ALL POLITICS IS LOCAL: EXAMINING AFGHANISTAN’S CENTRAL GOVERNMENT’S ROLE IN STATE-BUILDING AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

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State-building literature in relation to Afghanistan has tended to focus on how to combat the insurgency in order to promote internal state stability. However, there has been little analysis of the role the Afghan central government appointees in state-building at the provincial level. This thesis will help correct for the deficiency by focusing on the central government’s appointment of provincial governors and its impact on insurgent penetration in the provinces. With many governors using their positions to create elaborate patronage networks as well as using their position to eliminate their opponents, these tactics can create a breeding ground of domestic insurgency by recruiting from disaffected tribes/ethnicities. Using original data on the governors of each of Afghanistan’s 34 provinces, from 2002 to present day, as well as data on insurgent attacks this thesis will test the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the central government’s appointment of provincial governors and the number of insurgent attacks in each of the providences. To conduct this empirical analysis I will use bivariate statistical tests to help determine if there is any potential relationship between the appointment of provincial governors and insurgent attacks.
This work is dedicated to my parents, John and Cynthia Grant, for their steadfast and loyal support.
I would first like to take the opportunity to thank my parents, John and Cynthia Grant, for their constant support while I journeyed through both undergraduate and graduate school. Furthermore, I thank both my brothers, Justin and Jordan Grant, for their continued support and words of encouragement as I went through college. I will also like to express my appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Neil Englehart, as well as to Dr. Marc Simon and Dr. Neal Jesse for their guidance and advice as I undertook this thesis; without their support I would not be nearly the scholar I am today and this thesis would not have been possible without their assistance. Additionally, I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Jeff Peake for his constant advice and tutelage in both my undergraduate and graduate career. I would like to say a special thanks to my MPA colleagues for providing me with mental support and the numerous sanity checks throughout my graduate career. Finally, I would like to thank the former political science secretary, Becky Paskvan, for her guidance and willingness to help me solve any administrative issue that might have arisen during my time at Bowling Green State University.
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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the country’s history, Afghanistan, despite its remoteness and seeming unimportance, has been in the center of some of the most important events in human history. These events include being part of the empires of Alexander the Great, Cyrus the Great, and Mahmud of Ghazni, just to name a few. Additionally, it was also on the frontline of some of the most intense political struggles of the 20th Century, including those between the British and Russian Empires and its participation in the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union.¹ Nonetheless, despite all its unique history, Afghanistan has been noted by many to be a failed or failing state, which in many cases was on the precipice of complete and utter collapse.² When the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 occurred, Afghanistan, a country that was largely ignored by the global community, resurfaced on the international stage. In spite of this rise to prominence, Afghanistan would not be the buffer state between two empires as it had been before. Instead it would be the battleground itself as the United States along with its international partners sought to drive the Taliban and Al-Qaeda from the country and rebuild the nation into a functioning state once again. Despite being ten years into the conflict, the NATO expedition there have been few in achieved results as it relates to reconstruction and capacity building, with most military forces focusing primarily on pacification attempting to drive the Taliban from their strongholds. Because of the U.S. focus on Iraq for most part of the mid-2000’s, the Taliban was allowed the necessary time they needed to regroup and reemerge as a force to be reckoned with challenging the more advanced forces of the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF).

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate what impact provincial governors, with their relation to the central government, had on the reconstruction process in Afghanistan. The research questions that will encompass this thesis are:

1. Is the sub-national government, operating through the national government with a special focus on the provincial governors of Afghanistan’s 34 provinces, having any effect on stabilization efforts? If so, are the effects positive or negative effects and are their attributes at play that may be causing success/failure?

2. Are there attributes, either biographical or political, that provincial governors are associated with that are resulting in the increase of insurgent violence in Afghanistan?

3. Based on the results, from the analysis of the gubernatorial traits, who are the best candidates to become a provincial governor if the goal is to increase domestic security?

4. If the provincial governors are having a negative impact, are there policy prescriptions that could alleviate or lessen the negative impact these governors are having on the reconstruction process?

To answer these questions, this thesis will present a case that there are in fact associations that governors have that may cause insurgent violence to rise. Furthermore, from these results, this thesis will make a determination about who would be best suited to become a provincial governor with the task of increasing provincial security. To do so, a data-set was constructed that measure the personal and political characteristics of Afghanistan’s provincial governors from 2002 to present day. This data was then paired with data collected on insurgent violence in Afghanistan with the results of this test published in the final chapter of this thesis. However, the purpose of this essay is not just to examine governors but also to analyze Afghanistan’s history
and culture to determine if the current governance model being pursued in Afghanistan is appropriate. Furthermore, based on this historical analysis I will draw lessons and derive prescriptions for the type of governance models for the type of governance models that should be implemented by the international community and Afghanistan as they attempt to stabilize and reconstruct the country.

The first chapter of this thesis will largely focus on the culture and history of Afghanistan with particular attention on how the state has been run over the centuries. In order to better facilitate my analysis, this essay will examine the works of academics who have spent years investigating Afghanistan as a country and as a culture. While this chapter will use other sources than those listed below, these publications listed represent some of the best work on Afghanistan’s cultural and political history. These accounts are overall the most proficient sources on how to trace the governance of the Afghan state over the years. Chapter 1 will additionally focus on recent events including the rise and fall of the Taliban along with the recent military and political history of Afghanistan from 2001 to present day. This chapter’s primary purpose is to demonstrate how the country has shift in its governance over the centuries and demonstrate that while Afghanistan may go against the definition of a functioning state, these

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biases may blind us to the fact that while it may appear chaotic, the country itself is working regardless.

The second chapter of this thesis will examine the literature surrounding state-building, focusing on the concept of centralization as well as counterinsurgency. Much of the literature on state governance in Afghanistan has tended to place emphasis on the international community’s role in the stabilization process. This study, instead, will attempt to fill the void in the academic knowledge and concentrate on the Afghanistan’s central government and its relationship with the provincial government. While there have been reports on the Afghanistan police and military and how effective they have been in Afghanistan; there has been to date no report or analysis that has solely addressed the provincial governments and their role in stabilization efforts. Realizing that there are many facets one could examine to attempt to determine the provincial government’s effect on stabilization, this study will focus on the role of provincial governors and how they can affect the reconstruction process. To date there have been a number of governors who have created a great deal of damage during their tenure. One notable example is Oruzgan Governor Jan Khan Mohammad, who used a number of tactics that riled rival clans and tribes in order to better ensure his control at the provincial level rather than having to rely on district level surrogates. These tactics eventually lead to the eruption of a violent conflict between the Barakzais and the Achakzais tribes in Oruzgan which precipitated the decline of stability in the province. This was the end result of appointing members of the opposite tribe in areas where the

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other tribe had a majority, creating a great deal of tension in the province. Another poignant example is that of Governor Gul Agha Sherzai and his militia who abused their power by harassing their old political rivals labeling them as Taliban. Sherzai’s militia also used their control over the border police to extract illicit taxes from travelers entering the province. There are many similar cases supporting the emphasis this thesis has taken, which is provincial governors are a key stakeholder in the future of Afghanistan’s long-term stability. Chapter 2 shows that behind appointing competent versus incompetent governors is crucial for stability in Afghanistan. However, western biases about who may be an incompetent governor in Afghanistan and doom the country to an early failure because, a governor may be very successful in reducing the insurgency despite being undemocratic. Many of Afghanistan’s first governors were former warlords, and their influence and use of informal institutions could have played a larger role in maintaining security in Afghanistan during the first few years of the new government. Additionally, it is through these networks that many of these warlord governors were able to make considerable progress in reconstructing their states when comparing to other provinces that were void of these informal institutions. In spite of what outsiders may consider to be poor policy choices, some Afghan warlords are, nonetheless, quite capable of being effective governors if given the appropriate level of oversight. Since this level of oversight did not occur during the early years of the government, many of these warlord governors were removed from their posts because the actions undertaken during their tenure had resulted in politically negative consequences. As a result of this political backlash, most of these governors were removed after only a few years in office. Nevertheless, despite the personal and political history of the governors, Afghanistan’s de-centralized nature makes all the more important to have a capable

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sub-national administration in Afghanistan. As a result of this decentralization, provincial governors represent in some cases represents the central government to a great majority of Afghan citizens. Therefore, actions of governors, while not officially condoned by the central government, were often seen as an act by the government, thus, increasing the level of anti-government sentiment amongst the population from which the Taliban recruit to strengthen their insurgency.

The third chapter of this thesis will lay out the methodology for the empirical analysis which examines not just the impact governors have on insurgent attacks in their respective provinces, but also what personal characteristics possessed by the governors are helpful or detrimental to the stability of the province in question. Bivariate two-tailed t-test models will be used to determine whether personal histories and cultural characteristics of governors may be critical in explaining the stability of the provinces.

The fourth and final chapter will discuss the results of the analysis. This chapter will also use two case studies of particular provincial governors, Ismail Khan and Gul Agha Sherzai, to evaluate the effectiveness of “warlord” governors, in their respective provinces. This final chapter will also include some policy recommendations on how Afghanistan can best ensure that its provincial governors becomes effective administrators.
CHAPTER I: THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF AFGHANISTAN

Many Americans, up to the September 11th attacks in New York City, Washington D.C., and Pennsylvania, did not know where in world where Afghanistan was and who governed the impoverished state. However, despite its recent fame on the global stage, Afghanistan is much more than its recent history. In this chapter, through the use of literature written on the history and culture of the country, I shall attempt to shed some light about how the past of the country has shaped its culture. In addition, I shall examine the social and political structure of Afghanistan and how these developments are reflective of the current situation inside the state and how the current strategy may be ineffective at stabilizing the country. Moreover, this chapter will examine how power and influence is established in Afghanistan with a specific focus on the development of the khan system. Proceeding from this analysis, this thesis will survey the formation of the Afghan state as we see it today and how the governance of the state has changed over the centuries. A special focus of this section will draw attention to the period between 1929 and 1973 from which many in Afghanistan label as the “golden years” in the history of the state and how this model could prove useful in the process of reconstructing the Afghan country currently being undertaken. Departing from the period of 1929 to 1973, this chapter will then examine Afghanistan’s descent into a period of two decades of war, with the coups by Mohammad Daoud Khan in 1973 and the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) coup in 1979, known as the Saur Revolution. There will be a dual focus in this section, with the first section focusing on the PDPA’s administration of the country and how they combated the domestic insurgency being waged by the Mujahedeen. Attention should be focused on how their effects may stand in comparison/contrast to current international efforts. The second focus of this chapter will concentrate on the Mujahedeen, including examining their tactics and how they governed and administered themselves and how this administration continued onwards past the
end of the Soviet Occupation and into the civil war period of 1992. From this point, the chapter will move towards a discussion of the Afghanistan Civil War in 1992 and how this lead to the formation of the Taliban Movement which allowed them to ascend in Afghanistan resulting in their control the of country from 1996 to 2001. The final and concluding section of this chapter will investigate the steps taken to remove the Taliban from the country and the political processes that were involved in the Bonn Conference that led to the establishment of the current government under Hamid Karzai.

**THE CULTURE OF POWER AND GOVERNANCE IN AFGHANISTAN**

In terms of Afghanistan, the cultural and political structure is a complex enigma that requires a great deal of experience to successfully navigate. In this section, I will attempt to highlight certain aspects of Afghanistan culture as it relates to power and governance in the country. This section will largely focus on the role of khans who play a large responsibility as it relates to local and sometimes regional governance. While the khans have largely played a significant role in Afghanistan, their political and social prominence has largely declined in recent years which also will be a major point of discussion in this section.

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*Political Actors in Afghanistan*

In Noah Coburn’s new book entitled *Bazaar Politics*, Coburn spent eighteen months in a little town called Istalif, inside Afghanistan, which is just north of Kabul, from which the author conducted field research about a number of facets of Afghan culture that have largely gone unnoticed and how this culture has led to relative stability in this small town. One of his more interesting and striking observations are the number of political actors that inhabit Afghanistan

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and how these actors help shape daily life of the people who resided in Istalif as well as other Afghan towns and villages. Despite the multitude of political actors that are at play in Afghanistan, there appears to be a division of labor amongst them, with each actor being responsible for resolving a particular dispute or situation, which allows the town to operate relatively peacefully with these political actors very rarely confronting one another. For example, in this small town, mullahs always performed marriage ceremonies while a qawm or local malik may be responsible for settling a territorial dispute. On the other hand, in cases where there might be a conflict of interest or personal bias there is a secondary option in asking a local commander or religious figure for his advice or ruling on the matter. For the purposes of this analysis, the focus on political actors will mainly focus on the qawm along with each qawm’s respective leaders which tends to be either a mullah or in some cases a khan. While Coburn does conduct an analysis on the district government in his accounting, this subject will be dealt with later in this chapter when I begin to discuss the current Afghan administration under President Hamid Karzai.  

While Coburn discovers a variety of sources of political capital, the one source that appears to dictate politics in local villages and towns is the concept of nam, or roughly translated “having a good name.” G. Whitney Azoy, in his book on the Afghan sport of Buzkashi, goes much more in-depth to determine how someone acquires a good nam. The basic function of nam appears to be the power to attract supporters, mainly through personal exploits. This concept is essentially a closed circulatory system; one gains a nam, i.e. reputation, through personal exploits, which leads to the recruitment of supports which then proceeds to spoils which finally

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9 Azoy., 22; Coburn., 107-108.
circle back onto reputation, in essence a closed relationship. In the case of this relationship, after a person has been able to acquire a number of followers this domestic support then allows them for to become a leader of a community, this rise in prominence can allow a person to become a khan. While the influence of khans will be discussed later, it is important to note how one becomes a khan in Afghan society. While a political capital is measured in the sense of reputation, the question is not only how to attract followers but also how to best retain them and keep those from supporting a person who may seek to replace you. In order to retain followers, any khan, or would be khan, needs to exhibit two characteristics: first, they must possess hisiyat, or character, and second they must have e’tibar, or credit. Because of this need to maintain ones reputation, day to day life entails the concern of one’s impression amongst the population and ones how actions may help or ruin their own status.\(^{10}\) While khans do in large still gain much of their influence through reputation, Antonio Giustozzi notes that during the 1980’s, khans also emerged because their actions as a military leader which allowed them to usurp the political and social roles of the older class of khans. This new class of khans, was able to take over the property of the older khans, but nevertheless, these new khans was almost indistinguishable from the older class of khans in terms of their actions. This analysis will now turn to examining the role of khans, maliks, and qawms play in the Afghanistan political structure and how their role has diminished over the past few decades.\(^{11}\)

\textit{Qawms, Khans, and Maliks and Their Role and Impact in Afghanistan Culture}

As it was stated earlier in this chapter, a \textit{qawm}, while it tends to related to a tribe, can mean a multitude of different meanings including family, sub-tribe, or some other way to

\(^{10}\) Azoy., 22-34.
identify a group of people.\textsuperscript{12} One common way some have identified themselves in terms of their \textit{qawm} is by their trade. An example of this is group of carpenters who have come together and organized themselves in the terms of a \textit{qawm}, like a type of union in industrialized states, but are not a traditional \textit{qawm} like that of a tribe or family. While \textit{qawms} and \textit{maliks} influence may differ depending on the location inside Afghanistan, they, nonetheless, have a great deal of influence which tends to be exercised through their ability to redistribute economic capital, by holding a feast, or by handing out loans.\textsuperscript{13}

Khans themselves obtain much of their power the same ways leaders of \textit{qawms} in Afghanistan society. A khan gains his power through the number of followers he has, mainly through a patron-client relationship, and those followers expect something in return by being associated with a particular khan. If other khans begin to expand while others flounder, then a floundering khan may begin to lose his supporters, thus lose their status as such.\textsuperscript{14} This competition for followers may descend into conflict in the form of vendettas that can last for generations. Khan’s as a means to maintain their power and position have a number of options open to them including exploitation of local resources, providing public goods, obtaining help from the state, or by protecting the local population either from the government or other enemy.\textsuperscript{15} While a khan’s power mainly resides within his family, it can reach outwards to those employed as household servants or those who are tenants on the land the khan owns, this in turn helps him expand his \textit{qawm} and thus his power.\textsuperscript{16} A khan’s influence may also extend over certain nomadic tribes. This occurs when certain nomads may feel that their access to fields, in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Coburn, 110-113.
\item Azoy, 29-30.
\item Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2nd Ed}, 43; Azoy, 30-31.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
order for their herds to pasture, may be in jeopardy and a khan, who tends to have local
government connections, may be able to facilitate a solution to this problem; this exchange for
services leads these people into the khans qawm as a result.\textsuperscript{17}

Nevertheless, despite its lengthy presence in Afghan society the influence of khans and
\textit{maliks} has waned in Afghanistan. Nancy Hatch Dupree examined how conflicts of the 1970’s
and 1980’s had an negative impact on the Afghan people and found that because of the conflicts
the traditional lifestyle that many Afghans were used to no longer existed. This was in part due
to the mass exodus of people from Afghanistan during the 1980’s and well as the attempt by the
PDPA and the Soviet Union to ‘sovietize’ the society which encroached on a number of
traditional Afghan cultural practices.\textsuperscript{18} Jon Anderson also notes the changing social relationships
in Afghanistan, with a special focus on the khans. Anderson observed that due to new
agricultural practices the way the labor system in Afghanistan has operated for generations has
changed due to the introduction of new crops that needed little or no manual labor. As a
consequence of these new practices, there was a noticeable impact on the long-term economic
relationships that khans relied on for their power and prestige. Thusly, the traditional khans
found it hard to operate, with some giving up being a khan altogether, while others attempted to
elevate themselves to the position of khan but only for purposes of the gaining social status but
not willing to take the additional responsibilities of being a khan, consequently tainting the status
of what it means to be a khan. This, subsequently, diminished the influence of the khans and
Anderson states, rather provocatively, “that there are no more khans anymore.”\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17} Bernt Glatzer and Michael J. Casimir, “Herds and Households Among Pashtun Pastoral Nomads: Limits of
\textsuperscript{18} Nancy Hatch Dupree, “Cultural Heritage and National Identity in Afghanistan,” \textit{Third World Quarterly} Vol. 23,
No. 5 (October 2002): 984.
\textsuperscript{19} Jon W. Anderson, “There Are No Khans Anymore: Economic Development and Social Change in Tribal
however, paints a much better picture for the future of the khans. While the influence of the khans and *qawms* had decreased in the recent decades, namely during the 1970’s which was the time Anderson was writing his piece, nonetheless, when the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan the power of the khans and *maliks* began to reemerge. The withdrawal of troops created a power vacuum which allowed many *maliks* and khans to reassert themselves in the domestic power base and gave them the leverage to negotiate with the government, NGO’s, as well as international troops.\(^2^0\)

Now that this chapter has discussed the cultural and political backbones of Afghanistan, this discussion will now turn to the history of Afghanistan, starting with the formation of the Afghan state in 1747 under Ahmad Shah. From there, this thesis will turn its attention on the centralization of the Afghan state under Abdul Rahman and discuss the resulting impact in terms of the governance of the state and what steps Rahman took to accomplish his mission. In the following section it is important to note how Ahmad Shah and Abdul Rahman differed in terms of ruling Afghanistan, and how each method has it positives and negatives accordingly and how lessons from both of these experiences may help shape our current understanding on what is going wrong in Afghanistan and how these lessons from the past may contain a policy prescription for today’s Afghanistan.

**FORMATION OF THE AFGHAN STATE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1747-1929**

In order to better understand how the Afghanistan of today functions as a state, an examination of how the state developed from its inception is required. In this section, the focus will largely be centered on two individuals, the first is Ahmad Shah who founded the Durrani

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\(^{20}\) Coburn, 115-116.
Empire in 1747 and helped create and shape Afghanistan of today. Despite these events from
taking place roughly 300 years ago, the way the Afghan state was governed then still has a large
impact of Afghanistan’s current governance structure which will be a key lesson as this chapter
moves forward. The second individual is that of Abdul Rahman Khan who, along with his son
Habibullah, ruled during the latter half of the 1800’s and early 1900’s. He helped form what
could be best described as the first “modern” state in Afghanistan that threw away the model that
Ahmad Shah used to govern the country and instead centralized state power using Kabul as his
capital. This essay will attempt to demonstrate how the problems encountered in the past may
hold a solution for the future as it relates to the governance structure of the new Afghanistan.

What one should focus on is how the governance at the macro-level of Afghanistan has changed
over the years and how each governmental system is received by the Afghan population. This
aspect of governance will be part of the discussion later when this thesis begins discussing the
current government under Hamid Karzai.

_Ahmad Shah and the Rise of the Durrani Empire_

When Afghanistan was first founded in 1747, it could at best be described as a politically
empty land that was not Persian, Indian, or British. The state emerged according to Lord George
N. Curzon because it was “a purely accidental geographic unit.”

The history of Afghanistan which precipitated in the rise of the Durrani Empire unfortunately begins with an assassination. During the mid-1700’s, an individual by the name Nadir Shah Asfar was able to successfully mobilize a variety of tribal forces to create a new empire that was created in the wake of the collapse of the Safavid Empire. During this time period, Nadir Shah who used Iran as his base

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began projecting his power outwards and in 1739 he successfully led the defeat of the Mughal Empire and then subsequently sacked Delhi. In order to consolidate his control over his soldiers he used the spoils of these conflicts and generously awarded these prizes to his soldiers as payment for their services and loyalty to him. Furthermore, Nadir Shah also collected a number of taxes from those individuals, who lived in the provinces under his control. However, when Nadir Shah was assassinated in June of 1747, the empire that he created collapsed, which precipitated the creation of the Durrani Empire that same year from the ashes of Nadir’s empire. With Ahmad Shah leading this new kingdom, Afghanistan, as we see it today, was born.22

Prior to his ascension to the title of Shah of the Durrani Empire, Ahmad Shah served as the leader of the bodyguards of Nadir Shah as well as commanding a contingent of four thousand cavalry. Ahmad Shah was, as historical records dictate, the choice of the tribes that was deadlocked on who should lead the remnants of Nadir Shah’s empire, after a famous holy man declared Ahmad to be the “Pearl of Pearls” which helped sway the to support Shah as their new Amir. Upon taking the title of Shah, or King, Ahmad led his newly christened empire in two different directions.23 It is important to note before this chapter continues that while Ahmad Shah was a king in the traditional respect, he, conversely, did not have direct command as a territorial sovereign over his realm. Instead, since he was chosen as “King, or Shah, of the Afghans,” Ahmad Shah, thusly, was only the leader of the tribes that are part, and took part, in the loya jirga of the Abali Tribal Confederation; therefore, he could not be considered king over the entire realm that is now Afghanistan. Nevertheless, Ahmad did eventually assume this role through conquest of what would become the Afghan state of today.24 Ahmad Shah’s first action

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22 Barfield, 96-97.
23 Ibid., 98.
as Amir was re-establishing control over Herat in 1750 and displacing his Afshar rivals. Furthermore, during this period he retook control over northern Afghanistan from the Uzbeks. Ahmad Shah did have another conflict over the territory that would be northern Afghanistan, again with the Uzbeks, but a treaty signed recognized the Amu Darya as the northern border of Afghanistan.  

After Ahmad consolidated the Durrani Empire, Barfield notes that the empire resembled “a coat worn inside out.” While the empire does fit the traditional definition of a state as laid out, upon closer inspection the territory itself was largely a nomadic and conquest type of empire. Therefore, the rule of this type of empire only succeeds temporarily in transforming the empire into a patrimonial state. Despite these limitations, Ahmad Shah was able to lead the Abdali, later Durrani, tribal confederations to the conquest of non-Pashtun lands which included territory in present day India. However, despite the conquests the empire’s core, which consisted on mainly of cities like Kandahar, Kabul, and Peshawar, these cities were much more beleaguered and sparsely populated while the boundaries of the empire, which included Sind, Punjab, Kashmir, Khorasan and Turkistan, were more developed and wealthier by comparison. Despite control over all these territories it was going to be difficult for the Durrani Empire to maintain consistent control over the totality of their empire, especially northern India. Shah, realizing this, decided to cede a great deal of control in India, only launching the occasional raids to replenish funds as needed. Nevertheless, as the Sheiks began to rise in India and began to establish their own empire, the Durrani Empire, as a consequence, lost control over Lahore in 1767 and held only de-facto control over Baluchistan, Khorasan, and Turkistan using local elites.

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26 Barfield, 99.
under the supervision of Durrani Empire to govern these provinces. This was largely the strategy
to maintain the vast empire, using the empires large military which enabled it to be a force to act
as a deterrent to its neighbors, but also act as a mechanism to keep vassals of the empire in
check.  

At its height the Durrani Empire had a force of about 120,000 men, but in order to pay for
this army, which was computed to be around 30 million rupees, the Durrani Empire relied on
local financial administration, outside what is present day Afghanistan, by those who controlled
land grants. Nonetheless, because the Durrani Empire relied so heavy on military spoils the
empire was almost constantly engaged in military campaigns. Ahmad Shah’s biggest limitation
was his reliance on local militias who tended to not want to fight in a campaign for over a year,
and since these militias constituted the bulk of their forces, Ahmad Shah had to either abruptly
end campaigns or limit them; otherwise military success could not be guaranteed. While the
Durrani Empire was highly centralized militarily, local administration was greatly devolved to
the local administrators, namely provincial governors, which gave these governors a great deal of
authority and autonomy over their respective territories which resulted in the creation of micro-
states within the country itself. Because of this fact, many governors were able to build on their
own local support and if the empire seemed to be waning, these governors, who had their own
local militaries, were able to revolt against the state government. When Ahmad Shah died in
1773, his empire essentially collapses with a number of successive battles to fight over control
the empire, and with each passing generation, the conflict expanded farther outward like a
concentric circle which almost led to the collapse of the Afghan state itself.  

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28 Barfield, 99-100.
29 Barfield, 101-102.
Despite the Durrani Empire being the virtual antithesis of the nation state, according the Rubin, it in spite of everything, some of the unique features of this state continued onwards, namely the practices performed during the empire still make up some of the practices in present day Afghanistan. Furthermore, despite the Durrani Empire’s entry in the history books, the way the state of Afghanistan was governed during this time period is essentially the model that many Afghans today, especially the Pashtuns, wish to see be returned to present day Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{30} Thomas Barfield interesting refers to this type of governmental model as the “Swiss cheese” model. Unlike most empires that seek to control every part of their respective boundaries, referred to as the American cheese model, the Swiss cheese model seeks only to control the centers of communication and leave the rest of their territory to their own devices by largely ignoring them. Nonetheless, while Ahmad Shah is widely credited for the creation of the Afghan state itself, another man, Abdul Rahman Khan is widely regarded as the father of the centralized state of Afghanistan, from which leader of Afghanistan since him have attempted to replicate. In the next section, Abdul Rahman Khan and his policies will be examined that allowed him to centralize power where others before him had not.\textsuperscript{31}

The Centralized Afghanistan State, 1880 to 1901

Abdul Rahman Khan rose to become the leader of the Afghan State after the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Afghan War, which ended in 1880, as well as the subsequent civil war between him and Ayyub Khan that occurred shortly thereafter.\textsuperscript{32} The rise of the monarchy in this case could also be partially attributed to British policies that were designed to pacify the Pashtun

\textsuperscript{30} Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1192.

