

Index

- Abbas, Maulavi Abul, 71
Abdullah, Crown Prince, 130
Abdullah Abdullah, 69, 111, 169,
172, 178–179, 190
Abkhor massacre, 229
Abramowitz, Morton, 22
Abu Bara al Yemeni, 207
Abu Jandal (Nasir Abdallah al-Bahri),
86*n*, 98*n*, 143, 143*n*, 209
Abu Jindal training camp, 144
academic recommendations on U.S.
policy, 173
Achakzai, Mansur, 66
Afghan civil war
impact of aid cuts on, 57–60
regional players in, 51–52, 59,
71–73, 83, 103, 116
start of, 49
Afghan Communist Party, 24
Afghan culture
destruction of, 235–236
role of war in, 58, 102, 182
Afghan government-in-exile, 27
Afghan interim government, 26–27,
34, 52–53, 58
composition of, 27–28
fatal blow to, 33–34
formation of, 12
fragmentation of power during, 61
Jalalabad siege, 28–29
security vacuum during, 62–64
shura (council), 27, 31
Taliban threat to, 69–71
U.S. policy on, 37
Afghanistan Justice Project, 222
Afghan nationalism, 50, 94
Afghan National Liberation Front,
21*n*
Afghan resistance. *See also*
mujahideen
disunity of, 12–17
military aid to, U.S. terms on, 24
U.S. aid to, 19–21
U.S. ambassador to, 30–31
U.S. special envoy to, 26–30
U.S. support for, 6, 31
Afghan self-determination
lack of, 12, 23, 25, 50
Tomsen's support for, 37, 50, 54
Afghan Trade Development, 65
Afshar campaign, 53, 53*n*
Ahmad, Mufti Rashid, 238*n*
Ahmed, Mahmoud, 185, 198–200
Aidi, Farah, 96*n*
aid programs. *See* humanitarian aid
Air India plane, hijacking of, 192,
242
Akhund, Abdul Jalil, 152, 159, 200
Akhund, Mohammad Hassan,
191*n*, 237
Akhund, Obaidullah, 188
Akram Zaki, Muhamed, 105*n*
Aktar, Saifullah, 185
al Badr complex, 83, 128, 144
al Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmed,
84, 88
Albright, Madeleine, 5, 50, 108
as advocate of women's rights,
119, 119*n*, 125
al Shifa plant attack, 144
declaration of war against bin
Laden, 143, 161
disconnect between Inderfurth
and, 162–163
lack of focus on Asia, 165
on Massoud, 221
Mazar massacre, 149
reflections on policy decisions,
259–260, 260*n*
Russian bombing threat, 200
sanctions against Taliban, 161*n*
six-plus-two forum, 123*n*
Taliban war crimes, 229
Fadl, Jamal al, 11, 88
al-Farouk camp, 10, 209, 248
al-Gamaa al-Islamiyya, 86, 122*n*
Ali, Abdul, 225
Ali, Said, 227
al-Jihad (magazine), 14
al Ma-asada (the Lion's Den), 15

- al Makki, Jihad Mohammad Ali, 133
- Alony, Taysir, 239
- al Qaeda. *See also* bin Laden, Osama
 committees, 11, 110
 communications systems, 211
 decentralized power structure,
 212
 failed attacks by, 191, 196, 206,
 211–212
 formation of, 11
 frontline troop numbers, 205
 funding, 133*n*, 205, 211
 Iran as conduit for, 199, 205*n*,
 205–206
 listed as terrorist organization,
 176, 187
 in Sudan, 16, 84–86
 training camps, 16, 83, 91, 144,
 200–202, 205, 208–209, 243*n*,
 243–244, 248
 U.S. plans for destruction of,
 245–246
 U.S. underestimation of, 88, 255
- al Qaeda operatives
 appearance of, 11, 209
 recruitment, 206–209, 243–244,
 250, 257
 training of, 208–209, 209*n*, 248
 travel arrangements for, 208,
 248
- Al Quds al Arabi*, 122
- al Shehhi, Marwan, 208–209
- al Shifa pharmaceutical plant,
 143–148, 167, 167*n*
- Alwaer, Rachid Bourawi, 252–253
- Amin, Hafizullah, 41
- Amin, Haron, 169
- Amin, Rasul, 233, 233*n*
- Amnesty International (AI), 149*n*
- Anderson, Frank, 12
- Andropov, Yuri, 21–22
- Annan, Kofi, 109, 115, 150, 153, 191,
 229, 232
- anti-American demonstrations,
 144–145
- Arab fighters
 bin Laden's recruitment of,
 134–135
 joining Taliban, 98, 120–121,
 121*n*, 127, 132–133, 186,
 189–191, 203, 205*n*, 205–206,
 215–219, 241–244
- Arab-Israeli conflict, bin Laden's
 views on, 15, 129
- Arabization, 121, 233–253, 257,
 262
- Arab lunar calendar, 233
- Arab migration to Afghanistan,
 234–235, 242
- Arafat, Yasir, 215
- Ariana (airline), 89, 187
- Arif, Mohamed, 247
- Armacost, Michael, 23
- Army of Liberation of the Islamic
 Holy Lands, 134
- Arnett, Peter, 82, 97
- Asiaweek*, 155
- Atef, Muhammed (Abu Hafis), 110,
 207–208, 250
- Atta, Muhammad, 208–209, 248
- Atwan, Adelbari, 96
- Atwood, Brian, 55, 57
- Atyani, Baker, 250–251
- Ayub, Arif, 202
- Ayub Khan, Gohar, 105, 105*n*, 108,
 124, 184, 187
- Azar, Masood, 243
- Azerbaijan, 85
- Azhar, Maulana Muhammad
 Masood, 192, 242
- Aziz, Sartaj, 184, 184*n*
- Aziz, Sultan, 108*n*
- Azzam, Abdullah, 11, 14, 83
- Babar, Naseerullah, 65, 94, 150
 link with Malik, 108*n*
 on Taliban, 67, 67*n*, 95
- Badakhshan, 221, 252
- Badawi, Jamal al, 213
- Baghlan province, 215
- Bagram Air Base, 94, 103, 107,
 179–180
- Bahri, Nasir Abdallah al- (Abu
 Jandal), 86*n*, 98*n*, 143, 143*n*,
 209
- Baker, James, 19, 33, 37, 55, 257

- Balkans, U.S. policy on, 5, 119
- Bamiyan
 Buddha statues in, 150, 238–241, 246
 massacres in, 224, 226–229
 Taliban capture of, 159, 177, 180, 182, 189
- Bangi, 217
- Banshiri, Abu Ubaidah al, 11, 110
- Bara, Abu, 211
- Bashar, Haji, 63
- Basra, Riaz, 185
- bayat* (loyalty oath), 10–11, 134, 209–210, 248
- BBC, 154
- Bearak, Barry, 180
- Bearden, Milton, 10, 12, 26
- beards, 77, 131, 138
- Beg, Aslam, 48–49
- Beit ul-Ansar (House of the Supporters), 14
- Benjamin, Dan, 88
- Bergen, Peter, 82, 192
- Berger, Sandy, 88, 146*n*, 167*n*, 184, 186, 213, 244
- Berlin Wall, fall of, 10, 64
- Betts, Richard, 255*n*
- Bhutto, Benazir, 26, 28, 62, 65, 83, 95
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 20
- Bibi Mariam School, 119*n*
- Binalshibh, Ramzi, 208–209, 248
- bin Attash, Tawfiq (Khallad), 207, 210–211, 213–214
- bin Laden, Osama. *See also* al Qaeda
 assassination of Massoud, 252–253
 combat experience, 15, 35, 101, 110
 declarations of jihad, 91, 97, 122, 157, 212
 departure from Saudi Arabia, 36
 deportation from Sudan, 86–87
 destruction of Afghan culture by, 236–237, 241
 disavowal of USS *Cole* attack, 212
 fatwas, 85, 91, 97, 121–122, 129–130, 148, 148*n*
 financing of Mazar assault by, 133
 fortune, 92, 133*n*, 205
 goal of installing Muslim governments, 11, 16
 as guest of Afghanistan, 124, 146, 148, 159–160, 249
 impact of, 16
 manipulation of Omar by, 239, 242–244
 media campaign, 15–16, 90–91, 96, 98*n*, 129, 153, 157–158, 204, 206, 250–251
 meeting with Atyani, 250–251
 military preparations, 85–86, 122, 128
 opinion of Taliban military style, 188–189
 personality changes, 35
 political aims, 15, 121–122, 128–129
 political leadership, 3, 84–85
 relations with Omar, 129, 152–153, 159–161, 204
 relations with Taliban, 93, 96, 110, 120–121, 130, 159
 reports of illness, 157
 resources, 14–15, 86
 response to Mazar executions, 109–114
 return to Afghanistan under Taliban, 79, 87, 89–93
 role in Afghan jihad, 9–10, 13–17, 35–37, 93, 159
 role in Taloqan offensive, 218
 in Saudi Arabia, 35
 Saudi assassination attempt, 86, 86*n*
 side switching by, 259
 in Sudan, 16, 84–86
 Taliban attempts to control, 251–252
 Taliban gag order on, 129, 157–158, 204
 Taliban used as cover by, 130, 159–193, 204–210, 255
 temporary disappearance of, 160
 U.S. indictment for bombings, 153

