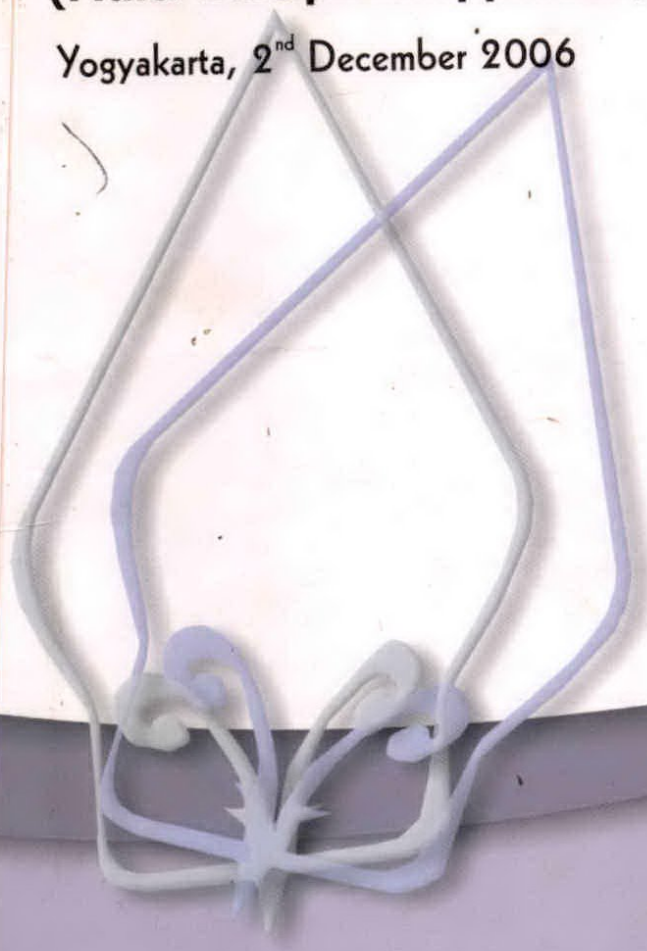


Proceeding

International Joint Seminar

**Muslim Countries and Development :
Achievements, Constraints and Alternative Solutions
(Multi-Discipline Approach)**

Yogyakarta, 2nd December 2006



Organized by:



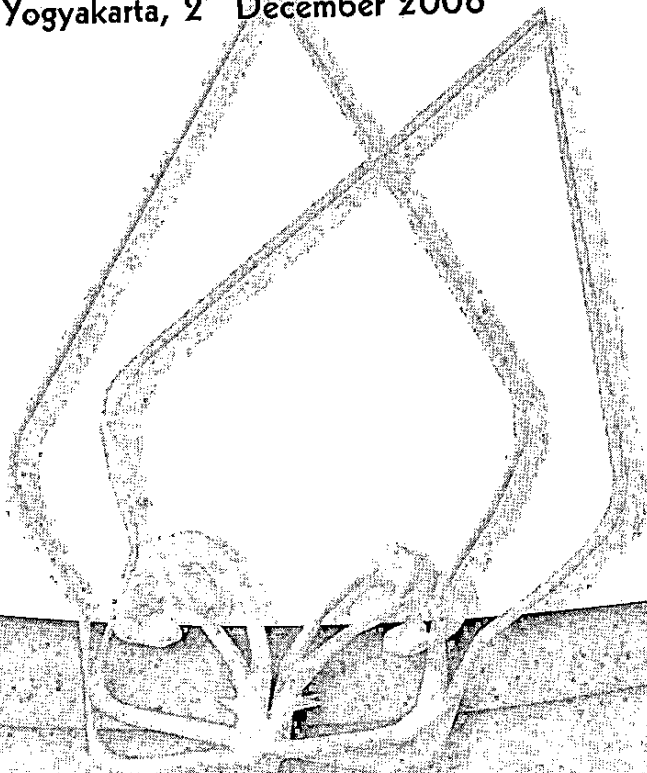
ISBN 979-3700-10-6

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Organized by:



Universitas
Muhammadiyah
Yogyakarta



International
Islamic
University
Malaysia



Education and
Cultural Attache
Embassy of The Republic
Indonesia in Malaysia

**MESSAGE FROM THE RECTOR OF
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA (UMY)**

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh

All praise be to Allah SWT, Lord of the world. Peace and blessings on Muhammad SAW, His Servants and Messenger.

