THE IMPACTS OF 9/11 TRAGEDY TO THE
POLITICAL STABILITY OF AFGHANISTAN (2001-2011)

By

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THESIS ADVISER
RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis entitled “The Impacts of 9/11 Tragedy to The Political Stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011)” prepared and submitted by Euis Permatasari in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor in the Faculty of Business and International Relations has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 25, 2013

Name and signature of Adviser

(Prof. Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Ph.D)
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis, entitled “The Impacts of 9/11 Tragedy to The Political Stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011)” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 25, 2013

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The Panel of Examiners declare that the thesis entitled “The Impacts of 9/11 Tragedy to the Political Stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011)” that was submitted by Euis Permatasari majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Business and International Relations was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on February 11th 2013

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ABSTRACT

Everybody in this world wants a peaceful life, without conflicts, problems and violence. But it seems impossible with so many people living together by having different nature and character. There must be always problems, misunderstand and also threat from criminality done by human. One of security problems is terrorism, a threat of violence in order to intimidate the opponents/others. Terrorism became a hot issues in International Relations after the 9/11 tragedy when 4 airplane hijacked with two passenger planes crashed to the World Trade Centre in New York City, the third into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and the fourth jet plunged into the ground in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. This 9/11 tragedy killed almost 3000 people and 2000 people injured.

As the result of this tragedy, United States then declared “War against Terrorism” to destroy the existence of terrorism in all over the world. Not so long after that, US pointed Al Qaeda as a group who responsible to the tragedy where Al Qaeda’s haven for that time is in Afghanistan with the help of Taliban (regime that controlled Afghanistan), that is why on October 7, 2001 United States and NATO launched attacks to Afghanistan with the goal to destroy Al Qaeda. In fact, United States was not only attacked but also took control over Afghanistan. Some regions are still under Taliban but the others already controlled by the U.S. this invasion distinctly changed many aspects of Afghanistan which since 1996 controlled by Taliban with strict law and regulations. One of the aspects is politic, especially from the governance.

One of many things U.S did to Afghanistan was make Afghanistan become a democratic country by form The National Assembly of Afghanistan and also hold the election. But then, this is not as easy as United States imagined, because adapting to a new system and environment is hard that is why there are so many problems Afghanistan faced due to become a democratic country. By find out what did Afghan and U.S done with the political changes, the impacts of 9/11 tragedy (U.S invasion) to Political aspect of Afghanistan can be seen whether it is stable or unstable.
ABSTRAK


Atas tragedi ini, Amerika kemudian mendeklarasikan “Perang Melawan Terorisme” untuk memusnahkan teroris-teroris yang ada di dunia. Tidak lama setelah kejadian teror 11 September, Amerika menunjuk Al Qaeda sebagai grup yang bertanggung jawab dimana Al Qaeda selama ini berpusat dan berlindung di Afghanistan dengan bantuan Taliban (rezim yang menguasai Afghanistan), maka dari itu pada tanggal 7 Oktober 2001 Amerika dan NATO melancarkan serangan ke Afghanistan dengan tujuan dapat menghancurkan Al Qaeda.


Satu dari sekian banyak hal yang Amerika lakukan untuk Afghanistan adalah membuat Afghanistan menjadi negara demokrasi dengan membentuk Dewan Nasional dan juga mengadakan pemilihan umum. Tetapi ternyata hal ini tidak semudah yang Amerika bayangkan karena untuk beradaptasi pada sistem dan lingkungan baru sangatlah susah, itulah mengapa masih banyak masalah-masalah yang harus Afghanistan hadapi demi menjadi negara demokrasi. Dengan mencari tahu hal-hal apa saja yang Amerika dan Afghanistan lakukan dalam perubahan sistem-sistem politik, dampak dari tragedy 11 September (Invasi Amerika) dapat diketahui dengan jelas stabil atau tidaknya politik di Afghanistan.
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Cikarang, 24 January 2013

Euis Permatasari
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Everyone wants a peaceful and safe place to stay; nobody wants to live in a war and chaos place. Terrorism is one of the biggest security problems that haunted the people. It kills many people, destroys many buildings and also ruins the system and situation inside the country. Terrorism and its implications on contemporary society has been one of the most pressing issues in international relations over the past decade especially after the terror tragedy, the 9/11 case.

11 September 2001 was the most unforgettable day for people in the world, especially American. On the morning of September 11, 2001, two passenger planes crashed into the north and south towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City and the third into the Pentagon on the outskirts of Washington, D.C. A fourth jet, also headed for Washington, D.C (the White House or the U.S Capitol), plunged into the ground in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after a struggle between the plane’s hijackers and passengers. Almost 3000 people were killed in the terrorist attacks, including approximately 400 emergency personnel who perished along with others when the two World Trade Centre towers collapsed within forty minutes for each other; more than 2000 people were injured. An estimated $16 billion in physical assets were destroyed, and rescue and cleanup
cost more than $11 billion. It was the most destructive attack in the history of modern terrorism.¹

Not for nearly 200 years have Americans suffered anything at all comparable: when the British torched the White House in 1814. Since then, most Americans have believed they live in a country invulnerable to external attack. Post September 11, that feeling of security has evaporated². The terror made the increasing of insecure feeling of the people, it was shocking and unbelievable.

According to the U.S source, the 9/11 attacks were carried out by 19 fanatical Muslims acting on the orders of Osama bin Laden, the founder and leader of al-Qaeda, who was being given sanctuary by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and the invasion became necessary when they stubbornly refused to turn him over to U.S. authorities³. Not so long after the 9/11 tragedy, United States which under George W. Bush declared to have a “War against Terrorism” to all of countries in all over the world. Afghanistan became the first targeted country to invade due to destroy the Al Qaeda and capture the leader, Osama bin Laden.⁴

⁴Ibid
Based on Paul Rogers, there are three elements which offer some explanation of the hard reaction of United States to response the 9/11 tragedy to al Qaeda and also Afghanistan, as the base country⁵:

1. The 9/11 attacks were deeply shocking to the USA in that a small group armed only with parcel knives could use civil aircraft as flying bombs to destroy a world-class financial centre and attack the headquarters of the US military. Moreover, the attacks came as a complete surprise to most people and their effects were witnessed live on television.

2. Bush administration in mid-2001 was beginning to pursue its vision of a New American Century with some success. Unilateral stances on certain key issues were being developed and there seemed every prospect that the international community would come to accept American leadership as being essential for international security – a ‘benign imperium’ was said to be no bad thing (Krauthammer 2001).

3. The almost inevitable focus on state-centred security, given the status of the USA as the world’s sole military superpower, was that it was essential to regain control by destroying a dangerous sub-state movement and any state sponsors, not least because the al Qaeda movement and its presumed sponsors were based in the Middle East and South West Asia. This was a region of long-term security interest to the USA due to the critical

importance of its energy resources and the close American ties to the state of Israel.⁶

The War against Terrorism proved by the United States on October 7, 2001, American and British forces invaded Afghanistan with the goal of dismantling the al Qaeda terrorist network responsible for the attacks and destroying their safe haven in the Taliban-controlled country⁷. The invasion of the alliances ruined the economy, politic, social and security of Afghanistan; the people were suffered from the war and hunger.

Before the 9/11 tragedy, Afghanistan was controlled by Taliban, a fundamentalist Sunni Muslims, mostly from Afghanistan’s Pashtun tribes. It dominated large swaths of Afghanistan and a large part of Pakistan’s Administered Tribal Areas. The Taliban seek to establish a puritanical caliphate that neither recognizes nor tolerates forms of Islam divergent from their own. They scorn democracy or any secular or pluralistic political process as an offense against Islam⁸.

Not so long after the invasion of United States, there were no groups or government that rules over the entire country. The majority of Afghanistan, including its major cities (Kabul, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat) is under

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Taliban rule, whose leader goes by the name of Mullah Omar. The rest of the country is under the control of the United front, headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani. Afghanistan who was years controlled under strong Islamic governance given new point of view from United States which really different with the Islam system from Taliban that they applied for years.

1.2 Problem Identification

The anger of the United States and its alliances affected to Afghanistan as the base country for al Qaeda. In order to destroy al Qaeda and search for Osama bin Laden (the leader), they declared war and invaded Afghanistan. One month after the 9/11, Afghanistan was attacked by the alliances. The war that actually happened between United States with al Qaeda made Afghanistan people became the victims. A war, whether big or small, will always impact the situation of the country such as political stability, security, education and economy.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

**Topic**: This research is about the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011) as the base of Al Qaeda, a terrorist group who responsible with the tragedy.

**Questions**: What are the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan as the base of al Qaeda (2001-2011)?

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I.4 Research Objective

According to the statement of the problem above, this is the main objective of the research:

- Specifically, this research specifically aims to find out what are the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan as al Qaeda base from 2001 to 2011.

I.5 Significance of Study

This research has two key areas or points of study that hopefully can give contribution to society and also to the academic community. The key areas of study will also help the writer to explain more clearly to the reader. The first key is the impacts of war between Afghanistan and United States of America affected in the political stability of Afghanistan. Due to destroy the al Qaeda and find the leader, Osama bin laden, the United States attacked Afghanistan and it definitely ruin the situation and stability inside the Afghanistan. Many people died, many buildings destroyed by the bombing, many children lost their parents and etc. This research will be specifically finding out about the impacts of the invasion of United States to the political stability.

The second area is to find out some actions that United States and other countries do in order to help Afghanistan for repair the chaos situation due to the war.
From that picture above, it can be seen a brief explanation about this whole research. The 9/11 tragedy is the started point of this research. It was one of the biggest terror actions that done by al Qaeda, a terrorist group, which impacted to Afghanistan, its home base that invaded by United States. The 9/11 tragedy impacted some aspects of Afghanistan such as economy, political and security. This research is specifically focused only on the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan because of the invasion from United States brought new political system that Afghanistan never had before which is democracy so that it increased the writer’s curiosity to know deeper about the impacts to political stability of Afghanistan.
The terror action did by al Qaeda (9/11) to United States impacts to the stability condition in Afghanistan as the home base of them which is the invasion from United States to the Afghanistan. There are several aspects that influenced by the invasion such as economy, politic, social and security aspects. This research aims to specifically find out the impacts of the 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan. All of the problems will be explain by some Theoretical Framework and data of the case.

The 9/11 tragedy becomes one of the biggest security problems in the world. As the response for this terror, United States of America decided to have program called “War against Terrorism” in order to destroy terrorist and terrorism action in all over the world. The first country who targeted was Afghanistan, because Afghanistan is the place where al Qaeda, an organization which led by Osama bin Laden planned the terror action a terrorist. The invasions of US to Afghanistan give such big impacts to the Afghanistan itself. Even though the target is members of al Qaeda, but the war between US and Afghanistan killed many children and innocent people who lived in Afghanistan. The situation inside the country is really chaos. The invasion also influenced the political, economy and social aspect of the Afghanistan. This research is specifically focus on the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the political stability of Afghanistan.¹⁰

From the statement and explanation about the tragedy, this research frames the link between all the problems from the terror action by al Qaeda to the

Afghanistan as the base of them is security-terrorism-war-political stability with
the links within the international relations.

International Relations are relations between countries in the world. It
builds based on the needs of the country itself. There are some aspects that
usually includes in International Relations, those are politic, economy, security,
social and culture. The topic of this research is related to the security and political
problems.

Security is a complex and contested notion - heavily laden with emotion
and deeply held values. Most people would agree that a security problem arises
when someone - a person, gang or group, or state – threatens another’s life, limb,
or livelihood\(^\text{11}\). Images of security are very real, urgent and threatening; for some
even more so than notions of security associated with violence and coercive
threats\(^\text{12}\).

Security is important in International Relations because it can impact the
other aspects of the country. For instance effect to economy side, If a country has
no secure situation (such as war, many demonstration, and high criminals) then it
will have low investment from other countries, the economy transaction will also
low because to run a business because a safe and stable place will more effective
in doing activities especially business.

Press. P. 1

\(^{12}\)Images of security are very real, urgent and threatening; for some even more so than notions of
security associated with violence and coercive threats stated by Croft and Terriff (2000). Retrieved
University Press. P. 1
One of security problems in the world is terrorism. The 9/11 tragedy is such a huge threaten for the people, not only the Americans but also people in all over the world and it was awakening the world that terrorism is getting bigger and danger.

“Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby the direct targets of attacks are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat-and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought”. (Schmid 1988) 13

From the above statement, conclude that terrorism using violence in the action and always have goals to achieve. The target of terrorism chosen randomly and also can be chosen selectively, so that sometimes the direct target of attacks is not the main target.

A terrorist attack can be intended to kill or injure people, to disrupt the peaceful of the society or to threaten the governments, someone or some groups in order to attain their goals. 14 Terrorism will always make a negative impact to the victims whether the people or the country itself.

According to David J. Whittaker(2004):

“Traditionally, terrorism has been perceived as a two-way contest between a band of violent activists and a sovereign state. The contemporary world throws a spotlight on certain states which are keen to use terrorist organizations to promote their interests internationally. President George Bush has referred to these states as ‘rogue states’ orchestrating terrorism as an ‘axis of evil’ and he has named them as Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Sudan and North Korea. Intelligence sources in the United States use a two-fold classification:

- States which carry out terrorist acts beyond their own borders to advance political objectives. Civilians and civilian facilities are routinely attacked.
- States which assist terrorist organizations with political and ideological support, funding and various forms of material assistance.”

War will always give bad impacts to the victim, in this case, Afghanistan who lost almost all of what they have (many people killed, many buildings destroyed, chaos, the unstable governance and economy aspect and also the lack of security for inside the country). This research will focus on the impacts of the invasion of America after the 9/11 to the political stability of Afghanistan where the situation inside the country is really chaos and it is already much influenced by the United States and its allies.

