



**NEO COLONIALISM IN AFGHANISTAN AS
REPRESENTATION OF AMERICA IN KHALLED
HOESSEINI'S NOVEL
*THE KITE RUNNER***

A final project
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Sarjana Sastra
in English

by

Sri Utari

2250407066

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND ARTS
SEMARANG STATE UNIVERSITY**

2011

PAGE OF APPROVAL

This final project has been approved by the board of examiners of the English Department of Languages and Arts Faculty of Semarang State University (UNNES) on February 23, 2011.

Board of Examination

Chairman:

Drs. Dewa Made Kartadinata, M.Pd.
NIP. 195111181984031001

Secretary:

Dr. Dwi Anggani L.B, M.Pd.
NIP. 195901141989012001

First Examiner:

Bambang Purwanto, S.S, M.Hum
NIP. 197807282008121001

Second Examiner/second adviser:

Drs. Amir Sisbiyanto, M.Hum
NIP. 195407281983031002

Third Examiner/first adviser:

Dwi Anggara Asianti, S.S, M.Pd
NIP. 197111232002122001

Approved by,
The Dean of Languages and Arts Faculty

Prof. Dr. Rustono
NIP. 19581271983031003

PERNYATAAN

Dengan ini saya :

Nama : Sri Utari
NIM : 2250407066
Prodi/Jurusan : Sastra Inggris/Bahasa Inggris
Fakultas : Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Negeri Semarang

Menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya bahwa skripsi yang berjudul “ Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan as Representation of United State of America in Khaled Hosseini’s *The Kite Runner*”, saya tulis dalam rangka memenuhi salah satu syarat untuk memperoleh gelar sarjana ini merupakan karya saya sendiri, yang saya hasilkan setelah melalui pembimbingan, diskusi dan pemaparan/ujian. Semua kutipan baik yang langsung maupun tidak langsung yang diperoleh dari sumber kepustakaan telah disertai keterangan mengenai identitas sumbernya dengan cara sebagaimana yang lazim dalam penulisan karya ilmiah. Dengan demikian. Walaupun tim penguji membubuhkan tanda tangan sebagai tanda keabsahananya, seluruh isi karya ilmiah ini tetap menjadi tanggung jawab saya sendiri. Jika kemudian ditemukan pelanggaran terhadap konvensi tata tulis ilmiah yang berlaku, saya bersedia menerima akibatnya.

Demikian, harap pernyataan ini dapat digunakan seperlunya.

Semarang, 23 Februari 2011

Yang membuat pernyataan

Sri Utari

NIM. 2250407066

MOTTO AND DEDICATION

Dream, believe and make it happen

(Anonym)

We are what we feel

(Erbe Sentanu)



My Final Project is dedicated to

- * My precious Bu'e and Pa'e
- * My dearest Sister Mbak Nanik and Mbak Naning
- * My beloved Brother "Mas Guh",
- * My spirit "Bayu"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to praise Allah SWT, the Most Merciful, and the Most Almighty, who always blesses and guides me so that I was able to finish this final project.

My great appreciation goes to the head of English department, Drs. Ahmad Sofwan, Ph.D. I would like to express my great appreciation and deepest gratitude to my advisors Dwi Anggara Asianti, S.S, M.Pd, and Drs. Amir Sisbiyanto, M.Hum., for all their valuable guidance, advice, and encouragement in assisting me to accomplish this final project. My appreciation also goes to all lecturers of the English Department of UNNES, for all the knowledge that has been taught.

The deepest thank is forwarded to my beloved parents especially for my beloved mother, who always prays for my happiness and for my strong father who supports with all of his. Mas Puguh who gives everything for my study, Mbak Nanik, Mbak naning and their little family who has give their precious pray and support. for half of my heart, Bayu, who loves and lights me all day and for De Greeners who have been struggling to the best future together.

Last but not least, to all people who cannot be mentioned one by one and who helped me in writing this final project, thanks a lot. Hopefully, God gives His blessing to you all.

Semarang, 23 Februari 2011

Sri Utari

ABSTRACT

Utari, Sri. 2010. Neo Colonialism of United States of America in Afghanistan in Khaled Hosseini's novel *The Kite Runner*. Final Project, English Department, Faculty of Art and Language, Semarang State University. 1st advisor: Dwi Anggara Asianti, S.S, M. Pd. 2nd advisor: Drs. Amir Sisbiyanto, M.Hum.

Keywords: Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan, representation of America, Qualitative method.

This Final project intends to analyze the neo colonialism of United States of America (USA) among life in Afghanistan implicitly stated in *The Kite Runner* novel. This study emphasizes on two main objectives. First; to know what neo colonialism in Afghanistan and how do the neo colonialism done by Pashtun ethnic is said to be the neo colonialism of United State of America.

I use sociological approach in conducting the study. I collect data by identifying the data, inventorying and put them in the table, selecting and reducing unnecessary data so there is only the data which most related the problems, classifying the data based on the statements of problem then put them on the table. The analysis done through interpret the data and uncover the symbol which proves the assumption. In this process, I use content analysis. The analysis involve interpretational qualitative data and will be interpreted and reported descriptively. All the data are analyzed and categorized according to sociological theory especially symbolism theory which use symbol to uncover the meaning of culture.

From the analysis I can conclude that there are neo colonialism of Russia, Britain and Pashtun ethnic in Afghanistan during the time of *The Kite Runner* and neo colonialism of Pashtun ethnic in Afghanistan is used to portrait the colonialism of United States of America in Afghanistan.

On the basis of the conclusions, several suggestions can be offered. First, the readers should know the reason and the background of what they did. They can not do something that they do not really know about it, because it can be a fatal effect. Second, the readers should look something not only from one point of view but also they should look from the other point of view to get the comprehensive understanding third I found that it is a good idea for the next research to discuss about hypocrisy and doublestandard as new strategies of colonialism. They can compare it with my study.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses about background of study, previous study, scope of study, statements of problem, objective of study, significance of study and outline of study. Below are more detailed descriptions:

1.1. General Background of Study

Neo Colonialism is a term which is well known by people all over the world. Neo Colonialism itself is essentially a system of political, economic and cultural intervention and hegemony by a powerful country in a weaker one (www.thefreedictionary.com) which happened after World War II. From that quotation I tend to say that neo colonialism is used to refer to an ideology or a set of beliefs used to legitimize or promote this system and allow the colonialist were superior to those of the colonized.

A recent example of neo colonialism is the movement of Israel to Gaza which has allowed many critics to the colonist. Neo Colonialism includes two countries which have many differences. The conflict seems to be the conflict between the representatives of western and eastern. In case of Israel is on the western side while Gaza is on the left one.

The conflict between western and eastern country is widely known by whole the world. The conflict which has covered all sides of life is also such a never

ending conflict. Moreover both parties seem arguing that this conflict is part of their life which is impossible if they wanted to change the condition, we can see that so far there is no significant solution in solving this conflict.

Western and eastern are two regions located in difference hemisphere which is not mentioned that there are also thousands distinction lie between them. Starting from the differences in culture, technology, religion, region, occupation, race and soon which all of them are found in the counterpart of region. All of them can be the strong reason for raising the conflict. While we have known that conflict may come up from a little difference so it is reasonable that the loud differences between western and eastern will strongly raise many kind of conflicts. Those conflicts raised both parties to try to dominate and give influence each other. One of the efforts to dominate is through colonizing the enemy.

Beside of famous in the 18-19 centuries, now we can see some neo colonialism as I mentioned above. The neo colonialists use the new strategy to maintain their hegemony and ideology in their colony because in this modern are the neo colonialism have to face modern people who have critical thinking. I prefer to say that the neo colonialism today refers to the relationship between stronger and weaker countries are similar to exploitation colonialism, without the stronger country having to build or maintain colonies. Such accusations typically focus on economic relationships and interference in the politics of weaker countries by stronger countries.

Neo Colonialism not only exists in the real life, but we could also find it in literary works. They are portrayed in literary works in one of their elements called characters. The various conflicts in the colonialism which are appeared in the characters of literary works can be referred to as the authors' expression of his/her thought or ideas which it is a kind of reflection of real life.

I present my discussion by analyzing literary work, which is *The Kite Runner* written by Khaled Hosseini. In this novel I can found the picture of Neo Colonialism of United States of America (USA) in Afghanistan. The neo colonialism is portrayed through the characters of the novel. In this study I will serve the new interpretation about the brutality of USA (from now on I use word "America" in this study to represent United State of America) which implicitly found in the novel. This analysis is gained through compare the story of the novel and the fact in the field.

1.2.Reasons for Choosing Topic

As I mentioned above I want to contribute in discussing of social and cultural problem. It can be assumed that I want to know the problem of across country especially about the neo colonialism which is found in the modern era.

There are three basic reasons why I choose the topic. The first is the story of *The Kite Runner* written by Khaled Hosseini serves the new story which also can be found in the real life. It tells us the story about the neo colonialism in the new eras which is pictured implicitly by the writer. In this final project I will show the

picture of neo colonialism of America in Afghanistan. The neo colonialism of America is pictured through the action of Pashtun ethnic.

Second is the analysis which will be done is kind of social analysis. The social analysis give is the contribution to the social community especially whom concern on the social and literary studies. The social analysis sometimes gives the other phenomenon which is never found by people.

Thirdly Afghanistan has controversial relationship with another country and this novel tells another story about the relationship between them which support the fact which exists in our society.

Fourth this study tells about the neo colonialism which still exists recently. Neo Colonialism is truly happened in our society so that the analysis of neo colonialism will give information about the neo colonialism especially in this postmodern era which neo colonialism manifest in other aspect of life.

1.3.Scope of Study

In this final project I intend the discussion on the picture of neo colonialism of America which reflects implicitly on one characters of the novel.

1.4.Statements of Problem

To limit the discussion, I focus on finding answers for the following problems:

1. What neo colonialism done by ethnic group and countries are presented in *The Kite Runner*?
2. How neo colonialism done by Pashtun ethnic is said to be the neo colonialism of United State of America in *The Kite Runner*?

1.5. Objectives of Study

The objective of this study is to explore the interpretation in *The Kite Runner* about the portrait of Neo Colonialism of United State of America through these following stages:

1. To know what neo colonialism done by ethnic group and countries are presented on *The Kite Runner*.
2. To know how do neo colonialism done by Pashtun ethnic is said to be the neo colonialism of United State of America in *The Kite Runner*?

1.6. Significance of study

The significance of this study is to help the students know the different way of reading literary works such as novel. Many people read novel to entertain themselves, to get knowledge about many countries, to get benefits from the moral values. Through this final project I show how reading could provide a new meaningful way in text reading especially literary text like novel.