First of all, as the rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), I would like to welcome to the honourable guests, Rector, Dean of Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Dean of ISTAC, Dean of IRKHS, Deputy Deans and Head Departments from various Kulliyah, lecturers, postgraduate students of International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), and all participants in this joint seminar.

Academic cooperation between UMY and IIUM started several years ago. The cooperation between us is based on a solid foundation; both us are Islamic universities having same missions to develop Islamic society, to prepare future generations of Islamic intellectuals, and to cultivate Islamic civilization. In fact, improving academic quality and strengthening our position as the producers of knowledge and wisdom will offer a meaningful contribution to the development of Islamic civilization. This responsibility is particularly significant especially with the emergence of the information and knowledge society where value adding is mainly generated by the production and the dissemination of knowledge.

Today's joint seminar signifies our attempts to shoulder this responsibility. I am confident to say that this joint program will be a giant step for both of us to open other pathways of cooperation. I am also convinced that through strengthening our collaboration we can learn from each other and continue learning, as far as I am concerned, is a valuable ingredient to develop our universities.

I sincerely wish you good luck and success in joining this program

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.

Dr. Khoiruddin Bashori

Rector, UMY

**MESSAGE FROM THE RECTOR OF
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA (IIUM)**

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious and the most Merciful. Peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W).

First and foremost, I felt honoured, on behalf of the university to be warmly welcomed and to be given the opportunity to work hand in hand, organizing a respectable conference. Indeed, this is a great achievement towards a warmer bilateral tie between the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) and Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) after the MoU Phase.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Centre for Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Postgraduate Students Society (PGSS), contributors, paper presenters, participants and our Indonesian counterpart for making this program a prestigious event of the year.

This educational and cultural visit is not only an avenue to foster good relationship between organizations and individuals and to learn as much from one another but a step forward in promoting quality graduates who practices their ability outdoor and master his or her studies through first hand experience. The Islamic platform inculcated throughout the educational system namely the Islamization of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, will add value to our graduates. This comprehensive excellent we strived for must always be encouraged through conferences, seminars and intellectual-based activities in line with our lullaby: The journey of a thousand miles begin by a single step, the vision of centuries ahead must start from now.

My utmost support is with you always. Looking forward to a fruitful meeting.

Ma'assalamah

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.

Prof. Dato' Dr. Syed Arabi Iddid

Rector, IIUM

**MESSAGE FROM EDUCATION AND CULTURAL ATTACHE
EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
KUALA LUMPUR**

Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh

All praise be to Allah SWT. This is the moment where implementation of MoU between Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) and International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) comes in the form of action by organizing this Joint Seminar. The efforts of both sides to implement the MoU are highly appreciated, especially, in the context of which both universities effort to enhance the quality of education.

Substantially, I believe that this Joint Seminar will bring many benefits. In term of the development of knowledge, it is a means for developing academic quality, for exchanging of information on academic development, as well as for constructing intellectual atmosphere at both universities. In term of international relations, both universities have taken part in increasing close relationship between Malaysia and Indonesia. RUM and UNY as well are using 'soft power' to increase bilateral relations among citizens which brings a lot of benefits for both nations.

Therefore, I hope that both RUM and UMY can make use of this program as a 'kick-off' for other programs in the future, especially in using UMY's vast networks with other Muhammadiyah Universities in various cities in Indonesia as well as IIUM's network. The support of IIUM for UMY also means a progress for IIUM and UMY. I hope such joint program will continue in future for betterment of both Indonesia and Malaysia. Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur will always support these efforts.

To our honorable guests, Rector, Dean of Postgraduate Studies (CPS), Dean of ISTAC, Dean of IRKHS, Deputy Deans and Head Departments from various Kulliyah, lecturers and students of IIUM, I warmly welcome you to Yogyakarta. I hope you enjoy your stay in the cultural city of Yogyakarta.