- bin Laden, Osama (*cont.*)
 U.S. missile attacks on, 143–148,
 159, 160*n*, 185, 187
 U.S. plans to capture, 90*n*, 128,
 161, 170, 184
 views on Arab-Israeli conflict,
 15, 129
 views on Bosnia-Herzegovina,
 85, 198*n*
 9/11 warnings, 250–251, 251*n*
 warnings about Iraqi invasion of
 Kuwait, 35
- Black, Cofer, 245
- “Black Hawk Down” incident, 96,
 96*n*
- books, burning of, 234
- Borjan, Mullah, 66, 70, 92
- Bosnia-Herzegovina
 bin Laden’s view on, 85, 198*n*
 ethnic cleansing in, 81, 134, 198,
 257
 power vacuum in, 81
 U.S. intervention in, 5–6, 166, 168
- Brader, Mullah, 228
- Bradsher, Henry, 29
- Brahimi, Lakhdar, 115
 background, 115*n*
 conflict with bin Laden, 122
 diplomatic efforts, 176, 178,
 186–187
 human rights abuses investigated
 by, 117, 120, 127, 149–150,
 153–154
 six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*
- Bremer, Paul, 255
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 21
- Bridas, 187
- Brigade 055, 205
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 25
- Bucherer-Dietschi, Paul, 236–237,
 240
- Buddha statues
 in Bamian, 150, 238–241, 246
 in Kabul Museum, 235, 237
- Bureau of Intelligence and Research
 (INR), 22, 161
- Burke, Jason, 182
- Burleigh, Peter, 149*n*
- Burns, John, 28, 262
- Burns, Nicholas, 78
- burqa, 76, 105, 131
- Bush, George H. W.
 policy on Afghanistan, 19, 33,
 37, 48, 55
 response to Kuwait invasion, 5
- Bush, George W.
 decision to invade Iraq, 4
 foreign policy failure, 3–4, 6,
 244–249, 260–261
 lack of accountability, 4–5
 on USS *Cole* attack, 212
 9/11 warnings, 249–253
buzkashi, 124
- calendar, Arab, 233
- Carney, Timothy, 87
- Carpenter, Margaret, 55–56, 58*n*
- Carter, Jimmy, 19–20, 25
- Casey, William, 20
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 al Shifa plant attack, 144
 animosity between FBI and, 88,
 88*n*
 assessment of Taliban, 92, 133,
 164
 attempts to locate bin Laden,
 146*n*, 153, 167, 196
 bin Laden’s return to Afghanistan
 and, 87, 91
 “Blue Sky” memo, 245
 covert operations, 20–21,
 245–246
 failure to provide warning, 3,
 133, 251
 involvement in coup attempt,
 31–32
 ISI cooperation with, 19
 Malaysian surveillance operation,
 211
 mujahideen contempt for, 29
 plans to capture bin Laden, 90*n*,
 128, 161, 170, 184
 quality of intelligence gathered
 by, 167
 relief assistance used by, 55
 reports on bin Laden illness, 157

- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
(cont.)
 response to Soviet withdrawal, 10
 Sudan station, 87
 support for Afghan resistance, 19, 31
 support for Massoud, 32, 170, 245–246
 support for Najibullah regime, 12
 USS *Cole* attack, 213–214
 9/11 warnings, 249, 251
- Charikar, 103, 107, 179, 190
- Chechen units, in Afghanistan, 242, 242*n*
- Chechyna, 85, 134, 168*n*, 192–193, 199, 257
- Chernenko, Konstantin, 22
- Chernyshev, Albert, 74
- child mortality, in refugee camps, 230–231
- China
 counterterrorism measures, 203
 in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*
- Chirac, Jacques, 246
- Christopher, Warren, 55, 77, 97–100
- civilian displacement. *See* displaced civilians; refugees
- civilian property, destruction of, 182, 223
- civilian targets
 of Taliban, 181
 of terrorism, 122
- Clark, Kate, 201*n*, 235, 238
- Clarke, Richard
 counterterrorism team, 165–166, 167*n*, 214
 on opium trade, 221*n*
 support for Massoud, 172
 warnings about bin Laden, 244–245
- Clemenceau, Georges, 256
- Clinton, Bill
 animosity between FBI and, 88
 bin Laden's return to Afghanistan and, 87–88
 counterterrorism policy, 5, 165–166, 256, 258
- domestic political pressure on, 163, 195
- Feminist Majority and, 174–176
- foreign policy, 3, 125–126, 150, 166, 195
- foreign proxies for United States, 198–202, 204, 258
- human rights focus, 6, 125, 149
- Lewinsky scandal, 143, 152, 155, 162, 167, 174, 195
- Massoud and, 167–170
- missile attacks on bin Laden, 143–148, 159, 160*n*, 185, 187
- Pakistan visit, 198
- plans to capture bin Laden, 90*n*, 128, 161, 170, 184
- policy on Afghanistan, 6, 49, 55, 81, 87–88, 98–99, 113–114, 256
- policy on Pakistan, 48
- policy on Taliban, 71, 77–78, 84, 151–152, 159–160
- reflections on policy decisions, 259–260
- reluctance to use force, 196–198, 205
- response to bin Laden, 195–204, 244, 256
- Richardson's negotiations supported by, 123–128
- Russian bombing campaign and, 199–200
- UN speech, 151–152
- USS *Cole* attack and, 212–214, 244, 261
- clothing, rules on, 77, 131
- Cohen, William, 214
- Coldren, Lee, 77–78, 92, 99
- Cold War, end of, 10, 13, 17, 37, 81, 256
- Coll, Steve, 221*n*
- Colonel Imam (Amir Sultan Tarar), 46, 64–75
- on Babar, 95–96
- background, 64
- bin Laden and, 100–102, 184
- on destruction of antiquities, 239
- Herat siege, 72

- bin Laden and, (*cont.*)
 links with United States, 64
 on Mazar executions, 109
 view of Taliban, 101–102
- Colville, Rupert, 149*n*, 150, 155, 157*n*
- communications systems
 al Qaeda, 211
 Massoud, 42, 44, 171
 Taliban confiscation of, 136, 136*n*
- Congress, support for missile attacks
 on bin Laden, 145
- Cooper, Anthony, 155
- Cordovez, Diego, 21–22, 25, 50
- Council of Resolution and Settlement, 53
- counterterrorism policy
 after bin Laden's return to
 Afghanistan, 92
 China, 203
 Clinton administration, 5,
 165–166, 256, 258
 versus foreign policy, 7, 256
 successful, elements of, 256–258
- counterterrorist operations,
 165–166, 196, 205, 214
- covert actions, against al Qaeda,
 20–21, 245–246
- Cressey, Roger, 172
- Croatia, 81
- Cross-Border Aid program, 55–57
- Crowley, P. J., 162, 174
- curriculum, Taliban changes in,
 233–234
- Czechoslovakia, 10
- Dadullah, Mullah, 228
- Dahmane, Abdelsattar, 252–253
- Daoud, Mohammad, 41
- Darra Souf, 181–182, 216
- Darul Aman Palace, 235
- Dasht-i-Leili, 140, 224
- Dasht-i-Qala, 168
- Davies, Glyn, 77
- Davis, Anthony
 Afghan civil war, 241
 al Qaeda training camps, 243*n*
 Arab migration to Afghanistan,
 235*n*
- foreign fighters in Afghanistan,
 242*n*
- Massoud, 40, 76, 168, 222
- Mazar assault, 132*n*, 132–133,
 155
- Pakistan's role, 94, 127, 132*n*
 on Raphel, 51*n*
 on Rasool, 103
- Taloqan offensive, 217
- on Tanai, 108*n*
- United Front, 132
- U.S. policy, 71
- dead
 mutilation and desecration of,
 225–226
 Sufi tradition honoring, banning
 of, 234
- de Borchgrave, Arnaud, 249, 250*n*,
 252
- Declaration of Jihad on the Ameri-
 cans Occupying the Country
 of the Two Sacred Places, 91
- Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA),
 213
- Deobandi School, 233
- Destroying the Destroyer Cole* (video),
 215, 250
- diplomatic operation, construction
 of, 258
- displaced civilians. *See also* refugees
 Arab settlement and, 234–235
 from Bamiyan, 180
 drought and, 243
 humanitarian disaster created by,
 229–232
 during Soviet invasions, 44
 Taliban abuse of, 84, 103,
 223–229
- Dostum, Abdul Rashid
 alliance with Massoud, 94, 132,
 247
 animosity between Malik and,
 103, 116
 background, 59
 coup attempt, 59–60
 escape from Mazar, 104, 104*n*
 Hekmatyar's attacks on, 52
 Maimana assault, 131–132

