

CAPITAL OF CHAOS : THE NEW KABUL OF WARLORDS AND INFIDELS

ANTHONY FONTENOT AND AJMAL MAIWANDI pdf

1: City Edge: Contemporary Discourses on Urbanism - PDF Free Download

Includes bibliographical references (p. []) and index Dreamland / Timothy Mitchell -- Arg-e Jadid: a California oasis in the Iranian Desert / Marina Forti -- Sand, fear, and money in Dubai / Mike Davis -- Capital of chaos: the new Kabul of warlords and infidels / Anthony Fontenot and Ajmal Maiwandi -- Delirious Beijing: euphoria and despair in the olympic metropolis / Anne-Marie.

More than a million Afghans have died in 30 years of war, and almost everyone has lost someone close to them. In every country in Europe majorities in opinion polls are against participation in the Afghan war. Yet the media still present it as a good war. Iraq, they now admit, was a crime or wrong or maybe just a mistake. This article will argue differently. My central points are these: First, there was almost no resistance when the Americans first invaded Afghanistan in and for the three years afterwards. The resistance has been produced by the occupation. Second, that resistance is led by the right wing Taliban because they are the only organised force who have been root and branch opposed to the occupation. It is also because back in the s Communists and feminists supported another invasion, by the Soviet Union. Soviet troops killed between half a million and a million Afghans, and discredited the left and feminists for at least a generation. Third, the resistance is spreading, growing and winning. As a result, the occupying powers are coming under intense pressure to launch a massive air war against villagers and to invade Pakistan. Fourth, there are no easy outcomes for Afghans in this situation, but the best one is a victory for the resistance. The boy on the box would just shout a slogan loudly, and his mates would cheer. Most of the boys who took a turn had only one slogan: Khan is the Pushtu word for the man who is a big landowner and local power. These boys were not calling for the end to an abstract social category. They were calling for the physical killing of the men who held power in their villages, who ruled the lives of their fathers and mothers. Only 30 boys, or a bit fewer, had the courage to stand in that crowd. But around the edges of the street many adult men stood and watched, silently, never looking away, betraying nothing on their faces. There were a couple of policemen watching. More important, the secret police were in every urban crowd, and feared for good reason. There were informers in every village too. If you lived in a village and knew people, a flicker across their faces would tell you when one of the local informers entered the room. No one said anything. If they did, the khan would know. But the silence spoke approval. Those boys were part of a national movement of students and educated people led by the Communists. They had good reasons to want to overthrow the established order. There was a parliament and elections, but more dictatorship than democracy. Real power lay in the hands of the big landowners with mud forts in the countryside and their own armed retainers. The central government largely did their bidding and not the other way round. These khans ruled through fear and force. Central power was weak. Judges ruled for whoever gave the largest bribe. The best of the khans tried to be fair, but many were murderers several times over. Everyone had guns, and it was good to have several brothers. Indeed in a situation where tenure and justice were so fragile, and where power came from force, it paid to demonstrate that force from time to time. And there were always potential challengers to every khan—men who could and would take his power if they could. But by the central government had chosen and backed one leading khan in most valleys of the country, and that gave people some stability. It also meant that the state was a joint enterprise between those men, the king and the army. Afghanistan was a desperately poor country. There were, and are, no reliable statistics. The land was arid, often mountain or desert. Only about 2 percent could be farmed with irrigation. The main exports were hash, raisins and lambskin hats. Roughly 90 percent of people lived in the villages. Below the khans were small landowners, who worked their own land. More than half of villagers did not have enough land or animals of their own and had to make at least some of their income from sharecropping or herding. A sharecropper took between a fifth and a third of the crop, the landlord all the rest. Shepherds made a similar income. Most families made just enough to eat. Twenty afghanis would buy ten nan breads a day—three for the father, three for the mother and two each for two children. That was enough to live, but