\textsuperscript{31} Barfield, 68.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 146.
population that resided along India’s northwest frontier.\textsuperscript{33} While other states in the region were becoming colonies to the European powers, namely that of Great Britain and Russia in this region, Afghanistan, instead, became a buffer state between these two empires which gave support in the form of military aid so that Afghanistan under Rahman could create and build a centralized Afghan army.\textsuperscript{34} Despite gaining control over the state of Afghanistan, Abdul Rahman began a campaign of internal wars that was directed at giving him total control of the country, rather than having to rely on intermediaries as Ahmad Shah had in the past. Instead of attempting to negotiate and persuade individuals to support him, Rahman instead initiated a campaign using force to gain control over the country, which resulted in roughly forty uprisings to occur during his reign, from which he was able to quickly suppress before it spread and became more organized.\textsuperscript{35}

In his campaign to control the country, Rahman targeted three specific groups: the first were the Pashtuns; the second were his cousins that ruled Turkistan; and finally the non-Sunni ethnic groups, namely Hazara’s, that lived in the more isolated parts of the country and have historically been outside the reach of government control. As an alternative of attempting to conquer the entire country at once, Rahman instead focused on a particular region at a time and gave his newly found subjects the opportunity to acquire great wealth by joining his later conquests. This process of incrementalism took fifteen years, but the end result was a powerful and centralized military along with the creation of a very suppressive police state that virtually had control over the entire country.\textsuperscript{36} However, in order to maintain and solidify his control over the country, Rahman used brutal tactics that included using his police forces to arrest, torture,
and executed government officials or political opponents to his administration. Additionally, Rahman also changed the tax collection structure in Afghanistan. Historically Afghanistan could be best described as a feudal empire ruled by relatives of the king who only passed along fixed amounts of the taxes collected and pocketed the rest that was left over for themselves. Rahman’s administration, by contrast, appointed the provincial governors and other local administrators personally and divided each of these large provinces in into districts and sub-districts which transmitted all the tax collection revenue directly to the central government. Barnett Rubin states that what Rahman accomplished was in line with what Anthony Giddens labeled the absolutist state. According to Giddens, the absolutist state departs from the traditional forms through which the citizens define the states boundaries and instead begins to have territorial boundaries and with this transformation gains a new type of sovereignty. However despite the creation of a new state, the absolutist model still suffers a number of issues, mainly the fact that the country is still largely segmented and internal administration of the state is still weak when compared to the administration of the nation-state.

Notwithstanding all the changes to the Afghan state Abdul Rahman accomplished, there was one area where he did not pursue change which was the establishment of a modern education system. Rahman’s resistance to the establishment a modern education system stems from his policy to isolate Afghanistan by not bringing in those individuals from abroad which would be required to establish any modern education system. Furthermore, he prevented any of his subjects from leaving Afghanistan to study abroad in other countries. Also, while Afghanistan, under Rahman, had the characteristics of an absolutist state, many of the social

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changes and reforms that accompany this type of government did not occur. This is in due part because Rahman had the subsidies from the British government which allowed him to build up his army without developing the capitalist economy that is necessary to support a large military. Regardless of Abdul Rahman’s refusal to establish an education system, his son and successor Amir Habibullah reversed those policies by establishing a military college, the Royal Military College, and established the first modern secondary school, the Habibia College, as well as allowing the entry of foreign experts into the country, but on a very strict basis. Regardless of all the efforts of Rahman and his successors, his legacy in Afghanistan could not be maintained, and by 1929 the old order represented by Rahman was overthrown by a civil war, while the monarchy remained for another 50 years, the control Rahman had over Afghanistan could not be effectively replicated. While there is a great deal of history covered between 1901, when Rahman died, and 1929, this thesis will instead jump to examine the period between 1929 and 1973 which is widely seen as a period of relative stability and will inspect not just the governance of the state but also observe the reform attempts to bring Afghanistan forward into the 20th century.

RISE OF THE MUSAHIBAN DYNASTY, 1929-1978

When the regime of King Amanullah came to an end in 1929, a civil erupted began over who should become the next ruler of Afghanistan. This period was accompanied by the brief period of Habibullah Kalakani’s reign as Amir, which lasted only nine months from January to October 1929, but a new dynasty would soon emerge in Afghanistan that would govern the state for nearly fifty years, known as the Musahiban Dynasty. The Musahiban Dynasty was created

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when Nadir Shah crossed the Durand Line from Pakistan entering Afghanistan and subsequently taking control of Kabul and deposing the Amir, Habibullah Kalakani, and restoring Pashtun leadership of Afghanistan from the Tajiks. Nadir Shah retook control of Afghanistan and restored the monarchy on the basis of Pashtun nationalism. Nadir Shah’s platform for turning Afghanistan into a modern state called for the creations of a secularized education system and building a modern army.\textsuperscript{42} Despite the new rule, the dynasty, nevertheless, still had to work with the rural power holders in Afghanistan. These circumstances altered the policies of the government which decided to focus on the international system to acquire the resources necessary to fund their modernization rather than upsetting rural power holders in an attempt to get them to fall in line with state policies.\textsuperscript{43}

In the face of Nadir Shah’s ascension to the throne, his reign as Amir, however, was cut short when he was assassinated in 1933, which transferred the control of the country of Afghanistan to his nineteen year old son Mohammad Zahir who reigned until he was deposed as Amir in 1973.\textsuperscript{44} While Zahir Shah was on paper the Amir of Afghanistan, the real power rested with his uncles, particularly Hashim Khan, who governed the nation while Zhair Shah remained as a figurehead. When Hashim Khan resigned the post as Prime Minister in 1946, due to illness, the power he had accumulated was transferred to his brother Shah Mahmud, which he held from 1946 to 1953 when he handed his position over to his nephew Mohammad Daud Khan. This power structure remained in place until 1963 when Zahir Shah removed his cousin, Mohammad Daud Khan, and took control of the government for himself.\textsuperscript{45} Events before 1963, however, showed that the relationship between Zahir Shah and Daud Khan was amicable for the most part.

\textsuperscript{42} Cullather, 518.  
\textsuperscript{44} Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1200.  
\textsuperscript{45} Barfield, 199-201.
with both men seeking to speed up the progress of the modernization of the country. With Daud Khan at the head of the government as Prime Minister, he was able to initiate reforms focused on building up the army, modernizing the states infrastructure, and expanding the access to education.\footnote{Hasan Kakar, “The Fall of the Afghan Monarchy in 1973,” \textit{International Journal of Middle East Studies} Vol. 9, No. 2 (April 1978): 198.}

Notwithstanding the amicable relationship, a rift began to emerge between Daud Khan and Zahir Shah when in the 1960’s Daud Khan wrote a series of letters suggesting that the government move towards a constitutional monarchy, after his idea for a national referendum on the future of the government of Afghanistan was viewed to be unacceptable; these letter, nonetheless, would serve as a future catalyst for change. Daud Khan during this time as Prime Minister viewed the royal court as too large a source of struggles in the past which led to the ruin of the country. Instead, according to the plans laid out by Daud Khan, the king would become the head of state, but more in a figurehead type of fashion that would not allow the king to interfere in state affairs. In order to allow these reforms to take place a new constitution that governs Afghanistan would have to be written. While Zahir Shah was widely suspicious of Daud Khan, events in the region which included a closed border with Pakistan, revolutions in the Middle East, and the countries dependency on the Soviet-bloc, which will be discussed later, convinced Zahir to pursue reforms, however, not before he took and accepted the resignation of Daud Khan as Prime Minister.\footnote{Ibid., 198-199.}

When the new constitution was created 1964, the monarchy was still very central to the government of Afghanistan; though, the decision-making process of the state was expanded to the more people. The main heart of the new constitution was the creation of three separate and
equal powers which the king will serve over as a unifying authority. The constitution created a radically new administrative structure for Afghanistan, with 29 provinces that were cut out of the large and extensive provinces in order to better facilitate their management. With the creation of these new provinces the traditional local administrative structures were to be phased out and abolished with new governors responsible for the management and care of the province, and sub-governors responsible for specific regions of said province. In light of these new changes the government began to stress the need for competent governors, so much so that it emphasized Western education, youth, and the support of the constitutional changes when choosing its provincial governors.48 This emphasis is depicted in Wolfram Eberhard’s study on the emerging leaders of the Afghan elite which shows that those who were going to be public administrators had a great deal of higher education when in comparison to other fields. His study shows that 82.9 percent of those individuals training to become administrators have received a college degree, which was the most in any surveyed field; the next closest field was that of education whose trainees 66.7 percent of them had a college degree. Furthermore of these trainees, 17.1 percent of them had received foreign training of some kind in addition to their formal education.49 Despite occurring roughly fifty years ago, there still is a norm present that suggests a provincial governor must have a Western education and had to live abroad for some period time; as this relates to present day circumstances will be discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, despite all the efforts to ensure the professionalization of their governors, the Afghan bureaucracy remained very corrupt and inefficient. The reason why this was the case can be attributed to the fact that many Afghan civil servants were largely underpaid, possible the lowest paid in world at the time, which facilitated the need for many civil servants to obtain resources

elsewhere in order for them to live decently livelihoods. Aside from this issue, corruption and embezzlement by Afghan civil servants was an accepted fact and that was only looked down upon when individuals did an excess of it.\textsuperscript{50}

While the Musahiban government did succeed in reaching out from Kabul to the rural parts of Afghanistan, its main goal in this effort was to encapsulate local power structures to ensure those same power structures could not be used to cause regional problems designed to undermine the central government. The Musahiban government did not attempt any reform of the social structures that had existed a great deal of time and had embedded themselves in the local culture. This was mainly because of the lack of incentive, on the part of the government, as well as the unnecessary need to develop an administration with tighter control, which would be time-consuming and be a great cost to the central government. As a result, many qawm groups were still able to operate outside the government, but with a varying amount of degrees. The strongest of these groups were located in the mountainous region of the country where government penetration was very limited, while in the cities and agricultural areas, the government presence was much stronger weakening qawn influence. However, despite the limitation of qawm influence, some ethnic groups were able to secure preferential treatment from the government. Those Pashtuns located along the Durand Line were given special treatment and benefited greatly from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs; for example, the Nuristanis used their connections in the Interior Ministry and the military to gain benefits. Nevertheless, some other groups were not as fortunate. For example, the Hazaras and Pashtuns living in non-Pashtun dominated areas were the subject to much disdain by the rest of the Afghan population. The best example government influences in the rural areas of Afghanistan are Thomas Barfield’s field

\textsuperscript{50} Kakar, 200.
experiments in northern Kunduz in the 1970’s, a heavily agricultural area. His studies found that implementation of government decisions largely depended on the local administrations ability to use force, or threatening to use force, because many local tribes and peasants largely did not offer up their cooperation voluntarily to the government. While local administrators had this option, unless they were looking for bribes, their willingness to actually enforce rules was half-hearted at best by sending police conscripts which tended to be ineffective at influencing people to change their minds. However, in most cases government administrators during this time used local intermediaries who acted as liaisons between the local villages and the local administration to help enforcement of rules and regulations. Though, the real power and the leadership in the rural areas rested largely in the local merchants and landowners who protected their constituents against encroachment by the government, as well as other groups and other ethnicities. These local power holders played a larger role in Afghanistan by helping to mediate conflicts, mainly due the people’s distrust in the Afghan government, especially the court system which was infamous for its inability to solve conflicts in a timely manner as well as the widespread corruption within the system.

From this analysis, one can determine that the governmental administration in most of Afghanistan was rather weak and tended to rely in more informal and local channels for dispute resolution, which was preferred by many Afghans rather than use the infamous court system. In spite of the Musahiban’s weak state system, the government was largely functional despite not meeting what some academics feel what the criteria for the successful state may be. As a result, this idea that despite examining from a macro-level and seeing chaos, a state when examining at the micro-level may be perfectly function despite all the bias that one may have about how a government should be run. While there are more that can be examined in this section as it relates
to the governance of the state, this essay will instead turn to the developments that led up to the 
Soviet Invasion of the country in 1979.51

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RENTIER STATE AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT LEAD 
TO THE SOVIET INVASION

Throughout the Musahiban dynasty of Afghan politics, two important developments led 
to the eventual collapse of the monarchy in 1973 as well as the Saur Revolution in 1978. This 
section of this thesis will attempt to examine these events and provide an explanation as to why 
these events transpired. This section will first focus on the fall of the monarchy in 1973 
precipitated by a coup undertaken by former Afghani Prime Minister Daud Khan. From there, an 
examination of both the PDPA and the Islamist movements and how this led to the Soviet 
Invasion as well as the creation of the Afghan resistance will be conducted.

As it was previously stated, Daud Khan was not necessarily a supporter of the monarchy 
and instead favored the creation of a constitutional monarchy that put the king as a figurehead 
and devolved much of the governing of the state to an elected legislature. However, these new 
reforms that were designed to prop up the monarchy, including the creation of the new 
parliament, only served as a catalyst which further prompted the down fall of the monarchy itself 
in 1973. Hasan Kakar argues that Zahir Shah hoped to solidify public support for the monarchy 
by attaching it to the assertive and disgruntled members of the upper class as well as the 
traditional tribal elders that dominated rural Afghanistan. Nonetheless, according to Kakar, the

51 Barfield, 220-222.
new political opportunities that came with these changes only served as a facilitator for the monarchy’s demise.\textsuperscript{52}

After Daud Khan was forced to leave his post as Prime Minister in 1963, he did, however, not leave his post quietly. As King Zahir began to gain more control over the government, many senior officials inside the government became dissatisfied over the lack of progress in the transition from a strong monarchy to a democratic parliamentary system.\textsuperscript{53} When the government in Afghanistan sought to modernize the military, the civilian bureaucracy was also modernized as a result of this process, which caused a shift in loyalties from being loyal to those in power to becoming loyal to the state itself.\textsuperscript{54} What further antagonized many government officials was the need for royal assent in order to carry out any operations or reforms; only a few number of government ministers were brazen enough to carry out policies unilaterally. A number of other factors also contributed to Daud Khan’s ability to seize control over the state in a peaceful manner. The first major factor was during his tenure as Prime Minister Daud Khan was widely regarded for his dynamism and his personal integrity which allowed him to outshine the king in many ways. Secondly, because of the style of the parliament that was established, only those with the money and the resources could secure election to the legislative body thus excluding many in the middle class and greatly benefitting the old aristocratic elite of the state, which supported the status quo. As a consequence, there was the lack of action by the parliament to conduct any business, with many either using their public office only to benefit themselves or not using their position to do anything at all, but even so the parliament, overall, was still very powerless in the new Afghan system of government. These

\textsuperscript{52} Kakar, 198-199.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 200.
\textsuperscript{54} Barfield, 210-211.
issues were coupled with monarchy’s inability to pass legislation which began to upset many in the up and coming middle and upper middle class which remained outside the mainstream of politics.55

Recognizing this, Daud began to align himself with the leftist educated urbanites that have risen to posts in the government rather than pander to the traditional power structures, which included the tribes and ulema, which his uncle Nadir used to secure his position of Amir when he took over control of Afghanistan in 1929. Combined with his ties to the existing government, Daud was able to secure the support of the more moderate communists and socialists, labeled as the Parchams which will be discussed later in this section, due to the lineage of prestige and dignity he still had accumulated over the years.56 Therefore, Daud was able to secure power and control over the government ousting Zahir Shah from power and forcing him to live in exile in Rome, while simultaneously establishing himself as President of Afghanistan until another coup, this one in 1979, resulted in his death. By aligning himself with the leftist movement in Afghanistan, Daud was able to secure the loyalty of the military; many officers had received training in the Soviet Union and had become sympathetic to the polices promoted by the Soviet government. Consequently, Daud was able to secure the peaceful change in government resulting in the first coup in Afghanistan that had been organized by members of the military.57 Nevertheless, once Daud was in power it was evident that he only used his ties to the left as a means to an end. All positions that any of the members the left had taken when Daud came to power were either pressured to leave office or were involuntarily removed by Daud

55 Kakar, 200-201.
56 Barfield, 214-215.
himself.\textsuperscript{58} Many of his communist supporters were assigned posts outside Kabul in order to limit their influence and many of the traditional posting in government went to men that Daud trusted or towards members of his immediate family.\textsuperscript{59} This effort cumulated in 1977 when a new constitution was drafted by Daud which only allowed for a single political party; however, the constitution never went into full effect.\textsuperscript{60}

Even before Daud had managed to take control of the government, two social movements had begun brewing inside Afghanistan that stemmed from the 1964 constitution. The first has been already alluded to which is the growing communist movement inside Afghanistan, which Daud used as a springboard to taking over the state. The second important development was the Islamist movement, which grew out of the same process as the communists did, but was largely anti-communist and spoke out against the modernization of Afghanistan. This thesis will first examine the communist movement which culminated in the creation of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan, abbreviated PDPA, and then it will plot the emergence and growth of the Islamist movement.\textsuperscript{61}

\textit{The Rise of the PDPA and the Saur Revolution of 1978}

The PDPA first began to emerge in 1965 when communists Nur Muhammad Taraki and Babrak Karmal decided to join up a form a political party. By 1967, though the PDPA split into two factions, the party itself had begun to grow steadily over the years. The first faction known as the Khalqis (Masses), who were under the leadership of Taraki and Hafizullah Amin; this group was supportive of a massive uprising that would clear away the old order in Afghanistan

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{58} Barfield, 215; Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1206.
\bibitem{59} Barfield, 215; Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1206.
\bibitem{60} Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1206.
\bibitem{61} Kakar, 202.
\end{thebibliography}
and make way for the new order that would pave a way for quick progression of socialism. The Khalqis main recruitment base was among the Ghilzai Pashtuns in the Afghan military who had become disaffected from the state. The second faction, Parcham (Banner), was headed by Karmal recruited mainly from inside the government bureaucracy and the educational institutions. While the Khalqis favored an uprising, the Parcham were more inclined to be cooperative with the progressive elites inside Afghanistan and thus favored a more slow and regimented transition to socialism.\(^\text{62}\) As it was stated in the previous section, when Daud came to power he has used elements of the communist movement, mainly those in the Parcham faction, to facilitate his transition to become president; however, once in power, Daud removed many of his communist supporters from their offices or relocated them to outside of Kabul.\(^\text{63}\) Despite their removal from the Daud administration, the PDPA grew as a party and by 1978 the party had roughly eighteen thousand members, but only about one third of that figure were activist members of the party.\(^\text{64}\)

In terms of its party platform, the PDPA, like most communist parties during this time, sought to use the “non-capitalist model for development” which largely relied on Soviet aid which would allow for the state-development of the country and have the new Soviet educated elite lead the way in what would become the “New Afghanistan.” The PDPA called for the economic development of the country by starting state investment in heavy industry along with state protection for consumer goods, mainly handcrafts. While the party did not openly advocate for the introduction of socialist of communist style economic reforms, the party constitution did make it adamantly clear that the party did support Soviet-style socialism as the party’s desired

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\(^{62}\) Barfield, 213.

\(^{63}\) Barfield, 215; Rubin, “Lineages of the State in Afghanistan,” 1206.

\(^{64}\) Barfield, 214.
economically. Despite its nearly decade long existence, the group never formed any massive based class organizations, which when they took power in 1978 proved to be a major weakness for them because the PDPA’s emergence was not from the underclass, such as the peasants or trade laborers. Instead, the movement really emerged from the state bureaucracy which desired faster modernization of the state.65

When Daud attempted to strike at the PDPA leadership in 1978, this attempt to crush the PDPA and its leadership sparked the revolt against Daud’s administration which ended fifty year rule of the Musahiban dynasty with the assassination of Daud himself. With the help of the military and the absence of a massive political uprising, the PDPA launched what would become the Saur Revolution and effectively took control of the state. When the PDPA emerged as the new state rulers, the more radical Khalqi faction became the dominate sect within the political party with the set desire not only in ruling the country but also transforming it through the adoption of revolutionary policies such as land reform, education, and family law.66 Nevertheless, these reforms largely failed and the party lost a great deal of its legitimacy because of their inability to be more representative to the villagers of Afghanistan.67 The disintegration of the Soviet-style state eventually led to the Soviet Invasion of the state in 1979, which will be discussed in more detail later. However before this thesis discusses the Soviet invasion and the Soviet administration of Afghanistan, an examination of the growing Islamist revolution in Afghanistan which eventually cumulated with the creation of the Mujahedeen must be undertaken.68

66 Barfield, 216, 225.
68 Barfield, 234.
The Islamist Revolution and the Emergence of the Mujahedeen

During the same time as the PDPA was emerging, another movement, this time emanating from the religious community, began to take shape in Afghanistan. The main source and epicenter of this movement particularly focused around the education system. Before the 1970’s, the traditional practice by the Afghani government was to absorb anyone who possessed a secondary or college education and put them to work for the government. Though, by the 1970’s this practice was no longer sustainable with the government not producing enough jobs to supply recent graduates with occupations; move over, the private sector was ill-equipped to handle the supply of graduates as well. As a consequence, a great many people who had obtained an education could not get a job, and many felt it was beneath them to return to their villages to labor and farm, thus many of these same people became disaffected from the government. One of the centers of this new Islamist movement was Kabul University, in particular the College of Sharia Law. From this movement a student organization emerged, the Muslim Youth Organization. This organization was officially granted the status of a political party in 1973 and later renamed Jamiat-i-Islam, which quickly became the focal point for the Islamist movement inside Afghanistan. The leaders of this party included Burhanaddin Rabbani, Ghulam Rasul Sayyaf, and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar each one of whom would eventually become key members of the Mujahedeen against the Soviet Union and have great influence over the future of the Afghan state. While the Islamist movement in Afghanistan took a number of pages from groups like the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-i-Islam of Pakistan they officially had no formal relations with either group during their development. Like the PDPA, the Islamist groups in Pakistan were divided between the Jamiat-i-Islam and what eventually would become Hizb-i-Islami under

70 Barfield, 212-213.
Yunus Khalis, not to be confused with other Hizb-i-Islam under Gulbuddin Hekmatyar which split for Khalis group. The main difference is that Jamiat was clearly a movement that came from and inspired by the events occurring in Afghanistan while Hizb tended to be seen as a colony of the overall international Islamic movement. The prescriptions of both these groups are very similar to one another as well as to the PDPA; both the Communists and the Islamists both decried that the political system was corrupt and both held the belief that the current system benefitted only the wealthy in Afghanistan. Still, the Islamist organizations stood in contrast to the PDPA, believing that these past failures were the result of foreign culture and influence penetrating into Afghan society and culture and the only prescription to correct this mistake was for the complete and wholehearted adoption of Islam in all of its respects by the state. While the Islamists also agreed that political movement and activities, not going through the traditional social structures, was only way to achieve fundamental change, the Islamist view however on international affairs made no distinction between the imperialism by the West or the East.71

When Daud took control of the government, he used elements of the Communist movement, but did not seek the help of the Islamist movements in supporting his takeover, which is striking given they controlled the traditional power structures in Afghanistan. When Daud took control, the Islamists movements thusly began to turn to armed struggle against his administration, mainly out of the fear of repression by him and his government. This fear was only heightened after the arrest of former Prime Minster Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal, who later died from wounds that resulted from torture. The Islamists under the leadership of Rabbani proposed a coup, however, only after obtaining the necessary support among the military. Nevertheless, when a coup was suspected to take place in 1974, it was discovered early enough

to prevent it from occurring which resulted in the incarceration of several Islamist leaders, except for Rabbani who successfully eluded police with the help of his students. While Rabbani was away seeking support for his movement in the Persian Gulf, Hekmatyar entered into his own agreement with the Pakistani government, unbeknownst to Rabbani who disagreed. This would begin an insurrection against the Afghan state that was eventually put into effect in 1975. Yet despite all the planning, the movement had little impact in Afghanistan with only one notable exemption in the Panjshir valley where Ahmad Shah Massoud successfully captured a number of government offices but eventually had to retreat. After the attempted insurrection of 1975, the Islamist movement did not engage in large scale plans, with one notable exception which consisted of a coup organized by the military, but in 1976 this planned operation failed and no other coup was attempted.72 After the PDPA coup and the subsequent Soviet invasion the Islamist Movement began to draw international attention with Pakistan largely funding their movement. It became a significant actor in 1980 while they engaged in fighting against the Soviet Union.73

With the stage set, this thesis will now turn to the Soviet Invasion of the country that occurred in 1979 and analyze not only how the Soviet Union conducted state-building and pacification efforts inside Afghanistan, but this section will also examine the role the Mujahedeen in the administration of their movement and territory and how this administration remained intact after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the subsequent civil war.

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73 Barfield, 236.

