



ECO College of Insurance

Thesis Proposal Form

(Master & Ph.D.)



دانشگاه علامه طباطبائی

**The Geopolitics of Afghanistan after
September 11, 2001, and its Impact on
Iranian National Security**

Supervisor:

Dr Abdolreza Faraji Rad

Adviser:

Dr Atossa Goodarzi

BY

Seyed Hadi Sadati

2010-2012

Table of Contents

- Abstract10
- Introduction11
- Key question12
- Hypotheses12
- Background13
- Research Objectives13
- Methodology13
- Data Gathering Methods13
- Chapter 1: Introduction15**
- Part 1 A Theatrical Framework16**
- A: Geopolitics16**
 - Introduction16
 - What is Geopolitics?17
 - Classical Geopolitics.....18
 - Classical Geopolitics and German Hegemony18
 - Geopolitics in 20 Century.....20
 - Modern Age for Geopolitics (New Geopolitics).....21
 - Critical Geopolitics24
 - Geopolitical Approach in United State Policy25
 - Relationship of Geopolitics to Other Sciences27
 - Geopolitics and International Relation28
 - Geopolitics and Political Science29
- B: National Security30**
 - Introduction30
 - Framework for Security Definition31
 - National Security Definition.....32

Thesis’s definition about National Security	38
Elements of National Security	41
A. Military Security	41
B. Economic Security	41
C. Resource Security	42
D. Border Security	43
E. Demographic Security	43
F. Disaster Security	44
G. Energy Security	44
H. Geostrategic Security	45
I. Information Security	46
J. Food Security	46
K. Health Security	48
L. Ethnic Security	49
M. Environmental Security.....	50
N. Cyber Security	50
O. Genomic Security.....	53
Part 2 Afghanistan	54
A: Afghanistan at a Glance	54
Afghanistan in Perspective	54
Economy in Afghanistan	5d
Politics in Afghanistan	57
B: A Brief History of Afghanistan.....	59
Afghanistan History until 1747	59
European Influence	61
Afghanistan History in 20 century	62

Reform and Reaction	63
Daoud's Republic (1973-78) and the April 1978 Coup	64
The Soviet Invasion	66
Afghanistan in 1990S	67
Rise and Fall of the Taliban.....	68
11 September 2001 and U.S. Invasion.....	69

Chapter 2: New Geopolitics of Afghanistan72

Part 1: Nation-State Building in The New Geopolitics of Afghanistan.....73

Introduction	73
--------------------	----

A: Nation-State in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan 73

A Framework for Nation-Stat Building	73
--	----

The Lack of Nation-State in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan	76
--	----

B: The Obstacles Legitimizing Power in non-Nation -State Building78

Legitimizing power in Political Science Theory	78
--	----

Fundamentalism and Extremist Groups	80
---	----

Taliban as an Obstacle for Political Power in Afghanistan	81
---	----

Tribalism in Afghanistan's Political Culture	82
--	----

The Weakness of Civil Society in Afghanistan	85
--	----

Opium and Political Power in Afghanistan	86
--	----

Tribal Aria non-controls Area as a Treat for State	89
--	----

Inefficient Government in Public Service	90
--	----

Part 2: Democracy in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan92

Introduction	92
A: Democratic Elements	92
Democracy as a Political System of Competition for Power	93
Participation: The Role of the Citizen in a Democracy	95
The Rights of Citizens in a Democracy	97
The Rule of Law	98
The Limits and Requirements for Democracy	99
B: Democracy in Afghanistan	102
Introduction	102
The Role of Democratic Government in a Democratic Society	103
Democracy and Election in Legitimization Process	105
C: Main Anti-Democratic Movement in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan	107
Taliban in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan	107
Warlordism in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan.....	108
Part 3: Poppy Production in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan	110
Introduction	110
A: History of Poppy Production in the World and Afghanistan.....	112
The Golden Crescent.....	113
B: The Roots of Inability of Eradication in Afghanistan	115
Failed State as Grounds for the Poppy Production	114
Mismanagement Foreign Aid and Lack of Reconstruction and Development	116
Single-Product Economy (Subsistence Farming) and Inefficient Infrastructure for Development	118
Illicit economy of Taliban as Main Sub-State Group and Shadow state.....	119
Lack of Security in Afghanistan.....	120