1.7. Outline of Study

This final project is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction which explains the background of the study, scope of study, statement of problem, objective of the study, significance of study and outline of the study. Chapter II is review related to literature. This chapter provides information about review related to previous studies, review related to literature and theoretical framework

Chapter III is the methodology. It covers the object of the study, types of data, procedure of collecting the data and procedure of analyzing the data that are

used to conduct this study. Chapter IV is the analysis. Chapter V will be the conclusion. It covers the conclusion and suggestion.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides information about review of previous study, review of literature and framework analysis.

2.1. Review of Previous Study

In this subchapter an overview about some studies/articles that analyze about purpose behind serving a story, colonialism and America's war.

Nasrullah(2010) conducted a research about America war propaganda as a way of imperialism represent in Clint Eastwood's movie *Flag and Our Father*. He used sociological theories in analyzing the novel. The researcher found some evidence directing to American imperialism in Japan and Arab. He shows how America use propaganda war to dominate politic other countries.

Hassan (2008) also conducted research about with the topic behind the world highlight of Jewish as the victims of war in *Night* a novel by Ellie Wresel. He described about some purposes of roaring the story of Jewish live in Nazi's camp to the world. Jewish is told as the victim of Nazi and the story is used as way to picture the power of Jewish though has been persecuted by the Nazi.

Anjarwati (2009) made a research about the Dutch colonialism in Indonesia which pushes the movement of women in *The Letter of Javanese Princes*. In this research the writer shows how colonialism interfered in every aspect of Indonesian.

From the researches above, I decide to choose “Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan as representation of United State of America in Khaled Hosseini’s Novel *The Kite Runner*” as the main point of research because firstly in the previous studies I did not find any research which took topic related to Afghanistan. Secondly based on the study which told about some purposes of roaring the story of Jewish as a victim of Nazi I decide to present about the picturing of Hazara ethnic and Pashtun ethnic in *The Kite Runner* which the writer was also has purpose in telling the story of it and last this study complete the study about America war as propaganda of imperialism in Arabian countries and Japan because this study shows evidence of America’s effort in spreading the political domination in some countries.

2.2. Review of Theoretical Background

This subchapter serves about the review of theoretical background related to the topic I discussed. Below is more detail information:

2.2.1. Geography and Ethnic of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a landlocked and mountainous country in south-central Asia with total area around 647.500 km². It is bordered by Pakistan in the south and east, Iran in the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the north, and China in the far northeast. As can see in the picture below:

Afghanistan is a multiethnic society which amount of population is 28.395.716 people. The population of the country is divided into a wide variety of ethno linguistic groups. Because a systematic census has not been held in the

nation in decades, exact figures about the size and composition of the various ethnic groups are unavailable. In this regard, the Encyclopedia Britannica which released in www.britanica.com/EBchecked/topic/afghanistan states:

No national census has been conducted in Afghanistan since a partial count in 1979, and years of war and population dislocation have made an accurate ethnic count impossible. Current population estimates are therefore rough approximations, which show that Pashtuns comprise somewhat less than two-fifths of the population. The two largest Pashtun tribal groups are the Durrani and Ghilzay. Tajiks are likely to account for some one-fourth of Afghans and Hazara nearly one-fifth. Uzbeks and Chahar Aimaks each account for slightly more than 5 percent of the population and Turkmen an even smaller portion.

Those quotations show ethnics population in Afghanistan. Where Pashtun ethnic become the first large population in Afghanistan and followed by another ethnic like Hazawa, Uzbek, and Duranni and so on.

An approximate distribution of the nation's total ethnic groups is shown in the line chart below which taken from www.wikipedia/afghanistan.com :

Ethnic groups in Afghanistan		
Ethnic group	World Factbook / Library of Congress Country Studies estimate (2004-2010) <small>[61][197]</small>	World Factbook / Library of Congress Country Studies estimate (1992-2003) <small>[198][199][200][201]</small>
<u>Pashtun</u>	42%	38-44 percent
<u>Tajik</u>	27%	25-26.3% (of this 1% are <u>Qizilbash</u>)
<u>Hazara</u>	9%	10-19 percent
<u>Uzbek</u>	9%	6-8% percent
<u>Aimak</u>	4%	500,000 to 800,000
<u>Turkmen</u>	3%	2.5 percent
<u>Baloch</u>	2%	100,000
Others (<u>Pashai</u> , <u>Nuristani</u> , <u>Arab</u> , <u>Brahui</u> , <u>Pamiri</u> , <u>Gujjar</u>)	4%	6.9 percent

As mentioned in the chart, major ethnic in Afghanistan is Pashtun ethnic which dominates many aspect if Afghanistan. It follows with Tajik, Hazzara and Uzbek which becomes the second large ethnic in Afghanistan. While others like Aimak, Turkmen and Baloch is the fewer minorities ethnic in Afghanistan.

While the spread of those ethnic can be seen in the following picture:



Picture above which taken from www.wikipedia/afghanistan.com tells us about how Pashtuns are spread out in the many regions in Afghanistan. While others live only in certain region together their community. Pashtuns which live almost in every parts of Afghanistan show us how Pashtuns dominate many regions in Afghanistan.

2.2.2. Neo Colonialism

The term neo colonialism has been used to refer to a variety of things since the decolonization efforts after World War II. Generally it does not refer to a type of colonialism but rather colonialism by other means residual effects or aftershocks of old colonialism or a contemporary extension thereof in more subtle and seemingly unobtrusive ways. Specifically, the accusation that the relationship between stronger and weaker countries is similar to exploitation colonialism, without the stronger country having to build or maintain colonies. Such accusations typically focus on economic relationships and interference in the politics of weaker countries by stronger countries.

Neo colonialism is also defined as a way to dominate and exploit other country due to aim in gaining their profit. Neo Colonialism are done to create hegemony either political, economic or cultural hegemony though some ways such attack, oppression, create bad image of the colonized country, exploit, limit the chance of education for colonized people and force policy as means to get aim.

As described in Ania Loomba's *Colonialism – Post Colonialism*, Neo Colonialism brings impact to the colony such as exploitation, spread of virulent diseases, unequal social relations, (10) tation, enslavement, infrastructures, medical advances, new institutions, technological advancements, and spread of religion.

2.2.3 Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan

During more than fifty years old, there were many foreign countries intervention in Afghanistan. The interventions came alternate between some countries such as Russia, Britain and America and its alliance. Begin from the domination of Britain and America's control in all aspect of life in Afghanistan for more than two a decade after the World War II. Afghanistan is seemed not occupied by any countries but on the fact there are many countries which freely to intervene the government in making the policy.

Beside of America's occupation, Great Britain was also one of the countries which have intervened Afghanistan. An article in www.wapedia.mobi told that Russia supported Afghanistan in the form of money, weapon and plane to help Afghanistan in saving their country. It was true that before that Russia occupation Afghanistan also occupied by Great Britain and United State of America. After helping Afghanistan in fighting with Britain, then on the December 1979, Russian came to take over Afghanistan from the intervention of other countries. The domination of Russia made Britain and USA less their intervention in Afghanistan. Russia handled all over the country.

More than a million Afghans were killed when Russia invaded Afghanistan. The controlling of Soviet to Afghanistan was going on until the Taliban; a militant group which was helped by Pakistan took over the control of this county. During the Taliban control, there had been less activity of women. The destruction of infrastructure went to the deepest extreme during the controlling of Taliban to Afghanistan.

The governing of Taliban fell down when America and its alliance attacked Afghanistan then had a finger ends in Afghanistan till now. America used the reason of catching Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda to attack Afghanistan but they destructed and killed many civilian while doing their invasion. America had been colonized Afghanistan for more than 50 years started before the World War II until present. This colonialism was in the form of physical, mental, ideology penetration and intervention through many ways such us applying the international policy which took side to America. One of the America's intervene contains in an article of www.globalresearch.com which released the statement of Zbgniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's National Security. This article told about the interference of America to Russia and Afghanistan six months before Russian's invasion. American intelligence services began to aid the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan 6 months before the Soviet intervention. It indicated that America had held its colony in Afghanistan before the Russian's occupation though they were not occupied Afghanistan. As stated before the form of colonialism was also in the form of intervention and forcefulness of policy. For this reason, it was true

America has been colonized Afghanistan for long time though they do not show it in the physical colonialism.

Another form of American colonialism in Afghanistan is mentioned in John K. Cooley's "*Unholy War Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*" (2000: 5). It states that there is American interference in Afghanistan through some ways such as using the Pakistan authority to handle it. America gives fund to Pakistan's intelligence (ISI) in doing its action of helping Taliban to usurp of Afghanistan from Russia. It means that the neo colonialism of America exist in Afghanistan though Afghanistan is invaded by Russian.

This book also contains support of America to militant group to help in taking over Afghanistan's government. The ISI (Pakistan Intelligence donated by America in doing its action like stated above) helps militant group to give Russia's rush so that Russia leaves Afghanistan. The support of ISI which is the hand extension of United States of America to militant group is clearly a kind of way of America to intervene Afghanistan.

By taking a look at the definition of colonialism which is stated that Neo Colonialism is also about how a country intervenes other country to do the policy that they made. So, the interference and support of ISI in Afghanistan which is the hand extension of America is kind of the neo Colonialism of America in Afghanistan

The new form of colonialism of America was happened in 2001 when America invaded Afghanistan. Although they claimed that their invasion was

done do catch Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, militant group which was suspected as the terrorist that attacked WTC in America. It was hard to believe that the invasion is pure vanishing terrorist when we took a look that America killed many civilian when invaded Afghanistan.

Though named as a terrorist vanishing, America did deeper than what they claimed. America changed the government of Afghanistan and applied Many American's policy inside of Afghanistan. America supported the violent overthrow of leftist governments which is said in the previous chapter that it was kind of new form of Neo Colonialism. The government was made by America which taken from the major ethnic of Afghanistan like stated in The Global Review which adopted by www.wordpress.com/kajiantimurtengah.

2.2.4. Novel and its Elements

Novel is one of literary work which is often to discuss by the students. Novel is expanded fiction. There is elaborate description and there can be various events intertwined causing a more complex problem in novel.

The novel deals with a human character in a social situation, man as a social being. The novel places more emphasis on character, especially one well-rounded character, than on plot. Another initial major characteristic of the novel is realism--a full and authentic report of human life.

There are some elements of novel. These elements which are related to the discussion are

1. Theme

Theme is the main thought of the novel of the generalization drawn from the detail of literary work. Theme is the important element in novel due to it brings the conflict, message and also guides the reader to story.