When the Soviet Union decided to invade Afghanistan in 1979, the original intent of the mission was to help bolster the PDPA government which on the edge of collapse and to ensure its continuation as a Soviet satellite state. However, the mission that involved one of the world’s most advanced and feared armies left Afghanistan ten years later with a bruised ego unable to stabilize the country and defeat the insurgency. While there are have been numerous accounts written detailing this time period, this section of this essay will mainly focus on the state-building and stabilization efforts conducted by the Soviet Union as well as examine the administration and tactics of the Mujahedeen and see how its own internal organization may be able to help current efforts undertaken by the United States to quell the Taliban insurgency.74

Soviet State-Building Strategy and Administration

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the Soviet government sought to establish a strong communist party-state which would be in direct control over all state institutions, including the security and military services. The Soviet administration also wanted to use combined Soviet-Afghan military forces to help expand their influence out from the cities into the rural areas of Afghanistan and in doing so destroying the insurgency as well as removing their support. As the army gained control of more territory the PDPA, theoretically, would begin to move in to these newly stabilized areas and create a local party apparatus including starting local party cells and appointing state representatives. The party as well as the Soviet government would also undertake programs designed the “sovietize” the Afghan youth by indoctrinating

74 While this author is aware that there is much currently written on Soviet Experience in Afghanistan, for the purposes of this thesis the focus will rest on how the Soviet and PDPA government pursued state-building in Afghanistan and what policies they undertook in terms of counterinsurgency. For a more detailed analysis on the Soviet Union’s experience in Afghanistan see William Maley, The Afghanistan Wars, (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
them with Soviet teachings that would carry over to the next generation. Together these policies, along with generous aid to support economic and social development provided by the Soviet Union, were aimed at ensuring future support for the PDPA government along with denying support to the insurgency. Despite the overall simplicity of the policies, the Soviet Union was never able to successfully contain the insurgency and spent 10 long years embroiled in Afghanistan. It should be noted before this section continues onward that Soviet state-building strategy was largely based on party-building, which is a completely different strategy than we will see implemented by the United States and NATO forces, which will be discussed later in this chapter.75

When the Soviet Union first arrived in Afghanistan, the military policy was to use the sheer brunt of the army against the Mujahedeen which would aid in the stabilization of the country. This strategy was in part based on Soviet strategy during the 1920’s and 1930’s in its attempts to stabilize the central Asian republics of that time. While the Soviet Union knew that in all likelihood that the Afghan population would not be won over in the process of using these tactics, they, however, did believe that if they could cement the idea of the PDPA government in the minds of the Afghan citizens, especially those who supported the resistance, then it may be possible for the PDPA government to survive without Soviet military assistance. Their initial plan was to use the urban centers and project their power outward by attacking the countryside where the resistance was strongest while simultaneous building of the up the PDPA military so they could eventually transfer operations over to them.76 Furthermore, in order to better manage the conflict, the combined Soviet Army and Afghan government divided Afghanistan into seven

76 Barfield, 237-238.
major zones, each with its own unique characteristics that the represented a some sort of strategic importance to the Soviets. The Northern Zone in particular was of high importance to the Soviets: first, because of its high concentration of hydrocarbon deposits, that the Soviets were mining, and second, because of its high concentration of Uzbeks, since their native home Uzbekistan was under the control of the Soviets. As a result, this area was seen as a key to the Soviet Union’s long term strategy in the country. This long term strategy placed a great deal of emphasis on building up the north to act as a buffer between the Soviet Union and the southern region of the country and prevent any inroads made by the Islamists into Soviet control Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan.77

Nevertheless, this strategy proved to be futile in the end. Regardless of the wide use of force, the Soviet Army was never able to successfully dislodge the resistance and force them to come to an accommodation with the PDPA government. Additionally, even when the Afghan army was at 90,000 strong, many of army’s commanders were not willing to take the offensive against the Mujahedeen and instead set up truce zones where they agreed not to fight against one another. While this was all taking place, the Mujahedeen was receiving much more high-tech weaponry and had effective developed their tactics to fight against the more powerful Soviet Army.78 The overall amount of this new weaponry was calculated at roughly $1 Billion U.S. dollars. The inflow of weaponry helps illustrate that Afghanistan was seen as a proxy war between the United States and the Soviet Union, with the United States more than eager to arm the Afghan resistance if it helped kill Soviet troops.79 The security situation in Afghanistan is

78 Barfield, 238.
79 While it should be noted that Afghanistan played a key role in the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, further analysis of this point would be draw the conversation away from the focus of how the Soviets pursued state-building in Afghanistan.
best described in the book *Afghantsy* written by former United Kingdom Ambassador to Moscow Rodric Braithwaite. In Kabul, which was seen as more safe when compared to the rest of the country, the resistance still made large inroads in the city, by blowing up buildings, including a cinema and a bookstore, along with the assassinations of Soviet advisors, hence making Soviet control over this city was seen as marginal at best. In the provinces outside of Kabul, the situation was not much better, despite the Soviets overwhelming force the insurgents controlled the countryside at night and the Soviets had very little interaction with the peasantry because of the lack of state institutions. In terms of running schools, the statistics reported in 1982 show the extent of the security situation; in Farah province with over 100 schools built only 10 were open and the children that attended these schools were often the target of attacks, with one report saying the Mujahedeen broke the arms and legs of four children who attended a recently opened school.\(^8^0\) This shows that despite the Soviet Union’s attempt to establish a presence through the country even in the cities, this strategy proved to be a fruitless exercise for the Soviets.\(^8^1\)

In terms of the state administration, the Soviets modeled the Afghan government to resemble that of the party-state system of government, similar to the Soviet government. While the PDPA modeled itself based off of the Soviet design, they could not, however, match the strength the Soviet Communist party mainly because of the great deal of internal chaos within in the party because of the fractionalization between the Khalq and Parcham factions. This issue further eroded the running of state institutions which was a major part of the party-state model of government; the issue was that each faction attempted to secure dominance in the various organization bodies that made up the government, this struggle, as a consequence, prevented

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these state institutions from running properly. While the Soviet government also attempted to use local Afghan institutions to help build local and regional administration and fold them into the party state, the participants in these traditional social structures were largely bribed to participated thus did not “buy into” the Soviet Administration.82

In the end, the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan proved to be quagmire that resulted in the Soviet Army enduring a ten year long insurgency and despite all their efforts and operations the insurgency seemed never to weaken. In many cases the actions of the Soviet troops only helped to fuel the resolve the insurgents fighting against them. While the Soviet state-building effort failed, there was some remarkable developments made by the Mujahedeen in terms of administration and will be the focus of the next section.

*Mujahedeen Administration and Tactics*

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, many Afghans were shocked by the sudden occupation which quickly allowed the Soviets to become firmly entrenched in the cities and other urban centers before any organized resistance could be established. During the early stage of the war, the Afghan resistance was poorly organized and did not have the expertise to engage in large operations, limiting themselves to small guerilla attacks. Moreover, during this time the Mujahedeen was also divided politically and had few resources at their disposal which made them, overall, a weak military force. While the resistance was able to establish its headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan, there was still was a great deal of factionalism among its members. The main political division was the division between Rabbani’s Jamiat-i-Islami and Hekmatyar’s

82 Minkov and Smolynec, 315-317, 320-321.
Hizb-i-Islami who split from Rabbani in 1976-1977. During the resistance, seven political parties had emerged that received aid from Pakistan and other international donors. They are:

- **National Islamic Front of Afghanistan** (NIFA) which was under the leadership of Pir Sayyid Ahamd Gailani, who had a number of connections with the Afghan royal family. The organizational leadership of this party mainly consisted of the *pir* and his sons and daughters, who largely formed the inner leadership of the party, while the rest of the party’s leaders where from the old regime, i.e. royal family. Ethnically most of the party members were mostly Ghilzai Pashtuns educated in the elite high schools as well as in western universities.  

- **Afghanistan National Liberation Front** (ANLF) was under the leadership of Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, who came from a prominent family in Afghanistan. The party, like the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, had many ties to the old regime mainly through the tribal aristocracy. Like NIFA, the leadership consisted of Mojaddedi’s sons and brothers while the rest of the staff consisted of almost exclusively Pashtuns which included a number who had attended elite schools and western universities.  

- **Movement of the Islamic Revolution** was an Islamic nationalist party under the leadership of Mawlawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, who was a Ghilzai Pashtun from Logar province. While he was a well-regarded Islamic leader he, however, did not have an extensive organization. The leadership of this organization was almost exclusively Pashtun, but with one notable exception, that of Yahya Nauroz who was a Tajik and a general in the defense ministry under Daud’s regime. The party’s staff included a number

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83 Goodson, 58-61.  
85 Ibid., 210-211.
of professional military members which gave it a boost when receiving aid from Pakistan.\textsuperscript{86}

- **Islamic Party of Afghanistan, Hekmatyar** was under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and was probably one of the more radical parties in the Mujahedeen. The party was structured into three parts with three degrees of membership, those who joined before 1975, those who had joined between 1975 and 1978, and those who had joined after 1978. This distinction is important to note because only those who had joined prior to 1975 were eligible to take part in party elections. While the leadership of this party was mostly Pashtun, the organization did recruit and promote individuals based on personal skills and ideology rather than on societal roles.\textsuperscript{87}

- **Islamic Party of Afghanistan, Khalis**, not to be confused with Islamic Party of Afghanistan under Hekmatyar, was formed in 1979 when its leader Mawlawi Khalis wanted to engage in more direct and active combat against the PDPA government. The leadership of this party was mostly Pashtuns from the Ghilzai sect along with eastern Pashtuns, but there was one Tajik commander in this party. This organization includes some of the more notable Mujahedeen commanders, including Abdul Haq and Mawlawi Jalaluddin Haqqani.\textsuperscript{88}

- **Islamic Society of Afghanistan** was under the control of Burhanuddin Rabbani, a Tajik who would eventually become President of Afghanistan in 1992. The party was mainly a Tajik Islamist party; however, the party did have a number of Ghilzai Pashtuns. This

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 211-213.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 213-215.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 215-218.
party also contained a number of important resistance commanders which included Ahmad Shah Masoud, Ismail Khan, and Abdul Basir Khalid.  

- **Islamic Union for the Freedom of Afghanistan** was led by Abd al-Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, who was a Pashtun from Kabul but had no connections to any existing networks or social networks. The membership of this party included mostly Ghilzai Pashtun’s or individuals who had ties to Sayyaf.

Despite having a common objective, the removal of the PDPA government and the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Mujahedeen was never able to unite as a single political entity because each party had a distinct idea of what Afghanistan should become. This inability to come to a consensus also stemmed from the personal rivalries, not based on ideology. Each of these parties had established local Islamic committees that would serve as the link between the party and the general populace. Respectively these committees were closely guarded with the membership varying between 5 to 30 people. However, every local committee was subordinate to the committee at the district level which helped coordinate the activities by providing orders to each committee to carry out. Furthermore, all committees, for the most part, were organized into five sections, which included: leadership, party, military, economic and financial, with the military section in charge of planning of attacks and handing out orders directly to the military detachments of the party. While there were multiple parties with multiple committees, still, as a general rule the sub-district of district level committee was to be under the influence of one party. When there were multiple Islamic committees of different parties in the same local area, armed conflict often occurred between them which further added to the polarization amongst these parties. While there is not a great deal of information about the makeup of each parties.

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89 Ibid., 218-220.
90 Ibid., 220-221.
forces, in terms of its structure, a detailed graph of an Islamic regiment shows that the resistance forces were organized into regiments, with each regiment having about 600 to 900 soldiers, and within each regiment there were battalions, companies, platoons, and groups, just like what one would find in examining a modern military structure.91

Despite the very hierarchical fashion of the Mujahedeen parties this, however, is a very idealist system of the way the insurgents truly operated. In many cases, most Mujahedeen commanders were highly autonomous from their respective party and in some instances many commanders easily changed their party affiliation multiple times. As a result, while there was the attempt to structure the by the Islamist parties it should not suggest, however, that what was designed was not necessarily uniform across the country.

Despite all the efforts by the Soviets to hold and control territory, the best example of which would be the Soviet Union’s attempt to control the Panjshir Valley; they never were able to maintain indefinite control, usually losing it after they withdrew. By 1983, the Soviet Union was only interested in maintaining control over the cities and northern pipelines; therefore, Soviet troops then focused on launching an air war against the resistance encampments rather than seeking to control rural territory. However, during this time the mujahedeen was increasingly becoming a much more effective fighting force and introducing new weaponry, which included SA-7 missiles and 107-mm and 122-mm rockets, which were able to put enough pressure on the Soviets during their operations. By the period of 1986 to 1989 which led up the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Afghan resistance began to launch much more ambitious operations against the Soviets through the use of the new weaponry that was being introduced.

supplied from the U.S. and Pakistan which allowed the number of incidents undertaken by the Mujahedeen to increase 20 percent from 1986 to 1987.  

Despite the unprofessional nature of the resistance, in terms of fighting ability and lack of formal training, the Afghan Mujahedeen was able to take down one of the largest and most powerful militaries in the world at the time. They did so with no planes, helicopters, or tanks, rather they used some high-tech weaponry, horses, and motorbikes to shoot down and destroy a number of Soviet vehicles and aircraft which eventually culminated in the Soviet’s withdrawal from the country. When the Soviets left Afghanistan the end result was the country began to descend into partial anarchy with no one truly in control with a country that had been badly scarred by roughly ten years of war. In the next section, this thesis will document this tumultuous period in Afghan history and examine the circumstances that led up to the formation and domination of the Taliban.


When the Soviet Union forces finally left Afghanistan in 1989, the political landscape in the country was all but stable. With the Soviet Forces withdrawn, the country descended into chaos with many factions determined to reach Kabul and eventually take over the country for themselves. Even after the withdrawal of Soviet military forces, it took the Afghanistan resistance roughly three more years between these events to take Kabul which resulted in the collapse of the Najibullah government. Even after the collapse of the last PDPA administration, there was uncertainty as to who should lead the new country with many suggesting that it be

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92 Goodson, 59, 65-66, 68.
themselves and no one else. This section will cover these events in Afghanistan history and depict how this confusion led to the creation and domination of the Taliban movement in 1996.

The Fall of the Najibullah Government

With the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the country descended into what Larry Goodson describes as stage five of the war, characterized by countrywide civil war with many of the Mujahedeen groups jockeying themselves to assume control of the state once Najibullah was removed from power. Despite the formation of a massive resistance, the Najibullah government remained in power for three more years after the Soviet departure. The reason why the Mujahedeen were unable to topple of government is twofold: first, the Soviet Union still gave a large amount of aid to the Najibullah administration along with the supplying the government with thousands of Soviet technicians and advisors which kept the government alive and functioning. The second was the inability of the resistance to form an alternative to the PDPA government. The first attempt to form a government, the Afghanistan Interim Government (AIG), was, by many accounts, a complete failure, mainly because those who formed it were party leaders who largely had a minor role in the resistance with many of them living in Peshawar. This interim government had a noticeable absence of the major Mujahedeen commanders during the negotiations which prevented them from establishing the necessary legitimacy it needed to form a new government. Coupled with this inability to form a government, with the sudden death of Pakistani President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq many in the new Pakistani government were unwilling to support the Mujahedeen as they had been during their war against the Soviet Union.93

93 Goodson, 70-71.
However, despite the initial inability to form a government, in 1990, there came the creation of the National Commanders Shura (NCS) whose membership consisted of Ismail Khan and Ahmad Shah Massoud. It should be noted Massoud had already created the Supervisory Council of the North (SCN) by this time and had expanded his network to include more local commanders in Northern Afghanistan. After its creation many in Afghanistan considered the NCS to be the organization that could fill the leadership gap between Najibullah and the Peshawar parties. This sentiment is demonstrated in the NCS’s October, 1990 meeting which was considered one of the most significant steps forward and represented a political milestone in Afghanistan; nevertheless, not everyone was willing to join the new movement. One major obstacle to the NCS’s ascension as the new interim government was that many of the regional commanders in Afghanistan who had formed their own personal networks were not willing to give up their regional influence so easily to a new government. As a result of this fear, some regional commanders decided to support the PDPA forces engaged with the Mujahedeen. Additionally, in the process of aiding the PDPA forces, the parties located in Pakistan and Iran aided these regional commanders with weaponry, money, and other forms of financial assistance. An additional threat to the NCS was Hekmatyar’s decision to boycott the general conference of October, 1990, which soon spread to the Afghan leaders who resided in Pakistan. Combined with the Afghan leader’s rejection of the NCS; the ISI, Pakistan’s intelligence agency, along with Saudi Arabia’s intelligence agency sought to undermine the NCS by influencing the commanders along the border with Pakistan, which aided in the inability of the NCS to be seen as a new, legitimate government and allowed for the chaos in Afghanistan to continue. Thusly, the NCS had a number of obstacles to overcome before anyone would consider it to be a legitimate body.

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94 Neamatollah Nojumi, *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the*
In spite of the lack of a cohesive resistance leadership, the Najibullah government eventually toppled in 1992. One of the major issues Najibullah had to face was the cessation of military and financial assistance from the Soviet Union. With the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union, the aid Afghan government under Najibullah relied on had stopped, leaving the country without the resources necessary to survive the winter. Moreover, this lack of aid drastically increased the desertion rate among the Afghan armed forces. Furthermore, the government also did not have the capital to pay the militia forces that sided with the government, which caused many to turn to crime or go back into opposition. The tipping point in this process was the defection of Abdul Rashid Dostum, a government supporter, who turned against the government forces in the north and joined the resistance. With Dostum’s forces now on the side of the resistance, the northern territories quickly fell to Dostum’s forces, which included the city of Mazar-e-Sharif. As a result of this, shortly thereafter the capture of Mazar-e-Sharif, Najibullah announced his resignation as the President of Afghanistan. After this event, elements within the Najibullah government started to cooperate with the resistance. The head of Kabul’s military garrison, General Mohammad Nabi Azimi, worked with Ahmad Shah Massoud pleading with him to enter the city and act as the head of state, however, Massoud refused. Security armed forces under the Interior Ministry, known as the Saranody Forces, worked with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to help capture Kabul. However, hearing about Hekmatyar’s plans, Massoud collected his forces and preemptively entered the city before Hekmatyar and successfully secured

95 Barfield, 248.
96 Goodson, 73.
the capital on April 26, 1992. Nevertheless, a time which should have been for celebration only marked the beginning of a long and tumultuous series of events inside Afghanistan.97

**The 1992 Civil War and the Mujahedeen Government**

While there were a number of attempts made during this period to form an interim government, all these plans, however, did not inspire a great deal of support; it was not until the capture of Kabul that serious negotiations took place to form a new government.98 The Peshawar Accords established what would become the Islamic State of Afghanistan with Sibghatullah Mojaddidi acting as Interim President for two months then handing over power to Burhanuddin Rabbani, the leader of Jamiat-i-Islam, who would rule for four months, until October 1992. Rabbani’s tenure was supposed to end when either a national election or shura would be announced for the establishment of a new permanent government.99 However, these plans quickly fell apart. One issue standing in the way of this new government was Hekmatyar and his Hizb-i-Islami did not recognize the agreement, and as a consequence of this, he repeatedly shelled Kabul with rockets and artillery which caused an estimate 1,800 casualties as well as several thousand more injuries. The other chief concern was at the beginning of the Peshawar Accords was Mojaddidi sought to keep his office as president despite the agreements instructions that he step down after two months.100 Luckily Mojadiddi was convinced to step aside and

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97 Nojumi, 109.
transfer his office to Rabbani.\textsuperscript{101} Unfortunately this was just the beginning in what would become a full civil war.

When it came time for Rabbani to step down in October, he refused to do so, so his tenure as president was extended 45 days to December 28, 1992.\textsuperscript{102} During this time Rabbani and his government formed the “Council of Resolution and Settlement” which subsequently elected him to be President of Afghanistan for an eighteen month term, but a future agreement designed to keep the peace, known as the Islamabad Accord, stipulated that Hekmatyar would be the government’s Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{103} After the accords were finalized, Hekmatyar entered the city in the south and west and set up an office from which he would hold meetings with the cabinet.\textsuperscript{104} However, this peace was short lived. By January of 1994, the forces of Hekmatyar and Abdul Rashid Dostum suddenly opened fire on the city primarily targeting the forces of Defense Minister Massoud.\textsuperscript{105} As a result of this new conflict, roughly 1,000 people were killed and Afghanistan became only more fragmented as a state with little hope of reconciliation amongst the warring parties. The conflict however was not just isolated to Kabul but it was epidemic throughout the country with many of the Mujahedeen commanders resorting to criminal activities to help replace the foreign aid that was no longer coming into the country. As a consequence of this lawlessness, all these circumstances allowed for the development of the Taliban which would come to eventually dominate the country.\textsuperscript{106}

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  \item \textsuperscript{101} Goodson, 74-75; Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, 273.
  \item \textsuperscript{102} Nojumi, 113; Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, 273.
  \item \textsuperscript{103} Nojumi, 113; Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, 273-274; Goodson, 74.
  \item \textsuperscript{104} Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, 274.
  \item \textsuperscript{105} Rubin, \textit{The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, 274; Goodson, 76.
  \item \textsuperscript{106} Goodson, 76.
\end{itemize}
The story of the emergence of the Taliban begins in Kandahar province in 1994.\textsuperscript{107} There a group of religious students, called the \textit{Taliban}, helped rescue a Pakistani convoy that was heading to Turkmenistan from local militias who had taken the convoy hostage.\textsuperscript{108} The Taliban movement emerged from the chaos that had inhabited Afghanistan during the early 1990’s after a group of religious students, called \textit{talib}, came together under Mullah Mohammad Omar to form an organization that would pursue four goals: restoring peace, disarming the population, enforcing Sharia law, and finally defending the Islamic integrity of Afghanistan. According to Ahmed Rashid, the majority of the members of the Taliban were the children of the jihadists during the Soviet Occupation and saw themselves as the force to restore the Islamic way of life by acting as a purifying force inside Afghanistan. Mohammad Omar, who fought in the Mujahedeen against the Soviet Union as part of Yunas Khalis’s Hizb-e-Islami, was until the creation of the Taliban, a mullah of a little known village and a madrassa, a religious school.\textsuperscript{109} Nevertheless, once the Taliban was formed the movement they spread rather quickly, admittedly with the help and aid of Pakistan, which culminated with them taking the city of Kanadahar in 1994. Beginning in 1995, the Taliban movement spread to take the provinces of Ghazni, Paktia and Paktika by January.\textsuperscript{110} By March, 1995 the Taliban could effectively claim control over about one-third of the entire country.\textsuperscript{111} Also during this time, the Taliban had defeated the Shia Hezb-i-Wahdat, including killing its leader Ali Mazari. This put the Taliban at the doorstep of Kabul forcing Hekmatyar to pull out of Kabul which included taking his heavy weaponry along.

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 77.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Nojumi, 118.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Ahmed Rashid, \textit{Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia 2\textsuperscript{nd} Ed}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 22-24.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Barfield, 257-258.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Goodson, 77.
\end{itemize}
This was mainly due to Hekmatyar’s low support among the Pashtun tribes which soon joined
the ranks of the Taliban, subsequently weakening his own forces.\textsuperscript{112} However, this is where the
Taliban, as a national movement, hit its first major obstacle. Even with the recent success
incurred by the Taliban which allowed them to be at the front door of Kabul, figuratively
speaking, the excitement of the Taliban movement was not strong enough to win against Ahmad
Massoud’s forces which were still encamped in the city. Through the use of his artillery,
Massoud forced the Taliban to retreat south. With this loss, Ismail Khan, who was based in
Herat, attacked the Taliban out of the west and forced the Taliban to retreat back east towards
Kandahar. Nevertheless, the Taliban remerged and were able to overcome the Herati forces,
mainly through the assistance of Abdul Dostum, who led Pakistani technicians into Afghanistan
to repair the Taliban fighter jets, the Taliban were able to take control of Herat giving them firm
control over western and southern territories of Afghanistan. By September of 1996 the Taliban
had captured one of Hekmatyar’s arms depots and took Jalalabad and from there they were able
to take Kabul from Massoud’s forces. Yet during this process, Massoud was able to inflict heavy
losses amongst the Taliban forces. By May of 1997, the Taliban took over the last city of major
resistance, Mazar-e-Sharif with little opposition.\textsuperscript{113}

With the Taliban now in firm control over the country, they had the problem of governing
it. In the next section, this thesis will analyze the political structures of the Taliban examining
how they were able to govern the deeply divided country for almost five years.

\textsuperscript{112} Goodson, 77; Barfield, 259.
\textsuperscript{113} Barfield, 259-260.
When the Taliban had established firm control over Afghanistan, the country itself began to resemble a theocracy, with the governing of the state headed by a Supreme Shura of about 30 members which was chaired by Mullah Omar, who was given the title of “Commander of the Faithful.”\footnote{Goodson, 116; Gilles Dorronsoro, “The Taliban’s Winning Strategy in Afghanistan.” \textit{Carnegie Reports} (June 2009): 164. Accessed February 24, 2012. <http://carnegieendowment.org/2009/06/29/taliban-s-winning-strategy-in-afghanistan/ap>.} However, according to Neamatollah Nojumi, the governance style of the Taliban went through three different and distinct phases before it ended with a supreme shura. The first stage of its development began in 1994 with the creation of the Taliban by Mullah Omar. During this stage, while the Taliban did have a clear political agenda, it was more seen as an armed political party because of its loose organizational ties and linkages. The second state began in 1996 after the Taliban had taken over Kabul. This stage marks the development of the state’s bureaucracy with the Taliban formalizing their government structure with the appointment of government officials and ministers along with extending their civil and military administration, which mainly focused on the enforcement of Islam, to roughly 80 percent of the country. While the Supreme Shura was the dominant political institution, it was further devolved down between the Inner Shura and the Central Shura. The Inner Shura was comprised of six members, including Omar as its leader. The Central Shura, however, had nine members which handled the more important ministry and administrative tasks, but was under the control and took orders from the Inner Shura. The second stage of this bureaucratic development lasted from 1996 to 1999; which led to the third and final stage of development. In the third stage of development, the Taliban which led to a major reformation of the government that followed the Afghan
constitution established in 1964 under Amir Zahir’s reign. In this period, the government ministers were made permanent head of the ministries that were created during the second phase. The ministries of the Taliban government up to the third stage were all headed by acting ministers during this period whom also had very little formal education and virtually no credentials that would enable them to be efficient public administrators. Additionally, the decision to make these ministries permanent was seen as a result of the U.S. and U.N. sanctions that had been put on the Taliban government. The Taliban used these recent changes to help solidify its military and political over the country, especially with the organization of the United Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan (UIFLA), which sought to remove the Taliban from power, was considered a real threat to that control by the Taliban. While the Taliban were in charge of the government, its government did decide give their provincial governors a great deal of autonomy, however, not just in civil administration but also in military administration of the province as well. One interesting feature of the Taliban government was while Kabul was still the capital of the country; Kandahar had become the center of the Taliban’s decision making and where all the important decisions were made. As Rashid points out the Central Shura, or the Kabul Shura, which represented the government had to obtain authorization from the Supreme Shura, or the Kandahar Shura, before it could take any action which substantially reduced the governments effectives and ability to come the decisions quickly. While there were differences between the Kabul and Kandahar Shuras, these differences came to ahead in April 1998 after U.S. Envoy Bill Richardson meet with the head of the Kabul Shura, Mullah Rabbani, which  

115 Nojumi, 136-139.  
117 Nojumi, 140.
agreed to implement Richardson’s point agenda, which then was denied by Omar and the Kandahar Shura which also precipitated the possible arrest of Rabbani.\textsuperscript{118}

Through the duration of the Taliban government, its bureaucracy was fluid due to the Taliban’s continued expansion throughout the country. Because of the bureaucracy’s instability, this allowed the leadership of the Taliban to be highly mobile which benefitted the creation of the government. However, despite it being advantageous to the Taliban leadership, the bureaucracy of the government was driven towards military affairs, which had a negative impact on the government’s ability to deliver other services that may have been important for community development.\textsuperscript{119} An additional problem was that the Taliban governmental offices were only open for four hours a day, from 8:00 a.m. to Noon, and after that the offices were closed for afternoon prayers and a long afternoon siesta, which made the Taliban look as occupiers rather than administrators.\textsuperscript{120}

Another important development was the supremacy of the religious mullahs in the state as compared to Afghanistan’s previous administrations. In previous administrations the mullahs were seen as clients of the state, not in charge of it, like they were during the Taliban regime. Because of the inability of the Mujahedeen leaders to form a competent governing structure, the mullahs were able to usurp the role as leaders of the country and were able to form a large constituency because of their ability to appeal to a larger sect of Afghans by appealing to religion and not to ethnicity or \textit{qawm}. While Thomas Barfield argues that the Taliban could have used this to their advantage by appealing to a large sect of the population that transcended ethnicity, nevertheless, the Taliban did not use this advantage because their leadership did not

\textsuperscript{118} Rashid, 98, 103.
\textsuperscript{119} Nojumi, 140-141.
\textsuperscript{120} Rashid, 103-104.
move outside the Pashtun ethnicity. Stemming from the religious nature of the Taliban
government, one new feature the Taliban created were the so called religious, or moral, police
within the department of the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. This branch of the
Taliban government would patrol the streets of Afghanistan and enforced social norms that were
in line with Taliban religious or moral policies, one of which was the limited role of women in
the country. While its place in the Afghanistan administration is not clear, it appears that they
partially operated under the Interior Ministry, but all cases that stemmed from this agency were
turned over the Justice Ministry. Nevertheless, the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of
Vice agency eventually became one of the most significant agencies in Afghanistan, eventually
rising to become a ministry in of itself; this was due to in no small part about the organizations
separate access to funds from the Gulf states.

