who practice their own customs and posses their distinct culture in almost every country of the world.

An alternative and compromising view was mentioned earlier by MEINECKE who considered two types of nation; a 'cultural nation' and a 'state nation'. Members of a 'cultural nation' are bound by a common culture (language, science, art, religion, way of life) without having a common 'state' (BECK 1986: 617). Members of a 'cultural nation' can extend beyond the political boundaries of a particular state (e.g., Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, Arab countries, or Afghanistan with its neighbours in Central Asia, Iran and Pakistan). The idea of a 'cultural nation' is similar to the 'objective view' and 'nation in the biological term' which is often abused by nationalists to support their ideology. With such an ideology, often nationalist groups often consider territories beyond their own country, where people with similar ultural trait live as part of their country. Sometimes, if a nationalist group dominates power, they follow an irredentist move in which they merge their neighbouring countries, partly or totally, to their own territory through military acqusitions. There are many examples of such an irredentists policy carried out in the past e.g., Germany against its neighbours during WWII, Iraq against Kuwait, or the continuous border disutes between Afghanistan and Pakistan, India and Pakistan, and India and China.

Members of a 'state nation' are politically organized into a common sovereign state (BECK 1986: 617). This definition similar to 'subjective view' or considers nation as 'a social product'. According to this view, 'nation' and the sense of belonging to a particular 'nation' are socially constructed. This is the gist of such commonly held notions as the US as a 'melting pot': the idea, that Americans are made and not born, that they are socialized through school, fellow workers, friends, and the media, etc. into becoming Americans (COX 2002:168). In other words it is the modern state that builds the nation. Modern states are quite crucial players in the development of a sense of nationhood (COX 2002: 178). Therefore, states precede the nations and they are prerequisite for the development of a sense of nationhood. In order to grasp the further details of the role of state in building the nation it is important to first define the term state itself.

State
State is a familiar phenomenon that has been developing for thousands of years in different parts of the world (GLASSNER 1993: 43). On the basis of historical development, states are known as 'traditional states' and 'modern states' (PIERSON 1996: 39), although there are different opinions over the exact date of origin of both

forms. It is believed that Greek philosopher Aristotle developed the theory of the city-state about 350 BC in his book *Politics* where he argued that a natural logic dictated that societies should have governments, or political rule, and that governments, in turn, led inevitably to the emergence of 'city state' (BLACKSELL 2006: 38).[5]

The traditional states took a variety of forms, and they were qualitatively different from their modern equivalent (PIERSON 1996: 39, 40). HELD (1992: 73) identifies "five main clusters of the state system:"

- Traditional tribute-taking empires
- Feudalism: system of divided authority
- The polity of estates
- Absolutist states
- Modern nation states.[6]

However, these five clusters of state systems can not be generalized everywhere. Different parts of the world had different state systems. A rather clear model is presented by (MUIR 1982). It shows the development of state systems in particular countries. Figure 1 shows a modified model based on MUIR (1982), including changes and expanded through the example of Afghanistan.

---

[5] PIERSON claims that the development of state dates back to 6000-800 BC and the modern state to not much than 300 years ago (PIERSON 1996: 39).
[6] COOPER believes to the extension of empire to the 20th century and they consider Mongol, Mogul, British, and USSR as empire. See COOPER 2003: 18-21.
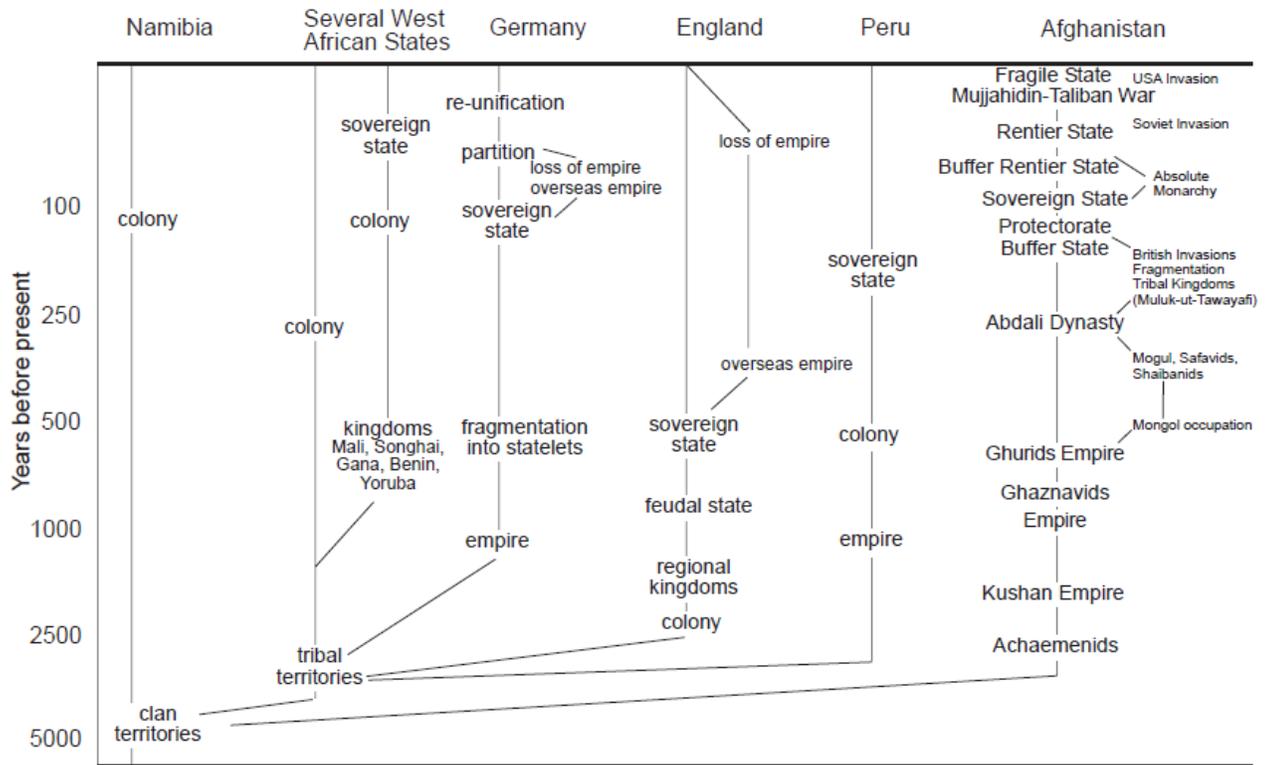
Figure 1: The development of state
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009) modified after MUIR 1982

Therefore the processes of state development from the traditional to the modern form, have not taken place in a unilinear path, even where similar forms emerged in the end. This means that state formation should certainly not be seen as a process which tended automatically towards the modern form of the states. Historically, many other forms of state emerged, grew, and declined: city-states, absolutist monarchies, empires, satellites, religious governments and other rose and then, for the most part, fell (PAINTER 1995: 36). Furthermore the process of state development and its transformation from the traditional to the modern form became a criterion for political geographers in identifying the factors which seem to be crucial to the formation and emergence of a state. On the basis of such analysis, PAINTER believes state formation to be the result of a 'social process' or a 'product of war' (PAINTER 1995: 35, 43). A semilar view is also held by TILLY: 'war drives state formation and transformation', or 'war made the states and vice a versa' (TILLY 1992: 20, 67). As illustrated in Fig. 1, in most of the cases, including Afghanistan, wars that occurred at different periods play a key role in both - the formation and transformation of states.

Through the course of history the form of the state has changed and so did its concept. Despite 'state' being an old phenomenon, it is still not easy to define it precisely and to determine its defining aspects and criteria. Although there are many definitions there is no universally accepted one. In part this is because, as with all objects of social scientific investigation in the social sciences, different writers adopt different perspectives and understandings, and these inform their definitions (PAINTER 1995: 33-34). According to WEBER, state is a compulsory political association with a continuous organization in which its administrative staff successfully uphold a claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order (WEBER 1964: 154) within a given territory (CORBRIDGE 2008: 107). KRADER concludes after analyzing views of experts from different field that anthropologists believe that the state is the central and highest political authority for regulation of a given society. It acts through a governmental machinery with defined agencies and divisions of functions. Furthermore all mentioned sources agree that state is distinct from society and from government in general (KRADER 1968: 26-27).

Geographers have a more distinct vision of the term 'state'. They believe that state consists of three main elements: territory, people and organization or an effective mechanism of government (POUNDS 1963: 7, DE BLIJ 1967: 134). Traditional political geography was largely organized around the trilogy of territory – state – nation, and behind every successful territorial state there was a vibrant nation (TAYLOR and FLINT 2000: 192). Furthermore, the three elements state, land and people are also considered as a geographical paradigm. Next to these main elements, state is supposed to have an organized economy, circulation system, sovereignty and recognition (GLASSNER 1993: 35-36, DICKEN 2004: 123). State is also a concept represented by certain symbols and demanding the loyalty of people (GLASSNER 1993: 35-36). Such symbols include historical monuments, memorials for important events and prestigious personalities who played their role in political, social and cultural events of the country.

Nowadays, state is the most accepted model of territorial organization and the key determinant in the world political map (JOHNSTON, KNIGHT and KOFMAN 1988: 3). Furthermore it is the basic unit of political control and legitimacy in the modern world. The international system is primarily composed of states that recognize each other's sovereignty, that is, ultimate legal authority over a demarcated territory. According to international laws and norms, the exercise of this sovereignty imposes obligations to respect the rights of citizens, other people, and other states, according to the law of

nations. Yet no state can carry out these obligations unless it has certain capacities (WORLD BANK 2005: 45). Nevertheless, these definitions highlight some of the main criteria of 'state'. However, in modern studies there is a variety of terminologies used to describe 'states' in terms of their functions and performance in the international system. In order to understand this better, it is crucial to analyse such a typology and identify the right term for the case of Afghanistan.

1.3   The Two Ends of a State: State's Effective Function as Determinant of its Ideal Form

States meeting all of the above mentioned characteristics are 'the ideal form of states' or 'the states of modernity' and are usually referred to as nation-state (TAYLOR and FLINT 2000: 373, PIERSON 1996: 60-61). Such states are usually stable, secure, sovereign, and independent both politically and economically. They perform their basic functions (e.g. maintaining security, rule of law and public order, public services) effectively and efficiently. However, there are also states that face political, economical, social, and cultural challenges which pose serious threats to their stability. Such states are usually referred to as 'weak-states', 'failed-states' or 'fragile-states' and even 'collapsed states', which leads to confusion in using the right term for certain cases.

State collapses, for instance, usually occur as a result of many factors, namely a government's malfunction, loss of its control over political and economical space or the power shift from the centre to peripherial groups (ZARTMAN 1995: 9-10). At the same time, countries "lacking the capacity and/or will to foster an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable economic growth; to establish and maintain legitimate, transparent, and accountable political institutions; to secure their populations from violent conflict and to control their territory; and to meet the basic human needs of their population" are referred to as 'weak states' (RICE and PATRICK 2008: 8). Alternatively, countries facing serious challenges in their development were mainly seen as fragile states, this is particularly the case before September 11, 2001 (OECD 2006:17).

The above definitions are just examples of many other available definitions in the salient publications. Despite a variety of terminology used in literature (ranging from collapsed to weak state), their characteristics mentioned seem to be more or less similar. According to the OECD the defining features of state fragility are to be found in a state's inability or unwillingness to provide physical security, legitimate political institutions, sound

economic management and social services for the benefit of its population. While there are differences in the way these states are described (*"weak," "failing," "failed," "collapsed," "fragile," "at risk," or "precarious"*). Such states are linked to a range of threats that are not limited to their own territories but have ramifications for regional and global security (OECD 2006:17). The events of September 11th, 2001 attracted major international attention to the problem of fragile states. Particularly because their problems were no longer seen as an internal issue within their geographical borders, but they could expand and expose serious threats to the security of the world.

A study carried out by Department for International Development (DFID) in 2005 proclaims that most of the developing countries including Afghanistan are considered as fragile states where the government cannot or will not deliver core functions to the majority of its people, including the poor. According to this study the most important functions of the state for poverty reduction are territorial control, safety and security, capacity to manage public resources, delivery of basic services, and the ability to protect and support the ways in which the poorest people sustain themselves (DFID 2005: 7). Table 1 below identifies some of the main characteristics of fragile states.

	Capacity	Willingness
State authority for safety and security	• The state lacks clear international sovereign status. • The state cannot control its external border or significant parts of its internal territory	• One of more groups are systematically subjected to violence or deliberately not provided security by the state
Effective political power	• The power of executive is not subject to controls, either through informal (political party) or formal (legislator) channels. • There are no effective channels for political participation.	• Major groups are systematically excluded from political process.
Economic management	• Weak or partial public financial management tools, such as a budget cycle and planning processes.	• There is no transparency in the public management of natural resource extraction.
Administrative capacity to deliver services	• The state levies less than 15% of GDP in tax.	• Access to public service for specific regions of the country or groups is deliberately limited

Table 1: Indicative features of fragile states
Source: Department of International Development (2005: 8)

Furthermore the DFID categorizes most of the developing countries into four broad types:

- '*good performers*' with capacity and political will to sustain a development partnership with the international community
- '*weak but willing*' states with limited capacity
- '*strong but unresponsive*' states that may be repressive
- '*weak-weak*' states where both political will and institutional capacity pose serious challenges to development (DFID 2005: 8).

This categorization identifies certain characteristics of fragile states. But still, it is not complete and cannot demonstrate all aspect of fragility. It has very materially oriented categorizations and gives no reason why these factors create fragility. In other words, it shows how these states are rather than why they are so and how the situation can be improved. This requires the analysis of institutional capacity which is considered to be the fundamental problem in the fragility of states. Such analysis will highlight the driving factors behind the fragility of states.

1.4   The Role of Institutional Capacity

In order to understand the role of institutional capacity it is important to know the institutions first and then analyse and understand the driving factors behind state fragility and stability. According to WEBER, a modern state is characterized by a set of institutions and a regularized staff to administer them (WEBER quoted in PENROSE and MOLE 2008:275). To better explore the institutions of state, the functional approach presented by HARTSHORNE provides a theoretical framework. According to this approach

> the fundamental purpose of any state, as an organization of a section of land and a section of people, as RATZEL first put it, is to bring all the varied territorial parts, the diverse regions of the state-area, into a single organized unit. In all cases, it attempts to establish complete and exclusive control over internal political relations – in simplest terms, the creation and maintenance of law and order. Local political institutions must be conform with the concepts and institutions of the central, overall, political organization (HARTSHORNE 1950: 104).

The importance of this approach has been further emphasized in later studies (Cf. COHEN 1975:15, GLASSNER and DE BLIJ 1980:67).

While HARTSHORNE'S functional approach highlights the importance of functions of the state it does not name any particular institutions of the state. Another study carried out by SHORT emphasizes the important goals and functions of a state while it also identifies institutions which should carry out these functions (table 2). At the same time he believes

that the ability of a state to pursue these goals and functions depends upon the position of the state in the political and economic world order (SHORT 1994: 71). As illustrated in table 2, SHORT identifies some institutions but not all of them: some especially important institutions of state, namely the legislative, is missing and the government (also known as the machinery of state) function is considered to be external.

Functions	State apparatus
External Defend the country	Diplomatic service, armed services
Maintaining favourable trading relations	Diplomatic services, armed services, government agencies which sign trading agreements, give aid to domestic producers, create tariff to keep out foreign competitors
Internal Maintain law and order	Police force, armed services, judiciary
Maintain belief system	Education and mass media (propagating essential rightness of existing system)

Table 2: Internal and external functions of state
Source: SHORT (1994: 71)

Another study that identifies the functions of modern nation-states and the role of institutional capacity is mentioned by PENROSE and MOLE. They emphasize the role of institutions and regularized staff mentioned by WEBER and add that one of the key functions of nation-state building is to establish these institutions as well as the bureaucracy capable of running them. According to their opinion nation-state building always involves at least five main processes that include:

1. Establishing the overtly political structure of the nation-state, namely institution of the government and system of representation,
2. The second main mechanism of nation-state building involves a monopoly over the legitimate use of force (a key characteristic of a modern state) by creating 'national' military and police forces,
3. Establishment of a national system of education through a standardized curriculum,
4. Standardized language is also fundamental to the fourth and fifth mechanism of nation-state building,
5. The building of an effective nation-state is aided by symbols, shared meanings and memories that are identified, and/or created, to confirm the existence of the nation-state and to invite personal allegiance to it (PENROSE and MOLE 2008:275).

While these five processes present the importance of institutional capacity in a nation-state, they give few hints hints as to how such institutions should be created. In other words, these approaches highlight the role of institutions in the formation of modern

nation-states but they give no further information how such institutions can be established in different countries with different socio-political backgrounds. Particularly in cases like Afghanistan a geographically diverse country with a fragmented society the creation of such institutions is one of the biggest challenges in the formation of stable states.

1.5   Research Question and Hypothesis

Afghanistan presents a very complex case for the state-building process. Recent studies categorize it among the countries in the world that are regarded as *failed states*, *failing states*, *collapsed states*, *weak states*, *fragile states*, *crisis states* (ZARTMAN 1995: 1-11), (GOODSON 2001: 183), (MILLIKEN 2003:3, 16), (HANHIMAEKI and WESTAD 2004: 631), (UNDP 2004a: 134), (UNDP 2004b: 23), (UNDP 2005: 12), (FUKUYAMA 2OO5: 125), (DFID 2005: 5), (MILLEN 2005: 1), (USAID 2005: 13), (RIPHENBURG 2005: 31), (CRISIS STATES RESEARCH CENTRE 2005: 12) (WORLD BANK 2005: 16, 44), (IEG-World Bank 2006: 4), (YAMAGUCHI 2006: 10), (ZARTMAN 1995:1-2), (ZEITLER 2007: 143), (ENGLEHART 2007: 133-144, 138), (GHANI and LOCKHART 2008), (IRO 2008: 15), (RICE and PATRICK 2008: 13-16), (HAIMS, GOMPERT, TREVERTON and STEAMS 2008: 1-2, 33), (RUTTIG 2008: 12) while the international media refer to it as a *puppet-state* or a *narco-state*.

Despite Afghanistan becoming independent in 1919 it never became a stable and functioning state. Many other states in the world emerged decades later, but are now more stable and functioning successfully while Afghanistan still struggles. Why did Afghanistan fail to become a stable state and a unified nation? Why did state-building efforts fail in the past and why are they not succeeding now? What makes Afghanistan such a complicated case for state-building? Despite many attempts which were carried out either by Afghans themselves or by foreigners through military interventions (e.g., the British, the Russians, and the US plus EU and UN), why has the project repeatedly failed and why is it failing again now?

In the last eight years, all attempts by the international community to stabilize Afghanistan have not been successful. The recently established institutions like the executive, legislative and judiciary branch of the government based in the capital city, have little or no influence and presence in the entire country. Despite the number of Afghan National Army (ANA), and Afghan National Police (ANP) having increased in the last seven years, there are still large gaps to be filled. The monopoly over the

legitimate use of force by the elected government is not achieved yet. Taliban attacks have increased and even reached the capital, deteriorating the security situation there. The government has little or no control beyond Kabul city.

The institutions in the country are weak and do not perform their functions effectively. The main reason for the weaknesses of institutions is the inadequate number of staff, especially the well qualified staff. In addition to that, the very low monthly salary (USD 40-60) paid to the staff makes jobs in government institutions less attractive and opens the way for corruption and brain drain. Particularly the police and the judiciary branch are among the most corrupt institutions of the state. Unemployment is booming and the demand of the growing population for job and public services increases.

After more than seven years the incapability and ineffectiveness of the central government is one of the major challenge both for Afghans and the international community. Afghanistan continues to rely on human and financial resources provided from the outside. The incapability and inefficiency of national institutions to provide security, rule of law and basic services for the population continues. This situation exists despite the fact there are more than 100,000 foreign troops from over 40 countries, over 2,000 NGOs and international organizations in support of central government. Among the foreign countries five leading donor-nations have taken primary responsibility for five sectors: military (US), police (Germany), demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) (Japan), counter-narcotics (UK), and judicial reform (Italy). This means the US troops fights against the Taliban insurgents and trains the ANA and security forces. Germany trains the ANP and carries out de-mining activities. The UK troops combat against drug production; Japan carries out the disarmament demobilization and reintegration (DDR); and Italy trains judges and lawyers, helps the government in regulating and organizing the judiciary system. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) composed of different European countries maintains security in Kabul and other major cities. The remaining tasks of the government are carried out by over two thousand international and national NGOs. In other words Afghans do not run their own country. The high salary paid by the NGOs has caused many officials to leave their jobs in the government and to get employed in NGOs. This situation in particular has created the problem of brain-drain for the government.

The present situation is so fragile that if there is no more funding from the international community, the government has no ability even to pay the salary of its staff, which is the

only visible task the government does. Meanwhile, if there are no more foreign troops, the newly built state institutions will disintegrate and the country will become a subject to international terrorism and a playground for the drug mafia. But how long should there be funding from the international community? How long should the international troops keep security and order? If this continues, what is the role of the government? The continuation of this situation will further undermine the legitimacy of the first and only government and parliament ever elected. One day, Afghanistan should stand on its own feet without the presence and support of international troops. As long as the institutional capacity of the state is not improved both qualitatively and quantitatively, the externally imposed state-building project will fail again.

My argument is that Afghanistan needs, at this point, to develop its social capital both quantitatively and qualitatively. Afghans can only run their state when they have enough capacity, capability and representative institutions. Lack of this capacity will lead to more intervention from outside powers, which will destabilise the situation in the country. To be a stable state, Afghanistan needs national institutions to function effectively, efficiently, transparently and with accountability. It needs a national army, national police forces and qualified people in government institutions. The question is, however, how such national institutions can be created in view of Afghanistan's diversities. In other words, diversity is one of the main challenges or obstacles towards creating national institutions. Diversity is a factor that either causes or sustains fragility of the state (fig. 2).
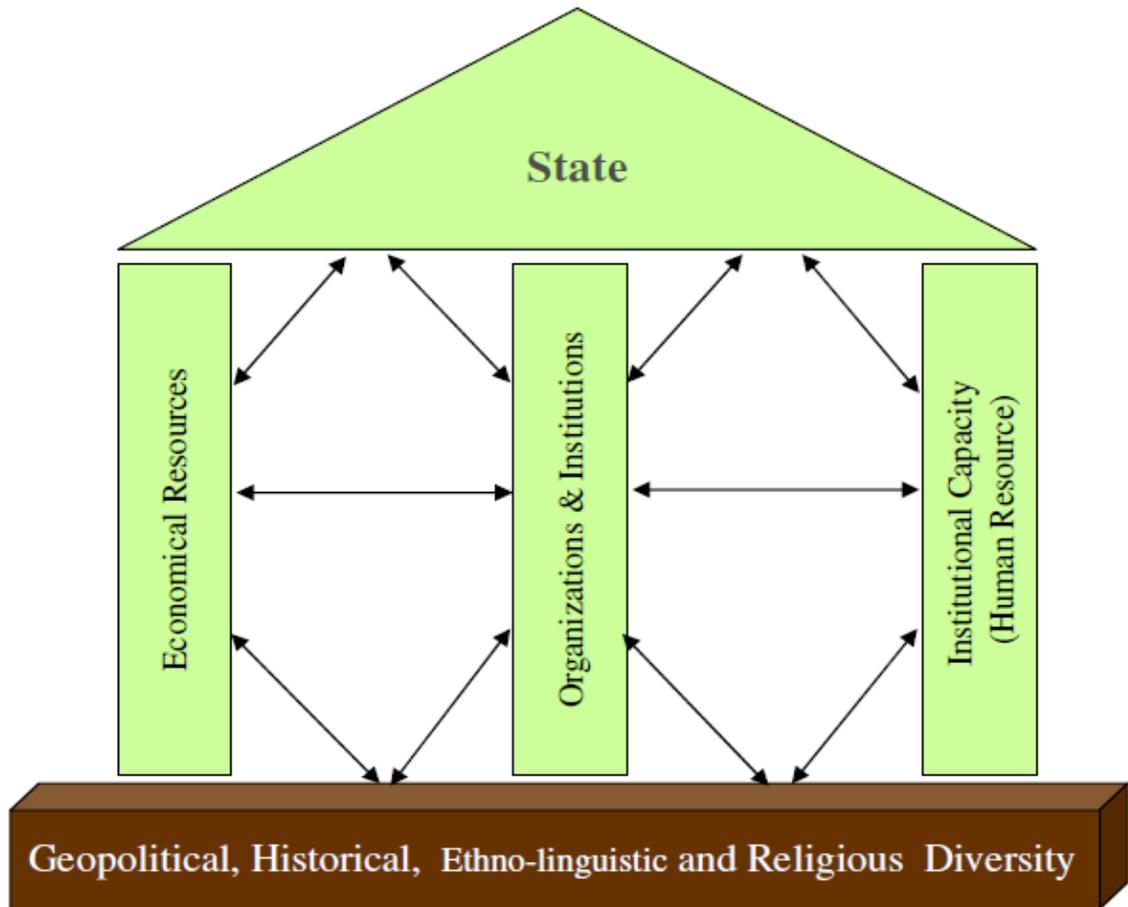
Figure 2: The role of institutional capacity
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

In figure 2 institutional capacity represents the ability and will of the actors (human resource) who play their part in the creation or reform of institutions and economic mobilizations. At the same time there are other factors like economic resources, types of institutions and organizations which have close relationship to institutional capacity.

Political geographers carefully study and analyse the factors behind stability and instability or fragility of states. Such analysis will not only help to understand the impact of diversity on the stability of state better, but will also identify factors which decrease and minimize its impact on state institutions. HARTSHORNE is among the pioneers of this theory which identifies centrifugal and centripetal forces as the two most important factors behind the stability and fragility of state. He believes that 'every state represents a complex mixture of centrifugal and centripetal forces, the former promoting inter-regional division and discord and thereby pulling the constituent regions apart, and the

latter contributing to pull the regions together by promoting shared interests and values'. State functions effectively when it overcomes the centrifugal forces through the cohesion provided by prevalent centripetal forces, which bind it together. Centrifugal forces exist in every state; in some states they are so powerful that they disrupt the state system completely (GLASSNER and DE BLIJ 1980:67). The division of population into contrasting cultures, religious, and linguistic communities sometimes leads to conflict which threatens the stability and even the existence of the state (POUND 1972: 13-14). At the same time a state's geography and history can also play a role in enforcing fragility. There are other factors, such as regional influences that are linked with fragility (VALLINGS and MORENO-TORRES 2005: 4) as well. This depends heavily on the geopolitical position of the country.

On the other side are the centripetal forces that contribute to the stability of a state. HARTSHORNE identified state idea or *raison d'etre* (reason for existence), the concept of nation and the concept of core area as centripetal forces (HARTSHORNE 1950: 109 - 116) that bring divided populations together. According to this study Afghanistan is a fragile state where the centrifugal forces have dominated the centripetal forces.[7]

1.6 Methodology: How to Focus on State-Building in Afghanistan - Status of Research

The research methodology used in this study includes reviews of literature on state-building, field research, distribution of questionnaires and interviews with experts. The available literature is in Farsi and Pashtu written by prominent Afghan former writers like GHUBAR, FARHANG, and KOHZAD. GHUBAR's book *Afghanistan dar Maseer-e Tarikh* (Afghanistan in the course of history vol. 1-2) and FARHANG's book *Afghanistan dar seh Qharn-e Akheer* (Afghanistan in the last three centuries vol. 1-2) present an internal perspective and provide a lot of insight on the political developments in Afghanistan from early history to the mid 20th century. Furthermore, these two books are referred to quite often because the authors were the eyewitnesses of many events, and they are among the most reliable resources in the country. The review of recent literature was also considered. One of the books referred to was written by TANIN, a journalist for the BBC Persian Service. This book is in fact the published version of a series of programs that dealt with Afghanistan in the 20th century and consisted of interviews with the political figures of the country.

---

[7] These factors are studied in detail in Chapter 5.

There has been much research on Afghanistan by Western writers following the end of the World War II. There are at least two detailed books still quite often used by many researchers on Afghanistan; one was written by GREGORIAN 1969 and another was written by DUPREE 2005, who spent many years inside Afghanistan. These two books provide detailed information on the 1950s to 1970s. For the analysis of later periods from the Soviet invasion to the rise and fall of the Taliban, salient books written by OLESEN 1995, RUBIN 2002, RASHID 2002, ROY 1990 and MALEY 2002 will be referred to as well. However, these are only a few examples of a long list of literature which is mentioned in the bibliography. To gain access to these publication many libraries were visited in Germany were visited (in Bonn the library of the Geography Department and of the University of Bonn, in Duesseldorf the University Library, in Berlin the Staatsbibilothek of Potsdam, in Freiburg the University Library, and the University Libraries in Giessen), in Denmark (University of Aarhus and Moesgaard Museum), in Kabul (Kabul University Library and Afghanistan Research Evaluation Unit AREU).

In order to get access to the statistics and maps many related ministries and offices were visited. Statistical data was received from the Central Statistic Office in Kabul. Furthermore, the Afghan Geodesy and Cartography Head Office was repeatedly visited and necessary information and maps were received. In addition, the AIMS office in Kabul was visited for required maps, data and information.

For quantitative and qualitative analysis field research was carried out in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009. A questionnaire was prepared in which necessary questions were posed in both English and Farsi. However, in the field only the Farsi questionnaires were distributed. The target group consisted of students and professors at Kabul University. This special place and target group was taken into consideration because;

- Kabul University provided a more secure and open atmosphere for this purpose.
- The target group was educated and qualified to answer the questions.
- In terms of official permission Kabul University was easy to choose since I spent many years teaching there. Furthermore, other places either needed special permission or it was not easy to find many people under one roof. Of course security was another problem.
- Many top students were invited to Germany, under a DAAD programme called "Lucky Sixties". At one occasion I was invited to participate as well. This made it

possible for me to distribute my questionnaire to these students and get their reply. Since these students represented all universities of Afghanistan, this helped to shift the focus of questionnaire away from Kabul and to reach other target groups in Afghanistan. There were altogether 247 completed questionnaires with available answers.

Further field research was done in 2007 and January 2008. During these visits, the political situation was evaluated through participating in meetings, visiting places and collecting of local media, and NGOs reports. This helped to refresh the earlier analysis and provided the possibility for a comparison with the result of the past visits. Finally, in December 2008 and January 2009 I did the last field research. This time I carried out expert interviews. The result of the interviews is available in written and audio format.

2   Afghanistan's Diversity as a Determinants of State-Building Processes

2.1   Geopolitical Determinants of Diversity

2.1.1   The Geostrategical Implications of the Region

Afghanistan is usually referred to as the 'great crossroad of Asia' (ARNEY 1993: 3), 'highway of conquest' (FLETCHER 1966, HABIBI 1970:30) the 'crossroad of civilizations and religions (HAGER 1983: 93, PANDJSHIRI 2005: 6, EMADI 2002: 1-2), and the 'roundabout of the ancient world' (ARNOLD TOYNBEE quoted in HYMAN 1984:3), as consisting of various trade routs linking Europe with the Far East and the Indian subcontinent (GREGORIAN 1969: 10-11) or as the 'heart of Asia' (AREZ 1974:169, SHAHRANI 2001: 214). These views reflect the important geographical position this land has always possessed. At various periods in time, it has attracted the attention of different empires. It is mentioned for the first time in reports about the conquests of the Achaemenids under Cyrus, those of Alexander the Great, the Arabs, as well as the Mongols. The Great Game led to British invasions and the Cold War led to the Soviet invasion; this demonstrates the geostrategic importance of Afghanistan in the last two centuries. At the same time, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan gained further strategic importance in the region due to the enormous energy and mineral resources in the Central Asian states. This situation was the begninng of a new era of regional competition and conquests for energy that is coined as 'the New Great Game'. The main players of the New Great Game were Russia, the USA, Europe, China, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iran (PAHLEVAN 1998: 75-84). Since the events of September 11th the attention of the rival powers has diverted and focused on to 'the War on Terror' in which Afghanistan plays a pivotal role (map 1).

Apparently Afghanistan's geographic position has made it vulnerable to many invasions from Central Asia and the West (GREGORIAN 1969: 10-11) as well as from South Asia. Afghanistan has a triangle shape in which Hindu Kush mountains stretch from the Northeast and continues to the West. In the East it is surrounded by the Hindu Kush and its branches. In the North Amu Darya forms its border around 1200 km, while the rest of the land is surrounded mostly by desserts from the Northwest, West and South. Therefore the borders are easy to cross and hard to be patrolled. This vulnerability is the heritage of the 19th century delimitation of borders by the British and Russians. The British brought under their control major passes like *Chitral, Khybar*, and *Bolan* all of which were strategically important for defending their hold on India. Following its creation in 1947,

Pakistan inherited these passes and Afghanistan continuously remained a landlocked and vulnerable country. In the same way the Russian occupation of *Panjdeh* from the North was mainly aimed due to its strategic importance.
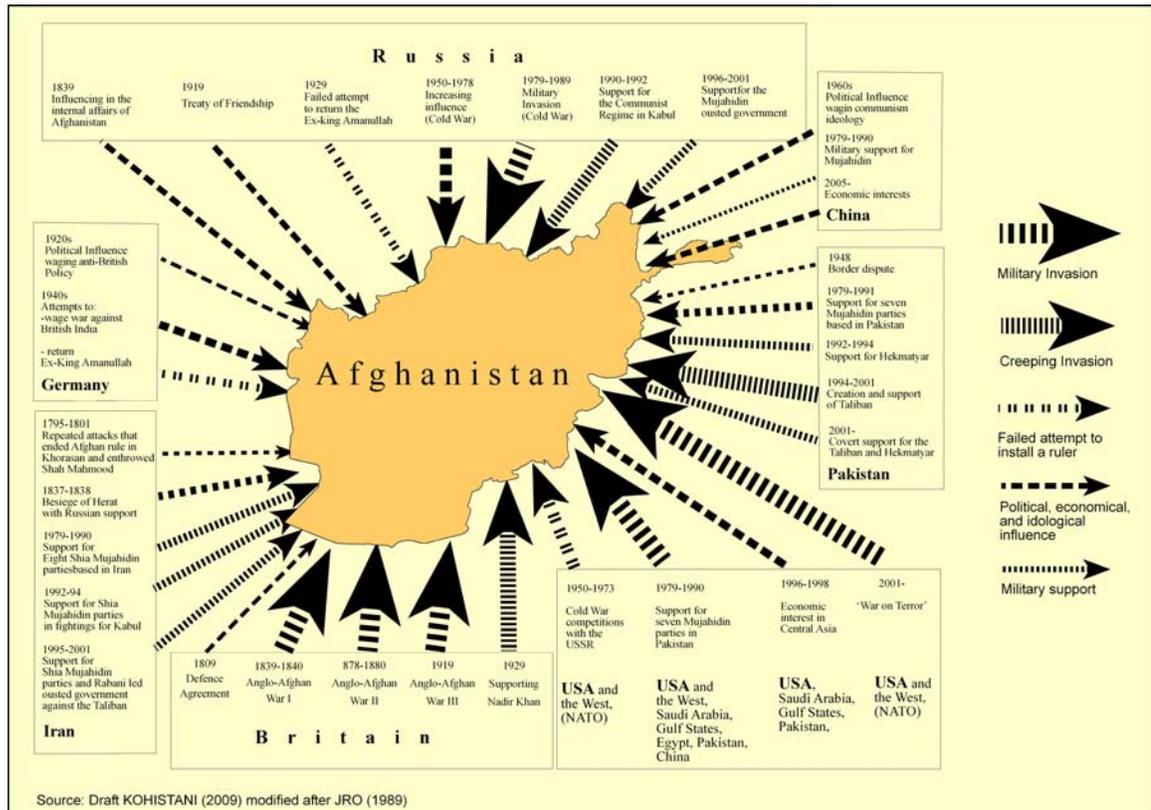
Map 1: The importance of geopolitical position of Afghanistan from the past to the present

The delimitationns of borders carried out by the British and the Russians in the late 19th century was based on political and strategical purposes rather than ethnic or economic ones (GREGORIAN 1969: 10-11, EHLERS 1990a: 17). Due to this reason in particular DUPRRE believes that Afghanistan is an artificial country, created out of tribal kingdoms as a buffer state by the British and Russians in the nineteenth century. The boundary commissions largely ignored cultural entities (DUPREE 2005: 518).

Furthermore these boundaries make it hard to clarify Afghanistan's regional location in Asia. Different resources consider it as part of the Middle East, Central Asia or South Asia. However there is no dispute that Afghanistan's neighbouring countries in the North (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan) are part of Central Asia; Iran in its west is part of Middle East; and finally Pakistan is part of South Asia. The difficulty lies in the

position of Afghanistan between these countries, which also makes the definition of these three regions confusing, especially in terms of their geographical extension. Therefore neither the land nor its people can be understood without reference to the three great regions against each of which Afghanistan has its borders (HYMAN 1984: 3). This is because of the geographical, historical and cultural phenomena of these regions are very closely intertwined and linked, making it difficult to find any clear border.

There is little doubt that Afghanistan gains much of its importance and much of its trouble from its location. It can be argued that the security, stability and sustainability of any political system in Afghanistan is highly dependent on the stability of the above mentioned regions and its neighbouring countries.

2.1.2   The Impact of Neighbours and Borders

Until 1947, Afghanistan neighboured two powerful colonial powers, in the north Russia, and in the south British India. They were the cause for both stability and instability in Afghanistan. The reign of any ruler was heavily dependent on the approval and assistance he received from either rival side. Shah Shuja, Dost Mohammad, Jaqoub Khan, Abdurrahman Khan, Habibulah Khan and Nadir Khan were all either enthroned or assisted by the British. Consequently, the British viewed Shir Ali Khan and Amanullah Khan as pro-Russian and anti-British rulers of Afghanistan because both had established close ties with Russia. In 1929, the British again succeeded in enthroning Nadir Shah by providing him money, arms and tribal militia. Russian attempts to return Amanullah to power failed because Britain had better access to Afghanistan since its core areas, like Kabul, were much closer to *Khybar* pass. Russia had to cross the Hindu-Kush, a great natural obstacle. It took them many decades to build the *Salang* tunnel and later *Hairatan* bridge over the Amu Darya river which they crossed in 1979, capturing the capital and enthroning a communist regimes loyal to them.

Therefore, stability in Afghanistan was dependent on the balance of power between its two rival colonial neighbours. As long as they existed, they could prevent any possible intervention by a third party in Afghanistan. For example, Germany, when noticing the strategic importance of Afghanistan, tried in two different times to use it as vital a base against the British in India. The first time this happened when a German and Turkish mission visiting Kabul provoked the Afghan authorities against Britain in India. This caused both Russia and Britain to cut the communication route they used from the West through Iran and central Afghanistan to Kabul. During the World War II the Germans

once again became interested in Afghanistan as a strategic location and wanted to use it as a base against the British rule in India. Encouraging the Afghan royal family, the Germans promised to help the Afghan monarchy regain what they called its lost territories. After this strategy failed to influence the Pro-British Musahiban family, the Germans began to use Pashtun tribal areas as a base and backed the tribes to return and enthrone Amanullah.

However, it was not always up to the foreign neighbouring powers to decide on who should rule in Afghanistan. During the Cold War and the competition between the East and the West block development projects to the emergence of different radical ideologies. Especially through the expansion of education system, thousands of Afghans were sent to Western and Eastern countries. However, the number of those who went to the USSR was far higher than that of those who went to the West. As a result of these contacts many political parties were formed that were against the existent political structure in the country. These parties mainly included the communists (*Khalq* and *Parcham*), the Islamic movements (*Ikhwan-ul-Muslemin* or Muslim Brotherhood), and the ethno-nationalist parties (*Afghan Melat and Setam-e-Mili*). They all had one thing in common: they were against the monarchist regime, while also being fundamentally against each other's existence. Although the communist and the Islamic movements were more in number and influence, they could not undermine the monarchist regime. The Islamic movements were severely oppressed by the regime while the communists enjoyed some extent of freedom for their activities. This was because of Soviet's strong involvement in this period. In 1978, the communist parties gained the power and the Islamic movements migrated to Pakistan and Iran, following massive and brutal oppressions. At the same time the Mujahidin were not able to form a unified party, instead they founded seven Mujahidin parties in Pakistan and eight in Iran.

The communist regime failed to avoid the persistent fractional rivalry. The same rivalry existed between the Mujahidin parties in Pakistan and Iran. In Kabul the communist fractions fought for the position of leadership while in Pakistan and Iran the Mujahidin fought amongst themselves about the distribution of arms and money they received from Western countries. In 1992, following the collapse of the communist regime, they fought among themselves over the power in Kabul. Therefore, the different Afghan political parties in different periods of time could not succeed in eliminating their fractional rivalry through armed conflicts. They failed to develop a common idea and a strategy which could bridge the gaps of confidence that existed among them. Instead the country

was still a playground for the strategies of foreigners. Undoubtedly this persistent internal animosity was used to as an open door for interventions by the powerful players in the regions and especially for the neighbours.

Another problematic issue, that continuously undermines the establishment of a friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, is the dispute over the Durand border line between the two countries. Since the rise of the Pashtunistan issue no Afghan government has ever recognized it. Following the British withdrawal from India, Afghanistan voted in the UN against the creation of Pakistan in its East to Southern border. Instead, Afghan authorities called the area between the Durand line and the Indus River 'Pashtunistan' or the 'land of the Pashtuns'.[8] This issue from in combination with Afghanistan's traditional friendship with India led Pakistanis to believe that their country is surrounded by enemies. The establishment of seven Mujahidin parties in Pakistan following the Soviet Invasion in 1979 provided a unique chance for Pakistan to influence the seven respective Mujahidin leaders and persuade them to support its interests. However, once in power the Mujahidin leaders formed the government which also had close ties with India. Only Hekmatyar remained loyal to Pakistani interests who opposed the government. This led to a proxy war between the Rabbani led government and Hekmatyar led opposition groups in 1992-1994. Later Hekmatyar's failure to gain the power prompted to the creation of a more radical group of Taliban in Pakistan.

The initial emergence of the Taliban was brought about to secure the transit route for Pakistani goods through Quetta, Kandahar, Herat and Ashkhabad, linking Pakistan with Turkmenistan and Central Asia. According to Nasirullah Babur who is also considered to be the 'god father' of the Taliban militia, the United States fully supported Pakistan's policy of creating and backing the Taliban from the very beginning (KLEVEMAN 2003: 243). It was 9/11 that changed the politics in the region, otherwise the Taliban could have been a better tool to maintain the strategic goals of Pakistan and the US. According to the 9/11 Commission Report, ISI (Inter-Service Investigation or Pakistani secret service) set up the first contacts between bin Laden and the Taliban's leader, Mullah Omar, when bin Laden returned in 1996. Part of ISI's motive was to get bin Laden's help with non-Afghan groups they had jointly worked with in the past (RIEDEL 2008: 35). Therefore, Afghanistan provided a safe haven for international terrorists, Pakistanis, Kashmiris, Arabs, Uzbeks, Chechens and other states in the region.

---

[8] For details please see Chapter 2.2

It is not only the border dispute that causes Pakistan to maintain its influence in Afghanistan, but also its growing demand for energy resources in Central Asia. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the region of Central Asia has acquired immense strategic importance in particular for its huge energy and mineral resources (MUKARRAM 1998: 63). The significance of Afghanistan as a vital transportation route has attracted the attention of powerful players in the New Great Game. After the Taliban had taken control of Kabul many projects were planned to extend pipelines from Central Asia via Afghanistan to the Arabian (map 2). Through direct interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, giant oil companies like UNOCAL of California, Bridas of Argentina and Delta Oil of Saudi Arabia attempted to maintain their interests in the region through financing and managing the proxy war (SHARANI 2001: 215-216). However, the Taliban failed to hold their control in entire Afghanistan and to get international recognition. This factor, along with growing instability and insecurity posponded those plans for uknown future.

In addition, these Pakistan has always used the blockade of the transportation of goods via the port of Karachi as a means to put pressure on Afghan governments, thus forcing them to realize that Afghanistan is highly dependent to its Eastern neighbour. This Pakistani strategy was successful in the past, during the monarchy and even in recent years, especially as a response to the government in Kabul who blamed Pakistan of supporting terrorists. In order to overcome this permanent challenge, Afghanistan started to build a highway that links Nimroz province in the Southwest with Chabahar port in Iran as an alternative to Pakistani ports (map 2). So far, this project has been supported by India and Iran while Pakistan is very concerned for many reasons. First, Afghanistan will no longer have to succumb to pressure by Pakistan. Second, India will benefit from this project and find new trade-routs to Afghanistan. More important, Central Asia and Iran will profit from import export transit between countries in the region. The bombing of the Indian embassy in Kabul in July 2008, and the repeated kidnapping and killing of Indian engineers employed in construction projects highlight the geopolitical tension in the region. [9]

---

[9] Indian engineers involved in the development of this project were killed and abducted.

Map 2: Major oil and gas pipelines with communication routes between Afghanistan and its neighbors

With the independence of Central Asian states in the region, Afghanistan is now neighbored in the North by Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. Thus it is no more the only landlocked country in the region because its neighbouring countries in the North also have no access to the sea. Despite their independence, these countries remain exclusively dependent on Russian communication routes for their exports and imports. This is something they eagerly want to change in order to reduce their level of dependence. Therefore, a communication route through Afghanistan and Pakistan that leads to the Arab sea is a strategic alternative. Furthermore, the developing economies of India and Pakistan have also created growing demands for energy. At the same time there is a rivalry between Pakistan and India based on trying to maintain their influences on Afghanistan. The same strong rivalry exists between Iran on the one side and Saudi Arabia and the US on the other. The EU, Russia, Turkey and China also have their interest in Central Asia and its natural resources. Therefore, the New Great Game by

different rival players weakens the possibility of stability and security in the region difficult.

At the same time the War on Terror is far from succeeding due to the growing strategic interests in the regions. The rivalry between the regional players still exists strongly in post Taliban Afghanistan. After more than seven years of attempts in Afghanistan, thousands of foreign troops under NATO command have failed to establish security and stability in the country. In the beginning, Afghanistan's neighbouring countries supported the so called War on Terror and the US established military bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. However, since a few years Russia and China with their regional alliance have voiced their concern about the presence of NATO for a longer period. As a result of pressure by Russian and Uzbek authorities, NATO forces evacuated their bases in Uzbekistan in 2006. In the summer of 2009 the Kyrgyz government also gave a deadline for NATO to withdraw from its soil. This happens in at a time when the communication route of NATO force via Pakistan has been under repeated attacks by militants in the tribal areas of Pakistan. To break this isolation NATO discussed using Russian railways that link Europe to Central Asia. Even the possibility of opening a corridor via Iran has been discussed as an alternative.

Moreover, taking into account cultural issues, the new Central Asian states are largely Muslim nations, This issue has created the possibility for religiously conservative countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia to compete in maintaining their influence on Afghanistan. Thus Afghanistan again provides a strategic corridor for such a purpose, not only because it has long borders that can be easily crossed, but also because it has a historical and cultural ties with the Central Asian states. An example is the emergence and spread of religious movements (e.g. *Hezb-ut-Tahrir*) in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan since their independence. Afghanistan has been playing a fundamental role both for religious movements and their supporters, from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, to gain access to these countries.

2.2   Historical Determinant of Diversity: The Changes in Ruling Systems from 1747 to 1973 and Their Influence on Institution

About the initial process of state-building in Afghanistan, authors generally have two opinions. Many non-Afghan authors believe that the modern state of Afghanistan was

founded by Ahmad Shah Abdali[10] in 1747 (CAROE 1958: XV, KLIMBURG 1966:32, SNOY 1974: 186, GROETZBACH 1990, ARNEY 1990: 6). Furthermore they believe that the first group of people who invaded this land were the Indo-Aryans around 1600 BC (NEWELL1972: 35). They designated their land as "Aryanum Vijoo", "Ariana" (FLETCHER 1966: 28, 302) or Aryana. According to this opinion modern Afghanistan is the Ariana of the ancient Greeks. STRABO states that "Ariana is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the south by the Great Sea on the north by Parapamisus and succeeding chains of mountains as far as the Caspian Gates, on the west by the same limits by which the territory of the Parthians is separated from Media, and Karmania from Paratakana and Persia" (BELLEW 1891: 3)[11] (map 3).
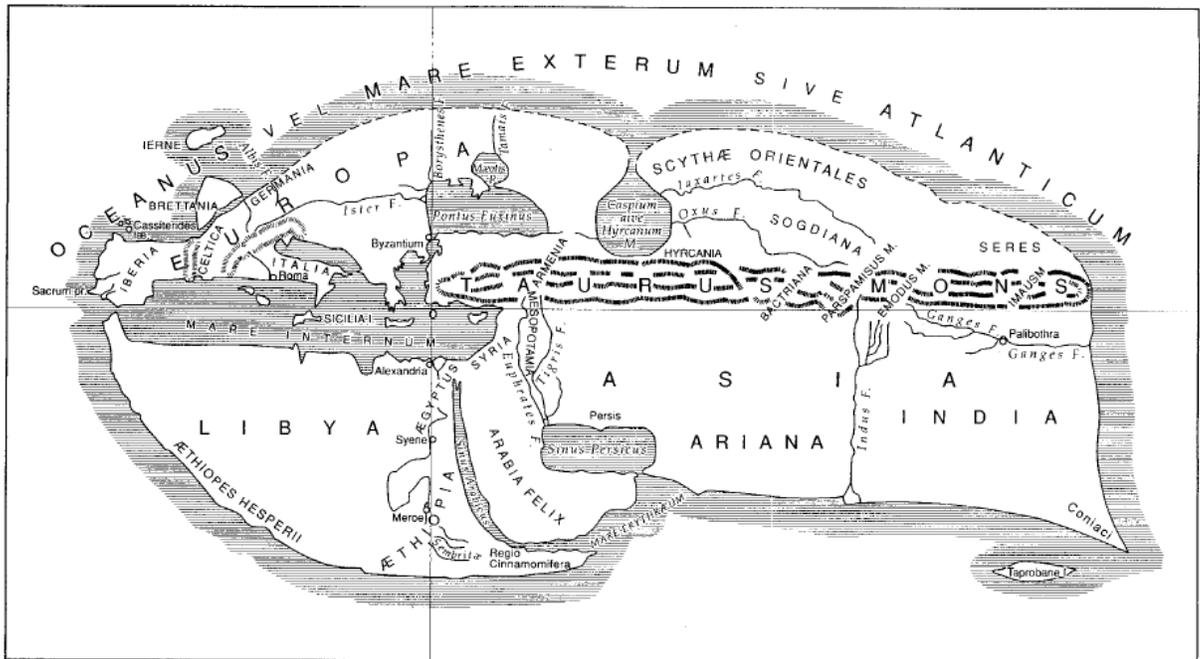
Map 3: The world according to Strabo (64/63 BC-after AD 21)
Source: BUTLIN (1993: 11)

These sources influenced many prominent Afghan authors to follow the same idea in their writings. According to these writers, Afghanistan existed as a state through the course of history. Especially in the seventh and eighth century, there was a strong and populous state (e.g., the Bactrian State) (GHUBAR 1967: 39, 40). According to this

---

[10] The name Abdali is used both for a tribe and a dynasty coming from the same tribe. It is generally believed that Ahmad Khan (later Ahmad Shah) e got the title of *Dur-e Durran* a Farsi word meaning Pearl of Pearl from the same tribe during his rule. This title was shortened in usage to Durrani as Ahmad Shah Durrani and was used for his descendents as well as the Abdali tribe. Both Abdali and Durrani are interchangeably used in this text.
[11] BELLEW quotes ERATOSTHENES who in turn quotes STRABO (BELLEW 1891: 3).

claim the long history of Afghanistan begins with Ariana from 1000 BC to the fifth century, followed by Khorasan to the late 19th century and finally Afghanistan from 1880 until now. Whatever happened in between is considered as foreign invasion and occupation. More important Afghanistan used to have natural borders, e.g., to the North with Amu Darya, to the South with the Arabian Sea, to the East with the River Sindh and to the west with the Iranian desert. The Aryans settled in Balkh about 4000 BC and established the first Afghan state. The Abdali dynasty in 1747 were the last rulers who could extend the territory of Afghanistan to its natural boundaries (GHUBAR 1967: 6-9, PANJSHERI 2005: 3, KOHZAD 2008: 32-33). The discussions about Ariana still exist among Afghans who believe their land historically existed as Ariana from 1600 BC to 700. Not only the land but also the people existed as a nation (Arian) with one religion (Zoroasterian) and finally one language (Avesta).[12] The idea of Ariana and Arian was and still is found attractive in neighboring Iran, which changed its old name Persia (Parsua or Fars) to Iran in 1935 and their nationality from Persian to Iranian. The same customs as mentioned are also strongly common in Iran and Tajikistan.

However, DUPREE disagrees with both the non-Afghan as well as the Afghan scholars. While criticizing the Western authors, he calls the imitation by the Afghan authors as "sheep-like following of western authors" (DUPREE 2005: xix). It is hard to prove these claims, particularly tracing and linking the history of today's Afghanistan with Ariana and Khorasan. These two names identify a geographical location, they do not refer to any state as a political unit. Particularly, the word Khorasan is used to refer to the territories where the sun rises, or East of Persia, a name commonly used by the Arabs following their invasions. From this period onward mostly the name of a ruler, the name of his clan and the place where his capital city was located were used to indicate the dominant ruler and his territory. No one has ever mentioned the 'state of Khorasan', instead there is mention of the *Safaarids*, the *Tahirids,* the *Ghaznavids*, *Ghorids*, *Moguls, Afsharids*,

---

[12] The traces of the Zoroaster culture are still visible in a mixed form with Islamic culture. For example, the Islamic calendar that is based on the Lunar Year and the migration of the Prophet Mohammad from Mecca to Medina has been changed in Afghanistan (also in Iran) to the Solar Year system modifying both the Islamic calendar and the Zorastarian. Thus each year begins on the first day of spring or the 21st of March. The names of the months unlike, the Islamic calendar, are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagitarius, Capricorn, Aquarios and Pisces. The special celebration of the first day of the new years (Naw Roz or new day) is a mixture with Islamic tradition, e.g., setting the flags in the holy shrine, believed to belong to Ali the fourth caliphate of Islam, in Mazar-e-Sharif and some other holy places in Kabul which are linked with the fourth caliphate, cooking special dishes (Samanak and Haft Mewa), going outdoors - walking on the grass, for picnics, visiting the cemeteries etc. The same customs as mentioned are also very common in Iran and many parts of Central Asia. In Afghanistan, these customs are very common in Northern, Western, and central Afghanistan including the capital and its surroundings. In the South these customs are not very wide spread due to the existence of tribal traditions. That is why the Taliban coming from the South banned all of these customs and formalized the year on the basis of the Islamic calendar.

Hotakis, Abdalis, *Sadozais*, *Mohammadzais* and their political systems as empires, dynasties, emirates or kingdoms.

Today, what is seen as the diverse social structure of Afghanistan is inherited from its past, which is called a "crowded past" (FLETCHER1966: V). History has provided Afghanistan with a mosaic of people, traditions, religions and languages. What is known today as Afghanistan became part of Achaemenid Empire from 545 BC until 333 BC (TYTLER 1967: 17, GHUBAR 1968: 39).   In 330 B.C., Alexander the Great invaded this country and merged it with his Empire.   Then for many centuries *Giu-Shangs* (Kushans), *Sassanids, Ephtalites, Scythians,* and *Parthians* ruled and fought each other in this region. The statues of Buddha in Bamiyan, the art of Graeco-Bactrians or Graeco-Buddhist are among the visible traces of those eras. However these empires left no visible traces among the ethnic groups of Afghanistan, but some believe they are the progenitor of the people in Afghanistan (FLETCHER 1966: 32-33).

The Sassanid Empire came to an end as a result of the Arabs invasion in 642 when all Eastern Iran fell into Arab hands. The Arabs and th independent dynasties loyal to them e.g., the *Tahirids, Samanids* and *Safaarids* (DUPREE 1973: 313) introduced the religion of Islam and Arabic language into the entire region and added a new culture to the already mixed culture of the Zoroastrian, Greek and Buddhist culture. Some revolutionary figures revolted against the Arab occupations like Abu Muslim Khorasani and Yaqub Lais Safaari are considered to be historical champions against the Arab invasion. They are also among the first who used Farsi[13] language with Arabic letters and promoted its use parallel to the Arabic that had been established as the Lingua Franca after the Arab invasion.

2.2.1   The Role of Mosques as Socio-Religious Institutions and Their Influence on Political Power

After the Arab invasion and the convertion of the people in Afghanistan, Islam influenced all governing institutions heavily. The *Shariah* (*Kitab, Sunna* and *Ijtihad*)[14] was seen as the constitution for the ruling system. The mosques were the centres of religion and

---

[13] Cf. Ch. 2.3.1

[14] By *Kitab* the Holy Koran is meant, the *Sunna* are the speeches (*Hadith*) and behaviour of the Prophet Mohammad, while *Ijtihad* means a decision made by a group of Islamic scholars and experts (*Ulama*) on special cases that can not be directly extracted from *Kitab* or *Hadith*. What these *Ulama* say is called as religious *Fatwa* (pl. *Fatawa*) for special political purposes, it is sometimes even issued against rulers who are considered to be illegitimate.

education. At the same time the legitimacy of every ruler had to be verified through the mosque, which had to accept these rulers as the First Leader (Caliphate or *Uol-ul-Amr*). This leader was considered to be as the substitute for the prophet Mohammad (IBN KHALDUN after ROSENTHAL 2005: 170).

The institutions that fell under the government of the caliphate, which carried a royal authority, had many functions such as leadership of the prayer, the office of Mufti, the office of the judge, the police, market supervision and the mint (figure 3). Among them the leadership of the prayer was and in some countries still is, regarded more highly than the royal authority (IBN KHALDUN after ROSENTHAL 2005: 170-171) because the declaration of leadership of the leader with his name had to be announced in the friday sermon (*Khotbah Jumah*). The people were aware of the declaration through participation in the mosque and listening to the speech had to accept his leadership.
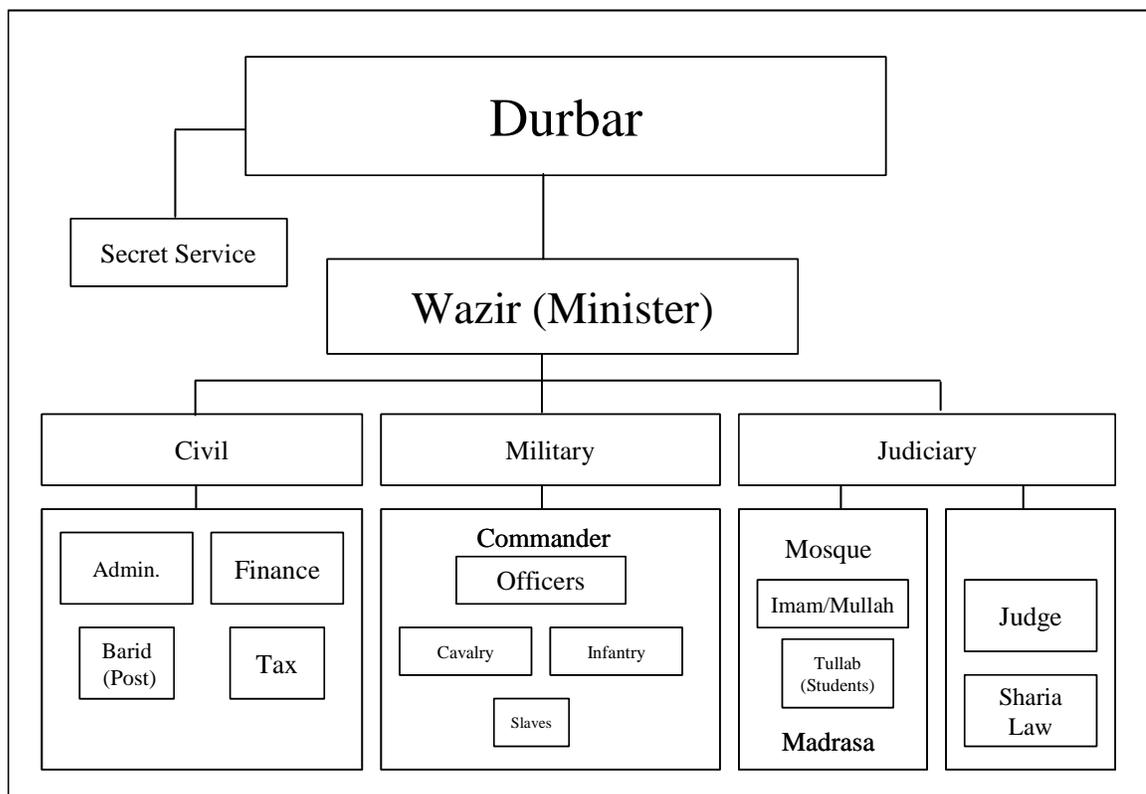
Figure 3: Tradtional Durbar structure
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

This process of legitimizing of the ruling system through the mosque was practiced during the era of the four caliphates 632-661 (Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali). During the Umayyad caliphates, 661-750, especially in the beginning, this process of legitimacy was practiced. In that period when the territories of western Afghanistan were conquered, Baghdad played the central role for all the territories occupied by Muslims. The territory was divided into many provinces (*Welayat*) run by different governors (*Wali, Hakem*) who were loyal to the caliphates and sent taxes, tributes (*Maliyaat wa Ghanayem*) and income directly to Baghdad. The orders (*Amr wa Farman*) issued by the caliphates were sent to all governors and were announced publicly through the mosques. However, in later period of the Umayyad, the process of legitimizing leadership remained a theory, while in practice this process was as an instrument for Arab supremacy. This supremacy was rejected by the non-Arab Abu Muslim, known as Khurasani who revolted against the Umayyad caliphate and ended their rule by replacing them with the Abbasids.

The Abbasids, 750-1517, coming to power killed Khurassani and ruled like the Umayyads, following the policy of Arab supremacy. But the revolts were continued by Yaqoub Lais Safaar from Sistan, South of Herat, who put an end to the direct Arab rule and established his own dynasty that is known as the Safaarid Dynasty (GHUBAR 1968: 90-100). However, in terms of leadership of prayer he had to follow Baghdad caliphate just like the first leader.

Later, the rise of nationalism in the non-Arab world, especially in Persia and its Eastern plateau, brought many dynasties and sultanates of its own which were semi-independent or independent of the Baghdad caliphates. By 1200 the Arabs' control ended in central Asia (DUPREE 1977: 315). The role of mosque remained as the highest central institution in legitimising the leadership and the ruling system remained. Among the big independent sultanates or dynasties were the Ghaznavids, Ghorids and Timorids, which all practiced the Sunni school of Islam. However, the Safavid was the first big *Shii* dynasty established in Persia and ended the direct land contact between the Sunnis of Central and South Asia with Baghdad.

The Ghaznavid Empire (962-1148) is highly important because for the first time the capital of an Islamic empire was based in Ghazni (Afghanistan). During this period, Islam was introduced in India and the Islamic and Indian cultures were mixed. This was a brilliant period for cultural and scientific development. Ghazni, the capital, was filled with men of great learning: among these 900 scholars were the scientist-historian

Albiruni, the poet Firdausi, and the historian Al-Utabi (DUPREE 1977: 314). Thus, Ghazni was called the *Hazar Shahr-e Elm* or thousand city of knowledge (PANJSHIRI 1986). Much of the governmental system is indebted to this period since military, judiciary and civil affairs were the three basic parts of the Empire. However, this system was inherited from the earlier Islamic period, with some improvements that had been made, as previously mentioned. The law was based on the Islamic *Shariah* sources (e.g., *Kitab, Sunnah* and *Ijtihad*) (figure 3).

The Ghorids (1148-1214), a local governor of Ghanznavid, revolted against its neighboring dynasties and was able to defeat them and bring them under their control. The ruling system of the Ghorid was similar to that of the Ghaznavid (GHUBAR 1968: 135). Khawrezm Shah (1214-1219) was among the last rulers in the region untill the Mongols defeated him. After that, Timurid (1370-1506) ruled the region. Then, for two hundred years, the territory of today's Afghanistan was ruled by three dynasties namely the Uzbek Shaibanids in the North, the Persian Safavids in the West and the rest by the Moguls who ruled in India (map 4).

Among them the Safavid (1501-1722) were the first *Shii* dynasty in the region that proclaimed the *Shii* as the official religion and forced people to convert to *Shii* not only in Persia, but also in Southern Afghanistan (Kandahar). This policy turned the Sunni Muslims, especially the traditional Pastuns, to revolt against Gorgin Khan, the Safavid governor in Kandahar for the first time in the history. Mirwais, the head of Ghilzai tribe, rebelled, killed Gorgin and declared himself independent. In this rebellion he received support from Awrangzeb, the Mogul Empire (1658-1707) as well as from other Sunni religious leaders (YARSHATER 2006: 236-237) in Kandahar. He received major support from the religious elite because prior to his rebellion he went to Mecca, from where he brought a *Fatwa*[15] against *Shii* domination in Kandahar (FARHANG1993: 77). In 1722, Mahmud, his son, ended the rule of Safivids in Persia and conquered most of its territory, including Esfahan, the capital, where he ruled for fourteen years (YARSHATER 2006: 236-237).

---

[15] Fatwa is an Islamic religious declaration issued by religious experts (*Ulama*) on important issues.
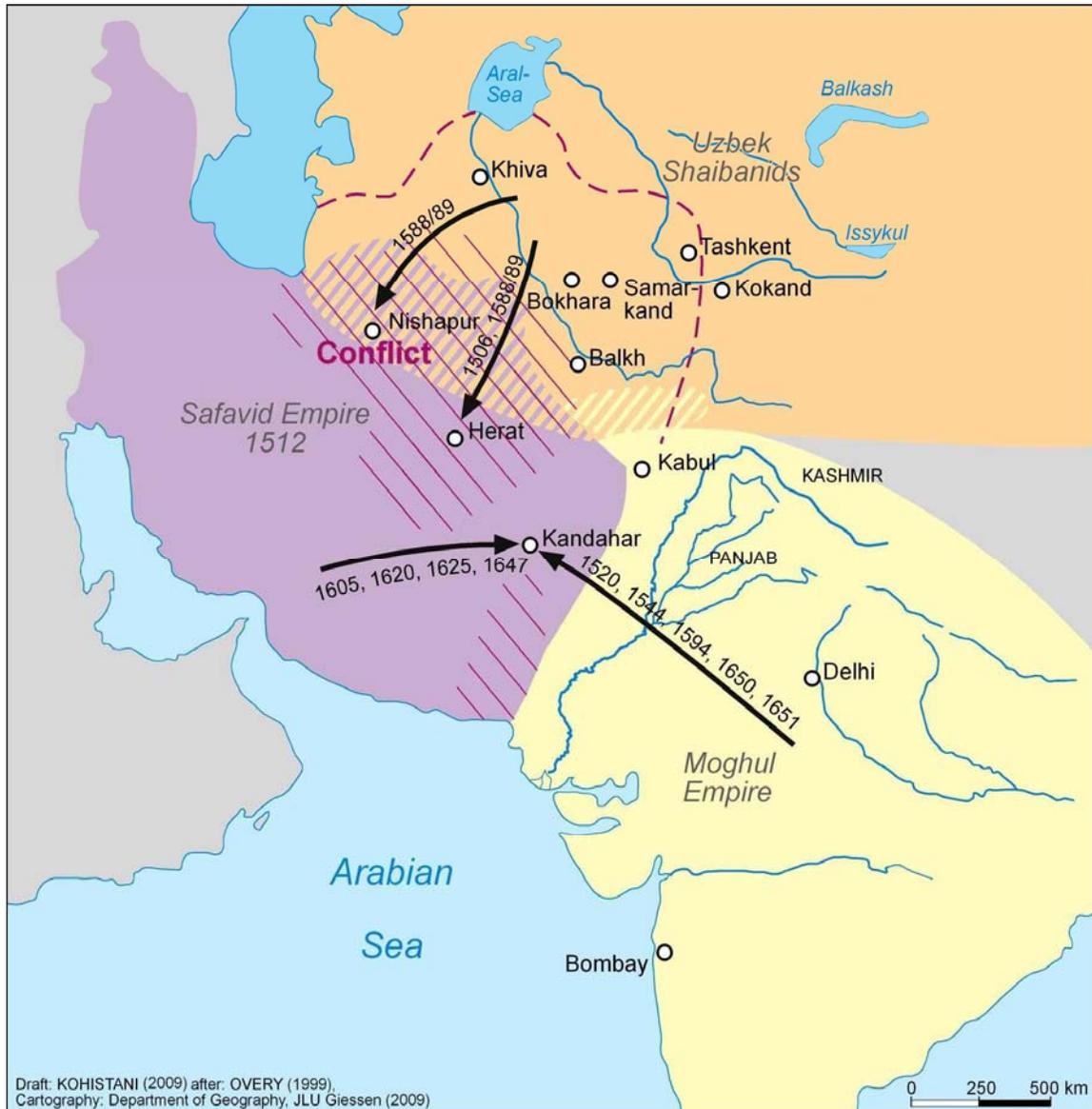
Map 4: Safavid, Mogul and Shaibanid empires 1520- 1700

However, this brief and unstable rule came to an end when Nadir Shah (1728-1747) emerged as a powerful force and brought Persia under his control. He held a *Jirga* to which he invited all political leaders who then elected him as king. Following his election, he discussed his plans with the political leaders. His major plan was to unify Persia and Afghanistan. The only obstacle in achieving that goal was the *Shii* school of Islam in Iran, which he as Sunni strongly opposed. So he proclaimed the Sunni religion

again as the only official religion in his dynasty (GHUBAR 1967: 350). His policy enabled him to subdue the traditional Pashtun tribes (mainly the Abdali and Ghilzai) and later served as part of his troops. Nadir Shah's assassination in 1747 provided the opportunity for the Abdali and Ghilzai to organize their own rule in their territory.

The time from the Arab invasion until the rise of the Abdalis is considered as an Islamic period. It is believed that the country was called 'Khorasan' and the people, as one nation, were referred to as 'Khorasani', and that one language Farsi, established itself as lingua franca (GHUBAR 1968: 9, 535, FARHANG: 31-39). However, the history of Afghanistan until the rise of Abdalis is interspersed with constant invasions by different empires and rulers, ranging from the Greek to the Chinese, from Indians to Arabs, Turks, Persians and Moguls. These different cultures, religions, languages and traditions were mixed with each other. Within these intermixing cultures, Islam remained as the dominant religion and the Farsi language[16] survived all invasions and remained as the lingua franca. However, as a result of so many invasions in the course of history some believe that there are at least thirty distinct languages native to Afghanistan which are spread among four language families, although the Iranian tongues are by far the most widely known (NEWELL 1972:13-14, RAHMATI 1986: 252). History also left a mosaic of people composed of different ethnic groups in the country. Among these ethnic groups the Pashtuns, under the leadership of Abdaly tribe, gained the power through a tribal confederation in the mid 18th century and they were politically the dominant elements untill the mid 20th century.

2.2.2 The Emergence of Dynasties and the Role of Tribal Systems: From Unification of Tribes to the Beginning of Their Rivalry

The tribal system is mainly a traditional institution, which is believed to perform tasks of political interest, mediation, dispute resolution, and military organization (HAGER1983: 83). In the tribal system the kinship is an important factor. Some believes that kinship was an essential means to mobilize political or economic resources for all the people in Afghanistan (RUBIN 2002:22), in fact among the Pashtun ruling family, the modern history proves that on a very large scale. The tribal ruling system was based on kinship, e.g., from father to son to grandson in the same clan. The big ruling families employed their sons as governors and, after the death of the fathers of the ruling families, these governor fought for the control of power. Later the sons of these governors challenged

---

[16] For more discussions over the name of Farsi language see chapter 2.2.

each other in a form of cousin-rivalry or *tarburwali* (TAPPER1983: 49) and fought to gain the political power. This cousin-rivalry during the reign of both the Sadozai and Mohammadzai clans was the main factor fragmentizing the ruling system from the rise in 1747 till its last fall in 1973 (figure 4).

In 1747 just after the assassination of Nadir Shah Afshar, the elite guard of the Shah consisted of a body of horsemen from the Abdali (FLETCHER 1966:41) and the Ghilzai tribes who had got the opportunity to establish their own political entity. Their leaders were Noor Mohammad Khan from the Ghilzai and Ahmad Khan of the Abdali, the two rival tribes. The first had 4,000 Ghilzais and the latter 12,000 Abdalis and Uzbeks under their commands (GHUBAR 1968:354).

These tribal leaders serving Nadir Shah increased their power and influence in the dynasty as a result of loyalty to the King. They learned much about the ruling system of their time from the Persians. During Nadir Shah's invasion of India they learned about the wealth of India and the weaknesses of the Mogul Empire. This invasion opened their eyes for a possible future invasion there. Furthermore, their own troops together with the scattered Pashtun tribes from Kandahar to India, were viable available instruments for achieving these goals.

These factors were the basis on which Ahmad Khan Abdali (reigned from 1747-1973) established the Abdali dynasty in Afghanistan. However, there are different opinions on how he became king. Afghan authors often quote that the 25 year old Ahmad Khan invited different tribes and held a *Jirga* in Kandahar to discuss the election of a king. The *Jirga* could not come to a conclusion due to tribal competition. It was Mohammad Sabir Shah Kabuli, a Sufi, who ended the nine days of unsuccessful discussion by saying: "God has elected Ahmad as the king and all should accept his rule" (GHUBAR: 355). However, it is also believed that Ahmad Shah had brought a lot of treasures, which he had gained after the death of Nadir Shah, that helped him to bribe the tribal chiefs to elect him as king (ATAYEE 2002:39). Nevertheless, others reject the idea that Ahmad Shan set up a tribal *Jirga*, saying he proclaimed himself to be paramount chieftain or king soon after he got the news of Nadir Shah's death and headed to Kandahar (DUPREE 2005: 332, FARHANG 1993:117). At the same time Noor Mohammad Khan's attempt from Ghilzai tribe, to kill Ahmad Shah failed which cost his life, also raises doubts about the event of the *Jirga* and supports the theory competition between two Ghilzai and Abdali tribal leaders to become king (FARHANG 1993: 129, 130).

The Abdalis / Durranis

```
                                    The Abdalis / Durranis
                                            |
               ┌────────────────────────────┴────────────────────────────┐
            Popalzai                                                   Barakzai
               |                                                          |
            Sadozai                                                 Mohammadzai
               |                                                          |
        Ahmad Shah Abdali                                            Painda Khan
           (1747-72)                                                      |
               |                                                      Fateh Khan
        Timur Shah (1772-93)
```

Zaman Shah (1793-1801)   Shah Mamoud (1801-1804: 1804-1818)   Shah Shuja (1804-1809: 1839-42)   Rahm Dil Khan   Dost Mohammad Khan * (1829-39: 1842-63)   Sultan M. Khan

Prince Kamran

Civil War intensifies 1818-1834

M.Afzal Khan (1866-67)   M.Azam Khan (1867-69)   Shir Ali Khan (1863-66:1869-79)   Yahya Khan

Abdurrahman (1880-1901)   M. Yaqub Khan (1879)

Ghulam M.Tarzi   Habibullah (1901-19)

M. Yusuf Khan

Mahmud Tarzi   Amanullah (1919-29)   Enayatullah (1929) 6 days

Queen Soraya

Nadir Khan (1929-33)   M.Hashim Khan   M. Aziz Khan   Shah Wali Khan   Shah Mahmud Khan

Zahir Shah (1933-73)   Daoud Khan (1973-78)   M. Naim Khan

Figure 4: The Abdali (Durrani) Dynasty (1747 – 1978)
Source: TYTLER 1967: 346, GHUBAR (1967: 379, 391, 393, 401, 509, 517, 589, 608, 615), DUPREE (2005: 366-367) and EWANS (2002: 300)

The emphasis on the existence of a *Jirga* which elected Ahmad Khan Abdali as King was part of a top-to- bottom nation-building campaign by the Mohammadzais from 1919 onward. The idea behind this was, and is, to promote and legitimize *Jirga* (a tribal

gathering) as the only decision making institution for important decisions, including the election of the ruler in the country. However, from the death of Ahmad Khan Abdali to Amanullah, there is a huge gap of more than 147 years during which many serious problems occured. Particularly in the 19th century, the country was divided and there was an unending conflict between brothers, cousins, and tribes while there is little evidence of any *Jirga* held by the rulers. Instead, Ahmad Khan's decedents repeatedly used armed conflicts and foreign assistance as a tool to gain the power.

Thus, the rise of Abdalis under Ahmad Khan, who was from the same tribe, is believed to be the emergence of Afghanistan as a political entity. Ahmad Khan Abdalli hereafter became Ahmad Shah. The title of *Dur-e Durran* (Pearl of Pearl) was given to him by Sabir Shah Kabuli. Therefore both his dynasty and his tribe from this period onward are called *Durrani.* He established Kandahar as his capital and immediately started expanding his territory. This success was mostly due to the fact that there was no major power in the territories he conquered. Moreover, his reputation as commander under Nadir Shah helped him to gain territories without any major resistance. In other words, he inherited Eastern part of the territories which once had been conquered by Nadir Shah while the Western part came under the control of independent rulers who mostly practiced *Shii*. These independent rulers that ended with the Qajar Dynasty (1785-1925) were a political obstacle for communication between Othman Empire (NEWELL 1972:39) and other Sunni rulers in the East, Central and South Asia. The Othman Empire possessed the leadership of prayers and the Othman rulers were regarded as a caliphate. This was important for the legitimacy of all Sunni Muslims rulers to follow the Othman caliphate. Thus, unlike in Nadir Shah's period, Afghanistan together with other Muslims' lands in Central Asia and South Asia, had become religiously isolated from the Ottoman Empire and Middle East.

With Ahmad Shah's reign, the scattered tribes of Pashtuns from Kandahar to India for the first time came under the single rule of a man from their own ethnic group. However, this lasted for only a short period and he was not successful in maintaining stability in these territories. Furthermore, in his 25 years of rule he did nothing for the development of culture, modernization and economic development. Famous cities like Balkh, Herat and Ghazni declined and lost their importance to the growing city of Kandahar as the capital of the dynasty. The economy of the dynasty was mostly dependent on revenue from the fertile districts of the Eastern frontier (GOPALAKRISHANAN 1982: 52), mainly in Punjab. The dynasty, from its from its beginnings on, was instable and

insecure. With its core in Kandahar, the Abdali dynasty was repeatedly challenged mainly in Panjab and Neshapur which made it difficult to sustain its control over all the large territories it conquered earlier (map 5).

In 1761 Ahmad Shah invaded India and defeated Marathas in India, losing thousands of his troops. This was the biggest mistake he made, because after the defeat of the Marathas he returned without ruling their territories. With the removal of Marathas from power he made it easier for the British to become the paramount power in India. In other words Ahmad Shah inadvertently aided the penetration of the British toward the Northwest of India (DUPREE 2005: 338) or today's border of Afghanistan. Finally, the power vacuum in India and the family and tribal fighting within the dynasty all paved the way for the British to succeed.
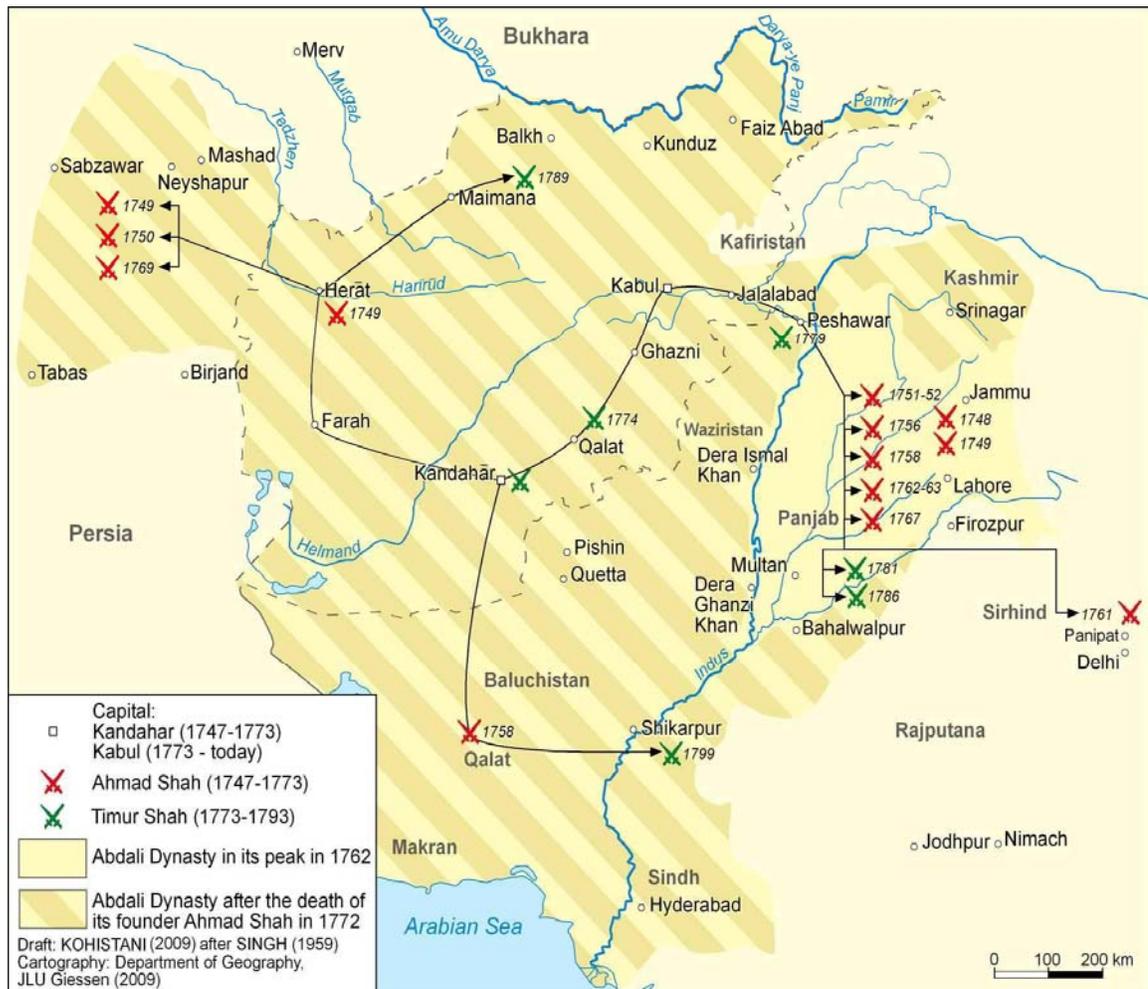
Map 5: The Abadli dynasty 1747-1793

Ahmad Shah was a good warrior but not a good governor or administrator. He conquered a large territory over which it was difficult for him to maintain a sustainable rule. Until his death he was struggling to bring peace and calm down the revolts in different parts. He employed his seven sons as governors who competed over the political power after his death (FARHANG 1993:154, 159,180). Among them, Timor Shah (reigned from 1773-1793) carried out efforts to overcome the challenges to his rule which were posed by tribal chiefs in Kandahar and by the growing power of Sikhs in Panjab.

In order to protect his rule from tribal competition in 1773 he moved the capital from Kandahar to Kabul, a 'Tajik centre' (TAPPER 1983:14), which was free from tribal dominance. However, the challenges from the Pashtun tribes were not easy to overcome. In 1979 he survived a coup when he was in *Bala Hisar,* his winter palace in Peshawar.[17] In this coup many tribes, claiming to want to greet the king entered the palace and suddenly attacked the guards. To prevent any fresh reinforcement from Kabul, the tribes closed the *Khybar Pass*. Nevertheless, the rebellion forces failed with 6000 losses in their attempts, as the royal guard fought successfully (GHUBAR 1968: 374-375). Further reasons for changing the capital from Kandahar to Kabul are due to the role of Kabul as culturally rich city and its magnificent cultural role as the the home of the Ghaznavids and Moguls, the interest of the dynasty in India and finally the strategic location of Kabul.

Establishing the capital in Kabul, Timor Shah became busy in a luxurious life. He left 32 sons after his death, a turbulent legacy for his successors. This led to continuous war between brothers over the succession of throne which caused dramatic problems for the country (KOHZAD 2004: 303-304, FARHANG 1993:170-173). From 1793 to the downfall of the ruling Sadozai in 1818, the Durrani dynasty was shaken by wars over succession. During the reign of Zaman Shah (reigned from 1793-1801), Shah Mahmoud (reigned from 1801-1804 and 1809-1818) and Shah Shuja (reigned from 1804-1809), the outlying regions became independent of Kabul. Every prince proclaimed himself as king. This situation is often referred to as *Muluk-ut-Tawayefi* (tribal kingdoms) dominated the politics of the country untill the late 19th century. At the same time it provided opportunity for foreign invasions, interventions and *divide et impera* (map 6).

---

[17] Not to be confused with *Bala Hisar* in Kabul. Beside these two there is also another in Ghazni, *Bala Hisar* Ghazni.

During Zaman Shah's reign, a group of Napoleon's delegates visited Kabul. The aim of this mission was to implement Napoleon's plan already made with Alexander I, the Russian Emperor. According to this plan, 70,000 joint Russian and French troops would attack British India via Afghanistan. They already singed a treaty for the same purpose with Iran in Finkenstein in 1807. Zaman Shah, having 150,000 troops, rejected the proposal of Napoleon's delegates and said that he was willing to free India from the British without receiving help from Christian powers (GHUBAR: 382). [18] However, he did use these troops in his family fighting and tribal fighting rather than in the unification of the country or in freeing India.
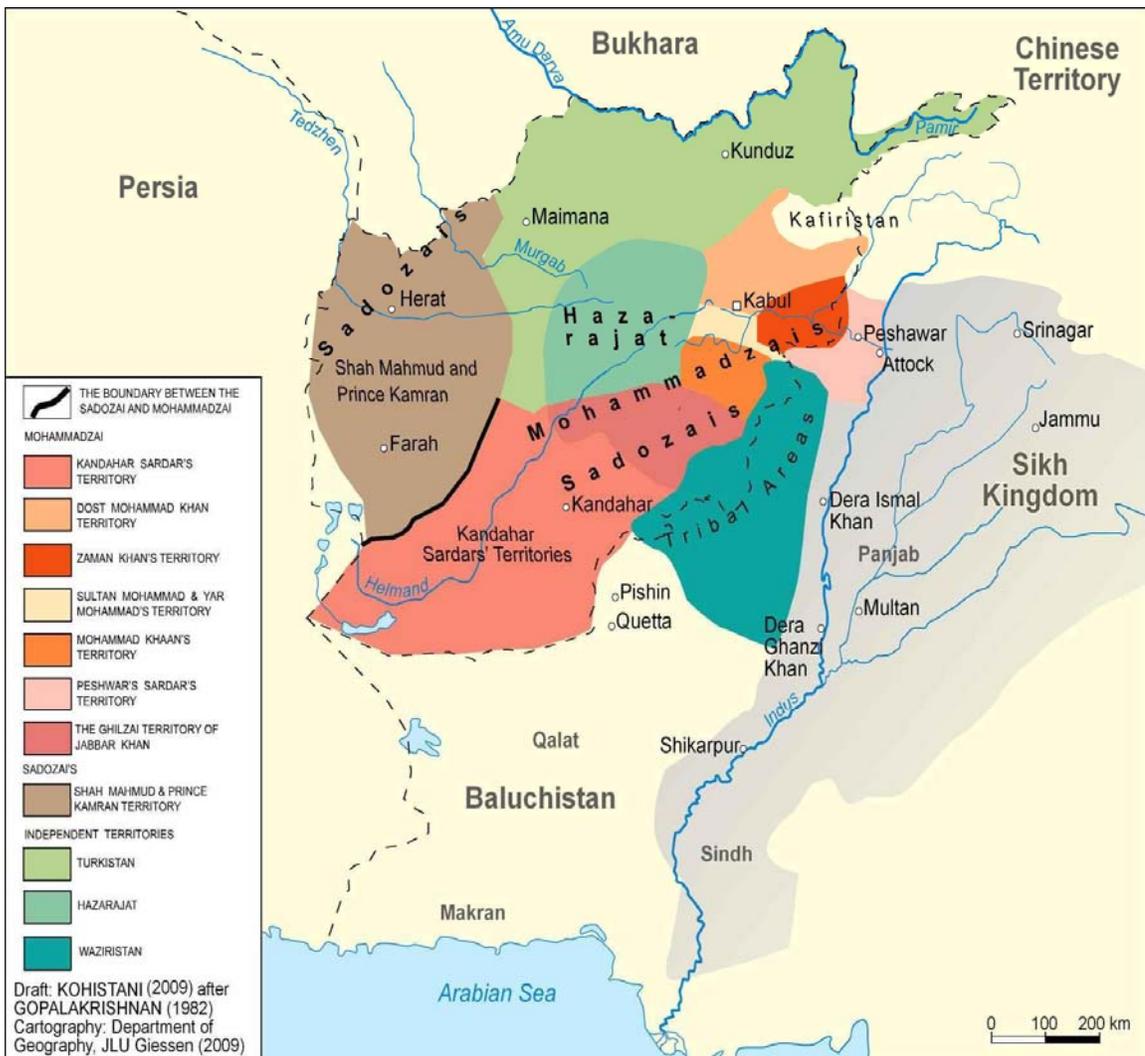
Map 6: The disintegration of the Abadli dynasty

---

[18] GHUBAR gives no further detail about the number or the name of French delegates. He also mentions no source for his claim.

From 1747 until 1903, the country had no famous modern schools or traditional *Madrasa*. The famous cities of Balkh, Herat, Ghazni and Kabul, which historically had reputation for cultur were in decline. The fighting brought chaos which further isolated the country from *Madrasas* in Central Asia. Bukhara had 366 colleges (*Madrasas*) each of which had 70-80 students many of whom came from neighbouring countries (OLESEN 1995:44). Thus, the reluctance of the ruling elites toward the importance of education made this the darkest era of the country. From 1860 onward, the Russian occupation cut off Afghanistan from central Asia completely.