- Dostum, Abdul Rashid (*cont.*)
 mass graves uncovered by,
 116–118
 militia, 34, 49, 93
 political ambitions, 58
 provincial control by, 61
 return from Turkey, 116, 247–248
 side switching by, 53, 58
 Taliban and, 71–73, 94
 talks with Richardson, 124
- Downey, Wayne, 255*n*
 drought, 232, 239, 243, 246
 drugs trade. *See* opium trade
- Dupree, Nancy Hatch, 235–236,
 239–241
- Durand line, 20, 40
- Durrani, Asad, 32
- East Africa bombings, 133–135
 bin Laden's statement on, 157
 failure of U.S. policy after, 5–6,
 146–147, 162, 255, 259
 news coverage of, 154
 participants in, 16, 133–135
 preparations for, 85, 110, 110*n*,
 122
- Eastham, Alan, 153, 157–158,
 171–172
- education system, under Taliban,
 76–77, 105, 233–234
- Egypt, 85–87
- Ehsanullah, Maulvi, 97
- elections, free, goal of, 37, 50–51,
 111
- émigrés, abandonment of, 56
- empire collapse, power vacuum
 created by, 81, 81*n*, 256
- Encyclopedia of the Afghan Jihad*, 16
- Engineer Mahmoud, 89–90
- English, Otilie, 247
- English, Phil, 247
- Eritrea, 85
- Erwa, Elfatih, 87
- Eshaq, Mohamed, 42
- ethnic cleansing, 53–54, 224–229
 in Bosnia, 81, 134, 198, 257
 Mazar massacre as, 138–140,
 156–157
- Europe. *See also specific country*
 humanitarian aid from, 246
 Massoud's visit to, 246–247
- executive branch, systemic failure
 involving, 6
- Executive Council of the North,
 106
- Fahd, King, 20, 87
- Faizabad, 127
- Fatah Mohammad, 63
- fatwas
 anti-American, 85, 91, 97,
 121–122, 129–130
 Omar's view on, 122, 249
 requiring Muslims to protect bin
 Laden, 148, 148*n*
 on Shia killings, 139*n*
ulema endorsement of, 122,
 125–126, 129
- Fayez, Sharif, 181*n*
- Fazil, Mullah, 227
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 animosity between CIA and, 88,
 88*n*
 counterterrorist operations, 196,
 205
 dysfunction, 3
 inattention to terrorism, 88, 251
 9/11 warnings, 249
- Feminist Majority, 174–176, 176*n*,
 187
- Filkins, Dexter, 155
- Finn, Robert, 169*n*
- Fisk, Robert, 90, 97
- Fontaine, Nicole, 246
- foreigners
 new settlements of, 234–235
 rules regarding, 131, 136,
 229–230
- foreign policy
 Bush administration, 3–4, 6,
 244–249, 260–261
 Clinton administration, 3,
 125–126, 150, 166, 195
 versus counterterrorism policy,
 7, 256
 default approach to, 5

- foreign policy (*cont.*)
 strategic failure of, 3, 7, 260–261
 successful
 elements of, 5, 257–261
 examples of, 5
 foreign proxies, for U.S. aims in
 Afghanistan, 198–202, 204,
 258
 Franks, Tommy, 214
 Freeh, Louis, 88
 Frey, Christian, 240
 Friendship Bridge, 9, 34, 47
 Fuladi massacre, 226, 228
 Furth, Leon, 164*n*, 165
- Gailani, Pir Sayed, 21*n*
 Gall, Sandy, 31, 52, 54
 Gannon, Kathy, 53, 109, 156, 156*n*
 gas pipelines, 74, 113, 174, 187
 gender apartheid. *See* women's
 rights
 genocide. *See* ethnic cleansing
 Gereshk siege, 72–73
 Germany
 al Qaeda volunteers from,
 208–209
 reunification of, 10
 scheme to rescue museum collec-
 tions, 237
 Ghafoorzai, Abdul Rahim, 89, 111
 Ghaus, Muhammad, 67*n*, 99–100,
 106–108
 Ghazi, Habibullah (Bacha-i-Saqao),
 69
 Gingrich, Newt, 145
 Glassman, Jon, 12
 Glenn, John, 163
 Goodwin, Philip, 106*n*
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 9–10, 19, 22,
 24, 33
 Gore, Al, 163, 167*n*, 212
 Gosfandi massacres, 215, 224
 Gouttierre, Thomas, 56
 “Great Game,” 40
 Gromov, Boris, 9, 33
 Gromov, Maksim, 9
 guesthouses, 16, 89
 Guevara, Che, 39
- Gul, Colonel, 66
 Gul, Hamid, 28, 32, 48, 75, 108
 Gul, Major, 68*n*
 Gul Agha Shirzai, 61
 Gulbahar, 107
 Gulbudin, 226
- Hadda Farms, 89
 hadith, 35, 257
 Hadley, Steve, 245–246
 Haidar, Gul, 190
 Haider, Moinuddin, 202
 Hairatan, 143
 Hamza, Mir, 122*n*
 Hani, Abu, 252
 Hanjour, Hani, 209–210, 248
 Hanson, Brad, 100
 Haq, Abdul, 21*n*, 28–29, 32, 173,
 186
 Haqq, Fazl al, 90
 Haqqani, Jalaluddin, 16, 33, 83,
 110–111
 Haqqani, Maulana Abdul Baqi,
 237–238
 Haqqani, Syedur Rahman, 142*n*,
 147, 157
 Harakat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), 83
 Haram al Sharif (Jerusalem), 128
 Harikat-i-Inqilab-i-Islami (Islamic
 Revolutionary Movement),
 21*n*
 Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA), 183*n*
 Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM),
 182, 183*n*
 Harrakat al-Jihad, 122*n*
 Hatch, Orrin, 145
 Haz, Abdul, 172, 201
 Hazarajat, 124, 125*n*, 177–178
 Hazaras, 94, 112, 116, 177. *See also*
 Hezbi Wahbat
 massacre of, 53, 135–143, 147,
 150, 156, 222, 224–227
 Hazmi, Nawaf al, 207–208, 211
 Hazrat Ali mosque, 105, 135, 138
 Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin, 16, 257
 alliance with Rabbani and Mas-
 soud, 73
 cease-fire terms, 25

- Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin (*cont.*)
 conflict with Taliban, 63, 68–69
 coup attempt, 60
 Kabul siege, 73
 Khost capture, 33
 Pakistani support for, 21, 31, 33, 42, 46–49, 52–53, 65, 72, 75
 political aims of, 52
 as prime minister, 74–75
 rivalry with Massoud, 29, 36–37, 41–42, 46, 49, 52, 54, 56, 68–69
 role in interim government, 27, 34, 58
 Smyth on, 50
 supply routes blocked by, 43–45
 training camps, 82–83
 U.S. disengagement and, 31, 51–52
- Helal, Qutbuddin, 58
 Helms, Jesse, 55, 145
 Hemat, Toryali, 36
 Herat, 65, 72–73, 101, 231
 Hezbi Islami (Islamic Party), 21, 42, 222
 Hezbi Wahbat, 94, 107, 107*n*, 124, 132, 135, 150, 177, 181, 222
 Hidal, Abu, 213
 High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 120, 223
 High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 225, 231
 Holbrooke, Richard, 5, 127
 Holl, Norbert, 96*n*, 105*n*, 108*n*, 115, 115*n*
 Holzman, John, 96*n*, 99, 108*n*
 Horner, Sarah, 155
 Hoshar, Khadr Abu, 191
 Hossain, Kamal, 177, 180, 216*n*, 228, 232
 Hotak, Abdurrahim, 235, 237, 241
 humanitarian aid, 54–55, 58*n*, 71
 cutting of, 55–60, 261
 from Europe, 246
 during Kabul siege, 73
 to refugees, 230, 230*n*, 231–232
 Taliban restrictions on, 229
 humanitarian disaster, 57–60, 229–232
 UN response to, 229–232
 U.S. disregard for, 232
 human rights abuses, 221–232. *See also* women's rights
 Clinton's focus on, 6, 125, 149
 during Kabul bombardment, 53–54, 58
 Massoud, 222–223
 Taliban, 76–78, 102–109, 112, 118, 181, 186–187, 215, 223–229
 news focus on, 131
 UN investigations of, 117–119, 119*n*, 127, 149, 153–154, 180
 U.S. disregard of, 153
 UN investigations, 117–119, 119*n*, 127, 149, 216*n*, 223
 UN list of, 224
 UN seat for Afghanistan and, 125
 Human Rights Watch, 53, 53*n*
 Mazar massacre, 139–140, 149*n*, 156
 Pakistani aid to Taliban, 189–191, 203, 203*n*, 218*n*
- Humphrey, Gordon, 64
 Hungary, 10
 Hussain, Mushahid, 105*n*, 143, 184
 Hussain, Sayyed Miraz, 240
 Hussein, Saddam, 4–5, 35, 91, 167
- identification cards, alteration of, 208
 Ikle, Fred, 255*n*
 immigration policy, al Qaeda operatives and, 207
 Inderfurth, Karl (Rick), 113, 125–126
 communications with Taliban, 146, 159
 congressional testimony, 147, 173
 disconnect between Albright and, 162–163
 goals in Afghanistan, 170
 lack of attention to, 165
 meeting with Massoud, 179
 meeting with Musharraf, 186, 197–198
 meeting with Muttaqi, 178