2. Character

A character is a participant in the story, and is usually a person, but may be any person, identity, or entity whose existence originates from a fictional work or performance. Character is the most important elements of novel. There will be no plot if there is no character. No Plot means that there is no story.

So a character as the participant of the story which build plot and story is really important within a novel which also can be used as a tool to deliver the message and the main thought of the writer.

2.2.5. Symbolism

A symbol certainly means something presented to the sense or the imagination usually to the senses which stands for something else. Symbolism in that way runs through the whole life.

Edwyn Baven stated in "*Symbolism and Belief*" (1938: 11-12) that there are two kind of symbol that is the visible object or sound which stand for something that we have already known. This symbols are not intend to give us any information about the nature of the things or things symbolized, but to remind us of them or tell us something about their action at particular moment or prompt us to act in certain way at the particular moment because of them. The other kind of

symbol is a symbol which is the person who sees or hears the symbol have not had before of have not otherwise. A symbol have purpose to give information about the things they are symbolized to convey knowledge of their nature.

Citing Levi Straus, Januarius Mujianto in *Pengantar Ilmu Budaya* (2009: 69) assumes that symbol is used to deliver message to other people. A human structure a symbol in such a manner so that people can analyze it to get the real meaning of the symbol. Symbol represent the culture, manner of particular community so that an easy way to know about everything related to particular community we have to uncover the symbol which is exist in those community.

Accordingly I can infer that symbol has function to deliver message for other people. There will always a meaning behind a symbol which will lead us to particular meaning when we uncover those symbols. A symbol of particular society represents the culture, manner, and way of life of the particular society. So that a study of a particular society is easy to be done through uncover the symbol which exists in that society.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

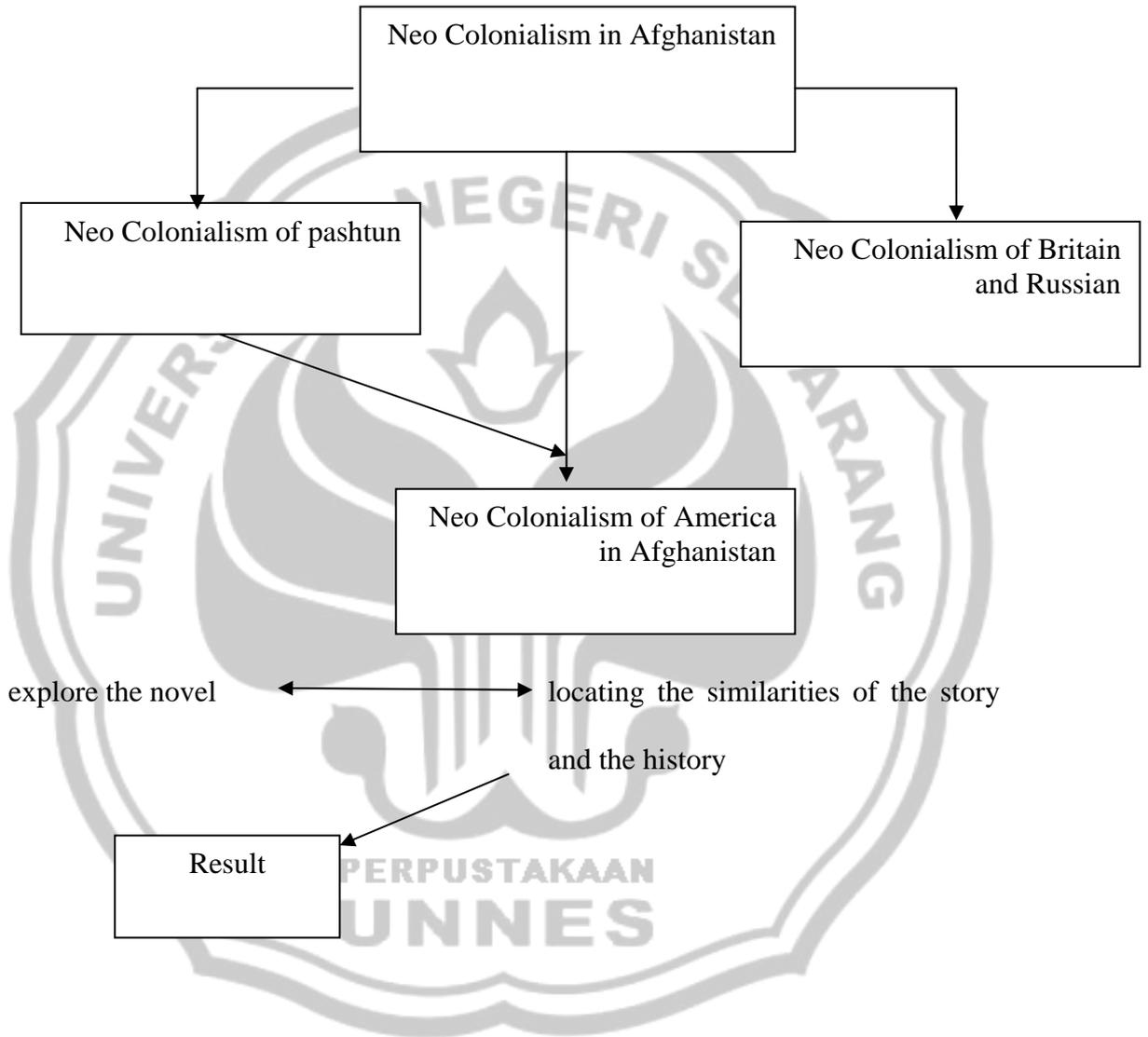
Data analysis consists of neo colonialism in Afghanistan presented in the novel and also the real neo colonialism of America in Afghanistan. To analyze it I used sociological theory to show that the combining structural code in the novel build the meaning of the text.

While the analysis is on the framework below:

1. Neo colonialism found in the novel

- a. Neo Colonialism of Pashtun ethnic against Hazzara ethnic
- b. Neo Colonialism of other countries against Afghanistan

2. Portrayal of Neo Colonialism of America in Afghanistan



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter has four subchapters. All of them give explanation about method of study which is consist of study's object, approach, data and sources of data, instrument to analysis data, and the data analysis.

This study includes into qualitative study approached by using sociological method because there is correlation between social phenomenon and literature itself. It is in line with Endraswara in *Metodologi Penelitian Sastra* (2003:77) that literature sociological is a branch of literature research which reflected society. It means that through literary work we can study the social and cultural phenomenon.

Junus in Endraswara (2003:93-94) adds that there are three strategies which we can take in this research; they are; First, literature element is taken out of another element, then it is connected with a sociocultural element. Second, this approach may take image about "something" such as women, men, foreigner, tradition, modern world, and so on from a literary work. Third, this approach may take motif or theme, that both of them are different gradually. Base on that opinion I will use the second strategy in this study. So I will use literature sociological method and focus only on content analysis supported by related references which have correlation and then will be interpreted descriptively.

3.1. Object of Study

In this final project I use Novel *The Kite Runner* written by Khaled Hosseini as the primary object of data which was published in 2003. I explore all elements in due to prove the topic I chose then I find out the secondary data are some books, paper, and article related with the topic I choose.

Novel as the main source of my final project is one of numerous kinds of literary works. Khaled Hosseini is one of Novel's authors who could get response in his first work. This young man produces a sensational novel that makes people give a view to him. It is *The Kite Runner*, which has been published in 2003, became the best seller along 2005.

The Kite Runner also has been translated in to forty languages. Even leads the author get Humanitarian award 2006 from UNHCR. This novel inspires the reader that war and oppression will never vanish spirits of freedom's reaching. It serves an amusing story, which is covered strong culture, tradition, and history of Afghanistan.

3.2. Types of Data

In this study there were two types of data, namely primary and secondary data. The former were in the form of words, phrases, clauses and sentences which show the neo colonialism in Afghanistan. The later were theories taken from books, internet, etc. The analysis will involve interpretational qualitative data and will be interpreted and reported descriptively.

3.3. Procedure of Collecting the Data.

This is a qualitative research with qualitative data in form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences. Then in collecting the data I use these following steps:

1. Preparing table for data inventorying.

The table will be used in the steps of reading the novel. This is the form of the table:

Table 1. Overall Data

Data No	Form of data	Found on			Answer question number
		On page	In paragraph	On line	
1	The Pashtun had persecuted and oppresed the Hazzara.....	5	1	7-14	1

It means that the datum no 1 is in form of written dialogue found on page 5 paragraph 1 and in line 7-14 of the paragraph.

2. Reading.

After preparing the table, I read *The Kite Runner Novel* and other books, article and papers which are related to the new American colonialism in Afghanistan. Some article and papers is article which talked about the social analysis, literature and also the story of Afghanistan which is found in some sources. In gathering the data I read the Novel *The Kite Runner* over and over.

First reading is done to know the whole story, while in the next reading I focus to the main theme I analyze. So that I get the information I need from this theme

3. Identifying.

After reading the novel, I would identify the data. I used steps as follows.

- a. **Identify the novel.** I use *The Kite Runner*. Identifying is done by reading the novel and I write down the dialogue, sentence, and conversation. Not all sentences and dialogue are written, I only choose sentences which have most correlation with the neo colonialism of America in the novel, the neo colonialism which is said as the neo colonialism of America presented in *The Kite Runner*.
- b. **Selecting and reducing.** After identifying the relevant data, I select the proper data related to neo colonialism presented in the novel and the neo colonialism of America in Afghanistan presented in *The Kite Runner*. Here I reduce that data. I omit the data which is not related with the topic. In maximizing the fidelity of the analysis I choose at least ten data which is most related with the statement of the problem. Finally there are seventeen data support to the first statement of problem and there are sixteen data to support second statement
- c. **Inventorying.** It means to list all the identified data and put them on the table. This table has been mentioned in the step of preparing table.
- d. **Classifying.** The next step is classifying the data. The data are classified into two groups according to the statement of problems; there are the neo colonialism presented in the novel and the neo colonialism of Pashtun which

portrait neo colonialism of America in Afghanistan. Then I used the following table :

Tabel 4. Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan

Data No	Form of data	Found on			Answer question number
		On page	In paragraph	On line	
1	“You! The Hazara! Look at me.	4	4	8-11	1

It means that data number 1 is classified to answer the question number 2. Classified data would be put on Appendix B.

3.4. Procedure of Analyzing the Data

I used some steps to analyze the data.

1. Categorizing the data.

I take some words, clause, paragraph, conflict and their relationship to find the neo colonialism of American in Afghanistan. I identify how it will become the neo colonialism said to be the neo colonialism of American.

2. Interpreting of data

In this step, I show how text's underlying structural codes combine to produce the text's meaning.