Politic derives from the Greek: politicos ‘of, or pertaining to, the polis’. (The Greek term polis will be translated as ‘city-state’ Politic based on Heywood's definition: Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which

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people make, preserve, and amend the general rules under which they live. From those 2 statements it can be concluded that Politic is something related with state, people, law and government. Politic is a tool for people to conduct the country. Law, rules, governance are some aspects that related to politic.

Political stability is a situation where the people and the government have a harmonious. It is when the rule of law, strong institutions rather than powerful individuals, a responsive and efficient bureaucracy, low corruption and a business climate that is conducive to investment.

Before the invasion of United States, Afghanistan was always under Taliban’s control. For years, their politic was always stable, without intervention from others, so when the United States also take control of the Afghanistan’s political system (by implement Democracy) the Afghanistan’s political situation became unstable. The unstable political situation affected to the governance of Afghanistan where the political system, the government, the leader and the situation inside Afghanistan changed.

I.7 Scope and Limitation of Study

The scope and limitation of this research is situation in Afghanistan especially in the political stability 10 years after the 9/11 tragedy. The time framework will be 2001 (the beginning of the invasion of United States) until

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2011 because it is the year of the death of Osama bin Laden, the leader of al Qaeda and the most wanted people who responsible in the terror action.

I.8 Structure of the Research

This research consists of 5 chapter with the outline can be seen in the diagram below. It starts with the introduction then supported by the explanation of Terrorism and al Qaeda followed by the current situation of Afghanistan before the invasion (under Taliban) and after the invasion, the fourth chapter will be an analysis of the impacts of the invasion to the social, political and economy aspect of Afghanistan, especially to the political stability and the last is conclusion.

![Diagram]

2.1 Terrorism
   2.1.1 Definition of Terrorism
   2.1.2 Factors or Motives of Terrorism

2.2 The History of al Qaeda
   2.2.1 al Qaeda and Taliban
   2.2.2 al Qaeda and the 9/11 Tragedy

2.3 The terrorism activities of Al Qaeda

Afghanistan: Before and After the Invasion
3.1 A Brief History of Afghanistan
3.2 The Situation of Afghanistan under Taliban Regime (Before the 9/11 Tragedy)
3.3 The Situation of Afghanistan under the Invasion of United States (after the 9/11 Tragedy)

The Impacts of 9/11 Tragedy to the Political Stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011)

4.1 The Impacts to the Afghanistan Governance
   4.1.1 President Election
   4.1.2 The Existence of National Assembly (Parliament): Formation, Powers and Assertion of Powers
   4.1.3 Provincial and Local Administration
   4.1.4 Judicial Branch
   4.1.5 Rivalries Within and Outside Governing Institution
   4.1.6 Corruption and Collusion

Conclusion

Chapter I: Introduction

In this chapter, the research will provide the reader brief background of the 9/11 case, why and how 9/11 made the United States of America doing the invasion of Afghanistan and also the current situation in Afghanistan 10 years after the invasion of United States. It supported by research question, research objectives, scope and limitation of the research and the last, structure of the research to easier the reader to know the outline of the whole research.
Chapter II: Terrorism and al Qaeda

This chapter will provide the reader the deeper explanation about terrorism; the definition of terrorism, the factors or motives of terrorism and also the link with the existence of al Qaeda. This chapter will also give information about the al Qaeda to the reader. First is about the history of al Qaeda, second is the relation between al Qaeda and Taliban, third is its relation with 9/11 tragedy and the last is the terrorism actions did by al Qaeda.

Chapter III: Afghanistan: Before and After 9/11 Tragedy

This part analyze the situation within Afghanistan before and after the 9/11 tragedy. First, there will be a brief history of Afghanistan then followed by the situation before and after the 9/11 tragedy. Before the tragedy, Afghanistan was under the controlled of Taliban and after the tragedy, United States and alliances took part in the country. This Chapter will give data and some explanation the situation of Afghanistan under Taliban regime and under the invasion of United States. From this chapter the reader can see which is the better, under the Taliban Regime or under the invasion of United States and alliances?

Chapter IV: The Impacts of 9/11 Tragedy to the Political Stability of Afghanistan (2001-2011)

This is the chapter where the question research will be answered. This chapter will provide the reader the data of the impacts of 9/11 tragedy to the
political aspect of Afghanistan, especially the impacts to the Afghanistan governance. Started from the election held in 2004 and 2009, the rivalries within and outside the governance until the issue of corruption and collusion in Afghanistan.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This is the last chapter of this research; it consists of the conclusion of this wholeresearch that hopefully can give information and understanding of the topic to the reader.
CHAPTER II

TERRORISM AND AL QAEDA

2.1 Terrorism

Terrorism nowadays becomes a hot issue in international relations apparently after the 9/11 tragedy that shocking all people in the world. 9/11 tragedy showed the world that even a super power country can be beaten by a small group from small country which no one ever expected. 9/11 tragedy was a huge threaten for the people as it awakened the world that terrorism is getting bigger and danger

Terrorism derives from terror. Based on Random House Webster’s College Dictionary, terror means “violence or threats of violence used as a means of intimidation or coercion”\(^{19}\). From the government aspect, terror is something related with fear and intimidates people with violence in order to achieve the goals. Terrorism uses violent to gain attention from the people. The more victims they made, the more they will recognized. They force people through fear they made.

2.1.1 Definition of Terrorism

There are so many definitions of terrorism based on some thinkers or organization. These are some of the definitions of terrorism based on US Government and Schmid.

\(^{19}\)Definition of Terror. Retrieved on November 4, 2012. From http://www.definitions.net/definition/terror
The definition of terrorism by the US government:

_Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience._ (US Department of State 2001: 13).

The definition of terrorism by Alex Schmid:

“Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby the direct targets of attacks are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought”. (Schmid 1988)

From both definitions above, there are some similarities between definition of terrorism by US government and Schmid:

1. Both the US government and Schmid stated that terrorism somehow based on political motive
2. Terrorism has target and goals
3. Terrorism use violent in doing their action
4. The actors of terrorism could be sub national groups/state actors and clandestine groups.
5. Terrorism use violent as a tool to achieve their goal by intimidates and influences the audience/victims.

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A terrorist attack can be intended to kill or injure people, to disrupt the peaceful of the society or to threaten the governments, someone or some groups in order to attain their goals. Terrorism will always make a negative impact to the victims whether the people or the country itself.22

According to David J. Whittaker (2004):

“Traditionally, terrorism has been perceived as a two-way contest between a band of violent activists and a sovereign state. The contemporary world throws a spotlight on certain states which are keen to use terrorist organizations to promote their interests internationally. President George Bush has referred to these states as ‘rogue states’ orchestrating terrorism as an ‘axis of evil’ and he has named them as Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Sudan and North Korea. Intelligence sources in the United States use a two-fold classification:

- States which carry out terrorist acts beyond their own borders to advance political objectives. Civilians and civilian facilities are routinely attacked.
- States which assist terrorist organizations with political and ideological support, funding and various forms of material assistance.”23

2.1.2 Elements of Terrorism

There are some elements in terrorism which can be recognized to easier people to understand more about terrorism. The elements are the actors of terrorism, the motives of terrorism, types of terrorism and trends in terrorism. This section will tell the readers the elements of terrorism one by one.

2.1.2.1 Actors of Terrorism

Terrorist actors do not mean only the groups or people who do the terror but it also includes the people who influenced or influence the action. According to Audrey Kurth Cronin, terrorist campaigns involve three strategic actors- the group, the government and the audience. The group uses terrorism to achieve an objective, the government representing the direct target of their attack and the audiences who are influenced by the violence.24

The terrorist groups are the subjects in every terror action and the direct object of their action is usually the government while the audience or the common people are the indirect target which also affected the impacts of the action (become the victim). For instance, the 9/11 tragedy did by al Qaeda which actually aimed to threatened the government of United States of America but many innocent and common people became the victims (died, injured, lost families) because of the “flying bombs” they did.25

Still based on the book wrote by Audrey Kurth Cronin, those three strategic actors arrayed in a kind of terrorist “triad”. The three broad factors are not arranged in a neat equilateral triangle, but have different effects as circumstances vary, and thus play different parts in the termination of a terrorist

25 Ibid
campaign. With this “triad” in mind, there are 6 patterns in the decline and ending of campaigns emerge from the history of terrorism\textsuperscript{26}:

1. Capture or killing the group’s leader
2. Entry of the group into a legitimate political process
3. Achievement of the group’s aims
4. Implosion or loss of the group’s public support
5. Defeat and elimination by brute force
6. Transition from terrorism into other forms of violence

The terrorist groups carrying out the new terrorism are said to operate transnational. They are not bound by national ties or sentiments but are loosely organized in the form of networks and with their own channels of finance.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{2.1.2.2 Motives of Terrorism}

Terrorism absolutely happens for any reasons, some groups even individual terrorist always have reason and motives behind their action. There are varies of motives of terrorism that ever happened in the world, some of the several motives of terrorism are political, economy and social motives.


• Political motive

When the people in one country do not feel satisfied of the governance, law and system, they usually use violence to force the changing of the country. Because sometimes the voice of common people rarely heard by “the upper classes” but, as Martha Crenshaw mentioned in her book: The Causes of Terrorism: Comparative Politics, discontent is not generalized or severe enough to provoke the majority of the populace to action against the regime, yet a small minority, without access to the bases of power that would permit overthrow of the government through coup d’état or subversion, seeks radical change. Martha Crenshaw gave some example of the terror action based on political motives, one of them is the French government’s persecution of anarchists was a factor in subsequent anarchist terrorism in the 1890s. 28

• Economy motive

Based on Paul Rogers, there are some of terrorist groups which not only motivated by a political aspect but also economy. Terrorist groups tend to be relatively conservative in their tactics, staying with particular methods that have been tried and tested but on occasions, changes in strategy and tactics can be significant in the effectiveness of an organization. 29


One of the developments of the two decades after 1990 was a tendency for a number of paramilitary groups to engage in the targeting of the economy of a target state. This change of tactics (economic targeting) was influential in encouraging the Labor government from 1997 to devote considerable effort to resolving the conflict. \(^{30}\)

Economic targeting was developed, in particular, by the Provisional IRA in Britain between 1992 and 1997 at a time when there was a stalemate in the long-lasting violence in Northern Island. The campaign was not designed to cause mass casualties but rather to attack the financial centre of the UK, the City of London, which was then competing with Frankfurt to be the financial hub of Europe. Two large truck bombs were used to cause substantial damage in the heart of the city in 1992 and 1993 and another targeting a major road interchange. At least three other bombs were intercepted but the impact of the bombing was such that rigorous countermeasures were put in place in the City while the British government looked more favorably on the possibility of negotiations. \(^{31}\)

- Social Motive

Most likely, terrorism comes from the unsatisfied people with the government, system and injustice of the country. Political and economical motives are somehow will direct to their actual goal which is social

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\(^{31}\)Ibid
motive. Some people movement or terrorist groups wanted justice and better life for all the people, not only for those who rich or have a position. 32

People live in a place needed justice in law, justice in receiving job and salary, justice in education, health and most of all to have a peace in their life. Government should efforts to get people’s wealth and prosperity by providing a safe place for people to stay, a stable economic growth, assertive law and good governance. The example of this motive is what was happened in long-running Northern Ireland conflict in 1960s-1990s, based on Terrorism and U.S Foreign Policy, a book by Paul Rogers. 33

Intensive policing and intelligence-gathering, in Northern Ireland and also British, were accompanied by new legal regulations, including courts that sat without juries and, for one period, internment without trial. These methods were paralleled by an intensive counter-insurgency posture by the British Army and local Northern Ireland forces, mainly in Northern Ireland itself but sometimes in cooperation with the Republic of Ireland. Even as these methods were being used, not always with success, there was recognition that much of the support for the republican movement came from within the Catholic nationalist minority community in Northern Ireland, largely because it had been in an inferior socio-economic position and had little political power for generations. Indeed,

33 Ibid
the origins of violence in the 1960s came largely from a robust response from the Protestant unionist government to a civil rights movement from within the nationalist community that was partly modeled on the US civil rights movement.34

Because of this underlying support for the republican paramilitaries, the British authorities worked towards the greater emancipation of the nationalist community, not least through a number of economic and social measures. This was difficult process considering the suspicions of the unionist majority, itself vulnerable through seeing itself as a minority in the island of Ireland as a whole, even if it was the controlling majority in Northern Ireland. Nevertheless, the position of the nationalist community did improve over more than two decades and was one of the main reasons why a peace process became possible in the mid-1990s, even if particular tactics from the Provisional IRA directed at the economic targeting in Britain almost certainly increased the British government’s commitment to a peace process.35

2.1.2.3 Types of Terrorism

There are several types of terrorism that can be recognized by people, below are some of the types of terrorism based on Encyclopedia Britannica Online:

1. **Revolutionary Terrorism**

Revolutionary terrorism is arguably the most common form. Practitioners of this type of terrorism seek the complete abolition of a political system and its replacement with new structures. Modern instances of such activity include campaigns by the Italian Red Brigades, the German Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof Gang), the Basque separatist group ETA, and the Peruvian Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), each of which attempted to topple a national regime. \[36\]

2. **Subrevolutionary terrorism**

Subrevolutionary terrorism is rather less common. It is used not to overthrow an existing regime but to modify the existing sociopolitical structure. Since this modification is often accomplished through the threat of deposing the existing regime, subrevolutionary groups are

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somewhat more difficult to identify. An example can be seen in the ANC and its campaign to end apartheid in South Africa.\textsuperscript{37}

3. Establishment terrorism

Establishment terrorism often called state or state-sponsored terrorism, is employed by governments—or more often by factions within governments—against that government’s citizens, against factions within the government, or against foreign governments or groups. This type of terrorism is very common but difficult to identify, mainly because the state’s support is always clandestine. Example: The Soviet Union and its allies allegedly engaged in widespread support of international terrorism during the Cold War.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{2.1.2.4 Trends in Terrorism}

In his book, Terrorism and U.S Foreign Policy, Paul Rogers thought of some trends of terrorism which came out after the year of 1990 because in the years after 1990 there were a number of developments in terrorism and political violence that are likely to be significant in the longer term.