Finally, as the Attache of Education and Cultural, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, Kuala Lumpur, I sincerely wish you good luck *and a successful program with unforgettable memories.*

*Wabillahit Taufiq Wal Hidayah
Wassalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.*

M.Imran Hanafi

Education and Cultural Attache, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia

MESSAGE FROM DEAN CENTRE FOR POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh

Praise be to Allah. May the peace and blessings of Allah be on the last prophet and messenger, our master Muhammad and on his household and companions. It is a great privilege for me to foreword this message to this wonderful event that is jointly organized by the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) and International Islamic University (IIUM).

First and foremost I would like to record my special gratitude to management of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for their co-operation.

In order to obtain comprehensive excellence, the Centre for Postgraduate studies has always facilitates postgraduate students of the university to achieve the highest quality in their academic work. This seminar is one of the many programs that Centre for postgraduate studies has to ensure quality graduates.

I would therefore like to thank all the participants and programme coordinators who have worked hard to realize this event.

May Allah SWT shower His blessing upon us.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb.

Prof. Dato' Dr. Wan Rafei Abdul Rahman
Dean, Centre For Postgraduate Studies

**MESSAGE FROM THE ACTIVE
PRESIDENT OF POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS'**

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh

On behalf of Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS), my gratitude and appreciation to our beloved Dean of Studies, the Embassy of Indonesia in Kuala Lumpur, Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and the organizing committee of IIUM and the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for their huge success. Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS) under the supervision of the Center for Postgraduate Studies (CPG) is pleased to host this event.

As I strongly believe that the initial stages of unity are the key to building the new generation, who will represent the future more, such programs, not only achieve the mission of our universities but to achieve the global mission and vision. Therefore, I believe today, we have to have understanding and then only we can appreciate our diverse cultures. We should acknowledge the different strengths and weaknesses through knowledge in this age of information. I am sure this joint seminar will initiate unity among the future generations along with integrating them.

Thank you,

Mohd Nabi Habibi

Active President Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS)

MESSAGE FROM PROGRAM DIRECTOR

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Praise be to Allah. May the peace and blessings of Allah be on the last Prophet and Messenger, our master Muhammad and on his household and companions.

Honestly speaking, we are pleased to be trusted by Postgraduate Students' Society (PGSS) and Centre for Postgraduate Studies (CPS) to organize the programme named Educational and Cultural Visit to Yogyakarta, Indonesia. For this, We express our gratitude to the management of both PGSS and CPS. This programme is of immense value. It has the potentials to promote intellectual endeavor, develop leadership capabilities and enrich cross-cultural understandings. We sincerely believe and hope that program of this kind will be organized in a regular fashion in future.

It is a great privilege for us to play twofold role in organizing this event: *as a host* and *as guest*. In fact, this is a fascinating experience to manage this event. Since our inception here, we have found meaningful interaction of students in an interweaving of cultures into complicated, yet beautiful, embroidery of social fabric. We are proud to say that this dearly loved university has produced graduates of high quality, who are distinct from those of the local universities.

Finally, we wish to express our special thanks to Bapak M.Imran Hanafi, Education and Cultural Attache of Indonesian Embassy, Bapak Herdaus, S.H., Assistant of Immigration Attache of Indonesian Embassy, Bapak Tharian Taharuddin for their immensely valuable assistance and co-operation in making this program a success. I sincerely appreciate all local committees at Yogyakarta, the colleagues and program coordinators and committee members who worked diligently to materialize this event. We wish to pass on good wishes to the PGSS for their valuable efforts it expended for this event.

May Allah s.w.t shower His blessing upon us.