From 1801 onward, the fighting between the two clans of the Sadozai and Mohmmadzai continued. As a result the Abdali dynasty collapsed and its territory was divided like 'heired property' among the Khans of both clans (HABIBI 1993:146, FARHANG 1993:223). By 1830 the territory was no more a unified land but a group of independent Khanates of which the most important were Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat (HABBERTON1937: 11). This situation helped the British and the Sikh to gain more territory. The conflict mainly continued for the control of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, and Peshawar. Dost Mohammad (reigned from 1834-1839, 1843-1863)[19] from the Mohammadzai clan gained the control of Kabul. Peshawar came under the control of the Sikh, while Shah Shuja, with British aid, attacked Kandahar in an attempt to overthrow his rival Mohammadzai and claim the throne. At this time Iran found Afghanistan without any strong rulers and attacked Herat, besieged the city but failed to break through due to strong resistance from the population of the city.

In order to consolidate and maintain order and peace in his territory, Dost Mohammad married daughters of the troublesome tribal or feudal chiefs who had influence in the community (MORGAN 1981:24). Due the lack of any other institution to legitimize power or gaining public support, this policy was successful and helped the Amir to move slowly for consolidation and unification of the country. At this time, Afghanistan was a zone where the territorial interests of Britain and Russia clashed with each other. The 'Great Game' for central Asia was about to burst into open warfare, with India the prize and Afghanistan the playing ground (TANNER 2002:136) (map 7). The policy of

---

[19] Authors have different opinions on the exact date of Dost Mohammad Khan's reign. In English sources the following dates are mentioned: (TYTLER 1967: 347) 1834-1863, (GREGORIAN 1969: XX) 1826-1838, 1842-1863; (DUPREE 2005: 366-367) 1826-1839, 1843-1863, (NOELLE KARIMI 1997:1) 1826-1863, EWAN (1819-1839, 1842-1863). While Afghan sources, on the other hand, mention: GHUBAR (1834-1839, 1843-1863), FARHANG (1836-1839, 1843-1862). I prefer, GHUBAR which seems most accurate.

unification by the Amir raised fear among the British, because such a consolidation method could encourage others in their own territory. Thus, they preferred a policy of *divide et impera* toward the Afghan tribes as a counter policy. Later, the British were further provoked by the visit of a Russian mission from Kabul and decided to establish a puppet state in Afghanistan to act as a buffer and thus to create a balance of power (MORGAN 1981: 26-27).

Map 7: The Great Game: Russian and British expansion in Central and South Asia.

According to the British policy, Shah Shoja (Sadozai) was a good replacement for Dost Mohammad (Mohammadzai), because Shah Shoja accepted being a puppet in the hand of the British and he was the rival enemy of Dost. However, it was unacceptable for the Afghans, as Muslims, to have a ruler who was enthroned by foreigners. Shah Shuja was the first Afghan ruler who was installed by the British. This caused the first Anglo-Afghan War (1939-1942), which is considered to be the worst disaster in the history of the British army (MORGAN 1981:30). During the war, Dost Mohammad first escaped first with his family to Bukhara. Later when the people were fighting against the British, he suddenly had surrendered himself to the British who sent them to India, into exile. He was not sure that the people of Afghanistan would succeed. The people, without him, defeated the British and opened the possibility of establishing a government.

However, despite their success in the war, the Afghan people failed to determine their own future through establishing a government. Although there were many popular figures among them but they could not choose one as their leader. The main reason was that, as the traditional ruling elite used to be from the Durrani tribe, therefore they were looking for someone from the same ruling elite. That is why they asked the British for the immediate release and return of Dost Mohammad Khan from India. Although he escaped and left his people during the war by surrendering himself to the British authorities in Kabul, he was still he was regarded as leader or Amir. The people demanded the relaease of Dost Mohammad Khan in exchange for the lives of 300 detained British citizens (GHUBAR: 542). Thus, he found a second chance to rule from 1842-63. As the British also found it impossible to control the country directly, they instead supported the Amir's return.

Returning from India, the Amir agreed to establish a British protectorate kingdom and accepted British supervision of his foreign policy. To prove his loyalty to the British he eliminated those who had revolted against the British occupation. In his second term he created no permanent administrative institution upon which the unity of the country could be maintained (GOPALAKRISHANAN 1982: 53). He expanded his rule to what is the territory of today's Afghanistan but this was not sustainable. Like his predecessors he also had a big royal family, e.g., 24 wives and 52 children out of whom 29 were his sons (RESHTIA 1999:215). He employed his sons as governors in his territory and following

his death they fought for the control of power. Among them, Sher Ali Khan (reigned from 1863-1878) proclaimed himself Amir while his brothers opposed him (HABIBI 1967: 286-287). As a result, this opposition once again led to family-fighting a term which is known as *Khana Jangi.*

The British also fuelled these fights due to the fact that they wanted a ruler in Kabul who would maintain no relation with the outside world, particularly with Russia. What the British wanted from their interference was that Afghanistan should remain exclusively within its sphere of influence and whoever ruled in Kabul should be under their supervision. In addition to that they were concerned that any relation between Afghanistan and Russia would bring its influence into the country and could pave the way for further Russian advancement towards India.

Sher Ali Khan defeated his rivals and brought the capital under his control. In terms of administration the country was divided into five provinces during his period: Kabul, Kandahar, Turkistan, Herat, and Farah (RAHMATI 1986: 50). At this point in time, Russia sent its ambassador to Kabul and opened diplomatic relation with Afghanistan. This was considered a provokation and provided a reason for the British to invade again to Afghanistan again. The result was the second Anglo-Afghan War in 1878-1880. At the same time, after noticing the British invasion in Afghanistan, Amir Sher Ali Khan without using his 50,000 troops against foreign invasion, had escaped to Mazar-e-Sharif where he died (RESHTIA 1999:323). Some say he died days after he went there to ask the Russians at the border, to whom he had signed a treaty of defense, to help him against the British (DUPREE 1977: 408-9).

The people of Afghanistan, more united than ever, fought against the British and defeated them. Although the British used their old policy of *divide et impera* to disunite the people by causing ethnic conflicts between Pastuns, Tajik and Hazara in Ghazni, this tactic was soon uncovered by the people as their enemy attempt (GHUBAR: 531). Unluckily, the people of Afghanistan who united to fight against a foreign enemy were unable to determine their own future. The lack of modern education, the dominance of tribal and religious elites, and the traditional and divine concept of the ruling system caused the people to follow the rule of kings or Amirs from a certain tribe for generations, despite the fact that rulers like Dost Mohammand Khan and Sher Ali Khan escaped or surrendered to foreign enemies of the country. The ruling elite loyal to foreign powers, be they Birtish, Russian or Persian, received financial and political backing. This

enabled them to buy the support of dominant tribal and religious elites on which their rule depended. The people not only were largely deprived of receiving basic services but also they were tortured, killed and expelled from the country.

At this time, Sher Ali Khan's rival, his nephew Abdurrahman Khan (reigned from 1880-1901) who was in exile in Russia, suddenly received permission to go back to his country. According to his own account, when he arrived in the North of Afghanistan those loyal to Sher Ali Khan joined him to fight against the British occupation. When he entered the *Shamali* plain (Panjshir, Parwan and Kapisa) just north of Kabul, 300,000 people declared their support and the mullahs called him Amir and gave him the title of the leadership of the prayer (ABDURRAHMAN 1995: 220). However, the letter he sent to the British commander in Kabul indicates that his return and his rule were determined and accepted by the two colonial powers. This is further supported by the fact that he declined to wage war against the British occupation something the people strongly demanded. Finally, according to his own account, he asked the British certain questions that were highly important for the future of Afghanistan as a state. He asked (ABDURRAHMAN1995: 220-221):

- What is the limit of my territory?
- Will Kandahar be included in it?
- Will any English personnel (*Nafar*) remain in Kabul?
- Does the English government expect me to eliminate any of its enemies?
- What am I to do for the British?

These questions reveal that he wanted to rule for the British who had also determined the limits of the territory he ruled, his expenditures (subsidies) and the policy he required (eliminating anti-British elements and sentiments). Thus, Abdurrahman provided all criteria the British desperately needed. They signed a treaty –accepting Abdurrahman as Amir at Kabul - promised him arms and a subsidy along with support against external aggression (MORGAN 1981:182). However, he was assigned as the ruler of Kabul and Turkistan in the North while his cousin Ayub Khan ruled in Kandahar and Herat. Ayub Khan was a varitable enemy of the British. He fought against the British forces and defeated them in Maiwand near Kandahar. Abdurrahman Khan, instead of helping his cousin in the war against foreign invaders, escorted the British Army leaving Kabul to safety (ABDURRAHMAN 1995: 224). This raised the anger of the people as they noticed he was a British puppet. Hereafter, Amir Abdurrahman was frequently disturbed

by rebellions, which he put down ruthlessly. From 1881-96 the Amir commanded 17 military campaigns (DUPREE 1977: 418-19) through which he expanded his rule in the country and put off all the rebellions (map 8).
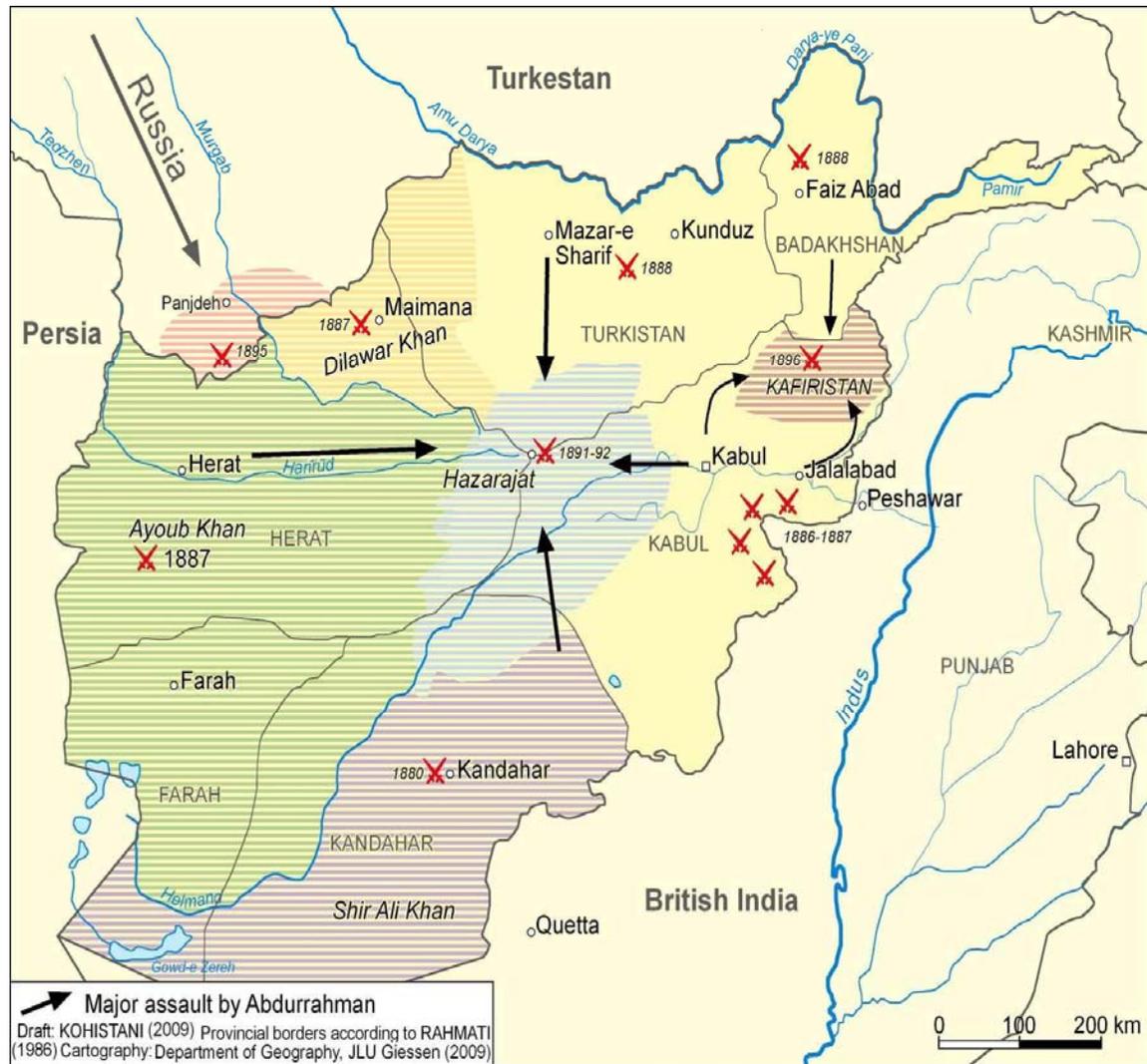
Map 8: The reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan, the 'Iron Amir' 1880 – 1901.

In 1891, Hazara revolted as a result of the Amir's provocation, or, as often suggested, he had engineered the rebellion (FLETCHER 1966: 147). The Hazara ethnic minority, mainly *Shii*, inhabited Hazarajat in central Afghanistan. In this war which lasted from1 891-93, beside the massacre around 9,000 men and women were sold as slaves only in Kabul while an unknown number of them were sold in other cities (FARHANG 1993:392-396, GHUBAR: 665-669).

In order to expand his rule, Amir built up an army of 88,400 troops which was the greatest permanent army of Afghanistan up to date. Abdurrahman established a military factory in Kabul and purchased some artillery weapons from Germany and France (FARHANG 1993:422-3). Receiving 2,000,000 Indian Rupees from the British as regular subsidies and assistance provided the necessary financial means for achieving this goal. This army enabled him to defeat his rival cousin Ayub Khan and expand his control to Kandahar and Herat. Amir Abdurrahman used religion as a powerful tool to implement his rule. The motivation behind Amir's strategy in this fight was to make people busy among themselves so that they would forget the fact that he is a British puppet. Furthermore he wanted the people to understand that he is loyal to Islam and especially to the Sunni school. He wanted to show that he is in favour of the Sunnis and has declared Jihad against the Hazara. He enjoyed the support of the Pashtun tribes who gained lands and properties of the Hazara as a result of the Amir's permission. He demonstrated further this policy in 1896 when invading Kafiristan and forcing its non-Muslim inhabitant to convert to Islam. After the process of conversion to Islam the name Nooristan replaced the old name Kafiristan.

Another major policy of Abdurrahman was moving Pashtun tribes from the infertile South to the rich and fertile region of the North. With this policy he achieved at least two main goals: First, he broke the power of the Ghilzai who were traditionally the rival enemy of the Durranis. Secondly by providing them with privileges, he won their loyalty to his rule. Moreover, with this policy he wanted to change the existing ethno-linguistic structure in the North to the benefit of the Pashtuns.

While the Amir was busy with his internal affairs, foreign powers drew the boundaries of Afghanistan with or without his consent (DUPREE 1977: 421). These boundaries are the achievement of his time which remained unchanged until now (map 9).[20] One of these boundaries, which is still very controversial, is known as the Durand Line. The Amir agreed on its demarcation with the British on 12th November 1893 (FLETCHER 1966:166). In terms of internal administration the country was divided into six provinces: Turkistan, Badakhshan, Herat, Kandahar, Farah and Kabul.

Unlike his forefathers he appointed his loyal followers as governors and kept his sons in the capital. These governors contributed greatly to the breakdown of the tribal system

---

[20] Except the small border line of Sistan with Persia and a 92 km border with China that were determined later, in the middle of the 20th century.

(DUPREE 1977: 420). Unifying the currency was another step he took, because before 1880 there were three different currencies common in Kabul, Kandahar and in Herat. The new currency was made of silver and by machine, marked with the title of the Amir *Zia ul-Mellat-e wad-Deen* (the light of the nation and religion), date and place it was minted. It was called Rupee with smaller units that were called as *Qeran*, and *Tanga*. Further smaller units of metal coins were one *Shahi* and two *Shahi* (ABDURRAHMAN 1995: 343-344).
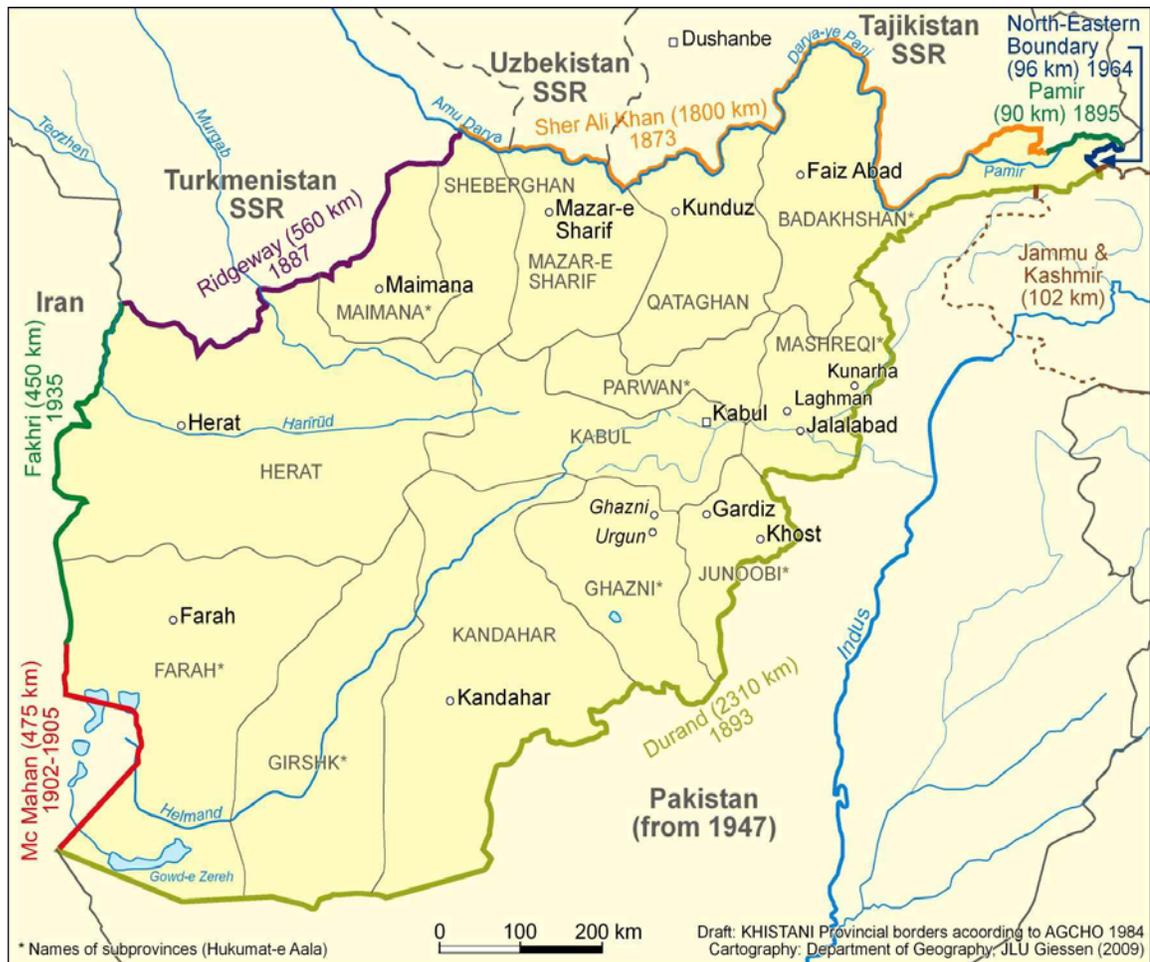
Map 9: The delimitation of the boundaries of Afghanistan 1873 – 1964.

To minimize the rule of religious elites and to unify their rules he issued a guidebook for judges and a booklet of rules with 69 items of guidance for the governors (*Wali* and *Hakem*) of the provinces (FARHANG 1993:423) enforcing his dictums (*Farmans*). At the same time, he instituted the Board of Treasury, the Board of Trade, the Bureau of Justice and the police (*Kotwali*), the Office of Records, the Office of Public Works, the

Office of Post and Communication (DUPREE 1977: 420), which were cruicial initial steps.

At the same time, Abdurrahman Khan was against modernization such as railways (MORGAN 1981:191). Despite his claim to be in favour of religion even no *Madrasa* was established during his rule. However, to educate the members of royal family, there were a few English and Indian teachers. The rest of the population had to fulfil their educational needs in mosques, and were taught by mullahs. The curriculum consisted of religious subjects and Persian literature mainly from famous poets (*Maulana or Rumi, Hafiz* and *Saadi*) and stories (religious and fiction). For higher education the students (*Talabas*) had to go individually to India and attend theology in *Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband* the famous traditional *Madrasa* established in 1867 (OLESON 1996:45) without receiving any support from the Kingdom.

Amir had an autocratic and centralized administration without any prime minister or minister. He claimed his rule was divine and he was sent by God to save the country from anarchy and foreign invasions. Whoever of the religious, tribal or feudal elites had opposed his divine power was brutally punished or executed (FARHANG 1993: 417,420). After his death there were 12,000 men and 8000 women in his prisons only in Kabul. Being so brutal in killing, he is known as the 'Iron Amir' in English literature. While Queen Victoria officially granted him the highly regarded title of '*Brave Indian Star'* (GHUBAR: 655-656, 685) his own people, up to now, remember him as one of the most brutal rulers in the history of Afghanistan.

2.2.3   The Rise of Intelligentsia (*Roshanfekran)*: First Steps in Building Institutions and Capacities

During the reign of Abdurrahman (1890-1901), the country had only troops loyal to the king. Basic training institutions like schools, universities, as well as professionals like teachers, doctors and engineers did not exist. However, Abdurrahman's totalitarian rule provided the opportunity to introduce some modernization and modern education to his son Habibullah (reigned from1901-1919). In 1903, Habibullah opened the country to modern education by establishing the first modern school, the *Habibia Lycee* (derived from his name). This school was staffed with Indian and Turkish teachers and had around one thousand students from primary to upper secondary level (GHUBAR 1968: 702). Later this school became a political centre for the first trained group of intellectuals.

Habibullah was among the few rulers succeeding the throne peacefully. He followed his father's policy of accepting the British direct control over the foreign affairs of the country. In the beginning, in order to show his loyalty to Islam, he carried out a very traditional and conservative policy. He ordered women to wear special veils (*Burqa)* and prohibited them to go out, with some exceptions in which case they were not allowed any ornament. At the same time he ordered the non-Muslim minority of Sikh to wear yellow clothes to be recognizable. He established 11 religious *Madrasa* in 11 cites of Afghanistan that had 14 teachers and 140 students (GHUBAR 1968: 700). Although he stopped the brutal methods of punishment (cutting hands, feet, ears and blinding) which his father used and sentenced whoever he regarded as guilty to prison (FARHANG 1993: 439) this was far enough to convince the people to consider him as a legitimate ruler.

Exiled by his father, a group of the Mohammadzai family (Musahiban from India and Tarzi from Turkey), were allowed to return to Afghanistan. The Musahiban and Tarzi families were politically divided into two groups; one led by Tarzi influenced by Turkey, Egypt and Germany; while the others were led by Nadir Khan, (born and educated in India), with his four brothers who were influenced by the British. When these two fractions returned from exile there was another anti-British conservative fraction led by Nasrullah Khan, Amirs brother. Thus family relationship qualified them to get royal titles and high posts. For example, the Tarzi established the first newspaper (*Seraj-ul-Akhbar*) and Nadir Khan (later Nadir Shah) from the Musahiban became a general (Sepah-salar) in the army. Once in they occupied official positions they strengthened their basis of power and established a network of people loyal to them. As their final goal they were looking for an opportunity to overthrow the Amir and take over power. This was something they finally succeeded in and they ruled in the country from late 1929 to 1978.

At this point in time Afghanistan, despite a political division between internal players, remained stable because it did not pose any challenge to the interests of the two powerful neighbours Russia and Britain. The subsidies received from the British helped the Amir to sustain his rule and to control the situation. However, the beginning of World War I and its consequences influenced Afghanistan. In September 1915, the first 'German and Turkish military mission' arrived in Kabul and was received with a warm welcome. The aim of this mission was to encourage people in Iran and Afghanistan to carry out uprisings against British India (SCHLAGINTWEIT 1995: 24). The Afghan royal court was divided about the aim of the mission. Habibullah did not want to risk his rule and turn against British, while Tarzi, Amanullah and his brother Enayatullah favored this

idea. Nadir Khan and his brothers were in favour of the Amirs policy, since they were loyal to the British. Nevertheless, the mission after some delay received permission to reform the army, train officers and to increase the capability of the military structure. This situation provoked both Russia and Britain, as a result they closed the communication route that linked Iran via central Afghanistan to Kabul, which was used by the Turkish-German Mission. In order to keep Habibullah on their side, the British increased the sum of subsidies.

Although the Turkish-German mission failed in their mission and returned to their countries, it had major impacts on the future of Afghanistan. This opened the first contact with the outside world after many years of isolation. The strongest impact of the mission was that many persons within the royal family understood that as long as Habibullah is in power Afghanistan will remain under British influence. In other words he was the major obstacle for the independence and prosperity of Afghanistan. Therefore, in a planned and organized way Habibullah was assassinated on 20th February 1919 and his reign ended. It is significant to see that five months after this event in August 1919, Afghanistan became an independent and sovereign state. This was the first politically motivated assassination within the circle of the royal family.

The assassination led the country to political turmoil, as a power struggle between members of the Amir's family evolved, between his brother and his son. Nasrullah Khan, Amir's brother, proclaimed himself to be Amir in Jalalabad and a friday sermon was read to spread and validate his name. At the same time Amanullah, the Amir's son did the same thing process in Kabul. Finally Amanullah (reigned from1919-1929), based in Kabul managed to dominate and succeed to the throne. A few days later Nasrullah Khan was captured and sent to prison where he died.

Immediately after gaining power Amnaullah declared the 3rd Anglo-Afghan war which led to the independence of the country. This paved the way for his political and administrative reform. He revised administrative divisions by dividing the country into 216 small districts, five provinces (*welayat*); Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Turkistan, and Qataghan-and-Badakhshan, four big districts (*Hukumat-e Ala* or grand government); Eastern District, Southern, Farah District and Maimana District. This administrative division remained unchanged until 1965 (RAHMATI 1986: 57-58) (map 10).
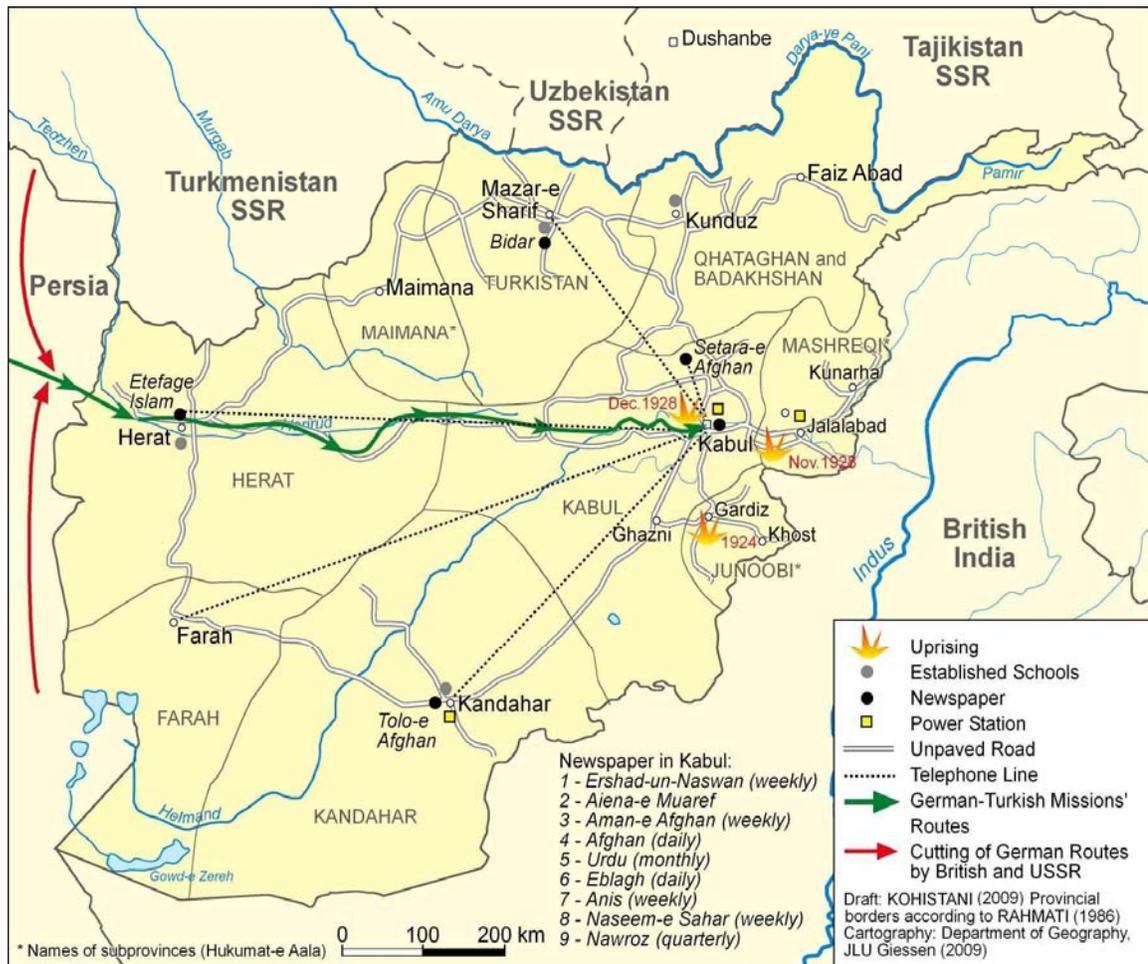
Map 10: The reign of Amir / King Amanullah Khan and major political developments

In order to minimize the influence of traditional and tribal elites, he increased the number of modern institutions. Special attention was given to the development of a modern education system in the country. According to Mahmood Tarzi, "the goal of the new education system was to cultivate an enlightened intellectual class in Afghanistan, an essential ingredient for successful reform and modernization and to provide a group of able administrators for the monarchy" (GREGORIAN 1969: 240). To achieve this goal, more schools were established, e.g., *Amani, Ghazi, Isteqlal* in the capital, while other schools were established in major cities and provinces. Newspapers were introduced and their number increased both in the capital and in other major cities. As the training institutions increased, the demand for more teachers was raised as well. To fill the gap, in the beginning, Muslim teachers were hired from India, Turkey and Egypt. By the mid1920s a number of English, French, German, and Italian instructors were also

employed and their languages were taught (NEWELL 1982: 37). Until 1927, the number of students went up to 51,650 in elementary, and 3,000 in upper secondary and professional schools. Parallel to this, 322 elementary schools were established in the country and hundreds of students, including female students, were sent to Turkey, Germany, Italy, France, and Russia for further education (GHUBAR 1968: 792-793).

Amanullah's major concern was the dominant role of religious elites in society. Therefore the government set up certain regulations in an attempt to bring the religious elites under state control. The common religious course of studies for students in Deoband, India, was banned and those who studied faced different punishments. Furthermore, certain processes of evaluation which mullahs had to go through were established. Only if they passed they were given an official certificate, which acknowledged their status and paved the way for them to work.

The main achievements of this era were the emergence of a modern educated class known as 'intelligentsia' who mainly represented the urban population. This social class emerged with a small number from Habibia School and grew bigger by 1928. However, their number was still small and they belonged to the younger generation, while in the traditional society of Afghanistan religious and tribal elites were dominant. It took some time for the intellectuals to grow in number and challenge the dominant traditional elites in the hierarchy of the society.

As part of its international campaign in April 1919 Afghanistan established diplomatic relations with Russia. Both countries agreed on an exchange of ambassadors. Until 1928 Amanullah established diplomatic relations with Iran, Turkey, Japan, Poland, Finland, Switzerland, France and Germany. In order to modernize the structure of state and government, Amanullah carried out some fundamental reforms. In April 1923, Amanullah issued the first constitution (*Nizamnama-e Asasi*) of the country during a *Loya Jirga* in Jalalabad with the approval of 800 tribal elites and official delegates (FARHANG 1993:532-3). The constitution was modelled on the Iranian constitution of 1906 and the Turkish administrative codes of Ataturk. Turkish law experts also assisted the king in the formation of the constitution. Amanullah changed his title from Amir to king (DUPREE 1977: 450- 462) because the title Amir was more a religious form of leadership, so he wanted to distance himself from the religion. According to the constitution, the rule of the King was not based any more on the notion of divine will (OLESEN 1996: 121) which legitimised the power of his predecessors. Article 7 of the

constitution made it clear that the the name of the king was to be mentioned in the Friday sermon (*Khutbahh-e Juma*) as well as that the coins were to be minted to this name. Despite the monarchy remaining an absolutist institution (GREGORIAN 1969: 251) the constitution paved the way for the formation of an advisory Council of State (*Shura-e Daulat*) and Council of Ministers (*Majlis-e Wozara*). He established the first cabinet in the modern form with ten to eleven ministers and a prime minister. Almost for each ministry laws and regulations were provided. There were around fifty laws and regulations that included many aspects of the governmental administration (FARHANG 1993: 532-533). The first stage of reform was successful and enjoyed enormous support among the population.

The second stage of the reform coincided in 1928 and came to its climax when Amanullah returned from his "Grand Tour" visiting many European and Islamic countries. Inspired by his visits, he immediately held another *Loya Jirga* and invited around one thousand delegates mainly tribal leaders and religious elites. He suggested substantial changes to be made in the constitution in order to make the government more representative. The reform he announced included the dissolution of the Council of State which was dominated by tribal chiefs, mainly the Durranis, the creation of an Upper House and a Lower House consisting of 150 legislators and the abolition of *Loya Jirga*, all in all in creation of a Western style cabinet and monarchy (GREGORIAN 1969: 259). To create a well-trained and ready national army he proposed the conscription to be made compulsory for two years. To accomplish these goals he also needed financial resources. Therefore, he proposed to increase the taxes. His further plans included the separation of mosques from the state, and compulsory education for males and females, the emancipation of women and the enforcement of monogamy (DUPREE 1977: 463).

According to GREGORAIN the delegates agreed to some changes in the constitution, conscription and even the increase in tax. But they disagreed on three issues which caused a great public uproar: Amanullah attacked polygamy, declaring women free to discard their veil and making it compulsory for anyone living or visiting in Kabul to adopt to Western dress (GREGORIAN 1969: 261). However, there were more issues which raised public anger. Some of the issues at stake directly targeted tribalism in Afghanistan: emancipation and the education of women, the increase of tax, the conscription and the abolition of *Loya Jirga*. These issues are even today among the big challenges for the government in the Southern part of the country. Other issues that violated religious values in the country, like banning polygamy, and the veil, setting an

age limit for marriage (18 years) for women, together with changing the Islamic calendar, moving the holiday from Friday, the Islamic holiday, to Sunday, the official symbol of pulpit and niche (*Mehrab wa Menbar*) to wheat and sword . The increase of taxes on the poor people in rural areas, especially in the villages North of the capital, turned the people against the regime. While these people had no money to pay, the government occupied their land (SEDDIQH MUJDDIDI 2002:41). At the same time the enforcement of Western dress for the residents of the capital had nothing to do with modernization but instead it was against the dominant cultural values of the society. It widened the gap between rural and urban people.

Through these proposed reforms it becomes clear that Amanullah considered modernization more problem of persuasion than a process of institution building (NEWELL 1972: 54). Introducing such a strange culture and even behavioural patterns, e.g., ways of greeting, for the people contradicted the traditional and religious way of life. In real terms these reforms meant the practical rejection of the *Shariah* law in the country. Therefore the religious elites were alarmed while the tribes especially in the South, were already voicing their opposition to modern reforms by the king. People from rural areas of Afghanistan, when entering Kabul, were forced to change their traditional clothes to Western ones and only then were they allowed to enter the city.

Through these reforms Amanullah undertook the enormous task of rapidly transforming Afghan society without a definite plan, without the necessary financial resources, and without the requisite technological skills and manpower (GREGORIAN 1969: 269). Amanullah's foreign friends, like Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, warned him that without a well-trained army and a loyal disciplined bureaucracy it would be impossible to implement any large-scale social and political reform. However, the modernization reforms in Turkey and other countries he visited impressed Amanullah and encouraged him to implement similar reforms in Afghanistan despite the warnings (DUPREE 1977: 420).

2.2.4   The Collapse of Modernism Effected by Religion Elites

There are different opinions regarding to the collapse of Amanullah's rule. Usually, the reforms he declared are indicated as the main cause for ending his rule. These reforms were never implemented, but the ideology of the king created enemies both inside and outside the country to overthrow him (DUPREE 1977: 463). One opinion is that Amanullah wanted to build a state in which tribalism had no place (TAPPER 1983:37).

Based on this idea, RUBIN believes that the end of Amanullah's reign was as a result of revolts conformed in part to Ibn Khaldun's model of dynastic decay (RUBIN 2002: 57). Another view suggests that the reforms frustrated religious elites more than any others. Amanullah was the first ruler to change his title from Amir to king since the first Anglo-Afghan War. British invasions of Afghanistan made this religious title popular and legitimate to the public. That is why the religious elite called the reforms non-Islamic in a *Fatwa* and pronounced the king as an infidel who deserved death. Thus they declared *Jihad* against his rule (OLESON 1996: 152-157). In an attempt to minimize their role and effect in the society, Amanullah imprisoned Hazrat Sahib[21] of *Shor Bazar* and his nephew, two of the most prominent religious leaders of Afghanistan (GREGORIAN 1969: 263). The final blow that ended the reign of Amanullah came from the religious elite who turned against him and gave their support to Habibullah II.

Furthermore, Amanullah's foreign policy is also given as reason for the collapse of his rule. The British continuously ruled in Muslim populated border areas (including India) in the south. The Russian occupation of Central Asia neighbouring Afghanistan in the North altogether strengthened the position of the religious elites in the society. There were numerous refugees in Afghanistan especially in Kabul (including the Amir of Bukhara) who had left their homeland as a result of Russian occupation of Central Asia. This situation caused many people to join the Muslims in fighting against the Russians in Central Asia. One of them was Habibullah II (reigned from January 1929- October 1929) (KHALILI 1991: 107, RITTER 1990:555) who toppled Amanullah. His friendly ties with Russia became a historical point for the PDPA governments when Najibullah (1986-1990) the leader of the party, and the President of DRA, said on a visit in Kremlin that: "The genius Linen and astuteness of Amanullah Khan provided a solid foundation for our friendship. The building constructed on that foundation has stood the test of time. There is a saying in my country: 'A father's friend is his son's friend'" (NAJIBULLAH 1987: 133). Therefore, Amanullah's friendly relation with Russia also played a role in his downfall.

At the same time, within the court, Amanullah faced opposition that weakened the foundation of his rule. The first opponent was General *(Sepahsalar)* Nadir Khan who insisted that the government should solve the problem of rebellion caused by the tribes in

---

[21] Hazrat Sahib is the title of a Mujadidi family also known as Hazratha (the Hazrats) who were the religious and clergies in Afghanistan. One member of this family, Sebghatullah Mujaddidi, is currently the Head of the Upper House in Afghanistan. Also he was one of the seven Mujahidin leaders based in Peshawar.

Junubi and *Mashreqi* through intra-tribal *Jirga.* It is believed that these rebellions were part of Nadir Khan's attempt to gain power (GHUBAR 1999: 34, AKHGAR 2009). Nadir Khan and his brothers raised and educated in British India, wanted the Afghan monarchy to maintain a friendly relations with Britain. Amanullah's friendly relations with Russia raised their anger. Furthermore, there were marked personality and policy conflicts between Nadir Khan and other ministers e.g., Mahmud Tarzi, and Mohammad Wali Khan (GREGORIAN 1969: 282). In order to decrease these tensions Nadir Khan was dismissed from his position and was sent to France on a diplomatic mission (TYTLER 1967: 224-225). Nevertheless, the conflict undermined the capability of the government to overcome the growing challenges.

There were other major factors that played a fundamental role in ending Amanullah's reign. The newly built state institutions had little success in wining the loyalty of the people. The institutions could not function effectively and efficiently. Corruption and nepotism were among the major problems. This was despite the repeated promise made by the government to control these problems. The justice system was among the most corrupt institutions in the capital and in the provinces. The government expenditure carried out from the collected taxes and revenues indicate clearly the heart of the problem (table 3).

Institutions	Expenditur	%	Tax Collected from	Amount	%
Ministry of War	40,000,000	22.22%	Land	80,000,000	44.44%
Ministry of Darbar	20,000,000	11.11%	Animals	25,000,000	13.89%
Ministry of Education	15,000,000	8.33%	Customs	40,000,000	22.22%
Ministry of Interior	12,000,000	6.67%	*Mahsul-e Sokuk*	10,000,000	5.56%
Expenditure on construction of buildings	10,000,000	5.56%	Miscellaneous	25,000,000	13.89%
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	7,000,000	3.89%			
Ministry of Commerce	4,000,000	2.22%			
Ministry of Finance	3,000,000	1.67%			
Ministry of Justice	2,000,000	1.11%			
Miscellaneous expenditures, purchase and some savings	67,000,000	37.22%			
Total	180,000,000	100.00%		180,000,000	100.00%

Table 3: Government expenditure and tax revenues in 1928

Source: Layeha-e Taraqqiyat (1928: 14) mentioned in (GHUBAR 1967: 791- 792).
*GHANI mentions the budget for education as five million (GHANI 1983-1985: 560-561).

These figures show that the expenditure of the government is equal to the tax revenue collected. They illustrate that the state was relying on its own financial resources, an achievement hardly seen in later decades. However, apart from this positive development, the discrepancy of expenditures in different institutions is huge. Military expenditures are the highest, refuting the assumptions that Amanullah paid little or no attention to strengthening his army. Furthermore, the policy of reforms initiated by Amanullah did not match the expenditures. For example, the Durbar mainly consisted of aristocrats (*Durrani* chiefs), who received more budget than the education sector. This was despite the emphasis on the importance of education in the reforms. Most striking is the lowest amount of the budget being specified for the justice sector. This is a clear indication to the ineffectiveness of the justice system in the country which enabled corruption to grow in the institutions. At the same time, the amount of taxes collected by the government is mainly from land revenues. GREGORIAN names a figure as high as 30 percent (GREGORIAN 1969:270). However, official figures show the land revenues 80 million or more than 44 percent which together with revenues from livestock (25 millions or 14 percent) makes it more than 58 percent. Therefore the high taxes on land and animals were the main financial source of the government budget while it was a huge burden on the poor people.

Thus Amanullah's reign came to an end due to many factors including repeated tribal rebellions in *Junubi* and *Mashreqi*, the declaration of reforms in 1928 which frustrated the religious establishment, and the increase of taxes. Besides the factors mentioned, the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of state institutions widened the gap between the state and people. The reforms needed well-trained people and Amanullah faced enormous administrative problems. Trained personnel were in short supply, and corruption and efficiency were major concerns (GREGORIAN 1969: 248). The main cause of rebellions in the country were bad administration (*so-e edarat daulati*) and inefficiency of government staffs (*be kefayati-e mamurin-e daulat*) who carried out their jobs with corruption and betrayal (GHUBAR 1968:790). This situation made the reforms even more unattractive to the people.

As part of his last attempt to remain in power, Amanullah gave up all reforms. He went to the city centre and read his declaration in public. In this declaration he mentioned many items which guaranteed the power to religious and tribal elites. At the same time it removed some of the restrictions issued earlier. However, the declaration came too late to attract any public attention (SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI 2002: 74-77). Therefore Amanullah,

who left Kabul assigned his brother Enayatullah to the throne and left Kabul for Kandahar to reinforce new troops against Habibullah II forces. Enayatullah noticed that any resistance would be useless since there was no support for him except his surrounding guards. Thus, three days after Amanullah's departure he threw in his support for the decision of the religious elite and tendered allegiance to the new Amir (STEWART 1973: 475).

The religious elite, frustrated by Amanullah's reforms, declared their support for Habibullah II (reigned from January 1929- October 1929), known as *Bacha-e Saqao* (son of the water carrier),[22] who toppled Amanullah. He was entitled by the religious elite as Amir Habibullah 'the servant of the religion of the Prophet' *(Khaadem-e Deen-e Rasoullallah)* (SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI 2002: 65-66). The new Amirs's name was mentioned in Friday sermon and the coin was minted to his name (KHALILI 1991: 149).

---

[22] This title is quite often used pejoratively by Musahiban rulers who never wanted to use the real name of Habilbullah. Later it was used in many in Farsi, Pashtu and English publications. For example, authors like GREGORIAN use the name Bacha in short (GREGORIAN 1969: 277) without even noticing that it was not a name. Habibullah is referred to mostly as the 'bandit' or the 'highway man' in the available sources. The primary source of these texts ends in the Musahiban family or Afghan writers that were either pro-Amanullah or supporting the cause of Musahiban rule. According to MAGNUS and NABY,

> In the period since his downfall, Habibullah was not simply ignored in Afghan history, like Amanullah, but he has been denigrated and maligned so that even his name is unrecognizable by most Afghans. He is known as Bacha-i Saqau, a reference to his mean birth into a poor family. Knowledge of his period is limited, and his person and motivation lie buried with him, his associates, and those who oversaw his overthrow and hanging. His short period of rule is credited with neither reform nor stability, although there may be evidence that his government gave reinvigorated support to the anti-Soviet resistance movement in Central Asia. This support turned to a summery hunt of anti-Soviet leaders by the Afghan military once Habibullah II was replaced. The extent of Russian and British machinations in the overthrow and replacement of both Amanullah and Habibullah II may remain unknowable (MAGNUS and NABY 2002: 43).

The name Bacha-e Saqau (Bacha-I Saqau) means son of water carrier in Farsi. The word Saqau alone means water carrier which in fact describe the carrier of a person. It is similar to schoe-maker, tin-smith in English and Schuhmacher and Eisenmann in German. Actually Habibullah's father Ahmadullah took active apart in the second Anglo-Afghan War. Like a champion, he was bringing water for the Afghan fighters during the war. Thereafter he was called Saqau (the water-carrier) an esteemed title. His son Habibullah II took part actively in the third Anglo Afghan War. During Amanullah's rule he served in one of the best known military establishments in Kabul (Qeta-e Namoona) and was trained by Turkish officers (SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI 2002: 29-33). Later, while in service and on his way home, he killed a few of government's most wanted bandits. Since the government had declared a prize for the head of these bandits, he informed the local police and justice center about the issue. However, the local police centre imprisoned him and sent the news to Kabul that the police had inally captured the bandits. This soon led to the promotion of the police chiefs and his staff while the also received the ransom. Habibullah, while innocent, spent five years in prison and finally escaped and turned against the government. This was the untold story of Habibullah for many decades. It was for the first time in 1991 that a very famous Afghan poet and writer KHALILI dared to write a book about him. His writing is the first that is accredited because he was living and holding official posts during the rule of Amanullah, Habibullah II, Nadir Khan and Zahir Khan. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, he migrated and lived in exile where he wrote this book.

The next book published in 2002 by SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI is the second book after the one published by KHALILI. This book also agrees with the descriptions made by KHALILI. The interesting thing about this book is that its author is a member of the MUJADDIDI family who played an important role in the fall of Amanullah and gave to power to Habibullah.

He declared *Shariah* as the only ruling law and abolished the constitution and Amanullah's reforms.

The new Amir declared his policy by emphasizing that he was not against reforms that did not conflict with the tenet of Islam. His administration was composed of his brother and friends, some of whom were inexperienced; however, his Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and few others were intellectuals who made the government more accountable. According to ADAMEC, the government was reasonably efficient, with a distinct 'republican flavour', and law and order prevailed in Kabul (ADAMEC 1974: 163). In the beginning, the new Amir was happily welcomed by the people except pro-Amanullah intellectuals, and he was expected to maintain law and order. This optimism ended due to economical and political problems that followed (FARHANG 1993:564-5). There was no aid from outside during Abdurrahman's and Habibullah's rule, and since he gave up tax collection there was no income from tax revenues, either.

At this point in time, Afghanistan's strategic position was very important to its neighbours, especially Great Britain and Russia. During the celebrations of the Day of Independence Habibullah II declared his dedication to the safeguarding of his country's independence and his willingness to re-establishing good relations with other countries (GREGORIAN 1969: 277) including Russia and Britain. However, both countries refused to recognize the new government in Kabul and continued their traditional competition by installing their loyal element in Kabul. The support of a religiously led movement from the bottom of society raised their special concern because they thought what happened in Afghanistan would affect other other oppressed Islamic movements in Central Asia and India and incline them to follow. As a result there would be many anti-colonial uprisings. To avoid such an outcome, in 1929, the Russian army crossed the border, invaded Afghanistan and succeeded in occupying Balkh, including the cities of Mazar-e Sharif and Kunduz. This was the first Russian invasion in Afghanistan in which more than 70,000 people were killed and hundreds were wounded (SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI 2002: 65-66). In this invasion, the Russian army used heavy artillery including air-bombings. On the ground, Ghulam Nabi Charkhi (a pro-Amanullah reformist and the Afghan ambassador to Moscow) was heading the army. His plan was to mobilize the people in the area and to transform Afghan Turkistan into a base of operation for Amanullah (GREGORIAN 1969: 278). However, noticing Russian troops in the conflict the public joined the limited numbers of the Afghan army and fought against the invading troops. Meanwhile Haibibullah II's main foreign policy was to

nullify the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and the non-aggression pact signed with Amanullah in 1926 (RITTER 1990: 554-555) and support the exiled leaders as well as resistance forces from Central Asian against Russia.

As an alternative option Amanullah ordered Nadir Khan to return from France immediately via Russia and support him in regaining the throne. Nadir Khan and his brothers returned, but neither via Russia and nor for the support of Amanullah. They returned and started their own campaign to gain the power in Kabul. Nadir Khan, visiting British authorities in India, assured them by saying "I am strongly pro-British…. I am not definitely pledged to support Amanullah or anyone else" (STEWART 1973: 517). In March 1929, Amanullah organized forces in Kandahar and headed towards the capital. However, this attempt failed and his forces were defeated by Habibullah II troops in Ghazni. As a result, Amanullah disappointedly left Afghanistan for Italy. His departure on the one hand and the public uprasing on the other, made the Russian troops and Charkhi give up their unsuccessful efforts.

For the British, Nadir Khan's campaign and position was a "God-sent opportunity" (ARNEY 1990: 25). Therefore the British provided ground, money and people (TYTLER 1953: 220-222, NEWELL1982: 37), so that Nadir could gain the control of the capital before the Russians succeeded in bringing back Amanullah. The British aid to Nadir Khan, which included 10,000 rifles, five million cartridges, and some 180,000 pounds, was an endorsement of Nadir's rule in Afghanistan (GREGORIAN 1969: 321). Thus, with this aid Nadir Khan gained a better position in the war against Habibullah II.

However, in fighting against the Amir who claimed his legitimacy to be based on the *Shariah*, Nadir Khan repeatedly failed to succeed. The reason behind the failure was the fact that Habibullah had a more legitimate position, endorsed by the religious establishment. Although Nadir Khan made many attacks, they were all defeated and later the loss of men made the war even more unattractive for the tribes. Therefore he chose ethnicity and tribalism as an instrument to overthrow the Amir. He provoked the Pashtun tribes to fight against the ruling Habibullah II, a Tajik who took the power for the first time since 1747 from the dominant Durranis. As compensation, the tribes were allowed to take whatever they could from the enemy: land, property and women (FARHANG 1993:594). The sentence Nadir Khan used is still popular in the *Shamali* plain in the North of Kabul: 'their heads are mine and their rests are yours' (*Sar-e shan az man, mal wa namoos-e shan az shuma*). This policy worked successfully since the tribes finally

found a reason for fighting that suited their nature. After heavy fighting in October 1929, Habibullah II evacuated the capital and went to Charikar for reinforcement. The tribes looted Kabul and especially Kohdaman, the villages in the North of Kabul from where they also took whatever they could get including women (SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI 2002: 156-159). These impressions are still alive in the memory of the people after many generations.

While Habibullah was in the North waiting for his forces to return from Mazar, he posed a major threat to Nadir Khan's rule in Kabul. Therefore, to get rid of him, Nadir Khan asked the Hazaras to attack on *Shamali* promising them the same conditions as the Pashtun tribes. However the Hazara leaders refused Nadir Khan's request and said that they prefer to suffer its outcome but they will not take part in the war against the people in Shamali. When this policy failed, Nadir Khan sent a group of religious and spiritual leaders in order to encourage Habibullah II to join the government. In order to assure Habibullah II and his friends safety and excuse, Nadir Khan signed in the margin of a Koran as a promise (KHALILI 1991: 182-187, FARHANG 1993:579). However, when Habibullah II came to the palace, following a brief meeting with Nadir Khan, he and his friends were arrested; a week later they were brutally executed. Even his two wives were forced to marry into the tribes, one of them did, and the other who refused was sentenced to 40 years in prison and torture (MUJADDIDI 2002: 163-171).

2.2.5 The Re-establishing of Monarchy on the Basis of Tribal Authority and the Rise of Intellectual Elites: The End of the Great Game and the Beginning of the Cold War

The victory of Nadir Khan reestablished the influence of the British in Afghanistan (BRADSHER 1983: 16). The interests of the British were centered on two objectives: to secure peace among the frontier tribes, and to stop the Russian advances and ideological infiltration. The British had considered Amanullah unreliable for securing these objectives (OLESON 1996:172-173). In contrast, the British regarded Nadir Khan as a reliable person because he secured the interests of the British. That is why Nadir enjoyed British financial and military support. Nadir recruited tribes from both sides of the border of Afghanistan and India (BRADSHER 1983: 16), something the British allowed him to do and which finally enabled him to take over power.

Abdurrahman Khan's policy of centralizing power and Amanullah's failure to modernize Afghanistan, provided a good foundation for Nadir Khan to build the state. Amanullah

was reluctant to share power with religious and tribal elites, and very much relied on a small number of intellectual elite from urban areas. At the same time, Habibullah II mostly relied on the religious elites who considered him to be Amir. Nadir Khan, aware of the mistakes made in the past, relied strongly upon tribal elites. In order to sustain his rule he appointed some of the religious as well as a few of the intellectuals elites (mostly from urban areas) to his government. In terms of financial resources, the king relied on the merchant class rather than on the landowners, whose investments were in trade not in production (RUBIN 2002: 57). These merchants, who were few capitalists and dominated the the country's economy since 1932 (FLETCHER 1966: 243), held the monopoly in external and internal trade while they were also politically present and active in the cabinet and government (GHUBAR 1999: 196).

The ruling system was based on the family as well as on the support of the Pashtun tribes, particularly those in the South (*Junoubi*). In order

> to institute his program and consolidate the rule of his dynasty, Nadir relied heavily on his brothers as well as on the cooperation of the religious establishment and the Pashtun tribes. His government was virtually a family circle: Hashim Khan was premier, Shah Wali Khan was minister of war and commander-in-chief, and Shah Mahmud was minister of interior (GREGORIAN 1969: 294).

Therefore, the king and his four brothers operated as the political hub of a patronage network that emphasized personal ties with the feudalist *khans* and other regional leaders in the traditional fashion. This policy required the relaxation of central control in some crucial areas of authority. Some of the Pashtun tribes that had brought the Musahibans to power were exempted from taxation and military conscription (NEWELL1982: 39 & RUBIN 2002: 62).

At the same time, there were other major challenges for the government, consisting of five brothers, to overcome. These challenges were posed mostly from by the intellectuals and religious elites. In order

> to please the moderate Afghan modernists (and possibly to please Muslim modernists and nationalist abroad as well), Nadir retained two ministers from Amanullah's government: Faiz Mohammad Khan, the former minister of education, became minister of foreign affairs and Ahmad Ali Khan, the former minister of commerce, became minister of education' (GREGORIAN 1969: 294).

Meanwhile, Nadir made efforts to gain the confidence of the religious establishments. In this context the religious elites who had played an important role in the collapse of Amanullah's government, attracted his attention, especially the Hazarat Sahib Mujaddidi

and his brothers (Mujaddidis). His brothers Sher Agha Mujaddidi and Mohammad Said Mujaddidi became ministers of justice and state respectively, while Hazrat Sahib himself was assigned as Afghan minister to Egypt (GREGORIAN 1969: 294). Other religious elites were given jobs in state institutions reviewing the legislation (RUBIN 2002: 62).

In order to show that the kingdom was loyal to the Islam faith, Nadir khan bade all the Afghan students sent abroad by Amanullah to return, closed down the first female school and ordered women to cover themselves with a veil (*Purdah*). He sent home all advanced students so that to train new brains to be loyal to the king and monarchy. Due to this pressure, the number of students decreased from 83,000 to 4,591 (GHUBAR 1999: 83). Nadir reaffirmed Habibullah's II law when his Ministry of Justice and the department of *Ihtesab (*religious police) enforced the strict adherence of the people to the moral codes of Islam (GREGORIAN 1969: 294). Those executing these laws were students who studied in the *Madrasa*s of Kabul and other provinces. To gain the direct control over the religious education more *Madrasa*s were established between 1930 and 1940, and the cooperation with the Deoband *Madrasa* in India was maintained (OLESON 1996:187-8).

It is believed that Nadir, for administrative purposes, divided Afghanistan into five major provinces and four minor provinces (GREGORIAN 1969: 298). However, these changes were never put into effect and the administrative division Amanullah had undertaken remained unchanged (RAHMATI 1986: 58). To maintain the control over the country, Nadir Khan built up an army consisted of between 40,000 to 70,000 soldiers. To build up a modern officers corps, many of officer cadets were sent to France and Germany for their military training. In 1933, Nadir opened a preparatory military school for the sons of tribal chieftains in Kabul fulfilling the promises he had made to the tribes after his victory in overthrowing Habibullah II (GREGORIAN 1969: 297).

While Nadir maintained an absolute rule in the country, his foreign policy was controlled by the British. There were many British agents, mostly from India in the court. They held official posts and titles of considerable importance (GHUBAR 1999:92-8). Relations with the Russians stagnated. Therefore, untill the death of Stalin in 1953, the Musahiban were not to resume friendly relations with the Soviet Union (NEWELL 1982: 39). Thus, the Soviets regarded the Afghan monarchy as a British puppet state and considered both India and Afghanistan as military bases for a British attack on the USSR (GREGORIAN 1969: 331).

In 1931, the King held a *Jirga* and invited representatives of those who were loyal to the royal family: tribal, religious and a small group of urban elites. A new constitution (*Usolnama-e Asasi*) which consisted 110 articles that had been inspired by the constitution of Turkey and Iran was approved. It declared the monarchy in Afghanistan to be hereditary and legitimized the form of the state (FARHANG 1993: 592). According to this constitution the façade of a parliamentary government was created, while the actual control remained in the hands of the king. The complete autonomy of *Shariah* courts was guaranteed (OLESEN 1996:179). The institutions that were to be created on the basis of this document appeared to allocate authority to various government offices, but in reality, power was centred on the monarch and the royal family, creating a veritable oligarchy. Therefore, the constitution created but the illusion of popular participation without proper enforcement provisions (DUPREE 1977: 464).

Despite all efforts, the new government was unstable and the people considered the ruling family tobe an illegitimate successor to the throne, as Amanullah, despite his erratic tendencies, had been popular especially among young urban people (FLETCHER 1966: 231). Further the intellectuals favored strongly Amanullah and his modernization program. There was a strong feeling, especially among the intellectuals that Nadir Khan should transfer the power to Amanullah. This notion was particularly popular while the Amir was in exile and his supporters, together with his loyal friends, were active in the country and they were taking advantage of every opportunity to make his return possible. However, this subtle strategy was regarded as having failed once the intellectuals saw Nadir Khan strengthening his own position. Therefore they openly turned against Nadir Khan and challenged his rule.

Nadir Khan repeatedly responded to the intellectual's opposition with an iron hand and brutality. He enjoyed the support of tribal and religious elites who were unhappy about the role the intellectuals played in the society. The religious and tribal elites favored his conservative policies because the intellectual had only begun to take influence on society through their newly gained status under Amanullah's rule. The tribes had played a key and instrumental role in Nadir Khan's claiming of the throne. Nadir Khan's policy of oppressing the intellectuals finally led them to carry out direct attacks against the government. As a result, Nadir Shah's brother, who was the Afghan envoy in Berlin, was assassinated in July 1933 and Nadir Shah himself was assassinated in November of the same year in Kabul (GREGORIAN 1969: 338-9). In both cases the assassins were the anti-government students. In other words the intellectual elites grew in number during

Amanullah's reign and emerged for the first time as a political element beside the traditional religious and tribal elites. Therefore they were simultaneously targeted and brutally tortured by Nadir and later his brothers.

Like in the case of Abdurrahman, Nadir's autocratic rule provided a secure and centralized Afghanistan for his 19 years old son, Zahir Shah (1933-1973). However, until 1963 Nadir's brothers Mohammad Hashim Khan, Shah Mahmud Khan and Shah Wali Khan were running the government. Among them, Hashim Khan, prime minister from 1933-1946, took to a reactionary policy of torture and terror toward all opposing elements in the country while in his foreign policy he continued to rely on the British. In 1934 the administration of the country was re-structured into 7 provinces (*Welayat*) and 7 sub-provinces (*Hukumat-e Alaa)* the administrative apparatus changed accordingly. (cf. map 9 p. 61)

Among other executive branches, Hashim Khan relied very much on the army. He increased the number of military forces from 70,000 in 1934 to 80,000 in 1941 and almost 50 per cent of the country's revenue in this time was devoted to military expenditure (GREGORIAN 1969: 371). In order to gain the confidence of the tribes he continued Nadir Khan's the discriminatory policy of allowing sons of tribal chiefs into the military academy, so that they considered themselves to hold their share of political power in the monarchy. In 1941, the office of police were given their own department as a sign of gratitude. In 1944, the police training school was established and 200 officers were sent to British India for training (GHUBAR 1999: 208).

In 1946, Kabul University was established in order to take over the complete supervision of four faculties that had been established earlier. Kabul University facilitated the rise of intellectuals in the capital as well as in the country. The number of students increased with the expansion of the education system.

2.2.6   The Influence of Intellectuals on the Introduction of Democracy

The Great Game ended after the World War II, and Afghanistan survived the competition between the rival powers through a prudent policy of neutrality. In August 1947 the British rule in India ended, and the new state of Pakistan was established. The British officially remained in control of the old frontier (TYTLER 1953: 275-6) on the Southern border of Afghanistan. The USSR remained the Northern neighbor of Afghanistan. The influence of the new super power USA slowly appeared in the mid 1930s with the arrival

of a group of American teachers who were employed by the government in Habibia high school. Furthermore, an American company which invested in the exploration of oil, as well as American businessmen and diplomats, showed up (POULADA 1995: 25-26).

The construction of the *Kajaki* dam on the Hilmand river between 1945 to 1953 by the American company Morrison-Knudsen Afghanistan Inc. (M.K.A.) was another step toward American involvement in the country. It brought less benefit to the country than expected, because the humanitarien problems in the region were ignored (DUPREE 1977: 482-500) and as a result of miscalculations about the quality of the soil in the region. But the project helped to establish the influence of the Americans in Afghanistan.

In 1946, King Zahir actively intervened in the government. He forced his conservative uncle to resign. Shah Mahmud Khan (1946-1953) replaced his brother's military government with a semi-military one. The Monarchy came under international pressure, particularly from the United Nations, which expressed its concern over human rights abuse in the country. At the same time, the new educated class, especially those who studied in the West, encouraged Shah Mahmud to bring democracy to the country (DUPREE 1977: 486). Therefore, he began his rule with a gesture of amnesty to political prisoners including some anti-British elements (FLETCHER 1966: 231). By this time a group of intellectuals had already established parties to represent their interest. Two of these parties (*Wikh Zalmian* and *Hezb-e-Watan*) were under the leadership of the Afghan historians Habibi and Ghubar respectively (table 4). Elections were held for the post of mayor in Kabul and even for the National Council, where some candidatesof these parties were elected.

Within the court, the royal princes Daoud, Naim, and Zabuli, the Minister of Economy, all known as conservatives, established the National Democratic Party. They encouraged the intellectuals to join their party. However, the party failed to attract the intellectuals because it was dominated by the royal princes and aristocrats. The failure of the party prompted the princes to put the government under pressure to give up democracy. As a result, the political activities of the intellectuals grouped into the three parties of *Watan*, *Khalq* and *Wikh Zalmian* in 1950 and 1951, were banned and their members were sentenced to prison, where some of them stayed untill 1963. This policy of oppressing political opposition groups led to a political crisis in the institutions, like in the national assembly (FARHANG 1993:622-671), and among intellectuals and political groups including the growing number of students.

Party Name	Leaders	Paper	Members	Position
Wikh Zalmian (Awakened youth)	Benawa, Gul Pacha Ulfat, Noor M. Taraki	Angar then Wulus	Intellectuals	Independent
Democrat-e Mili (National Democrat)	Prince Daoud and Zabuli		Loyalist to the Monarchy	Government
Watan (Homeland)	Gh. M. Ghubar, S. Joya, S. Farhang	Watan	Intellectuals	Independent
Khalq (People)	Dr.Mahmodi	Neday-e Khalq	Intellectuals	Independent
Etehad (Unity)	Sayed Ismael Balkhi		Religious and intellectuals	Independent
Etehadia Muhaselin (Students Union)	Executive Committee		Students of University and high schools	Independent

Table 4: Political parties 1947 - 1951

The intellectuals, especially those approximately 5,000 that received specialized education in universities abroad, were employed in governmental institutions. Positions held by these persons included government officials, teachers, editors, directors of the mass media as well as the cabinet and the highest administrative posts in the ministries (WILBER 1962: 147). However, the key government ministries of defense, interior and foreign affairs remained under direct control of the Royal Family. The Royal Family not only played the decisive role in selecting which intellectuals to employ, but also had the authority to control these posts (WILBER 1962:147). Therefore, the intellectuals holding the positions had only a symbolic role, and their knowledge of and ability to carry out initiatives was undermined by the royal authorities.

The Parliament *(Shura-e Mili)* that was elected in 1946 and continued to function until 1952 became known, among the intellectuals as the "liberal parliament" (WILBER 1962: 147). With 171 members, the *Shura* mainly consisted of three groups: those loyal to the government, the intellectuals, and one final group consisting of mullahs, khans and merchants (GHUBAR 1999:262). It is also argued that the members of this parliament merely fulfilled the minimum requirements of sanity, literacy and attainment of their twenty-fifth birthday (GRIFFITHS 1967:99). Nevertheless, at least there were some who raised their voices for democracy and equal rights for all citizens in the country. Around 30 members of the *Shura* widely known as liberals, criticized the government on many issues that were against the constitution, specially the *Bigar* or slavery. The criticism caused political conflicts between the intellectuals and the monarchy. As a result, in 1950 and 1951 the freedom of press and the political activities of intellectuals were banned and

their members were sent to prison. In 1953, the monarchy worried that political liberalizations would destabilize the country (EWANS 2002: 150) and after experiments proved to be unsatisfactory, Shah Mahmoud was replaced with Sardar Mohammad Daoud as prime minister in order to respond to some of the criticism, especially with regard to the poor economy and poverty in the country (SARIN and DVORETSKY 1993:30).

2.2.7 The Cold War and its Impact on Destabilizing the Geostrategic Balance of Afghanistan between the East and the West Blocks

Daoud Khan as Prime Minister, 1953-1963, marked the beginning of the end of the monarchic regime in Afghanistan. Daoud introduced a cabinet that consisted mostly of young Afghans educated in the West (RESHTIA 1992: 101). He gave up on building democracy, but promised to continue the process in the future, without naming a time limit or interm goals to be reached. A new period that is called "the dictator's period" began. Daoud's policy was mainly focused on two areas: solving the Pashtunistan issue and economic development.

The economic development in the country needed financial resources. Nadir Khan and his brothers received aids from the British, especially in form of military equipments. But once the British rule ended, the monarchy in Afghanistan was worried and searched for new sources of support. In the beginning and under the precondition of a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, both Eastern and Western countries helped either financially or by promoting many development projects in the country. This strategy was a convenient mechanism used to transfer wealth from rich countries to strengthen the economy of Afghanistan, which was regarded as a backward country (TOYNBEE 1961:33). When the Cold War rivalry between the USSR. and the West intensified, Afghanistan became the playground between the competing major powers. Each tried to prevent the influence of its opponent in the region.

United State's foreign policy under president General Eisenhower was based on blocking the Soviet expansion in the Middle East by developing a system of alliances with countries like Iraq, Iran and Pakistan (FLETCHER 1966: 257). Afghanistan refused to participate in the alliance (Baghdad Pact), and declared a non-alignment policy (RESHTIA 1992: 101-102). On the other side, the Premier of the Soviet Union Khrushchev and his defense Minister Marshal Bulganin visited Kabul in 1955, officially signing a protocol of non-aggression valid for ten years and extending USD 100 million

in credits (WILBER 1962:185). In real terms, however, these generous aids were to be paid back through the permanent reliance of the government on the Soviet Union as their biggest donor. American high ranking diplomats warned Daoud that Afghanistan would "go down the communist drain in few years" (DUPREE 1973: 524).

In order to organize the support of around twenty-one nations, the government established a Planning Ministry. In 1957, a first five-year plan was drafted, to be followed by a second in 1962-1967. However, these projects were miscalculated and the government had neither the trained personnel and the statistical information nor the devices to control major elements of development (NEWELL,1972, 126-7 and (FARHANG 1996:693).

In general, the positive effects of the two five-year plans are still visible in the country. The backbone of the infrastructures in Afghanistan was built on the basis of these plans. Specific attention was given to the construction of transportation routes and the communication system, many power stations, airports, hospitals, schools and different factories (e.g. *Fabrika Jangalak, Fabrika Khana Sazi, Fabrika Sement, Fabrika Qhirrizi, Fabrika Kod wa Barqh-e Mazar*), including two silos. The education and health sectors can serve as indicators of the development. The number of schools and hospitals rose dramatically, and so did the number of students, teachers and doctors (table 5).

Date	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils	Number of Teachers	Number of Hospitals	Number of Medical Doctors	Number of Hospital Beds
1927		51,000				
1932/ 1311	22	1,350	105			600
1937/ 1315	92	9,275	309			650
1943/ 1320	331	64,000	2,190		38	730
1947/ 1325	359	93,544	2,677		88	770
1951/ 1330	378	98,743	3,128	50	137	
1955/ 1335	804	126,092	4,007	52	149	1,380
1959/ 1340	1,436	235,301	5,983	59	250	1,759
1963/ 1345	2,298	443,459	9,824	63	527	2,197
1967/ 1351	3,972	760,469	21,920	67	827	3,504
Average Annual Percentage Increase	13.9	17.2	14.3			4.5

Table 5: The development of public service 1932 – 1967
Source: FRY (1974:14)

Although the increase of public service, especially of education and health services was impressive, it can hardly be considered sufficient in view of the est. population of 15,400,000 in 1966-1967 (DUPREE 1977:146) dispersed widely in the country as it concentrated mainly on urban areas. In the urban areas – the capital and major cities like Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-e Sharif, the population was not very high. For example Kabul, the capital and the largest city of Afghanistan, had a population of only 250,000 to 300,000 people (WATKINS, 1963: 244). The rural areas in the country received little or no public service at all. For example, Hazarajat in central Afghanistan was the most deprived region receiving no public service. Although the *Salang* tunnel facilitated the transport of goods and connected the northern region to the capital, it further isolated the Hazarajat. Its traditional connection to Kabul via the *Shibar* Pass that used to link northern region to the capital via Bamian, lost its importance when the *Salang* tunnel was opened.

On the other side, Russian technology and engineering systems needed trained people to run them. In 1958, Russian experts were invited who carried out short term training courses for the military staff (AZIMI, 2000: 39). Besides, many Afghans were sent to the USSR for training. Around 3000 Afghans were sent to the USSR only for military training (FARHANG 1996:775). These trained persons staffed the governmental institutions and supported the semi-democratic government for the next ten years (KESHTMAND 2003: 90). However, these Soviet trained elites both in the civil and the military sector – inspired by the ideology of communism – also caused the forthcoming problems in the future of Afghanistan as well.

The close relations with the USSR introduced the ideology of communism, which spread among some of the intellectuals, into Afghanistan. They considered communism not only as a better alternative to the monarchist regime, but also as a modern and appropriate political system for Afghanistan. Meanwhile the USSR, as a neighbor and a superpower in the global terms, provided the mental food for most of the intellectuals to support communist movements. Many of those who visited the USSR or were educated there were impressed by the communist system. This holds true especially in regard to the obvious absence of poverty and in regard to a well established system of public services. Comparing the situation to their own country, most of these intellectuals became skeptical about the monarchist rule. They questioned why, despite extensive possibilities for creating a better situation in Afghanistan, the population was kept poor.

On the other side, the monarchy, and particularly Daoud's government, accepted the Russian help and involvement in Afghanistan for a number of reasons: first because of the Pashtunistan issue. Its solution was one of the two main projects of Daoud's government, and the issue reached its political climax and caused a diplomatic crisis. Between Afghanistan and Pakistan; a confrontation was immanent. Second, the USSR was willing to support Daoud's government against Pakistan. It was the only country providing enormous economic help seemingly without any preconditions (SHARQ 1991: 127-129). Third, unlike the support from the USSR, the donations and especially the military aid from the United States were not unconditional, which disappointed Daoud's government (DUPREE 1973:522-523 and POULADA 1987:43). Fourth, the United States were economic and military supporters of Pakistan, and refused the request of the Afghan government for military aid (RUBIN 2002: 65). All this frustrated Afghanistan and forced Daoud to look for alternative supporters than the United States.

The flow of millions of Dollars of aid from the USSR undermined the position of Afghanistan despite its official announcement of a non-alignment policy. It is also believed that Daoud had intended from the beginning, to establish a socialist government (RESHTIA 1997: 145) which matched with Soviet interests as well as with Daoud's own policy. Thus, his too strong reliance to the USSR made him seem to the West a 'Soviet lackey' to the West (TANNER 2002: 227). Therefore, the influence of the U.S.S.R on all aspects of life in the country became considerable. As a result neither the King nor Daoud could make any serious decision without taking the U.S.S.R and its interests into consideration (MITROKHIN 2002:17).

The close relationship of Afghanistan with the U.S.S.R fostered the emergence of pro-communist elites among the intellectual groups. Many of them returned from the USSR after having been trained in different fields, mostly in military. Especially the training of Afghan officers in the USSR and the presence of a great number of Russian military advisors in Afghanistan worried the West because of the unclear political orientation of these officers (DUPREE 1973: 524). These new, educated elites, much larger in number than those who had received training in the West, were employed in the key institutions of the state, mainly the army and the police. Furthermore, the Soviet military assistance improved the quality of the Afghan army and modernized its institutions. This strategy of state-building made Daoud's government more independent from tribal and religious elites; something the monarchy used to rely on.

The strong army and police enabled Daoud's government to expand its control beyond the capital and major cities, where religious and tribal leadership and obedience were traditionally dominant. In 1959, the government issued a decree that the *Purdah*[23] (veil) was no longer required in the country. The female members of the royal family were the first to appear in public without the *purdah*, which in turn encouraged other high ranking government officials to follow (RESHTIA 1997: 102). The religious elites who protested and voiced their oppositions, were severely punished.

The government believed the religious and traditional elites to be obstacles to all plans of modernization. Therefore, their suppression and exclusion continued until their influence in the government was heavily deminished. However, the policy of suppression further damaged the image of the government and strengthened the position of the opposition. The religious elites turned into one major opposition group criticizing the government and its policy over many issues, e.g., the abolition of the *Purdah* and the training of Afghans in the USSR, as this not only brought professional skills in the country but also the ideology of communism, that was contradictory to the religion and tradition of Afghanistan.

To summarize: there are some similarities between the two ten years periods of Daoud's and Amanullah's reigns. Both introduced a rapid modernization of the country by implementing many projects in close cooperation with Russia. Both strove for the abolishment of the *Purdah* and exerted opposition to the religious elites. And both of them supported the training of intellectual elites abroad. While Amanullah failed, Daoud could rely upon the capacity and capability of his army to eradicate any challenging oppositions. He confronted the religious elites and tribal fractions by relying on the army, the increasing younger officers who received training in Russia being loyal to him. Later, in 1973, this loyalty was proven when they committed a coup under Daoud's command that ended monarchy in Afghanistan.

Although the monarchy in general and Daoud's government in particular did not collapse the way it did when Amanullah was dethroned by religious and tribal elites, the opposition by religious elites remained a challenge to Daoud's government. On the other side the heavy reliance of the monarchy on the USSR between the 1950s and 1960s laid

---

[23] The word *Purdah* literary means curtain in Farsi, used by women to hide their head and face from strangers. Later, the Mujahidin used the Arabic word *Hejab* instead, which is common now in the media.

down the basis for many political movements among intellectuals in Afghanistan, particularly the PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) who supported Daoud in ending the monarchist regime and establishing a republic. Later, in 1978, the PDPA ended the republic of Daoud as well. Indeed, like Amanullah, Daoud miscalculated, when he relied only on a specific group of intellectual elites while he suppressed the religious elites.

In terms of foreign policy, Daoud's extreme reliance on the USSR and its involvement in the development projects isolated him from the West where he was labelled in as the "Red Prince" (FLETCHER, 1966: 285). At the same time the dispute with Pakistan over the Pashtunistan issue further isolated the country from its Southern neighbour, as Pakistan resorted to closing its border to Afghanistan. For the landlocked Afghanistan, Karachi port used to be the closest way to the sea. This situation forced Daoud's government with its developing projects to become more dependent to the USSR in the North. At the same time the blockade by Pakistan affected the Afghan businessmen and traders who used to carry out their import-export via the Karachi harbor. These imbalances in both internal and external affair faced the country with political crisis. Due to this situation the King unhappy with Daoud, asked him to resign.

2.2.8   The Creation of Pashtunistan Issue and its Continuous Impact in Destabilizing the Regional Geostrategic Balance

The delimitation of Afghanistan's boundaries in the late 19th and early 20th century by the neighboring powers (mainly Russia in the North and the British in the South and East) was based more on political and strategic interests rather than on ethnic and economic values (GREGORIAN 1969: 11). One of these boundaries was drawn in 1893 by Sir Mortimer Durand and the British Boundary Commission along the mountainous tribal area, for the purpose of dividing India from Afghanistan (SPAIN 1963: 21). The Pashtuns, who remained under British rule until 1932, were divided into the Settled District and Tribal Agencies. The Settled District roughly comprised the land from the base of the hills to the Indus, while the Tribal Agencies (Malakand, Khyber, Kurran, North Wazirestan, South Wazirestan and Mohmand) comprised the land between the beginning of the hills and the Durand Line (FLETCHER, 1966: 248). The border known as the Durand Line lies today between Afghanistan and Pakistan while mainly the Pashtun, Baluch and Brahwi tribes live on both sides of it. More important, however, is the fact that it cuts across four river valleys, many lines of communication and many

tribal regions (TAYYEB 1966: 74). According to TYTLER the position of Afghanistan as a state is undermined by the artificial boundary of the Durand Line, and Afghanistan is "ethnographically, economically and geographically an incomplete state" (TYTLER 1953: 300). The Durand Line is a most inefficient boundary, particularly from the geographical point of view, since it does not consider any natural features or any astronomical line (TAYYEB 1966: 74).

The delimitation was accepted during the reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan when he received a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, the Indian Foreign Secretary, who delineated the border. Amir Abdurrahman Khan gave up his claim to the territory and received Rs600,000 as well as annual payments of Rs12,000,000 and weapons and military equipment from the British Indian government in exchange (ABDURRAHMAN 1995:452-3).[24] Despite knowing that the Durand Line cuts the nation in two and even divides the tribes, Abdurrahman surprisingly signed the agreement (TYTLER 1953: 188).

After Abdurrahman, his son Habibullah reaffirmed and signed the treaty with the British without misgivings and free from outside threats (DUPREE 2005: 485). There are three treaties signed in 1905, 1919 and 1921, all containing wording through which the Afghan authorities appear to ratify or at least accept the 1893 Durand Line Agreement (POULADA 1968: 24). In 1919, when Amanullah Khan declared war against the British, he received widespread support especially in among the tribal areas where the uprising began. This was the third Anglo-Afghan War in which people from both sides of the border fought with great enthusiasm against British rule (GREGORIAN 1969: 229-230). The situation shocked British India, as there were widespread uprisings especially in the tribal areas, that ended the British control almost overnight, something the British had taken more than twenty years to build up (SPAIN 1963: 151).

It is believed that the Afghans were unable to carry out a prolonged war against the British, who had an upper hand at least technically. They initially requested an armistice on May 28, 1919 GREGORIAN 1969: 231). In fact, history is a witness of prolonged Afghan guerrilla fighting against foreign invaders. The British troops consisted of 340,000 soldiers plus 185,000 animals (horses, mules, elephants) as well as a railroad,

---

[24] It is also mentioned that: "Abdurrahman in his autobiography states that he never considered any Pashtun areas as permanent ceded to the British" (DUPREE 2005:425). However, such a consideration can hardly be found in that autobiography.

military vehicles and well-developed communication facilities (GHUBAR 1968: 757). Nevertheless they were regarded as foreign occupiers and it was hard for them to fight against the entire population of the region.

Meanwhile, the British were very concerned about this situation and desperately needed to bring the situation under control. That is why they took hostage the Afghan ambassador (Sardar Abdurrahman Khan together with his family) in Delhi and requested an armistice. Moreover, recognizing Afghanistan as an independent state, the British confiscated all the documents and properties of the embassy in Delhi and all the consulates while Afghans avoided such a reaction against the British embassy in Kabul. The British compensated their military defeat with diplomatic success. As a result of negotiations they succeeded in persuading the Afghan army to set back 20 miles from the border (GHUBAR 1968: 769-770).

Two months later, on August 8, 1919 the Rawalpindi Treaty was signed. According to this treaty, the British recognized Afghanistan as a fully sovereign state and Amanullah recognized the Durand Line as the border between Afghanistan and British India. At the same time the British revoked their subsidies to Amanullah, and the import of arms through India was put to a stop. After the armistice and signing of the Rawalpinidi Treaty, Afghan soldiers halted their attacks on all fronts according to the order they received from the government. However, the tribes continued their attacks and even intensified them, which forced the British to increase their troops. Despite the treaty there was no peace in the tribal areas, making it difficult for the British to maintain law and order (SPAIN 1963: 186). The revolt continued from until the end of the British rule in the tribal areas, as to be seen in the (table 6).

Year	No. of Attacks	Year	No. of Attacks	Year	No. of Attacks
1920 - 1921	392	1926 - 1927	19	1932 - 1933	17
1921 - 1922	194	1927 - 1928	18	1933 - 1934	8
1922 - 1923	131	1928 - 1929	10	1934 - 1935	21
1923 - 1924	69	1929 - 1930	4	1935 - 1936	38
1924 - 1925	39	1930 - 1931	17	1936 - 1937	37
1925 - 1926	30	1931 - 1932	21	1937 - 1938	74

Table 6: Raids by trans-frontier elements on British India 1920 – 1938
Source: SPAIN 1963: 187.

As illustrated in table 6 the highest number of raids occurred close to the time of the third Anglo-Afghan War. The decrease in the number of raids in later years represents the lack of support from the Afghan government for the tribal revolts. Especially from 1929 onwards the number decreases significantly. Striving to organize resistance more efficiently and to gain independence Abdul Ghafar Khan, the Pashtun tribal leader, founded the *Khudai Khitmatgars* (the Servants of God) movement in 1929, which became a powerful political force. In 1930, the British arrested Abdul Ghafar Khan and his associates, causing a riot in which thousands of people who put on red shirts took part (SPAIN 1963: 165). Later Ghafar Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib became members of Indian National Congress (TAYYEB 1966: 195).

At this stage the development in the border regions attracted little attention by the government in Afghanistan. In 1940 the Germans offered their support to Afghanistan by offering to restore the Durrani Empire and to link the country with the port of Karachi, which was rejected by the monarch (TYTLER 1953: 308). When World War II made it obvious that the Indian subcontinent would become independent, a widespread nationalist revolt arose among the population of the Indian subcontinent, especially within the Pashtun tribal areas. At this time the monarchy was unwilling to get involved in, the political changes along the border of Afghanistan. It was difficult for the monarch, who had gained the throne with British support, to raise any territorial claims as long as the British were there. Even the word Pashtunistan did not exist, it was created afterwards by the Indian media, who referred to it as Pathanistan. However, the Afghan authorities changed it to Pashtunistan (RESHTIA 1997: 58). It was in 1945 that Ghafar Khan and his brother initiated Pashtunistan movement (TAYYEB 1966: 195).

The monarchist regime started to react only when some of the ethno-nationalist intellectual elites protested and voiced Afghanistan's right on the other side of the Durand Line. GHAUS considers the claim, made by radical influential quarters in Afghanistan or "Protagonists of Greater Afghanistan" who advocated the unification of all Pashtuns under the Afghan flag (GHAUS 1988: 71), to be one of the most important initiatives. As a result, in 1944, the monarch reminded the British of their interest in the fate of the Pashtuns. In September 1947, the monarchist voted against Pakistan's membership in the United Nations. This caused the relationship between the two countries to be built on mistrusts and pessimism from the early beginning of Pakistan's independence. Later the monarchist regime redrew its negative vote and indicated its willingness to discuss the issue with Pakistan on a diplomatic level.

Altogether, the monarch did not take a clear position on the Pashtunistan issue from the beginning. After the independence of Pakistan, the monarch – believing that the "the start of all ends is at the hands of the British"[25], – sought the key for a solution in London. The monarch expected the British to solve the problem with Pakistan according to the demands of Afghanistan (FARHANG 1996:664, 669). During meetings and discussions with the British, the monarch did not clearly reflect the will of Afghan people. According to GHAUS, the Afghans regarded the territories of the NWFP, the Tribal Agencies and some parts of north-western Baluchistan as an independent Pashtun state, or Pashtunistan (GHAUS 1988: 70). In other words: the monarch did not raise any territorial claims beyond the Durand Line. Instead the government repeatedly asked the British authorities to give the Pashtun tribes an opportunity to determine their own future. This was the official policy of the monarch towards the Pashtunistan issue.

In July 1947, the British sponsored a referendum and offered to the population of the tribal areas the choice to join Pakistan or India. Being Muslim, the tribes chose Pakistan rather than India. The British rejected the suggestion of two additional choices for the tribes, i.e. a union with Afghanistan or the establishment of a separate Pashtun state (FLETCHER, 1966: 249). The monarchist regime under the premiership of Shah Mahmoud Khan rejected the outcom of the referendum and took this opportunity to bluntly challenge the validity of the Durand Line as an international border something was backed by India, too (DUPREE 1977: 489). In 1949, the Afghan *Shura-e Milli* (Parliament) and a *Jirga* that was held in Jalalabad unanimously challenged the validity of the Durand Line (GHUBAR 1999: 234).

To convince the pro-Pashtunistan nationalist Afghans, the monarchist regime celebrated an annual Pashtunistan Day; a famous crossroad in the middle of Kabul city was designated as *Char-Rah-e Pashtunistan* (Pashtunistan Square), a flag for Pashtunistan was established and raised, and, more important established the Department of Tribal Affairs (*Riyasat-e Umoor- e Qhabayel*), with its branches in other provinces, was established in Kabul. Furthermore, the Afghan media waged fierce pro-Pashtunistan propaganda, as did the Indian media (RESHTIA 1997: 58). To counter this propaganda, Pakistan opened Radio Free Afghanistan at Quetta in 1949. Mohammad Amin,

---

[25] FARHANG used this term in Farsi: "*Sar Reshta-ye Tamam-e Kar haye Jahan dar Dast-e Englis ast*" (the start of all ends are at the hands of the British).

Amanullah's half brother who was on the Pakistani side of the border- tried to calm down the tribes (DUPREE 1977: 491).

It was not before long that the issue turned to a larger problem in the region when the United States and the USSR got involved. The United States started backing Pakistan as it joined the SEATO and CENTO and became a strategic ally of the West (POULADA 1987:43). This Pakistani position affected its relations with Afghanistan as well as Afghanistan's own subsequent direction (HAQQANI 2005:162). The USSR initially called the Durand Line a part of a wicked imperialist plot (GRIFFITHS 1967:63) and backed Afghanistan's demands, which were that the population of neighboring Pashtunistan should be given the opportunity to freely express their will (WILBER 1962:185). However, after the clashes of 1960-61 between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the USSR changed its attitude and persuaded both sides to consider their mutual interests and ease the tensions (GRIFFITHS 1967:63).

The monarchist regime, particularly under Daoud premiership (from 1953-1963), did not follow a strategy that could guarantee the future stability and security of Afghanistan. The violation of relations with Pakistan did not benefit the country but instead revived the mistrust between Afghanistan and Pakistan and encouraged Pakistan to take an active role in the politics of Afghanistan. The Pashtunistan issue failed to get international support as well. Especially the United Nations and the West considered this issue as an irredentist move of the Afghan monarchy.

Unlike that of Afghanistan, the position of Pakistan became stronger throughout time. Pakistani authorities managed to convince the West to consider Pakistan as a belt against the aggression of the communists and received support (GHUBAR 1999: 228), although a military threat from the USSR seemed to be unlikely because Pakistan had no border with the Soviet Union. However, Pakistan's interest was to strengthen its own position militarily and diplomatically against Indian threats (EWANS 2002: 153-4) and irredentist ambitions of Afghanistan's ruling elites. The government of Pakistan and its propaganda pointed to the active role of the USSR in development projects in Afghanistan. This provided reasons for Pakistan to convince the West that Afghanistan is a state under the U.S.S.R's. sphere of influence.

> Pakistan's pursuit of alliance with the United States during the 1950s also affected its relations with Afghanistan as well as Afghanistan's own subsequent direction. The lure of Pakistan as a security partner in its Cold War containment strategy led to the neglect of Afghanistan in U.S.

diplomacy and foreign assistance. The Pakistanis developed an interest in painting a menacing picture of Soviet influence in Afghanistan to bolster their own position as the first line of defence against Soviet expansion into South Asia (HAQQANI 2005: 162).

The Pashtunisan issue somehow eased after Daud's resignation. In 1963, both countries restarted their diplomatic contacts. The port of Karachi was reopened for Afghan goods. However, the position of Afghanistan with regard to the Durand Line remained unchanged. In 1973, when Daoud regained power, the issue once again began to stress the relations between the two countries. Daoud's suppression of religious elites in the country forced them to migrate to Pakistan. This gave the chance for Pakistan to provide its support for these groups while they were instigating them to carry out rebellions against Daoud's government. In 1973 and 1974, the religious groups carried out many attacks against the government in Panjshir, Laghman and Badakhshan. Pakistan also had the support of the United States and Iran, who wanted to loosen Afghanistan from the USSR and instead supported a regional alliance with Iran and Pakistan. The pressure worked, and in 1975 the two countries started negotiations. In 1976, the heads of the two countries met in Kabul and in Islamabad where Daoud gave up his claim. According to Abdul Wali Khan (son of Abdul Ghafar Khan and leader of Pashtun tribes in Pakistan), Daoud assured Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq that Afghanistan had no specific claims about Pashtunistan in 1977 (TANIN 2006: 187-188).