Here are the trends of terrorism according to Paul Rogers:

- **Terrorism and Insurgency**

  The practice of employing regime termination as a major response to terrorism has produced a complex reaction that effectively mixes


\textsuperscript{38}Ibid
terrorism with insurgency. This has evolved in Afghanistan and Iraq into a form of warfare that may be concentrated in the two countries concerned but has a much wider impact, particularly in terms of increased support for the al Qaeda movement and its associates.39

- Internationalism

Although there has long been an element of transnational capabilities in paramilitary movements, this has evolved rapidly in recent years. In the first six years of the War on Terror, for example, that al Qaeda movement and its loose affiliates were able to carry out attack in Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Morocco, Pakistan. Saudi Arabia, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom and Yemen, quite apart from Iraq and Afghanistan, with attacks prevented in a number of other countries including France, Italy, Singapore and the USA.40

- Suicide Terrorism

As with internationalism, suicide attacks as a facet of terrorism are not new, but the intensity of the attacks in many countries, and the willingness of so many people to engage in martyrdom, is novel. Suicide attacks are intrinsically more difficult to counter as an aspect of any form of political violence. Moreover, while most of the relatively rare incidents of suicide attack until 2001 were by people with deep political or ethnic motives, such as the LTTE in Sri Lanka, the current trend is for


40 Ibid
suicide attacks to draw on religious motivation, especially within Islam, and for there to be a substantial increase in the numbers of motivated individual.  

- Speed of Learning

Most paramilitary groups in the past have been relatively conservative in their operations, tending to stay with methods they have developed and have become experienced in using. The intense environments of the insurgencies in Afghanistan and especially Iraq have forced paramilitary groups to learn fast in order to survive and thrive. There is abundant evidence that these learning environments have combined with the internationalization of terrorism to allow the far more rapid spread of tactics than in the past- advanced fusing for improvised explosive devices and the production of explosively formed anti-armor projectiles being just two examples.

- Media Development

Regional satellite TV news channel, the use of internet, VCRs, DVDs and mobile phones have all increased the ability of paramilitary groups to promote their causes.

- Economic Targeting

The development of sophisticated economic targeting strategies by groups such as the Provisional IRA and insurgents in Iraq has provided a

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42 Ibid
43 Ibid
new avenue of influence and effect. Given the numerous nodes of power and economic activity in urban/industrialized societies, it is probably that this development is still in its early stages. \textsuperscript{44}

- Mass Casualty Attacks and Weapons of Mass Destruction

Although there has been no single instance of the large-scale use of nuclear, chemical, biological or radiological weapons, the increased use of mass casualty attacks has raised fears that weapons of mass destruction will ultimately be used by some terrorist organizations. While there is clearly a risk, it remains the case that conventional forms of destruction can readily lead to casualties on a very substantial scale, as in the 9/11 attacks. \textsuperscript{45}:

Years after 1990, there are some changes in some of terrorist groups for their actions, missions and weapons. Because of the technology that more sophisticated, the actions of terrorist groups influenced by media, especially TV, internet and mobile phones. They can easily spread their networking through internet to all over the world. The existence of so many television’s channels easier them to tell people not only in their region but also the whole world about their action, to decrease the security feeling of the people by showing and forcing the threatened actions they did. \textsuperscript{46}

Terrorists learned faster than before. For example, the intense environments of the insurgencies in Afghanistan and especially Iraq have forced


\textsuperscript{45}Ibid

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid
paramilitary groups to learn fast in order to survive and thrive. They become braver in doing their actions; one of the extreme changes of their action is the suicide terrorism. There are so many terrorist action happened by sacrifice themselves. For instance, they put the bombs on their body and blow the bombs away in some public places to kill people. The weapons they used also increased and greater than before, the weapons usually used to attack mass casualty in order to produce mass destruction. ⁴⁷

2.2 Al Qaeda: History, Structure, Networks, Funding and Activities.

Al Qaeda were claimed as the one who responsible in the 9/11 tragedy. After the 9/11 tragedy that killed almost 3000 people, al Qaeda became a very famous terrorist group in the world. The hijacking action to the WTC and Pentagon were really brave, because they against the superpower country, America. This section will find out who al Qaeda is and what have they did so far.

Terrorism can be considered to be a rational political choice. As terrorist groups have an inherent consistent set of values, beliefs, and images of the external environment, they can be considered to be rational political actors. And as such, a rational group with a consistent set of values, a set of goals and ideals,

and a set of means to those goals can be considered a collective coherent set, or an organization.\textsuperscript{48}

Further, terrorist organizations are very similar to other organizations. This is because:

1. Terrorist groups have a defined structure and have processes to make collective decisions.
2. Functionally differentiated roles exist for members of the organization.
3. There are recognized leaders in positions of formal authority.
4. The organization has collective goals, which are pursued as a unit, with collective responsibility claimed for its actions.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{2.2.1 The History of Al Qaeda}

According to Paul Rogers, terrorism may be loosely divided into two orientations, first is terrorism that seeks fundamental change in a state/society. Such as terrorism that seeks particular change for an identifiable community. This rarely has international ambitions but may link up with similar groups everywhere. It is frequently separatist in nature but may have elements of revolutionary politics embedded in its thought. ETA in Spain and LTTE Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka are examples. Second is the revolutionary terrorism might be based on a political ideology of a radical persuasion that may be either left- or

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid
right-wing in nature or it might be based on religious commitment, for example: al Qaeda.  

Al Qaeda (The Base) formed in August 11, 1988 at a meeting attended by Bin Laden, Zawahiri and Dr Fadl in Peshawar, Pakistan. It is formed primarily of mujahedeen, meaning holy warriors. Its origin was being traceable to the Soviet War in Afghanistan (December 1979-February 1989). It operates as a network comprising both a multinational, stateless army and a radical Sunni Muslim movement calling for global Jihad and a strict interpretation of sharia law.

The true roots of Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network stem from the decade-long conflict that plagued Afghanistan from 1979-1989. After Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet Union, the Afghan Islamist extremists found a rallying call for their cause, as young Muslims from around the world came to Afghanistan to volunteer in what was being called a "holy war," or jihad, against the invading Soviets. One of these young Muslims was a 23 year old from Saudi Arabia named Usama bin Laden, son of a wealthy construction magnate.

Bin Ladin had taken to the religious sermons of Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian and disciple of Sayyid Qutb. While bin Laden participated in few

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actual battles in Afghanistan, bin Laden became known for his generous funding of the jihad against the Soviets 54.

However, bin Laden's ambitions extended beyond the boarders of Afghanistan, and he began to develop a complex international organization. He set up a financial support network known as the "Golden Chain," comprised mainly of financiers from Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf states. Using this immense new fund, bin Laden and Azzam created a "Bureau of Services," which helped channel recruits for the jihad into Afghanistan. With Saudi Arabia and the United States pouring in billions of dollars worth of secret assistance to rebels in Afghanistan, the jihad against the Soviets was constantly gaining momentum 55.

Al Qaeda is a rational movement involving an unusual combination of revolutionary political fervor rooted in a fundamentalist orientation of a major religion-Islam-rather than in a political ideology or nationalism 56. During 1990s, the movement developed a more comprehensive strategy, rooted largely in Qtub’s ideas of a revival of “true” Islam following its corruption by western culture. According to Paul Rogers, by the end of twentieth century, al Qaeda had developed a number of short-term aims together with an overarching long-term vision 57.

55 Ibid
57 Ibid
• **The six short-term aims of al Qaeda:**

1. The eviction of US military forces from Saudi Arabia, an aim that the movement claimed to have achieved by 2005 when the last of the major US bases in the Kingdom was evacuated due to concern of the Saudi authorities over the US presence.

2. The eviction of foreign forces from the Islamic world.

3. The replacement of the House of Saud by a ‘genuine’ Islamist regime, the Saudi royal family being seen as corrupt, elitist and excessively linked to the USA.

4. The replacement of other corrupt, elitist and pro-Western regimes across the region, with an initial focus on Egypt and Pakistan but extending later to Iraq and Afghanistan.

5. Deep antagonism to the Zionist state of Israel and support for the Palestinian cause.

6. There is support for other Islamist movements such as the Chechen rebels and the Southern Thailand separatists.

• **The long-term vision of al Qaeda** is to establishing Islamist governance through a Caliphate.

As they applied the strict Islamic law they wanted to make the country’s system as Islam-based system and they thought to achieve it through

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Caliphate, a person who has a deep Islamic knowledge so they wanted to be the Caliphate to change the world based on Islamic law and regulations.

2.2.2 The Structures of al Qaeda

There has been much debate about the “Al Qaeda organization’s structure or lack of, an aspect that affects how governments perceive the threat and respond to it. This is especially so after the organization suffered losses to its physical structure, including training camps and leadership, and was hence forced to relocate from a relatively stable environment in Afghanistan to a rather fluid existence in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan that makes so many people debate whether al Qaeda had weak organization structure or it has declined as an organization that hence its operational efficiency has reduced and that the organization is no longer capable of carrying out spectacular attacks. This had led to the argument that the terrorist threat has now moved to the other entities of the “Global Jihad movement”—local Islamic groups, lone individuals, or small cells that, although inspired by Al Qaeda, nevertheless evolve and work independently.60

Rohan Gunaratna & Aviv Oreg argued in their book titled Studies in Conflict and Terrorism: Al Qaeda's Organizational Structure and its Evolution that Al Qaeda, first and foremost, exists as a formal organization with a solid structure even if it is not based in a fixed or identifiable territory. It is this

infrastructure that has provided Al Qaeda with the ability to survive the difficulties it is facing since the declaration of the Global War on Terrorism that followed the September 11, 2001 attacks. “The Al Qaeda organization’s” ability to regroup and “replenish” the loss of its physical infrastructure and its leadership is what is allowing it to survive and maintain the resilience of the ideology that the group continues to recreate and disseminate. Although in recent years, Al Qaeda has adopted more ideological and inspirational characteristics, it still exists as a group, and possesses, first and foremost, operational characteristics of a guerilla and terrorist organization.  

The first thing that an organization need is a leader, who can control and conduct the organization and the members to be united. To keep the group healthy and to fulfill those needs, the organization’s leadership is crucial. Thus, the leadership plays an indispensable role when it comes to maintaining organizational integrity, which is necessary to both attain organizational goals as well as offer fulfillment to its members.  

In al Qaeda, there is Shura/Advisory Council which they direct the overall strategy of the organization had Osama bin Laden as their leader. Osama bin Laden did many things to al Qaeda from the beginning until he died. Osama bin Laden also took many responsibilities and


62 Ibid
ideas of so many terror actions did by al Qaeda. Below is the structure organization of Al Qaeda:\textsuperscript{63} 

\begin{itemize}
  \item Shura/Advisory Council - Usama bin Laden's inner circle; they direct the overall strategy of the organization.
  \item Sharia/Political Committee - Responsible for issuing fatwas.
  \item Military Committee - Responsible for conceiving and planning operations, as well as managing training camps.
  \item Finance Committee - Responsible for fund-raising, and the concealment of assets.
  \item Foreign Purchases Committee - Responsible for the acquisition of foreign arm and supplies.
  \item Security Committee - Physical protection, intelligence, and counter-intelligence.
  \item Information Committee - In charge of propaganda.\textsuperscript{64}
\end{itemize}

This organizational structure should not be read as defining a hierarchical chain of command for specific terrorist operations. It served as a means for coordinating functions and providing material support to operations. But once specific operation was decided upon it would be assigned to a carefully selected clandestine cell, headed by a senior al Qaeda operative who reported personally to Bin Ladin.  

2.2.3 The Networks of Al Qaeda

Al Qaeda is not only in Afghanistan but spread to some other countries such as Middle East Countries, South Asia Countries and some Europe Countries. The networking of their groups is really big and well-organized, it has specific leader for each region which easier them to conduct and control the organization. That’s why they can do some big terror action which they planned together for a long time.

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This is a picture that shown the networks of Al Qaeda (last updated in 2011) which taken from The Institute for the Study of Violent Group’s website.\textsuperscript{66}

Form the picture above, it can be seen that there are 2 sub important regions of Al Qaeda Network, those are Al Qaeda Centre and Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula\textsuperscript{67}.

In Al Qaeda centre, there are\textsuperscript{68}:

- Osama bin Laden as the previous leader and Ayman Al Zawahiri as the present leader
- Afiyah Abdul Rahman as Operations Commander
- Abu Yahya AL Libi as Field Commander/Theologian
- Khalid Sheikh Mohammad as Operations
- Sayf Al Adel as Operations
- Pakistan: Ahmed Faruq
  
  As Al Qaeda Pakistan Spokesman
- Somalia: Fazul Abdullah Mohammad
  
  As Head of AQ Africa Operations
- South East Asia: Omar Al Faruq
  
  AQ Operations Chief in South East Asia

**Arabian Peninsula**\textsuperscript{69}:

**CENTRAL:**

- Leader: Nasser Al Wahishi
- Spiritual Leader: Ibrahim Al Rubaish


\textsuperscript{68}Ibid

\textsuperscript{69}Ibid
• Deputy Leader: Saed Al Shehri
• Military Commander: Qasim Al Rimi
• Commander/Fundraiser: Othman Al Ghamdi

REGION\textsuperscript{70}:

• Commander in Jawf Province: Jamaan Safian
• Commander in Shabwa Province: Mohammad Al Oumir
• In Marib Province:
  Hamza Al Dhayani-Surrendered in 7 June 2010/Commander
  Abdullah Maodhah-Arrested 22 February 2011/Commander
  Ghaleb Al Zaydi-Surrendered 5 June 2010/Senior Leader
  Ayeb Al Shabwani
• Commander in Abyan Province
  Mohammad Al Kazmi-killed 17 December 2009
  Jamil AL Ambari-killed 14 March 2010
• Deputy Commander in Lawdar: Adel Hardbah

These are some groups that presumed to be in the Al Qaeda network\textsuperscript{71}:

• Al Qaeda—core organization: The original group headed by Osama bin Laden and Ayman al Zawahiri

• Al Qaeda in Iraq: An organization founded after the U.S. invasion of Iraq, AQI has morphed several times since.