Chapter 3: New Geopolitics of Afghanistan after Withdrawal American Troops	122
Part 1: Withdrawing American Troops and its Implication on Afghanistan Political Scenes	123
Introduction	123
Afghanistan after U.S. Withdrawal	125
Recent Development in Afghanistan Political Scene	125
Taliban in New Afghanistan Political Scene after Withdrawing American Troop	127
Afghan National Army and Withdrawing U.S. Troop from Afghanistan.....	129
U.S. Duties concerning Afghan Government	134
Part 2: U.S. Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Regional State Interest	134
Introduction	134
Regional Power and Neighbors and Withdrawing U.S. Troop from Afghanistan..	135
A: NATO and European Union	135
B: Pakistan.....	136
C: India	137
D: Russia	138
E: China	139
Chapter 4: New geopolitics of Afghanistan and its Impact on Iranian National Security	140
Part 1: Afghanistan Developments and Iranian National Security	141
A: Afghanistan and Delay in Formation of a Nation – State	141
Non-State Building and its Implications on Iran’s National Security	143
B: Implications on Iranian Social Status	144
The Role of Central Asian States (CAS) in New Geopolitics of Afghanistan	146

Presence of U.S and NATO Troops' in the CAS	147
C: Energy Pipeline Passing through Afghanistan	149
D: Drug Mafia and the Regional Security	151
Part 2: Presence of Foreign Powers in Afghanistan and Iranian National Security	154
Failure to Defeat Taliban	154
U.S. and the Presence of NATO Troops' in Afghanistan	155
Iran and American Withdrawal from Afghanistan	157
Conclusion	160
References	165

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my first gratitude to my supervisors Dr Abdolreza Faraji Rad, who, I love him too much. Dr Faraji Rad was an inspiring force for me throughout my study in MA. I learnt from Dr Faraji Rad a lot in the area of Geopolitics, International Relations and Research Methods. I was very lucky to have Dr Faraji Rad who is one of the most prominent experts on the Middle East, Central Asia and Foreign Policy. He is a real intellectual. Dr Faraji Rad accepted to be my external examiner, his superior knowledge of both international relations literature and the Afghanistan development was guiding light for me.

I would like to further thank Mrs Teimori, Dr Faraji Rad's wife. I wish that they always be healthy; and I will be a perpetual student for them

I would like to further thank Miss Zinat Golkar. I wish also that she always be healthy and I will be a good brother for him. I would like to further thank Mr. Abdolmohammad Fathi who is one one of the best friends of me. I would also like to thank Dr Mohammed Darkhor who helped me a lot during Dissertation period.

I would foremost like to thank Dr Atosa Godarzi, dean of ECO Faculty as my Advisor. I would further like to thank Dr Hamidinia, Who is my professor and my friend. I would like to thank Prof. Dr AbdolAmir Jorfi from the Islamic Azad University Shiraz Branch. At the end, I want to everyone who helped me in my MA course.

To

Fatimah Zahra (PBUH)

All the Martyrs of Islamic Revolution of Iran

All the Martyrs of 8 Years Holy Defense

My Dear Father

My Dear Mother

Abstract

U.S. attack to Afghanistan after 9/11 provided opportunities for US who tried to become the dominant power after collapse of USSR and bipolar world. Thinkers like Fukuyama believed American liberal democrats thought would be universally accepted without resistances. Liberal Democracy is the best and final model of governance; in this regard, United State has moral responsibilities for providing it. While, U.S. announced that its goals in Afghanistan is moral policy. This country pursues some other security and strategic goals that are related to terrorism, opium, control irresponsible state including Russia, China and Iran as challenger players in the region. This development led to new geopolitics of Afghanistan.

New geopolitics of Afghanistan`s elements including U.S. and NATO presence, increased poppy production, failed state, developing Islamic radicalism, and not completely suppression of Taliban`s forces, avoiding Afghan Mujahidin's forces and taking the power from pro-western Afghans.

Iran a neighbor of Afghanistan and has common historical and cultural heritage with this country. Therefore, Afghanistan development is important for Iran. In this dissertation we study the new geopolitics of Afghanistan after 11 September 2001 and its impact on Iranian national security in short and long terms.

Key words:

Afghanistan, Iran, National Security, Geopolitics, Taliban, Terrorism, United State

Introduction

Afghanistan is one of the most important countries in the Middle East and Central Asia. This country has rich history for civilization and citizenship. Some cities like Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni and Mazar-e-Sharif have more than thousands years of history; also some empires are grown up from this region.

Ancient and middle history of Afghanistan is a brilliant history and was introduced hundreds of thinker, and scientists, however, the modern history on this country is tragic and harmful. Poverty, genocide, illiteracy, violence, insecurity and war are visible in this period. Thousands of people killed in civil war, millions of people were forced to migrate to others countries. Weak state was common property of governments in this country from the independent day.

In twenty century in Afghanistan instability showed itself during regime changes. Kingdom period, Presidential period (Daoud), Communist period, Mujahedin period and Taliban period were all revolutionary changes in this country; which mostly impact people living in Afghanistan.