In spite of the Taliban’s ability to maintain some sort of order inside Afghanistan, their
relations with terrorist organizations, in particular Al-Qaeda, precipitated their downfall in 2001
when Al-Qaeda under the control of Osama bin Laden conducted one of the largest terrorist
attacks in modern history against the United States, on September 11th, 2001. Since the Taliban
tried to market themselves as a pan-Islamic organization, it felt bound to certain groups,
including Al-Qaeda, which allowed many terrorist groups with similar views to establish
themselves within the boundaries of Afghanistan and in some cases the Taliban provided
logistical and financial support towards these organizations. As a result of their beliefs the
Taliban was unwilling to hand over Osama bin Laden to the United States which resulted in the
U.S. to turn to the Northern Alliance and back them with U.S. military assets which allowed the
alliance to mobilize against the Taliban government eventually capturing the city of Kabul by

121 Barfield, 263.
122 Goodson, 117.
October, 2001. By losing control of Kabul, the Taliban government and its leaders were forced to retreat towards the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. By November, 2001 negotiations over a new government had begun to take place, it is this new government under its president Hamid Karzai will be the focus of the next and last section of this chapter.

THE FALL AND RESURGENCE OF THE TALIBAN AND THE NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT

When the terrorist attacks on the United States occurred on September 11th, 2001, Afghanistan was thrown back onto the world stage as the country from which the terrorist attacks were planned and launched. Because the Taliban government allowed terrorist organizations to establish themselves within the borders of Afghanistan they were seen as an equal party even though they had no direct responsibility for the attacks. As a consequence, the United States and its international partners sought to remove the Taliban from power by supporting the Northern Alliance, which through the support of U.S. military and covert forces, the Taliban were eventually extricated from Afghanistan and forced to retreat east towards Pakistan with the Northern Alliance taking control of the capital city, Kabul, by October of 2001.

Despite the ease from which the Taliban were removed, the problem that now faced the United States and international community was how best to create a new government in Afghanistan that would be strong enough to survive. In this section, that will be the question that will be primarily addressed. First, this thesis will begin by talking about the Bonn Accords that helped establish a model for the interim Afghan government along with a timeline to establish a new, democratic government. Second, I shall examine how the government functioned both at the national level as well as regionally, this will be done by examining the state institutions and
how they fared in addressing the public needs including providing security and other essential services. Finally, this section will examine how the Taliban were allowed to reemerge and how this has affected the Afghan government’s ability to function properly especially in the south and east where the insurgency is strongest. This section will conclude on the negotiations between the government and the Taliban how attempt to postulate whether any type of settlement is possible between these two factions.

*The Bonn Conference, November-December, 2001*

While there has been a great deal written about the political situation behind the Bonn Conference (See James Dobbin’s book *After the Taliban* for an excellent firsthand account of the negotiation process), this section will mostly focus on the how the new Afghan government was to be structured and theoretically how it was supposed to function.123

Even before the Bonn Conference began at the behest of the United Nations, there was a great deal of uncertainty about who would become the next leader of the Afghan state. Thus, one of the main goals of the conference was to determine the next leader of the state among all those who were invited to participate. Nevertheless and despite all expectations, the Bonn Conference quickly selected a person to head the new provisional government which was to be placed under the leadership of Hamid Karzai, a Popalzai Pashtun who came from Kandahar. However, his selection as the leader of the new Afghan Administration was the result of a compromise with the group that supported the ex-king Amir Zahir, known as the United Front, which gained control over most of the ministries as a part of this deal. Notwithstanding all recent events, it is important to note that Karzai is a member of the Durrani tribe of the Pashtun ethnicity, which

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had been largely out of politics since 1978, with the Ghilzai tribe taking much more of the
dominant role in Afghan politics either in the PDPA or in the Mujahedeen. Thus the question
then becomes how did the Durrani faction out maneuver the Ghilzias for the dominate position in
the Afghan government? The answer appears to be rooted in their respective cultures, the
Durrani are much more skillful in the art of diplomacy while the Ghilzais are much more apt for
the battlefield, accordingly the Durrani were able to able to secure their seat because they were
better suited for the position.\textsuperscript{124} Despite the ethnic rivalry between these two ethnic factions, the
Bonn Accords sought the inclusion of all ethnic groups in the new government rather than have
any government be representative of just one or two ethnicities.\textsuperscript{125} While the new government
was in place and it had some lofty ambitions, the state of the civil bureaucracy was far from
being in good condition. Even in the end of 2002, many of the civil institutions inside
Afghanistan were barely functioning, mainly due to the prolonged state civil war in the
country.\textsuperscript{126}

In order to help legitimize the new government, the Bonn Accords called for the
establishment of a \textit{Loya Jirga} which would help determine the head of the state government for a
four year transitional period; the \textit{jirga} was to be held within six months after the conclusion of
the Bonn Accords. The decision to use the \textit{jirga} was to help transition the new government by
using a traditional institution, the \textit{jirga}, as a mechanism to help legitimize the new government in
the eyes of the Afghan public. When the \textit{jirga} took place in June of 2002, roughly one thousand
delegates attended, but the proceedings were frequently marred by breaches in protocol,
especially by the ranking U.S. government official, Zalmay Khalilzad. Zalmay Khalilzad, as

\textsuperscript{124} Barfield, 283-284.
\textsuperscript{125} Sven Gunnar Simonsen, “Ethnicising Afghanistan?: inclusion and exclusion in post-Bonn institution building,”
\textsuperscript{126} James Dobbins, \textit{America’s Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq}, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation,
2003), 131.
senior U.S. representative, attempted to ensure that Hamid Karzai would be selected as the *jirga*’s choice for head of state, which did cause some civil strife during these proceedings. While Hamid Karzai was the eventual selection of the *jirga* for head of state, Karzai did have a number of competitors for the position, most notably Amir Zahir, the former Afghan King. However, due to a number of violations of both the traditional rules governing the *jirga*, as well as the newly established democratic rules, the overall legitimacy of this *jirga* was mostly mixed.  

The largest issue during this period was how to centralize the government. The Afghanistan Transitional Authority (ATA) was tasked with this responsibility and was ordered to create the national institutions that would largely come to govern and centralized the state. The issue at hand was due to the decade’s long conflicts many regional institutions were created and have been largely autonomous from any central authority, so the challenge was to have these regional institutions surrender some of this power to the national institutions under the new government. However, in terms of local governance, many of the basic administrative functions were devolved to these local institutions, since they make up the core of Afghan society. Still, with many local government networks being run through informal institutions, largely through patronage, an issue emerges from these institutions and that is there is very little accountability thus allowing it become highly susceptible to corruption and exploitation.

In spite of the government’s successful start after the Bonn Conference, the government slowly began to unravel because of the policies and decisions undertaken by the national government as well as by the provincial government. This could be in part a result of how the government was be structured. The Bonn Conference called for a strong, centralized government

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but as we will see later on, that is not what Hamid Karzai sought as he began to develop his government. In this next segment, the government’s policies at administration will be examined and how these policies allowed the Taliban to rebuild and slowly begin to remerge throughout the country as a consequence.

*The Karzai Administration, Its Successes and Failings*

Despite getting off to a good start with the establishment of a new government, the situation in Afghanistan eventually declined which caused a great deal of confusion and resulted in numerous problems for the state. The difficulty were the overly ambitious goals for creating a new Afghan state along with differing ideas of how the state should be run were not compatible with one another. In theory, the state was to have been developed along the “maximalist” model, which called for the creation of democratic institutions as well as a liberalized economic framework. They, however, conflicted with the actual government’s ideas on how the state should be administered. The idea behind this model was to radically change how Afghanistan functions by undertaking reforms and building governmental capacity so that the state can quickly get back to functioning as an independent entity. In spite of everything, this model proved to be too much for the new government to handle and by 2005, just after the Parliamentary elections, the long sought stability and peace were nowhere to be found.\(^{129}\) One of the prevalent issues was how the future government under President Karzai envisioned his role as head of state. It has been argued that Karzai was not really interested or invested in creating an institutionalized state structure; rather he sought to build a patronage network in which personal

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relationships dictated how things ran, not state institutions, which is contrary to the model that was developed.\(^{130}\)

Another issue that came to a head during this period was the appointment of former warlords, mostly as provincial governors. Warlords emerged inside Afghanistan mainly during the civil war period of the mid-1990’s, with a few creating structures around themselves that produced a network of client warlords resulting with a few warlords gaining control over large swaths of Afghanistan. Overtime these warlords built structures and institutions that resembled proto-states with warlords developing their own internal sources of revenue as well as in some rare cases developing industry through the acquisition of factories as well as mining facilities.\(^ {131}\)

When the Taliban government collapsed, the new government was faced with a dilemma, since it had very weak roots in the country the government it would not be able to take major strides in securing the country. However, if the Coalition forces found people who had established societal connections and were willing to support the new government then progress might be possible and better facilitate the installment of a new, democratic government. Because of this problem, the first groups of potential support were those in the tribal aristocracy, led by Hamid Karzai, who had some influence, despite it being relatively weak, in key areas mainly around Kandahar. However, many in this aristocratic class had neither experience nor education in administration, thus the attention was also given to the Afghan educated elite, who were for the most part scattered throughout the globe. Nevertheless, because many in the elite had lived abroad their support in Afghanistan would be almost nonexistent, plus their presence inside Afghanistan may prove to be threatening to some, mainly to militia leaders who held no formal education. Thus,

\(^{130}\) Barfield, 304.

because of both of these groups were lacking the ability to successfully gain the necessary support in order to govern the country, the Coalition turned to the group of warlords, whom in 2002 were largely responsible for the governing of the state and were, and as a result, were brought into the state structure.\textsuperscript{132}

While the decision to bring these warlords into the fold was highly controversial and polarizing, they, on the other hand, were crucial to the future security of the state. Firstly, the development of security forces that were loyal to the government was falling behind the quotas that had been established. Secondly, the aristocrats were not able to develop a strong power structure through their tribal connections, which made the warlords informally in charge of the state’s administration despite their lack of support and relative military strength.\textsuperscript{133} In spite of their ability to administer their respective provinces, there were soon some major problems with warlords acting as Governors. In Oruzgan province under Jan Khan Mohammad, Khan appointed district governors who were either of not of the same clan or sub-tribe as the district itself, this was to ensure that Khan was able to remain in power because these district governors were in power because of Khan, not because of their domestic ties, thus forcing them to become loyal to Khan for their postition. The result of this power play, consequently, was the two main tribal groups in the province, the Barakzais and the Achakzais went to war with one another destabilizing the province as a consequence. Another case this one in Helmand Province, under Governor Sher Mohammad Akhundzada, many communities in this province were antagonized by the police and security forces; combined with poppy eradication, making any effective governing of the northern area of the province virtually impossible. Finally in Herat, Ismail

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 4-5.
Khan’s treatment of the Pashtun community by keeping them out of government or power eventually led to the creation of a domestic opposition group, led by Amanullah Khan, which launched counterstrikes against Ismail Khan’s forces.\textsuperscript{134} Nonetheless, by 2003-2004 most of these warlord governors had been removed from power and their militias reduced greatly in size.\textsuperscript{135}

While many of these governors were removed, it did create a new, additional problem. In the north the removal of many of the Northern Alliance commanders created power vacuums, which allowed old feuds began to resurface which enable the Taliban to become more deeply rooted in Afghanistan. A similar situation emerged in the south. When the central government under Karzai replaced Kandahari strongman Gul Agha Sherzai and relocated him to Nangarhar, this move allowed the Taliban the opening they needed because the administrative capacity of the province became highly disrupted as a consequence giving the Taliban the ability to fill the void left by the government.\textsuperscript{136} In many cases the provincial and district governors who had ties to their domestic constituency were replaced by men and women who had no ties, which created problems of legitimacy for many of these new governors. Most of the new governor’s power and influence was attached to their connections with Kabul which limited many of these new political appointments in terms of their authority and ability to make progress in their new capacities. In the case of the district governor of Istalif, the governor was rarely seen by the public, he lived in Kabul, not in Istalif, and when he did actually go to Istalif to do work he was only there for about two days before returning to Kabul.\textsuperscript{137} Another issue that aided in the

\textsuperscript{135} Neil Englehart, “A Tale of Two Afghanistans: Comparative Governance and Insurgency in the North and South,” \textit{Asian Survey} Vol. 50, No. 4 (July/August 2010): 746.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 747-748, 755-756.
\textsuperscript{137} Coburn, 132-134.
deterioration of security in Afghanistan was the perception of corruption in the Afghan Presidential Election in 2004 and the Parliamentary Elections in 2005. In the 2004 Presidential Election, while there was some evidence of electoral irregularities, it paled in comparison to the 2005 Parliamentary Elections.\textsuperscript{138} In the 2005 Parliamentary Elections there were widespread accusations of voter fraud and electoral irregularities, while most proved to be false; nonetheless, there were enough allegations that demonstrated that the electoral process was imperfect which could have caused different outcomes.\textsuperscript{139} Further complicating matters in Afghanistan was the role of the non-governmental organizations that had set up throughout the country. By mid-2003 roughly twenty two thousand international and national NGO’s were in Afghanistan. The problem with these NGO’s was that the government believed that they were usurping much of the services that are traditionally provided by the government and in the process of their operations they were de-legitimizing the civil government and civilian administration by demonstrating how corrupt and ineffective the government is in performing its job. As a consequence of this, the relationship between the Afghan government at all levels and the NGO community began to sour with each holding a great deal of discontent about the other.\textsuperscript{140}

Thus as the conflict entered the mid-2000’s, the situation in Afghanistan began to deteriorate. With all these factors discussed above, the Karzai government proved unable to provide adequate protection and civil services for its people. Accordingly, the Taliban were able to regroup and reemerge in Afghanistan, which will be the focus of the next segment of this chapter.

\begin{itemize}
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The Reemergence of the Taliban

After retreating into Pakistan after the collapse of their government, the Taliban and their allies began a slow buildup of their resources so that when the time was right they would be able to return to Afghanistan. One of the Taliban’s most daring moves came in 2003, roughly three months after the United States invaded Iraq, in which Mullah Omar reorganized the leadership shura of the Taliban and appointed ten members including well known commanders Jalaluddin Haqqani and Mullah Dadullah, as well as reestablishing ties with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his Hizb-i-Islami. From this reorganization it was clearly an indicator that the Taliban was going to start up its operations once again in Afghanistan, especially since the U.S. focus was now on Iraq, not Afghanistan. Soon after the reorganization of the Taliban, the money from the selling of drugs, namely heroin, netted roughly $100 million dollars for the Taliban, which aided their resurgence into Afghanistan.  

During the period from 2003 to 2004, the Taliban gradually began to conduct militant attacks in Logar, Wardak, and Kabul provinces, and by 2005 the Taliban had begun to organize large insurgent groups and thus were able to exert more of their power in some of the districts in these provinces. By 2006, the Taliban had successfully re-entered Afghanistan and began to conduct more extensive operations against the Afghan Government as well as the ISAF forces inside the country. During the period of 2006-2007, the battles between Coalition forces and the Taliban reach a climax, with British forces having sometimes to fight hand-to-hand against Taliban attacks on their positions. To help counter the advances of the Taliban, ISAF forces launched one of the largest operations against the Taliban, codenamed Operation Mountain Thrust, which involved 11,000 troops in Oruzgan and Helmand

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Provinces. While the operation was successful in killing more than a thousand Taliban and capturing four hundred more, in the long term the Taliban reemerged in the area and started engaging NATO forces only a few months later. Another operation of similar scope was undertaken, this one codenamed Operation Medusa, had killed hundreds if not thousands of Taliban fighters in Helmand, but the population was unnecessarily affected and despite all the efforts of NATO forces, the operation resulted in a truce between the British and Taliban forces.\footnote{Seth Jones, \textit{In The Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan}, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 210-220.} Because of the limited successes of these operations it demonstrated that while the Taliban were away in Pakistan, their tactics in conducting an insurgency had greatly improved. While the Taliban ceased conducting large operations like they did in 2006-2007, they realized that they were still very capable of attacking small NATO outposts which can be seen in the Battle of Wanat in the summer of 2008. By 2009, the NATO intelligence reported that the insurgent strength of the Taliban was at 25,000 full-time dedicated fighters. Even with the increased troop levels in 2010, the Afghan population was still blaming the countries situation on the NATO forces and the Afghan government, not the Taliban. The situation was not helped by NATO airstrikes against what were thought to be military targets but later turned out to be civilian encampments, which only helped to deteriorate the situation further.\footnote{Michael E. O’Hanlon and Hassina Sherjan, \textit{Toughing It Out in Afghanistan}, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2010), 26-27.}

With the Taliban resurgent, we must examine what their strategy is in Afghanistan and what this means for future efforts both by the international and Afghan forces who are attempting to stabilize the country. In the next section, this thesis will lay out an overall picture of what the Taliban has been doing in regards to its operations and how future pacification efforts must be cognizant of the fact that the Taliban is doing something right and how best can
we, the international community can counter their affects. One important feature to take note of is how the Taliban has secured and stabilized the areas under their control and how their operations brings great illumination as to what the current government under Karzai is doing wrong.

_Taliban Strategy_

In the case of Afghanistan, the need to bring the state to full functionality is more important to the states future success, especially with the foreign presence winding down in the next few years. With the Taliban presenting a very formidable insurgency it is important to cover what their tactics are and how their existence will further weaken Afghanistan. Bernard Fall put it best saying “when a country is being subverted it is not being outfought; it is being out-administered.” In Afghanistan, it seems that the Taliban are doing whatever they can to be seen as a legitimate alternative to the Karzai government. In order for the Taliban to gain the support of the people, it was first necessary to establish a shadow government to act as a contrast to the central government. As a result, the Taliban began to form a governance structure, largely focusing on the judiciary and providing for a court system that was entirely based on the enforcement of Sharia law. The Taliban were very successful in this endeavor largely because the central government had not properly formed a reliable state judiciary system. From there the Taliban were able to build a form of governance, especially in the southern and eastern provinces, and were able to provide some basic services as well as limiting the influence of the government in many rural Afghan villages by using intimidation, setting up roadblocks and

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rolling patrols. As a result of their actions, the Taliban were able to construct a narrative through their propaganda that they were an alternative to the central government.\textsuperscript{146}

But the question then becomes, why have the Taliban been so successful in establishing themselves as an alternative to the Karzai government? According to Gilles Dorronsoro, the Taliban were able to successfully create a foothold for themselves by addressing social grievances. One of the more important social grievances the Taliban have attempted to address is the soured relations between Afghanistan’s ethnic groups, tribes, quams or any other individuals or groups of individuals who have been alienated by the Karzai Administration, allying themselves with communities that have been somehow disaffected by the central government and its actions, the Taliban were better able to gain a footing in numerous regions allowing them to begin conducting anti-regime operations against the central government. The second area where the Taliban have been able to attract support is as a result of the unpopularity of international community, namely the foreign forces currently stationed in Afghanistan. The international military force has increasingly become unpopular as a result of actions taken by NATO forces, especially air strikes and Special Forces raids that have been undertaken by these forces that resulted in the death of innocent Afghan civilians. Finally, as it was alluded to earlier, the lack of local governance in Afghanistan has given the Taliban the opportunity to fill the void by offering and performing services that tend to be in the domain of the state government, not a non-state actor. The main area where the local government has failed in is the field of security where there is a noticeable absence of police and judges, giving the Taliban an opening to begin performing as a role of local security and as providing the means of solving disputes by providing a sound legal system. Because of these weaknesses, it appears that Bernard Fall was

correct in suggesting that an insurgency is not attempting to outfight the state, they are trying to out govern it instead.\textsuperscript{147}

However, while the Taliban appear to be successful at their interactions with the population, it should be noted that for any insurgency must establish governance institutions in order successfully interact with civilians. If an insurgency is to be successful in acquiring control over territory, they must form a governance structure that can allow them to control non-combatants as well as coordinate the use of resources and security; otherwise the insurgency may not be as successful and eventually fail.\textsuperscript{148} Historically, insurgents had two methods at establishing institutional relationships with civilian noncombatants: the first is the creation of a domestic militia; the second is the creation of a village committee that sometimes has control over the pattern and scope of violence in a province or district.\textsuperscript{149} While there is no explicit evidence that the Taliban created domestic militias or village committees, they did however, communicate with local villages about future Taliban attacks as well as established policy that forbade the harassment of innocent people. The Taliban also had a mechanism for dealing with disputes with local populations, namely involving the meeting with either a local commander or a group of elders to solve any disputes between the Taliban and the local population.\textsuperscript{150}

Based on this evidence it is clear that the Taliban are attempting to write a narrative suggesting that it could realistically address the needs of Afghans better than the Karzai government. With most international forces scheduled to leave Afghanistan within the next few

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\textsuperscript{150} Giustozzi, \textit{Koran, Kalashnikov, and Laptop: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan}, 117-118.
years, one prevalent issue remaining which is the possibility for a negotiated settlement with the Taliban. Any settlement would go far to help stabilize the country, but as the next section points out the overall issue is still somewhat complicated.

*Possibility of a Political Settlement with the Taliban*

When President Barack Obama outlined his new policy towards securing Afghanistan, one of the main tenets he stressed was the need for reconciliation between the current Afghan government and elements of the Taliban. While the policy up to this point has been targeted at the “moderate” Taliban commanders, the results thus far in have been limited with only a few commanders switching sides.\(^{151}\) However, a debate has emerged whether there are any moderate Taliban that can be convinced to join the government. Robert Crews suggests that there are in fact members of the Taliban who are moderate, and these individuals tend to driven toward constructing a state. Furthermore, the Taliban, itself, benefits from being moderate in nature; in order to attract good individuals both in Afghanistan and abroad as well as being seen as a legitimate state; it helps the Taliban to moderate their views. Currently there are two former members of the Taliban government who have in the past have acted as liaisons of the Taliban to the Karzai government as well as the ISAF military forces, they are: former Taliban Foreign Minister Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil and former Taliban Ambassador to Pakistan Mullah Abdul Salam Zaif. Their influence was demonstrated when both of these men were instrumental in obtaining the release of Italian journalist Daniele Mastrogiacomo in 2007. The Afghanistan government also created the National Independent Commission for Peace and Reconciliation headed by former Afghan President Sebghatullah Mojaddedi.\(^ {152}\) In spite of their appearance as

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\(^{151}\) O’Hanlon and Sherjan, 58-60.  
moderates and pragmatists, Vikash Vadav believes that the existence of the “moderate” Taliban is a myth. Vadav argues that the leadership of the Taliban is firmly committed to the organization and would unlikely defect because of the strong unity between them. Even the foot soldiers are not moderate according to Vadav, he states that anecdotal evidence suggests that the common soldier in the Taliban does not seek a peace agreement with the government and many who did reconcile with the government are now fighting with the Taliban.\(^\text{153}\)

Despite the long journey ahead in the reconciliation process here have been some recommendations that may prove useful in order to help process move forward. Sultan Barakat and Steven Zyck say two policies will be crucial: first, integrating Islam and giving it a much stronger presence in the State, and second, giving general amnesty for all demobilized and disarmed fighters in Afghanistan.\(^\text{154}\) Talatbek Masadykov, Antonio Giustozzi, and James Michael Page have a series of policy recommendations in order to facilitate the reconciliation process. They first suggest that the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA) be a key facilitator in the reconciliation process. Second, would to be include more stakeholders in the reconciliation by creating a broader committee of government officials and members of the community who have connections with the insurgency, this will help in the reconciliation process by barring international or governmental forces from interfering in the process. The final policy suggestion would be delisting Afghans from List 1267, which gives the Afghan parliament the option to decide who is a criminal and needs to be tried and those who can be forgiven. List 1267 was first published as a result of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1267 which proscribed certain sanctions on organization and individuals who had ties


While it is not known if the reconciliation process will ever work, the future stability of Afghanistan depends on some sort of agreement being established. If no agreement is reach, then it may take many more years before the country is perfectly stable enough to effectively rebuild. The other possible outcome is the collapse of the state once again where anarchy will rule Afghanistan once more.