• The Egyptian Islamic Jihad (Tanzim Al Jihad): Egyptian Islamic Jihad was founded in the 1970s, and well known for its assassination of Egyptian


\textsuperscript{71}Ibid
President Sadat in 1981. It is a good example of an organization that has historically had a far greater interest in violent transformation of the Egyptian government than it has in a 'global jihad.'

- Ansar Al Islam: This Iraqi Kurdish organization was founded in 2001, and operates in the northern areas of Iraq and Iran. Its membership includes a number of members who trained or fought in Afghanistan, with bin Laden, and it is presumed to have close operational ties with Al Qaeda in the region.

- Al Jemaah Al Islamiyya: Al Jemaah Al Islamiyyah (The Islamic Group) is a Southeast Asian group dedicated to bringing Islamist rule to the area. The United States suspects it of ties to Al Qaeda, but these seem tenuous on a large scale.

- Lashkar-i-Tayyiba: This Kashmir-based Sunni Pakistani group has historically directed its attacks at India. Leaders and members have demonstrated ties to some Al Qaeda members.

- Al Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb: This Algerian group grew out of one dedicated to the overthrow of the Algerian government. Its name change was accompanied by a pledge to put Western targets in its sights.

- Abu Sayyaf: This Philippine group has been called an Al Qaeda affiliate, but there is little evidence of a meaningful operational tie. Indeed, the organization is more like a criminal network than one committed to an ideological goal.72

2.2.4 The Funding of Al Qaeda

An organization should have a funding for their activities. Al Qaeda is a big organization which already did so many big terror actions to the world which is cost much amount of money. It is impossible for them to do and direct such actions without any financial support from the members or even from the outside (sponsor). As a Council on Foreign Relations task force noted that:

“Al Qaeda’s financial backbone is built from the foundation of charities, non-governmental organizations, mosques, websites,

fund-raisers, intermediaries, facilitators, and banks and other financial institutions that helped finance the mujahidin throughout the 1980s. This network extended to all corners of the Muslim world."73

Contrary to popular belief, funding for al Qaeda does not come from the personal assets of Bin Ladin but from a complex fundraising network fueled by financial facilitators and diverted Islamic charity donations. Prior to September 11, the financial facilitators raised money from Gulf country donors, particularly Saudi Arabia. They primarily relied on imams at mosques who diverted compulsory charitable donations known as zakat to al Qaeda. They also received money from individuals in corrupted charities. Al Qaeda operatives infiltrated large charitable organizations with loose external oversight or controlled smaller ones. They used these employment positions to gain access to the organization's bank accounts.74

After money was collected through donations and financial facilitators, money was moved by hawala, a traditional, trust-based method for the transferring of funds, or by couriers. There is little evidence that Bin Ladin or any high-ranking al Qaeda leaders used banks during this time period in Afghanistan, although hawaladars under al Qaeda may have used banks to move and hold money. Al Qaeda's funds were dispersed just as quickly as they were

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brought in. The CIA estimated that prior to September 11, al Qaeda spent $30 million dollars annually, $10-$20 million of which went to the Taliban.75

Since September 11 and the fall of the Taliban, al Qaeda funding has drastically decreased. Countless financial facilitators have either been arrested or killed resulting in decreased fundraising with increased fund transferring difficulty. Many corrupt charities have gone completely out of business. Due to the monetary shortcomings, al Qaeda attacks in Saudi Arabia decreased in May and November of 2003. Al Qaeda's negative image has also caused significant decreases in charitable donations. In addition to a decrease in funds, al Qaeda’s expenditures have also enormously decreased due to cutbacks in the organization. Al Qaeda no longer provides financial assistance to the Taliban or runs Afghan training camps. Terrorist operations, however, require little money and are still relatively easy for al Qaeda to fund.76

2.2.5 The Terrorism Activities of Al Qaeda77

- **29 DECEMBER 1992** Al-Qaeda's first bomb attack kills two people at the Gold Mihor hotel in Aden

- **26 FEBRUARY 1993** The scale of the organization’s ambition becomes clear when they launch an audacious attack on the World Trade Centre in

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76 Ibid

New York - six are killed and 1,000 injured when a 500kg bomb is detonated

- **17 NOVEMBER 1997** 62 people are killed by gunmen in a massacre at Luxor in Egypt

- **7 AUGUST 1998** 223 people are killed when the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania are attacked. One of the hallmarks of al-Qaeda operations is simultaneous strikes

- **11 SEPTEMBER 2001** 2,974 people are killed as hijacked planes are flown into buildings in America

- **11 APRIL 2002** Hopes that al-Qaeda's terror campaign is over are ended by an attack on a synagogue in Tunisia

- **12 MAY 2003** 27 civilians are killed in a wave of bombings in Riyadh targeting compounds in which foreigners live

- **6 MAY 2003** Suicide bombings in Casablanca kill 45 people

- **20 DECEMBER 2003** British interests are attacked in Turkey, killing 27 people. The bombings are the work of al-Qaeda successor groups, showing that while the group's organizational structure may have been damaged by the war in Afghanistan, its ability to 'franchise' a lethal mixture of Islam and violence is unharmed

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• **11 MARCH 2004** Madrid is attacked - 191 people are killed, and almost 2000 were injured.

• **7 JULY 2005** 52 are killed when public transport networks are targeted by suicide bombers in the biggest terrorist attack ever committed in the UK. The bombers are all British-born Muslims who had spent time in remote 'training camps' in Pakistan.

• **2 JUNE 2008** Al-Qaeda claims responsibility for a car bomb against the Danish embassy in Pakistan. Six died.  

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CHAPTER III

AFGHANISTAN BEFORE AND AFTER THE INVASION

3.1 Brief History of Afghanistan

“The story of Afghanistan is in so many ways a very tragic one. Afghanistan is one of the most impoverished nations of the world. It is one of the most war-torn, most ravaged, and most beleaguered of nations. It is a nation that has been beset by invasion, external pressure and internal upheaval since before the time of Alexander the Great. Its people are a people who have endured more than most of us can ever imagine. In fact, for many Afghans, all that has changed in the last one thousand years are the weapons which have been used against so many of them...”

Afghanistan is one of Middle East countries which have Muslims as the majority of the people and since long time ago, Afghanistan already experienced so many wars inside the country. As Adam Ritscher mentioned in his speech above at a Students Against War teach-in in Duluth, Minnesota (USA).

Within the country there are tiny Hindu, Sikh and Jewish communities, but the vast majority of this people are Muslims – and in fact many ethnic groups consider Islam to be one of the defining aspects of their ethnic identity. Islam was brought to Afghanistan during the eighth and ninth century by the Arabs. Prior to that, the nation had been ruled by various Persian, Greek, Sassasian and Central Asian empires.

The beginning of modern Afghanistan can be dated to 1747, when the Afghans in Nadir Shah's army return home after his death. Their leader, Ahmad

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81 Ibid
Khan Abdali, enters Kandahar and is elected king of the Afghans in a tribal assembly. He takes the title Durr-i-Durran ('pearl among pearls') and changes the name of his tribe to the Durrani. (His name changed into Ahmad Shah Durrani) 82

The extent of his empire fluctuates, according to the success of his ceaseless campaigns to protect its boundaries. But for much of his reign Afghanistan extends from the Amu Darya in the north to the Arabian Sea and from Herat to the Punjab. Ahmad Shah wins from his people the title Baba (meaning approximately 'father of the nation'). The throne in Afghanistan remains with Ahmad Shah's tribe, though much disputed between his descendants, until they are ousted from Kabul in 1818 83.

Beginning in the 1800s Afghanistan’s internal affairs became dramatically aggravated by the increasing intervention by two new imperialist powers – the British Empire and Czarist Russia. The British were expanding and consolidating their colonial holdings on the India sub-continent, and were looking at the Hindu Kush mountains of Afghanistan as a natural barrier to prevent invasion by rival imperialists. The Russians, for their part, were expanding south and east, swallowing up several formerly independent sultanates and emirates in Central Asia. The two great powers essentially engaged in a race for Afghanistan, and their fiendish seizures of land, overthrow of indigenous nations and reckless

83 Ibid
interference into the affairs of the remaining independent states in the region became known as “the Great Game.”

Before controlled by Taliban, Afghanistan was led by some people which also led Afghanistan to some wars with British and Russia which wanted to take control in Afghanistan. There are Dost Mohammed, Sher Ali, Abdurrahman Khan, ZahirShar and Daud Khan from 1818 to 1978 continued with Soviet occupation in 1979-1989 and civil war in 1989.

In 1994, in the violence and chaos of Afghanistan, the Taliban inevitably become a guerrilla group; and, compared to the blatant self-interest of certain other mujaheddin, the Taliban's simple message of Muslim fundamentalism proves immensely attractive. In 1995, within weeks of taking Jalalabad, the Taliban achieve the ultimate success. They have been besieging Kabul for twelve months and more, while at the same time fighting other guerrilla groups engaged in the same activity.

In September 1996, with surprising suddenness they burst into the city. Their first act was, go to the UN compound and seize the ex-president Najibullah. Ordinary citizens welcome the arrival of the Taliban for one of their outstanding qualities, incorruptibility. But the price is high in the ruthless imposition of Muslim fundamentalism. Women are not only forced to wear the veil in public they also prevented from working other than in the home, they are

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86 Ibid
denied access to education, they are allowed to go shopping only if accompanied by a male relative. Meanwhile the strictest version of sharia (Islamic law) is introduced. There are amputation of hands for theft, and public executions and floggings.  

With the fall of Kabul the Taliban control about two thirds of the country, but beyond the mountains north of the city there remains a strong opposing force calling itself the Northern Alliance. It is led by members of the previous government in Kabul, but there is also a tribal distinction. The Taliban areas are largely the home of Pathan tribes (known more locally as Pashtun and speaking Pashto), whereas the Northern Alliance is made up of Uzbeks, Turkmen and others.

Warfare continues from 1996, with appalling atrocities on both sides. In 1997 Taliban prisoners are killed in their thousands by the Northern Alliance. When the Taliban briefly capture Mazar-e-Sharif in 1998, they similarly massacre thousands of Shia Muslims in the city. In 1998 the Taliban renew their attack on Mazar-e-Sharif. This time they win more lasting control of the city, giving them now about 90% of Afghanistan.

With this much achieved, and to the surprise of international observers, the Taliban for the first time appear to see the value of compromise. In March 1999 their representatives and those of the Northern Alliance agree to take the

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88 Ibid
89 Ibid
first steps towards forming a joint government. There are no practical results, and early in the new century the Taliban seem to be becoming ever more extreme in their imposition of what they consider a pure Islamic society. The change may be due to increasing contact with al-qaeda fundamentalists, who subsequently have a profound effect on the history of Afghanistan. Because of al-Qaeda, the events of September 2001 spell the end for the Taliban, where United States and its allies came to interrupt.90

3.2 Afghanistan before the Invasion (Under Taliban Regime)

The Taliban ("Students of Islamic Knowledge Movement") ruled Afghanistan from 1996 until 2001. They came to power during Afghanistan's long civil war. Although they managed to hold 90% of the country's territory, their policies—including their treatment of women and support of terrorists—ostracized them from the world community.91

The Taliban, under the direction of Mullah Muhammad Omar, brought about this order through the institution of a very strict interpretation of Sharia, or Islamic law. Public executions and punishments (such as floggings) became regular events at Afghan soccer stadiums. Frivolous activities, like kite-flying, were outlawed. In order to root out "non-Islamic" influence, television, music,

and the Internet were banned. Men were required to wear beards, and subjected to beatings if they didn't.\textsuperscript{92}

Most shocking to the West was the Taliban's treatment of women. When the Taliban took Kabul, they immediately forbade girls to go to school. Moreover, women were barred from working outside the home, precipitating a crisis in healthcare and education. Women were also prohibited from leaving their home without a male relative—those that did so risked being beaten, even shot, by officers of the "ministry for the protection of virtue and prevention of vice." A woman caught wearing fingernail polish may have had her fingertips chopped off. All this, according to the Taliban, was to safeguard women and their honor.\textsuperscript{93}

Although the Taliban managed to re-unite most of Afghanistan, they were unable to end the civil war. Nor did they improve the conditions in cities, where access to food, clean water, and employment actually declined during their rule. A continuing drought and a very harsh winter (2000–2001) brought famine and increased the flow of refugees to Pakistan. The Taliban regime faced international scrutiny and condemnation for its policies. Only Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates recognized the Taliban as Afghanistan's legitimate government. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the U.S., Saudi Arabia and the UAE cut diplomatic ties with the Taliban.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{92}Who are The Taliban? : Their History and Their Resurgence. Retrieved on November 26, 2012. From \url{http://www.infoplease.com/spot/taliban.html}

\textsuperscript{93}Ibid

\textsuperscript{94}Ibid
The Taliban allowed terrorist organizations to run training camps in their territory and, from 1994 to at least 2001, provided refuge for Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda organization. The relationship between the Taliban and bin Laden was close, even familial—bin Laden fought with the mujahideen, has financed the Taliban, and one of his daughters is reportedly married to Mullah Muhammad Omar. The United Nations Security Council passed two resolutions, UNSCR 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000), demanding that the Taliban cease their support for terrorism and hand over bin Laden for trial. 95

The Taliban recognized the need for international ties but wavered between cooperation—they claimed to have drastically cut opium production in July 2000—and defiance—they pointedly ignored international pleas not to destroy the 2000-year-old Buddhist statues of Bamian. However, they made no effort to curb terrorist activity within Afghanistan, a policy that ultimately led to their undoing. 96

Even after their ouster, the Taliban's brand of Islamist radicalism threatens to destabilize other countries in the region including Iran, China, Uzbekistan, and Pakistan. The Taliban's relationship with Pakistan is especially problematic. A high percentage of the Taliban are ethnic Pashtuns; Pashtuns are a sizable minority in Pakistan and dominate the Pakistani military. Public support for the Taliban runs very high in the Pashtun North-West Frontier province where pro-

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96 Ibid
Taliban groups have held uprisings and sought to emulate Taliban practices by performing public executions and oppressing women.\textsuperscript{97}

3.3 Afghanistan After The Invasion

“This is just one part of a comprehensive strategy to prevent Afghanistan from becoming the al Qaeda safe haven that it was before 9/11. To succeed, we and our friends and allies must reverse the Taliban’s gains, and promote a more capable and accountable Afghan government”\textsuperscript{98}

U.S. President Barak Obama, March 27, 2009

Right after the 9/11 tragedy, United States declared the “War against Terrorism” as the response of the global terror action. As United States pointed Osama bin Laden and his group, Al Qaeda, as the one who responsible to the tragedy, Afghanistan chosen to be the first place to against terrorism because it is the base of Al Qaeda and because Taliban protected Osama bin Laden. The 9/11 tragedy changed the situation and life of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan that was under Taliban regime since 1996 should accept the situation where another countries came and take part. On October 7, 2001, exactly a month after the September 11 attacks, U.S. planes dropped dozens of cruise missiles and bombs into laser-driven strategic goals in Kabul and other Afghan cities\textsuperscript{99}.