- a. I wrote the data I get from reading the novel and other sources
- b. Analyze through uncover the symbol and codes on the novel

- c. Interpret the meaning of the symbol, code, explicit sentences and written dialogues to know the answer of the statement of the problems by using sociological approach.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the study focuses on the analysis of the data. The data that have been taken from Khaled Hosseini's novel *The Kite Runner* are presented in this chapter in detail. This chapter consists of four subchapters which three of them become the main answers of statements of the problem stated on the previous chapter. They are analyzed using the technique provided in Chapter III. The problems are analyzed one by one in the following sub-chapters.

4.1. Neo Colonialism Presented in *The Kite Runner*

As presented the previous chapter, neo colonialism is defined as residual effects or aftershocks of old colonialism or a contemporary extension thereof in more subtle. Specifically the accusation of relationship between stronger and weaker countries is similar to exploitation colonialism.

Neo Colonialism is not only about the physical enforcement but also the ideology penetration and mental enforcement. The ideology enforcement will result both physic and mental colonialism. Some countries today prefer to use the ideology penetration to colonize other country for example western country which spread the western culture such us music and cloth into Eastern country so that the eastern country will follow the trade mark they created.

In this chapter I present the neo colonialism found in the novel. While that colonialism are presented in the following subchapters:

4.1.1. Neo colonialism of Pashtun Ethnic Against Hazara Ethnic

Hazara ethnic is the minor ethnic in Afghanistan which is quite different with another ethnic in Afghanistan. Hazaras are inheriting of Mongolia and Afghanistan. Hazaras are also considered as the lowest class in Afghanistan even they are not considered as the part of Afghanistan. *The Kite Runner* “tells about the bad treatment of Pashtuns to Hazaras where is in the explanation of previous chapter stated that one of way to colonize is by persecuting and oppressing the colonist. The colonists create the hegemony in the colony. They also create a strong power image of the colonist which is this image will not give any chance to against the colonist. While that colonialism can be found in quotations below:

⁽¹⁾The Pashtuns, **had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras**. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had “quelled them with unspeakable violence.” **The book said that many people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women**. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi’a. (Datum no 1 page 5 chapter 2)

⁽²⁾His blue eyes flicked to Hassan. **“Afghanistan is the land of Pashtuns**. It always has been, always will be. **“Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say**. That’s my vision.” (Datum no 7 Page 20 Chapter 5)

From those quotation, Pashtuns as the major ethnic in Afghanistan tries to dominate Hazaras. Pashtuns want to hold all sector of Afghanistan life. Pashtuns oppress and treat Hazaras freely. Pashtuns also apply any kind of policies which they created. Many Pashtuns consider Afghanistan as their own only, so they feel

that they have right to take over everything about Afghanistan included Hazara ethnic.

As stated in chapter II, one of the ways to do neo colonialism is through persecution in creating hegemony in the colony. From definition of colonialism, persecution of Pashtuns to Hazaras in Afghanistan can be grouped as colonialism.

Other colonialism can be seen in the quotation below:

⁽³⁾ **But despite his illiteracy**, or maybe because of it, Hassan was drawn to **the mystery of words**, seduced by a secret world forbidden to him. **I read him poems and stories**, sometimes riddles--though **I stopped reading those when I saw he was far better at solving them than I was. So I read him unchallenging things**, like the misadventures of the bumbling Mullah Nasruddin and his donkey. (Datum no 5 page 14 chapter 3)

⁽⁴⁾ He called his cousin Homayoun--he was actually Baba's second cousin--and mentioned he was going to Jalalabad on Friday, and Homayoun, **who had studied engineering in France** and had a house in Jalalabad, (Datum no 21 Page 42 chapter 8)

The first quotation above tells about the new form of colonialism. It is not only through the physical enforcement but also through limitation of facility and infrastructure. The quotation above tells about the prohibition for all Hazaras to study in Afghanistan. Pashtuns make Hazaras becomes illiteracy people so it will be easier to take over them. It is different with the chance of education which is given to most of Pashtuns. They get fresh air to get education as which is explained by the second quotation.

The limitation of chance to get education for people is also said as one way to colonize people. Because by making the colonized people become illiteracy,

their inanity will be easier to control. I interpret that the action of Pashtuns who limit the chance of education to Hazaras is another form of neo colonialism.

⁽⁵⁾ The book said a lot of things I didn't know, **things my teachers hadn't mentioned.** Things Baba **hadn't mentioned either** (Datum no 3 page 5 chapter 1)

⁽⁶⁾“....**School text books barely mentioned them** and referred to their ancestry only in passing. Then one day, I was in Baba's study, looking through his stuff, when I found one of my mother's old history books. Was stunned to find an entire chapter on Hazara history. (Datum no 2, page 5 chapter 1)

From the quotation above, it can be inferred that Pashtuns have never taught and shared the history of Afghanistan to their society. Moreover Pashtuns also try to get rid of Hazaras from the history of Afghanistan. It can be understood that vanishing Hazaras from the history of Afghanistan is kind sign that Pashtuns have the strong power to control Hazaras. The significant influence and control of a group of people can be said as a way to colonize the same as the explanation in the previous chapter which stated that the colonists aim to control the colony by forcing their policy to the colony.

A sign of colonialism also can be found in the next quotation:

⁽⁷⁾But he's not my friend! I almost blurted. He's **my servant!** Had I really thought that? We'd be rid of them by now. They'd all just go rot in Hazarajat where they belong. You're a disgrace to Afghanistan” (Datum no 8 page 21 chapter 4)

⁽⁸⁾“A loyal Hazara. **Loyal as a dog,**” Assef said. Kamal's laugh was a shrill, nervous sound (Datum 13 page 37 chapter 7)

⁽⁹⁾Hassan **servicing** drinks to Assef and Wali from a silver platter (Datum no 16 page 17 chapter 8)

Quotations above tell that Pashtun make Hazara as their servant. Based on the description of Ania Loomba in *Colonialism – Post Colonialism* (1998:5), one

of colonialism's purposes is to get profit for the colonist and sometimes the colonist persecutes the people they colonized to get that profit. The essential point is although neo colonialism involves a variety of techniques and patterns of domination, penetrating deep into some societies and involving a comparatively superficial contact with others, all of them produced the economic imbalance that was necessary for the growth of the colonist.

Most of Pashtuns take advantage of Hazaras by made them as their servant and labors and without giving a wage for them. They exploit Hazaras in doing a work which might it is fair if say it as a slavery because Hazaras did not get any right as a servant which usually give to the common servant. They are free to treat everything to Hazara and even Hazara are persecuted by their master though they have worked for their master.

As the second quotation which said by a Pashtun named Assef which also think by most of Pashtun. Pashtuns regard Hazaras as slave and he has the heart to say a Hazara as a dog without consider that Hazzaras have deserved to them. Hence Pashtuns who treat Hazaras as their servant is grouped into colonialism to because one of impact of colonialism is arising of enslavement.

4.1.2. Neo colonialism other countries against Afghanistan

Beside of telling the colonialism of Pashtun ethnic to Hazaea Ethnic, *The Kite Runner* also tells about the colonialism done by Russia and Britain.

⁽¹⁾ “The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with the communist coup d’état, and then in December 1979, when Russian **tanks would roll into the very same streets where Hassan**” (Datum no 6 page 18 chapter 5)

⁽²⁾ There were others, in all about a dozen, including Baba and me, sitting with our suitcases between our legs, cramped with these strangers in the tarpaulin-covered cab of an **Old Russian truck**. (Datum no 17 Page 55 chapter 9)

⁽³⁾“**Russia sends them here to fight,**” he said. (Datum no 20 Page 59 chapter 9)

⁽⁴⁾**No grim-faced Russian soldiers patrolling the sidewalks, no tanks rolling up and down the streets of my city,** their turrets swiveling like accusing fingers, no rubble, no curfews, no **Russian Army Personnel Carriers** weaving through the bazaars. (Datum no 18 Page 56 -57 chapter 9)

⁽⁵⁾I overheard him telling Baba how he and his brother knew the **Russian** and Afghan **soldiers** who worked the checkpoints, how they had set up a “mutually profitable” arrangement (datum no 19 Page 57 chapter 9)

Quotations above tell about the occupation of Russia which began in December 1979. The coming of Russian is told explicitly by the writer. Russian take over and control all sectors in Afghanistan. Russia get best of Afghans. They send many soldiers to occupy Afghanistan. In addition the second quotation tells about some Afghans who have to sacrifice everything to escape from Afghanistan.. Some of them go to other countries like Pakistan and America while the Hazara did not go to any where.

The story of Russia’s colonialism is based on the true history of Afghanistan as mentioned in *Russian’s War in Afghanistan* (1986:5) written by David C. Isby. Russia defends their occupation in Afghanistan to maintain the communism government in Afghanistan. The book said that the domination and occupation of Afghanistan has been for long time and Afghanistan become the hard fought country. Russia absolutely takes over Afghanistan and it is referred to the authority of Afghanistan to change the government of Afghanistan. As I said in

the previous chapter, Neo Colonialism is not merely the physical forcefulness but also the mental and ideology penetration as happened in Afghanistan when Russia occupied there. Russia tried to spread out the communism in Afghanistan beside of attack Afghanistan physically. They changed the politic of government and made the communism party which supports the occupation of Russia.

Another country which also colonizes Afghanistan is Britain which also told explicitly by the writer like in the next quotations:

⁽⁸⁾The Hindi kid would soon learn what the **British** learned earlier in the century, and what the **Russians** would eventually learn by the late 1980s (Datum no 9 page 25 chapter 6)

The quotation said by Amir, in that quotation Amis said that Afghanistan is a free country which does not like to control by tight rule. While the word British which is said by Amir tell us that before that case Britain has colonized Afghanistan and it is suitable with the history of Afghanistan which told that Afghanistan had been ever colonized by Britain and Russia.

“Russian’s War in Afghanistan” (1986:5) written by David C. Isby mentioned that Russia and Britain has occupied Afghanistan for over a century. Britain and Russia share governance of Afghanistan which is Russia take over the southern while the Britain take over the north one. In those book mentioned that Britain accepts Abdurrahman as Amir of Kabul, agreeing at the same time not to demand residence for a British envoy anywhere in Afghanistan. Britain has strong right to select the leader of Afghanistan. It signs that Britain has big authority to control Afghanistan and it can be done only if Britain hold power in Afghanistan

as a colonist. A colonist will always take the full control of the colony. The Colonist is free to arrange the colony. So the article above supports the previous explanation which elaborates the quotation taken from the novel.