- Inderfurth, Karl (Rick) (*cont.*)
 news media, 262
 sanctions, 161
 Taliban control, 216–217
 Taloqan offensive, 218*n*
 USS *Cole* attack, 213
- India
 conflict with Pakistan, 183
 nuclear weapons testing, 126,
 163, 165, 182
 role in Afghan civil war, 71
 infrastructure, terrorist, 82–83
 intelligence agencies. *See also specific
 agency*
 incompetence of, 92, 167
 lack of preparedness, 3
 intelligence gathering
 by Massoud, 44–45, 47, 59, 213
 U.S. emphasis on, 88, 258
- Interim Islamic Afghan Govern-
 ment. *See* Afghan interim
 government
- internally displaced persons (IDPs).
See displaced civilians; refugees
- International Committee of the Red
 Cross (ICRC), 116, 136
- International Criminal Tribunal for
 the Former Yugoslavia
 (ITFY), 119
- International Islamic Front for Jihad
 against the Jews and the Cru-
 saders, 122, 122*n*
- International Refugee Convention,
 231
- Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)
 Afghan government-in-exile
 organized by, 27
 aim in Afghanistan, 41
 CIA cooperation with, 19
 opposition to Daoud regime, 41
 role after Soviet withdrawal, 23
 role in Mazar siege, 108*n*
 support for Hekmatyar, 21, 31,
 33, 42, 46–48
 training camps, 83, 189
 U.S. policy reappraisal on, 31
- Iran, 91
 Afghan refugees to, 229
 denunciation of Taliban takeover
 by, 94
 expulsion of Afghan refugees by,
 231
 Pakistani alliance with, 197, 199
 as proxy for U.S. aims in
 Afghanistan, 199–202, 258
 reopening of Afghan border with,
 199, 205*n*, 205–206
 role in Afghan civil war, 59, 71,
 73, 103
 in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*,
 199
 support for Massoud, 168, 168*n*,
 171, 178
 support for Mazar executions, 109
 tension between Taliban and,
 137, 137*n*, 142, 145, 147–148
- Iranian consulate executions, 136,
 142, 145, 147, 199
- Iraq
 invasion of Kuwait by, 5, 35, 85,
 91
 U.S. invasion of, 4, 7
- Ishkamish, 127, 217
- Islamabad agreement, 58
- Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan,
 112, 176, 236
- Islamic Jihad, 86, 122*n*
- Islamic law. *See* sharia
- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
 (IMU), 190, 241
- Israeli conflict, bin Laden's views on,
 15, 129
- Istalif, 74, 103
- Ittihad-i-Islami (Islamic Unity),
 21*n*, 89, 222
- Jaji, 15
- Jalalabad
 bin Laden's return to, 89, 160
 refugee camp in, 58, 180
 siege of, 28–29, 35, 48
- Jalali, Ali, 181
- Jalil, Abdul, 236
- Jalil, Mullah, 157
- Jalozaï refugee camp, 231
- Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islami (JUI), 83

- Jamal, Qudratullah, 193, 236–237, 240
- Jamal, Sayed, 29
- Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Association), 21, 41–42, 45, 63, 67
- Jamshid, 111
- Jan, Ahmad, 113
- Jarrah, Ziad, 208–209
- Jebel Seraj, 94, 103, 107
- Jehangir, Asma, 149
- Jemaah Islamiya, 211
- Jennings, John, 53
- jihad
 after Soviet withdrawal, 9–10
 bin Laden's declarations of, 91, 97, 122, 157, 212
ulema declaration of, 129
- Johnston, Alan, 117
- Johnston, Tim, 117
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, 164–165
- Jordan, 85
 failed attack in, 191, 196, 206, 211–212
- Jumbesh alliance, 103, 105*n*, 150, 224
- Kabul
 destruction of, 49, 52–54, 58, 65
 foreigners in
 new settlements of, 234, 242
 rules regarding, 131
 foreign reporters in, 120–121
 Hazara massacres in, 222
 libraries destroyed in, 234
 roadblocks around, 64
 Taliban sieges of, 70, 73–79, 92–93
- Kabul Airport, 127, 224
- Kabul embassy, closure of, 19
- Kabul National Museum, 235–237
 destruction of antiquities in, 238, 240
 scheme to rescue antiquities from, 236–237
- Kabul Polytechnic, 121
- Kabul Radio (Voice of Sharia), 76, 93, 235
- Kamas Valley, 89
- Kamran, 45
- Kandahar
 bin Laden's disappearance from, 160
 bin Laden's move to, 98, 100
 fragmentation of power in, 61–62
 new settlements of foreigners in, 234
 Taliban control of, 66–68, 72
 Taliban training camp in, 68
 trade routes to, 65
- Kandahar Airport, 208, 212
- Kandahar-Chaman road, 63
- Karamat, Jehangir, 163–164
- Karandol, 190
- Kargil, 182
- Karimov, Islam, 179, 190–191, 218–219
- Karmal, Babrak, 41
- Karzai, Abdul, 186
- Karzai, Hamid, 61–62, 64, 99, 99*n*, 108*n*, 186
- Kashmir, 26, 82–83, 182–183, 192
- Kayan Valley massacre, 224
- Kayyem, Juliette, 255*n*
- Kazakhstan, 94, 169*n*, 203
- Kenya. *See* East Africa bombings
- Khalifan Khamis Mohamed, 133–135
- Khalil, Fazlur Rehman, 144
- Khalili, Karim, 71, 94, 124, 247
- Khalili, Masoud, 23, 45, 54, 124*n*, 217, 252
- Khalilzad, Zalmay, 173, 246
- Khalis, Yunis, 21*n*, 28, 56, 63, 83, 90
- Khallad (bin Attash, Tawfiq), 207, 210–211, 213–214
- Khamenei, Ayatollah Ali, 137*n*
- Khamri, Hassan al, 211–212
- Khan, Aga, 246
- Khan, Aimal, 147*n*
- Khan, Aziz Ahmed, 98*n*, 100, 106, 123, 186
- Khan, Ghulam Ishak, 26
- Khan, Ismail, 21
 Herat siege, 72–73
 Massoud's support of, 45
 provincial authority ruled by, 61
 rapport with Colonel Imam, 72
 return of, 247–248