United States attacks carried out operation launched from the air by a bomber planes based on land such as B-1, B-2 and B-52, aircraft-carrier-based fighter

\textsuperscript{97}Who are The Taliban? : Their History and Their Resurgence. Retrieved on November 26, 2012. From \url{http://www.infoplease.com/spot/taliban.html}


aircraft such as the F-14 and F/A-18, and missile-launched Tomahawk cruise ships and submarines from the United States and England, with the help of Taliban opposition, the Northern Alliance (NATO).\(^{100}\)

The USA launched military operations in Afghanistan. Two military operations became active in Afghanistan involving international forces: Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and ISAF. OEF is the official name used by the US Government for the war in Afghanistan; it is a joint US, British and Afghan operation, and is separate from ISAF, which is a NATO operation that also includes the USA and the UK. The two operations run in parallel. OEF operates primarily in the eastern and southern parts of Afghanistan along the Pakistan border. ISAF, which was established by United Nations\(^{101}\)

Security Council Resolution 1386 on 20 December 2001 is active in other parts of the country, with NATO members providing the core of the force. The USA is the largest contributor both to ISAF and OEF and the only country among the coalition forces that has developed a strategy towards insurgency in Afghanistan. Although at the beginning of its intervention in Afghanistan the US-led coalition was credited with removing the Taliban from power, its lack of resolve—especially after the USA diverted its attention to Iraq—led to a situation

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whereby the Taliban still wields strong influence in many regions in Afghanistan despite claims to the contrary by some US officials. 102

Attacked by US made the situation inside Afghanistan chaos. Many innocent people died, lost their home and family. Within two months after they invaded Afghanistan, the U.S.-led coalition forces ousted the Taliban from power and declared victory. But the war wasn't over. In fact, now even American military authorities admit that the war's end is receding further and further from sight. 103

Meanwhile, as the US government was preparing to invade Afghanistan, it launched a barrage of rhetoric and propaganda, aimed at convincing the world that its goals were to "liberate" Afghanistan, free Afghan women and children, and rebuild schools. 104

In 2002, President Hamid Karzai made a statement on the 57th Session of General Assembly of the United Nations in New York:

“Mr. President, I am honored to have this opportunity to highlight some of the achievements of my administration during the short course of the past eight months. The implementation of the Bonn Agreement and the peace process in my country is completely on track. In accordance with the terms of the Bonn Agreement, the people of Afghanistan manifested their robust resolution and solid consensus for democracy and rule of law by gathering under one tent to convene the Emergency Loya Jirga, the Afghan Grand Council, on June 11 through June 17, 2002. The

success of the Loya Jirga, with broad and unprecedented participation of women, was a significant milestone in the recent history of Afghanistan, and a major step forward in the process of peace, stability and nation building.

During the proceeding of the Loya Jirga, hundreds of delegates exercised their rights to express freely their opinions and desires for security, peace, national unity, reconstruction, democracy and good governance. The people of Afghanistan told me univocally of their disdain of war and violence. The Loya Jirga demonstrated that after 23 years of imposed wars, foreign interventions, violence, bloodshed, repression, destruction and subversion. Afghans are on the way to enjoy the peace and to benefit from reconstruction and are determined to take every measure to avoid a relapse into warlordism and lawlessness. As a result of the back to school campaign, three (3) million children, boys and girls, have returned to school.

The strong commitment of the government to the eradication of poppy cultivation and destruction of narcotics resulted in destruction of drugs with an estimated street value of eight (8) billion Dollars.

As a sign of stability and security, over 1.6 million refugees and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced peoples have returned to their homeland and places of origin. We have formed a Constitutional Commission to undertake the historic task of drafting the country's new Constitution. We have already established a Judicial Commission; to rebuild the Afghan justice system, as well as a Civil Service Commission to reform the entire administration and impose a merit based system, and a Human Rights Commission, to protect human rights, women rights and civil liberties. We have adopted a series of laws and decrees to promote and attract domestic and international investments, safeguard property rights and otherspilars of the free market economy; combat narcotics, and protect forest and the environment. 105

The statement stated that the Afghanistan government tried to repair and conduct the condition in Afghanistan become better. To let the people have their rights and safety feeling back. Some people might say that the invasion made a better condition but others might argue that the situation is even worst than before.

Taliban is a Muslim organization which is very strict to the Muslim’s laws and Syariat. There are so many rules and laws that Taliban applied to Afghanistan people where the West countries (United States and NATO) are freedom countries which less religious laws. United States brought new experiences to the Afghan people which introduced democracy as new system. Abdul Saboor, a 30 years old chef in Kabul said:

“I lived a year in the city of Kabul during the Taliban regime and they made life difficult for banning everything. We were forced to leave the country and live in Pakistan; I was very pleased when the Taliban dark-era finally ended in our country.”106

Street vendors Khan Agha, 30, expressed people anger at the loss of the civilian casualties and to support the withdrawal of foreigntroops:

“Since the U.S. forces and their allies came to Afghanistan, the security situation is deteriorating our country and they are also involved in the killing of innocent civilians.”107

But after all, war will always bring bad impacts to the victims. Bombs are everywhere, thousands of innocent people killed, hundreds of house and buildings destroyed. No othe safe place for the people, even in their home. Thus, a strong realization has emerged among the international community after 9/11 that a stable and peaceful Afghanistan is in everyone’s interests. Indeed, there is a danger that if the country is not reconstructed it will fall again in the hands of extremist elements. Thus, there should be a proper politico-administrative setup

107Ibid
for the Afghan people to give them good governance, a judicial system, proper security forces, and economic, trade and industrial infrastructure development.  

3.3.1 Emergence of Realization to Reconstruct Afghanistan

There are some efforts that some countries did in order to help Afghanistan return the country’s stability because of the war. This realization is also reflected in the notion that war is not the solution to win hearts and minds of the people.

1. Bonn Conference

The process started with the Bonn Conference held in Germany in 2002. Many countries participated in the conference, including USA, Italy, Turkey, Germany and Afghanistan and the main purpose of the conferences conducted by the international community since then was to help rebuild the infrastructure of Afghanistan. The Afghan delegation included politicians, warlords, intellectuals, businessmen and others.

In the conference six major points vital for development and rebuilding the war-torn Afghan society were discussed. They were:

- Reorganizing the Afghan military forces,
• The establishment of ISAF,
• Protecting human rights,
• Establishment of the Afghan Human Rights Commission
• The Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly), and
• Issues related to governance.

2. Aid conferences on Afghanistan: Tokyo 2001 to London 2010

- The Tokyo conference was the first international conference of donors on Afghanistan with the main aim to provide financial help to the country. The two day international conference was held on 21-22 January 2002, and was attended by ministers and representatives from nearly 61 countries and 21 international organizations. The Afghan delegation was represented by President Hamid Karzai and his ministers and they identified the key areas that needed attention and foreign aid. These included:

1. Administrative capacity, like improving salaries and improving government administration, education, especially for girls
2. Health and sanitation
3. Infrastructure development including roads, electricity and telecommunication,
4. Improving the economic system, and
5. Agriculture and rural development.

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Before the conference it was estimated that initially Afghanistan needed USD 1.7-2 billion per year and it could go as high as USD 20 billion for the next ten years. From 2001 until 2011, Japan alone has given nearly USD 3.15 billion of aid which was spent on different sectors including agriculture, education, health, culture, transportation and security. However, it is not easy to disarm militias as their rivalry is based on ethnicity and it will take time to fully integrate the warring and armed militias into the Afghan society. After Tokyo a number of small and large conferences have held during the next ten years in different countries in Asia, Europe and America. All were focused on assessing the situation, gauging the progress on reconstruction and making further pledges.\textsuperscript{111}

- During 2006 an international conference was held in London on January 31-February 1, in which more than fifty countries and international and regional organizations participated. They discussed issues related to security, governance, human rights, social and economic development etc. This was the first conference to be held in London and its aim was to develop Afghanistan’s infrastructure, improve law and order, social and economic development and to control the production and smuggling and use narcotic drugs.\textsuperscript{112}

- During 2007 another conference was held in Rome, Italy on the revival of the Afghan judiciary system, which was completely destroyed after the


\textsuperscript{112} Ibid
US invasion. This conference discussed many key issues and additional gaps within the judicial system, where the main issues are the salary support, infrastructure and office equipment, public awareness, codes of ethics and financial management and also other challenges like building the legislator process, institutional strategies and coordination, capacity building, legal education and training. This first step of the international community to rebuild the judicial system would be to address problems faces by the common Afghans. The conference also announced the decision to provide $360 million to support short term projects and also to provide more funds to implement the National Justice Program.113

The last international conference in this trend was held in London on January 28, 2010. After so many conferences and declarations, this was another step to bring Afghanistan on a path of infrastructure and economic development. The main aims of the conference were to increase the number of security forces in Afghanistan, to improve governance and effectiveness of aid, and to persuade the neighboring countries to help in restoring peace in Afghanistan. Delegates from nearly 70 countries were present at the conference and they highlighted major points including security, governance and development, corruption, increasing security forces up to 171,600 in the Afghan National Army and buttress the Afghan National Police with up to 134,000 personnel. This conference stressed the need to increase the strength of Afghan National Security

Forces by providing training, logistical support and financial support. It was also decided to rebuild the infrastructure of Afghanistan including roads, railways, and electric transmission lines and also to connect it to its neighboring states. With the help of the Asian Development Bank, the feasibility study of the Hairatan and Mazar-e-Sharif railway link which connects Uzbekistan and Afghanistan was also approved. With this conference emerged the consensus that security responsibility was to be given to Afghanistan, and that the solution needed to go beyond military options. It also acknowledged that a stable, secure and democratic Afghanistan can act as a land bridge to South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia to increase trade, energy and diplomatic relations among regional countries in particular and the world as a whole. It is also essential to note that the Taliban rejected the conference as meaningless.\footnote{Afghanistan’s reconstruction and the international community: post 9/11 scenario by SulemanYousaf. P.20. Retrieved on September 24, 2012. A pdf from http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1339996277_66068080.pdf}

3. Bonn II Conference\footnote{Ibid}

In 2011, the Bonn II conference was held in December and from the outset there were doubts about its outcomes. This conference was focusing on increasing the security forces, reconstruction and infrastructure development. Pakistan was also supposed to participate in the conference but in protest against the unfortunate incident on the Pak-Afghan border in which 26 Pakistani soldiers were killed, it opted out. Since the first Bonn conference was held in 2001, there has been little sign of
progress in increasing the strength of Afghan security forces, reconstruction and infrastructure development in northern Afghanistan but no development had taken place in southern Afghanistan where the Taliban are present, and hence these aspects were seen as essential for detailed discussions.