Wassalam,

Nasrullah

Programme Director

Todi Kurniawan

Co-Programme Director

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Constraints and Political Developments in Afghanistan, 2001-2006: A Critical Appraisal

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Abstract

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in the heart of Central Asia which has been witnessing an on going devastating war for the past 30 years. It is one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the region. Afghanistan played the role of buffer zone for two ex-major powers: USSR and UK, as it has played a very important role in the geopolitics of its region. Afghanistan is a fragile state and weak performer because of strong foreign interventions and domestic ethnic conflicts. It is a country of nearly 24 million people. The major ethnic group is Pashtun who are weary of conflict and subject to grinding poverty in an often harsh environment. This study will examine the political development after the invasion of the US and will explain the so-called progress achieved in the past six years. As Afghanistan is trying hard to recover politically, economically, and socially as war torn country Afghanistan is also trying to revitalize its political institutions as well as social and economic development. In short, we may say that the precarious security situation of the country, cultural factors, and lack of education are direct factors constraining developmental programs and addressing them will provide sustained knowledge to the students of politics about the reality of the Afghan dilemma.

Keywords: Development; human rights; leadership; diplomacy; civil societies; Security; elections; economy; financial aids; technology; education; political; reconstruction; Constraints; poverty; ethnic fragmentation; social; political divide; corruption; lake of education; unemployment; opium cultivation.

Introduction

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in the heart of Central Asia which has been witnessing an on going devastating war for the past 30 years. It is one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the region. Afghanistan played the role of buffer zone for two ex-major powers: USSR and UK, as it has played a very important role in the geopolitics of its region. Afghanistan is a fragile state and weak performer because of strong foreign interventions and domestic ethnic conflicts. It is a country of nearly 24 million people. The major ethnic group is Pashtun who are weary of conflict and subject to grinding poverty in an often harsh environment. This study will examine the political development after the invasion of the US and will explain the so-called progress achieved in the past six years.

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As Afghanistan is trying hard to recover politically, economically, and socially as war torn country Afghanistan is also trying to revitalize its political institutions as well as social and economic development. In short, we may say that the precarious security situation of the country, cultural factors, and lack of education are direct factors constraining developmental programs and addressing them will provide sustained knowledge to the students of politics about the reality of the Afghan dilemma.

Background

The three decades prolonged conflict in Afghanistan, it has begun a slow and laborious path to peace, the war existed before the arrival of the Taliban, and in some ways continues to this day. In essence, politics took a dramatic turn with the coup in 1978 which replaced the monarchy with a Communist government headed by Dawood Khan the King's cousin. Eager to develop Afghanistan, the anti soviet slogan and efforts to maintain his power resulted in the Soviet occupation (1979-1991) which ended by Dawood's life in a coup plotted by USSR. This gave explicit raise to a strong and passionate resistance movement under the name of Mujahedin, who were heavily trained and funded by neighboring states and the United States who were concerned with the domino effect taking place in the oil-rich Middle East region.

Rather than peace, the shameful departure of the Soviet troops in 1989, and the loss of strategic interest in Afghanistan by the United States and the ignorance of other Western countries, led to continued violent struggles between the Mujahedin factions with each other as well as against the PDPA government till 1992 which headed by Dr. Najeebullah.

The political vacuum led to a military campaign among the Mujahedin, before the take over of Najeeb's PDPA government controlled by the Parcham party who's majority were the Tajiks nationalists- made a coalition "plot" with late Massoud who hails from Panjshir valley on how to enter and control Kabul. This plot was accrued in 1992 and this era was the beginning of the Afghan misery- as some Afghan Leader's felt that they were sidelined by simple commander (Ahmad Shah Massoud) of Burhanuddin Rabbani(Head of Jamyate- Islami), i.e. Hikmatyar (The Head of Hezbi Islami Afghanistan) who was heavily backed by the ISI of Pakistan and was supported by his supporters, was the first who stand against illegitimate control of Massoud over Kabul.

Virtually the country divided, each leader along with their heavily armed militia enjoyed complete control in their various regions of the country and continued to fight for power and authority. These warlords included Rashid Dostum in Mazar-e-Sharif, Ismail Khan in Herat, Hikmatyar and Massoud in Kabul, familiar names of men who continue to threaten long-term peace initiatives in a country that has seen too much war.

Afghans argue that the civil war period of 1992-1995 constitutes the bloodiest and most destructive period in Kabul's history. Neighborhoods became the frontlines of battles between competing warlords which in the end led to the destruction of whole towns, resulted in tens of thousands of civilian deaths, the kidnapping and rapes of countless women, produced a refugee crisis, destroyed Afghanistan's political, economic and social infrastructures and most importantly set the foundation for religious fanaticism in Afghan society and politics.