From 1978 until now, every regime has refused the recognition of the Durand Line as a borderline between Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand, this long border has never been controlled by anyone. It is one of the longest borders in the world that is uncontrolled and seemingly uncontrollable. Today it serves as a major pathway for the smuggling of people, weapons and opium. In the current situation, the border is among the most insecure areas of Afghanistan, and the fighting between international coalitions and NATO against Al Qaeda and Taliban militants are concentrated there.

2.2.9 The Experimental Democracy in 1963-1973

According to OLESEN, an incongruence developed between the socio-economic and the political structure of the state under the Monarchy's rule, i.e. an increasing lack of representation of the fast growing urban middle class in the political structures of the state. This resulted in a growing challenge to the legitimacy paradigm on which the state was founded (OLESEN 1996: 224). However, it was not only the urban class but also the

religious and tribal elites who criticized the monarchist regime and particularly the policy of Daoud's government.

In 1963, there was a high demand for a political change among the intellectual, religious, traditional and above all, among the members of the royal family itself. The intellectual group whose number was increasing wanted a broader system of political participation (NEWELL 1972: 69). This group, after studying in the USSR and the Western countries, returned to the country with different ideas and perspectives. They were inspired by the socio-economic development abroad and found the situation of their own country neither comparable nor acceptable. The religious elites, on the other hand wanted to put the country back on its religious track. The traditional elite, particularly a group of around 200,000 nomads, wanted a solution to the border dispute that caused them to stop their normal communication and migration through the border (DUPREE 1977: 560). Finally for the first time in 30 years, the king took an active role in the politics of the country. Zahir's major attempt was to depose Daoud whose increasing influence in governmental institutions especially in the army raised his concern.

King Zahir Shah was very well aware of the dynamics of the three political elites in the country and wanted to convince them by replacing Daoud with Dr. Yousuf, a figure who did not belong to the royal family. However, it was not easy to depose Daoud, a "powerful man", from power. The king tried to encourage Daoud to step down during a discussion in the family (DUPREE 1977: 558). However, the only way to convince the Prime Minister to resign was to introduce a new constitution which would differentiate between state and government authority (AHMADZAI 2006:142). Daoud expected the king to foster a social change and to strengthen peoples' role in political and socio-economic affairs in order to avoid a social explosion. In a personal letter to the king he mentions that:

> The people, especially the intellectuals, wish a change in their society and are looking for that. In secret there are different thoughts, beliefs and ideologies. Foreign hands are active for their political purposes. This sort of government is no more favorable for the people, especially the intellectuals, and they are tired of it. If this sort of [government] is still bearable for H.E. the King and others, but not for me despite I belong to the royal family. [This is] because I see the end of [this government] harmful to the country and [will cause] the kingdom to fail. Honestly I should say it [this government] cannot last long (SHARQ, 1991: 87, TANIN, 2006: 109).[26]

---

[26] The text in the source is in Farsi, here it is translated from Farsi into English by the author.

Daoud hoped that by minimizing the role of the king, the power will shift to his side. However, the ratification of the new constitution disappointed Daoud, because the King remained the highest authority of decision making in the affairs of the state. Finally, in 1963, Prime Minister Daoud resigned. The USSR and China, Daoud's international supporters, were unhappy about his resignation (DUPREE 1977: 554, 561) because they were losing a cooperative politician who had intensified relations with them.

The king appointed Dr. Yousuf, a man educated in West Germany as the Prime Minister. Dr.Yousuf was the first high ranking official who was not a direct member of the royal family or Mohammazai. There was no member of the royal family in the new cabinet, although several had marrital connections and were loyal to the royal family. On the other side this was the first cabinet in Afghanistan in which merit, education and professionalism were considered and not the social background (prestige and wealth): half of the members had a doctorate's degree (FLETCHER 1965: 279-280, FARHANG 1996: 710, 733-734).

Under Dr. Yousuf's government, a seven people strong committee was formed to draft a new constitution. The committee members consisted of intellectuals and Afghan historians, who evaluated the constitutions of more than one hundred countries with different form of governments (TANIN 2005: 143). However the main source of inspiration was the constitution of France and other Western models (MOLTMANN, 1982: 18). In early 1964, the cabinet reviewed the draft of the constitution. Then a consulting commission, with twenty-five members as representatives of different strata of society, reviewed it. The commission very soon was divided into five groups. The first supported the idea of a constitutional monarchy. The second group, small in number, was in favor of the royal family. The third group consisted of Pashtun conservatives who were against the official status of the Farsi language as well as against equal rights for all individuals. The forth group was against the monopoly of government over educational and economic sectors and emphasized the need for the privatization of both. Finally the fifth group emphasized on the role of religion in the justice system (FARHANG 1996: 716-18). Nevertheless, in September 1964, a *Loya Jirga* was held that lasted for ten days. During these days language, the role of religion and the role of the royal family were the most controversial issues that stagnated the session. Finally the new constitution was ratified on the first of October 1964.

The new constitution was considered to be a "cultural document" for Afghan society

(DUPREE 1977: 663), a meaningful document in the history of Afghanistan that paved the way for the Afghan society to move from a traditional-feudal to a modern democratic form (BUESCHER, 1972: 133). It was also the first major achievement for the intellectuals who had started their struggle half a century ago (FARHANG 1996: 724). Unlike the intellectuals, the religious and tribal elites were not very happy about the new constitution. The religious elite wanted the *Shariah* law and condemned the Mosahiban Dynasty for violating Islam by introducing hereditary monarchy in the country (OLESEN 1988: 125). The tribal elite was concerned that the new constitution would eventually undermine tribalism and restrict their authority.

However, the new constitution was not a completely democratic one, especially because the establishment of political parties and political activities that could undermine the monarchy was forbidden. The king had an incontestible authority. For example, articles 6 to 24 gave unlimited authority to the king and he was the chief commander of the armed forces, appointing the Prime Minister and his cabinet, appointing judges and high-ranking civil and military officials, authorized to dissolve the parliament, and many other decisions in the state while he himself remained unaccountable (RAHIMI 1967).

Beside the constitution, another development in the process of state-building happened in 1964 when the administrative units were reorganized from 14 provinces (7major, 7 minor) to 29 provinces *(Welayat),* with 309 districts *(Wuluswali)* with many sub-districts *(Alaqadari)* (DUPREE 1973: 155-160) (map 11).

Each district had its judiciary courts and primary courts, department of tax and other administrative offices. New governors (*Wali*) district governors *(Wuluswal / Hakem)* and sub-district governors *(Alaqadar)* were employed. For the first time these high-ranking positions were given to educated young people with master degrees from foreign universities. The aim of establishing these new provinces was to bring closer the rural society to the staff of the governmental authorities and to facilitate the processes of development in the rural communities. In the old administrative system some provinces had been large, with many natural obstacles like wide deserts or high mountains that made the communication difficult between the provincial authorities and the capital. Usually it took a lot of time for the people to come to the provincial centers and to discuss their problems with governmental authorities.[27]

---

[27] In 1965 the number of provinces decreased from 29 to 28 when Katawaz -Urgon was dissolved and was separated in

Map 11: Administrative divisions 1964 -1973

2.2.10 The Establishment of Political Parties in Secret and Their Activities among the Intellectuals

Despite the proclamation of democracy, the formation of political parties was not allowed. The national assembly *(Shura-e Milli)* and its both houses passed the Political Parties Bill but the king as the highest authority of the state postponed signing it. This delay ensured, from the government's perspective, a disorganized opposition consisting of many political activists (GRIFFITHS 1967: 98-99).

Lacking of such a law, the political elites developed their activities undercover and in secret. They were initially allowed to publish their papers but this was temporary and was fully dependent on the policy of the government. Between 1966 and 1972, out of 30

two (Katawaz and Urgon) each of which merged to provinces of Ghazni and Paktia respectively (RAHMATI 1985:60).

newspapers, the government banned 12 out of 30 newspapers and four others stopped publishing because of financial difficulties (DUPREE 1977: 602-607). While the parties remained inofficial they became known according to the name of the newspapers they published their views in e.g., Khalq, Parcham, and Shula-ye Jawid.

Nevertheless, the government as a central institution lost its direct control and the ability to monitor the parties and their activities or the ideologies they followed. More important were the economic resources from which the parties carried out their activities. The only visible source of income most of them had was the newspapers they published and sold in the bazaar. However, this income could hardly support their financial requirements because of many reasons. First, they had very few readers due to the large number of illiterates in the population. Second, their readers were mainly concentrated in Kabul. Third, each party published articles in its paper in line with one certain ideology which made it hard for them to get more readers. Finally the different parties used their papers as a tool to disgrace each other like Khalq (masses) against Parcham (banner), though both followed a Marxist-Leninist stance. Another paper, Mardum (people), started to publish just to confront the Khalq ideology, and once Khalq was banned by the government, *Mardum* voluntarily folded (DUPREE 1977: 602-603).

Among the parties established, some were leftist and pro-communist. The leading figures were men like Noor Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal and Mir Akbar Khaibar who followed the ideology of Marxism and Leninism from Moscow (FARHANG 1996: 728). In order to organize their political activities, a group of 27 including their leaders established the party known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan or PDPA *(Hezb-e Demokratik-e Khalq-e Afghanistan)*, under cover in Taraki's house at Kabul city in early January 1965 (KISHTMAND 2003: 140-141). Noor Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin and Babrak Karmal were the three communist presidents who ruled under the Soviets from 1978 to 1986. The USSR's authorities recognized the PDPA party as their legal counterpart (RESHTIA 1999: 334). Soon after its establishment, there was conflict among the leading figures over the leadership within the party (Taraki and Karmal) that resulted in its division into two fractions, the Khalq and the Parcham, headed by Taraki and Karmal respectively.

Another pro-communist movement was established that followed Chinese Marxist line (FARHANG 1996: 721). Its name was Hezb-e Demokratik-e Nawin (new democratic party) that became known as the Shula-ye Jawid (eternal flame) according to the

newspaper they had. The party was a Maoist revolutionary one, with its orientation to the extreme left (DUPREE 1977: 611-612). In 1968, it organized a mass demonstration of students and workers in Kabul, which ended in violent clashes with the police. Subsequently, 14 leaders of this fraction were arrested, and five of them sentenced to 13 years of prison. In spite of harsh reprisal, Shula-ye Jawid remained the largest and most influential leftist group in Kabul (SAIKAL 2006: 165).

The emergence of the pro-communist PDPA and Shula-ye Jawid, with their anti-religious ideology, frustrated the religious elites in the county. They established the Islamic Society (*Jamiat-e Islami*) as a strong Islamic movement in 1964 (FARHANG 1996: 755) in order to confront the spread of communist ideology in the country. The leaders of this movement were theology professors and lecturers at Kabul University .e.g., Prof. Ghulam Mohammad Niazi, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, Prof. Mohammad Mosa Tawana, and Lecturer Abul Rasoul Sayaf. The last three studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo and were influenced by the ideology of the *Ikhwan-ul Muslimin* (Muslim Brotherhood). This movement was further strengthened when the students union of higher education institutions joined it. Some of these students were from Polytechnic Institute like Ahmad Shah Masoud, and from the faculty of Engineering at Kabul University, like Gulbudin Hekmatyar. In order to confront the pro-communists elites, the movement started their political activities especially among the students at the university and later throughout the country (FARHANG 1996: 755). This can be called the first organized Islamic movement in the history of Afghanistan that developed among the intellectuals in the institutions of higher education.

At the same time, under the leadership of Ghulam Mohammad Farhad, an irredentist and ethno-nationalist movement emerged (FARHANG 1996: 732). The party became known as the Afghan Melat (Afghan nation) according to its publication's name, while its members called it *Hezb-e Afghan Sosial Demokrat* (Afghan Social Democratic Party). The party followed an anti-neoimperialist, anti-foreign influence and pro-Pashtunistan strategy for a "greater Afghanistan" (DUPREE 1977: 611-612). However, what made the party more popular was its ethno-nationalistic strategy. Its members were mainly ultra-conservative Pashtuns who were against the rights of any other ethnic groups. Particularly the party wanted the Pashtu language to be the only official language. An example of this was the hard debate on the constitution during the *Loya Jirga* of 1964, in which Farhad, the ASDP's its leader, raised his opposition against Farsi to be stipulated as the official language (FARHANG 1996: 721). Following the collapse of the Taliban,

the party restarted its activity in Afghanistan under the leadership of Anwarulhaq Ahadi, who was made Minister of Finance in Karzai's cabinet.

2.2.11 Instable Changing Governments and the Break up of Social Control

In 1965, parliamentary elections were held and members of both houses of the national assembly (*Shura-e Milli*) were elected. The participation of people was smaller than had been anticipated. The king again appointed Dr. Yousuf as Prime Minister, who with his cabinet, was approved with a majority of votes on 25th of October. On the same day, known as *Seh Aqhrab* (3rd of Scorpion the 8th month of Islamic calendar), the students of Kabul University, led by PDPA members, demonstrated outside of the *Shura-e Milli.* The police, under the command of Sardar Wali, the king's son-in-law, opened fire against the demonstrators and killed some of the students. The killing of the students by the police deepened the political tension and unrest in the country. The people wanted the king to bring Sardar Wali his son in law to justice, something the king did not want to do. Instead, the king blamed the Prime Minister for not controlling the students and replaced Dr. Yousuf with Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal a new figure (FARHANG 1996: 724-740). Thus, Dr. Yousuf, the first liberal Prime Minister, became the victim of a policy carried out by the royal family.

There were some positive achievements during Dr. Yousuf premiership: the diplomatic relations with Pakistan were resumed, a new constitution in which for the first time the will of people, particularly that of the intellectuals, was to some extent considered, was ratified; the national assembly (*Shura-e Milli*) was established and members of its two houses were elected. Nevertheless, the king replaced him with Hashim Maiwandwal in order to calm down the frustrated students and intellectuals.

Hashim Maiwandwal Prime Minister from 1965 to 1967, was supposed to implement the new constitution, officially allow activities of political parties and their newspapers, eradicate corruption and lawlessness in state institutions and finally to end the repeated violence by students (KESHTMAND 2003: 218). The right to freedom of speech opened the way for many newspapers issued by different political parties who started criticizing the government. For example Afghan Mellat published the translation of an article from Ramparts, an American magazine, which accused the Prime Minister of being a CIA spy (DUPREE 1977: 612-614). This resulted in the discontinuation of the newspaper Afghan Melat, and the intellectuals used this issue to exert political pressure on Maiwandwal who had failed to accomplish what he had promised.

The king, in order to end the political crisis in the country, replaced Maiwandwal with Noor Ahmad Etemadi. The exchanges of prime ministers became the standard solution to all problems by the monarchy faced. Under Noor Ahmad Etemadi's premiership (1967-71), the PDPA members achieved more freedom for their political activities. Once they published an article in Parcham newspaper, in which Lenin was appreciated in a manner that the Muslims reserve exclusively for the Prophet of Islam (TANIN 2005: 163). Such anti-religious articles by the communists were published despite the draft of the Press Law that safeguarded the "fundamentals of Islam" (DUPREE 1977: 600). The government and its judiciary system ignored the anti-Islamic propaganda published by the media (FARHANG 1996: 758). This situation further amplified the tension between the monarchy and the religious elites. Although the religious leaders discussed the issue with the king directly, the king rejected all of their suggestions and added that "I will not leave Afghanistan like Amanullah" (TANIN 2005: 164). Later the national assembly (*Shura-e Milli)* also criticized the Prime Minister. As a result of this pressures the king replaced Etemadi with Dr. Abdul Zahir as Prime Minister in 1971.

Once he started his job, Dr. Zahir faced many problems. The discussion about the civil law resulted in complications over the language issue in the national assembly (*Shura-e Milli*). Some conservative Pashtu-speaking members wanted to put an item in this law which would make learning Pashtu as a condition for the employment of staff in different institutions of the state (FARHANG 1996: 761). At this time a famine occurred in the northern and western parts of the country. This famine was a result of droughts in 1970 and 1971. Despite the belief that "Afghans had never known famine" (FLETCHER 1966: 282-283), many people died of hunger, others migrated and some even sold their children (FARHANG 1996: 762). Famines and other natural disasters were not uncommon in Afghanistan. However, this fact was not widely known due to the lack of communication between the provinces and the center at that time. For the first time this issue now passed through media on a grand scale and attracted the attention of the public. The government proved to be incapable of handling the problem which raised a lot of criticism from the public. Due to this strong criticism and the problems within the parliament, Dr. Abdul Zahir offered his resignation to the king (KISHTMAND 2003: 223).

In 1972, the King selected Mohammad Musa Shafiq as new Prime Minister (1972-1973). Shafiq had a background of religious education in the country and higher education in Egypt and the United States. The policy of Shafiq was focused on the creation of law and

order internally, and on balancing Afghanistan's external affairs, as these were clearly imbalanced between the East and the West. He managed to solve the problem of the distribution of water in Hilmand River between Iran and Afghanistan. The solution of this one-hundred-years old problem was a great success for him since it maintained the interests of Afghanistan (TANIN 2005: 165-156). This success encouraged him to begin discussing the Pashtunistan issue with Pakistan, but the coup of 1973 happened and Afghanistan foreign policy took another direction.

The period from 1963 to 1973 is known as the *Daha-ye Demokrasi* (decade of democracy). It was a very unstable period because many governments came one after the other. Five prime ministers e.g., Dr. Yousuf, Hashim Maiwandwal, Noor Ahmad Etemadi, Abdul Zahir and Musa Shafiq, each were in charge for short periods, without being able to complete the projects they were dedicated to, or even conclude the terms they were designated to be in charge for, because the king ordered their resignation (table 7). These governments made many promises to maintain political stability and economic development that were not kept. The prime ministers were highly educated in the West but the authoritative rule of the king and other members of the royal family exercized the real power, and undermined their skills and talents. This situation gave them little chance and hopes to perform well. Being unmotivated, frequently they had asked the king how to do their jobs.

Amir / King	Prime Minister	From	To
Amir Abdurrahman Khan		1880	1901
Amir Habibullah Khan		1901	1919
Amir Amanullah Khan	Wali Mohammad Khan	1919	1929
Amir Habibullah Kalakani	Sayid Hussain	Jan. 1929	Oct. 1929
Nadir Khan (Oct. 1929-33)		Oct. 1929	1933
Mohammad Zahir Shah (1933-73)	Mohammad Hashim	1933	1946
	Shah Mahmoud	1946	1953
	Mohammad Daoud	1953	1963
	Dr. Mohammad Yousuf	1963	1965
	Hashim Maiwandwal	1965	1967
	Noor Ahmad Etemadi	1967	May-71
	Dr. Abdul Zahir	1971	1972
	Musa Shafiq	1972	1973

Table 7: Amirs / kings and prime ministers 1880 – 1973
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

Although in 1963 it was planned to hold the balance in the external politics of the country between the West and the USSR, the governments failed to maintain such a ballance due to the involvement of many actors in the decision making processes. During this decade the monarchy continued to follow its non-alignment policy and officially kept this position. However, in terms of foreign assistance, which was the main factor of foreign influence in the country, the policy of the monarchy remained unbalanced. From 1966 to 1970 the USSR was the largest donor to Afghanistan, constantly increasing its support. At the same time, the United States assistance to the country was smaller than that of the USSR and decreased in 1970 (table 8).

Donor	Total aid Before 1966	Aid 1967-67	Aid 1968-69	Aid 1969-70	Cumulative Total
U.S.S.R	568,100,000	44,720,000	30,520,000	28,400,000	661,740,000
Grants	94,400,000		6,300,000	5,800,000	106,500,000
Loans	473,700,000	44,720,000	24,220,000	22,600,000	565,240,000
U.S.A	387,900,000	12,730,000	4,790,000	1,440,000	406,860,000
Grants	310,300,000	6,670,000	2,810,000	860,000	320,640,000
Loans	77,600,000	6,060,000	1,980,000	580,000	86,220,000
West Germany	73,400,000	7,640,000	6,470,000	2,300,000	89,810,000
Grants	2,300,000	1,700,000	1,900,000	890,000	6,790,000
Loans	70,100,000	5,940,000	4,570,000	1,410,000	82,020,000
United Nations	21,640,000	980,000	2,110,000	6,240,000	30,970,000
Grants	21,640,000	980,000	700,000	2,080,000	25,400,000
Loans			1,410,000	4,160,000	5,570,000
P. Rep. China (all loans)	15,300,000	2,980,000	5,530,000	5,560,000	29,370,000
All Sources	1,095,400,000	69,050,000	50,200,000	44,210,000	1,258,000
Grants	428,400,000	9,350,000	12,250,000	9,720,000	459,720,000
Loans	667,000,000	59,700,000	37,950,000	34,490,000	799,140,000

Table 8: Sources of foreign assistance to Afghanistan (in US Dollars) (commodity assistance not computed)
Source: NEWELL (1972: 144)

Considering these foreign assistance and Afghanistan's export of gas to the USSR, RUBIN believes that Afghanistan, at this stage, became a "rentier state" since 40 percent of its revenue accrued directly from abroad (RUBIN 2002: 65). More interesting is that these investments in development projects in Afghanistan were not only financial, but also involved hundreds of foreign experts who carried out the implementation processes of these projects. This was due to the fact that the local manpower capacity was not very satisfactory, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Therefore foreign experts from different countries were officially invited to Afghanistan. The number of these experts is mentioned in to be around 1929 the year 1971 mainly from the donor countries

(FARHANG 1996: 774). The USSR, being the biggest donor, also provided the highest number of experts, around 1050 people. The second largest number, 210 persons, was from China, and the rest belonged to the other Western and Eastern countries and the United Nations (table 9).

To ensure their countries influence, experts from the Eastern and Western Blocks were competed each other in Afghanistan. The governmental institutions were the setting where these competitions took place, since each institution had signed agreements of cooperation with either block. Usually, in these institutions, members of each block or foreign advisors tried to build loyalty among the staff while at the same time they were trying to criticize their opponent donors in other institutions (DUPREE 1973: 522). The advisors from the USSR were concerned about the presence of Western advisors while the Western diplomats and advisors were worried about the political orientation of Afghanistan in the long term.

Country	Number of Experts	Country	Number of Experts
U.S.S.R.	1050	United States	105
Bulgaria	31	W. Germany	152
Czechoslovakia	32	France	85
China	210	Japan	15
India	59		
United Nations	200		
Total number of Foreign Experts			1929

Table 9: Number of foreign experts in Afghanistan in 1971
Source: Figures from FARHANG 1995: 774.

The Defense Ministry was one of the key institutions that the Monarchy relied on and Khan Mohammad, who held this post of Minister of Defence from 1963 to 1973, was the most loyal to the king and. Throughout five cabinets in a decade, Khan Mohammad remained. Meanwhile, the staff of the army was divided into two groups; the elder generation, who were in the higher positions in the hierarchy, remained loyal to the king; the younger generation in the lower ranks remained loyal to Daoud since they received their training in the USSR during his premiership.

In other words: The monarchist regime as the central authority of the state faced opposition from different political elites in the country. The frustrated intellectuals and

religious elites carried out their activities undercover and in different parties they established in secret. The differences among the parties caused them to confront each other in many ways: in the media, in the governmental institutions, and in the sessions of the parliament and at universities. To measure the unrest, only between April and June 1968 around 32 demonstrations were held by university students, workers and others, who demanded reforms, public service and better working conditions (DUPREE 1977:619-620). Still in the same year the number of demonstrations increased to 78 (KESHTMAND 2003: 209). The political crisis in the country was hard for the government to control. Each time the King tried to bring political stability by changing the prime minister and dissolving the cabinets, which proved to be unsatisfactory, since the regime lost its credibility and legitimacy among the population of the country. According to HASAN SHARQ, who was among the main organizers of the coup in 1973, the 40 years of continuous rule of Zahir Shah became boring, and the monarchist regime was like still water that spoiled from time to time (SHARQ 1991: 87). Even, democracy proclaimed by the regime, could not gain support since it was induced from the top and its aim was to legitimize the monarchist regime and extend its life.

Another reason for this instability was the competition between King Zahir Shah and his deposed cousin Daoud within the royal family. Despite Daoud being removed from power, his influence remained among the Soviet-trained staff of the governmental institutions. Daoud played an important role in destabilizing the situation, because he was deposed while his goals had not yet been achieved. At the same time many developing plans started during his premiership period, and these same plans were implemented again by his successors as prime ministers who had different views of the situation, .e.g., the agreement of Afghanistan with Iran over the water distribution of water from Hilmand River, furthermore frustrated him. He later called his peaceful resignation a mistake toward his people which should be compensated (MUHTAT 2005: 68). That is why he finally carried out the coup of 1973, overthrew the monarchist regime and proclaimed a republic.

To sum it up, since 1919, Afghan rulers have made many attempts to build a functioning, effective and stable state but they failed to do so. Prior to the state's independence, the sustainability of the rulers and the ruling system was dependent mainly on support by external powers and subsidies it received. After the independence, Afghanistan initially made some major achievements and in the training of human resources. The establishment of foreign relations paved the way for the country to come out of its

traditional isolation. As a result of these contacts, Amanullah and Tarzi, being inspired by modernization in the West, introduced reforms and replaced the traditional structures with modern ones. However, building modern institutions needed massive financial and capable human resources. Moreover, the reforms introduced were perceived as being contradictory to the traditional and religious values of the society. The top-down implementation of reforms imported from Europe first turned the tribes against the monarchist regime, and then the religious elites. Amanullah wanted to eliminate the dominant power of tribes and religious elites. Finally, the newly built institutions turned ineffective due to corruption and nepotism which made the penetration of the institutions from the centre to the periphery difficult.

On the whole the king was highly influenced by the foreign visits. He sought a revolution from above through his reforms while the country was poor both in terms of institutions and their capacity, and the professionals to staff them. Moreover, it was impossible for him to modernize the country without transforming the socioeconomic structure, and it was equally impossible to do so without sharply curtailing religious and tribal authorities (GREGORIAN 1969: 269). Institutional incapacity was among the main challenges Amanullah's government faced. He introduced planes, a railway line in Kabul, the telephone, telegrams, X-ray machines, modern artillery, construction machines and many other modern technologies that were unfamiliar to his people, but the mechanics, engineers, doctors, pilots, trainers and teachers were foreigners. For instance Turkish trainers assisted in the military, health, and law sector; Germans experts assisted the military, technical and education sector; and French experts assisted in education, archeology and health sector. One available source shows that in 1920 to 1926 there were 200 German professionals and experts in service in Afghanistan (GHUBAR 1968: 789).

Amanullah's main achievement was the emergence of an intellectual elite which remained loyal to him. At the same time, this loyalty created a target for the next rulers, especially Nadir Khan and his brothers. The pressure intensified when Nadir Khan in Kabul, and his brother Mohammad Aziz in Berlin, were killed by members of the pro-Amanullah intellectual elites. As a result, the monarchist regime under Hashim Khan, Nadir's brother, continued to eliminate the remaining small number of intellectual elites. With this policy, the monarchist regime started training a new generation of intellectuals who would remain loyal to the regime. The new generation that slowly emerged was small in number compared to the dominant tribal and religious elites. Being part of the urban population, time they maintained their influence in the institutions from time to

time. In other words the religious and tribal elites were dominant in rural areas while in urban areas the intellectual elite slowly emerged as a political element.

Furthermore, Nadir Khan and his brothers learned from Amanullah's failure and followed a policy based on which Afghanistan remained an "autocratic monarchy or an absolute oligarchy" (FRANK 1960: 1). Moreover, Afghanistan continued to be a "buffer state" until the British withdrawal from India in 1947.[28] Later, Afghanistan established relation with other countries, especially the USSR and the West, the two rival blocks in the Cold War. The competition of the two blocks in Afghanistan was well demonstrated in economic investment. It was for the first time that Afghanistan received such huge investments from the outside world. Nevertheless, these investments and the economic competition between the two blocks helped the spread of different ideologies. This in particular affected the intellectual elite visiting Western and Eastern countries. The development of higher education with the establishment of Kabul University and later the Institute of Polytechnic, is of fundamental importance. These educational institutions trained capable staff for government institutions. At the same time they were the main centres where different ideologies confronted each other. Different faculties established academic affiliations with Eastern and Western countries based on which there were exchange programs. Large numbers of students who later would shape the political scene of the country were sent abroad. The existence of many foreign professors in these institutions and foreign advisors in government institutions also helped the spread of different ideologies and eventually the formation many underground parties.

Altogether, the situation helped the intellectuals grow in number and maintain their influence in the institutions of the state. In contrast the influence of traditional and religious elites declined. Nevertheless their influence remained as strong as ever in the rural areas. More important was the fact that the monarchy supported the intellectual elites and suppressed the tribal and religious elites in the country. The intellectual elites belonged to two groups; those who studied in the West and had benn supported by the king, were in favor of a constitutional monarchy. The other group was the communist group opposed the monarchist regime. Meanwhile the tension within the royal family (cousin rivalry) also brought further unrest. As a result, fractionalism undermined the effectiveness of the institutions and thus created instability in the country.

---

[28] SHAHRANI argues that Afghanistan was as a 'buffer state' from 1880 to 1955 (SHAHRANI 1988: 25).

2.3　Ethno-linguistic and Socio-religious Diversity

Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country with a very complex social structure. It is claimed that there are around fifty-seven different ethnic groups, and forty to fifty-seven different languages and dialects belonging to several distinct language families (RASULY-PALECZEK 1998: 205).　This diversity makes Afghanistan attractive enough to be called an "anthropologist's nightmare" (ARNEY 1990: 4).

The ethno-linguistic and socio-religious structure of Afghanistan transcends its current borders. The distribution of these ethnic groups throughout Afghanistan is closely linked to its neighbouring countries where members of the same ethnic groups live e.g., Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan with their respective Uzbek, Tajik and Turkmen population. However, there is no Pashtunistan as a territorial entity despite the earlier attempts made by governments in Kabul to create one after the British withdrawal from the Indian sub-continent. Pakistan is the second land where large numbers of Pashtuns live, more precisely in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and parts of the Baluchistan province. These people are known as Pakhtun or Pathan both in Pakistan and India.　Pakistan also shares the Baluch ethnic group with Afghanistan and Iran.　At the same time, contradicting the claims raised by many scholars that the Hazaras are the only ethnic group who live completely within Afghanistan, recent studies show that large communities of Hazaras live in Baluchistan, a province of Pakistan and in Meshhad city Iran (HARPVIKEN 1998: 179, MOUSAVI 2000: 188-205).

2.3.1　Ethno-linguistic Diversity

There are no official statistics which indicate the number of population and ethno-linguistic groups in Afghanistan. The one and only ever taken survey of population, in which more than 13,000 people took part, was sponsored by the UN and took place in 1979 under the control of the Central Statistics Office (CSO). However, with the outbreak of war, the survey was abandoned (RAHMATI 1986:100, HYMAN 1982: 9). Some figures that came out from the preliminary result of the survey founded the basis for an estimation of the population by different governments. Even today the CSO in Kabul provides the population figures which are based on 1979 estimations. The number of ethnic groups has been a sensitive political issue, and due to this problem the population survey was not used to put forth any figure in this regard. Furthermore, the three decades of war affected the population and as a result millions migrated to the

neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran. Today a large number of them are living in these countries still.

Therefore, within literature, all statistics are based on personal assumptions and estimates. Many scholars carried out these estimations in the1950s, 1960s and 1970s. In comparison to the situation of today, in particular the better security in these three decades provided the opportunity to study the country for many researchers. These studies, carried out mostly by western scholars in Afghanistan (and in tribal areas of Pakistan), are still used as primary sources. Some of this work carried out by CAROE 1958, WILBER 1962, KLIMBURG 1966, FLETCHER 1966, TYTLER 1967, GREGORIAN 1969, NEWELL 1972, DUPREE 1973, SNOY 1974, JANATA 1975, WIEBE 1984 and GROETZBACH 1990. Among them DUPREE is probably the only one who spent more time (1949-1968) inside the country. He concludes the result of his studies by saying that "most writing on Afghan people and culture is simply a footnote to ELPHINSTONE's classic work (1815). Writers on Afghanistan have either copied ELPHINSTONE or copied those who have copied ELPHINSTONE" (DUPREE 2005: 55, 64).

There is little doubt, however, that the classic work of ELPHINSTONE causes confusion, especially the figures he had provides, as they include larger areas beyond the territory of Afghanistan, e.g., parts of Pakistan as well. At the same time as DUPREE distanced himself from these figures, he introduces official estimates of population for each province that were published in the Kabul Times daily newspaper in1967, issues number 94-152. His assumptions are still used largely as a reference, especially the ethnic map he drew. However, the data provided by the government was exaggerated and needed careful attention. Particularly because the government carried out the policy of 'Pashtunization' in which it needed support for its claim to show the Pashtuns as the majority (sixty percent).

Therefore, the estimate made by the government was confusing and far from reality. To support this claim it suffices to take a look at official figures published in 1934 which estimated the total population to be 12,000,000. Out of this number 60 percent were claimed to be Pashtun and the rest was made up of Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkomens, Nuristanis, etc. (AHMAD and AZIZ 1934:37). Later, in 1938, an Afghan official diplomat mentioned that "the population is estimated to be 12,000,000 out of which number the majority are Pushtuns or Pukhtuns. The rests are Tajiks, Hazarahs, Uzbeks

Turkomans, Nuristanis, etc." (ALI SHAH 1939: 256). It is interesting to see that after four years the population figures remained unchanged. Furthermore the figures did not explicitly include the percentage for ethnic groups this time, instead the author used the word 'majority' for the Pashtuns, designating the rest as minority.

Nevertheless these estimates founded the bases for the analysis of the population for many years. In recent years different sources show different figures. According to many estimates Pashtuns are 38, Tajiks 25, Hazara with 19, Uzbek 6 and Turkmen 3 percent of the population (EMADI 2002:1-2, DIERCKE 2008: 157). The remaining 9 percent include other ethnic groups like Aimaq, Baluche, Pashai, Nuristani, Kyrgyz, Qizilbash, Brahui, Arab, Gujar, Sikhs and Hindus. (map 12) The first four major ethnic groups play an important role in the political structure of the country since they constitute the majority of the population.
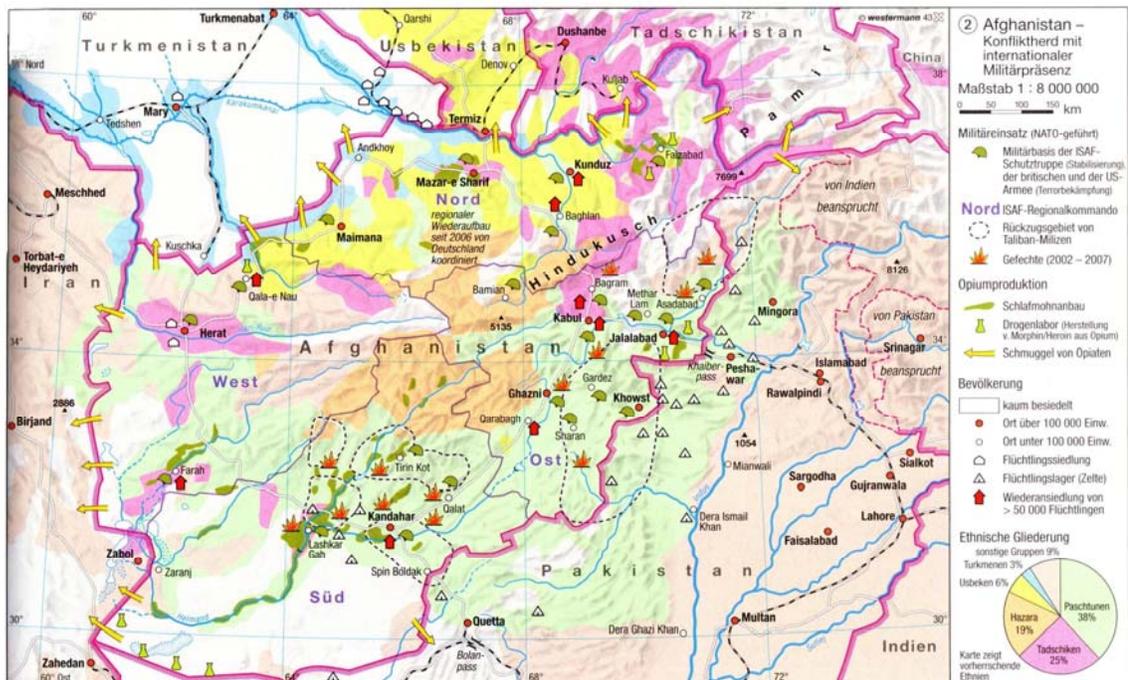
Map 12: Distribution of ethnic groups in Afghanistan
Source: DIERCKE (2008: 157)

In terms of social structure all groups, except Tajiks, are divided into many tribes and sub-tribes. Among them the Pashtuns seem to be one of the biggest tribal societies in the world with a very complex structure. Their genealogical structure starts from a legendary figure named Qais who descended from Saul (ALI 1969: 6, MIAKHEL 2004: 188-189).

Qais had four sons: Sarbanri, Bitan, Gharghasht and Karlanri. These four sons are the ancestors of the four main Pashtun tribes, which are again complexly subdivided. The eldest son, Sarbani had two sons, Sharkhbun and Kharshbun, whom CAROE based on geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic factors, names as fathers of the broad categories Western and Eastern Afghans (CAROE 1958: XV).[29] Sharkhbun (the Western Afghan) is the ancestor of the Durranis with their sub-tribes Sadozai and Mohammadzai who roughly ruled the country from 1747 to 1973 in the country. (figure 5) At the same time Kharshbun (the Eastern Afghan) is the ancestor of the Yusufzais and other tribes in Peshawar and its valleys in the North. Pashtu the language of the Pashtuns has many different dialects usually grouped as Eastern and Western dialects. Certain words like Pakhtu and Pashtu or Pashtun and Pakhtun, which sometimes cause confusion have the same meaning but they represent two different dialects.
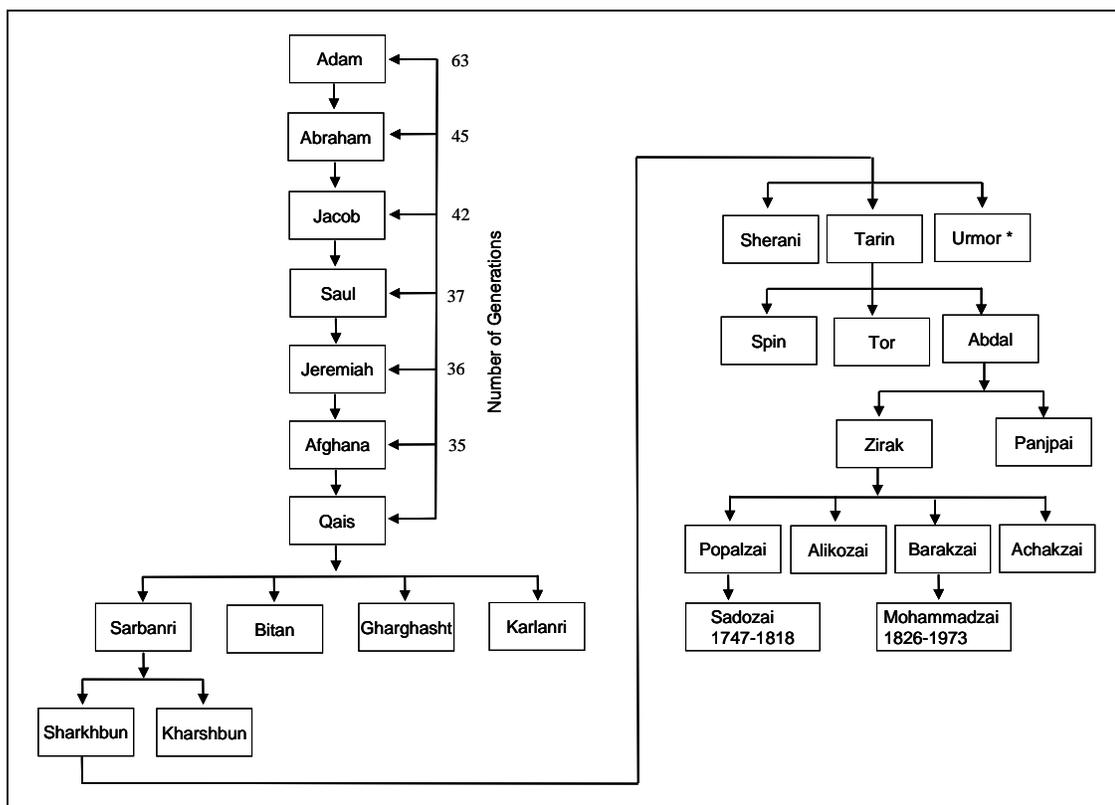
Figure 5: The genealogy of Pashtuns

Source: Draft KOHISTANI modified after CAROE 1958, MIAKHEL 2004: 185-197. For the rest of pedigree (Baitan, Gharghasht and Karlanri) see CAROE (1958: 12-13, 15, 19, 21). * According to CAROE Urmor was an adopted son, and they are not Pashtun

---

[29] CAROE only considers the Karlanri as Pathan (Pakhtun or Pashtun) and adds that they are the tribes who never fell under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority and now form the backbone of the so-called tribal belt (CAROE 1958: XV). The rest (Western and the Eastern), who were subject to Persian and Mogul empires, he considers as Afghan.

Although modern studies consider all these different tribes as Pashtuns, this identity has not prevailed over other identities which exist in the tribal and its subdivisions. They call themselves first as Sadozai, Mohammadzai, Barakzai, Hotak, Kakar and Zadran; then Ghilzai, Durrani, Yusufzai, and finally as Pashtun or Afghan. There is also sometimes confusion between the word 'Pashtun' and the 'Afghan'. The word 'Afghan' and 'Pathan' is usually used by others to refer to Pashtun. From Persians to Moguls and even untill today non-Pashtun people (e.g., Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks and etc.,) call them Afghan, while the Indians and Pakistanis refer to them as 'Pathan'. The Pashtun refer to themselves as Pakhtun, Pakhtana, Pashtun, and Afghan. According to their own legend and genealogy the word 'Afghan' stems from the name of Afghana, son of Saul (figure 5). Moreover, the word 'Pashtun' is a Kandahari dialect which replaced the traditional 'Pakhtana', (plural of Pakhtun), used by Khoshhal Khan Khatak the famous Pashtun poet (17th century). He and many others after him used the word Pakhtana in order to address and name all different Pashtun tribes in one word. At the same time he used the word Afghan, Pakhtun and Pakhtana interchangeably.

> The very name Pukhtun spells honour and glory
> Lacking that honour, what is the Afghan story?
> (CAROE 1958: 238)

Prior to the reign of Ahamd Shah Durrani, Pashtun tribes were subject to Persian and Mogul empires. It was the Ghilzais who ended the rule of Safivids in Persia, 1722, and occupied Esfahan. At the same time other Pashtun tribes in the east repeatedly fought against the Mogul empire. Khoshhal Khan Khatak was one of the pioneers of the anti-Mogul struggles. However, while Pashuns fought against dominant foreign powers in the East and in the West, they have never had peace among themselves. Khushhal Khan Khatak's poems clearly describe his anti-Mogul feelings and at the same time they highlight the disunity and fragmented structure of Pastun society:

> *Hara char da Pakhatana ter Mogul kha da   Etefaq war sakha neshta dir Arman*
> Every deed of the Pathans is better than that of the Moghals:
> Concord is what they lack, the pity of it!
> (KHOSHHAL 1890: 44, BIDDULPH 1890: 90)

Usually three factors women, gold and land *(zan, zar, zamin)* determine the main cause of conflicts. Each tribe has its own *lebensraum* where tribal order is the dominant law. One of the main characteristics of Pashtun tribe is Pashtunwali, which is a set of tribal codes

of conduct that determines the traditional way of life and is used to solve disputes. Any attempt from outside to change this law is resisted strongly.

Tajiks are the second largest ethnic group, and they are most probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country (GREGORIAN 1969: 32-33). It is also believed that they represent the development of one of the early layers of Central Asian civilization, predating the advent of Turks (AKINER 1986: 302). They speak Farsi (also known as Dari and Persian) with different dialects, mainly Kabuli, Herati, Badakhshi, Shamali, Ghaznichi, Laghmani and Logari. Among them the Kabuli dialect is the most widely spoken, especially among the urban people. Tajiks are also called *Dehgan*, (*Dehqan* meaning peasant) and *Farsiwan (Parsiwan, Farsi zaban*, meaning Farsi speakers), mainly by Pashtuns. However, many consider the Farsiwan to be a different distinct ethnic group.[30] In general, Tajiks are classified into four groups: The first group is the Heratis, who are also known as Farsiwans, and live in Herat and its surrounding areas. The second group is the Farsiwans, which includes the large number of inhabitants in Northern cities the like Mazar-e Sharif, Kunduz, and Baghlan. The third group is that of the Kohistani Tajiks, who are dispersed between the Parapamisus ranges in Ghor province to Sinkiang province in China and from Northern Hind Kush to Pamir. The fourth group is semi-nomads who closely resemble the Hazaras, but they are Sunni. They live in the valleys of Dara-e Shikari (RAHMATI 1986:260-262) now part of Bamian province.

Tajiks are mainly farmers in rural areas and merchants (craftsmen, artisans and shopkeepers) in urban areas. In 1979, fifty percent of the merchants in Kabul belonged to the Tajiks while in Herat and Ghazni the figures seemed to be even higher (SAWEZ 1986: 286). At the same time they are the most dispersed ethnic group in Afghanistan. An earlier study describes this disparity:

> Mit Ausnahme des Südostens trifft man Tadschiken in ganz Afghanistan an, vor allem in den Städten. Eine höhen tadschikischen Bevölkerungsanteil gibt es in Kabul und den Gebieten nördlich davon über den Hindukusch hinweg bis nach Badakhschan, in der Provinz Ghazni und in der Oase von Herat (SNOY 1972: 183)

Furthermore they serve as administrators in Central Asia and in Afghanistan. Unlike other ethnic groups in Afghanistan, where the loyalty patterns evolve around tribal bonds,

---

[30] See DUPREE (2005: 59), TANNER (2002:15). ORYWAL mentiones: 'Farsi, Farsiwan auch schiitisch Tajik 1986: 19, 49).' Others see Tajik as synonym of Farsiwan (SNOY 1972: 183).

the Tajik loyalty patterns evolve around village and family (MAGNUS and NABY 2002: 16). They have always been present in bureaucratic jobs in institutions, something which is true even today. They are the usually seen as their rival ethnic group in the political structure of the country by Pashtuns (SAWEZ 1986: 284-285).

Hazaras are the third largest ethnic group who are easily distinguishable from others in Afghanistan. The ideas on their descent are usually based on the Mongol-like facial features they have and also some Mongol words they still use. They speak Farsi with a Hazaragi dialect, mostly in the rural areas and among themselves. However, this dialect is slowly disappearing because of the Hazaras contacts with urban areas in Afghanistan and Iran. They live mainly in the central region of the country known as Hazarajat which constitutes Afghanistan's central plateau. This natural factor has helped the Hazaras to enjoy a rather independent position. It was difficult for different rulers to maintain their control in an area which was hard to reach and to inhibit due to long winters.

In the 1880s, when the Hazaras resisted the rule of Amir Abdurraman Khan, they were oppressed, killed, exiled or sold as slaves. From here on they were subject to discrimination by rulers in Kabul. In his autobiography Abdurrahman mentions that "if the Hazarars, who carry loads like donkeys, had not existed we would have done our work [carried our loads] like donkeys" (ABDURRAHMAN 2005: 288). Although Amanullah later banned slavery, the position of the Hazaras remained almost unchanged and they were treated as lower class citizens. Until 1978 they represented one of the most deprived ethnic groups in Afghanistan. However, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, large number of Hazaras migrated abroad, particularly to Iran where they had close cultural and religious relations. Receiving support from Iran, they established the eight *Shii* Mujahidin parties (cf. chapter 4.). These contacts also paved the way for the emergence of a new generation of Hazaras who represent an intellectual as well as religious elite. Migration has tremendously improved their standard of living, education, and way of life.

The Uzbeks are the fourth major ethnic groups in Afghanistan, mainly living in the Northern regions bordering Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. They used to be the second most deprived ethnic groups in the country following the Hazaras. They became politically active during the communist regime, especially following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In order to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the government recruited many of Uzbeks and Pashtuns not in the army but into

separate militia groups. They were paid well and received other amenities they desired. This special attention made them perform better than the army. General Dostum was the commander of these militias who played a key role in the fall of the communist regime in Kabul.

Beside these four groups there are many other different ethnic groups like the Aimaq, Turkman, Baluch, Brahui, Nuristani, Gujar, Kyrgyz, Arab, Hindu, Sikh and other smaller groups. These different ethnic groups are also further divided linguistically and make their distinction from one another even more complicated. There are more than 30 distinct languages in Afghanistan which belong to the Indo-Iranian language family. This family is split mainly into two subdivisions, Iranian and Indian (Indo-Aryan). Among them Farsi (Persian or Dari) and Pashtu are the official languages, of which around 85 percent of population are native speakers. The rest of the languages are spoken locally in different parts of the country (table 10).

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF AFGHANISTAN

INDO-EUROPEAN/INDO-IRANIAN					TURKO-MONGOL	OTHERS
IRANIAN		INDIAN (INDO-ARYAN)			TURKIC	ARGOT
Northwest	Northeast	Nūrestānī	Dardic	New Indian	23. Ŏzbēkī N	
3. Balūčī N	1. Paštō O Pamir 4. Šuğnī L 5. Rōšānī L 6. Eškāšmī* L 7. Sanglēčī* L 8. Munjī* L 9. Wāķī L	12. Katī* N 13. Waygalī* L 14. Aškūn* L	16. Pašaī* N 17. Gawar-bātī L	19. Panjābī L 20. Sindhī L 21. Gojrī L (Gujurī)	24. Torkmanī N 25. Qirğizī L 26. Uiğur R	30. Zargarī L
						SABIR
					MONGOL	31. Lāzemī L
					27. Moğolī R	
Southwest	Southeast	15. Prasūn* L	18. Tīrō* R (Tirāhī)	22. Inku L (Lahndā)	SEMITIC	DIVERSE
2. Persian O	10. Parāčī* R 11. Ŏrmuŗī R				28. Arabic R	32. Dialects of various origins (itinerant groups, so-called "Jat", etc.)
					DRAVIDIAN	
					29. Brāhūī L	

* Not spoken outside of present-day Afghanistan. L. Local. N. National. O. Official. R. Residual

Table 10: The linguistic situation of Afghanistan
Source: KIEFER (1983: 502)

It should be noted that scholars have different opinions concerning the ethno-linguistic division of Afghanistan. An example of such differing opinions would be the case of Farsiwan and Tajik which was related to earlier. ORYWAL conceives ethnic groups as a "continuum within which the members of a group identify their particular position in space and time by including or excluding other groups." Taking this concept into consideration he names more than fifty different ethnic groups in Afghanistan

(ORYWAL 1986: 7, 18-19). However, with such a classification one may find different ethnic groups even in homogenous societies. A rather better way would be to see how these different groups are described within the society and among themselves. Major sources for such analysis would include constitutions and official documents which mentioned the name of different ethnic and social groups according to inner perspectives with local terminologies.

The ethno-linguistic diversity of the country has been one of the main controversial topics of the changing constitutions since Amanullah (cf. chapter 5.1.2). In contrast to the previous constitutions, the new one ratified in 2004 explicitly mentions the name of different major ethnic groups.[31] Article 4 in chapter 1 mentions that "the nation of Afghanistan is comprised of Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Pashai, Nuristani, Aimaq, Arab, Kyrgyz, Qezilbash, Gujar, Brahwi, and other ethnic groups (*Aqwam*)."[32] This article highlights many important facts. Firstly, it acknowledges the diversity of social structure in the country. At the same time it puts the name of ethnic groups in a hierarchical order starting with major ethnic groups while it continues with minor ones without ending in the name of a particular minor group. There are still few other minor groups like the Sikhs and Hindus which seems to have been ignored. Nevertheless, the word "other ethnic groups" (*Sayer Aqwam*) at the end of the sentence leaves a space open for the other communities that are not explicitly mentioned.

One of the most significant points in this article is the word *Aqwam* which is a plural form of *Qawm*. The word mentioned here as an equivalent to the term 'ethnic groups' which is repeatedly used in the literature. However, scholars using the word *Qawm* are often confused. The confusions usually seems to stem from the colloquial as well as formal and official usage of the word in different parts of Islamic world. WENSINCK believes that the term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. He concentrates in the usage of the word by Arabs and concludes that if it is used without article (Arabic 'al') it has the same meaning as English 'people', French *gens*, and German *Leute* (WENSINCK 1978: 780). However, even in non-Arab Muslim countries in formal and official usage sometimes the word *Qawm* is used to refer to 'nation' and *Qawmi* is

---

[31] SCHETTER studying Pashtuns says that "there is no explicit Pashtun reference" in the constitution (SCHETTER 2008:2).

[32] Translated by author from Farsi version, since there is no official version in English. Afghanistan's Embassy in Washington has translated one and adds that it is not the official translation. SHAFI RAHEL has also translated one in English but as he describe it was for Secretariat of Constitutional Commission. Furthermore he translated the word 'Aqwam' as 'tribes' which does not seem correct.

interpreted as meaning 'national' (e.g., in Pakistan's national anthem (*Qawmi Tarana)* and in its text the word *Qawm* is used as an equivalent to 'nation'). Furthermore, in Afghanistan it is used of course without the article and it does not refer to 'people,' which has a general meaning, but to a certain group of people. According to VATIKIOTIS the word "*Kawm* is a tribal provenance used to denote a group of people having or claiming a common ancestor, or a tribe descended from a single ancestor. One's Kawm is simply one' people, either genealogically determined or mythologically and folklorishly depicted." However, when it comes to *Qawmiyya* (another form of the word *Qawm*) he defines it as nationalism (VATIKIOTIS 1978: 781).

In colloquial language, unlike in official useage the word Qawm sometimes refers to 'tribe,' 'sub-tribe' and even 'relatives.' While there are more proper words such as *Tayefa*, *Qabila*, and *Ashira*, that are used in officially to describe tribes, sub-tribes and other smaller groups e.g., to be seen in the name of a ministry (Ministry of Ethnic and Tribes or *Wezarat-e Aqwam wa Qabayel*), or in the word *Aqwam wa Qabayel* mentioned in chapter 1, article 6, of the new constitution of 2004. KOHZAD mentions the period in which Mirwais Khan rebellion against Safavids occurred as *Daura –e Nahzat-e Qawmi* (period of *Qawmi* movement) (KOHZAD 1940: 235) (figure 6).
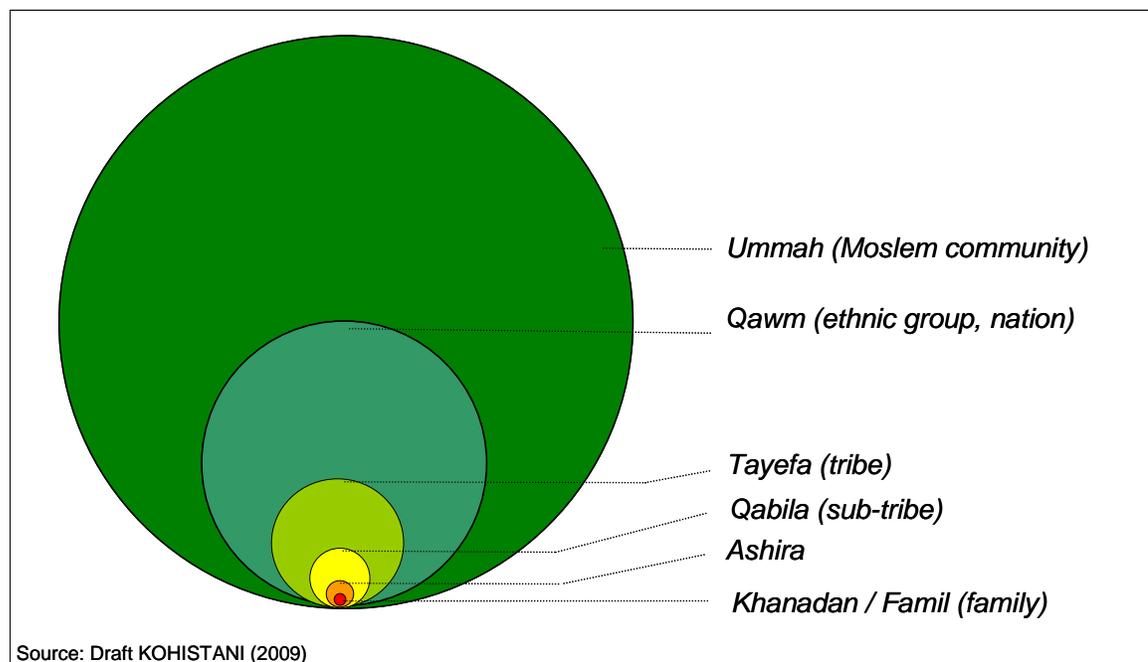
Figure 6: The Qawm structure

The question of why the tribes and sub-tribes prefer to use the word *Qawm* colloquially instead of *Tayefa, Qabila,* and *Ashira* may be posed. This is because the word *Qawm* signifies rather a larger number of people than the latter terms. Therefore, as other tribal societies where the numbers of people indicates the power of the tribe, in Afghanistan tribes and even sub-tribes prefer to use the word *Qawm* in order to create a bigger image for themselves. Especially among the Pashtun tribe due to the persistent rivalry and conflicts, *Qawm* is frequently used. For example, the Ghilzai and Durrani rarely use the word *Tayefa*, and the same is true for sub-tribes like the Sadozai and Mohammadzai who are referred to as Aq*wam* instead of *Qabayel* (plural of *Qabila*), which means tribe. Nonetheless, in the official language, the word *Tayefa* is usually used for Durranis (KATEB 1952: 10, KOHZAD 2004: 296-299). What also adds to the confusion is that many non-Pashtun colloquially use the term *Qawm* to refer to their relatives as in (*Khwish wa Qawm*), which covers those associated as relatives. However, among the Hazaras the words *Qawm, Tayefa, Tol or Tolwara* and *Khanawar* show the social units and the structure from the unit with the highest number of members to the family respectively (MOUSAVI 2000: 77).

Nevertheless, the new constitution explicitly describes Afghanistan as a multi-*Qawmi* (multi-ethnic) nation. This can also be interpreted to mean that what is known as the 'Afghan nation' has not been created yet.

2.3.2 How to Create Unity in Diversity: The Challenges of Ethno-linguistic Diversity in Building Nation and National Institutions

The Afghan rulers have repeatedly found the ethno-linguistic diversity as a major problem in creating a stable state and a unified nation. In order to overcome this problem, the policy of Afghan monarchs from Abdurrhaman onward was to create a modern nation through the assimilation of the diverse population. This policy of assimilation, which is usually referred to as 'Pashtunization,'[33] was continued until the end of the monarchy in 1973. Abdurrahman moved many Pashtun tribes from the arid regions of the South to the fertile regions in the North. This policy was later followed by his successors, especially by Amanullah, who legalized it by issuing a certain law: (*Nezamnama-e Naqelin ba Samt-e Qataghan* or law of migration toward *Qataghan*). In this law special privileges were guaranteed for the tribes moving from the province of

---

[33] The terms used are as 'Pashto-ize' DUPREE 2005: 66, 'Pashtunize' RUBIN 2002: 66, KENT 2007: 14 and 'Paschtunisierung' FROEHLICH 1970: 219, SCHETTER 2003: 261. Also cf. MOUSAVI 2000: 188-189, GHUBAR 1999: 44.

Kabul and its sub-provinces *Mashrqi* and *Junubi*. [34] For every member of migrant families (above seven years old male or female) eight *jerib* or 15,344sq. meters (1 *Jerib* = 1,918sq meter) of fertile lands was distributed, the benefits also included exemption from tax and free use of transportation facilities (NEZAMNAMA1923a: article 1-7).

The cultural assimilation of the population started with the arrival of Mahmud Tarzi from exile in Turkey. Tarzi also a Mohammadzai, was the editor of *Seraj-ul Akhbar* published in Farsi from 1911-1918, which propagated modernity and nationalism. As SMITH stated that "nationalism is born among intelligentsia" (SMITH 1971: 255), in Afghanistan Tarzi was one of the founding members of the intellectual elite. He is considered to be 'the Father of Journalism in Afghanistan' and was also the pioneer of the nation-building project in the country. He inspired the younger generation of the royal court as well as the emerging intellectual elites with the European idea of modernity he brought from Turkey. He introduced the European concept of the term nation (*Millat* also from Turkish) for the first time, which was different in concept from the common traditional notion held in the country. Prior to this, Islam was the main factor that held all different ethno-linguistic groups together. For Tarzi and others who followed him later, the ethno-linguistic diversity of Afghanistan was seen as an impediment to integration. In order to overcome this challenge Tarzi used the Pashtu language as a main tool in his nation-building project. He explains his idea as follows:

> One of the main national characteristic of every nation is to preserve, reform, and develop its own language. The official language of our sacred Matboaa state is 'Farsi' and our national language is 'Afghani'. Farsi became the official language of our state because before the formation and establishment of *Daulat-e Moqadassa-e Afghania* [Sacred State of Afghania] and the independence of our sovereignty, our neat and sacred soil [land] was part of Iran….. when HE (Ahmad Shah Baba-e Ghazi) succeeded in the independence and establishment of *Saltanat-e Afghaniya* [Afghaniya Dynasty], all affairs of administration, offices and institutions based on which the state is founded were in Farsi and in the hand of Farsi speakers who were originally Iranians…. Therefore, from the beginning, the foundation of *Daulat-e Moqadassa-e Afghaniya* was laid in Farsi (TARZI 1915:1-2).

There are many important points to notice: TARZI used the word 'Afghani' which used to be the common word until it was replaced by Pashtu. He called Ahmad Shah Baba (father). This is inspired by Turkey (Atta Turk, or father of the Turks). The most important thing in his words is that he signifies the role of Farsi in the institutions of the state. Although he mentioned as 'Farsi language of the Iranians', but this never means that he ignored or rejected the entire Farsi speaking population of Afghanistan. He wanted Farsi to remain the official language of the institutions. He says:

---

[34] For the name of Qataghan, Junubi and Mashreqi (cf. Map 9).

However, in the sacred soil of our beloved country there are not only the Afghani Aqwam who speak Afghani but also other Aqwam who speak Farsi and are the main part of Afghan nation. The people of the capital and other main big cities and provinces are mostly Farsi speakers. From the beginning …..to now, Farsi has been in the entire administration, the judiciary branch and the institutions of the state which makes changing or abolishing it difficult. Therefore, no one can order that our official language [Farsi] should be changed into Afghani [Pashtu]. There is also another important reason. Farsi is more important and more common than Afghani…. For example, the Afghani language [Pashtu] is limited strictly to Afghanistan and the several million [strong] Afghan nation. In contrast, Farsi besides being the language of our neighbour Iran, is also common in the entire region beyond the Oxus (*Mawara-un-Nahr*) [Central Asia] and Hindustan and even in the countries of Othman. It should be understood that every Qawm and every Millat (nation) is alive with their own Qawmi and Millati (national) language. If the language of a Millat is diminished their entire existence would be diminished. They [others] call us *Millat-e Afghan* (Afghan nation) and our beloved soil [land] as Afghanistan. We should preserve this language [Afghani or Pashtu] at the cost of our lives. We should try seriously to develop and reform it. It is crucial not only for the Afghan people [Pashtun] but also for other Aqwam [ethnic groups] to learn the language of our land and nation. Teaching Afghani must be the most important part of the teaching in our schools and have priority to other languages like English, Urdu, Turkish or Farsi (TARZI 1915:1-2).

Obviously TARZI's idea of nation-building was concentrated in promoting and preserving the Pashtun culture as an accepted model and generalizing it to the entire population. The main elements of this culture which gained tremendous attention were *Jirga* as an institution[35] and Pashtu as 'the language of nation' (*Zaban-e Millat*). To achieve this goal *Pashtu-Maraka* a centre for the development of Pashtu, was established in Kabul. Initially it was a difficult task to promote Pashtu because of the problems of how to write it and which dialect would be adopted as an accepted model. Since the Durranis came from Kandahar, the Kandahari dialect of Pashtu was suggested to be used in writing, reading and teaching for the first time. The first Pashtu teacher employed in the modern Habibiya high school was Saleh Mohammad Kandahari. He was also the first to write a textbook in Pashtu especially for Habibiya School. He described his opinion as follows:

In 1915, Afghani, as a subject, was added to the curriculum of the school of Habibiya, and its instruction was ordered. [I should say this in a poem:]
Paskhtu Mra wa Juandai kra   *Khudai da dai Juandai Krina*
Pashtu was dead, you (the king) gave it life   May god extend your life (in return)

I [KANDAHARI] was employed by [the Amir] to teach the writing of the Afghani language. In our beloved country, up to now, there was no Afghani textbook or grammar book. Even its teaching was entirely dead. Poor Pashtu was forgotten like other dead languages. There were no instruction books and no writing regulations. After being employed I published the 1,2,3 textbooks and a book on grammar… There were different common words and expressions. Each tribe had its own expressions and vocabulary. … Because the generation of our king (*khamirmaya nasle shah-e maarefpanah*) belongs to the neat soil of Kandahar and his Qawm is Durrani,…. and all Afghans agree that the Afghani [language] from Kandahar is the sweetest and the easiest, thus after lots of

---

[35] Later Amanullah abolished *Jirga* as part of his modernization reforms (cf. Chapter 3)

discussions in the Association of Education we agreed that writing should be done in the Afghani from Kandahar, in order to form a unity (KANDAHARI 1915: 1-9).

Thus, the Pashtu language found its way in the school and in the government beside the dominant Farsi. Yet Pashtu was taught as a language with the help of Farsi not and not used as a communicative tool for learning other subjects. Furthermore, the name Afghani for the language remained till the reign of Zahir Khan, 1933-1973. Moreover. this policy at this stage created no major problem in the institutions since Pashtu did not have the status to replace Farsi. At the same time Farsi still remained the only official language in the institutions and Durbar. It was in 1937 that Pashtu became official through a decree forwarded by Mohammad Hashim Khan, the Prime Minister (TICHY 1940: 197, FARHANG 1995: 632-634).[36] However, it was not the official status of Pashtu that created problems but the part of the decree which made learning Pashtu in three years compulsory for all institutional staff in order to replace Farsi in the institutions. Nevertheless, in practice it proved to be difficult and even impossible to replace Farsi with Pashtu. The failure was mainly due to the fact that Pashtu did not have the status that could replace Farsi. The small number of available words was regarded as one of major problems in Pashtu being used in the administration and institutions. Therefore the first attempt at a *Pashtu Tolana* (Pashtu Academy) was made by "systematically purging foreign words and replacing them with new invented Pashtu words" (DUPREE 2005:93)." To do so Farsi words were analysed and then translated into Pashtu. Later the word formation process included other languages (e.g., Arabic, English) for which new words were created, e.g., a simple term 'rocket' became '*Torghundai*' (a black mound which flies up in the sky) (DUPREE 2005: 93). The newly created words were even difficult for many Pashtuns to understand. Therefore, the new words and difficult grammar were among the main problems mastering Pashtu. At the same time, the staff of the institutions who were predominantly non-Pashtuns demonstrated their reluctance to learn Pashtu and this played an important role. Thus after the government failed to achieve its aim in the given time, the program was extended to another three year period. Later, even the government even paid some extra money to the participants of the Pashtu courses. Nevertheless, despite the government repeated extention of the period of courses the policy repeatedly failed.

---

[36] Although at this stage Zahir Khan was the King but he was too young and the actual power was practiced by his uncle Mohammad Hashim Khan who was the Prime Minister. (cf. Chapter 2.2.5 - 2.2.9)

The policy of Pashtunization reached its climax during the premiership of Mohammad Daoud (1953-1963). According to DUPREE this time the attempt to Pashtunize the institutions came "to disaster" because neither the officials nor the recipients could understand Pashtu. To overcome this challenge non-Pashtun high-ranking officials found it necessary to have a clerk translate their Farsi (DUPREE 2005: 66, 70). However, recipients were often non-Pashtun, therefore everything had to be written twice: first in Farsi and then translated into Pashtu. Moreover, the negative impact of this policy was massive for the institutions, especially for the education system, both economically and culturally since the quality of education declined (FARHANG 1995: 633-634). Thus the process of communication between officials became slow and ineffective.

It is important to notice that the first two constitutions did not indicate anything about the multitude of languages spoken in Afghanistan, and Pashtu became official or 'national' by a royal decree. Nevertheless, from time to time, the Pashtu language became an exclusive criterion and a tool for nationalism and nation-building idea. At the same time the idea of nationalism became equal to Pashtun nationalism. As a result this notion developed that "in Afghanistan the concept of nation and nationality has always been Pashtun and it had no other meaning (SHAHRANI 2009)." Therefore, this government backed policy of nationalism widened the gap between the Pashtun and non-Pashtun ethnic groups, because the non-Pashtun population became a victim of this nationalism, especially their languages came under severe pressure.

The British withdrawal from Indian provided another momentum for this Pashtun nationalism, which led to the creation of Pashtunistan and the formation of many Pashtun parties who claimed for 'a greater Afghanistan' and ethnic hegemony. Hereafter Pashtuns who lived in Pakistan were also regarded as part of Afghanistan. In order to strengthen this idea and attract the attention of tribes beyond the border, in 1958, the government established Khushhal Khan Khatak high school in Kabul exclusively for the Pashtunistanis (GHARGHASHT 1966: 194) a term the government used to refer to all Pashtun tribes in that period.

This nationalism was further strengthened by the idea of the Aryan race which provided an instrument for the implemention of the policy of assimilation. The idea of Aryan race was imported from Europe and as a result of contacts with European. In particular, even before the Nazis took over power in Gemany, the German teaching staff in Kabul, formed a Nazi club in Nejat High School and spread the ideology of Nazis (ADAMEC 1974:

219, FARHANG 1995: 637). Furthermore, members of royal family visited Berlin on different occasions, were inspired by the devepoment in Gemany. In 1936, Faiz Mohammad Khan, Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs met Hitler in Berlin and mentioned to him that "Afghanistan hopes to receive help from Germany, whom it considered an elder and more advanced Aryan brother" (ADAMEC 1974: 223).

These contacts influenced members of the royal family and their policy of nation-building in Afghanistan. Hereafter, in order to create a sense of harmony among the diverse population, the history of the country was rewritten and invoked as proof that the majority of population were descended from Aryans (GREGORIAN 1969: 345). Pashtuns who used to claim being one of the lost Jewish tribe were redefined as of pure Aryan race. An Afghan professor from Kabul University described the Pashtuns and other ethnic groups in his book:

> The principle races and tribes that make up the 15,000,000 population of the country are: the Afghans or Pashtoons, the bulk of which are derived from Indo-European stock and constitute the great majority. Next in number are the Tajiks who, too are of Aryan origin. The rest are the Mongoloid Hazaras, the Uzbeks, the Turkmans and the Kirghiz. Other small minorities include the fair-skinned Nurristanis (old Kafirs), of pure Aryan stock), the Arabs, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Jews. …… Indeed, the time [in which the Afghans are described as of Semitic origin] is past for ever to call the Afghans of Semitic origin, for Pashto, their language, does not bear any resemblance to Hebrew or any other Aramaic language. At present all agree that Pashtu belongs to the indo-Germanic family of languages (ALI 1969: 6, 9).

New names and terms replaced the old and common words. The word Aryan and Aryana (or Ariana) was used by historians, teachers, and officials. Hotel Ariana, Chahr Rahi Ariana (Ariana crossroad), Ariana Afghan Airlines are some of the examples still largely used by the Afghans. It is believed that the aim of this policy was:

> to level out ethnic heterogeneity of Afghanistan's territory and to thwart any attempts at secessions […] toponyms that carried any ethnic or particularistic perceptions, such as Kafiristan/ Nuristan, Khorassan, Turkistan, Qataghan or Hazarajat were replaced by administrative terms which often referred to provincial towns (e.g. Herat, Bamyan) or rivers (e.g. Kunar) and did not imply any ethnic connotations (SCHETTER 2006: 23).

However, this may be true in cases of other ethnic groups (Turkistan and Qataghan) but not in the case of Pashtuns, for whom two new provinces (Paktia and Paktika) were created to suit to their identity.[37] Furthermore, provinces like Khorassan did not exist in

---

[37] These are just few examples. However, it never denies the facts regarding the archeological discoveries made in Afghanistan, based on which many new provinces were created like Balkh, Bamian, Takhar, Nangarhar, Kunar, Laghman, Kapisa. Though the name 'Kandahar' remained unchanged and was not replaced with its historical name 'Arachosia' (in Greek) or *Zameendawar* in Farsi used following the Islamic period. The name Kandahar seems to be originated from *Gandahara* a historical area that lies between Sindh and Peshawar which is far away from modern Kandahar city. This still remains a question how this name was applied to Kandahar.

the Afghan administration. Parts of Khorassan were under the control of the Durranis for a short period but were lost to the Persians in 1801.

In 1964 when *Loya Jirga* was convened to ratify a new 'liberal' constitution, language and identity were among the most controversial topics. Pashtu became both the official and national language and replaced the name Afghani. At the same time during the constitutional debate, many conservatives Pashtuns wanted to oust Farsi from its status as the official language of the country, an idea which was resisted by the non-Pashtun delegates. The Farsi language survived this attempt at degradation, but its name was changed to Dari. The word Dari was traditionally used to refer to Farsi but not solely as a name (noun) but as an adjective to describe Farsi or to show its status in Durbar. This is more or less like using *Fus'ha* for Arabic and *Hochdeutsch* for the German language. According to a linguistic expert, referring to Farsi as Dari alone is neither scientific nor correct and logical. The language's original name is Farsi, and if Dari is used then it should be mentioned as Farsi-ye Dari (YAMEEN 2009). The main idea in coining Farsi into Dari was to differ from Iran because the ruling elite thought (and still think) that Iran is a major source which strengthens the influence of Farsi. In other words, with this attept at re-naming the language, they wanted to (and still want to) to weaken Farsi by isolating it from literature published in Iran. In order to do so articles and books were written specially by Pashtun writers. HABIBI was one of the most famous among those who strongly backed this idea.

Thus, introducing and implementing the European concept of nation proved to be unsuccessful because the situation in Afghanistan was entirely different from Europe, as it presented a very complex and diverse ethno-linguistic and socio-religious structure. Thus, the challenge of creating a nation out of different ethno-linguistic groups proved to be more difficult than it was expected by many regimes in Afghanistan. The main factor that contributed to the failure of these policies was tribal and ethnic hegemony propagated by the ruling elites. In general, the two sub-tribes (*Tayefa*) Sadozai and Mohammadzai of the Durrani tribe were the dominant ruling elites for a long period in the history of Afghanistan. Therefore, in Farsi literature, the ruling elites were seen predominantly as Sadozai and Mohammdzais first and then as Durrani and finally Afaghana, the plural of Afghan. Although the word Pashtun was used earlier by Pashtuns (e.g., Khushhal Khan Khatak), it was a self-preference and not used by others. The idea of being Pashtun is a creation of modernity which replaced the notion of being Afghan. The same goes for the language which was referred to as Afghani first and later changed

to Pashtu. However, the rule of the Durranis never means the rule of all Pashtuns tribes because the Pashtun Ghilzais, consisting of a larger number of sub-tribes than Durranis were sidelined from power and were seen as the rival enemy.

> Die Ghilzais, durch ihre Wahl Ahmad Schahs im Jahre 1747 Mitbegründer des afghanisschen Reiches, wurden in der Folgezeit von den Durranis politisch immer mehr in den Hintergrund gedrängt, wodurch sich zwischen den beiden Stämmen schwerwiegende und intensive Antipathien entwickelten (FROEHLICH 1970: 173-174).

The Mohammadzais made all possible attempts to break the Ghilzais's power so that they would not be able to challenge the Mohammadzai rule. In the late 19th century the Ghilzais revolted against Amir Abdurrahman (1880-1901). In this rebellion the Ghilzais preferred the Hazaras (who are seen as the traditional enemy of the Pashtuns) to the Amir in Kabul: they sent their families (women and children) to Hazarajat and to Waziristan for safety (ABDURRAHMAN 2005: 272). The Amir, after putting off the rebellion, moved many of these tribes from their place of origin in the South and settled them in the North. With this policy he aimed at mainly two things: first to break the strength of the Ghilzai tribe and to minimize the threat they presented, and second to spread out the Pashtuns to the North. This policy was further followed by Amanullah and Nadir Khan. Especially the latter used many of these tribes and tribes from the border areas to gain access to the throne. As reward for their support Nadir Khan gave special privileges to these tribes which included exemptions from tax payments and conscription, receiving development projects in their areas, and high-ranking military positions in the army.

Apart from the Durrani and Ghilzai tribes in Afghanistan, a large number of other Pashtun tribes and sub-tribes (e.g. Yousufzai, Tarklanri, Waziri, Afridi, Orakzai, Khatak, Bangash, Kakar, Turi, Mohmand and Tarin) lived outside the control of the rulers in Kandahar or Kabul. They kept their region semi-independent by accepting the indirect rule of the Moghuls, Sikhs and the British. Finally, Pakistan emerged and they became an autonomous part of a newly-born state. Following the Pashtunistan issue, Afghan authorities repeatedly mentioned that Pashtuns are divided equally on the two sides of the Durand border line or between Afghanistan and Pashtunistan. The territorial distribution of Pashtuns was published in official maps by Afghan authorities included not only tribal regions in Pakistan but also in Baluchistan. In order to support this claim official estimates used to declare the number of Pashtuns as higher than that of other groups. The assumptions that half of the Pashuns live in Afghanistan and the other half lives in Pakistan dominated the scientific literature. However, recent figures from Pakistan estimate the total number of Pashtuns to be 21,000,000, out of which 13,000,000 live in

Pakistan and the remaining 8,000,000 live in Afghanistan (GANKOVSKY 2006: 209). Another source claims that 8,000,000 Pashtuns live in Afghanistan and 22,000,000 live in Pakistan (KRECH 2004: 18).

Therefore, the Pashtun's fragmented tribal structure is the main internal factor that led to the fall of the Abdali dynasty because these different tribes were seldom in peace with one another. This factor in particular prevented the transformation of the traditional tribal ruling system into a stable and functioning modern state. From 1747 to 1973 there were repeated conflicts between brothers, relatives, sub-tribes (Sadozai vs. Mohammadzai) and tribes (Durrani vs. Ghilzai). In 1973 the Durranis lost their leading position to the Ghilzai and other ethnic groups. Although AHADI, the current leader of Afghan Mellat Party, ignores the role of the Ghilzai tribes and considers the fall of monarchy as the beginning of the decline or the end of Pashtun dominance in the politics of Afghanistan (AHADI 1995: 621). The fall of monarchy, as a highly centralized form of government, paved the way for the emergence of the Ghilzais (e.g. *Khalq, Afghan Mellat*), and other ethnic groups in (e.g., *Parcham, Shola-Jawid, Setam-e Melli*). At the same time the fragmentation of the PDPA, the ruling communist, into Khalq, Parcham and other minor groups was mostly based on ethnic groups. The same was true for the Mujahidin parties in Pakistan and in Iran, who, despite their common aim, were divided into 15 different tribal, ethnic and religious sections. Those Taliban coming from Afghanistan mainly represent the Ghilzai tribes, the Durranis lost their dominant role with the fall of monarchy (cf. Ch. 2.2). One can hardly find a popular figure who is a member of Durranis, more specifically of the Mohammadzais. They were almost disappeared from the political scene of the country. King Zahir Khan, while in exile in Italy, made attempts on several occasions to show he was active in politics. He usually demonstrated his presence through the media and by backing of the *Mahaz-e Milli* the Gailani led Mujahidin party in Peshawar.

During the post-Taliban state-building processes it was difficult to create institutions which would represent the will of the diverse peoples. The main difficulty was to decide who was to have the leading position, or be the head of Afghanistan's Interim Administration AIA, and Afghanistan's Transitional Administration ATA, who should hold the postion of the Minister of Defence, Interior, Finance and Foreign Affairs. Many different political parties, Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns, were at the Pertersberg Conference where they could not reach an agreement on these issues. For a non-Pashtun to be the head was unacceptable for the Pashtun delegates. However, it was also hard to find a

Pashtun figure who would be acceptable for all Pashtuns. Within the Pashtuns, the tribal competitions between the Ghilzai and Durrani made this process difficult, especially when the former king was rejected almost by all. Nevertheless, the Durranis succeeded in instating Hamid Karzai (a very unpopular figure) as an alternative to the king. Karzai also enjoyed support from the United States. Even before being nominated by the delegates of the conference as the head of the AIA, Hamid Karzai supported by the US special commandos, started his political campaign to gain power around Kandahar. Karzai's political campaign is an indication to the fact he knew that he would become the head of the AIA. Furthermore, when the US reopened its embassy in Kabul, Zalmai Khalilzad (originally a Pashtun from Afghanistan) was assigned as the US ambassador to Afghanistan, having very close relations to Karzai. In fact, Khalilzad was the main architect of the whole Bonn process. As the US ambassador in Kabul, he was actively involved in every key decisions of the government while Karzai had only a symbolic role. The media called Khalilzad 'the new Viceroy,' reminding of the British viceroys who enthroned or supported many Afghan amirs. Thus, the Pertersberg Conference was merely a meeting of different political elements while the key decision had already been made outside.

Despite the help of the international community, the process of building up new demonstrates that overcoming the challenges of tribalism[38] and ethno-linguistic relationships are far from being overcom. The AIA, ATG, the elected government and the parliament continuously demonstrate the existence of such tensions among the elites. Especially the replacement of ministers was mainly based on ethnic rivalries. For example the Ministries of Defence, Education,[39] Information and recently Ministry of the Interior, were subject to repeated replacements. All previously non-Pashtuns led are now run by Pashtuns. Zalmai Khalilzad and his close associates played (and still play) key role in this ethnic cleansing within institutions. According to KENT "on the policy front, members of Khalilzad's coterie, notably Marin Strmecki and Martin Hoffman, a former college roommate of Donald Rumsfeld, stepped up their efforts to Pashtunize the Karzai

---

[38] The term tribalism is defined as:

any group of persons, families, or clans, primitive or contemporary, descended from a common ancestor, possessing a common leadership, and forming a community. Members of the tribe speak a common language, observe uniform rules of social organization, and worked together for such purposes as agriculture, trade, or warfare. They ordinarily have their own name and occupy a contiguous territory. Tribalism does not ordinarily apply to formation of large territorial units, or states, but denotes, instead, units composed of extended kinship group (SNYDER 1990: 401).

[39] The Ministry of Education was given, for a short period, to Nur M. Qharqhin, an Uzbek. Later he was replaced by Hanif Atmar a Pashtun who was then instated as Minister of the Interior. Since then Farooq Wardak another Pashtun has been in charge.

regime" (KENT 2007: 14). The idea of this policy was to convince the US that a dominant Pashtun dominated government would weaken the position of the Taliban and eventually lead to their surrender. However, the policy proved to result in the opposite of this desired effect as it failed to deter the Taliban. At the same time the deteriorating security situation further undermined the strength and legitimacy of the government in Kabul and created pessimism converning the efforts of the international community in the nation-building process. AKHGAR states:

> I do not believe that foreign powers can build a nation out of us. If they do so, then we will be a material nation. Of course nation is not *Murch wa Masala* (pepper and other tasty spices and herbsl used for cooking) in that one can take some parsley, pepper, some garlic [mix them and then say] this is Masala. It [nation] is not construction material either. It is a human being phenomenon. I do not believe that without independence we can succeed in building a nation. We should create the motivations and we should choose our way on our own without being imposed by others. Not like one day they [foreigners] say we give you socialism. One day an Islamic Republic. One day they bring an Emirate of Taliban. Finally they say no! Enough with of all this! Let's have democracy! In my view nation is a group of people who have common feelings. Such feeling can not be imported from outside. If different *Aqwam* (ethnic groups), *Tawayef* (tribes), and religions consider that they have common feelings, then they are a nation, at every stage of history. If these groups are from the same parent but have opposing, contrasting and different feelings they can not be regarded as a nation" (AKHGAR 2009).

The elected parliament hardly fosters national unity and solidarity. It is dominated by the rival tribal, religious and intellectual elites, and is referred to as "a divided house" (WILDER 2005: 44). When it comes to key decisions the members are highly divided along *Qawm* (ethnic group), tribal and linguistic lines rather than effective political parties. For example, in April 2008, Alam Gul Kuchi a Pashtun member of parliament (also a former member of the Taliban movement), called the non-Pashtun people in the country migrants. The non-Pashtuns members of parliament regarded this as an insult. In response around one hundred of them refused to take part in the parliamentary sessions for several days   and demanded that Alam Gul apologize for what he said.[40] Such situations repeatedly occur in the parliament undermining its effectiveness as a 'national' institution.

Usually there are two opposing sides within each institutions: the Pashtuns and the non-Paschtuns. In this rivalry, each side tries to discredit the oppositions by naming the political affiliations the enemy used to have, which are not popular now and lack images in the society. For example, Pashtuns labels non-Pashtuns as Warlords and as affiliated with 'Northern Alliance', Parchamis, Shulais, etc. In the same way non-Pashtun call Pashtuns as Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Khalqi, Afghan Millati, and *Qabila-gara* (tribalists).

---

[40] See THE DAILY AFGHANISTAN, April 17, 2008, no. 477, third year.

Though there are members of the Taliban, Mujahidin, Khalq, Parcham and other leftist groups on either side, there are also others who had/ have no political affiliations and are still villainized so. Thus, for each side the *Qawm* (ethnic) affiliations are more important than the true political affiliations. This means Pashtuns support the Taliban, Khalqis (directly or indirectly) and other Pashtun groups regardless of their role in the conflicts of Afghanistan. For example, Noor-ul-Haq Hlumi and Shanawaz Tanai, two prominent former members of the PDPA (Khalq fraction), won in the parliamentary election in Kandahar and Khost respectively, which surprised the other candidates. In the same way the non-Pashtuns, in order to counter-balance their oppositions prefer *Qawm* affiliations over other issues.

Nonetheless, the process of nation-building and creating unity in diversity has been one of the main challenges in Afghanistan for the ruling elites, especially in the post-Taliban era, in which international community played a major role and invested lots of efforts. Yet all has proved to be unsuccessful so far.

2.3.3 Religious Diversity

In terms of religion more than 99 percent of the population of the country is Muslim. The majority of the Muslims (around 80 percent of the population) is *Sunni,* or *Hanafi,* this comprised various ethnic groups, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbek, Aimaq, Baluch, Nuristani, and other small groups. There are also around 19 percent *Shii* Muslims in Afghanistan the majority of whom are *Ithna Ashari* (twelvers) and there is a smaller number of of Ismaelite (seveners) as well. Hazara and Qizilbash are predominantly Itna Asharis while Ismailites are Tajiks. There is also a small numbers of *Shii* Pashtun tribes (e.g., the Orakzai and Turi) as well as Hazara Sunni communities in Afghanistan.

Religiously, Afghanistan is not a very diverse country but what makes the religion complex is the way it is interpreted. Due to these different interpretations there used to be a hierarchical structure of religious groups. These include Sayids, Sufis, Pirs, and *Murshid* (*Murrids*). Sayids claims to be the descendents of the Prophet Mohammad and Ali, the fourth caliphate of Islam. However, some of these Sayids also claim that they originate from the Arabs who came to this region in the past centuries. That they are usually seen as Pashtuns, Tajiks or Hazara is due to the fact that they adopted the

traditions and customs of the environment.[41] Whatever their origin was they used to be the most respectable religious group.The Sayids still have a very important social positions among the Hazaras. They inter-marry with other ethnic groups but their daughters are rarely allowed to marry into other religious groups..

The Sufis follow Sufism which is Islamic mysticism and emerged in the eighth century A.D. in the Islamic world. In the Sufist structure the *Khanaqa* (*usually a Ziyarat* or shrine*, or a residence house*) is an institution where the members or followers (*Mursheds* and *Murrids*) come to meet their master or leader (Pir). There are mainly two orders of Sufism in Afghanistan, the *Qaderiya* and the *Naqshbandiya.* The *Qaderiya* is order is headed by Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani whose ancestor, Abdul al-Qadir al-Jailani (Gailani) founded the order in the 1166. Pashtuns in the Southern and Eastern part of the country are among the primary devotees to Gailani Tariqa. They have their own interpretation of Islam. The Naqshbandiya originated in Bukhara in the 14th century and is found in parts of Northern and Southern Afghanistan. The Mujaddidi family is associated with devotees of the Naqhsbandi order in Southern Afghanistan (ADAMEC 1993: 224-225).

Mujaddis played a crucial role in the downfall of Amanullah and rise Habibullah II's ensuing rise to power. The Mujaddidis called Amanullah's reform un-Islamic and issued fatwa against him. At the same time they proclaimed Habibullah II 'Amir' and asked people to support him. Later they gave their support to Nadir Khan, who overthrewn Habibullah II. As a result of their support they received positions in the judiciary branch and the parliament, where they remained for a longer period.

In the 1950s, Afghanistan's close relations with the USSR led to the spread of communism among the intellectual elites who also enjoyed the support of the government. Daoud Khan, who was receiving aids from the USSR, declared a series of reforms which also included the removal of the '*Purdah'*. Sebghatullah Mujadidi, in Kabul, turned against the government by calling the reforms un-Islamic. He continued this opposition until the 1970s, which caused him to be sent to prison. Once released from the prison he went to Peshawar where he founded one of the seven Mujahidin parties. Sebghatullah Mujaddid was the first president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan

---

[41] While in field research one of the Sayids coming from Nangarhar and a Pashtun told me that: "We [the Sayids in Jalalabad] are not Pashtuns, we are Arabs. That I speak Pashtu and I come from Jalalabad does not mean that I am a Pashtun. The fact that we look like Pashtun is because we lived among the Pashtuns. What will happen if you add a few drops of milk in tea? It is no more tea and no more milk. It is milk-tea (*Sheer-Chai*) (BANOORI 2008)."

in the Mujahidin Interim Government for two months. Since the establishment of the parliament in 2005, he heads the Upper House.