The conference was attended by nearly 85 countries and 15 international organizations, and the international community and Afghanistan decided to deepen and broaden their partnership to a new level as the “Transition to the Transformation decade 2015-2024” was initiated. The conference discussed major issues related to the stability of Afghanistan and the world, including governance, security, peace process, economic and social development and regional cooperation.\footnote{Afghanistan’s reconstruction and the international community: post 9/11 scenario by Suleman Yousaf. P.20. Retrieved on September 24, 2012. A pdf from http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1339996277_66068080.pdf}

4. Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA)\footnote{Ibid}

- RECCA or Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan was another peace and reconstruction initiative taken at regional level. This conference was first called by Afghan President Hamid Karzai in 2005 in Kabul. The basic purpose of establishment of this forum was to facilitate trade, energy, road and railway linkages among neighboring and regional countries. It was hoped that it would boost trade cooperation, establish energy projects and also improve diplomatic ties between these countries. Since its creation, nearly four conferences have been held:

1. 2005 in Kabul, Afghanistan
2. 2006 in New Delhi, India
3. 2009 in Islamabad, Pakistan and
4. 2010 in Istanbul, Turkey

These conferences provided opportunities to the regional community to help Afghanistan in resolving its problems in rebuilding its infrastructure, economy, agriculture cooperation, rebuilding educational institutions, mining, health facilities, anti-narcotics measures, capacity building and border management. In the first RECCA conference, it was decided to start cooperation with regional countries in fields like trade, energy and power development, trade facilitation, energy transport, transportation and enhancing the business climate.\textsuperscript{17} The importance of this conference was to develop the infrastructure of Afghanistan through the financial assistance from the international community.\textsuperscript{118}

- The second RECCA conference was held in New Delhi with Afghanistan as co-host, and regional countries and members of regional and international organizations were also present. The two day conference that was held on November 18-19, 2006, has also become known as the “New Delhi Declaration”. The main aim of this declaration was to make Afghanistan an energy hub and trade corridor and the declaration urged the neighboring countries to help in facilitating road and air traveling facilities.\textsuperscript{18} The conference was attended by Pakistan, Iran, China and members of G8 industrialized countries and donor agencies. TAPI (Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India) gas pipeline was also

discussed, as the conference paved the way for a third RECCA conference to be held in Islamabad in 2009. 119

• The Islamabad conference (third RECCA) was held on May 13-14, 2009, where future projects connecting the neighboring states to Afghanistan were discussed. Afghanistan has a strategic location which connects South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia, which could benefit both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The main aim of this conference was to promote mutual cooperation in different fields like education, mining, infrastructure development etc. It was attended by high level delegates from nearly 20 countries, and members from 18 different international aid and donor agencies. This conference successfully moved a number of long term regional projects related to railway transportations, energy sector and also the establishment of Customs Academy in Kabul, signing of Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement (ATTA) and building Border Economic Zones around Afghanistan. The United States along with three European countries also attended this conference and an invitation was sent to United Arab Emirates as well. Strategic infrastructure projects were also highlighted, including CASA 1000 electricity transmission line, Jalalabad-Torkham railway line, and Uzbek-Afghan railway link. 120

• The fourth RECCA conference was held in Istanbul Turkey from 2-3 November 2010. It had the same objectives as the previous RECCA


120 Ibid
conferences, attended by 27 countries and 14 international organizations. It focused on regional cooperation among the Afghan neighbors to help the war battered country in economic, health, education, human resource development and infrastructure development. In the “Istanbul Declaration” it was decided that regional cooperation in other fields like infrastructure development, health, border liaison offices, and energy would be given more attention. The conference also endorsed all the previous RECCA conferences’ declarations on Afghanistan.\(^{121}\)

But after all, RECCA was not as successful as it should have been, given its realistic and suitable focus on regional countries. This was since it focused only on economic development, infrastructural improvements, narcotics, building bridges and gas pipelines, and the growth of trade among regional countries. These were all worthy aims, but they missed the one essential element that serves as the prerequisite to such initiatives, i.e. political stability. There was no mention of any process of reconciliation with the Taliban, or of bringing political stability through other means and economic development appeared to be an end in itself.\(^{122}\)

RECCA failed to acknowledge that economic development cannot be achieved without having adequate security, which in turn comes as a result of political stability\(^{123}\) which in fact, the security and political situation of


\(^{122}\)Ibid

\(^{123}\)Ibid
Afghanistan still in chaos. Even though there are many countries wanted to help Afghanistan but unfortunately they still failed to return the stable situation in Afghanistan.

United States took over the control for some part of Afghanistan’s regions while the others still under Taliban control. By having 2 different “powers” rule the country, the situation inside Afghanistan was not stable which caused bad impacts into some aspects of Afghanistan itself. Thus, the U.S. invasion to Afghanistan made the country's current condition even more pathetic than in the Taliban era. The people of Afghanistan is now may free from the grip of the rules of strict Taliban and have a stable government also recognized by the international but the people of Afghanistan are still not free from armed violence and even entering the era of a more terrible: suicide bombings, kidnappings and even 'massacre' of civilians by multinational forces.  

The war in Afghanistan is not only about dead or physical wound but it hurts and rooted deep in the victim’s heart how they feel and experience such worst and nightmare when many people killed, many buildings destroyed also live in a very sad and poor condition. There are also the other problems — lack of security, abject poverty, negligible government services and a myriad of other challenges — that affect them on a daily basis.

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In war, the most aspect which affected so much is security. Because war is related with peace, which war will always destroy peace and decrease the safety of people (feeling insecure). The US army is surrounding the region which always attack with the Taliban’s members. The sounds of bombs or guns are something that just usually happen everyday.

The economic condition of Afghanistan also not much different than in the era of Taliban rule. Unemployment is still very high. Afghan government lead by President Hamid Karzai which recognized internationally wasn’t guarantee bring the world of investment into the country. Afghanistan’s government today, otherwise known as a government full of corruption and nepotism. Two things that do not happen in the Taliban era. 126

A growing number of Afghans complain that Washington has invested in only a select few regions of their country over the years, and that while some people have benefited from war, those benefits have largely bypassed most citizens. For many, their lives have not changed and in some cases have gotten worse since the war began. A large portion of the billions of dollars in aid money funneled to Afghanistan to help Afghans and support meager gains in education and health services has been squandered. 127 Thus even though United States also take control on developing Afghanistan but still the condition not even

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better because United States only developed some region in Afghanistan which the others still in bad condition.

By having this condition which is really chaos, Afghanistan needs to repair the condition, stability and government as soon as possible because if this condition continued then Afghanistan can collapse. How can a country run their economy and business while war still happen? Economy aspect is really important to determine the wealth of the people so while the country is really poor how can it guarantee the wealth of the people? How the people inside a country can live happy, wealth and health while there are bombs everywhere and the country sink slowly day by day within the intervention from others which destroyed their previous life.
CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACTS OF 9/11 TRAGEDY TO THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF AFGHANISTAN (2001-2011)

4.1 The Impacts to the Afghanistan Governance

Ten years invaded by United States made so many changes to Afghanistan. Especially to the governance of Afghanistan which the US and allies tried to apply their policy towards Afghanistan. The invasion gave new experiences for the Afghan which for years under Taliban control. Along so many years Afghanistan was under Islamic governance.

During Taliban rule (1996-2001), Afghanistan was run by a small, Qandahar-based group (“Shura”) of Pashtun clerics loyal to Mullah Mohammad Umar, who remained there. No parliament was functioning, and Government offices were minimally staffed and without modern equipment. There were virtually no checks or balances on Mullah Omar’s decision to host Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan during that time. 128

Thus United States with its policy since 2001 has been to help expand the capacity of formal Afghan governing institutions, most of which were nearly non-existent during Taliban rule. However, the formal governing structure continues to compete, often unsuccessfully, with the traditional power structures discussed above. UN also gave effort to form a broad-based Afghan government and for the

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international community to help Afghanistan build legitimate governing institutions.\textsuperscript{129}

The Bush Administration and international partners of the United States decided to try to dismantle local security structures and try to build a relatively strong, democratic, Afghan central government and develop Afghanistan economically. The effort, which many outside experts described as “nation-building,” was supported by the United Nations, international institutions, and U.S. partners in post-Taliban international meetings. While the Obama Administration’s strategy review in late 2009 initially narrowed official U.S. goals to preventing terrorism safe haven in Afghanistan, but Obama Administration strategy during 2009-2011 in some ways expanded the nation-building policy. No matter how expansively the U.S. mission has been defined, building the capacity of and reforming Afghan governance have been consistently judged to be the key to the success of U.S. policy.\textsuperscript{130}

Since May of 2003, provincial governors have not been allowed to hold a military title. The provincial authorities also pledged to implement internal and external policies as directed by the central administration; not to interfere in the affairs of other provinces; and not to hold military and civilian posts simultaneously. In a decree issued on 21 May 2003, Karzai appointed Deputy Defense Minister General Abdul Rashid Dostum as a special adviser on security and military affairs. Dostum was instructed to dismantle Army Corps


\textsuperscript{130} Ibid
No. 7, commanded by his Jami'at rival, General Atta Mohammad. Mohammad, however, stated that he would not relinquish his command of the Army Corps No. 7, effectively challenging Dostum's job description. In a related development, Mohammad resigned from his post as "first deputy head of the Leadership Council of the northern provinces of Afghanistan," Balkh Television reported on 20 May 2003. 131

The implement of democracy to Afghanistan made some changes to the government system and also the constitution. In 2004, Afghanistan established a new Constitution which some parts of it mentioned about democracy:

“For establishing a government based on people's will and democracy,  
For creation of a civil society free of oppression, atrocity, discrimination, and violence, based on rule of law, social justice, protection of human rights, and dignity, and ensuring fundamental rights and freedoms of the people” 132

4.1.1 President Election

Because of US invasion took control of Afghanistan, the Taliban had to surrender and made the Afghanistan in a power-vacuum situation. Thus NATO decided to cede the top leadership to Hamid Karzai, an ethnic Pashtun, selected as the interim head of the country at the Bonn Conference of November 2001 as leader of an interim administration of Afghanistan.

In case United States and NATO wanted to apply democracy to Afghanistan as their system, they started to make a plan to do president election in Afghanistan. The first election was held in 2004 won by Hamid Karzai and the second was in 2009, also won by Hamid Karzai. There are some steps and events in order to succeed the election:

- **Permanent Constitution Adopted, Sets up Presidential System**

  Afghanistan has Loya Jirga\(^\text{133}\), the traditional assembly to choose the government. It already held from 18th century in order to help the people of Afghanistan to liberate western part of Afghanistan from the ruthless Saffavid ruler, Gurgin, in the year 1707. Loya Jirga participated by influential elders and leaders of Abdali and Ghilzai tribes, as well as representatives of other ethnic groups, especially Uzbeks, was held at Sher-i-Surkh near Kandahar City in 1747 had chosen Ahmad Khan, later Ahmed Shah Abdali, as king new and modern Afghanistan. As we see the very state of modern Afghanistan owes its existence to this time-tested tradition.\(^\text{134}\)

  From then onward, Loya Jirga became regular feature in the history of the country. After April Communist Revolution in 1978 and especially after the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979 the Cold War rivalries entered Afghanistan and, both sides, ruling and opposition forces resorted to this tradition. Since Jirgas held by moderate elements opposed by

\(^{133}\)Government selected by a traditional assembly

Mujahideen in 1980 at Peshawar, by Karmal regime in 1985 and by President Najibullah in 1987 where held under the shadow of foreign powers, therefore, their influence on the course of events was limited. The same was the fate of Shura-e-Al-o-Aqd, held in Herat in 1992 without any representation by the opposition to legitimize and prolong the rule of Burhanuddin Rabbani. 135

And in the era of Taliban regime, the loya jirga has stopped and the Afghanistan people have no rights to choose the leader or the government. So that after the 9/11 tragedy (under U.S invasion) the Loya Jirga appeared again in order to form the new government of Afghanistan. 136 In June 2002, “emergency” loya jirga was held to imprimatur on the transition; it was attended by 1,550 delegates (including about 200 women). Subsequently, a 35-member constitutional commission drafted the constitution, unveiling it in November 2003. And during December 13, 2003-January 4, 2004 the CLJ, chaired by prominent Islamic scholar and former interim Afghan leader SibghatullahMojadeddi, approved the draft constitution with minor changes. 137 Emergency Loya Jirga Representatives:

- 2,000 delegates
- 1,051 elected members
- Guaranteed seats for 160 women
- 53 seats for current government
- 100 seats for Afghan refugees and six for internally displaced Afghans
- 25 seats for nomads 138

136 Ibid
The constitution set up a presidential system, with an elected president having relatively broad powers and a separately elected National Assembly (parliament). The constitution and election system is a two round election if no majority is achieved in the first round. The president serves a five-year term, with a two-term limit (Article 62). There are two vice presidents. The president has broad powers. Under article 64, he has the power to appoint all “high-ranking officials,” which has been interpreted by Karzai to include not only cabinet ministers but also members of the Supreme Court, judges, provincial governors and district governors, local security chiefs, and members of supposedly independent commissions such as the Independent Election Commission and the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC).  

First Election (2004)

The first Afghan president election, since the Taliban’s fall in 2001, was held on October 9, 2004, with the help of the UN. At first, the election scheduled to be held in June 2009 but in March 2004, President Hamid Karzai postponed Afghanistan's first post-Taliban elections. With over 8 million men and women voting, and feared violence from former Taliban forces and regional warlords less than expected, the vote was widely viewed as a success for Afghanistan's nascent democracy. And over 98% of votes counted as of 26 October 2004, with the result: Karzai was poised to win outright with 56% of the tally. Runner-up YunusQanooni, an ethnic Tajik, leading figure in the Northern Alliance, and

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former education minister in Karzai's interim government, garnered 16%. Mohaqeq, leader of the minority Shia Hazaras, and Dostum, took 12% and 10%, respectively.  

As in table, the result is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamid Karzai</td>
<td>4,443,029</td>
<td>55.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunus Qanooni</td>
<td>1,306,503</td>
<td>16.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji Mohammed Mohaqeq</td>
<td>935,325</td>
<td>11.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Rashid Dostum</td>
<td>804,861</td>
<td>10.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Latif Pedram</td>
<td>110,160</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massouda Jala</td>
<td>191,415</td>
<td>1.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Shah Admadzai</td>
<td>60,199</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the election was relative absence of violent disruptions to the poll, the elections did not come off without controversy. In the weeks before the election, the number of registered voters came to exceed the estimated number of eligible voters in the country, raising many eyebrows as multiple-registration was added to the list of fraud allegations. To prevent people from voting more than once, each voter's thumb was to be marked with indelible ink after casting a ballot, so they could be easily identified when trying to vote a second time.