CAPITAL OF CHAOS : THE NEW KABUL OF WARLORDS AND INFIDELS

ANTHONY FONTENOT AND AJMAL MAIWANDI pdf

there was no money left over for other food, or anything else. Most poor people and most people were poor lived at a similar level. I did two years of fieldwork as an anthropologist from to , and the people I knew best were poor pastoralists who had lost their flocks and now made yoghurt. Their lives were not unrepresentative. Most of them got two sets of adult clothes in their lives one when they first grew up and one when they married. A bicycle was a sign of moderate wealth. Out of 30 households in the camp, three were wealthy enough to afford to offer me a fried egg in hospitality. And they reminded me of it: Out of 30 households, 29 ate meat once a year. An average household had one teapot and one cup. People talked much of modesty, and the books will tell you that Afghans secluded their women. But in an average village of, say, households usually only three or four families could afford that. The other or houses needed the labour of their women in the fields, with the animals and to fetch water. People also talked much of the feud and Pushtun traditional law. Khans could and did feud, for they could afford to hide behind the walls of a fort and only venture out with bodyguards. The vast majority of men had to work in the fields and could not afford enemies. The books, and the rich, said the lives of Afghans were ruled by honour. I heard the poor people I knew use the word for honour only once and the word for shame every day. The government and the society were rotten, and everyone knew it. The first time I entered Afghanistan I watched a woman and a customs officer bargain at the top of their voices about the level of bribe she would pay him. The doctors and nurses stole the medicines and sold them in the bazaar. I used my status to find a bed for a poor friend in the only TB hospital in Kabul, a public institution. When I visited the other patients, men from every group in the country crowded round his bed and chatted. My friend told me his family had to bribe the nurses to give him the food the government had paid for. I asked if they all had to do this. Everyone hated the government. My poor friends, who were Pushtuns, were proud that the king and the generals were Pushtuns, but they still hated the government. So did the Communists The royal government relied on foreign aid from the US and the Soviet Union to cover two thirds of the budget. The king and the khans did not want economic development that would threaten their power. In any case, the prevailing corruption made it very difficult. This spending created a new class of educated people. This was a small class. There were about 20, university graduates in a population of 15 million in But the old elite had been so small that most of the new educated class came from middle peasant families. They were not the landless poor, but they were often the first child in the family to finish high school. There were two political wings of this new class. The Communists looked to ideas from the Soviet Union. The Islamists looked to the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and not to the more mystical and laid back traditions of Afghan Islam. They saw tradition as the problem, education as the answer, and revolutionary change as a necessity. In the early s the Communists and the Islamists fought each other at Kabul University and in the city high schools. The Communists won because they had far more support, and the Islamist student leaders fled to exile in Pakistan. I did not start with ethnicity, because it has never been as important as class. Social organisation is broadly similar in all ethnic groups, and the key traditional division is between the landowner who took 67 to 80 percent of the crop and the sharecropper who did the work. However, ethnicity, language and geography do matter in the story that follows. Reliable statistics do not exist.

CAPITAL OF CHAOS : THE NEW KABUL OF WARLORDS AND INFIDELS

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2: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade - Pashtuns Forum

Dreamland / Timothy Mitchell -- Arg-e Jadid: a California oasis in the Iranian Desert / Marina Forti -- Sand, fear and money in Dubai / Mike Davis -- Capital of chaos: the new Kabul of warlords and infidels / Anthony Fontenot and Ajmal Maiwandi -- Delirious-Beijing: euphoria and despair in the Olympic metropolis / Anne-Marie Broudehoux -- "Palm Springs": imagineering California in Hong.

Not to be quoted without permission. Urban geography of Kabul: Changing Face of the Central and Western parts of Kabul city. *Antipode*, 34 3 , *Globalizations*, 7 3 , *Linking Relief Rehabilitation and Development in Afghanistan*. Formalising property relations in the developing world: *Land Use Policy*, 26 1 , *The idea of emergency: States of Emergency*, *The politics of Urbanization in Afghanistan*. University of California Berkley. Page 15 of 17 CARE. Delivery of humanitarian shelter in urban areas. Collinson, S; Elhawary, S. A review of trends and issues. *Urban shelter and the limits of humanitarian action*. *Forced Migration Review*, *Anthropology in the Margins of the State* p. School of American Research Press. *Forced Migration Review*, 34, *Non-state armed actors, new imagined communities, and shifting patterns of sovereignty and insecurity in the modern world*. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 30 2 , *Disasters*, 34 s2 , SS *The State of the Humanitarian Enterprise*. *Forced Migration Review*, 34 , Giorgio Agamben and the spatialities of the camp: *Series B, Human Geography*, 88 4 , *Megatrends and the future of humanitarian action*. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 93 , *The new Kabul of Warlords and Infidels*. *Protection challenges for persons of concern in urban settings*. *Violence and humanitarian action in urban areas: International Review of the Red Cross* , 92 , Page 16 of 17 Harvey, D. *The right to the city*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 4 , *A brief history of neoliberalism*. The Feinstein International Center. *The rise of disaster capitalism*. *Between war and peace: Disasters*, 34 4 , *Sanctuary in the city? Urban displacement and vulnerability in Kabul*. *Urban violence and humanitarian action: The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, January *Political Economies of Scale: Economic geography*, 78 3 , *Market rule after the Great Recession*. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2 , *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19 1 , *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*.