**CONCLUSION**

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate how complex Afghanistan really is as a state and what one must understand when talking about the past, present, and future of Afghanistan. This chapter was written to help emphasis the important nature of local governance in Afghanistan. With the research questions clearly being driven to answer how important provincial leadership is in Afghanistan, this chapter has shown that effective governance outside of the central government is a necessity if Afghanistan is to survive and continue in its present form. What I have attempted to do is lay out Afghanistan’s history, focusing on important events in the state’s history as well as examine how the country had been governed by its previous rulers. Because of its long and complex history, Afghanistan, as a state, has been shaped into a state that is not like any other. It is a country of high de-facto decentralization that works at the village/tribal level with the central government historically playing little role in everyday Afghan lives, which despite all assumptions has worked out well for the country. With numerous political actors at the local level, leadership from the province to the village is key and for trust
to emerge, Afghans must see someone they trust and had a say in. Currently that is not the case, with the central government responsible for appointments, the process is discussed in Chapter 3, voter efficacy and trust in the government is hard to come by in present day Afghanistan. The overriding issue presently is the model that the U.S. and ISAF are pursuing for the governance of the state goes against the grain of history. If any solution is to work, not only must this be understood, but the western values that Europe and the United States are guided by, may in large part, not be compatible at first with the Afghan populations. Interfering on their parts is only going to extend the stabilization process and further complicate matters. The next chapter of the thesis will delve much more in-depth into this issue of state centralization and democratization, as well as address current thinking on U.S. counterinsurgency policy and why some of its assumptions may not necessarily work in Afghanistan.
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous chapter, the main focus was to demonstrate how the governance of Afghanistan has changed over the centuries and why this history is important while we consider how best to reconstruct and stabilize the Afghan state. For the most part of its history, Afghanistan was highly decentralized, with many of its past rulers having to maintain their power through regional power holders rather than having direct control over the country. However, despite its history, it appears that the current objective in Afghanistan is to construct a government that is based on western principles and ideals, which will be discussed later, rather than focusing on getting the Afghan state stabilized. These ideas and concepts are common place in North America and Europe, but some of the policy recommendations that this particular model calls for do not necessary correlate with the culture of the rest of the world, including Afghanistan. Because of this disconnect, much valuable time that could have been spent forming a model of government that is purely unique to Afghanistan and is a product of its history and culture, might been wasted. What some might argue is instead there is an international force that is dedicated to the pursuit of a government that may not function properly once the international community leaves the country to its own devices. Once the international force leaves, there is no guarantee at this point that Afghanistan central government will be strong enough to withstand the pressures imposed by the insurgency and subsequently lead to a collapse of the state. This would mean that the country would more than likely return to a state of civil war, as we saw during the early 1990’s, which may allow the Taliban to become resurgent and allow for insurgent groups to once again to begin operate within the territory controlled by the Taliban.

The principle objective of this chapter is to outline what the liberal viewpoint on state-building is and what policy recommendations are called for when establishing a new
government. After discussing the liberal model of democracy and state capacity, this chapter will then discuss how the model suffers some incongruities that do not necessarily align with the goal of stabilizing a country while simultaneously making it more democratic. In the case of Afghanistan it might become increasingly evident that the international community could have Afghanistan as a centralized state or as a stabilized country, but not both. In this second section, it is my goal, as author, to determine if this model has been successful, based on historical evidence, and surmise if Afghanistan could possibly function as a centralized, democratic state. From this point, this chapter will continue by discussing the strategy of the Taliban, and how their movements in Afghanistan pose a real threat to the continued stability of the country and legitimacy of the central government. The final section of this chapter will examine the current counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan and discuss how some possible pitfalls in this policy might not have necessarily made the Afghan government self-sufficient enough to manage the war against the Taliban on its own. This chapter will conclude on the debate whether Afghanistan can have both a democratic, centralized government and a stable state and what this means for the future of the state.

**LIBERAL THEORY AND STATE-BUILDING, CREATING AND MAINTAINING DEMOCRACY**

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the bipolar relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union collapsed. As a result, the policies of the United States and Europe reigned supreme, with most of their ideas and philosophy firmly rooted in liberal theory. For the purposes of full disclosure, while there are other theories present that have their own policy prescriptions for development, as it currently stands liberal theory currently is the most dominant theory currently being employed by most the world powers; because of this the other
theories in current existence will not be discusses in this thesis. Liberal theory, overall, argues that democracy is the path forward for states who seek to become as successful as their western counterparts in North America and Europe. Their policy recommendations are simple, by decreasing trade barriers to one another, by opening their borders and allowing free and fair elections a country will become prosperous and less likely to become embroiled in inter-state conflicts. While John Mueller has correctly argued as the result of the end of the Cold War the number of democracies has bloomed, Mueller, however, is not an advocate of democratic-peace theory, suggesting that democracies are just as likely to go to war with one another as non-democratic states.\textsuperscript{156} Nevertheless, this line of thinking is still very dominant and it gets it origins from Seymour Martin Lipset’s argument that the wealthier the country the likelihood that it would be able to sustain a democracy will be improved.\textsuperscript{157} The main source behind this theory is that democracies are less likely to go to war with one another which helps aid in the reduction of global conflict; this concept has been coined democracy-peace theory.\textsuperscript{158}

In the face of its critics, the idea that democracy will bring about a more stable and just society is still very much ingrained in U.S. Foreign Policy. The best examples of this are in the National Security Strategies (NSS) of 2002 and 2006 under President George W. Bush and NSS 2010 under President Barack Obama. Beginning with NSS 2002, it is evident from reading this statement that the United States believed that failing states, like that of Afghanistan, posed a clear and present danger to the United States and the best way moving forward was to create a stable and democratic state in its wake so that, in the case of Afghanistan, any future government would

\textsuperscript{158} Mueller, 167.
not safe harbor terrorist organizations within its borders. This line of thinking is still continued onward in the 2006 National Security Strategy, by focusing on how to develop weak states and given them the incentives to become stable democratic countries. Despite the change of administrations, it is apparent that the current administration still seeks to build democracy the world over. The Obama administration similarly argues that by promoting democratic values not only will the United States be more secure, but so too will the rest of the world. Furthermore, the administration stipulated that progress would be measured in Afghanistan, however, the document clearly omits what measures it will use to determine progress as well as what it means to have effective governance in Afghanistan.

However the question remains, what does one mean when saying a country is a democracy, do they mean an electoral democracy, or is there some other distinction at play? Larry Diamond proclaims in order for a country to be considered a democracy, they must allow for free and fair elections as well as allowing for such rights as freedom of religion, speech, as well as the right to protest and seek grievances against the government without reparations taken against them. However, despite the belief in certain inalienable rights, a definition of what a democracy is hard to accurately define due to its multiple meanings to different people. Economist Joseph Schumpeter suggests the essence of a democracy is allowing for the process for individuals to arrive at political decisions in which they have the power and right to choose someone to vote for after a competitive struggle, in other words a free and fair election.

According to journalist H. L. Menken democracy is “the theory that the common people know

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what they want. And deserve to get it good and hard.”¹⁶³ While these are very simplistic
definitions of what democracy is, for a more detailed account of some of the facets of what
people consider a democracy to be see Larry Diamond’s publication *The Spirit of Democracy:
The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*, but this again so open to
interpretation and discussion of what it mean to be a true democracy.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the best
operational definition of a democracy comes from the work of Robert Dahl, who believes a
democracy contains four distinct components: 1.) Effective and equal participation; 2.) Voting
equality at the decisive stage; 3.) Enlightened understanding (this means a citizen is given the
allotted amount of time that is required for a decision to be made which allows the citizen to
determine the choice that best meets their respective interests); and 4.) Controlling the agenda
through democratic means.¹⁶⁵ A good source that helps measure how democratic a state may be
is that of the Polity IV Project. This project maps countries on a negative ten to positive ten
range with countries that are in the positive being considered democracies while countries that
are in the negative are considered autocracies. Polity IV suggests the following definitions when
looking at states, the website has “a three-part categorization of "autocracies" (-10 to -6),
"anocracies" (-5 to +5 and the three special values: -66, -77, and -88), and "democracies" (+6 to
+10).” Since Afghanistan is a currently occupied state, the project does not have a ranking for the
state, but this data-set is very useful for those looking for metrics to help measure a countries
democratic institutions and practices.¹⁶⁶

One of the staunchest advocates for the creation of democracy in developing countries
has been Francis Fukuyama. In Fukuyama’s eyes, the creation of democracy and the aspect of

¹⁶⁴ Diamond, 22.
good governance go hand in hand with countries that are liberal democracies have, as a result, better governance over their respective country than non-democracies. Additionally, Fukuyama argues that one of main features of democracy is that it promotes transparency as well as striving to meet the needs of the states citizenry. The basis of this argument is that states, such as the Soviet Union which are authoritarian dictatorships, lose their legitimacy to govern in the judgment of the public, and, as a consequence, in today’s international system the only type of legitimate government remaining, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, is that of a democratic government.167

Another proponent of democracy is Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen. It is Sen’s contention that the expansion and subsequent universalization of democracy in the twentieth century is the best event that occurred during this time. Sen argues that in the twentieth century the idea of democracy underwent a transformation, from whether a country was fit to be a democracy to now a democracy being what makes a country fit. Furthermore, Sen believes that unlike most governmental systems which can claim one virtue in its value, democracy has a plethora of merits that make it the best form of governance. These virtues that Sen outlines are: “first, the intrinsic importance of political participation and freedom in human life; second, the instrumental importance of political incentives in keeping governments responsible and accountable; and third, the constructive role of democracy in the formation of values and in the understanding of needs, rights, and duties.” Thus, as a result, democracy is becoming much more considered as a universal value, while it has not achieved the status as a universal value, many, including Sen, argue that democratic governance is inherently the best form of government.168

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Nevertheless despite democracies inherent positives, there are a few negatives associated with the governance system, namely that democracy tends to call for a strong, centralized government which can be counter to a state’s history and culture, which it does in Afghanistan. While it is perfectly reasonable for a democracy to be present in a decentralized manner, current trends often suggest the creation of a strong, centralized government as the best means to facilitate the formation and sustainment of democracy. With that said, democracy can be used in a decentralized state, but in some cases what may not seem like democracy can still be true to the theories that embody the concept. A good example of democracy working in a decentralized state is that of the United States. With the U.S. considered to be a federalist state with multiple forms of government from local all the way to national, the model the U.S. is built on demonstrates that democracy and centralization are not necessarily synonymous terms. As it will be shown in Chapter 4, this thesis does argue for the possibility for some democratic system to be present in Afghanistan, but in a highly decentralized manner that is reflect of Afghanistan’s history and culture. Nevertheless, despite democracy being able to take on a number of different forms, it is still paired with the creation of a strong-centralized state. In spite its successful establishment in a number of countries, many still argue that decentralization is not necessarily proper for countries who are recovering from a conflict, especially a civil war.\textsuperscript{169} These scholars tend to argue that decentralization empowers regional actors to discriminate against one another, thusly reinforcing a regional identity, rather it be ethnic, cultural, religious, etc. identities rather than a national one; and furthermore, it allows for the possibility of regional actors to arm themselves to engage in a civil conflict against one another. What many appear not to understand

\textsuperscript{169} While this discussion does draw some distinction to Consociationalism, since the literature on this topic tends to cover ethnic conflict is was not used because Afghanistan is largely a regional, not ethnic, conflict. Nevertheless, Consociationalism has become a major theory in conflict resolution and the works by Brendan O’Leary, John McGarry, Stefan Wolff, and Arend Lijphart offer a great deal on this topic.
about the concept of decentralization is that it is designed to bring the government much closer to
the people and empower them to make decisions over their political, social and economic affairs;
which in the end helps reduce internal conflict between belligerent parties. Dawn Brancati
examines whether this is actually the case, does decentralization decrease intrastate conflict in
democracies? Her findings determine that despite many scholars speaking to the contrary,
decentralization actually decreases intrastate conflict and these states tend to experience less anti-
regime rebellions than a centralized government.170

The question then becomes why hasn’t decentralization been practiced in Afghanistan?
Astri Suhrke argues that in the case of Afghanistan is because the state has become so dependent
on international donations and aid has become beholden to their wishes and desires about what
Afghanistan should become whether then allowing Afghans decide for themselves. Since the
United States heavily favored the creation of a strong centralized democratic government, many
of the political reforms that took place post-Taliban have been directed at creating a strong
centralized system with a power executive in charge as a consequence. However, some observers
have noted that despite the creation of a new executive, any potential president will find it
difficult to fulfill the responsibilities of the executive branch. Despite many indications to the
contrary, many believed and hoped that if they were able to create a centralized system, both
with executive and legislative branches, would allow the turmoil that plagued Afghanistan to
move from the military to the political arena. Nevertheless, Astri Suhrke concludes that in the
end while the United States has sought to create a democracy in Afghanistan, because the state
has become so dependent on external aid, the country, namely the legislature, has become

170 Dawn Brancati, “Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and
virtually meaningless and as a consequence these efforts have largely been counterproductive.\textsuperscript{171}

In the end most governments, especially those in the “west,” encourages countries migrating towards democracy and in many cases it attempts to aid in the transition with sending financial resources along with personnel trained in establishing democratic governments. This encouragement has rapidly increased after the collapse of the Soviet Union which resulted in the creation of several new states, namely in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Despite its popularity however, in some cases while democracy is the overall goal, some countries are not simply prepared to become a democracy, or just do not want to become one. While I am a complete supporter of democracy, having a government that is designed to support the values and inherent rights of every human, there must come the time, however, for a realization to emerge that a “one-size fits all” technocratic system of government, which may not necessarily be a democratic state, is not appropriate in all cases. Just as the case in the “Washington Consensus” that every country should have an open economic system, in reality, if some countries were to pursue these liberal economic policies would most likely set the stage for the collapse of their economy since they cannot compete with the industrialized or the new industrialized economies of the U.S., Europe, and Asia. In this case, as will be demonstrated shortly, governments do not necessarily need to be a pure democratic state in order to function properly, sometimes the culture inherent in the country allows the state to function properly even if its governance is completely against all theory on government. In the case of Afghanistan, what President Karzai has failed to do thus far is demonstrate that he is not indebted to foreign governments, that he is in effect running the

country independently from the United States and its other international partners. Instead Karzai
is too dependent of international backers and he has not demonstrated that he has the political
legitimacy to lead the government independent from foreign control. Astri Suhrke calls this
setup “shared sovereignty,” borrowing the term for Steven Krasner, with the United States and
international community usurping to the roles traditionally left to the state (Afghanistan), in this
case control over the budget and military, to decide for itself. Further complicating matters is
that many of his most capable ministers and advisors were largely gone by the end of his election
as president in 2004 and he has resulted to voter fraud to prevent the possibility he would be
rejected at the polls. Thusly, as Astri Suhrke pointed out, Afghanistan is a dependent state that
is too often dictated to by others that the government has not been able to form the type of
legitimacy it needs to survive on its own once the international forces leave the country.

ESSENTIALS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE AND WHAT IT TAKES TO BECOME A
STRONG STATE

The main issues with most supporters for creating a democratic state, especially after a
long conflict that has left the country in ruins, is that democratic theorists tend to argue that once
a strong central democratic is in place, all the pieces will respectively fall into place thereafter.
The problem is that most of these theorists tend to overlook the essentials needed for a good state
government to succeed. In order for any government to be legitimate in the eyes of the people,
regardless of what type of government it is, the government must provide for the bare essentials,
including domestic security from both outside and inside aggressors, the establishment rule of
law, provide basic services such as fresh and clean water, electricity, transportation, etc. If the

2010), 341-342
173 Suhrke, 15.
174 Barfield, 341-342.
state is to succeed it first must get the essentials right before it considered such questions as adopting democratic measures. The best example of this is Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs, while it is a psychological concept it holds some merit in this case. In order for one to proceed into more profound understandings, one’s basic needs must be addressed first, and then only after have these basic needs have been met can one continue onwards towards self-actualization. The same could be said for a state, in order for it to make any advance progress it must meet the basic needs of its population before it can continue on to more advance questions like what type of government should the state strive to become.

In a recent study conducted by Andrew Enterline and J. Michael Greig, these author’s studied the history of imposed democracy and applied their findings on what the likely outcome might be in Afghanistan and Iraq. They found that in the cases of imposing democracy that the likelihood that a country might still be a democracy 25 years later was about 50 percent, essentially a coin-toss. While there have been successes in imposing democracy, namely West Germany and Japan, in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, the probability that both states may continue to be democracies is diminished as a result of poor economic growth and performance. As a consequence, Enterline and Greig argue that the possibility both Iraq and Afghanistan will still be democracies in the next quarter century is highly unlikely, namely because these states are not necessarily strong enough to effectively counter anti-democratic sentiment and once the first democratic government fails, the chances that another democratic government taking its place is extremely slim. To contrast the work of Enterline and Greig, another study, this one by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, found that non-violent revolutions and civil resistance

provided a much more stable democracy and with this stability the state in question was much less likely to descend into a state of civil war.\footnote{Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, \textit{Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict}, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).}

Two recent publications demonstrate in more clear terms what a state must do in order to be successful at governance and prevent failure. The first is written by James Dobbins et al titled \textit{The Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building}. In this book, Dobbins and his co-authors recommend a set of realistic policies that a state must meet before it can properly function. This publication covers such facets not just militarily and rule of law but also how to establish the basic administration of the state as well as how to re-establish the economic system of the state. As a result, this account is possibly one of the more realistic and grassroots guides to how a state can rebuild itself after either failing or after massive domestic turmoil or upheaval.\footnote{James Dobbins et al, \textit{The Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building}, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2007).} The other publication is by Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart in their book \textit{Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World} sets a number of similar recommendations that states could follow in order to reestablish themselves and begin once again to function as a state should. Ashraf Ghani, who was the former Finance Minister of Afghanistan, focuses on a number of policy initiatives that would pertain to the Afghanistan, given his recent role in the Afghan government.\footnote{Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, \textit{Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World}, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).} Both of these publications dissect the functions of states and make realistic recommendations, that while they do include the adoption of certain democratic principles, which are designed to bring a state back from the teetering precipice of failure and bring it back to full functionality.
To conclude this section, one must ask how successful has the United States been at state-building in the past; Jason Brownlee considers this question in this article “Can American Nation-Build?” Brownlee determined that the United States in the past has been more successful at refurbishing and strengthening an existing state rather than building one from the ground up. Brownlee quotes famed political scientist Robert Dahl when he states that the United States biggest successes, which of post-war West Germany and Japan, are unlikely to ever be replicated and countries that attempt such feats again are more than likely doomed to failure. As a consequence, based off of Brownlee and Dahl some would argue that the United States was possessed with hubris, like those before them, thought that they were the ones with the perfect solution on how to correctly rebuild a country.180

Essentials to State Functionality

In order to better determine state functionality, I will cover what, in my opinion, constitutes essential functions of the state and how any country must meet prerequisites if it has any hope of not collapsing. The first priority for any state should be the stabilization of the country by ensuring domestic security and the establishment of rule of law. In many cases presently, namely Haiti and Somalia, their respective governments have failed to curtail rogue elements operating in their states and thus far have been only marginally successful in reestablishing domestic security and the rule of law. Once security has been reestablished, a state should continue onward by resuming essential services, namely access to clean water, food, electricity, sanitation, etc. By restoring essential services, a country not only will help improve the lives of its citizenry but also demonstrate to the people that they the legitimate government of

the state and have the ability to solve any issue whether it national or domestic. Thusly as a
result, support for the new government and belief in it will begin to rise which will help prevent
the formation of a domestic anti-regime insurgency. Once essential services have been restored,
a state must look to how it will continue to function long-term. The first priority would be the
creation of a new state bureaucracy that will allow the government to build on its capacity to
serve the public, which will enable it to quickly address the needs of the public and the
government alike.

The second priority would be the establishment of a tax code and a method for its
collection. In Afghanistan, as it was already stated, Karzai has not successfully demonstrated that
he is not the subject of foreign influence, in order for any state to become self-sufficient, a proper
tax code and the proper mechanisms to collect them are essential for any states long-term
survival. While it should be known that for most of its history Afghanistan has largely been
dependent on foreign aid, what I am suggesting is that since no substantial effort has been made
to wean the government off this aid, it could appear that Afghanistan may be more susceptible to
the whims of the international community rather than having the freewill to make choices
independent of foreign influence. Once all of these functions have been meet or are in the
progress of being meet that is when a state should attempt to address such items as an election
and the formation of a new government. Until that point an interim government, as long as it
seen as legitimate and has the popular support of the citizenry, should suffice until that point
where elections can begin. As it was already mention, one should think the evolution of
governance along the line of Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs, a state must first solve what the
essentials are before it can begin to delve deeper into state functions, if it does not address
essential functions then valuable time has been wasted from which developments may occur that will only lengthen the reconstruction process.\textsuperscript{181}

Despite the ability to perform a state’s essential functions, a state can still be weak and ineffective. Joel Midgal, in his classic study \textit{Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capacities in the Third World} examined the conditions it was required to make a strong state. The first condition Midgal cites is the occurrence of major wars or the outbreak of civil conflict as the source of many strong states, namely in the Third World at the time. As a result of these conflicts, sometimes mass migrations occur which leads into the second basis for a strong state, the breaking down of old social controls and the establishment of new ones. It is only after massive conflicts that states have tended to come out stronger. Despite these two conditions, Midgal does name a few more additional conditions that aid in the strengthening of a state. The first is a worldwide historical event, or events, which allows a state to create and concentrate a new form of social control over their respective territory. The second is an outside military threat or a domestic insurgent threat which allows a state to take advantage and consolidate their power. The third condition is the creation of an independent bureaucracy where those who either at the policy-level making decisions or those on the ground implementing the policy have the state interests in mind when doing so as well as having the prerequisite skills to make informed choices when presented. Finally, a state must have skillful leaders at the head of a state in order to help strengthen and must be competent enough to make decisions in the betterment of the state. While these characteristics do not all need to present technically, if the conditions that can be controlled, mostly those that involve items within a state’s control such as

\textsuperscript{181} Maslow, 15-31.
an effective and independent bureaucracy and the selection of competent and compelling leaders, gives a state a better chance at survival.\textsuperscript{182}

However, while every state should strive to become a strong, or at least a stable, state and do its best to effectively run their respective country, but their some ambiguity on what is good governance, is there a rubric to determine how effective and good governance is in a country? With comparative politics solely focused on the state as its unit of analysis, in order for a country to make its interests known, there has to be some degree of stability with some sort of centralized figure who has been chosen to be the acting representative of the state. While the works by Dobbins and Ghani are the best overall publications to determine state success in its governance, these policy recommendations must be examined with a critical eye. In order to effectively determine how a state works, one has to conduct extensive field research in order to grasp the full understanding on how a state functions. For example, many in would argue some of the worst running governments are located in Africa, where the governments themselves barely function or do not function at all. Despite this negative connotation authors Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz in their publication \textit{Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument} state that despite these government in Africa not performing to the heights of western standards, these same governments that they sampled in their research were functioning using the norms that were present in the country and examined how functioning meant something different than what most academic literature suggests. Despite many not condoning bribing government leaders or using government positions as a form of patronage as a means for effective governance, in the

case of Africa it works and allows the government to function, according to local standards.\textsuperscript{183} So when examining how a state functions, while it may look weak based on established rubrics, these measures may not depict the reality of the state and may consider a state to be failed or failing, but firsthand accounts may counter those findings. The same could be said of Afghanistan, while the metrics used to determine the states success point to failure on part of the government there may be unaccounted for variables that have not been taken into consideration when the findings are produced.\textsuperscript{184}

\textbf{COUNTERINSURGENCY: IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE IN AFGHANISTAN}

Moving forward, this chapter will now turn its attention to how the Afghan government and NATO forces are combating the insurgency and how some of the policies being pursued by these actors may be having a detrimental, not a beneficial impact. Before 2009, the United States commitment to Afghanistan can be described as light, especially since most U.S. combat troops were deployed and concentrated in Iraq. However, by at least 2006-2007, the United State began to focus on more counter-insurgency operations and by 2009; the U.S. Administration under Barack Obama initiated a surge of 30,000 additional troops to be deployed due to the Taliban’s resurgence in the Afghanistan. As it was stated in Chapter One, Bernard Fall suggested that a domestic insurgency is not attempting to out fight the government, they are attempting to out govern them.\textsuperscript{185} In this case the Taliban are clearly attempting to out govern the Afghan central government by focusing on domestic security as well as establishing some sense of rule of law

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  \item \textsuperscript{183} Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, \textit{Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument}, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999).
  \item \textsuperscript{184} While it is clear that Afghanistan has been a hegemonic state in the past, since most literature address how to shift a state from being hegemonic to neutral tends to focus on ethnic conflict it was not used in this chapter. Ilan Peleg’s book \textit{Democratizing The Hegemonic State: Political Transformation in the Age of Identity} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) is a great source that addresses this issue.
  \item \textsuperscript{185} Fall.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
with establishing judicial systems designed to resolve disputes among Afghans, which thus far has outperformed the central governments judiciary system. With governance being a key issue in counterinsurgency the question is what policies are the U.S. and NATO forces pursuing in Afghanistan, what kind of counter-insurgency operations are they performing? The current counter-insurgency doctrine, the *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, written by General David Petraeus, Lt. General James Amos, and Lt. Colonel John Nagl represents the current thinking on U.S. counterinsurgency policy. The best summation of current counter-insurgency policy is that the policy is a mix of offensive and defensive operations that combine five different types of operations: civil security, civil control, essential services, governance, and economic and infrastructure development. The belief is the proper execution of these five types of operations, the support for the insurgents will decrease which will make it easier to eliminate the guerillas that are still currently operating in the country. The question is whether U.S. counter-insurgency policy been correctly applied in Afghanistan, or are some operations doing more potential harm than good?186

In order to full grasp the current situation as it relates to counter-insurgency, this section will delve into the aspect of counterinsurgency which will provide a much clearer vision as to how theory in being put into practice and what are the corresponding results. The best overall dissection of current counter-insurgency policy in Afghanistan is discussed in *Toughing it Out in Afghanistan* by Michael E. O’Hanlon and Hassina Sherjan.187 The first thing when comes to mind when discussing counter-insurgency is how does one prevent an insurgency in the first place? Nora Bensahel of the RAND Corporation conducted research on this very subject and

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found that three things must be achieved in order to reduce the probability of an insurgency: first, one must obtain a formal surrender from the enemy forces; second, the reestablishment of law and order in the immediate aftermath of a conflict; and finally, the reconstructing on the indigenous security forces. In the case of Afghanistan, there was no formal surrender of the Taliban to international forces and the reconstruction of indigenous security forces took some time with the NATO forces relying on non-state actors, namely militias for security, and finally the Afghan state government has yet to create a reliable judicial system, as it was stated previously. As a result, it is clear that NATO forces failed in obtaining the prerequisites needed to prevent a full blown insurgency.  

When President Barack Obama entered office in 2009, he laid out his policies that his administration would pursue in Afghanistan. The first major cornerstone of his policy was the focus on sending U.S. military forces to help bolster the security situation in Afghanistan as well as aid in the training of Afghan national forces. However, there was the additional focus to help reduce corruption as well as the drug economy that was persistent in Afghanistan; thus, President Obama also called for the deployment of agricultural and economic advisors, engineers, as well as educators that would hopefully reduce corruption and hopefully rebuild the country from the bottom up.