However, through the day it became evident that some of the markers contained an ink that could be easily washed off, thus undermining the protection against multiple-voting.\footnote{Afghanistan - 09 October 2004 Presidential Election. Retrieved on January 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2013. From http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/politics-2004.htm}

These problems, in addition to other claims of fraud and intimidation, prompted all 15 candidates opposing Karzai to call for a boycott of the poll midway through Election Day. Support for the boycott soon crumbled, however, under pressure to respect the election results, and due to the view that the candidates were selling Afghanistan's goals for their own short-term political gain. Candidates agreed to heed the opinion of a United Nations investigation into the irregularities, and on 24 October 2004 runner-up Qanooni conceded defeat.\footnote{Ibid}

Through Karzai's outright victory, and opponents' acceptance of the result, many Afghans believed the outcome pre-determined, with Karzai the American-ordained victor from the outset. Still, international opinion has viewed the election as a net positive and a cause for cautious optimism. On November 3, 2004, Hamid Karzai was declared the winner of Afghanistan's first-ever presidential election, after the United Nations-Afghan joint electoral commission endorsed the election results as free and fair and announced that Karzai had won more than 55% of the votes. He was inaugurated December 7, 2004, for a five-year term as Afghanistan's first democratically elected president.\footnote{Ibid}
- **Second Election (2009)**

  The 2009 election was plagued, from the start, by assertions of a lack of credibility of the Independent Elections Commission. Its commissioners, including then-Chairman Azizullah Ludin, were selected by, and many were politically close to, Karzai. As a check and balance to ensure electoral credibility, there was also a U.N.-appointed Elections Complaints Commission (ECC) that reviewed fraud complaints.\(^{145}\)

  The Afghan Constitution specifically tasks the Election Commission with holding presidential polls at least a month before the end of the president's term in office on 22 May 2009, leading to expectations of an April 2009 vote. Following extensive consultations, in February 2009 the Independent Election Commission cited the country's dismal security situation, lack of funding, and harsh weather conditions in remote areas as the reasons for pushing the presidential vote to 20 August 2009.\(^{146}\)


The result of the election was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamid Karzai</td>
<td>3,093,256</td>
<td>54.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdullah Abdullah</td>
<td>1,571,581</td>
<td>27.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashardost</td>
<td>520,627</td>
<td>9.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadzai</td>
<td>155,343</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasini</td>
<td>50,461</td>
<td>0.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanai</td>
<td>33,544</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fana</td>
<td>24,279</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>194,065</td>
<td>3.45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Incumbent President Hamid Karzai and his main challenger, Abdullah Abdullah, both claimed victory ahead of the official verdict. After completing an audit and recount process that affected more than 3,300 polling stations nationwide, the Electoral Complaints Commission (ECC) invalidated nearly one million votes from the first-round election held in August, leaving incumbent Karzai with a final tally of 48.3 percent. Election officials scheduled a run-off for November 7. On November 1, Abdullah withdrew from the race, demanding

major changes to guard against repetition of the reported widespread fraud in the August vote. Election officials declared President Karzai the winner. 148

Just like the first election, the second election also had lots of problems. International observers and civil society groups documented widespread instances of fraud, including ballot stuffing, ghost polling stations, and interference by staff of the IEC; fraud was especially notable in areas with high levels of insecurity, and insufficient female electoral staff and female election observers. Security arrangements were inadequate in many locations, and numerous irregularities occurred, including pervasive intimidation of voters and candidates, especially women. 149

From August 20 through October 25, the ECC received approximately 2,800 complaints of electoral irregularities, of which 850 had the potential to affect the results of the election. After analyzing the complaints related to the presidential election, the ECC invalidated the results of 3,400 voting stations and found clear and convincing evidence of fraud at 1,900 other stations. According to the ECC, final numbers for voter turnout could only be estimated; approximately 1.2 million votes were invalidated from 4.5 million votes cast. 150

- The Existence of Political Parties

Prior to September 2009, when a new political party’s law was adopted, there were 110 registered political parties. A September 2009 law required all

149 Ibid
150 Ibid
parties to reregister and to submit 10,000 signatures, spanning at least 22 provinces, to verify their support. By the time of the September 18, 2010, parliamentary election, only five parties had completed the new registration process. By late 2011, 38 parties had completed the process, and a total of 21 parties are represented in the lower house of parliament. A July 11, 2012, regulation apparently eased registration rules somewhat by requiring parties to have offices in at least 20 provinces in order to register. 151

Prior to 2011, the secular parties were mainly small and received little national attention—often centered around the personalities of their founders rather than enduring ideas. These parties include the Afghanistan Labor and Development Party, the National Solidarity Party of Afghanistan’s Youth, the Republican Party, and the National Congress Party of Afghanistan led by Abdul Latif Pedram. Other secular parties are left wing, such as the National United Party of Afghanistan. 152

4.1.2 The Existence of National Assembly (Parliament) Formation, Powers, and Assertion of Powers

In order to make democratic governance, Afghanistan was not only decided for the election but also to make National Assembly (Parliament). The Afghan Parliament is a bicameral body: the Wolesi Jirga (the Lower House with 249 directly elected members) and Meshrano Jirga (the Upper House with 102

152 Ibid
Senators). The upper house is selected as follows: one-third, or 34 seats, appointed by the president (for a five-year term); one-third appointed by the elected provincial councils (four-year term); and one-third appointed by elected district councils (for a three-year term). Of the president’s appointments, half (17) are mandated to be women.

Parliamentary and provincial council elections, which were to establish the National Assembly and the provincial councils, were originally intended for April-May 2005 but were delayed until September 18, 2005. The National Assembly has become the key formal institution for non-Pashtuns and political independents to express political opposition to and to exert influence on Karzai.

After the National Assembly was inaugurated on December 19, 2005, it immediately asserted its institutional strength. One of its first tasks was to review, and either endorse, amend, or void, the decrees Karzai had issued in the one year he was president and no National Assembly was operating. In March 2006, it achieved a vote to require Karzai’s cabinet to be approved individually. In May 2006, the opposition within the Assembly compelled Karzai to change the nine-member Supreme Court, the highest judicial body, including ousting 74-year-old Islamic conservative FazlHadiShinwari as chief justice. The proximate

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155Ibid
justification for the ouster was Shinwari’s age, which was beyond the official retirement age of 65. 156

The process of confirming Karzai’s second-term cabinet—in which many of Karzai’s nominees were voted down in several nomination rounds during 2010—demonstrated that the Assembly is an increasingly strong institution that is pressing for competent governance. These principles are advocated most insistently, although not exclusively, by the younger, more technocratic independent bloc in the lower house. 157

4.1.3 Provincial and Local Administration

The major subnational administrative division is the province (wilayat), numbering 34 in 2008. The two newest provinces were added in 2004. Each province has between five and 15 districts. In 2006 some 361 districts were in existence, but the number changes frequently as districts split or combine. Each province has one designated provincial municipality; some but not all provinces also have a single rural municipality. The municipalities fall under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior. 158

According to the constitution, provinces, districts, and villages are governed by directly elected councils. The first elections for those councils, which totaled 420 seats, were held concurrently with the national parliamentary elections of September 2005. The chief executive at the

157 Ibid
158 Ibid
province level is the governor, who is appointed by the president. As is the case with the national cabinet, the president has distributed governorships among influential regional and military groups. Province and district administrations have the same basic structure as the national government. 159

According to the constitution of 2004, the central government, which theoretically stands at the center of a highly centralized system, delegates authority to the subnational jurisdictions in (unspecified) matters where local or regional action is more efficient. In actuality, the structure and government of the provinces have varied greatly; in most cases, provincial governance is based on the financial and military strength of local leaders as well as personal and tribal loyalties. In some southern jurisdictions, the Taliban insurgency has been able to establish parallel governments, including administrators and judges. 160

4.1.4 Judicial Branch

Afghanistan’s judicial branch deteriorated during the Soviet occupation, and justice was administered by strict Islamic law during the Taliban era (1996-2001). To replace the ad hoc system in place under the transitional government, the constitution of 2004 stipulated that the Supreme Court include nine justices appointed by the president, with approval of the Wolesa Jirga, for 10-year terms. Those justices have particular importance because they are

160 Ibid
responsible for managing the personnel, budgets, and policy decisions of the entire national, regional, and local court system. At the urging of his Western partners in the 2006 Afghanistan Compact, President Karzai replaced several Supreme Court justices in 2006. Also in 2006, the Wolesa Jirga refused the renomination of the ultraconservative Fazel Hadi Shinwari, a staunch advocate of Islamic law, as chief justice. The Afghan Supreme Court is the highest court in the land, but rarely functions as a constitutional interpreter and in fact such a role is challenged by some experts. It mainly serves as an appellate court which exercises the fact-finding jurisdiction of a primary court. 161

At the level below the Supreme Court are high and appeals courts. A National Security Court handles cases of terrorism and other threats to national security. Although every province has a lower and a higher court, judicial procedures are influenced by local authorities and traditions. The supply of trained jurists is very limited. In 2002 the transitional government established an education program run by Italian judicial experts to prepare judges, prosecutors, and defense lawyers. 162

Although some individuals received secular judicial training in the early 2000s, the majority of local court officials came from Muslim religious schools and lacked judicial skills. The respective roles of Islamic and secular law in the new national judicial system have not been well established; a large

162 Ibid
portion of the current law code is based on laws passed under the last king, Mohammad Zahir Shah (ruled 1933-73). In rural areas, where local elders and tribal authorities resolve criminal cases, Taliban laws have remained in effect. According to a 2006 estimate, in all provinces some 90 percent of local cases are based on Islamic and tribal law.\textsuperscript{163}

4.1.5 Rivalries Within and Outside Governing Institutions

As discussed above, many intersecting factors—ethnicity, tribal affiliation, geography, economic interests, and ideologies—determine politics in Afghanistan. Although they largely accept that a Pashtun is most likely to hold the top slot in the Afghan government, non-Pashtuns insist on being—and are—represented at all levels of the central government. Ethnic minorities have demanded, and have achieved, a large measure of control over how government programs are implemented in their geographic regions. Although Karzai has the power to appoint provincial and district governors, in practice he has not appointed governors of a different ethnicity than the majority of residents of particular provinces and districts. One notable exception is the governor of Herat, Daud Shah Saba, appointed in 2011.\textsuperscript{164}

- Karzai’s Allies in the Lower House of the National Assembly

In addition to his allies in the presidential palace and the government writ large, as of 2012 Karzai has about 70—80 supporters, mostly Pashtuns, in the


Wolesi Jirga. Karzai. Of his lower house supporters, about half are former members of the Hizb-e-Islam party. Several of Karzai’s supporters in parliament are from Qandahar, Karzai’s home province, and from Helmand province. 165

- Karzai Support Significant in the Upper House

Karzai has relatively fewer critics in the 102-seat Meshrano Jirga (House of Elder, upper house), partly because of his bloc of 34 appointments (one-third of that body). Because it is composed of more elderly, established, notable Afghans who are traditionalist in their political outlook, the Meshrano Jirga has tended to be more Islamist conservative than the lower house, advocating a legal system that accords with Islamic law, and restrictions on press and Westernized media broadcasts. 166

Karzai also has used his bloc of appointments to the upper house to co-opt potential antagonists or reward his friends. Karzai was scheduled to make his 34 new upper house appointments (five year terms) prior to the January 26, 2011, seating of the 2011-2015 parliament. Because two-thirds of the body serves four year terms—and the provincial councils that were elected in 2009 were able to appoint their 68 members of the upper house—the body continued to operate even though Karzai had not submitted his 34 appointments. On January 27, 2011, the body reaffirmed Muslim Yaar as upper house speaker. On February 19, 2011, Karzai made his 34 selections, reappointing 18 incumbents and appointing 16

166 Ibid
new members to the body. In line with the constitution, 17 of Karzai’s appointments are women. 167

- **The Political Opposition: The “Northern Alliance,” Dr. Abdullah, and Others**

  Broadly, the political opposition to Karzai consists mainly of ethnic minorities (Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara) who fought the Taliban in a politico-military coalition called the “Northern Alliance”. Since the constitution was adopted in 2004, Northern Alliance figures have advocated amending it to give more power to parliament and to empower the elected provincial councils (instead of the president) to select governors and mayors. Such steps would ensure maximum autonomy from Kabul for non-Pashtun areas, and serve as a check and balance on Pashtun dominance of the central government. The leaders of these factions tend to be vehemently anti-Pakistan, which they see as supporting Taliban and other insurgent groups to broaden their influence in future Afghan governments. 168

  On the other hand, the Northern Alliance figures and their allies have differences among themselves that has rendered them relatively ineffective as an opposition to Karzai. Many “opposition” figures have often joined Karzai’s government in exchange for autonomy or a share of business interests. The Karzai

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168 Ibid
strategy of giving high-level appointments to his critics has, to date, proved successful in keeping his opposition divided and off balance.\(^{169}\)

In the 112\(^{th}\) Congress, legislation introduced October 5, 2011, by Representative Dana Rohrabacher appears to support the Northern Alliance view of decentralized governance by urging that it be U.S. policy to support a decentralized, federal political system that “shifts more power to regions, provinces, and districts and away from a corrupt presidency” and support constitutional reform that provides for election of mayors, police chiefs, and governors.\(^{170}\)

- **The Opposition Movements Led by Dr. Abdullah**

Although Rabbani was the elder statesman of the Northern Alliance, he was largely displaced in recent years by harder line Tajiks such as the overall “leader of the opposition”—former Foreign Minister Dr. Abdullah Abdullah. Abdullah is about 54 years old; his identity as the foreign envoy of Ahmad Shah Masoud causes him to be identified politically as a Tajik. He was dismissed from his foreign minister post by Karzai in a March 2006 cabinet reshuffle and he now heads a private foundation named after Ahmad Shah Masoud.\(^{171}\)

Abdullah emerged as Afghanistan’s opposition leader after his unsuccessful challenge against Karzai for president in the August 2009 election in which widespread fraud was demonstrated. He is not in parliament but he works


\(^{170}\) Ibid

\(^{171}\) Ibid
to promote his agenda through public statements, in direct meetings with Karzai, and through allies in the lower house. The cornerstone of his ideology is to establish a parliamentary system in which the National Assembly would select a powerful prime minister, although Karzai often accuses him of simply seeking to bring the Tajiks to ultimate power in Afghanistan. 172