Before analyzed it I found a strange of the story. If the story based on the true history of Afghanistan which was said that Afghanistan was colonized by Britain, Russia and America, why did not the writer tell about America colonialism in Afghanistan while on the contrary, he wrote the other countries which had ever colonized Afghanistan though the occupation of America was more dominant than the colonialism of other countries like Russian and Britain. Because of it, I explored the missing story of America in some characters in the novel and present it in subchapter below:

4.2. Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan

I have said in the previous subchapter that it is strange while *The Kite Runner* is written without mentioning the colonialism of America in Afghanistan. While on the contrary another country which have ever colonized Afghnaistan are told by the writer

The occupation of Britain and Russia in the real life and the story of invasion and occupation of both countries have been explained in the previous subchapter. Nevertheless, this novel does not tell about the influence of America like the real story of America in Afghanistan. From this exception, I explore *The Kite Runner* story over and over and relate it with fact about this related country as I presented in the following sub chapter:

As stated in the earlier subchapter; American's intervene is not told by the writer though it is clearly mentioned in the history of America. From this view I explore this novel deeply to find out the missing story which actually has to write by the writer when He claimed that the story is based on his true experience

Building on the analysis and comparison the story of *The Kite Runner* and the real history of Afghanistan, I found that some characters and delineation of the writer in the novel are used by the writer to picture the colonialism which was not mentioned yet. Beside of it there are also some symbols which lead to the characteristic of America. While the explanation can be found in the following quotation:

⁽¹⁾He eyed me up and down. “What is a boy like you doing here at this time of the day looking for a Hazara?” His glance lingered admiringly on my leather coat and **my jeans—cowboy pants**, we used to call them. In Afghanistan, **owning anything American**, especially if it wasn't secondhand, was a sign of wealth (Datum no 12, page 37 Chapter 7)

⁽²⁾“**The other boys**,” he said. “The ones chasing him. **They were dressed like you**.” He glanced to the sky and sighed. “Now, run along, you're making me late for nainaz.” (Datum 15 page 36 chapter 7)

Those two quotations said that most Pashtuns as the free citizen are so proud of America including using the attribute of America. It is uncommon in Afghanistan, because usually people use a traditional cloth named “Gamis” like another Islamic country. While Pashtuns here are described as an ethnic who use the American attribute like jeans unlike another ethnic in Afghanistan which use “Gamis” in their daily life. It is a kind of the portrayal of American culture in the

Pashtun daily life. Beside of using American attribute Pashtun also common with the other culture of America like drinking alcohol.

⁽³⁾In those days, **drinking was fairly common in Kabul**. No one gave you a public lashing for it.” (Datum no 4 Page 8 Chapter 3)

In that quotation, it is shared that most of Pashtuns common with drinking alcohol though as a Muslim drinking is forbidden activity. The habit drinking is done only by Pashtuns because another people like Hazaras do not have any freedom to do activity like Pashtuns. A drinking is a habit of western which is one of the western countries is America. That is why, for once again, Pashtuns are portrayed as an ethnic which follow and doing the habit of American. It leads the sign that Pashtun is used to portrait the America in this story.

The habit of drinking alcohol and wine are part of western habit too. It is unfair if I accused America as a country which portrayed by Pashtun which has done cruelty in Afghanistan. But from another supported symbol. All of them are mostly lead to America. Most Pashtuns are also proud of America and its people so much. Most of Pashtun thought that America is the best country for everyone and everything related to America is good for everyone.

Most Pashtuns are so proud of using American's attribute and support the ideology of America. A people who use another people attribute shows that the people proud of other people who have this symbol or people who used that symbol shows to another people that they are the representation of people who has that symbol. If the symbol lead to another country like Britain or Russia the writer

of this novel will also use Britain as a nation that the characters of the novel support the ideology of it. Whereas the writer uses America as the one and only nation which become the idol of the characters. That is why, it is true if Pashtun is used by the writer as a portrait of America. While quotation which contains this fact can see on the following quotation:

⁽⁴⁾“ Baba **loved the idea of America....**”(Datum no 22 Page 66 Chapter 11)

⁽⁵⁾“There are only three real men in this world, Amir,” he’d say. He’d count them off on his fingers: **America** the brash savior, Britain, and Israel. “Israel does this, Israel does that,” Baba would say in a mock-Arabic accent. “Then do something about it! Take action. You’re Arabs, help the Palestinians, then!” (Datum no 23Page 66 Chapter 11)

⁽⁶⁾“..... **America was different.** America was a river, roaring along, unmindful of the past. I could wade into this river, let my sins drown to the bottom, let the waters carry me someplace far. Someplace with no ghosts, no memories, and no sins..... “(Datum no 26 Page 67 Chapter 11)

Baba, Amir and most of Afghan support the idea of America and see America as the one and only country which can give safe for Pashtun. The last quotation tells about Amir who is so proud of America due to in America, Amir can hinder the sin and guilty and mistake that has been done when he was in Afghanistan. Based on this reason, most of Afghanistan run away from Afghanistan to America and Pakistan, the America’s alliance, to get safe from the invasion of Russia.

⁽⁷⁾Just one month after we arrived in the **U.S.**, Baba found a job off Washington Boulevard as an assistant at a gas station” (Datum no 24 Page 65 Chapter 11)

This quotation emphasizes the previous explanation which is said that America as the best place to get safe. It shows how Pashtuns automatically chose America as the place to run away. A place to run away usually is chosen based on the intimacy factor of the refugee. So it also shows how the writer led us to the word America when we uncover the symbol which is had by the Pashtun.

Beside of the symbols above there are also the similarities of Pashtun and America in some aspect of life like stated in the following quotation

⁽⁸⁾The Pashtuns, **had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras**. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had “quelled them with unspeakable violence.” **The book said that many people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women.** The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi’a. (datum no 1 page 5 chapter 2)

Pashtuns in *The Kite Runner* are described as people who colonized Hazaras ethnic. They oppressed and persecuted Hazaras in order to get their own profit such us slave though Hazaras did not have any mistake to them. Badly, the massacred of Pashtun to Hazara is not shared to other people or hides it from public. As explained in the previous subchapter, the Neo colonist will persecute and oppressed the colonized country to get profit and create hegemony in the colony. Hence, the persecution of Pashtuns to Hazaras categorized as Neo Colonialism.

Building on the notion that I made before which I wrote in the previous chapter. Neo Colonialism of a Pashtun ethnic in *The Kite Runner* is used to portrait the colonialism of America. To prove this fact I compare with an article in www.newyorktimes.com which is told about report of invasion of America in Afghanistan. This invasion has similarity with the invasion of Pashtuns against Hazaras. Pashtuns attacked Hazaras by using a reason that Hazaras has been daring to confront Pashtuns. Pashtuns do not accept the effort of Hazaras to protest the discrimination which done by Pashtuns to Hazaras. The same as America which used the same reason to aggress Afghanistan in 2001. America thought that one of militant group in Afghanistan is dare to attack the Twin Tower, WTC in America.

It is also emphasized by Wiki leaks. Wiki leaks released more than ninety Thousands of American's secret document which one of them shared about how north alliance army which one of the members is America army killed many civilian and they do no report it. Those two stories have similarity. Pashtun ethnic did not reported when they massacred Hazara and it is same with America which did not report its invasion to Afghanistan. I can see the analogy of America and Pashtun ethnic and I infer that the writer of this novel use Pashtun ethnic to portrait colonialism in Afghanistan. Another similarity of Pashtun and America are in the following quotation:

⁽⁹⁾Blocking Hassan's way out of the alley were three boys, the same three from that day on the hill, the day after Daoud Khan's coup, when Hassan had saved us with his slingshot. **Wali was standing on one side, Kamal on the other, and in the middle, Assef.** I felt my body

clench up, and something cold rippled up my spine. Assef seemed relaxed, confident (Datum no 10 page 36 chapter 6)

⁽¹⁰⁾“**Where is your slingshot, Hazara?**” Assef said, turning the brass knuckles in his hand. “What was it you said? ‘They’ll have to call you One-Eyed Assef.’ That’s right. One-Eyed Assef. That was clever. Really clever. Then again, it’s easy to be clever when you’re holding a loaded weapon.” (Datum no 11 page 36 chapter 6)

Quotation above is said by Assef, a Pashtun who takes revenge to Hassan, a Hazara who is dare to fight Assef. Assef takes revenge to Hassan by inviting some friends to attack Hassan when Hassan runs a kite lonely. The action of Assef as Pashtun is same with America who aggressed Afghanistan after one of the militant of Afghanistan was dare to attack the twin tower in America. America claimed that this invasion is done to wipe off terrorist which has attacked America in September 11 2001. America invaded Afghanistan by approval from united nation and brings its alliance to help the invasion. The supported article which taken from John K. Cooley’s “*Unholy War Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*” proves that Pashtun and America have similarity and lead indirectly to the evidence that Pashtun is truly use as the portrait of America in Afghanistan.

⁽¹¹⁾ There were others, in all about a dozen, including Baba and me, sitting with our suitcases between our legs, cramped with these strangers in the tarpaulin-covered cab of an **Old Russian truck**. (Datum no 17 Page 55 chapter 9)

⁽¹²⁾I overheard him telling Baba how he and his brother knew the **Russian** and Afghan **soldiers** who worked the checkpoints, how they had set up a “mutually profitable” arrangement (datum no 19 Page 57 chapter 9)

⁽¹²⁾Just one month after **we arrived in the U.S.**, Baba found a job off Washington Boulevard as an assistant at a gas station (datum no 24 page 65 chapter 11)

⁽¹³⁾Almost two years had passed since **we had arrived in the U.S.**, and I was still marveling at the size of this country, its vastness. Beyond every freeway lay another freeway, beyond every city another city hills beyond mountains and mountains beyond hills, and, beyond those, more cities and more people. (Datum no 25 Page 68 chapter 11)

The two first quotations say about Baba, Amir and most Afghans who escape from Afghanistan into Pakistan and other countries like United States of America when Russia invaded. On the contrary Hazzara is not able to run away from Afghanistan to avoid the persecution of Russia as like Pashtun. It indicates that only Pashtuns which are able run away from Afghanistan and shows that Pashtun is truly used as the representative of America when we looked that the writer only tells story of Pashtun's escape and emphasizes it without mentioning the same action of Hazzara. So it is clear that the writer does not other character in portraying America

The two last quotations above share by Amir which explains how his life in America after he and Baba, father of him, moved from Afghanistan to America. Amir, Baba and other Pashtun run away from Afghanistan to escape from Russia's invasion. Russia takes over and controls all sectors in Afghanistan. Afghanistan get best of Afghanistan, They send many soldiers to occupy Afghanistan. While the second quotation tells about Afghanistan who try to run away from Afghanistan and they have to sacrifice everything to get the freedom. Some of them go to other countries like Pakistan and America while the Hazara did not go to any where. As I said before, Pashtun is the portrayal of America when America invades Afghanistan. For once again, Pashtun is portrayed do same action with American action. America also moves from Afghanistan when Russia

is able to take over Afghanistan. Some soldiers were withdrawn into America and Pakistan.