There were political activist from the Qadiriya as well. Pir Sayyid Ahmad Gailani, who heads the Qadiriya, had established one of the seven Mujahidin parties in Peshawar. During the Mujahidin government the Gailanis represented the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some of the diplomatic missions abroad. In Karzai's cabinet Mohammad Amin Fatemi, also from Gailani family, is the Minister of Public Health, while Fatana Gailani headed, for some time, the Afghan Red Crescent.

Following the three decades of war the Sufi orders in Afghanistan now do not posses the same status they enjoyed for centuries in the traditional society. This does not mean that the Sufism is rejected today in the country but in comparison to the other political elites, they posses less influence in the society. Their activities are more concentrated in the Khanaqa where they meet together on special occasions. In contrast to the Sufis other political parties and movements with religious ideologies (e.g., the Mujahidin and Taliban) have dominated the population especially in the rural areas. In the urban areas other political parties dominated by intellectuals, left little space for the activities of Sufi orders. Probably it was due to this reason that the leading elites of the Sufi orders turned to political parties and joined the Mujahiddin in Pashawar in order to preserve their traditional role in society.

2.3.4 Population Distribution

Afghanistan has an area of (652,225km^2) and the Central Statistic Office (CSO) has given an estimate of its population to figure around 24.5 million in 2008. According to this estimate the density of population would be 37.5 persons per square kilometer in the country (CSO 2008) (map 13). However, the density of population remains high in a small proportion of the land (less than one sixth of the total land) while in the rest of the territory there is little sign of human activities. In other words, the distribution of the population in Afghanistan is not even and is greatly affected by geographical factors (e.g., topography, climate, arable land) as well as cultural, political and economical factors (map 14).

The figures are estimated on the basis of 1979 estimates which, according to CSO, were provided to meet the urgent needs of the users (CSO 2008). It is important to note that the three decades of war tremendously affected the population figures and distribution because more than a million people were killed while millions of others migrated mainly to Pakistan and Iran. Therefore the figures, either by the CSO or other international sources, can not give a clear image.

Taking the geographical factors into consideration, Afghanistan is a mountainous country as around 75 percent of the land is covered with mountain ranges and deserts, and only 13 per cent are cultivated land. Earlier estimates shows that out of this 13 percent cultivated land, 10 per cent was pasture land, and a mere 3 percent was forest. With some 20 million sheep and goats, there was intense pressure on pastures (HYMAN 1984: 9). However, these estimates are from three decades ago. The contiuous war together with the draught (that occurred in the late 1990s), affected badly the cultivated lands and the forests. As a result large deforestation and desertification occurred in Afghanistan in the late 1990s which in turn affected the distribution of population in the country.
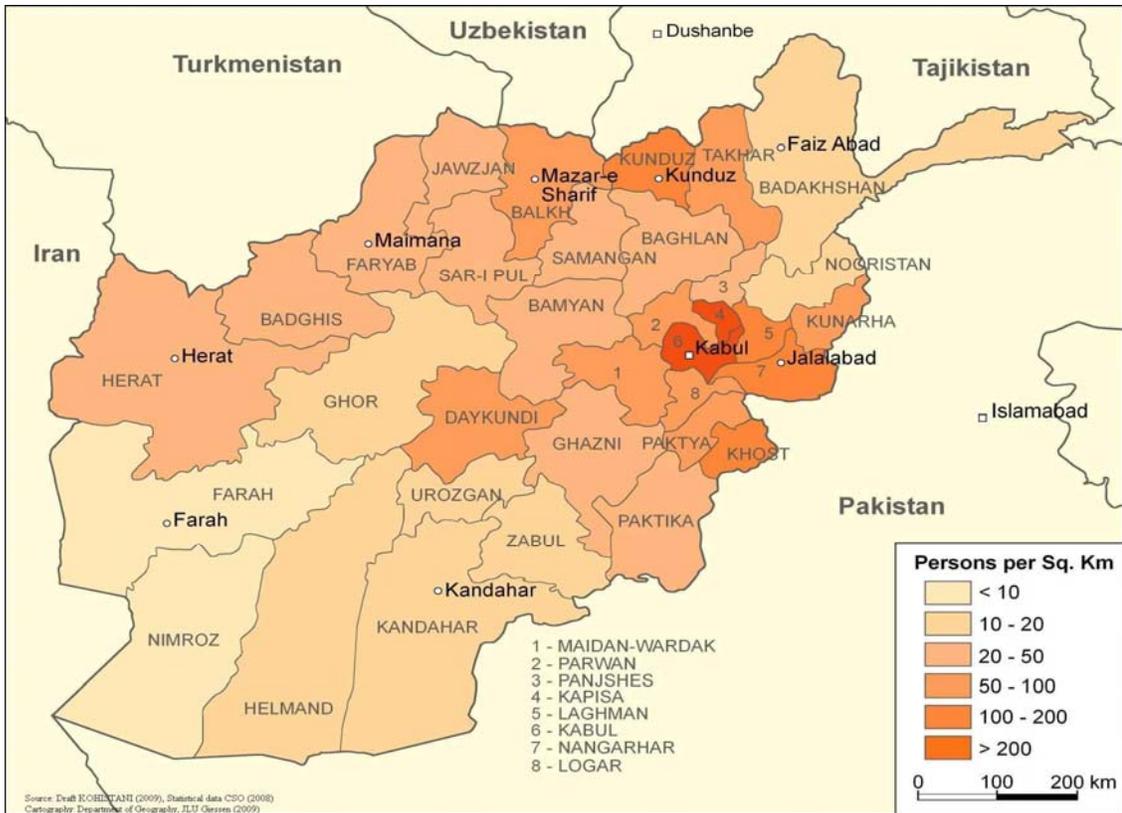
Map 13: Distribution of population in Afghanistan in 2008
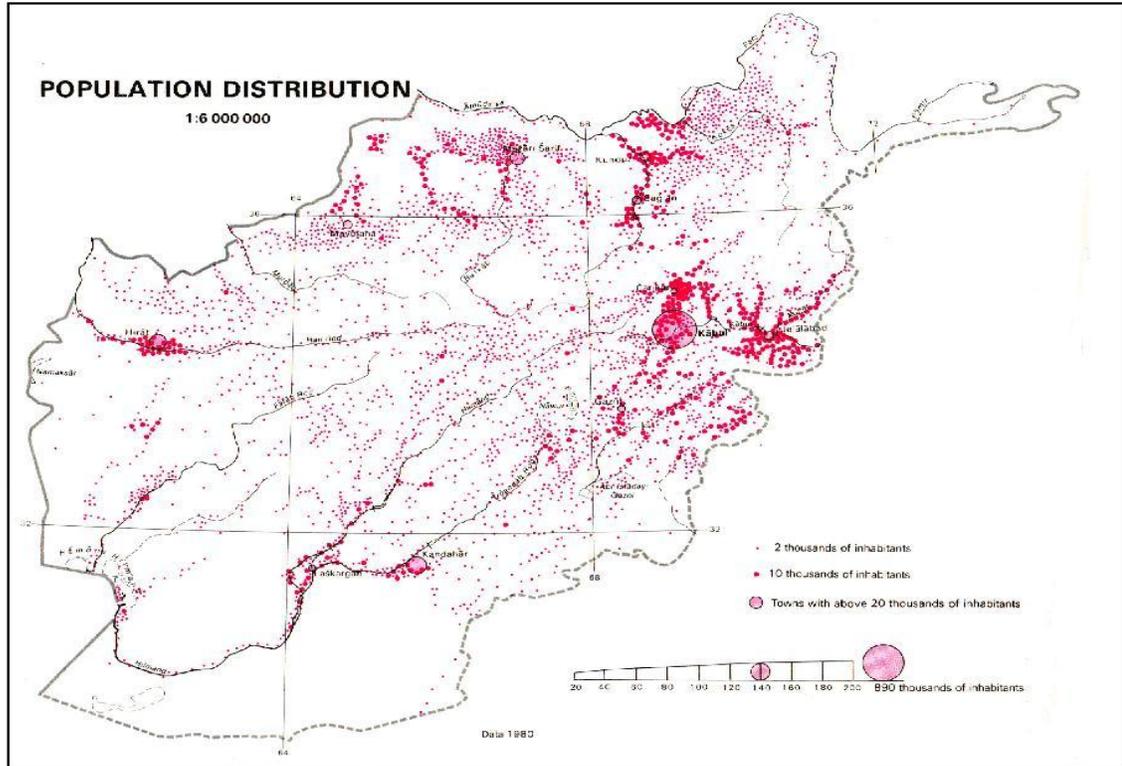
Map 14: Density of population in Afghanistan in 1984   Source: AGCHO (1984)

The Hindu Kush range, which stretches from the Northeast to the Southwest through the whole length of the country, characterises the main physical feature of Afghanistan. Without the Hindu Kush Afghanistan would be a dessert just like other desserts which are located on the same latitude. It is the watershed of four river systems of Amu Darya, Sindh and Kabul, Harirod, and Sistan and Hilmand.[42]

The earliest human settlement areas, some of which developed later to major cities (e.g., Balkh, Herat, Kandahar, Kabul, and Jalalabad), were built along these river systems. The shores of the main rivers like *Kabul, Hilmand, Harriod, Balkhaab, Kunduz* and *Kokcha* are among the densely populated areas. Along or in the vicinity of some of these rivers famous cities like ancient Balkh, Kunduz, Herat, Kabul, Kapisa and Nangarhar were founded, especially the latter three are now among the densely populated provinces. (figure 7) In contrast to the river banks, the distribution of population in mountainous and desert areas decreases to null. In order to understand the distribution of population better, figure 4 illustrates the population in 34 provinces. According to figure 7, small provinces like Kabul, Kapisa and Nangarhar are among the provinces where the density of population is very high. Kabul which is a unique case in Afghanistan with more than 700 people per square kilometre, is at the top. Kapisa, with more than 200, and Nanagarhar, with more than 150 people per square kilometre, are in the second and third respectively. On the other hand, in large provinces like Nimroz, Farah, Hilmand, Kandahar, Urozgan, and Zabul, the density of population declines below 20 people per square kilometer. This is to say Nimroz with 3, Farah with 9, Hilmand with 13, Zabul with 15 and Kandahar with 19 people per square kilometer are the provinces where the population is most widely dispersed.

---

[42] AREZ mentions this division but he does not consider the Hindu Kush as the watershed for all four river system (AREZ 1981: 31-34, 44). This is due to his classification of the Hindu Kush into Eastern and Western parts which does not include other ranges like the *Koh-e Baba,* the watershed of theHilmand river and the *Parapamisus* the watershed of the Harirod river. However, the *Koh-e Baba* is the continuation of the Hindu-Kush range (ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANICA 2007, vol. 5th p. 935) including other ranges in the Western part of the country. Furthermore, the Hindu Kush is not located exclusively in Afghanistan but its highest part, including its highest peak, is located in Pakistan.
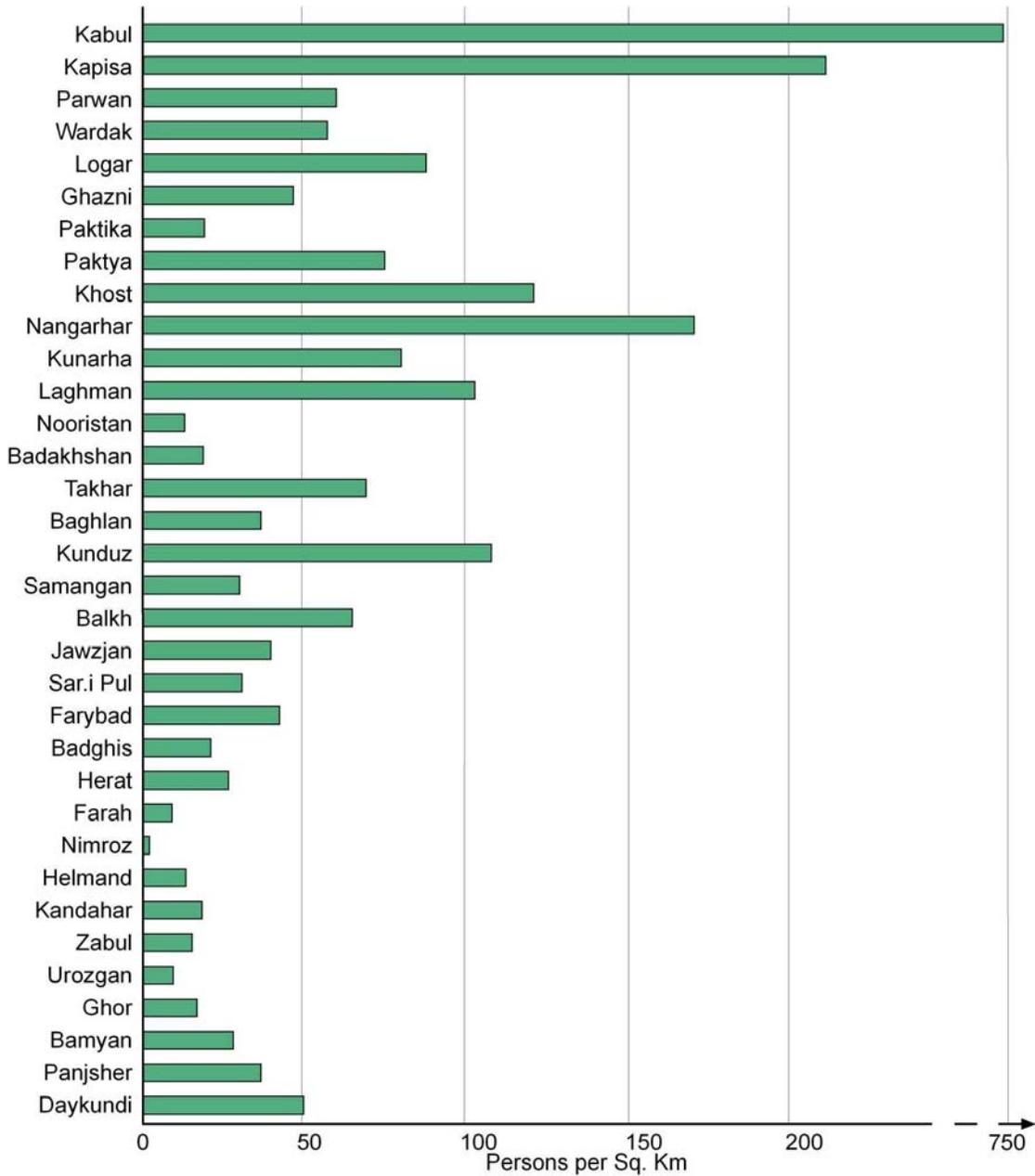
Figure 7: Density of population in different provinces

2.3.5 Diversities of Settlement Structures and Social Groups

Settlement structures in Afghanistan usually describe the division between different social groups. These structures can generally be divided into urban and rural structures. Before more details are presented, it is important to notice first that within the small proportion of land (less than one-sixth of the total territory) that provides an environment that maked human activities possible, the distribution of population differs highly in

terms of rural and urban population. The rural population is estimated at 17.9 million or 77.8 per cent and the urban population is 5.1 million or 22.2 per cent. These figures also include 1.5 million nomads who were settled during the three decades of war. However, this figure does not include nomads and migrants who are abroad (CSO 2008).[43] Earlier, the rural population was around 85 per cent (RAHMATI 1986: 88). However, this percentage has declined, particularly in rural areas, due to the repeated wars. The millions of people, who migrated to Pakistan and Iran during the Soviet invasion, were mainly from rural areas.

In the rural areas of Afghanistan there are two types of completely sedentary settlement patterns: a linear and a nuclear one. The linear settlement patterns includes villages along the rivers while the nuclear settlement patterns villages clustering about a town and several village-town clusters surrounding a city, is more common in Afghanistan (DUPREE 2005: 132). Kabul city surrounded by small village clusters, presents a good example of this.

The main activities of the rural population are farming and related activities. Yet this sector, which has contributed a high share of the GDP in the country, received little attention from the government authorities in different periods. The major challenges in rural areas are water scarcity and old traditional irrigation and farming systems. The problem of water scarcity is prominant in all rural areas. This problem has lead to an unending conflict among the rural population. Most of the time water is available but it is the lack of irrigation systems that cuts off the farmers from water resources. Furthermore, farmers still use largely old methods of farming, e.g., cows shovels, yokes to till the land and using animals, water and wind as a source of energy in farming (e.g., ploughing, harvesting, reaping, scything, winnowing, and milling) which affects the quality and quantity of agricultural products. The persistence of these challenges undermines the efficiency and productivity of the available arable land in the rural areas.

Beside the technical problems, there is another factor that badly affects the faming. This factor is more a social problem with regard to land ownership that exists traditionally. Each family possesses a small parcel of land which is the only source of income and making a living. As the number of family members grows, one day the small parental land is divided between sons who develop their own family. Later these sons develop

---

[43] According to CSO 'the number of nomads who settled is not known clearly but the settlement of nomads in Afghanistan in the last thirty years is recognized by national and international sources (CSO 2008).'

their own family and the land again will be divided between brothers. Thus this process continues while the cultivated lands constantly grows smaller in size. Usually this division is not peaceful, especially in the later stages when the grandsons inherit the land. The conflict that occurs between grandsons, mainly over the land, is referred to as cousin rivalry (*Audarzadagi* in Farsi and *Torborwali* in Pashtu) (figure 8). The piece of inherited land is not always a cultivated land but it can be a forest, a pasture or an orchard. The same process of division that happens concerning the land also happens with regard to the parental *Qala*[44] the family house. This usually creates an unfriendly environment in the neighbourhood.
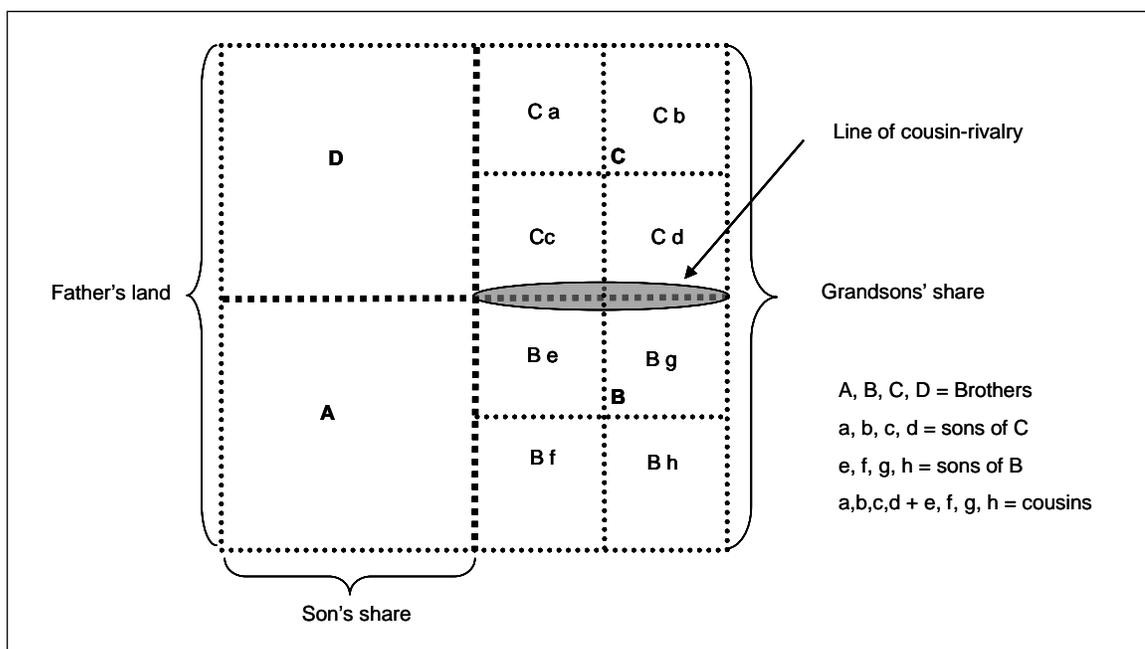
Figure 8: Land distribution as major cause of cousin rivalry
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

Another significant fact is that the rural areas have always been isolated from the urban areas. The control of governments in Afghanistan seldom reached the rural population. Traditionally there used to be Khans (feudal) who dominated the rural population including the religious elites. Each Khan owned large proportion of better land with water resources, livestock, mills, caravanserais and a big *Qala* where he and his family lived.

---

[44] *Qala* is referred to a traditional big house in rural areas which is usually surrounded by mud walls. These mud walls are made up of several *Muhra* (staple) and its size differs from place to place usually around 50-80cm. Thus in a *Qala* the walls are usually made of several Muhras (4 to 8). The more the rate of animosity (cousin rivalry) between rural people the higher would be the size of the walls to protect them. In the four corners of the *Qala* there are four *Burj* (watching towers) with small hole for shooting and defending the *Qala*.

In every province, district and villages there were many Khans as the dominant rulers. The monarchs in order to maintain their influence in the rural areas, had established networks with these Khans. Even the governors employed by the monarchs had to be a Khan, his relative or others who maintained the interests of the Khan. The Khan was the central authority in the rural areas for rural people to refer to. The Khan had the last word in important decisions, he gave loans to the people (usually with a high interest that the people could not afford to pay back), and he captured, and imprisoned anti-government political elements or criminals. The Khan also collected tax revenues (mainly from the land and livestock), while there was usually a difference in the official sum he collected and the sum he sent to Kabul.

The last three decades of war also changed the social hierarchy that existed in the rural areas. Today it is mainly the past memories of Khans that have remained in the rural areas the *Qalas* they owned are used as names for certain locations. During the three decades of war new groups emerged who play the same role as the Khans did in the past. These new groups are composed of Mujahidin commanders who play a dominant role in the rural areas. Just like the Khans they have occupied or bought large parts of the cultivated land, where they built their *Qalas*. They have armed groups (*Cheriks*) who work under their commands. What is significant today is that the government in Kabul and even the international community, have to deal with these commanders who have a dominant role in rural areas. The government has no influence beyond the capital and for the time being it seems to be the only alternative strategy to cope with these commanders known as 'warlords'. These warlords not only include the former Mujahidin commanders but also those of the Taliban that switched sides.

Therefore the continuous war in the country further enhanced the tensions between rural people. The Soviet invasion in particular widened the gap between the rural and urban population. The Mujahidin represented mostly the rural population where they enjoyed strong support. In contrast the governments mostly represented the urban population, though there were some exceptions on both sides.

As the population grows the area of cultivated land, water resources and pastures cannot provide enough food for the rural people. Due to this fact in particular thousands of people each year migrate to Iran, Pakistan, or the Arab States in the Persian Gulf. The rural people choose Iran and Pakistan because they are mostly illiterate and these countries speak languages that are common in Afghanistan, e.g., Farsi in Iran, and Pashtu

(Peshawar and Quetta). However, the situation of Afghan labour migrants in these countries has never been satisfactory for the workers because of the pressure from official authorities. Recently the situation has become severely bad. Especially in Iran these workers are usually kept from becoming being employed and they are captured and sent to prison or sent back to Afghanistan. In Pakistan the deterioration of the security situation has raised concern among Afghan migrant workers. However, when they return home, they do not find any job either.

The urban settlement presents different categories of the social groups. The urban population is one-fifth (5.1 million or 22.2 per cent) of the total population who are settled in major cities, including the capital. Within the major cities, which also include the capital, there are planned and unplanned settlements. The settlements with geometrical form and road systems represent the planned settlements in which housing was officially distributed to the people, especially to the staffs of the government in different periods. Different governments maintained their control in urban areas, especially the capital. The central authority, the ministries, main official buildings, embassies, and NGO offices, all traditionally existed in the capital. At the same time urban people play an important role in the political, economical, social, and cultural sector of the country. They play a dominant role in the institutions of the state and they provide the major share of staff for the education sector.

The public settlements range from very rich to extremely poor areas. The richest areas usually include the planned areas which are dominated by high-ranking government officials, commanders and merchants, while the poorest settlements include squatters and temporary shelters e.g., tents where the returnees, internally displaced people, and the extremely poor people live. What is significant in the last few years is that the gap between rich and poor can be obviously seen in the settlement areas. In the 1960s to the 1980s there used to be a middle class in the cities, but their number is declining constantly. There is little doubt, however, that the number of middle class people was at its highest during the period of communist regime. Prior to the communists there were *Mohammadzai* aristocrats or other high ranking government officialswho lived in the richest quarters like *Wazir Akbar Khan,* in Kabul city or in big villas which were clearly distinguishable from other houses, in other parts of urban areas. Today the former

aristocrats have been replaced mainly by commanders belonging to different Mujahidin parties. [45]

Meanwhile there has been a huge disparity in terms of distribution of public services between rural and urban areas. For a long time major public services like electricity, road systems, communication, electricity, drinking water networks, schools, universities, kindergartens, hospitals and health clinics, libraries and similar facilities like that were exclusively built in the capital and few other major cities. The main roads that was built linked these cities with the capital while the rural areas were deprived. The negative impact of this policy was not only noticeable for the rural people but also for the governments. It was due to this fact that government authorities never reached the rural areas. The communist governments noticed this problem and wanted to tackle it, however, because of their ideology, the rural people turned against them.

Since the fall of the Taliban, the international community and the elected government are taking this issue into consideration and have provided strategies to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas. These strategies are important particularly because for the first time in history, rural areas have attracted the attention of the authorities. In 2002, the US launched the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) as part of its Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The aim of the PRT was to help central government extend its control to the provinces and to strengthen local the governments' ability to deliver public services. There are many PRTs in different provinces which are led both by the US military and ISAF. The government has introduced a special programme, the National Solidarity Program (NSD), under the leadership of the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation which is embedded in the new governmental structure. Nevertheless, the demand is so high in rural areas that small scale programmes such as PRTs and the NSD can not accomplish the feats they are confronted with. This needs a broader strategy, precise survey and planning based on which requested projects should be implemented in rural areas. At the same time human and financial resources are required to carry out such projects. At present the international community and the Afghan authorities do not have a unified strategy to tackle the problem of rural areas in the country.

---

[45] Many of the former aristocrats who returned from exile sold their property to the high-ranking officials and Mujahidin commanders who could afford to buy such houses. Some also rented their houses to NGOs and international organizations. Thus very few owners of large houses live in there today.

3 Persistence and Sustainability of Traditional Organizations and Ruling Systems

Afghanistan's diversity has greatly influenced its ruling system. There are three main different sources of legal systems common in the country: the official system and the customary system which consists of the religious and the tribal system, though they often overlap. Furthermore, each of these three has also its own specific coding system as well as separate institutional body. The formal legal system is carried out through the institutions of the state. The religious legal system is carried out through *Shura* (originally religious council) or *Majlis* (gathering) which usually takes place in mosques. In the religious system of rule the religious elites (*Ulama, Rohaniyun[46], Mullahs,* often Mujahidin and Taliban commanders)[47] are the key actors in solving problems at a local level which is usually beyond the capability and reach of the state authorities. The tribal system is carried out mainly through a *Jirga.* This usually held either to remedy the absence of other sources of legal systems, as those mentioned in the above, or as the easiest, quickest and cheapest way of solving disputes. Unlike *Shura* where the religious elite have the leading positions, the *Jirga* is mainly dominated by the tribal elders (*Khan, Malik,* often Mujahidin and Taliban commanders if they are Pashtuns and if the *Shura* can not meet their demands).

3.1 Governmental Institutions (Constitution)

Prior to the independence of the country religious and customary laws were practiced by the population. This practice was challenged after the promulgation of the first constitution in 1924 when the government introduced more than 220 official laws for the legal system. These laws were known as *Nezamnamas* (regulations or orders), they covered cultural, social, religious parts of life as well as political, economical, administrative and managerial parts of the institutions of the state. By introducing these laws the government wanted to replace the two predominant and commonly practiced religious and customary systems of law by a new, official legal system. However, the government failed to implement these laws. There were many factors which contributed to this failure namely the inability of the state authorities to reach beyond the capital, lack of public support, ignorance of traditional values and public interests, and finally lack of public representation in the law making process. The tiny number of newly emerged intelligentsia settled in the urban areas might have supported these laws, but not the predominantly rural population who had remained isolated for centuries having little or

---

[46] *Ruhaniyun* means spiritual leaders.
[47] In theory the Taliban usually claim to represent religious groups. However, in practice their influence remains mainly within their own tribes and *Qawm* and hardly extends beyond their own social bonds.

no contact with their outside world. Moreover, the government centred in the capital had ignored the countryside where around ninety percent of the population had a traditional way of life. Therefore, the people regarded these laws as being contradictory to their religious (divine law of *Shariah*) and other customary laws.

Thus this top-down approach to building a legal system without involving the people and considering the requirements of the society failed. What is more significant is that the new legal system undermined the legitimacy of the ruler and the ruling system too. Therefore, the people led by religious and tribal elites in the rural areas turned against their own government. This confrontation between state authorities and the traditional population continued up to the fall of the communist regime.

In the meantime, the term 'constitution' failed to create legitimacy and credibility in the traditionally conservative society. It remained more a rudimentary document, the idea of which was to bring at least a minimum of legitimacy to the changing ruling elite and ruling system and to fill the gap of law (especially in terms of foreign relations). Therefore, as the regimes changed through the course of time so did the constitutions. These changing constitutions through the course of time weakened the idea of a constitution in general and undermined its sustainability as a document for organizing modern society. So far there have been seven constitutions. The latest was promulgated in 2004 (Table 11).

As illustrated in table 11 most of the constitutions were ratified in *Loya Jirga*. The first exception (ignoring the term *Majles-e Moazam* as the first case), in the case of 1980, is due to the fact that the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan introduced what they called 'fundamental principles' to be replaced by a constitution later. Therefore, these 'principles' were considered to be temporary and were later replaced with the constitution of 1987, ratified in *Loya Jirga.*

None of these constitutions survived the political changes that happened in different periods of time. According to SHAHRANI, in Afghanistan the constitutions were issued by certain individuals (rulers) to maintain their own interests, not for the population. They never considered the requirements and interests of society. Due to this factor such constitutions lasted as long as these individuals (elites) were in power. The end of their rule was the end of their constitutions, and then the new elite introduced a new one. From

Abdurrahman 1880-1901 to Karzai 2001- all introduced constitutions supporting their own interests (SHAHRANI 2009).

Year	Decision made	Approved by Majilis/ Jirga/ Shura	Place	No. Delegates in Loya Jirga	Reign / period of	No. of Chapters and Articles
1924	*Constitution* *Nezamnama-e-Asasi-e-Daulat-Alia-Afghanistan*	Majles-e Moazam* (Loy Jirga)	Jalalabad	872	Amanullah Khan	- / 73
1931	*Constitution* *Osul-e Asasi-e-Daulat-Alia-Afghanistan*	Loya Jirga	Kabul	528 **	Nadir Khan	- / 110
1964	*Constitution* *Qhanoon-e Asasi*	Loya Jirga	Kabul	452	Zahir Khan	10 / 128
1977	*Constitution* *Qhanoon-e Asasi-Jumhuri-e-Afghanistan*	Loya Jirga	Kabul		Daoud Khan	13 / 136
1980	Main Principles of DRA *Osul-e Asasi-e-Jumuri-e-Demokratik-e-Afghanistan*	Shura-e-Enqilabi ***	Kabul		Babrak Karmal	10 / 68
1987	Constitution of DRA *Qhanoon-e Asasi-Jumhuri-e-Afghanistan*	Loya Jirga	Kabul	1580	Najibullah	13 / 149
1990	Constitution of DRA *Qhanoon-e Asasi-Jumhuri-e-Afghanistan* (revised)	Loya Jirga	Kabul		Najibullah	13 / 149
1992	Election of President	*Shura-e-Ahl-e-al-Hal wa Aqd*	Kabul	1335	Rabbani	
1996	Election of Taliban Leader as '*Amir-ul-Moaminin*'	*Shura-e-Ahl-e-al-Hal wa Aqd*	Kandahar	1200 Mullahs	Rabbani	
2004	Constitution of IRA *Qhanoon-e-Asasi-Jumhuri-e-Islami-e-Afghanistan*	Loya Jirga	Kabul	502	Hamed Karzai	12 / 162

* Majles-e Moazam (grand assembly) is an Arabic word used in Farsi. The same term is mentioned in the Farsi version of *Nezamnama* while in its Pashtu version the term *Majles-e Loy Jirga* is used not *Loya Jirga*.

** GHUBAR mentions that 209 of the delegates were government officials and 18 others as participants without voting rights (GHUBAR 1999: 100)

 *** Revolutionary Council of DRA

Table 11: Ratification of constitutions by *Loya Jirga* 1923 – 2004

Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

The current constitution has also passed the same traditional process of being ratified by *Loya Jirga*. As illustrated in the table 11, the number of the delegates in 2004 seems smaller in comparison to the past *Loya Jirgas*. It should be added that in the earlier emergency *Loya Jirga*, when the delegates arrived for the first time they numbered more than 1500 people. There was intense rivalry in the nomination process since each political group wanted to gain the upper hand in the *Loya Jirga*, by nominating their own candidate. Therefore the number was higher than anticipated, which raised the concern of the AIA, UN, and EU, the organizers of the *Loya Jirga* (cf. 4.5.2). They thought that the high number of delegates on the one hand and the heterogeneous composition of the delegates on the other would make the debate and reaching an agreement difficult. However, the main idea behind this policy was to purify this *Loya Jirga* from anti-Karzai opposition groups. Thus the *Loya Jirga* commission, requested the delegates to elect their

best candidates. As a result the number shrank from more than 1500 to 502 people who then participated in the constitutional *Loya Jirga* later.

Moreover, the delegates came from rural and urban areas of the country (Mujahidin, Taliban, communists), as well as some delegates from abroad, e.g., Afghan migrants from Pakistan and Iran and those from exile in the West. This heterogeneous composition was further fractionized into religious, tribal and 'technocrats'[48] groups or along ethnic groups. Each fraction tried to impose articles in the constitution which would undermine or minimize the role of the opposition group. The successful completion of this *Loya Jirga* was thanked to the presence, monitoring and support of the international community (e.g., EU, UN, ISAF and pressure from the US), without which such a gathering of dispersed and fragmented political elements would have been impossible. In this process Zalmay Khalilzad, the US ambassador (American-Afghan and ethnically Pashtun), played a key role and strenghtened Karzai's position. Thus the *Loya Jirga* ratified a new constitution in which the fractional rivalry left its impacts and undermined creating a document that would safeguard more national interests and a democratic system in the country rather than upholding the fractional interests.

Another major problem within the constitution concerns the linguistic issues in the country. Although article 16 of the constitution not only declares both Farsi and Pashtu as official languages but also promotes other locally spoken languages to official status, this is only granted in those areas where they are spoken by the majority of population. It further allows the usage of these languages in public, in the media and in all types of publications. The most controversial part in this article is the last sentence which says "the existed academic and national administrative terminologies shall be preserved." The article does not give further detail regarding what these terminologies are. In other words this sentence creates more difficult questions for which there are no answers. This last sentence of the article caused major problems when the Minister of Culture, Information and Tourism fired and punished three of his journalists in early January 2008 who used in his report the Farsi words of *Danishgah* (university) and *Danishkadah* (faculty) instead of equivalent Pashtu words in his report. The Afghan Journalist Union condemned this action of the Ministry and called on Karzai and international organization to stop punishing the journalists (8AM 2008: 1). Later the Ministry changed the emblem of

---

[48] Following the Bonn Process the term technocrats were used quite often used by the media referring to the intellectual elites many of who lived in exile in the West. This is actually a new term replacing the former intelligentsia though in Farsi both terms are used (*Roshanfekran wa Teknokratan*).

National Gallery from Farsi to Pashtu, which further deepened the tension and caused public outrage. In November 2008, university students demonstrated in Kabul and later in Balkh and demanded equal linguistic rights (JAMEAH WEEKLY 2008a: 1-2). In Balkh the governor placed new signs at the entrance gate of the university in three languages (Farsi, Pashtu and English) and calmed down the tensions. In Kabul, nothing has happened, although following the demonstration the Minister of Higher Education promised the students that he will allow the usage of both languages (JAMEAH WEEKLY 2008b: 1-2).

In these linguistic questions the Pastuns are usually on one side and the non-Pashtun on the other. Pashtuns, by relying in the last sentence of the article 16 of the constitution, believe that only the Pashtu words are 'national terminologies'. However, the article does not support such a claim. The non-Pashtuns, on the other hand, claim that the last sentence was fabricated after the approval of the constitution and was added to that article during the editing process. This claim may be supported by the fact that the constitution was first ratified in Farsi and was later translated into Pashtu. Moreover the wording of the last sentence is not correct and this shows clearly that a Farsi speaker would never phrase it this way. This last sentence is enough to create more tension and to undermine the credibility of the constitution in the future, even among the tiny number of its supporters in urban areas, if it is not revised and clarified.

Nonetheless the constitution still remains more of an official document for the current government, just like the previous constitutions. It will support the legitimacy of the government in its relations with the international community. The challenge, however, regarding gaining the confidence and loyalty of the population across the country, remain. In particular transmitting this document and other official laws from the capital to the rural population will be one of the major long term challenges.

3.2   Religious Institutions (*Shariah*)

In comparison to tribal law, which created tensions in society, Islam has usually played a central role in integrating the diverse population. In particular the mosques used to be the central institutions where people regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background, meet. What is significant is that the legitimacy of the any ruler in Kabul and the ruling system in Kabul was based on *Shariah* law. The ruler was called as Amir (*commander*) a religious title, and he at least in theory, retained *Shariah* law as the official law. Earlier ruling elites were tribal but the governments have always functioned more through

religious systems and *Shariah* law. In addition to that the name of each ruler was mentioned in the sermon of the Friday prayer (*Khutbahh*), and the coin was minted in the name of the ruler. This process of legitimacy continued to exist up to the fall of monarchy in 1973. Amanullah was the first ruler who wanted to reform this process, but he failed. According to the constitution he introduced he remained loyal to Islam, and his name was mentioned in *Khutabs*. However, after his modernization reform everything changed.

This religion based source of legitimacy had strong public support. Whenever people turned against their rulers the first thing they did was to remove the name of the ruler from the *Khutbahh* which meant the end of his rule. In the same way the name of any ruler that came to power was declared to the public through *Khutbahh* in Friday prayer. Especially during political crisis and foreign invasions, religion gained great importance and united the diverse people against foreigners. In 1839, when the British invaded Afghanistan and enthroned Shah Shuja, the people turned against him and mullahs removed his name from the *Khutbahhs*. During the British invasion in the 1879 when there was no leader, people in Charikar, north of Kabul minted the coin without a name on them and hoped to find a leader by saying:

> *Mekonam dewanagi ta bar saram ghawgha shawad*
> *Seka bar zar mezanam ta Sahebash paida Shawad.*
> I will act insanely until people notice me
> I mint coin until he (the next king) is discovered (GHUBAR 1967: 631, translated in EMADI 2005: 65).

Later rulers noticed the importance of mosques as religious institutions and tried to influence them and the religious elite majority who dominated the mosques. Hereafter the rulers, beside the title of Amir mentioned before their names, were given a religious title such as *Seraj-ul Millat-e wad-Deen*, (the light of the nation and the religion), *Khadem-e Deene- Rassullallah* (the Servant of the religion of the Prophet), *Al-Mutawakal-e Alallah* (the one who trusted in God). Religious elites were employed in the institutions especially in the judiciary sector, and their presence endorsed the legitimacy of the ruler and the dominance of the *Shariah* law in the system. In consequence the absence or ignorance of these elites undermined the legitimacy of the ruler and the ruling system.

The establishment of *Shura* (council), a traditionally religious institution for the consultation of scholars (*Ulama*), has been another step taken toward strengthening the legitimacy of the political system on the basis of religious means. For example, *Shura-e Dawlat* (State's Council) in the constitution of 1924, *Majles-e Shura* (Consultative Council) or later *Shura-e Milli* (National Assembly), *Majles-e Moazam* (Grand

Assembly) (cf. table 11), *Shura-e Wuzara* (Council of Ministers) have been part of such attempts in which succeeding governments wanted to integrate religious institutions into the political system.[49] Unlike GLATZER, who believes that *Shura* came to use as a "new political term" after Soviet invasion (GLATZER 2001: 176), *Shura* is a common religious institution from the early days of Islam. There is one *Sura* (chapter) in Koran with the name '*Shura*' which emphasizes on the importance of consultation and gathering on key decisions (Koran 42:38). Following the independence of the country different governments used the term *Shura* for political gatherings in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the tenets of Islam. Today the National Assembly is referred to as the *Shura-e Milli* and according to the constitution it is the highest legislative organ [which] shall manifest the will of its people as well as represent the entire nation.[50] Another example is the establishment of *Shura*s at provincial and district levels. At the same time two-thirds of the members of the House of Elders are elected from these provincial and district *Shuras*. In addition to that they have a consulting role between the government or the international community (UN, NATO, ISAF, EU, NGOs) on one side and the local population on the other, especially in the reconstruction programs.

The changing ruling systems in Afghanistan had also influenced the traditional role of Islam in some periods. This happened in particular when the monarchy was overthrown and was replaced by a republic in 1973. Hereafter, the traditional legitimacy of *Khutbahh* and the minting of coin in the name of the rulers became part of history. Meanwhile it was in this period that a new elite, who was influenced by the ideology of communism, took over power Thus, the ruling elite and the system failed to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the population. Moreover, Islam has entered a new era and gained a new role in politics. The growth and spread of ideologies (coming from different countries, e.g., Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, and Egypt), has tremendously influenced its role. Although Afghanistan is predominantly a Muslim country, these different imported ideologies have nevertheless provided multiple interpretations of Islam. Usually there are many political players who use Islam as a tool to achieve their political ambitions. These groups can be divided religiously into Sunni and *Shii* groups and politically into Mujahidin (cf. Chapter 2.2) and Taliban groups. All of them are influenced by different ideologies based on which they interpret Islam. Their ethno-linguistic and social structure highlights some of the main factors which shape these ideologies and interpretations of Islam. When the

---

[49] For *Shura-Dawlat* cf. NEZAMNAMA 1923: articles 39-49, for *Shura-e Mili* cf. OSULNAMA 1952: articles 7, 27-36, 38-41, 44, and for *Shura* see the constitution of 1964, articles 41-42.
[50] Chapter 5, article 81, translated version by Sayed Shafi Rahel.

Taliban emerged many Pashtun Mujahidin groups (most of them commanders) and parties (e.g., those led by Khales, Mohammadi and many Hekmatyar's commander) joined them. They surrendered the southern part of the country peacefully to the Taliban while their names and parties melted into this new movement. Thus, hereafter, the Mujahidin or more accurately, the new Mujahidin groups represented mostly non-Pashtun ethnic groups who were further divided into Sunni and *Shii* Mujahidin parties.[51] From here on the name Taliban signified Pashtuns and Mujahidin was used to refer to all the non-Pashuns. More significant is that they both represented rural populations and their core power bases remained in the rural areas from where they originated.

Usually there is a correlation between the different interpretations of Islam and the social structure of the population. According to the Mujahidins' interpretation of Islam education upto the highest level is allowed for boys and girls, the mass media especially TV, radio, internet, and music are permitted and women are allowed to go to work. In contrast the Taliban interpretation of Islam does not allow any of these possibilities and whoever crosses the drawn red line will be severely punished. Nevertheless, in terms of their stronghold, both ideologies are to be found in rural areas and have little or no influence in the urban areas. While the Taliban ideology is overwhelmingly rejected by the urban population, the Mujahidin have also failed to create loyalty among the urban population. Especially the civil war the Mujahidin carried out in the early 1990s directly affected the urban population and created a negative image of Mujahidin groups in their minds.

Regardless of their interpretations of Islam, both Mujahidin and the Taliban used rejected the *Loya Jirga* as an institution. Instead they established multiple *Shuras* to organize their political affairs. This is particularly significant in the case of the Taliban who are mainly Pashtun. Contradicting popular opinion in the literature that the Jirga is a Pashtun tradition, the Taliban established *Shuras* (e.g. *Shura-e-Ulama, Shura-e Kandahar, Shura-e Kabul* and recently *Shura-e Quetta*). Among these Shuras, which both the Mujahidin and the Taliban established and used as a high institution to make important decision (e.g., election of a president or a leader), was the one with name of *Shura-e Ahl-e Al-Hal wa Aqd* (lit. those who loose and binds). In both case this *Shura* was held to elect the leader (e.g.s Rabbani as the president of the Mujahidin government and Mullah Omar as the religious commander of the Taliban religious leader). (cf. table 11) In fact the term

---

[51] The new Mujahidin groups consisted mainly of non-Pashtun parties who resisted the advance of the Taliban in their plan of taking over all the country.

Shura-e Ahl-e Al-Hal wa Aqd is used in Saudi Arabia and has influenced both political elements in Afghanistan.

Nowadays the Mujahidin leaders, in order to influence in the urban areas and on intellectual elites, invest in training institutions, especially higher education institutions. In 2005, Ayatullah Mohseni, the leader of a *Shii* party (*Harakat*), established a religious university in Kabul called *Hawza-e Elmiya-e Khatam-un-Nabieen.*[52] This university looks like a little Qom[53] within Kabul, it was built in close range to residential quarter of the *Shii* residents in the western part of the capital, and not far from Kabul University. It is important to notice that such a religious center (*Hawza-e Elmiya*) is rather a new idea in Afghanistan. In general, there are two main *Shii Hawza-e Emiyas;* one in Qom, Iran (*Hawza-e Elmiya-e Qom*) and the other is the old one in Najaf, Iraq (*Hawza-e Elmiya-e Najaf*).

Recently, a controversial *Shii* law, that is believed to contain articles according to which women cannot leave the house without their husbands' permission, and which supposedly states that they can only seek work, education or visit the doctor with their husbands' permission, as well as stating that they cannot refuse their husband sex, was passed by the parliament and signed by the president. This issue caused a lot of international concern. Human rights organizations, the UN, EU, and other international organizations expressed their concern and warned Karzai about signing it. The government, who had not not anticipated this, suddenly agreed to revise the law as a result of pressure from international community. In opposition to the government decision, the students of this university demonstrated against the government and demanded the law to remain unchanged. Oppositional demonstrators, who were also in front of the university, wanted the law to be changed. This issue in particular shows the growing political role of this religious university in maintaining religion's influence in the society. Meanwhile Mohseni has also established a TV channel called '*Tamadun*' (civilization) which propagates his ideas and is more or less similar to Iranian TV channels.

On the other side, more recently, Sayaf another Mujahidin leader (Sunni and from *Etehad* party), has received permission from the governmtn to establish his own university in Kabul. This is the second time he establishes a university. The first time it was during Mujahidin government in 1990s, when he established a university exclusively for women

---

[52] Literally means 'scientific centre of The Last Prophet,' it represents a grouping of *Shii* seminaries.
[53] A city (mainly a religious centre) in Iran located not very far from the capital.

called '*Ummahatul Moamenin'* in Kabul. Later it was dissolved and its students were integrated to the Institute of Pedagogy which became University of Education in the same location in Kabul. It is important to note that Sayaf is influenced by the Saudis while Mohseni is influenced by Iran. Thus the possibility of ideological confrontation (*Wahabi* and *Shii*) seems very likely in the future. Beside these two religious institutions initiated by Mujahidin leaders, in late 2007 Saudi Arabia signed an agreement with the Ministry of Urban Planning to build an 'Islamic Center' in Kabul. The plan and the design of the complex has already been made; the Ministry provided the land "in a wonderful place in Kabul" and finally the Saudis are financing the project (ENKESHAF-E-SHAHR 2007: 12).

Another important issue is the role of Islam in the constitution which is mentioned in the three initial articles. The first article defines Afghanistan as an Islamic Republic and the second Article further emphasises this role by mentioning "the sacred religion of Islam is the religion of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan." More important, however, is the third article which explicitly says that "no law shall contravene the tenets and provisions of the holy religion of Islam in Afghanistan."[54] This last article indirectly highlights the role and importance of *Shariah* law in the country. It can also be simply interpreted in a way that it allows the practice of other customary laws that are not "against the tenet of Islam". Furthermore, the legal system has always been (even during the communist regimes) based on in *Shariah* law (e.g., matrimonial law, inheritance law).

However, the question of who interprets and which institution is in charge of such interpretation may arise. Article 116 in chapter 7 mentions the judiciary as an "independent organ of the IRA which is composed of Supreme Court (as the highest judicial organ), Courts of Appeal, and Primary Courts." Thus, according to this article the judiciary branch is the institution officially authorized to interpret all laws in the country.

The professional personnel of the judiciary institutions are mainly trained at Kabul University. However, there is a problem to provide qualified lecturers as there are two faculties dealing with law. The Faulty of Theology is in charge of providing judges and experts in theology who staff most of the courts. These judges are more professional because they study mainly *Shariah* law (law and jurisprudence or *Fiqh* and *Qanoon*) which is important in judiciary institutions. At the same time the Faculty of Law and

---

[54] Cf. Constitution of 2004 chapter 1, article 1-3.

Political Science also train staff and experts in laws which is more about international and secular laws, including the official laws of the country. Furthermore, the Faculty of Theology traditionally had academic affiliations with Egypt (mainly Al-Azhar University) while the Faculty of Law and Political Science had academic affiliations with European countries (mainly France) (DITTMANN 2004:66-67). These academic relationships also affected the education system with two different ideologies a secular and a religious one. Many of the founding Mujahidin leaders were the former teaching staff of the Faculty of Theology (e.g., Rabbani, Sayaf, Niazi, and Tawana). At the same time many of secular political figures were former students in the Faculty of Law and Political Science (e.g. Karmal, Keshtmand).

With the development of higher education many other universities have been established in Afghanistan. However they have the same system like in Kabul and they have a faculty of theology and a faculty of law and political science. Moreover, recently among the returnees there have been professionals who studied in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries as well as in the Western countries. These returnees are employed in the judiciary branch and also in the training institutions. This situation is further influenced by a more recent development in these two faculties (now existing at all universities): the US involvement in the faculties of theology and Italy's involvment in the faculties of law and political science. So far many of the training staff of these faculties has been on short term visits to the USA and Italy. There is little doubt that both the returnees and the new contacts with Western countries will further influence the legal system.

Thus like the multiple sources of law common in the country there are at least two different types of training staff which have run through different systems of education. Although some of the graduated students in the field of law and political science are employed as prosecutors and advocates, or as officials in other ministries (Foreign Affairs), the courts remain outside of their influence. Particularly the Supreme Court is dominated by members who have studied in the Faculty of Theology. Article 118 of the constitution also mentions that "members of the Supreme Court shall have higher education in legal studies or Islamic jurisprudence as well as expertise and adequate experience in the judicial system of Afghanistan." This Article also places more emphasis on Islamic education and supports the case of those with an educational background in theology. Especially gathering experience in Afghanistan's legal system is impossible without knowledge of customary laws.

Thus even in the official law there is a strong dualism of religious and secular influences. The different training institutions with varied education system and sources of knowledge add more challenges the existing problems. Therefore while the long term challenge will be to extend the influence and practice of these systems from the center to the periphery of the country, the more visible challenge in the short term is how to integrate the two different systems.

Beside the fact that the *Shariah* law has influence on the official legal system, it also plays an important role in customary law, especially among the non-Pashtuns. The impact of this can usually be seen in the daily life of the population, especially in the rural areas where there is no official body. In such cases the mullah and elder people try to solve problems through Shura and *Shariah* law, in the mosque or in the village. Thus the solution of disputes of an economic of financial nature is usually based on *Shariah* law as well as on customary laws, while issues like inheritance and matrimonial law are exclusively based on *Shariah* law. The latter is also carried out by the Pashtun tribes.

3.3 Tribal Institutions (Tribalism)

In Afghanistan all ethnic groups, except Tajiks, have tribal social structures. Among them Pashtuns constitute the largest tribally organized group (cf. Chapter 2.3.). Through the course of history these tribes were cut off from outside influence in their secure mountain bastion centered on the *Suleiman* range and the *Safed Koh* mountains (POULLADA 1973: 28). This isolation helped many of them to preserve their customs and traditions, a fact which is true even in the present. It is important to notice is that life in a tribal environment gives the individual a sense of identity which is based on belonging to a well-defined social group, having a territorial base and a set of customary rule of conduct (KAMALI 1985: 3-4). One of the main characteristics of the tribal system among the Pashtun tribes is *Pashtunwali* or the Pashtun's code of conduct. In *Pashtunwali* the role of the *Jirga* (tribal council) as an institution in which tribal elders gather, discuss and settle important intertribal issues is very important. Unlike the *Shura* which often takes place in the mosques, the *Jirga* has no specific place. It is usually held in open air, under the shadow of a tree, in a public building, or in *Qalas* owned by Khans, *Maliks* (tribal chiefs) and commanders.

The tribal system has also influenced the political structure of Afghanistan since the ruling elites – the Pashtuns – used to be only one out of the many tribes in the country. It played an important role in the nationalistic ideologies of the ruling elite. More

important, however, is the fact that different governments used the tribal system to legitimize their rule so that they would be able to extend their control from the center to the periphery of their territoy. One of the main instruments for achieving these goals was the *Jirga* which has taken place many times since the independence of the country. In order to legitimize (and also Pashtunize) *Jirga* as a national institution for gatherings, the word '*Loya*' (big, great in Pashtu) was added to it. The term *Jirga* is a Mongol word, it is also used in Farsi, and its practice was also common among Hazaras.

Much has been mentioned in the literature about *Loya Jirga,* however many of the publication discuss the issues that are discussed in the *Loya Jirga* rather than defining it. Thus two questions still remain in this regard: first what is *Loya Jirga* and second why the decisions on constitutions were made in a *Loya Jirga.* One of the main sources that comprehensively define the *Loya Jirga* is the constitutions which are its products. According to some of these constitutions *Loya Jirga* is defined as "the highest manifestation of the will of the people of Afghanistan." The constitution of 1976 mentioned this definition for the first time; it was adopted into and added to the later constitutions as well, including the current one.[55] Thus despite the fact that all previous constitutions (*Nezamnama* 1923 and *Osulnama* 1931) were ratified in a *Loya Jirg,* none of them mentioned the *Loya Jirga* as an institution. Instead *Nezamnama,* in its Farsi version mentioned that this constitution was ratified by the *Ulama* in a *Majles-e-Moazam* (grand assembly) and in brackets put *Loy Jirga* as its translated equivalent in Pashtu.[56] The same example exists in the current constitution, too, where the Farsi version mentions the *Shura* and the same word is translated into *Jirga* in the Pashtu version (article 138 chapter 8). In the constitution of 1964 one chapter specified the concept of the *Loya Jirga*, however, it mentioned more about its authorities and composition rather than giving any definition. The *Loya Jirga* was an initiative of Tarzi and Amanullah who created it as an institutional body within the framework of state, especially as part of their modernization programme. This stands in contrast to the popular belief represented in literature which claims that the *Loya Jirga* dates back to 1747 or earlier.[57]

---

[55] Cf. Article sixty-five in chapter 6 of 1975 and article 110 in chapter 6 of the new constitution ratified in 2004.

[56] The religious status of the *Majles-e-Moazam* is further supported by the terms *Ulama, Sadat, Mashayekh* (all terms referring to different classes of religious elites) and representatives of the country (cf. NEZAMNAMA 1923b: article 4 and NEZAMNAMA 1923c: article 4), Farsi and Pashtu versions.

[57] NOELLE-KARIMI is among the few who carefully looked through this history, and she rejects the earlier existence of a *Loya Jirga* prior to twentieth century. She mentions the date of the first *Loya Jirga* as 1916 NOELLE-KARIMI (2002:42-43) which she adopts from ADAMEC (1974:36). TARZI is one of the main sources who mentioned the whole session in detail in his Seraj-ul-Akhbar, however, he did not mention the term *Loya Jirga* here. Instead he mentioned a "Durbar was held" TARZI (1916: 1-3). Cf. HANIFI (2004: 301).

One of the main problems of the *Loya Jirga* has been its lack of representativeness. As illustrated in table 11, the number of delegates varies. The government directly or indirectly selects its members in order to endorse whatever policy made. Due to this fact the *Loya Jirga* is mentioned as an instrument for the legitimization of royal policies which intend to introduce new institutions *or* functions into the political system. Its members are dominated by Pashtun chiefs, although other groups, religious leaders, and even influential urban personalities have been prominent (NEWELL 1972: 76). In the *Loya Jirga* of 1964, 209 out of 528 delegates were government officials who were loyal to the system, while 18 others were visitors (GHUBAR 1999: 100). There were a small number of intellectual elites independent from the government. The rest were influnced by tribal and religious elites. The same process of nomination was followed later by successor regimes. Especially during the communist regime the number is the highest of all other cases. In that particular case 893 out of 1580 delegates were government staff, including 168 members of Revolutionary Council (*Shura-e Enqelabi*) and the Council of Ministers (*Shura-e Waziran*), 32 members of the National Party of Fatherland (*Jabha-e Mili-e Padarwatan*), 223 members of the Reconciliation Commission (*Komision-e Musaleha-e Milli*) and other committees (e.g., farmers, workers, youth) that were conform to the policy of the regime.[58]

Taking this fact into consideration the Emergency and the Constitutional *Loya Jirga* in the post-Taliban state-building process has not been an exception, although the process of selecting the delegates was different this time. The AIA had no control beyond the capital to select the members and there were many other players outside Kabul which included the Mujahidin parties, commanders and the Taliban or their loyal elements. Thus lack of representation and manipulation of the process of selection unquestionably has undermined the viability of the *Loya Jirga* as an institution for making important decisions.

In addition to the *Jirga* as a tribal institution, the idea of creating and supporting Arbaki (tribal militia) another element from the tribal system is nowadays seen as attractive. This idea has been given a large amount of attention, especially following the failure of international community and the government to bring security and establish the rule of law in the country. According to this idea the government provides weapon and money for the tribes to recruit fighters and form Arbaki in the tribal areas of Afghanistan, which

---

[58] Cf. for the detailed list of the members (AFGHANISTAN YEARBOOK 1987: 340-410).

constitutes the most insecure part of the country. This policy takes place is set in a time in which there has been a successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), program the framework of the post-Taliban peace process. The program has been carried out and funded by Japanese authorities to demobilize and disarm the armed groups in the country. Furthermore, the program is similar to what the Sovieta did in the 1980s to pave the way for their withdrawal from Afghanistan. In order to fill the gap the Soviet troops left behind, and to sustain its rule in the country, the communist regime created militia who worked alongside the military and police forces and fought the opposing Mujahidin groups (cf. Chapter 4).

In conclusion, it can be said that the official legal system has always failed to reach out to remote areas in the country especially in the tribal areas (southeast and southern) due to a very weak presence of state authorities and officials. Furthermore, the multiple sources for laws brought forth many political actors who were usually autonomous from the capital, which undermined the legitimacy and capability of the state and its institutions. Thus the changing government in Kabul considered the existence of customary laws and the political actors on behalf of these laws (religious and tribal elites) as major problems and challenges to their own rule. In order to cope with these challenges each government, in different periods, carried out different methods and strategies, yet none of them were successful. Usually the inability of the central government to reach the periphery has been considered as the main reason for the continuation of customary laws. However, in addition to that there have been other important factors which even created confrontation between the tribes and state authorities. Some of these factors have been the lack of credibility and legitimacy of the official law, the lack of understanding the role of customary laws and their importance by the officials in policy making, ineffective administration and management of the official legal system, or the complete lack of official legal institutions in the rural areas.

Most important, however, among all factors is the high level of corruption in the institutions which undermined their credibility and efficiency (cf. Chapter 5.2.). Corruption has made the official legal system unattractive in the eyes of the rural population in general and in tribes in particular. Furthermore the top-down and bottom-up bureaucracy adds to the complexity and difficulty of the official legal system because it takes more time and costs more money. Altogether these factors contribute to the persistence of the traditional institutions in Afghanistan and help both tribal and religious elites in preserving and being proud of traditional systems.

4   War and Civil War as Major Determinants of State-Building in Afghanistan

Today there are many political groups in Afghanistan that consist of pro-monarchy elements, intellectual elites, Mujahidin parties and Taliban (cf. Chapter 5.2). These groups are not the product of the last few years but are the bi-products of the last four decades of war and political instability in Afghanistan which started with the competitions between the East and West, both trying to maintain their influence during the Cold War. One impact of this competition was the first ever increase in the number of intelligentsia in the country. They were trained in the Eastern and Western countries, inspired by different ideologies and from time to time were able to take influence on different institutions. Thus their return challenged the dominance of the traditional tribal and religious elites in the institutions as well as in society. Another significant thing is that the intellectual elites mostly came from urban areas, the population of which constituted less than 20 percent of the overall population. Therefore, the governments in Kabul (1973-1992), dominated by a small number of intellectual elites, could not expand their rule to the rural areas. In the rural areas (with over 80 percent of population) the tribal and religious elites remained dominant; they often mobilized the rural population against any illegitimate or unpopular central government based in Kabul.

In order to overcome this challenge Kabul based regimes needed financial resources and human resources to sustain themselves and penetrate into the countryside. On the other side outside help affected the ruling system through the spread of foreign ideology (communism) and finally undermined the legitimacy of the state. This situation is especially seen in 1978, when the legitimacy of the state declined to its lowest level and the government lost its credibility even in the urban areas. Thus the only chance for the government to survive was to search for out-side help (financial and human resources), in this case from Soviet Union.

At the same time opposition groups (tribal and religious elites) also fought for their survival and sustainment of their own systems and influence in society. The strong military violence used by the central governments endangered their survival. Thus they also searched for help from outside world, in this case from the Western and pro-Western Islamic countries. This outside help for the opposition groups also inffected them with foreign ideologies (e.g., religion based ideologies like *wahabism, deobandi,* and those that belonged to the *Shii*).

4.1   The Fall of the Monarchy and the Proclamation of the Republic by Daoud

On July 17, 1973, when King Mohammad Zahir was in Italy, Daoud his cousin and the former Prime Minister, carried out a military coup and proclaimed a republic. In an interview with the media Daoud mentioned corruption and the ineffectiveness of the institutions as the main reasons which motivated him to carry out the coup: "whenever a nation verges on disaster and corruption in governmental institutions reach its highest, and hope for reform is totally lost, then it befalls every patriot to come to rescue the country (DANISHYAR 1974: 14)." This was the first coup in the recent history of Afghanistan.[59] At the same time it paved the way for illegitimate methods of changing the political regime in Afghanistan in the next two decades. More important was that with this coup Daoud ended the era of family-based and tribe-based rule (Musahiban and Mohammdzai) in Afghanistan and started his reliance on institutions (mainly military) of the state and its elites. The intellectual elite became dominant significantly after the military coup in 1973 which led to the fall of the monarchy.

There were many political organizations behind the anti-monarchy coup (SARIN and DVORETSKY 1993: 35). The direct involvement of the USSR in this coup is still a debated. FARHANG mentions the involvement of 120 Russian tank drivers (FARHANG 1996: 795). However, Russian resources deny any direct involvement, and say that Daoud played the main role and we had an indirect role since those young Afghan military officers had been trained in the USSR (TANIN 2006: 172). Daoud's close colleagues also deny any Soviet initiatives in carrying out this coup and say that it was an Afghan venture in pursuit of purely Afghan aims (GHAUS 1988: 107).

Nevertheless Daoud and his loyal PDPA[60] officers noticed that the Monarchy had very limited or no public support while its continuation of rule was based on the strength of the army and police. Therefore they carried out their best effort to influence in these two institutions more and more. In particular this situation highly politicized the army and this institution became an instrument for gaining the political power in the country. In his message to the people Daoud focused about the role of army:

> True patriots, wherever they were, watched with deep sorrow and anguish this horrible state of

---

[59] Another coup is mentioned in 1956, carried out and headed by the Finance Minister Abdul Malik Abdurrahimzai that failed (HAROON 1997: 27)
[60] Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan

their nation. But they were constantly aware of the situation specially the Afghan armed forces who felt this agony more than anyone else, exercising extreme patience hoping that today or tomorrow the vile and rotten system in Afghanistan would become aware of the misery of the nation and endeavor to reform itself. But the result proved that these hopes are impertinent, and the regime and system became so corrupt that no hope or expectation for its reform existed. Consequently all patriots, especially in the patriotic armed forces of Afghanistan decided to put an end to this rotten system and deliver the nation from their plight (DANISHYAR 1974: 3).

On the same day that the coup happened, Daoud and other key leading figures of the coup, mostly leftists, had formed a committee known as the *Komeeta-e Markazi* (Central Committee) to carry out the everyday tasks of the government (GHAUS 1988: 106-107). The key leading figures of the coup were introduced to the public as the members of the Central Committee through the official media, and their group photo was published (MUHTAT 2005: 368- 369). After its first session, the Central Committee appointed Daoud as the President and Prime Minister of the republic (KESHTMAND 2003: 249). The establishment of the Central Committee, inspired by the communist USSR and China, was a new and strange institution in the political framework of Afghanistan. It remained a highly political institution (politburo) within the framework of the state structure till the fall of the communist regime in 1992.

Although the new regime was proclaimed to be a republic it was just a change in name, not in the policy of the government. Daoud, besides being the President and the Prime Minister at the same time, occupied other posts such as foreign minister and defense minister (SHARQ 1991: 116). During the monarchy there were some symbolic figures holding these posts hiding the fact that the full authority and power concentrated in the hands of the King. But in the republic, it was now Daoud who held four extremely important key posts. The people considered the regime to be the continuation of the same monarchy headed by another member of the Royal Family. This political change was regarded as a power rivalry common in the history of Afghanistan since Ahmad Shah Durrani. Furthermore, Daoud was more like a king than a president because Daoud was the head of all affairs and leading councils; therefore he was known as Daoud Shah (MOLTMANN 1993: 17-18). At the same time there were 3000 Soviet advisors who were working in the ministries (HYMAN 1982: 105).

There are some who believe that the majority of the population in the country welcomed the resumption of power by Daoud. Different classes of Afghan society cheered to and celebrated the new regime all over the country, while the right extremists groups and pro-king elements were disappointed (GHAUS 1988: 107, KESHTMAND 2003: 244). There

is no doubt that the people in the urban areas, especially the capital, welcomed the situation as a political change after more than forty years of monarchy. Many of the supporters were either involved in the government bureaucratic system or they were educated and wanted to get broader opportunities of employment. The initial support of the people also attracted the attention of Zahir Shah, the ousted King, in Italy and caused him to send his resignation to Daoud as new President of the republic. In his message Zahir Shah showed respect to what he realized as the will of the people of Afghanistan who welcomed the regime of the republic with absolute majority (DANISHYAR 1974: 53).

In the rural areas, which held more than 80 percent of the population of the country, Daoud's return to power raised huge concern. This was especially the case for the dominant tribal and religious elites who were suppressed severely during his premiership. Even in the urban areas some of the intellectuals were strongly opposed to Daoud's government, in particular those with religious backgrounds and from institutions of higher education. The opposition grew especially when it became clear that the religious and traditional elites were not adequately represented in the new regime cabinet. Out of thirteen ministers seven were either PDPA members or they were loyal to this party (TANIN: 2006: 174-175). Thus the communist PDPA members controlled key positions in the army and in the civil administration. This upper hand position helped them to further expand and strengthen their influence and presence in these institutions. As a result of their role in overthrowing the monarchy and supporting Daoud to gain the power, they openly referred to themselves as "king makers". For Daoud who had seized the power with the help of the communist PDPA members, it was difficult to take any action against them (GHAUS 1988: 187). The PDPA Parcham fraction officially declared its policy of supporting the new regime and recommended to its members to defend this regime against any internal conspiracies or conspiracies of imperialism (KESHTMAND 2003: 251).

The Central Committee of the regime of republic issued many decrees as part of its reform program. According to these decrees the constitution of 1964 was abolished. At the same the parliament was dissolved and the authorities of the king were transferred to the President of the Republic (SHARQ 1991: 118). The legislative power was transferred to the Central Committee (FARHANG: 1996: 808). The reforms mostly focused on economic development, social reforms and social justice (OLESEN 1996: 220) and on extending the governments power to the rural area. The regime of the republic declared a

land reform, and two new laws were approved for this purpose: the Land Reform Law and the Developing Tax Law. The latter increased tax on those people who owned more land than the limit of 20 hectars of irrigated land or 100 hectars of rain land. This forced many to sell their lands since they were unable to pay the high amount of tax that was required (FARHANG 1996: 808-809). Furthermore, Daoud nationalized banks and insurance companies. This decision caused many merchants to invest their money abroad.

Few months after its establishment the new regime arrested pro-king figures like Maiwandwal, the former premier minister, many military leaders and members of the former parliament who were all accused of committing a coup against the regime. The Islamic movements, whose key leaders and figures were among the teaching staff and students of higher education institutions, carried out another rebellion that failed. However, the political figures behind the coup succeeded in escaping to Pakistan where they were warmly welcomed. The government of Pakistan found a 'golden opportunity' to fight Daoud's government who was regarded as the old enemy (TANIN 2006: 177-180) and as the creator of the Pashtunistan issue.

Afghanistan's internal conflict was as a result of a wider regional competition between the USSR and the West. In the late nineteenth century, the Great Game was replaced by the Cold War. Afghanistan's position between the USSR and the Western allies Pakistan and Iran made its political balance very unstable. Especially the reliance of Daoud's government on the USSR and other Eastern Block states undermined Afghanistan's previous nonalignment policy. The West and its allies were concerned about the growing influence of the USSR in the region. Particularly the fall of the monarchy in Afghanistan worried oil-rich Iran, which was still a monarchy. Their main concern was that such a situation could happen in Iran. Therefore Iran, under Reza Shah, and Pakistan, the Persian Golf states and the West put Daoud's government under pressure to join the West. Islamic movements who had fled from the government's oppression to Pakistan benefited most from this Western pressure. They were supported covertly, both financially and militarily, to fight against Daoud's regime. As a result the Islamic movements challenged the sustainability of the government.

In general Daoud became the victim of his own internal and external policy. The opposition started from the beginning of his rule in 1973 and increased upto 1975. In particular the Islamic movements supported by Pakistan carried out several military attempts to topple the Daoud's government. Although the coup of 1973-1974 the

rebellions of 1975 in the Badakhshan, Panjshir, and Laghman provinces failed, but these unrests brought the government under pressure and made it unstable. It was as a result of this pressure that Daoud negotiated with Pakistan and gave up his claim on Pashtunistan. The Pashtun leaders of Pakistan also supported the result of these negotiations (TANIN 2006: 185-188). This solution of the Pashtunistan problem was the first step that brought Daoud's government closer to the West and its allies. The next step by the West and its allies in the region was to reduce Afghanistan's dependencies on the USSR To do so Iran declared its huge economic support for Afghanistan in many developing projects. In 1975 Daoud visited Tehran and Reza Shah agreed to extend a credit of USD2 billion to Afghanistan, USD1.7 for the construction of a railway from the Iranian border to Herat, Kanadahar and Kabul, and the rest USD300 million for development projects in Afghanistan (GHAUS 1988: 149). However, this was not the only aid promise, Daoud also received promises of aid from many oil-rich Arab countries during his tour of the Persian Golf states.

Once Daoud was sure about finding support from alternative resources rather than of the USSR, he started to consolidate his grip on power by distancing himself from the communist elites. He started replacing many of them with the moderate or non-partisan officials from the previous liberal cabinet, political retainers who were close to him (NEWELL 1982: 47). Furthermore, he openly criticized the influence of foreign ideologies in the country for the first time and said that the Afghan nation would not tolerate any "imported ideologies" (GHAUS 1988: 190). Daoud who took power through coup was concerned about the legitimacy of his rule. He abolished the "undemocratic constitution of 1964" and promised to introduce a new one which was to adhere to the principles of "real democracy". With this attempt he wanted to legitimize and sustain "his authoritarian rule" (OLESEN 1996: 224), and the *Loya Jirga* provided him with an instrument for achieving such a goal.

In 1976, the president ordered a commission that consisted of his close friends and loyal elements to draft a new constitution. The members of the *Loya Jirga* who later ratified the new constitution were elected. This election was symbolic, as the process was openly voting system watched by the police and government officials. The elected 219 members came to the capital. In January 1977, the draft of the new constitution was published in the newspapers. At the same time the President selected 130 members as the representatives of farmers, workers intellectuals and women (FARHANG 1996: 829-830). The *Loya Jirga* held from 31 January to 13 February ratified the new constitution in

136 articles and also elected Daoud as President. This was the fourth constitution in the modern history of Afghanistan (cf. table 11).

In the new constitution Daoud was the first guaranteed the absolute power over all institutions. Although one part of it (one dealt with personal security and rights, which had been copied from the constitution of 1964) theoretically accepted the principles of democracy, the establishment of authorized judiciary and legislative institutions was, in practice, prevented. This was due to Daoud's attempts to gain the total political power through a strong presidency and a weak legislature. Furthermore, the new constitution gave Islam a restricted passive role (NEWELL 1982: 47) and instead the key concepts of socialism were added to the values of Islam (OLESEN 1996: 220). This was due to the of influence of leftist movements in the state institutions. In particular with the republic the traditional legitimation of the ruler based in mentioning the name of the ruler in *Khutbahh* and minting his name in coin, ended. Thus the constitution of 1964 was the last to mention, this in its article 17, that the "coin is minted in the name of the King", and that "the name of the King is mentioned in *Khutbahhs*."

According to article of 78, most of the power was concentrated on the president and he had more power than the king had in the constitution of 1964 (RAHIMI 1967: 131- 132, 136, 138, FARHANG 1996: 830). Article 40 declared a one-party system in the country, the party being the *Hezb-e Inqelab-e Mili* (National Revolution Party), which was supported to prevaile as the only party untill the political education of the people of Afghanistan attained its maturity. Article 2 described the aim of the constitution as the exercise of power by the majority of the people, who consists of farmers, workers, and enlightened people and the youth.[61] According to article 65 *Loya Jirga* was the supreme manifestation of power and will of the people; and article 48 defined the National Assembly *(Shura-e Milli* or *Milli Jirga)* as an institution where the will of the people is manifested, it is designed to represents the whole of the nation. Nevertheless, legislative and judiciary institutions had limited power. The government was not obliged to receive votes from the *Shura-e Milli,* which could also not vote against it. Only the president was authorized to employ or dismiss the ministers. At the same time all members of judiciary institutions were employed by the president and remained accountable to him.

---

[61] Such social stratification was mostly used by the PDPA and other communist parties to describe the social classes among the population. This is an indication of their influence in the institutions. However, the one party system challenged their influence and domination in the process of writing the constitution.

The one-party-system alarmed the PDPA members because they had no possibility of continuing as a political party according to the new system. Therefore they started opposing the Daoud's government on every issue. Daoud, noticing the fact, purified his government from the communist elements. Communist ministers were either deposed or were sent as ambassadors. By late 1977, there was no known communist minister in the cabinet (GHAUS 1988: 191). This situation turned even his loyal Parchami members to enemies of the regime since there was no place left for them in the government. However, in consolidating his power Daoud lost both time and political capital.

The USSR, who was the first to recognize the regime of the republic (DANISHYAR 1974: 8), was very much concerned about the political development and particularly the direction Afghanistan was heading. In April 1977, when the USSR invited Daoud to make his second official trip to Moscow, this was a surprise for him, since he had already planned to discuss the U.S.S.R's involvement in the activities of communists in Afghanistan. According to an insider account Leonid Brezhnev complained about the activities of experts from NATO countries working in Afghanistan who were stationed in the northern part of the country. He asked Daoud, as the head of the state, "to expel these imperialist spies" (GHAUS 1988: 179). Daoud rejected the Russian demand as an intervention into Afghanistan's internal affairs and left the meeting.

This historical meeting did not only solve any of the problems with the USSR, on the contrary, it further intensified the existed tensions between both governments. Especially when the communist elites were expelled from the government, Afghanistan started friendly relations and cooperations with the West and its allies like Pakistan, Iran or the Persian Gulf states. To counterattack Daoud's U-turn policy, the USSR used its utmost influence to reunite the fragmented communist Parcham and Khalq fractions of the PDPA so that they would be able to topple Daoud's government and replace it in Afghanistan.

In 1976, the two rival fractions united with the active support and mediation of the USSR. The unification of the two fractions was based on fifty-fifty power sharing with an extra privilege for the Khalq to head the Central Committee (TANIN 2006: 204). Since the two fractions constituted the main cadre of the institutions, their unification turned them into a powerful anti-government opposition. This situation worried Daoud while his brother Mohammad Aziz predicted the collapse of the regime (GHAUS 1988: 194). In order to give a preemptive response to the growing threat Daoud further intensified his

pressure on the communist elements. He tried to keep the army under his control by removing some of the key high-ranking figures who he considered to be his enemies. While Daoud was not fully aware of the true number, the PDPA members claim that there were around 400 communist officers in the army mainly in Kabul garrisons. Beside the communist PDPA members there were more than 300 hundred Soviet military advisors in the army (KESHTMAND 2003: 317, 348). According to one account the famous Russian secret organizations KGB (Committee for State Security) and GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet Armed Forces) were behind the political rivalry between the PDPA fractions. The KGB was mostly involved with the activities of non-military elements of the party while the GRU was behind the activities of the military elements (TANIN 2006: 206-208). This very complicated network infiltrated the military and civil institutions of the state and government.

Daoud's determination to gain the total power cost him the support of almost all political groups. The intellectuals, religious and tribal elites were all against Daoud. As the number of intellectual elites increased with the expansion of education system, especially the higher education raised the demand for employment and job distribution in the country. But the state failed to provide them with this huge number of acceptable career paths or survival strategies. They joined the political parties like the PDPA and other small leftist parties who promised them a better situation: social equality, justice, education, and providing the basic needs like food, clothing and shelter (*Nan, Lebas wa Khana*). The latter constituted one of the most known slogans of communist parties. Many of the leading figures of this group were influenced by communist ideology during their training in the USSR

The religious elites who fled from Daoud's suppressions set up Islamic organizations in Peshawar. Although traditionally the religious elites consisted of groups led by mullahs and *Pirs*[62], at this stage for the first time the intellectual elite not only joined the religious elite but also led and developed Islamic political movements and organizations. However, some *mullahs* and *Pirs* also existed among the leading figures of the Islamic movements. This group, who also had the support of some tribal elites, was formed to prevent the expansion of communist ideology in Afghanistan. In other words they were both against the government and the communists.

---

[62] Spiritual leaders usually are the so called *Sayid* and are believed, among some communities, to be the descendents of the Prophet.

The political tension continued with a series of assassinations in the capital. Parcham leaders seemed to be the first target of these planned assassinations. In 1978, a pilot was falsely killed because he bore resemblance like to Karmal (GHAUS 1988: 194). However, Mir Akbar Khyber, one of the key Parcham leaders, did not survive and his assassination further pushed the tension to a very high level. Later it became clear that Hafizullah Amin, one of the Khalqi key Khalqi figures, was behind these assassinations: he was clearing out potential rivals in anticipation of a seizing the power (GHAUS 1988: 194-195). But initially the murderer's identity remained unclear among the communist who were shocked. They charged the government with the assassination since its interior ministry had an anticommunist reputation that was influenced by SAVAK[63]. The event intensified the tension between the government and the PDPA members and set in motion the events that led to the coup. The PDPA members carried out a massive demonstration in Kabul against both Daoud and the CIA (RUBIN 2002: 105). The government responded to it by arresting all the leaders of the PDPA with the exception of Hafizullah Amin, who was under house arrest and could launch communication with the PDPA members in the military. While the PDPA members in the military were keenly looking for receiving an order to commit a coup against the Daoud's government, Taraki, the leader of the Khalq fraction, ordered them to carry out the coup on the day when he is arrested (HAROON 1997: 146).

4.2   Soviet Invasion: The PDPA Takes over Power

The associates of the united fractions of the PDPA (Khalq and Parcham), forces that were in the military garrisons of Kabul, launched a coup on the evening of the 26 and the morning hours of the 27 April, 1978, while their leaders were unaware. Since the date of the coup was chosen according to the Afghan lunar month of *Saur* (Taurus), it became known as the Saur Revolution. This happened, exactly the way they had been ordered, one day after the PDPA leaders were arrested. Russian-made Mig21 bombarded the presidential palace. It is often disputed who flew these jets. According to one account Russian pilots flew these jets since the Afghans pilots were in training on these new jets and none of them had carried out any flights (FARHANG 1996: 864). At the same time it is believed that the pilots were Afghan (HAROON 1997: 151) and had already absolved some flights hours with the Russian trainers. Nevertheless, the PDPA officers killed Daoud together with 18 members of his family and freed their leaders from prison.

---

[63] SAVAK = Iranian secret service during Reza Shah reign.

After the coup a military council known as *Shura-e Nezami,* consisting of officers who commanded the coup, controlled the power for a few days. Later the military council handed over the power to the *Shura-e Inqilabi* (Revolutionary Council), consisting of 35 leading PDPA members from the Central Committee. According to the communist regimes the Revolutionary Council was "the highest Organization of the State Authority and the true manifestation of the people of Afghanistan" (MINISTRY OF JUSTICE 1980: 2-3)." When the Revolutionary Council took over the power of executive, judiciary and legislative institutions, it abolished the constitution of 1977 and issued its decrees.

The two rival PDPA fractions had different opinions on what to call their regime. The Khalq fraction wanted to call it Peoples Democratic Republic of Afghanistan while the Parcham preferred Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA). Finally, the two fractions approved the latter (PANJSHIRI 1999: 102). However, when they wanted to establish their government once again the struggle over the distribution of power occurred among them. According to the decisions made in the Revolutionary Council of the Central Committee, Taraki was named as the Head of the Revolutionary Council, the President and Prime Minister of the DRA, and Karmal was made his deputy in all three positions. Amin became Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Abdul Qader, a colonel, and Noor Ahmad Noor, both members of the Parcham fraction who carried out the coup, became Defense Minister and Interior Minister respectively (table 12).

Despite the pre-coup agreement of fifty-fifty power distribution between the two fractions, the Khalq became the dominant power in the first cabinet. It took many key positions in the PDPA government, while the Parcham was unhappy about its political status. Although the Parcham had the ministries of defense and of interior, they were not satisfied with power sharing. Their main concern was about the subordinate position of their leader Babrak Karmal who became deputy in three posts and was not appointed as prime minister. At the same time, the political system in the PDPA government was highly centralized where the Khalq was positioned at the core of the power. Under pressure, the Parcham initially accepted the results but continuous rivalry between the two fractions led to the further expulsion of the Parcham in 1979 when Karmal and five of its key leaders were sent abroad as ambassadors. The process continued and the cabinet was further purified of the Parcham while the Khalq ministers filled the cabinet (table 13). Later the Khalq government branded their rival Parcham leaders as traitors to the Saur Revolution and ordered their return for trial (NEWELL 1982: 74). While Karmal and his other colleagues refused to return, the remaining Parcham members were arrested

and tortured (HAROON 1997: 170). Despite the Khalq dominating the core institutions of the state, there were still a considerable number of lower-ranking Parchams both in the army and in civil institutions. This group, without a high-ranking key leader, remained in opposition and showed little apparent reactions. They were keenly waiting for the orders from their leaders.

Position	Assigned Member	Fraction
Head of the Revolutionery Council	Noor Mohammad Taraki	Khalq
President		
Prime Minister		
Deputy Head of the Revolutionery Council	Babrak Karmal	Parcham
Vice President		
Deputy Prime Minister I		
Deputy Prime Minister II	Hafizullah Amin	Khalq
Foreign Affairs		
Deputy Prime Minister III	Aslam Watanjar	Khalq
Ministry of Communications		
Ministry of Defence	Abdul Qader	Parcham
Ministry of Interior	Noor Ahmad Noor	Parchm
Ministry of Finance	Abdul Karim Misaq	Khalq
Ministry of Information and Culture	Mohammad Hasan Bareq Shafi	Parcham
Ministry of Justice	Abdul Hakim Sharaee Jawzjani	Khalq
Ministry of Education	Ghulam Dastgir Panjshiri	Khalq
Ministry of Higher Education	Alam Gul Soma	Khalq
Ministry of Public Health	Shah Wali	Khalq
Ministry of Planning	Sultan Ali Keshtmand	Parchami
Ministry of Mines and Industries	Mohammad Esmael Danish	Khalq
Ministry of Border and Tribal Affairs	Nezamuddin Tahzib	Parcham
Ministry of Agriculture	Saleh Mohammad Ziray	Khalq
Ministry of Transport	Mohammad Rafi	Parcham
Ministry of Water and Electricity	Mohammad Mansour Hashemi	Khalq
Ministry of Commerce	Abdul Qudoos Ghoubandi	Khalq
Ministry of Social Affairs and Tourism	Anahita Ratebzad	Parcham
Department of Radio and Televesion	Suliman Layeq	Parcham

Table 12: Cabinet members in the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan PDPA in 1978

Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009) modified after FARHANG (1993: 870-880), and TANIN (2006: 232-233)

Period	Position	Khalq	Parcham	Non-PDPA	Total
May 1978	All	9	13	0	22
	Core[a]	3	4	0	7
July 1978-Dec. 1979	All	1b	23	0	24
	Core	0	10	0	10
Jan. 1980 -Nov. 1985	All	29	7	3	39
	Core	7	2	0	9
Dec. 1986-Dec. 1989	All	25	9	30 c	64
	Core	4	4	2	10
a. Core includes the president, prime minister, and the minister of defense, internal affairs and foreign affairs, and state security (director general of KhAD before January 1986). b. Mohammad Hasan Bareq-Shafi c. Includes SZA and SAZA					

Table 13: The political composition of the PDPA government May 1978 – December 1989
Source: RUBIN (2002: 114)

Taraki claimed that the PDPA had enough human resources to rule the country and that there was no need for any other elements (FARHANG 1996: 873). When it seized power, the Khalq claimed the total number of its members to be 50,000. However, other sources estimate their numbers to be around 6,000 to 15,000 (FARHANG 1996: 862, HYMAN 1982: 83, NEWELL 1982: 73). Therefore the Khalq dominated government further continued its policy of purging the remaining apolitical professionals in the administration, many of whom had been trained in the USA and Europe, from senior posts replacing them with its own members.

At the same time around 8,000 people were imprisoned, being accused of affiliation with opponent parties (WIEBE 1984: 181). Many of these prisoners were killed especially the high-ranking officials. Among them were known figures like Musa Sahfaiq the former Prime Minister 1972-1973 who was killed (ADAMEC 1991: 213). By September 1979, the number of political prisoners increased to its highest level: only in *Pul-e Charkhi,* the central Prison in Kabul, it was at least 12,000 (HYMAN 1989: 109). The aim of this oppression was to get rid of any challenging opposition and provide a secure base for the implementation of the reform and ideology. Thus the government continued mass arrests, imprisonment and killing in the country. A large number of those who had no affiliations with either of the two fractions also lost their jobs and positions. This situation affected the state institutions both qualitatively and quantitatively when large number of experienced officials (WIEBE 1984: 181) under pressure and terror left their jobs.

4.2.1   Implementing Fundamental Marxist Reform in a Traditional Society

In Afghanistan, governments used to maintain their focus and attention in the urban areas while the rural communities used to live according to the dominant cultural and traditional values. In rural areas, *Khans* and *Maliks* (feudal land owners) were the decision makers while the farmers constituted the labor force. With the PDPA government in 1978, for the first time in history the rural area of Afghanistan not only came under the consideration of the government but also a lot of revolutionary changes were to be enforced. The Khalq government tried to expand its control to the traditional rural areas. To do so the regime used its knowledge about the social injustice that existed for generations between the feudal landowners and the farmers. Poor landless farmers, estimated at 630,000 (HYMAN 1982: 91), despite working hard, earned only very little, hardly enough to survive. The farmers were really among the most deprived social classes in the rural society, because the governments used to concentrate their attention on the capital and major cities. The Khalqis were mostly people from the rural areas with rural backgrounds who had received an education and finally turned to the political elites. Their leader Taraki came from a *Kuchi* (nomad) family, Ghalzai tribe. Due to his love of the communist way of life, he even changed the name of his village to *Soor Klay* (Red Village) (ATTAYEE 1999: 415). The Khalq government used Marxist and Leninist ideology as a base for the solution of all problems in particular the so called the *Islahat-e Ardi* (Land Reforms). They ignored the fact that such imported ideologies will never work, especially when they intervene with the religious beliefs and traditional values of the traditional society.

The Revolutionary Council of PDPA, according to its communist ideology, considered the social structure and traditional system as unjust. Therefore, in order to change this situation, the Revolutionary Council projected certain radical plans to transform the society. As part of these plans the Revolutionary Council issued eight decrees which founded the basis of the new regime. These decrees declared the leaderships of the regime, abolished the constitution of 1977, and included certain reforms to be implemented in the society by the Khalq-led government (table 14).

The Khalqis thought the reforms would lead to the consolidation of the government's power in the rural areas where more than 80 per cent of the population lived. However, the declaration of decrees was a warning for the population: especially the implementation of the reforms including the land reforms raised public criticism. The redistribution of the land to the people could likely benefit some but it destroyed the

existent traditional old network of the society. In other words while in the old system the farmer could survive with little profit, in the new system the farmer could gain a piece of land when he was desperately looking for a loan, and the government ignored this basic part of the reform since there was no bank or other necessary institution to help the farmers. Moreover, this radical policy created a winner and a loser situation in the society where a Khan could lose his land to many farmers who used to work for him on the same land. This in fact created animosity between *Khans* and *Maliks* on one side and the farmers on the other.

Decree Number	Date	Main Subject
1	29.04.1978	declared Taraki as the Head of the Revolutionary Council,
2	30.04.1978	declared Karmal position as the deputy of Trarki, and also the new PDPA cabinet
3	14.05.1978	abolition of 1977 constitution and establishing new civil and military courts
4	12.06.1978	issued the new red flag with Khalq special symbol,
5	12.06.1978	abolished the citizenship right of the 23 members of the former monarch
6	06.07.1978	abolished all the loans the land owners had on farmers
7	17.10.1978	called the dominated social system as unjust patriarchy and feudal system, and declared certain social reform e.g. equal right of man and women, abolished bride-price and arranged marriage, and fixed the age of marriage (18 for man and 16 for woman),
8	28.11.1978	Land reform

Table 14: Decrees number 1-8 issued by the PDPA's Revolutionary Council in 1978[64]
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

Therefore, the policy of the PDPA government raised criticism especially among the religious and tribal elites. The Mullahs, the dominant religious elites in the rural areas, declared that the received pieces of land were illegal land. They told the people to give up farming on such lands (FARHANG 1996: 882). At the same time the Mujahidin movements based in Pakistan intensified their military activities against the Khalqi regime. Unlike the resistance against Daoud's regime that had received little significant support from the people, this time the Mujahidin resistance was supported both in rural and urban areas. Although in July 1979 the forceful land reform ended with 600,000-hectars of land distributed to 248,000 farmers, the opposition arose against the reform. Many were arrested, among them were even those who had just received land, documents from the government (FARHANG 1996: 882 from ARNOLD).