The pro-Abdullah bloc in parliament has gone through several iterations. During 2007-2009, the bloc called itself the United Front (UF), although some accounts refer to it as the “National Front” or “United National Front.” It was formed in April 2007 by then Wolesi Jirga speaker YunusQanooni (former adviser to Ahmad Shah Masoud and Northern Alliance stalwart; he was Karzai’s main challenger in the 2004 presidential election) and former President Rabbani. The United Front included some Pashtuns, such as Soviet-occupation era security figures Sayed Muhammad Gulabzoi and Nurul-HaqUlumi, head of the National United Party. Ulumi was not reelected to parliament in 2010. 173

In late May 2010, Abdullah created a formal, national democratic opposition party called the “Hope and Change Movement” that ran in the September 18, 2010. The Hope and Change Movement represented an example of the growing willingness of Afghan leaders to identify with and compete as formal political parties. 174

173 Ibid
174 Ibid
Two Political Parties Form Northern Alliance Roots: The National Coalition and the National Front

On December 22, 2011, Dr. Abdullah sought to broaden his support further by assembling ten political parties to launch the National Coalition of Afghanistan, under his leadership. However, this masked a split in Dr. Abdullah’s Northern Alliance support base. Some Northern Alliance figures outside the Assembly are, if not challenging Abdullah for opposition leadership, at least emerging as strong voices. In June 2011, several key Northern Alliance leaders, including Dostam and Hazara figure Mohammad Mohaqiq (see below) joined with former Vice President Ahmad Zia Masoud (Ahmad Shah Masoud’s brother) to announce a new opposition group—the National Front of Afghanistan. 175

The National Front advocates “federalism”—a high degree of autonomy for Afghan provinces, including appointment of provincial governors by elected provincial councils. This differs from the Dr. Abdullah/National Coalition platform of pressing for a parliamentary system. The National Front grouping also is more skeptical of a peace agreement with the Taliban than is Dr. Abdullah and his allies. Even before this new opposition was formed, Ahmad Zia Masoud, as well as ousted intelligence leader Amrollah Saleh, a key Tajik, were increasingly outspoken against a potential settlement with the Taliban. 176

176 Ibid
• **Truth and Justice Party Forms**

Abdullah and his allies also face a challenge from a party not affiliated with Northern Alliance. On November 4, 2011, a new party called the Truth and Justice Party formed, proclaiming it is a reformist party consisting of leaders of all of Afghanistan’s various ethnicities. It represents opposition to both Karzai and Dr. Abdullah. Major figures behind it include Karzai’s previous Interior Minister Mohammad Hanif Atmar (a Pashtun), who was dismissed by Karzai in 2010, as well as Uzbek leader Dostam (retaining his membership in the National Front as well) and Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) Chairwoman Sima Simar, an ethnic Hazara. Taliban era Deputy Justice Minister Jalaluddin Shinwari joined the party as well. This party is strongly in favor of reconciliation with the Taliban.177

• **The Informal Power Structure: Other Power Brokers, “Warlords,” and Local Faction Leaders**

An informal power structure exists outside the formal governing institutions. Karzai has been compelled to work with this informal power structure of well-funded, locally popular, and sometimes well-armed faction leaders, even while heading the formal power structure. Some faction leaders operate in both spheres—holding official positions while also exercising informal influence their home provinces. Some are Northern Alliance figures and others are Pashtun faction leaders. A number of them own or have investments in

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Afghan security or other firms that have won business from U.S. and other donors and fuel allegations of nepotism and other corruption.  

A variety of expedient local security initiatives undertaken since 2007, including the Afghan Public Protection Program, its successor the Afghan Local Police Program, Village Stability Operations, and the Critical Infrastructure Police, have created new security organs that sometimes operate without full control by central security organs. These programs are said by critics to have revived the militia concept that was being dismantled by the international community during 2001-2006. Some Afghans, particularly the Northern Alliance, believe that the international community’s original strategy of dismantling local power structures in favor of a monopoly of central government control over armed force—which often targeted Northern Alliance militias for demobilization—caused the security deterioration in 2006-2011.

Some assert that the Obama Administration’s criticism of Karzai has caused him to become ever more reliant on factional power brokers. Karzai’s position is that confronting faction leaders outright would likely cause their followers—who usually belong to ethnic or regional minorities—to go into armed rebellion. Karzai has long argued that keeping the faction leaders on the

179 Ibid
government side is needed in order to keep the focus on combating the Taliban, who are almost all ethnic Pashtuns. 180

In February 2007, both houses of parliament passed a law (officially titled the National Reconciliation, General Amnesty, and National Stability Law) giving amnesty to faction leaders and others who committed abuses during Afghanistan’s past wars. Karzai sent back to parliament an altered draft to give victims the right to seek justice for any abuses. Even though the revised draft contained that amendment, Karzai did not sign the final version in May 2007, leaving the status unclear. However, in December 2009, the Afghan government published the law in the official gazette (a process known as “gazetting”), giving it the force of law. 181

4.1.6 Corruption and Collusion

The most shocking news about the Afghan governance is that there are so many corruptions which never happened under the Taliban regime. Several factors do not bode well for the Karzai government's tenuous hold on power. The Karzai government is increasingly unpopular throughout the country, despite its attempts to build support with various giveaway programs, such as free seed distribution. It is widely seen as corrupt and having embraced the

181 Ibid
very warlords who pillaged the country in the lawless years preceding the Taliban and impotent in the face of rising terrorist violence.\textsuperscript{182}

"Transparent" is not an apt description of the general business culture of Afghanistan. Corruption and collusion between government and business is believed to be commonplace. Business is conducted based on personal, familial, ethnic and historical relationships, and businesses must negotiate a maze of bribes, taxes and murky government requirements that raise the risks and costs of doing business. Those businesses with the right connections are able to sidestep many of these costs and risks. However, for small businesses and potential new investors or entrepreneurs without political influence, there are significant and sometimes insurmountable barriers to entry.\textsuperscript{183}

Rural Afghans are extremely conservative and generally resistant to new ideas from the outside. The resistance seems to come from a combination of limited education, decades of isolation from modern advances, the necessity for extreme self-reliance to survive protracted periods of conflict, and the distrust, suspicion and presumption of corruption that permeates society after so many years of conflict.\textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid
4.2 The Definition of Stable and Unstable of Afghanistan’s Political Aspect

Based on Merriam Webster Dictionary, stable means firmly established, not changing or fluctuating, thus, political stability means a condition where the government and people live in a harmonious way. It is when the rule of law, strong institutions rather than powerful individuals, a responsive and efficient bureaucracy, low corruption and a business climate that is conducive for investment.\textsuperscript{185}

Unstable means not stable, changes happened. The political condition in Afghanistan after the 9/11 changed because of the invasion from United States, from a very strict Islamic law and regulation into a democracy system. Below is the Political transition in Afghanistan which summarized into a table to easier reader to understand.

\textsuperscript{185}Political Stability: Crucial for Growth? Retrieved on September 15, 2012. From \url{http://www2.lse.ac.uk/IDEA/publications/reports/pdf/SU004/shepherd.pdf}
## Afghanistan Political Transition Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interim Administration</th>
<th>Formed by Bonn Agreement. Headed by Hamid Karzai, an ethnic Pashtun, but key security positions dominated by mostly minority “Northern Alliance.” Karzai reaffirmed as leader by June 2002 “emergency <em>loyajirga.</em>” (A <em>jirga</em> is a traditional Afghan assembly.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitution</td>
<td>Approved by January 2004 “Constitutional <em>Loya Jirga</em>” (CLJ). Set up strong presidency, a rebuke to Northern Alliance that wanted prime ministership to balance presidential power, but gave parliament significant powers to compensate. Gives men and women equal rights under the law, allows for political parties as long as they are not “un-Islamic;” allows for court rulings according to Hanafi (Sunni) Islam (Chapter 7, Article 15). Set out electoral roadmap for simultaneous (if possible) presidential, provincial, and district elections by June 2004. Named ex-King Zahir Shah to non-hereditary position of “Father of the Nation;” he died July 23, 2007.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Election</td>
<td>Elections for president and two vice presidents, for five-year term, held October 9, 2004. Turnout was 80% of 10.5 million registered. Karzai and running mates (Ahmad Zia Masoud, a Tajik and brother of legendary <em>mujahedin</em> commander Ahmad Shah Masoud who was assassinated by Al Qaeda two days before the September 11 attacks, and KarimKhalili, a Hazara) elected with 55% against 16 opponents. Second highest vote getter, Northern Alliance figure (and Education Minister) YunusQanooni (16%). One female ran. Funded with $90 million from donors, including $40 million from U.S. (FY2004, P.L. 108-106).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| First Provincial Elections/District Elections | Provincial elections held September 18, 2005, simultaneous with parliamentary elections. Exact powers vague, but now taking lead in deciding local reconstruction Provincial council sizes range from 9 to the 29 seats on the Kabul provincial council. Total seats are 420, of which 121 held by women. 13, 185 candidates, including 279 women. District elections not held due to complexity and potential tensions of drawing district boundaries. |
| Second Presidential/Provincial Elections | Presidential and provincial elections were held August 20, 2009, but required a runoff because no candidate received over 50% in certified results issued October 20. Second round not held because Dr. Abdullah pulled out of runoff. Election costs: $300 million. |
| Parliamentary Elections | Originally set for May 22, 2010; held September 18, 2010. Results disputed, but agreement reached for Karzai inaugurate new lower house on January 26, 2011, six days after original date. 70 women elected, two more than quota. Speaker selected on February 27, Abdul RaoufIbrahimi, an ethnic Uzbek. Special tribunal set up to investigate results and on June 23 ruled that 62 results be altered, prompting a backlash from those who might be deprived of seats and threats of impeaching Karzai. Crisis eased on August 11, 2011, when Karzai disbanded special tribunal and announced that only the election bodies have standing to overturn results. Independent Election Commission announced August 21 that nine lower house winners would be unseated for fraud. They were sworn in September 4; but a broad lower house boycott rendered it non-functional until October 9, 2011. For the upper house, 68 seats council are appointed to four-year terms by the elected provincial councils in each of Afghanistan’s 34 provinces, and remain |
in office. Karzai made his 34 appointments on February 19, 2011. The speaker of that body is Muslim Yaar (a Pashtun).

| Third Presidential Elections | To be held on April 5, 2014. Karzai has repeatedly said he will not seek to alter the constitution to allow him to run again. There is no clear Pashtun front runner to succeed him, and many of the major political figures are discussing coalescing around one consensus candidate. |

By having the understanding of stable, unstable and political stability and also by seeing how the politic of Afghanistan changed before and after the 9/11, the writer can say that the 9/11 tragedy made the political condition in Afghanistan unstable.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

From the previous analysis in chapter 2, 3 and 4, this research concluded that the political stability of Afghanistan can be summarized as follow:

After the US attack to Afghanistan, as a result of 9/11 tragedy, in order to fix the condition, there are some countries which wanted to help to bring the stability of Afghanistan. There are also some agreements, conferences and groups in order to help Afghan. As a result of US invasion to take control of Afghanistan, the Taliban had to surrender and made the Afghanistan in a power-vacuum situation, thus in Bonn Agreement in 2001, NATO decided to cede the top leadership to Hamid Karzai as leader of an interim administration of Afghanistan.

In political aspect, US wanted to make Afghanistan as a democratic country just like them. And as one of the ways to be a democracy country, US prepared Afghanistan to have President Election. In 2004, Afghanistan did President Election Post-Taliban Era which won by Hamid Karzai and became the Afghanistan President again for 5 years.

Because of the election then so many Afghan people wanted to become the President which they have no chances under Taliban control. Hundreds of political parties created in 2009 to join the next election. The competition in the election did not running smoothly because of the rivalries within and outside governing institutions. People race to be the 1st people in the country and it
caused the unstable of governance and situation inside Afghanistan for some times.

Besides the election, Afghanistan also made some assembly to support the governance. Woman also allowed joining the assembly. The National Assembly outlined by the constitution consists of a 249 all-elected lower house (Wolesi Jirga, House of the People) and a selected 102 seat upper house (Meshrano Jirga, House of Elders). The upper house is selected as follows: one-third, or 34 seats, appointed by the president (for a five-year term); one-third appointed by the elected provincial councils (four-year term); and one-third appointed by elected district councils (for a three-year term). Of the president’s appointments, half (17) are mandated to be women.

The National Assembly has become the key formal institution for non-Pashtuns and political independents to express political opposition to and to exert influence on Karzai. The Assembly has been set up by the constitution as a relatively powerful body that can, to some extent, check the powers of the president, although the Northern Alliance and other Karzai critics say it has insufficient power to break presidential authority.

The most shocking news about the Afghan governance is that there are so many corruptions which never happened under the Taliban regime. The Karzai governance does not bode well. It is increasingly unpopular throughout the country, despite its attempts to build support with various giveaway programs, such as free seed distribution. It is widely seen as corrupt and
having embraced the very warlords who pillaged the country in the lawless years preceding the Taliban and impotent in the face of rising terrorist violence.

"Transparent" is not an apt description of the general business culture of Afghanistan. Corruption and collusion between government and business is believed to be commonplace. Business is conducted based on personal, familial, ethnic and historical relationships, and businesses must negotiate a maze of bribes, taxes and murky government requirements that raise the risks and costs of doing business. Those businesses with the right connections are able to sidestep many of these costs and risks. They are also more successful in getting access to land and capital, two critical constraints in the business enabling environment of Afghanistan. However, for small businesses and potential new investors or entrepreneurs without political influence, there are significant and sometimes insurmountable barriers to entry.

Rural Afghans are extremely conservative and generally resistant to new ideas from the outside. The resistance seems to come from a combination of limited education, decades of isolation from modern advances, the necessity for extreme self-reliance to survive protracted periods of conflict, and the distrust, suspicion and presumption of corruption that permeates society after so many years of conflict.
By having those data, the conclusion from this research is 9/11 tragedy impacts to the political stability of Afghanistan through the invasion from United States as the result of the tragedy. The invasion of United States and NATO made the political of Afghanistan unstable because with their intervention, they are trying to control and change some political aspects of Afghanistan when it was under the Taliban regime.
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