It is suit with Pashtun who moved to Pakistan and America when Russia invades Afghanistan. It is supported by an article in www.newyorktimes.com dated on December 17 2010 which is said that CIA makes an office in Pakistan after Russian's invasion. America still interfere Afghanistan though they did not occupy Afghanistan. Through its Agent, CIA, America still tried to intervene Afghanistan through Pakistan's hand. They support and supply a weapon for Taliban to retake Afghanistan. It is emphasized the notion that I say before, which is Pashtun is the portrayal of America by looking at this similarity,

⁽¹⁴⁾But he's not my friend! I almost blurted. _He's **my servant!** Had I really thought that? We'd be rid of them by now. They'd all just go rot in Hazarajat where they belong. You're a disgrace to Afghanistan." (Datum no 8 page 21 chapter 5)

⁽¹⁵⁾"**A loyal Hazara. Loyal as a dog,**" Assef said. Kamal's laugh was a shrill, nervous sound. (Datum 13 no 15 page 37 chapter 6)

⁽¹⁶⁾Hassan **servng** drinks to Assef and Wali from a silver platter. (Datum no 16 page 49 chapter 6)

Most Pashtuns regard themselves as the major ethnic and feel superior in front of Hazaras. Pashtuns think that Hazaras are only the lowest class in Afghanistan which Pashtuns have to exploit Hazara to get their own profit. In this story some Hazaras are used as servants by Pashtun Hence, it is fair when I mention it as slavey due to Hazaras do not save any wage for their work. Hazaras also do not have any right as common employee. Pashtuns are free to treat

everything to Hazaras and even Hazaras are persecuted by their master though they have worked for their master. It is clear that Pashtun exploit Hazara.

This colonialism is also done by America when they colonized Afghanistan. Afghanistan is used by America as a place to apply their policy and also America is free to control Afghanistan as they wanted. America also used Afghanistan as a land to get profit in developing the opium trading. Based on the data in building on the data I found in www.wordpress/kajiantimurtengah.com. Opium in Afghanistan increased highly when America occupied Afghanistan both before and after the Russian's occupation. The article of this site also said that America did not agree to bomb and destroy the region which used as Opium plantation. It shows that America exploit Afghanistan as Pashtun exploit Hazara.

An article published in the global review which written by Dale states that Because of there is no tight law in the Pashtun authority, some European countries like America is attacked to expand opium business in Afghanistan. Production capacity of Opium in Afghanistan is increased highly when America hold Afghanistan. It is different when Russian take over Afghanistan which is the Opium is on the wane.

This part of article shows how America uses Afghanistan to support its Opium business. It is same with Pashtun which exploited Hazara to their profit. For once again I found the similarity of them which support the previous notion.

Once and for all, I conclude the analysis which I have done above. Based on the data of the novel and data which taken from some sources which contained

everything related to real history of Afghanistan. I find many similarities between Pashtun and America when they occupied Afghanistan. Those similarities lead to conclude that the writer of this novel uses Pashtun ethnic to picture implicitly the neo colonialism done by United State of America started from the after World war II into the time of *The Kite Runner*.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This is the last chapter. It presents the conclusions of the discussion of the study. It covers the main points of the study that have been discussed. Besides, it provides some suggestion as supported data for the further study.

5.1 Conclusions

After doing a thorough study on the novel, here I draw some points as the conclusion of the discussion.

First *The Kite Runners* tells us about some colonialism which are done by ethnic group and other countries in Afghanistan. The first colonialism is the colonialism of Pashtun ethnic, one of ethnics group in Afghanistan, against Hazzara ethnic. This neo colonialism is done through discriminate and oppresses the Hazzaras. They oppressed Hazaras in the entirely part of life.

The second neo colonialism is done by Britain and Russia which is told explicitly by the writer. The story of colonialism is written based on the real history of Afghanistan. This country is colonized by Britain, Russia and United State of America (USA). Britain colonize Afghanistan in early 20th century which comes to the end in World War II. Then the colonialism of Russia is begun in early 1980 which also become the time setting of this story. On the other hand the USA which colonizes longer than Russia and Britain did not tell by the writer.

Second by looking at the missing story of USA's colonialism in Afghanistan in the *The Kite Runner* I uncover the symbol which all of them lead to USA. One of the reason the neo colonialism of Pashtun is said to be the colonialism of America is that America is not shared explicitly by the writer although based on the history USA also colonizes Afghanistan moreover the occupation of USA in Afghanistan is longer than other while other countries like Russia and Britain which colonizes shorter than USA is told explicitly The writer used some symbol to represent USA such as the using of USA's attribute by Pashtun, the support of Pashtun to the ideology of USA and also other symbols like the same manner and habitual of Pashtun with the manner and habitual of American

The second reason is Pashtuns massacre and attack Hazaras think that Hazaras dare to confront Pashtuns. It is same with USA which use the same reason when they Attacked Afghanistan. They think Afghan represented by the militant group dare to confront America by attacking the twin tower WTC.

In doing its invasion Pashtuns do not report how many Hazaras which are killed by Pashtuns. It is same with USA which does not report the victim of Afghan killed during the invasion and the occupation of USA. Pashtuns exploit and slave Hazaras. Hazaras who live in Pashtuns community will be used as a servant by Pashtuns. The same as USA which uses Afghanistan as a land to grow opium plant. USA uses Pashtun community as a place to cultivate the opium which will support the opium industry in Afghanistan.

The last, another similarity of Pashtun and USA is when Russia invaded Afghanistan. Pashtuns escape from Afghanistan to Pakistan and America when Russia came to invade Afghanistan. It is also done by Americans. They move from Afghanistan during Russia's invasion. They work together with Pakistan and use the Pakistan's authority to help a militant group of Afghanistan to kick out of Russian from Afghanistan. Accordingly, I sum up that colonialism of Pashtuns to Hazaras is used to portrait the colonialism of America in Afghanistan based on the analysis which I have done in the previous chapter.

5.2 Suggestions

This study furthermore, is expected to be useful for the readers in general and for the English Literature students in particular. Here I present some suggestions.

1. The main suggestion for the readers is that they have to know about the reasons or the background if they ask to do something, not like shown in the novel that they did something without knowing the reasons why they have to do it.
2. With this contribution, it is suggested that this novel be analyzed from different point of view and approaches in order to train our senses dealing with the literature and the society and to get the comprehensive understanding.
3. The readers will be better if they read as much as possible any kind of literary works, to improve their knowledge about literature.

4. Beside of the topic that I presented there are some topics related with the *The Kite Runner*. While those topic is the double standard and hypocrisy as the new strategy of colonialism which has been analyzed yet.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bressler, Chareles E. 1999. *Literary Criticism: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. United States of America: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Mujiyanto, Januarius. 2008. *Pengantar Ilmu Budaya* : Semarang

Endraswara, Suwardi. 2003. *Metodologi Penelitian Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Widyatama.

Hosseini, Khaled. 2003. *The Kite Runner*. New York: Riverhead Books

----- *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. 1995. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Looba, Ania, 1998, *Colonialism-Post Colonialism*. London: Routledge New Fetter Lane.

Cooley, John. K, 1999, *Unholy War - Afghanistan, America and International Terorism*. London : Pluto Press

Isby, David C. , 1986, *Russian's War in Afghanistan*. Hongkong: Bookbuilders ltd

Baven, Edwyn, 1938, *Symbolism and belief*, London : Riverhead book

Nasrullah, Muhammad Fattah. 2010, *America war propaganda as a way of imperialism represent in Clint eastwood,s movie flag and our father*. Semarang.

Hassan, Hamzah Nur. 2010, *Behind the World Highlight of Jewish as the Victims of War in night a Novel by Ellie Wresel*, Semarang.

Anjarwati, Dian. 2009, *The Effect of Colonization of the Indonesian Women Movement as Reflected in Letter of Javanese Princess*. Semarang.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/7798/Afghanistan>

<http://mirror.wikileaks.info/favicon.ico>

[http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ neo Colonialism](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/neo%20Colonialism)

[http://www.ezinearticle.com/types of novel](http://www.ezinearticle.com/types%20of%20novel)

[http://www.infoplease.com/history of Afghanistan](http://www.infoplease.com/history%20of%20Afghanistan)

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/BRZ110A>

<http://www.wapedia.mobi>

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology>

<http://www.wikipedia/afghanistan.com>

<http://www.newyorktimes.com>

<http://www.wordpress/kajianimurtengah.com/>



Appendix A

Synopsis

“The Kite Runner” is a popular novel written by Khaled Hoessaini’s in 2003. This story begins when Amir, the main character received a letter from Rahim Khan, a friend of his father that asked Amir to visit him in Pakistan. The time of receiving the letter, Amir was in America, a country that he chose to run away from the conflict in their land, Afghanistan. After receiving this letter, Amir reminds all the memories in Afghanistan then it makes the next story tells about the life of Amir in Afghanistan.

When Amir was child, he lived with his father who has high power in their country. Amir and his father had a servant named Ali and his son, Hassan. Amir and Hassan were children who grow together in same areas. Most of Amir’s childhood was spent with Hassan. They were like a brother. Hassan loved Amir so much and he was willing to do everything for Hassan. Amir knew about the love and sacrifice of Hassan to him, sometimes He took advantage of it. Unhappily, though Hassan has given him everything that Amir wanted, Sometimes Amir did not want to acknowledge their brotherhood, He assumed to acknowledge it because he knew that they have different social status. He had to still consider Hassan as a servant of his family. Hassan was only considered as Amir’s friend in their home. When Amir interacted with other Pashtun ethnic, Hassan was only considered as a servant. Hassan was Hazara ethnic while Amir was a Pashtun ethnic which higher social class than Hassan. Hazara ethnic was the second class

which was treated as a slave in Afghanistan even the Pashtun ethnic tried to kick Hazzara out from Afghanistan. Pashtun thought that Hazzara was a rubbish in Afghanistan and did not proper to live in Afghanistan.

Pashtun ethnic tried many ways to kick Hazzara out from Afghanistan. They oppressed Hazzara with thousands way and one of them is by applying double standard and hypocrisy in oppressing Hazzara. They also did not share this oppression to the public. They hide the fact that Pashtun made Hazzara as a servant not give right as another servant in other country. Pashtun as a slave is the lower class in afghanistan. Hazzara did not have right to get a chance of school and use other facilities. Badly when Russian came to invade Afghanistan, Hazzara could be able to run away from afghanistan while Pashtun could escape from Afghanistan to other country which more safe for them such us Pakistan and America.