- Khan, Ismail (*cont.*)
 supply lines formed by, 103
 support of Taliban by, 63
 Taliban arrest of, 104, 112
- Khan, Nadir, 69
- Khan, Yaqub, 23
- Khobar Towers, 91
- Khost
 capture of, 33
 U.S. missile attack on, 143–148,
 159, 160*n*, 185, 187
- Khwaja Ghar massacre, 224
- Kissinger, Henry, 25
- Koh-e-Siah Boz (Black Goat
 Mountain), 241
- Kosovo, 81, 162, 165, 174, 195, 257,
 261
- Krakowski, Elie, 247
- Kumar, T., 173
- Kunduz, 132, 225–226
- Kuwait, Iraqi invasion of, 5, 35, 85,
 91
- Lantos, Tom, 174*n*
- Lashkar-i-Isar (Army of Sacrifice),
 21, 31
- law enforcement agencies. *See also*
specific agency
 counterterrorist operations, 196,
 205
 inattention to terrorism, 88, 251
 lack of preparedness, 3
- Leno, Mavis, 174–175, 175*n*
- Lepco, 225
- Lewinsky, Monica, 143, 152, 155,
 162, 167, 174, 195
- Lewis, John, 255*n*
- libraries, burning of, 234
- Lippold, Kirk, 214
- Loar, Theresa, 78
- Los Angeles Airport, failed attack
 on, 191, 196, 206
- Los Angeles Times*, 155
- loya jirga* (grand assembly), 37, 50,
 53, 111
- MacLean, Fitzroy, 39
- madrassas, formation of, 20, 233
- madrassa students, Taliban recruit-
 ment of, 64, 66, 68, 132, 180,
 203
- Maidanshar, 69–71, 131
- Maimona, 104
- Majid Rozi, Abdul, 104, 106
- Maksim, Gromov, 9*n*
- Maktab al-Khidamat (Office of
 Services), 14
- Malaysia, 211
- Maley, William, 22
- Malik Pahlawan, Abdul
 escape from Afghanistan, 117
 execution of Taliban prisoners,
 103–109, 116–118, 138, 154,
 156, 224
 side switching, 104
 on Taliban behavior, 106
 U.S. relations with, 108*n*
- Malinowski, Michael, 145–146,
 171
- Manhart, Christian, 237
- Mao Tse-tung, 39–40
- marriage, forced, 181, 223
- Maskhadov, Aslan, 193
- massacres. *See* human rights abuses;
specific location
- mass expulsions, 103
- Massoud, Ahmed Shah, 39–60, 257
 academics' assessment of, 173
 alliance with Dostum, 94, 132,
 247
 alliance with Hekmatyar, 73
 assassination of, 252–253
 attempt to retake Taloqan, 241
 background, 14, 40
 on bin Laden's role, 133
 communications, 42, 44, 171
 Dostum coup attempt and, 31,
 59–60
 European visit, 246–247
 flaws, 40
 funding, 168, 170, 205*n*, 247
 Herat siege, 72–73
 human rights record, 222–223
 impact of, 16, 39–40
 intelligence gathering operation,
 44–45, 47, 59, 213

- Massoud, Ahmed Shah (*cont.*)
 Iranian support for, 168, 168*n*,
 171, 178
 Jalalabad siege, 28–29
 Kabul siege, 70, 74–79, 92–93
 lack of foreign contacts, 39–40,
 48
 leadership characteristics, 39, 45,
 47, 94, 112–113
 Mazar executions and, 111,
 116–118, 138
 meeting with Karimov, 179
 as military commander, 40,
 42–43, 45, 47, 54
 multiethnic resistance movement
 formed by, 247
 on NCS, 32
 Omar's communications with,
 111–112
 opium trade and, 221*n*, 221–222
 on Pakistani role, 23, 41–42, 246
 political aims of, 42, 47, 51,
 111, 170
 Rabbani's support for, 21, 39–40,
 42, 44, 46
 Richardson's talks and, 124, 124*n*
 rivalry with Akhund and bin
 Laden, 13–17
 rivalry with Hekmatyar, 29,
 36–37, 41–42, 46, 49, 52, 54,
 56, 68–69
 role in interim government, 27,
 34, 58 (*See also* Afghan interim
 government)
 Russian support for, 171, 178,
 246
 Sarobi siege, 75
 secret meeting with Taliban, 69–71
 semiautonomous authority cre-
 ated by, 39–40
 Shamali plains assault, 179–180
 on Soviet withdrawal, 48
 support for Taliban, 63–64, 68–70
 Taliban's pursuit of, 93–97
 Taloqan defeat, 215–219
 television interview, 54
 Tomsen's support for, 34, 37
 on U.S. abandonment, 57–60, 82
 U.S. failure to support, 165–174,
 179, 196, 221–223, 247, 259
 U.S. relations with, 32, 48–52, 54,
 74, 92, 169*n*, 169–172, 221,
 245–246
 warnings about terrorism, 170, 247
 Massoud, Walid, 168, 168*n*
maulavi (Islamic scholars), 70
 Mazari, Abdul Ari, 70, 222
 Mazar-i-Sharif
 civilian massacre at, 6, 135–143,
 147–149, 149*n*, 153–156,
 184*n*, 216*n*, 223–224, 261
 Dostum's capture of, 34
 refugee camp in, 230
 Taliban assault on, 102–109, 116,
 127, 132–133, 135
 Taliban prisoners executed at, 107,
 116–118, 138, 154, 156, 224
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 10
 MBC (Middle East Broadcasting
 Centre), 250
 McWilliams, Edmund, 26–27, 29–30
 Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), 229
 media campaign, bin Laden, 15–16,
 90–91, 96, 98*n*, 129, 153,
 157–158, 204, 206, 250–251
 Melek, Maysoon, 230
 mercenaries, 218
 Mes Aynak, 208
 Mestiri, Mahmoud, 69, 115*n*
 Michel, Louis, 246
 Mihdhar, Khalid al, 207–208, 211
 Milam, William, 152, 160*n*, 171,
 174, 197, 200, 218*n*, 251, 262
 military checkpoints
 during interim government rule,
 62
 Taliban, 64, 120–121, 138
 military installations
 Soviet, 12
 United States, 36, 91, 97–98
 military solution, U.S. avoidance of,
 165–166, 196–198, 205
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 5, 13, 81, 195
 Ministry for the Promotion of
 Virtue and Suppression of
 Vice, 237

- Mir, Hamid, 96, 96*n*, 97, 101, 105*n*, 109–110, 128, 188–189, 239
- Mitchell, Calvin, 127
- Mohaqiq, Ustad Mohammad, 216
- Mojadiddi, Hazrat Ahmad Amin
Ismael al, 262
- Mojdeh, Vahid, 108, 168*n*, 177*n*, 187–188, 191*n*, 237, 240–241, 244, 251
- Moore, C. W., Jr., 214
- Mubarak, Hosni, 86
- Muhammad, Khalid Sheikh, 206, 208*n*, 208–209, 248
- Muhammed, Din, 90–91
- Muhumud-i-Raqi, 179
- Mujaddidi, Sibghatullah, 21*n*, 26, 28
- Mujahid, Abdul Hakeem, 152, 159*n*, 160*n*
- mujahideen. *See also* Afghan resistance
bin Laden's return welcomed by, 89–90
economic situation of, 43
lack of power after Soviet withdrawal, 12, 25
response to Taliban, 71
shura composed of, 32, 37, 51, 54
training of, 66, 82–83
U.S. attitude toward, 19–21, 23
- Musa, Mullah, 137*n*
- museum collections, 235–237
destruction of, 238, 240
scheme to rescue, 236–237
- Musharraf, Pervez
Kashmir conflict, 183
meeting with Clinton, 198
meeting with Inderfurth, 186, 197–198
meeting with Zinni, 197
military coup, 182, 185, 195
support for Taliban, 183, 201, 201*n*, 202
- Muslem Hayat, Ahmed, 69, 75
- Muslim governments, installation of, 11, 16
- Muttaqi, Amir Khan, 120, 121*n*, 178–179, 191, 198, 236
- Muttawakil, Abdul Wakil, 130, 153, 160*n*, 176, 193, 197*n*, 213, 251
- Nabi Mohammadi, Maulvi, 21*n*
- Nahrin, 217
- Najibullah, Mohammad. *See also* Afghan interim government
execution of, 76–78, 108*n*
- Namangani, Juma, 190, 241–242
- Naqibullah, Mullah, 63–64, 66–68
- Nashiri, Abd al Rahim al, 210, 213
- Nasir Bagh Afghan refugee camp, 119*n*
- National Commanders' Shura (NCS), 32
- National Commission on Terrorism, 255
- National Gallery of Art, 236*n*
- National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA), 21*n*
- National Security Council (NSC), 245
- National Security Decision Directive 166, 22
- Nawaz, Hussain, 185
- Nawaz Sharif, 95, 100, 105*n*, 126, 164, 183–184
- Nawroz (New Year's Day), banning of, 233
- Nayif bin Abd al-Aziz, Prince Sultan, 36
- negative symmetry policy, 12
- neutrality, U.S. stance of, 113*n*, 113–115, 147, 169, 258
- news coverage
East Africa bombings, 154
focus on sharia, 131
human rights abuses, 229, 261–262
Iraq, 7
lack of, 129–130, 154–155, 174, 195, 249, 255, 261–262
Mazar massacre, 142, 142*n*, 149*n*, 154–156
refugee camps, 231–232
Taliban prisoner executions, 117, 154, 156
Taloqan offensive, 219
9/11 warnings, 249, 262