Meanwhile, the opposition was not just to the land reform but also to all the decrees that wanted to intervene in the traditional society and change it entirely according to the

---

[64] Cf. the details of the decrees 1-8 in (MINISTRY OF JUSTICE 1978)

Soviet's socialist model. Decree no. 7, considered the traditional family system as an obstacle to consolidation of sincere family ties between husband and wife. It abolished bride-price, arranged marriages, and decalere the minimum age for marriage 18 years for men and 16 years for women. These decrees were in other words similar to the failed modernization reforms carried out by Amanullah in the 1920s. The significant point is that both Amanullah and PDPA members were inspired by foreign ideologies and modernization programs. They wanted to implement reforms that were in contradiction to the traditions and customs of the people and in a top-down manner, ignoring the role of the people.

In general the decrees aimed to change the social and traditional life of the people and replace it with a communist way of life. The population opposed the PDPA government and soon serious unrest spread in the country, challenging the government's control. The religious groups oppressed by the regime also took part and accompanied the people in some of the provinces. Since the Anglo-Afghan wars this was the strongest uprising of the people against the government and this worried the regime. It is believed that the "main reason the revolt spread so widely was that the army disintegrated in a series of insurrections from unrecorded defections of small posts to mutinies in nearly all major garrisons" (RUBIN 2002: 120). However, the policy of brutal oppression of the population was the main reason that turned the society against the regime. The army disintegrated in some parts because its members noticed that they were ordered to kill their own people (systematically) by a tiny number of the intellectual elite influenced by the ideology of communism.

The PDPA government was trying to prevent the total disintegration of the army. Taraki turned to the USSR and asked for an immediate assistance through sending their troops into Afghanistan. The recorded conversation between Taraki and Aleksey Kosygin, the Soviet's Prime Minister, shows how the Khalqi leader was desperately asking the USSR to send their troops to Afghanistan and save the PDPA government. Even when the Russian rejected the suggestion of sending troops (being aware of the international consequences of the situation), Taraki repeated his suggestions and recommended the Russian to send troops from Soviet Socialist Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. He added that the same ethnic groups live also in Afghanistan and if they were to put on Afghan traditional uniforms they would not be recognized. In order to assure Kosygin, Taraki claimed that Pakistan had made the same policy and sent many

Pakistanis to Afghanistan; why could not the U.S.S.R do the same?[65]

The Khalq regime responded to the uprisings around the country with an iron hand, killing thousands of people. Major anti-government uprisings took place in Herat, Kabul, Samangan, Kunar, and Laghman, Panjshir, Logar, Jawzjan and Ghor provinces and districts. The number of people killed varied in these regions. The bloodiest uprising were in Heart, where 25,000 people were killed by the regime, followed by Kabul with 10,000, Samangan 1,500 and Nooristan 1,170 respectively (map 15).[66] It is significant to see that the southern region was relatively stable. This is because the Khaqis were predominately from the South. In these battles the government used strong artillery and heavy air bombardment. Even fighting jets from Russian territories were participated (FARHANG 1996: 992 and AZIMI 1999: 190).
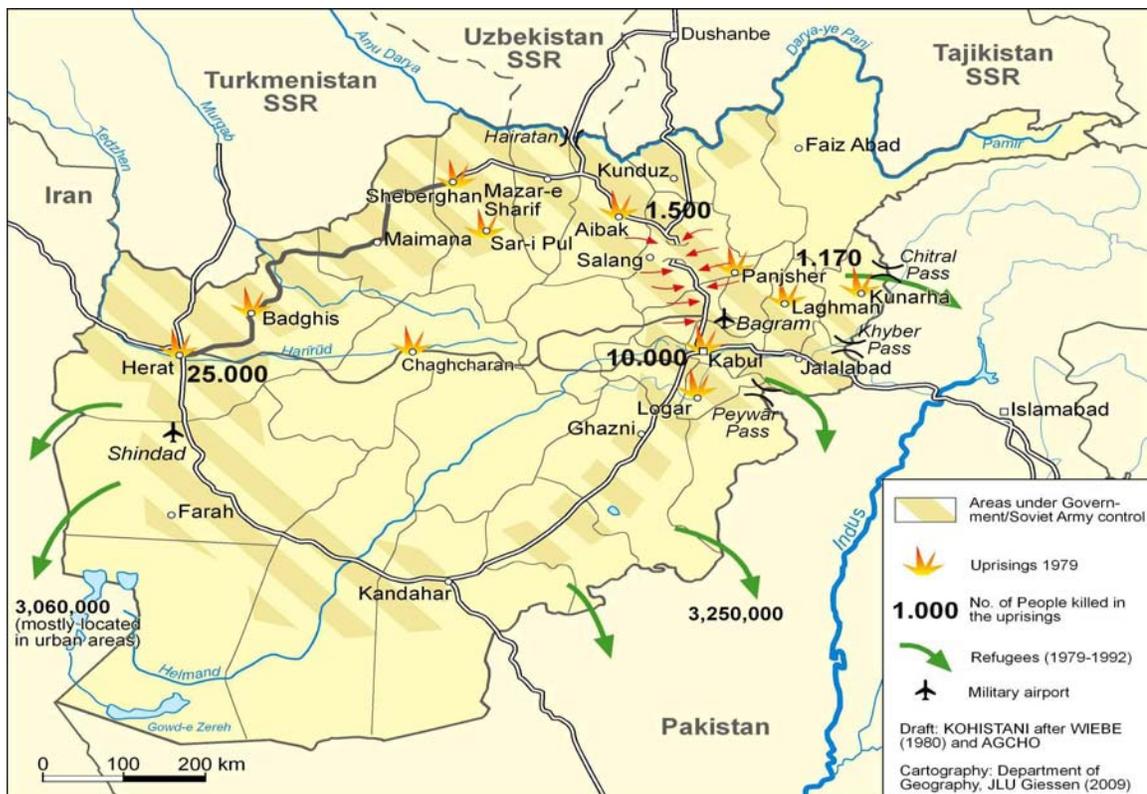
Map 15: Anti-government uprising in 1978 and Soviet invasion 1979-1989

---

[65] The conversation is mentioned in many publications, including KAKAR 1997: 321-326.
[66] There are different figures about the number of people killed. They range from 5,000 ARNEY 19 90 to 25,000 AZIMI 1999: 190 (cf. Map 1).

Nevertheless, despite continuous efforts the government could not eliminate all opposition groups. There were many pro-Chinese leftists parties who were independent from Moscow and opposed the PDPA government. The most famous one was *Shula-e Jawid,* which was split into many subgroups (figure 9). One of its largest and most influential bodies was the SAMA (*Sazman-i Azadibakhsh-i Mardom-i Afghanistan*, or Afghan People's Liberation Organization) founded by Abdul Majid Kalakani in 1978.
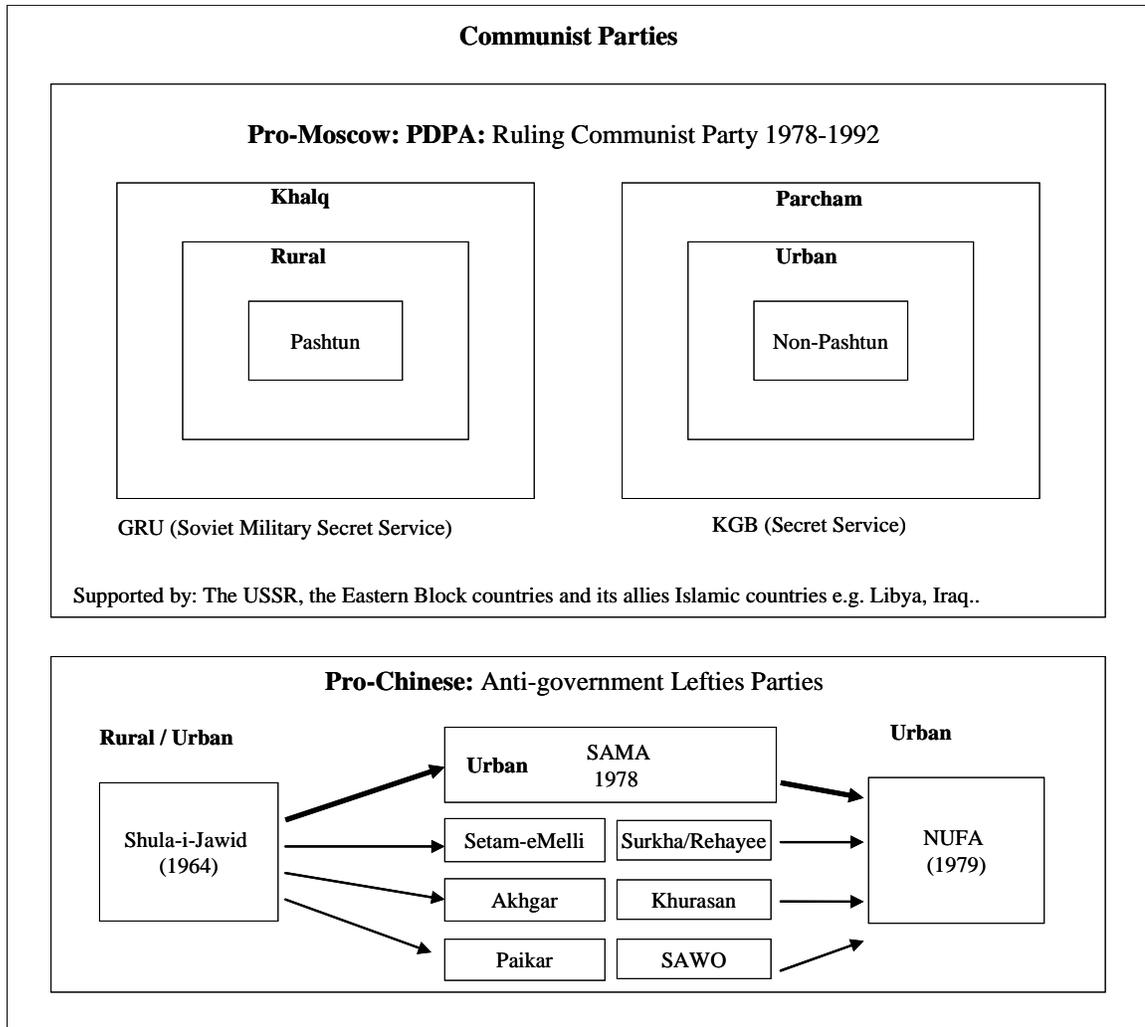
Figure 9: Communist parties and their external supporters
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

These parties played an important role in destabilizing the regime. For example on 14th February 1979, an armed group of the SAMA kidnapped the US ambassador and demanded the release of one of their key members. During the rescue efforts by the

police the US ambassador was killed in the shootouts, while some Soviet advisors were also present on the scene (FARHANG 1996: 887-888). In response to the oppositions, the PDPA government suppressed pro-Chinese groups. In 1980 the regime arrested Kalakani and executed him (KAKAR 1997: 109). In the same year the American embassy in Tehran was besieged, and the one in Islamabad was attacked, which shows the extent of violence in the region during the Cold War.

The conflict between state authorities, political groups and the public enforced anarchy throughout the country, particularly when the political situation within the dominant Khalqi dominated government became increasingly fragmentary and unstable. Although Taraki was the President but he gave Hafizullah Amin most of the power calling him "loyal student". This situation gradually reduced Taraki to a symbolic position while Amin further increased his power. Therefore the Khalq government, dominated by Hafizullah Amin's role, became determined to carry out a revolutionary transformation of the Afghan society by decree and terror (RUBIN 2002: 111). As a result, the Khalq fraction split into two groups: Aminists (groups loyal to Amin) and the Tarakists (groups loyal to Taraki) groups (ATTAYI 2005: xx). The division within the Khalq fraction and the increasing importaqnce of Amin in the government, as well as rising violence throughout the country (including the killing of the US ambassador), demanded of the government to bring to the situation under control, whatever the price. On this occasion a possible Soviet military intervention as a solution to the problem was discussed both in Kabul and in Moscow.

In September 1979, Taraki visited Moscow the Soviet's capital. The Soviets discussed the reunification of Khalq - Parcham coalition and removing of Amin with Taraki. On the same visit Taraki held a speech in front of six to seven hundred members of the party gathered from different cities, and called Amin a "Cancer of the Party" which needed an immediate operation. Amin's loyal officer Sayed Daoud Tarun, who was among the listeners, soon informed Amin about the plan prepared against him (TANIN 2006: 266-268). The weekend of 16 September, just few days after the return of Taraki from Moscow, saw the climax of the infighting between the two murderous rivals. Taraki's attempt against Amin not only failed but also provided Amin with a total victory. Amin's upper hand in the power position helped him to besiege Taraki in the presidential Palace. Later on October 8/9 he was killed, as had been ordered by Amin (HYMAN 1982: 154, FARHANG 1996: 931).

Amin's fear of possible reactions by groups loyal to Taraki drew his attention to the army where he purged all of those who were considered as opponent elements (AZIMI 1999: 206). In order to demonstrate to the public positive changes in the administration the AGSA (*da Afghanistan Gato Satalo Edara* or administration for preserving the interests of Afghanistan), the secret service that imprisoned and killed thousands of people, was renamed to KAM (*Kargari Estekhbarati Moassesa* or workers secret organization)[67]. Nevertheless, it was a change in name while its activities were still horrifying to the people.

Amin (ruled from October 1979 to December 1979) declared a new policy of maintaining security, rule of law and justice while blaming Taraki for all the past events (FARHANG 1996: 937) including the killing of tens of thousands of people. As a proof of the past crimes he published a list of 12,000 prisoners who died from April 1978 to July 1979 only in *Pul-e Charkhi* (HYMAN 1982: 156-158). The people knew that Amin himself had held the power and Taraki had only played a symbolic role. Therefore, upon the publication of list, his government was faced with a strong public reaction. For the first time guerrilla war entered the capital. Since the government was incapable of pacifying the unrest, the Soviets installed small groups of its military forces in strategic areas like the Salang Pass, Bagram Airport, and also increased the number of its military advisors in the army (FARHANG 1996: 937-939).

The Soviets believed that with a military intervention they would accomplish their objectives to unseat Amin, install a Khalq-Parcham coalition and frighten or deter the rebels so that Karmal would be able to rebuild the army and reestablish control over the country (COLLIN 1987: 77). Therefore, on December 27, 1979, a few hundred Soviet troops stormed Darulaman Palace and killed Amin. Soon the number of Soviet troops that invaded Afghanistan increased to 85,000 men while there were 3,000 soldiers from the adjacent border in the north (BRADSHER 1983: 206).

Simultanously with the military invasion, the Soviets military installed a new coalition group of Khalq and Parcham as government. It consisted of eight key figures like Babrak Karmal, Anahita Ratebzad, Genral Gul Aqa, Abdul Wakil and Noor Ahmad Noor from the Parcham fraction and Asadullah Sarwari, Aslam Watanjar, Sayid Mohammad Gulabzoy from the Khalq fraction, Babrak Karmal lead the coalition (TANIN 2006: 282-

---

[67] These two words, AGSA and KAM, are Pashtu acronyms translated literally to English in the above.

283). These coalition groups formed a government headed by Babrak Karmal for over six years. In 1986 he was replaced with Najibullah who remained in power until 1992 or the fall of communist regime. Both ruled under the shadow of the Soviet troops military support.

4.2.2 The Impact of the Soviet Military Invasion on the State and its Institutions

The Soviet military invaded on 27 December, 1979, in order to keep Afghanistan on its side and to prevent it from falling into the hands of the West or Islamic movements. According to Russian sources, the state in Afghanistan was collapsing (FARHANG 1996: 941). Therefore, the internal disintegration of the state and PDPA party prompted Soviet military intervention (RUBIN 2002: 121). At the same time, Soviet officials indicated that Soviet security was at risk in Afghanistan (COLLINS 1986: 124) and that their intervention was a defensive move (HYMAN 1982: 166). Their concern was that the intervention of Pakistan, China, and in particular the US, which had lost its influence in Iran and wanted to change Afghanistan into its new military base in the neighborhood of Central Asia.

Within the ruling elite it is believed that Amin played the major role in the events that led to Soviet military intervention in December 1979, particularly when he took over power (KAKAR 1997:32). The Soviets named the following three basic reasonss for their invasion of the country:

1. A request for military assistance from the Afghan government
2. The Soviet Union's commitment to give that assistance, by the 1978 treaty.
3. Self-defense against foreign armed aggression, in accordance with the UN Charter (article 51) (HYMAN 1982: 166-167).

The first reason refers to the agreement signed between the Khalqi leaders Taraki, Amin, and Brezhnev on December 5th, 1978 (FARHANG 1996: 956). The second reason is an interpretation of this agreement as well as of Taraki's conversation with Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister during the uprising in Herat and the government's loss of the control of the city. However, it was the Soviet's intention to respond militarily to the deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan, where they had invested since the 1960s and which was now "a state with a socialist orientation" (COLLIN 1986:47, 166), on the verge of collapse. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan to save what it had invested in the last decades in Afghanistan and to minimize any possible threat to its interests in the region during the Cold War.

In the new coalition government of PDPA, Karmal was the Head of Revolutionary Council, General Secretary of the Party, Chairman of the Central Committee, Prime Minister and Chief Commander of the armed forces. There was a cabinet consisting of 20 members (KISHTMAND 2003: 635) of both fractions with a shift of power to the Parcham side. Karmal made lots of efforts to keep the unity between the two fractions, including signing an agreement of unity in which every members of the party promised to be honest. However, the two fractions were against the unity and they demonstrated this many times in practice (AZIMI 1999: 277 and TANIN 2006: 302-303). The Mujahidin benefited most from the animosity between the two fractions, Khalq and Parcham. In particular this helped the Mujahidin to penetrate into the government and get information on military operations carried out by the government, and to avoid great casualties or to win the war. Therefore the coalition government was fragile from the beginning and only the presence of Soviet troops prevented it from collapsing.

There were major challenges ahead for the PDPA coalition government. They inherited a state and an army that was weakened during the Khalq purges; the state had lost its legitimacy from within. The regime led by Karmal declared a moderate policy and tried to undo some of the political damage with its new leadership; stopped calling the DRA a socialist country, changed the red Khalqi flag back to the traditional red, green and black tricolor, revoked land redistribution, and released some of the political prisoners (ARNOLD and KLASS 1987: 149).

The moderate policy of the regime had little impact on the people of Afghanistan as well as on the world. The major challenge to the regime was being legitimate in the name of Islam (RASNAYAGAM 2003: 94) and the presence of the foreign troops in the country, which continued to question the credibility of the state and its institutions. Therefore, major projects were concentrated on building the necessary institutions and providing reasons for the legitimacy of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

While the government lacked legitimacy and public support, the Soviet invasion strengthened and legitimized the Mujahidin resistance based in Pakistan. A huge number of people migrated to Pakistan; many of them joined different Mujahidin groups. From April 1978 to November 1982 around 2,800,000 Afghans migrated to Pakistan (COLLIN 1986: 143). Many people also migrated to Iran, some of them joined the Mujahidin groups supported by Iran. In opposition to the Soviet invasion and the government, the

urban residents of Afghanistan defied the curfews to send up a nightlong chant of "*Allah-u-Akbar*!" (God is the Great) from the flat-topped roofs of Kabul, Herat and Kandahar and other towns. These protests were severely suppressed, and the curfew from evening till early morning remained unchanged till the fall of the PDPA regime.

4.2.3   The Formation of Mujahidin Resistance Forces in Pakistan and Iran

The Soviet invasion had to face with massive international condemnation, it particularly raised concern in the region and in countries like China and the Muslim states, headed by Pakistan, which considered it as a threat of Soviet expansionism (SAIKAL 2006: 198). The Islamic revolution in Iran also affected Mujahidin resistance in particular on *Shii* Mujahidin movements. Particularly Khomeini strongly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on many occasions and took a hard line against the Soviets in international meetings such as the Islamic Conference, the nonaligned meetings, and the U.N. General Assembly; they even boycotted the Moscow Olympics (BENARD and KHALILZAD 1984: 176). This situation isolated the DRA from its neighbors in the East, South and West, while it made Afghanistan totally dependent on the USSR as its northern neighbor.

The Islamic movements were created as a result of an unbalanced internal policy of the state toward communists and religious elites. Especially its policy of supporting communists and sharing the power with them, while at the same time ignoring the role of religious elites in the state and instead continuing to suppress them. In addition to that, in the 1970s, Daouds' Republic regime carried out mass arrests of religious figures and continued their repressions throughout the country. From this period on the leading figures of the religious groups were in exile, in Pakistan, where they received political support. But untill the fall of Daoud these movement lacked strong support among the people, as well as attention from the world. Initially, Pakistan used them as a counter-policy against Daoud's claim on Pashtunistan.

The Soviet invasion strengthened the position of Islamic movements in Pakistan when they attracted the attention of the West and anti-Soviet forces. The Islamic movements were called 'freedom fighters' and 'Afghan resistance' while they were known as Mujahidin forces in Afghanistan as well as in other Islamic countries. The US declared its support for the Afghan Mujahidin through a massive economic program and military aid to Pakistan, as the frontline state, and gave similar assistance and logistic support to the Afghan Mujahidin (SAIKAL 2006: 198). The U.S. motivation to support the Afghan resistance and Pakistan was its strategic interests in preventing the Soviet Union from

expanding its military influence in the region (RAIS 2002: 238). The US under Carter and Reagan assigned the CIA to spend what become USD3 billion to support the Afghan resistance. The Agency quickly delegated important decision-making to Pakistan, often neglecting the fact that Pakistan might have interests that did not necessarily with those of either Washington or the people of Afghanistan (MACKENZIE 2002: 94). Other Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt also declared their support. Egypt declaring its support for Afghan Mujahidin, freed many members of fundamentalist groups from prison and let them join the in the fight against the Soviet invasion (TANIN 2006: 316-317).

These resistance forces had control and influence in 90 per cent of the rural areas of the country (BRADSHER 1983: 207), while the government with the support of Soviet troops tried to maintain its control of the main communication routs and major cities (cf. map 15). However, the resistance forces of Mujahidin were also split into many political parties (figure 10).
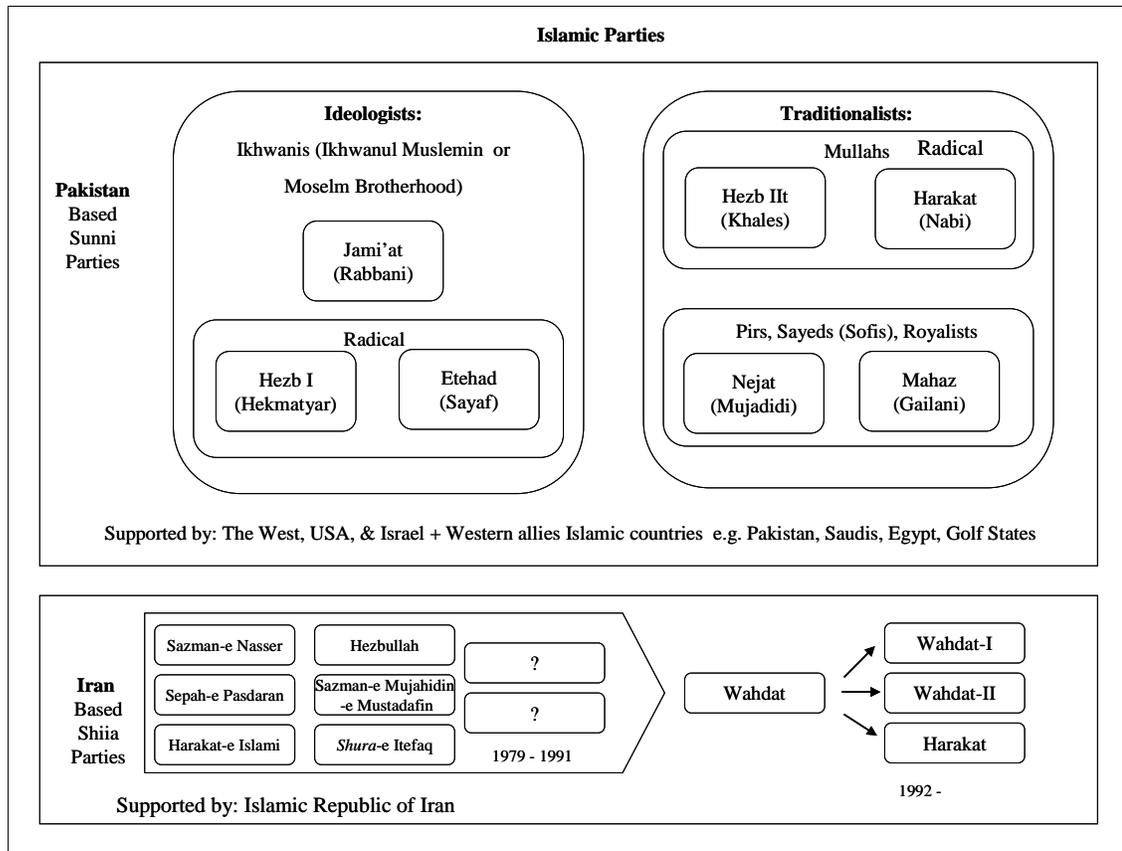
Figure 10: Islamic parties based in Pakistan and Iran and their external supporters 1978 - 1992
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

This division was as a result of long existent rivalries and ideological differences mostly in the leadership. At the same time the distribution of foreign assistance to the seven parties through ISI further fueled the conflict among the rival parties (figure 11).
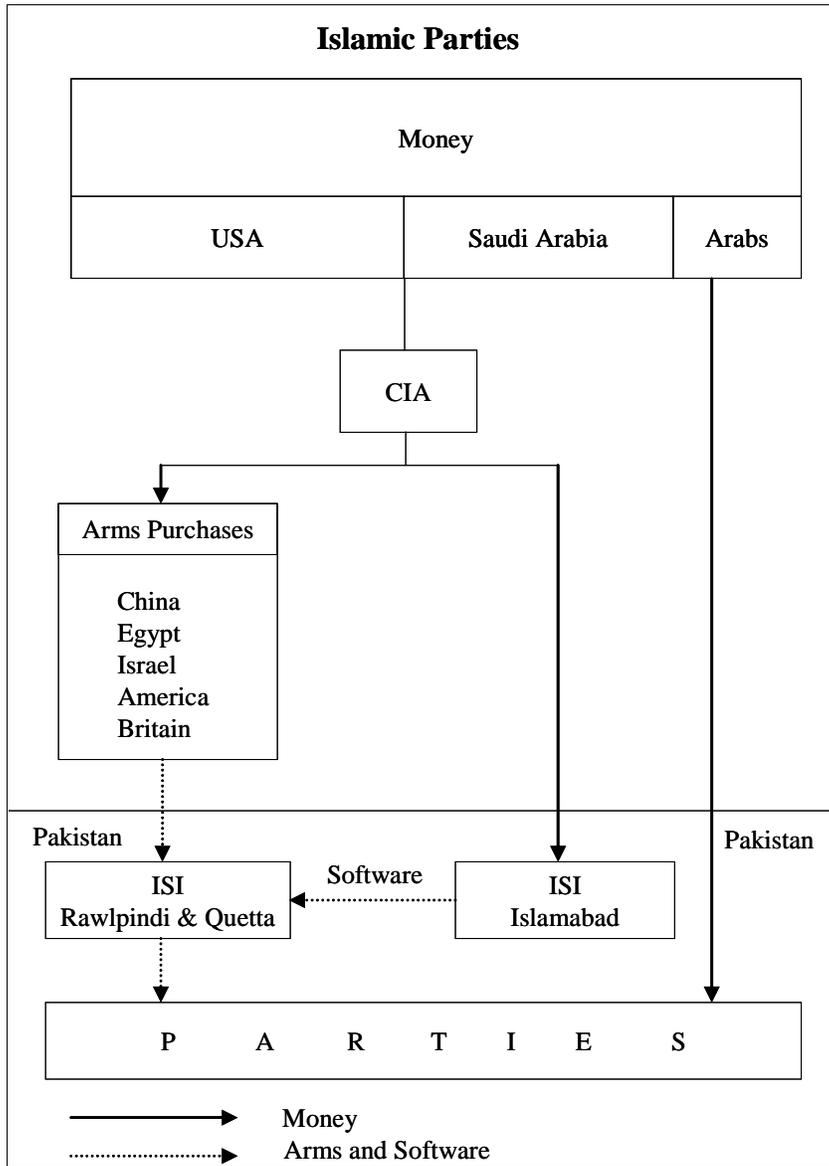
Figure 11: Financial sources and arms suppliers of Islamic parties based in Pakistan 1978 - 1992
Source: YOUSUF and ADKIN (2001: 82)

The parties can be divided into traditionalists and those who follow certain Islamic ideologies. Meanwhile, they were further divided into Sunni parties based in Pakistan,

and *Shii* Parties based in Iran, according to religious schools. The Sunni parties received support from the Islamic countries as well as from Soviet's rival Western countries, led by the US. In contrast the *Shii* parties were supported by Iran alone.

This strong military and economic support from the West, China, Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries was all carried out through Pakistan and its secret military service ISI (Inter Service Investigation) to the Mujahidin seven parties

Pakistan's security commitment, and the military assistance it received from the U.S., was the most important factor for upgrading the capacity of the Afghan resistance (RAIS 2002: 238). This special role gave Pakistan the chance to build trust and loyalties among the leaders of the seven parties. Those parties that thought according to the policy of Pakistan received more funds and attention from the ISI. This means the more fundamental the party was the more funds it would have received.

Among the seven parties three were fundamentalists: *Harakat, Etehad* and *Hezb. Harakat* was a traditional fundamentalist, *Etehad* was a Wahabbi fundamentlist who receive extra attention from the Saudis and other Arab countries, *Hezb,* led by Hekmatyar, was an ideological fundamentalist party that attracted the attention of the Islamic fundamental parties in Pakistan as well as elsewhere in Arab countries. Particularly the ISI had invested tremendously in Hekmatyar over the years and regarded him as the key figure guaranteeing Pakistan's interests in Afghanistan (RUBIN 2002: 252). Even the *Shii* regime in Iran provided its support for the radical Sunni Hekmatyar. Although RAIS claims that Iranian support for Hekamtyar was for a short time and untill Khomaini's death, and that it was mainly due to his radical credential and open praise of and support for the Islamic revolution in Iran (RAIS 2002:183). But, in fact, Hekmatyar's coalition with Abdul Ali Mazari in1993 and his exile in Iran from 1996 to 2001 in Tehran, show that the Islamic regime in Iran maintained their support for him. In 2001, it was under U.S., pressure that the Iranian authorities ordered Hekmatyar to leave Iran.

The other four Mujahidin parties were known as moderate. But the problem with the moderate groups was that they lacked a united leadership, and they remained dependent on Pakistan and under its influence. Pakistan was not only the distributing body of the funds for the Mujahidin parties but also provided the space for the parties to carry out their activities. They were based in Peshawar and they received funds, arms, training and all necessary requirements on Pakistan's territory.

These dependencies of the Mujahidin leaders on Pakistan undermined the coordination of a united leadership for military operations in Afghanistan. Later in the 1990s, major commanders of different parties organized a National Commanders *Shura* (NCS) which was an alternative to the ineffectual leadership of the exiled party leaders and the alliance between ISI and Hekmatyar. This alternative leadership of NCS worked when Ahmad Shah Masoud[68], as its spokesman, visited Pakistan in October 1990, and attracted more U.S. aid directly to him and other big commanders (RUBIN 2002: 182). This gave him the privilege of remaining out of ISI influence and being able to carry out his military activities independently.

4.2.4 The War 1979-1992

Despite the presence of Soviet troops Afghanistan, the challenge of resistance proved hard to overcome at least in the short term, both for the Soviets and their supported the government they supported. Therefore certain efforts were carried out to increase the capacities of the state for coercions and surveillance of the two national institutions, the armed forces and the secret police KhAD [69] (RUBIN 2002: 130). KhAD was a separate institution from the police and the armed forces, its authority had grown in time. Najibullah, who was trained by KGB and brought back to Kabul after the invasion, headed the KhAd. Later, when he became president, KhAd was promoted to ministry level and its authority was above that of both the ministry of defense and that of the interior (figure 12).

Furthermore to reduce the power of resistance through diverting the attention of the people from the Mujahidin, the DRA worked to establish institutions that would showcase government support for Islam. New mosques were built; 34 in Kabul alone and 523 others were renovated throughout the country (RASANAYAGAM 2003: 94). In the beginning the Department of Religious Affairs was established and later, in 1985, it was upgraded, becoming the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowment (*Wizarat-I Shu'un-i Islami wa Awqaf*).

---

[68] One of the main commanders of the Rabbani led Jamiat Party who led *Shura-e Nezar* (Supervisory Council)
[69] KhAD *Khedamat-e Amniyat-e Daulati* (state security service) and WAD *Wezarat-e Amniyat-e Daulati* (ministry of state security)
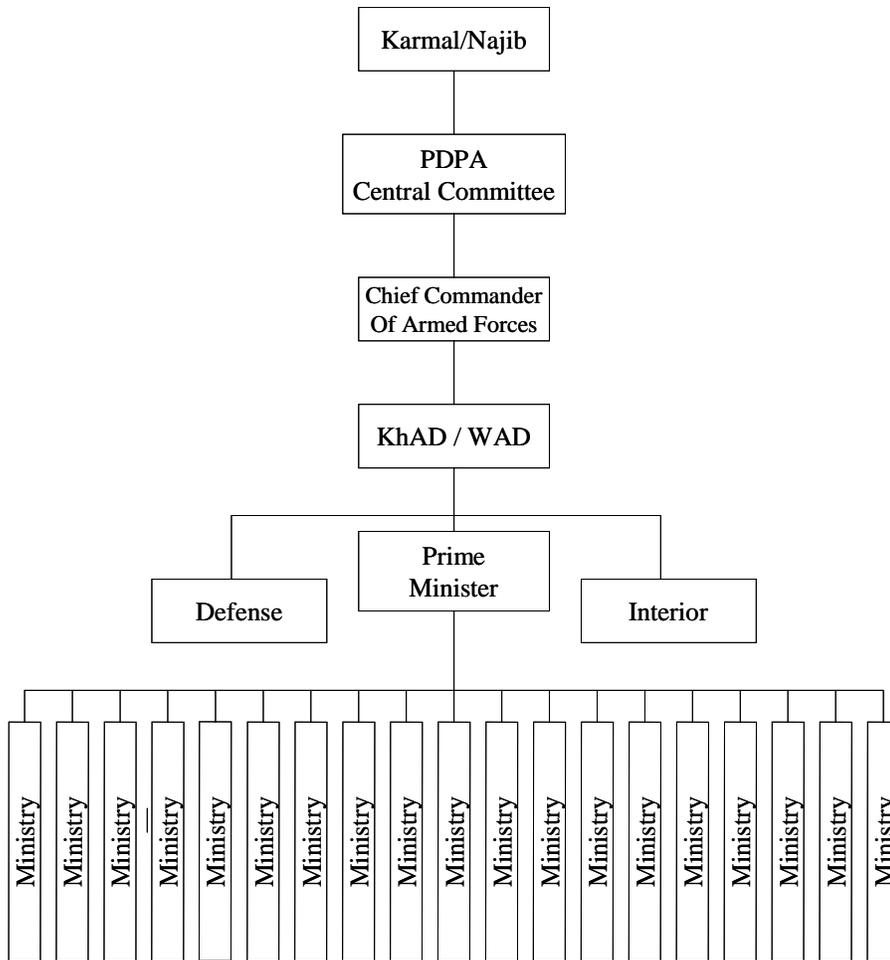
Figure 12: Hierarchy of state institutions under the PDPA 1996 - 1992
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

The DRA efforts to attract any public support vanished mainly due to the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan on the one hand and the puppet government on the other. The struggle against foreign invasion was gaining momentum. Therefore "in mid-1980 Moscow and Kabul began to devise a counterinsurgency and state-building strategy based on long term Soviet commitment to the regime. The state relied primarily on military techniques of coercion in the countryside and police techniques of coercion in the cities (RUBIN 2002: 123)." The strengthening of the armed forces was the major policy of the regime. Its size in 1983 is mentioned to be between 40,000 to 70,000.[70] However, along with fractional conflict in the command structure, maintaining the size of

---

[70] AZIMI, who was within the armed forces, claims that it was 70,000 in the same year (AZIMI 1999: 289), while RUBIN mentions it was reduced to 40,000 (RUBIN 2002: 131).

the army was a persisting problem, because of high number of mutinies and desertions.[71]

Due to a high demand for armed forces the age of conscription was reduced from 22 years of age to 20, then 19 and even 17 years. In some cases even teenagers of 15 and 16 were forced to conscribe (AZIMI 1999: 289). The compulsory conscription was one of the most negative phenomena that had an unpleasant impact on society. At the same time the conscription program was enforced largely on non-Pashtun people, while the Pashtuns enjoyed being in the high ranks of the armed forces since the 1929, when the tribes from the South had helped Nadir Khan to take the throne.[72] In an attempt to invoke this tradition in October 1982 Abdul Qadir, Minister of Defense, revoked the exemption from conscription of the Pashtun tribes, e.g., Shinwari, Mohamand, and Jaji. The tribes responded to this policy of the government, by blocking the transportation of goods on the routes they largely controlled (RUBIN 2002: 132). Nevertheless, the major problem for the government in gaining the support of the population was the presence of the Soviet troops in the country and its lack of legitimacy. These two factors in particular made it difficult for the government to carry out compulsory conscription. Most of the male population between the ages of 16-40, who were the target of this program, had to migrate abroad or join the Mujahidin groups.

It is believed that the Soviet strategy from June 1980 to December 1984 was to take control of the major centers of communication (cf. map 15), limit infiltration, and destroy local strongholds at minimum risks to its own forces (COLLIN 1986: 139). The decisive turning point against the Soviet invasion came in April 1984, when the Soviet assault failed for the seventh time to bring Panjshir, a strategic valley close to the Salang pass, under their control (ARNOLD 1993: 131). Panjshir valley became a concentration point of best-trained Mujahidin forces under the command of Shura-e *Nezar* (supervisory council) led by Ahmad Shah Masoud, who repeatedly ambushed Soviet military convoys. There is no doubt that Panshir remained the only permanent stronghold under the control of Mujahidin forces. Even the regime admitted this when Saleh Mohammad Ziray, a Khalqi member of the politburo, called Panjshir as "the strongest front in the world after the USA and the USSR" (KAKAR 1997: 243).

Furthermore, the Mujahidin groups removed all communists or government loyalist from

---

[71] AZIMI mentions the number in 1983 to be 34,143 (AZIMI 1999: 289), while RUBIN, for the same years estimates it between 20,000 to 40,000 (RUBIN 2002: 131)
[72] This is particularly true in the case of tribes in Paktia, Khost, Paktika and Nangarhar.

the rural areas so that they could communicate easier, and later destroyed the roots and bridges joining the city and villages together, while their last strategy was attacking governmental institutions in the rural areas. To counterattack, Soviet forces accompanied by governmental forces, heavily bombarded rural areas and intensified their pressure on on the population. As a result of these battles within the country around 3 million people migrated to Pakistan and 2 million to Iran (TANIN 2006: 318-323)[73], thousands of others migrated to Europe or the US. Although the number of casualties was high due to the extensive war, there are few exact figures in the literature. For example, according to AZIMI, Soviet sources mentioned the number of casualties until January 1986 as being 1.5 million Mujahidin forces killed and 1 million disabled. At the same time, Soviet military casualties were 12 thousand, and Afghan forces 38 thousand, which seems to be exaggerated (AZIMI 1999: 291). This sensitivity was due to the fact that the government, and especially the Soviets, wanted to hide the true number of casualties they had taken, as not to face too much criticism from the world.

In March1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the USSR, he determined his policy of pulling out Soviet troops, but the military sources opposed this decision as a humiliating act (TANIN 2006: 331). Being aware of the military failure in Afghanistan, Gorbachev imposed a one-year deadline for making the old strategy work. After the situation proved to be the bloodiest year, the Soviet congress under domestic pressure and continuing resistance in Afghanistan, allowed Gorbachev to promote a political compromise – "national reconciliation" – and to negotiate the withdrawal of Soviet troops (RUBIN 2002: 146).

The political changes in the USSR left their direct impact on Afghanistan. In March 1986 Karmal resigned and Najibullah replaced him. This power transfer is considered as a blood less coup against Karmal. Despite there being around 160,000 military and 115,000 police forces with 20,000 secret services available, nothing happened (PANJSHIRI 1999: 124). However, this decision was not carried out without Soviet involvement and its personnel were the final decision makers for the Afghan state. At the same time the PDPA government and the armed forces were aware of the fact of the political change in leadership and considered it to be an approved decision; except some protest by pro-Karmal elements that changed nothing (AZIMI 1999: 313).

---

[73] At the eve of the Soviet troops withdrawal the peak of Afghan migrants to Pakistan was 3,722,000 and 2,940,000 in Iran (RASANAYAGAM 2003: 194).

With Najibullah (ruled from 1986 to1992) the last PDPA president in Afghanistan and the head of the party, the PDPA became even more divided. Although Karmal and Najibullah represented the same Parcham fraction, this time political rivalry grew within the Parcham party and led to the emergence of two groups, one pro-Karmal and the other pro-Najibullah. According to KISHTMAND, the Prime Minister of this period, this problem was due to the policy of double standard in the leadership (KESHTMAND 2003: 981). This means that although Najibullah and Karmal both belonged to the Parcham fraction, for Najibullah regional and tribal affiliation had more priority. He preferred the people from Paktia to all others (ATAYEE 2001: 443). Despite Najibullah was from Parcham, he installed many Khalqi figures from Pakita in the key institutions of his government. For example, Shahnawaz Tanai, Aslam Watanjar, and Raz Mohammad Paktin three Khalqi figures who each became Defense Minister, Interior Minister and Minister of Water and Power respectively. However, even tribal affiliations failed to build the trust among the rival PDPA fractions when in 1991 Tanai committed a coup against Najibullah's regime. Furthermore, as part of Najibullah's regional interests, Khost - a district in Paktia province- was promoted first to Loy Woloswali (major district) and later to Khost province, a title which has remained unchanged until now.

At this point Afghanistan according to Gorbachev, became a "bleeding wound" (SAIKAL 2004: 200) for the Soviets, which he tried to heal with a strategy that would inflict as little damage as possible to Russia's image in the world. The policy of "national reconciliation" proposed in Moscow for the honorable withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, also became the main policy of the PDPA regime (TANIN 2006: 334-335) for its own survival. However, in practice, the regime still lacked legitimacy and had an image problem, since it was known as anti-Islamic or regarded as offensive to Islam. Therefore, the regime carried out its efforts to show itself as non-offensive and tried to gain credibility as a defender of Islam (OLESEN 1996: 257) and religious elites in Afghanistan, a policy which mounted, in effect, in the dissolution of the monolithic communist state (RASANAYAGAM 2003:120). To repair its image among the people the regime stressed the common Islamic heritage and established a links with mullahs (RAIS 2002:151) by enrolling them into the government payroll system and paying them regular salaries and coupons like normal government officials. In 1987, the regime claimed the number of mullahs that were receiving salaries and coupons was 16,000 a figure that increased to 20,000 in the following year (RUBIN 2002: 165, 166). Moreover, religious programs were created in the media, discussing religious issues, declaring prayer time, calling Mujahidin fighters were called as "angry brothers". The public media

continuously broadcast these programs. In addition to this some 4,000 political prisoners were released, a six-month ceasefire was announced (RASANAYAGAM 2003: 119) and extended it by another six-month.

In 1987, parallel to the policy of reconciliation, in order to reconstruct state structure, the regime convened a *Loya Jirga*, and ratified a new constitution, which had been drafted by the Soviet advisors (RUBIN 2002: 147). According to the new constitution Afghanistan reverted to its former name Republic of Afghanistan. It also ostensibly provided for a multiparty system, a popularly elected parliament that would choose the prime minister, while Najibullah was elected as president by the *Loya Jirga*. At the same time Najibullah, besides holding the office of the president that concentrated all executive power, was also the chief commander of armed forces (AZIMI 1999: 335).

The Mujahidin parties unanimously rejected the Najibullah's proffered initiatives, which they roundly denounced as a fraud designed to perpetuate PDPA rule (ARNOLD and KLASS 1987: 156). The Mujahidin parties' main reasons for the rejection were the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the PDPA in power.

4.2.5 The Withdrawal of Soviet Troops and Pakistan's Geostrategic Ambitions in Afghanistan

In April 1988, under UN mediation, and with the USA and the USSR present an agreement that became known as Geneva Accord was signed between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The accord consisted of four elements

1. A bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the principles of mutual relations, in particular on non-interference and non-intervention
2. Soviet commitment to withdraw its troops within ten months, by 15 February 1989
3. A bilateral agreement between Afghanitan and Pakistan on the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees from Pakistan, but not necessarily those from Iran
4. The guarantees of the accord by the USA and the USSR (SAIKAL (2006: 201).

In line with this agreement the Soviet troops's withdrawal started in May 1988 and ended in February 1989. The interesting thing about the *Geneva Accord* was that none of the Afghan Mujahidin delegates were invited to the meeting, neither those Mujahidin parties based in Pakistan nor those in Iran. More importantly the the agreement was between

Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Iran was not included. Therefore, the agreement demonstrated that Pakistan is the main player in the conflict and that the Afghan Mujahidin parties were just instrument for its policies. This situation helped the Pakistani governments to develop strategies to fill the gap of political influence after the Soviet troops' withdrawal was completed. It had been expected that the regime would collapse with the withdrawal, and that it would not be able to stand on its own without Soviet support.

Thus, in February 1989 in Peshawar, parallel to withdrawal of the Soviet troops, a *Shura* made up of 439 members from seven Mujahidin parties was formed (KAKAR 1997: 268). The *Shura* elected an 'Interim Government' (IG) headed by Mujaddidi, and Sayaf as prime minister. The problem with this election was that Pakistan's secret service (Inter Service Investigation or ISI) blatantly manipulated the whole process of the election while the Saudis spent USD26 million and lavishly bribed the delegates of the *Shura* (EWANS 2002: 241).[74] Some members of *Shii* parties based in Iran ostensibly came but they refused to pfurther participate in the *Shura*, when the Sunni parties rejected their demand (RAIS 2002: 200). However, it was difficult for the *Shii* parties supported by Iran to find any possibility of participating in the political process that was funded by the Saudis. The aim of the Saudis was to provide their support for Sayaf, who was known as a pro-Saudi Wahabi leader among the Mujahidin parties. Nevertheless, due to the strong involvement of Pakistan and the Saudis in forming the Interim Government (IG) from one side, and the continuous rivalries among the Mujahidin parties on the other, the election process gained little credibility and attracted little attention.

Despite all their efforts, even Pakistan and Saudis did not recognize the Interim Government established in exile. The US said it would only recognize the IG if it showed its capability to bring significant amount of territory in Afghanistan under its control and if it enjoys broad popular support (EWAN 2002: 41). Therefore, to get recognition from the world, especially from the USA, meant to gain more territory in Afghanistan. In order to achieve this aim the ISI organized a Mujahidin military offensive in order to occupy Nangarhar, where it intended to install the IG, in March 1989 (RUBIN 2002: 250). This offensive went on for four months and the Mujahidin forces were defeated. As a result of this defeat Hamid Gul, the head of ISI was deposed from his position (AZIMI 1999: 400).

---

[74] According to EWAN for each delegate USD25,000 was paid (EWANS 2002: 241).

In another attempt Masoud tried to claim Kunduz and thus to provide a territory for the IG to settle inside the country. However, this plan was failed when Hekmatyar's commander captured ten of Masoud's senior commanders and killed them. This action frustrated Mujaddidi, the President of the IG, who called Hekmatyar "a criminal and a terrorist", while Hekmatyar suspended his participation in the IG (RUBIN 2002: 251-252). The defeat of the Mujahidin in Nangarhar and the fractional fighting among them in Kunduz, supported the position of the regime in Kabul.

The resistance of the PDPA regime in the Nangarhar offensive surprised the Mujahidin forces and their supporters. Basically there were three major factors, which prevented a possible collapse of the PDPA regime: the Soviet's continuous military support for the regime, the political differences and rivalries among the Mujahidin parties, which was often accompanied by military conflicts and prevented them form forming a united front against the regime, and finally the use of militia forces by the government in the military conflict. These three factors provided a better military position for the PDPA regime to survive a possible collapse.

The use of militants as armed forces by the regime was the most destructive policy, which had its side effects on the regime and, more importantly, it militarized a high number of the population both in urban and rural areas. In order to consolidate its position against the Mujahidin, the regime gave a lot of incentive for tribal elites to join them and recruited militias in *Kandak haye Qawmi* (ethnic battalions), to take part in military operations as well as in securing government supply routes. Some of these militia figures were Esmat Muslim, Jabbar-e Qhahraman, Sayed Mansur Naderi, Juma Khan Andarabi and Abdurrashid Dostum. Esmat Muslim was responsible for keeping the road from Kandahar to Spinboldak open (KAKAR 1997: 262). Jabbar, a 'fanatic ethno-nationalist' who led a large militia in Hilmand, initially had a *Qheta* (battalion) and later it was promoted to *Luwa* (brigade) (AZIMI 1999: 343). Naderi was the governor of Baghlan, with 13,000 men under the command of his son Jaffar; he was also playing the role of mediator between the Mujahidin groups and the government. Andarabi led a militia that was in charge of blocking the supply lines to Mujahidin forces in Panjshir. Dostum, who started his career in a self-defense unit for the state'a natural gas company's installations, was soon promoted to military general and led the largest and most effective pro-government militia, which numbered 40,000 men by 1991 (RASANAYAGAM 2002: 130). He had a military strong contingent composed of two

Lowa (brigade) led by his loyal militia commanders Rasul Pahlawan and Ghafar Pahlawan. In 1989, Najibullah claimed the number of armed forces, police, KhAd, PDPA party members, border militia, regional and ethnic militia self-defense forces and militia to be 500,000 (AZIMI 1999: 341-344).

Beside all of this, the PDPA regime concentrated its efforts to strengthen the army, police and KhAD, the only institutions of the state that the regime primarily relied on. The regime declared the state of emergency in the country, and military training became part of the curriculum in the upper secondary school system as well as at university. There were part-time students and administrative staff who were responsible for the security of schools, universities or ministries and departments. They were known as *Sepah-e Enqhilab* (revolutionary guards) and *Defa-e Khodi* (self defense) groups (figure 13). In other words, it can be said that the regime wanted to militarize the whole society on the country, while it received large assistance from the Soviets.
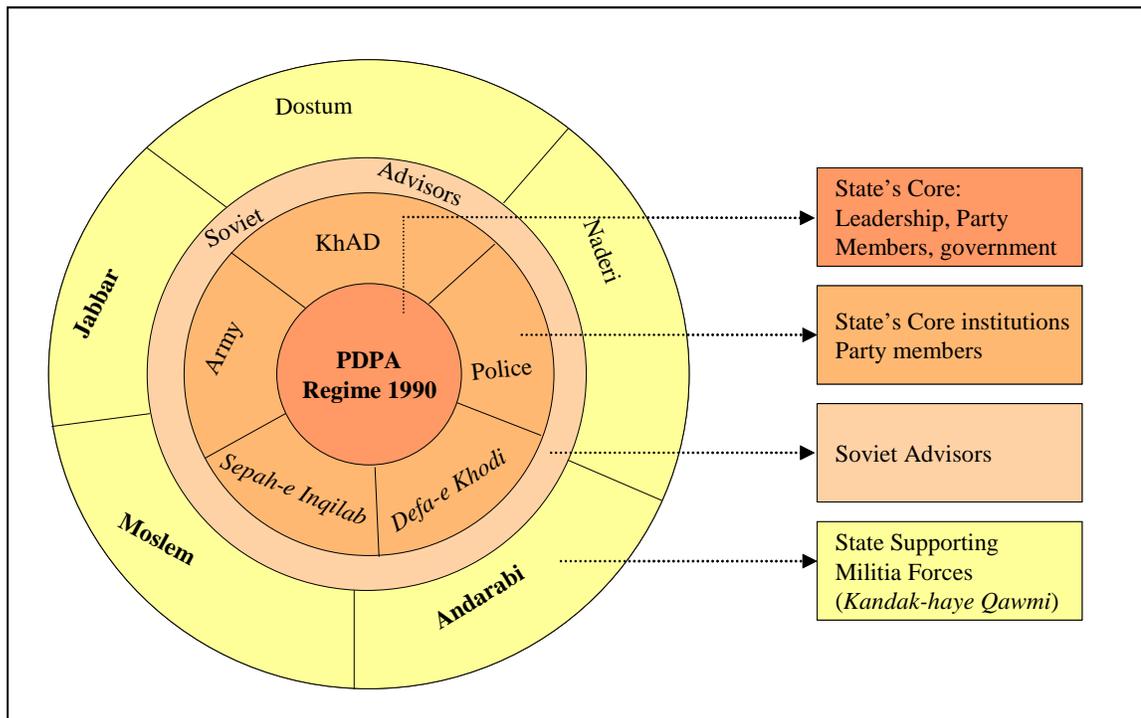
Figure 13: The composition of security institutions under the PDPA 1986 - 1992
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

In 1989, three new provinces were created which raised the number from 29 to 32. These new provinces were Nooristan, Sar-e Pul and Khost. The latter was important because many key figures of the PDPA were from there and also the Mujahidin forces made many attempts to gain its control over this area (map 16).

While the regime was consolidating its position against the Mujahidin forces, it was weakened again from within the state's institutions due to the rivalries of the two Khalq and Parcham fractions. In an attempt, which RUBIN calls a "Pashtun Plot," Hekmatyar formed an alliance with non-Durrani Pashtuns members of the Khalq and tried to benefit from the PDPA fractional rivalries (RUBIN 2002: 151,253). In March 1990, Shahnawaz Tanai, the Khalqi minister of defense, in a joined coalition with Hekmatyar, carried out a coup, in coalition with Hekmatyar and ISI which failed. Tanai, with many other Khalqi generals, fled to Pakistan where he was appointed by Hekamatyar as the commander of his group 'Army of Sacrifice' (RASANAYAGAM 2002: 138). Although the coup failed and Najibulah's regime survived but the army was weakened because of the political split among the military forces who joined Hekmatyar.
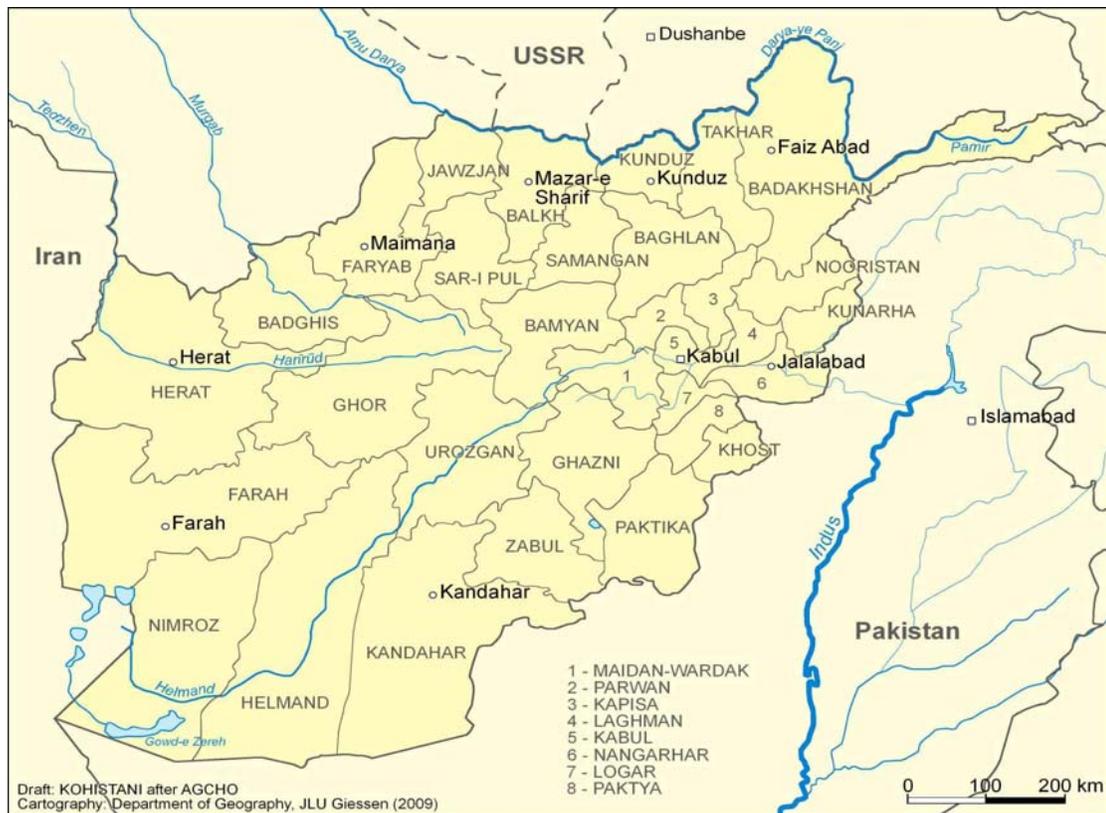
Map 16: Administrative division of Afghanistan 1989 - 2004

Therefore, to strengthen its weak position, the regime committed to even more reforms. In May 1990, another *Loya Jirga* was held: the PDPA was reformed and renamed *the Hezb-e Watan* (Homeland Party), a multi party system was endorsed, the state of emergency was lifted, and private enterprise and foreign investment was welcomed (EWAN 2002: 243). The economy of the country was deteriorating because of the war and repeated attacks on highways slowed the transportation of food and other necessary material, especially to the capital where the regime still controlled the central power.

On the other side the pressure from the Mujahidin and their international supporters was increasing. In January 1991, when the Soviet troops were sent to Lithuania and other Baltic states, the CIA and ISI insisted on putting the Soviets under military pressure in Afghanistan. By March of the same year they increased their resources for Mujahidin, which also included sending many Pakistani advisers on the ground, which enabled the Mujahidin forces to get the control of Khost (RUBIN 2002: 255). The Mujahidin forces captured the city, but instead of making it a resistance capital for the IG inside Afghanistan they looted it (EWAN 2002: 246) and moved all its military equipments to Pakistan (AZIMI 1999: 462). Meanwhile "Hekmatyar, General Durrani of the ISI, and Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of the Pakistani *Jama'at-e Islami*[75], paid a well publicized visit to Khost, broadcasting the Pakistani role to an increasingly nationalist Afghan public" (RUBIN 2002: 255). The fall of Khost into Mujahidin hands further highlighted the increasing role of Pakistan and its enormous influence on seven Mujahidin parties in Pakistan, in particular on Hekmatyar's party.

Meanwhile, the collapse of the Soviet Union in August 1991 and the decline of the communist there weakened the position of Najibullah's regime. One month later, in September 1991, the Soviet and the U.S. agreed to stop sending arms to the Afghans from January 1992 onwards. Moscow further announced that it would decrease or halt the flow of oil and wheat to Afghanistan, and withdraw all of its military advisors from Afghanistan (EWAN 2002: 246, TANIN 2006: 355-356). At the same time, in these negotiations, the Russians abandoned their insistence that Najibullah should be a member of an interim government (EWANS 2002: 246). Lack of support from the Russians, who were the only aid resources and their pressure on Najibullah to step down worried the

---

[75] A radical Islamic party in Pakistan

regime. Najibullah called the Soviet as "the enemy of Afghanistan" and, as a last attempt to remain in power, sent a delegate to Geneva to persuade the former king to return to the country and become the head of State again (SAIKAL 2006: 206).

In addition to the international pressure, the relationship of the regime with General Dostum in the North became deteriorated. As a result, Dostum switched sides and formed an alliance with Masoud and other Mujahidin forces. This alliance helped him to take control of Mazar-e Sharif city in March 1992, followed by the surrounding provinces. After getting control of northern Afghanistan, Dostum, Mazari and Masoud formed a coalition headed by Masoud. At this time Kabul, the capital and its surroundings were still under the control of the regime.

4.2.6   The Disintegration of the PDPA's Political System and its Institutions

In April 1992, Najibullah entered the UN compound in Kabul as a refugee after his attempt to leave the country failed (AZIMI 1999: 550, 555). Meanwhile the Mujahidin forces attempts were concentrated on influencing and occupying governmental institutions, especially the military and police institutions in the capital. Through these plans, the human resources in the army and police mainly were divided into three categories:

1.   PDPA rival fractions composed of mainly highranking officers realized the fact that there is little chance for them to play any important role in the new Islamic system. In order to gain the confidence of Mujahidin parties, each fraction started to deliver the control of certain areas and institutions to a particular Mujahidin group.

2.   Lower ranking officers of the army left the job due to the prevailing anarchy and searched for a new civilian life, some left the country due to the conflict, while the rest were officially in the army without a certain task or regular payment.

3.   More importantly, the soldiers who were recruited through forceful conscriptions left the army unhindered since the PDPA regime was no more in power and the Mujahidin had their own militia forces.

The role of Qawm in transferring power was significant since each fraction wanted its own Qawm to be dominant in the future. In other words, the Pashtun dominated Khalq wanted to transfer the power to Hekmatyar, also a Pashtun. At the same time, the non-

Pashtun dominated Parcham wanted to transfer power to rather moderate forces of Mujahidin, especially from their own Qawm. In terms of establishing a relationship with the Mujahidin, the Khalq fraction was more advanced since it had traditional contacts with Hekmatyar, with whom the had once carried out a joint military coup against Najibullah's government. At this stage their members formed a coalition with Hekmatyar and gave up the control of many areas in the South and institutions in the capital.

Therefore, in Kabul, the Khalqis headed by Paktin and Watanjar ministers of defense and interior respectively (both Pashtuns) allowed Hekmatyar's forces to penetrate into the city, and they abandoned the control of key governmental institutions, e.g., the presidential palace, defense ministry and ministry of interior (AZIMI 1999: 571-576) to his forces.

On the other side, members of Parcham fraction established contacts with Masoud, Hekmatyar's rival, as an alternative option. Masoud initially avoided entering the capital as 'head of state' and asked the Mujahidin leaders to intensify their efforts for forming an interim government. However, Hekmatyar's brief control over important parts of Kabul city was considered as 'an imminent coup' (RUBIN 2002: 270-271) and prompted his rival forces to react. Thus, forces led by Masoud, the *Shura-e Nezar* (SN) (supervisory council), entered the city as well.

Beside the two rival groups there were other forces of former government militia led by General Dostum. In order to conform with the Mujahidin forces he reshaped his militias and declared their name to be *Junbesh-e Milli-e Islami-e Afghanistan* (JMIA) (national Islamic movement of Afghanistan). Dostum's forces had important parts of the capital under their control e.g., the airport, the central part, Microryans, and Balahistar military base. At this time Mazari's *Hezb-e Wahdat-e Islami-e Afghanistan* (HWIA-M) (party of Islamic unity of Afghanistan) took control of large parts of South-Western Kabul, and Sayaf's *Etehad-e Islami-e Afghanistan* (EIA) (Islamic union of Afghanistan) took control of the Western part of Kabul. The former was supported by Iran and the latter by Saudi Arabia, they constituted the two vital opposite military fronts in the city; each was busy with consolidating its own positions.

This competition over influence in state institutions resulted in severe conflicts among the rival Mujahidin fractions. Different rival groups occupied different institutions, according to the training they received during the many years of war; whatever they captured was

considered as *Ghanimah* (booty), and therefore became their own property. Thus, government offices, including military, police and other institutions that provided public security and services were occupied by different fractions, the facilities they had were looted, and the rivalry wars badly damaged the infrastructure.[76]

4.3   The Mujahidin Government 1992-2001[77]

On 24 April 1992, the Mujahidin *Shura* consisting of 51 members was formed in Peshawar. The *Shura* formulated an interim government to whom the power would later transfer in Kabul. As planned for the first two months Mujaddidi was the head of Islamic State of Afghanistan, followed by Rabbani for the next four months (KAKAR 1997: 276). Then the *Shura* elected a transitional government during which instituting a constitution and an election were planned. The agreement of this *Shura* was signed by all Islamic parties and became known as the *Peshawar Accord*. At the same time members of all rival parties were included in the new cabinet; the premiership was given to Hekmatyar and the defense ministry to Masoud while members of other parties filled the rest of the ministries. Even strong critics of the Mujahidin government admit that this was the most representative cabinet in the history of Afghanistan (ATAYEE 2001: 468-469).

On the other hand, government institutions were controlled by various armed groups. According to the new cabinet all forces should have come under the command of the new government. Therefore, in order to secure the capital for the new government, Masoud, now Minister of Defense, ordered his forces to disarm all armed groups and bring them under the control of the government. Masoud also enjoyed support from the remnant armed forces of the PDPA government and Dostum's militias in the disarmament process. However, Hekmatyar's forces, despite their leader being appointed as prime minister, declined to give up their arms. Therefore, from 25 to 27 April, Masoud's led forces organized a military campaign in the course of which Hekmatyar's forces evacuated the occupied government buildings and were expelled from the city (AZIMI 1999: 581). At this stage the western part of the city, which was under control of Mazari, was not initially considered to be as important as the center of the city where the main government offices were located. Mazari and other *Shii* parties were based in those areas

---

[76] I was the eyewitness of such happenings carried out by different forces. None of the Mujahidin forces was uninvolved in these lootings regardless of their *Qawm* and place of origin. Those who formed the government and those who formed the opposition forces equally participated in the lootings.

[77] This date is not considered on territorial bases of control. It is considered according to the recognition of the government by the UN and other countries. In contrast Taliban despite brought major parts of the country failed to get such recognition and only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the UAE recognized it for certain time.

where most of the *Shii* population lived and they enjoyed strong local support. This provided a chance for Mazari to consolidate his power and to use this territorial control for his political ambitions.

During a formal ceremony on 28th April 1992, members of the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, namely the deputy president, the prime minister and the heads of the two houses, some of PDPA members and military officers, officially handed over the power to the Mujaddidi the president of the Interim Government of Afghanistan (IGA). However, it was merely a symbolic ceremony, as the PDPA government was already dissolved and in practical terms none of its institutions survived the political change in the country that had occurred with the arrival of Mujahidin. A high number (500,000) of military, police, KhAD/WAD, and militia forces either joined different Mujahidin fractions or they emerged as separate forces e.g., Dustum's JMIA.

The new government proclaimed the establishment of the Islamic State of Afghanistan (ISA). However, this is hardly to be considered as state, and certainly did not rule Afghanistan (RUBIN 2002: 272). The reasons that the ISA government could not rule the country lie in certain facts, the first and main reason being that it inherited a military state that had been fragmented and was already divided into many fractions; secondly the huge number of Mujahidin forces were not itself a unified force but composed of the seven Sunni parties of Peshawar and eight Shi'a parties in Iran. Even each party was further divided into fractions. For example, the *Shura-e Qumandanha* (Council of Commanders) in the country emerged as separate organ from the Mujahidin parties based in Peshawar and Iran. This enabled the commanders to decide more independently in the *Shura* in Afghanistan, which was away from the influence of Pakistan and Iran. At the same time, the Iranian attempts to unify the eight *Shii* parties into a union (*Wahdat)* proved little successful because this union was again divided into two fractions under the same name but with different leaderships (Anwari and Mazari) and directions.

4.3.1 The Regional Division of the Country among Rival Groups
While the capital was burning in the conflict between government and opposition groups, regional commanders and *Shura*s, many of them loyal to the government, ruled the entire country. Dostum, based in Mazar-e Sharif, controlled the area from Maimana to Kunduz and to Pul-e Khumri; Rabbani and Masoud controlled the area from Kundz to Badakhshan and Kabul. Ismael Khan, one of the main commanders of JIA, controlled Herat and the western part of the country. The *Shii* parties controlled Hazarajat the

central part of the country. In the East, Southeast and Southern provinces there were three *Shuras* all loyal to government in Kabul. Haji Qadir was the governor of Jalalabad and the leader of Mujahidin *Shura* known as *Shura-e Mashreqi* (eastern council) which controlled the eastern part of the country. In the South, Mullah Naqibullah led the *Shura-e Kandahar* (Kandahar's council) which also governed its neighboring provinces. Finally in the Southeast, Mawlawi Jalaluddin Haqani led *Shura-e Paktia.* (Paktia's council). Except for Dostum and Mazari, who switched sides, the rest were loyal to the government in Kabul. On the other side, Hematyar the main opposition group to the government, controlled some of the eastern parts in the Logar and Paktia provinces. Many Arab terrorists were in territories controlled by Hekmatyar where they organized their military activities (COLL 2005: 292).

Meanwhile, the Mujahidin parties all had many commanders who ruled in certain part of the country, depending on where each commander came from. The territories each commander ruled were not uniform in size, nor equal in the number of fighters and also on financial resources received. Especially the size of the territory each Mujahidin commander ruled varied from a small village to a sub-province or a province. Sometimes there were major commanders in a province who had many other commanders under their command in different parts of the same province. In other words there were networks of major commanders and commanders in the field, who were led by a particular leader of the parties in Peshawar or Iran. For example, Masoud was one of the major commanders of the Jamiat party led by Rabbani, who had his own organization *Shura-e Nezar* (SN) with many other commanders under his command.

How to unite this high number of different armed militias was among the biggest challenges the Mujahidin government to cope with from the beginning. Even more challenging was that this high number of Mujahidin included more professional warriors than qualified personnel for the administration of institutions. These warriors represented the mostly rural population of Afghanistan, who used to receive little attention from the central government in terms of public service and, more importantly, education. They suffered most under the central governments during the last decades of war. For them state authorities used to be the biggest enemy. Therefore they turned against the injustice imposed by the PDPA government.

In order to ease the tension among the different social groups Mujaddidi, the president of the Interim Government of Afghanistan (IGA), declared general amnesty to all members

of the former governments, hoping this would make the integration of heterogeneous political elites and groups easier in the country. However, the ISA first had to face its own major challenges within the new Mujahidin government. The traditional competition that existed among different parties, especially among the major parties based in Peshawar since the beginning of the resistance against the Soviet occupation, now manifested themselves in severe military confrontations over the control of the capital. These confrontations were carried out between the government forces, who controlled the capital, and the opposition, whose repeated attempts to maintain its control over Kabul failed. The government side consisted members of all parties while Hekamtyar led the opposition group.

Nevertheless, the IGA laid the foundation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan and especially Rabbani tried to broaden and solidify it by persuading Hekmatyar to join it (KAKAR 1997: 282). The ISA was internationally recognized, but it lacked economic resources as well as professional human resources to run an effective government. The PDPA regime, especially Najibullah's government, lasted on the basis of a life system provided by Soviet support (SAIKAL 2006: 205). In contrast the Mujahidin government lacked such an international support and lacked control over the whole country and even had its problems in the capital. The US and Saudi Arabia, who tremendously funded the Mujahidin government to fight against the Russian troops, now drastically ended their financial support for the Mujahidin to build their Islamic state. The government needed human resources and economic resources to maintain its control over the country. With the end of the PDPA there were no more regular armed forces, security and police forces; no effective judiciary system. The government's attempts to integrate the undisciplined militias into the small proportion of surviving armed forces officers, who received no salary for months, failed.

Despite efforts were made to build a national army composed of different ethnic groups, but the meager financial resources and the ongoing conflict undermined these efforts (KAKAR 1997: 282). At the same time external intervention continued to destabilize the process of state-building by the Mujahidin in the country. Particularly Pakistan was the major supporter of Hekmatyar, who opposed the government in Kabul and declared a war against it. In other words the conflict was a result of Pakistan's constant attack through 'its agent' Hekmatyar aided by Arab radicals and Khalqis (RUBIN 2002: xviii). Hekmatyar wanted to get control over Kabul through military force. After his attempts failed he formed a coalition with Mazari, who had the control of the Southwestern part of

Kabul city. At this time Rabbani, who was to head the IGA for four months, replaced Mujaddidi, who had led the country for two months. As part of his efforts to broaden the government, Rabbani negotiated with Hekmatyar and persuaded him to end the conflict and join the government. Initially, Hekmatyar nominated one of his aides, Abdul Sabour Farid, who assumed the premiership in July 1992 for a short period but quit after the rivalry once again arose. Hekmatyar started a war against the IGA that represented all the Mujahidin parties including his own *Hizb-e Islami* party, if not the people of Afghanistan.

> From May through August, Hekmatyar periodically bombarded Kabul with rockets. According to the United Nations, by August over 1,800 civilians had been killed. Several thousands more, injured in the shelling, sought treatment in the hospitals where damage to the electrical grid and the water system had curtailed services. Food supplies in Kabul were becoming scarce, shops were closed, and over 500,000 people were fleeing the city in all directions. The United Nations and most diplomatic missions withdrew all non-Afghan personnel. By end of the year over 5,000 people had been killed and perhaps a million had fled the devastated city (RUBIN 2002: 273).

After Rabbani's four-month term finished on October 28, the leadership of the Mujahidin *Shura* extended his mandate for forty-five days, because the ongoing fighting and destruction in Kabul had prevented Rabbani to summon the grand *Shura* (*Ahl-e Alhal wa Aqhd*) for the election of the president Finally, with some delay, the *Shura*[78] was convened at the end of December with 1,335 men representing most areas of the country and most ethnic groups, but it was predominated by Jamiat the ruling party (RUBIN 2002: 273). The *Shura* elected Rabbani as president for two years with 737 votes in favor and 380 abstentions while 60 others boycotted the election (KAKAR 1997: 284). Sayaf, the closest ally of Rabbani, said that this election was fair, based on Islamic justice and all parties had their representatives (ATAYEE 1999: 2004).

Hekmatyar opposed Rabbani's reelection and continued his bombardment of Kabul by rockets. At the same time Mazari also opposed the government and demanded the official recognition of the *Shii* school of Islam in Afghanistan (DAULATABADI 2002: 430) as well as 25 per cent power share in the government. Mazari led forces in the West of the capital were busy fighting with Sayaf. It is significant to see that other *Shii* parties e.g., Harakat led by Mohseni and Wahdat led by Anwari were under the umbrella of Rabbani's government.

Ostensibly there were national and international attempts to end the conflict and find a political solution for the conflict between Rabbani and Hekmatyar. Despite there being

---

[78] This *Shura* called *Ahl-e al-Hal wa al-Aqd* (literally, those who loose and bind) was based on a common gathering of ullama (religious leaders) in Saudi Arabia.

many agreements of peace reached on different occasions between the government and the opposition group led by Hekmatyar, all attempts to end the war failed. Hekmatyar especially was at the heart of the problem: first he criticized the presence of Dostum in Kabul, later he disagreed with Rabbani over the presence of Parchamis in the government, and finally he accepted Rabbani's government but rejected Masoud as the minister of defense. Even though he met the demands upone him as a result of agreements made in different *Shura*s that were held inside and out side the country, he continued his attacks on Kabul.

On the other side analysts believe that ethnicity together with foreign intervention played an important role in these conflicts. The conflict is considered to have been a struggle of power dominated by four ethnically identified armed forces: the Uzbeks under Dostum supported by Uzbekistan, the *Shii Hizb-e Wahdat* (HWIA-M) supported by Iran, the Pashtuns under Hekmatyar supported by Islamic movements and intelligence officers in Pakistan and the Tajik under Masoud who alone lacked a powerful patron (RUBIN 2002: 273). However, it is significant to see *Shii* is mentioned as an ethnic group in place of the Hazara. SCHETTER, in a model, also describes the crux of the conflict as the ethnic factor paired with foreign intervention (figure 14).
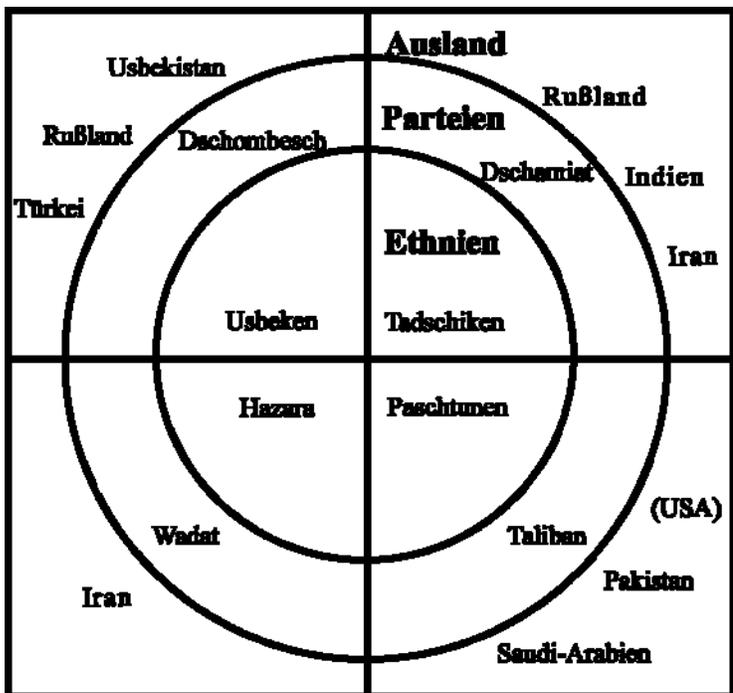
Figure 14: The parties involved in the conflict, their ethnic base and external sources of support
Source: SCHETTER (2003:)

The model tries to show the internal actors with regard to their ethnicity and the external support they receive. The model describes the relationship between internal and external actors in a stable and clear cut manner. Here again the Hazaras are represented by Mazari HWIA-M alone while it gives no information about the other Hazara and *Shii* parties HWIA-A and HIA-M. Furthermore, it does not mention when exactly such relationships between the internal and external existed. This is particularly important because some of the parties used to switch sides between the government and its opposition. The main figure missing in this model is Hekmatyar, who played a central role in the conflict and used ethnicity as an instrument for his political ambitions by arguing that "Pashtun interests must be defended" (DORRONSORO 2005: 256). Despite a long period of being in the opposition, he finally joined the government after he was left alone and his forces joined the Taliban. According to the model, however, the Taliban only represents the Pashtuns; the model does not give information about the existence of thousands of foreign fighters in the movement.

Another important fact is that in many sources such as in the above, the existence of the government is ignored. The government led by Rabbani was recognized by the UN and international community it as a legitimate government, despite the fact that it had little control in the country. At the same time government forces are considered as Tajiks under Masoud, ignoring the participation and support of Islamic parties led by Sayaf, Khales, Gailani and Nabi together with regional *Shura*s (*Shura-e Kandahar* led by Mullah Naqib, *Shura-e Mashreqi* led by Haji Qhadir, and *Shura-e Paktia* led by Haqani) - all of them Pashtun – and other Hazara and *Shii* parties like Wahdat (HWIA-A) and Harakat (table 15).

Mujahidin Leader	Abbr.	Full name	Religious School	Qawm
Rabbani	Jamiyat	Jamiat Islami-ye Afghanistan (JIA) (Islamic Society of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Tajik
Masoud		Shura-e Nezar (Supervisory Council) (SN)		Tajik
Sayaf	Etehad	Etehad Islami-ye Afghanistan (EIA) (Islamic Union of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Pashtun
Mujaddidi	Nejat	Jabha-e-Nejat-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (JNIA) (National Front for Liberation of Afghanistan)	Sunni	?
Gailani	Mahaz	Mahaz Islami-ye Afghanistan (MIA) (National Islamic Front of Afghanistan)	Sunni	?
Nabi- Mohammadi	Harakat-e Enqilab	Harakat-e Enqelab-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (HEIA) (Islamic Revolution Movement of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Pashtun
Khales	Hezb-e Khalis	Hezb-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (I) (HIA-K) (Islamic Party of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Pashtun
Hekmatyar	Hezb-e Hekmatyar	Hezb-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (II) (HIA-H) (Islamic Party of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Pashtun
Dostum	Junbesh	Junbish-e Milli-ye Islami-ye Afghanistan (JMIA) (National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan)	Sunni	Uzbek
Mazari	Wahdat-e Mazari	Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (HWIA-M) (Party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan)	Shia	Hazara
Anwari	Wahdat-e Anwari	Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (HWIA-A) (Party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan)	Shia	Hazara
Mohseni	Harkat-e Mohseni	Harakat-e Islami-ye Afghanistan (HIA-M) (Islamic Movement of Afghanistan)	Shia	?

Table 15: Mujahidin parties according to their leadership, religious and Qawm structure
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

Nevertheless, the changing positions of the rival groups in this conflict prove little indication of ethnic conflict alone. More importantly, the Mujahidin parties did not represent a particular ethnic group. In fact there were fighters within each party from different ethnic groups. For example the regional *Shuras* in Kandahar, Nangarhar and Paktia all dominated by Pashtuns supported Rabani. Similarly Hekmatyar had many Tajik commanders (table 16).

April 1992 - December 1993						December 1993 - April 1994				
	Government	Party	Oppositions	Party			Government	Party	Oppositions	Party
Sunni	Rabbani	JIA	Hekmatyar	HIA-H		Sunni	Rabbani	JIA	Hekmatyar	HIA-H
	Masoud	SN					Masoud	SN		
	Sayaf	EIA					Sayaf	EIA		
	Mujaddidi	JNIA							Mujaddidi	JNIA
	Gailani	MIA					Gailani	MIA		
	Maulavi Nabi	HEIA					Maulavi Nabi	HEIA		
	Khales	HIA-K					Khales	HIA-K		
	Dostum	JMIA							Dostum	JMIA
Shia	Anwari	HWIA-A	Mazari	HWIA-M		Shia	Anwari	HWIA-A	Mazari	HWIA-M
	Mohseni	HIA-M					Mohseni	HIA-M		

Table 16: Mujahidin parties: Government and its oppositions 1992 - 1994
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

Furthermore, the conflict had a rural-urban dimension, too. The people who lived in urban areas suffered more under the power struggle of the Mujahidin groups than those who lived in rural areas, as the Mujahidin wanted to dominate the cities. In other words, if during the Soviet invasion the wars were mainly focused in the rural areas and where most of the rural people and the Mujahidin suffered, now the suffering has shifted its direction into the cities. The brutal military operations of the Soviet army together with PDPA government forces in the rural areas of Afghanistan (especially heavy air bombardments) had developed a kind of hatred among the Mujahidin groups against the cities and their dwellers. This hatred was intensified by the training they received in Pakistan and Iran in which destruction and burning of the cities was openly discussed. The phrase 'Kabul must burn' – mentioned by high-ranking Pakistani officers from the ISI (YOUSAF and ADKIN 2001: 142) was put in practice systematically, especially by the most radical groups like Hekmatyar. In addition to that the radical groups of the Mujahidin did not consider the dwellers of the cities to be true Muslims. They were thought to be in favor of communist regimes because they lived in Kabul during the Soviet invasion. In order to avoid conflict Mujaddidi declared general amnesty to all members of the former governments, while Hekmatyar continued to attack Kabul pretending the presence of communists and Dostum in the city. Though these attacks, and through the resulting counterattacks by the Mujahidin government, Kabul was badly destroyed and its residents severely suffered.

To understand the reasons motivating Hekmatyar and later of the Taliban for opposing the ISA, it is necessary to evaluate the different factors of the conflict. In general two main factors for the cause and continuation of the war can be identified: an internal factor and an external one.

4.3.2 Internal Factors of the Conflict

The main actors in the conflict were the government led by Rabbani (a Tajik) on one side and its opposition HIA-H, led by Hekmatyar (a Pashtun) on the other. There were also three other groups: Mazari led the HWIA-M *Shii* party, Sayaf led the EIA and Dostum led the JMIA party. Sayaf, a Pashtun, and his party remained beside Rabbani from the beginning of the IG till 2001 and had a constant position. Mazari had an instable position and he switched sides in the war many times. First he was with Masoud, later he joined Hekmatyar, and then, finally, he joined again Rabbani's government again when he lost his territories to the Taliban. Dostum, like Mazari, switched sides on many different

occasions. In the beginning he played a major role in the collapse of the Najibullah's regime, later he took control of Kabul and removed Hekmatyar's forces from the capital. Then, in 1994, he joined a coalition with Hekmatyar and Mazari and committed a coup against Rabbani's government. Finally, after loosing his territories to the Taliban, he again joined Rabbani's government. The leaders of remaining parties, Gailani, Khales and Mohammadi, were mostly loyal to the government, as were the other *Shii* parties e.g. Wahdat, led by Anwari and Harakat, led by Mohseni. They possessed political positions in the government and were less involved in the armed conflict in Kabul (Map 17-18).

The most externally influenced actor was Hekmatyar who at the focal point of the conflicts had three objectives: First he wanted to make sure that Rabbani and Masoud were not allowed to consolidate power, build a considerable administration, or expand their territorial control so that the country would remain divided into small fiefdoms, run by various Mujahidin leaders or local commanders or a council of such elements, with only some of them allied to Kabul. His second objective was to ensure that Rabbani's government acquired no capacity to dispense patronage, and to dissuade the Kabul population from giving more than limited support to the government. Thirdly, he aimed to make Kabul an unsafe city for representatives of international community, and to prevent the Rabbani government from attracting the international support needed to begin the post-war reconstruction of Afghanistan and generate a level of economic activity which would enhance its credibility and popularity. His tactics proved highly successful in all these respects (SAIKAL 2006: 33, AHMAD 2004: 34-35).
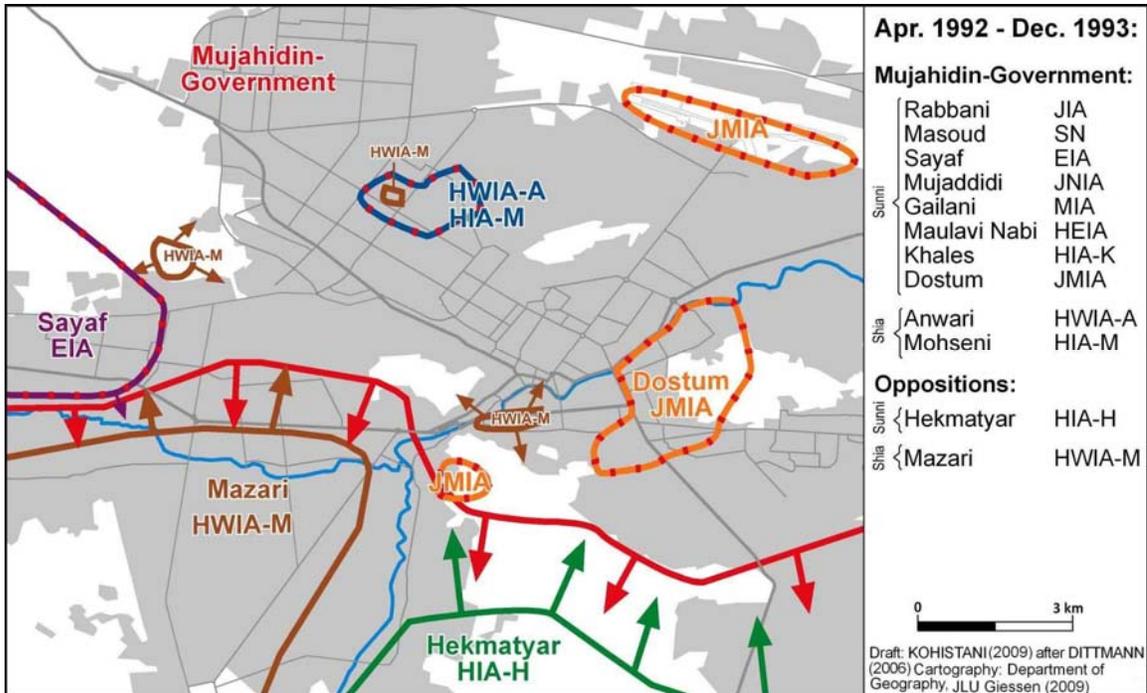
Map 17: The conflict in Kabul between governmental allies and opposition groups
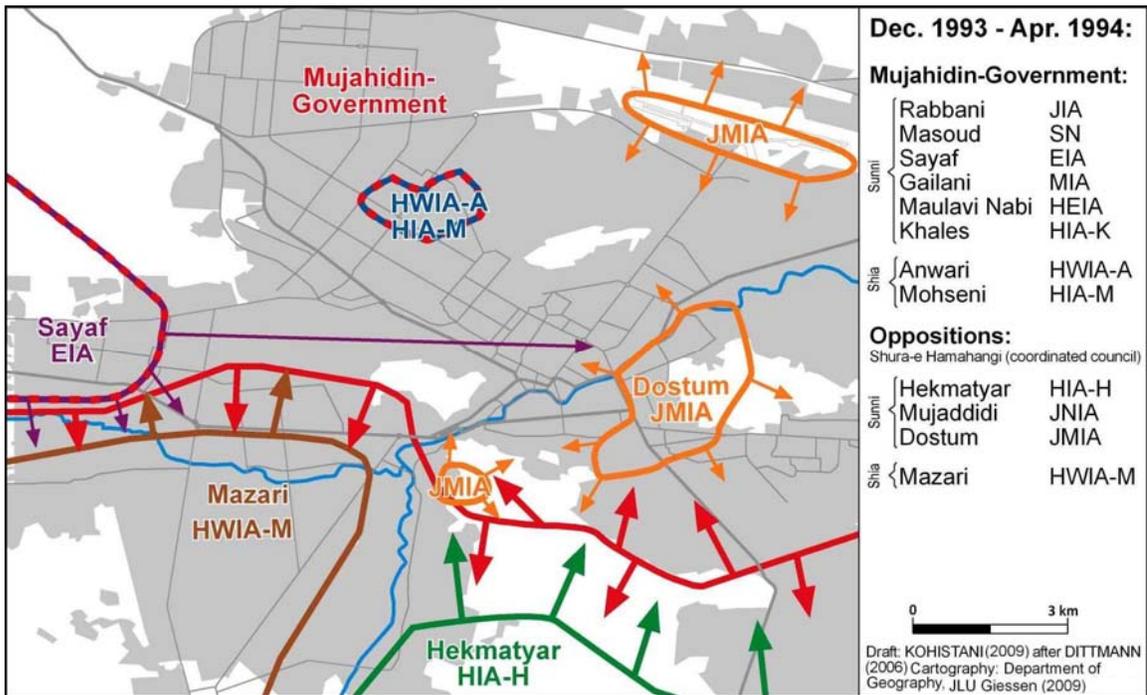
Map 18: The anti-government coup carried out by *Shura-e Hamahangi* (coordinated council)

4.3.3 External Factors of the Conflict: The 'New Great Game'

Following the collapse of the PDPA regime in Afghanistan, the Mujahidin established the Islamic State of Afghanistan but this government lacked control over its territory and also had its problems in the capital. Since there was no army and police, outside the capital was dominated by Mujahidin commanders from different groups. These commanders blocked the communications system through the highways. They had checkpoints where they looted the civilians passing through. Although some of these commanders were from the ruling party or loyal to the government there was anarchy in the country. This situation helped many external actors to maintain their interests through supporting a particular fraction of specific political, religious, ethnic or linguistic groups, rather than strengthening the central government in the country.