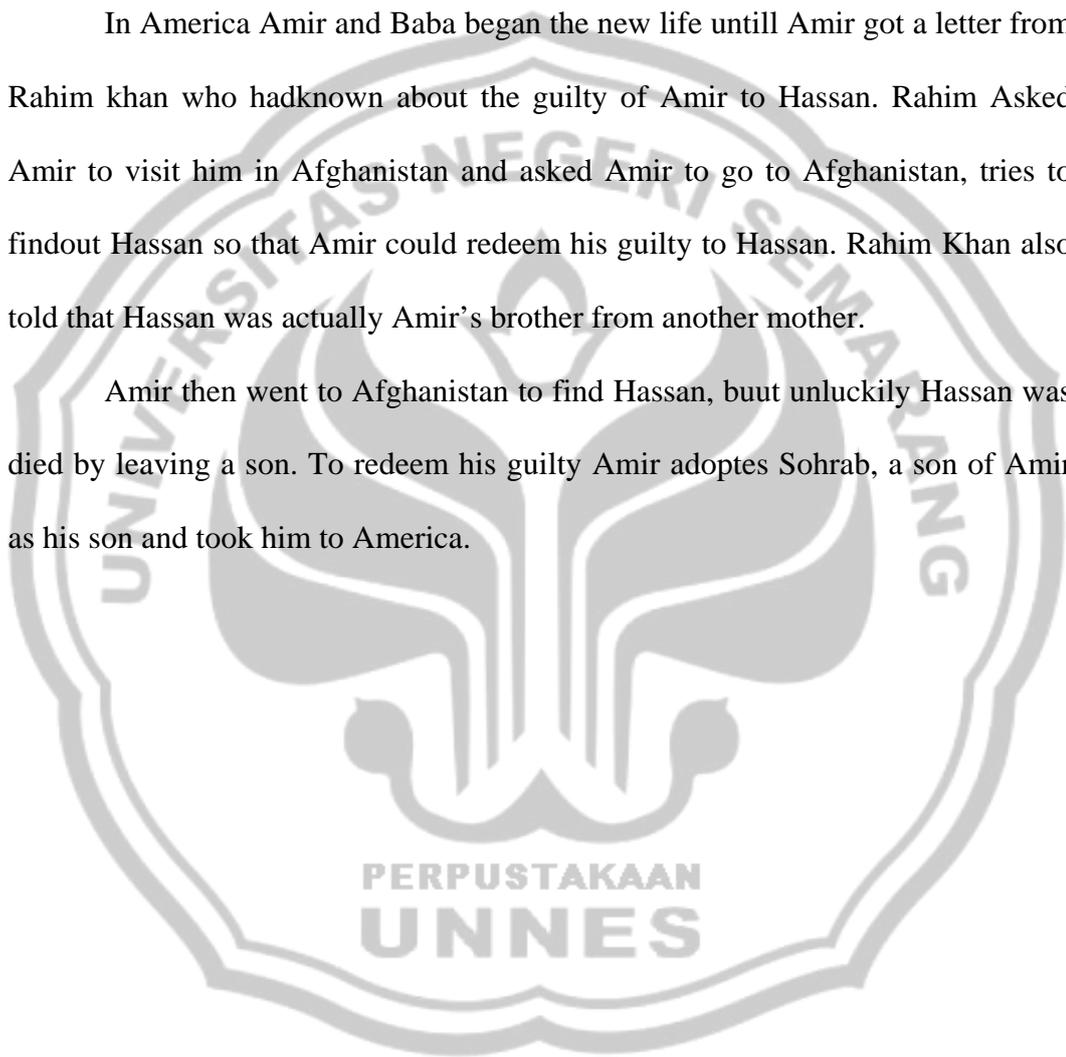
When Russia came to take over Afghanistan, Amir and his father ran away from afghanistan go into America without took Hassan and his father who had been gone from Amir's house before the invasion was happened. America was chosen by baba as a place to run away. Baba thought that America would give protection to them and they will feel safe in America although they had to start their carrier again and they had no big influence to other people just like in Afghanistan.

Before this invasion, baba, Amir and other Pashtun were so proud and regard America as the powerful country which would be the best for everyone.

They were proud of using American attribute like jeans. They also support the ide of America so that they chose America as a place to escape from Russia and did not chose other country like Britain which also had occupied Afghanistan fro long decade.

In America Amir and Baba began the new life untill Amir got a letter from Rahim Khan who had known about the guilty of Amir to Hassan. Rahim Asked Amir to visit him in Afghanistan and asked Amir to go to Afghanistan, tries to find out Hassan so that Amir could redeem his guilty to Hassan. Rahim Khan also told that Hassan was actually Amir's brother from another mother.

Amir then went to Afghanistan to find Hassan, buut unluckily Hassan was died by leaving a son. To redeem his guilty Amir adoptes Sohrab, a son of Amir as his son and took him to America.



Appendix B

Overall Data

Data No	Form of data	Found on			Answer question number
		On page	In paragraph	On line	
1	The Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had “quelled them with unspeakable violence.” The book said that many people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi’a.	5	1	7-14	1
2	. “...School text books barely mentioned them and referred to their ancestry only in passing. Then one day, I was in Baba’s study, looking through his stuff, when I found one of my mother’s old history books. was stunned to find an entire chapter on Hazara history. An entire chapter dedicated to Hassan’s people! In it, I read that my people, the Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras.	5	1	2-5	1

”				
3	The book said a lot of things I didn't know, things my teachers hadn't mentioned. Things Baba hadn't mentioned either	5	1	11 - 12	1
4	In those days, drinking was fairly common in Kabul. No one gave you a public lashing for it,	8	1	8-9	2
5	. “.....That Hassan would grow up illiterate like Ali and most Hazaras had been decided the minute he had been born, But despite his illiteracy, or maybe because of it, Hassan was drawn to the mystery of words, seduced by a secret world forbidden to him. I read him poems and stories, sometimes riddles--though I stopped reading those when I saw he was far better at solving them than I was. So I read him unchallenging things, like the misadventures of the bumbling Mullah Nasruddin and his donkey.	14	1	4-9	1
6	“The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with the communist coup d'état, and then in December 1979, when Russian tanks would roll into the very same streets where Hassan	18	1	6-8	1
7	His blue eyes flicked to Hassan. “Afghanistan is the land of Pashtuns. It	20	13	25-28	1

	always has been, always will be. We are the true Afghans, the pure Afghans, not this Flat-Nose here. His people pollute our homeland, our watan. They dirty our blood.” He made a sweeping, grandiose gesture with his hands. “Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say. That’s my vision.”				
8	. But he’s not my friend!_ I almost blurted. _He’s my servant!_ Had I really thought that? Of course I hadn’t. I hadn’t. I treated Hassan well, just like a friend, better even, more like a brother. But if so, then why, when Baba’s friends came to visit with their kids, didn’t I ever include Hassan in our games? Why did I play with Hassan only when no one else was around?	21	2	4-7	1,2
9	The Hindi kid would soon learn what the British learned earlier in the century, and what the Russians would eventually learn by the late 1980s	25	4	41-43	1
10	Blocking Hassan’s way out of the alley were three boys, the same three from that day on the hill,the day after Daoud Khan’s coup, when Hassan had saved us with his slingshot. Wali was standing on one side, Kamal on the other, and in the middle, Assef. I felt my body clench up, and something cold rippled	36	8	37-42	2

	up my spine. Assef seemed relaxed, confident				
11	“Where is your slingshot, Hazara?” Assef said, turning the brass knuckles in his hand. “What was it you said? ‘They’ll have to call you One-Eyed Assef.’ That’s right. One-Eyed Assef. That was clever. Really clever. Then again, it’s easy to be clever when you’re holding a loaded weapon.”	36	9	25-27	2
12	He eyed me up and down. “What is a boy like you doing here at this time of the day looking for a Hazara?” His glance lingered admiringly on my leather coat and my jeans—cowboy pants, we used to call them. In Afghanistan, owning anything American, especially if it wasn’t secondhand, was a sign of wealth.	37	8	20-23	2
13	“A loyal Hazara. Loyal as a dog,” Assef said. Kamal’s laugh was a shrill, nervous sound	37	5	7	1
14	The old man raised a pepper gray eyebrow. “He is? Lucky Hazara, having such a concerned master. His father should get on his knees, sweep the dust at your feet with his eyelashes.”	35	13	28-29	1
15	“The other boys,” he said. “The ones chasing him. They were dressed like	36	2	2-3	2

	you.” He glanced to the sky and sighed. “Now, run along, you’re making me late for nainaz.”				
16	Hassan serving drinks to Assef and Wali from a silver platter (datum no	51	8	14-15	1
17	There were others, in all about a dozen, including Baba and me, sitting with our suitcases between our legs, cramped with these strangers in the tarpaulin-covered cab of an Old Russian truck.	55	7	35-37	1,2
18	No grim-faced Russian soldiers patrolling the sidewalks, no tanks rolling up and down the streets of my city, their turrets swiveling like accusing fingers, no rubble, no curfews, no Russian Army Personnel Carriers weaving through the bazaars.	55-56	7	45-47	1,2
19	I overheard him telling Baba how he and his brother knew the Russian and Afghan soldiers who worked the checkpoints, how they had set up a “mutually profitable” arrangement	57	1	5-7	1
20	Russia sends them here to fight,” he said	58	15	37	1
21	He called his cousin Homayoun--he was actually Baba’s second cousin--and mentioned he was going to Jalalabad on Friday, and Homayoun, who had studied engineering in France and had a house in Jalalabad,	42	1	1-3	1
22	“ Baba loved the idea of America....”	63	3	3	2
23	. “There are only three real men in this world, Amir,” he’d say. He’d count them off on his fingers: America the brash savior, Britain, and Israel. “The rest of them--” he used to wave his hand	63	5	8-17	2

	and make a phht sound “--they’re like gossiping old women.” In Baba’s view, Israel was an island of “real men” in a sea of Arabs too busy getting fat off their oil to care for their own. “Israel does this, Israel does that,” Baba would say in a mock-Arabic accent. “Then do something about it! Take action. You’re Arabs, help the Palestinians, then!”				
24	Just one month after we arrived in the U.S., Baba found a job off Washington Boulevard as an assistant at a gas station	65	9	23-24	2
25	Almost two years had passed since we had arrived in the U.S., and I was still marveling at the size of this country, its vastness. Beyond every freeway lay another freeway, beyond every city another city hills beyond mountains and mountains beyond hills, and, beyond those, more cities and more people.	68	4	25-28	2
26	”..... America was different. America was a river, roaring along, unmindful of the past. I could wade into this river, let my sins drown to the bottom, let the waters carry me someplace far. Someplace with no ghosts, no memories, and no sins..... “	68	8	35-37	2