- news media
 failure of, 6–7, 93, 130, 154–155, 255, 261–262
 in Kabul, 120–121
 lessons learned, 262
 public opinion of, 7
Newsweek, 155
New York Times, 155, 180, 219, 262
 Niazi, Mullah Manon, 137–139, 141–142, 142*n*
 Nibras (al Thawar, Ibrahim), 211–212
 Nicaragua, 19
nikah (marriage contract), 181
 Nine Wells site, 117–118, 119*n*
 nonrefoulement principle, 231
 Noorani, Zain, 24
 Northern Alliance, 95
 Norton, Jenny, 155
 nuclear nonproliferation, U.S. focus on, 126, 163, 165, 182
 nuclear tests
 India, 126, 163, 165, 182
 Pakistan, 48–49, 126, 163, 165, 182
 Oakley, Phyllis, 161
 Oakley, Robert, 26, 28–30, 48
 Odeh, Mohamed Sadeek, 16–17, 134
 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 120, 223
 Omar Akhund, Muhammad
 absolute reliance on sharia, 126
 agreement to hand over bin Laden, 130, 144, 151
 assassination attempt, 186
 background, 14
 on bin Laden's media campaign, 129, 157
 blame for Mazar executions, 109
 conflict with Pakistan, 243
 edict on destruction of antiquities, 237–239
 edicts forbidding human rights abuses, 150, 177–178, 178*n*
 fatwa on Shia killings, 139*n*
 formation of Taliban by, 13–17, 62–64 (*See also* Taliban)
 human rights abuses, 228
 impact of, 16
 leadership characteristics, 112–113
 manipulation by bin Laden, 239, 242–244
 Massoud's telephone calls to, 111–112
 meeting with de Borchgrave, 249–250, 250*n*
 refusal to hand over bin Laden, 145, 148, 151–152, 159
 support for bin Laden, 97–98, 98*n*, 100, 110, 120, 152–153, 159–161
 talks with Mahmoud Ahmed, 199–200
 talks with Turki al Faisal, 151
 threats against Pakistan, 202
 U.S. missile attacks and, 145
 U.S. relations with, 125–126, 145–148
 view on fatwas, 122, 249
 O'Neill, John, 213
 opium trade, 187, 205*n*, 221*n*, 221–222, 236
 Owhali, Mohamed Rashed al, 133–134
 Oxus River, 9, 143, 242
 Paik, Choong-Hyun, 117–118, 119*n*, 131
 reports on massacres, 139*n*, 140–141, 153–154, 224–225
 Pakistan
 Afghan civil war and, 59, 83
 Afghan coup attempt, 31–32
 Afghan refugees in, 229–233
 aid cut to, 56
 border closure to Afghan refugees, 58, 218
 breach of UN sanctions, 202–203
 Clinton visit to, 198
 formation of, 40–41
 Indian conflict with, 183
 Inter-Services Intelligence (*See* Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI))
 Iranian alliance with, 197, 199

- Pakistan (*cont.*)
- Mazar siege and, 107–109, 132*n*, 132–133
 - military coup in, 182–183, 185, 195
 - nuclear weapons testing, 48–49, 126, 163, 165, 182
 - as proxy for U.S. aims in
 - Afghanistan, 199–202, 258
 - Richardson's negotiations and, 124
 - in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*, 199
 - Soviet withdrawal and, 11–13, 19–20, 23, 26–34, 42, 46–49, 52–53, 82
 - sphere of influence concept, 26–27, 48–49
 - support for Taliban, 62, 65, 67, 68*n*, 71–72, 94–95, 99–102, 105–106, 128
 - U.S. policy conflicts, 163–165, 173, 175, 178, 195, 197–203, 247, 258
 - Taliban conflict with, 243
 - Taloqan offensive and, 217–218, 218*n*
 - trade routes to, 65
 - U.S. sanctions against, 48, 163–164
- Palestine, bin Laden's plan to liberate, 15, 129
- Panjshir Valley, 94, 107, 179, 217, 230, 230*n*
- Pasha weapons dump, 65
- Pashtun wali* (code of behavior), 146, 148, 159
- passive multilateralism, 50
- passports, alteration of, 208, 248
- Patterns of Global Terrorism* report, 250*n*
- Patterson, Mervyn, 142
- Pavett, Jim, 172
- Payenda, Mohamed, 108*n*
- Pearl, Daniel, 192
- Peckham, Gardner, 255*n*
- Pelosi, Nancy, 163
- Perez de Cuellar, Javier, 21, 24
- Persian solar calendar, 233
- Philippines, 85
- Pickering, Thomas, 153, 173, 200–201, 244, 260*n*
- planes operation. *See* September 11th attacks
- Poland, 10
- political counterstrategy, 257–261
- population displacement. *See* displaced civilians; refugees
- Post, Jerrold, 134
- Powell, Colin, 25
- presidential directive, on terrorism, 245–246
- prostitution, forced, 181
- proximity talks, 21
- public opinion
 - effect on presidential decisions, 4–5, 163, 195
 - of news media, 7
- Pul-i-Khumri, 104, 143
- Putin, Vladimir, 199
- Pyanj River refugee camps, 230
- Qadir, Haji, 61, 90, 90*n*, 92, 247
- Qala Arbab Hassan Khan massacre, 227–228
- Qandahari, Mullah Shahzad, 216
- Qanooni, Mohammad Yunus, 176
- Qarabagh, 103
- Qaradawi, Youssef al, 238–240
- qarargah* (forward command post), 42
- Qari Baba, 68
- Qaysar massacre, 224
- Qazi, Ashraf Jehangir, 202
- Qazi, General, 67, 67*n*
- Qezelebad massacre, 224–225
- Quaglia, Paul, 87
- Quso, Fahd Muhammad Ahmed al, 211, 213
- Qutb, Muhammad, 14
- Rabbani, Burhanuddin, 14, 21
 - alliance with Hekmatyar, 73
 - bin Laden's return and, 89
 - civil war and, 52
 - escape from Afghanistan, 104
 - Kabul siege, 74

- Rabbani, Burhanuddin (*cont.*)
 opposition to NCS, 32
 role in interim government,
 52–53 (*See also* Afghan interim
 government)
 six-plus-two forum and, 123
 support for bin Laden, 36
 support for Massoud, 21, 39–40,
 42, 44, 46
 support for Taliban, 63, 66, 68
 talks with Richardson, 124, 127
- Rabbani, Mullah Mohammad, 63,
 67*n*, 69–70, 76, 92, 124, 238
- Rahimi, Nilab, 234, 234*n*
- Rahman, Fazel al, 122*n*
- Rahmonov, Emomali, 230
- rape, 118, 140–141, 181, 223
- Raphel, Arnold, 26, 50
- Raphel, Robin
 Kabul visit, 59
 Karzai cable, 99, 99*n*
 on Massoud, 50–51, 51*n*
 meeting with Rabbani and
 Massoud, 74
 nuclear nonproliferation, 48
 Taliban policy implemented by,
 77–79
 on Tomsen, 30
 U.S. disengagement, 57
- Rashid, Ahmed, 32, 190, 218*n*
- Rasool Pahlawan, 103
- Razzaq, Abdul, 70, 104–106, 200, 228
- Reagan, Ronald, 19–20, 22, 25, 64
 reconstruction aid, lack of, 57–60
- Reeve, William, 64, 155–156, 156*n*
- refugees, 44, 58, 84, 103, 229–232.
See also displaced civilians
 borders sealed against, 58,
 141–142, 197, 199, 218, 230
 camps for, 58, 119*n*, 180, 230–232
 child mortality among, 230–231
 humanitarian aid to, 230, 230*n*,
 231–232
 Iranian expulsion of, 231
 from Taloqan, 218–219
 U.S. admittance of, 175, 175*n*,
 176*n*
- Ressam, Ahmed, 191, 196, 197*n*
- Rice, Condoleezza, 245–246
- Richardson, Bill, 123–128, 146
- Riedel, Bruce, 183, 192
- Rishkor, 189, 201*n*, 243*n*
- Riyadh bomb attack, 87
- Riza, Mohamed, 227
- roadblocks, 61–62, 64
- Robertson, Nic, 188
- Robinson, Mary, 117–119, 119*n*,
 120*n*, 127, 216*n*
- Robotak Pass, 216, 224
- Robotak stone, 235
- rocket-propelled grenade (RPG), 46
- Rohrabacher, Dana, 113, 174, 174*n*
- Rubin, Barnett, 32, 173
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 215
- Russia
 Afghan civil war and, 71
 bombing campaign threat,
 199–200
 conflict with Taliban, 203–204
 as proxy for U.S. aims in
 Afghanistan, 199–202, 258
 in six-plus-two forum, 123,
 123*n*, 199
 support for Massoud, 171, 178,
 246
 Taliban rebuff of, 168*n*, 192–193
- Rwanda, 6
- Sadiq, Mullah, 92
- Salang Highway, 93–94
- salwar kameez* (traditional trousers
 and tunic), 77
- sanctions
 against Pakistan, 48, 163–164
 role of, 258
 against Taliban, 161–162, 187,
 202–203, 215
- Sarobi, 75
- Satar-i-Azam, Maulvi, 141
- Saudi Arabia
 bin Laden assassination attempt,
 86, 86*n*
 bin Laden's attack on, 91,
 129–130
 bin Laden's departure from, 36
 bin Laden's stay in, 35