The above mentioned reasons gave birth to the Taliban movement. Religious students studied in Madrasas (religious schools) majority of them hails from different parts of Afghanistan and stayed in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan¹. They were motivated by a desire to end corruption, greed and factionalism among the contending Mujahedin factions inside Afghanistan, and convinced that they could bring peace and stability to their homeland. Taliban mounted a successful military campaign which was initially well received by a battle weary population who were tired of destruction, violence and misery in their lives.

In the end of September 1996, the Taliban had captured the capital and pushed the warlords into the northern part of the country. Once in power, the Taliban sought to create a theocratic state based on their interpretation of the Quran. According to some writers the Taliban repressed human rights, civil liberties and most acutely men and women's rights to freedoms. The Taliban ruled Afghanistan with an ever-increasing iron hand, with excellent security system, and as such the international community has increased its further isolations over Taliban who were once backed the office of Bill Clinton. The Taliban and the plight of Afghanistan's population fell off the international radar until the tragic events of September 11th, 2001 and the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon.

Afghanistan once again grasped the world's attention. Three decades of 'war' have led to an utter destruction of the country, both within the capital Kabul as well as the rural areas. Aside from the ruin of infrastructure, the people of Afghanistan paid a high price while their country was made a breeding ground for fanaticism and terrorist forces equipped by neighbors.

The conflict has taken a huge toll on Afghanistan's population. Statistics suggest that over 1.5 million have died in the various stages of the conflict, while 3.6 – 6 million were made refugees predominantly in neighboring Pakistan and Iran 21 and 700,000 were internally displaced². The conflict was worsened by a drought, starvation, the birth of fanatic attitudes and policies. The role of the man as the primary breadwinner, particularly in the rural areas led to mass poverty. And international community was just watching.

The US invasion of Afghanistan was the beginning of the fall of the Taliban in November 2001 signaled the beginning of full peace-building and a sign of reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, marked by an important meeting in Bonn, Germany in December 2001 which brought together some Afghan factions, who under the auspices of the United Nations to consult and start the difficult task of power sharing and rebuilding Afghanistan. These economically deprived and ignored Afghans once again supported the withdrawal of Taliban by the United States in search for better lives. The Afghans has once again been cheated- as the international community failed to convey pledges made by them - very little things has been achieved and it is believed that this could be one of the cause of the raise of the Taliban, who are recently giving hard time to Afghan Government and the so- called international peace keepers.

¹ <http://afghangovernment.com/briefhistory.htm>

² At the end of the conflict in the late 1990's there were 6 million refugees (Himm Dria)

Developments in Afghanistan (Political)

1- Elections

In December 2001, at the Bonn Conference on the future of Afghanistan, attended by most Afghan factions assisted by United Nations (UN). After long discussions on leadership of the poor country, the conference agreed on a transnational government leading to an election in a gender-sensitive, multiethnic, and fully representative government. As a result, six months interim government, calling for an emergency Loya Jirga (Traditional Consultative Assembly) was called, that elected Hamid Kerzai as President. Hamid Kerzai's Loya Jirga adopted a new constitution in January 2004. An election commission was established and presidential elections were held in October 2004. Parliamentary and provincial council elected in September 2005. It should also be kept in mind that most voted for the first time in their entire lives. In seventy 70% voters registered 40% percent voters were women voted for presidential elections. While 50% of the voters took part in parliamentary and provincial council-elections.³