CAPITAL OF CHAOS : THE NEW KABUL OF WARLORDS AND INFIDELS

ANTHONY FONTENOT AND AJMAL MAIWANDI pdf

3: Antifascist Calling February

The Resource Evil paradises: dreamworlds of neoliberalism, edited by Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk.

The illegal dismemberment of Serbia, completing the U. This provocative move, outside the framework of international law, threatens any sovereign state with similar treatment should they deviate from the "Washington consensus. Led by dodgy characters and war criminals such as Hashim Thaci and Agim Ceku, "independent" Kosovo is a gangster state governed by thugs with ties to Albanian drug trafficking syndicates and al-Qaeda. On Friday, March 13, a London rally for the jihad was backed by some 50 local Islamist organizations. According to Christopher Deliso, The chief bank account for fundraising was in the London branch of terrorist-linked Habibsons Bank of Pakistan. The Coming Balkan Caliphate, Westport: Praeger Security International, , p. Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed reports that, The reluctance to take decisive action against the leadership of the extremist network in the UK has a long history. American and French security sources corroborate the revelation. Exiled to Lebanon and outside British jurisdiction, he is effectively immune to prosecution. Only between Muslims and unbelievers. And the life of an unbeliever has no value. It has no sanctity. Such reports are not surprising when one considers that for earlier U. And the Bosnian pattern was replicated in Kosovo: Mujahadeen mercenaries from various Islamic countries are reported to be fighting alongside the KLA in Kosovo. German, Turkish and Afghan instructors were reported to be training the KLA in guerrilla and diversion tactics. This was probably Mohammed al-Zawahiri. Wealth, Empire, and the Future of America, Berkeley: University of California Press, , p. According to Balkan specialist Ivo Banac, this "tactical and intelligence support" was furnished to the Croatian Army at the beginning of its offensive. According to a Croatian officer, MPRI advisors "lecture us on tactics and big war operations on the level of brigades, which is why we needed them for Operation Storm when we took the Krajina. Following the invasion of Krajina, the U. Referring to this reorganization in an interview with the newspaper Vecernji List, Croatian General Tihomir Blaskic said, "We are building the foundations of our organization on the traditions of the Croatian home guard" -- pro-Nazi troops in World War II. There is an outstanding Interpol warrant for his arrest according to Michel Chossudovsky. According to Le Monde Diplomatique, "special forces in Berlin provided the operational training and supplied arms and transmission equipment from ex-East German Stasi stocks as well as Black uniforms. Praeger Security International, , pp. Facing imminent defeat, the Kosovo Liberation Army and allied mujahideen fighters appealed to Washington, citing the imminent danger of "ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs. As in Iraq, the 78 day U. Throughout Serbia and Kosovo itself, the U. Two heads, same poisonous snake. At one end lies Afghanistan where poppy is harvested for transshipment through Iran and Turkey; as morphine base it is then refined into "product" for worldwide consumption. From there it passes into the hands of the Albanian syndicates who control the Balkan Route. As the San Francisco Chronicle reported, Until the war intervened, Kosovars were the acknowledged masters of the trade, credited with shoving aside the Turkish gangs that had long dominated narcotics trafficking along the Balkan Route, and effectively directing the ethnic Albanian network. Kosovar bosses "orchestrated the traffic, regulated the rate and set the prices," according to journalist Leonardo Coen, who covers racketeering and organized crime in the Balkans for the Italian daily La Repubblica. The 15 Families also lent their private armies to fight alongside the KLA. Clad in new Swiss uniforms and equipped with modern weaponry, these troops stood out among the ragtag irregulars of the KLA. In all, this was a formidable aid package. Throughout its Balkan operations the CIA made liberal use of these preexisting narcotics networks to arm the KLA and provide them with targets. The rest is history, as they say. Kosovo Today Has anything changed in the intervening years? According to regional experts the outlook for Kosovo is grim. The economy is in shambles, unemployment hovers near 50 percent, a population of young people with "criminality as the sole career choice" populate a society tottering on the brink of collapse where the state is dominated by organized crime. According to former New York Times reporter David Binder , citing a page investigation by the Institute for European