- Saudi Arabia (*cont.*)
 pressure on Taliban to expel bin Laden, 130
 recognition of Taliban by, 108
 rejection of bin Laden, 86–89
 role after Soviet withdrawal, 13, 20
 support for Afghan government-in-exile, 27
 theocracy in, 36
 U.S. bases in, 36, 91, 97–98
- Saudi Arabian National Guard, 87
- Sayyaf, Abdul Rasul, 14–16, 21*n*, 252
 Hazara massacres, 222
 human rights abuses, 53
 Jalalabad siege, 28
 link with bin Laden, 36, 89–90
 Pakistani ties with, 83
 role in interim government, 26
- Saznoor, Maulvi, 89
- Schiess, Andreas, 119*n*, 223
- Schroen, Gary
 on bin Laden's alliance with Taliban, 98, 100, 120, 133
 capture of bin Laden, 184
 on Massoud, 169–172, 246
 mission to capture bin Laden, 92
 Pakistani military coup, 185
 Pakistan's role, 95
 training camps, 83
 U.S. missile attacks, 145
- scorched earth policy, 226, 228
- Semple, Michael, 177, 181–182
- September 11th attacks, 253
 acknowledgment of error after, 4–5
 concept behind, 206–207
 participants, 207–210, 248
 planning for, 207–208, 248–249
 target lists, 207, 248
 as U.S. foreign policy failure, 260–261
 U.S. military action after, 166
 warnings about, 249–253
- September 11th Commission, 4, 144, 167, 187, 221*n*
- Serbia, 81, 162
- Sevan, Benon, 34, 51, 115*n*
- Shah, Ashraf, 69
- Shahsavan-Qarahosyeni, Allahdad, 136
- Shahzad, Mullah, 228
- Shamali plains, 179–180, 182, 190, 222, 224
- sharia, 71, 76–77, 84, 105, 125–126, 151
 museum collections and, 237
 news focus on, 131
- Shazdulah, Mullah, 228
- Sheberghan, 105
 Hazara massacre in, 140, 142
 Taliban assault on, 127, 132
 Taliban prisoners executed at, 116–118, 138, 154, 156
- Sheehan, Michael, 161, 165–166, 172, 197*n*, 197–198, 198*n*, 260, 260*n*
- Sheikh, Omar Saeed, 192
- Sheikhabad massacre, 225
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, 24, 33
- Shias, replacement with Sunnis, 139, 141, 227, 229
- Shibar Pass, 107
- Shindand Air Base, 73
- Shinwari, Jalalud-dine, 148*n*
- Shultz, George, 24
- shura* (council)
 al Qaeda, 11
 interim Afghan government, 27, 31
 mujahideen field commanders, 32, 37, 51, 54
 provincial, 61
 Taliban, 71, 112, 176, 252
- shura nazar* (supervisory council), 43, 46–47, 49
- side switching
 bin Laden, 259
 Dostum, 53, 58
 Malik Pahlawan, 104
 role of, 259
- Simon, Steven, 88
- Simons, Tom, 95, 99, 125
- Sipah-e-Sahaba, 136
- six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*, 162, 178, 199

- slave labor, 181
 Slovenia, 81
 Smeal, Eleanor, 175–176
 Smith, Stefan
 foreign fighters in Taliban, 121, 121*n*
 foreign press in Kabul, 120
 Iranian plans, 137*n*
 near murder of, 145, 145*n*
 “snatch” operations, 90, 90*n*
 Taliban losses, 107, 107*n*, 109
 U.S. support for Taliban, 77
 Smyth, Richard, 49–50, 55–56
 bin Laden’s return to
 Afghanistan, 90, 90*n*
 cutting of humanitarian aid, 57
 FBI/CIA animosity, 88*n*
 on Hekmatyar, 50
 on Rabbani, 53, 61
 on Taliban, 66, 121
 “snatch” operations, 90*n*, 128, 184
 Society for the Preservation of
 Afghanistan’s Cultural
 Heritage (SPACH), 235
 Soderberg, Nancy, 88
 Solangi, Basir, 104
 Somalia, 85, 87, 96, 96*n*
 Sonnenberg, Maurice, 255*n*
 Soviet invasion, 41
 cease-fires, 43, 45
 offensives, 44, 46–47
 Soviet Union. *See also* Russia
 costs of Afghan war for, 10, 25
 dissolution of, 10, 13, 33, 37, 81, 256
 leadership transitions, 21, 33
 Soviet withdrawal, 9–17, 256–257
 Afghan rivalry after, 13–17
 continued Soviet power after, 12
 Pakistani role after, 11–13, 19–20, 23
 political goals during, 24
 troop withdrawals, 9, 13, 25
 UN diplomatic efforts for, 21
 U.S. disengagement after, 6, 17, 23–25, 48–60, 82, 257
 special envoy
 to Afghan resistance, 26–30
 role of, 258, 260–261
 Spin Boldak, 65, 68, 141
 Srebrenica massacre, 134
 State Department
 Bureau of Intelligence and
 Research, 22, 161
 fact sheet on bin Laden, 91
 failure to provide warning about
 bin Laden, 162–165, 164*n*
 list of state sponsors of terrorism,
 86
 on Massoud, 172, 221, 246, 259
 Omar’s communications with,
 145–148, 147*n*
 support for Taliban, 77–79
 unaware of Russian bombing
 threat, 200
 Stinger ground-to-air missiles, 22,
 92, 168, 259
 strict neutrality, U.S. stance of, 113*n*,
 113–115, 147, 169, 258
 Sudan
 bin Laden in, 16, 84–86
 deportation of bin Laden, 86–87
 U.S. missile attacks in, 143–148,
 167, 167*n*
 Sufaat, Yazid, 211
 Sufi traditions, banning of, 234
 suicide bombings, 130. *See also spe-*
 cific attack
 failed, 191, 196, 206, 211–212
 recruitment for, 205, 210, 215,
 250
 training for, 210
Sunday Telegraph (London), 231
 Sunnis, replacement of Shias with,
 139, 141, 227, 229
 supply routes, 43–45, 55, 217
 Supreme Coordination Council, 59

 Taha, Ai Othman, 87
 Taha, Rifai Ahmed, 122*n*
 Tajikistan, 85, 103, 111, 168–169,
 203
 border closure to Afghan
 refugees, 218, 230
 in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*
 Takfir Wal Hijra, 86

- Takhar, 182
- Talbott, Strobe, 165, 199
- Taliban. *See also* Omar Akhund, Muhammad
- Arabization under, 233–253, 257, 262
 - attempt to control bin Laden, 251–252
 - Bamiyan capture, 151
 - bin Laden relations with, 93, 96, 110, 120–121, 130, 159
 - checkpoints maintained by, 64, 120–121, 138
 - conflict with Pakistan, 243
 - as cover for bin Laden, 130, 159–193, 204–210, 255
 - foreign assistance to, 62
 - foreign fighters re-enforcing, 98, 120–121, 121*n*, 127, 132–133, 186, 189–191, 203, 205*n*, 205–206, 215–219, 241–244
 - funding, 95, 133, 205*n*, 218, 232
 - gag order on bin Laden, 129, 157–158, 204
 - Gereshk siege, 72–73
 - goal of, 62
 - Herat siege, 72–73
 - human rights abuses, 76–78, 102–109, 112, 118, 181, 187, 215, 223–229
 - news focus on, 131
 - UN investigations of, 117–119, 119*n*, 127, 149, 153–154
 - U.S. disregard of, 153
 - incompetent governance by, 84, 93
 - Kabul sieges, 70, 73–79, 92–93
 - links to terrorism, 192
 - loss of support, 240–241
 - Maimana assault, 131–132
 - Mazar-i-Sharif assault, 102–109, 116, 127, 132–133, 135
 - Mazar-i-Sharif massacre, 6, 135–143, 147–149, 149*n*, 153–156, 184*n*, 216*n*, 223–224, 261
 - military operations, 223–224
 - military resources, 68, 95, 120, 128, 132*n*, 133, 188, 203, 203*n*
 - military strategy, 102, 188–193
 - Najibullah execution, 76–78, 108*n*
 - opium trade and, 221–222
 - origin of, 62–64, 67
 - Pakistani support of, 62, 65, 67, 68*n*, 71–72, 94–95, 99–102, 105–106, 128
 - U.S. policy conflicts, 163–165, 173, 175, 178, 195, 197–203, 247, 258
 - prisoners, execution of, 103–109, 116–118, 138, 154, 156, 224
 - pursuit of Massoud by, 93–97
 - response to bin Laden's return, 91–92
 - rise of, 61–79
 - absence of humanitarian aid and, 57
 - biggest factor in, 64
 - U.S. response to, 5–6, 69–71, 77–79, 82 - Russia and, 168*n*, 192–193, 203–204
 - sanctions against, 161–162, 187, 202–203, 215
 - scorched earth policy, 226, 228
 - security restored by, 77, 120–121
 - Shamali plains assault, 179–180
 - Sheberghan assault, 127, 132
 - six-plus-two forum and, 123, 162
 - Taloqan capture, 215–219
 - territorial control of, 68–69, 93, 104–105, 142–143, 150–151
 - trade convoys stopped by, 65–66
 - training camps, 68, 83, 120, 185, 189
 - United Front talks with, 69–71, 123–124
 - U.S. relations with, 71, 77–79, 84, 98–100, 113–114, 125–126, 145–147, 152–153, 198, 198*n*, 258
- Taloqan, 127, 142, 190
- massacres at, 224
 - mass evacuation of, 218–219
 - Massoud's defeat at, 215–219