2- Governance & Leadership

According to Hidayat Amin Arsala (April 2005) a senior advisor to president Kerzai said that the people of Afghanistan are looking for a government that creates enabling environment for better security, better access to finance, better infrastructure, better government services, better education, and all these needs a strong, successful and healthier leadership. In a war torn country like Afghanistan, where prolonged insecurity, warlordism, factional fighting's, foreign interventions exist, there is a strong desire for strong central government that can provide the chaotic post-conflict environment and offer needed service to war devastated communities. Therefore, to meet such public expectations, it needs to strengthen its control of those rural areas to deliver required services.⁴ Ali Ahmad Jalali (2006) criticized the current government of being very weak, as the breakdown of central government power led to the emergence of local leaders or warlords who set up patronage networks; through access the foreign aids, weapons, tax revenue, natural resources, the opium production.⁵ The same authors in his article supported Kabul's efforts in the past few years. Kabul has reduced the power of warlord-governors by reassigning them away from their geographic power bases, but their network still continue. While the challenges of economic development in Afghanistan is still challenged where economic development is closely linked to security and political reform.⁶ Interim Afghanistan's National Development Strategy (I-ANDS) the government's newly developed strategy for promoting growth, generating wealth, and reducing poverty and vulnerability, after careful consultations with representatives from governmental private sectors, nongovernmental organization (NGOs) civil society and the international community. I-ANDS is said to be the comprehensive developmental approach to building infrastructures, managing natural resources, agricultural

³ Ibid

⁴ Ali Ahmad Jalali, *The Future of Afghanistan*, March 19 2006, www.euroasia.net

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

developments, human capital, and gender quality, social protection, economic governance and private sector development, international and regional cooperation, good civil governance, the rule of law and security.⁷ However, one question will remain unanswered, how far, their strategy and the work of (I-ANDS) has been achieved? So far, after spending millions of dollars coming up with an empty and imaginary strategies.

3- Imaginary Developments & Reforms

The extreme corruption in the government level made developments look imaginary only. For example the Independent Administrative Reform Committee (AIRC) which is created to bring changes for good within the government. Perhaps, they are responsible to find the right Afghan graduates to the right positions and recommend them to the government. Unfortunately, the Independent Reform Committee (AIRC) which is created to bring reforms to the Afghan state needs an urgent reform within itself. Surprisingly, I met the Head of the mission last year in a visit to Malaysia. I found out that leading authorities were only graduated from high schools, who had no idea how to run their office, perhaps, they are attached to one of Afghan political party. Likewise, when you log on to websites of each office, you will find things looks beautiful. But in reality, things are running administratively worse than it used to be 50 years ago. Things has improved but not at the cost Afghans paid for.⁸

Developmental Constraints in Afghanistan

There are several challenges to development in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is an extremely mountainous country with treacherous terrain, inadequate transportation and telecommunication infrastructures, landmine infested lands, a recent drought, and a growing drug trade, extreme poverty, non effective governance, corruption, and most importantly the lake of security and the raise of Taliban are the main course constraints for Afghanistan's development.

Political:

1- Ethnic Fragmentation

The ethnic fragmentation has been active in elite class level, using ethnic issues for gaining power for personal interest. However, there is no doubt the reality exist and from the elite class the issue recently has spilled over to the mass attention. Many other fault lines for conflict including fictional fissure, have been largely contained, although such tensions still holds the seeds of future challenges to nation –building.⁹ Having said that, we should keep in mind that ethnic Pashtun who are the overwhelming majority, followed by ethnic Tajik, Hazara, Uzbik, and Turkeman are also important minorities exercising their rights in politics. Kerzai who is trying to divide the power equally is forced to discredit competency. Hence, such ethnic dimensions in Afghan political affairs

⁷ Ibid

⁸ www.tolafghan.com

have already done a lot of damage and still going unheeded¹⁰. Unfortunately, among them the uneducated commanders or warlords are used by foreigners and neighbors for their dirty proxy-wars of interest. And the other major political constraint to the political development is internal and external spoilers.

2- Internal & External Spoilers

Spoilers are people who do not support the current government and they are fueling the conflict. Their business is to keep the situation abnormal. So, internal spoilers are the warlords who do not support the current government and they do not support the Taliban or other fiction, but they work for fueling and destabilization of the situation. Among them are drug lords on Pakistani- Afghan border, Afghan- Iranian border and other Afghan borders. People who are involved in all kind of illicit trades and they are not happy with the current Afghan government. Simply, because they have been involved in these trade for decades and can't accept the rule of law upon themselves, or they not qualified personals for any kind of academic or governmental jobs. On the other hand, the external spoilers are the people entering Afghanistan trough imaginary Pak-Afghan border, committing mass killings or planting bombs, solely for political reasons and to disturb the security in Afghanistan.