CAPITAL OF CHAOS : THE NEW KABUL OF WARLORDS AND INFIDELS

ANTHONY FONTENOT AND AJMAL MAIWANDI pdf

Policy commissioned by the German Bundeswehr, "It is a Mafia society" based on "capture of the state" by criminal elements. In Kosovo, it says, "There is a need for thorough change of the elite. Embassy burns in Belgrade, all in all, its another "Mission Accomplished" moment for the United States.

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4: SUSTAINABLE DIALOGUES III - LOS ANGELES - PANELISTS

Capital of chaos: the new Kabul of warlords and infidels / Anthony Fontenot and Ajmal Maiwandi Delirious Beijing: euphoria and despair in the olympic metropolis / Anne-Marie Broudehoux "Palm Springs": imagineering California in Hong Kong / Laura Ruggeri.

Ali offers strongly argued opinions on the past, and his preferred future, of Pakistani politics. The Duel is an important book. It is written in an engaging and accessible style. It is as good a primer on Pakistani politics as you will find. A Conflagration of Despair 2. Birth of Tragedy 3. The General Who Lost a Country 5. The Soldier of Islam 6. The General as Chief Executive 7. The House of Bhutto: Daughter of the West 8. On the Flight Path of American Power 9. Can Pakistan Be Recycled? It was banned in Pakistan. Critics of every persuasion, even those who liked the book, thought it was going too far in suggesting that the state could disintegrate, but a few years later that is exactly what happened. Just over a decade later I wrote Can Pakistan Survive? The general himself was extremely angry about its publication, as were sections of the bureaucracy, willing instruments of every despotism. That book too was banned, but to my delight was shamelessly pirated in many editions in Pakistan. When I left in , the country consisted of West and East Pakistan. Eight years later the East defected and became Bangladesh. The population of the Western wing was then 40-45 million. It has grown phenomenally ever since and is now approaching the million mark. The under-thirties constitute a majority. This book centers on the long duel between a U. In earlier years the State Department would provide the seconds for the duel, but with U. Were it to proceed further, as some have been arguing in Washington, there is a distinct possibility that serious cracks would threaten the much-vaunted unity of the Pakistan military high command. The relationship with Washington, always controversial in the country, now threatens the Pakistan army. The most important aspect of the duel is not the highly publicized conflict in Waziristan, but the divide between the majority of the people and their corrupt, uncaring rulers. This duel is often fought without weapons, sometimes in the mind, but it never goes away. An important reason for the deep hostility to the United States has little to do with religion, but is based on the knowledge that Washington has backed every military dictator who has squatted on top of the country. With Pakistan once again a strategic asset, the fear is that Washington will do so again, since it regards the military as the only functioning institution in the country, without showing any signs of comprehension as to why this is the case. This book might help in this regard. What explains my continuing interest in Pakistan? I was born and educated there. I enjoy running into old friends and acquaintances, especially now that most of them have retired from important positions and can speak openly and laugh again. I never feel alone in Pakistan. Something of me stayed behind in the soil and the trees and the people so even in bad times I am welcome. I love the mountains. The cityscapes are something else. They have greatly changed over the years; new unplanned and poorly designed buildings have wrecked most of the larger towns. In Islamabad, the capital, one of the U. He advised that no building higher than three stories should ever be built there. He was ignored by the military dictator of the day. When a massive earthquake hit the country in , buildings trembled all over Islamabad. I was there during the aftershocks, which were bad enough. It was not only the earthquake that hurt Pakistan. This latest tragedy brought other wounds to the surface. A deeper and darker malaise, barely noticed by the elite and taken for granted by most citizens, had infected the country and was now publicly visible. The earthquake that killed tens of thousands of people shone a light on a country tainted by corrupted bureaucrats, army officers, and politicians, by governments rotten to the core, by protected mafias, and by the bloated profits of the heroin industry and the arms trade. Add to this the brutal hypocrisy of the Islamist parties, which exploit the state religion, and the picture is complete. Many ordinary people on the street, unsurprised by tales of privilege and graft, viewed the disaster in this context. They voted unanimously against any politician, army officer, or civilian bureaucrat. They wanted a doctor. None of this, of course, explains the urge to keep writing about a country. The reason is simple. However much I despise