The overall plan for counterinsurgency in Afghanistan is best described in the article by C. Christine Fair entitled “Clear, Build, Hold, Transfer: Can Obama’s Afghan Strategy Work?” In Fair’s opinion, this strategy is somewhat misleading. It is her opinion that the NATO and Afghan National Security Forces cannot adequately clear insurgents from an area, and once an

189 O’Hanlon and Sherjan, 38-39.
area is clear the poor nature of the Afghan National Police makes it impossible for security forces to adequately hold the area. Furthermore, in order to effectively clear and pacify an area would require the reintegration of Taliban forces, which would be difficult even if the Taliban are fighting purely for financial reasons. When it comes to reconstructing an area, with the area not necessarily secure, it makes it more difficult to build, or rebuild, an area that is still under conflict, and with the Afghan government still in its infancy, they might not be able to effectively administer these areas. Fair concludes with suggesting that the current COIN strategy pursued in Afghanistan is too population-centric and due to the vast dispersion of the population along with the fact that the Taliban enjoy a good deal of support from Pashtun areas of Afghanistan; thus, it is highly unlikely that the international security forces will be able to transfer security responsibility to the Afghan security forces anytime in the near future. The question becomes then how can one determine how successful the counterinsurgency operations are in Afghanistan? In the results section of this thesis, that chapter will present a number of descriptive statistics that will depict how successful or unsuccessful counterinsurgency operation have been in Afghanistan.  

CONCLUSION

The overall goal of this chapter was to demonstrate the idea that while western ideals and philosophy that are the mantra of the world over should not suggest that they are full proof. In the beginning of this chapter, there was the discussion as to whether centralization is the solution for all countries, that is helps foster peace and prosperity. However, despite all the positives of centralization, this chapter as shown that it may not be the best policy for every country to pursue, especially Afghanistan. Furthermore, the Taliban’s strategy in Afghanistan shows that it is not trying to establish a full blown governmental system, instead it is focusing on the basics of governance, by creating courts and security forces that address the public’s need for protection and law and order. Finally, while the counterinsurgency policies that are designed to help increase governance of the state, in Afghanistan it appears that the Afghan government and security forces are not ready and able to take over the governing of the country quite yet, and as a result, it is opening an opportunity for the Taliban to exploit and take advantage of the governments weakness. The table above shows the approaches that are available to the international community and to Afghanistan. The first approach is the creation of a unitary system that is centralized and has a monopoly control over the use of force. This approach is the one currently being taken by ISAF and the Afghan government. The second choice is a decentralized system of a federal democracy, with certain state powers devolved to the
provinces. The focus of decentralization is largely on governmental services at the local level. This latter approach is the one that will be argued for in the results section.

When all these considerations are combined, while there may be the ideal government in place, a strong centralized state that practices democracy, what is actually occurring is the further deterioration of the state and its ability to survive on its own in the future. What needs to happen, as a result, is focusing on the basics of governance and form a new government that is more modeled to the culture and history that is Afghanistan. While this new government may not be a true electoral democracy, it will however survive longer and perhaps in the future allow for the existence for a true democracy to emerge.
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

While there has been a great deal of research surrounding the United States and ISAF’s approach to state-building and stabilizing Afghanistan, and a great many of people, whether they be scholars or practitioners, have offered their opinion on how to solve the situation, with most of these ideas tend to deal with security side solutions. However, there has been little research conducted that systematically examines the impact centralization of Afghanistan’s government is having in this process. While there have been studies on the Afghan National Police and Army, while important, there has, however, been a lack of investigation studying the impact the civil administration itself is having, especially local government. Due to this lack of attention it is not fully known how the Afghan government is aiding in rebuilding their country and how their policies may be hindering reconstruction efforts. While there are a multitude of different areas where one could focus their studies to determine the impact of the Afghan central government, this essay will focus on the appointment and the removal of the provincial governors who head the provincial governments in Afghanistan’s 34 provinces.

The most extensive study on these provincial governors to date has been conducted by Antonio Giustozzi, who has examined some these governors who happened to have been former warlords, and determined how their appointments have impacted their respective provinces. As it discussed in Chapter 1, because of Afghanistan’s elite and aristocracy not having the domestic support necessary one would need in order to properly manage Afghanistan, these warlords were chosen because they had the regional organization necessary, as well as having de-facto control over the country. That was crucial in allowing for a new government to take over the country.191

However, while it was necessary to appoint some of these warlords, once they were appointed some of these governors, for instance Jan Mohammad Khan of Oruzgan Province, Sher Mohammad Akhundzada of Helmand, and Ismail Khan of Herat Province helped to destabilize these provinces through the actions they took during their tenures. Because of their actions, Giustozzi argues that the Taliban were able to better infiltrate back into these provinces because of widespread discontent of the governors and their policies.\footnote{Antonio Giustozzi, \textit{Koran, Kalashnikov, and Laptop: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan}, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 56-67.} Since in these limited cases, the question then becomes, “Have more provincial governors who have not been examined by academic literature possibly have the same effect as some of these former warlords?” By examining the background on these select individuals who have become governors, this thesis will expand on the research conducted by Giustozzi and determine if there are characteristics, both political and biographical, that may help explain the success of insurgent penetration deeper into the country.

The reason this paper has chosen to study Afghanistan provincial governors is twofold. First, because of Afghanistan’s lack of infrastructure, namely in regards to transportation, many Afghans have not left their home province, if not their village, which makes local governance all the important in this case. Staying true to the adage “all politics is local” in the case of Afghanistan this proverb holds a greater deal of truth that it may elsewhere. Because of these factors, the provincial governor in many cases represents the embodiment of the central government to many Afghanis and the policies these governors may pursue can possibly lead individuals to join or support the insurgency as a sign of protest against the government and its actions. The second reason why this paper chose to focus on the provincial governors is due to of this factor that limit transportation, many of these provincial governors have a great deal of
autonomy, especially in the early years of the current government when many of the provincial governors were former warlords. As a consequence of this autonomy, a governor’s choice to pursue certain policies which are not favorable with the local population or the central government and instead use their position to their own personal advantage, could lead to disastrous side-effects. Thusly, when one accounts for these two factors, a provincial governor in Afghanistan can do a great deal of damage that could result in the alienation of the domestic population against the central government which can help expand the insurgency deeper into Afghanistan.

**GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT PROCESS**

From the creation of the new Afghanistan government in 2002 until 2007-2008, the responsibility for the appointment and removal of provincial governors fell to the Department of the Interior. The exact considerations the Department of Interior made in their selections is not known, but a variety of factors played their parts, with varying amount of degrees, when candidates were selected for office. Some of these governors were appointed, and reappointed, in part due to their political ties either to Karzai, or ties to someone within his government. Recently the power of the appointment/removal of governors appears to have largely transferred to the Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG), which recommends the appointment or removal of the provincial governors. The change in the appointment process came from the appeared high levels of corruption in the Interior Ministry, which resulted in Karzai creating the IDLG with the organization reporting directly to him.\(^\text{193}\) The goal of the

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IDLG “is consolidating peace and stability, achieving development and equitable economic growth and achieving improvements in service delivery through just, democratic processes and institutions of good governance at subnational level.”\textsuperscript{194} The IDLG, as a response to their message, has sought to appoint more governors with a professional background rather than a governor that has local ties to the province; however, despite this goal there are still numerous recent appointments that appear to have political connections rather than professional experience.\textsuperscript{195}

\textbf{DATA COLLECTION}

The research is based upon the collection of historical data on the all the governors in Afghanistan’s 34 Provinces from 2002 to present day along with the consolidation of three insurgent incident databases covering acts of terrorism in Afghanistan from January 2002 to March 2011. The list of Afghanistan governors that were part of this survey are provided for in Appendix A. The list of Afghan governors was largely determined by media reports published and made available in Lexis Nexis, however, other websites including the Naval Postgraduate School’s website were consulted in the process of finding biographical information on these individuals.\textsuperscript{196} The insurgent incident data was collected from three organizations, the Global Terrorist Database from the University of Maryland, the Worldwide Incident Tracking System


\textsuperscript{195} Graeme Smith, “Afghanistan's readiness to vote debated; Violence and government interference seen as threats to elections being scheduled for a year from now,” \textit{The Globe and Mail (Canada)}, Published: July 25, 2008, via Lexis Nexis; BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political, “Afghan minister runs in election without party approval – deputy,” Published: February 4, 2009, via Lexis Nexis.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

For the purposes of this investigation, the data collected on the governors will be the independent variables for these tests. The governor data is measured in two dimensions. The first is the political background and affiliations of the governors to administrations and movements of Afghanistan’s past and present. Other measures in this category examine less traditional political characteristics including whether the governor commanded a militia, did he/she serve as governor of more than one province and finally did any controversy erupt around them during their tenure. The second dimension is that of the biographical features of the governors. The variables in the dataset include did the governor have previous ties to the province he or she was administering, their ethnicity and their provinces ethnicity, travel/living, as well as education. Using both of these dimensions, this study will aim to determine if there are any particular characteristics that may be the cause for the expansion of insurgent incidents in Afghanistan’s provinces. The total list of independent variables used in this thesis can be found at the end of this chapter.

Political Affiliations

For the governors data, a wide variety of categories of interest were postulated in order to determine if any aspect of a governor’s biography may be instrumental in aiding this
investigation. In the examination of political affiliations, this study collected data on whether a governor has had ties to the following: the Daud Khan administration; the PDPA; Mojaddedi administration; Rabbani administration; ties to the Northern Alliance; and ties to Karzai. In addition to these political affiliations, the other measures which are examined include: does the governor command a militia; has he/she served as governor of more than one province; and was there any controversy attached with this governor during his appointment. All of these variables are answered in a yes/no format, thus dummy variables, with No = 0 and Yes = 1.

**Biographical Characteristics**

The following are the biographical features that were collected: does he or she have domestic ties to the region they are governing; the ethnicity of the governor; the ethnicity of the province; does the ethnicity of the governor and province match, did the governor spend any years outside Afghanistan; with two follow ups including where and how long the governor lived outside the country; what is the highest educational achievement of the governor; and was the governor educated outside of Afghanistan? The ethnicity variables along with the variable asking “if the governor spend any years outside Afghanistan” and “was the governor educated outside Afghanistan” were all collected as dummy variables. The “how many years did they spend outside Afghanistan and where” variables were open-ended questions and the question regarding the highest educational achievement of the governor used a rank-ordered ordinal variable. In order to better facilitate the analysis, the level of education variable was collapsed into dichotomous variable with governors with no education or a high school level were coded as a “0” and governors with higher education were coded as a “1”.
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables for this study will be the insurgent incident data that was collected from the sources listed above in the data treatment section. The data was initially collected using each incident as the unit of analysis. However, once the data collection was complete, the data was rearranged so that the unit of analysis would be a province/month/year format starting from 2002 going onward until March of 2011. This was done in order to better facilitate the determination of trends present in the data. Furthermore, since it was not always known when the precise date when a governor was removed or appointed, using the month/year as the unit of analysis helped facilitate the examination because it was usually known which month a governor was appointed or relieved of his/her duties. The type of target of the attack were also recorded and later coded into a system to aid in the analysis of this data. The total list of dependent variables, including their definitions, is located at the end of this chapter.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

Despite the ability to collect original data on the Afghan governors as well as collect the most accurate list of insurgent incidents that have occurred inside the country, there were still a number of issues in this data that might affect this study’s outcome. As it has been alluded to earlier in this chapter, the biographical data on some of the Afghan provincial governors was hard to locate. The best source of information during this process was using Lexis Nexis and scouring its database for relevant data, however, some problems emerged during this process as well. The first issue was the different spellings of many of the Afghan governors names, in some cases there were numerous permutations in terms of how one part of a name was spelled. While I have attempted to collect data on all the different spellings that were found in these sources,
there could be cases in which data was missed because of this problem. Furthermore, in some cases despite using every variation in names that was found during this search, no results were produced which does explain for the lack of data on some of the governors included in this analysis. The second issue was the lack of trustworthy sites available with information that could be verified and traced. While there were hits on names put into the search engines, the websites that were found to contain information did not always seem trustworthy and the authors in these cases were not always known. Consequently, this author did not feel it was proper to include this data that might be fraudulent or misleading. The final major issue is the possibility of data duplication in the insurgent incident database. While the attempt was made to remove as much of the duplicate data as possible, in many cases the event description provided by these three sources was very ambiguous that it could not be successfully determined if some cases that fell on the same day in the same province were in fact describing the same incident. Nevertheless, every effort was made to ensure the data was complete by rechecking almost every piece of data with a variety of different and trustworthy sources to ensure its truthfulness, this included going by hand to reexamine all the insurgent incident data. If that was the situation, the data was kept to ensure the most accurate dataset could be created.

Despite these limitations, it is the goal of this thesis, nonetheless, to determine the impact the provincial governors are having in Afghanistan, whether it be positive or negative. The two main tests that will be performed in this analysis are two-tailed independent samples t-test as well as simple linear regressions which will indicate which relationships are statistically significant. The equation for the linear equation is as follows:

\[ DV \text{ (Total Number of Attacks)} = \beta \times IV \text{ (Political and Biographical Attributes)} + \text{Error} \]
HYPOTHESES

In this investigation, the analysis conducted will largely focus on answering the hypotheses laid out below. While some descriptive statistics will be recorded in the results section, they will be used mainly to describe recent trends in Afghanistan, such as attacks on civilians, the government officials, etc.

**Hypothesis 1 (H1):** Governors who have connections to Hamid Karzai’s administration will have more insurgent attacks, on average, than those governors who have no ties to the Karzai Administration.

With Hamid Karzai attempting to consolidate his power in Afghanistan, his choices for the provincial governorships will tend to ensure their absolute loyalty to his administration and prevent any governor from establishing a domestic base of support from which he/she could undermine Karzia’s administration. Due to these political calculations, Karzai has not been well received by many Afghan’s, and, as a consequence, many of these same people have begun to support the insurgency hence why this hypothesis states that there will be an increase, on average, of attacks whose governor has ties to Karzai’s administration.

**Hypothesis 2 (H2):** Governors who have connections to the Northern Alliance will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than those governors who have no ties to the Northern Alliance.

As it was stated earlier in this work, when the Taliban came to power in 1995-1996, a number of the Afghan elite fought against them in what would eventually become the Northern Alliance. After the September 11th attacks, the United States aided the Northern Alliance in
overthrowing the Taliban government. As a result of this action, the Northern Alliance gained a
great deal of prestige amongst the Afghan population; this is especially true in the northern part
of the country where the alliance’s main areas of support were located. Because of this prestige,
if one has ties to this organization, they may find the population more willing to put their trust in
the government and work with the provincial governor. Additionally, many of these governors
also governed their home province, and did so during the 1992-1996 civil war period, which is
what H1 argues, so there may be some overlap between these two variables.

**Hypothesis 3 (H3):** Governors who have held positions, or have ties, to Daud Khan’s
administration will have fewer insurgent attacks than governors, on average, who did not
serve or have connections to Khan’s administration.

**Hypothesis 4 (H4):** Governors who have held positions, or have ties, to the PDPA
administration will have more insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who did not
serve or have connections to the PDPA administration.

**Hypothesis 5 (H5):** Governors who have held positions, or have ties, to Sibghatullah
Mojaddedi’s administration will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than governors
who did not serve or have connections to Mojaddedi’s administration.

**Hypothesis 6 (H6):** Governors who have held positions, or have ties, to Burhanuddin
Rabbani, administration will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than governors
who did not serve or have connections to Rabbani’s administration.

While there are a number of governors who had no previous political experience prior to
the new Afghan government, there were still a number of Afghan governors who held positions
in previous administrations and have reemerged after the collapse of the Taliban government and
have gone onto serve in positions throughout Afghanistan including serving as a provincial governor. This past experience in politics, with the exception of ties to the PDPA, could be to the advantage of these governors by knowing how to deal with a plethora of different groups and stakeholders which could aid in stabilization operations in the provinces in question. Hypothesis 3 on the other hand argues that governors with ties to the PDPA will have higher rates of attacks than governor who did not. The reasoning behind this argument is that the PDPA administration is still very unpopular in present day Afghanistan. With the Mujahedeen against the PDPA being such a popular movement amongst everyday Afghans, those that stood against them may be seen as traitors to the Islamic beliefs that personified the resistance.

**Hypothesis 7 (H7):** Governors who have served as governors before in other provinces will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, during their tenure than those governors who have had no previous gubernatorial appointment.

Since it is up to the central government to decide gubernatorial appointments, there is always the consideration that some governors may have connections that allow them to be reappointed to other provinces after they are initially removed. However, there is also the need to appoint governors who have been proven to be effective to be transferred another province that requires a more experienced hand to govern the region. Hypothesis Seven (H7) then suggests that those governors who have been governors of more than one province will have decreased incidents of insurgent attacks due to their experience as a proven and effective governor. This is will be performed by examining these governors background and determine if they have served in a previous province and see if insurgent incidents as a whole have decreased or increased.
Hypothesis 8 (H8): Governors who have been mired by controversy or have been accused of ineffective governance will have more insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who have not been mired in controversy.

As it was alluded to earlier, there were a number of governors throughout Afghanistan that had a great deal of controversy that surrounded their tenure. Whether it was accusations of ethnic favoritism or outright corruption, these labels attached to governors do not help when one is trying to promote good governance. Hypothesis Eight (H8) will reflect this dimension which will suggest that those individual governors who have been accused of corruption or have been labeled as ineffective will have an increase in insurgent incidents during their time as governor. This will be conducted with the inclusion of a dummy variable which addresses whether the governor has experienced any widespread criticism; this is measure through the analysis of news reports about the governor or current events occurring in the province.

Hypothesis 9 (H9): Governors who have domestic militias will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than those governors who did not have a domestic militia under their control.

When the new government was established in 2001-2002, the new government needed to gain control over the new country, thus the new government turned to the numerous warlords that inhabited Afghanistan and had developed administrations of their own in what would almost resemble a mini-state.\(^{198}\) Many of the warlords developed their own domestic militias when they came to power, namely as provincial governors; they were used these militias as the domestic militias to protect and maintain their power in the regions they controlled.

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police enforcement mechanism to help stabilize the country in the wake of the Taliban regime.

Thus, Hypothesis Nine (H9) argues that those governors who had militias under their control will have lower amounts of attacks than governors who came into office with no domestic support, including militias.

**Hypothesis 10 (H10):** Governors that have ties to the province in which they are governor will have fewer incidents of insurgent violence, on average, than governors that come from outside the province.

The justification for this variable is for those governors who come from the province they govern will have local ties to the province and may be better equipped in dealing with the tribal leaders and the population in general than a governor from outside the province. The carpetbagger effect, to use an American idiom, can prove to be a crucial variable in understanding why governors who come from outside the province may not exceed in effectively managing the violence and promoting the reconstruction of the province.

**Hypothesis 11 (H11):** Governors who shared the same ethnicity as the majority ethnicity of the province they are governing will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who do not share the same ethnicity with the majority ethnicity of the province.

With ethnicity playing a large role in Afghanistan, it is necessary to determine how much of an impact ethnicity may play in the amount of insurgent incidents committed in a province. In some of the provinces, for example in Herat, there was widespread criticism of ethnic bias by the Governor Ismail Khan who favored his own ethnic group over the others which created a
backlash that resulted in the formation of a militia dedicated to removing Khan from power.\textsuperscript{199} However, in other cases it might be beneficial to have someone of a similar ethnic background in power because of the shared normative beliefs along with ties to the domestic population. For example, a governor that has Pashtun background could better relate to the majority Pashtun population consequently reducing the number of insurgent incidents.

**Hypothesis 12 (H12):** Governors who have spent time outside of Afghanistan will have more insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who have never lived abroad.

Similar in nature to Hypotheses 13 and 14, this hypothesis argues that provincial governors who have lived abroad for a discernible amount of time will have higher levels of insurgent activity than those governors who have never lived outside the country. This instance stems from recent experiences in Iraq when the United States sought to put an individual, Ahmed Chalabi, into power despite the fact he did not reside in Iraq since the 1950’s. Similar to events in Iraq, Afghans who have spent a number of years outside the country may have a harder time to relate to the Afghan people because of the lack of understanding of local customs and norms. With many people fleeing the country during the Soviet occupation of the country along with the Taliban takeover of the government; there were many Afghans remained outside the country for many years because of its instability. Therefore there are a number of cases where a new provincial governor has not lived in Afghanistan for almost 20 years. While this is the extreme in this variable, those individuals who have not lived in Afghanistan for a long duration of time may find it hard to effectively governor properly.

**Hypothesis 13 (H13):** Governors with a formal education will have fewer insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who have had little or no formal education.

Many of the provincial governors have received education whether it was a madrassa or a formal school. However, those who went onwards to pursue a college degree may be more open and cognizant of the situation and how best to solve situations in Afghanistan than one who has no education. While this author is not suggesting those governors who did not receive a college education are less intelligent, what is being suggested is those governors who have a college degree or better may be better equipped at situational analysis and how best to solve any issues that may arise.

**Hypothesis 14 (H14):** Governors who were educated outside the country will have more insurgent attacks, on average, than governors who obtained their education inside Afghanistan.

While it was stressed by many during the mid to late 1900’s that those who would become the Afghan elite of the future to obtain western education, this practice, while seen as beneficial to the states image in eyes of the world may not led to better administrative practices. Afghanistan is a country that is based on century’s long tradition and practices and while many have attempted to reform the country to align it more with western practices, there has always been a backlash throughout Afghanistan history against the policies that were designed to change the country much more expediently than what most Afghans prefer. As a consequence, there have been numerous revolts against the speedy reformation practices that one might learn at a western institution thus H14 argues that those with education outside of Afghanistan will have higher rates of civil violence then governors who were educated within Afghanistan. Hypotheses
12, 13, and 14 all overlap with one another with the likelihood that if a governor meets the requirement for any of these three hypotheses, it is likely that the other two will also be the same response: in essence they are proxies for one another.

During the course of this investigation, these fourteen hypotheses that have been laid out will be tested and will the focus in the results chapter in this thesis. These hypotheses will be used to answer the research question that has been laid out for this thesis which is “If security is the main concern in Afghanistan, what type of individual will present the most appealing case to help stabilized the province and the country?” The variables that have been selected will help provide a much clearer understanding, measuring governors both on their political and biographical backgrounds, on who would make the most capable governor when it comes to improving the domestic security of the province. In the next section of this essay, the results of these test will be discussed along with an analysis with a decision regarding whether the hypotheses are have factual merit or in fact find the perhaps the opposite case is true.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Name</th>
<th>Variable Title</th>
<th>Variable Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prov</td>
<td>Province in Afghanistan</td>
<td>This variable used a numeric code to identify which province the incident of insurgent violence took place. The provinces were arranged alphabetically with each province being assigned a numeric prefix. For example, Badakhshan is labeled “1”, Badghis is “2”, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Date (month/year)</td>
<td>This variable verifies what month/year the incident took place with each line of the data-set equaling one month of the year. For example January 2002 would represent one line in the data-set.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>governor_of_province</td>
<td>Governor in Afghanistan</td>
<td>Each governor that served from 2002 to present day was assigned a numeric value. The governor and the corresponding numeric value are located in Appendix A. This was used to determine which governor was in office during what time in order to better facilitate this investigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic_ties_to_region</td>
<td>Domestic Ties to Region in Which he/she is Governor?</td>
<td>This dummy variable was used to determine is the governor in office had any domestic ties to the province he/she was governing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ties_to_mohammad_daoud_khan</td>
<td>Ties to Mohammad Daoud Khan Administration?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the administration of Mohammad Daoud Khan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ties_to_pdpa</td>
<td>Ties to the PDPA?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the administration of the PDPA.</td>
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<td>Variable Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>ties_to_mojadeddi</td>
<td>Ties to Mojadeddi Administration?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the administration of Sibghatullah Mojaddedi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ties_to_rabbani</td>
<td>Ties to Rabbani Administration?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the administration of Burhanuddin Rabbani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ties_to_northern_alliance</td>
<td>Ties to the Northern Alliance?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the Northern Alliance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ties_to_karzai</td>
<td>Ties to Karzai Administration?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had any ties to the administration of Hamid Karzai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>served_as_governor_of_more_than_province</td>
<td>Did this Governor Serve as Governor in more than one Province?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had previously served in the capacity of provincial governor before they entered their current office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>controversy_surrounding_governor</td>
<td>Was there any Controversial about this Governor during his Tenure?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had been subject to public scrutiny for any controversial actions that he/she might had done prior to and during their time as governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commands_a_militia</td>
<td>Has this Governor had control over a Militia?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had in his/her possession a domestic militia that they personally controlled during their tenure in office.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variable Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>ethnicity_of_governor</td>
<td>Ethnicity of Governor</td>
<td>This variable used a numeric coding system to determine the ethnicity of the governor in office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnicity_of_province</td>
<td>Majority Ethnicity of the Providence</td>
<td>This variable used a numeric coding system to determine the majority ethnicity of the province being examined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnicity_matchup</td>
<td>Are the Ethnicity of the Governor and Province the Same?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office and the province he/she is governing are of the same ethnicity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spend_any_years_outside_the_coun</td>
<td>Did this Governor spend any years outside of Afghanistan?</td>
<td>This variable used a Likert Scale to determine the highest educational achievement of the provincial governor in office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highest_educational_acheivement</td>
<td>What was this Governor's Highest Educational Achievement?</td>
<td>In order to better facilitate the analysis of the affect higher education may have had on the insurgent incident rate, the highest educational achievement was collapsed into a dummy variable measuring whether the governor had any education beyond high school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education_collapsed</td>
<td>Did the Governor Have Any Higher Education Beyond High School?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had obtained any education outside of Afghanistan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educated_outside_afghanistan</td>
<td>Was this Governor Educated outside of Afghanistan?</td>
<td>This dummy variable is measuring if the governor in office had obtained any education outside of Afghanistan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variable Name</td>
<td>Variable Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total_number_of_all_attacks</td>
<td>Total Number of All Attacks</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of attacks that were recorded for the month/year being examined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number_of_armed_assaults</td>
<td>Number of Armed Assaults</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded as armed assaults, if the primary weapon was a gun, knife, and a chemical substance, for the given month/year. However, the use of rocket or projectile launchers was excluded and included in a different variable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number_of_bombings_explosive_device</td>
<td>Number of Bombings or Explosive Device Attacks</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded when a bomb or other explosive device was the primary weapon used in this incident for the given month/year. Bombs include roadside IED’s, grenades, or other types of explosive devices that were used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number_of_rocket_projectile_attacks</td>
<td>Number of Rocket or Projectile Attacks</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents, for the given month/year, that were coded when a rocket launcher, rocket-propelled grenade, mortar, or other type of projectile weapon was the primary weapon used in the incident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable Name</td>
<td>Variable Title</td>
<td>Variable Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Suicide Bombings</td>
<td>Number of Suicide Bombings</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded, for the given month/year, when a suicide attack or bombing was the method of attack used by the insurgents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Arsons</td>
<td>Number of Arsons</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded, for the given month/year, when arson, either of vehicles or buildings, was the method of attack used by the insurgents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Assassinations</td>
<td>Number of Assassinations</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded, for the given month/year, how many attacks were directed towards civilians and how many were fatally injured in these attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Civilians</td>
<td>Number of Attacks on Afghan Civilians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable Name</td>
<td>Variable Title</td>
<td>Variable Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan_Police</td>
<td>Number of Attacks on Police or Domestic Militia Forces</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded, for the given month/year, how many attacks were directed towards the Afghan police and militia forces and how many were fatally injured in these attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan_Officials</td>
<td>Number of Attacks on Afghan Government Officials</td>
<td>This variable is measuring the total number of incidents that were coded, for the given month/year, how many attacks were directed towards Afghan government officials and how many were fatally injured in these attacks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

This chapter will first analyze results regarding the security situation in Afghanistan, by using the descriptive statistics from the data-set. This will enable the reader to obtain a general idea of what trends have been occurring in Afghanistan over the past decade. From there, this chapter will then delve into the results of the bivariate analyses, draw conclusions from these results and determine if any the hypotheses that were given in the methodology section hold merit. Finally, this thesis will conclude with a discussion of whether the provincial governors have had any influence, positive or negative, on the reconstruction efforts and levels of violence in Afghanistan. Based on my research results, I will suggest determine if there any policies that may help further stabilize the country as the international mission in the country comes to a close.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Figure 1 plots the number of attacks that have occurred in Afghanistan from January of 2002 to March of 2011. From this figure, one can see that over the past nine years in Afghanistan, the number of attacks conducted by the Taliban has risen overall. While from the period of 2002 to 2004, there a limited number of attacks; this can probably be attributed to the fact that Taliban was still engaged in the process of restructuring themselves and gathering the necessary resources and capital to resurface. Furthermore, during this same time frame there was growing discontent amongst many Afghans over the central government under Karzai, which gave the Taliban the opening they needed to facilitate their reentry into the country. By 2005, we see be the beginnings of a steady increase of attacks as the Taliban had successfully regrouped and re-infiltrated the country. From this point, the Taliban and other insurgent forces are clearly
launching more attacks against government and foreign forces; in June of 2010, the highest point of insurgent attacks, the data documents 425 separate attacks recorded during that month.