- Tamiyeh, Ibn, 85
- Tanai, Shahnawaz, 31, 52, 76, 103, 108ⁿ
- Tanzania. *See* East Africa bombings
- Taraki, Nur Muhammad, 41
- Tarar, Amir Sultan (Colonel Imam). *See* Colonel Imam (Amir Sultan Tarar)
- Tarnak Farms, 128
- Tarwiz, banning of, 234
- Tenet, George
- al Shifa plant attack, 167ⁿ
 - 9/11 attacks and, 251
 - attempts to capture bin Laden, 128, 170
 - ignorance of de Borchgrave-Omar meeting, 250
 - on Massoud, 172, 221ⁿ
 - pressure on Taliban to expel bin Laden, 130
 - warnings about bin Laden, 159, 161
- terrorism. *See also specific act*
- Afghanistan as base for, 233–253, 255, 257
 - factors contributing to, 82, 161
 - warnings about, 174–175, 184–185
 - civilian targets of, 122
 - definition of, 256
 - draft presidential directive on, 245–246
 - political context for, 256–261
 - U.S. policy on, 88, 255
 - war on, 256
- Thailand, 211
- Thawar, Ibrahim al (Nibras), 211–212
- Tito, Josip Broz, 39
- Tomahawk land-air missiles, 166
- Tomsen, Peter, 30–31, 244, 247, 258
- aim in Afghanistan, 37, 50, 54–55
 - on Bush's Afghan policy, 33
 - organization of *shura* by, 32
 - support for Massoud, 34, 37, 49, 52
- Tora Bora, 89, 206
- torture, 223–229
- trade routes, 65
- training camps, 82–83
- al Qaeda, 16, 83, 91, 144, 200–202, 205, 208–209, 243ⁿ, 243–244, 248
 - mujahideen, 66, 82–83
 - Taliban, 68, 83, 120, 185, 189
- travel arrangements, for al Qaeda operatives, 208, 248
- Tupkhanah Pass, 127
- Turab, Abu, 248
- Turabi, Hassan al, 84
- Turabi, Nooruddin, 66, 191ⁿ, 237
- Turkey, 71, 116
- Turki al Faisal, Prince, 35–36, 86, 88, 92, 130, 151
- Turkmenistan, 65, 72, 103, 123, 123ⁿ, 176
- ulema* (scholars)
- apolitical commission of, 123, 126
 - fatwas issued or endorsed by, 122, 125–126, 129
 - Richardson's negotiations and, 124–125
- umma* (world Islamic community), 112, 134
- UNESCO, 237–238
- United Arab Emirates, 108, 185, 187
- United Front, 111. *See also* Massoud, Ahmed Shah
- defeat at Taloqan, 215–219
 - funds, 205ⁿ
 - as multiethnic resistance movement, 247
 - six-plus-two forum meetings with, 178
 - structure of, versus Taliban, 223
 - Taliban talks with, 123–124
 - U.S. support for, 245
- United Nations
- Afghan seat at, 99, 125
 - Babar initiative and, 96ⁿ
 - diplomatic efforts in Afghanistan, 21–23, 25, 50–51, 115, 179, 187, 215
 - final accords signed at, 24–25

- United Nations (*cont.*)
 High Commissioner for Human Rights, 120, 223
 High Commissioner for Refugees, 225, 231
 human rights abuses investigated by, 117–119, 119*n*, 127, 149, 153–154, 180, 216*n*, 223
 Kabul offices closed by Taliban, 230
 list of massacres in Afghanistan, 224
 response to Mazar executions, 109, 154, 156
 rise of Taliban and, 71, 75
 Security Council Resolution 1267, 191
 Special Mission to Afghanistan, 115, 215
- United States
 in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*, 199
 as sole superpower, 10, 257, 260
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 34, 55, 57
- UNOCAL, 74, 113, 174, 187
- USA Patriot Act, 255*n*
- USS *Cole* attack, 5–6, 210–215
 lax security and, 214
 as recruitment tool for bin Laden, 215, 250
 U.S. response to, 213–215, 244–245, 261
 bin Laden's disappointment with, 215
- USS *The Sullivans*, 192, 196–197, 206, 211
- Uzbekistan
 role in Afghan civil war, 59–60, 71, 103
 in six-plus-two forum, 123, 123*n*, 178
 support for Taliban, 190, 203, 218–219
 trade routes to, 65
 U.S. aid to, 245
- Védrine, Hubert, 246
- Vendrell, Francesc, 199, 203, 215, 219
 on foreign fighters in Afghanistan, 243
 on Massoud, 222–223
 meeting with Omar, 249
 visas, alteration of, 208, 248
- Voice of America (VOA), 149*n*, 155
- Voice of Sharia (Kabul Radio), 76, 93, 235
- von Clausewitz, Karl, 257
- Vorontsov, Yuli, 24
- VX nerve gas, 144
- Wag the Dog* (film), 143, 145, 167, 167*n*
- Wahdat, Hezbi, 53, 59, 70
- Wakil, Abdul, 24
- Wali, Mohammad, 180
- Wall Street Journal*, 192, 250*n*
- war, role in Afghan culture, 58, 102, 182
- war crimes. *See also* human rights abuses
 against Taliban, 107, 116–118
 by Taliban, 112, 181, 186, 215, 223–229
 UN list of, 224
 U.S. silence on, 118–123, 261–262
- Wasel, Mufti Nasr Farid, 238
- Washington Post*, 155
- Washington Times*, 250
- watchdog journalism, 155, 261
- Watson, Rob, 154
- weapons of mass destruction, 157
- Webster, William, 10
- West Coast (United States), planes operation directed at, 211–212
- Wilson, Charlie, 10, 20, 64, 172
- Winchester, Michael (Anthony Davis), 155
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 215, 251
- women, abduction of, 140–141, 181, 223
- women's rights, suppression of, 76–78, 105, 119, 123, 125, 128, 131, 181

- women's rights, suppression of (*cont.*)
 extension to foreign aid workers, 230
 Feminist Majority's protest against, 174–176, 176*n*, 187
 news focus on, 131
 U.S. denunciation of, 113–114, 149
- Woolsey, James, 255, 255*n*, 256
- World Food Program, 232*n*
- World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders, 97
- World Trade Center bombing, 88, 91, 209
- Yakowlang, 177, 177*n*, 224, 226, 228
- Yandarbiyev, Zelimkhan, 193
- Yeltsin, Boris, 33, 193, 199
- Yemen, 35, 85
 terrorist attacks in, 87, 192, 196–197, 206, 211 (*See also* USS *Cole* attack)
- Yoldash, Taher (Qari Taher Jan), 242
- Yoldashov, Taher, 190–191
- Yousef, Ramzi, 91, 206
- Yugoslavia, 13, 81, 119, 162, 257
- Yusufzai, Rahimullah, 92, 129, 144, 148, 157, 160, 198*n*, 212
- Zaeef, Abdul Salam, 251
- Zahir Shah, King, 20, 41
- Zakiri, Amir Maulana Abdullah, 148*n*
- zarbati*, 42
- Zarb-i-Momen (Muslim Power)*, 238*n*, 240
- Zargar, Mushtaq Ahmad, 192
- Zawahiri, Ayman al, 84, 86, 122, 144, 239
- Zhawar complex, 144
- Ziauddin, Khwaja, 184–185
- Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad, 11, 20, 26
- Zinni, Anthony, 165, 183, 197, 214
- Zubaydah, Abu, 191, 196, 20