Appendix C

Neo Colonialism in Afghanistan

Data no	Form of data	Found			comment
		On Page	In Paragraph	On line	
1	The Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had “quelled them with unspeakable violence.” The book said that many people had killed the Hazaras, driven them from their lands, burned their homes, and sold their women. The book said part of the reason Pashtuns had oppressed the Hazaras was that Pashtuns were Sunni Muslims, while Hazaras were Shi’a.	5	1	7-14	Persecution of Pashtun to Hazzara which is done to create a hegemony of Pashtun to Hazzara. Persecution to create hegemony is one way of colonialism
2	. “....School text books barely mentioned them and referred to their ancestry only in passing. Then one day, I was in Baba’s study, looking through his stuff, when I found one of my mother’s old history books. was stunned to find an entire chapter on Hazara history. An entire chapter dedicated to Hassan’s people! In it, I read that my people, the Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras.”	5	1	2-5	Pahtun Omit the history of Hazzara in school text book. The actionof pashtun in hidening the crime they do to Hazzara. the omiting of Hazzara’s history is done to omit the less important of Hazzara in afghanistan. So there will

					be no longer story of Hazzara as a free ethnic
3	The book said a lot of things I didn't know, things my teachers hadn't mentioned. Things Baba hadn't mentioned either	5	1	11 - 12	The persecution of Pashtun to Hazzara which does not mentioned by Pashtun in public to create public opinion that Pashtun has no bad treatment to hazzara
4	. ".....That Hassan would grow up illiterate like Ali and most Hazaras had been decided the minute he had been born, But despite his illiteracy, or maybe because of it, Hassan was drawn to the mystery of words, seduced by a secret world forbidden to him. I read him poems and stories, sometimes riddles--though I stopped reading those when I saw he was far better at solving them than I was. So I read him unchallenging things, like the misadventures of the bumbling Mullah Nasruddin and his donkey.	14	1	4-9	An effort of Pashtun in persecute Hazzara in education. Pashtunis made to be illiterate so that Hazzara will not have any brilliant effort to struggle their life as servant form Pashtun
6	"The end, the official end, would come first in April 1978 with the communist coup d'état, and then in December 1979, when Russian tanks would roll into the very same streets where Hassan	18	1	6-8	The neo colonialism of Russia in Afghanistan
7	His blue eyes flicked to Hassan. "Afghanistan is the land of	20	13	25-28	Pashtun considers

	<p>Pashtuns. It always has been, always will be. We are the true Afghans, the pure Afghans, not this Flat-Nose here. His people pollute our homeland, our watan. They dirty our blood.” He made a sweeping, grandiose gesture with his hands. “Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say. That’s my vision.”</p>				<p>Afghanistan as their own, so that they feel that they have right to take over everything about Afghanistan included Hazzara ethnic.</p>
8	<p>. But he’s not my friend!_ I almost blurted. _He’s my servant!_ Had I really thought that? Of course I hadn’t. I hadn’t. I treated Hassan well, just like a friend, better even, more like a brother. But if so, then why, when Baba’s friends came to visit with their kids, didn’t I ever include Hassan in our games? Why did I play with Hassan only when no one else was around?</p>	21	2	4-7	<p>Pashtun is free to treat everything to hazzara and even Hazzara is persecuted by their own master though they have worked for their master. Pashtun take advantage of the Hazzara by made them as their servant and laboures and without give a wage for them. They exploitate Hazzara in doing a work</p>
9	<p>The Hindi kid would soon learn what the British learned earlier in the century, and what the Russians would eventually learn by the late 1980s</p>	25	4	41-43	<p>The neo colonialism of Britain to Afghanistan</p>

13	“(c)” A loyal Hazara. Loyal as a dog,” Assef said. Kamal’s laugh was a shrill, nervous sound	37	5	7	A slavery which is done by Pashtun to Hazzara
14	The old man raised a pepper gray eyebrow. “He is? Lucky Hazara, having such a concerned master. His father should get on his knees, sweep the dust at your feet with his eyelashes.”	35	13	28-29	A slavery and persecution which is done by Pashtun to Hazzara
17	Hassan serving drinks to Assef and Wali from a silver platter (datum no	51	8	14-15	A slavery which is done by Pashtun to Hazzara
18	There were others, in all about a dozen, including Baba and me, sitting with our suitcases between our legs, cramped with these strangers in the tarpaulin-covered cab of an Old Russian truck.	55	7	35-37	The neo colonailism and occupation of Russia to Afghanistan
19	No grim-faced Russian soldiers patrolling the sidewalks, no tanks rolling up and down the streets of my city, their turrets swiveling like accusing fingers, no rubble, no curfews, no Russian Army Personnel Carriers weaving through the bazaars.	55-56	7	45-47	The neo colonailism and occupation of Russia to Afghanistan
20	I overheard him telling Baba how he and his brother knew the Russian and Afghan soldiers who worked the checkpoints, how they had set up a “mutually profitable” arrangement	57	1	5-7	The neo colonailism and occupation of Russia to Afghanistan
21	Russia sends them here to fight,” he said	58	15	37	The neo colonailism and occupation of Russia to Afghanistan

22	He called his cousin Homayoun--he was actually Baba's second cousin--and mentioned he was going to Jalalabad on Friday, and Homayoun, who had studied engineering in France and had a house in Jalalabad,	42	1	1-3	The limitation of chance to get education for people is also said as one way to colonize people. On one hand Pahtun gve chance to study for pashtun as free as they want on the other hand they limmit the chance of eduction to hazzara so they will be uneducated people.
----	--	----	---	-----	---



Appendix D

Neo colonialism in Afghanistan as representation of America

No	Data no	Form of data	Found			comment
			On Page	In Paragraph	On line	
	4	In those days, drinking was fairly common in Kabul. No one gave you a public lashing for it,	8	1	8-9	The similarity of Pashtun's habit and American habit
	9	. But he's not my friend!_ I almost blurted. _He's my servant!_ Had I really thought that? Of course I hadn't. I hadn't. I treated Hassan well, just like a friend, better even, more like a brother. But if so, then why, when Baba's friends came to visit with their kids, didn't I ever include Hassan in our games? Why did I play with Hassan only when no one else was around?	21	2	4-7	The similarity of persecution and exploitation of Pashtun to Hazzara with America's exploitation to Afghanistan. Pashtun makes Hazzara as their servants while America use Afghanistan as a land to produce Opium which the laboures of it are Afghanistan
	11	Blocking Hassan's way out of the alley were three boys, the same three from that day on the hill, the day after Daoud Khan's coup, when Hassan had saved us with his slingshot. Wali was standing on one side, Kamal on the other, and in	36	8	37-42	the action of Pashtun to Hazzara in attacking Hazzara with similar to the invasion of America to Afghanistan while America

		the middle, Assef. I felt my body clench up, and something cold rippled up my spine. Assef seemed relaxed, confident				invites its allieace to invade Afghanistan Pashtun which is represented by Assef also invites his firend to attack Hassan, A hazzara.
12		“Where is your slingshot, Hazara?” Assef said, turning the brass knuckles in his hand. “What was it you said? ‘They’ll have to call you One-Eyed Assef.’ That’s right. One-Eyed Assef. That was clever. Really clever. Then again, it’s easy to be clever when you’re holding a loaded weapon.”	36	9	25-27	the action of Pashtun to Hazzara in attacking hazzara with similar to the invasion of America to Afghanistan while America think that Afghanistan has dare to challenge them when there is a militant group attack the twin tower in America as a reason to invade afghanistan. Pshtun use reason the bravery of Hassan in threatening Assef as a reason to attack Hassan
13		He eyed me up and down. “What is a boy like you doing here at this time of the day looking for a Hazara?” His glance lingered admiringly on my leather coat and my jeans—cowboy pants, we used to call them. In Afghanistan, owning	37	8	20-23	The similarity of Pashtun and America in way of dressing and the proud of pashtun in using American’s attibute

		anything American, especially if it wasn't secondhand, was a sign of wealth.				
16		“The other boys,” he said. “The ones chasing him. They were dressed like you.” He glanced to the sky and sighed. “Now, run along, you’re making me late for nainaz.”	36	2	2-3	The similarity of Pashtun and America in way of dressing
18		There were others, in all about a dozen, including Baba and me, sitting with our suitcases between our legs, cramped with these strangers in the tarpaulin-covered cab of an Old Russian truck.	55	7	35-37	The escape of Pshtun to Pakistan is ame with the escape of America from afghanistan to Pakistan when Russia came to invade
19		No grim-faced Russian soldiers patrolling the sidewalks, no tanks rolling up and down the streets of my city, their turrets swiveling like accusing fingers, no rubble, no curfews, no Russian Army Personnel Carriers weaving through the bazaars.	55-56	7	45-47	The escape of Pshtun to Pakistan is ame with the escape of America from afghanistan to Pakistan when Russia came to invade
23		“ Baba loved the idea of America....”	63	3	3	The similarity of Pashtun and America in way of dressing and the proud of pashtun in using American’s attribute and ideology
24		. “There are only three real men in this world, Amir,” he’d say. He’d count them off on his fingers: America	63	5	8-17	The similarity of Pashtun and America in way of dressing and

		the brash savior, Britain, and Israel. “The rest of them--” he used to wave his hand and make a phht sound “--they’re like gossiping old women.” In Baba’s view, Israel was an island of “real men” in a sea of Arabs too busy getting fat off their oil to care for their own. “Israel does this, Israel does that,” Baba would say in a mock-Arabic accent. “Then do something about it! Take action. You’re Arabs, help the Palestinians, then!”				the proud of pashtun in using American’s attribute and ideology
25	Just one month after we arrived in the U.S., Baba found a job off Washington Boulevard as an assistant at a gas station	65	9	23-24	The symbol of america, America is chosen as a place to run away	
26	Almost two years had passed since we had arrived in the U.S., and I was still marveling at the size of this country, its vastness. Beyond every freeway lay another freeway, beyond every city another city hills beyond mountains and mountains beyond hills, and, beyond those, more cities and more people.	68	4	25-28	The symbol of america, America is chosen as a place to run away	
27	”..... America was different. America was a river, roaring along, unmindful of the past. I could wade into this river, let my sins drown to the bottom, let the waters carry me someplace far. Someplace with no ghosts, no memories, and no sins.... “	68	8	35-37	The similarity of Pashtun and America in way of dressing and the proud of pashtun to America.	