the callousness, corruption, and narcissism of a degenerate ruling elite, I have never allowed that to define my attitude toward the country. I have always harbored a deep respect and affection for the common people, whose instincts and intelligence, despite high levels of illiteracy, consistently display a much sounder appreciation of what the country requires than those who have lorded it over them since Any independent-minded Pakistani journalist or writer will confirm this view. The people cannot be blamed for the tragedies that have afflicted their country. They are not to blame for the spirit of hopelessness and inescapable bondage that sometimes overcomes them. Given the chance, they vote in large majorities for those who promise social change and reforms and against those in power. They are always disappointed. His persistence paid off. His instincts were better than mine. It was, as readers will discover, sharply critical. Two weeks after I delivered it, as I was working on this manuscript, Bhutto was assassinated. Sentiment dictated I soften the prose, but despite my sadness and anger at her death, I resisted. We owe it to the people to speak our minds. The death of Benazir, whom I knew well over many years, was undoubtedly tragic. But not sufficient reason to change my assessment. That she handed over her party to her husband till her son came of age was a sad reflection on the state of democratic politics in Pakistan and confirmed my judgment. The country needs a break from uniforms and dynasties. My thanks are due to numerous people in Pakistan from all walks of life, from peasants and trade unionists to generals, civil servants, and old friends, who spoke without inhibition during my trips over the last few years. Naming them would not necessarily be construed as friendly. Thanks also, as always, to Susan Watkins, my companion for almost three decades, a friendly but firm editor of the *New Left Review*, as many contributors myself included have discovered. THE LAST three decades, in particular, had witnessed a shallow and fading state gradually being reduced to the level of a stagnant and treacherous swamp. Business, official and unofficial, flourished at various points, but without the aid of education, technology, or science. A tiny number of people acquired gigantic fortunes, and the opening of a Porsche showroom in Islamabad in was greeted with loud hurrahs and celebrated as one indicator among others of a country that had, at long last, achieved modernity. What was forgotten were the latest malnutrition statistics that revealed a startling fact: According to the latest United Nations Population Fund figures, 60 percent of children under five were moderately or severely stunted. Few among the rich cared about the underprivileged. The needs of ordinary people, their tattered lives, the retreat to religion, a thriving black market, armed clashes between different Muslim factions, war on the western frontier, and assassination of political leaders—none of this affected the rich too much. The thunder of money drowned out all other noises. Most of the mainstream political parties, like their Western cousins, no longer subscribed to programs rooted in ideology, but instead became dependent on cronyism, clientelism, and soulless followers. The organizational goal has become strictly personal: Notables in each party are hostile to every genuine talent. Political positions as well as parliamentary seats are rarely determined on merit. A pure character or a sharp intellect is virtually a disqualification. It becomes necessary for someone else—artist, poet, filmmaker, or writer—to become the mirror. The sixtieth anniversary year of Pakistan, , when power appeared to be draining away from the dictator, seemed a good moment to observe the country firsthand. The cities of the plain are best avoided in August, when the rains come and transform them into a huge steam bath. When I lived there, we usually fled to the mountains, where the Himalayan breezes keep the atmosphere permanently refreshed. In I stayed put. The monsoon season can be hazardous but needs to be experienced once in a while, simply to access the old memory bank. The real killer is a debilitating humidity. Relief arrives in short bursts: Rivers and tributaries quickly overflow. Flash floods make cities impassable.

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8: Antifascist Calling U.S. Militarism & the Drug Trade: the Afghan Dossier

The title exposes the face of conspicuous consumption gone mad, exploring new developments that are being constructed from extreme global wealth, including a gilded archipelago of private islands in Dubai, fortified palaces for drug lords in Medellin and Kabul, and a two million acre private national park owned by Ted Turner.

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