In twenty first century Afghanistan plays as a global player, since the country produces some elements that have global concern. These elements were Terrorism, Religious Violence and Opium. On the other hand Afghanistan in 21st century became a crisis region for the world that treated region and the world. United State after the collapse of Soviet became the greatest power in the world, therefore, it was inevitable confrontation with Taliban. U.S. attacked Afghanistan in October 2001 after terrorist attack to the World Trade Towers. In Short time Taliban regime in Afghanistan was removed and the new government on democratic values was established.

The new situation introduced new kind of political phenomena to Afghan society, like parliament, constitution law, independence of powers, national army and

national police. on the other hand, this situation led to new geopolitics for this country; democracy, weak state, presence of foreign forces, terrorism, religious violence, increasing poppy production, instability, are together new geopolitical factors in the country.

This dissertation aims to investigate these new geopolitical factors and analyze their impact on Iranian national security. The dissertation has four sections. Section one is “Introduction”, where we describe fundamental concepts such as geopolitics, national security. An introduction to Afghanistan will be covered.

At section two we focus on new geopolitical elements of Afghanistan like, lack of Nation-State in Afghanistan, democracy in new geopolitics of Afghanistan, main anti-democratic movement in the country. The next section emphasizes on American withdrawal from Afghanistan and its impact on Afghanistan stability. In this section on part two we focus on regional and international actor`s interest in American withdrawal from Afghanistan. At the final section we analysis the impact of new geopolitical elements in Afghanistan on Iranian National Security.

Key Question

What are the Impacts of new geopolitics of Afghanistan on Iran`s national security?

Hypotheses:

To answer this question, three hypotheses have been presented:

- 1: It appears that semi stability and anti Talibanism movement led to new opportunities for Iranian national security.
- 2: Elements like increasing poppy production and insurgency in this country led to threats for Iranian national security.

3: presence of U.S. military, as the most important geopolitical element, has dual effect for Iranian national security

Background(s)-(Review of Literature & Bibliography)

For the background of this Subject there is an article which is written by Mr. Mojtaba Sharbati (published in Strategic Defense Studies Quarterly, No 19-2004) as Analyze of Afghanistan's Geopolitical Role in Iranian National Security. The difference between my Dissertation to this article is that the core idea on Sharbati`s article is Afghanistan Geopolitics Before 11/9 while I am focusing on the new geopolitics of Afghanistan after September 11, 2001 and withdrawal Taliban from the power in this country.

Research Objectives / Purposes

The purpose of this dissertation is the analysis of the new geopolitics of Afghanistan and its Impact on Iranian national security.

Methodology

This study will use the descriptive and analytical techniques as research methods. It means, we will mention and describe the new element of geopolitics of Afghanistan; and the analytical technique is used to explain how these elements impact on Iranian national security.

Data Gathering Methods

The data for the present study is gathered using books, journals, and internet materials and statistics annuals (such as reports of countries about their national security element and geopolitical factors). An attempt has been also made to utilize the daily news, interviews of the concerned officials and analysis of Iranian, official

website in both countries. Consequently, as a response to shortage of articles and books in this respect, the internet must be considered as a main source for data gathering.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Part 1: A Theatrical Framework

A: Geopolitics

Introduction:

We live in complicated times with everyday global practices and networks. Economic globalization, global media flows and the Internet seem to make our conventional geopolitical imagination of the world in terms of spatial blocks, territorial presence and fixed identities no longer adequate. The deepening impacts of globalization and the de-territorializing consequences of new information technologies seem to have driven a stake into the heart of geopolitics (Ó Thuathail & Dalby, 1998: 1).

As may be derived from the above quoted explanation of geopolitics, geopolitics is always ideological. More specifically, it is not only a Western term, but it is also associated with particular Western policies and the Western, Westphalia system (Agnew, 2003: 72).

Geopolitics is a way of looking at the world, one that considers the links between political power, geography, and cultural diversity. The analysis of how political decisions are conditioned by geographical settings is the subject matter of geopolitics. In purely spatial terms, geopolitics is the study of boundaries and areas. In conceptual terms, geopolitics comprises the study of international relations and the outcome of power struggles, at local and global scales. It explores events such as the emergence of new states, the fragmentation of countries (e.g. the former Czechoslovakia, and the former Yugoslavia), and regional conflicts affecting

several countries. The most important and long-lasting geopolitical event of the 20th century is the Cold War (from 1945 to the 1990).

What is geopolitics?