External actors played the major role in the conflict since they paid the huge cost of the war and without this the rival fractions, especially those opposing the government, could hardly continue the destructive wars. These actors consisted of Afghanistan's powerful neighboring countries like, Pakistan, Iran, and Uzbekistan together with the other actors in the world like the U.S., Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, Russia, India and Turkey. This rivalry of foreign countries played out in Afghanistan was a result of their geopolitical interests in the region, that is referred to as 'the New Great Game' (DITTMANN 2004: 66) in the Central Asia. The potential behind this game was the emergence of oil-rich Central Asia paired with the independence of many states in this region. These states, all landlocked countries, needed an alternative transit route to the South that would make them more independent of the Russian territories. On the other side the Central Asian states used to be the center of Islamic culture and tradition prior to the Soviet occupation. These new Islamic states attracted the attention of the rest of the Islamic world, mainly Saudi Arabia, Golf States, Pakistan and Iran.

Furthermore, the fall of the British rule on the Indian sub-continent was accompanied by the end of the British influence in Afghanistan. This situation shifted the balance of power to the USSR, which resulted in the involvement of the USSR in Afghanistan in 50s and 60s, and later their military invasion in 1979. Later, in 1989, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the fall of the USSR provided a power vacuum which many countries in the region wanted to fill. In this period the communist regime in Afghanistan collapsed and the Mujahidin parties took over power. As the seven Sunni parties of the Mujahidin were based in Pakistan and the next eight *Shii* parties were based in Iran, these two countries in particular enjoyed enormous possibilities of intervention

and saw more opportunities in this competition than did others in the region. Especially Pakistan, following the withdrawal of the Soviets troops from Afghanistan, started to implement its own strategy in Afghanistan and made a long term plan for the post Soviet state-building process in Afghanistan. According to a secret document received and published by the communist regime in Kabul in 1989, Pakistan's plan concludes that in the process of state-building and:

> establishing a new government in Afghanistan which can be recognized by many countries (especially the Muslim countries), we should provide the least chance for pro-Iranian elements"…….. Maintaining peace and starting reconstruction in Afghanistan would be a long and hard process. We have the necessary requirements not only to control this process but also in the future we can gradually merge our political and economical structures in a way which will result the unification of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This unification of course will result the confederation of Afghanistan and Pakistan. …."[79]

Meanwhile Saudi Arabia, the second major donor to the Sunni Mujahidin groups in the 1980s, shared with Pakistan a common strategy of maintaining their own interests both in Afghanistan and in the region. The two countries were trying to prevent Iran and India from keeping their influence in Afghanistan and in the region. In addition to this they had tremendous economic and cultural interests and wanted to maintain their influence on the new Islamic states in Central Asia by introducing the fundamental ideologies (*Wahabi* and *Deobandi*)[80] common in their own countries.

In order to implement its strategic plans in Afghanistan, Pakistan's policy continued to be governed by its longstanding relationship with Hekmatyar until 1994 (MAGNUS AND NABY2002: 180). This support was given to him to get the government control in Kabul (AHMED 2004: 35). This strategy was also backed by Saudi Arabia who from 1991-1993 spent USD 2 billion on Afghanistan with Hekmatyar being the major beneficiary (AHADI 2002: 123). Pakistan's secret service

> ISI had even deeper interest in Hekmatyar's fate. By 1994, Pakistani intelligence relied on the Islamic training camps in Hekmatyar's controlled Afghan territory to support its new covert jihad in Indian-held Kashmir. The political-religious networks around Hekmatyar trained and shipped foreign volunteers to Kashmir. Bhutto recalled that during this period, Pakistani intelligence officers repeatedly told her they could not fight the clandestine Kashmir war with Kashmiris alone; there just weren't enough effective native guerrillas to bleed Indian troops. They needed Afghan and Arab volunteers, and they needed the sanctuary of guerrilla training camps in Afghan territory (COLL 2005: 292).

Iran was also following its interests in Central Asia but this did not depend heavily on Afghanistan since it neighbored Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. In fact, major Iranian

---

[79] Abridged from MUJDA (2002:3-5)
[80] Religious ideology dominated in Pakistan and in Saudi Arabia.

efforts were concentrated on supporting the *Shii* parties and communities in Afghanistan. At the same time Iran wanted to prevent its rivals in the region (Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and Pakistan) from turning Afghanistan into their own base. Such a policy could have led to a further isolation of Iran. In the mean time, Iran played a double role between the Afghan government and its opposition. During the whole conflict Iran supported Mazari against Rabbani's government. At the same it maintained another channel open to other *Shii* parties on the side of the government. Later, when the Taliban killed Mazari and eleven Iranian diplomats, Iran shifted its major support to the Rabbani government who did not have the capital under its control anymore.

Meanwhile, Pakistan regarded the opening of trade routes into Central Asia as a priority of its national interests. At the same time its efforts to establish a client government in Kabul were not successful. Hekmatyar's inability to topple the government led by Rabbani made Pakistani authorities gather more support for him. The option was to broaden the base for anti-government opposition groups in Afghanistan. In particular Dostum, who was fighting alongside the government, attracted their attention. However, in turning Dostum against the government and bringing him to the side of Hekmatyar, Pakistan needed to talk to Uzbekistan, which like many other Central Asian states, regarded the Taliban as a threat to the stability of the region. Therefore Pakistan made efforts to coordinate its geopolitical ambitions with Uzbekistan. On 19 October 1996, Farooq Leghari, Pakistan's President, visited Uzbekistan and assured Uzbek authorities that the Taliban have no ambition beyond Afghanistan's border. They also discussed the energy resources in Central Asia and their transportation through Afghanistan to Pakistani ports (MARSDEN 2002: 138). The common interests between the two countries made them use their utmost influence to bring the two enemies Hekmatyar and Dostum together. The unity of the two was believed to play a key role in ousting Rabbani from power. Thus, Islam Karimov used his influence with Dostum to shift his alliance to Hekmatyar (MAGNUS and NABY2002: 180).

Finally, in January 1994, Hekmatyar, Dostum and Mazari formed a coalition known as *Shura*-e *Hamahangi* (coordinated council) that organized a coup against Rabbani's government. The coup, like the other fighting, was concentrated in the capital, unleashing one of the deadliest rocket and artillery attacks on Kabul killing 25,000 people (SAIKAL 2001:33. RASANAYAGAM 2003: 142) and injuring around 100,000. A large number of people was displaced and migrated inside and outside the country. At this stage Kabul city witnessed the most massive destruction since the British burnt and destroyed it in

1845.

The HWIA-M party, led by Mazari, also joined this anti-government coup. They did this because Mazari had a common view with Hekmatyar. He opposed Rabbani's government and his party carried out the deadliest compaigns against the government and its loyal forces in Kabul city. Meanwhile Dostum participation in the coup with his air power was seen as an undefeatable victory against Rabbani government. However, the coup and the three participating forces failed and were ousted from the capital, and the government remained in full control of Kabul.

4.3.4   The Government Consolidates its Power in Kabul

The total control of the city provided the chance for the government to start implementing services for the citizens in Kabul. However, to repair the large amount of destruction was beyond the capability of the government with minimum resources available. The city was without power and water, and its infrastructure was badly damaged especially in the areas where the frontline was located. Public offices, hospitals, clinics and schools were reopened and started their normal activities. The Ministry of Higher Education and Kabul University Kabul were severely damaged both were reconstructed and reactivated. Students, male and female, returned to their classes after a few years. At the same time Sayaf opened his own university, *Ummahatul Mominin* (mothers of believers), that was only for female students. Another change was that the government added *Saqafat-e Islami* (Islamic culture) as a new Islamic subject to the curriculum.

The most important thing, however, was the provision of food, water, electricity, oil and other necessary materials for the desperately poor population. In the past Afghanistan used to be dependant on the Soviets and its economic requirements used to be supllied from the North, either from the USSR or from elsewhere via USSR territory. After the withdrawal of its troops, the Soviets announced that they would stop sending aid. However, financial transfers still continued to be made through the USSR up to the fall of the PDPA regime in 1992. With the fall of the USSR and the new political developments in the region, the trading of goods (mainly food and oil) was stopped or strongly decreased. With the rise of the Mujahidin to power and their strong political relations with Islamabad, Pakistan, with Karachi port, became an important neighbor for the land-locked Afghanistan. Hereafter Pakistani products replaced all Russian products in in Afghan markets, which brought economic benefits to Pakistan.

The imported food and oil used to come from or through Pakistan and via highways in the East and in the South which were still under control of Hekmatyar. He used to keep it them closed to put pressure on the government. He increased his pressure further on the government by depriving the capital of electricity, as he had seized control of the *Sorobi* and *Naghlo* power stations in the East of Kabul province.

4.3.5   Taliban: Pakistan's "Creeping Invasion"[81]

For the Pakistanis, the post-PDPA Afghanistan provided a unique opportunity to maintain their strategic goals. There were certain factors that paved the way for Pakistan in achieving its goals. Following the fall of the PDPA government, the seven major Mujahidin parties which enjoyed popular support from the West were all based in Pakistan. Even the Mujahidin Interim Government was established in Peshawar under the eyes of Pakistani authorities. The collapse of USSR further increased Afghanistan's geopolitical importance for regional players, in particular for Pakistan. Pakistani authorities regarded the opening of trade routes into Central Asia as a priority of their national interests. Afghanistan became the key to Central Asia and only a pro-Pakistani government in Kabul could have helped Pakistan in maintaining its interests. Pakistan long border with Afghanistan and its close cultural ties to the tribal areas further facilitated achieving these goals.

However, the independence of the Rabbani led government in Kabul from Pakistan created a major obstacle for Pakistani authorities. At the same time, their support for anti-government opposition groups had failed many times. Therefore, the repeated failure of Hekmatyar to overthrow Rabbani's government prompted Pakistan's attempts to seek another alternative client who would be capable of bringing Afghanistan under control (MALEY 2002: 219) and provide safe trade routes for Pakistan to Central Asia. With these objectives in mind, Pakistan's interior minister Naseerullah Babar, ethnically Pashtun, took the initiatives in form of a campaign that resulted in the creation of the Taliban, [82] a new pro-Pakistan movement planted in Afghanistan. Babar was not the only Pashtun within Pakistan's government busy in the project of the Taliban. There were also other high-ranking Pashtuns like Colonel Imam, an ISI officer and Pakistan's General

---

[81] According to MALEY "Creeping invasion occurs when a middle power uses force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state, but covertly and through surrogates, denying all the while that it is doing any such thing; and this use of force is on a sufficient scale to imperil the exercise of the state power, by the state under threat, on a significant part of its territory, and is designed and intended to do so" (MALEY 2002: 221).

[82] The word Taliban in Farsi literary means religious student. It has an Arabic root and also used in Pashtu and Urdu languages.

Consul in Herat. He had extensive experience in cross-border liaisons and played an important role in the rise of the Taliban (DAVIS 2001: 45). In September 1994, ISI officers surveyed the highway from Herat to Chaman on the Pakistani border, and in October, Babar, together with six Western ambassadors, visited the Kandahar-Herat highway without even informing the government in Kabul (RASHID 2002: 27). Babar, who is considered to be the 'godfather' and 'architect' of the Taliban, recruited, trained and armed a number of students from *madrasas* (religious schools) in Pakistan to provide protection for a Pakistani convoy en route to Central Asia through Afghanistan (SAIKAL 2006: 221).

Therefore this covert policy of intervention in Afghanistan is regarded as "Pakistan's creeping invasion" (MALEY 2002: 221 and SAIKAL 2006: 219). While Pakistan engineered the Taliban, it also enjoyed major support from the U.S. and Saudi Arabia who were interested in the region and particularly in Central Asia after the fall of the Soviet Union. In 1992 James Baker, the US Secretary of State who repeatedly visited Central Asian capitals, mentioned openly that Washington would do everything in its power to block Iranian influence in this region (RASANAYAGAM 2003: 169). The US was clearly sympathetic to the Taliban, as they were in line with Washington's anti-Iran policy. The importance of the US policy in the region was focused on the success of any southern pipeline from Central Asia that would avoid Iran (RASHID 2002: 46) and pass through Afghanistan to Pakistan and Arabian Sea.

Just like the period of Soviet invasion, Pakistan once again became the key player of the US, Saudis and its own interest in Afghanistan and via Afghanistan in the region. The ISI was the main organizer and supporter of the Taliban movement. According to Benazir Bhutto Pakistan's prime minister "the request from ISI covert aid to their new clients grew gradually, it started with a little fuel, then became machinery, then it became money…I don't know how much money they were ultimately given … I know it was a lot. It was just carte blanche" (COLL 2005: 292).

The US wanted the Taliban to establish a government in Afghanistan, based on the Saudi Arabian model which could maintain interests of the West.

> The US government, well aware of the Taliban's reactionary programme, chose to support its rise to power by actively encouraging Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to back it. Senator Hank Brown, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-committee on the Near East and South Asia, had this to say of the Taliban: 'The good part of what has happened is that one of the fractions at last seems capable of developing a new government in Afghanistan'. The USA expected the Taliban to be like the Saudis-a local elite propped up by American aid and influence-while Western corporate

powers would be allowed to develop their long coveted oil pipeline running from the oil-rich Central Asian Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean, permitting American freighters to access this newly tapped bonanza.'31 This analysis helps explain why the Bush administration gifted USD44 million dollars to the Taliban-a government not formally recognised by the USA-in 2001, couched in the lingo of the so-called 'war on drugs (HARTMAN 2002:484).

In order to implement the plan of creating a Saudi-like ruling elite in Afghanistan, it was crucial for the Saudis to take part in this initiative. Therefore, the director of the Saudi intelligence, Prince Turki-al-Faisal and his chief of staff Ahmed Badeeb, accompanied the ISI in supporting the Taliban. Mullah Omar, the Taliban's leader, was impressed by this massive support and said: "Whatever the Saudi Arabia wants me to do, I will do" (COLL 2005: 295). Furthermore Mullah Rabbani, a senior member of the founding Taliban *Shura* and a close associate of Mullah Omar's, confessed to the Saudi authorities that the Taliban considered King Fahd as their *Imam*, or spiritual leader (COLL 2005: 296). Thus, the political ties turned to strong ideological ties according to which the Taliban were obliged to follow religious orders from the Saudis.

4.3.6   The Multinational Composition of the Taliban

The Taliban movement was recruited out of students from *madrasas* in Pakistan. They were ideologically under the influence of these *madrasas.* The Pakistani *Jamiat ul-Ulema-i-Islam* JUI (society of Muslim theologians) ran the network of *madrasas,* including two major ones in Baluchistan and in Karachi which some of the Taliban leaders had attended (RASANAYAGAM 2003: 142). Ethnically the Taliban movement consisted mainly of Pashtuns from both side of the Durand border. Those from the Afghan side were mainly from Kandahar and its close surroundings. In terms of tribal affiliations, the Taliban were predominantly Ghilzai and their ruling elite, including their leader, was mostly Hotak, a sub-tribe. However, there were also large numbers of Pakistanis and many Arabs from different Arabic countries. There were also Uzbek, Chechens and other foreigners from the Central Asia and the Caucasus who joined the Taliban movement (figure 15). The *madrasas* were the only religious institutions that unified the heterogeneous Taliban belonging to many different nationalities under a common ideology.
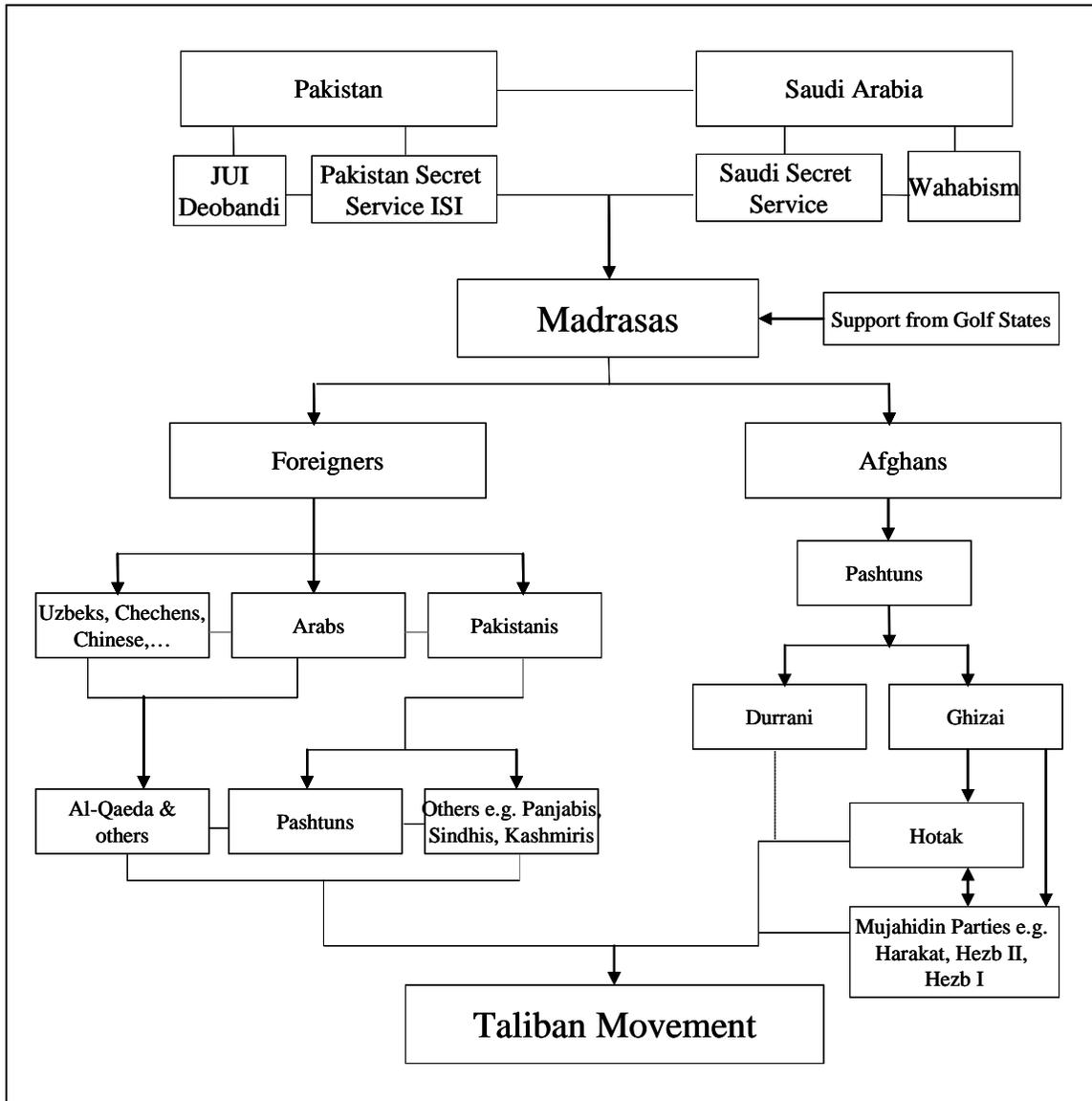
Figure 15: Internal and external composition of the Taliban with their major supporters
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

The first military operation of the Taliban occurred on 12 October 2004 when their 200 force assaulted the border district of Spin Boldak (DAVIS 2001: 45). This rather small group attacked the Afghan border post from Pakistani soil and captured it from militias loyal to the government in Kabul. Their initial success prompted their further advance toward Kandahar, the major city in southern Afghanistan, which they captured in November 1994. After capturing Kandahar, thousands of Pakistani volunteers from JUI *madrasa*, inspired by the new Islamic movement, joined the Taliban. By December,

some 12,000 Afghans and Pakistanis had joined the Taliban in Kandahar. Soon they headed forward and occupied Kandahar. This immediate success of the Taliban was celebrated by the Pakistani government and JUI, while Babar, who had taken the initiative in establishing this movement, proudly admitted that the "Taliban are our boys" (RASHID 2002: 29) and that "they are actually a phoenix who have returned to be the real master of the Afghan chessboard" (DIXIT 1998: 104). The ISI also mobilized the former Khalqi members to assist the Taliban in filling their technical and professional gaps.

4.3.7 Strategy of the Taliban

After capturing Kandahar, the Taliban made it their central base, and organized their further expansion toward two different directions – to Herat and to Kabul, the capital. By February 1995, they advanced to Kabul's doors in Maidan Shahr in the Southwest and captured Hekmatyar's base in Char Asiab in the South of the city.

There were many factors behind the rapid success of the Taliban in the southern part of the country. Beside the strong external supports from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the US they benefited from, a number of internal factors helped the Taliban to gain territory rapidly. The internal factors consisted of lack government control and insecurity especially in the southern part of the country. Different armed groups mostly belonging to anti-government opposition groups blocked the highways and looted passengers. This policy of blocking the highway was similar to that during the period of Soviet invasion, which aimed at weakening the government in Kabul by bringing it under severe economic pressure. Kabul, the capital, was very much dependent on the imports of necessary goods (food, oil, gas, burning wood and coals) through the South and from Pakistan. The blockade of highways created economic crisis and the growing insecurity endangered the life of the ordinary people. The Taliban profited most from this public anger. They repeatedly claimed that their aim was to bring security, remove all checkpoints from highways, and bring order and the rule of the *Shariah* to the country.

Beside other factors, there was also another important fact that that helped the Taliban advance in the southern part of the country. The Taliban's external supporters, mainly Pakistan, invited Sardar Abdulwali, the principle advisor and nephew of Zahir Shah the former king, to Pakistan and held discussion with frontier tribes and Afghan representatives. It is significant to see that Abdulwali tried to visit Pakistan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan but the Pakistani government never allowed him. This

visit, during which Abdulwali was received with high official honors and much popular enthusiasm, revived speculations about the return of the monarch to an active role in establishing a national government of reconciliation in Afghanistan (MAGNUS and NABY2004: 184-186). In September, when Kabul was almost besieged from three directions, the King while in Italy, announced that he would soon return to Afghanistan (ELMI 2000: 75). These events supported the rumors in Afghanistan that the Taiban would bring Zahir Shah. These rumors helped the Taliban to advance rapidly in the South. Especially the majority of the Afghan Taliban were mainly from Kandahar where the Mahamadzais clan or Afghanistan's former ruling family came from.

As a result the Taliban faced little challenges from the warlords and former Mujahidin commanders in the southern part of the country, and they were soon integrated with the new movement. This was due to the fact that the Taliban proved to be an unchallenged force with enormous external support. Beside that many of the warlords joined the Taliban because they were opposed to the Rabbani government. On the other side most of these warlords shared both ethnic and tribal relationships with the Taliban. AWhen ethnic and tribal relations failed to gain support of the warlords, Taliban used bribing the warlords. For example in Jalalabad and the Eastern part of the country, the Taliban paid USD 10 million to Haji Abdul Qadeer, the head of the *Shura-e Mashreqi* (RASHID 2002: 48), to surrender the eastern provinces. In fact these factors helped the Taliban to maintain their control almost in the entire southern part of the country.

In March 1995, when the Taliban attempted to advance toward Shindand airbase, they were defeated by government forces and faced 3000 casualties. To enable the Taliban to advance toward Shindand and Heart, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia intensified their support of the Taliban and provided them more arms, ammunition and vehicles as well as with a new command structure which had been created with the help of ISI advisors. Meanwhile the ISI initiated a military cooperation agreement between the Taliban forces in the South and Dostum's forces in the North. According to this agreement, Dostum professional staff was to repair the jet-fighters and helicopters which the Taliban had captured in Kandahar. This helped them to build an air force and strengthened their military capability. These military initiatives from one hand, and the joining of 25,000 new volunteers from Pakistan on the other, helped the Taliban to capture Herat in September 1995 (RASHID 2002: 36-40). At the same time Dostum's own planes took part in bombarding Herat.

Opposing the occupation of Herat, many people demonstrated in Kabul in front of Pakistan's embassy in Kabul, in which a guard of the embassy opened fired at the people. As a result of the huge anger that followed, the people stormed the embassy, beat its staff and burnt down the building (ELMI 2000: 73). While the Taliban brought Rabbani's government under pressure through their military successes, the government in Kabul gained political success by wooing other opposition leaders like Hekmatyar. At this point Hekmatyar, who had lost many of his men and his territory to the Taliban, joined the government - after many years of fighting against the same government - and held the premiership and announced his cabinet. Once in power, Hekmatyar called for the dismissal of all communists from government institutions, banned music broadcast on TV and radio, advised women to follow *Hejab*, and ordered the government staff to hold the midday prayers in their work places (MAGNUS and NABY2004: 186). These measures, which in particular restricted the freedom of the inhabitants of the capital, further damaged his reputation. Meanwhile the growing threat of the Taliban undermined the implementation of such policies.

Nevertheless, Hekmatyar's joining the government was a major political success for Rabbani especially when Pakistan's attempts to persuade Hekmatyar to join the Taliban failed. Hence major efforts were carried out to bring legitimacy to the movement of the Taliban which would in turn undermine the legitimacy of the Rabbani government. In March 1996, Mullah Omar summoned 1,200 Pashtun *mullahs* and held a *Shura* (*Ahl-e Alhal wa Aqhd*) in Kandahar to legitimize the Taliban leader as the all-powerful leader of the country. Despite the *Shura* being held in extreme secrecy the external influence was apparent. Particularly Pakistani officials and ISI officers monitored the *Shura*. After more than two weeks of *Shura,* the core group of Kandaharis around mullah Omar finally nominated him to become the '*Amir-ul Momineen'* (commander of the faithful). Mullah Omar, now in a leading position within the Taliban, wrapped himself in a cloak believed to have belonged to the Prophet Mohammad PBUH, which was taken out of its shrine for the first time after 60 years, appeared on the roof of a building in the center of the city in order to dignify his title and leadership. The meeting ended with the declaration of jihad against the Rabbani government. RASHID believes that this religious title was not used in Afghanistan since the reign of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan in 1934, when he assumed the title before he declared jihad against the Sikh occupation of Peshawar.[83] But Dost Mohammad Khan was fighting against foreigners, while Mullah Omar had declared jihad

---

[83] Dost Mohammad was the first but not the last to use this title. The word Amir as the short for of the title was used till 1929 by other rulers in Afghanistan (cf. Chapter 2).

against his own people (RASHID 2002:42) while supported by thousands of foreigners.

This *Shura,* in theory, was the same as that which the Rabbani's government had held earlier. In practice, its membership was restricted the Taliban and their external supporters while other groups of Mujahidin and political elites in the country were left out. Nevertheless, the election of the Taliban leader was crucial to their future strategy, especially their rapid advance toward Kabul supported the already existing assumptions and doubts about the existence of Afghan leadership behind the movement. After the *Shura*, Taliban foreign supporters decided how to take possession of the capital and other major cities controlled by the government. In July 1996, the Saudi Intelligence Chief, Prince Turki al Faisal, visited Islamabad and Kandahar and discussed a new plan to take the control of Kabul, according to which both Riyadh and Islamabad stepped up supplies to the Taliban (RASHID 2002: 48). Two months later, as a result of these efforts, the Taliban captured Jalalabad, and they now intensified their pressure on Kabul province now from East, too. On September 27, they captured Kabul while the ISA gave up almost without a fight (RUBIN 2002: xviii) and based its new fronts in the *Shamali* plain, at 60 km North of the city. The Taliban without any delay, headed to the North and took over the control of the Charikar and the Salang Pass while the government troops led by Masoud were forced to move back to Panjshir valley, their stronghold.

In order to maintain their rule in the capital, the Taliban set up a six-man *Shura*, none of whom were from Kabul, or most of them had never visited the city (RASHID 2002: 51). The Shura consisted of *mullahs* and *mawlawis*, religious titles which used to be mentioned before their names, who imposed the strictest rule on the city in the form of decrees issued by Mullah Omar. According to these decrees education for female was banned, women were ordered to stay at home; men were forced to grow their beards, dress traditionally, and take part in prayer at mosque five times a day. Furthermore, music, TV, pictures, many kinds of sports and games were banned. Radio Kabul, which was the main source of Taliban propaganda, was renamed to *Radio Shari'at*. Once in Kabul the Taliban also executed Najibullah, the former communist president, and his brother who had been residing in the UN compound in Kabul. This event in particular attracted the world's attention to the Taliban's ruling system and was strongly condemned internationally.

In order to regroup and reorganize themselves against the Taliban, members of the ousted government met with Dostum, Khalili and other anti-Taliban forces in Salang on 14

October 1996, where they discussed forming a resistance force against the Taliban occupation of the country (ELMI 2000: 76). Dostom who had repeatedly switched sides between the rival parties in Afghanistan, now allied himself with the government. He did this after he noticed the policy of the Taliban with regards to the fate of other political elements in the country, especially after the killing of Najibullah. The anti-Taliban resistance forces called their military front as *Jabha-e Muttahid-e Mili baraye Nejat-e Afghanistan* (National United Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan or NUFSA). The Pakistani media, in order to denigrate NUFSA, called the new coalition the Northern Alliance, a name which falsely gained popularity even in academic literature. However, there are still scholars like MALEY who use the term United Fronts (UF) which is the short form of the right name (MALEY 2002: 260).

In the North of the country the feud between Dostum and his chief commander General Malik provided an opportunity for the Taliban from which they benefited most in their initial advance to the North. This together with using bribes and promising special positions in the future to General Malik, persuaded him to support the Taliban. In 19 May 1997, Malik let the Taliban forces advance to the North and helped them to oust Dostum, who fled to Uzbekistan and then to Turkey. Following the Taliban's success in entering Mazar, the major city in the North, Pakistan prematurely recognized the movement as the legitimate government of Afghanistan, a step that was followed by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (PAHLAWAN 1999: 199). As a result, Afghanistan at this stage had two governments; the ousted Rabbani government based in Takhar and the Taliban who controlled major parts of the country including the capital. However, the countries who recognized the Taliban government never increased beyond their three supporting countries that had supported them all along. In contrast, the UN and many countries in the region recognized the government led by Rabbani despite the fact that it had just some parts of the country under its control.

The Taliban, once having the control Mazar in the North, enforced their strict law and tried to disarm all other forces in the area. This policy soon led to severe clashes between Malik, Mazari and other local forces on one side and the Taliban on the other. As a result, the Taliban saw their first major defeat since the time the movement was established. They suffered 3,000 casualties, killed and injured, while 3,600 others were taken as prisoners (RASHID 2002: 59). Further the Taliban lost their control of Parwan and Kapisa after Masoud's forces pushed them back to 25km North of the capital (MAGNUS and NABY2002: 199). These sudden losses confronted the Taliban with major manpower

challenges in their efforts to gain control of the whole country through eliminating all opposing forces. Moreover, with these losses the popular belief that the Taliban would succeed to expand their control lost its credibility. To solve the problem Taliban leader Mullah Omar asked Pakistani religious leaders to send more students from Pakistani *madrasas* to join alongside their forces:

> Samiul Haq is in constant touch with Omar, helps him deal with international relations and offers advice on important *Shariah* decisions. He is also the principle organizer for recruiting Pakistani students to fight for the Taliban. After the Taliban defeat in Mazar in 1997 he received a phone call from Omar asking him for help. Haq shut down all his madrasas and sent his entire student body to fight alongside the Taliban. And after the battle for Mazar in 1988, Haq organized a meeting between the Taliban leader and 12 madrasas in the NWFP to organize reinforcements for the Taliban army. All the madrasas agreed to shut down for one month and send 8,000 students to Afghanistan. The help the Taliban received from Pakistan's Deobandi madrasas is an important level of support they can rely upon, quite apart from the government and the intelligence agencies (RASHID 2002: 91-92).

Beside the manpower support Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal visited Kandahar and provided the Taliban with 400 pick-up trucks and financial help. At the same time the ISI prepared a budget of 2 billion Pakistani rupees (USD5 million) for logistical support of the Taliban (RASHID 2002: 72). This help increased the military capability of the Taliban forces as a result of which, in July 12th 1998, they launched their offensives for the control of Mazar again. On the other side Dostum managed to return from exile and take control of some provinces in the North of the country, and now forced Malik to exile in Iran. However, Mazar the major city and his stronghold, was under the control the *Shii* force of HWIA-M.

During July and August 1998, the Taliban succeeded in taking control of the northern provinces from Maimana to Shiberghan. This happened after several of Dostum's commanders accepted Taliban bribes and switched sides. As a result of a wave of desertion in his militias, Dostum fled to Uzbekistan and then to Turkey while the 1,500 *Wahdat* forces (HWIA-M) were surrounded and killed by the Taliban. During this second occupation of Mazar, the Taliban took revenge for their previous losses. As a result they carried out a 'brutal massacre' which was ordered by their leader:

> Mullah Omar had given them permission to kill for two hours, but they had killed for two days. The Taliban went on a killing frenzy, driving their pick-ups up and down the narrow streets of Mazar shooting to the left and right and killing anything that moved – shop owners, cart-pullers, women and children shoppers and even goats and donkeys. Contrary to all injunctions of Islam, which demands immediate burial, bodies were left to rot on the streets. No one was allowed to bury the corpses for the first six days (RASHID 2002: 73).

After this massacre, the Taliban targeted systematic ethnic cleansing in the North. The

Shii Hazaras were the primarily target of this brutal policy. The Taliban's "mullahs were proclaiming from the city's mosques that the city's *Shiis* had three choices: convert to Sunni Islam, leave for *Shii* Iran or die…. The Hazaras are not Muslims and now we have to kill Hazaras. You either accept to be Muslims or leave Afghanistan (RASHID 2002: 74)."

In September 1998, after strengthening their position in the North, the Taliban launched their offensives on Bamiyan the stronghold of Hazaras in central Afghanistan, from three directions and finally brought it under their control (ELMI 2000:81). In another anti-*Shii* and anti-Iran attempt, the Taliban, together with *Sepah-e Sahaba*[84] entered the Iranian consulate in the city of Mazar-e Sharif and killed 11 Iranian diplomats. This event, the fall of Bamiyan and the anti-*Shii* policy of the Taliban increased the tensions between the Taliban and Islamic Republic of Iran and caused thousands of Iranian regular troops to hold military exercises on the border to Afghanistan. There was a certain fear in the region of opening another front and rising exting the conflict beyond the borders of Afghanistan. The tension subsided when the UN intervened by sending Lakhdar Ibrahimi, its representative, to Kandahar. Ibrahimi met Mullah Omar, who agreed to return the dead bodies of the Iranian diplomats and release 45 Iranian truck drivers they had arrested earlier. Meanwhile the Taliban's aim was to terrorize the population so that they would not rise against them, which cost the lives of a large number of population in the North. During their attempts to gain the control of the North the Taliban had killed between 5,000 to 6,000 of the *Shii* population in Mazar, and 6,000 to 8,000 Uzbeks and Tajiks in Maimana and Shiberghan (RASHID 2002: 74-76).

By 2000 the Taliban expansion reached its peak, and with Pakistan's full support they brought over eighty percent of the country under their control. At the same the ousted Rabbani government – still recognized as the legitimate government of the ISA by the UN   and some other countries (ELMI 2002: 84) - had controlled an area that stretched from Badakhshan in the Northeastern part of the country to some 30 km North of the capital. The *Shii* forces also managed to resist against the Taliban control of the central part of the country. In April 1999, Wahdat's troops recaptured Bamiyan and much of Hazarajat and proved that the Taliban's rule in these areas was extremely fragile.

Moreover, the Taliban and their supporters tried to expand their military activities beyond

---

[84] A Pakistani militant group mainly active in northern areas of Pakistan usually commits anti-*Shii* killings in major cities of Pakistan. This group like many other extremist groups joined the Taliban militias in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan. The victory of the Taliban prompted the activities of foreign Islamic militants among them Osama bin Laden the leader of Al-Qaeda, an Arab militant group. After the occupation of Kabul in 1996 the ISI introduced Bin Laden to the Taliban and managed to establish military training camps for him in Khost. Since then more than 10,000 Pakistani militants have received training in the Al-Qaeda camps (HUSSAIN 2007: 72). Some of these training camps in Afghanistan were in Nangarhar, Khost and in the South and East of the capital, e.g., Rishkhor and Sorobi. Following the rapid taking over of control of the Taliban movement in Afghanistan, Bin Laden declared jihad against the United States and the Saudi Royal Family. On August 20, 1998, the US hit Bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan with dozens of cruise missiles, after Bin Laden's group had attacked the American embassies in Nairobi and Darussalam. Bin Laden, in Afghanistan, was a strong supporter for Taliban movement. In 1997 and 1998 hundreds of his Arab fighters were fighting alongside the Taliban and helped them to massacre the *Shii*s in the North. At the same time several hundreds of them were based in Rishkhor army garrison in the South of Kabul city and fought against the Rabbani government (RASHID 2002: 75,139). The close relationship of Bin Laden with the Taliban was further strengthened when Bin Laden married Mullah Omar's daughter (MALEY 2002: 225).

4.3.8 The US Invasion: 'The War on Terror'
While the Taliban's anti-Iran policy and the economic opportunities in Central Asia attracted the US support for the Taliban, the emergence of Bin Laden and his anti-American activities distanced the US from the Taliban. This is to say that Bin Laden's activities marked the start of an end to the rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan. All the attempts to gain support for recognition of the Taliban as the government of Afghanistan, especially those by the Pakistani government, failed. In 2000, the Taliban banned the cultivation of opium, which was another failed attempt to get international recognition. Instead, the US continued its pressure on Pakistan and the Saudis to use their influence on the Taliban regime to extradite Bin Laden from Afghanistan. But this pressure had little impact since it put Pakistan in a difficult position to decide about the extradition of Bin Laden. This was due to the fact that Bin Laden provided manpower for the Kashmir conflict and trained fighters in his training camp in Khost. More importantly, Bin Laden had now turned into a known figure among the large Islamic groups in Pakistan and any attempt to extradite him made by the Pakistani government would have destabilized Pakistan. The same was true for the Taliban, any probable extradition of Bin Laden (regardless of the family relationship between the Taliban leader and Bin Laden) would

have damaged the basis on which the movement was established. The Taliban also rejected the Saudis demand for the extradition of Bin Laden. In response, the Saudis suspended their diplomatic relationship with the Taliban authorities, but did not withdraw recognition of the Taliban as the government of Afghanistan (RASHID 2002: 138-139).

Their activities as international terrorists and their pressure on the population in Afghanistan, particularly human rights abuse and sexual abuse, brought the Taliban under international pressure. In 1998, Kofi Annan said that "In a country of 20 million people, 50,000 armed men are holding the whole population hostage (RASHID 2002: 78)." In October 1999, the UN implemented sanctions against the Taliban. The subsequent sanction of December 2000 further attracted the solidarity of 40 radical organizations in Pakistan convened by Sami-ul Haq (MARSDEN 2002: 131-132). At the same time the continuation of sanctions by the international community frustrated Pakistani authorities. Genral Parviz Musharaf Pakistan's military ruler, argued that Bin Laden "can be sent to any third country" while defending the Taliban (HUSSAIN 2007: 40).

At this time the Taliban's advance was stopped and they failed to achieve their last goal, which was to eliminate all opposition forces in the country. There was a frontline between the Taliban and the NUFSA which began in Takhar in the North and continued to the North of Kabul and ended in the North of Nangarhar province. Moreover, there were *Shii* Islamic groups in central Afghanistan that resisted that Taliban rule. These groups were led by Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq and Karim Khalili, the two leaders of Wahdat Party. At the same time they failed to maintain security in the areas under their control. More importantly, corruption in the administration, particularly in the capital undermined their effective control of the situation. The defective judiciary system in the capital became one of the most corrupt parts of the Taliban administration, followed by security. The latter turned corrupt especially when the Taliban faced heavy losses in the conflict and they recruited people who were undisciplined and careless to follow their commands.

Some believe that this pressure had significant effects in further radicalizing the Taliban (MARSDEN 2002:148 and MALEY 2002: 256) and their supporting foreign militants who continued terrorist activities in Afghanistan. In December 1999 *Harakat-ul-Mujahidin* an Islamic militant group from Pakistan hijacked an Indian Airline flight en rout from Nepal to Delhi with more than 155 passengers on board to Kandahar. The hostages were released after the Indian government under pressures by the terrorists,

freed the militant's leading figures from its prison in India. Both the Taliban and the ISI backed the hijacking and especially the later organized the instructions for the hijackers (HUSSAIN 2007: 63). On the other side the Uzbek government also broke off its relations with the Taliban movement and became more amenable to discussion with Rabbani's government after the Taliban gave shelter to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in Kunduz (MAGNUS and NABY2002: 204). In February 2001, the Taliban destroyed the giant Buddhas in Bamyan followed by systematic destruction of all historical monuments and figures in the country, including the remaining statues in Kabul museum, which were that was considered un-Islamic according to the Taliban.

4.3.9 The Fall of the Taliban

On 9 September 2001 while carrying Belgian passports, two Arab suicide bombers masquerading as journalists assassinated Ahmad Shah Massoud during an interview in Khwaja Bahauddin in Takhar province (MALEY 2002: 251). Two days later, on September 11, the US faced the deadliest terrorist attacks in New York and Washington when three airplanes hijacked by terrorist groups hit the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon Building of the US Department of Defense, while the third plane crashed in Pennsylvania. The US, blaming Bin Laden, soon declared its policy of "either with us or against us" to those countries who were not members of the NATO and allies of the US. Pakistan became the focal point and was the door to the Taliban and Bin Laden. Therefore, the US authorities met General Mahmood (the second-most-powerful man in the Pakistani military junta after Musharaf), who was in Washington during these attacks- and handed him a "nonnegotiable list of demands," which forced Pakistan to openly declare its full support for an American invasion of Afghanistan (HUSSAIN 2007: 36). The most difficult part of the demands for the Pakistani authorities was to end their support for the Taliban and break their relations with them, something that would finally lead to the end of Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan (figure 16).

On 13 September, Wendy Chamberlain, the newly appointed US ambassador to Islamabad, met with Musharaf and conveyed a formal message from President Bush with the same list of demands which had earlier been handed over to General Mehmood in Washington. It read:

1. Stop al-Qaeda operations on the Pakistani border, intercept arms shipments through Pakistan and all logistical support for bin Laden.
2. Blanket over-flight and landing rights for US planes.
3. Access to Pakistan's naval bases, airbases and borders.
4. Immediate intelligence and immigration information.
5. Curb all domestic expressions of support for terrorism against the United States, its friends and allies.
6. Cut off fuel supply to the Taliban and stop Pakistani volunteers going into Afghanistan to join the Taliban.
7. Pakistan to break diplomatic relations with the Taliban and assist the US in destroying bin Laden and his al-Qaeda network.

Figure 16: The US list of demands from Pakistan for Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in 2001
Source: HUSSAIN (2007: 36)

According to the US list of demands, Pakistan provided its full support for the US invasion of Afghanistan. This invasion was called "Operation Enduring Freedom" and began with a US air assault that targeted the Taliban strongholds and frontlines. At the same time, on the ground, the UF intensified its operations against the Taliban on many different fronts in the country. As a result the Taliban, who lacked public support, soon

lost control of all the provinces in Afghanistan including Kandahar, their stronghold. Thousands of them fled to Pakistan while many of them were arrested. Of those arrested some were taken to the US prison in Guantanamo, Cuba, others were imprisoned in Afghanistan and hundreds were killed on the battlefields.

4.3.10 A New Era in the State-Building Process

By November 17, Rabbani, still recognized by the UN as the President of Afghanistan, returned to Kabul, held the office, and his ministers the cabinet. Rabbani declared his determination to form a "broad-based government" under the UN guidance (O'BALANCE 2002: 253). At the same time international attempts, especially by the UN, were on the way to nurture agreement between different groups that aspired to exercise power after the Taliban. The most important part, however, was to build a consensus between Afghanistan's six neighbors plus Russia and the US, or 6+2. As a result of the UN attempts, these six countries agreed to the "establishment of a broad-based, multi-ethnic, politically balanced and freely chosen Afghan administration representative of their aspirations and at peace with its neighbors" (MALEY 2002: 269). However, to support the implementation these political processes of state-building, Afghanistan desperately needed enormous international financial support and long term commitments. To achieve this goal the international community created a Steering Group (SG) of donor governments – co-chaired by the United States, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and the European Union – to enhance the international political support for the reconstruction process and provide strategic guidance. According to the SG's request the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (AsDB), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had produced a preliminary needs assessment for Afghanistan's reconstruction. Later this assessment was presented at the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in Tokyo in January 2002. The conference generated pledges of assistance for Afghanistan's reconstruction totalling USD 4.5 billion, with USD1.8 billion in pledges for the first year.

As part of the international effort the German Government organized a meeting, held from 27 November – 5 December 2001 at Petersberg near Bonn, between key representatives of different political groups of Afghanistan. The representatives included delegates from the Rabbani government, who was still formally the president of the ISA, Zahir Shah the former King, and Dostum. Other political parties and fractions – those inside the country or in exile –like Khalili, Haji Qhadir, the Peshawar Group led by Gailani and small Group from Cyprus associated with Humyoun Jarir (Hekmatyar's son

in law) participated in this conference with the presence of many international observers (MALEY 2002: 269).

On December 5ᵗʰ the meeting reached its final result, the "Agreement on Provisional Arrangement in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions," which was endorsed by the UN Security Council Resolutions 1383, 1886. The agreement was a roadmap for the re-establishment of rudimentary state structures and provided an Afghan Interim Authority (AIA) headed by a chairman accompanied with members. Hamed Karzai[85] became the Chairman of the AIA for six months. At the same time known figures of the former Mujahidin government became the key members of the AIA. In June 2002, the AIA convened an Emergency *Loya Jirga* with 1,500 delegates from around the country as well as Afghan delegates from abroad. The Emergency *Loya Jirga* approved an Afghan Transitional Authority (ATA) replacing the AIA which was to be chaired by Karzai for a two year period. The main tasks of the ATA were to establish a new constitution and hold free presidential election.

On 14ᵗʰ December 2003, a second *Loya Jirga* (Constitutional *Loya Jirga*) was convened. The *Loya Jirga* adopted a new constitution and paved the way for a presidential election. The new constitution, signed into law in January 2004, defines the state as the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (IRA), and provides for an elected president (along with his/her nominated two vice presidents), as well as a national assembly (*Shura-e Milli*) consisting of two houses – the Wolesi Jirga (the House of People) and *Mashrano Jirga* (the House of Elders). According to the new constitution members of *Wolesi Jirga* are elected by the people in free and fair elections, for a five years period. At the same time Provincial Councils (*Shura haye Welayati*) and District Councils (*Shura haye Woleswali*) each elect one-third of members of the *Meshrano Jirga* while the president appoints the remaining third.

Meanwhile the presidential election held in October 2004 was a challenging task. In order to overcome this challenge the United Nations worked closely with the Afghan authorities in the management process of the election and provided the necessary tools for the registering of voters and the analysis of the votes. Eight million people participated in this election including 3.2 million women (UNDP 2005: 7). Despite

---

[85] Karzai, a Pashtun tribal leader, who was the Vice Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Mujahidin Interim Government, had later supported the Taliban hoping to get the foreign ministry. After the Taliban rejected his demand he joined the Pashtun groups who opposed the Taliban. See also (COLL 2004: xvi, 287, 299).

security threats from the Taliban the election process was peaceful, with a turnout of about 70%. There were 18 eligible candidates from different political and ethnic groups, including a woman. However, four candidates succeeded in winning 93,4 per cent of votes. The remaining 14 candidates won the 6.6% of the votes, ranging from 1.4% to 0.1%. The four successful candidates were Hamid Karzai with 55,4%, M. Yonus Qhanooni with 16,3%, Haji M. Mohaqiq with 11,7% and Abdurrashid Dostum with 10,0% respectively (IEC 2009). It is interesting to see that all the four candidates belong to the four major ethnic groups in Afghanistan: they are Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek, respectively. Apparently among these four, only Karzai was backed by the US and had nominated himself as an independent candidate. Although Qhanooni, Mohaqiq and Dostum were also nominated as independent members of their own parties, they had formerly been part of the coalition resistance forces known as United Front who fought against the Taliban invasion.

This election was the first democratic presidential election in the history of Afghanistan and a positive step in the state-building process backed by the international community. However, media reported of fraud and irregularities in the process. In some cases the voters are said to have voted many times in different poll centers. This was due to the fact that an ink used to stain voters' fingers, in order to prevent them from casting their ballot twice, could be washed away.

The final stage in the political process according the agreement reached at the Petersberg, was the highly contested Parliamentary and Provincial Council election concluded in November 2005. This important step in the transition process was designed to put in place a representative government. At the same time, in practice, these highly contested elections provided a chance for heterogeneous political groups and social groups to compete with each other in gaining more votes instead of using force to get political power, as they used to do in the past. Among the candidates there were members of various political groups, including the Communists, Mujahidin, Taliban and the Afghans returned from exile, especially from the West. Meanwhile there were independent candidates who had no relation with any of these political groups (KOHISTANI 2006: 15-17).

The Bonn Agreement, which mandated the political and democratic infrastructure in Afghanistan in December 2001, is now in place. The Interim Authority became an elected central government with a progressive constitution. The people elected the 249

representatives of the *Wolesi Jirga* (the lower house of National Assembly) and 34 Provincial Councils (*Shura haye Welayati*) on 18 September, 2005. Subsequently, internal elections and nominations by President Karzai selected the 102 senators of the Upper House (*Meshrano Jirga*). Finally, on 19 December 2005, the inauguration of the National Assembly (*Shura-e Millli*) took place. The significant thing about the *Shura-e Milli* is that 26 percent of its members are women (VARUGHESE 2006: 7). This is a remarkable achievement for women in a traditional country like Afghanistan. Interestingly, this is a unique situation in the region, too. For example the representation of women in India, the largest democracy in the world, has hardly crossed 10 percent in fifty years (KUMAR 2007: 44).

In fact the Bonn Agreement of December 2001, providing for the "reestablishment of permanent governmental institutions" in Afghanistan, was fully completed by the adoption of a constitution, holding of the presidential and parliamentary election and finally the formation of the National Assembly in December 2005 (RUBIN 2006:1) (figure 17).
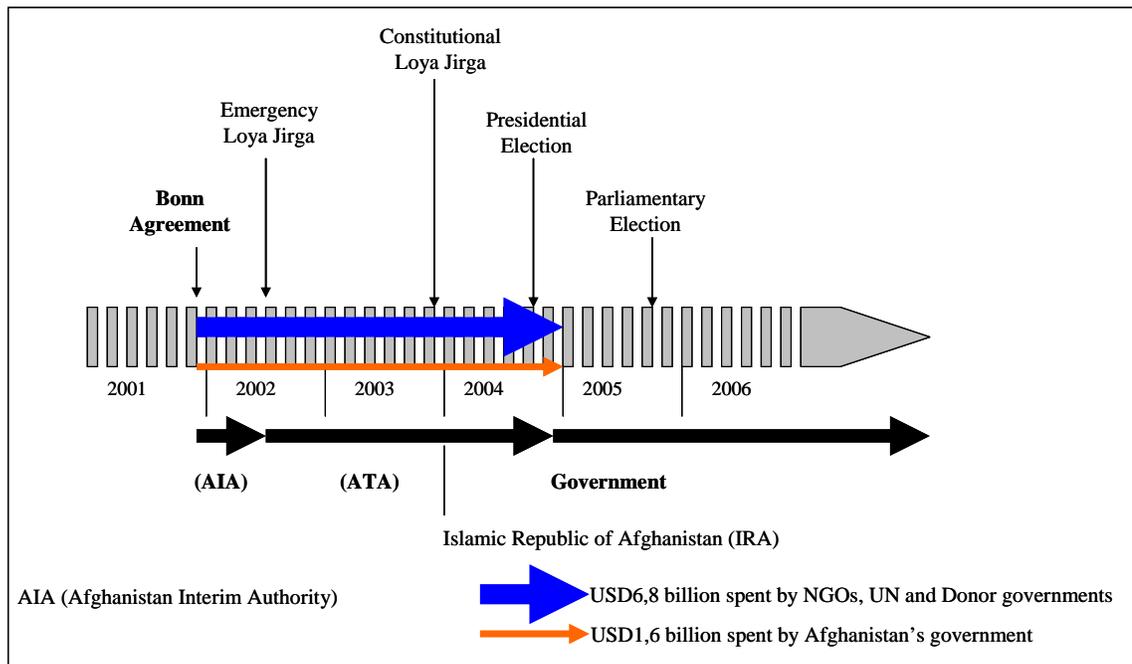
Figure 17: The Bonn process
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009) modified after JOHNSON (2006:3)

These objectives were achieved only through financial commitment from the international community. From December 2001 to the end of 2004 USD8,4 billion were

spent in Afghanistan, USD6.8 by the NGOs, UN and donor countries and the remaining by the government of Afghanistan (Jalali 2007: 38). Since the government was in a transition period and its institutions were not considered effective enough, especially in terms of weak capacity to manage the aid programs and control the political process, most of the money was spent through the international organizations.

Beside aid the international community has maintained the security in the country. The US forces fights Al Qaeda and the remnants of the Taliban. The NATO and the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) are in charge of the security sector in the county since early 2002. Meanwhile the Germans and the Americans each train the ANP and the ANA respectively. The Italians supports the government in the justice sector. The British work on the eradication of opium in the country. Besides these major countries there are thousands of NGOs busy in the reconstruction process of Afghanistan with the UN.

Despite these major achievements in political aspects there is still a long way for the government to go in order to overcome the increasing challenges, especially in security sector and public service. The constitution is established and the national institutions are built. But the enforcement of the rule of law is flawed. The ANP and the ANA are incapable of bringing security and enforcing of the law while the justice sector needs both reform and professional trained staff. So far the government, together with its international partners has taken some initial steps toward improving the performance of these key state institutions. However, it seems unlikely to overcome the challenges in the near future. Although government institutions have been developed, they have no real influence and power in many of Afghanistan's districts. Especially the security situation has deteriorated in the last two years. Taliban insurgencies are increasing. In the last two years they brought many districts under their control sever times.

The situation of public service has not changed despite billions in aid given to Afghanistan. Corruption is booming and the police and justice are among the most corrupt institutions of the state. The government pays very low salaries to its staff, so low that is insufficient for the rising prices of living in the country. The Taliban benefit from this situation. According to survey carried out by SENLIS in 2007, the main motivation for those joining the insurgents is that they either do not find jobs or if they have a job they are not paid enough. Furthermore, the Taliban normally pays a fighter USD 200 and USD 600 a month, while a policeman or a soldier in the Afghan National Army currently

earns between USD 50 and USD 60 monthly – after a pay raise of 25 percent in January 2007 (SENLIS 2007: 38).

The deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan became a point of consensus among international actors because it united the characteristics of a 'failed state' (RUBIN 2006: 178-179). The media mention Afghanistan as a 'Narco-State' due to the increased opium production in the last few years.[86] At the same time the current regime of Afghanistan is usually described as "Puppet State", "Semi-Colonial State", "Fragile State", "Crisis State" and "Failed State" in the studies carried out by international organizations. However, it is agreed that the term "Failed State" fits more the situation in Afghanistan best (SENLIS 2007: 33-34).

In fact the enormous level of destruction and paucity of national capacity required a much wider state-building investment than the restrained rehabilitation opted for by the international community. Securing Afghanistan's future requires a long-term commitment by the international community, with a clear vision of making Afghanistan a self-supporting nation (JALALI 2007: 23). In the current situation the institutions are weak and incapable of providing basic services. There are many challenges that undermine the ability of institutions to function effectively, efficiently, transparently and with accountability, each of which needs to be focused on separately.

---

[86] CNN Special Report, September 30th 2007 at 21:30

5   The Role of Diversities in State-Building Processes

From the beginning to the current situation, wars have mostly provided the reasons, motivations, materials and necessary instruments for state-building in Afghanistan. The so called Great Game, the Cold War, the New Great Game and the War on Terror all constituted benchmarks for state-building projects. Generally there have been two factors that contributed the break out of wars at different periods: internal and external factors (figure 1).

The external factors that contributed to war usually stem from the geopolitical position of Afghanistan. Its location more than anything else, has provided reason for interferences (military or political) of major world powers and neighbouring countriesin the region (cf. Chapter 2.1). Futhermore, the ethno-linguistic and socio-religious diversity of the population have provided instruments for such interferences. Within the diverse population the dominant tribal, religious and intellectual elites have seldom been at peace with each other because they had different ruling systems to maintain their own political interests in the country. They rarely shared the power or worked together. Almost each group ruled for a certain period of time but was challenged or overthrown by its opposition. This is to say neither the tribal nor the religious or the intellectual elites could secure and sustain their rule alone. In order oust the rival each searched help form outside. Therefore internal rivalry backed by external rival powers undermined the sustainability and legitimacy of the political system in the country.

These two factors have continued through the course of history in parallel. The current situation demonstrates this very well. On the one side there are the newly built weak state institutions that exist only due to the extensive support (manpower, financial and material resources) of major outside powers. On the other side there are opposition groups who fight against the process of state-building while receiving extensive covert support (financial and material resources as well as manpower,) mainly through external channels. Therefore, TILLY's statement that "war drives state formation and transformation," or that "war made the states and vice a versa" (TILLY 1992: 20, 67) fits the situation of Afghanistan.

Major source of Instability and conflict in Afghanistan

Internal rivalry | External rivalry

Internal rivalry	Period	External rivalry
Abdali & Ghilzai	1700-1747	Safavids & Mogul / Shaibanids, Khanates
Sadozai within e.g. brother & brother, cousin & cousin (cousin rivalry), Sadozai & Mohammadzai	1747-1818	Persia, Sikh, Khanates
Mohammadzai within e.g. brother & brother cousin & cousin (cousin rivalry),	1818-1880	Persia, British, Russia (**the Great Game**) British Invasions
Mohammadzai within, Tribal, religious elites	1880-1919	Germany, Turkey & England and Russia (WW I)

Modern Afghanistan

Internal rivalry	Period	External rivalry
Mohammadzai within, Tribal, religious, intellectual elites	1919-1973	England & Russia, Germany (WW II) East & West (**the Cold War**)
Tribal, religious, intellectual elites	1973-1992	Soviet Invasion East & West (Cold War) & India, Saudi & Iran,
Religious and Tribal elites	1992-2001	Pakistan & India, Saudi Arabia, UAE, USA & Iran, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Turkey (The New Great Game)
Tribal, religious and intellectual elites	2001-	The U.S. invasion: (**War on Terror**) West & Russia, China, Central Asian states Pakistan & India, Saudi & Iran, and Turkey

Figure 18 : The two main sources of instability: Internal and external rivalry from 1700-2001
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

It is significant to see that building a state and its institutions has rarely been a national initiative, it has rather been imposed from the outside through certain elites influenced by different ideologies. Establishing a legitimate authority and the monopoly on the use of force has usually been undermined due to the internal and external rivalries. Although this situation continuedup to the beginning of 21st century, the post Taliban state-building process opened a new era for the country. In contrast to the past the importance of this era is that the state-building process has gained legitimacy and received massive international support from the UN, EU and the US. At the same time Afghanistan's neighbouring countries declared their support for the state-building processes from the beginning of the so called 'War on Terror'. They have demonstrated their support by taking part in the reconstruction of the country. Thus, unlike in the past when there were major rivalries between major powers (Russia and British or East and West), at least the region is not highly divided between major powers or blocks in the current situation. Though there is a

certain level of geopolitical interests by different countries in the region, however for the time being 'the war on terror' and the problems of extremism and opium now dominate local interests. This means that countries in the region need to have close cooperations which is demanded by international community.

On the other side it is also important to see the internal combination of rival groups. In contrast to the past in the post Taliban state-building process all three rival oppositions joined the political process step by step in the AIA, ATA and finally the elected government and parliament. This participation of rival opposition groups became possible only though the help (and pressure) of the international community (UN, EU and the US). The co-existence of different rival elites of tribal, religious and intellectual groups in the process of state-building for the first time is a significant achievement, but the current presidential system has failed to minimize the tension and bridge the gap of trust among the rival groups. Instead it widens the gaps created by the last decades of wars and conflicts in the country. After eight years the current political structure fell short of transforming this traditional rivalry into a sound political competition between different parties. Instead tribalism, ethno-centrism and *Qawm* factors continue to determine the politics among the ruling elites while the entire population remains the victim of the policies being made.

The external players involved in the process of state-building in Afghanistan also lack a unified strategy. Despite sharing common goals (e.g., the 'War on Terror', state-building, and eliminating opium production), the international community (UN, EU and the US) has failed to coordinate their efforts in achieving these goals. One of the main problems which still dominates the debate between the members of NATO in particular is the unequal share of responsibility in the so called 'War on Terror'. The responsibilities include the number of troops each country deploys and the financial amount of money each country pays. The US provides the highest number of troops and pays the largest amount of money in Afghanistan. The US forces also carry out major combat operations and have so far suffered the highest number of losses. This factor, more than anything else, has negatively affected the cooperation between the US and EU members. Better described they are 'disunited nations' since they 'disagree on the nature of the problem' (KORSKI 2008: 9). More recently Barack Obama, the US President, has criticized the members of NATO and said that "It is absolutely critical that we are successful in dismantling, disrupting, destroying the Al-Qaeda networks, and we are effectively working with the Afghan government to provide the security necessary for that country…

this is not an American battle; this is the NATO mission as well" (DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN 2009b). Therefore the poor coordination and cooperation of the activities of external players have made tackling the problems of security and state-building even more difficult.

Altogether the uneasy combination of different external and internal players has made developing a unified strategy difficult. These different players have multiple approaches that are often contradict each other especially in terms of maintaining security and reconstruction. Taking the example of military issues there has been little cooperation between foreign troops and the central government. The US air forces unilaterally bombards whatever they consider to be Taliban and Al Qaeda positions, while the central government has no influence in such operations. At the same time these unilateral actions are sometimes based on false information from the ground. As a result, civilian casualties are often high which frustrates the public and turns the idea of the people's opinion against foreign troops. More importantly, this situation leaves no space for the sovereignty of the country and further undermines the legitimacy of the central government. Therefore, in the last eight years there has been more contradiction and little cooperation between these external and internal players. That is why the situation has gotten worse through the course of time.

5.1 Divisive Forces among the Population

The driving force behind the instability and fragility of state in Afghanistan are the centrifugal forces that dominate the centripetal forces (cf. Chapter 1.5). The impact of the centrifugal forces is so powerful that it has disintegrated the political structure in the country several times. More important is the fact that the centrifugal forces were dominant and stronger among the elites who planned the process of state-building, nation-building and the building of institutions.

5.1.1 Analysis of Separating and Integrating Factors in Social Groups

Tribalism (*Qabila-garayi*) is one of the primary centrifugal forces that has undermined the creation of national institutions and a stable functioning state. Although the rise of religious fundamentalism has been considered as the main reason for the conflict, nonetheless there is evidence which shows that, beside other factors, tribalism also has played (and still plays) a major role. Today Taliban insurgents are the biggest challenge to security and peace, not only in Afghanistan but also in Pakistan. They are mainly composed of Pashtun tribes who live in the border areas between the two countries.

Their leadership (Mullah Omar and other key figures) in Afghanistan comes from the Ghilzai sub-tribes mainly the Hotakis (table 17).

Name	Position	Tribal Affiliation
Mullah Mohammad Omar	Movement Leader	Hotaki, Ghilzai
Mullah Berader	Deputy Movement Leader	Hotaki, Ghilzai
Mullah Dadullah Kakar	Senior Military Commander	Kakar, Gharghasht
Mullah Mohammad Hassan	Foreign Minister after 1997	Hotaki Ghilzai
Nuruddin Turabi	Minister of Justice	Hotaki Ghilzai
Alla Dad Akhund	Minister of Communications	Hotaki Ghilzai
Maulawi Wakil Ahmad Mutawakil	Personal Secretary to Mullah Omar	Kakar Gharghasht
Sadeq Akhond	Minister of Commerce	Hotaki, Ghilzai
Mullah Mohammad Rabbani	Chairman of Kabul Shura	Kakar Gharghasht
Mullah Obaidullah	Minister of Defense	Hotaki Ghilzai

Table 17: Senior Taliban leaders 1996 - 2001
Source: JOHNSON and MASON (2006: 8)

It is important to notice that Kandahar has been Taliban's stronghold and seems to remain so. The Ghilzais and Abdalis have competed for the control of this city for centuries. The Ghilzais, under Mirwais, established their control in Kandahar in 1709 while the Abdalis were helped by the Safavid troops (Persians) to retake control of the city. In this conflict the Baluch tribes supported the Ghilzais. The Abdalis have traditionally been loyal to the Persians from whom they had inherited the power. From 1747 the Abdali (Sadozais bracnch) had control of this city and established it as their capital. Following the death of Ahmad Shah, his son, in order to sustain his rule, moved the capital to Kabul away from tribal rivalry since Kabul was populated mainly by Tajiks. However this did not end the problem and inter-tribal rivalries between the Abdalis (Sadozai and later Mohammadzai) and Ghilzai continued. During this long period, the Abdalis almost ended the Ghilzai control of from Kandahar and pushed them to Qalat, which, became known as Qalat-e Ghilzai. In order to sustain their control in the city, from 1747 to 1959 the landowners in Kandahar were exempted from the extremely low land tax (about 1 Afghani per half acre (DUPREE 2005: 536). Nevertheless the Ghilzai lost Kandahar but their power was not

reduced and they continuously posed a threat to Abdali rulers. Especially their position in Qalat, which is located between Kandahar and Kabul the capital made the communication between and eventually the control of, the two cities difficult. Therefore one reason to move the Pashtuns from the South to the North was to reduce the power of the Ghilzai and minimized the threat they posed.

This shows that tribal conflicts played an important role in the disintegration of the political system several times. The disintegration of the Abdali dynasty in late 1773 was mainly due to tribal rivalry and the hereditary ruling system, which repeatedly conflicts among the succeeding rulers. This factor undermined the reestablishment of a unified state and paved the way for repeated foreign invasions. In the repeated conflicts between different tribal elites, either side even searched for the help of a major foreign power, e.g., Persia, the Sikh and the British. Thus the ruling tribal elite played an important role in the foreign invasion that occurred. More importantly, however, these foreign invasions created a strong response from the population. Since the ruler and the ruling system were perceived as divine, the population who had defeated foreigners remained silent toward the cruel rulers. Therefore they preferred a cruel ruler from their own country to foreign dominance.

Another important issue is the idea that the rulers in Afghanistan must come from Kandahar. This idea has been created and injected into minds of the population. The main support for this idea may stem from the fact that the Abdalis (Sadozais and Mohammadzais), who for a long period dominated the power in the country, were from Kandahar. Perhaps among the Western scholars TICHY was the first who noticed this and mentioned:
"Seit 1747 entstammt der jeweilege Herscher des Landes den Durrani [Abdali], und es wurde ein ungeschriebenes Gesetz, daß nur Durrani Herscher sein können (TICHY 1940: 195)."

The role of the former king in the post-Taliban political process gained its importance mainly due to the fact that he came from the Mohammadzais, the dominant ruling elite (roughly between 1863 – 1973) in the country. Zahir Khan failed to regain any significant political position in the government but his participation strengthened the political process. More important, however, is the fact that Karzai is also from the Abdalis (Popalzai) and from Kandahar. According to his claim since "300 years his family has great influence in that city" (SPIEGEL 2008: 128). Thus, being a Popalzai, being from

Kandahar, enjoying American support and finally his low profile in the civil war provided him with better criteria than any other candidates for the chairman position. In contrast, these criteria were among the main reasons that he gained little popularity in his hometown Kandahar, the stronghold of the Ghilzai Taliban. The first assassination attempt on him occurred in Kandahar. In order to strengthen his position and win the loyalty of the population in that city, Karzai invested a lot in Kandahar since 2002. His brother Jamil Karzai heads the provincial council in Kandahar, *Shura-e Kandahar* and is in fact considered to be the strongest man in the South. One example for Karzai's investment in Kandahar is the allocation and implementation of many reconstruction projects in Kandahar. As a result, Kandahar has received the highest number of projects compared to the other provinces country, including the capital. In other words Kandahar receives many times more projects than it should when taking its population figures into consideration. According to statistical figures Kabul, with a population of 3,138,100, received 71 projects with the total cost of USD 4,217, 847 while Kandahar, with a population of 1,011,700, received 371 projects with the total cost of USD13,300,039 (map 18).

SN	PROVINCE	Completed	Ongoing	Total Projects	Total Budget $
1	Badakhshan	20	3	23	984,296
2	Badghis	9	0	9	222,217
3	Baghlan	10	2	12	1,223,927
4	Balkh	23	15	38	3,210,054
5	Bamyan	7	6	13	2,271,672
6	Daykundi	2	5	7	1,171,747
7	Farah	4	0	4	230,379
8	Faryab	10	12	22	2,556,775
9	Ghazni	4	2	6	492,284
10	Ghor	8	9	17	1,439,342
11	Hilmand	12	0	12	1,015,008
12	Hirat	9	1	10	474,783
13	Jawzjan	13	3	16	256,741
14	Kabul	64	7	71	4,217,847
15	Kandahar	266	105	371	13,300,039
16	Kapisa	3	4	7	454,032
17	Khost	17	0	17	670,282
18	Kunarha	1	0	1	6,415
19	Kunduz	3	0	3	132,158
20	Laghman	12	0	12	573,587
21	Logar	3	0	3	132,299
22	Nangarhar	23	4	27	1,828,424
23	Nimroz	6	0	6	321,081
24	Nuristan	1	0	1	25,600
25	Paktika	47	0	47	924,860
26	Paktya	13	0	13	762,912
27	Panjsher	11	4	15	765,708
28	Parwan	8	1	9	647,478
29	Samangan	12	0	12	464,920
30	Sari Pul	2	1	3	663,192
31	Takhar	14	5	19	1,116,873
32	Uruzgan	14	14	28	3,274,112
33	Wardak	5	1	6	296,575
34	Zabul	1	5	6	520,768
	Total	657	209	866	46,648,387

Map 19: Distribution of reconstruction projects in provinces by the MRRD in 2007
Source: MRRD (2007)

There may be a counter argument that the high level of projects is allocated in Kandahar in order to the attention of the population from drug production, a major challenge in this province. Such a possible argument cannot be justified since Hilmand province produces the highest amount of drugs while only 12 projects are allocated there.

Beside the persistent rivalry that exists between the tribes there are other problems related to tribalism which challenge the unity of the population. The establishment of *Arbaki* (tribal militia), which has recently been carried out by the Afghan government and its international partners, is such an example. The government defends its policy of *Arbaki* and claims that the tribal people have the capability to provide security and prevent Taliban infiltration in their areas. However, this policy creates more challenges than providing a solution to security problems. Firstly there is no guarantee that the *Arbaki* will fight the Taliban insurgents, especially their strong tribal affiliations bring them closer to each other to fight against a government supported by foreign in Kabul. Secondly it undermines the role of state institutions in providing security and the rule of law in the country. Thirdly this policy of government may enjoy support among the Pashtuns while it has raised the concern of other ethnic groups. This problem has arisen especially when major non-Pashtun populated areas have been disarmed through the process of DDR since 2002, as establishing Arbaki means rearming the Pashtuns. Finally the policy of establishing *Arbaki* has already failed in the past. Especially the communist regimes recruited tribal militias to fill the gap the Soviet troops left behind following their withdrawal from Afghanistan.

In addition to the reasons mentioned in the above the establishment of *Arbaki* will help to sustain the traditional inter-tribal animosites and tensions (cf. Chapter 2.3.1).[87] This is particularly true because *Arbaki* and the Taliban represent different Pashun tribes, which is similar to the old policy of 'divide and rule' carried out in the past. The Persians and Moguls used Abdalis against Ghilzai and vice versa in order to maintain control in Kandahar they. The British authorities repeatedly carried out such policies in the tribal areas. The same is true of different regimes in Kabul who lacked popular support and relied upon supporting either side of the tension to keep hold of their power. Thus tribalism and the abuse of tribal systems by the government has failed and it has had

---

[87] The most recent such clashes occurred last September in Khost. The fighting over land dispute between Mangal and Maqbil sub-tribes lasted for three days (from 2-5 September 2009), 20 people were killed and many more were injured (DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN (2009a).

negative impacts. This policy will further widen the gaps that have been created as a result of past wars, social fragmentation and tribal rivalries, and its negative impacts will affect the whole population in general.

Next to tribalism ethno-centrism[88] (*Qawm-garayi*) is another centrifugal force which strongly undermines the effectuality of institutions and eventually leads to the disintegration of the state system. Ethno-centrism has usually led to ethno-nationalism (e.g. 'Pashtunization'), the establishment of institutions for purely ethnic purposes and finally the ethnicization of the politics (cf. Chapter 2.3.2). It has contributed to the failure and disintegration of institutions in the past and it is one of the dominant challenges in the current situation of Afghanistan, as it undermines the creation of national institutions.

In this context ethno-centrism is not what shapes the ethnic map of the country. Ethno-centrism is rather the use or abuse of ethnicity by a certain group who claims to act on behalf of a particular ethnic group (*Qawm*). Different political parties and movements who were influenced by varieties of ideologies appeared and disappeared in Afghanistan in different periods. Yet these ideologies could not overcome the *Qawm* relationship between these political movements, parties and fractions. The division of the communist PDPA party into two rival fractions was mainly because of ethnic factors. The same is true of the Mujahidin parties, which are split into Pashtun and non-Pashtun parties in Pakistan and Iran. In the case of the Pashtuns and the Hazaras tribalism further divided them into different parties (cf. Chapter 2.3.1). The emergence of the Taliban, with their radical interpretation of Islam, gained little popularity beyond the Pashtun ethnic groups. Such an interpretation of Islam is more conform to tribal values and traditions rather than to the urban and non-tribal population. Arguably the close relationship between the Taliban and the Arabs is not only based on religion but also on the tribal and traditional values that they share. However, money plays the key role in the sustainability and effectiveness of these relationships. The way the Taliban ruled in major parts of Afghanistan was not different from what is common in Saudi Arabia, with the difference that education is not banned for females in the latter.

Ethno-centrism also prevented the formation/creation of a national ideology. Afghan nationalism has been described as Pashtun nationalism (cf. Chapter. 2.3.1). Thus other

---

[88] According to PETTIGREW ethnocentrism "refers to a belief in the cultural superiority of one's own ethnic group. In this sense, ethnocentrism involves cultural provincialism. More recently, the concept has come to signify simply an unusually high regard for one's ingroup" (PETTIGREW 2005: 827_831). So far the Farsi equivalent largely used is '*Qawm-garayi*' which literally means 'loyalty and favoring of Qawm' by its members.

ethnic groups were alienated and could hardly find their cultural elements and values of their own in this type of nationalism. In the last few years the same problem has dominated the process of state-building. According to AKHGAR

> when the new currency was rolled out Karzai called it as national symbol. When I looked at it I did not find anything in it to show my presence. I speak Farsi and my mother tongue is also Farsi…...In these banknotes there is nothing from me. But this is our national symbol. There are many things like that. Thus nation means the dominant *Qawm,,* the one who ruled for over two hundred and sixty years. However, a national symbol is something in which a Hazara, a Tajik, an Uzbek and even a Hindu can be present. This is very unfair and fascistic that one *Qawm* considers its own symbols and claim that it belongs to all *Aqwam* (pl. *Qawm*) (AKHGAR 2009).

It was due to this factor that many nation-building attempts by Afghan ruling elites failed. This means neither the ideology of nationalism and communism nor religion-based ideologies could supersede the ethnic and tribal factors. Thus ethnocentrism continues to be one of the main factors to preventing political movements or parties to extend their influence beyond their own ethnic group (*Qawm*). At the same time they lack support from the masses and even within their own *Qawm* and their influence remains on the surface. This is to say that the major *Aqwam* represent several millions of people, while the parties represent only a few hundred to, at its maximum, a few thousand. Nevertheless, political and financial support from the outside has guaranteed the dominance of the different tribal religious and intellectual elites in the country.

Regionalism (*Samt-garayi*) is another centrifugal force which was created more by geographical factors, e.g., North and South and rural and urban. In Afghanistan the terms *Shamali* (North) and *Junubi* (South) are usually heard in political debates as well as in conflicts. On a broader scale the term North usually represents areas where a mostly non-Pashtun population lives, and South is used to denote the areas where a mostly Pashtun population lives. There are also provincial affiliations within different groups of the population. This means the name of a certain province and a place provides its population with a regional identity. Such an identity is either preferred by its members or used by others to describe them, e.g., Kabuli, Kandahari, Herati, Mazari, Badakhshi, Pamjshiri, Wardaki, Khosti, and Kohistani. For the ruling elites in Afghanistan after tribal and *Qawm* relationships, regionalism is another instrument in achieving their political interests. For example, the Khalqis and the Taliban were/are predominantly from the South. In contrast, Parchamis and Mujahidin are represented most strongly in the North. The stronghold of the communists, Khalq, and Taliban was/is in the South and extends to tribal areas in Pakistan. In contrast, the stronghold of their opposition groups are in the

North. The same is true about the communist Parcham and Mujahidin groups who represented as Kabulis and by the North (cf. Chapter 4.4.2).

Another aspect of regionalism is to be seen in the division of the population into rural and urban people. The physical barriers, such as high mountains and extensive deserts, have made communication difficult. Although overcoming these challenges has become easier by using modern technology to construct a transport system and road networks, the continuous war and its negative outcome made getting access to technology difficult. Particularly modern technology needs financial resources and qualified manpower to utilize it, the two aspects which hardly exist in Afghanistan.

Lack of charisma and capability in leadership has been another centrifugal force in Afghanistan. First and foremost, legitimacy plays a key role in the leadership. Yet legitimacy itself depends to the enforcement of the rule of law. Thus leadership and the ruling system have very close relationship. Meanwhile legitimacy itself used to be a complicated issue because its concept changed from time to time. It has been influenced by tribalism, religion, ethnocentrism and different ideologies. Those in leadership positions often belong to one of the three different categories of tribal, religious and intellectual elites. This is especially visible in the name of the past rulers which started with Amir (a religious title) and ended with Khan (a tribal title). Taliban religious structure represents the most recent examples their leader being called *Amir-ul-Moamenin Mullah Mohammad Omar Akhund*. In this only Mohammad Omar is the original name, which is without a tribal or family name while the rests are all religious titles.

In the past religion founded some of the basic elements for the legitimacy, including the rule of *Shariah* law, leadership of Friday prayer or mentioning the name of the ruler in the *Khutbah* and the minting of coins. The latter two remained unchanged untill 1973 and the constitutions emphasized both. This was at least theoretically demonstrated the loyalty of the ruler to the *Shariah* law which in turn demanded the loyalty of people to the ruling system. Furthermore it assisted the idea of leadership to transcending beyond tribal and ethnic identities. Later the constitution of the republic ignored the leadership of prayer and the minting of coins. Thus it is significant to notice that since then the legitimacy has reached its lowest level, which, together with other major and more important factors, led to continuous war in the country.

Therefore the lack of legitimacy and charisma in the leadership at the national level provided multiple sources of leadership disputes on the ethnic and tribal level. The three decades of war and violence have further made the emergence of a popular leader difficult. The most negative impact of war in Afghanistan was that it strengthened centrifugal forces, e.g., tribalism, ethno-centrism and external influence. The latter is especially important because many in the leadership proved their loyalty to foreign powers rather than to the people of their country. This reliance provided them cash and weapons to extend their rule in the country and whenever outside help stopped the ruling system disintegrated.

Meanwhile the confrontation between the intellectual elite on one side and the traditional and religious elites on the other can also be interpreted as a confrontation between the rural and the urban population, that further widened the gap between the two. It happened especially with the rise of the intellectual elites to power. At several times they had carried out attempts to eliminate the influence of traditional and religious groups in the urban areas. The two traditional and religious elites retreated to their strongholds in the rural areas. It was then that major confrontations between the rural and the urban population repeatedly occurred. Amanullah was the first who carried out military offensives against the rural population, and the communist regimes did so in the recent history of the country. In the current situation this factor plays an important role in the conflict, too. The ruling elite in Kabul often considered the rural people, especially the tribes, as primitive communities and discriminated their traditions and customs. This is especially visible at the earliest stage when Amanullah oppressed different Pashtun tribes in South and East of the capital. He built a minaret in Kabul in commemoration of hundreds of those soldiers who were killed in this conflict. The memorial called the minaret of *Elm wa Jahl* (knowledge and illiteracy or light and darkness)[89], symbolizes the two sides of the conflict, the urban, literate and modern aas opposed to the rural, primitive, tribal, illiterate and in the darkness. This memorial is located in the West of the city center (around two kilo meters), and at its bottom part the name of hundreds of soldiers are written (figure 19). Its important to notice that later, when Habibullah II (from rural a area) celebrated the independence day, he ordered to cover this memorial with black cloths as a sign of grievance (KHALILI 1991:159-160).

---

[89] *Elm* means knowledge and the one who has knowledge is called as *Alem* which is the singular form of *Ulama* used for Islamic experts. *Jahl* literary is the opposition of knowledge which may better suits with the word 'illiteracy'.

It is significant to see that article 80 in chapter 4 of the constution describes some of the important elements which can be considered as centrifugal forces. It mentions that "Ministers during the course of their work cannot use their posts for linguistic, regional, ethnic (*Qawmi*), religious and partisan purposes." However, neither this article nor the entire constitution give information regarding why only ministers are selected out and this does not include other decision makers in other institutions, including the president. Nevertheless at least it justifies the existence of such risks on the ministerial level.

Figure 19 : The memorial of *Elm wa Jahl*
Source: ISSA (2006)

By taking the above factors into consideration, a state functions effectively, efficiently and remains more stable when it overcomes the centrifugal forces. How to overcome these forces depends on the power of centripetal forces. The existence or creation of centripetal forces is fundamentally important to counter balance centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces are simply those elements that are lacking or weaknesses which help the creation of centrifugal forces. For example sovereignty, legitimate authority (leadership) and ruling system are some of the basic centripetal forces, a lack of which futhers the disintegration of a political system. The creation of a national ideology, national institutions, a national anthem and a national identity are other elements that can help to overcome the challenges of centrifugal forces. These are only some of the elements and many more can be created to counterbalance the centrifugal forces. However, the significant factor that can contribute to the achievement of these goals is the establishment of national institutions. It is the national institutions that create and strengthen the centripetal forces in a country. Therefore building national institutions is crucial, and arguably they are the main centripetal forces which gain the loyalty of diverse people.

At the same time a decentralized structure for the institutions is more compatible with the geographical structure of the country. It is a clear fact that centre has never been able to dominate the periphery. Major factors like geography, ruling system, ethno-linguistic and socio-religious sensitivities have undermined the effectiveness of a centralized system. A rather decentralized system of power can help better administration of the periphery by local authorities. This will make the system easier, cheaper, and more effective. The central authority can keep monitoring the situation and provide transparency of the administrative processes. There will be no need for the population in remote areas to spend many days to come to Kabul to fulfilling their legal and official affairs. At the same time this will help the central authority to decrease the heavy financial and logistical costs of sending official missions from the capital to the provinces. For example, the Ministry of Higher Education sends many teachers from universities in the capital to remote provinces every year in order to carry out the entrance exam to the universities of Afghanistan. This costs a lot and takes much time for the Ministry of higher education. The administration process in general is very hierarchical between ministries located in the capital and departments in the provinces. The local officals are not authorized to make any decision and they have to come to the capital and discuss

their requirements with their related ministry. Thus decentralization of the institutions can facilitate the process of administration which will help the centripetal forces.

The creation and strengthening of a popular idea is fundamentally important for a state to possess because it provides the reason for the existence, the 'raison d'etre' of that state. In Afghanistan the rivalry and competition of the three dominant elites (intellectual, religious and traditional) have made the creation of such an idea difficult. The theory that the country has a very long history ('more than 5000 thousand years') starting with Ariana, Khorasan and continuing to Afghanistan, was created to fill the gap of idea. This idea has largely dominated the Afghan literature, including the textbooks at school and university. Yet the creator of this theory is the intellectual elites who have been influenced by western ideologies. This theory gained little popularity, especially among the religious elites. For them the *Shariah* is not purely a religious law but also it shapes their ideology. The same is true for the tribal elites who follow their own customs, and for them tracing back their genealogy plays the most important role. Therefore neither of these concepts alone could provide the basis for an ideology in the country. Nevertheless, even despite the lack of a popular idea for the state Afghanistan is in a better position compared to its neighboring countries (except Iran), because Pakistan is created in 1947 and the Central Asian states were established even more recently. Especially the victory of the people over the British in the three Anglo-Afghan wars is a very important part of history which strengthens the sense of unity and togetherness among the diverse population. The same is true for the uprisings and struggles against the Soviet invasion in the recent history.

Thus the importance of centripetal forces has been largely ignored by the state elites in Afghanistan while their emphasis on particular issues strengthened centrifugal forces, which in turn triggered the disintegration of their rule. Furthermore, the ruling elites implemented certain ideologies that they had imported from the out side in different periods of time. Such policies implemented from the above little attracted public support. As a result, in Afghanistan, after nine decades of independence, the issues of nation, nationality and national ideology remain unclear. This obscurity has led to the sustainability of centrifugal forces, e.g., tribalism, *Qawm-garayi*, and regionalism in the country.

5.1.2 The Unclear Idea of Nationality in Afghanistan: What Does Nationality Mean in Afghanistan?

In Afghanistan, there are locally used terminologies, especially concerning terms like 'nationality' and 'citizenship'. Generally speaking, the Arabic word '*Millat*' is used for the English 'nation'.[90] The same word stem is to be found in '*Milli*' (national), and *Milliyat* (nationality), and *Milli-sazi* (nationalization), and *Milli-garayi* 'nationalism'. However, unlike the word 'nation' in English (which comes from Latin *natio* meaning 'people') the word '*Millat*' historically referred to 'religion' or 'sect' and is mentioned around 15 times in the Koran. The Arabic word has systematically changed from its traditional religious meaning to the modern meaning of 'nation' in Farsi and Turkish (BOSWORTH 1993: 61, URSINUS 1993: 61-64). In contrast to the word 'nation' there is little difference between the English word 'citizenship' and '*Tabe-e-iyat*' used in Afghanistan.[91] Especially the modern definition of 'citizenship' signifies this very fact. It is important to see that the concept of *Millat* imported from Europe, has significantly changed as a result of the rise of nationalism in the early twentieth century.

Nationality is defined as belonging of a people, a group of people or individuals to a certain nation or a state (BECK 1986: 630).[92] According to this definition the existence of either of the two elements (nation or state) is required to possess a nationality. In other words it stated that there is no nationality without a nation or a state. Moreover, it sounds similar to what WEBER stressed: that "nationality is both political and cultural" (SMITH 1971: 20). Thus, from the term 'nationality', two different concepts can be drawn. In the political context 'nationality' becomes 'citizenship', because it "refers to the terms of membership of a political unit (nation-state) which secure certain rights and privileges to those who fulfill particular obligations (SMITH: 1996: 67)." Therefore the term citizenship is often fixed and regulated by law within a specific territorial limit or a state.

In the cultural context 'nationality' determines relationship between a people or a group of people and a certain nation. At the same time, in terms of its cultural relationship this is what makes defining 'nationality' difficult. The complexity is due to the fact that there

---

[90] The same is true in Iran and Turkey.
[91] The words 'citizenship' in English and the Arabic word '*Tabe-e-iyat*' used in Afghanistan (also in Iran) have different roots. The word 'citizen' historically referred to any member of a city (SCOTT and MARSHAL: 2009: 80), while '*Tabe-e-iyat*' refers to the follower of a ruler, a ruling system, or a state or equivalent of 'citizenship' in its modern concept. However, the Arab countries use the term '*Jensiya*' for citizenship.
[92] According to BECK nationality or Nationalität, is: 1- Die Zugeoerigkeit eines Menschen oder einer Gruppe von Menschen zu einer bestimmten Nation. 2- Die Staatsangehörigkeit. Vor allem in Engl. und Frankr. wird der Begriff Nationalitaet (eng. Nationality, frz. Nationlite) in diesem Sinn gebraucht" (BECK 1986: 630).

is often no clear borderline for culture and it (or its impact and influence) often extends beyond the determined political borders. This is what supports the centrifugal forces and usually causes conflict between neighboring countries. It is often the extension of such cultural relationships that causes nationalism and leads to territorial ambitions. For example the tribal areas where Pashtuns live caused Afghan rulers to create and support the issue of Pashtunistan.

The modern concepts of 'nation' and 'citizenship' were introduced in the first constitution of the country in 1923 (cf. Chapter 2.3.1) and repeated in the later constitutions as well. The new constitution defines nation and citizenship in Afghanistan in article 4, in chapter 1: the nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pachaie, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Qizilbash, Gujur, Brahwui, and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan.