3- Human Rights

A UN supported rights watchdog has expressed concerns over recent violence in Afghanistan. The afghan independent human right commission (AIARC) has released a disturbing report about dozen of cases of uncontrolled honor killings.¹¹

Gonzala Esfandiari (Eurasia Net 2006) adds by saying that the local authorities, police and judicial authorities often a blind eye to the practice, without, a strong "rule of law" honor killing could not all the time trigger to get the right target. Dr. Subhrang who heads The Women's Affairs Division of Afghanistan in an independent human rights commission, suggested that honor killing are mostly accepted by the society and considered by most afghans to be private family matter.

"...I can tell you that they can happen all over Afghanistan" she adds "most of them get buried within the family, and as no one is ever informed about them. But today, some causes are made public and are disseminated, so we are able to get some figures, they take places in faraway villages in rural areas".¹²

Looking the to issue from political view, such honor killings undermined the rule of law. However, It will take time to educate citizens about their rights and its limits. There are many other human rights violations, such as, child labor, human trafficking, human smuggling, child abductions, warlordism, drug trade, and kidnappings.

¹⁰ Ismial Khan, *The Ethnic Face of Afghanistan*, July 2006, article published by, www.afghanistan.com

¹¹ Civil Society, *Afghanistan: Rights Watchdog alarmed at continuening honor killing*, 19 March 2006. www.euronesia.net

¹² Ibid

(BBC 27 Nov 2006) Most of the NGO's claim responsibility that they are doing something to stop the violations, and totally ignored the support and role of the current government. A society like Afghanistan needs a strong central administration and without it, the billions spent so far were in vain. The Afghan government is shouting to the international community to help the Afghan central administration directly, not through the NGO's who spend a lot and the results are not healthy enough.

4- Security

The Taliban who were heavily criticized by the UN and the international community for violations of human rights were isolated by the international community. It is also believed that Taliban's strict laws had banned music, TV, honor killings, unauthorized weapons, and they closed doors to women to work. But on the other hand some strongly believe that Taliban could manage to make a permanent stop to opium, drugs, theft, bribery, corruption. Some writer will credit the Taliban for excellent security system in which all ethnics stayed under their rule enjoyed peace of mind. Under the US backed Afghan government the United Nations, aid workers and NGO staff, government officials, local Afghans and expatriate Afghans around the world have argued that lack of personal safety and insecurity is the central and fundamental barrier in public life. The presence of International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) have brought some measure of security to the capital, but widespread security around the country is still severely lacking and preventing the climate for creating long term developmental assistance. Local Afghans, including women, working for aid and development agencies continue to express fear and worry when traveling to certain parts of the country.

Socio – Economic:

1- Corruption & Opium Cultivation

According to Grant Curtis a senior Country Programs Specialist (Afghanistan), in the year 2004, the opium economy was 60% of the country's nondrug gross domestic product. Despite somewhat efforts to reduce opium poppy cultivation, optimum-growing conditions in 2005 resulted in only a minimal decrease in total production of raw opium. Afghanistan is the source of 87% of world opium production, with the bulk of heroin on western streets coming from Afghanistan's poppy fields. The opium economy ties poor farmers to continued production of opium poppy for economic reasons—it is far more profitable than any other cash crop and many farmers go into debt with traffickers who provide them with essential agriculture inputs. It also contributes to organized crime and insecurity, feeds corruption, and spreads addiction and HIV/AIDS. In the article Mr. Grant has also reported that Afghanistan's drug economy and its many illegal tentacles seriously undermine government efforts to prove it is a reliable partner worthy of sustained international support. 13

¹³ Grant Curtis, Senior Country Programs Specialist (Afghanistan) *Development Challenges*. ADB Review: December 2005

2- Extreme Poverty

The most important constraint to the development in Afghanistan, after the security threats, is poverty that affects both the governance and the security. The eradication of Afghan's extreme poverty is also the Afghan government's agenda, but for them to work they need secured environment, which cannot be zoomed in the near future. Millennium Developmental Goal (MDG) believes that eradication of extreme poverty in Afghanistan may significantly reduced by 2020, while the (MDG) an NGO which is financed by the world bank enjoy their high salaries, protected in secured areas by ISAF in Kabul, they could only predict significantly the eradication of poverty on papers.