What is “Geopolitics”? Briefly, we can say: analysis of the geographic influences on power relationships in international relations. The term “geopolitics” seems at first to come from the late nineteenth century. Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén introduced this word about the turn of the 20th century by geopolitics or geopolitical competition; it means the contention between great powers and aspiring great powers for control over territory, resources, and important geographical positions, such as ports and harbors, canals, river systems, oases, and other sources of wealth and influence. If you look back, you will find that this kind of contestation has been the driving force in world politics and especially world conflict in much of the past few centuries.

Geopolitics is defined as a discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft ‘spatialize’ international politics and represent it as a ‘world’ characterized by particular types of places, peoples and dramas.(Tuathail, 3 July 2002:190)

Geopolitics, as a mode of analysis, was very popular from the late nineteenth century into the early part of the twentieth century. If you studied then what academics now call international relations, you would have been studying geopolitics. In contemporary discourse, *geopolitics* has been widely employed as a loose synonym for international politics.

Classical Geopolitics

Classical geopolitics, taken to mean the statist, Eurocentric, balance-of-power conception of world politics that dominated much of the twentieth century, is closely bound up with the discipline of geography. This is an association of which geography unfortunately cannot be proud. It goes back to the birth of self-consciously geopolitical analysis in the nationalism and imperialism of the fin-de-siècle Europe. From the beginning, geopolitics was intimately connected to the competitive ambitions of European states (Heffernan 2000). Classical geopolitics is famous as “War Centric Theory” And its refuge as anti peaces theory.

Classical geopolitics and German Hegemony

Geopolitics also can be defined as an ideology especially the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a self-conscious set of beliefs on which elites and leaders of the great powers acted. It was the thinking behind the imperialism of that period, the logic for the acquisition of colonies with specific geographical locations. The incidents leading up to the First World War came out of this mode of thinking, such as the 1898 Fashoda incident over the headwaters of the Nile River that gave rise to a near conflict between Third Republic France and late Victorian Britain.

Classical Geopolitical arguments are likely to be raised by governments which perceive themselves as great powers. Similarly, governments which are dissatisfied with the territorial status quo may use these arguments as well.

The characteristics of the German School can be summarized in the following main essential concepts such as:

- “Lebensraum” or “Vital Space” is the geographical environment, where a certain society or human group develops its activities
- “Problem of the frontiers” have to be authentically natural
- “Autarchy” and “Economy of Defenses”, where developments of basic industries is promoted in accordance with the culmination of the State`s industrial Power
- “Panregions”, Which establish Groups of countries and even continents, that can be defined as Pan-America, Pan Russia, Grand Asia and ... (Bello,1968: 30)

Friedrich Ratzel was a German geographer and ethnographer. We can call him as father of classic geopolitics a cause de the term of “*living space*”. His initial insight was that a social group of human beings in many ways functions similarly to an individual, organic organism, namely seeking the necessities for life and sufficient space in which to find or produce them. However, this concept became problematic when focused specifically on the needs of German people, without regard for others or humankind as a whole. This self-centered viewpoint provided justification for the expansion of Germany and the subsequent suffering those in other nations, as well as support for social Darwinist rationalization for imperialist and racist policies generally.

Lebensraum is probably the best Known of all twentieth century German political terms. Until the collapse of 1945, it was also extraordinary successful. From the early 1920, radical conservative assembled popular support by demanding an expansion of Germany`s Lebensruam. The genuine belief of many Nazi leaders in concepts of Lebensraum helped bring about Hitler`s attack on Russia in 1941 and the subsequent “resettlement” program in east Europe (Dietrich,1970: 250).

Lebensraum was therefore successful according to two criteria of efficacy for Political concepts: it helped to aggregate support for its employers, and it was accepted by those employers as a basis for policymaking. That Disastrous consequence followed from its success stemmed from the lack of correspondence between the concept and the social reality that it was supposed to explain.(Smith, 1980: 51)

After 1945, geopolitics was considered to be just another discredited “Nazi science,” one best forgotten. But the Cold War and the emergence of oil-rich Third World nations as independent global actors again brought up the topic of geopolitics, the relationship between human beings and their geography, their government, their history, and the natural world.

Geopolitics in 20 Century

Geopolitics died out as a self-conscious mode of analysis in the Cold War period, partly due to echoes of the universally abhorred Hitlerism ideology of lebensraum, but also because there were a lot of parallels between classical geopolitical thinking (which came out of a conservative wing of academia) and Marxist and Leninist thinking, which clashed with the ideological pretensions of Cold War scholars. So it is not a form of analysis that you see taught, for the most part, in U.S. universities today.

During the Cold War, there was a political geography in the world’s regions. While the U.S. and the Soviet Union engaged in a nuclear standoff, each was actively encouraging and assisting its allies in places as geographically disparate as Central America/Caribbean, Southern Africa, Middle East, South-east Asia, Northeast Asia