Another interesting phenomenon is apparent in Figure 1; is the cyclical seasonal cycle of the attacks. The number of attacks spikes during the summer months, while during the winter months the numbers begin a decline before rising once again when summer begins, as so on. This phenomenon then coincides with the growing and harvesting season in Afghanistan; during the summer months, farmers plan their growing season, but during to the winter months to harvest their crop. During the summer months, the crop needs less attention which gives them more opportunity to conduct attacks.

Moreover, Figure 2 displays the additional trend; the number of armed assaults and bombings increases proportionally with the rise in the number of attacks over time. This results shows that the Taliban have not diversified in the type of attack they commit, rather using tested methods to attack.

The graph in Figure 3 breaks down the number of attacks, by province in Afghanistan. The most striking feature demonstrated in this graphic is regional difference in the number of attacks being perpetrated inside Afghanistan. In the south and east of the country there is a much higher degree of insurgent violence within the country when compared to the country as a whole. In the south with provinces, like Kandahar, Helmand and Zabul, along with the eastern provinces, such as Khost, Paktia, and Paktika, there is a noticeable difference in the number of attacks when compared to the western and northern provinces. This could largely be a result of the fragmentation of the country which Barnett Rubin discusses, the numerous regional actors who were able to create micro-states within Afghanistan using their own administration apparatus.
The best example of this is in the north where Ahmad Shah Massoud was successful in creating an alliance and militia, the Northern Alliance, which was successful in some respects against the Taliban. The effects of Massoud’s rule during this period are still largely present in Afghanistan, especially in the north where Massoud had a strong regional administration. To this day the Taliban still have not been as successful at penetrating into these parts of the country as they have in the east and the south. The same could be said of the west as well with Ismail Khan, who is widely respected and known for fighting the Taliban, and who was able to create a similar regional administrative structure as did Massoud but to a lesser degree. This was in due to his policies against the Pashtuns in that region made it easier for the Taliban, since many Pashtuns were disgruntled with the polices undertaken by Khan, to conduct operations. Hence, why Herat has been the scene of numerous insurgent attacks. However, it should be noted that since Herat is one of the larger cities in Afghanistan, the rise of attacks could be attributed to its location side the population belt. Secondly, the Afghan border with Pakistan running along the south and east of the country allows the Taliban to migrate between these two countries allowing them to launch operation inside Afghanistan while simultaneously having a safe haven from pursuit in Pakistan. Accordingly, the attacks data supports the proposition that in the south and the east provinces of Afghanistan, there has been a greater infiltration effort by the Taliban, and other insurgent groups, as compared the north and west.

Departing from examining statistics based on geographic location, this section will now examine a variety of metrics widely used to determine the security of a country. One of the more important metrics for determining the security situation in Afghanistan is looking at the overall of number of attacks on civilians and how many were killed as a consequence. Figure 4, represents how many attacks were perpetrated against civilians in Afghanistan by province and
Figure 5 shows how many civilian fatalities there were as a result of these attacks. Figure 4 clearly correlates with Figure 3, showing that in the south and east there is much more instability based on these figures. Furthermore, Figure 6 depicts the number of attacks against civilians plotted over time. The graph shows that the rate of attacks grew proportionally with the increase of attacks overall. However, the method of attack that has resulted in more civilian deaths has been the use of the improvised explosive device (IED). Since the bombs are not discriminatory in nature and are placed along roads and other infrastructure, civilians have borne the brunt of these attacks rather than the Afghan security or international security forces. The Taliban has been known to attack and kill or wound civilians who have using governmental services (especially education), provided intelligence for the ISAF and Afghan security forces against the Taliban, or sometimes against those who have participated in Afghan elections. Many civilians have been killed as a result of Taliban actions that are designed to frighten civilians against participating in the local or national governments. From these results, it is clear that the real areas of instability in the country are in the south and the east, which largely has been the focus of the new NATO military strategy in Afghanistan. Despite the adoption new strategy, civilian deaths continue to rise especially due to the unchecked proliferation of IEDs.

While the figures do demonstrate that there is a worsening security situation in Afghanistan. Figure 5 shows that while there have been numerous attacks against civilians, there have been relatively few large scale attacks against civilians. Only 61 incidents have civilian casualties of more than 10, which may suggest that the Taliban tends to attack less strategically, by which I mean the Taliban tends overall not to perform large scale attacks which cause the greater share of civilian deaths. Instead the Taliban’s operations tend to pursue small, guerilla attacks, which one should expect from an insurgency, rather than a large-scale coordinated
attacks. Nevertheless, this graph does show that according to the data analysis, there have been at least 4,731 reported civilian deaths in Afghanistan this does not count the number of civilians who have been killed in other attacks that were targeted at someone else, say police or government officials, which in all likelihood suggests that this number is conservative by most standards. Figure 6 shows, that while armed attacks were the highly prevalent in the early years of the insurgency, roadside bombings later become more common due to their cost effective nature.

Although civilian deaths do demonstrate how severe a security situation is, there are other metrics that are also very helpful in determining how widespread the insurgent violence in a particular state. In order to help expand the findings related to civilian deaths, Figures 7 and 8 depict the number of attacks on police and government officials from January 2002 to March 2011. Figure 7 clearly illustrates that one of the main targets of Taliban attacks have been and still are the Afghan National Police (ANP) along with the informal domestic militias which had been established to help bolster domestic security in certain areas of Afghanistan. It is evident that the Taliban like to attack police using armed assaults rather than bombings because it would send a clearer message to the domestic population regarding the central government’s inability to provide an adequate security. As a consequence of this, the population is forced to support the Taliban out of fear as well as their ability to provide security at the local level. Additionally, Figure 8 shows that the Taliban have frequently targeted government officials in assassination plots over the past few years, especially after 2005, for similar reasons for attacking government officials also demonstrates the central government’s inability to provide security in Afghanistan. Assassinating government officials also can be disruptive to the domestic administration of a province or district by removing those who may be responsible providing services to the
population. This prevents the local governments from projecting on its image as a competent and capable entity for providing the necessity services that the public rely on and depend on in their daily lives.

Even though armed assaults and roadside bombings tend to be the most two common means of attack by the Taliban, Figure 9 shows the type of attacks that were committed in Afghanistan from 2002 to March 2011. While armed assaults, those using firearms or other type of unknown weapon, were the most common type of attack, (4,367 attacks), the use of bombs or other type of explosive devices were increasingly used in Afghanistan, with 3,528 recorded incidents probably due to their low cost and effectiveness against security forces. Projectile weapons were also used to a certain extent, (993 recorded incidents), and the number suicide attacks were also quite prevalent, with 601 reported suicide attacks or bombings.

Summarizing from these figures presented, it is evident that within the last few years the security situation in Afghanistan deteriorated, with the number of attacks constantly rising from 2005 to present day. In the next section, this thesis will present the data analysis of the bivariate tests based off of the data-set that was created on the Afghan Provincial governors and make a determination based on these results if the hypotheses that were presented hold any merit.

**BIVARIATE ANALYSIS**

One main focuses of these results was to determine if there were any trait, or traits, that a governor possessed that might help better explain why in certain provinces attacks were on the rise and elsewhere where insurgent attacks tended to be few and far between. It has been suggested that because of Karzai’s dwindling popularity ties to him or his administration may cause a hindrance in a governor’s ability to do their job. As it was suggested in Hypothesis 1
(H1), those governors who had ties to Karzai will have more insurgent attacks committed in their province than a governor who did not have political ties to Karzai, in Figure 10 it appears that H1 is confirmed. From the results in Figure 10, the mean of attacks is measured via total number of attacks variable, attacks on civilian’s variable, attacks on police variable, and finally attacks on government officials variable. These results show us that there is an increase during the tenure of governors with connections to Karzai versus those governors who possess these political connections. The relationships in all four of these tests are statistically significant at the p < .001 level, which means that the likelihood that the results of this test occurred by chance is less than 0.1%, which makes this relationship very significant.

Despite the negative effects associated with being ties to Karzai, the governors who were part of the Northern Alliance might have more legitimacy in the eyes of the public, especially in the Northern provinces. Because of the alliances positive image in the eyes of many Afghans, it was hypothesized (H2) that these governors may be better suited to being governors despite their common association with warlord. Figure 11, depicts the relationship between the those governors with ties to the Northern Alliance, which supports Hypothesis 2, that these governors had in fact lower number of attacks, on average, then governors who do not have ties to the alliance. With the exception of attacks against government officials which were found to be statistically insignificant, the remaining three relationships were found to be significant at the .001 level.

When the number of governors with ties to Karzai and Northern Alliance are traced over time, Figure 12 shows a steady increase in governors with links to Karzai while those governors with ties to the Northern Alliance steady decreases, but as this occurs the number of attacks in Afghanistan also increases, which does then suggest that there is the possibility of a relationship.
These results also point the fact that the central government under Karzai is having a noticeable effect as it goes about appointing provincial governors. More specifically when the government appoint those individuals who have ties to Karzai and the national government, these newly installed governors tend to have more attacks carried out during their tenure, on average, which points to the fact that the central government is, by in large, not trusted by the Afghan population, which is indicative of survey data collected in the region.\textsuperscript{200}

This result is interesting to note, much of the current survey data available through the Brookings Institute shows a great deal of support for the current government. According to polling data asking the question whether Afghans who would they like to be in charge of the government, the results, while they decrease over time, still show strong support for the government with more than 80\% of respondents indicating that they would like the current government to remain in power.\textsuperscript{201} Despite the high unfavorable rating of the Taliban, with 70 to 80 percent of the population stating that they believe the Taliban to be a significant threat, the Karzai government is slowly becoming more unpopular with Afghans.\textsuperscript{202} This result then indicates that despite the unfavorable ratings of the Taliban, the Karzai government is also becoming less popular which points to a perplexing situation brewing in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{203} Performance ratings for both the Afghan government as well as for Hamid Karzai show a clear downward trend.\textsuperscript{204} In 2009, the favorability rating of the Afghan government was below 50\%, hovering around 48 to 49 percent.\textsuperscript{205} Moreover, Hamid Karzai’s favorability rating was barely above 50\%, with is support around 52 to 53 percent. As a consequence, while this thesis cannot

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{200} Michael E. O’Hanlon and Hassina Sherjan, \textit{Toughing It Out in Afghanistan}, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2010), 27.
  \item \textsuperscript{201} Ibid., Figure 50, 154.
  \item \textsuperscript{202} Ibid., Figure 49, 153.
  \item \textsuperscript{203} Ibid., Figure 49, 153.
  \item \textsuperscript{204} Ibid., Figure 48, 153.
  \item \textsuperscript{205} Ibid., Figure 48, 153.
\end{itemize}
say for certain that relation to Karzai is the cause of the rise in attacks, there appears to be a strong correlation between the two variables that does warrant further investigation. In spite of this, Table 1 depicts the means of the political attribute variables that were tested as laid out in the Methodology section. One minor note, the numbers provided used the “total number of attacks” as the dependent variable.

Before continuing onward with the result of the political attribute tests, it should be noted how extensive the mixture of ‘old’ and ‘new’ elites has been in Afghanistan. Despite the belief that the new Afghan government under Karzai was completely new and a number of the government’s appointees have served in previous governments, some of which go back as far as the Daud Khan administration. While there were a select few who went back as far as the Daud Khan or PDPA administration, there were a number of governors who did served previously in either the Mojaddedi or Rabbani administrations.

Based off of these results from Table 1, Hypothesis 3 which suggests that governor’s connections to the Daud Khan administration would lead to a lower number of attacks appears to have some validity. The coefficients support this conclusion, but since the results were not statistically significant this hypothesis cannot be confirmed. Hypothesis 4 which argued that governors with past ties the PDPA appears to be proven incorrect, with governors having those past ties are having fewer attacks committed against them, but like with H3, these results are not statistically significant. This is interesting to note because despite the PDPA administration from being out of power for almost twenty years, many Afghans still have strong negative sentiment to that government and those who served as a part of the government. On the other hand, hypotheses 5 and 6 are supported, with a positive correlation for both, with H5 significant at the .01 level and H6 statistically significant at the .001 level. Hypothesis 5 postulated that those
governors with previous relationships with the Mojaddedi administration would have lower number of attacks then governors with no relationship, the numbers based off of Table 1 confirm that is the case. Similar results are seen in Hypothesis 6 which stipulates that governors with ties to the Rabbani Administration would have lower attacks on average than governors who did not, which is also confirmed. From these results, it is interesting to note that while only two of the results were statistically significant, all of the correlations were positive with governors who are attributed with these ties all having lower attacks on average than governors who had no former political connection. These governors who have served before in previous administrations may, as a result, have some sort of institutional knowledge and experience that better equips them for their gubernatorial duties.

Continuing with the examination of the political attributes, while I was compiling the data on the governors I found it rather intriguing how many governors had served in other provinces beforehand. Therefore, I felt it necessary to determine if those governors who had served in previous appointments had fared any better during their appointments. The initial logic was those who had previous gubernatorial experience would be better equipped to handle the administration of a province due to their previous experience, as reflected in Hypothesis 7. However, once the data was examined while there was, while there was a statistically significant relationship at the .001 level, the correlation was negative with governors who had served previously having more insurgent attacks on average, not less, then governors who had served previously. The issue appears to be that governors who have served as governor previously without making him, or her, necessarily a better administrator. What appears to be the overarching issue is that many provincial governors are just being reassigned to another province should they experience any difficulty in the province they are currently located. A couple of
cases of this help validate this point. One case is that of Joma Khan Hamdard, who has
previously served as provincial governor of Baghlan, and Jowzjan provinces and is currently
serving as the Governor of Paktia province. Despite his numerous posting he has been a
controversial figure in Afghanistan politics. The most evident problem regarding his tenure was
while he was the Governor of Jowzjan province. The people of Jowzjan openly revolted to his
appointment as governor especially given his history. During the 1990’s Joma Khan Hamdard
was a high-ranking member of Abdul Rashid Dostum’s militia, but he later defected to the
Taliban giving them the intelligence they needed to win a battle against Dostum’s forces, which
they did. As a consequence, the people of Jowzjan province, which happened to be Dostum’s
home province and the base for most of his support, did not want Hamdrad to become governor
because of his past betrayal. While Joma Khan Hamdard did eventually become governor and
remained in office for about two years, from September of 2005 to July of 2007, his presence
obviously did not help the security situation in the province.\textsuperscript{206} Another case of gubernatorial
swap is that of Abdolhaq Shafaq, who was appointed in June of 2004 as Governor of Sar-e Pol
province was unable to be installed as governor with his tenure only lasting two months from
which he was appointed Governor of Samangan province in August of 2004. As a result of these
reappointments, some governors who may not have been effective administrators just get
reappointed somewhere else as governor with the hope that they will be successful, which in
most cases does not happen. The inverse occurs more often, which then causes the province to
fall more into the hands of the insurgents.

\textsuperscript{206} BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political, “Protesters in northern Afghan province demand governor's
resignation,” November 17, 2006, via Lexis Nexis; BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political, “Afghan daily says
incompetent officials should be dismissed, not reshuffled,” November 20, 2006, via Lexis Nexis.
An additional facet that deserves to be measured is whether the governor was controversial during his/her tenure. While some governors had been able to serve long tenures in office should not suggest however that they were not controversial. Take for example former Kandahar, now Nangarhar Governor, Gul Agha Sherzai, despite his long tenure in both provinces he was the subject of much controversy, namely surrounding reported human rights and corruption, which cost him popular support in Kandahar.\footnote{Neil Englehart, “A Tale of Two Afghanistans: Comparative Governance and Insurgency in the North and South,” \textit{Asian Survey} Vol. 50, No. 4 (July/August 2010): 754-755.} There are other cases that have been cited already, namely that of Jan Khan Mohammad of Oruzgan and Sher Mohammad Akhundzada of Helmand provinces, who had a great deal of controversy surrounding their tenures. Hypothesis 8 argues that controversial governors would have more attacks during their tenure than governors who did not have any controversy surrounding their time in office. However, the result from the data-set shows that controversial governors had lower number of attacks during their tenure than non-controversial governors, which is contrary to Hypothesis 8, but the results are not statistically significant. While that relationship is found to be unproven, upon closer inspection, when one examines the number of attacks against government officials, governors who were controversial had higher number of attacks against government officials than governors who were not controversial. When the results were tabulated, controversial governors had an average number of attacks against government officials at .23, with a standard deviation .634, while the mean for non-controversial governors was at .17, with a standard deviation of .519; this relationship was also significant at the .01 level. This result shows that while the total number of attacks is not significant, the attacks on government officials were higher during the tenure of controversial governors. This is an important finding due to the fact that while the governor may still be in office, those who have been disaffected by a controversial
governors policies may decide to undertake insurgent actions against the provincial government as a sign of their displeasure with the government and the governor. This then could further destabilize the province and allow an opening for the Taliban’s reentry.

Finally, the last political attribute that was tested is concerning whether a governor commanded a militia. As it was stated in Chapter One, many warlords had developed structures that resembled proto-states before and during the Taliban regime and many of these domestic institutions were instrumental to the Karzai government when it came into power in 2002. Many of these warlords had the domestic ability to control many key areas in Afghanistan and helped make the power deficit that the Afghani government needed to legitimize their control over the country. Since some warlords had the domestic structure, namely some level of regional administration, many were folded into the new government largely as the early provincial governors of the state. When they become governors, many of them were able to keep their militias, which were a point of contention, but it may have helped stabilize the region in the new governments early days. Thus, Hypothesis 9 implied those governors who had domestic militias will have lower amounts of attacks because they were better able to manage the insurgency than governors who did not possess a militia. Based off these results, Hypothesis 9 can be supported with those governors that possessed domestic militias, on average had lower number of insurgent incidents than governor who did not. Furthermore this relationship is statistically significant at the .001 level, further backing the confirmation of the hypothesis.


With the hypotheses regarding political characteristics being addressed, this thesis will now move into examining the results of the biographical characteristics of the governors that were tested. The results from these analyses can be found in Table 2.

While political attributes are an important indicator in determining if a governor may or may not have a positive experience during their tenure based on their political leanings and sympathies, biographical attributes are sometimes overlooked, which in some cases may hold more merit than political background. Because of this facet, this thesis did examine the biographical backgrounds of the governors especially since Afghanistan is a highly devolved state and where one comes from may be important in establishing roots for a governor.

Beginning the analysis of these results with examining the mean scores with governors who have domestic ties to their region, the results of this test are statistically insignificant. Hypothesis 10 claimed that governors who had ties to the provinces they were governing would have lower incident rates than governors who had come from outside the province. The idea behind this theory is that someone who knows the geo-political terrain would be better equipped to dealing with the various stakeholders within the province. Governors with ties to the province had lower rates on average, since the relationship is not statistically insignificant, the hypothesis cannot be supported. This thesis must then conclude that domestic ties to the governing province make no greater difference in the end. Out of all the results thus far, this one tends to be the most puzzling. While it is not known for certain, a couple of items may be interfering with this result. The first possibility would be the low N is not allowing for statistically significant results. A second possibility would the interference of another variable that has not been accounted for and is thus throwing off the results. Nevertheless, this result does warrant some more investigation since it is a widely believed concept that domestic ties are important aspect of an individual’s
identity as well as their ability to negotiate and interact with the various stakeholders in the province.

According to many experts one of the most important factors that shape Afghanistan the past and present is that of ethnicity, at least according to some scholars, namely Thomas Barfield, Louis Dupree and Barnett Rubin. With that said, Hypothesis 11 suggested that governors with the same ethnicity as the majority of the province would have a lower amount of insurgent attacks, than governors who did not share the same ethnicity as the majority of the province. However, based on these results, it seems evident that the opposite is in fact true, governors who had the same ethnicity had more attacks than governors who did not, which is a surprising finding given what is expected. The results, which are statistically significant at the .001 level, show that the province in which a governor and the majority of the population match are more likely to have more attacks on average. This may then suggest that there is an intervening variable that has not been considered that may be causing this relationship to occur, but this finding does warrant further investigation. These results also counter many who have written on Afghanistan, including Louis Dupree, Thomas Barfield, and Barnett Rubin, who have concentrated on ethnicity in Afghanistan in their respective works. The question then becomes has ethnicity really played such an important factor in Afghanistan as some have suggested, or is there some other cultural facet that is responsible for these results? Despite what some experts may claim, the results do counter what many have argued, that ethnicity plays an overriding factor in Afghanistan, but these results may suggest that due to the states high decentralization, there could be another factor that compels action other than purely ethnicity.

An important consideration one must make in light of recent events in Iraq is “did the person live abroad at any one point in his or her life?” While some may not consider it an
important feature allowing someone to become more cultured while exploring the world and learning new facts about new countries and civilizations, it is my contention, however, that it can have negative connotations in certain circumstances. The best recent example of this is that of Ahmed Chalabi. While Chalabi was an Iraqi and had numerous political connections mainly within the United States as President of the Iraqi National Congress, when the United States thought by reintroducing him to the country it would allow him the opportunity to stabilize the country, and furthermore, allow him to establish a new, democratic government. The problem in this case was that Chalabi left the country in the 1950’s when his family moved to the United Kingdom and he had not been back since, thus, he had no political power base. While Chalabi’s example is extreme there are some Afghans who have not been back inside the country for ten to twenty years due to its instability. Because of this aspect, if a provincial governor had been outside the country for a number of years, which has been the case in certain situations, then he or she may not have the political knowledge or domestic support to successfully administer the province and deal with the appropriate stakeholders, namely ethnic and tribal groups. With that said, Hypothesis 12 conjectured that those governors who spent time outside the country would have higher rates of attacks than governors who have never left the country and based off the data it the hypothesis can be confirmed. With a statistical significance at the .001 level, the results are more plausible, helping to support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 13 appears be discredited based on the results of the statistical analysis. Hypothesis 13 originally argued that governors with higher education will have less insurgent attacks then governors with no formal higher education, from which I mean beyond high school or its equivalent. In order to perform this analysis, the ordinal variable for education was collapsed into a dichotomous dummy variable distinguishing between governors who had higher
education and those who did not. In this case, the relationship is a negative correlation with those who had more form of higher education having more attacks than those who had only basic education. This reason for this could stem from the same reasons as in results for Hypothesis 12 and 14; those governors with higher education may attempt to undertake new policies that may upset the local population who feel their traditional ways are in danger from these reforms.

Finally, similar in nature to Hypothesis 12 is that of Hypothesis 14, which suggests governors who have been educated outside of Afghanistan will have higher number of insurgent incidents, on average, than governors who were educated within Afghanistan. During the past Afghan regimes, many who eventually became the elite in Afghanistan were encouraged to obtain some degree of education from outside Afghanistan. Nevertheless, because of this education, while important to some, may not necessarily lead to better administrative practices. Many of the policies and practices learned in Western institutions may not be as popular in the Afghan villages and towns where tradition tends to out perform modernization and when reforms are attempted there tends to be a backlash by the people against the government in question who are attempting to institute these types of reforms which can be seen throughout Afghanistan’s history. Accordingly, Hypothesis 14 argued that those who had received their education outside the country would have higher rates of insurgent violence which appears to be confirmed with a statistically significant relationship at the .001 level. Accordingly, it seems that the despite the belief that western education will help advance ones country and province, those governors who went abroad only find that there is much more distrust and distaste for western style policies a governor may attempt to undertake as a result of his/her education.