Conclusion

One of the writer well stated "As in all conflict affected countries, issues of peace and security and human rights lie at the heart of the discussion of social and economic development. Human rights serve as a foundation to both peace and development, while both peace and development have been framed in recent years as basic human rights".¹⁴ Security and peace are the prime necessity to provide a productive environment for development, and without it, development is not only difficult but a vain and impossible attempt. In the light of the above, Afghanistan's political, institutional, economical, and educational developments remained undeveloped, because of the very reason "Security and Peace". Peace-building and the promotion and protection of human rights are not possible without applying the principles of justice and equity in social institutions and human relationships. The US had spend over USD50 billion from 2001-2004 to topple the regime of Taliban and operations to secure the so-called peace. Some 1800 coalition troops and 10,000 troops from 35 countries continue their efforts to vanquish remaining anti-government elements. Initially, the international forces of ISAF together with US had pledged that they will help reconstruct, and rebuild Afghanistan and train its military and national police. Nonetheless, there is no sign of such trainings which could be effective for future peace-building and maintaining the security.¹⁵ As such, Afghanistan will not be able to secure its borders from the neighbors and the unrest will remain until the relevant institutions are well established to irradiate poverty and flourish the shine of education.¹⁶ As Afghanistan is standing at the crossroads of change, and Afghans are promised by the international community to provide them with a unique opportunity to support and assist their transition from a war-torn, underdeveloped state to a developing country to one characterized by development and peace. On other hand, we can see- the road is long, and Afghanistan needs partners who are willing to be there for the long tow.¹⁷ The inclusion of all developmental programs i.e. the "role of women", child education, activations of civil societies, promote human rights, developments in technology. In fact, such developmental programs in Muslim states such as Afghanistan require formulations that re-examine prevailing attitudes and assumptions about the roles

¹⁴ See Senator Douglas Roche, (2003). *The Human Right to Peace*, Toronto: Novalis Publishers. And see <http://www.unhchr.ch/development/right.html>

¹⁵ ...

and responsibilities of each individual in society. And this could be achieved when men are educated, and only educated men would encourage his child to attend school. So, the key element which is lacking in Afghan society is education, and education is the key factor for Afghan mass to understand the importance of education itself.¹⁸ However, despite all the problems we discussed, we have come out with few policy considerations. Without those the current government will go unheeded.

Recommendations and Policy Considerations

First and foremost, the Afghan military to be trained and empowered with all updated equipments, and technology. Secondly, ISAF should eliminate its operations against the innocent Afghan civilians as soon as possible. Thirdly, The International community to provide the Afghan government more with financial assistance, and make sure the officials spend money wisely. Fourthly, all foreigners (ISAF, and foreign skilled workers) in Afghanistan to be trained about the gender sensitivity trainings before they come to Afghanistan. Fifthly, all Afghan factions to be brought to table as conflicts generate conflicts, and wars bring wars. Sixthly, The Mujahideen who are playing an important role in current politics should be respected by the international community as without them the international community wouldn't be possible to work. Seventhly, The NGO's to assist in developmental programs hand in hand with central government rather than doing their missionary activities, and spending millions under the name of development. Eighthly, The International and local Media to be careful using the language in a country where people are living in a gender sensitive society. Ninthly, The international community to provide more scholarships for Afghan students to study abroad. It is also important that Afghanistan's Administrative reform committee which is supported by the World Bank and the Afghan government, itself needs an urgent reform within. While, all Afghan ministries should avoid cronyism and nepotism which currently being practiced. And lastly, Women to be empowered within the cultural-religious norms and values.

¹⁸ Please see Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2001). *Rights, Reconstruction and Enduring Peace: Afghan Women and Children after the Taliban*.

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