This article highlights many significant points with regard to both terms. The first point is that the sentence starts with "the nation of Afghanistan" and ends with "citizenship of Afghanistan" rather than the 'Afghan nation' or 'Afghan citizen'. In other words the sentence "the nation of Afghanistan is comprised of…" acknowledges the fact that the nation is not a unitary body as a whole but it has different ethnic components. The emphasis on ethnic identity created by listing the names of the main ethnic groups is an indication of the very fact that there are different conglomerate-like components of 'the nation of Afghanistan'. None of the constitutions in the past ever mentioned the names of ethnic groups.[93] Instead, the first two constitutions (*Nezamnama* in 1923 and *Osulnama* in1931) mentioned that "all individuals from Afghanistan regardless of their religion and religious school (*bela tafriq-e Dini wa Mazhabi*), are called citizens of Afghanistan." [94] The next two constitutions (in 1964 and 1977) mentioned that "the nation of Afghanistan is composed of all those individuals who possess the citizenship of the State of Afghanistan in accordance with the provision of law."[95]

---

[93] Except article 4 of the Nezamnama, the Pashtu version mentions a *Millat da Pakhtana* (lit. the nation of Pakhtana or Pashtun) while in the official Farsi version it is called *Millat-e Afghaniya* and *Millat-e Najibiya-e Afghanistan* (lit. the Afganiya or Afghan nation, and the noble nation of Afghanistan) (NEZAMNAMA 1923b: article 4 and NEZAMNAMA 1923: article 4), Farsi and Pashtu versions.
[94] NEZAMNAMA 1923b: article 8 and OSULNAMA 1952: article 9).
[95] Article 1 in chapter 1 of the constitution of 1964 and article 21 in chapter 3 of the constitution of 1977

This stands in contrast to all the constitutions ratified during the communist regimes, which mentioned that "Afghanistan is a multi-nationality country *(Kaseer-ul-Milliat)*". By the term 'nationality' the communist regimes meant 'ethnic group' even though the name of any particular ethnic group was not mentioned. These constitutions mentioned that "the citizens of Afghanistan, men and women regardless of their race, nationality, tribe, linguage, gender, place of birth and residence, religion, education, genealogy *(Nasab)*, property and social status, have equal rights."[96] Although these last three constitutions of the post-monarchy era reflected some of the dominated problems in the society, they remained only theory while in practice the policy of these regimes further divided society. Even the members of the communist party who had created these constitutions were divided into two fractions *(Khalqi* and *Parchami)* both of whom represented different ethnic, tribal, rural and urban elites.

The next significant issue in the Article is the application of the word 'Afghan' to every 'citizen' in the in the country. This name appeared in the first constitutions, but was used slightly different than in the current version. The first two constitutions indicated that "the adjective of *Afghaniya*" citizenship *(sefat-e Taabe-e-iyat-e Afghaniya)* shall be applied to all citizens to indicate citizenship. The question why '*Afghaniya*' or '*Afghani*' and not '*Afghan*', were mentioned, especially when Tarzi, prior to this constitution used the term "Afghan nation" *(Millat-e Afghan)* in his article. Nevertheless it was the constitution of 1964 that indicated the word 'Afghan' to be applied for every citizen of Afghanistan. [97] It was changed from 'Afghani' to 'Afghan' because the word 'Afghani' was also used for Pashtu language and later for the currency. (cf. Ch. 2.3)

Like the issue of languages, the word 'Afghan' and its application to every citizen has been a very controversial and problematic issue. This was due to the fact that the word 'Afghan' used to be synonym for 'Pashtun'. The first criticism of the use of this name arose during the constitutional debate in 1964 and the most recent discussion of the topic was during the constitutional debate in 2004. In both cases some non-Pashtuns criticised the application of the name 'Afghan' to all citizens of Afghanistan while Pashtuns in particular rejected such criticism strongly. It is also important to notice that except for the constitution of 1979, all other constitutions indicated that the adjective of '*Afghaniya*', 'Afghani' or 'Afghan' shall be applied to members of all ethnic groups. The constitution

---

[96]Article 28 in chapter 2, *Osul-e Asasi* 1980, article 38 in chapter 3 of the constitution of 1986, and article 38 in chapter 3, constitution of 1990.

[97] Article 1 in chapter 1, constitution of 1964, and article 21 in chapter 3 constitution of 1977.

of 1979 did not indicate the word 'Afghan', probably because the Parchamis, who mainly consisted of non-Pashtuns, were in power and refused to apply this name to all people.

Why was the name of Afghan selected for applying to citizens of the country, especially when the people refer to each other according to their ethnic and tribal identities? One of the possible answers to this question is that the word 'Afghan' has been used to the population of Afghanistan by outsiders. Thus the people are known collectively as 'Afghan' and their land as 'Afghanistan'. This argument was first mentioned by TARZI, the pioneer of the nation-building project. He said that "they [others] call us *Millat-e Afghan* (Afghan nation) and our beloved soil [land] as Afghanistan" (TARZI 1915:1-2).' The same argument was put forward in response to the criticism of some non-Pashtuns in the constitutional debate of 1964 and 2004 respectively.

Meanwhile 'nationality' is not only 'citizenship' but it is also 'national character' (SMITH 1971: 120). In Afghanistan different regimes made several attempts in the past to create a 'national character' and 'national ideology', but they failed. Many factors contributed to this failure. However, it was mainly the wrong policy of nation-building by the regimes (top-down and ideologies imported by state elites), the persistent legitimacy crisis of state institutions, and the negative impact of the three decades of conflict which brought to surface tribal and ethnic identities. Therefore, usually there is confusion in publication about who is 'Afghan' when the population is referred to according to its ethnic identities. The confusion even leads to the claim that the "country is founded in the name of Pashtuns" (SCHETTER 2005: 67). It is significant to see that SCHETTER contradicts himself when he says that the country "was created artificially" (SCHETTER 2005: 54) an idea he borrowed from DUPREE (2005: XX), without even mentioning it as his source of information. Elsewhere he says "Afghanistan was founded as a buffer zone between British India and Russia after a protracted confrontation between both colonial powers in the 19th century…it was not until 1879 that British India and Russia agreed upon the creation of a state called Afghanistan" (SCHETTER 2006: 21-22).

Nonetheless, according to the definition of 'nationality' given in the above, the citizenship of the people of Afghanistan with regard to the 'state' is definitely clear. Almost all constitutions have mentioned that all individuals from Afghanistan are 'Afghan citizens' and none of them claimed that the word 'Afghan' is a synonym for 'Pashtun'. There is little doubt that the population considers itself as 'Afghan' particularly when the people are outside their country including the neighbouring

countries, e.g., Pakistan, Iran and the Central Asian states where many of the same ethnic groups live. This is similar to the arguments raised by many in the country that 'we' are known as 'Afghan' by others (the outside world). Afghanistan's neighbouring countries would hardly consider any of the ethnic groups from this country as their 'citizens'. Millions of Afghans lived in Pakistan and Iran for more than a decade, they were largely seen as Afghan migrants. In contrast to the neighbouring countries, those Afghans who migrated to the West mostly of them received European or American citizenships.

Meanwhile, despite the negative impacts of the conflicts the name 'Afghan' as referring to something beyond the concept of citizenship is still popular within the country. According to the questionnaire carried out for this study 188 out of 247 people, mainly university students and teachers, preferred to be referred as'Afghan', and 37 preferred to be called 'Aryan' while the rests preferred ethnic identities (figure 20).
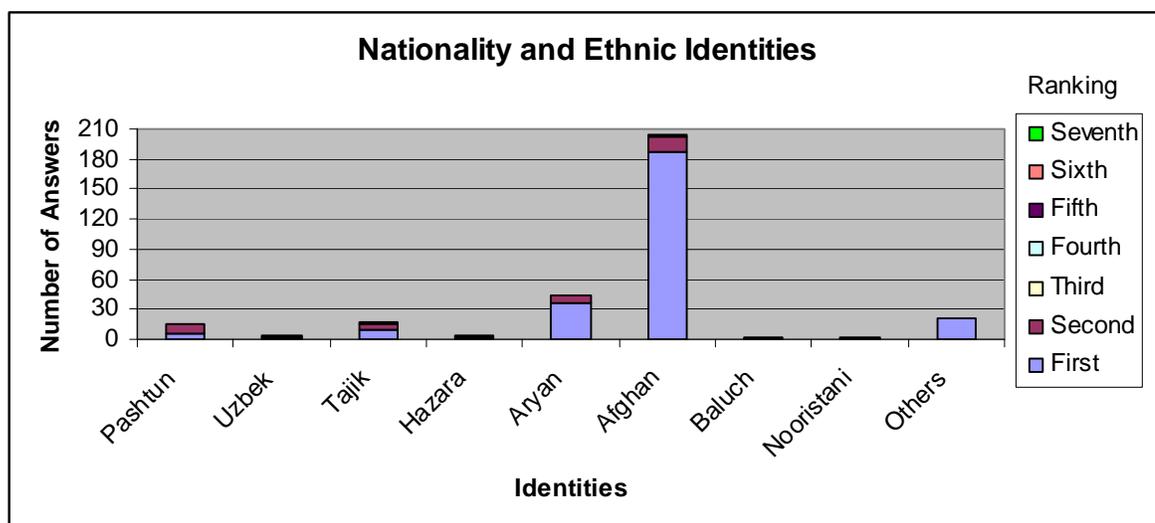
Figure 20 : Status of nationality compared to ethnic identities in Afghanistan
Source: Questionnaire Afghan Identity (2009)

It is especially significant that those who replied to the questions come from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. In terms of class reference they belonged to the intelligentsia and their views are especially important to be noticed because "nationalism is born among the intelligentsia" (cf. Chapter 2.3.2). In other words the intellectual elites play a key role in shaping the sense of nationhood, in particular through education and the establishment of institutions and certain symbols.

Thus 'nationality' is affected by the quality of 'nation', and 'nation' derives its character from cultural and historical forces. The more united a 'nation', the stronger the sense nationality among its members. In contrast, the more fragmented a 'nation' the weaker the sense of 'nationality' performed by its members. In Afghanistan the diverse composition of ethno-linguistic and socio-religious groups has created a mosaic culture. This in particular has made the development of a sense of 'nationality' and 'national character' difficult, but not impossible. There are elements, possibilities and centripetal forces which can help develop and strengthen 'national character' and pave the way for 'nationhood'. One of the main problems that undermined achieving these objectives has been the lack of national institutions. It is national institutions which create and strengthen the sense of 'nationality and nationhood', and if institutions are built on weak foundations then they will definitely support centrifugal forces which will lead to their disruption.

5.2   The Role of National Institutions in State-Building

In war-torn societies like Afghanistan overcoming centrifugal forces is only possible by establishing legitimate, effective, capable, accountable and functioning state institutions. The continuous wars have disintegrated the rudimentary state institutions several times while their negative impacts have badly affected national sovereignty and national unity. Meanwhile, building a stable state with functioning institutions is a complicated process. The most important part of this process is the availability of adequate qualified human and financial resources. According to the World Bank, state-building requires a number of interdependent processes. These minimally include:

     i. Demobilizing and dissolving all armed forces not controlled by the state.
    ii. Forming and training armed forces and police to protect international and domestic security in accordance with law
  iii. Forming and training all components of a legal system, from legislators to judges and prosecutors, to provide a legal framework for the functioning of the state and other social relations.
  iv. Raising revenue in accordance with law to pay for the functioning of the state.
    v. Creating and training an administration capable of raising revenue and providing services to citizens and other inhabitants.' (WORLD BANK 2005: 45)

In general these points are similar to what WEBER described as the "monopoly of legitimate use of force" for a functioning state, something which is not possible without building institutions with 'capable staff'. Nevertheless, these points are interrelated and fundamentally important for state-building. This means that without the "monopoly of legitimate use of force" maintaining law and order, raising revenue and public service is

impossible. However, how to create such institutions with capable staff is not answered in the above process.

Afghanistan proves to be such a complicated case that even after eight years of efforts by Afghans and the international community there has been no success in creating a legitimate political system. Today the established institutions are very weak and cannot carry out their functions effectively, efficiently, transparently, and with accountability. The monopoly of legitimate use of force, establishing the rule of law and the provision of public service are still among the major problems for the government. There are many reasons behind this institutional failure: poor human and financial resources have made Afghanistan highly dependent on the outside world. An insufficient number of qualified staff, poor quality of training institutions and unequal distribution of opportunities throughout the country are among the major challenges. After eight years Afghanistan is still highly dependent on financial help and manpower from foreign resources. The deployment of tens of thousands of foreign troops and international NGOs, together with spending billions of dollars is an indication of the fact that the institutional capacity is weak and institutions are unable (and often unwilling) to perform their functions. It was the external players that provided the opportunity for the rival internal players to end the armed conflict and join a peaceful political process of state-building. At the same time the high profile of the external players has undermined the legitimacy and sovereignty of the established political system in Afghanistan.

In addition to other factors mentioned the current political system has created obstacles that hinder the effective functioning of the institutions. They are highly centralized and can not respond to the requirements of the country. This is incompatible to the geographical, socio-economic and ethno-linguistic factors of the country. The major power is concentrated in the hand of an individual, the president, rather than an institution.

In order to understand better each point mentioned in the above it is necessary to analyze them separately by starting with the recent structure of national institutions.

5.2.1 The Current Structure of 'National' Institutions

One of the major tasks in the post Taliban state-building process undertaken by different Afghan political elites and the international community (UN, EU, USA plus Afghanistan's neighbouring countries) was to establish national institutions. The promulgation of the new constitution is considered an important step in this regard. It identifies the state, the main national institutions and describes their functions and responsibilities. It also highlights whether members of these institutions are elected or selected and determines their period of term. The first article in Chapter 1 mentions that "Afghanistan shall be an Islamic Republic, independent, unitary, and indivisible state." To organize the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (IRA) the constitution identifies three institutional bodies: legislative, judiciary, and executive.

Thus, according to this constitution, Afghanistan is an Islamic Republic and "the President is the head of the state executing his authorities in the executive, legislative and judiciary fields (article 60, chapter 3)." The people elect the president for a five years term through general, free, secret and direct balloting in the country and he/she needs to win more than 50 percent of votes to rule. The president has two vice presidents whose names must be announced to the public prior to the election. The constitution authorizes the president to supervise the implementation of the constitution and to be the chief commander of armed forces. He/ she appoints all high-ranking officials to the different institutions (e.g., ministers, the attorney general, the head of central bank, the national security director, the head of the Red Crescent, justices and the Supreme Court and judges, the officers of the armed forces, police, national security) (article 64 in chapter 3).

Furthermore, the constitution mentions that "the government shall be comprised of ministers who work under the chairmanship of the president" (article 71 in chapter 4).' Ministers are appointed by the president and also approved by the parliament. Beside the ministries there are other government bodies like the Afghan Geodesy and Cartography Head Office (AGCHO), Afghanistan Bank, the National Security Council, the Chief of Staff and the Department of Disasters Preparedness (DDP). There are many 'independent commissions' for human rights, elections, anti-corruption, disarmament, administrative reform, national reconciliation as well as 'independent agencies and departments' like the national Olympic committee, the Red Crescent and the Science Academy. The president also appoints members of independent commissions (figure 20).

The legislative institution known as *Shura-e Milli* (national assembly) is defined as "the highest legislative organ, it shall manifest the will of its people as well as representing the entire nation" (article 81, chapter 5). It is composed of two houses (House of Elders and House of Representatives). The House of Elders (*Mashrano Jirga* or *Majles-e Aayan*) has 102 members, one thirds who are selected by the president and the other two third is elected by the provincial and district councils. The House of Representatives (*Wolosi Jirga* or *Majles-e Numayendagan*) has 249 members, all elected by the people for a five years period through general, free, secret and direct balloting in the country.
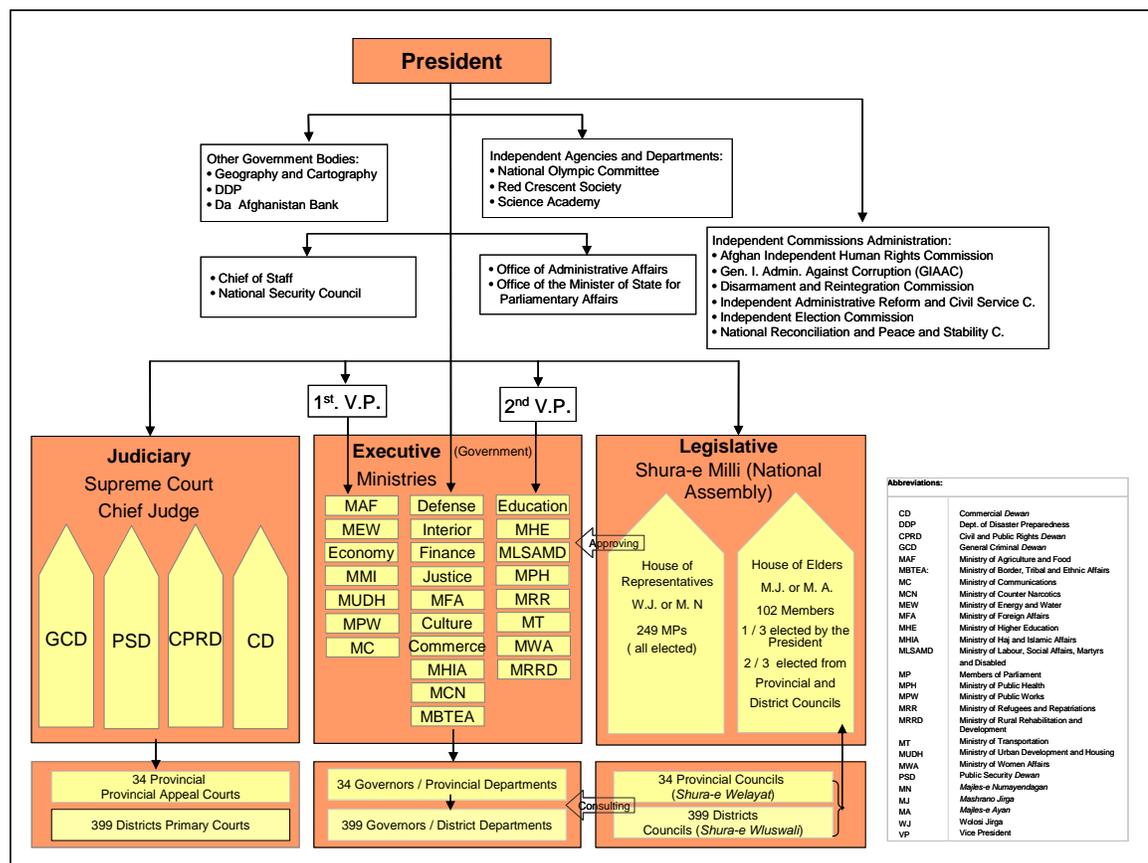
Figure 21 : Structure of institutions in Afghanistan
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

The judiciary branch according to the constitution is an independent organ which is composed of one Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal and Primary Courts. Among them the Supreme Court is defined as the highest judicial organ, heading the judicial power of the IRA (article 116 in chapter 7). It has nine members who are chosen by the president.

In terms of location these institutions are based in the capital which is also normal many other countries of the world. However the question is how these institutions extend their functions from the capital to the countryside. There are 34 provinces and 399 districts in Afghanistan and over 49000 villages.[98] Each province (*Welayat*) is administered by a governor (*Wali*) and the districts (*Woloswali or Hukumati*) are administered by a district governor, (*Woloswal or Hakem*). The President appoints the governors, and the administration system in the provinces is carried out by departments (*Reyasat ha*). Each of these departments is under a ministry in the capital. The same is true of the judiciary sector: the Supreme Court is based in the capital and the second highest judiciary authority is located at provincial level. There are 34 Provincial Appeal Courts (*Mahakem-e Estinaf-e Welayat*) and, in theory, each district should also have a Primary Court (*Mahkama-e Ebtedaiya*). At the same time, in order to involve the people in the political process, each province and district has its own *Shura*. This means there are 34 provincial councils (*Shura-haye Welayaat*) and 399 district councils (*Shura-haye Woloswali or Hukumati wa Shahri).* The existence of elected *Shuras* (councils) on the provincial and district levels is a positive factor which can contribute to people's participation in the institutions. However, their role remains mainly that of a consultative body in the decision making process while decisions are usually made in the capital by central authorities.

It is significant to see that the central authority practices a maximum of power while the provincial administrations have very limited authority. Thus, according to its hierarchical structure, Afghanistan is not only politically centralized but also it is in theory, fiscally and administratively being one of the most centralized countries in the world (LISTER 2005: 3). At the same time, despite the high degree of *de jure* centralization the *de facto* reality is that central control is very weak and has not been able to dominate the regional commanders (WORLD BANK 2005: 46). This centralized policy is emphasized in the constitution where the government is obliged "to preserve the principles of centralism" though it is added that the government "shall transfer necessary powers, in accordance with the law, in order to accelerate and improve economic, social as well as cultural matters, and foster peoples' participation in developing national life" (article 137 chapter 8). However, it is still the central authority who distinguishes what is 'necessary power'

---

[98] This data was received from AGCHO during a field trip in Kabul in January 2009. The number of districts is in fact 364 which plus 34 provincial centres and the city of Hayratan becomes 399. The number of villages is not finalized and so far the data processed covers around 90 percent of the villages.

and what is 'in accordance with the law'. An example of this has already been presented in map 19, where it is to be seen that a less populated province received many times more reconstruction projects than the most populated provinces.

In general there is little difference between the current system of administration and the traditional system, which was common in the country at the beginning of the 20th century. If in the past an amir or a king had the final word to say, the same is true of the position of the president in the current situation. The unlimited power of the president has also undermined the effectivity of other institutions. For example, according to the constitution, ministers are introduced by the president and approved by the House of Representatives. In 2006, Rangin Dadfar Spanta, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, failed to receive the approval of the House of Representatives. However the President kept Spanta in his cabinet and, to legitimize this decision, the Supreme Court had to approve Spanta's position under President's order. More recently, Karzai's five years term came to an end on 21 of May 2009, and new election should have been held. However, he postponed the elections and again ordered the Supreme Court to extend his term for another three months. These two cases were both breaches of the constitution.

The appointing of the governors by the president is another factor which undermines the effectiveness, transparency and credibility of institutions at local level. The governors appointed (or better imposed) by the president usually have little knowledge and administration and management skills. This situation exists despite the repeated demands made by the people from central authorities to be allowed to elect their governors. Another problem with these governors is that many of them were / are Mujahidin or Taliban commanders who are good fighters rather than good governors. Therefore they often have a reputation and an image problem in the provinces. The next concern is whether the governors are officially accountable to the Ministry of Interior, while the other administration departments (*Reyasat ha*) in the provinces are directed by other ministries. Thus the governors' authority is restricted by the central authorities.

The same hierarchy that exists between the capital and the provinces, strongly exists between the provinces and the districts. In terms of administration this means that when a district plans something it has to write a proposal to the provincial authority who in turn forwards it to the central authorities. For example, issues of justice and legal cases, employment, salary, budget allocation, construction and reconstruction plans and similar processes all need the approval of central authorities. When the proposals reach the

ministries they decide on them according to their budget. However, these proposals further need the approval of the National Assembly and the president.

These factors all have created problems for the administration of the country especially at the local level the top-down and bottom-up bureaucracy has made the official system inefficient and unattractive. For example, if one debates a legal case in the district it takes much time there without reaching any solution. The district forwards the case to the province and after sometime the province forwards it to the capital. This long journey of bureaucracy is well known as a very inefficient system in Afghanistan. Therefore people usually refuse to refer their legal cases to provincial and district institutions due to this top-down bureaucracy. The same situation is more or less visible in other departments as well.

Furthermore, the hierarchical political system has made the implementation of the constitution difficult, since the population is highly dispersed in many regions. The communication system is in a very poor condition, it takes a long time (a few days for some remote areas) to come from a village to a district, then to a province and finally to the capital. The same is true for central institutions, they have little possibility and ability to reach remote areas especially in terms of human resources. This remains one of the big challenges for the government to penetrate the rural areas and foster its influence.

Nevertheless, the current structure more or less agrees with the constitution which was ratified by the *Loya Jirga*. The fractional rivalries between tribal, religious and intellectual elites during the constitutional debate left their impacts and undermined creating a document that would safeguard more national interests and a democratic system in the country rather than the fractional interests. The centralized system has failed repeatedly in the country and the central governments, in order to survive, have relied tremendously on feudal networks in the past. The survival of the central government in Kabul in the current situation is heavily dependent on foreign aid and troops on one hand and on the cooperation and support of Mujahidin and Taliban commanders in the provinces and districts on the other. Meanwhile, this dependence on external resources and this reliance on commanders has undermined the legitimacy of the government.

5.2.2 The Determining Role of Qawm in Creating Institution

What the Bonn Accord agreed on was the establishment of broad-based, multi-ethnic, politically balanced and representative institutions. Since then institutions have begun to be built. The word '*Milli*' (national) has been used together with the name of different institutions like *Shura-e Milli* (national assembly), *Urdu-e Milli* (national army), *Police-e Mili* (national police) and Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) in order to demonstrate that these institutions represent the people of Afghanistan. This is also emphasized in other cases like the major reconstruction programs National Solidarity Program (*Hambastagi-ye Milli*) and Afghanistan's National Development Strategy (ANDS). Nevertheless, only the name can hardly signify that these institutions are 'national' and the programs are for national purposes. According to AKHGAR "basically there is no national institution in Afghanistan, no single one. However, under pressure it is possible to call them that they are national" (AKHGAR 2009). The major challenge has usually been how to avoid fractional interests and differences between different elites running these institutions. The nation is made up of several *Aqwam (*pl. of *Qawm*) whose members fill the institutions. Thus the dominating elites often mobilize and abuse *Qawm* affiliations to strengthen their individual power basis. This problem has undermined the creation of national institutions. Meanwhile, ethnically balanced and representative institutions were part of the aims of the Bonn Agreement and were later emphasized in the constitution. But how to measure ethnic balance has been one of the problematic questions. The political system, power structure and the institutions built in the last seven years highlight this problem.

As figure 1 demonstrates, the whole mechanism of institutional administration runs around an individual power system. In other word the system is very much personified instead of being institutionalized. This means too much power and responsibility is concentrated in the hand of one individual (the president) rather than spreading the power between institutions although the president has two vice presidents with whom he can share some of the responsibilities which are too much for him to handle alone. However, as shown in the figure, the authorities of the two vice presidents are limited to few minor ministries while the president holds the key ministries under his control. According to the constitutions only in the absence of the president (e.g., his death) the first vice president takes over most of the responsibility. The same applies to the second vice president who inherits power from the first.

Important to notice is the ethnic composition of these three posts in the last five years of the elected government in which three major *Qawm* dominated the three leading positions. Karzai, the president, is a Pashtun while his first and second vice presidents are Tajik and Hazara, respectively. Dostum, the most well-known Uzbek figure, was assigned as Commander in Chief of Armed Forces. Apparently the same hierarchy of ethnic groups mentioned in the constitution has been somehow applied in practice in the leadership of the institutions. However, the political and geographical background of these figures identifies further factors, especially regarding the selection of the two vice presidents (cf. Chapter 5.1.1). Ahmad Wali Masoud, the first vice president, is Ahmad Shah Masoud's elder brother. He is from Panjshir province, the stronghold of anti-Russian and anti-Taliban forces led by Masoud. On the other side Karim Khalili, the second vice president is the leader of the Wahdat party (he has succeeded Abdul Ali Mazari, Wahdat's former leader, who was killed by the Taliban). Dostum's political influence remained among the Uzbeks in the North. Furthermore in the 2004 presidential elections Muhaqiq and Dostum secured the third and forth place by wining 11.7 and 10 percent respectively. Therefore holding these people together in the government meant keeping different regions connected to the capital. It was more their political influence (and the armed forces they had) in the country which assigned them to the leadership, especially as the President, who came from the outside and had little or no influence at all, desperately needed such alliances.

More recently, in the second presidential election which were held on 20 August 2009, there were 41 candidates. By taking the same *Qawm* issue into consideration many of the candidates chose introduced their vice presidents from different ethnic groups. For example Karzai, despite repeated attempts in the last seven years was not very successful in expanding his influence, especially in his hometown Kandahar in the South and among the Pashtuns. A Taliban warning further affected the turnout to be lower, especially in the South. Karzai, knewing about this, turned to other ethnic groups in order to make a re-election possible. He made a coalition with regional powerbrokers, as an alternative, to gain more than 50 percent of votes. His strategy was to replace Ahmad Wali Massoud with Marshal Qasem Fahim, who was one of Ahmad Shah Masoud's famous aides. Initially, Fahim had been Karzai's Minister of Defence, but following his removal this office he turned to one of Karzai's major critics. Fahim, together with many others Mujahidin leaders, commanders, former communists and those from exile in the West (e.g., the former Mujahidin president Burhanuddin Rabbani, the former king's son Mustafa Zahir, Sayid Mustafa Kazemi, Ismail Khan, Mohammad Yunos Qanuni,

Aburrashid Dostum, Ahmad Wali Masoud, Sayid Mohammd Gulabzoy) formed *Jabha-e Mutahid-e Milli* (the united national front)[99] in order to counterbalance Karzai's dominance. Soon many parties joined the *JMM,* especially those who were unhappy with Karzai administration. Through this coalition of many parties the JMM turned into one of the main political opposition of the government and criticized it on different issues. Thus, to assure his re-election, Karzai tried all possible ways to buy the loyalty of other political oppositions groups. The existence of the powerful JMM was one of the major challenges in achieving these goals. In order to weaken the political opposition, Karzai made a coalition with Fahim as one of the strongest figure in JMM and announced him as his first vice president. The position of Khalili as the Second Vice President remained unchanged.

Meanwhile, there is competition and rivalry among the external supporters in favour of a particular figure or fraction in Afghanistan. It is like in the period of the communist regime when GRU and KGB were supporting *Khalq* and *Parchm* fractions separately, and they were competing in installing their own candidate into the system. A similar rivalry exists between the US Republicans and Democrats over the presidential candidates for Afghanistan. Karzai, who used to be very close to the Republicans in the US, has gained little credibility to the Democrats since Barack Obama took over the office. Both Karzai and Obama have criticized each other on different issues. The Obama administration blamed Karzai for high corruption and Karzai blamed the US for civilian casualties in combat. The Democrats seem very reluctant to cooperate with Karzai. This became evident last August, when Afghanistan prepared for the second presidential election and Karzai nominated himself for a second term of presidency. Initially there were 41 candidates, among them Ashraf Ghani, Abudllah Abdullah, Ramazan Bashardost, and Mirwais Yasini.[100] In the 2004 election Karzai was the only candidate supported by the US and European countries. However, the new candidates in the 2009 election provided an opportunity for the external players to revise their strategy of supporting Karzai, whose reputation has sharply declined in the last few years. Therefore the US Democrats shifted their support from Karzai to other alternative candidates in the election. Prior to the election the US embassy in Kabul invited Ghani, Abdullah and Yasini, and these three candidates held a meeting with the ambassador. Karzai officially criticized the meeting and said that "foreigners should not intervene in the election

---

[99] Hereafter it will be abbreviated as JMM

[100] Ghani, Abdullah and Bashardost held the ministries of finance, foreign affairs and planning respectively in Karzai's earlier cabinet.

processes." His spokesperson said that "the council of ministers approved that foreign ambassadors must organize their meetings through government offices". At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that "guests [ambassadors] should respect the rules of the host" (8AM 2009a: 1, 8AM: 2009b: 2, 8AM 2009: 1, 7).

Due to this tension Karzai could not hope for the support of the US Democrats in the coming election. While he was hopeless and worried about loosing the election he referred to Dostum and Muahqiq, the two most well-known figures among Uzbek and Hazara people. Especially their 21.7 percent share of votes in the last presidential election had made them attractive as figures. In order to gain their support Karzai has promised to give them some ministerial and other major posts. This promise seems to have convinced them, since they announced their support for Karzai's candidacy. It is important to know that Muhaqiq held Ministry of Planning in Karzai's first cabinet, but later was fired out. Dostum was sacked from his position and the government sent him to exile in Turkey. Although he announced his support for Karzai from Turkey he was still not allowed to return to Afghanistan. He was allowed to return only three days before elections and after his supporters warned the government that they would boycott the election in the absence of their leader.[101] Dostum's return raised criticism from the US and its ambassador officially forwarded his concern to Karzai's government. Probably in an attempt to break this coalition prior to the election, Obama announced his determination to investigate the massacre of Taliban prisoners in 2001 in the North of Afghanistan. This was an incident Dostum had been accused of and a case which the Bush and Karzai administrations largely ignored because at that time they needed his support in the so called 'War on Terror'.

To measure the ethnic representation balance in the House of Representatives the constitution mentions that the population number of each province determines the number of seats won by each province. Article 83 in chapter 5 mentions that "the election law shall adopt measures to attain, through the electorate system, general and fair representation for all the people of the country, proportionate to the population of every province, on average, and at least two females from each province shall be the elected members of the House of Representatives." Therefore, the electoral law in chapter 7 and

---

[101] During last field research I was in Kabul when local media showed Dostum being besieged in his house by police forces. He was accused of abducting and beating Akabar Bai the head of Turkmen's *Shura* (cf. also THE AFGHANISTAN DAILY, Nr. 429, 19 Feb. 2008).

Article 28 mentions that "the number of each Provincial Council shall be determined in the following manner":

a) Provinces with less than 500,000 inhabitants: 9 members
b) Provinces with less than 500,000 – 1,000,000 inhabitants: 15 members
c) Provinces with less than 1,000,000 – 2,000,000 inhabitants: 19 members
d) Provinces with less than 2,000,000 – 3,000,000 inhabitants: 23 members
e) Provinces with more than 3,000,000 inhabitants: 29 members.102

Based on this the number of population of each province became an indicator for determining the number of seats in the House of Representatives in the parliamentary election of 2005. This means provinces with a higher number of population won the most higher seats and those with a smaller number of population won fewer seats. However, lack of reliable data and census on the population made the allocation of seats controversial. The available census was an estimate based on figures from the year 1979. This estimate was without acknowledging the three decades of war and its outcome, including migration of millions of people to Pakistan, Iran and elsewhere in the world (cf. chapter. 2. 3. 1). In addition to this the allocation of seats according to the electoral law creates gaps of representation between provinces with small and large number of population. For example, provinces with less than a population of 500,000 (a) receive nine seats and provinces with a population of 1,000,000 (b) receive 15 seats. This means the difference of population between the two (a and b) is doubled while, in terms of seats, the difference is six seats only. The gap further widens when the population figure increases further while the number of seats to represent this number declines to four for (c) , and (d) provinces while (e) provinces gets six more seats.

Another significant point is the allocation of seats for nomads who with an estimated population of 1.5 million, receive ten seats in the House of Representatives. Although a majority of the nomads, according to CSO are settled in the country (cf. chapter 2.3.4) they receive more seats than propotional to their estimated number.

Nevertheless, the lack of reliable statistical figures and the dominance of the ruling elites, especially the Mujahidin, the former communists and the Taliban, undermined the representativeness of the House of Representatives. It is significant to see the decline of turn out from 70 percent in the presidential elections to 50 percent in the parliamentary

---

[102] Electoral law mentioned in REYNOLDS, JONES and WILDER (2005: 30)

election. Elsewhere in the world democracy and parliament become more active through political parties. However, in Afghanistan political parties seem to be little attractive, instead tribal and *Qawm* interests dominate politics. There are more than 105 parties officially registered in the Ministry of Justice (MOJ: 2009) but most of them are unknown to the public. The main parties that people are familiar with belong to the Mujahidin, communists and westernized Afghans, all of whom have reputation problems within society. The government has also shown little interests to institutionalize parties and provide a party-based electoral system. The Joint Electoral Management Body (JEMB), whose members are employed by the government, claimed that implementation of the election under a party-based electoral system was difficult due to the state of development of the political parties in Afghanistan in its final report (JEMB 2005: 22).

It is significant to see that after almost eight years, and despite huge international support in state-building, state institutions are still weak, society is fragmented and individual power bases are strong. State institutions are hardly reliable and representative of the population. Instead people rely more on their traditional social networks (family, tribal, religious) where they get support. This situation is similar to that of the 60s and 70s when a study concluded that "in Afghanistan many social, political and economic rights and obligations occur within kinship-oriented, not government-oriented institution" (DUPREE 1973: 415). Therefore, the institutions built with the help of the international community are fragmented, weak and ineffective. These challenges require a unified and effective strategy. However, the diversities of internal and external players in the state-building process, and their different approaches to the task, have created serious obstacles toward developing such a strategy. In order to understand the role of internal and external players in the state-building processes it is necessary to analyze them separately.

5.2.3 Identification and Stratification of Main Internal and External Players

The capacity of a state is measured through the functions of its different institutions, like the judiciary, legislative, executive branch, which are among the leading institutions. Other indicators such as effectiveness, efficiency, transparency and accountability of institutions can be measured through the quality of performance in the determined functions of the different sectors. Meanwhile, the institutions are supposed to be the decision making bodies while, in practice, the institutional functions are carried out by 'capable staff' like the armed forces, polices, judges, prosecutors and lawyers. They practice the 'legitimate use of force' and implement the rule of law and order and raise revenues. Public services are provided by capable staff like doctors, nurses, engineers,

architects, entrepreneurs, managers, planners, administrators and other qualified staff and workers in offices and factories. At the same time training this staff requires further capable staff like trainers, teachers, lecturers and professors with the appropriate educational background and functioning academic institutions.

In the new era of state-building, one of the major challenges Afghanistan faced with is providing institutions with capable staff. There is little doubt that state institutions in Afghanistan have always been weak in terms of providing their basic services. However, the last three decades of war largely affected the population and further deepened the problem. Mass migration, which happened at several periods (the fall of monarchy, the Soviet invasion, the civil war and Mujahidin and Taliban fighting in the 1990s), caused brain drains and a large number of available trained staff was killed by different regimes or fled from the country. Many of these professionals also joined different political parties and fractions who actively took part in the wars (cf. Chapter 4).

The so called 'War on Terror' and its outcome have paved the way for different internal and external players in the state-building process. The politically much securer yet still unstable situation has at least provided an opportunity for all Afghans to come forward and participate. Different groups – Afghans from exile in the West, communists, Mujahidin, Taliban and civilians – have seized the opportunity, but this has also created uneasy turbulence within the institutions. As time progresses splits between these groups are appearing in terms of ideology, identity, religion, ethnicity and professional carreer. The participation of these different rival internal groups in the political process became possible as a result of the presence, influence, pressure and huge financial resources of external groups. The latter often referred to as the 'international community', mainly consist of the US, NATO, ISAF troops, the UN and hundreds of NGOs, international organizations and foreign experts. Among the external players, too, there have been differences in terms of the approaches and strategies carried out in the state-building process. To analyse in which way different social and political groups participate in state-building, one has to look at them separately.

Civilian Population
The civilian population forms the biggest group and is not affiliated to a particular political movement; its education is not very high and job skills are not very well developed. However, most of the people are high school graduates. Many have

experience in administrative work and have, on average, a better education than the Mujahidin and Taliban and a wider range of work experience than the Communists.

Most of the students who have graduated from universities and have B. A. degrees but no job experience also belong to this group. Sometimes their new occupation does not match their backgrounds because of the ineffective distribution of the graduates by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. They hold the lower ranks in the bureaucracy and yet groups in the higher ranks benefit from them as their B. A.s fill gaps of knowledge and experience.

Communists

The group of communists comprises members of the former PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan), as well as the Khalqis and Parchamis fractions. Most were educated in former USSR and eastern bloc countries. Some of the key members of these groups either joined with the Mujahidin's government or its opposition groups (the latter later merged with the Taliban), some fled to Russia and to the West. The majority of the low ranking members of this group remained in the country. Some of them have formed new parties and occupy some posts in the government and seats in the parliament. Looking at the failure of the Mujahidin in forming a stable functioning government and Taliban barbarism they feel a sense of justification.

Mujahidin

The Mujahidin consist of political and military personnel rather than any managerial or administration staff. In other words, they are better for military purposes than social services. This is true especially of most of the Mujahidin commanders and sub-commanders while some of their leaders were students or professors at Kabul University. Their education is mainly limited to secondary level schools and training in religious schools and they have little knowledge of administration. Moreover, the group includes different Islamic parties that are not on very good terms with each other. Their number is low but they occupy the higher ranks in the institutions. The Mujahidin in general believe that they deserve these posts as a reward for their struggle against the communists and the Taliban.

Afghan Taliban

The Afghan Taliban group includes those who surrendered themselves to the US or Afghan forces or have been arrested during the war. Some have been made part of the

elected government and the parliament. Karzai's administration has classified the Taliban into moderate and extremist groups. On the ground of this definition the government invites the moderate Taliban through regularly messages of welcome to join the government. For a few years this welcoming policy has been extended further and now covers all extremist members of the Taliban, even their leader Mullah Omar. Many of their prominent figures joined the new institutions, some were elected to the Loya Jirga of 2002 and others to parliament in 2005. Mullah Raketti is a known figure of the Taliban in the House of Representatives, and in last August's election he was one of the 41 candidates for the office of the president. In 2006 Sebghatullah Mujadidi, the head of House of Elders and the peace commission, announced that around one thousand Taliban joined the government and declared themselves committed to the peace process (MESHRANO JIRGA 2006: 32-33).

Nevertheless, the main body of the Taliban (cf. Chapter 4.3) has rejected the idea of joining the peace process and increased their attacks against the government and international forces in recent years. The presence of foreign troops, a foreign backed government in power, and finally the modern ruling system in general have provided opportunity to manipulate the ideas of different tribes and getting them to join the war. In contrast the small number of Taliban that exists within the government has had growing influence in the last few years. The restrictive measures carried out by the government (banning some TV programs, limiting freedom of speech and arresting journalists) have raised public concern about the influence of Taliban ideology in the institutions. As a result of this policy Afghanistan's position in the worldwide freedom of press ranking was place 142 between 2006 and 2007, while countries like Pakistan, China and Iran were on place 152, 163 and 166, respectably (UNDP 2008: 134).

Returnees from the West "Westernized-Afghans"
The group of returnees from exile in the West includes all Afghans who came from exile and joined the post-Taliban state-building process. They are known in the western media as technocrats while inside the country they are called 'Westerners' (*Gharbi ha*). Having been educated in and having lived many years in the West, they are very much supported by the USA and EU and are often sent to fill important posts in different institutions. They occupy very high-ranking posts in the government (ministers, vice ministers, advisors etc.) and receive extraordinarily high salaries paid in US dollars. This group find it difficult working in government institutions because of the high expectations from all staff, and also because of the lack of equipment and facilities.

Another problem with this group is that they are less reliable as state-builders, firstly because they are temporarily based in Kabul while their families are abroad, and, secondly, because with western passports they have a second identity. The issue of dual passport holders in particular is an obstacle to effective leadership in the country. According to OECD 'ownership,' which is defined as a "country's ability to exercise effective leadership over its development projects and strategies", is critical to achieving development results. In Afghanistan one of the major challenges to ownership is "the high level of dual passport holders" (OECD 2006b: 1).

They will co-operate with the government (and foreigners) only as long as they receive high salaries and are incumbents of high ranking posts. Should these perks be terminated, they will leave the country. However it is stated in the new constitution that the president and his ministers should be Afghan and that no one can be a minister while having two citizenships. This item was required to be mentioned in the constitution in an effort by the Mujahidin group to exclude the returnees from the high-ranking government posts.

Foreigners

This group consists of foreigners who indirectly run the government of Afghanistan. It carries out the main functions of the government like maintaining security and reconstruction programs. At the G8 meeting in April 2002 in Geneva the responsibility of leading the five pillars of Afghanistan's Security Sector Reform (SSR) programme was assigned to the five leading donor-nations: military, the US; police, Germany; judicial reform, Italy; Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants, Japan; and Counter-narcotics, the UK (WILDER 2007: 19, MOBEKK 2005: 15). Unlike the case of other groups, for the foreigners there are figures which show their number and activities, especially for the US, NATO and ISAF forces in different parts of Afghanistan (map 20, table 18).

As illustrated in map 20 and table 18, the number of foreign troops varies in terms of their country of origin as well as in the regional distribution in Afghanistan. The most significant message, however, is that the national institutions are very weak and have little capacity to maintain security, rule of law and public order the very basic functions. In other words foreign troops carry out the job of the Afghan army and Afghan police.

Map 20: Distribution of foreign troops in Afghanistan
Source: ISAF (2009)

	Country	No.		Country	No.		Country	No.		Country	No.
	Albania	140		Finland	110		Lithuania	200		Spain	780
	Australia	1090		France	2780		Luxemburg	9		Sweden	290
	Austria	2		Georgia	1		Netherlands	1770		The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*	170
	Azerbaijan	90		Germany	3465		New Zealand	150		Turkey	660
	Belgium	450		Greece	140		Norway	490		Ukraine	10
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2		Hungary	370		Poland	1590		United Arab Emirates	25
	Bulgaria	820		Iceland	8		Portugal	30		United Kingdom	8300
	Canada	2830		Ireland	7		Romania	860		United States	26215
	Croatia	280		Italy	2350		Singapore	20			
	Czech Republic	580		Jordan	7		Slovakia	230			
	Denmark	700		Latvia	160		Slovenia	70		Total (rounded)	58390
	Estonia	140									

* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name

Table 18: Number of foreign troops with reference to the sending countries
Source: ISAF (2009)

Moreover, this situation attributes to Afghanistan one of the characteristics of a 'fragile state', because if these forces pull out any time soon the government will not be able to

control the situation. As a result chaos will return to the country and whatever has been achieved in the last few years will be lost. Therefore foreign countries who send these troops are the key external players in the political process of Afghanistan.

The number of external players extends beyond military forces and extends to civil services as well. This is because the government has been unable (and often unwilling) to provide other public services (e.g., healthcare, education, infrastructure, capacity-building, training) properly as well. As a result, the gap is filled by a huge number of NGOs which have added to the number of actors. The idea of NGOs initially emerged in the late 1980s and with the break out of civil war and the disintegration of state institutions, their number has dramatically increased. In 2004 there were more than 2000 NGOs registered with the Ministry of Planning (UNDP 2004: 158). This number, of course, included national and international NGOs. They usually carry out activities like reconstruction, provision of public services, education, training, and health across the country. They usually implement their projects independently from the government while enjoying large share of the aids (financial and material) provided for Afghanistan by the donor countries. Due to security problems most of these NGOs were and still are based in Kabul which turned the capital into "the chessboard of international donors" (DITTMANN 2006: 4). In 2005 Bashardost, Minister of Planning, criticized the role of NGOs and called them as "the new Al-Qaeda" (BUSSE 2005: 3). This criticism led to huge pressure on him, as a result of which he resigned and later the Ministry of Planning was dissolved. It is striking that since then many ministers have been appointed who had been working in NGOs. In other words they are NGO-made ministers, and following their appointment the criticism of NGOs has declined.

To sum up the analysis of these different internal and external groups, there are three main problems among the staff of institutions. The first one is that there are remarkable differences in the terms of employment, salary, identity and political ideology among the staff members. The second problem is the insufficient number of staff in different institutions at national and sub-national level. The third problem is the insufficient qualification and experience of a huge portion of available staff. For better analysis each problem has to be highlighted (table 19).

Criteria		Internal and External Groups					
		Civilians	Communists	Mujahidin	Taliban	Westernized Afghan	Foreigners
Income[2]		very low	middle	middle	middle	very high	very high
Social hierarchy		very low	high	high	high	very high	very high
Knowledge of:	Traditional education	middle	low	low	very low	very low	very low
	Modern education	low	middle	low	very low	high	high
	English	low	low	very low	very low	very high	very high
	Computer	low	low	very low	very low	middle	high
Social status		very low	very high	very high	very high	very high	very high
Reliability[5]		very high	very low	very low	very low	very low	very low
Share of total population		very high	very low	very low	very low	very low	

[1] The various degrees (very low, low, middle, high, very high) illustrates the importance of each social group in the various categories.

[2] "Very low income" is defined for an ordinary staff as US$40 per month while "very high" means several 1,000 US$ per month.

[3] "Traditional education" covers those who graduated from 12th grade of school without further advancing their education, but are skilled in the "local system".

[4] "Reliability" means the degree to which Afghanistan can rely on this group as human capital for its institutions

Table 19: Internal and external layers in the state-building process
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009)

In terms of hierarchy the groups with lower numbers are in the top positions. The returnees from the West are at the top while the communists, Mujahidin and Taliban remain in the second top positions. The civilians, representing the highest number possess the lowest position in this hierarchy. The ruling elite changed from time to time, however, the civilians constituted the more stable staff of the institutions. This does not deny the fact the rivalries of other groups largely affected the number and qualification of civilians at different periods. In this hierarchy the foreigners mainly support the returnees from the West while they criticize the Mujahidin and Taliban.

There is also little difference between the four internal groups at the top (the returnees, the Mujahidin, the communists and the Taliban) and the three tribal, religious and intellectual elites who dominated the politics of the country in the last century. It can be said that the Mujahidin and the Taliban demonstrate a combination of religious and tribal elites respectively. The same holds true for the communists and the returnees from the West, both of whom represent the intellectual elites.

However, in terms of ethno-linguistic issues sometimes the distinction between these groups becomes very more complicated, especially when ethnic (*Qawm*), linguistic, regional, and religious affiliations precede political ideologies. This factor especially comprises the major characteristics of the intellectual elites (communists and returnees), since their members represent a high number of ethno-nationalists (*Qawm-garayan*) who established their parties between 1960 and the 1970s either officially or underground (e.g., *Khalq, Parcham, Afghan Millat,Shula-e Jawid* and *Setam-e Milli*). One of the reasons behind their ethno-nationalism (*Qawm-garayi*) may be that they lack popular support in society (especially in rural areas). They use ethno-nationalism as an instrument to maintain their influence and gain support. Although the Mujahidin and Taliban both have claimed their loyalty to religion and denied any ethno-linguistic favouritism, this has remained theory while in practice *Qawm*, tribe, and regional favouritism prevails. The composition of both groups highlights significantly how *Qawm* affiliations have been important among them (cf. Chapter 2.3.1).

In general there have been serious problems between these rival groups in the past. However, in the last few years these rivalries have undermined the effectiveness of institutions (cf. Chapter 2.3.1). The rival groups support regionalism, *Qawm* and ethno-linguistic and religious affiliations rather than the national interest of the entire population and the country. Institutions are fragmented, power rivalries continue, and cooperation among the groups has remained at its lowest level. More importantly, mistrust between rival groups has led to the exclusion of the opposition from the institutions. The situation is fragile and if there would be no foreign troops in Afghanistan to control the situation, a military rivalry among the groups would be imminent.

The above classification of different groups in the decision making process highlights 'willingness' as one of the main indicators of state fragility. However, to better understand the characteristics of Afghanistan as a 'fragile state', it is crucial to analyse the 'capacity' of its institution. In other words, while the three elites dominate the political power there is little information about their number. However, there is some quantitative data which can highlight the general number of staff and their quality of performance in the institutions.

5.3   Poor Institutional Capacity and the Insufficient Number of 'Capable Staff'

In order to measure institutional capacity it is necessary to focus on the number of available staff and to analyse its quality of performance. This will help to understand whether state institutions have the necessary capacity and capability in different sectors. There are certain clear-cut functions for state institutions like the monopoly on the legitimate use of force, maintaining security, rule of law and public order. These functions are performed by the police and armed forces, and capable staff who carry out public service manage the bureaucracy of the state.

In the last eight years the building institutions started almost from scratche especially in the security sectors like the ANA and ANP forces. There were thousands of armed groups belonging to different Mujahidin fractions in the country. In order to disarm and reintegrate these groups into political, social and economic life the government announced a three year Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme (ANBP) in 2002. This programme was backed by UNDP and UNAMA with Japan as the lead donor, and it implemented the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process. By June 2006 the DDR process was completed and, as a result, over 63,300 ex-combatants were disarmed and demobilized and 56,000 ex-combatants completed the reintegration phase (UNDP 2006: 12).

5.3.1   The Weak Security and Justice Sector

The Bonn Accord determined the number of ANA to be 70,000 and ANP 62,000 troops (AFGHANISTAN COMPACT 2006: 6). However, since 2002 when the recruiting and training started the initial estimates have proved to be insufficient. Therefore in every meeting the issue of increasing the number of ANA and ANP was one of the major topics between the Afghan government and the major international donors. Due to the growing demands in terms of maintaining security in the country, efforts were made to increase the number of ANA and ANP troops. Recently the number of ANA has reached around 82,720 troops and the number of ANP to 76,000 troops (NATO 2009: 13, 16, ISAF 2009). In February 2008, in Tokyo, the international community's Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board (JCMB) endorsed a target ceiling for the ANA of 80,000 by 2010, including 6000 trainers. The target ceiling for the ANP that has been agreed upon is 82,180 by the same date. (ANDS 2009: 56-58, NATO 2008: 8, NATO 2009: 16). However, a new target ceiling was agreed on later to increase the size of the ANA from 80,000 at the end of 2010 to 134,000 by 2014 (MC KIERNAN 2008: 14).

The above figures are not the final target since the size of the ANA and ANP have changed from time to time and crossed the pre-determined specific targets. This is to be seen in the rapid increase of ANA from its former target ceilings. By July 2009 the number of ANA reached to 91,900 troops which is significant. The JCMB had earlier ruled out increasing the size of the ANP to 94,000 (JCMB 2007: 4), but nowadays there are intentions both from the government and the international community to reconsider their earlier decision. [103]

Parallel to the growth of the ANA and ANP the number of ISAF forces from more than 40 countries has also increased. In 2002, under UN mandate, ISAF forces were deployed to Kabul to maintain security in the capital and to provide the opportunity for the AIA, ATA and international organizations and NGOs to start their activities. In 2003 ISAF had 5,581 troops, but later the demands on ISAF grew in other regions of Afghanistan. Since then the ISAF numbers have increased to 31,000 in October 2006, and by July 2009 they have reached 64,500 troops and their mission has been expanded to different regions of the country (figure 22).
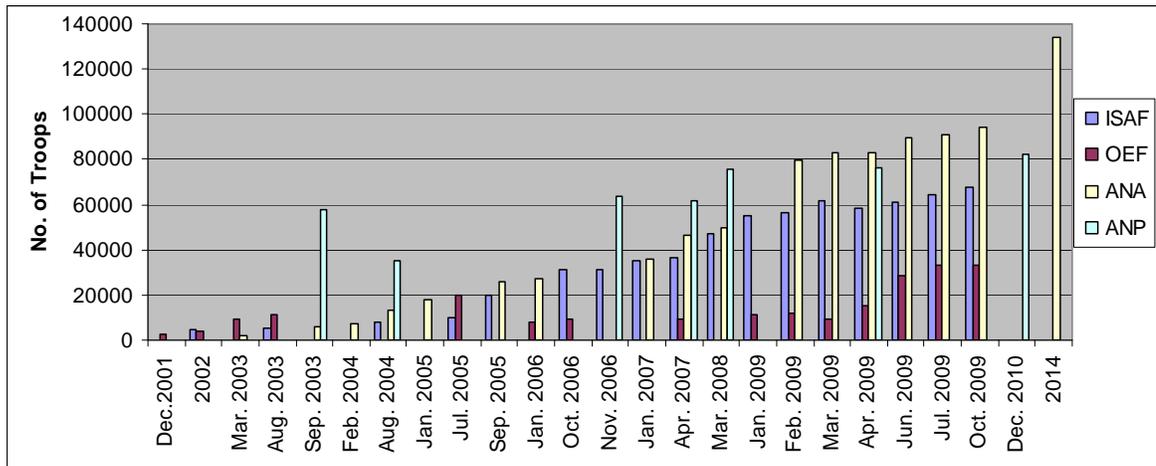
Figure 22: The growth of ISAF, US, ANA, and ANP forces since 2003
Draft KOHISTANI (2009) Source: Figures from ISAF (2009), MOD (2009), MARSDEN and ARNOLD-FOSTER (2007: 25), UNDP (2004a: 135), UNDP (2007a: 32, 83, 167), NEW YORK TIMES (2009)

---

[103] As part of his election campaign Karzai said that if he was re-elected he would increase the size of the ANA to 260,000 and the ANP to 160,000 troops (DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN 2009c: 2009). However, he gave no further details on how Afghanistan will be able to provide financial resources for such a big demand.

As shown in figure 22 the US forces constitute the major share of ISAF, however, it also unilaterally leads the OEF forces, which constitute around 32,000 troops.[104] To make the OEF effective and to gain support form local people, the US and its allies carried out small scale reconstruction projects especially in remote rural areas which were and still are beyond the reach of the central government. In 2002 the US launched such programs under the name *Provincial Reconstruction Team* (PRT). The aim of these programs was to 'win the hearts and minds' of the local people.

Further, the idea of the PRT was to use small joint civil-military teams to expand the legitimacy of the central government to the regions and enhance security by supporting security reforms and facilitating the reconstruction process (JAKOBSEN 2005: 11). The PRTs have been involved in building schools, health clinics, bridges, roads and similar humanitarian activities, mostly in rural areas. Usually provincial and district *Shuras* cooperate by discussing their needs with the PRTs.

Nevertheless, despite these attempts the high level of troops together with PRT programs had little success in reducing the violence in the country. Altogether, the total number of foreign troops exceeds 100,000 in Afghanistan. These together with more than 160,000 ANA and ANP troops have not been able to defeat the Taliban, maintain security and the rule of law, or extend the control of central government to the provinces, districts and sub-districts. The Taliban are now stronger than in the first years following their removal from power in late 2001. They have many districts under their control and they occasionally target major cities, including the capital. This raise doubts that increasing the number of troops (Afghans and foreigners) has not been very effective in providing security and the rule of law, as had been anticipated earlier. However, the number is still far from enough for a country like Afghanistan, which has a highly dispersed population, poor communication systems, a rough topography and long permeable and uncontrollable borders. Moreover, if the ANA and ANP together with foreign troops cannot maintain security now, they will never be able to do so after the withdrawal of foreign troops. This means their number should be increased to a certain level so that they would be capable of maintaining security on their own and to fill the gaps once foreign troops withdraw.

In addition foreign troops are equipped with highly developed technology and enjoy large financial resources, while both factors are hardly accessible for the ANA and ANP.

---

[104] The number of US troops in Afghanistan is around 62,000 forces of which by last July 29,950 were part of ISAF and the rest 32, 050 troops, were under US command in OEF.

Technically the ANA and ANP forces are badly equipped and they usually face challenges in operations. They lack air force and air power. The quality of the equipment they received is not satisfactory. This equipment has repeatedly undermined the ability of the ANA and ANP forces during field operations. The military equipment used to be imported from the USSR, and actually the entire military system was Russian. This military system, its infrastructure and equipment was destroyed during the civil war. In the past seven years ISAF and NATO have been reluctant to provide their own products to Afghan security forces. Instead they imported Russian system military equipment from Eastern European countries (e.g., the Czech Republic, and the Ukraine), that is often old and second-hand.

There are other major factors like poor quality of training and low salary level which have made the available number of troops ineffective in their functions. Poor quality of training has been one of the major challenges for the ANA and ANP. In the last seven years the number of ANA and ANP has increased significantly. However, the quality of performance of the armed and police forces is very poor. The first problem is that those who joined the ANA and ANP have been poorly educated or they are illiterate. Most of the former Mujahidin fighters, after DDR[105] process, were integrated into the ANA first and later more gradually into the ANP. Although there is little data to indicate the literacy rate among them, it can be estimated that the majority of the soldiers and policemen are illiterate. This factor of illiteracy of course affects their training and also their behaviour in public. This is especially the case with the ANP, who are in closer contact with people. The next problem is the new system of volunteer-based recruitment implemented by the government. Unlike in the past, when military service was compulsory, anyone (men) above 18 and below 35 can voluntarily join ANA in the current system. The high level of unemployment in the country usually attracts uneducated poor young men, especially from rural areas, to join ANA as the only alternative to survive.

In the case of the ANP fractionalism has been a dominating factor from the beginning. Many commanders from different fractions succeeded in recruiting their own militia to sustain their rule. Training such trainees becomes useless since they remain loyal to their commanders or to the 'strongmen' who supported their recruitment. In the case of low discipline and disobedience even the foreign trainers could not expel them, because these

---

[105] disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)

recruits will be backed by 'strongmen' in the government.[106] As illustrated in (figure 22) the number of ANP had a sudden grow and started from a high level, unlike the number of ANA which started to grow gradually. This is possibly the result of a high level of nepotism and corruption, which has facilitated the process of recruitment.

Meanwhile, poor education is a problem among most of the officers, too. Especially former Mujahidin have only a minimum of education (primary or sometimes secondary school), and those who have graduated from 12 years of school are rarely available. The non-Mujahidin officers (especially in the lower ranks), those who belong to the former communist regime, did not finish 12 years of school either. They joined military and police special courses from grade 6 to 9, which used to be the only requirement in that period to qualify them as officers.

Apart from the level of education, the training quality that ANA and ANP forces receive has been very poor. Since the beginning of the training major efforts were concentrated on filling the gap of armed and police forces in a rapid way, while little attention was paid to the quality of training of these forces. In the 1980s the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul faced a similar shortage of personnel and security challenges, while thousands of Soviet troops filled the gap. In order to overcome this challenge, the government provided short term courses (usually three, six or nine months) which trained officers. However, the people in the country, finding the training period insufficient, made jokes about those who graduated these courses. They called graduated officers from these courses as '*Zabetak haye Mashini*' (machine-made officers). There have been similar short-term courses to train officers in the post-Taliban era by NATO and ISAF. This time the trainees did not need a few months to become officers but only a few weeks. It is striking to see how these officers with very low qualification can train their soldiers and lead combat operations. Moreover, the number of trainers was also very insufficient. Out of 434 police and army foreign trainers promised by NATO only 93 were deployed last year (KORSKI 2008: 4).

---

[106] "A Canadian trainer in Kandahar described the situation: 'Unfortunately, what's happening throughout the region [South] is that the initial influx of candidates that we're receiving for this training,…. majority of them are militias from governors… I actually witnessed, on the first ANP training course, we expelled a number of students for inappropriate behavior,…they refused to follow direction. The regional training commander wanted them expelled. Immediately, the phone calls started coming in from the governor, saying, 'Why are you doing this?' [and] from Wali Karzai, [President's brother] saying, 'You know, these are good people, don't expel them.' And the very next day the governor came to the regional training centre." In fact, that group of recruits didn't drop out; they were kicked out, for refusing to follow orders" (WILDER 2007: 16).

The low salary of the ANA and ANP is another important factor which determines their performance. In the beginning of the training for they did not receive their salaries properly. Although later the payment came to a normal and proper level but the small amount paid monthly could hardly fulfil the needs of a family. On the other hand even this small salary amounts to a huge part of the government budget, especially if their number grows. In its annual report the Ministry of Finance mentioned that it "will only fund salary and fund food for a maximum number of 70,000 ANA personnel. The additional amount of budget can only be accommodated in the budget of the Ministry of Defence based on the firm commitment by a donor to support additional troops" (MOF 2009 17).

From the beginning of training the ANA, the international community has been paying the largest share of the budget. The main concern is how this volunteer-based system can survive, especially when there is no funding from the international community, the government will not be able to pay this huge expenditure. In the long term there are at least three major challenges ahead for ANA and ANP: filling the vacuum of foreign troops one day when they withdraw, sustaining themselves without foreign aid, and avoiding fractionalism and remaining loyal to the central government.

Next to the security institutions it is the judiciary which remains very weak in performing its function. The main factors which contribute to its weaknesses stem from poor human resources, a small number of qualified judges, low salaries and inadequate facilities and infrastructure especially in provinces and districts. In 2007 one study reported the total number of judges to be 1107 (UNDP 2007a: 8). This number was distributed unequally in among 34 provinces: Kabul holding 14 percent of population, had 24 percent or 265 judges, the highest number in the country. In the rest of 33 provinces the number of judges varied from 72 in Nangarhar (the second after Kabul) to 5 in Uruzgan. The distribution of judges did not fill the requirements of a number of districts, since each Primary Court at district level requires three judges.

The judiciary sector has a hierarchical structure which has made difficult the possibility of communication between these institutions at the central, provincial and district level. According to a survey carried out in 2007, 82.8 percent of judges did not have access to written decisions of the Supreme Court based in Kabul. In addition, the judiciary sector suffers from a shortage of professional staff. Around 44 percent of the judges that have B.A. degrees have graduated from the faculty of theology (*Sharaiyat*), and 11.6 percent

from the faculty of law. The remaining 7.7 percent is constituted of those who were educated in other religious schools (inside and outside the country) (UNDP 2007a: 71). The high percentage of judges from the Faculty of Theology represents the strong role of *Shariah* law in the judiciary sector (cf. Chapter 3.2).

The above factors have negatively affected the effectiveness of the judiciary sector in the country. In addition to that low salaries (between $35-50 a month) for the judges have further undermined their loyalty to the rule of law and increased corruption in the system. This factor has made the judiciary sector unattractive, since the public prefers to find alternative ways to solve their problems (e.g., traditional *Shura* and *Jirga*). This is because the official judiciary sector does not only cost much money but also because it takes more time, and, more importantly, the decision made at the end is often not fair due to corruption.

5.3.2   The Insufficiently Qualified Administrative Staff

There is available data which can highlight the general situation of governance and administration in the country. Such data helps to understand the capability of the available staff on the central and local level. According to CSO, in 2007, the total number of employees in different ministries and departments was 304,881 including the civil staff of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior. Comparing this figure with 2003 and 2005, where the total number of staff was 239,081 and 295,169 respectively, the new figure shows a rapid increase in the number of staff (CSO 2007: 13). The general number of staff was divided into two categories, permanent employees and contract-based employees. The permanent staff, numbering 216,919 was constituted by the skilled and educated staff. The rest, 87,962, comprised the contract-based staff who were non-skilled and uneducated (table 20).[107] In other words over 40 percent of the total number of staff, which is a high proportion, was not educated.

---

[107] The CSO described them as service personnel and worker (*Parsonal-e Khedamati wa Kargaran*) (CSO 2007: 13) which is an official and common term used for those female and male (often old) workers. They are responsible for carrying letters and document between offices, cleaning, cooking, making tea and they are often employed as caretakers. There is a very small number of educated staff among them which includes those who retired from one office and re-employed in another.

Table 20: Number of staff according to share of population and provinces

Draft KOHISTANI (2009)   Source: Figures from CSO (2007)

Ministries and other admin sectors	No. of staff						Permanent staff: Number and level of education									Contract-based staff
	2003	%	2005	%	2007	%	Ph. D	MA	BA	14th Grades	12th Grades	12 Gr. Voc.	Tech. School	Prim. school	Privat	staff
Prime Minister	794	0.3														573
Office of Administrative Affairs	944	0.4	878	0.3	906	0.3	2	17	70	9	217	6		10	2	2,999
M.of Defence		0.0	2,719	0.9	3,397	1.1		5	5	10	265		2	45	73	1,649
M.of Interior affairs	70,481	29.5	2,390	0.8	2,906	1.0			46	34	914	6		159	89	318
M.of Foreign affairs	985	0.4	1,078	0.4	1,130	0.4	1	124	523	23	119		23	43		350
M.of Finance	4,275	1.8	2,309	0.8	3,324	1.1	2	20	308	116	2,412				50	314
M.of Economy		0.0	2,390	0.8	796	0.3	2	30	112	34	295					
M.of Commerce and industries	449	0.2	4,232	1.4	3,981	1.3	3	37	138	85	1,847	10	12	119	76	4,763
M.of Mines	291	0.1	7,577	2.6	6,915	2.3		135	204	238	1,400	12		164	9	1,654
M. of Light Industries	272	0.1														241
M.of Justice	2,729	1.1	1,600	0.5	1,611	0.5	1	10	160	10	1,073			56	60	
M.of Guidance pilligramage and pious	8,000	3.3	7,573	2.6	7,244	2.4		3	28	26	1,095			117	91	5,884
M. of Planning	424	0.2														
M.of Reconstruction	416	0.2														
M.of Education	72,000	30.1	177,328	60.1	181,603	59.6		400	7,677	21,552	78,697			44,796		28,481
M.of Higher education	5,090	2.1	4,392	1.5	4,392	1.4	119	741	1,257	337	519	6	4	40	10	1,360
M. of Civil Aviation	1,050	0.4														
M.of Transport and Civil Aviation	882	0.4	5,149	1.7	6,005	2.0	11	130	539	212	1,753	415	11	43	4	2,887
M.of Water & Power	542	0.2	8,088	2.7	8,481	2.8	2	235	295	885	2,129	57	37	113	4	4,723
M.of Agriculture and Irregation	11,309	4.7	8,320	2.8	9,770	3.2	5	94	1,280	267	2,625			301	65	5,133
M. of Irrigation and Water Resource	2,167	0.9														
M.of Public Health	23,540	9.8	11,032	3.7	13,371	4.4		890	2,414	1,071	926	3,746		221	94	4,009
M.of Communication	2,869	1.2	3,766	1.3	2,563	0.8		9	40	54	1,364		15	15		1,066
M.of Information, Culture and Youth/ Tourism	4,514	1.9	3,668	1.2	3,705	1.2	1	56	308	225	1,302	87	36	130	26	1,534
M.of Youngs Affairs		0.0	122	0.0	315	0.0										
M.of Women affairs	1,341	0.6	1,271	0.4	886	0.3	1	8	51	51	524					251
M. of Martyrs and Disabled affairs	1,605	0.7	1,474	0.5												
M.of Labor and social affairs, Martyrs and Disabled	5,761	2.4	6,882	2.3	7,502	2.5	2	24	90	1,320	3,961	153	44	9	16	1,885
M.of Public Interests	2,972	1.2	2,874	1.0	2,599	0.9	2	51	52	32	776	41		9	6	1,630
M.of Repatriation and Retugees Affairs	829	0.3	1,142	0.4	1,093	0.4	1	4	47	27	579				1	436
M.of Urban development		0.0	2,436	0.8	1,238	0.4	2	138	163	37	228	58	12	13	10	579
M.of Rural rehabilitation & development	1,895	0.8	2,098	0.7	1,973	0.6	1	84	307	88	794	25	18	7	10	639
M.of Frontires affairs	750	0.3	1,472	0.5	1,271	0.4		12	79	60	520			18	8	574
M.of Counter narcotics		0.0	185	0.1	315	0.1		12	79	18	106					100
Supreme Court	3,224	1.3	4,740	1.6	4,335	1.4	4	4	1,491	528	732			155	125	1,296
Attorney general	4,540	1.9	3,800	1.3	3,514	1.2		27	732		1,669		32	62	57	934
Geodesy and cartography department	660	0.3	740	0.3	695	0.2		18	33	30	152	252		11		198
Central statistics office	413	0.2		0.0	757	0.2	1	10	58		446	29			5	208
Banks	125	0.1	5,011	1.7	3,446	1.1	2	37	215	111	1,442	63	40	17	31	1,490
Kabul municipality		0.0	4,329	1.5	10,063	3.3		102	129	78	862	53	25	22	25	8,767
G. I. Adminstration of Anti corruption		0.0		0.0	110	0.0			60	3	14			1		32
I.Administration reform and civil serivce commission		0.0		0.0	339	0.1	1	12	166	9	55	1				95
Disaster preparedness department		0.0		0.0	164	0.1	1	3	16	9	85	1				49
control and Audit office		0.0		0.0	271	0.1	2	12	116	9	72	3		7	2	48
National Environmental profection agency		0.0		0.0	288	0.1		8	70	8	84	14		5		99
National olympic department		0.0	315	0.1	303	0.1		2	11	19	141		5	2		123
Afghan red crescent society		0.0	1,405	0.5	1,202	0.4	1	31	90	63	404	117		14	3	479
Academy of science	567	0.2	384	0.2	417	0.1	15	62	103	4	102	7	8	4		
Farmers Cooperative Union	376	0.2														112
Total	**239,081**	**100.0**	**295,169**	**100.0**	**304,881**	**100.0**	202	3,597	19,562	27,692	112,700	5,162	324	46,728	952	87,962

On the other hand the number of educated staff also varies in terms of their degree and their distribution in different sectors. From the total figure there were 19,565 with a B.A., 3,597 with an M.A., and only 202 with Ph.D. degrees. Thus the number of Ph.D. and M.A. are strikingly low especially when it includes the ministry of higher education, and and ministry of education in the country. Out of 202 members of staff with a Ph.D. degree 119 were in the Ministry of Higher education. In contrast there is no single member of staff with a Ph.D. degree in many ministries, among them those of Education and Public Health. These two important ministries that deal with education and health care, two fundamental part of public service, also employ a large proportion of the staff. The education sector, for example, had the highest share with a number of 181, 603 staff or 60 percent of the total figure. This number includes all teachers and administration staff of schools and related offices in the country, including the Ministry of Education. The health sector comprised 13,371 staff, which constitutes 4.4 percent of the total figure. Both sectors filled the gap of Ph.D.s with those who had M.A. and B.A. degrees, whereas the Ministry of Education employs 400 people with M.A. and 7,677 with B.A. degrees. The Ministry of Public Health employed 890 people with M.A. and 2,414 with B.A. degrees (table 20).

The next sectors which had the highest percentages of staff were Kabul Municipality and the Ministry of Agriculture, with 3.3 and 3.2 percent respectively. In Kabul Municipality, out of 10,063 members of staff none had a Ph.D., 102 had an M.A. and 129 B.A., while the remaining staff were between undergraduate to over 8,767 mostly illiterate workers. Meanwhile, despite agriculture being regarded as a very important sector in Afghanistan, it is striking to see that out of 9,770 members of staff in the Ministry of Agriculture only 5 had Ph.D., 94 had an M.A. and 1,280 had only a B.A. degree (table 20). Thus there is little doubt that small numbers of qualified staff affect the functions and performance of institutions in different sectors and undermine the provision of effective public service.

While the above figures illustrate the general number of staff in the country, the distribution of the staff varies greatly between the capital, the provinces and districts. In other words there is a huge geographical disparity and the number of staff is not distributed equally according to the share of population. Therefore the functions and capability of institutions varies between the centre and the provinces. Out of the general number of staff, 86038 were based in the capital and the remaining 218,843 constituted the official staff in 33 provinces. This is to say that Kabul with 14 percent of population,

enjoyed 28 percent of the staff, which is double than its share of population. In contrast Daikundi in the South with 1.8 percent of population received only 0.2 percent of staff which is eight times lower than its share of population (table 21).

Provinces	No. of Districts	Population in 2006-2007	% of Popu. Per Province	Total No. of Staff per Province	% of Total Staff per Province	Permanent Permanent Staff		Government Contract Workers	
						Total	Female	Total	Female
Kabul	14	3,138,100	13.9	86,038	28.2	56,546	23,144	29,492	4,316
Kapisa	6	382,600	1.7	6,702	2.2	4,601	433	2,101	19
Parwan	9	573,100	2.5	10,580	3.5	7,561	419	3,019	69
Panjsher	6	133,200	0.6	1,871	0.6	1,346	187	525	86
Bamyan	6	387,300	1.7	5,012	1.6	3,351	532	1,661	26
Maidan-Wardlak	8	517,200	2.3	6,856	2.2	4,934	298	1,922	9
Logar	6	339,700	1.5	5,702	1.9	3,897	72	1,805	23
Samangan	6	334,800	1.5	4,114	1.3	2,368	238	1,746	13
Balkh	14	1,096,100	4.9	19,007	6.2	13,957	3,513	5,050	250
Jawzjan	10	461,700	2.0	6,232	2.0	4,795	1,608	1,437	104
Sar-i-Pul	6	482,900	2.1	4,380	1.4	3,423	470	957	39
Faryab	13	858,600	3.8	8,720	2.9	7,074	1,644	1,646	114
Ghazni	18	1,062,600	4.7	8,269	2.7	6,503	669	1,766	226
Paktika	18	377,100	1.7	4,721	1.5	3,848	384	873	3
Paktya	10	477,500	2.1	6,336	2.1	4,167	396	2,169	135
Khost	12	498,000	2.2	6,150	2.0	4,995	35	1,155	105
Nangarhar	21	1,289,000	5.7	11,797	3.9	10,135	581	1,662	81
Kunarha	14	390,200	1.7	3,049	1.0	852	305	2,197	16
Laghman	4	386,400	1.7	4,713	1.5	3,771	314	942	6
Nooristan	7	128,400	0.6	2,154	0.7	1,585	49	569	7
Badghis	6	429,500	1.9	2,401	0.8	1,626	165	775	12
Herat	16	1,578,200	7.0	18,229	6.0	12,995	3,435	5,234	255
Farah	10	438,000	1.9	4,104	1.3	3,098	439	1,006	7
Ghor	9	598,600	2.7	4,158	1.4	3,142	178	1,016	7
Badakhshan	27	823,000	3.6	9,864	3.2	8,155	2,749	1,709	109
Takhar	16	845,300	3.7	10,865	3.6	9,481	1,547	1,384	209
Baghlan	14	779,000	3.5	14,751	4.8	11,026	1,456	3,725	100
Kunduz	6	851,300	3.8	8,512	2.8	6,039	1,267	2,473	89
Nimroz	4	141,400	0.6	1,663	0.5	1,223	628	440	38
Helmand	12	799,000	3.5	4,986	1.6	2,661	391	2,325	17
Kandahar	15	1,011,700	4.5	9,013	3.0	5,097	512	3,916	43
Zabul	9	263,200	1.2	1,556	0.5	1,081	49	475	7
Urozgan	4	303,600	1.3	1,673	0.5	1,250	112	423	31
Daykundi	8	399,600	1.8	703	0.2	336	214	367	14
Total	364	**22,575,900**	100.0	**304,881**	100.0	216,919	48,433	87,962	6,585

Table 21: Number of staff with reference their share in population and provinces
Draft KOHISTANI (2009)   Source: Figures from CSO (2007)

As illustrated in table 21, the disparity of staff between the capital and the provinces, and in different sectors is high. Though the figures gave no information about the number of

staff at district level, the disparity becomes even larger when considering population number and number of districts in each province. In other words the number of administrative staff declines sharply between capital and provinces, and between the provinces and districts. In the sub-districts there is often no sign of state bureaucracy and administration. State administration and bureaucracy have not yet reached beyond the district level. In the districts there are often only a few buildings that represent some minimal administration, usually for education, health and staff of the ministry of interior.

Another significant factor is the existence of female staff, which plays an important role in increasing the number of staff. A higher number of staff is usually to be seen in provinces where there is also female staff. Thus the disparity in terms of gender is also high between the capital and the provinces. After the capital other major provinces like Balkh, Herat and Badakhshan have the highest number of female staff. The major difference is between the northern and the southern provinces, as the number of female staff is increasing in the North. This highlights the fact that in the South cultural issues prohibit women to work outside of their homes.

Meanwhile there is a close relation between the availability of basic infrastructure for public services (e.g., hospitals, health clinics, and schools) and the staff who run them (e.g., doctors, nurses and teachers). In the provision of such services the geographical location of the provinces plays an important role. Kabul, with 22 hospital and 1,315 doctors and 3, 665 nurses, again has the highest share compared to other provinces (table 22). Next to that are other major provinces (e.g., Herat, Balkh, Nangarhar, Jawzjan and Ghazni) with high numbers of doctors and nurses which are located along the main roads connecting these provinces. Other provinces, which are located away from the main roads (e.g., Bamyan, Daikundi Ghor, Nooristan, Kunar, Farah, Nimroz, Urzgan, Zabul), are marginalized and suffer from the small number of doctors and nurses.

The number of hospitals and health clinics varies in the provinces beyond Kabul. There is little doubt that in the last few years the number of hospitals and health clinics has increased. As illustrated in table 5 there is still a disparity between the provinces. Except Nooristan all other provinces have at least one hospital, comparing the number of beds in these hospitals highlights their minimum capacity. This gives an indication of the fact that these hospital which are usually located in provincial centers are small and cannot respond the demands of the whole population of the province. Furthermore, there is usually no paved road system to link these provinces with the capital. Though the

centralized system emphasizes the close relation of center to the periphery, in practice this relationship is very poor. Topographical factors often create obstacles in communication between the capital and the provinces and villages and provincial centres. This especially is one of the major challenges in winter in some mountainous eastern and central regions where snowfall blocks the available unpaved roads.

Provinces	No. of Districts	Population in (000)			No. of Doctors			No. of Nurses			No. of Hospitals and Beds						No. of Health Centers		
		1382 2003-04	1384 2005-06	1385 2006-07	1382 2003	1384 2005	1385 2006-07	1382 2003	1384 2005	1385 2006-07	1382/2003 Hosp.	Bed	1384/2005-2006 Hosp.	Bed	1385/2006-07 Hosp.	Bed	1382 2003	1384 2005-06	1385 2006-07
Kabul	15	3,314	3,072	3,138	1,429	643	1,315	3,000	4,790	3,665	19	3,310	21	3,203	22	3,500	15	63	56
Kapisa	7	360	375	383	20	49	43	112	177	138	1	170	2	142	2	120	6	16	14
Parwan	10	726	561	573	32	64	46	239	246	321	1	120	3	131	1	150	10	46	31
Panjsher	7		130	133	0	12	20	0	25	82					1	50		0	8
Bamyan	7	356	379	387	8	41	33	52	280	282	1	26	3	112	3	116		20	21
Maidan-Wardak	9	413	506	517	12	35	92	60	155	442	1	80	5	187	4	187	5	23	25
Logar	7	292	332	340	28	44	67	113	95	207	1	82	3	137	3	137	5	27	23
Samangan	7	378	328	335	15	21	19	32	33	167	1	30	2	60	2	85	4	6	12
Balkh	16	869	1,073	1,096	238	280	180	247	270	455	2	370	6	477	10	700		39	37
Jawzjan	11	441	452	462	118	178	118	177	299	286	1	250	6	264	3	260	8	10	16
Sar-i-Pul	7	468	473	483	20	28	39	45	47	198	1	40	2	42	2	120	3	16	15
Faryab	14	782	840	859	57	97	63	59	214	180	1	100	5	162	3	220	10	18	19
Ghazni	19	931	1,040	1,063	49	38	103	96	89	425	1	160	4	225	4	231	15	33	31
Paktika	19	352	369	377	23	250	43	23	111	168	1	130	3	104	2	105	14	18	21
Paktya	11	415	468	478	27	56	94	36	135	339	1	30	3	118	3	126	4	16	14
Khost	13	300	487	498	44	287	59	83	156	297	1	80	2	29	1	105		8	7
Nangarhar	22	1,089	1,262	1,289	157	343	172	469	443	447	2	460	7	817	6	850	14	29	38
Kunarha	15	321	382	390	36	42	46	87	88	126	1	55	1	40	1	66	7	14	14
Laghman	5	373	378	386	66	37	59	119	92	205	1	70	1	60	1	77	6	3	15
Nooristan	8	112	126	128	14	81	23	23	40	42	1	80	1	10	0	15		10	9
Badghis	7	301	420	430	23	49	40	80	163	255	1	90	1	60	2	120		17	20
Herat	16	1,182	1,545	1,578	182	262	196	366	228	498	2	490	4	473	6	580	34	33	28
Farah	11	338	429	438	22	39	16	128	95	97	1	60	1	60	2	92		10	5
Ghor	10	485	586	599	13	6	14	78	35	110	1	40	1	50	1	70		15	14
Badakhshan	28	715	806	823	23	36	43	60	85	228	1	210	2	130	1	129	11	33	30
Takhar	17	750	828	845	50	57	50	120	138	356	1	110	4	169	4	160	16	33	33
Baghlan	15	745	763	779	75	65	88	171	147	221	1	40	5	236	3	237	15	23	21
Kunduz	7	820	833	851	63	90	61	178	240	245	1	170	3	82	1	150	8	26	26
Nimroz	5	149	139	141	11	22	27	31	64	68	1	40	1	30	1	100		8	5
Helmand	13	745	782	799	71	60	46	140	120	127	1	190	2	172	2	172		31	24
Kandahar	16	886	990	1,012	77	140	48	188	288	216	1	415	8	375	2	379	8	20	18
Zabul	11	258	258	263	15	24	33	45	66	28	1	40	2	80	2	104	1	7	3
Urozgan	5	627	297	304	8	12	25	9	29	38	1	120	3	98	1	39		3	2
Daykundi	9		391	400	0	4	13	0	27	41					1	20		0	9
Total	399	20,293	22,098	22,576	3,026	3,492	3,334	6,666	9,510	11,000	53	7,658	117	8,335	103	9,572	219	674	664

Table 22: Number of doctors, nurses, hospitals, beds and health clinics in provinces 2003 - 2007

Draft KOHISTANI (2009)   Source: Figures from CSO (2003), CSO (2005), CSO (2007)

5.3.3 The Challenge of Brain-Drain Posed by NGOs

There is little doubt that the NGOs pose certain challenges to the effectiveness of state institutions in Afghanistan. One of the major challenges is that they cause brain-drain for the institutions. This factor in particular affects the capability of institutions. The NGOs often pay far more salary to capable and qualified staff than the government. This factor in particular makes jobs in NGOs more attractive and, as a result, many prefer to leave their official jobs and get a new one in NGOs. As the number of NGOs has grown dramatically to more than 2000 since 2004 (UNDP 2004: 158) so has the number of their staff. Although there is no precise data to show their number one estimate shows around 50,000 employees working in different NGOs, UN and bilateral and multi-lateral agencies where they receive salaries up to USD 1000 per month (GHANI and LOCKHART 2008: 100). However, the level of salary varies according to the position of the employees. For example those employees with minimum or no education usually as caretakers, cleaners or drivers, receive lower salaries (approximately USD100 - 500 a month). Those who are better educated and are qualified are paid between approximately USD 600 up to few thousand a month. Better education here means a university level degree, knowledge of English and computer skills. The latter two are of fundamental importance in working in NGOs.

Another impact of NGOs is that they undermine the credibility of the elected government in providing basic services for its growing population. The role of NGOs may be justified in short term where the government cannot alone respond to the problem the lack of basic services. However, as seen in the last years, the credibility, effectiveness and capacity of the elected government has not improved reasonably. In contrast, the role of NGOs has grown and their activities have expanded to different sectors and regions of the country.

5.3.4 Corruption:

Corruption is another main challenge which has weakened institutions in different sectors and undermined their effective functions. A recent study shows that within the Afghan state the courts are perceived as the most corrupt institutions, followed by the administrative braches of the government, mainly the Ministry of Interior, the municipalities and the National Security Directorate (UNDP 2007a: 61). The Afghan National Police (ANP), the job of whom it is to provide security is perceived to be the "most corrupt and criminal" organ of the state, followed by National Directorate of

Security (MUENCH 2009: 18).[108] The government has also acknowledged the existence of corruption in different sectors and recognized it as a major challenge. In recent years the government came under huge pressure, especially from international donors, to reduce corruption, to bring order into institutions, and to improve governance. The government established the General Independent Administration of Anti-Corruption (GIAAC) in order to demonstrate its commitment in the struggle against corruption. However, the problem is so wide-spread and has manifested in so many different sectors across the country, e.g., security, judiciary and administration, that this task is beyond the capability of the GIAAC. The capability and performance of the GIAAC is limited to 110 staff 60 of whom have only B.A. degrees, 17 who are undergraduates, and 32 who have little or no education at all.

Meanwhile Afghanistan has an old administrative structure which has survived repeated political changes. According to the WORLD BANK, the administrative managements of Afghanistan is highly centralized, yet provides a coherent management and accountability framework for government. Nevertheless, the government administration is far from effective, and suffers from a number of systemic problems, including the following:

  I. Fragmented administrative structures, with many overlapping and unnecessary functions.
  II. Lack of skilled professionals with management and administrative experience, and the Taliban's dismissal of women staff resulted in a very serious gender imbalance.
  III. Pay and grading structures are unable to attract, retain, and motivate skilled civil servants.
  IV. Merit-based recruitment procedures are absent, resulting in patronage appointments.
  V. Mechanisms for performance management are inadequate.
  VI. Administrative systems are slow and cumbersome, with virtually no delegation of authority to lower ranks or to provincial departments. (WORLD BANK 2005:44):

According to the traditional structure there are 1-10 ranks for the civil servants. In this rank structure 10 is the lowest and is given to the new employees who have only graduated from high school. Employees with B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees get 9, 8, and 7 respectively. The highest rank is the first, and the promotion to each rank needs three years. In order to restructure the old system the government passed the Priority Reform and Restructuring Decree (PRR), the aim of which has been to reform and modernize the most critical functions of the government. In June 2003 the government established the Independent Administrative Reform and Civil Service Commission (IARCSC), which

---

[108] "Uebergreifend wird dabei die ANP als der korrupteste und kriminellste Teil der Sicherheitskraefte wahrgenommen, gefolgt vom staatlichen Nachrichtendienst (National Directorate of Security, NDS (MUENCH 2009:18)."

became responsible for appointments and appeals, civil service management and administrative reform. The WORLD BANK believes that the IARCSC is pivotal to achieving significant improvement throughout the civil services, especially in human resource management, and specifically in embedding the principle and practice of merit-based recruitment and promotion (WORLD BANK 2005: 52). However, how can the IARCSC be good at the management of the human resource in different sectors while it has capacity problems within its own structure? Even two years after that estimate by the WORLD BANK the IARCSC had a staff of only 339 members one with a Ph.D., 12 with an M.A., 166 with a B.A., 9 who had graduated 14 years of school and 55 who graduated from 12 years of high school. The remaining 95 persons are uneducated and unskilled workers (cf. table 20).

The problem of corruption cannot be tackled only by restructuring the old system into a new one as long as the payment system remains remarkably low in different sectors. A recent study of the level of salaries among different social groups shows that the Taliban pays more than the government for its security forces and civil service staff (table 23).

Profession	Average monthly earnings, from lowest to highest	
	Afghanis	USD
Workshop worker	1,125	$23
Nurse	1,500	$30
Teacher	2,500	$50
Doctor	2,500	$50
Afghan army soldier	**3,000**	**$60**
Afghan police soldier	**3,000**	**$60**
School principal	3,000	$60
Bazaar shopkeeper	3,000	$60
Construction worker	4,500	$90
Taliban fighter	**20,000**	**$400**
Member of Parliament	40,000	$800
Minister	50,000	$1,000

Table 23: Salaries in Afghanistan: The Taliban as a competitive employer
Source: SENLIS (2007: 72)

As illustrated in table 23, the level of salaries varies among different social groups. This highlights many facts about the security problems, rule of law and growing corruption in

the state institutions. Thus, the level of salary matters significantly. Poor salaries have helped corruption grow in the entire administration system.

Meanwhile, war, instability, insecurity and poverty have caused Afghanistan to remain one of the countries with with the poorest basic human development indicators in the world. According to the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) in 2005 Afghanistan was among the least developed countries in the world and had one of the lowest income level 28 percent adult literacy, a life expectancy of 42.9 years, and a mortality rate of 257 per thousand children under the age of five: the latter figure is the highest in the world (UNDP 2007b: 233).