In order to better support these results, this thesis has additionally performed simple linear regressions in addition to the two-tailed t-tests. The advantage in using linear regressions
in this case is that \textit{beta}, the standard regression coefficient, enables one to compare the relative importance of each variable. In this process \textit{beta}, also known as \textit{beta weights}, standardizes the variables by rescaling the variable so the mean of the variable equals 0 and the standard deviation equals 1, thus all the variables are in standard units. Therefore, the closer the \textit{beta} is to one, regardless if it is negative or positive, the stronger the variables relationship to the dependent variable.\footnote{Elizabeth O’Sullivan, Gary R. Rassel, and Maureen Berner, \textit{Research Methods for Public Administrators 5th Ed}, (New York: Pearson Education, 2008), 443.} The findings of these empirical analyses, located in Table 3, support the conclusions drawn by the two-tailed t-tests. The variables that tend to have the greatest impact on the dependent variable, the total number of attacks, are: the ties to Karzai, governor of more than on province, ethnicity matchup, lived outside Afghanistan, educated outside Afghanistan, and higher-education. These findings were also all significant at the .001 level. Other variables that have proved to be statistically significant and have a strong beta are: ties to the Northern Alliance, governors who commanded a militia, and finally governors who had ties to the Mojaddedi and Rabbani governments. Ties to the Northern Alliance and to Rabbani were statistically significant at the .001 level while governors who commanded a militia and had ties to Mojaddedi were significant at the .01 level. Additionally, to further understand the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the coefficient of determination, also known as R², was added so that we know how much of the distribution of the independent variable reduces the error in predicting the dependent variable. This is also known as a PRE measure, which stands for the Proportional Reduction in Error. Take for example the Karzai variable, 14\% of the variation in the total number of attacks can be explained by governors having ties to Karzai. Furthermore, 26\% of the variation in the total number of attacks can be explained by governors having served as governor in more than one province. Based on the
results from the coefficient of determination, it is evident that the same variables: the ties to Karzai, serving governor more than once, living outside the country, ethnicity, obtaining a higher education as well as obtaining an education outside Afghanistan; all point to the same conclusion, while these governors may be what is preferred by the international community, they do not necessarily help the security situation inside Afghanistan.

To conclude the bivariate results section of this thesis, these results do point to the opposite of what NGO’s and foreign governments have suggested when referring to the type of individuals best suited to become governors. To be fair, if NGO’s and foreign governments are looking for skilled and efficient administrators then this may not hold true, but if security is the chief concern, the path currently pursued may need a moment of pause for reassessment. For the past few years the focus has largely been attempting to recruit professional individuals who have had some degree of higher education and have been abroad is some fashion. However, these results depict the inverse, it has been found that these individuals despite their professional background and credentials have had, on average, more attacks committed against them then governors who have not little or no formal education and have never been outside the country. In the end it appears that all the findings counter what many in government and non-profit say whom are the best governors are; namely western educated, professional governors who have spent time abroad. The assumption that a professionalized elite is best for local governance is echoed in the work of Sarah Lister and Andrew Wilder who argue that the central government has the de jure power has to exert their control of the de facto powers of many of the former warlords of the Northern Alliance who have developed their own domestic administrations. While Lister and Wilder do not directly call for the promotion of professionalized governors, they do argue for the removal of the de-facto power bases that many of the warlord governors
relied on to maintain stability, which indirectly could be seen as advocating their removal in order to strengthen the central government.\textsuperscript{211}

Nevertheless, these findings point to the opposite: governors who were part of the Northern Alliance, who do not have much in the terms of formal education, and have commanded militias are better equipped to keep domestic stability. In order to better demonstrate this point Figures 13 through 20 depict the number of insurgent attacks occurred in specific provinces that happened to have had strongmen as governors who were replaced with governors who did not have the domestic support. The best example of this phenomenon is in Figure 16 which examines the insurgent activity in Herat Province. When Ismail Khan was removed from power in September of 2004, there was an eventual uptick in the amount of insurgent activity that began around May of 2005 and dramatically increased after April-May of 2006. Despite his notorious reputation, Ismail Khan was able to secure the province and make it very prosperous, especially given its proximity to Iran.\textsuperscript{212} When he was removed the province and the city of Herat descended into chaos with riots breaking out throughout the area, making the area less secure and more vulnerable to Taliban penetration.\textsuperscript{213} Figure 15 also presents a similar trend right after Sher Mohammad Akhundzada was removed in December of 2005 as Governor of Helmand Province we begin to see a major increase in the number of insurgent attacks that occurred shortly after his removal. In fact, Hamid Karzai acknowledged that removing Akhundzada was one of the worst mistakes he made while in the first term of his presidency and

allowed the Taliban to emerge once again in the province. Additionally there is a trend present in Kandahar, represented in Figure 18, which shows a destabilization once Gul Agha Sherzai is removed the first time in August of 2003 and removed the second time in May of 2005. While the interim governor, Yousef Pashtun, was from the province, which could account for the stability between appointments, it is evident once Sherzai was removed there was a rise in attacks. As for the spike when Sherzai re-entered office, it is not entirely known what might have caused the spike, more than likely those individuals who were against Sherzai rebelled against his reappointment. During his tenure in office, Sherzai was able to bring security into the province as well as continue reconstruction efforts by building roads and keeping the electrical grid online and functional. When he was removed from his duties as governor, his removal upset the rural tribal chiefs who are major actors in the stability of an Afghan province, including Kandahar. There is also a case of the inverse. In Khost province, two governors who were appointed early on in the Karzai Administration, the first was Abdol Hakim Taniwal, who served from 2002 to 2004, was previously as sociology professor who spent the last few years in Pakistan and Australia where he was a professor. His successor Merajuddin Pathan, who served 2004 to 2006, previously lived in the United States serving as an instructor of Taekwondo in Washington D.C. before he decided to return to Afghanistan. In this respective case, the instability in Khost began to peak early when compared to the other provinces in around March/April 2005. It could be hypothesized that since neither one had lived in Afghanistan for a while, neither of these individuals had the domestic support like that of Ismail Khan or Gul Agha

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Sherazi which could explain why the province began to experience more insurgent attacks earlier than some of the other sampled provinces. Therefore, these findings suggest governors who have served as warlords or commanders are better able keep the stability than a governor who has advanced education and has spent time abroad. In order to delve more deeply into some of these governors and their respective provinces, in the following section this thesis will take a more closer examination, through the use of case studies, to determine how two governors Sherzai and Khan ran their respective provinces and what details can be pulled from their experiences and how their management tactics could be useful in stabilizing Afghanistan.

However before this thesis continues, the question becomes who is best qualified to become a provincial governor if security is the goal needs to be addressed. Based off the results, the two most positive factors appear to have been either having ties to the Northern Alliance or having command of a domestic militia. It appears that governors who encompass these two traits tend to have, on average, lower levels of insurgent violence. The negative traits in this case are having ties to Karzai along with having been abroad, either for personal reasons or education, as well as having some degree of higher education beyond basic schooling. While these results counter what many have called for in terms of the appointment of provincial governors, to reiterate a point made before, these findings only focus on security, if one is looking for an effective public administrator then one might want a governor who has lived aboard or have some form of higher education.
**Take Away Table: Summation of the Tested Hypotheses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
<th>Supported or Not Supported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis One (H1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Two (H2)</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Three (H3)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Four (H4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Hypothesis Six (H6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Seven (H7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Eight (H8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Nine (H9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Ten (H10)</td>
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<td>Hypothesis Eleven (H11)</td>
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<td>Hypothesis Thirteen (H13)</td>
<td>Supported</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Fourteen (H14)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CASES STUDIES ON GOVERNANCE, HERAT AND KANDAHAR/NANGARHAR**

*Ismail Khan in Herat*

Ismail Khan’s roots in Herat and the surrounding provinces run very deep with him becoming a prominent commander in Jamiat-I Islami in the early 1980’s with most of western Afghanistan under his direct control. During his many years in the area, Khan was able to create an extensive patronage network with many smaller warlords bending to his wishes, and with this network Khan was able to build one of the largest militia armies in Afghanistan. After the collapse of the Taliban government in 2001, it was quite clear that Ismail Khan was in control over most of western Afghanistan, which he maintained through his patronage network, which allowed him to have control over Herat, Badghis, Farah, Ghor, and Nimroz provinces. During this time he had developed the institutions and characteristics of a traditional ruler, developing a court in which to dispense favors and give orders.\(^{217}\) Despite the informality of Ismail Khan’s

administration, he was still a very capable leader improving the domestic security of Herat by demobilizing other small militias along with having an impressive and robust trade relationship with Iran, which was able to fund many infrastructure projects as well as funding other governmental services like a judiciary, education, and health clinics. Also, because of his lucrative relationship with Iran, Khan was able to pay his militia soldiers relatively well which allowed him to establish a well-trained and disciplined army at his disposal. Accordingly, because of the increased security in the area the United Nation was able to begin a number of humanitarian projects including landmine removal. Once Ismail Khan was removed, however, Herat and the surrounding provinces all had an increase in the level of attacks in general and attacks against civilians; this can be seen in Figures 3 and 4. This is evident that once Khan was removed from his posting the domestic governance network he constructed deteriorated and the Taliban used this opportunity to rally support for their cause from those who had been negatively impacted by Khan and his policies.

Nevertheless, despite all the advances that had been made in the province, Ismail Khan’s inability to be a politician helped prevent his continuance as Governor of Herat. His soured relations with many in Jamiat left him with few supporters which prevented him from obtaining a place in the interim administration after the collapse of the Taliban government. His position was further weakened through his defiance against the central government, namely for refusing to give up control over his militia as well as not recognizing appointed officials from the central government who held positions in areas he control. Because of these issues the Karzai government began to slowly weaken his position in Herat, first by forcing his to give up the rest

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218 Englehart, 738.
220 Englehart, 738.
of the custom’s revenue he had earned through trade with Iran. By December of 2002, Khan was forced to give up control over his militia in order to retain his position as governor, and with the addition of a Provincial Reconstruction Team to Herat in December of 2003 it was becoming evident that Kabul was curtailing his powers over the province. Ismail Khan was eventually forced to give up his post as governor in September of 2004, namely because of factionalized fighting along with the uprising of domestic insurgency under the control of Amanullah Khan. Despite the progress that had been made under Khan in Herat, his inability to be politically apt and his defiance of the central government eventually cause him to lose control over Herat and with his appointment as Energy Minister he was lured away from Herat to take up residence in Kabul.  

Based off the results presented in Figure 16, it is apparent that once Khan was removed from power and stripped of his militia and his gubernatorial post, events in Herat began to unwind. While it did take some time for the insurgency to become rampant in the province, with the domestic security apparatus that Khan provided now diminished, this allowed an opening for the Taliban to infiltrate into the province and by 2006 it is unmistakable the that Taliban were now firmly placed in the province from which to launch attacks against the government.

\textit{Gul Agha Sherzai}

Gul Agha Sherzai’s history is very similar to that of Ismail Khan; he was first appointed Governor of Kandahar in 1992 under the Rabbani Administration, but eventually lost his post as a result of Taliban domination over the country. When the Taliban government finally came to end, Karzai had no choice but to appoint Sherzai because of his authority in the region, namely

\footnote{Englehart, 739-741.}
due to his armed strength and strong American support of the appointment. Despite his initial support, his popularity began to wane, namely because of his unstable support and waning popularity within the province. This is a likely result due to his contentious behavior and widespread allegations of corruption. As a consequence, Sherzai was first removed from his post in August of 2003. While he was reappointed briefly from December of 2004 he was once again replaced in May of 2005 this time heading take over the governorship of Nangarhar, the position he currently holds.223

However despite Sherzai’s appointment to Nangarhar, his tenure there has largely been positive.224 When he arrived in 2005, because of his weak links to the region he adopted a strategy that place heavy reliance of communication with tribal groups, as well as extending provisions of gifts and favors to them to help in his process of winning them over.225 Thus far, into his almost seven year tenure in Nangarhar, his popularity has skyrocketed with a national-call in radio show announcing that he was “The Person of the Year” for 2007.226 One area of major success in Nangarhar was the reduction in narcotics trafficking, with the overall poppy yields in Nangarhar are almost nonexistent, with no farms in the 2007-2008 growing season producing opium. Along with his success in counter-narcotics, his relationships with the tribal leadership through the province have helped bring about stabilization in the province that is absent elsewhere in Afghanistan.227 The United States Army has also taken notice of Sherzai with Lt. Colonel William Fitch saying “As long as security is the No. 1 priority, you can say he's

223 Ibid., 755-756.
226 Rosenberg.
227 Mukhopadhyay, 15-16.
successful.” Examining the evidence in Figures 18 and 20 illustrates the time-lapse of insurgent attacks that have occurred in Kandahar and in Nangarhar from 2002 to 2011. Examining Figure 18, when Sherzai was first removed from Kandahar in August of 2003, there was no noticeable increase, but once he was removed a second time, in May of 2005 there was a clear jump in the number of attacks. Despite some accusations of corruption and wrong doing, upon inspection of Figure 20, it shows that despite his absence of domestic roots in the province, only recently have the insurgent attacks gone above 15 in a month which is surprising given the proximity of Nangarhar to Pakistan. So despite some of his negative past, in this case Sherzai has proven that he can govern a province effectively.

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

After the analysis of all the results, both biographical and political, it appears that there are a number of factors at play that could account for the rise of insurgent attacks over the past few years. The most obvious one would be a governor’s connection to the Karzai administration. With many in Afghanistan still not fully supportive of the Karzai government, especially when considering there is an active insurgency inside the country that is attempting to outperform the government particularly in terms of security, governors who have ties to the central government may make them more unpopular in the eyes of the public. The other facet that appears to trouble some of the provincial governors are those who have spent a great deal of time outside the country, either to escape the instability or to pursue educational opportunities. Whatever the case, it appears that governors who have spent time outside the country have a difficult time in reducing the amount of attacks in their provinces. It appears to be similar situation with those who have also obtained higher education.

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228 Rosenberg.
So the question now becomes how best to limit the negative effects provincial governors are having on the reconstruction effort? This thesis will attempt to postulate some possible solutions that may help ameliorate, but not solve, the situation inside Afghanistan.

One possible solution would be to establish provincial *jirgas* that would select the provincial governor. While not necessarily as democratic as open elections, this would use a more traditional method to select a provincial governor which may also carry more legitimacy than a governor who was elected through popular election, especially if that election was rife with corruption. While tribal leaders will be the ones choosing the next governor in a *jirga*, this option does give way to the inclusion of the various tribal and ethnic groups throughout the province and gives them a chance to voice their concerns as well as enable them to become part of the selection process rather than a marginalized minority. While this option is more traditional overall, there is the possibility that the members selected to be a part of the provincial *jirga* could be popularly elected by the province population. The other option would be to appoint the members of *jirga* through tribal leadership. The number of representatives in this option should be of equal representation with every tribe and sub-tribe having the same number of delegates as others. Based on the history of Afghanistan and taking notice of recent events, this solution, in the opinion of this author, is the best and most practical solution to help increase belief in the central government as well as force governors to become more accountable.

Another possible solution would be the direct election of the provincial governors by the population. This act may help increase voter efficacy and help get the population invested in the central government at the provincial level. By allowing for popular elections the choice would be up to the people, not the central government or the Independent Directorate of Local Governance, to make the decision about who would become the next provincial governor. This
in turn could help increase the population’s belief in the central government by choosing those who will represent them at the local level. The only issue here is how to ensure those local strongmen that cause the issues in the early years of Afghanistan not to rise again through popular elections to the post of provincial governor. The best solution would be to create an oversight agency with some powers that can monitor the activities of governors and possibly remove them if they were to resort to their old ways and engage in corruption or human rights abuses. The Independent Directorate of Local Governance, thus far, looks like the most promising agency that could complete this task in Afghanistan.

A final, but somewhat unlikely, idea would be to create a system like that in Iraq and devolve certain central government institutions to a regional based authority. With Afghanistan being so fragmented over the years, this option could be a practical option for the state. Instead of the central government choosing the provincial governors, the choice could be instead given to the regional authority that would be responsible for the choice. With ethnicities scattered about and with some degree of animosity between them, these regional authorities could help prevent ethnic or tribal conflict by selecting those individuals from the area to be the governors. This option could also be used as a platform for negotiations with the Taliban and other insurgent leader by giving the Pashtun areas of the country more regional control, which could be a very enticing incentive to finally join the government. As it was discussed in Chapter 2, the findings presented by Dawn Brancati demonstrate that despite the negative connotations associated with decentralization, this system actually has been proven to be quite effective in states that have a mired of different cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, by using
decentralization, the likelihood of an anti-regime insurgent force, like the Taliban, is greatly diminished since it gives the people more control over their respective governments.\footnote{Dawn Brancati, “Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?,” \textit{International Organization} Vol. 63, No. 3 (Summer 2006): 652, 681.}

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the results and the discussion that followed were a result of an empirical analysis examining a single, one-dimensional, definition of success and failure in Afghanistan, which is security. While others in the international community may argue that reconstruction efforts must encompass a variety of different initiatives and objectives, it is the opinion of this author that securing a country and promoting stability must be paramount against all other considerations. If the rule of law and domestic security are not firmly reestablished it becomes all the more difficult to accomplish any other goals since it is likely that any insurgent group, or groups, will prevent many objectives from being reached. Therefore, it was the objective of this thesis to determine what types of provincial governors are having a positive/negative effect on the progress of reconstruction, using insurgent attacks as the dependent variable. The results point to governors who might have been former warlords as the most capable of increasing domestic security. The results also show governors with ties to the central government or those who have lived abroad or obtained higher education were more likely to increase the instability of the province. While security is the consideration in this thesis, the negative effects on security might produce a different result if another dimension is examined.

While these results do point to the fact that the provincial governors inside Afghanistan are causing some of the stability in Afghanistan, it is just a piece of the puzzle that needs to be addressed so the Afghanistan can become a stable country once again. While the international
community is pursuing a model of state government based of personal preference, that of a strong central government, it should be said that not all states are run the same way, states must reflect the history and the culture of the people they represent. Afghanistan calls for a unique solution to its governance issue if the international community can finally reduce its presence in the country. While the war itself is the longest the United States has engaged in, it must be understood that the mission would not be complete if the state collapses once U.S. and ISAF forces leave the country. While Karzai and the central government can maintain control for the moment should not suggest, otherwise, that their control over the country is absolute; there remains a chance that the country could descend into another civil war like was seen during the Soviet withdrawal. In order to prevent that occurrence the international community must work on the governance issues at all levels both local and national in order to have any hope that this new government can withstand all the threats against it on its own.
Table 1: Mean Number of Attacks by Governor Political Attribute Results
Two-Tailed Independent Samples T-test Measuring Political Attributes of Afghan Provincial Governors, 2002-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Mean With Attribute</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Standard Deviation-Mean With Attribute</th>
<th>Mean Without Attribute</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Standard Deviation-Mean Without Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karzai</td>
<td>3.71***</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>5.987</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2080</td>
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<td>Northern Alliance</td>
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<td>923</td>
<td>4.135</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>2826</td>
<td>4.473</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daud Khan</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>7.413</td>
<td>3.04</td>
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<td>5.063</td>
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<td>PDPA</td>
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<td>5.699</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3504</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mojaddedi</td>
<td>1.64**</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2.476</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>3608</td>
<td>5.255</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabbani</td>
<td>2.06***</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>3.387</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3332</td>
<td>5.356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. More Than Once</td>
<td>4.48***</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>5.422</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2844</td>
<td>5.018</td>
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<td>Controversial Gov.</td>
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<td>968</td>
<td>4.638</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>2781</td>
<td>5.363</td>
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<td>Commands A</td>
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<td>474</td>
<td>3.790</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>3275</td>
<td>5.348</td>
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*** designates a statistically significant relationship at the <.001 level

** designates a statistically significant relationship at the <.01 level
Table 2: Mean Number of Attacks Governor Biographical Attribute Results
Two-Tailed Independent Samples T-test Measuring Biographical Attributes of Afghan Provincial Governors, 2002-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Mean With Attribute</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Standard Deviation-Mean With Attribute</th>
<th>Mean Without Attribute</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Standard Deviation-Mean Without Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Domestic Ties</td>
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<td>871</td>
<td>6.462</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>2878</td>
<td>4.681</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnicity Matchup</td>
<td>3.78***</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>6.001</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2510</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lived Outside Afghanistan</td>
<td>4.21***</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>6.539</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2847</td>
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<td>Higher Education-Collapsed</td>
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<td>1233</td>
<td>5.558</td>
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<td>Educated Outside Afghanistan</td>
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<td>5.433</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>3363</td>
<td>5.113</td>
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*** designates a statistically significant relationship at the <.001 level
## Table 3: Linear Regression of Gubernatorial Attributes

Coefficient of Determination Measuring Political and Biographical Attributes of Afghan Provincial Governors, 2002-2011

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<th>Intercept</th>
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<th>Beta (β)</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
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<td>1.250***</td>
<td>.120***</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>3748</td>
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<td>Northern Alliance</td>
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<td>-.731***</td>
<td>-.061***</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.196</td>
<td>3748</td>
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<td>Daud Khan</td>
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<td>-.644</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.420</td>
<td>3748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDPA</td>
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<td>-.227</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.343</td>
<td>3748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojaddedi</td>
<td>3.066</td>
<td>-1.428**</td>
<td>-.052**</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>3748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbani</td>
<td>3.132</td>
<td>-1.074***</td>
<td>-.65***</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>3748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. More Than Once</td>
<td>2.545</td>
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<td>.160***</td>
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*** designates a statistically significant relationship at the <.001 level

** designates a statistically significant relationship at the <.01 level
Figure 1: Total Number of Attacks by Month/Year
Figure 2: Total Number of Armed Assaults, Bombing, and Total Number of Attacks
Figure 3: Number of Total Attacks By Province

Number of Total Attacks
Figure 4: Number of Attacks on Civilians By Province

- Central (Bayman)
- Central (Daykundi)
- Central (Kapisa)
- Central (Pandir)
- North (Badakhshan)
- North (Baghlan)
- North (Balkh)
- North (Farah)
- North (Jowzjan)
- North (Kunduz)
- North (Sari Pajeh)
- North (Takhar)
- South (Helmand)
- South (Khost)
- South (Paktia)
- East (Badakhshan)
- East (Logar)
- East (Nangarhar)
- East (Paktika)
- East (Zabul)
- East (Herat)
- East (Nimroz)

Number of Attacks on Civilians
Figure 5: Total Number of Civilian Deaths

- Total Number of Civilian Fatalities: 4731
- Number of Incidents with Zero Fatalities: 892
- Number of Incidents with Number of Fatalities between 1 and 5: 1465
- Number of Incidents with Number of Fatalities between 6 and 10: 111
- Number of Incidents with Number of Fatalities greater than 10: 61
Figure 6: Attacks on Civilians; Number of Armed Assaults, Bombings, and Total Number of Attacks
Figure 7: Attacks on Police; Number of Armed Assaults, Bombings, and Total Number of Attacks

- Number of Armed Assaults
- Number of Bombings
- Total Number of Attacks
Figure 8: Attacks on Gov’t Officials; Number of Armed Assaults, Assassinations, and Total Number of Attacks
Figure 9: Recorded Number of Attacks by Type

- Armed Assault: 4367
- Bomb or Explosive Device: 3528
- Rocket or Projectile Attack: 993
- Suicide Attack: 601
- Arson: 380
- Assassination: 458
- Unknown: 995

Number of this Type of Attack
Figure 10: Average Number of Attacks, Ties to Karzai

- **Total Number of Attacks**: 3.71 (Ties to Karzai) vs. 2.46 (No Ties to Karzai)
- **Attacks on Civilians**: 0.85 (Ties) vs. 0.53 (No Ties)
- **Attacks on Police**: 1.07 (Ties) vs. 0.64 (No Ties)
- **Attacks on Government Officials**: 0.24 (Ties) vs. 0.14 (No Ties)
Figure 11: Average Number of Attacks, Ties to Northern Alliance

- **Total Number of Attacks**: 2.46 (Ties to Northern Alliance), 3.19 (No Ties to Northern Alliance)
- **Attacks on Civilians**: 0.46 (Ties to Northern Alliance), 0.74 (No Ties to Northern Alliance)
- **Attacks on Police**: 0.64 (Ties to Northern Alliance), 0.89 (No Ties to Northern Alliance)
Figure 12: Number of Governors with Ties to Karzai and N. Alliance

- Ties To Karzai
- Ties to N. Alliance
- Total Number of Attacks
Atta Muhammad Nur took over as Governor in July of 2004.
Figure 14: Total Number of Attacks, Ghazni Province

Sher Alam Ibrahimi, last known Ghazni Governor with Northern Alliance Ties
Removed as Governor September, 2006

Assad Ullah Khalid Removed as Governor of Ghazni on June, 2005.
Figure 15: Total Number of Attacks, Helmand Province

Sher Mohammad Akhundzada removed as Governor of Helmand December, 2005
Ismail Khan removed as provincial governor of Herat September, 2004
Figure 17: Total Number of Attacks, Kabul Province
Gul Agha Sherzai removed as provincial governor of Kandahar August, 2003

Gul Agha Sherzai reappointed governor of Kandahar December, 2004 to May, 2005 when he was dismissed once again.
Abdol Hakim Taniwal Appointed as Governor of Khost Province March, 2002

Merajuddin Pathan is Appointed as Governor of Khost Province, replacing Hakim Taniwal in April, 2004
Figure 20: Total Number of Attacks, Nangarhar Province

Haji Din Mohammad removed as governor of Nangarhar June, 2005 with former Kandahar Governor Gul Agha Sherzai taking over.


BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political. “Afghan daily says incompetent officials should be dismissed, not reshuffled.” November 20, 2006, via Lexis Nexis.


DiMann, Rosie. “Hopeful signs from ex-Taliban hotbed; An amazing event citizens rallying in support of honest governor augurs well for Afghan mission.” *The Toronto Star*, Published: May 18, 2008, via Lexis Nexis.


Smith, Graeme. “Afghanistan's readiness to vote debated; Violence and government interference seen as threats to elections being scheduled for a year from now.” *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, Published: July 25, 2008, via Lexis Nexis.


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<th>Number Associated with Governor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sayed Aminollah</td>
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<td>Sayd Amin Tareq (Alt: Sayed Mohammad Amin Tariq; Sayd Mohammad Amin Tareq)</td>
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<td>Baz Mohammad Ahmadi</td>
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<td>Mohammed Halim Fidai (Alt: Muhammad Halim Fedayee; Halim Fidai; Halin Fidai; Abdol Halim Fedayi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Hafizullah Khan (Alt: Hafizullah Hashim; Haji Hafizollah Hashem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Mullah Khail Mohammed Hosani (Alt: Khial Mohammed; Kheyal Mohammad Husseini; Khial Mohammad Hosayni; Khial Mohammed Hosseini)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>