The problem of opium adds to this complex. In the last few years insecurity and corruption have increased, which was also followed by a remarkable increase in the amount of opium production. This is to say there is a link between corruption, insecurity and the opium production. Opium production has helped the influence of drug dealers in different state institutions. Security forces arrested many drug dealers several times but they were release by higher-ranking officials later. Among them was Ahmad Wali Karzai, the president's brother, who is known for dealing drugs. His opium fields and opium warehouse were guarded by the border police (STERN 2009: 39). The involvement of high-ranking officials in systematic and large corruption has become part of the institutional norm. Any effort to eradicate corruption will cause the break up of the entire political system. This is one of the most serious problems which the government officials publicly acknowledge. Due to this fear the government declined to declare the names of those high-ranking officials involved in high level corruption. In an interview Jalil Shams, the Minister of Finance, said that

> the international community has funded over USD40 billion to Afghanistan, some was paid in the past and the rest will be paid in the future. However, the international community, in Paris Conference, wanted the eradication of corruption in exchange for further aid. We are afraid to name those officials indicated because declaring their names will destabilize the government and create violence (ENSAF WEEKLY 2008: 1).

It is significant to mention that the problem of corruption does not remain in state institutions alone. The NGOs and international organizations have also been highly involved in corruption. Many of the international NGOs do business rather than providing public service and humanitarian assistance. Despite they receive lots of fund from donor countries they usually lack capability of carrying out their projects. Due to this reason, the intenational NGOs involve national NGOs and local partners in their project who are more familiar with the ground and capable of implementing the

necessary projects. This issue has increased the demand for national NGOs and private sector to get projects from international NGOs. As a result a large proportion of the money for projects is spent on different dealers from the top to the bottom. Thus the quality of service the NGOs should provide declines.

An study conducted by many European countries shows that the sharply rising level of corruption within NGOs and state institutions has reduced the amount of donor investments and poses a threat to the legitimacy of both the Afghan government and the aid implementers (DENMARK MINISTRY OF FOREING AFFAIRS 2005: 44). These factors all contribute to the spread of corruption and, as a result, Afghanistan remains the weakest country in maintaining the rule of law and control of corruption in the region (figure 22). Other indicators of governance and administration in Afghanistan, such as accountability and effectiveness, are slightly better but still worrying compared to average rate in the region.
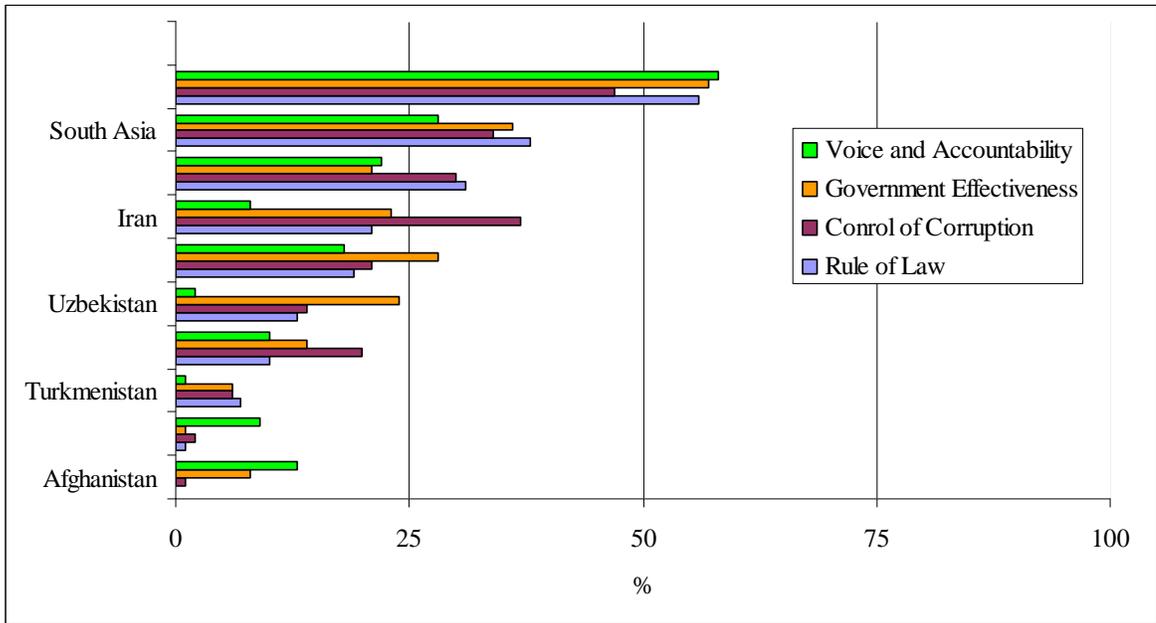

Figure 23: Regional position of Afghanistan in terms of governance, implementation of rule of law, accountability and control of corruption
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009) modified after RENNIE (2008: 137-138)[109]

---

[109] RENNIE mentions these four indicators citing from KAUFMANN, KRAAY and MASTRUZZI

To sum up in the past years the internal and external players in state-building projects have not been very successful in their aim to provide security, establish legitimate and effective institutions, maintain the rule of law and install a sound justice system in the country. Despite the fact that the presidential elections in 2004 and parliamentary elections in 2005 were positive steps, their outcomes were something unexpected. The elected government and parliament of the past eight years has proved to be as ineffective and dependent as the other institutions. As a result the people of Afghanistan lost their trust in these two institutions.

This pessimism is confirmed by the results of questionnaire distributed among 247 students and professors from different universities in Afghanistan (cf. Chapter 1.6). The aim of the questionnaire was to measure the confidence of Afghans in their political institutions. The participants were asked whether they consider the central government as an independent institution and whether members of the parliament are trustworthy (figure 24).
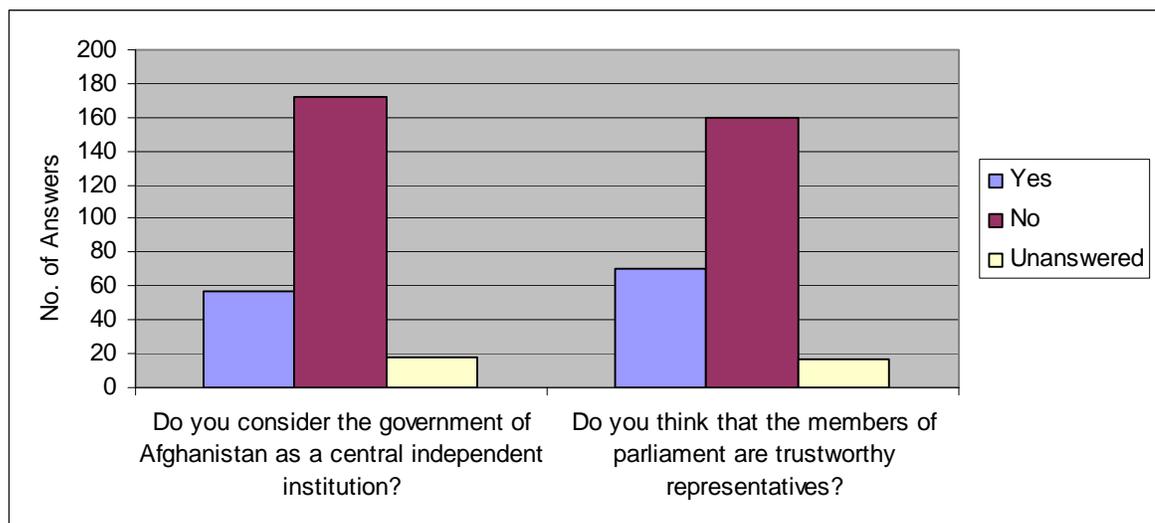

Figure 24 : Peoples' perception of the government and the parliament
Source: Questionnaire Afghan Identity 2009

As shown in figure 5, the majority of those who answered do not trust to their government and parliament. It is striking to see that, despite so many efforts in the last years by the international community, the outcome has been so disappointing. This sends the clear messages that the institutions that have been built in the last eight years are weak and incapable of maintaining national interests. More significantly it shows that those different elites who have lead these institutions are 'incapable staff'. Thus the

important role of qualified and capable staff in the state institutions is signified. How to provide such qualified staff depends on the quality and capability of training institutions.

5.4 The Weak Training Institutions

Training institutions are fundamentally important because they are the main providers of human resources in the country. In Afghanistan, till 2003/2004 there were 17 higher education institutions: 11 universities and 6 pedagogical institutes. Four of the universities were in Kabul and the rests were located in 13 other provinces. All of these 17 institutions belonged to the state. It is significant to notice that education and higher education has always been free. Even accommodation and food for the students is provided in the available dormitories, which were free of charge. The Ministry of Higher Education spent a major share of its budget on providing food for the students in dormitories. Therefore the continuation of this situation was beyond the possibilities of the new government. There were often debates to charge students at least some small fees to reduce the financial pressure. However, the new parliament strongly rejected the idea of students in higher education paying fees.

In the last four years the demand for education and higher education in Afghanistan grew rapidly. As a result the number of state-run universities and institutions increased from earlier 17 to 22, (14 universities and 8 institutions of higher education) in 18 provinces including the capital (map 21).
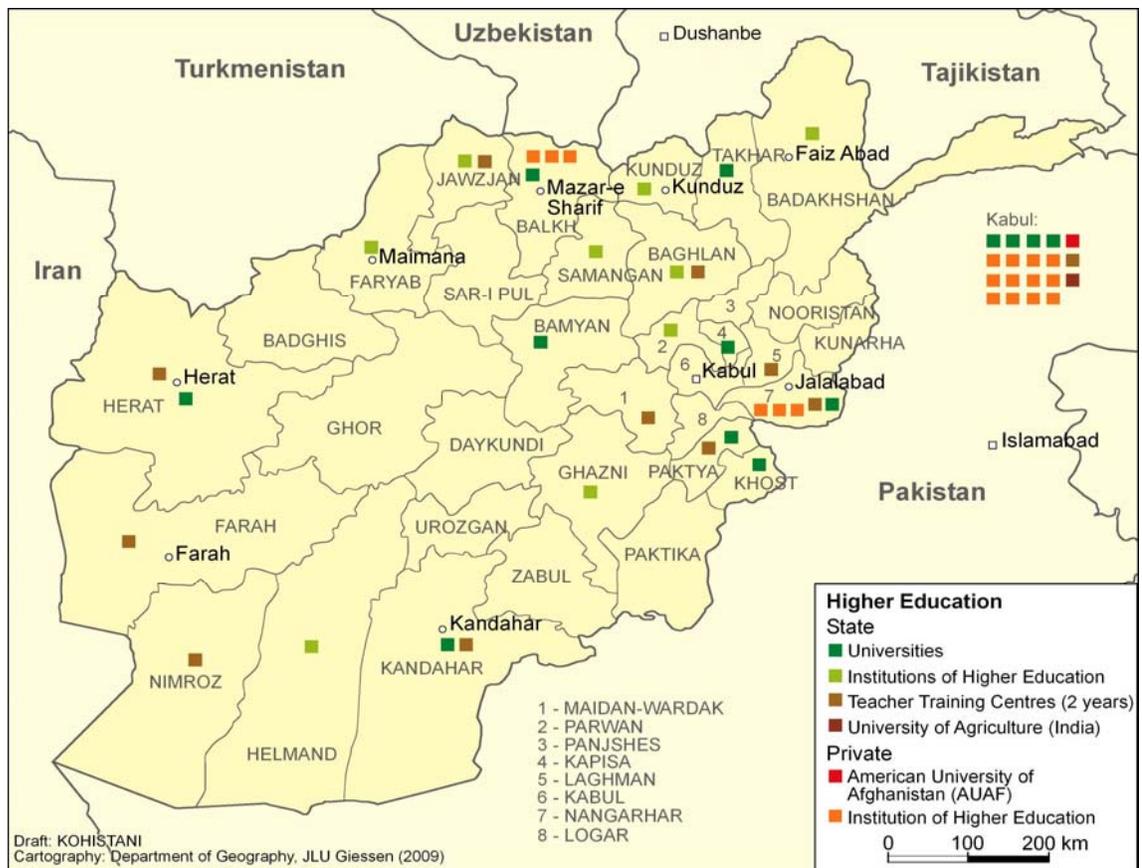
Map 21: Distribution of state / private universities and institutions of higher education in Afghanistan

This development still could not adequately respond to the problem since the demand was higher and beyond the capacity and possibility of the state-run system. Therefore, like in other sectors, education in general and higher education into particular were given to private hands for the first time. As a result today there are 20 officially registered institutions of higher education and one university.[110] The first university which was not run by the state was the American University in Kabul founded by Sharif Fayez, an Afghan-American entrepreneur and former Minister of Higher Education in Karzai's cabinet. This university enjoys major support; the government provided the land and USAID is its main donor while there are many other donors as well. Thus, altogether there are 44 state-run and private universities and institutions of higher education in Afghanistan today.

---

[110] There are also many private institutes active and not registered officially. The Ministry of Higher Education repeatedly warns them either to close or lawful measures will be dealt with.

As illustrated in map 21, there is a huge geographical disparity in the distribution of institutions of higher education in Afghanistan. This is to say that out of 34 provinces 11 lack any institutes of higher education. The major question is how they can at least acquire teachers and staff for their schools and offices. Especially in war-torn Afghanistan, poor communication and road systems create obstacles for individuals to move from or come from other provinces. Even more important is the cultural issue, as family and relatives give individuals little chance to go to other provinces. For training teachers there are basic teacher training institutions one must go through for two years (plus 12 years school) in many provinces including the capital. However, 9 provinces lack such institutions.

In addition to the unequal distribution of institutions between the provinces, the private system of higher education introduced in Afghanistan is highly expensive compared to the salary level of government officials. In the American University of Afghanistan a student in the undergraduate program or the Foundation Studies Program must pay approximately 250,000 AFS (around USD 5,000) per year for a full course load (ten courses). For part-time students, costs per course are 25,000 AFS. (around USD 500) and living expenses are also the responsibility of the student (AUAF 2009). Comparing this with the salary level of government officials, even the MPs who get USD 800 as the highest possible salary, cannot afford to send their sons and daughters to such private universities and institutions of higher education. However, many of the students at these institutes and universities are thought to be sons and daughters of high-ranking government officials and commanders.

With this rapid expansion there are major concerns about the quality of higher education in Afghanistan. This issue is fundamentally important in both state-run and private universities and institutions of higher education. The insufficient number of qualified academic staff, poor infrastructure, inadequate teaching materials and facilities, and the accreditation of provided degrees are among the major challenges in both sectors. There is no official data about the number and degree of academic staff in private institutions. Nevertheless, the main founders of these institutions are usually Afghans who have returned from exile (from the West, Pakistan and Iran) while the teachers recruited are often from state-run universities and institutes of higher educations.[111] The better salary paid in the private sector is the main reason which makes these institutions more

---

[111] This is at least the case in Kabul where majority of private institutions of higher education exists. These information was gathered during my field trip to Kabul in Dec. 2008 to Jan. 2009.

attractive for poor teachers in state-run institutions. At the same time those who join private institutions usually do not quit their official position in the in state-run universities. Although this is not officially allowed by the government, it this has been common for some of the teachers in state-run institutions to work in government as well as in private institutions, NGOs and international organizations at the same time. There is also foreign teaching staff recruited in some of the private institutions (e.g., many from the West in the American University of Afghanistan, or Indian and Pakistani in others).

The educational degrees of teaching staff in the 18 out 19 private institutions ranges from maximum M. A. to those who have passed short-term courses of specialization in computer science, software and technologies or the English language. With over 300 students the American University of Afghanistan has around 19 members of teaching staff, 13 foreigners (mostly from the USA) while the remaining are Afghan-Americans returned from exile. Among them nine have a Ph.D. and the rests have an M.A. degree. This puts the university in a better position compared to the others. According to its founder "The American University of Afghanistan starts with the word "American" because it builds on the American system of higher education, which is increasingly being followed in high-quality universities throughout the world" (AUAF 2009).

More significant is that all of the 19 private institutions award the B.A. as the highest degree. The Ministry of Higher Education does not allow them to train above the B.A. level because they do not have the capability. Meanwhile, they offer many programs and degrees, most of which were non-existent in Afghanistan before. For example programs like BBA (Bachelor of Business Administration), BCS (Bachelor of Computer Science), DBA (Diploma in Business Administration), DIT (Diploma in Information Technology), DEL (Diploma in English Language), ACCA (Association of Chartered Certified Accountants) and many others (figure 25 and 26). Most of these programs are taught in English and knowledge of English is crucial. These programs and the related degrees are referred to through acronyms, which make them hard for many to understand. Such programs are more common in South Asian countries like Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bangladesh, influenced by the British system. In other words whatever is taught in many of these private institutions of higher education in Afghanistan is hardly compatible to the requirements of the national institutions in the country. In contrast such graduates are easily employed in NGOs in the country because they have studied the English language and computer programs, which are among the basic requirements of employment there.

Figure 25: Ajir private institution of higher education in Kabul
Source: KOHISTANI (2009)

These facts support the idea that these private institutions are established more for doing business than training qualified people. The growing demands on the one hand and the massive corruption in the government on the other help their number grow. Among the private institutions at least two of them have been established for religious and political purposes by the Mujahidin leaders Ayatullah Shaikh Asef Mohseni and Abdurrab Rasoul Sayaf. It is important to notice here that Mohseni is a *Shii* and gets support from Iran while Sayaf, a Sunni, is known to receive support from Saudi Arabia (cf. Chapter. 3.2).

For the state-run universities and institutions of higher education there are available figures which indicate the inability of these institutions to provide the qualified human resources required in the country. In 2003 there were 1846 teachers in 17 institutions in Afghanistan, among them 112 with a Ph.D., 719 with an M.A. and 1,015 with only a B.A. degree. This large number of teachers with B. A. degrees is a unique case in the world. Later the total number of teachers grew to 1,978 in 2006, and 2,090 in 2007, 14-15

percent of them being female (CSO 2007: 39) (table 20). While the total figure shows an increase, the number of Ph.D.s and M.A.s still remain strikingly low. As illustrated earlier in table 20, the Ministry of Higher Education has a staff of 119 with a Ph.D. and 741 with an M.A., which is the highest number compared to other ministeries and institutions. At the same time there were 1,257 employees with B.A. degrees at the same ministry. Comparing these figures with previous years, the number of Ph.D.s and M.A.s did not change very much while the number of those with B.A. degrees significantly increased. However, it should be kept in mind that the last three figures show general number of staff of the Ministry of Higher Education. The increase can also represent those who are not teachers but part of the administrative staff. [112]

Figure 26: Khawaran private institution of higher education in Kabul
Source: KOHISTANI (2009)

---

[112] Lack of precise data caused the need to extract the number of Ph.D.s, M.A.s and B.A.s from the general staff figure. Nevertheless in the case of the Ph. D.s and M. A.s the numbers are mostly correct, they may change very slightly for the B.A.s only since there are few B.A.s in the administration.

Another important factor is the unequal distribution of available qualified teachers between the capital and the provinces. Taking the example of 2003/2004, when there were 112 Ph.D.s in Afghanistan, 96 of them were in Kabul. Out of these 96 Ph.D.s, 45 were at Kabul University, followed by Kabul Polytechnic with 44, the University of Education with eight and the Institute of Medicine with two respectively. The remaining 16 teachers with a Ph.D. were distributed in other provincial universities (e.g., Nangarhar nine, Balkh two, Kandahar two, Herat one, Alberuni one and Takhar one). The situation at the Institute of Medicine in Kabul was striking with only two teachers with a Ph.D., one can imagine the situation in the faculties of medicine in other provinces. The situation has not gotten better yet taking into consideration the example of Ministry of Public Health which was mentioned earlier.

There is also a huge gap between the number of students who take part in the entrance exam and the capacity of state universities and higher education institutions. Every year more than 70,000, upto 90,000 high school graduates, take part in the general entrance exam through which students are qualified to enrol in different faculties. The exam is conceived to select the students with top scores to go to the predetermined top faculties (e.g., medicine, engineering, law, journalism and the lowest pedagogical institutes). Only between 50-60 percent of those who take this exam can enrol, as this is the maximum capacity of the state higher education system. The government rarely provides any opportunities for the remaining potential students. At the same time there is a big difference in number between the newly enrolled and actually graduated students. This is to say that between 2005 and 2007 an average of 11,777 students enrolled while in the same period an average of only 5,092 graduated (table 24).[113]

As illustrated in table 7, the general number of teachers and students slightly increased in the last few years. This increase also includes the number of female teachers from 14 in 2005 to 15 percent in 2007. In contrast the number of newly enrolled students declined from 19 percent in 2005 to 16 percent in 2007, while the number of male student increased from 81 percent in 2005 to 84 percent in 2007.

---

[113] For such analysis figures from many years can provide a more precise view. Nevertheless, this table provides an overview of the number of newly enrolled and graduated students in the last couple of years.

		1383		1384		1385	
		2004-05	%	2005-06	%	2006-07	%
Teachers	Male	1,615	86	1,676	85	1,774	85
	Female	271	14	302	15	316	15
	Total	**1,886**	**100**	**1,978**	**100**	**2,090**	**100**
Students	Male	31,224	79	30,546	78	34,143	82
	Female	8,290	21	8,808	22	7,749	18
	Total	**39,514**	**100**	**39,354**	**100**	**41,892**	**100**
Graduated Students	Male	1,704	81	4,786	76	5,284	77
	Female	404	19	1,524	24	1,574	23
	Total	**2,108**	**100**	**6,310**	**100**	**6,858**	**100**
Newly Enrolled	Male	10,868	81	8,205	82	10,003	84
	Female	2,631	19	1,770	18	1,855	16
	Total	**13,499**	**100**	**9,975**	**100**	**11,858**	**100**

Table 24: Number of teachers and students enrolled and graduated in state higher education 2004- 2007
Source: Draft KOHISTANI (2009) based on figures from CSO (2007: 39, 55)

To sum up this chapter, there are many interrelated factors that undermine the effectiveness of national institutions in Afghanistan. The highly centralized structure of the political system has been less effective in maintaining its rule from the centre to the periphery. In order to succeed in sovling this problem, the government has repeatedly made efforts to deal with regional Mujahidin and Taliban commanders. This policy helped little to expand the rule of government beyond the capital; instead it further undermined the legitimacy of the central government. Moreover, the general political system is personified rather than institutionalized. As a result *Qawm* persists to determine political decisions on different levels.

Meanwhile there are different internal and external players who dominate these institutions. The internal players represent the tribal, religious and intellectual elites between whom traditional rivalry continues, while it takes new faces from time to time. The political alliance between these rival elites became possible in the last eight years due to pressure by external players, the latter providing financial and human resources for the poor country. These two factors gave the external players special privileges to maintain their strategic goals in the political process. Nevertheless, the multi-national composition of external players has been problematic and has undermined their capability

to initiate a unified strategy in dealing with the deteriorating and unstable situation of Afghanistan.

Apart from rival dominant elites, the national institutions suffer from a number of factors which include insufficient number of staff, large number of unqualified staff and the unequal distribution of staff between provinces and districts. The problem of brain-drain in favour of NGOs continues, which further undermines the effectiveness of national institutions. Corruption has boomed in recent years and this factor has undermined good governance, the rule of law and the effectiveness of national institutions in Afghanistan.

Finally the higher education institutions which should provide capable and qualified staff for the country have capacity problems as well. The provision of private sector institutions to respond to the growing demands, which were above the capacity of the state, has been less effective than expected. Both the private and the state-run higher education sectors have a huge number of unqualified staff and this affects the quality of higher education in general.

6   Conclusion:

In order to conclude, there are certain important findings which highlight the role of institutional capacity in the state-building process of Afghanistan. In addition these findings will suggest possible measures to be taken to tackle and overcoming the problem of institutional capacity in Afghanistan.

6.1   Important Findings: Weak Institutional Capacity as the Key Element behind the Fragility of State in Afghanistan

According to the findings of the current study weak institutional capacity remains the major problem of the state-building process as a result of which Afghanistan as a state can not fulfill its basic functions. It is a 'fragile state' and weak institutional capacity is the main driving factors behind its fragility. The weakness of institutional capacity is the result of a legitimacy crisis, the incompatibility of the political system and the incapability of institutions in the country. These four problems are closely linked with one another.

Creation of Institutions and Legitimacy Crisis

In Afghanistan the changing political system and institutions are been the product of repeated wars. Wars directly affected the formation and transformation of political systems and institutions in the country. Two main factors have led to wars: internal and external factors. The internal factors comprise the actors who played the main role under the name of population. In the past they were known as tribal, religious and intellectual elites while at present they are known by different names, like communists, technocrats, Mujahidin and Taliban. In other words it is only a change in name while in reality these groups represent more or less the same traditional elites.

Meanwhile, the concept of legitimacy changed parallel to the formation and transformation of political processes. In general it depended on the elites to determine legitimacy and define it according to their own interests. The dominant tribal, religious and intellectual elites have been the bi-product of Afghanistan's ethno-linguistic, socio-religious diversity and the geopolitical tensions of the region. This provided different sources of legitimacy to the ruling elites. For example for the tribal elites, the tribal system (tribal code of conducts and *Jirga*) influenced the source of legitimacy. For the religious elites, Islam and *Shariah* were regarded as the main sources for legitimacy as well as the ruling system. Finally, the intellectual elites influenced by foreign ideologies imported from abroad, rejected traditional (tribal and religious) sources of legitimacy.

Instead they introduced the constitution and modernization plans as main sources for legitimacy. However, in the last four decades the geopolitical tension in the region and the expansion of radical ideologies from the Eastern and Western blocks and Islamic countries further complicated the sources of legitimacy for the ruling system in the country.

The dominating elites in Afghanistan have been the actual decision makers and stakeholder of the country. The legitimacy of state and its institutions has always depended to the inclusion or exclusion of both of these elites in the process. Each of them, once in power, perceived itself as the legitimate ruler and its ruling system as the will of the entire population. For example, in the 1973 Daoud who toppled the monarchy regime, called it an illegitimate political system and declared his own established regime to be the only legitimate one. The same is true for the communists who toppled Daoud, the Mujahidin who toppled the communists, the Taliban who toppled the Mujahidin, and finally the Taliban who were toppled by the Mujahidin and NATO forces.

Another important issue is that the crisis of legitimacy led to armed conflicts between the elites who dominated the power and the opposition who challenged them. The one excluded from power called the ruling elites and their system illegitimate. Thus the excluded elites became the major trouble makers for the ruling elites. They tried to mobilize the population against the government. Afghanistan's ethno-linguistic and socio-religious diversity was used as an instrument to achieve these goals. As a result the repeated conflict prevented the establishment of a legitimate, representative, stable and functioning state. None of Afghanistan's rulers could ever lay a solid, sound, effective and sustainable political foundation for the country. That is why Afghanistan, following its independence, has experienced many changing rulers and ruling systems. Therefore, the legitimacy of the ruler and ruling system played an important role in the past and at present forms the root of the problems in the country.

The external factors include Afghanistan's geopolitical location which intertwines the three regions Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East with one another. These three politically vital regions were the central focus of major powers since the late 19th century. Any change in the political map of Central and South Asia left major impact on Afghanistan. Although it was never colonized and many foreign invasions to colonize it failed, the negative impact of wars undermined its stability and capability as a state. As a

result it remained a weak buffer-state and its successive rulers remained dependent on help from outside rival powers.

Afghanistan's diverse ethno-linguistic and socio-religious structure is closely linked with its neighboring countries. The changing map and geopolitical interests of neighboring countries have affected the stability of Afghanistan. The religious, cultural and, more importantly energy resources of Central Asia have attracted the attention of different rival countries in this region. The tension between India and Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia, and between the Central Asian countries plus Russia and China on the one hand and Western nations and their allies in the region on the other influences the stability, security and political system in Afghanistan. For example, the communists, Mujahidin and Taliban are the bi-products of these tensions in the region.

Both the internal and external factors have direct impact on institutional capacity, legitimacy, and effectiveness of the political system in Afghanistan. The state and its institutions demand loyalty from the population. In Afghanistan, loyalty to the family, the sub-tribe, the tribe and religious bonds are far stronger than to state and its institutions. The idea of state has repeatedly failed to win the trust of the people and provide a substitute for these traditional bonds, because the idea of state usually represented an oppressive and aggressive political body that emerged to maintain the will of certain groups (tribal, religious or intellectual elites), not the whole population. The ruling elites created unbridgeable gaps between the people by abusing the traditional structures of the society for their own interests. The group that dominated the power profited most while the rest of the population was the victim of policies made by state authorities. This led to legitimacy crisis and, as a result, the top-down process of state-building and institution building never took roots and did not gain the acceptance of society. Thus, state-building represents a repeatedly failed project that has ended in disaster many times.

On the other hand the dominating elites have been the main gate between Afghanistan and the outside world. No foreign incursion, invasion and occupation happened in Afghanistan without the involvement of either the tribal, religious or intellectual elites. This factor enabled them to mobilize the population for their own interests. In addition Afghanistan's ethno-linguistic and socio-religious diversity provides instruments for the mobilization of the population. A high illiteracy rate (more than 70 percent), the large number of rural population (each more than 70 percent) and high poverty have paved the way for the rival elites to maintain and sustain their dominance in society. At the same

time rough topography, large mountainous areas, long deserts and similar natural phenomena have created obstacles between different groups of the population. There is a huge gap between the rural and the urban population and poor communication has made bridging these gaps difficult. In contrast, these factors strengthen the position of tribal and religious elites and to sustain their dominance in the isolated areas.

Incompatibility: Personified Political System

Another major finding is that the institutions are not representative, and that has led to a legitimacy crisis. In the past eight years, the rival political elites have, for the first time, joined together in the process of state-building and institutional building under the pressure from international community. Following the fall of the Taliban, Afghanistan received major attention from the international community. This was a unique historical chance that could have led the war-torn country into development and prosperity. Billions of dollars of aid for humanitarian and reconstruction programs poured into the country. However, those who benefited most from these programs were again the dominating elites, not the population. The ruling elites, who have never practiced democratic norms of behavior, built personal power bases rather than representative institutions.

The fact that the international community brought together many Afghans and provided them with the opportunity to join the political process was a positive step. However, the major problems were that the international community concentrated its focus on the elites rather than the population. It also ignored the political background of those elites who joined in the process. This means no participant was excluded, the regardless of the atrocities and crimes committed in the past. Thus the rival groups who fought against each other in the past now competed over maintaining their influence in the new political system and institutions. This political competition and rivalry in particular affected the formation of the political system, constitution, and institutions. As a result, the political system established is focussed on special persons rather than on institutions. It is highly centralized and the whole system is dominated by a person (the president) in the capital. This makes the current political system ineffective and incompatible with Afghanistan. The unlimited power of the president undermines the effectiveness of the other institutions (e.g., judiciary and legislative branches). The administration's structure is very hierarchical, time-consuming, and expensive. The president employs the 34 provincial governors and 399 governors and mayors who are all accountable to him. All policies have to be implemented in a top-down and bottom-up process. Although there are elected provincial and district *Shuras* (councils) their role remains as that of a

consultative body. Therefore the current centralized system maintains the interests of certain groups who dominate the power.

Today the institutions suffer from fractionalism, nepotism, favoritism and corruption. These challenges have once more undermined the legitimacy and effectiveness of the institutions. As a result the institutions have failed to gain the confidence of the people because they can not provide basic functions like maintaining security, the rule of law, and public services. After eight years Afghanistan is still highly dependent on human resources and financial resources supplied from the outside. If the foreign troops withdraw and international funding stops, Afghanistan will not be able to overcome the massive challenges alone. Instead, the rudimentary political system and institutions established in the last eight years will disintegrate.

Incapable Institutions and Poorly Qualified Staff

The weakness of government and national institutions are the main cause for growing insecurity, the absence of rule of law, public order and basic public services. The police and judiciary sector are the most corrupt institutions in the country. Poor education and training of the staff, low salaries, and the lack of access to required facilities (e.g., infrastructure, communication and equipment) are among the main reasons for the growing corruption in these institutions.

The institutions desperately need capable staff and financial resources in order to perform better Afghanistan, from its independence in 1919 to the current situation, has always suffered from these two crucial requirements. As a result, the country has been dependent on financial and human resources from abroad. These dependencies reached their climax in the last eight years. More than 100,000 foreign forces and thousands of foreign experts are busy to provide security, public order, and basic services for the population. In the short term Afghanistan will hardly be able to replace these foreign forces with capable staff.

In recent years the number of Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police has increased significantly. Major attempts to increase the number of members of these institutions further are underway, both by the government and the international community, so that the Afghan forces will be able to take the responsibility of maintaining security on their own. However, major challenges still remain, as the loyalty of the forces to the political establishment remains questionable because of high level of

fractionalism, nepotism, and favoritism. These challenges persist because of the rivalry between the elites who dominate these institutions. As long as these challenges are not over, increasing the number of armed and police forces will remain fruitless.

The training institutions (universities, institutions of higher education and training centers) are hardly able to provide the required capable and qualified staff for the country. There is a huge disparity in terms of the distribution of higher education institutions throughout the country. The capital enjoys the largest number of institutions, professional staff and a better infrastructure, which is more than it should have considering share of population. In contrast, in provinces such possibilities decrease sharply, and nine provinces even completely lack institutions of higher education.

The analysis of the number of teachers by qualification revealed a very striking picture. In the entire system of higher education in the country, 55 percent of the teachers have only an undergraduate degree, which is not permitted in any institution of international standard. The number of teachers with only a low level of education is particularly high in the provinces, while this problem does not affect the capital so severely. Most qualified teachers are in Kabul while the other institutions in provinces suffer from the lack of qualified teachers. However, even in the capital the qualification of teachers varies significantly in terms of disciplines. This is a serious problem for higher education of Afghanistan.

The inability of the state institutions has led to an education system (primary and higher education) which is provided by the private sector for the first time in the country. However, so far the results have showed that the private institutions have not been successful in training qualified manpower. They created more challenges rather than solving the problem of training staff. This is because they do not have qualified teaching staff or a functioning infrastructure. More importantly, the private sectors provides educational programs that do not transfer skills that are required in the state institutions. The programs they offer are more in accordance to the demands of NGOs and international organizations in Afghanistan. These institutions have been established by some individuals who have links abroad in order to do business and for political purposes. Thus the programs and the required resources are attained at least in some of them, mainly from abroad.

6.2 Suggestions: National Institutions with Capable Staff as Precondition to Legitimate Authority, and a Stable Functioning State

Building a stable state in Afghanistan crucially requires human and financial resources. The provision of these two elements is highly dependent on a sense of unity among the diverse population. Such a sense of unity can only be created and strengthened if the political structure matches the demands and requirements of the population. The state should no longer represent an oppressive and aggressive body. State institutions should no longer be abused by certain elites e.g. tribal, religious and intellectuals. Instead they should perform their functions for the welfare and prosperity of the population. This will help to minimize the traditional gap between the population and state authorities.

Free and fair elections on the national and local level (presidential, parliamentary and councils) are fundamentally important for the creation of legitimate national institutions. However, elections are the initial step for such a purpose. Institutions will be regarded as legitimate and national when they provide basic services (e.g., security, the rule of law and public services) for the population. National institutions should not remain as symbolic political bodies in the hand of certain individuals. They should demonstrate the will of the people regardless of their ethnic, linguistic, religious and political background.

In order to make institutions more effective and accountable, the current political system needs basic reforms. To reform revising the constitution is crucial, as the current centralized presidential system has blocked all the ways to achieving national interests. The elected provincial and district councils should be given more authority because they know the peoples need better. In provinces and districts, the people should be given the right to elect their own governors. More authority and opportunities for the population will strength public trust in the institutions and facilitate governance on the local level. This will help meritocracy, transparency, efficiency, and accountability to replace nepotism, favouritism and corruption.

In order to fill the gap of professionalism and overcome the challenges of unavailable required capable staff it is important to focus on training institutions. Education in general and higher education in particular needs attention. The huge disparity in the distribution of higher education has to be reduced by introducing equal opportunities all over the country. Moreover, higher education institutions need qualified teachers. This problem can be solved by providing fellowships abroad or providing distance learning opportunities within the country. This will take time and a lot of financial resources.

The international community can play a significant role in achieving these goals because Afghanistan's problems (e.g., terrorism, opium and migration) extend worldwide. Therefore, security and stability in Afghanistan are important for global security and safety. The international community should focus on the population and strengthen the capability of the institutions that provide basic services for the population. Financial aid alone cannot solve any problem when the institutions are incapable of spending the money for the welfare of the population. The international community should emphasize the capability, effectiveness, and accountability of institutions. The chances are still there to transform Afghanistan into a stable, legitimate and functioning state.

7 References

ABDURRAHMAN, A. (1995): *Taj-ut-Tawarikh* [The crown of history]. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

ADAMEC, LUDWIG W. (1974): Afghanistan's Foreign Affairs to the Mid-Twentieth Century. The University of Arizona Press, Arizona.

ADAMEC, LUDWIG W. (1991): Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan. The Scarecrow Press, Inc., London.

AGCHO (1984): National Atlas of Afghanistan. Afghan Geodesy and Cartography Head Office, Kabul.

AHADI, A. (1995): The decline of the Pashtuns in Afghanistan. Asian Survey, Vol. 35, April, p.621-634.

AHMAD, J., AZIZ, M. A (1934): Afghanistan: A Brief Survey, Dar-ut-Talif. Kabul.

AKINER, S. (1986): Islamic People of Soviet Union. (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.), London.

ALI, M. (1969): The Afghans. (The Punjab Educational Press), Lahore.

ALI SHAH, S. I. (1939): Modern Afghanistan, Sampson Low. (Marston and Co., Ltd.), London.

ARNEY, G. (1990): Afghanistan: The definitive account of a country of crossroads. (Mandarin Paperbacks), London.

AREZ, GH. J. (1981): *Jughrafiya-ye Tabi-iyi Afghanistan* [Physical Geography of Afghanistan], (Kabul University Press), Kabul.

ARNOLD, A., KLASS, R. (1987): Afghanistan's Communist Party. The Fragmented PDPA. In: KLASS, R. (ed.): Afghanistan. The Great Game Revisited. (Freedom House), New York.

ATAYEE, M. E. (2005): Negah-e ba *Tarikh-e Moasir-e Afghanistan* [A Glimpse to the History of Modern Afghanistan], Transl. by Kamgar, J. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

AZIMI, M. N. (2000): Army and Politics [*Urdo wa Siasat*], 3rd ed. Vol.1,2. (Maiwand Publishing Centre), Peshawar.

BECK, R. (1986): Sachwoerterbuch der Politik. (Alfred Kroener Verlag), Stuttgart.

BELL, W., FREEMAN, W. E. (1974): Ethnicity and Nation-Building: Comparative, International, and Historical Perspective. (Sage Publication Inc.), California.

BELLEW, H. W. (1880): The races of Afghanistan: being a brief account of the principal nations inhabiting that country. (Thacker Spink), Calcutta.

BELLEW, H. W. (1973): An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan [Repr. 1891], (Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt), Graz.

BENARD, C., KHALILZAD, Z. (1984): The Government of God: Iran's Islamic Republic. (Columbia University Press), New York.

BENN, S. I. (ed.) (1972): Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 5 and 6.(Mac Millan Publishing Co. Inc.), New York.

BIDDULPH, C. E. (ed.) (1890): Afghan poetry of the seventeenth century: being selections from the poems of Khushhal Khan Khatak, with translations and grammatical introductions. (Stephen Austen and Sons), London.

BLACK, C. E., DUPRRE, L., ENDICOTT-WEST, E., MATUSZEWSKY, D. C, NABY, E. and A. N. WALDRON (1991): The Modernization of Inner Asia. (An East Gate Book), New York.

BOSWORTH, C. E. (1993): Milla. In: BOSWORTH, C.E., van DONZEL, E., HEINRICHS, W.P. and PELLAT, C. (ed.): The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition. (E. J. Brill), Leiden.

BOXILL, B. (1998): The state. In: Edward C. (ed.); Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (Routledge), London.

BRADSHER, H. S. (1983): Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. (Duke University Press), North Carolina.

BUESCHER, H. (1972): Die Geschichte seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. In: KRAUS, W. (ed.): Afghanistan Natur, Geschichte und Kultur, Staat, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft. (Horst Erdmann Verlag), Tuebingen und Basel, p. 126-137.

BUSSE, N. (2005): Böser Blick. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.06.2005, S.3.

BUTLIN, R. A. (1993): Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Time and Space. (Routledge), New York.

BYARD, W. (2005): Afghanistan--State Building, Sustaining Growth, and Reducing Poverty. (World Bank), Washington D. C.

CANFIELD, R. L. (1986): Ethnic, Regional, and Sectarian Alignments in Afghanistan: The Problem. In: BANUAZIZI, A., WEINER, M. (ed.): The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. (Syracuse University Press), Syracuse. p. 75-103.

CAROE, O. (1958): The Pathans (550 B.C. -- A.D. 1957). (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.), London.

CHESTERMAN, S. (2005): You, The People, The United Nations. Transitional Administration, and State-Building. (Oxford University Press), Oxford.

COLL, S. (2005): Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden. From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001. (Penguin Books), New York.

COLLIN, J. J. (1986): The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: A study of the use of force in Soviet foreign policy. (Lexington Books), Lexington, Mass.

COOPER, R. (2003): The Breaking of Nations; Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century. (Atlantic Monthly Press), New York.

CORBRDGE, S. (2008): State and Society, In: COX, K. R., LOW, M, and J. ROBINSON (eds.): The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography. (SAGE Publications), London.

COX, K. R. (2002): Political Geography: Territory, State, and Society. (Blackwell Publishers Ltd.), Oxford.

CRAIG, E. (ed.) (1998): Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (Routledge), London.

CRAMER, C., GOODHAND, J. (2003): Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better? War, the State and the 'Post-Conflict' Challenges in Afghanistan. In: MILLIKEN, J. (ed.): State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction.(Blackwell Publishing Ltd.), Malden, Mass., p. 131-154.

CRISIS STATES RESEARCH CENTRE (2005): War, State Collapse and Reconstruction: Phase 2 of the Crisis States Programme. Working Paper No. 1, Development Studies Institute (DESTIN), London.

CENTRAL STATISTIC OFFICE (ed.) (2003): Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, Issue No. 24, September 2003, Kabul.

CENTRAL STATISTIC OFFICE (ed.) (2003a): Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, Issue No. 25, September 2004, Kabul.

CENTRAL STATISTIC OFFICE (ed.) (2006): Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, Issue No. 27, September 2006, Kabul.

CENTRAL STATISTIC OFFICE (ed.) (2007): Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, Issue No. 28, September 2007, Kabul.

CENTRAL STATISTIC OFFICE (ed.) (2008): Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2007-2008, Kabul

DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN (2009a) (ed.): Land dispute leaves 20 dead in Khost, No. 1334, 6 September 2009, p.3.

DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN (2009b) (ed.): Obama: Afghanistan not an American battle but the NATO mission, No. 1351, 01 October 2009, p.1.

DAILY OUTLOOK AFGHANISTAN (2009c): Karzai Vows to Strengthen ANA and ANP. No. 1314, 11 Aug. 2009, p1,8.

DANISHYAR, A. A. (ed.) (1974): Afghanistan Republic Annual. (Government Press), Kabul.

DE BLIJ, H. J. (1967): Systematic Political Geography. (John Willy and Sons, Inc.) New York.

DENMARK MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (ed.) (2005): A Joint Evaluation of Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan, 2001-05 from Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden   and the United Kingdom, Copenhagen.

DFID (2005): Why we need to work more effective in fragile states, (Department for International Development), London.

DICKEN, P. (2004) Global Shift; Reshaping the global Economic Map in the 21st Century, (SAGE Publication Ltd.), London.

DIERCKE (ed.) (2008): Diercke Weltatlas. (Westermann), Braunschweig.

DITTMANN, A. (2006): Kabul – Afghanistan's Capital as a Chessboard for International Donors. In: Geographische Rundschau, International Edition, Vol. 2, No. 4/2006, Braunschweig. p. 4 – 9.

DITTMANN, A. (2003): Wiederaufbau akademischer Strukturen im Rahmen des Solidaritätspaktes Afghanistan. In: Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen, Jg. 147, H. 5, p. 88-89.

DITTMANN, A. (2004): Das „New Great Game" der Aufbauhilfe in Afghanistan. In: Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen, Jg. 148, H. 2, p. 66-71.

DOWLATABADI, B. A. (2002): *Shenasnam-e Afghanistan* [The Identity of Afghanistan], (M. Ebrahim Shariati Afghanistani), Tehran.

DUPREE, L. (2005): Afghanistan [Repr. 1973]. (Princeton University Press), New Jersey.

EDWARDS, D. B. (1986): The evolution of Shi'i Political Dissent in Afghanistan, In: COLE, J.R. I, KEDDIE, N.R. (ed): Shi'ism and Social Protest, (Yale University Press), Connecticut.

EHLERS, E. (1990a): Einleitung: Der Islamische Orient im Lichte der Geographie. In: EHLERS, E., FALATURI, A., SCHWEIZER, G., STÖBER, G. u. G. WINKELHANE (ed.): Der Islamische Orient: Grundlagen zur Ländernkunde eines Kulturraumes, Bd. 1, (Verlag Moritz Diesterweg GmbH & Co.), Köln. p. 1-19.

EHLERS, E. (1990b): Naturraum. In: EHLERS, E., FALATURI, A., SWEIZER, G., STÖBER, G. u. G. WINKELHANE (ed.): Der Islamische Orient: Grundlagen zur Ländernkunde eines Kulturraumes, Bd. 1, (Verlag Moritz Diesterweg GmbH & Co.), Köln. p. 114-132.

EHLERS, E. (1990c): Landwirtschaft und Ländlicher Raum, In: EHLERS, E., FALATURI, A., SWEIZER, G., STÖBER, G. u. G. WINKELHANE (ed.): Der Islamische Orient: Grundlagen zur Ländernkunde eines Kulturraumes, Bd. 1, (Verlag Moritz Diesterweg GmbH & Co.), Köln. p. 138-164.

ELMI, H. (2000): *Roz Shomar-e Waqayeh Afghanistan dar Qarn-e 20* [A chronology of events of Afghanistan in the 20th century]. (Fazil Book Store), Peshawar.

ENSAF WEEKLY (2008): Hemayat-e Pusht-e Parda-e Muqamat az Fesad-e Edari dar Kishwar [covert backing of administrative corruption by high-ranked officials in the country]. No. 68, page 1, 21 June 2008.

ELPHINSTONE, M. (1998): An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartarym and India. (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.), New Delhi.

EMADI, H. (1997): State, Revolution, and Superpowers in Afghanistan. (Royal Book Company), Karachi.

EMADI, H. (2002): Repression, resistance, and women in Afghanistan. (Praeger Publishers), USA.

ENGLEHART, N. A. (2007): Governments against States: The Logic of Self-Destructive Despotism In: International Political Science Review, Vol. 28, No. 2, p.133-153.

ESPOSITO, J. F. (ed.) (2003): The Oxford Dictionary of Islam. (Oxford University Press), New York.

FARHANG, M. S. (1993): *Afghanistan dar Panj Qharn Akheer* [Afghanistan in the last five centuries], Vol. I. (Durukhshish Publishers), Meshhad.

FARHANG, M. S. (1996): *Afghanistan dar Panj Qharn-e Akheer* [Afghanistan in the last five centuries], Vol. II. (Erfan Publishers), Tehran.

FLETCHER, A. (1966): Afghanistan "Highway of Conquest". (Cornell University Press), New York.

FRANCK, P. G. (1960): Afghanistan between East and West. National Planning Association, (Library of Congress), Washington.

FROEHLICH, D. (1970): Nationalismus und Nationalstaat in Entwicklungslaendern: Probleme der Integration ethnischer Gruppen in Afghanistan. (Verlag Anton Hain), Meisenheim am Glan.

FRY, M. J. (1974): The Afghan Economy; money, finance and the critical constraints to economic development. (E.J.Brill), Leiden.

FUKUYAMA, F. (2005): State-building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty-First Century. (Profile Books Ltd.), London.

FUKUYAMA, F. (2006): Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq. (John Hopkins University Press), Baltimore.

GANKOVSKY, Y. V. (2006): Pashtuns. In: MALIK, H., GANKOVSKY, Y. V. (ed.): The Encyclopaedia of Pakistan. (Oxford University Press), Oxford.

GHANI, A. (1983-85): Administration, In: YARSHATER, E. (ed.): Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. 1-2, (Routledges and Kegan Paul), London, p. 558-564.

GHANI, A., LOCKHART, C.(2008): Fixing Failing States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World. (Oxford University Press), New York.

GHARGHASHT, M. N.(1966): *Rahnuma-ye Kabul* [A guide to Kabul], Kabul.

GHAUS, A. S. (1988): The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account, (Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers), London.

GHUBAR, GH. M (1968): *Afghanistan dar Maseer-e Tarikh, I* [Afghanistan in the Course of History]. (Government Publishing House) Kabul.

GHUBAR, GH. M (1999): *Afghanistan dar Maseer-e Tarikh, II* [Afghanistan in the Course of History]. (American Speedy Printing Centre), Virginia.

GLASSNER, M. I. (1993): Political Geography. (John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), New York.

GLASSNER, M. I., DE. BLIJ, H. J (1980): Political Geography (3rd ed.). (John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), New York.

GOPALAKRISHNAN, R (1982): The Geography and Politics of Afghanistan. (Concept ublishing Company), New Delhi.

GREGORIAN, V. (1969): The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan. (Stanford University Press), California.

GRIFFITHS, J. C. (1967): Afghanistan. (Pall Mall Press), London.

GROETZBACH, E. (1990): Afghanistan: Eine Georaphische Landeskunde. (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), Darmstadt.

HABBERTON, W. (1937): Anglo Afghani Relations Concerning Afghanistan. (University of Illinois Press), Illinois.

HABIBI, A. H. (1967): *Tarikh-e Mokhtasar-e Afghanistan* [Brief History of Afghanistan]. (Anjuman-e Tarikh), Kabul.

HABIBI, A. H. (1970): Afghan Nationality and its Factors on the Basis of History. In: Afghanistan, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, p. 29-35.

HABIBI, A. H. (1993): *Junbesh-e Mashtroiyat dar Afghanistan* [Constitutional Movement in Afghanistan], o.O.

HAGER, (1983): State, Tribe and Empire in Afghan Inter-polity Relation. In: TAPPER, R. (ed.): The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan. (Croom Helm Ltd.), London, p83.

HAIMS, M. C., GOMPERT, D. C., TREVERTON, G. F. and B. K. STEAMS (2008): Breaking the Failed-State Cycle. (RAND Corporation), Santa Monica.

HAMMOND, T.T. (1984): Red Flags over Afghanistan. The Communist Coup, the Soviet Invasion, and the Consequences. (Westview Press Inc.) o.O.

HANIFI, J. (2004): Editing the Past: Colonial Production of Hegemony Through the "Loya Jerga" in Afghanistan. In: The International Society for Iranian Studies, Vol. 37, No. 2.

HAROON, A (1997): *Daoud Khan dar Changal K.G.B.* [Daoud Khan in the fangs of K.G. B., transl. and ed. by Hamed]. (Maiwand Publishing Centre), Peshawar.

HARPVIKEN, K. B. (1998): The Hazara of Afghanistan: The Thorny Path Toward Political Unity 1978-1992. In: ATABAKI, T., O'KANE, J. (eds.): Post-Soviet Central Asia (Tauris Academic Studies), London, p.177-203.

HARTMAN, A. (2002): 'The red template': US policy in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. In: Third World Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3, p.467-489.

HARTSHORNE, R. (1950): The Functional Approach in Political Geography, In: Annals of the Association of American Geographer, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Jun., 1950), pp. 95-130.

HASHEMI, M. T. (2005): *Ba Soy-e Demokrasi: Qhanoon-e Assasi wa Nezam-e Siyasi-e Nawin-e Afghanistan* [Toward Democracy: Constitution and the New Political Order in Afghanistan]. (Parniyan Publishing Foundation), Kabul.

HELD, D. (1992): The Development of the Modern State, In: HALL, S., GIEBEN, B. (ed.): Formations of Modernity. (Polity Press), Cambridge. pp. 71-126.

HOPKIRK, P. (1999): The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia. (John Murray Publishers Ltd.), London.

HUSSAIN, Z. (2007): Frontline Pakistan: The struggle with militant Islam. (Columbia University Press), New York.

HYMAN, A. (1982): Afghanistan under Soviet domination, 1964-81. (St. Martin Press), New York.

IBN KHALDUN after ROSENTHAL (2005): The Muqadimmah : An Introduction to History [transl. by Franz Rosenthal]. (Princeton University Press), New Jersey.

IRO, A. (2008): Staatszerfall und State-Building in Afghanistan: Die USA im Spannungsfeld zwischen Staatsaufbau und Terrorbekaempfung nach dem dem 11. September 2001. (Tectum Verlag), Marburg.

ISSA, C. (2006): Architecture as a Symbol of National Identity. In: Geographische Rundschau, International Edition, Vol. 2, No. 4,. p. 27 – 32.

ISSA, C., KOHISTANI, S. M. (2007): Kabul's Urban Identity: An Overview of the Socio-Political Aspects of Development. In: ASIEN, No. 104,.Juli , p. 51 – 64.

JACKSON, W. A. D. (1964: 86): Politics and Geographical Relationships: Reading on the Nature of Political Geography. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.), New Jersey.

JAKOBSEN, P. V. (2005): PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient. (Danish Institute for International Studies), Copenhagen.

JALALI, A. A. (2007): The Legacy of War and Challenges of Peace Building, in: ROTBERG, R.I.(ed.): Building a New Afghanistan.(World Peace Foundation), Cambridge.

JAMEAH WEEKLY (2008a): *Edama-e Tazahurat-e Daneshjoyan dar Kabul* (the continuation of students demonstration in Kabul)., No. 181, 19 November 2008, Kabul.

JAMEAH WEEKLY (2008b): *Aya Andisha hay eke Makateb ra Mesozanand wa Tezab Mepashand dar Tashanujat-e Danishjoyi Kabul wa Balkh dast nadarand?* (Are those, who burn schools and throw acids to the faces f students, not involved in the students tensions of Kabul and Balkh?)., No. 181, 19 November 2008, Kabul.

JANATA, A. (1975): Ghairatman – Der gute Paschtune: Exkurs über die Grundlagen des Paschtunwali. In: Afghanistan Journal, Jg. 2, Heft 2, p.83-97.

JOHNSTON, R. J., KNIGHT, D. B. and E. KOFMAN (1988): Nationalism, Self-determination and Political Geography. (Croom Helm) New York.

JOHNSON, T. (2006): Afghanistan's post-Taliban transition: the state of state-building after war. n: Central Asian Survey (March – June 2006), No. 25, p. 1-26.

JOHNSON, T. H.,MASON, M. C. (2007): Understanding the Taliban and Insurgency in Afghanistan. In: A Journal of World Affairs, Vol. 51, No. 1, p.71-89.

JORDON, T. G., LESTER, R. (1988): The Human Mosaic. A thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, 4th ed.. (Harper and Row Publishers), New York.

JRO (ed.) (1989): Krisenherd Afghanistan. JRO Kartographische Verlagsgesellschaft, München.

KAKAR, H. (1978): The Fall of Afghan Monarchy. In: International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 9, No. 2, (April 1978), p. 195 – 214.

KAKAR, M. H. (1997): Afghanistan: Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982. (University of California Press), California.

KAMALI, M. H. (1985): Law in Afghanistan: A study of the Constitutions, Matrimonial and Judiciary. (E. J. Brill), Leiden.

KANDAHARI, S. M. (1915): Lumrai Ketab da Pakhtu I, ya'ni Ketab-e Awal-e Afghani [The First Pashtu or Afghani Book I]. (Din Mohammadi Publishing House), o.O.

KENT, A. (2007): Cashing in on Karzai & Co. (Options Politiques), November,

KHALILI, KHALILUAH (1991): Ayar-e Az Khurasan: Amir Habibullah Khadem-e Deen-e Rasoolallah [A brave man from Khurasan: Amir Habibullah the Servant of the religion of the Prophet of God]. (Kabul State Press), Kabul.

KIEFER, CH. M. (1983): Afghanistan Languages. In: YARSHATER, E.(ed.): Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. 1-2, Afghanistan. (Routledge and Kegal Paul), London.

KISHTMAND, S. A. (2003): Yaddasht ha-ye Siasi wa Roydad ha-ye Tarikhi: Khaterat- e Shakhsi ba Burha ha-ye az Tarikh Siasi Muasir-e Afghanistan [Political Notes and Historical Events: Personal Memoir with some Parts of Political History of

Afghanistan], Vol. I and II. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

KLEVEMAN, L. (2003): The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia. (Atlantic Monthly Press), New York.

KLIMBURG, M. (1966): Afghanistan: Das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens. (G. Gistel & Cie.), Wien.

KOHISTANI, S. M. (2006): Afghanistan: Mental nation-building in the minds of people. In: Geographische Rundschau, International Edition Vol. 2 , No. 4/2006, p. 14 – 18.

KOHZAD, A. A. (1940): Maskokat-e Afghanistan dar Asr-e Islam (Afghanistan's Coins from Islamic Period]. (Salnama, Umumi Matbeaah), Kabul, p.229-248.

KOHZAD, A. A. (1968): Afghanistan Dar Partau-e Tarikh [Afghanistan in the light of history]. (Government Publishing House), Kabul.

KOHZAD, A. A. (2004): Bala Hisar wa Peshamad haye Tarikhi 1-2 [Bala Hisar and Historical Circumstances], Vol. 1-2, (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

KOHZAD, A. A. (2008): Tarikh-e Afghanistan [The History of Afghanistan], Vol. 1-3, compiled edition. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

KORSKI, D. (2008): Afghanistan: Europe's forgotten war. Policy Papers, European Council on Foreign Relations, London.

KRECH, H. (2004): Der Afghanistan-Konflikt (2002-2004): Fallstudie eines asymmetrischen Konflikts. (Verlag Dr. Koester), Berlin.

KUMAR, S. (2007): Election in Afghanistan: Progress Towards Democracy. In: The Asia Foundation (ed.): State Building, Political Progress, and Human Security in Afghanistan, Kabul.

LENCZOWSKI, G. (1980): The Middle East in World Affairs (4th ed.), London.

LISTER, S. (2005): Caught in Confusion: Local governance Structures in Afghanistan. AREU Briefing Paper, March 2005, Kabul.

MALIK, H., GANKOYSKY, Y.V. (2006): Jamiat ul-Ualema-i-Islam. In: The Encyclopedia of Pakistan. (Oxford University Press), Karachi.

MALEY, W. (2002): The Afghanistan Wars. (Palgrave Macmillan), New York.

MATINUDDIN, K. (2006): Dynamics of Internal Power politics in Afghanistan. In: AHMAR, M. (ed.): The Challenges of Rebuilding Afghanistan, 2nd edition. (University of Karachi), Karachi, p. 1-10.

MCKIERNAN, D. D. (2008): Winning the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. In: ISAF Mirror, Issue No. 50, September 2008, p. 12-15.

MESHRANO JIRGA (ed.) (2006), Jeryan-e Jalasa 29 Qaws 1384 [session report of Dec. 2006], Magazine No. 1. (Meshrano Jirga Publication), Kabul. p. 27-33.

MIAKHEL, M. O. R. (2004): De Narai au Bashari Tarikh ta landa Katana: De Pakhtanu Qabilo Shajare au Mini [A Brief History of Mankind in the world: The pedigree and love of Pashtun tribes]. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

MILLKEN, J. (ed.) (2003): State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction. (Blackwell Publishing Ltd.), Malden, Mass.

MILLEN, R. A. (2005): Afghanistan: Reconstituting a Collapsed State. (Strategic Studies Institute), Carlisle.

MILLER, D. (1998): Nation and Nationalism, In: Craig, E. (ed.) Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 6, (Routledge), London. p. 657-661.

MILLS, N. B. (2007): Karzai - The failing American Intervention and the Struggle for Afghanistan. (John Willy and Sons, Inc.), New Jersey.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1978): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 396, 6th May 1978, Decree No. 1 and No. 2 of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1978): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 398, 28 May 1978, Decree No. 3, of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1978): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 402, 13 July 1978, Decree No. 6, of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1978): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 409, 18 October 1978, Decree No. 4 and 7, of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1978): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 413, 30 November 1978, Decree No. 8, of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1979): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 421, 20 March 1979, Decree No. 5, of Revolutionary Council of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1980): Official Gazetteer 1980, No. 450, *Usol-e Asasi Jumhuri-e Demokratik-e Afghanistan* [The fundamental principles of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan], Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (1990): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 728, November 1990, Constitution of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (ed.) (2004): Official Gazetteer, Issue No. 818, January 28, 2004,. Extraordinary Issue, Constitution of Afghanistan. Kabul.

MINISTRY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT (ed.) (2007): *Enkeshaf-e-Shahr* [Urban Development], No. 7-8, Kabul.

MITROKHIN, V. (2002): The KGB in Afghanistan. Cold War international project working papers, 40, Washington D.C.

MOBEKK, E. (2005): Identifying lessons in United Nations International Policing Missions. In: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) (ed.): Policy Paper –No. 9, Geneva.

MOLTMANN, G. (1982): Die Verfassungsentwicklung Afghanistans 1901-1981. Von der absoluten Monarchie zur sozialistischen Republik. (Deutsches Orient-Institut), Hamburg.

MOLTMANN, G. (1993): Afghanistan: Moroor-e bar Neshast-e Mannheim, Collection of Articles [Neue Forschungen in Afghanistan]. Vortraege auf der 5. Arbeitstagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Afghanistan in Mannheim 1.-3. Februar 1979 [transl. by S.M. Mohsenian, Islamic Research Foundation] Meshhad.

MONTGOMERY, J. D., Rondinelli, D.A. (2004): Beyond Reconstruction in Afghanistan. Lessons from Development Experience. (Palgrave Macmillan), New York.

MORGAN, G. (1981): Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia:1810-1895. (Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.), London.

MOUSAVI, S. A. (2002): *Hazara ha-ye Afghanistan: Tarikh, Farhang, Eqtesad wa Siasat* [The Hazaras of Afghanistan: A Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study, transl. from English into Farsi by Asadullah Shafayi, Entesharat-e Moassesa Farhangi Hunari-e Naqsh-e Simorgh] Tehran.

MUENCH, P. (2009): Fremde in einem fremden Land: Der Einsatz deutscher Soldaten in Afghanistan. In: Zeitschrift fuer Afghanistankunde, Nr. 3, February 2009.

MUHTAT, A. H. (2005): *Suqoot-e Saltanat* (the collapse of the Monarchy), 2nd ed. (Saeed Publishing Centre), Peshawar.

MUIR, R. (1975): Modern Political Geography. (Macmillan Press Ltd.), New York.

MUJDA, W. (2002): *Afghanistan wa Panj Sal Salta-e Taliban* [Afghanistan and five years of Taliban rule]. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

MUKARRAM, A. (1997): History of Afghanistan. In: The Far East and Australasia, 29th ed. (Europa Publications Limited), London.

NAJIBULLAH (1988): Afghanistan: Taking the Path of Reconciliation, A collection of speeches by the President of the President of the Republic of Afghanistan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. (Government Committee of Press and Publication), Kabul.

NEWELL, R. S. (1972): The Politics of Afghanistan. (Cornell University Press), London.

NEWELL, N. S. (1981): The struggle for Afghanistan. (Cornell University Press), London.

NEZAMNAMA (1923a): Nezamnama-e Naqelin ba Samt-e Qataghan (Regulations of migrants to Qataghan)., Daira-e Tahrirat Majles-e Ali Wozara Publish House, Kabul

NEZAMNAMA (1923b): Nezamnama-e Asasi-e Daulat-e Alia Afghanistan, (constitution of government of Afghanistan). Farsi version, Daira-e Tahrirat Majles-e Ali Wozara Publish House, Kabul.

NEZAMNAMA (1923c): Asasi Nezamnama da Luar Daulat da Afghanistan, (constitution of high state of Afghanistan). Pashtu version, Daira-e Tahrirat Majles-e Ali Wozara Publish House, Kabul.

OLESEN, A. (1988): Islam and Politics in Afghanistan, in: Groetzbach, E. (Ed.): Neue Beitraege zur Afghanistanforschung; (Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanica), Liestal.

OLESEN, A. (1995): Islam and Politics in Afghanistan. (Anthony Rowe Ltd.),Richmond, Surrey.

O'LOUGHLIN, J., RALEIGH, C.A. (2008): Spatial Analysis of Civil War Violence. In: Cox, K. R., Low, M. and J. Robinson (eds.): The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography. (SAGE Publications), London, p. 494- 508.

OSULNAMA (1952): Osul-e Asasi-e Daulat-e Alia Afghanistan, (Fundamental principles of the government of Afghanistan). General Publishing House, Kabul.

PAHLEVAN, T. (1998): Iran and Central. In: ATABAKI, T., J. O'KANE, J. (ed.): Post-Soviet Central Asia. (Tauris Academic Studies), London.

PAINTER, J. (1995): Politics, Geography and Political Geography. A Critical Review. London.

PANJSHIRI, A. A. (1986): Historical Geography of Afghanistan. (Kabul University Press), Kabul.

PENROSE, J, MOLE, R.C. M. (2008): Nation-States and National Identity. In: Cox, K. Low, M. and J. Robinson (eds.): The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography. (SAGE Publications), London, p. 271- 283.

PETTIGREW, T. F. (2005): Ethnocentrism, In: KEMPF-LEONARD (ed.): Encyclopedia of Social Measurement. (Elsevier Academic Press), Amsterdam. p. 827-831.

POULLADA, L. B. (1995): The kingdom of Afghanistan and the United States: 1828-1973. (The Center for Afghanistan Studies at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and Dageforde Publishing), Lincoln, Neb.

POULLADA, L. B. (1987): The Road to Crisis 1919-1980. American Failures, Afghan Errors and Soviet Successes. In: Klass, R. (ed.): Afghanistan the Great Game Revisited. (Freedom House), New York.

POULLADA, L. B. (1968): Afghanistan: Historical and Cultural Quarterly, Vol. XXL, No. 1, p. 10-36.

POURHADI, I. V. (1975): Afghanistan's Press and its Literary Influence 1897-1969. In: Afghanistan Journal, Jg. 3, Vol. 1, p. 28-35.

RAHIMI, N. M (ed.) (1967): Constitution of Afghanistan, The Kabul Times Annual, Kabul.

RAHMATI, M. (1986): Social Geography of Afghanistan. (Kabul University Press), Kabul.

RASANAYAGAM, A. (2005): A Modern History of Afghanistan. (I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.), New York.

RASHID, A. (2002): Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia. (I. B. Tauris Publishers), London.

RASULY-PALECZEK, G. R. (1998): Ethnic Identity versus Nationalism: The Uzbek of North-Eastern Afghanistan and the Afghan State. In: ATABAKI, T., O'KANE, J. (ed.): Post-Soviet Central Asia. (Tauris Academic Studies), London.

RESHTIA, S. Q. (1999): Afghanistan dar Qharn-e Nuzda [Afghanistan in 19th Century]. (Maiwand Publishing Centre), Peshawar.

RESHTIA, S. Q. (1997): Khaterat-e Syasi-ye Sayed Qhasem Reshtia 1311 (1932) ta 1371 (1992) [Political Memoirs of Sayed Qhasem Reshtia 1932-1992]. (Afghan Press Centre), Peshawar.

REYNOLDS, A., JONES, L. and A. WILDER (2005): A Guide to Parliamentary Elections in Afghanistan, (Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU)), Kabul.

RICE, S. E., PATRICK, S. (2008): Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, (The Brooking Institution), Washington D. C.

RICHMOND, A. H. (1987): Ethnic Nationalism: Social Science Paradigms. In: International Social Science Journal, Ethnic Phenomena, Vol. 111, 1, February 1987, p.

RIEDEL, B. (2008): Pakistan and Terror: The Eyes of Storm. In: The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 618, p. 31-45.

RIPHENBURG, C. J. (2005): Ethnicity and Civil Society in Contemporary Afghanistan. In: The Middle East Journal, Vol. 59, No. 1, Washington. p. 31-51.

RITTER, W. S. (1990): Revolt in the Mountains: Fuzail Maksum and the Occupation of Garm, Spring 1929. In: Journal of Contemporary History, No. 25, p. 547-580.

ROY, O. (1990): Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan (2nd ed.), Cambridge.

RUBIN, B. R. (2002): The Fragmentation of Afganistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System, 2nd ed. (Yale University Press), New Haven and London.

RUBIN, B. R. (2006): Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition from Turmoil to Normalcy. (Council on Foreign Relations), New York.

RUBIN, B. R. (2006): Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: Constructing sovereignty for whose security? In: Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 175-185.

RUTTIG, T. (2008): Afghanistan: Institutionen ohne Demokratie, Strukturelle Schwaechen des Staatsaufbaus und Ansaetze fuer eine politische Stabilisierung. (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik), Berlin.

SARIN, O. and DVORETSKY, L. (1993): The Afghan Syndrome: The Soviet Union's Vietnam. (Presidio Press), o.O.

SCHETTER, C. (2003): Ethnizitaet und ethnische Konflikte in Afghanistan. (Dietrich Reimer Verlag), Berlin.

SCHETTER, C. (2005): Ethnoscapes, National Territorialization, and the Afghan War. In: Geopolitics, Vol.10, p. 50-75.

SCHETTER, C. (2006): Geopolitics and the Afghan Territory, In: Geographische Rundschau, International Edition, Vol. 2, No. 4/2006, p. 20 – 26.

SCHLAGINTWEIT, R. (1995): Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Afghanistan – Ruecklick und Ausblick. In: LOEWENSTEIN, W. (ed.): Beitraege zur zeitgenoessichen Afghanistanforschung; Vortraege auf einer Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Afghanistan am 6. und 7. Juli 1995 in Bochum.(Institut fuer Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik der Ruhr-Universitaet Bochum), Bochum. p. 23-35.

SEDDIQ MUJADDIDI, S. A. (2002): Amir Habibullah Khadem-e Deen-e Rasoolallah [Amir Habibullah the Servant of the religion of the Prophet of God], 4th ed. (Maiwand Publishing House), Kabul.

SENLIS (ed.) (2007): Countering the Insurgency in Afghanistan: Losing Friends and Making Enemies. (MF Publishing Ltd.), London.

SHARHANI, M. N. (2001): The Future of the State and the Structure of Community Governance in Afghanistan, In: MALLEY, W. (ed): Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban.

SHAHRANI, M. N. (1986): State Building and Social Fragmentation in Afghanistan: A Historical Perspective. In: BANUAZIZI, ALI and M. WEINER (ed.): The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. (Syracuse University Press), Syracuse. p. 23-74.

SHARQ, M. H. (1991): Karbas Posh ha-ye Barahna Pa: Khaterat-e Dr. Mohammad Hasan Sharq az 1310 ta 1370 [The Cotton Covered with Barefeets: Memoir of Dr. Mohammad Hasan Sharq from 1931-1991]. (Saba Publishing House), Peshawar.

SHORT, J. R. (1994): An Introduction to Political Geography, 2nd ed. (Routledge), London.

SMITH, A. D. (1991): National Identity. (Penguin Books), London.

SMITH, A. D. (1971): Theories of Nation. (Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd.), London.

SMITH, S. (1996): Citizenship, In: JOHNSON, R. J.,. GREGORY, D and D. M. SMITH (ed.): The Dictionary of Human Geography, 3rd ed. (Blackwell Publishers Ltd.), Oxford.

SNOY, P. (1975): Die ethnischen Gruppen. In: KRAUS, W. (ed.): Afghanistan: Natur, Geschichte und Kultur, Staat, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft, 2nd ed. (Horst Erdmann Verlag), Tuebingen und Basel, S. 165-194.

SNYDER, L. L. (1990): Encyclopedia of Nationalism. (Paragon House), New York.

SNYDER, J., BALLENTINE, K. (2001): Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas. In: Brown, M. E., Colte O. R., Sean M. L. and S. E. Miller (eds.): Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, rev. ed. (The MIT Press), London. p. 61-96.

SPAIN, J. W. (1963): The Pathan Borderland. (Mouton & Co.,Publishers), Hague.

SPIEGEL (2008) (ed.): "Das ist jenseits meiner Macht", Spiegel Gespraech. In: Der Spiegel, 23, S. 126-128.

STEWART, R. T. (1973): Fire in Afghanistan 1914-1929: Faith, Hope and the British Empire. (Doubleday and Company, Inc.), New York.

TANNER, S. (2002): A Military History from Alexander the Great to the fall of the Taliban. (Da Capo Press), Cambridge.

TANIN, Z. (2006): Afghanistan dar Qharn-e Bistum [Afghanistan in 20th century], Series of BBC Programs. (Mohammad Ebrahim Shariati Afghanistani Publishers), Tehran.

TAPPER, R. (1983): The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan. (Croom Helm Ltd.) London.

TARZI, M. (1915): Zaban wa Ahmiyat-e An [Language and its importance], Siraj-ul Akhbar-e Afghaniya, No. 2, 5th Year. (Mashinkhana Dar-us-Saltana-e Kabul), Kabul p.2-3.

TAYLOR, P. J., FLINT, C. (2000): Political Geography: World Economy, Nation-State, and Locality, 3rd ed.. (Prentice Hall), an imprint of Pearson Education, Singapore.

TILLY, CH. (1992): Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990- 1992. (Blackwell Publishing), New York.

TAYYEB, A. (1966): Pakistan: A Political Geography. (Oxford University Press), London.

TOYNBEE, A. J. (1961): Communism and the West in Asian Countries. In: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 336, Is International Communism Winning? (Jul.1961), p. 30-39.

TOYNBEE, A. (1961): Impressions of Afghanistan and Pakistan's North-West Frontier: In Relation to the Communist World, International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944), Vol. 37, No. 2. (Blackwell Publishing Ltd.), London.

TYTLER, W., FRASER , K.(1967): Afghanistan: A study of Political Developments in Central and Southern Asia. (Oxford University Press), London.

UNDP (2004a): Afghanistan National Human Development Report 2004: Security, with a Human Face: Challenges and Responsibilities. (Army Press), Islamabad.

UNDP (2004b): Institutional Flexibility in Crises and Post-conflict Situations: Best Practices from Field. (A. K. Office Supply), New York.

UNDP (2004c): Human Development Report: Cultural liberty in today's diverse world, New York.

UNDP (2005): Afghanistan a Country on the Move. UNDP, New York.

UNDP (2006): Afghanistan Annual Report, UNDP. (Army Press), Pakistan.

UNDP (2007a): Afghanistan Human Development Report 2007: Bridging Modernity and Tradition: Rule of Law and the Search for Justice. (Saboor Printing Press), Kabul.

UNDP (2007b): Human Development Report 2007/2008; Fighting climate change; Human solidarity in a divided world. (Palgrave Macmillan), New York.

UNDP (2008): Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives: Accelerating Human Development in Asia and the Pacific. (Macmillan India Ltd.), Delhi.

UNHCR (2007): Statistical Yearbook 2007: Trends in Displacement, Protection and Solutions, Geneva.

URSINUS, M. O. H. (1993): Millet. In: BOSWORTH, D., HEINRICHS, W.P. and PELLAT, C. (ed.): The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition. (E. J. Brill), Leiden.

VALLINGS, C., MORENO-TORRES, M. (2005): Drivers of Fragility: What Makes State Fragile? PRDE Working Paper No. 7. (Department for International Development), o.O.

VARUGHESE, G. (2007): Reflection on a Survey of the Afghan People: An Introduction, In: The Asia Foundation (ed.): State Building, Political Progress, and Human Security in Afghanistan, Kabul.

VATIKIOTIS, P. J. (1978): Kawmiyya (Nationalism): In the Arab World East of the Maghrib, In: DONZEL, E. V., LEWIS, B. and C. PELLAT (eds.): Encyclopedia of Islam. (E. J. Brill), Leiden. p.781-784.

WATKINS, M. B. (1963): Afghanistan: Land in Transition. (Lancaster Press, Inc.) New Jersey.

WEBER, M. (1964): The theory of social and economic organization [Transl. by Henderson, A. M. and T. Parsons]. (The Free Press), New York.

WILBER, D. N. (1962): Afghanistan: Its People, its Society, its Culture. (Hraf Press), New Haven, Connecticut.

WIEBE, D. (1984): Afghanistan: Ein mittelasiatisches Entwicklungsland im Umbruch. (Ernst Klett Verlag), Stuttgart.

WENSINCK, A. J. (1978): Kawm. In: van DONZEL, E., LEWIS, B. and C. PELLAT (eds.): Encyclopaedia of Islam. (E. J. Brill), Leiden. p.780-781.

WORLD BANK (2005): Afghanistan: State Building, Sustaining Growth, and Reducing Poverty, Washington D.C.

WORLD BANK (2006): Interim Strategy Note for Islamic Republic of Afghanistan for the Period FY07-FY08, Washington D. C.

YAMAGUCHI, K. (2006): Building a State in Afghanistan: Sustainability and Dependency, In: Geographische Rundschau, International Edition, Vol. 2, No. 4/2006, p. 10 – 13.

YAPP, M. E. (1995): Pashtunistan, In: BOSWORTH, C. E., van DONZEL, E., HEINRICHS. W.P. and G. LECOMTE (eds.): Encyclopedia of Islam. (E. J. Brill, Leiden), p. 282-283.

YARSHATR, E. (2006): Iran in the Islamic Period (651-1980s). In: YARSHATER, E. (ed.): Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. XIII, (Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation), New York. p.225-246.

YOUSAF, M., ADKIN, M. (2001): Afghanistan the Bear Trap: The defeat of a superpower. Casemate, Havertown.

ZARTMAN, I. W. (ed.) (1995): Collapsed States. The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.), Colorado.

ZEITLER, B. (2007): Afghanistan Von der Stammesherschaft zur Beseitigung der Taliban, In: STRASSNER A., KLEIN, M. (ed.): Theorie und Empirie der Staatzerfalls. (VS Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften), Wiesbaden.

8AM Daily (2009a): *Mulaqat-e Safiran bayad az Tareege Daulat Tamzim Shawad* (ambassadors meeting must be organized by the government). No. 613, 01 July 2009, p. 1.

8AM Daily (2009b): *Khariji ha Nabayad dar Rawand-e Entekhabat Mudakhela Nakonand* (foreigners should not intervene in the process of election). No. 616, 28 June 2009, p. 2.

8AM Daily (2009c): *Az Ki Sahib-e Khana Shodim?* (From whom did we get the house?). No. 619, 28 June 2009, p. 1, 7.

8AM Daily (2008): Eteraz ba Eqdam-e Wazir Etla'at wa Farhang (Protest against the action of the Minister of Information and Culture). No. 216, 16 February 2008, p. 1.

Internet sources:

ADNS (2006): The Afghanistan Compact.
http://www.ands.gov.af/admin/ands/ands_docs/upload/UploadFolder/The%20Afghnistan%20Comp act%20-%20Final%20English.pdf
Retrieved 22.Aug. 2009 at 15:45

ANDS (2008): Afghanistan National Development Strategy: A Strategy for Security, Governance, Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction.
http://www.ands.gov.af/ands/final_ands/src/final/Afghanistan%20National%20Development%20Str ategy_eng.pdf
Retrieved 02.Oct. 2009 at 14:28.

ISAF (2009): International Security Assistance Force (ISAF): Facts and Figures.
http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat.pdf
Retrieved 01.Oct. 2009 at 15:54

JCMB (2007: 4): Task Force on Afghanistan National Police Strength.
http://www.ands.gov.af/ands/jcmb/src/jcmb5/5B.%20Task%20Force%20on%20Police%20Ceillings

.pdf
Retrieved   22.Aug. 2009 at 16:10

JEMB (2005): Final Report: National Assembly and Provincial Councils Elections 2005. Joint Electoral
    Management Body (JEMB).
    http://www.jemb.org/pdf/JEMBS%20MGT%20Final%20Report%202005-12-12.pdf
    Retrieved   01.Oct. 2009 at 13:05

MARSDEN, P. and J. ARNOLD-FOSTER (2007): An Assessment of the Security of Asian Development
    Bank Projects in Afghanistan.
    http://www.adb.org/Documents/Assessments/Other-Assessments/AFG/Conflict-and-Security-
    Assessment.pdf
    Retrieved   02.Oct. 2009 at 14:05.

NATO (2009): Afghanistan Report 2009.
    http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2009_03/20090331_090331_afghanistan_report_200
    9.pdf
    Retrieved on 02.Sept. 2009 at 13:35

NATO (2008): Progress in Afghanistan, Bucharest Summit 2-4 April 2008.
    http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/progress_afghanistan_2008.pdf
    Retrieved on 02.Sept. 2009 at 13: 38

NEW YORK TIMES (2009): Eight Years in Afghanistan.
    http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2009/10/01/world/middleeast/afghanistan-policy.html
    Retrieved on 03.Nov.2009. 16:26.

OECD (2006a): Whole of Government; Approaches to Fragile States.
    http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/15/24/37826256.pdf
    Retrieved   on 02.Sept. 2009 at 13:30

OECD (2006b): 2006 survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration, Country Chapters: Afghanistan.
    http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/10/38949502.pdf
    Retrieved   01.Oct. 2009 at 14:55

RENNIE, R. (ed.) (2008): State Building, Security, and Social Change in Afghanistan: Reflection on a
    Survey of the Afghan People.
    http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/2008surveycompanionvolumefinal.pdf
    Retrieved   02.Oct. 2009 at 11:55.

Websites of Ministries in Afghanistan:

MOD (2009): Ministry of Defence
 http://www.mod.gov.af/
 Retrieved 01.Oct. 2009 at 15:50

MRR (2009): Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation
 http://www.mrrd.gov.af/
 Retrieved 01.Oct. 2009 at 15:50

MOF (2009): Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 1388 (2009-2010) National Budget Ministry of Finance.
 Kabul.
 http://www.budgetmof.gov.af/Budget_Resources/1388/1388_National_Budget_ENG.pdf
 Retrieved   on 02.Sept. 2009 at 13:00

MOF (2008): Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 1387 (2008-2009) National Budget Ministry of Finance.
 Kabul.
 http://www.budgetmof.gov.af/Budget_Resources/1387/1387_National_Budget_ENG.pdf
 Retrieved 01.Oct. 2009 at 13:25.

MOJ (2009): Ahzab-e Siasi (political parties). Ministry of Justice.
 http://www.moj.gov.af/?lang=da&p=label19
 Retrieved 01.Oct. 2009 at 13:25.

IEC (2009): Independent Electoral Commission, Afghanistan Presidential Election Result
 http://www.iec.org.af/public_html/Election%20Results%20Website/english/english.htm
 Retrieved   on 28.Sept. 2009 at 18:45

Private Institutions of Higher Education:

American University of Afghanistan: www.auaf.edu.af
Kardan Institute of Higher Education: www.kardan.edu.af ,
Khawaran Institute of Higher Education: www.khawaran.edu.af
Bakhtar University: www.bakhtar.edu.af
Peshgam Institute of Higher Education: www.peshgam.edu.af

8   Questionnaire and Interview Partners

Interview partners:

AKHGAR, M. Q. (2009): Interview carried out by author in Kabul: 05.01.2009.

BANOORI, S. M. (2008): Interview carried out by author in Kabul 18.12.2008.

SHAHRANI, M. N. (2009): Interview carried out by the author in Bonn: 28.02.2009.

YAMEEN, M. H. (2009): Interview carried out by the author in Kabul: 05.01.2009.

Questionnaire about

«Afghan Identity»

A cooperation project between an Afghan and a German Researcher of the Department of Geography, University Bonn, Germany

This questionnaire is based on scientific means only. It will be used only for research purposes and it is a non-political non-profitable questionnaire. Since our research theme for our PhD is dealing with the very related issue, we will use it in order to get a better overview of the opinion of Afghan citizens regarding the current situation.

This questionnaire is anonymous and the data will be concerned confidentially. While completing this form, please mark the answers you agree to with a √ and optionally this one, you don't agree with a x.

We thank you very much for taking time to fulfil this questionnaire. We hope that you get also some ideas of your identity because of the questions.

A. Questions about national buildings and places

A.1.) In your opinion what are the most famous historical sites in Afghanistan? If you choose more than one, please mark your priority with numbers (1 for first choice, 2 for second etc.)

- ☐ Darulaman-Palace
- ☐ Arc de Triumph
- ☐ Mosque of Heart
- ☐ Mosque of Mazar-i-Sharif
- ☐ Qala Bost
- ☐ Bala Hissar Kabul
- ☐ Minaret of Jam
- ☐ Others ____

What is the reason for choosing these important buildings? Please explain it with one or two sentences:

_____
_____

A.2.) In your opinion which building represents typical afghan architecture? If you choose more than one, please mark your priority with numbers (1 for first choice, 2 for second etc.)

- ☐ Shado Shamshera Mosque
- ☐ Mosque of Herat
- ☐ Qala
- ☐ Buildings in Shahr-e kohna Kabul
- ☐ Mosque of Mazar-i Sharif
- ☐ Bala Hissar
- ☐ Others ____

Could you please explain what is so special about your choice?

_____
_____

A.3.) Do you consider Kabul as a central point of unity for Religion, Ethnicity, Tradition, Culture, Economy, Politics, etc.?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Please explain, if you consider another town as a central point of unity for Religion, Ethnicity, Tradition, Culture, Economy, Politics, etc.

_____
_____

329

B.4.) Could you explain the difference between Loya Jirga and parliament?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please explain.

_____

_____

B.5.) Do you think that the Loya Jirga is a trustworthy Afghan Institution?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If no, please explain why.

_____

_____

B.6.) In your opinion, what type of architecture should a new parliamentary building represent?

☐ traditional ☐ western ☐ islamic ☐ mixed of all

☐ Others

A.4.) In your Opinion what type of architecture should the new constructions follow?

☐ traditional ☐ western ☐ islamic ☐ mixed of all

☐ Others

B. Questions about Government and Institutions

B.1.) Do you consider the Government of Afghanistan as a central independent Institution?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why do you or why don't you consider the Government as a central independent Institution?

_____

_____

B.2.) What type of Government do you think would be the best for the future of Afghanistan?

☐ Democrat ☐ Monarchy ☐ Federal ☐ Dictator

☐ Islamic ☐ Other _____

B.3.) Do you think that the members of parliament are trustworthy representatives?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If no, please explain why.

_____

_____

D. General Information about your personality

Sex: ☐ male ☐ female

Age: ☐ 15-20 ☐ 21-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45
☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ > 66

Nationality: ☐ Afghan ☐ German ☐ British
☐ American ☐ French ☐ Italian
☐ Other _____

Domicile: ☐ inside Afghanistan ☐ Kabul ☐ Other _____
☐ outside Afghanistan Country _____

Profession: ☐ Student ☐ Scholar ☐ Teacher
☐ Govt. Employed ☐ NGO-Employed ☐ Worker
☐ Unemployed ☐ Jobber ☐ Self-Employed
☐ Others: _____

Mother tongue: ☐ Baloochi ☐ Pashtu ☐ Nooristani ☐ Dari
☐ Pashai ☐ Uzbek ☐ Other _____

C. Questions about national symbols, Education and Ethnicity

C.1.) What do you think should be the symbol in the afghan flag?

☐ Eagle ☐ Sword ☐ Lion
☐ Mehrab-o Minbar ☐ Other_____

What is the reason for choosing this symbol? Please explain it with one or two sentences:

_____
_____
_____

C.2.) Do you like to be called as :

☐ Balooch ☐ Pashtun ☐ Uzbek ☐ Tajik
☐ Hazara ☐ Aryan ☐ Nooristani ☐ Afghan
☐ Others_____

If you choose more than one, please mark your priority with numbers (1 for first choice, 2 for second etc.)

C.3.) Which language do you think should be the national language of Afghanistan?

☐ Nooristani ☐ Pashtu ☐ Uzbek ☐ Dari
☐ Baloochi ☐ all of them

If you choose more than one, please mark your priority with numbers (1 for first choice, 2 for second etc.)

C.4.) In your opinion up to which level a woman should study?

☐ Never ☐ up to 6th grade ☐ up to 12th grade
☐ up to University or Upper Level

Results Questionnaire

Demographic Data Participants

		Count
sex	male	185
	female	45
	Sum	**230**
age	15-20	47
	21-25	149
	26-30	19
	31-35	7
	36-40	4
	41-45	1
	46-50	1
	51-55	1
	56-60	0
	61-66	0
	>66	0
	Sum	**229**
nationality	afghan	231
	german	0
	british	0
	american	0
	french	0
	italian	0
	others	0
	swedish	0
	denmark	0
	holland	0
	canadian	0
	Sum	**231**
domicil	Inside Afghanistan	230
	Kabul	166
	Other	56
	Outside Afghanistan	2
	Sum	
profession	student	181
	scholar	33
	teacher	10
	goverment employed	6
	NGO employee	1
	worker	0
	unemployed	0
	Jobber	1
	self employed	0
	others	0
	Sum	**232**
mother tongue	baloochi	1
	pashtu	61
	nooristani	1
	dari / farsi	169
	pashai	3
	uzbek	0
	turkey	1
	others	1
	Sum	**237**

What type of Government do you think would be the best for the future of Afghanistan?

		Count
Democrat	Ranking: 1st place	41
	Ranking: 2nd place	17
	Ranking 3rd place	2
Monarchy	Ranking: 1st place	3
	Ranking: 2nd place	4
Federal	Ranking: 1st place	15
	Ranking: 2nd place	2
	Ranking 3rd place	2
Dictator	Ranking: 1st place	12
	Ranking: 2nd place	3
	Ranking 3rd place	1
Islamic	Ranking: 1st place	175
	Ranking: 2nd place	2
Other	Ranking: 1st place	25
	Ranking: 2nd place	1

Questions about Government & Institutions

		Count
Do you consider the Government of Afghanistan as a central independent Institution?	yes	57
	no	172
Do you think that the members of parliament are trustworthy representatives?	yes	70
	no	160
Could you explain the difference between loya jirga and parliament?	yes	148
	no	69
Do you think that the loya jirga is a trustworthy Afghan Institution?	yes	164
	no	69

ERKLÄRUNG

„Ich erkläre: Ich habe die vorgelegte Dissertation selbständig und ohne unerlaubte fremde Hilfe und nur mit den Hilfen angefertigt, die ich in der Dissertation angegeben habe. An Textstellen, die wörtlich oder sinngemäß aus veröffentlichen Schriften entnommen sind, und alle Angaben, die auf mündlichen Auskünften beruhen, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.Bei den von mir durchgeführten und in der Dissertation erwähnten Untersuchungen habe ich die Grundsätze guter wissenschaftlicher Praxis, wie sie in der „Satzung der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen zur Sicherung guter wissenschaftlicher Praxis" niedergelegt sind, eingehalten."